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THE SEMANTIC PREDECESSORS OF *NEED*:
FROM OLD TO EARLY MODERN ENGLISH

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To my brother, in memoriam

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My most special thanks go to Álex, whose unconditional support, prodigious patience, infinite generosity and good sense of humour have never surrendered to the unidirectional compulsions which invaded me during the writing of this dissertation.

Last but not least, I give the most heartfelt thanks to my parents for their love and serenity throughout my life, and especially to my mom, who has always devoted her life to satisfy other people's needs.

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<div align="right">Santiago de Compostela, February 2005</div>

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim of the study

This study is part of a larger research project called "Variation, linguistic change and grammaticalization, with special reference to English," which is being carried out by a number of researchers at the Department of English of the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.[1] As is well-known, the study of grammaticalization is burgeoning, as is attested by the recent publication of numerous volumes (cf., among others, Traugott and Heine 1991, Giacalone Ramat and Hopper 1998, Fischer *et al.* 2000, Bybee and Hopper 2001, Wischer and Diewald 2002). Furthermore, there is considerable interest in the grammaticalization of modals (cf. Plank 1984; Goossens 1987; Heine 1993; Warner 1993; Bybee *et al*. 1994; van der Auwera and Plungian 1998; Krug 2000, 2001, 2002; Sturiale 2002; Traugott and Dasher 2002, Aijmer 2004, Tagliamonte 2004, among many others). More specifically, the marginal position of Present-Day English (henceforth PDE) *need* has been highlighted by several scholars (to cite just a few, Bolinger 1942, Jacobsson 1974, Duffley 1994, Leech 2003, Smith 2003, Taeymans 2004a). Most of these works concentrate on the twofold character of *need*, which may be considered modal and non-modal (cf. Huddleston 1984, or Quirk *et al*. 1985, for instance). However, these studies concentrate on the synchronic features of *need* and tend to neglect its historical

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[1] These researchers are the members of the *Research Group on Variation and Language Change* (cf. <http://www.usc.es/ia303/vlc/main.html>), led by Professor Teresa Fanego.

evolution. Further explorations of the development of *need* are, therefore, necessary to explain the complex nature of this verb.

A preliminary overview of the history of *need* reveals some interesting developments. As a modal verb, *need* differs morphologically from the central modals, since, unlike the central modals, *need* does not derive from the Old English (henceforth OE) preterite-present verbs. An insight into Old English shows that, at that time, preterite-present verbs already included a verb semantically and syntactically equivalent to PDE *need*, namely OE *þurfan*. *Þurfan*, however, has not survived into Present-Day English, so we may hypothesize that its disappearance favoured the auxiliarization of *need*. Further overviews of Old and Middle English (henceforth ME) reveal, however, that *þurfan* and *need* are not the only verbs meaning 'need' in the history of English, but that there are other verbs, such as OE *beþurfan*, OE *behofian* or ME *misteren*, which are semantically equivalent and which, in principle, could also have replaced *þurfan*. Surprisingly enough, *need* is the only verb which survives with its meaning in Present-Day English and, what is more, it has become one of the 100 most frequent verbs in spontaneous speech (cf. Krug 2000: 291). From this brief outline we can easily gather that only a thorough analysis of the history of *need* and of those verbs which may have competed semantically with it can disclose the reasons why *need* has ousted its semantic competitors and the factors determining its PDE double nature as auxiliary and non-auxiliary.

For this reason, the aim of this work is to elucidate the evolution of PDE *need* and its semantic predecessors. The historical period selected for my analysis is from Old to early Modern English (henceforth eModE) for the following reasons. Firstly, a good number of studies on PDE *need* are already available, as well as research in progress which will be published shortly.[2] Secondly, as Rissanen (1999: 189) states, "[t]here are, in fact, very few major syntactic changes after the end of the 18th century, although change in language is of course an ongoing and never-ending process." In other words, we expect the major changes to occur before the late Modern English (lModE) period. Finally, a preliminary study of the relevant literature revealed that after early Modern English the occurrences of *need* and *behove*, the surviving verbs, were not indicative of further changes which might prove relevant for the general purposes of this study. In this period, *need* and *behove* had become the verbs they are in

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[2] Cf. the work of Soili Nokkonen, which is being supervised by Professor Terttu Nevalainen at the *Research Unit for Variation and Change in English* (VARIENG), University of Helsinki.

Present-Day English from a semantic and syntactic perspective, and the semantic predecessors of *need* have disappeared or become specialized with a different meaning.

More specifically, the aims of this study are to find out how *need* and its semantic predecessors compete for the expression of the same meaning, how they develop morphologically, syntactically and semantically through time, and the reasons why they survive, change or disappear from the language. In addition, through the analysis of nearly 1000 years of linguistic evolution I intend to provide information about the grammaticalization of *need* and any of its semantic competitors as modal auxiliaries.

Grammaticalization is here understood in the traditional functional approach in which most scholars posit it. Thus, in this piece of work I follow works such as Lehmann (1995 [1982]), Hopper (1991), Heine (1993), and Hopper and Traugott (2003), and consider that grammaticalization is the result of subsequent changes in the semantic, morphosyntactic and phonological components of language, through processes such as desemanticization, decategorialization or erosion. In addition, modal verbs are said to be born out of reanalysis (cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003). I will try to ascertain the extent to which some of my verbs undergo some of these processes.

Since the semantics of the verbs analysed here falls within the modal notion of necessity, it will be necessary to interpret the findings from a modal perspective. For this reason, modality is crucial in this piece of work. Among the different approaches to modality, which classify it according to various criteria, I will examine two widely recognized classifications, namely that of Palmer (1979, 1986, 2003), and that of Sweetser (1990), based on Talmy (1988). I will try to prove that, even though views of modality such as Palmer's (1979, 1986, 2003) have proved essential for the study of this semantic category in synchronic works, a more dynamic view of modality is necessary for the purposes of this diachronic piece of research. For this reason, the approach to modality followed here is the result of a combination of Coates' (1983) and Sweetser's (1990) classification of modality as divided into root and epistemic, together with Talmy's (1988, 2000) cognitive semantic approach to modal meanings in terms of force dynamics. In other words, modality will be analysed from a functional-cognitive point of view. This descriptive framework will prove indispensable for the explanation of the semantic evolution of *need*, since this stems from cognitive forces.

Together with their liability to undergo grammaticalization and their modal meanings, the verbs analysed in this study converge on another linguistic area which concerns syntax and semantics, namely their occurrence in impersonal constructions. In fact, the expression of necessity has traditionally been considered to favour impersonal constructions, i.e. constructions in which the experiencer is inflected for the oblique case instead of the nominative. There are numerous classifications and interpretations of impersonal constructions in the literature, and I will review the most relevant, namely Elmer (1981), Fischer and van der Leek (1983, 1987) and Allen (1995), and I will then justify my decision to follow Allen (1995). Her approach to impersonality accounts not only for the OE description of these constructions, but also for their evolution through history, which proves very suitable for a diachronic study such as this one. We will see that the adherence of the verbs to one or the other type sheds light on their degree of grammaticalization and in their semantic development.

The convergence of my verbs on these three theoretical aspects, namely grammaticalization, modality and impersonality, accounts for the coherence of my verbs both semantically and syntactically.

Since the analysis covers nearly one millennium, the semantic predecessors of PDE *need* differ notably from one period to another. Beginning with Old English, the predecessors of *need* attested are *þurfan, beþurfan, neodian* and *behofian*. OE *þurfan* belongs to the group of preterite-present verbs which, as mentioned, have evolved, in many cases, to PDE modal auxiliaries (e.g. OE **sculan> PDE shall*). Although, as is well-known, *þurfan* does not survive into Present-Day English (except in some northern dialects, cf. *OED s.v. tharf v.*), in Old English it exhibits a high frequency of occurrence and conveys a wide range of meanings. From *þurfan* a morphological derived verb is recorded, namely *beþurfan*, formed with the addition of the prefix <be->, which also means 'need.' As for *neodian*, it is the etymological ancestor of PDE *need* and is included in the study for obvious reasons. Finally, *behofian* is the etymological predecessor of PDE *behove*, which in Old English meant 'need,' rather than 'be fitting,' its PDE meaning.

The list of semantic predecessors of *need* in Middle English is larger than that in Old English. *Thurven* (<OE *þurfan*) continues to be used in the language and is phonologically confused with another preterite-present, *durren* (>PDE *dare*). On some occasions, *durren* occurs instead of *thurven*, while on other occasions we find blends of both verbs (e.g. *þart*, whose initial part seems to

belong to *thurven*, and whose final part seems to belong to *durren*). *Bethurven* (<OE *beþurfan*) also remains in the group, but is only attested in the very early years of Middle English. *Neden* and *bihoven* (<OE *neodian* and *behofian* respectively) become the prevalent verbs of the group, especially at the end of the period. Finally, *misteren*, a French loanword, will also be used as a 'need'-verb in this period, but will have an ephemeral life in the English language.

Finally, the set of verbs analysed in early Modern English is reduced to two, namely *need* and *behove*, the only verbs which survive from Middle English and the only ones which exist in Present-Day English, although, as is well-known, they no longer compete semantically.

The analysis of these OE, ME and eModE verbs consists of two different parts. The first is a revision of specialized literature, which will serve to provide a preliminary description of their morphological, semantic and syntactic features. The second part is of an empirical nature and it will focus on the analysis of real linguistic data extracted from several computerized corpora with the aim of testing and enlarging the information drawn from the literature (cf. Mair 2004, for instance, for the necessity of corpus-linguistics in grammaticalization studies). In fact, the focus of this piece of research is the detailed corpus-based analysis of each of the verbs in the three periods.

With the aim of examining a representative selection of texts, a series of prestigious corpora have been subject of scrutiny, as will be duly explained in sections 3.4.0, 4.4.0 and 5.3.0. Briefly, the corpora selected are, (i) the complete *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*, which comprises 1.5 million words distributed into Old, Middle and early Modern English, (ii) an 800,000-word selection of texts from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, (iii) a 600,000-word selection of texts from the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*; and, finally, for early Modern English, (iv) the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler* and the *Lampeter Corpus*. All in all, my diachronic corpus contains 4.1 million words, which will be used as the source of examples of the semantic predecessors of *need* from Old to early Modern English. All such examples will be introduced in a database and analysed according to semantic, syntactic and morphological criteria.

The analysis of the corpus examples is twofold. Firstly, I will offer a synchronic analysis of each verb in each chronological period (Old, Middle and early Modern English), paying special attention to their semantic, syntactic and morphological features, especially to those which may be indicative of their

degree of grammaticalization, modal meanings and impersonal nature. Secondly, I will adopt a diachronic perspective and offer a historical account of the features of each verb. By combining the synchronic and the diachronic points of view, I intend to provide a panchronic analysis of the semantic predecessors of *need*, which has often proved to be the ideal approach to historic variation and grammaticalization (cf. for example, Kuteva 2004: 9).

1.2 Outline of the study

In this section I will briefly outline the structure of this study. As mentioned, the verbs under analysis come together on a series of aspects which are worthy of close examination for a thorough interpretation of the data. Chapter 2 pays attention to these aspects and therefore describes the theoretical foundations on which the analysis of my verbs is grounded. Thus, section 2.1 pays close attention to language change in general and to grammaticalization in particular, and it has a specific section devoted to the grammaticalization of the English modal auxiliaries. Section 2.2 concentrates on modality and the meanings exhibited by PDE *need*. Finally, the last section of Chapter 2, namely 2.3, examines the various classifications of impersonal constructions, i.e. those with non-nominative experiencers, in early English.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 constitute the synchronic analysis of Old, Middle and early Modern English respectively. These three chapters have similar structures and consist of two main parts. The first part of each chapter provides the necessary background for each of the periods, that is, it describes the linguistic panorama of each period and, when appropriate, a general overview of the social situation. The second part of chapters 3, 4 and 5, in turn, concentrates on the analysis of the corpus data, which begins with a description of the corpus and of the variables studied. Then, the different verbs are analysed in synchrony, describing their idiosyncratic features and observing how they compete with one another for the expression of the same meaning in each period.

Chapter 6 combines the information retrieved from the analysis of the OE, ME and eModE corpora and draws a diachronic picture for each of the verbs, concentrating specially on their semantic and syntactic evolution and their potential degree of grammaticalization. Finally, chapter 7 summarizes the main results and conclusions obtained in this piece of research.

CHAPTER 2

GRAMMATICALIZATION, MODALITY AND IMPERSONALITY

As mentioned in the introduction, this chapter is devoted to the clarification of general theoretical aspects into which all my verbs converge. Section 2.1 is an introduction to language change; it pays particular attention to the process of grammaticalization, which can help identify and explain the evolution of some of the verbs under analysis. Section 2.2 describes the morphological, semantic and syntactic features of PDE *need* and *need to*, and discusses the concept of modality which will be applied here. Finally, section 2.3 reviews some of the most influential works on impersonals, since verbs meaning 'need' have proved to be especially prone to be construed in impersonal constructions.

2.1. Grammaticalization and language change

This study deals with different verbs which have expressed the meaning 'need' in the different periods of the history of the English language. Some of these verbs coexisted in the same period of the language in some kind of variation, until the speakers selected certain forms and used them with increasing frequency in certain contexts to the detriment of others. The latter may have remained in the language with a different function or may have disappeared. The most frequent 'need'-verbs may undergo grammaticalization and develop auxiliary functions.[1]

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[1] According to Kuteva (1991), as mentioned in Heine (1993: 29), verbs likely to enter grammaticalization belong to the following conceptual domains: the physical domain (e.g. "be

In order to observe these and other changes which may lie behind the evolution, this section describes the main processes involved in language change. As is well-known, one of the most relevant changes in the evolution of lexical into auxiliary verbs is grammaticalization, and for this reason section 2.1.3 concentrates on it exclusively.

2.1.1. *Why do languages change?*

Probably the most essential feature of languages is that they are constantly changing ("change is a built-in property of the kind of system that a human language (in one connection) happens to be," says Lass 1997: 386). In other words, speakers of the 21st century do not use the same language as speakers of the 18th century. When trying to find a reason for this unstable nature of language, the most widespread idea is that "language use shapes the grammar" (Bybee 1998: 236). A similar view is posited by Lehmann (1985: 315), who claims that "it is no exaggeration to say that languages change because speakers want to change them," and goes further to compare language to fashion. This assertion seems to imply that language change is a conscious act. What he perhaps means is that language use is the basis for language change, a phenomenon which sometimes may be accounted for, while sometimes it remains a mystery. In fact, one page later Lehmann recognizes that "[t]here is much change just for the sake of change" (1985: 316).

When the reasons behind language change can be explained, normally one of the following three motivations may be identified, according to Hopper and Traugott (2003: 71). The first motivation is language acquisition, one of the main areas of interest of generative linguists in particular. According to them, the grammar which children acquire reproduces the input that they hear from the adults' speech, which may not coincide with the internal structure of the adults' grammar and this is how the change is produced (cf. Campbell 1998: 235). This idea has been rejected by non-generative linguists since as early as 1968 (cf. Weinreich *et al.* 1968, as mentioned by W. Lehmann 1992: 230). A second possible motivation for language change is that studied specifically by sociolinguists, namely, the contact between neighbour communities. This factor would explain, for example, most of the lexical changes and innovations taking

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at / on"), the temporal domain (e.g. "do," "begin"), the intra-subjective domain (e.g. "want"), and the inter-subjective domain (e.g. "must," "permit").

place in the English language after the Norman Conquest in 1066. The third possible cause for language change concerns the roles of the speakers and hearers in a single linguistic community.[2] Broadly speaking, speakers who have acquired the language at the same time, and who belong to the same linguistic community may have reasons to start making slight ongoing changes in their language. The reasons for introducing these slight changes may be called "exploratory expressions" (Harris and Campbell 1995: 65) or "extravagance" (cf. Haspelmath 1999: 1055); these and other similar labels intend to be cover terms for "new and innovative ways of saying things … brought about by speakers seeking to enhance expressivity" (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 73), or, in other words, by the "basic cognitive urge of human begins for variety of expressions" (Kuteva 2004: 74). This motivation for language change certainly places the speaker and his linguistic awareness at centre stage.

Connecting with cognitive approaches to language change, we could add a fourth reason for language change, namely a mismatch between the speaker and the hearer when they do not share the same "discourse world knowledge" (cf. Kuteva 2004: 169-176). This theory emphasizes the role of the hearer in the communicative process, because due to his misinterpretation of this interlocutor's speech, the hearer may abduct[3] new communicative ways. For instance, a hearer may misinterpret the command *have some peas!* as an offer and, then, he may abduct that the imperative mood may be used to make offers (cf. Kuteva 2004: 170-171). This emphasized role of the speaker is one of the premises of relevance theory (cf., for instance, Klinge 1993; Nicolle 1998).

Having seen the main reasons adduced for language change, let us provide a couple of examples which illustrate other factors which are crucial in the analysis of language change. Let us assume that, in a given period of the history of a language, there exists variation between two or more forms with the same meaning. This variation cannot last long because, as dictated by the principle of linguistic economy, it is unproductive for languages to have exact synonyms, it is

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[2] In fact, the relationship between the speaker and the hearer has been studied since von der Gabelentz's (1891) times, who suggests that the *Bequemlichkeitstrieb* ('ease of production') and the *Deutlichkeitstrieb* ('ease of perception') are the two diagonal strengths leading to language change (cf. Haspelmath 1998: 320).

[3] Abduction is the mechanism by which we interpret a single individual case as an instance of a general law without checking whether that is the case or not. It differs, then, from induction, which implies that from a series of individual cases we arrive at a tentative law, and also from deduction, in which from a general law we can predict an individual case (cf. Lass 1997: 334-336; Kuteva 2004: 131-136).

too costly for speakers to use two or more semantically and functionally identical words instead of just one. One possibility is that some of the forms disappear in favour of the others. For example, OE *here* 'army' was replaced by the French loanword *army*, probably due to reasons of prestige (cf., for instance, W. Lehmann 1992: 267-269). A second possibility is that both forms survive with meaning specialization. This is the case of the PDE alternation *brethren/brothers*. The former is the etymological plural form and the latter is the new form created by analogy. Both are plural forms of the noun *brother*. However, they are not used in the same kind of context. While the new form *brothers* is the one with the basic, central meaning, the old form *brethren* is restricted to religious contexts (cf., for example Trask 1996: 113).

These changes, be it the disappearance or the specialization of forms, do not enter the language immediately at an exact point of time. Before OE *here* disappeared from the English language, it survived along with the French loanword *army*, and before the binomial *brethren/brothers* split according to the context, they must have been used indifferently. Variation and time, therefore, are crucial aspects to take into account when studying such phenomena. That is to say, diachronic research is necessary for a study on language change. For this reason, in the next section I will review the main mechanisms which operate in language change through time.

2.1.2. *Mechanisms of language change*

The examples in the previous paragraphs illustrate language change from a lexical perspective. Nevertheless, language change may take place at any linguistic level, for example the syntactic, morphological or semantic levels. Among the most relevant mechanisms for syntactic change, scholars cite reanalysis and analogy (cf., for example Campbell 1998; Traugott and Dasher 2002; Hopper and Traugott 2003). As for morphological changes, the most common are reanalysis, analogy and levelling. At the semantic level, the most significant changes are metaphor, metonymy and subjectification. There are naturally other types of language change (for example, phonological change), but in this piece of research only syntactic, morphological and semantic changes are relevant. Therefore, in this section I will first summarize the main mechanisms for language change, with special reference to reanalysis (2.1.2.1) and analogy

and levelling (2.1.2.2) as kinds of morphological and syntactic change. Secondly, I will provide some examples of semantic change (2.1.2.3).

2.1.2.1. Reanalysis

Reanalysis is said to be "the simplest possible type of morphological change" (Trask 1996: 102), it consists of the re-structuring of a sequence according to false criteria. A prototypical example of morphological reanalysis is the word *bikini*, which was originally a single morpheme (the name of a two-piece swimming costume worn by women). However, due to the existence in English of the prefix *bi-* meaning 'two,' this word came to be reinterpreted as a compound meaning 'two + swimming costume.' Of course, we would not be able to identify reanalysis if it were not for the fact that a variant of this form began to be used: *monokini*, meaning 'one-piece swimming costume.' Another well-known example of morphological reanalysis is *hamburger*, originally a meat dish typical of Hamburg, which came to be reanalysed as a compound of *ham* and a meaningless segment *burger*. This reanalysis yielded then forms such as *cheeseburger* (cf., for instance, Schendl 2001: 29).

Similar types of reanalysis are those found in PDE words such as *pea*, developing from OE *pease*, which was later reanalysed as a plural form, with the subsequent singular *pea*. Likewise, PDE *adder* derives etymologically from OE *nœddre*. The initial *n-* was reanalysed as part of the indefinite article *a(n)* and therefore detached from the stem of the noun.

However essential reanalysis is for morphological change, it is not confined to this area of language. It also operates in syntax (cf., for example Trask 1996: 133-139; Campbell 1998: 227; Schendl 2001: 29). The mechanism is very similar: there is a change in the structural analysis of a construction, but it is not apparent to the surface, that is, there is a change in the internal relationships between the components of the construction, but the word order remains the same. The very much cited quotation of Langacker (1977: 58) states that reanalysis is a "change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation," that is, it operates along the syntagmatic axis. The best-known example of syntactic reanalysis is perhaps the English verb *like*. The origin of this verb is OE *lician* 'be pleasing to.' The subject of the verb was the object which pleased, while the person who was pleased was the dative

complement (cf., among many others, McMahon 1994: 130 ff.; Trask 1996: 139; Schendl 2001: 40), as in (2.1)

(2.1) *þam   cynge   licoden   peran*
        the (dat) king (dat) were-pleasing pears (nom)
        'Pears were pleasing to the king' = 'The king liked pears.'

The dative object, normally expressing a human referent, usually appeared in pre-verbal position as in (2.1). In Middle English, with the weakening of the unstressed syllables and the final loss of inflectional endings, a sentence such as (2.1) became (2.2):

(2.2) *The king liceden   peares*
        the king were-pleasing pears
        'Pears were pleasing to the king' = 'The king liked pears.'

The only vestige of pears being the grammatical subject is the plural form of the verb. However, this agreement suffix was also lost in the course of time. Without any number agreement, speakers of the late ME period reanalysed the segment *the king* as the subject of the verb, and the segment *pears* as the object. This came to be known when speakers began to use new number markers which agree with the new subject. In fact, we say now *The king likes pears*, or *The kings like pears*.[4]

Reanalysis, therefore, proves to be a crucial mechanism for language change of both morphological and syntactic type. Much has been written on reanalysis as related to grammaticalization, so I will go over reanalysis again below when discussing grammaticalization as another mechanism of language change.

2.1.2.2. Analogy

Analogy is another well-known mechanism of language change. In fact, Meillet already referred to it, and to what we have called reanalysis, as ways of development of new grammatical forms (as mentioned in Hopper and Traugott 2003: 63 ff.). As opposed to reanalysis, analogy operates in the paradigmatic axis. According to Campbell (1998) analogy may be of two types: proportional or non-proportional, which roughly corresponds to McMahon (1994: 70-76)

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[4] Despite the apparent clarity of this example as an instance of syntactic reanalysis, scholars specialized in the study of impersonals disagree with this interpretation, as will be duly explained in section 2.3.

systematic and sporadic analogy. Non-proportional analogy refers to unexpected changes in language such as hypercorrection (e.g. **for you and I* instead of *for you and me*). This kind of language change will not be the subject of this piece of research. Consequently, I will just concentrate on so-called proportional analogy.[5]

Proportional analogy involves analogical levelling (or just levelling) on the one hand, and analogical extension (or four-part analogy), on the other. A look at both of them will make it clear why these two types of analogical processes are called proportional.

In the first place, analogical levelling is the result of a paradox, known as Sturtevant's paradox (cf., for example, McMahon 1994: 91; Trask 1996: 108), which states that "sound change is regular, but produces irregularity; analogy is irregular, but produces regularity." This is better understood with an example. If we consider OE verb *cēosan* 'to choose,' we observe that its paradigm is very irregular phonologically, since there is alternation between three sounds, namely [z], [s] and [r], due to some sound changes undergone by Proto-Germanic which involved intervocalic /s/. These sound changes produced the irregular paradigm found in Old English. However, in the course of time, all the differences of pronunciation of these sounds were levelled to [z], producing a regular paradigm, as shown in (2.3):

		OE			PDE	
(2.3)						
Pres.		*cēosan*	[z]	>	*choose*	[z]
Past. Sing.		*cēas*	[s]	>	*chose*	[z]
Past. Pl.		*curon*	[r]	>	*chose*	[z]
Past. Pple.		*gecoren*	[r]	>	*chosen*	[z]

Thus, all the differences which were produced by sound change in this verbal paradigm have been levelled out by the mechanism called analogical levelling. Other verbs undergoing the same kind of levelling are OE *frēosan* 'to freeze,' and *(for)lēosan* 'to lose;' this one only retains the original sound alternation in some isolated forms such as *lovelorn* and *forlorn*.

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[5] In fact, among what Campbell (1998) calls non-proportional analogy (cf. also McMahon 1994: 75-76 sporadic analogy) there are other examples, such as "folk etymology" (e.g. *crayfish,* understood as compound of *fish,* < French single morpheme *crevice*) "back formation" (e.g. *pea* < OE *pease*) or "metanalysis" (e.g. *adder* < OE *næddre*) From my point of view, however, these processes could be included in the more general label reanalysis. It is important to bear in mind, though, that analogy can be a powerful driving force for reanalysis to take place, since some of these forms have been reanalysed due to analogy with other existing forms in the language.

Secondly, analogical extension refers to the addition of new forms to an already existing paradigm, based on another paradigm. For instance, English has several nouns of Latin origin ending in *–us* which make their plural forms changing that ending for *–i*, as in *cactus/cacti*. As a consequence of this, when speakers find a word such as *octopus*, they may extend the *–us/-i* paradigm to this word, creating a plural form *octopi*, instead of *octopuses*. Other well-known examples include those of PDE strong verbs being inflected for the past as weak verbs, as in *shell : shelled :: swell : swelled*, instead of *swollen*.

Analogical extension, as well as reanalysis, is not only a mechanism for morphological change, but also for syntactic change. In fact, it is one of the three only processes of syntactic changes recognized by Campbell (1998: 226). Although the view followed in this piece of work is broader and involves other kinds of mechanisms, one of Campbell's (1998) examples will help illustrate what syntactic analogical extension is. Let us the consider Spanish reflexive construction *Juan se vistió* 'John has dressed himself up.' The pronoun *se* is the marker of the reflexive construction. However, this *se* may also be found in ambiguous sentences such as *El rico se entierra en la iglesia*, in which *se* may be a reflexive marker, implying that 'the rich one has himself buried in the church,' or, on the other hand, may be a passive marker, meaning 'the rich one gets buried in the church.' This ambivalent interpretation does not reveal that the construction has undergone analogical extension. We can only notice it when we find sentences such as *Los vinos se venden en esta ciudad*. In this sentence the reflexive interpretation is not possible because the subject is inanimate, so the only possible interpretation is 'the wines are sold in this city.' Therefore, the reflexive construction with *se* has undergone analogical extension and it has broadened to be used with any type of transitive verb and any type of subject.

A similar example of analogical extension is the already illustrated case of the English verb *like*. It has been said that its construction was reanalysed: the original dative object becomes the subject and the original subject becomes the object. This type of reanalysis is supported by the existence of similar kinds of constructions in the language. It is very common in English to have a subject designating a human referent, and this has made possible the extension of that kind of construction to the verb *like*. This cooperation of reanalysis and analogy is anything but rare. In fact, in language change normally several mechanisms operate together.

Another example is provided by Hopper and Traugott (2003), concerning the development of the English auxiliary *be going to*, as shown in the next figure:

			Syntagmatic axis
			Mechanism: reanalysis

Stage I   be   going   [to visit Bill]
              PROG   Vdir   [Purp. clause]

Stage II   [be going to]   visit Bill
               TNS   Vact
          (by syntactic reanalysis/metonymy)

Stage III   [be going to]   like Bill
                TNS   V
          (by analogy/metaphor)

Paradigmatic axis
Mechanism: analogy
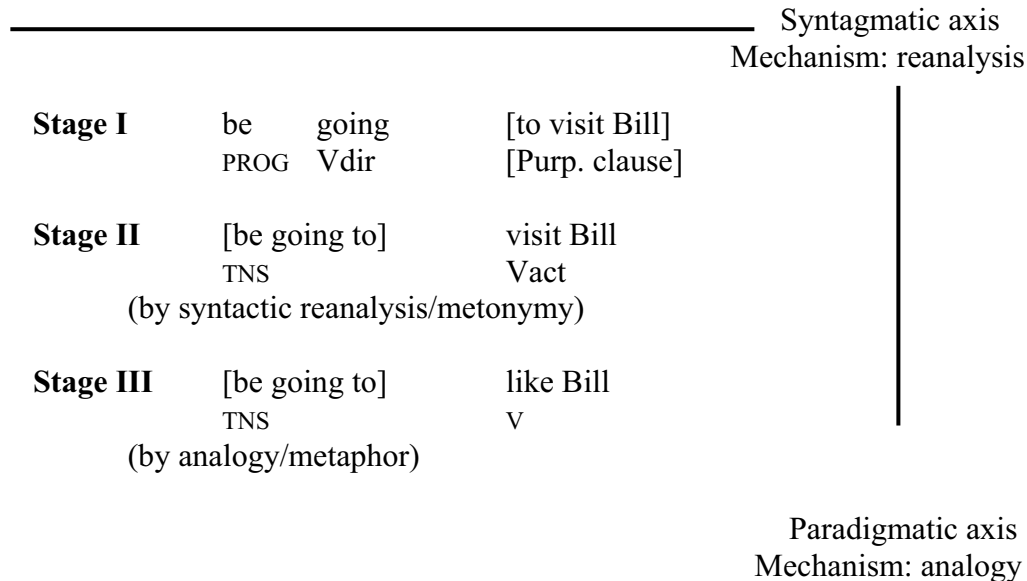
Figure 2.1: Development of auxiliary be going to *(from Hopper and Traugott 2003: 93).*

This figure shows the development of *be going to* in the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes (reanalysis and analogy respectively) from an original structure of the directive verb *to go* in the progressive aspect followed by a purpose clause specifying the reason for the movement (stage I). Due to syntactic reanalysis in the linear constituents, the infinitive marker *to* is attached to the verb *to go*, without any "surface manifestation," resulting in an element expressing tense followed by an activity verb, which is no longer a purpose clause (stage II). This reanalysis is also a metonymic change, since it "involves specifying one meaning in terms of another that is present, even if only covertly, in the context" (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 93). The last step of the process involves the paradigmatic axis. That is, once *be going to* becomes a fixed structure, the following verb may be of any type, even a stative verb, such as *like*. As seen in stage III, the verb *like* may occur in construction with *be going to*, which in the previous stage could only be followed by a verb which could match the directive status of *go*. This means that the paradigm of verbs which may follow *be going to* is expanded by analogical extension.

It has been seen that in the processes of reanalysis and analogy, elements are prone to undergo semantic change also. E.g. OE *lician* 'to be pleasing' turns

to PDE *like*, the verb *go* in the *be going to* construction loses its meaning of movement to imply future tense. Semantic change plays, therefore, an important role in language change.

2.1.2.3. Semantic change

It is more difficult to systematize semantic change than morphological or syntactic change, because there may be various mechanisms are involved in semantic change. For the purposes of this study, I will follow W. Lehmann (1992: 260-274), McMahon (1994: 174-184), Campbell (1998: 256-266) and Schendl (2001: 29-34) in order to provide a list of the main processes of this kind of change. The three main reasons for semantic change are: change in linguistic contexts, change in the referent and change due to language contact (cf. W. Lehmann 1992: 260).

Changes in the linguistic context may provoke a change in the meaning of a word. For example, French *pas* has its main meaning 'step' in most of the contexts. However, when it appears in negative constructions, its meaning is not the same: *pas* becomes just a negative particle. Meaning changes depending on the context may be classified as follows (cf. Campbell 1998: 261 ff.; McMahon 1994: 179):

Degeneration. "[A] downward move in evaluative attitude" (McMahon 1994: 179). Due to the linguistic context in which a word appears, its meaning may undergo pejoration, and become less positive, gaining negative value. For instance, *madam* may refer to a lady or to the female head of a house of prostitution depending on the context.

Elevation. A word may undergo melioration, that is, it may acquire positive connotations in the minds of the speakers due to its use in a certain context. An example is the noun *knight*, which originally meant 'boy, youth, attendant' (Schendl 2001: 31), or the adjective *sophisticated*, which now means 'worldly-wise, intellectually appealing, cultured' rather than 'artificial,' its original meaning (McMahon 1994: 179).

Taboo replacement. Due to their use in a context of taboo content, the noun *ass*, once used to designate an animal is being replaced by *donkey*, since the latter is not associated with taboo topics. The same happens with *cock*, which has progressively ceased to be used to refer to the animal because it has obscene connotations, and is gradually being replaced by *rooster*.

Hyperbole. Due to exaggeration by overstatement, the English word *lame* came to mean 'stupid, awkward, socially inept,' from its original meaning 'crippled, having an impaired limb.'

The second reason for semantic change recognized by W. Lehmann (1992) has to do with a change in the referent of a word. For instance, English *pen* derives from Latin *penna* 'feather,' since a feather used to be the instrument for writing. Once modern tools were created to accomplish the same goal, the name was retained. Some mechanisms which imply a change of referent are the following (cf. McMahon 1994: 182-184; Campbell 1998: 256 ff.):

Widening. The meaning of a word may widen through time, and for instance the English word *dog* has today a general meaning, while the corresponding OE *docga* used to refer to 'a specific breed of dog.' The same happens to the Spanish word *pájaro*, which has evolved from the Latin word *passer* which referred to a specific kind of bird, namely 'sparrow.'

Narrowing. A change in the opposite direction: from more general to more specific. For instance, the referent of English *meat* was food in OE (OE *mete*), and the noun used to refer to dogs in general was *hound* (OE *hund*).

Metaphor. This is the most classic change of referent. It may be defined as the "transfer of a term because of a real or imagined similarity," as, for instance, the use of the term *neck* to refer to the part of a bottle which is somewhat similar to the part of a body (Schendl 2001: 126) An interesting example of fossilised metaphor is the English word *bead*, which has evolved from OE *bed, beode* 'prayer,' since prayers were usually accompanied by a rosary, which, at the same time, was made of beads. Therefore, the referent of OE *bed, beode* changed from 'prayer' to 'bead,' due to a metaphoric relation (Campbell 1998: 258).

Metonymy. Metonymy is said to arise from contiguity of meanings and to involve "real rather than imagined links between concepts" (McMahon 1994: 183), and is defined as the "semantic change in which an attribute of a thing is used to denote the whole" (Schendl 2001: 126). A much cited example is the use of *White House* instead of the *American president*. Both metaphor and metonymy are considered the main mechanisms of semantic change (cf. Traugott and Dasher 2002: 27-34) and they imply a high degree of subjectification.[6] In

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[6] The term subjectification is used in this study as understood by Traugott (1989, for instance) and Traugott and Dasher (2002), i.e. the "semasiological process whereby SP/Ws [speakers /

addition, metaphor, metonymy and subjectification are highly relevant in grammaticalization, and, for this reason, they will be dealt with below (section 2.1.3.1).[7]

Synecdoche. The referent of a word may change to more comprehensive or to less comprehensive. For instance, *hand* may mean 'hired hand, employer.' Poetically, *moon* may not refer to the satellite, but to a month.

Litotes. Sometimes, exaggerations are used in language and a word may acquire a different meaning. For instance, French *poison*, from which English *poison* was borrowed, used to mean 'potion, draught.' Due to litotes, it came to mean 'poison.'

The third reason for semantic change involves contact between languages. Usually language contact brings about many calques and loanwords, by means of borrowing (cf. W. Lehmann 1992: 266-274), such as the above mentioned case of the word of French origin *army* replacing OE *here*. Together with this type of lexical change, cultural contact can also produce semantic changes, although more rarely than borrowing. In this connection, Campbell (1998: 266) cites an example of Lake Mikow (California), which originally had the word *kó:no* meaning 'bow.' The meaning of this word changed to 'gun' after the colonization, due to the contact of two worlds, and the language developed a new way of calling the bow: *hintí:l kó:no* 'old-time gun' (for a thorough explanation of language contact and its effects, see Lass 1997: 184-207).

Summing up, the three main reasons for semantic change are change in the linguistic context, change in the referent and change due to language contact. A number of mechanisms may interact in each of these circumstances, of which only some have been mentioned here.

The different types of language change which have been the subject of our attention in section 2.1.2 and its subsections, namely morphological, syntactical and semantic changes, may occur together, so it is necessary to analyse linguistic

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writers] come over time to develop meanings for Ls [lexemes] that encode or externalise their perspectives and attitudes as constrained by the communicative world of the speech event, rather than by the so-called "real world" characteristics of the event or situation referred to" (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 30). This way I follow scholars such as Mortelmans (2003), as opposed to Langacker (1999, for example), whose notion of subjectification implies the "*attenuation* in the degree of control exerted by an agentive subject" (1999: 297).

[7] For theoretical discussions on the relation between metaphor and metonymy, see the collection of papers in Barcelona (2000a).

changes from these three levels. This is especially the case with the study of grammatical elements since they differ from lexical elements in syntax, morphology and semantics, as is the case, for example, of English auxiliary verbs as against lexical verbs. The main purpose of this piece of research is to analyse the evolution of verbs meaning 'need' in the history of English, and to find the paths followed by these verbs which have led to the PDE binomial *need / need to*, verbs which have undergone or are undergoing grammaticalization to some extent. With the aim of identifying the criteria to recognize grammaticalization, the next section provides the basic notions to understand this mechanism of language change. We will analyse the extent to which some of the mechanisms examined so far may be subsumed into the more general label grammaticalization, and to what extent they are independent mechanisms.

2.1.3. *Grammaticalization*

The first studies on grammaticalization date back to 18th century French philosophers such as de Condillac and Rousseau (cf. chapters on the origin of grammaticalization in Lehmann 1995 [1982], Heine *et al.* 1991, and Harris and Campbell 1995). However, from a linguistic point of view, it is not until the beginning of the 20th century that we come across a definition of the term (Meillet 1912: 131): "l'attribution du charactère grammatical à un mot jadis autonome" ('the attribution of grammatical character to an erstwhile autonomous word'). Although Meillet's account of grammaticalization (like all the writing of his time) considers linguistic change a deterioration of the language, his initial paper is regarded as "the germs of modern ideas on grammaticalization" (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 25). In fact, more recent definitions of the term seem to be paraphrases of Meillet's. See, for instance Kuryłowicz's (1965), Lehmann's (1995 [1982]) and Hopper and Traugott's (2003) definitions of the term:

> Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one (Kuryłowicz 1965: 52)

> Grammaticalization is a process leading from lexemes to grammatical formatives (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: viii)

> We define grammaticalization as the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions,

and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions (Hopper and Traugott 2003: xv)

These definitions have much in common with Meillet's: grammaticalization is the process whereby a given form gains grammatical status. Grammaticalization, therefore, is expected to take place within the grammar of a given language, and not only within syntax, as claimed by Trask (1996: 143). When an element is said to be grammaticalized it has undergone several processes which affect its morphology, its syntax, its semantics and sometimes its phonology. A paradigmatic example of grammaticalization is the future tense of Romance. The original Latin future was a synthetic form, as, for example, *cantabo* 'I will sing.' At the same time, Latin had periphrastic forms such as *cantare volo* 'I want to sing,' and *cantare habeo* 'I must sing.' In the course of time, the periphrastic structure containing the verb *habere*, 'to have,' became more and more frequent in contexts conveying future meaning, and it finally gave birth to the future tense of Romance languages, as in Spanish *cantaré* 'I will sing' (< *cantar he*). It is widely recognized that these forms are grammaticalized, because they have undergone different processes. At first sight, it is obvious that there has been a syntactic change, since the original periphrastic structure has become a single form. Syntax, therefore, has led to morphology. This is what a now classic slogan by Givón (1971: 413) states: "Today's morphology is yesterday's syntax." The form has also undergone phonological changes as a result of the merge of the two original elements. Finally, there has also been a change of meaning, since the Latin periphrastic form implied the modal meanings of obligation or intention and the current form conveys mainly future tense.

Grammaticalization, therefore, involves syntax, morphology, semantics and phonology. In addition, grammaticalization also takes pragmatics into consideration, since the relationship between the speech act participants (SAPs) is crucial in the study of language change, as mentioned in section 2.1.1 (cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003: 72; Harris and Campbell 1995: 54; Haspelmath 1999: 1055).[8] For instance, in the grammaticalization of the English epistemic modal *must* it is important not to forget about the pragmatic context, since a sequence such as *you must have experience* may convey obligation (e.g. in a job offer), or deduction (in a context which refers to your capability to manage with something).

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[8] As general works on pragmatics, see Levinson (1983) and Green (1989).

Grammaticalization, consequently, is a complex mechanism which explains the changes undergone by some elements of the language, adopting different perspectives and involving different linguistic disciplines. This is what has made detractors of grammaticalization deny its independent status, because "what it claims to explain is explained already by other well-understood mechanisms which lie behind it and, as is generally agreed, it cannot "explain" without appeal to these other mechanisms and kinds of change" (Campbell 2001: 151; cf. also Campbell 1998: 242; Campbell & Janda 2001; Janda 2001; or Joseph 2001).[9] Whether grammaticalization has independent status or is a derived mechanism for language change, what is relevant for my purposes is that it is a comprehensive mechanism which describes changes in the grammar of a language. For that reason, the following sections will describe the parameters for the identification of grammaticalization.

2.1.3.1. Processes and parameters of grammaticalization

From the last quarter of the 20th century scholars have tried to provide an appropriate test with parameters for the identification of grammaticalization. Lehmann (1995 [1982]; 1985) is the first one who proposes a tidy set of criteria, on the basis of the characteristics of a lexical form and of a grammatical one. Other scholars follow and identify some principles underlying grammaticalization (Hopper 1991) and yet others describe the grammaticalization chain according to four processes (Heine 1990, 1993). Finally, other scholars provide new evidence for grammaticalization on the basis of general characteristics of the process, such as reanalysis, analogy or unidirectionality (cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003). Contrary to all of them, there are authors who prove that some of the earlier-mentioned symptoms of

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[9] On a different line, Nuyts (2001) not only considers that grammaticalization is not independent, but claims for its explanation in cognitive-functional terms: "grammaticalization is not an independent process and cannot in itself serve as a principle explaining form changes (...) grammaticalization is an observational term covering a cluster of phenomena which are somehow determined by, and should thus be explained in terms of cognitive-functional factors" (2001: 203). This implies that, in addition to the formal processes which are identified in grammaticalization (see 2.3.2.4.1 and 2.3.2.4.2 below), Nuyts relies on conceptual factors determined by the human mind. A similar idea is found in Kuteva's (2004) work on auxiliation. In her own words: "the way in which interlocutors arrive at an innovative grammatical use of a complex verb expression in a specific discourse context involves cognitive-semantic 'reasoning'" (2004: 178). However, Kuteva does not enter the debate of the independence of grammaticalization; she just relates it to the cognitive factors of relevance theory (cf., for instance, Klinge 1993; Nicolle 1998).

grammaticalization need not be indispensable tenets (cf. Haspelmath 1998, Beths 1999, Campbell 2001, among others). The next sections will review the main ideas proposed by all these scholars in order to provide a sound characterization and delimitation of grammaticalization.

If we combine all the parameters and processes identified by scholars in order to describe grammaticalization, we reach the conclusion that all of them affect some of the following areas of language: semantics, morphosyntax, and phonology. This is fairly evident in the four processes identified by Heine (1993: 58 ff.), namely desemanticization, decategorialization, cliticization and erosion. Thus, stemming from Heine's four processes, we will see what other mechanisms of language change are involved in grammaticalization, as stated by other authors.

Desemanticization implies a change in the semantic features of a given element. It is what Lehmann (1995 [1982], 1985) calls attrition, and others call semantic bleaching, "fading, […] semantic decay, semantic depletion, semantic impoverishment, weakening, generalization of semantic content and abstraction" (Campbell 2001: 118). A common instance of desemanticization is the loss of the semantic features of *go* implying motion in the periphrastic construction *be going to* (cf. Figure 2.1), or the fact that a verb which refers to an action or an experience which can only have an animate subject accepts inanimate subjects (Heine 1993: 54). Semantic bleaching is recognized by many authors, but they put into question its relevance within the process of grammaticalization. Wherever there is grammaticalization there is a change of meaning, but is it exact to say that the change of meaning implies weakening, loss, impoverishment of the original meaning? The general answer seems to be that it is not. Other authors broaden the definition of desemanticization and they say that in addition to refer to the loss of specificities, it also includes an ever-increasing generalization (cf., among others, Lehmann 1995 [1982], Bybee and Pagliuca 1985, Kuteva 2004). Despite the broad scope of desemanticization, it does not include all semantic changes pertinent to grammaticalization. According to Beths (1999: 1074), though semantic bleaching may occur in grammaticalization, it should not be considered a tenet of grammaticalization, but an epiphenomenon. Moreover, semantic bleaching may also occur outside the domain of grammaticalization, so it cannot be considered a definitional characteristic of it (cf., for example Campbell 1998: 242; Haspelmath 1999: 1062).

Other two well-known semantic mechanisms involved in grammaticalization are **metaphor** and **metonymy**. Traugott and Dasher (2002) and Hopper and Traugott (2003) pay special attention to these two processes, described above in section 2.1.2.3. While metaphor has traditionally been considered the main mechanism of semantic change, metonymy has recently come to be appreciated and even considered more basic to language than metaphor (cf. Barcelona 2000b: 4). Traugott and Dasher (2002: 29) consider that metaphor and metonymy do not exclude each other since "both exploit pragmatic meaning, both enrich meaning." It appears, then, that metaphor and metonymy are directly opposed to desemanticization, since the former imply semantic enrichment, whereas the latter involves semantic impoverishment.

A different type of semantic change which is usually found in grammaticalization is **subjectification**, which, according to Traugott and Dasher (2002: 30) is "the most pervasive type of semantic change identified to date." As already mentioned, subjectification implies an increased involvement of the speaker's judgement (as opposed to Langacker's 1999 attenuation of the agent / subject). An instance of subjectification is the development of the discourse marker out of the prepositional phrase *after all*. Subjectification also plays an important role in the development of epistemic meanings in the English modals (cf., for instance, Goossens 2000, Pelyvás 2000). When both the speaker and the hearer construct a communicative way in which the attitudes of both are reflected, we face intersubjectification (cf. Traugott and Dasher 2002: 31).

A final semantic feature of grammaticalization is **semantic layering** (cf. Hopper 1991). This refers to the coexistence of the old and the new meanings of a given element throughout the process of grammaticalization. For example, *go* implies motion in some contexts, while it is grammaticalized as part of the periphrastic expression of future *be going to*.

As far as morphosyntax is concerned, one of the main processes involved in grammaticalization is **decategorialization**, a term coined by Hopper and Thompson (1984). Hopper's (1991: 22) definition of decategorialization is the tendency of forms undergoing grammaticalization "to lose or neutralize the morphological markers and syntactic privileges characteristic of the full categories Noun and Verb, and to assume attributes characteristic of secondary categories such as Adjective, Participle, Preposition, etc." In other words, decategorialization implies the loss of paradigmatic properties such as the ability to inflect for tense or number in the case of verbs, or a reinterpretation of its

syntactic function, as, for example, the case of auxiliary verbs, which cease to be main verbs and are reinterpreted as dependent elements within the verb phrase ("sentential modifiers" in Warner's 1993 terms).

Decategorialization may be related to other two morphosyntactic processes involved in grammaticalization, namely **reanalysis** and **analogy**. Since there is some controversy as for the relation of these two processes with grammaticalization, this is analysed below in detail (cf. section 2.1.3.2).

The morphosyntactic parallel development to semantic layering is **divergence**, which is the principle by which "when a lexical form undergoes grammaticalization to a clitic or affix, the original lexical form may remain as an autonomous element and undergo the same changes as ordinary lexical elements" (cf. Hopper 1991: 22). As will be seen below, some authors claim that this is the case of PDE *need*, which has an auxiliary and a non-auxiliary role.

Other processes which affect the morphosyntactic properties of a grammaticalized element are paradigmaticization, obligatorification and fixation, as identified by Lehmann (1995 [1982]). **Paradigmaticization** is the process whereby the paradigmatic cohesion of an element is tighter. That is to say, the more grammaticalized an element is, the smaller is the paradigm to which it belongs. This seems to be universally acknowledged. The paradigm of prepositions, for instance, is much smaller than the paradigm of nouns.

Obligatorification is the process whereby the paradigmatic variability of an element is reduced. In other words, the more grammaticalized an element is, the more constrained its choice is, and it becomes obligatory in certain contexts.

Finally, **fixation** is the process which affects the shiftability of an item. The more grammaticalized an item is, the less it may move around the linguistic context. The item is to occupy a fixed slot within the phrase or sentence.

On the phonological (or morphophonological) level, some changes are also related to grammaticalization. Lehmann (1995 [1982]) mentions, on the one hand, of **coalescence**, which parallels Heine's (1993) cliticization, that is, it is the process by which phonological independence is reduced (e.g. the grammaticalized element becomes a clitic, and later an affix). On the other hand, Lehmann refers to **condensation**, which is the modification of the grammaticalized element or its stem (e.g. *gonna* < *going to*). This phenomenon parallels Heine's (1993) erosion. These phonological mechanisms operate in the latest stages of grammaticalization and they are not fully necessary to characterize an element as grammatical.

2.1.3.2. The role of reanalysis and analogy within grammaticalization

Reanalysis and analogy are two well-known processes of language change, as seen above (sections 2.1.2.1 and 2.1.2.2). Meillet, in fact, referred to them as ways of development of new grammatical forms (as mentioned in Hopper and Traugott 2003: 63). We have seen that, on the one hand, reanalysis consists of the rearrangement of old structures as new ones; therefore, it operates along the syntagmatic axis. Analogy,[10] on the other hand, consists of the incorporation of certain forms to already existing constructions. It operates, therefore, along the paradigmatic axis. That is to say, analogy refers to the addition of new members to an already existing paradigm. The question I would like to address in this section is whether these two processes of language change are necessarily an integral part of grammaticalization or not.

Taking again the example of the Romance future, as in Spanish *cantaré* 'I will sing' from Latin *cantare habeo*, it is easy to gather that the original verb *habeo* has been reanalysed as part of the verb *cantar*, probably because it was unstressed. At the same time, the Latin periphrastic form turned into a synthetic verbal form probably due to analogy with the other existing verb forms, such as present or past. We can observe, then, that the processes known as reanalysis and analogy, which may operate on their own (as in the examples seen above in sections 2.1.2.1 and 2.1.2.2), may also be part of the broader mechanism of grammaticalization. If we agree that there is grammaticalization here, it must be recognized that reanalysis and analogy operate under the general process of grammaticalization, as maintained by Hopper and Traugott (2003). This will be the view followed in this piece of research.

However, reanalysis is a controversial process as far as its relation to grammaticalization is concerned. While some scholars consider reanalysis basic to explain grammaticalization (cf., for example, Heine *et al*. 1991: 217, 219), others acknowledge that it is "the most important mechanism for grammaticalization" (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 39), at the same time that they suggest that they need not be related (2003: 58-63). Finally, there are authors such as Haspelmath (1998) who are very sceptical about the necessity of

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[10] By analogy I mean analogical extension, as opposed to analogical levelling, as exemplified in 2.1.2.2.

reanalysis for grammaticalization, and claim that grammaticalization and reanalysis are two distinct kinds of syntactic change (Haspelmath 1998: 318).

For Haspelmath, therefore, reanalysis and grammaticalization are two different phenomena of linguistic change, and they have different characteristics, as seen in the following table:

Grammaticalization	Reanalysis
Loss of autonomy/substance	No loss of autonomy/substance
Gradual	Abrupt
Unidirectional	Bidirectional
No ambiguity	Ambiguity in the input structure
Due to language use	Due to language acquisition

Table 2.1: Major differences between grammaticalization and reanalysis
(from Haspelmath 1998: 327).

Let us examine each of these characteristics. First, it is an actual fact that grammaticalization involves the **loss of autonomy or substance** of the element which is grammaticalized, since it is widely-acknowledged that function words (e.g. prepositions) are less independent than content words (e.g. nouns). At the same time, language elements may be reanalysed without losing autonomy. Consider, for instance, (2.4), where a prepositional phrase (*for me*) is reanalysed as belonging to the adjacent infinitival clause, and it does not lose autonomy or substance with respect to the earlier analysis:

(2.4) *[It would be$_V$ [better$_A$ [for me]$_{PP}$]$_{AP}$ [to slay myself]$_{S-INF}$ [than to be violated thus]$_{S-THAN}$]$_S$* →
[It would be$_V$ better$_A$ [for me to slay myself]$_{S-INF}$ [than to be violated thus]$_{S\ THAN}$]$_S$

(example from Haspelmath 1998: 324-325)

However, there are cases in which grammaticalization and reanalysis go hand in hand, and both of them involve loss of autonomy or substance, as seen in the examples provided by Hopper and Traugott (1993: 41): *childhood, freedom* and *manly*. These nouns derive from OE compound nouns, in which the semantic head was the second stem, *had* 'condition,' *dom* 'state' and *lic* 'body, likeness.' Through time, these compounds were reanalysed and the first noun became the semantic head, while the second stem came to be interpreted as a suffix. Therefore, the reanalysis of the compound nouns led to the grammaticalization of the second stem as a suffix (cf. also W. Lehmann 1992: 224). The conclusion we can draw is that grammaticalization and reanalysis may be different processes,

and each of them may occur on itself, but in many cases these two types of language change are closely interrelated.

The second feature in which grammaticalization and reanalysis differ according to Haspelmath (1998: 327) concerns the **gradualness** of the processes. While grammaticalization is said to be gradual, reanalysis is considered to be an abrupt change. This may be explained with the help of some of the examples quoted above. In the first place, let us consider the grammaticalization of the future of Romance languages. Such a complex process, which involves attrition, paradigmaticization and coalescence, must have taken a long time to be accomplished, since it presupposes an important change in the grammar of a language; therefore, we can consider this change as gradual. In the second place, I mentioned that the noun *bikini* has been reanalysed as consisting of a prefix meaning 'two,' *bi*, and a stem meaning 'swimming costume,' *kini*. This reanalysis takes place abruptly as a generation of speakers, who are not acquainted with Bikini Islands, reinterpret the segment *bi-* as a derivative morpheme meaning 'two,' which makes it possible for the variant *monokini* to appear. This is what Haspelmath (1998) means by the abruptness of reanalysis.

Third, the **unidirectionality criterion**. The most widespread theory states that grammaticalization is a unidirectional phenomenon. In other words, it concerns the process whereby a given linguistic element acquires a more grammatical nature, and never the other way round. That is, there is no case in which a grammatical element acquires lexical status. The unidirectionality of grammaticalization is a very controversial issue in linguistics and for this reason I will analyse it in some detail in a different section, namely 2.1.3.3 below. However, I would like to examine the claimed bidirectionality of reanalysis (cf. Heine and Reh 1984: 118; Haspelmath 1998: *passim*). As just explained, directionality in grammaticalization implies a change from less to more grammatical. The question now is: what does directionality imply in reanalysis? Linguistic elements cannot be less reanalysed and more reanalysed, so bidirectionality in reanalysis must be something different. Haspelmath (1998: 326) provides examples of "reversed" reanalysis. These include the well-known cases of initial /n/ being reanalysed as part of the indefinite article (e.g. OE *næddre* > PDE *an adder*), as opposed to the cases in which the *n-* of the indefinite article becomes part of the noun (e.g. *an eckname* > *a nickname*) or plural markers being reanalysed as part of the root (e.g. OE *treowes* > PDE *truce*), as opposed to non-plural markers reanalysed as number endings, (e.g. OE

pease > PDE *pea,* also known as back-formation, cf. Campbell 1998). Therefore, bidirectionality in reanalysis means that the restructuring of an element may operate in both directions: from the stem outwards and from out towards the stem.

The fourth difference between grammaticalization and reanalysis concerns **ambiguity** (cf. Table 2.1). Although not much attention is paid to this criterion in Haspelmath (1998), we can conclude that grammaticalization does not produce ambiguous structures, while reanalysis does. However, this does not seem to be a definitional criterion, since ambiguity is not a necessary characteristic of reanalysis (cf. for instance, (2.4) above).

The last difference between the two types of changes, according to Haspelmath (1998: 327), concerns their **origin**. Grammaticalization is said to be due to language use, and reanalysis due to language acquisition. That grammaticalization is due to language use is clear, it is a gradual process carried out by the speakers of several generations.[11] The idea of reanalysis being originated in language acquisition needs further comment. Let us recall the above-mentioned example of *bikini*. It has been said that it became evident that this word was reanalysed the first time that the noun *monokini* appeared in language. Relying on language acquisition as the origin of reanalysis would imply that the word *bikini* was reanalysed by a generation of speakers as they learned it and did not relate the word to the Bikini Islands. What is definitely sure is that the first generation of speakers who learned the word *monokini* considered the original *bikini* as a derived word.

Summing up, grammaticalization and reanalysis have been proved to be different phenomena. This explains why there exists grammaticalization without reanalysis and reanalysis without grammaticalization. However, their differences do not set them so apart that they do not overlap. Radical views such as Heine *et al.*'s (1991: 217) saying that "grammaticalization and reanalysis seem to be inseparable twins," or Haspelmath's (1998) argumentation that "pure" grammaticalization "should be explained within the framework of a theory of grammaticalization, without reference to reanalysis" will not be followed in this piece of research. My view of grammaticalization and reanalysis, therefore, will

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[11] In fact, language use has been claimed to be the only origin of language change. Paul (1920 [1880]: 32) stated that "Die eigentliche Ursache für die Veränderung des Usus ist nichts anderes als die gewöhnliche Sprechtätigkeit" ('the real cause of the change of (linguistic) conventions is nothing other than ordinary language use,' translation by Haspelmath 1999: 1066).

be that posited by Hopper and Traugott (2003: 58-63), that is, that they are close types of language change that may or may not be related.

In the previous paragraphs I have examined the role of analogy and reanalysis as processes which may intervene in grammaticalization. There is still one feature of grammaticalization which deserves special attention: the claimed unidirectional nature of this linguistic change. The next section briefly explains this controversial issue.

2.1.3.3. Grammaticalization: a unidirectional phenomenon?

The unidirectionality of grammaticalization is one of the most controversial issues of this mechanism of language change, as proves the fact that scholars do not cease to publish articles on examples and counterexamples (cf., among the most recent ones, Brinton 2004, Rosenbach 2004, Tsangalidis 2004, Ziegeler 2004). Some authors firmly consider that grammaticalization is unidirectional (e.g. Haspelmath 1998, 1999, 2004), others acknowledge that there may be exceptions (e.g. Traugott 2001, Burridge 1998, Hopper and Traugott 2003), and finally some authors consider that grammaticalization is bidirectional (e.g. Ramat 1992, Campbell 2001, Nuyts 2001). Traugott (2001) and Haspelmath (2004) offer a comprehensive review of most of the claimed counterexamples to the unidirectionality criterion. Haspelmath (2004) reaches the conclusion that out of the ca. 100 examples quoted in the literature, only eight are illustrative of a certain antigrammaticalization (his terminology), among which we find the well-known case of the English and Mainland Scandinavian genitive suffix *–s*, which gave way to the clitic *'s* (cf., for instance, Newmeyer 1998, and compare with Traugott 2001: 6, which considers it a putative counterexample to unidirectionality).

Many of the alleged counterexamples to the unidirectionality criterion are identified as instances of different phenomena by Haspelmath (2004). Thus, the much cited example of the noun *ism* deriving from the derivative suffix *–ism* in words such as *cubism* or *dadaism* (cf., for instance, Ramat 1992: 549) is indeed an example of "delocutive word-formation" (cf. Haspelmath 2004: 29-30).[12] This

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[12] According to Haspelmath (2004: 29), "[a] delocutive lexeme is one that was derived by some regular word-formation process from another lexeme whose use in speech somehow determines the meaning of the derived lexeme."

explanation also seems to hold for *bus* < Latin *omnibus* (ablative plural of *omnis / omne*), which Hopper and Traugott (2003: 58) cite.

As for the alleged degrammaticalization of adverbs such as *up* into the homomorphic verbs (cf. Newmeyer 1998: 273), Haspelmath believes that it is nothing more than a case of conversion, very much like that of the verb *bottle* from the homomorphic noun. This phenomenon is also referred to as lexicalization (cf. Heine *et al.* 1991: 50). Another case of degrammaticalization postulated in the literature is the Spanish and Italian derivational suffix *–ante / -ente*, which derives from the inflectional ending of the Latin present participle. Haspelmath explains this as the loss of the Latin inflectional category which leaves some traces in items which are productive not inflectionally, but derivationally.

Another well-known case of degrammaticalization is English *dare*, whose lexical facet far overrides its auxiliary use (cf. Beths 1999). This phenomenon, which has been called "amphibian nature," "twin role," split or divergence (cf. Abraham 1990; Burridge 1998: 28; Hopper and Traugott 2003: 118-122) is better explained as retraction, because it implies that a given form prefers to reinforce its original lexical component rather than undergoing a full grammaticalization process (cf. Haspelmath 2004: 33-35). Haspelmath bases himself on Traugott's (2001: 9) explanation as for this case: "the earlier main verb use was marginalized in the early periods and then the grammaticalized one was marginalized in turn and then lost in later periods." In other words, lexical and grammatical *dare* appear to have coexisted since early periods and while in some periods the grammaticalized element predominated over the lexical one, nowadays the grammaticalized *dare* is marginalized in favour of the lexical *dare*. We will see below that PDE *need* seems to be another case of retraction (cf. also Taeymans 2004a).

The last refutation to an alleged counterexample to the unidirectionality of grammaticalization concerns examples such as the development of the French particle *ti*, as in examples (2.5a) and (2.5b):

> (2.5a) *Votre père*_{NP} *part*_V *–il*_{PRO}?   (standard French) →
>   'Does your father leave?'
> (2.5b) *Votre père*_{NP} *par[Ø]*_V *ti*_{PTCL}?   (colloquial French)
>   'Does your father leave?'

In colloquial French, the third person singular pronoun *il*, a grammatical element, grammaticalizes into an interrogative particle, *ti*, due to its usual collocation after

verbal forms ending in –*t*. Neither the personal pronoun is more grammatical than the interrogative particle or vice versa. This is, then, a case of regrammaticalization, a term coined by Greenberg (1991). An attempt to account for the development of new grammatical functions of already grammaticalized elements has been done by Lass (1990), who proposes the term exaptation, which he borrows from biology (cf. also Lass 1997: 316-324). Exaptation would refer to those cases in which a grammatical element which had become marginal (what he labels "junk") acquires a new grammatical value and becomes productive again (cf. Wright 2004 as an example of exaptation of English plural *be* in AAVE). The difference between Lass's exaptation and Greenberg's regrammaticalization is that the latter does not require the marginalization of the early grammatical element (cf. Traugott 2001).

Therefore, most of the alleged counterexamples to the unidirectionality of grammaticalization have been accounted for as examples of different phenomena (cf. Traugott 2001, Haspelmath 2004). The few examples of degrammaticalization (antigrammaticalization, in Haspelmath's terms) are so scarce and so rare that the unidirectionality of grammaticalization seems to be close to universal.

2.1.3.4. English Modals: a paradigmatic case of grammaticalization

Auxiliary verbs are a paradigmatic example of grammaticalization and have recently been subject of numerous studies (to cite just a few, Heine 1993, Warner 1993, Bybee *et al.* 1994 and Kuteva 2004). According to Heine (1993: 70), an auxiliary "is a linguistic item covering some range of uses along the Verb-to-TAM chain." Such a chain refers to the grammaticalization chain mentioned above, which, according to Heine, consists of four processes: desemanticization, decategorialization, cliticization and erosion. As Kuteva (2004) says, "depending on […] their location along that chain, they will be more grammatical or less grammatical." Among these, Warner (1993) considers the PDE central modals (i.e. *can, could, may, might, shall, should, will, would* and *must*, according to Quirk *et al.* 1985: 137) prototypical auxiliaries, stemming from Rosch's (1977, 1978) prototype theory or theory of categorization. As is well-known, this theory has to do with the human mental categorization of the world. We tend to have in mind the simplest element of a class, and that element becomes a prototype to which we refer in order to check if, and to what extent, a particular item enters

that category. Therefore, Warner implies that PDE modals are the prototype to which we must refer in order to categorize auxiliaries.

The consideration of auxiliaries as a class is not free from controversy and, as Kuteva (2004: 5) mentions, up to eight different proposals have been postulated in the literature. A widely-acknowledged set of criteria to identify auxiliaries is that proposed by Quirk *et al*. (1985: 137), who compare auxiliaries to main verbs and, among auxiliaries, modals are further described according to four additional criteria, as seen in Table 2.2:

AUXILIARY CRITERIA (Op = operator)	AUXILIARY	MAIN VERB
(a) Op in negation	He *cannot* go	*He *hopes not* to go (cf. note i)
(b) Negative contraction	*can't*	**hopen't*
(c) Op in inversion	*Can* we go?	**Hope* we to go?
(d) Emphatic positive	*Yes, I DÒ *can* come.	Yes, I DÒ *hope* to come.
(e) Op in reduced clause	I can come if you *can*.	*I hope to come if you *hope*.
(f) Position of adverb	We *can always* go early	We *always hope* to go early.
(g) Postposition of quantifier	They *can all* come	?They *hope all* to come.
(h) Independence of subject	Ann can do it. ~	He hopes to do it.
	It can be done by Ann.	*It hopes to be done by him.

MODAL AUXILIARY CRITERIA	MODAL AUXILIARY	MAIN VERB
(a) Bare infinitive	I *can go*.	*I *hope go*/ I *do go* (cf. note ii)
(b) No infinitive forms	**to can, *canning, *canned*	*to hope, hoping, hoped, to do doing, did*
(c) No –s form	*She *cans* come.	She *hopes* to come/ She *does come* (cf. note ii).
(d) Abnormal time reference	You *could* leave this evening. [no past time]	You *hoped* to leave this evening/ You *did* leave this evening. [past time]

NOTE i [original]: *He hopes not to go* is acceptable in the sense 'He hopes that he will not go;' but this is then a case of the negation of *to go*, not of *hopes*.
Note ii [mine]: *I do go* or *She does come* are correct in emphatic contexts such as that exemplified in *Yes, I do hope to come* above, that is, it is an alternative construction to the unmarked one *I go* (cf. obligatoriness of *I can go*).

Table 2.2: Formal criteria for auxiliary verbs and modals (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985: 137).

As the examples in the second and third column of Table 2.2 show, modals constitute a class of words different from main verbs and from non-modal auxiliary verbs.[13] They are the result of subsequent changes of an OE class of

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[13] From a cognitive-pragmatic point of view, the current grammatical nature of modal auxiliaries is born out of the speakers' need to code the "conceptually elementary and systematically recurrent" categories (i.e. root and epistemic categories) into linguistic structure, and it is intensified by the fact that both root and epistemic qualifications are closed classes (Nuyts 2001: 270).

verbs known as pre-modals[14] in the history of English. The OE pre-modals *cunnan, magan, *sculan, *motan, willan, *durran* and *þurfan* are the ancestors of the PDE modals *can, may, shall, must, will* and *dare* (as will be repeatedly mentioned, *þurfan* dies out earlier).[15] The gradual process by which pre-modals develop into PDE modals implies grammaticalization (see section 2.1.3, for a description of this type of language change), and has been the subject of outstanding pieces of research (cf., for example, Lightfoot 1979; Plank 1984; Heine 1993; Warner 1993; Krug 2000). It is a widespread belief among scholars that the grammaticalization of linguistic items is gradual (cf., among others, Plank 1984, Givón 1984, Krug 2000, Hopper and Traugott 2003), which contrasts sharply with the improvised linguistic accidents proposed by scholars such as Lightfoot (1979) or "hopping rules" (cf. Pullum and Wilson 1977).

To cut a long story short, we may say that at the least grammaticalized end of the grammaticalization chain of modals stand the OE pre-modals, and at the most grammaticalized end stand PDE modals such as *should* or *may*. The characteristics of the OE pre-modals differ from one verb to another syntactically and semantically. Thus, it is worth-mentioning that some of these verbs show auxiliary-like characteristics as early as in Old English (for a detailed explanation see section 3.2; cf. also Goossens 1987; Denison 1990a; Warner 1993; Beths 1999). Among the syntactic characteristics which relate these words to auxiliaries is their possibility to occur in elliptical and impersonal constructions. There are also semantic features which relate OE pre-modals to PDE modals. Warner (1993) recognizes the deontic (comprised in which I will call root modality) modal meaning as the main meaning conveyed by these verbs. In the course of the ME period, these verbs gain weight as an auxiliary group due to the development or intensification of formal features, such as the fact that they cease to take nominal direct objects. In addition, it has often been claimed that the disappearance of the inflectional subjunctive left a gap which was soon filled by the modals, which in combination with an infinitive became periphrastic verb phrases expressing modality (cf., for instance, Fischer 2002). In this sense, (pre)modals were reanalysed as analytic mood markers at the same time as the following infinitive was reanalysed as the main verb of the sentence (cf. section

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[14] The term used to refer to this class of OE verbs is not free from controversy. I use the term pre-modal without inverted commas for the reasons adduced in section 3.2.

[15] Since the status of the pre-modals throughout history will be described in detail in the first half of chapters 3, 4 and 5, this section only gives a cursory look at their evolution and pays special attention to the grammaticalization mechanisms involved in the overall development.

2.1.3.2) for an explanation of reanalysis in combination with grammaticalization).

Further developments took place in the eModE period, when modals began to occur in inversion and in negative contexts without *do*-support. In addition, semantics also plays a role in this period, since epistemic meanings arise between the ME and eModE period, probably due to subjectification (cf., for example, Traugott 1989; Goossens 2000; Pelyvás 2000; Hopper and Traugott 2003). Interestingly enough, scholars such as Nuyts (2001: 176-178) and Pelyvás (2003), consider that epistemic modals are closer to the grammatical (i.e. auxiliary) end of the chain than root modals.

Although most of the members of the class of OE pre-modals have survived into Present-Day English, the modal class has been subject of some losses and some gains throughout history. Among the losses, we may highlight that in Middle English some preterite-present verbs dropped out of the language probably due to their synonymy with other verbs, such as, for instance, *tharf*, which was replaced by *neden* 'to need,' or *cunnan*, which was replaced by *witan* 'to know' (see Plank 1984: 312).[16] In early Modern English *mote* drops out of the language and leaves *must* unpaired. However, the class may also grow larger and in this period *need* and *ought* enter the class, so that the modals in the central part of the eModE period are *can / couth, dare / durst, may / might, shall / should, will /would, must, need* and *ought* (cf., for instance, Görlach 1991: 114). As mentioned above, the PDE class of central modals is more reduced than this one, which implies that it has not ceased to undergo losses. For example, *durst* is out of the paradigm, whereas *need* and *ought* are considered marginal modals. At the same time that the central class of modals appears to get more reduced, other verbs acquire new functions and meanings and get closer to the modals although they do not fulfil all their characteristics, such as *be going to* or *have to* (cf., for instance Heine 1993, Krug 2000). On some occasions, the newly born emerging modals, such as *have to*, push out old, traditional modals such as *must* (cf., for instance, Smith 2003). These gains in the modal group are in tune with Croft's (1990) idea that grammaticalization is in constant operation.

The fact that not all modal auxiliaries developed at the same time and in the same way implies that one must analyse them gradually and considering

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[16] This avoidance of "homonymic clash," as labelled by Hopper and Traugott (2003: 102), follows the perspective of "one meaning-one form," postulated, among others, by Geeraerts (1986).

different factors as is suggested by Mortelmans (2003). For this reason, diachronic research seems to be the ideal perspective to study this phenomenon. At the same time, synchronic data, such as synchronic variation, may reveal facts about the origin and reasons for the grammaticalization. This double perspective of grammaticalization is summarized under the label panchronic or metachronic (see Heine 1993: 76). These terms refer to anything which is neither exclusively diachronic nor synchronic, but which works in both dimensions. In this piece of research I will analyse each single period of the history of English synchronically, and at the end I will provide the diachronic development of each of my verbs. The intention, therefore, is to adopt a panchronic or metachronic perspective, which can help me obtain an explanatory account of the evolution of the semantic predecessors of *need*.

2.2 Present-Day English *need* and *need to*: an insight into modality

Need and *need to* constitute a complex phenomenon: apart from the pair *dare / dare to*, there appears to be no other pair of English verbs which exhibits twofold morphosyntactic features, namely those typical of auxiliary verbs and those of lexical verbs. Due to this double nature, a controversial issue arises: should we treat *need* and *need to* separately, as two different verbs, or as one verb with two different syntactic realizations? With the aim of answering this question, in the remainder of this section I will examine the morphosyntactic and semantic features of *need* and *need to*.

2.2.1. *Morphosyntactic features*

From a morphological perspective, *need* and *need to* exhibit important differences which have been variously analysed by scholars. The next two sub-sections review the most widely acknowledged accounts of the classification of these verbs, both traditional and modern ones.

2.2.1.1. Traditional considerations

Traditionally, the PDE verb *need* is said to be a (marginal) modal verb which has a homomorphic non-modal counterpart[17] (cf. Huddleston 1984 and Quirk *et al*.

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[17] This is a simplification of a three-term classification which distinguishes modal auxiliary *need* (*He need not sign up*), non-modal full verb *need* (*I need a ticket*) and catenative verb (*He needs*

1985). This idea is supported by the morphological and syntactic differences between both: while non-modal *need* behaves like any regular transitive verb (which takes both nominal and sentential complements), modal *need* complies with all the requisites of a modal auxiliary, with the so-called NICE properties (cf. Huddleston 1980). Let us compare, for instance, the following pairs of examples:

(2.6a) *Your **needn't** do that* (→ negation)
(2.6b) *You **don't need to** do that*
(2.7a) ***Need** I sign in again?* (→ inversion)
(2.7b) *Do I **need to** sign in again?*
(2.8a) *John **needn't** do the exercises and neither **need** Susan* (→ 'code')
(2.8b) *John **doesn't need to** do the exercises and neither **does** Susan.*

The (a) examples show instances of modal *need*, while the (b) examples show the non-modal counterparts. As is obvious, the latter do not exhibit any of the NICE properties (negation, inversion or code, in the case of *need*). [18] Another auxiliary-like syntactic characteristic of *need* is its possibility to occur in tag-questions (*She needn't do it, need she?*), as mentioned by Jacobsson (1974: 56).

Apart from these strictly syntactic features, modal *need* also shares morphological characteristics with the other modal auxiliaries, as Coates (1983: 4, 50) notes:

- No *–s* form for third person singular (**he needs not do it*)
    o VS. *he needs to do it*
- No occurrence with another modal (**he will need not do it*)
    o VS. *he will need to do it.*
- No past forms (**he needed not do it*)
    o VS. *he needed to do it*

In connection with the last morphological feature, it must be pointed out that Quirk *et al.* (1985: § 3.40) mention another characteristic of modal auxiliaries: their abnormal time reference. According to them, the so-called modal past forms –also called distal forms (cf. Sweetser 1990: 62 ff.)– namely *might, would, could* and *should*, can be used to express present time with a nuance of remoteness (as

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to write a paper), as proposed by, for example, Jacobsson (1974: 56). The simplification to modal and non-modal leaving aside the construction with a nominal object focuses on the constructions with a following infinitive, which is our main concern here.

[18] Not all authors agree on the extent to which *need* exhibits the NICE properties. Palmer (1979: 4, 127) points out that *need* does not have the properties of code and emphatic affirmation. However, as can be seen in example (2.8a), code is possible with *need*.

in *he might win the race*). In addition, some of the so-called present forms (i.e. *may, will, can, shall* or *must*) may refer to the past when combined with a perfect infinitive (e.g. *must*, as in *he must have come yesterday*). As for *need*, it can be inflected for the past tense only when it is a non-modal verb. See, for instance:

(2.9) I **need to** *go*
(2.10) I **needed to** *go*
(2.11) I **didn't need to** *go (=I didn't have to go).*

In contrast, modal *need* does not have a past tense form. It may nevertheless express past time when used in indirect speech, as in *She told him he needn't come*, or when in combination with the perfect infinitive, yielding *need not have* plus past participle (cf. Jacobsson 1974: 56). *Needn't have* commonly implies that it was not necessary that the action expressed by the proposition took place. The proposition in (2.12) is positive ('I have gone'), but the modality, *needn't* (=absence of obligation, exemption) is negative. Thus, (2.12) means 'it was not necessary for me to go, but I went:'[19]

(2.12) I **needn't** *have gone.*

Therefore, *need* seems to qualify as a modal auxiliary, since it complies with nearly all the requisites. There are only two exceptions; the first is the expression of emphatic affirmation, as already mentioned. The second concerns morphology. Modal verbs do not have non-finite forms, i.e. forms such as **to can* or **musting* are ungrammatical. Nonetheless, the form *to need* is possible. Although it is not possible to determine whether this form belongs to modal *need* or non-modal *need to*, scholars do not address this issue, and omit any reference to this non-finite form.

One NICE feature which is absent in modal *need* is the property of emphatic affirmation (cf. footnote 18 this chapter), as exemplified in (2.13), from Coates (1983: 4):

(2.13) *Ann **COULD** solve the problem.*

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[19] As mentioned, the most general difference between sentence (2.11) and sentence (2.12) is that (2.11) implies that the action was not carried out, while (2.12) implies that the action was actually carried out. The difference between both sentences is neutralised, however, when in (2.11) the stress falls on *need*. This characteristic of oral speech suggests that the action was accomplished (cf. Westney 1995: 141).

Examples of emphatic affirmation with *need* are not grammatical (**Peter NEED come at 10 o'clock*), possibly due to the fact that modal *need* basically occurs in negative contexts. Possibly these are the reasons why *dare* and *need* are considered marginal modals by scholars such as Huddleston (1984) and Quirk *et al.* (1985).

In the analysis of *need* and *dare*, traditional grammars normally allude to their distribution according to the system of polarity. Traditional grammars state that non-modal *need* tends to occur in positive sentences while modal *need* features mainly in negative ones. However, when this tendency is checked in real language, the findings reveal that there is not a neat distribution of the modal and non-modal verb according to the polarity of the sentence. Modal *need* is rarely used in assertive contexts; it is normally found in the ten contexts listed in Jacobsson (1974: 60-62), all characterized by non-assertiveness or subjunctive. The ten contexts are: questions, negation, shifted negation, semi-negatives (*hardly, scarcely*), hidden negation, comparative clauses, after superlatives, in *before*-clauses, subjunctive forms and concessive clauses (see also Klima 1964: 313 and Palmer 1979: 40). These are shown in the following examples:

(2.14) ***Need** he repeat the exam?* → QUESTION
(2.15) *You **needn't** do the exam.* → NEGATION
(2.16) *There is nothing you **need** worry about.* → SHIFTED NEGATION
(2.17) *He **need** scarcely talk to his boss in order to get a day off.* → SEMI-
     NEGATIVE
(2.18) *All he **need** do is stay calm* (= 'he needn't do more than stay calm').→
     HIDDEN NEGATION
(2.19) *He is more worried than he **need** be.* → COMPARATIVE CLAUSE
(2.20) *He has said most that **need** be referred to.* → SUPERLATIVE FORM
(2.21) *Peter has fifteen minutes before he **need** go.* → *BEFORE*-CLAUSE
(2.22) *I doubt that he **need** have asked for the cheapest ticket.* → SUBJUNCTIVE
(2.23) *However exact he **need** be, he will do it.* → CONCESSIVE CLAUSES

What these ten contexts have in common is their non-assertiveness. In other words, in all of the examples the existence of the necessity or the obligation is not asserted, but is, on the contrary, denied, questioned or represented as a non-positive fact, as noted by Jacobsson (1974: 62). Two different negative contexts are exemplified in (2.24) and (2.25):

(2.24) *I wonder whether he **need** turn in the paper or not.*
(2.25) *I don't think we **need** fill out this form again.*

Sentence (2.24) is an instance of embedded interrogative (cf. Duffley 1994: 220). Sentence (2.25), in turn, is an example of the so-called transferred negation (Quirk *et al.* 1985: §14.36 ff). The negation has been transferred to the superordinate clause, although semantically it belongs to the subordinate one (*I think we need not fill out this form again*). The subordinate clause includes the modal *need*, which negates the kind of root necessity expressed by *must* in examples such as

        (2.26) *You **must** fill out this form again.*

Therefore, it may be said that in these 12 examples ((2.14) to (2.25)), *needn't* and *need* express negative root necessity, and it is the corresponding negative form for the root modal *must*, as in *He must come very early*. Table 2.3 establishes the relationship between the affirmative and non-affirmative PDE modals:

	POSITIVE	NEG. MODALITY	NEG. PROPOSITION
Epistemic Possibility	*may*	*can't*	*may not*
Epistemic Necessity	*must*	*(may not)*	*(can't)*
Root Possibility	*may/can*	*May not/can't*	*(needn't)*
Root Necessity	***must***	***needn't***	*mustn't*

Table 2.3: Scope of the negation in epistemic and root possibility and necessity (adapted from Palmer 1979: 39).

In this table we observe that modal *needn't* is mainly used to express the negation of root necessity, i.e. absence of obligation or necessity conveyed by PDE *must*. Modal *need*, therefore, is rarely used in positive contexts. However, Coates (1983: 50) provides an example: *there is a lot to be done internally before they need do the external part*, meaning 'before it is necessary for them to do the external part.' Krug (2000: 199), in turn, provides another example taken from the *Brown Corpus*, namely *He need only pick up one of the red telephone receivers at his extreme left,..* (Brown G03). The choice between the modal and the non-modal verb in positive utterances could be regarded as a generational matter, since the example which Krug offers is American English and dates back from the 1960s and, according to him, it does not sound natural for present-day speakers (2000: 200).

      Although modal *need* is, therefore, mostly used in non-assertive contexts, its non-modal counterpart is also frequently found in negative contexts, as well as in questions. As for interrogatives, it is worth pointing out that the only

difference between the modal and non-modal *need* concerns style. In this respect, the difference between *Need I say more?* and *Do I need to say more?* is just stylistic, the latter, non-modal verb, being more likely to appear in formal and written texts (Palmer 1979: 128).

As for negatives, however, it has often been posited that the difference between the use of modal *need* and non-modal *need* is based on semantic grounds (Bolinger 1942; Leech 1987: 102; Dixon 1991: 188). The main semantic difference between both forms is said to be related to subjectivity and objectivity. While modal *need* implies the existence of an external objective force, non-modal *need* is related to a personal wish, and is therefore subjective. The examples used by Leech (1987: 102) to illustrate this difference are the following. If a lady tells her gardener *The hedges needn't be trimmed this week*, she is excusing the gardener from the obligation to trim the hedges. If, on the contrary, she says *The hedges don't need to be trimmed this week*, she is implying that the hedges do not require his attention, because they are probably tidy. Other authors argue that while the non-modal *need to* focuses on the likelihood of the realization of the proposition, modal *needn't* implies a weak imperative (Westney 1995: 139-141). This view makes it possible to consider grammatical a sentence such as *You needn't go to the toilet if you don't need to* (Perkins 1983: 63), since it would imply 'don't go to the toilet if you don't need to,' at the same time that *You must go to the toilet* means 'go to the toilet.'

However, Duffley (1994) does not consider the subjective/objective, or internal/external, distinction enough to account for all the semantic differences between *need* and *need to*, or rather *needn't* and *don't need to*, since the claim is made on non-assertiveness. Duffley (1994: 222 ff.) argues that their selection depends on the conditions which determine whether a need is felt to be possible, and not on its real existence. From that perspective, three conditions are highlighted: indispensability, or the "existence of some imperative reason to do something;" inevitability, or "the existence of some necessary cause or fatal reason for it to come to pass;" and logical necessity (called epistemic necessity in Palmer 1979), which is the impossibility to consider the state of affairs as not being true. Inevitability and logical necessity may only be expressed by modal *need*, while indispensability may be expressed by both modal and non-modal *need* (Duffley 1994: 233-234).

As mentioned above (Table 2.3), *needn't* is used to negate the modality in utterances that would have *must* in assertive contexts. For example, the negative

counterpart of *You must be there five minutes earlier* is *You needn't be there five minutes earlier*. When a negative form is used in questions, the negation may affect, apart from the modality and the proposition (as mentioned above in Table 2.3), the question itself. It is said that a question is negative when the expected answer is affirmative (cf. Palmer 1979: 119), the paraphrase being 'isn't it the case that X?' However, it must be noticed that with the form *needn't* the negation affects the modality exclusively, not the proposition or the question itself. An example like (2.27), therefore means 'is it the case that it is not necessary for me to come?'

(2.27) ***Needn't*** *I come?*

Another possible paraphrase of this example could be 'I needn't come, need I?' Both paraphrases lead to the conclusion that the question is positive ('is it the case that it is not necessary for me to come?'), the modality is negative ('it is not necessary') and the proposition is positive ('that I come is not necessary'). If we want to negate the question, the non-modal *need* must be used, as in (2.28):

(2.28) ***Don't I need to*** *come?*

which implies 'I need to come, don't I?' and can be paraphrased as 'isn't it the case that it is necessary for me to come?' The expected answer is 'yes.' This implies that (2.28) is a negative question, the modality and the proposition being positive. In example (2.28), *don't need* resembles *mustn't*, according to the following diagram provided by Palmer (1979: 119):

Question	Modality	Event	
Neg.	**Pos.**	**Pos**	*mustn't*
Pos.	Pos.	Neg.	*mustn't*
Pos	Neg.	Pos.	*needn't*

Table 2.4: *Semantic distribution of* mustn't *and* needn't *in Present-Day English (from Palmer 1979: 119).*

The following examples illustrate the three possibilities depicted in Table 2.4:

(2.29) ***Mustn't*** *I come?* = 'Isn't it the case that there is a necessity for me to come?'

(2.30) ***Mustn't*** *I come?* = 'Is it the case that there is a necessity for me not to come?'

(2.31) ***Needn't*** *I come?* = 'Is it the case that there is no necessity for me to come?'

Mustn't in (2.29) is similar to *don't need to* in (2.28) (*Mustn't I come? - Don't I need to come?*) because both mean 'isn't it the case that X is necessary?,' implying that 'it is the case, isn't it?' What is relevant here is the distribution between *need* and *need to* in negative and interrogative contexts, as exemplified in (2.28) and (2.31) respectively, i.e. between *Don't I need to come?* (negative question, positive modality, positive proposition) and *Needn't I come?* (positive question, negative modality, positive proposition).

　　　　With this final remark about interrogative contexts, I close the review of traditional considerations about *need* and *need to*, and turn now to the analysis of modern perspectives.

2.2.1.2. Recent approaches

Despite the semantic and formal differences between *need* and *need to* noted in traditional grammars, it is now widely acknowledged that the differences between them are blurred. Firstly, the semantic differences accounted for by Leech (1987) or Duffley (1994) are highly dependent on the contexts where these verbs appear, and do not condition the selection of *need* or *need to*. Quite on the contrary, both verbs are considered to express weak or medium obligation (cf. Westney 1995: 140; Heine and Kuteva 2002: 215). Secondly, there are cases of blend constructions which reveal that these verbs are not settled apart for the speakers. Therefore, it is possible to find constructions such as *he needs not do it*, where the verb *need* in inflected as in its non-modal representation, at the same time that the infinitive, *do*, is not preceded by the *to*-particle (cf. 1b). These constructions are rather infrequent, though, and associated mainly with non-native speakers (cf. Jacobsson 1974: 63; Duffley 1994: 237).[20] Thirdly, and most importantly, recent studies reveal that *need to* is replacing *need* in all contexts in British and American English (Nykiel 2002, forthcoming (a); Leech 2003; Taeymans 2004a), as well as in Australian English (Collins 2001). The decrease in use of *need* in favour of *need to* can be shown by comparing four matching corpora from different periods. Smith (2003) studies the changes in *need* and *need to*, among other modals and semi-modals (his terminology) in corpora from

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[20] It is interesting to note that blend constructions tend to show the above-mentioned structure, that is, inflected verb and bare infinitive. The alternative blend construction with a non-inflected verb followed by a *to*-infinitive (e.g. *he doesn't need do it*) is even rarer (cf. Jacobsson 1974: 63).

1960 (*LOB*, *Brown*) and 1991-1992 (*FLOB* and *Frown*)[21] of both British and American English, taking into account the following text-types: Press, General Prose, Learned and Fiction. The rise of *need to* to the detriment of *need* is reflected in all the genres which Smith (2003) studies in the four corpora.[22] Leech (2003) obtains similar findings. In addition, he provides information concerning oral English, which shows that *need* is no longer used in spoken corpora from 1990-1992 (*ICE-GB, International Corpus of English*).

From the preceding paragraph it can be concluded that the non-modal *need to* is a regular full verb which is replacing modal *need* in Present-Day English. However, scholars such as Haspelmath (2004) and Traugott and Dascher (2002) do not consider that the case of *need* violates the unidirectionality hypothesis of grammaticalization, that is, contrary to what may seem at first sight, *need to* is not an auxiliary verb being lexicalized. Quite on the contrary, a commonly accepted view is that non-modal *need* existed long before modal *need* arose, and that the latter has had a very short life, which began in the eModE period. When modal *need* falls into disuse, non-modal *need* becomes the predominant form again, as it used to be before the rise of modal *need* (cf. Taeymans 2004a). This phenomenon, which Haspelmath (2004) calls 'retraction' implies the recovery of the old morphosyntactic features (i.e. third person singular morpheme {-es}, presence of *to* before the infinitive, etc.), which are claimed to be proper of lexical verbs, as seen above.

However, the picture is not so simple. There seems to be enough evidence to consider that non-modal *need to* is not a pure lexical verb, but is itself undergoing a particular process of grammaticalization, and syntactically and phonologically it is close to the class of emerging modals (Krug 2000: 238). Emerging English modals form a new category of verbs which have auxiliary function and modal semantics, and can be considered, therefore, proper modal auxiliaries (cf. Krug 2000: 214).[23] The prototypical members of this class are *going to, have to, want to* and *got to*, and the marginal modals *need (to), ought to*

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[21] The *LOB Corpus* contains British texts from 1960, while the *FLOB* is the corresponding corpus from 1991-1992. The same relation applies to the *Brown* and *Frown* Corpora, which contain American English.

[22] The situation of PDE *need* and *need to* is parallel to the rise of *have to* to the detriment of *must*, as noted by Smith (2003).

[23] Krug (2000) has paved the way for a number of researchers who are interested in emerging modals (cf., for instance, Desagulier 2003).

and *dare (to)* oscillate between the central modals (e.g. *will, may*) and this new emerging class (Krug 2000: 239).

Going to, have to, want to and got to have enough characteristics in common to be grouped together in "a subcategory within the higher-level class of modal verbs" (Krug 2000: 214). The reasons that Krug (2000: 215-217) adduces to justify the introduction of this new sub-category, i.e. emerging modals, are the following:

1. The traditional classification of auxiliaries (quasi-auxiliaries, semi-modals, secondary auxiliaries, etc.) does not allow for the identification of an evolving class of verbs.
2. According to Krug (2000: 214), "It would not seem helpful to exclude all verbs taking infinitival *to* complements from auxiliarihood simply because they do not share the syntactic properties of the central modals." Of course, this also holds for the marginal modals *need (to), ought to* and *dare (to)*.
3. The phonological reductions observed in *going to, have to, want to* and *got to* are "perfectly regular." E.g. *want to >wanna; got to > gotta*. It must be noted that the same reduction is recorded with *ought to* and *need to* (*need to > neeta/needa* (cf. Krug 2000: 285-286, note 60)).[24]
4. The fact that highly grammaticalized paradigms are usually smaller than less grammaticalized ones (cf. Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 132 ff.) gives Krug (2000: 217) enough evidence to consider emerging modals more grammaticalized than other items taking to-infinitive complements, because "not all can serve as hosts to cliticized *to* (e.g. **attemma* from *attempt to* (…))," and, therefore, they form a restricted group.
5. The existence of a modal category makes possible the emergence of "a new modal layer."

From Krug's (2000) point of view, then, there are enough reasons to consider *going to, have to, wan to* and *got to* as the prototypical members of the sub-category of emerging modals. This way he unifies the apparently messy characterization of these verbs in the literature and pays attention to the dynamic nature of language. As for *need (to), ought to* and *dare (to)*, Krug claims that they oscillate between the central modal group and the prototypical emerging modals. With the help of his gravitation model, he proves that *need (to)* is the

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[24] The existence of *needa/neeta* as a phonological reduction of *need to*, parallel to widely-acknowledged contractions such as *wanna* or *gotta*, has also been noted by Gramley and Pätzuld (1992: 161) and Westney (1995: 33). It has, however, been rejected by Pullum (1997: 82), who attributes such pronunciation to "rapid or very casual speech."

closest to the new emerging class and, in consequence, the farthest from the central class of modals (2000: 238-239).

As can be gathered from the preceding paragraphs, *need to* is considered to be a non-modal verb (Huddleston 1984, Quirk *et al.* 1985), a semi-modal (Leech 2003, Smith 2003) or a marginal modal very close to the group of emerging modals (Krug 2000). I object to the analysis of authors such as Huddleston (1984) and Quirk *et al.* (1985) on the grounds that they ignore the features that all emerging modals have in common and which bring them together, namely, their regular phonological reduction and the place they occupy in the grammaticalization scale, as opposed to verbs such as *attempt to*, for example. On the contrary, they analyse these verbs as radically different items. Huddleston (1984), for example, resorts to three different labels to refer to these verbs: *ought to* is closer to the modal class than any of the other verbs, and is said to be in the "periphery of the class" (1984: 165); *want to* and *have to* are considered "catenative verbs" (1984: 142, 166); and *need to* is said to be a main verb, as already mentioned (1984: 165). In turn, Quirk *et al.* (1985) coincide with Huddleston's classification of *ought to* as a marginal modal (1985: §3.40). As for the other verbs, *have to* is a semi-auxiliary (1985: §3.40); *have got to* is a modal idiom (1985: §3.40); *want to* is explicitly called non-catenative (1985: §3.49) and *need to* is a lexical verb (1985: §3.41). None of these authors make reference to *got to* without *have*. In other words, the view adopted in these grammars is too general, while Krug's (2000) classification seems more appropriate to account for the syntactic, morphological and semantic characteristics of the verbs are concerned. Therefore, for the purposes of this dissertation I will follow Krug's (2000) view about the existence of a "new" category of emerging modals, to which PDE *need to* is close.

2.2.2 *Semantic features*

Once I have described the morphological and syntactic characteristics of *need* and *need to* (cf. 2.2.1), in this section I will try to explain their semantic features. Since the limits between one category and another are not so clear in semantics as they are in morphology and syntax, I will first describe the semantic framework used for the classification of my verbs. For this purpose, this section consists of three sub-sections. 2.2.2.1 is devoted to the definition of the term

modality. The need for an insight into the category of modality arises from the fact that, as seen in the previous sections, PDE *need (to)* is considered to be close to the group of emerging English modals (cf. Krug 2000). In 2.2.2.2 the different types of modality are examined, with a discussion on the different theoretical approaches to this linguistic category. Finally, 2.2.2.3 analyses the semantic features of PDE *need* and *need to* from the point of view of modality.

2.2.2.1. The concept of modality

Though much has been written on modality, linguists do not seem to reach an agreement as to how to define this category. As already mentioned, modality is a semantic category, i.e. it is related to meaning in the same sense that syntax is related to structure, or morphology to word forms. In this way, modality is parallel to concepts such as time or sex, since the three of them belong to the extra-linguistic reality. Time refers to the temporal axis of the world, and it is grammaticalized in language as tense. Thus, we distinguish between *make* (present tense) and *made* (past tense). Likewise, sex is an extra-linguistic category that divides the world in male and female. The corresponding linguistic category may be gender; hence, we find masculine and feminine nouns and adjectives in some languages, such as Spanish, for example, to mark this an other distinctions. Of course, there is no one-to-one correspondence between time and tense on the one hand, and sex and gender on the other hand. Tense and gender are grammatical categories which, as such, may have no parallel in the extra-linguistic reality. Thus, for instance, the construction *If I went there, I would see her* contains a past tense form of the verb *go*, *went*, which does not refer to past time. At the same time, the Spanish word *mesa* ('table') is grammatically feminine, although it does not refer to any female being in the extra-linguistic world.

Modality also refers to the extra-linguistic field. It is the term used to name the speaker's judgement of his proposition, according to its truth or falsehood, its probability, etc. This is the most widely acknowledged view (cf. Halliday 1970, 1985; Jiménez Juliá 1989). In Halliday's (1970: 335) words:

> a form of participation by the speaker in the speech event. Through modality, the speaker associates with the thesis an indication of its status and validity in his own judgement; he intrudes and takes up a position.

He later expresses the same idea as (1985: 75): "Modality means the speaker's judgement of the probability, or the obligations, involved in what he is saying. A proposition may become arguable by being presented as likely or unlikely, desirable or undesirable –in other words, its relevance specified in modal terms." By assuming this idea, these authors base their definition of modality exclusively on epistemic modality, i.e. that related to the mental world, "the one which most clearly is relevant to normal language" (Coates 1983: 18). A clear definition of epistemic modality is that proposed by Nuyts (2001: 21):

> (the linguistic expression of) an evaluation of the chances that a certain hypothetical states of affairs under consideration (or some aspect of it) will occur, is occurring, or has occurred in a possible world which serves as the universe of interpretation for the evaluation process, and which, in the default case, is the real world.

However, epistemic modality developed relatively late in the history of all languages (cf. Shepherd 1982, Bybee and Pagliuca 1985, or Bybee *et al*. 1994 as studies devoted not just to English). The items which came to express epistemic modality existed in the languages before this meaning was grammaticalized. In English, the linguistic items which have finally expressed epistemic modality are the so-called modal verbs,[25] a class of verbs characterized by a preterite-present morphology and by an auxiliary-like syntax. In other words, most of these items have common morphological and syntactic features which go back to Old English times (with the exception of *will*). Therefore, the items which came to express epistemic modality in English already formed a class of their own in syntactic and morphological terms. The question to be answered, therefore, would be whether these verbs were also semantically similar before the grammaticalization of epistemic modality or, on the contrary, they became semantically close when epistemic modality was grammaticalized. It is commonly accepted that this class of English verbs used to have a common kind of meaning from which epistemic modality derived. This common kind of meaning is called 'root' and it is related to the real world, instead of the mental

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[25] There are other non-grammatical ways of expressing epistemic modality, such as adverbs (e.g. *possibly*), adjectives (e.g. *possible*), or mental state predicates (e.g. *I think that…*), as mentioned, for instance, by Nuyts (2001: 29). Nevertheless, the polysemy of modal auxiliaries (which express both deontic and epistemic modality) is attested in many West European languages and also in many typologically completely different ones (cf. Steele 1975, as mentioned by Nuyts 2001: 171).

world present in epistemic modality (cf. Sweetser 1990; Traugott 1991, 1992; Bybee *et al*. 1994, among others).

As a consequence, the concept of modality in English is generally broadened to include the root meanings of the modal verbs which later derived into epistemic modals.[26] Thus, not only the senses of likelihood or the degree of truth of a proposition are included in the concept of modality, but also meanings such as obligation, permission and the like, all implying the power which is being exerted on the doer of the action expressed by the infinitive following the modals.

Modality, therefore, implies the reflection of the speaker's attitudes and opinions through his speech (cf. Palmer 1986: 16). This reflection must take place by means of linguistic items. In other words, first the speaker decides to include his opinions in his speech (modality), and secondly, modality needs to be expressed by means of language (i.e. modality is conveyed by language, which is equated with the grammaticalization of modality), as can be seen in the following figure:

Speaker's attitudes   →   Modality   →   Grammaticalization
and opinions   of modality
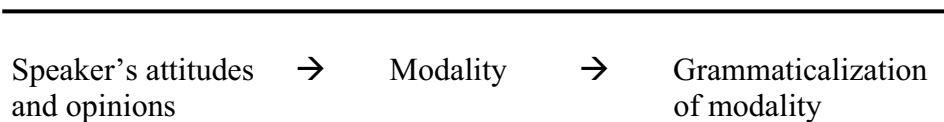
Figure 2.2: Modality: from the extra-linguistic world to grammar (adapted from Palmer 1986).

The expression of modality may be realized by several linguistic items. In English different parts of speech may carry modal meaning (cf. Perkins 1983), namely adverbs (e.g. *certainly*), verbs (e.g. *can, suppose, think*) or adjectives (e.g. *possible*; cf. Huddleston 1984: 166). Adverbs and adjectives are lexical words, i.e., words carrying full meaning. They are grammatically independent, since they do not require the support of any other part of speech. The English modal verbs, however, are a kind of intermediate stage between fully lexical items and purely grammatical items (like conjunctions or prepositions). That is, they have a stronger referential meaning than, for example, the preposition *of*,

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[26] I must specify that this broadening of the concept of modality takes place mainly in English linguistics, because in other languages, such as Spanish, the concept of modality is restricted to the so-called epistemic meanings, expressed by inflectional mood (cf. Jiménez Juliá 1989 for a detailed explanation of the origin of modality –*modus clausal* in his own terminology- in Spanish).

but, at the same time, they share all the features of auxiliaries (e.g. primary auxiliary *do*, cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: §3.40).

There is another way of conveying modality, namely inflectional mood. This device is not found in English but is common in Romance languages such as Spanish. The main verb in the sentence is inflected to express some of the modal meanings. For instance, if the speaker believes that at the time he is speaking it is five o'clock, he may resort to any of the three devices we have just mentioned (the instance of inflectional mood is provided in Spanish for obvious reasons):

(2.32a) *It is **possibly** the case that it is five o'clock.* (modal adverb)
(2.32b) *It **must** be five o'clock.* (modal verb)
(2.32c) *Quizá **sean** las cinco.* (present subjunctive of the verb *ser* 'to be')

Thus, we could draw another figure to represent the last stage in Figure 2.2, grammaticalization of modality, which may be linguistically expressed in, at least, these three ways, ranging from less to more grammaticalized means:

Adjectives and adverbs   →   Modal verbs   →   Inflectional mood

- grammaticalized   **+ grammaticalized**
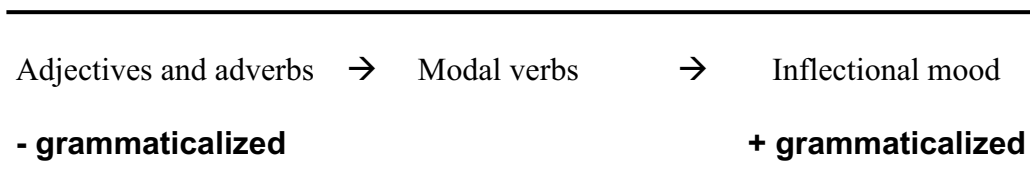
Figure 2.3: *Grammaticalization of modality (based on Palmer 1986: 4).*

Once we have described the different formal realizations of modality, we should turn to the analysis of the possible modal meanings. As has been suggested earlier, the classification I will follow here is that of the root/epistemic dichotomy. However, other classifications are available. In the next section, I will comment on different theories for the classification of modality, and discuss the framework within which I am going to analyse my examples.

2.2.2.2 Types of modality: root and epistemic

The myriad of notions associated with modality allow for a wide variety of classifications in the literature. [27] Some of them divide modality into two sub-groups, while others distinguish three or four sub-groups. As noted by Siemund (1997: 281), Mindt (1995) proposed up to 17 different types of modality.

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[27] Some of the notions proposed are: subjectivity, non-assertion, non-factivity (Palmer 1986: 4), permission, obligation, volition, prediction (Quirk *et al.* 1985: §4.49), and possibility and necessity, which are common in the interpretations of both works.

As for the division into two types of modality, I will highlight three major approaches. The three of them are based on the human control of events. In other words, they assume that there may exist some kind of intrinsic control over the event expressed in the proposition or, on the contrary, there may be no control, but just some sort of human judgement. According to these criteria, modality types may be intrinsic vs. extrinsic (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985), deontic vs. epistemic (Huddleston 1984) or root vs. epistemic (Sweetser 1990). The difference between these three approaches is not just one of terminology, but of perspective in general. While Sweetser resorts to the historical evolution of modality from root, i.e. basic, meanings, to epistemic ones, the major grammars by Huddleston (1984) and Quirk *et al*. (1985) provide a broad list-like classification of the English modals.

Other specific works on modality reveal the need for a third type of modality where meanings such as volition or ability would fall in. This is the case of Palmer (1979, 1986, 2003), who, based on Lyons (1977), acknowledges three types of modality: deontic, epistemic and dynamic (the latter term is taken from modal logic, cf. von Wright 1951). This threefold division is also defended by authors such as Goossens (1985, 1987), who uses the term 'facultative' to refer to the third type of modality, Hengeveld (1988), who prefers the term 'inherent,' Vihla (1999), and Warner (1993: 14-17).

In addition to these types of modality, other authors include subordinating moods as a subtype of modality. This idea, supported by Bybee *et al*. (1994), is based on a typological analysis of a large number of languages of the world. Since modality is the grammaticalization of subjective attitudes and opinions, and is expressed by means of different devices, these scholars draw some diagrams which show the development of the different modal meanings which stem from three basic notions, namely, obligation, desire and ability (Bybee *et al*. 1994: 240, §6.13). Although this study is very interesting from a typological point of view, it does not seem appropriate, however, to adopt this classification for the study of the English language intended here. Moreover, if we exclude the subordinating moods, their analysis is parallel to the threefold pattern proposed by Lyons (1977) and Palmer (1979, 1986, 2003), because it identifies three types of modality, namely speaker-oriented, epistemic modality and 'agent-oriented,'

which includes those notions which are difficult to classify, such as ability and volition.[28]

At first sight it could seem that the more types of modality, the more exhaustive an analysis would be. This was my view in an earlier version of this piece or research, when I resorted to Palmer's threefold classification of modality (deontic, epistemic and dynamic) in search for a comprehensive classification which did not leave any question unanswered. However, a deeper look into the possible classifications revealed that the scientific quality of a fine-grained theory is not directly proportionate to the number of modality types distinguished, but to the criteria used to delimit each type.

Palmer (1979, 1986, 2003) follows the tradition of modal logic presented by von Wright (1951) and Lyons (1977). Stemming from the basic meanings of possibility and necessity, he describes the three types of modality, epistemic, deontic and dynamic, which are to be recognized in many languages, the first being "solely concerned with the speaker's attitude to the status of the proposition," the other two being related "directly to the potentiality of the event signalled by the proposition," deontic modality is concerned with external circumstances and dynamic modality with internal ones (Palmer 2003: 7). The logical relation between possibility and necessity implies that

> if X is not possible, then not-X is necessary   and, consequently
> if X is not necessary, then not-X is possible.

That is, if raining is not possible, not raining is necessary. Actually, the relations between possibility and necessity are acknowledged to play a fundamental role in linguistics, as can be observed in the development of German modal *dürfen* 'to be allowed.' This verb originated as a polarised necessity modal conveying negative necessity (namely 'need not'). Later it acquired a negative possibility meaning (namely 'cannot,' from an original necessity not to, i.e. 'must not'), and finally it developed the current positive possibility meaning 'may, to be allowed' (cf. van der Auwera and Plungian 1998: 99).

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[28] A more recent typological study based on Bybee *et al.*'s (1994) work is van der Auwera and Plungian (1998). They subdivide modality into non-epistemic and epistemic. The former has three subdivisions: participant-internal, participant-external and deontic meanings. Van der Auwera and Plungian's study is typologically-oriented, and their classification will not be followed in this piece of research, since our main concern is English modals and other classifications seem more appropriate to capture their nature and evolution.

Following the logical relations established between possibility and necessity, we can formulate what is implied in the following figure:

'not possible'	→	'necessary not'
'not necessary'	→	'possible not'

Figure 2.4: *Logical relations between necessity and possibility*

According to Palmer, this formula explains the relation between the two kinds of meanings conveyed by each type of modality, obligation and permission (deontic modality), deduction and probability (epistemic modality), and desire and ability (dynamic modality), as shown in the following table:

	DEONTIC	EPISTEMIC	DYNAMIC
NECESSITY	Obligation-exemption	Deduction (inferred certainty, logical necessity)	Desire, volition, necessity
POSSIBILITY	Permission-prohibition	Possibility, probability	Ability

Table 2.5: *Types of modality and modal meanings stemming from the basic notions of necessity and possibility.*

This table clarifies Palmer's classification of modality. Stemming from the basic meanings of necessity and possibility, and *filtering* them through modality, we obtain a variety of meanings ranging from obligation to ability.

Palmer's classification, therefore, is very tidy and seems to be more fine-grained than twofold classifications, since it distinguishes the third, polemical type of modality, namely, dynamic modality. Palmer himself (1979: 36) characterizes dynamic modality as a peripheral kind of modality:

> dynamic modality is subject-oriented in the sense that it is concerned with the ability and volition of the subject of the sentence, rather than the opinions (epistemic) or attitudes (deontic) of the speaker (and addressee). It could well be argued that, because of this, dynamic modality is not strictly a kind of modality at all, modality being essentially subjective (…), for CAN and WILL merely make objective statements about the subject of the sentence, as do most other verbs.

These are the reasons which made me lean on Palmer's classification in a first approach to this study. However, a later review of these thoughts led me to discard part of Palmer's classification for the reason that follows. However clear and tidy Palmer's classification may be, its clarity and neatness works only in the world of logic, where clear-cut distinctions between one category and another are

possible. In the world of language, however, such clear-cut distinctions are not always possible, and we often have to resort to the notion of gradience as a link or intermediate stage between prototypes.[29] In fact, Palmer's classification is born out of the analysis of core examples, such as *You must finish your homework before I'm back* (deontic obligation), or *You may choose whichever you want* (deontic permission), or *He can play piano* (dynamic ability). However, as Coates (1983: 21) notes, these examples are only rarely found in real language. What we find is, rather, peripheral examples of the three classes which Palmer recognizes. In addition to this, Palmer's classification does not establish any connection between the different types of modality, up to the point that it is difficult to understand what the three of them have in common.

　　Despite its logical status, Palmer's classification is not, therefore, the most appropriate one when dealing with language, especially with corpus-data, since the meanings of the modal verbs will vary according to the context and normally cannot fit into any of the categories he proposes. As an alternative to Palmer's classification, I have reviewed other authors' conception of modality and the different types of modal meanings they put forward, paying special attention to those scholars who recognize two types of modality. Thus, Coates (1983) and Sweetser (1990) distinguish between root and epistemic modality. This may seem at first sight too broad a classification, since obviously they are grouping together Palmer's deontic and dynamic modality under the label 'root.' Their classification, nevertheless, is language-based, instead of logic-based, and it clearly specifies that core meanings are just a reference, while gradient examples are the most representative set in any corpus (cf. Coates 1983: 18-22). An example of the language-based nature of their account is that the label 'root' (used instead of deontic, which is taken from logic) is historically accounted for, since it is the meaning which gives birth to epistemic modality.[30]

　　For the purposes of this work, I have combined Coates' (1983) and Sweetser's (1990) view of root and epistemic modality with Talmy's (1988, 2000) cognitive semantic approach to modal meanings in terms of force

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[29] On the theory of prototypes and categorization, see, for example, Rosch (1977, 1978), and Taylor (1995). On the theory of gradience, see, among others Bolinger (1961), Lakoff (1987), and Aarts (1997).

[30] This conception of epistemic meanings rooting from socio-physical ones is related to the theory proposed by the German philosopher von Humboldt (1825), who suggested that in the earliest stages of language only concrete ideas could be expressed. Grammatical forms are, then, the abstract result of the evolution of those concrete ideas (cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003: 19-20).

dynamics (cf. also Jackendoff 1990). Even though the perspective adopted for this piece of research is not cognitive in essence, I follow Nuyts (1992, 2001, 2003, and 2004) in relying on the synergic cooperation between functional and cognitive approaches to language:

> The cognitive and the pragmatic or functional dimensions of language are not just two separate issues (…). They are two faces of one phenomenon, which must be mutually interrelated and interdependent. (2001: 3).

In fact, Nuyts (1992) is a proposal for a cognitive-pragmatic theory of language, based on the fact that linguistic behaviour requires a cognitive infrastructure (i.e. a set of mental rules or tendencies), but is functional for a human being (i.e. it has an instrumental character). Therefore, when dealing with language both dimensions must be simultaneously and coherently accounted for. In this line, I will combine more Coates' (1983) functional approach to modality with Talmy's (1988, 2000) cognitive semantic analysis in terms of forces.

The analysis of modality in terms of forces is not an innovation of Talmy's, but there are earlier works such as, for example, that of the psychologist Fritz Heider (1958). Later, Sweetser (1990) adopted Talmy's theory to interpret the meanings of the English modals and has inspired studies such as Nykiel (forthcoming (b)). In this study, I will present my own view of the semantic analysis of English modals in terms of forces. However, before proceeding to apply such an analysis, some notions must be clarified.

Root modal meanings (e.g. obligation, permission, etc.) belong to the socio-physical world, while epistemic modal meanings (e.g. deduction, inferred certainty, etc.) refer to the mental world. In these two domains, i.e. the socio-physical and the mental one, there may be force interaction (cf. Talmy 2000: 410). The forces are in principle only of physical interaction (e.g. *You cannot open the door –it is locked*). However, by metaphoric extension, they can also be of mental and psychological interaction (e.g. *That cannot be true –I talked to him a minute ago*). These examples serve as an introduction to understand what force dynamics is. According to Talmy (2000: 410), force dynamics is a member of the "privileged set of fundamental semantic categories," which involves aspect, mood and evidentiality. Force dynamics fits into cognitive semantics, since it includes the idea that "language uses certain fundamental notional categories to structure and organize meaning, but that it excludes other notional categories from this role" (2000: 410). In addition, force dynamics is also recognized in

non-cognitive approaches such as that of Hopper and Traugott (2003), which consider that it is one of the metaphorical relationships occurring in the processes of language change (2003: 84).

Force dynamics implies the existence of two types of forces: the local force or agonist, and the opposing force or antagonist (cf. Talmy 2000: 413). If we take the lexical verbs *make* and *let* as paradigmatic examples of force dynamics, the agonist and the antagonist are easily recognizable as the object and the subject respectively:

(2.33) *The policeman **made** the robber tell the truth.*
(2.34) *The judge **let** the robber go without punishment.*

In both instances, the agonist is the robber, who has his own will, and who is under the power of others, the antagonists, i.e. the policeman and the judge, who represent the opposing forces to the agonist. In (2.33), the antagonist (the policeman) exerts its force on the agonist, while in (2.34) the antagonist (the judge) lifts a barrier for the agonist to do his will. The verb *make* represents forces or the modal meaning of necessity, while the verb *let* represents barriers or the modal meaning of possibility. Therefore, we observe that in Talmy's (2000) analysis there is some influence from the modal logic.[31]

The same force interaction found in *make* and *let* is observed in the English modals. In fact, Talmy (2000: 443) coins the term "greater modal system" to refer to the group formed by modal verbs plus *make, let,* causative *have* (as in *He had me correct all the exams)* and *help*. The reasons which he adduces to include the latter four verbs in the same group as modals are related not only to force dynamics, but also to syntax, since they may take bare infinitives as complements. Moreover, these four verbs take the antagonist as syntactic subject (cf. (2.33) and (2.34)), while the agonist is the subject of modals (e.g. *you must tell the truth*). The fact that both groups, causative verbs and modal verbs, complement each other makes Talmy (2000: 443) group them together under the same label: greater modal system. However, from my point of view, the reasons adduced by Talmy are not enough to consider them as belonging to the same group. Semantically, both causative and modal verbs express the same kind of meanings (e.g obligation, permission, etc.), but

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[31] I have rejected the application of strict logic concepts to language, such as Palmer's (1979, 1986, 2003) clear-cut threefold view of modality. However, the distinction between the logic notions of necessity and possibility will be basic for my analysis, and in general, for any study of English modality.

syntactically they differ in, at least, three aspects. Firstly, while the subject of modal verbs is the agonist of the force, the subject of causative verbs is the antagonist. Secondly, while modal verbs are immediately followed by an infinitive, causative verbs are followed by a noun phrase, which functions as direct object, and an infinitive. Thirdly, while the subject of the modal and the subject of the following infinitive is the same, the subject of the causative verb differs from the subject of the following infinitive.

Leaving lexical verbs aside, English modal verbs can certainly be defined in terms of forces and barriers, and this is what my study will attempt to show. Whenever a modal verb is used, there is an agonist and an antagonist confronted, be it in the socio-physical or in the mental world. That is, force dynamics explains the semantics of both root (socio-physical) and epistemic (mental) meanings, as Sweetser (1990) shows, since epistemic meanings are just a metaphoric extension of original root meanings.

English modal verbs exhibit in their origin, i.e. in their root senses, a wide variety of meanings related to the socio-physical world; consider, for example, OE *motan* 'be allowed,' OE *magan* 'be strong, be able,' or OE **sculan* 'be obliged,' for example. Nearly all of them may be defined in terms of forces and barriers which permit or prevent events from happening. For example, when one is allowed to do something, all the barriers are removed; when one is obliged to do something, forces are used to impose the obligation. All English modals involve two opposing forces, the agonist and the antagonist. In this respect, in English some root modals are not far from directive and commissive speech act verbs, such as *command, order*, etc. (cf. Sweetser 1990, Traugott 1991), since they concern both the speaker and the addressee. See, for instance (2.35) and (2.36):

> (2.35) *I **command** you to finish your work.*
> (2.36) *You **must** finish your work*.

In these examples the speech act verb *command* and the modal verb *must* convey the same kind of meaning, namely obligation. In both sentences there are two participants involved: the person imposing obligation (antagonist) and the person being obliged (agonist). Traugott (1991) even refers to the connection between speech act verbs and mood morphology, which becomes fairly clear if we compare examples (2.35) and (2.36) to (2.37), an example of imperative mood:

(2.37) *Finish your work!*

We could sketch the pragmatic implications of the last three examples as follows (cf. Talmy 2000):[32]

A. The agonist does not want to finish his work.
B. In the antagonist's system, there are enough social reasons for the agonist to finish his work.
C. Not finishing his work may have social consequences for the agonist (the latent threat on the antagonist behalf).
D. Because of A-C, the antagonist wants the agonist to finish his work.

Therefore, English modal verbs originally display meanings related to the socio-physical world and they act as links between the world and words. However, we know that PDE modal verbs not only convey root meanings, but may also refer to the mental world. In *He has got three houses, four cars and a yacht; he must be very rich*, nobody is being forced to be rich, there is not any social or physical force or barrier implied, the forces and the barriers are now mental, they only exist in our minds. Our subjective knowledge of the world forces us to gather that such a person is necessarily rich (cf. Traugott 1989, Hopper and Traugott 2003: 92). This tendency for meanings based on the external referential world (such as root modal meanings) to come to express meanings based on the internal world (such as epistemic modal meanings) has been labelled by Traugott "Tendency I" of semantic change (cf., for instance, Traugott 1989: 34-35). The semantic evolution of English modals in the history of the language would be sketched as follows:

referential meanings	>	"deontic" or root meanings	>	epistemic meanings
physical world	>	social world	>	mental world
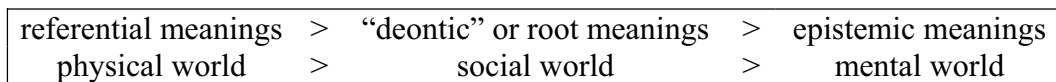
Figure 2.5: Meanings conveyed by modal verbs in the history of English: from the physical to the mental world.

This figure is also the simplified version of a more complex one which can be found in van der Auwera and Plungian (1998: 111) and in Traugott and Dascher (2002: 121). In those works, the respective authors account for the difference between internal and external root meanings. While van der Auwera and Plungian (1998) maintain that internal meanings are prior to external ones, Traugott and Dascher (2002) claim that "the historical record is not always clear

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[32] In this section I offer the different sketches of the pragmatic implications of my verbs based on Talmy's (2000: 447-451) analysis, though he actually provides an outline only for the modal verbs *should* and *have to*.

that the one type definitively preceded the other." We will see that the data in my corpus can shed some light on this polemic issue.

In order to illustrate the evolution of meanings in Figure 2.5, it proves useful to resort to the development of PDE *may*. In Old English times this verb has a pure referential meaning which refers to the physical rather than to the social world, namely 'to be strong, to be able.' Later on in history, this verb acquires a social connotation and it implies 'to be allowed.' Finally, this verb starts being used in a metaphorical way; it refers to the mental domain and has an epistemic sense related to the possibility of the truth expressed by the proposition. In Present-Day English, only the latter two stages co-exist in *may*, as in all modal verbs. That is to say, as for modal *may*, only the root (social) meaning of permission and the epistemic (mental) meaning of possibility are to be found in language, as shown in the following examples:

> (2.38) **May** *I come in?*
> (2.39) *She **may** be in the library; she told me she needed to go there.*

Sentence (2.38) exemplifies the use of *may* expressing a social barrier. The subject (*I*) is going to enter an office and he asks for permission (root possibility), because that is a social convention. The analysis of the opposing forces would be:

> A. The agonist wants to come in.
> B. In the agonist's belief system, there may be reasons why he cannot come in.
> C. The antagonist represents the barrier which would prevent the agonist from coming in.
> D. Due to A-C, the agonist opts to ask the antagonist for permission.

Sentence (2.39), on the contrary, makes no reference to social or physical barriers in any sense. When I produce a sentence like (2.39), I am making use of my knowledge of the world, I am resorting to the data I have in my mind to gather what reality is liable to be like (epistemic possibility). Let us sketch the connotations:

> A. In the agonist's system (the world), it is possible that she is anywhere. All barriers are open.
> B. In the antagonist's system (the mind), there is an open barrier which demands special attention: the fact that she mentioned her intention to go to the library.
> C. Due to A-B, chances are that she is in the library, although there are no forces which control it.

At first sight, both meanings seem to have nothing in common, but, in Sweetser's (1990: 60) own words, they present two common features:

1. "*nothing prevents* the occurrence of whatever is modally marked by *may*; the chain of events is not obstructed."
2. "there is some background understanding that if things were different, something *could* obstruct the chain of events."

Actually, these two features are fairly clear in root *may*. In sentence (2.38), an affirmative answer giving permission such as *Yes, you may come in*, would imply that nothing prevents the first speaker from coming in (Sweetser's first feature). However, a negative could also be possible, which constitutes the background understanding that the chain of events, that is, the fact of coming in, could have been obstructed (second feature). As for epistemic *may* in example (2.39), nothing prevents her from being in the library (first feature), although, of course, we all know that if she had said that she would not go to the library, that possibility would be cancelled (second feature).

Therefore, Sweetser (1990) proposes a coherent and sound theory about the origin of epistemic modality, taking as starting point the original meanings of English modals, which she decides to call 'root.' On the other hand, Talmy's (2000) account of the meaning of the modals from the point of view of force dynamics is also helpful, because it makes it possible to connect both root and modal meanings in terms of forces and barriers, and of agonists and antagonists. With the purpose of analysing from a diachronic perspective the verbs expressing any of the meanings of PDE *need*, I will combine both Sweetser's (1990) and Talmy's (2000) approaches. The advantages of this classification as compared to Palmer's are now self-evident. First of all, the two classes of modality, root and epistemic, are historically interrelated. Secondly, the distinctions these authors draw between both classes are not based on core ideal examples. Finally, both classes may exhibit an ample range of meanings depending on different factors, that is, there is gradience within each class, as is explained in the paragraphs that follow.

As far as the root modals are concerned, the gradience has to do with the degree of subjectivity:

(2.40) *You **must** get out of the bath now* (→ subjective root)

(2.41) *Clay pots ...**must** have some protection from severe weather* (→ objective root)

These examples, taken from Coates (1983: 21), are extracted from some of the corpora she uses in her study on the semantics of the English modals. As can be easily seen, (2.40) implies the existence of a subject imposing obligation on somebody else (animate human antagonist –the speaker- and animate human agonist –the interlocutor). Example (2.41), however, states a piece of advice as for the maintenance of clay pots by making reference to their fragile nature (the antagonist is an objective rule, as opposed to the passive non-human non-animate agonist, namely clay pots).

Root modals may also show gradience with respect to the strong-weak continuum. Obviously, there is a difference in strength between examples such as the following:

(2.42) *She **must** pay taxes every year* (→ stronger root)
(2.43) *She **must** buy a new pair of shoes* (→ weaker root)

In example (2.42) the agonist feels a strong threaten from the superior antagonist (i.e. the state). That is, there are severe consequences derived from the fact that she does not pay taxes. However, in example (2.43) the agonist feels that in the antagonist's belief system, she would fit better in society if she bought a new pair of shoes.

The last scale of gradience as for root modals is that which concerns the origin of the force or of the barrier which conditions the event (Talmy 2000). The origin of the force or the barrier may be external to the subject or internal:

(2.44) *I **must** turn in this paper tomorrow* (→ external force).
(2.45) *I **need to** call her now* (→ internal force).

As for the epistemic gradience, there does not seem to be a strong / weak contrast in epistemic modality, and the external / internal scale is obviously out of question, because epistemicity has to do with mental notions, and is, therefore always internal. The only scale of gradience which applies to epistemic modality is, therefore, the subjective / objective scale. According to Lyons (1977), objective epistemic modality expresses a mathematically computable chance that the state of affairs is true or untrue. Subjective epistemic modality, on the other hand, merely involves a subjective guess as for the truth of the statement.

Objective epistemic modality, however, is rare, as mentioned and verified by Coates (1983: 18) with the following corpus examples:

> (2.46) *Paul **must** be in Liverpool now* (→ subjective epistemic)
> (2.47) *The simple truth is that if you're going to boil eggs communally, they **must** be hard*. (→ objective epistemic)

This example is also used by Warner (1993: 14) to illustrate objective epistemic modality. However, Traugott and Dasher (2002: 111) consider it a case of deontic modality ("it is necessary for the cook to boil eggs hard"). Some scholars (cf., for instance, van der Auwera and Plungian 1998: 117, note 1) deny the existence of objective epistemic uses of the modals, since "for reasons of logic, the speaker's certainty with *must* happens to be absolute, but it remains the certainty of the speaker."

Another aspect I will take into consideration when dealing with the semantics of root and epistemic modals is the distinction between necessity and possibility, based on Lyons (1977), Palmer (1979, 1986) and van der Auwera and Plungian (1998). I consider this distinction relevant for my study, since I am concerned with necessity verbs. The difference between necessity and possibility can be observed in the following examples:

> (2.48) *They **must** answer 50% of the questions* (→ root necessity = obligation)
> (2.49) *They **may** use the dictionary* (→ root possibility = permission)
> (2.50) *They **needn't** answer 100% of the questions* (→ root necessity = exemption)
> (2.51) *They **cannot** use the dictionary* (→ root possibility = prohibition)

Root necessity and root possibility are two radically different concepts, if considered in terms of barriers and forces. While root necessity, as in (2.48) and (2.50), implies some forces compelling or exempting the doer from performing the action (parallel to the lexical verb *make*), root possibility, as in (2.49) and (2.51) implies open or closed barriers for the action to be performed (parallel to the lexical verb *let*).

My overall classification of the different types of modality will be based on the parameters shown in the following table:

		Objective	Subjective	Strong	Weak	External	Internal
ROOT	Necessity	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Possibility	X	X	X	X	X	X
EPISTEMIC	Necessity	X	X				
	Possibility	X	X				

Table 2.6: Gradience within root and epistemic modality.

Together with all these semantic differences between root and epistemic modality, namely degree of subjectivity, strength of the force, and origin of the force, Coates (1983: 21) also mentions some syntactic features "linked with Root meaning." Those features are the presence of an animate subject, an agentive verb and the possibility to appear with a verb in the passive voice, as illustrated in (2.52) and (2.53).

(2.52) *You **must** cook dinner tonight* (animate subject, agentive verb).
(2.53) *Work **must** be finished by next week* (passive voice).

However, these features are not exclusive of root modality, as in (2.52) and (2.53). They may also be characteristic of sentences with epistemic meaning. See, for example:

(2.52b) *He **may** cook dinner tonight* ('it is possible that…').
(2.53b) [*I've seen them working hard, so I think*] *work **may** be finished by tomorrow* ('it is possible that…').

The semantic ancestors of *need* found in my corpus will be analysed taking into consideration all these semantic and syntactic features. The possible meanings of PDE *need* and *need to* are shown in the next section.

2.2.2.3 Semantic features of Present-Day English *need* and *need to*

This section complements the morphosyntactic description of PDE *need* offered in section 2.2.1 and describes the semantic features of PDE *need* and *need to*. As suggested above, the alleged original semantic differences between both verbs – *need to* being concerned with internal necessity, and *need* with external necessity– have been neutralized in Present-Day English and the overwhelmingly frequent *need to* expresses both internal and external necessity (cf., for instance, Vihla 1999, Taeymans 2004a: 105). These verbs, then, prove to be semantically equivalent at least in the expression of root meanings, as will be seen in the following paragraphs.

Root meanings may be originated externally or internally, as seen above. **External root** *need* and *need to* are not at all common in affirmative contexts expressing obligation, that is, the existence of a an external force imposed by the antagonist on the agonist. In Present-Day English this meaning is mainly expressed by *must* and, with increasing frequency, by *have to* (cf. Smith 2003). *Need*, however, may be used to convey an external piece of advice on the agonist, as in the following example:

(2.54) *You **need** to get a hair-cut* → weak obligation.

<div align="right">(example from Leech 1987: 101)</div>

In sentence (2.54) *need* expresses a weakest external force which may make the agonist feel a somewhat urgent necessity to get a hair-cut. According to Smith (2003: 245) and to Taeymans (2004a: 107), PDE British *need* expresses external obligation only rarely and, when it does, as in (2.54), speakers resort to the internal quality of *need* to obtain some advantage, that is, they combine their wish with the addressee's best interest. In other words, the speaker knows that by using the verb *need*, the agonist will react more willingly than by using, for instance, *must* or *have to*. The expression of rough external obligation is, then, not among the main semantic features of PDE *need* and *need to*.

However, when the context is non-affirmative, *need* and *need to* are most common expressing exemption or absence of obligation, that is, the antagonist releases the agonist from an alleged obligation, as in (2.55):

(2.55) *You **needn't** type the report, I'll do it later* → exemption

The very common meaning of absence of external obligation expressed by *need* in sentence (2.55) can be sketched as follows:

A. The agonist does not want to VP.
B. The agonist has the belief that the antagonist wants him/her to VP.
C. The antagonist has the power to make the agonist VP or not VP.
D. The antagonist releases the agonist from the obligation to VP.

On rare occasions, non-affirmative *need* does not express absence of obligation, but a force not to, i.e. prohibition, as in the following example provided by Coates (1983: 51):

(2.56) *and you **needn't** glare at me like that!*

By using the verb *needn't* in (2.56) the antagonist is clearly not exempting the agonist from the act of glaring, but implies the speaker's dislike for the addressee doing so. This meaning is clearly to be kept apart from the ones sketched above. Here the antagonist does not want the agonist to VP, i.e. to glare at him, and places a strong barrier which obstructs the agonist from doing so, or else he should assume the consequences. This prohibition meaning of *need (to)* is expected to be exceptional and only found in particular contexts.

Need may express **root internal necessity**, that is, both the obligation and the exemption may be internally originated. Consider (2.57) and (2.58):

(2.57) *I **need**/have to stay home tonight to study for the test* → internal obligation.

(example from Sweetser 1990: 53).

(2.58) *I **need not** read it again, I know it by heart* → internal exemption.

In both examples the antagonist is located in the self of the agonist. The self is split and opposing forces fight internally. Thus, in (2.57) the agonist's self splits into one half which imposes on the other half the force to stay up all night to study. In (2.58), the most severe half of the agonist's self releases the other half from reading the text again. These are examples of strong internal forces, but these may also be weak as in, for example, (2.59):

(2.59) *I **need** to buy a new pair of shoes*.

In this sentence *need to* expresses weak internal force and the semantic sketch could be the following:

A. The agonist wants to VP.
B. There is no external antagonist obstructing the agonist.
C. The agonist's self seems to require some inner permission (from the internal antagonist) to VP (otherwise, the sentence would be I WILL/AM GOING TO VP).
D. The agonist's self (i.e. the antagonist) seems to grant itself permission to VP.

Another example of *need* expressing internal force is Sweetser's (1990: 62) *he needs to go to the grocery store*, in which the internal forces of wanting to eat compel the agonist to perform the action.

In addition to external and internal root meanings, *need* also expresses **epistemic necessity**,[33] that is, forces related to the world of logic and which are

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[33] According to Taeymans (2004a) only *need* (not *need to*) can express epistemic necessity and, indeed, the scarce examples I have found seem to corroborate her statement.

originated in the mental domain. According to Sweetser (1990: 154, note 17), epistemic *need* only occurs in non-affirmative contexts, just like epistemic *can* does. One of such examples is (2.60):

> (2.60) *No, he **needn't** be a New Yorker –he could just have lived there a long time, or imitate accents well.*
>
> (example from Sweetser 1990: 62).

The meaning of *needn't* in this sentence is clearly born out of logical factors, i.e. it is originated in the mental domain. Sentence (2.60) implies, on the one hand, that there appears to be enough evidence to think that he is a New Yorker, such as his revealing accent. However, this sentence also implies that that there are logical reasons why he could seem a New Yorker, while actually he is not one. The speaker's knowledge of the world allows him to state that not everybody who sounds like a New Yorker must be from New York, because in his belief system he knows that people may imitate or learn new accents.

In addition to negative examples of epistemic *need* such as (2.60), I have also found an affirmative example in Visser (1963-1973: § 1346), which seems to be a counterexample of Sweetser's (1990) claim that epistemic *need* is restricted to non-affirmative contexts. Such an example is (2.61):[34]

> (2.61) *I **need** look somewhat changed … for I have undergone some suffering, both of mind and body.*
>
> (1838-1839 Dickens, *Nicholas Nickleby* XX)

The implications of (2.61) are: since I have undergone so much suffering, it is necessarily the case that I look somewhat changed. *Need* in this example is, then, fairly similar to *must* in the above-mentioned example *he has got three houses, four cars and a yatch; he must be rich*. Our knowledge of the world forces us to assume that bodily and mental suffering has an effect on the physical aspect of the sufferer.

With these examples of *need* expressing epistemic modality, I close this section devoted to the morphosyntactic and semantic features of PDE *need* and *need to*. The latter may be summarized in the following list: (i) absence of external obligation, (ii) internal obligation and necessity, (iii) lack of internal obligation and necessity, and (iv) epistemic necessity. We have also seen that it has been marginally found expressing weak external obligation and prohibition,

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[34] This sentence is, according to Nykiel (2002), the first instance of epistemic *need* in his study on *need* from Shakespeare onwards.

although these meanings are not at all central to this PDE verb. In the analysis of the corpus (chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6) we will see whether or not the semantic ancestors of this verb exhibit some or all of its semantic features.

2.3. **Impersonal verbs and constructions**

In addition to their propensity to undergo grammaticalization and their ability to convey modal meanings, the third common characteristic of the verbs analysed in this study is that all of them occur in so-called impersonal constructions at some point of history. In fact, impersonals and modals appear to be tightly related (cf. Pantaleo 2002). For this reason, this section aims at describing the notion of impersonality and clarifying some related concepts. Firstly, I will discuss a number of terminological issues (section 2.3.1). Secondly, section 2.3.2 offers some definitions of impersonal construction as found in the literature and describes each of the obligatory and optional constituents that make up impersonal constructions. Finally, in 2.3.3 some remarks are made about the evolution of impersonal constructions in the history of English.

2.3.1. *Terminological issues*

The term 'impersonal' is used in the literature to refer to rather different concepts, such as (i) clauses whose verbs have no personal argument, (ii) clauses whose verbs have personal arguments with a function other than that of subject, (iii) clauses whose subject is not personal, and finally (iv) any verb occurring in any of the previous contexts (Denison 1993: 62). These four contexts have in common the absence of the subject or of some property of the subject in a kind of construction or verb (cf. Fernández Soriano and Táboas Baylín 1999: 1725).

The polyvalence of the term 'impersonal' may sometimes result in ambiguity (cf., for instance, Allen 1997: 1-2), but such an ambiguity may be increased if alternative terms are used for the same notion such us, for instance, 'subjectless,' 'quasi-impersonal,' 'nominative-less,' etc. (cf. Méndez Naya and López Couso 1997: 185). The variety of labels proposed by different scholars is an attempt to use a clear terminology and to delimit the boundaries of the concepts they posit. For instance, traditional studies such as van der Gaaf's (1904) distinguish between (true) impersonals, namely constructions containing weather verbs, and quasi-impersonals, namely constructions featuring any of the above-mentioned constituents (ii-iii).

However, as mentioned, the rise of so many different terms has only served to cause more confusion. The most frequent alternative label for the term 'impersonal' is 'subjectless,' defended, for instance, by Elmer (1981) and von Seefranz-Montag (1984). This label seems to be more precise, because it does not imply the absence of a personal argument in a clause, but the absence of a (syntactic) subject. Nevertheless, the term 'subjectless' is by no means free from controversy. Some of the problems concerning this label, as mentioned in Denison (1993: 61-62) are: (i) how to account for the presence of a dummy subject *it* (*hit* in Old English), as in the OE contrast *rinð* vs. *hit rinð* (Lit.: 'rains' vs. 'it rains'); (ii) how to analyse content clauses introduced by *that* (*ðæt* in Old English) when they are the only argument of a verb, are they a subject or an object?; and (iii) some scholars consider the oblique animate noun phrase as subject, so that the label 'subjectless' turns out to be, to say the least, paradoxical. Among the scholars who analyse the oblique noun phrase as subject are, for instance, Elmer (1981), who resorts to the term 'subjectless,' and Allen (1995), who prefers the term 'impersonal' in order to avoid the above-mentioned contradiction, though she acknowledges that 'impersonal' is not wholly trouble-free (cf. Allen 1995: 20).

Summing up, terminology is inexact in the field of impersonality. Neither the label 'impersonal' nor the label 'subjectless' prove unproblematic. For the purposes of this paper, I will use the label 'impersonal,' following the traditional term defended by most scholars, though I am aware that, as Visser (1963-1973: 29) says, it is a term used for convenience and for want of a better one.

2.3.2. *Impersonal constructions: definition and structure*

The first decision we must make when trying to provide a definition of impersonal constructions is the perspective we will adopt, that is to say, should the perspective be semantic of syntactic? Mitchell (1985) adopts a strictly syntactic point of view: an impersonal construction is "one which has only the formal subject *hit* (…), or which has no expressed subject and for which no subject other than the formal *hit* can be supplied" (1985: §1025). However, von Seefranz-Montag (1984) considers that impersonal constructions have a clear semantic component in common:

> [impersonal constructions] are a productive syntactic device to encode
> expressions of a specific semantic class: verbs denoting physical, emotional and

mental experiences (…), but also needs and obligation, possession and sometimes perceptions and abilities, existence and happenstance –processes and situations, in which a person is *unvolitionally / unselfcontrollably* (McCawley 1976: 194) involved.

Her definition, therefore, takes syntax as a starting point, but uses semantics to specify the scope of the constructions. According to Méndez Naya and López Couso (1997: 186), the question of adopting a syntactic or a semantic perspective for the definition of impersonal constructions goes back to Wahlén (1925), who points out that the term 'impersonal' may be applied to a group of verbs defined on semantic grounds, and to a type of construction defined on syntactic grounds. Denison (1993: 62) claims for the necessity to resort both to semantic and syntactic considerations when analysing impersonal constructions. This idea is also supported by Méndez Naya and López Couso (1997), who propose to define semantically the traditionally-called impersonal verbs and, therefore, differentiate between verbs of natural phenomena and verbs of experience, as well as to define them syntactically as constructions characterized by the presence of a verb in the third person singular and the lack of a nominative noun phrase (1997: 190-191).

Therefore, verbs occurring in impersonal constructions refer either to natural phenomena, namely the so-called weather verbs (e.g. *rain, snow*, etc.), and verbs of experience, which include all the meanings mentioned by von Seefranz-Montag (1984), namely physical, emotional experiences, necessity, obligation, possession, ability, existence and happenstance.[35] The constructions in which these two kinds of verbs occur may vary. Firstly, weather verbs such as *rain* do not take an argument in Old English, though they may optionally take a dummy subject, namely *it* (OE *hit rinð* = OE *rinð*).[36] Secondly, verbs of experience may occur in two different constructions, that is, with one argument

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[35] Since this study pays exclusive attention to verbs, in the analysis of impersonal constructions only structures with so-called impersonal verbs will be taken into account. It must not be forgotten, however, that OE shows an ample range of impersonal constructions involving the copula BE and an adjective or noun, as for example *me is neod* 'it is necessary for me.' See van der Wurf (1992) for a detailed account of this kind of phrasal impersonals.

[36] Breivik (in a lecture given at the USC in April 2003; and also 1983: 257) considers that *hit* in this kind of constructions is an empty slot-filler. This is a traditional treatment of this element, maintained also by Wahlén (1925) and Mitchell (1985: §1031). However, verbs such as *rain* may also take a subject of a different nature. Three different types may be distinguised. Firstly, these verbs may take a "cognate object (or maybe subject)" (cf. Denison 1993: 93). Examples of this construction are recorded in the *OED* (s.v. *rain* v. 3). Secondly, weather verbs may also take an animate subject whose semantic role is recipient in glosses from Latin (cf. Denison 1993: 93). Finally, these verbs may also take an animate subject whose referent is a deity (cf. *OED* s.v. *rain* v. 2).

(e.g. OE *hyngran* 'hunger,' as in *ac siððan him* (DAT SG) *hingrode* (3 SG) 'and afterwards he hungered'),[37] or with two arguments (e.g. OE *tweogan* 'doubt,' as in *ðæt nanne mon* (ACC SG) *þæs* (GEN SG) *ne tweoð* (3 SG) *þæt se sie strong on his mægene þe…* 'that no man doubts (it) that he is great in strength who…'),[38] as mentioned by Denison (1990b: 140).

It is precisely because of the multiplicity of constructions in which verbs of experience occur, as well as their evolution in the history of English, that scholars pay much attention to constructions featuring this type of verbs, rather than constructions with weather verbs. Thus, in the most comprehensive contribution so far to the analysis of the Old and Middle English impersonals, Elmer (1981) leaves out of the count "genuine subjectless constructions like weather expressions," because "they do not occur with a pseudo-subject" (1981: 3, note 1). In a similar line, one of the most influential papers on the study of impersonality in English, namely Fischer and van der Leek (1983), also leaves weather verbs out, because they do not "express a physical or mental/cognitive experience" and they have no arguments (1983: 346). This piece of research will also pay attention to impersonal constructions involving verbs of experience exclusively, not only because they provide a wider range of constructions, but also because the verbs analysed in this study are obviously verbs of experience rather than verbs of natural phenomena.

In order to centre the discussion on impersonal constructions containing verbs of experience, as, for instance, the above-mentioned OE *hyngran* 'hunger,' *tweogan* 'doubt,' or, *neodian* (cf. Bosworth and Toller s.v. *neadian, neodian*), I would like to provide a definition of such constructions. A very concise definition of this kind of construction is provided by Elmer (1981: 3), as follows: "OE predicates which generally occur with a pseudo-subject in dative/accusative case instead of a nominative subject noun phrase." This definition applies to Elmer's work, because he considers that the oblique animate NP which typically occurs before the verb is a pseudo-subject (the reasons for this analysis will be seen below). However, if the syntactic status of pseudo-subject is denied, Elmer's (1981) definition is no longer valid.[39] Therefore, we have need to find a somewhat general definition of impersonal construction, such as that proposed by

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[37] Example taken from the *OED* (s.v. *hunger* v. 1). My translation.

[38] Example and translation taken from Denison (1990b: 141).

[39] As will be explained below, the function and role of the animate NP has been subject to different interpretations. Both Fischer and van der Leek (1983) and, on a different framework, Allen (1997) use the term 'experiencer' to refer to it.

Denison (1990b), on the basis of a more complex one by Fischer and van der Leek (1983: 347): "[i]n the true impersonal or subjectless construction the verb is 3 sg. and there is either no nominative NP in subject position or a non-argument *hit* 'it' subject. The number of arguments of the verb ranges from zero to two at least" (Denison 1990b: 140; cf. also Warner 1993: 122; and Méndez Naya and López Couso 1997: 191). Actually, this definition also covers weather verbs, as verbs which take the non-argument subject *hit*, as in, for instance, *hit rinð* 'it rains.' It is valid for verbs which take a single argument as the above-mentioned OE *hyngrian*, as in (2.62), and for verbs taking two arguments, as *ofhreowan* 'to pity,' as in (2.63):

(2.62) *& ne* **þyrst** *þone   næfre ðe on me gelyfð*
        and not thirsts the-one (acc.) never who in me believes
        'and he who believes in me will never thirst.'
        (*Jn (WSCp)* 6.35)

(2.63) *him   **ofhreow**   þæs   mannes*
        to-him (dat.) there-was-pity because-of-the man (gen.)
        'he pitied the man'
        (*ÆCHom* I 8.192.16)

                                        (examples from Denison 1993: 68, 63)

Therefore, the claim that an impersonal construction is that which contains a verb in the third person singular, and which lacks a nominative argument is a valid, though broad, generalization. As a consequence, in order to undertake a detailed analysis of this type of construction, it becomes necessary to identify different types of impersonals. Several scholars provide relevant classifications on the basis of various parameters. Following a chronological order, 2.3.2.1 summarizes Elmer's (1981) four-term classification of impersonals; 2.3.2.2 outlines Fischer and van der Leek's (1983, 1987) three-term taxonomy, together with Denison's (1990b, 1993) contribution to their analysis; and, finally 2.3.2.3 reviews Allen's (1995) taxonomy.

2.3.2.1. Elmer (1981)

Elmer's (1981) work is one of the most comprehensive accounts of impersonal (subjectless, in his own terminology) constructions in Old and Middle English. One of the multiple merits of his work is his ability to combine semantics and syntax in the description of these constructions, by distinguishing five semantic classes of impersonal verbs of experience based on five semantic fields: RUE,

PLEASE/DESIRE, BEHOVE, HAPPEN and SEEM. Although each class has different semantic characteristics, Elmer's syntactic classification of impersonals is applicable to all of them. The impersonal verbs belonging to any of the five semantic classes may occur in four different types of syntactic structure. The following examples containing the OE verb *hreowan* 'rue' serve to illustrate all four:

(2.64) TYPE N → *me hreoweþ þære dæde*   'I rue the deed'
         obl. NPa[40]   gen. NP

(2.65) TYPE I → *me hreoweþ seo dæd*   'I rue the deed'
         obl. NPa   nom. NP

(2.66) TYPE II → *ic hreowe þære dæde*   'I rue the deed'
         nom. NPa   gen. NP

(2.67) TYPE S → *me hreoweþ þæt…*   'I rue that…'[41]
         obl. NPa   S

Elmer's Type N structure (N standing for a nominal argument), as example (2.64) shows, falls under the definition of impersonals provided above, namely Denison's (1990b). In other words, it contains a verb in the third person singular, it does not feature any nominative noun phrase, and it has two arguments, an animate argument represented by an NP in the oblique case, and an inanimate argument embodied by a genitive NP. Therefore, sentence (2.64) is undoubtedly an impersonal construction.

   Example (2.65) differs from (2.64) in the case assigned to the inanimate NP. In (2.65) it is inflected for the nominative and governs verb agreement, which reveals that it is a clear syntactic subject. This syntactically personal kind of construction with a semantically impersonal verb of experience has been named by Elmer Variant Type I (1981: 67 ff.). Depending on the word order of the constituents, we can find Type Ia and Type Ib. Example (2.65) represents Elmer's variant Type Ib with OVS order; this order may be reversed, and,

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[40] NPa stands for the animate noun phrase which, as explained below, Elmer considers to be a pseudo-subject of 'subjectless' clauses, regardless of the case for which it is inflected.
[41] These examples have been made up by Elmer (1981). It may be the case that not all four examples invented by Elmer (1981) are veridical. For instance, Allen (1995: 80) points out that OE *hreowan* and *ofhreowan* behave very differently, and that the former never occurs in Type II. In any case, Elmer's examples are provided here to illustrate the different syntactic types, and it is not my aim to judge whether they are faithful to Old English or not. See Anderson (1986: 170-171) or Fischer and van der Leek (1987: 82-83) for real OE examples of the verb *ofhreowan* in Types N, I and II in Ælfric's writings.

therefore, the nominative NP may appear in initial position, this would be Elmer's variant Type Ia, which would have SVO word order, and no longer OVS, as in sentence (2.65). Elmer (1981) highlights the fact that when the order is OVS, the structure has the appearance of a subjectless structure (compare (2.64) and (2.65)).[42] The semantic difference between Elmer's Type N and variant Type I is based on the grammatical relation to the second NP. In Type N the non-animate NP has a causative value ('I rue because of the deed'), while in variant Type I the semantic role taken by the non-animate NP inflected for the nominative is neutral (cf. Elmer 1981: 9, 76).

Moving on to example (2.66), this illustrates Elmer's variant Type II, constituted by a nominative animate noun phrase governing verb agreement. It is, therefore, an instance of a personal construction with a "pseudo-agentive" NPa, as opposed to its recipient role when it is oblique as in example (2.64) (Elmer 1981: 76). The inanimate NP occurs always in the genitive, an alternative accusative object is not attested.[43]

Finally, the last of all possible structures in which impersonal verbs of experience may occur is exemplified in (2.67), the most productive type in terms of relative frequency (Elmer 1981: 76). The oblique animate NP occurs in initial, or, at least, pre-verbal, position and it obviously does not govern verb agreement. The verb is inflected for the third person singular, and it is followed by a sentential complement, which may be an infinitival clause or a clause introduced by *þæt*. The structure is similar to Type N, with the only difference that in Type N the NP is not a grammatical subject since it is inflected for the genitive. However, in Type S structures, the clause may be interpreted as a grammatical subject or as an object. Although Elmer does not explicitly say that he considers the clause to be an object, it becomes evident that he does, because the only pseudo-subject element he takes into consideration is the oblique NPa (the oblique animate noun phrase), despite the fact that the NPa bears the semantic role typical of indirect objects, namely that of benefactive. That Elmer considers

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[42] The frequency of each sub-variant, Ia and Ib, is not specified in Elmer's work, but he mentions the main reasons determining the choice of the OVS word order. This may be founded, on the one hand, on the animateness target, which brings animate arguments to initial position, overriding the tendency for nominatives to be sentence initial. On the other hand, it may also be favoured by the end-weight principle, by which light elements are fronted to the detriment of heavy constituents (Elmer 1981: 68).

[43] Elmer (1981: 77) states that variant Type II is the only structure found with the so often recurrent verb *lician* 'to like.' However, Denison (1990b: 114) claims that it is also possible to find examples of *lician* with accusative and sentential cause. As will be duly seen, variant Type II is the only type of structure available for *behofian* in my OE material.

the clause to be an object is clearly shown in the "purely syntactic variant" of his Type S in the form of the dummy *it* construction (Elmer 1981: 48), as in, for example, *hit hreoweþ me þæt…*. In this construction, the dummy *it* plays the role of formal subject filling in the subject spot, and the oblique NPa must then play the role of indirect object. However, in Elmer's Type S constructions the NPa can be considered a pseudo-subject, from a syntactic point of view (cf. also von Seefranz Montag 1984: 527). First of all, in terms of basic constituent structure and word order, Type S sentences do not differ from personal constructions:
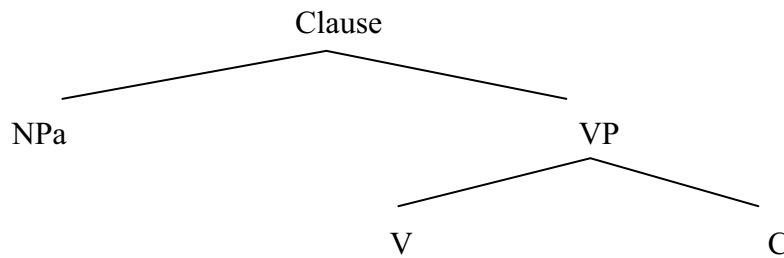
Figure 2.6: Basic constituent structure of Type S impersonal constructions (from Elmer 1981: 26).

The NPa always occurs in initial position, while the infinitival or clausal element (C, in Figure 2.6) never takes such a position.[44]

A second, more convincing reason to consider the NPa as a pseudo-subject has to do with its occurrence in complex structures which coordinate personal and impersonal verbs (cf. Allen's 1995 coordinate subject deletion in 2.3.2.3 below). If the first clause contains an impersonal construction with an NPa, the second, personal clause may have its subject elided, as shown in (2.68):

> (2.68) *gode ofhreow þa and hraþe Ø cwæþ to þam engle*   (Lives 1, 300, 255)
>   NPa impers. vb.   Ø pers. vb.
>   'God had pity, then, and quickly said to the angel'
> > > > (example from Elmer 1981: 49)

These two syntactic reasons favour the interpretation of the NPa as pseudo-subject, while semantically, as already mentioned, it is clearly an object. The twofold nature of this element has given rise to the label 'squishy subject,' coined by Ross (1972); this label has not spread but has been replaced by the term 'experiencer,' used by scholars such as Fischer and van der Leek (1983, 1987) and Allen (1986a, 1995, 1997). Allen (1986a) coincides with Elmer (1981)

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[44] Cf. Li and Thompson's (1976) characterization of subjects as grammaticalized topics.

in analysing the NPa, her Experiencer (with capital <E>), as a potential subject, as will be seen in 2.3.2.3.

Summing up, Elmer's (1981) classification of the structures containing impersonal verbs of experience renders an absolute impersonal construction (Type N), an ambiguous construction with a clausal element which may be considered either the subject or the object, (although it is evident that he considers it an object), namely Type S, and two variant structures with definite personal nature (variants Type I and Type II).

2.3.2.2. Fischer and van der Leek (1983, 1987)

Although these two works by Fischer and van der Leek differ considerably as far as the explanation of the evolution of the impersonal construction in English is concerned, both offer the same classification of the structures in which the type of verbs under analysis may occur (1983: 347 ff.; 1987: 82 ff.). They distinguish three kinds of constructions, as illustrated in the following examples:

(i) 'impersonal construction'
    (2.69) *him   ofhreow   þæs mannes*
        him (dat.) pity-was because of the man (gen.)
        'He was sorry for the man'

(ii) 'cause-subject construction'
    (2.70) *þa ofhreow   þam munece   hleofian mægenleast*
        then caused-pity to the monk (dat.) the leper's feebleness (nom.)
        'Then the leper's feebleness made the monk feel sorry'

(iii) 'experiencer-subject construction'
    (2.71) *se mæssepreost þæs mannes   ofhreow*
        the priest (nom.) because of the man (gen.) took-pity
        'the priest took pity on the man'

                (examples from Fischer and van der Leek 1987: 82-83)

It is easy to draw a parallel between this classification and Elmer's (1981). Beginning with the last two types, Fischer and van der Leek's type (ii) correlates with Elmer's (1981) variant Type I, since it contains an oblique experiencer and a nominative inanimate complement controlling verb agreement. On the other hand, type (iii) parallels Elmer's variant Type II, which is a regular personal construction with a nominative experiencer and a genitive complement. Denison

(1990b, 1993) uses the same terminology as Fischer and van der Leek, namely types (ii) and (iii).

As for the first type, Fischer and van der Leek's 'impersonal construction' embraces both Elmer's Type N and Type S, since they make no distinction as for the nominal or sentential character of the complement. The only characteristics of their type (i) are the oblique inflection of the experiencer, and the absence of a nominative. Denison (1990b, 1993) opts to include a fourth type of impersonal, which he calls type (i/ii), to account for all those cases in which the case and function of a candidate to subject are ambiguous, as is the case of, for instance, sentential complements:

> (2.72) *me   sceamað   þearle   þæt ic hit secge ðe*
>   me (dat.) shames (3 sg.) grievously that I   it tell you
>   'it shames me grievously to tell you it'
>   (*Æ Let* 7 24)
>
> (example from Denison 1993: 64)

The sentential complement *þæt ic hit secge ðe*, 'that I it tell you,' may be interpreted, as mentioned above, as a subject or as an object, since there is no morphological marking which may prevent either reading. Elmer (1981) and Fischer and van der Leek (1983, 1987) interpret it as an object, and do not discuss its dubious status. Denison (1990b, 1993), however, draws attention to this double interpretation, because it "is so frequent that it should be given due recognition in its own right" (1990b: 119). Denison's classification is, therefore, the following:

> (i) impersonal construction: Oblique NP + V (3 sg.) + Gen. NP
> (ii) cause-subject construction: Oblique NP + V + Nom. Cause NP controlling verb agreement.
> (i/ii) neutralization of (i) and (ii) : Oblique NP + V (3 sg.) + Sentential complement.
> (iii) experiencer-subject construction: Nom. NP controlling verb agreement + V + Gen. NP.

Denison's classification is similar to Elmer's, since Denison's Type (i) equals Elmer's Type N, Denison's Type (ii) matches Elmer's Type I, Denison's Type (i/ii) is the same as Elmer's Type S (though Elmer does not mention the ambiguous syntactic role of the sentential complement), and, finally, Denison's Type (iii) equates with Elmer's Type II. We have seen that the different classifications proposed by scholars differ basically in the terminology used. Let

us now examine Allen (1995), a final and more recent classification of impersonal constructions, before specifying which classification and terminology will be used in this piece of work.

2.3.2.3. Allen (1995)

Allen's (1995) comprehensive and thorough study provides a detailed analysis of both impersonal constructions and some related 'personal' verbs such as OE *lician*, 'to like.' These two types of construction have some common features which have made scholars bring them up together in grammars and specialized books (cf. below, in section 2.3.3, Jespersen's invented example for the evolution of the OE impersonals). Such common characteristics are, for instance, the fact that both contain an animate noun phrase inflected for the oblique case which plays the semantic role of experiencer,[45] on the one hand, and the fact that the PDE counterparts of both structures display an experiencer in the nominative case and governing verb agreement, on the other hand. These two factors are the reasons why Allen (1995) groups both constructions under the label 'experiencer verbs.' She classifies these verbs following Elmer's (1981) terminology, although she makes some innovations. Thus, Allen (1995: 69) classifies "2NP constructions with the experiencer verbs" –that is, constructions in which an experiencer verb occurs with two nominal arguments– in the following way:

- Type N: Dative/Accusative[46] experiencer + Genitive theme. (Elmer's Type N).
- Type I: Dative experiencer + Nominative theme. (Elmer's Type I).
- Type II: Nominative experiencer + Genitive theme. (Elmer's Type II).

Allen (1995), therefore, follows Elmer's (1981) taxonomy, but she mentions two additional types of construction. In one of them, the experiencer verb has two nominal arguments inflected for the accusative, what Allen calls respectively the experiencer and the theme (cf. Fischer and van der Leek's 1983 'cause'). In the second type, the experiencer is inflected for the dative, and the theme is inflected for the accusative. However, these constructions are very restricted, in fact, Allen (1995: 74) only finds one possible example of the first type, and three possible

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[45] Though Allen (1995) capitalizes the initial <e> of this term, I do not find any semantic difference between Allen's Experiencer and Fischer and van der Leek's (1983, 1987) experiencer, and will, therefore, adopt this label in low case.
[46] Sometimes it is ambiguous whether the experiencer is dative or accusative, but Allen (1995) opts to refer to it as dative in all cases.

examples of the second type. For this reason, these types "must be regarded either as mis-analyses or as constructions which were at best peripheral" (1995: 95). There are, then, three main constructions for the experiencer verbs when they are complemented by two nominal arguments, and those are the same as those proposed by Elmer (1981): Types N, I and II (see examples (2.64), (2.65) and (2.66) above in section 2.3.2.1).

　　　The classification of the constructions in which experiencer verbs may occur also includes those instances where one of the arguments of the verb is a sentential theme, either tensed or infinitival. Allen (1995: 86, and *passim*) uses the label PROP construction to refer to these instances. PROP constructions may be of three different types:[47]

- Type S: non-nominative experiencer + sentential theme.
    (2.73) *Đonne ðam   menn   ne lyst   on his life nan god don*
          when the-dat. man-dat. not wishes in his life no good do
          'When the man does not wish to do any good in his life.'
                                                    (example from Allen 1995: 86)

- Type *hit*: non-nominative experiencer + formal *hit* or *þæt* + sentential theme.
    (2.74) *þa gelicode hit ðam leodebiscope ... þæt he his lichaman up ða gelogode*
          then pleased it the-dat. bishop …   that he his body   up then placed
          'Then it pleased the bishop to enter his body'
                                                    (example from Allen 1995: 87)

- 'Personal': nominative experiencer + sentential theme.
    (2.75) *Ne tweoge ic naht, þæt gode weras wæron on þysum lande*
          not doubt I nought, that good men   were   in this   land
          'I do not doubt at all, that there were good men in this land'
                                                    (example from Allen 1995: 97)

Type S parallels Elmer's (1981) Type S and Denison's (1993) type (i/ii), since it is ambiguous whether the sentential argument plays the syntactic role of subject or of object. Allen (1995), like Elmer (1981) and Fischer and van der Leek (1983, 1987), does not doubt about the object role of *on his life nan god do*, because the gloss she provides for the verb *lystan* does not allow for any other interpretation. However, this verb also has the meaning of 'to please, cause pleasure or desire,' (cf. Bosworth and Toller s.v. *lystan* v.), and according to this meaning, example (2.73) may also be interpreted as 'when doing no good in his

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[47] As with 2NP types, Allen (1995) only takes into account examples where both the experiencer and the theme are expressed.

life does not please the man,' which would render evidence for the subject status of the sentential argument. The reason why Allen (1995) does not hesitate to consider the status of *ðam menn* is, just like in Elmer's (1981) theory, the subject nature of the experiencer, as will be seen below in this section.

Allen's Type *hit* differs from Type S in having a formal subject, which may be *hit* or the demonstrative *þæt*. The use of *hit* in this type is rare in Old English, according to Allen (1995: 88), since she only finds nine examples. However, the frequency of use of *hit* as a formal subject increases when the experiencer is not expressed (as will be seen, this is another of the reasons why Allen (1995) considers experiencers as the subject of experiencer verbs). The use of *þæt*, on the contrary, is much more common (1995: 88).

Finally, in the 'Personal' Type the experiencer is inflected for the nominative and controls verb agreement. It is, therefore, a truly canonical personal construction, in which the experiencer clearly plays the syntactic role of subject. Allen's (1995) work, however, breaks the canon in considering that the experiencer is the subject in all six types of impersonals she regards, no matter the case for which it is inflected.

In fact, there are some modern languages which allow non-nominative subjects, as, for example, Japanese, Korean, Georgian or Icelandic, a Germanic language, and Allen (1995) relies on this evidence to justify the possible existence of non-nominative subjects in early periods of English. Allen (1995: 3) claims that earlier analyses of early English experiencer verbs stem from the wrong assumption that subjects are based on morphological grounds, that is to say, from the assumption that subjects are always inflected for the nominative case in English. She considers that the category subject, however, "must be determined on the basis of syntax, rather than morphology," and, therefore, she gives syntactic evidence in favour of considering the experiencers as subjects.

Allen (1995) reinforces the evidence provided by Elmer's (1981) for a subject analysis of experiencers in this kind of constructions. Firstly, Elmer (1981) points out that the experiencers (what he calls oblique NPa) are generally in preverbal position, which is a location usually occupied by subjects. In this respect, Allen (1995) compares, as already mentioned, the occurrence of *hit* as formal subject in the PROP constructions and its relation to the occurrence of oblique experiencers. She finds out that the presence of *hit* increases when the experiencer is not expressed. This clearly leads to the subject analysis of those experiencers. Secondly, another piece of evidence provided by Elmer (1981),

which has also been mentioned in section 2.3.2.1, is that in coordinate constructions in which a personal and an impersonal verb are linked, the nominative subject of the personal verb can be elided, because it is easily gathered from the oblique experiencer of the impersonal verb (this phenomenon is referred to as "coordinate subject deletion" by Allen 1995). This leads to the conclusion that both elements act as subjects of their respective clauses, since, in general, only subjects controlled this kind of elision in Old English. Allen's (1995) contribution to this explanation is the comparison she draws between preposed dative experiencers controlling coordinate subject deletion and preposed dative objects of ditransitive verbs. Her findings prove that coordinate subject deletion occurs much more often with preposed dative experiencers than with preposed dative objects (Allen 1995: 442).

As for the findings related to these experiencers in Middle English, Allen's (1995: 247-248) evidence becomes stronger, and she provides three new contexts in which the tendency is reflected:

1. The postposed theme in Type I constructions (that is, constructions which in Old English have a dative experiencer and a nominative theme, such as OE *lician* 'to like') fails to agree with the verb.
2. Preposed dative experiencers are fairly frequent in Middle English, despite the fact that fronted pronouns had become quite unusual.
3. When both the pronominal experiencer and the pronominal theme occur in preverbal position, the pronominal experiencer precedes the theme. Since the usual word order of pronominal forms is SO (subject object), the experiencer must have been understood as subject by new language learners.

All these syntactic features of the preposed dative experiencers both in Old and Middle English seem enough for Allen (1995) to consider them subjects of the constructions in which they appear, irrespectively of the case marking they exhibit.

Summing up, Allen's (1995) classification of the possible constructions in which impersonal verbs may occur stems from the type of arguments which such constructions exhibit. If both arguments are noun phrases, there may be three types: Type N, Type I and Type II. If one of the arguments is of sentential nature,

there may also be three types: Type S, Type *hit* and 'Personal' Type. All six types of constructions may have, and most often do have, an animate experiencer which Allen (1995), like Elmer (1981), considers to be a subject, independently of its morphological inflections. The English language will gradually lose its ability to mark subjects obliquely, but this is a feature still found in other modern Germanic languages such as Icelandic (cf. Allen 1995: 3).

For the purposes of this work, I will follow Allen's (1995) classification of the impersonal constructions, since it is the most comprehensive, thorough and detailed of all the studies on impersonality, both from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. Moreover, her descriptive approach is close to the one adopted for this study, while Fischer and van der Leek's (1983) GB theory approach, for example, is not in keeping with the general purposes of this piece or research. In addition to her 1995 work, I will also follow other works on impersonal verbs and constructions, such as Allen (1986a, 1986b and 1997). Before proceeding any further, a word of clarification is in order here. This section has shown that Allen (1995) uses the label "experiencer" to refer to the personal NP argument in these constructions, irrespective of whether it occurs in nominative or oblique case; likewise, the label "theme" is applied to the complement, whether sentential or nominal. Following this author, in the analysis of my corpus I will use the term "experiencer" exclusively to refer to the (animate) noun phrase irrespective of the case in which it appears in the different periods of the language. Similarly, I will use the term "theme" to refer to the constituent which encodes the thing needed, be it nominal or sentential. For example, in a sentence such as *he needs to go*, *he* will be analysed as the experiencer, and *to go* will be analysed as the theme, although it is well-known that the most widely-spread labels to refer to these arguments are "subject" and "complement" (cf. among many others, Traugott 1992, Warner 1993). In fact, in the introductory sections of chapters 3, 4 and 5, the labels "subject" and "complement" may be used for coherence with the bibliographical references. The decision to use "experiencer" and "theme" in my corpus analysis is informed by the fact that the labels "subject" and "complement" are suitable for PDE *need* constructions, but prove problematic for earlier periods of the language. Together with the terms "theme" and "experiencer," I will also be using the terms "agonist" and "antagonist," as the opposing forces intervening in the expression of necessity (cf. section 2.2.2.2). Even if the agonist is normally encoded as an

experiencer in experiencer verb constructions, I will keep these two pairs of labels separately, because they correspond to different levels of analysis.

2.3.3. *Evolution of the Old English impersonals*

Most of Old English impersonals (e.g. the above-mentioned example *me hreoweþ…*) evolve in the course of time to personal constructions (e.g. *I rue…*), that is to say, the oblique animate noun phrase which precedes the verb becomes nominative, and fulfils, therefore, the morphological features of subjects. This interesting evolution has led many scholars to try to find an explanation for it. From Jespersen (1909-1949) onwards,[48] the most widely acknowledged theoretical explanation of the changes has been that of reanalysis. The most famous example used by scholars supporting reanalysis is the development of the verb *like*, which, according to Allen (1995), in Old English is an experiencer verb occurring in a personal construction. Jespersen's invented example with all the stages undergone by *like* is illustrated under (2.76):

> (2.76) (a) *þam cynge   licodon   peran*
>   the   king (dat.) pleased (pl.) pears (nom. Pl.)[49]
>   (b) *the king likeden peares*
>   (c) *the king liked pears*
>   (d) *he liked pears*

Following the stages outlined in (2.76), the change from (a) to (d) is explained in terms of reanalysis due to the loss of inflections. In stage (a), the experiencer is inflected for the dative, while the second, inanimate, noun phrase (Allen's 1995 theme) is inflected for the nominative and controls verb agreement, as is reflected in the plural verbal form *licodon*. Stage (b), in turn, still shows agreement between the inanimate NP and the verb, but the experiencer is neutral as for case, due to the loss of inflections in nouns. In stage (c), we witness the disappearance of verbal inflections, which, together with the loss of nominal endings, yields an ambiguous clause, since both elements seem to be potential subjects (with a slight difference in the meaning of the verb, that is, from 'please' to 'like'). Finally, stage (d) illustrates the ultimate interpretation given to the structure involving reanalysis of the experiencer as subject. This reanalysis is, therefore,

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[48] Actually, van der Gaaf (1904) already recognizes the same theory, that is, he suggests that the change from impersonal to personal constructions is due to the ambiguity resulting from the morphological coalescence caused in the ME period by the loss of inflectional endings.

[49] Gloss provided by Denison (1993: 74-75).

explained basically as a consequence of two factors. The first one concerns the morphosyntactic ambiguity caused by the decay of the inflectional system, which brings about structures such as (c). The second reason has to do with the rigidification of the SVX word order, which leads to the interpretation of the preverbal element as subject.

There have been many responses to Jespersen's analysis ever since it was first published. To mention just a few, von Seefranz-Montag (1984: 529-530) argues that there are two facts which contradict Jespersen's alleged development of impersonals. On the one hand, many experiencers are disambiguated as oblique complements by the use of the dummy subject *it* (e.g.1205 *hit me rwes þat* 'I rue that,' from Elmer 1981: 86. ex. 8). On the other hand, the hypothesis of the SVX word order cannot explain the loss of constructions with dummy *it* as subject (e.g. 1304 *hit him of-þinceð* 'it causes grief to him,' from the *OED s.v. ofthink* v.2), or the abolition of non-personal nominative subjects in favour of personal ones (e.g. *anoþer drem dremede me yet*, which yields *I dreamed another dream*, from von Seefranz-Montag 1984: 530).

On a more specific line, McCawley (1976) points out that in oral speech very few experiencers would be third person singular as *the king* in (2.76) above, but they would most probably be first or second person pronouns, and these were not morphologically ambiguous. Reinforcing this argument, Allen's (1986b) monographic paper on *like* reflects that the proportion of ambiguous case NPs in sentences with two nominal arguments is notably low. Furthermore, the frequency of pre-verbal experiencer position with the verb *like*, and all Type I verbs, in general, is fairly low as well, a fact which is also noticed by Fischer and van der Leek (1983: 351; cf. also Allen 1995: 111 for a re-statement of this idea).

Allen (1995) provides further evidence against the traditional view that there was reanalysis triggered by the loss of inflections. As already mentioned (cf. section 2.3.2.3), Allen considers that those explanations are based on the wrong assumption which states that there is a close relationship between case marking and grammatical relations. According to this assumption, reanalysis would explain the assignment of nominative case to the preposed NPs which formerly were inflected for the dative, because the preposed position makes new language learners reanalyse those NPs as subjects. Allen (1995) is obviously against this interpretation, since, as already mentioned, she considers that preposed dative experiencers are subjects in Old English, despite their morphological endings. Another piece of evidence against the reanalysis

interpretation is, according to Allen (1995), the lack of agreement between dates. If reanalysis were the right interpretation, we "would predict that we should begin to find examples of clearly nominative (i.e. pronominal) Experiencers with all formerly PDE [=preposed dative experiencer] verbs as soon as nouns were no longer regularly marked for dative case" (1995: 324). In other words, the loss of inflections only affected nouns, since pronouns still show case marking in Present Day English. Therefore, a ME speaker could select an apparent nominative noun as the experiencer of an experiencer verb, but could select a clear dative pronoun. Allen (1995) specifies that a clear piece of evidence for reanalysis in Middle English should exhibit a nominative pronoun, because that would be the ultimate proof that speakers chose a nominative experiencer with some verbs. However, clear nominative experiencers do not appear with the majority of Type I verbs such as *like* until more than one century after the loss of distinction between nominative and dative. In addition to that, impersonal constructions do not start losing ground until the 15th century, while the use of preposed dative experiencers decreases already in the 14th century.

Finally, reanalysis presupposes the sudden death of one system in favour of another. For example, Lightfoot (1979, 1988) adopts the generally assumed date in which word order changed from OV to VO, that is, the 12th century, as the date in which reanalysis took place.[50] However, the loss of impersonal constructions cannot have been due to a sudden reanalysis, because, as Allen (1995) mentions, such a loss was not a matter of variation across speakers, but variation across verbs within the language of the same speaker. In other words, if reanalysis were the key concept to interpret the evolution of impersonals, one would expect that some speakers reanalysed all constructions as personal, while other speakers had not reanalysed them yet. That is to say, there would be variation across speakers. However, that does not seem to be the case in Middle English. What we actually find is variation within the language of the same speaker. Even after the loss of morphological distinctions the same speaker assigns oblique or nominative case to the NPa depending on the verb. In Allen's words, speakers managed to "abduce grammars in which particular verbs could assign case lexically to their Experiencers" (1995: 451). This seems to imply that

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[50] However, Lightfoot seems to change his mind as far as this sudden reanalysis is concerned, and opts for an explanation of the loss of impersonal constructions as a gradual process in his 1991 work.

the change from impersonal to personal construction has not been sudden due to the birth of new speakers.

Therefore, if Jespersen's theory is not applicable, how should the development of impersonal constructions be accounted for? Von Seefranz-Montag (1984) examines a number of Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages and comes to the following conclusion (1984: 546):

> The change of 'subjectless' constructions is a consequence of historical changes in the functional and coding properties of the grammatical relation 'subject': The gradual acquisition of syntactic and morphosyntactic subject properties by experiencer arguments of impersonal verbs is proportional to the establishment of grammatical relations in a language.

This account goes hand in hand with Allen's (1986b: 398) assertion that from the 13th to the 15th centuries "a preposed cause was marked nominative and a postposed cause was marked dative." Allen (1986b) also underlines the fact that in Old English nominative was the default case, and, therefore, any postposed cause could get nominative case, while in Middle English, case assignment to objects was structural, and any postposed element is inflected for the dative. This seems to be directly related to what von Seefranz-Montag (1984) calls "establishment of grammatical relations in a language." Once inflectional cases are based on structural grounds, pre-verbal elements start to acquire nominative case, while post-verbal elements obtain dative case. This is in direct connection with Allen's (1995) postulation of an OE dative subject, since at that period, morphological case marking was not connected to syntactic functions.

Nevertheless, neither von Seefranz-Montag's (1984) explanation, nor Jespersen's picture can account for the rise of new impersonals in the ME period, such as, for instance, the impersonal uses of ME *neden,*[51] *lacken, happen* or *thurven* (cf. von Seefranz-Montag 1984: 526; Anderson 1986; Pocheptsov 1997: 479-480). In any case, these new members of the set will not stay in the language for a long time, because by the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries, impersonal constructions disappear "along three avenues" (von Seefranz-Montag 1984: 526): (i) either the verb disappears in favour of a nearly

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[51] It has already been mentioned that the OE verb *neodian* is characterized as impersonal by Bosworth and Toller (s.v. *neadian, neodian*). Von Seefranz-Montag's (1984) account of impersonal *neden* as a ME innovation, however, does not seem to be wrong in the light of the OE data retrieved from the 1.2 million-word corpus where not a single example of impersonal *neodian* has been found. This comes to prove that OE impersonal *neodian* cannot have been frequent.

synonym personal verb (e.g. OE *þyncan* 'to seem' disappears in favour of *think*); (ii) a dummy *hit* is introduced as an obligatory element (e.g. *it pleases me*); and (iii) preverbal oblique experiencers are assigned nominative case (e.g. *I think something, I like something*).

Another well-accepted explanation for the development of the impersonal constructions in English is Fischer and van der Leek's (1983).[52] Their main point of argumentation states that, instead of considering that impersonal verbs change their meanings in the history of English (e.g. OE *lician* 'to please' > PDE *like*), a more accurate explanation is that in Old English (1983: 337-338):

> both meanings existed side by side, systematically associable with different syntactic constructions. Due to the weakening of the OE case system, the various constructions collapsed into one; this resulted in semantic ambiguity, which in its turn led to the obsolescence of one or the other meaning of the verbs in question.

By way of illustration, Fischer and van der Leek (1983: 352) resort to an example of OE *lician*. Example (2.77) is an instance of this verb meaning 'to have pleasure, to like,' rather than 'to please' (from Fischer and van der Leek 1983: 352):

(2.77) *þu eart sunu min leof, on þe   ic   wel   licade*
       you are   son my dear, on whom I (nom) well was pleased
       'you are my dear son in whom I was well pleased'
       (*Mark*; Skeat, 1871-1887: 11)

The verb *licade* is said to have the meaning 'be pleased' in this sentence, and this interpretation is probably favoured by the nominative experiencer *ic* 'I.' With this example, Fischer and van der Leek (1983) justify their explanation for the evolution of impersonal constructions without implying, as Jespersen and others do, that the OE impersonal changed to a personal construction. What they maintain, on the contrary, is that the OE impersonal verbs could be construed in both personal and impersonal constructions. In most of the cases, the impersonal construction was lost in favour of the personal one, and this disappearance is derived from the fact that from the 16th century onwards no verb can occur with

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[52] Their theory is very well accepted by Denison (1993: 80 ff.)

more than one non-nominative NP (1983: 364).[53] However, not all impersonals died out. The PDE verb *seem*, for example, is still found in an impersonal construction involving a sentential complement and a dummy *it* (*it seems to me that…*). The reason why *seem* did not survive with a nominative subject when it has a sentential complement is that "there simply was no such personal construction to survive" (1983: 367). The only exceptions are those cases of raising such as *he seems to be a good player*, which, according to Fischer and van der Leek (1983: 367), derives from *it seems that he is a good player*.

Therefore, Fischer and van der Leek's (1983) account of the development of the OE constructions involving experiencer verbs makes it possible to understand why different OE experiencer verbs have developed along different lines, and why their development has not been chronologically parallel. Thus, the different lines along which experiencer verbs have developed are four:

(i) Some verbs undergo the same development as PDE *like*, from OE *lician*. That is, they acquire a nominative subject and an NP or a clause taking the role of cause (*I like apples, I like playing cards*).

(ii) Other verbs may retain the impersonal character, as the French loanword *please*. Although this verb entered the English language as a personal verb, it acquired impersonal features in the ME period[54] and has survived as a supplement for *like*, the experiencer is always the dative object, while the subject may be an NP or a dummy *it* (*That music pleases me; It pleases me that you have come*).

(iii) Some other verbs split and survive with two lexical entries, as is the case of PDE *ail*, which may have a non-animate nominative subject and a dative object, as in *what ails her?*, meaning 'what troubles her?,' or it may have an animate nominative experiencer as subject, as in *she is ailing*, 'she is ill.'[55]

(iv) Finally, the last line of development is that undergone by verbs such as PDE *seem*, which, as mentioned above, only survives as an impersonal verb

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[53] Fischer and van der Leek relate their hypothesis to the breakdown of the morphological system (which is also the centre of the more traditional explanation based on reanalysis). However, their account, which is based on the GB theory, is more complex. The steps leading them to formulate their conclusions are not mentioned here for the sake of simplicity.

[54] The fact that a personal verb borrowed from French becomes impersonal in the ME period proves that the system of impersonality was still operative at that period. At the same time, this verb also developed an experiencer-subject construction in LME (cf. Fischer and van der Leek 1983: 363, note 15).

[55] The use of *ail* as a personal verb, that is, with an experiencer-subject, is taken to be a mistake by the compilers of the *OED* (s.v. *ail* v. 4)

construed with obligatory dummy *it*, because there existed no personal alternative construction with a nominative experiencer subject.

If we compare the four lines of development proposed by Fischer and van der Leek's (1983), to those proposed by von Seefranz-Montag (1984: 526), we can observe that they overlap to some extent. Both mention the possibilities that, on the one hand, preverbal experiencers are assigned nominative case, and, on the other hand, a dummy *hit* may be introduced as an obligatory element. In addition to that, Fischer and van der Leek mention two further possible evolutions, namely the retention of an oblique experiencer (ii), and the survival with different lexical entries (iii). However, they fail to account for those verbs which disappear in favour of other lexemes, as, for example OE *þyncan* 'to seem,' which disappears in favour of *think*, a line of development mentioned by von Seefranz-Montag (1984: 526).

On a different line, but also as an alternative for the reanalysis hypothesis, Allen (1995) proposes the following explanation for the development of experiencer verbs. It has already been mentioned that she considers that such a development must have been a gradual process, as opposed to the sudden nature of the reanalysis proposed by Jespersen (1909-1949) or Lightfoot (1979, 1988). Such a gradual development of experiencer verbs does not start in the ME period, but is evident from Old English, when some verbs admit either a nominative or a non-nominative experiencer (cf. Fischer and van der Leek 1983, and, specifically example (2.77) above). As for the loss of case distinctions, which Allen (1995) insists on calling syncretism rather than loss (since speakers kept on distinguishing between cases, even if some forms coalesce), it began even earlier, "long before English was written, and even before it was a distinct language, in the syncretism which had already occurred in the Proto-Germanic period" (1995: 211). This syncretism is seen, for example, in the nominative and accusative plural of the strong general masculine declension of nouns, since both endings are <-as> (cf., for example Quirk and Wrenn 1955: 20).[56] Such a syncretism may

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[56] It is true that syncretism increases in early Middle English, and this is what has been studied as the loss of case distinctions. Such an increase in syncretism between forms has been taken as evidence that Middle English was a Creole of Danish, of French or of both. See Bailey and Maroldt (1977) and Poussa (1982) for evidence in favour of the creolization of Middle English; and Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Görlach (1986) and Allen (1995) supporting the opposite idea.

have been a helping factor in the introduction of nominative experiencers, but it is definitely not the trigger for it, since new impersonal usages enter the English language in the 13th and 14th centuries, when lexical case marking of objects was being lost, and some impersonal verbs remained quite vigorous (cf. Allen 1995: 219).

Gropen *et al*. (1989) study the acquisition of dative alternation in Present-Day English, as in the pair *I gave him a book / I gave a book to him*. Their conclusion is that language learners are weakly conservative in their use of such an alternation, which is limited to the verbs which they have frequently heard, and it is later extended to verbs with a similar meaning. For example, new language learners use dative alternation with the verb *give*, and then extend it to verbs such as *fax*. According to Allen (1995: 304-305), this may also explain the situation of preposed dative experiencer verbs in Middle English. New speakers would not use dative experiencers with verbs which they have seldom heard. However, they would be prone to use dative experiencers with verbs which they had frequently heard, and, later, make generalizations and extend it to other verbs which belong to the same semantic group. As mentioned above, the use of preposed dative experiencers with the verbs under analysis seems to stem from their semantics, since in addition to the claimed OE impersonal *neodian*, we will find examples of ME impersonal *thurven* (from OE personal *þurfan*), and even a ME impersonal French loanword, namely *mister*. In fact, semantics seems to have played a more important role than syntax in the development of preposed dative experiencer verbs, both in the rise of new impersonal uses such as *þurfan* or *mister*, and in the demise of impersonal constructions with some verbs. One of these is *lose*, which began to occur with nominative experiencers earlier than case marking was ambiguous, and which became personal long before other Type I verbs began to develop nominative experiencers (Allen 1995: 326-328). Therefore, the loss of nominal case marking, or, in Allen's (1995) words, syncretism between forms, does not necessarily imply the introduction of nominative experiencers; this can be inferred from the introduction in Middle English of new impersonal uses of some verbs with preposed dative pronominal experiencers. Therefore, how can we account for the development of impersonal constructions involving preposed dative experiencers? Allen's (1995: 291-347) explanation as a gradual development consists of the following stages:

- Old English: a given verb selects for the case marking of its experiencer. Such a case marking may be optional or obligatory, depending on the verb.
- Middle English: lexical case marking of experiencer subjects is still commonly used, and even extended to some other verbs, such as *ought, þurfan, mister*, etc. This extension is generally based on semantic grounds.
  - Early 13th c.: verbs cease to assign lexical case to their objects (direct objects are no longer inflected for the accusative, and indirect objects are no longer inflected for the dative), but still assign it to their subjects, since speakers have the evidence that some verbs assign nominative case to their subjects, while other verbs assign dative case.
  - 13th c.: marking the subject with dative begins to be interpreted as the non-volitionality of the experiencer, rather than as a syntactic option controlled by the verb.
  - Late 14th c.: lexical case marking has become optional with nearly all verbs. That is to say, alternation between dative and nominative becomes a decision on the speaker's behalf, rather than a semantics-based choice.
  - 15th c.: not marking experiencers lexically becomes the preferred option, to the detriment of preposed dative experiencers.
- Early Modern English:
  - mid-16th c.: lexical case marking is restricted to fixed expressions, such as *me thinks*.

This synoptic evolution of constructions with preposed dative experiencers comes to mean that "the final loss of lexical case marking occurred once PDEs [=preposed dative experiencers] became used too infrequently to be considered in the language-learner's choice of parameter settings" (Allen 1995: 323). That is, Allen (1995) reverses the order of the linguistic phenomena. While traditional accounts record the decay of the inflectional system before the loss of the impersonal constructions, Allen (1995) considers that the disappearance of case distinctions was not complete before the final loss of preposed dative experiencers, because as far as speakers differentiate between nominative and dative pronominal experiencers, they conceive grammars in which case distinction plays an important role.

In the preceding paragraphs I have described the two main hypotheses as for the development of the impersonals in the history of English, namely the

traditional account based on reanalysis (cf. Jespersen 1909-1949 or von Seefranz-Montag 1984, among others), and two alternative accounts. One of these two is based on the GB theory, namely Fischer and van der Leek's (1983). The other is Allen (1995). Her descriptive approach is coherent and exhaustive. She rejects a sudden reanalysis in favour of a gradual loss along consecutive periods. In an initial stage, preposed dative experiencers occur with some verbs, but are optional with some other verbs. Then, preposed dative experiencers become rarer and rarer, and, finally, speakers begin to "construct grammars in which the parameter settings did not permit lexical entries specifying the case of the arguments" (Allen 1995: 451), that is, speakers cease to use preposed dative experiencers in favour of nominative ones.

In this study I will follow Allen's (1995) account for several reasons. Firstly, Allen's descriptive approach is closer to the framework used in this work than Fischer and van der Leek's (1983) GB theory-based study. Secondly, her approach rejects the sudden changes which reanalysis presupposes, and opts for a gradual explanation of the changes. While reanalysis implies the impossibility for speakers to construct impersonal constructions once syncretism of forms is complete (sudden change), Allen (1995) highlights the fact that it is not a matter of variation across speakers, but variation across verbs within the language of the same speaker (gradual change). That is to say, one speaker can produce impersonal constructions with some verbs, but not with some other verbs. Thirdly, her approach is the only one which accounts for the rise of new impersonal usages in Middle English, since the reanalysis hypothesis posits that it is impossible for new language speakers to produce preposed dative experiencer constructions once the loss of inflectional endings is complete. Fourthly, Allen's (1995) explanation takes into consideration semantics to a greater extent than the reanalysis theory, and implies that the evolution of each verb must be analysed separately, while for those scholars following the reanalysis hypothesis only morphology and syntax matter.

CHAPTER 3

OLD ENGLISH *ÞURFAN, BEÞURFAN, NEODIAN* AND *BEHOFIAN*

This chapter analyses the semantic, syntactic and morphological features of OE *þurfan, beþurfan, neodian* and *behofian*, the verbs which in Old English may express the meanings conveyed by PDE *need*.

  This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part provides a description of these OE verbs as found in the relevant literature. Section 3.1 offers a general outline of the morphological characteristics of the OE verbal system. Section 3.2 examines preterite-present verbs from a semantic and syntactic point of view, since two of the above-mentioned verbs belong to this group, namely *þurfan* and *beþurfan*. In turn, section 3.3 deals with the syntactic and semantic features of OE *neodian* and *behofian*, concentrating especially on their impersonal nature. Finally, the second part of this chapter offers the detailed analysis of the linguistic data obtained from the OE corpus (section 3.4).

3.1. Morphological classification of the Old English verbs

From a morphological perspective, the majority of OE verbs can be classified as strong or weak,[1] as is also the case in all the other Germanic languages (cf. Hogg 1992c: 146). The strong conjugation is older and has an Indo-European origin.

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[1] I have chosen these terms, strong and weak, because they are the most frequently found in the literature. However, other labels are also available to refer to the different classes of OE verbs. Quirk and Wrenn (1955: §70, 74), for instance, use the terms consonantal type and vocalic type for the weak and strong classes respectively.

However, the origins of the weak class "although obscure, were strictly Germanic" (Hogg 1992c: 146). The formal difference between these two types of verbs concerns the formation of the preterite. Strong verbs form their preterite by means of vowel variation in their stem (cf. PDE *sing-sang-sung*), while weak verbs form their preterite by means of suffixation, adding a dental suffix to the stem (cf. PDE *love-loved-loved*). Paradoxically, the Germanic innovation overrode the Indo-European conjugation and became the more productive paradigm. Both *neodian* and *behofian* belong to the weak class of verbs.

However, not all OE verbs can be assigned to one of these two categories. According to Mitchell (1985: §600), there are two more types of verbs: "preterite-present" and "anomalous (*willan, don, gan* and *beon*)." Hogg (1992c: 146), however, resorts to the general label "irregular" to refer to all these verbs. The reason why their classification is different is that Mitchell's classification is historically based, since the origins of the preterite-present and the anomalous verbs are not the same. Hogg's classification, by contrast, is based on OE synchronic data; in other words, by the time when Old English was spoken all those verbs were just different from the norm and this accounts for the label 'irregular.' Among the preterite-presents we find *þurfan* and *beþurfan*.

As for the frequency of occurrence, despite the fact that the vast majority of OE verbs belong to the weak class, the three types of verbs (weak, strong and irregular) are very similar in rate of occurrence. As Hogg (1992c: 146) points out, although the verbs which he calls irregular verbs constitute a small minority, they are highly frequent verbs; similarly, among strong verbs there are also many high-frequency verbs.

Concerning the inflection of OE verbs, they can be inflected for person, number, tense and mood. Old English exhibits first, second and third person singular verbal forms, and a single form for the plural, as Old Saxon and Old Frisian (cf. Mitchell: 1985: §17).[2] Like in all Germanic languages, verbs in Old English have two tense forms: present and past both in the indicative and in the subjunctive moods, while in the imperative mood they only mark the second person singular and plural of the present tense.

With regards to mood, together with forms belonging to the well distinguished indicative, subjunctive and imperative moods, Mitchell also recognizes what he calls "ambiguous forms such as *woldest*," because "the

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[2] Plural verbs forms are also used with the nominative of the dual of the first and second person pronouns (cf. Mitchell 1985: §600).

ending *–est* in the preterite may be either indicative or subjunctive" (1985: §601). However, the origin of these unclear forms need not be a linguistic one, but the result of the fact that texts were written by different scribes (cf. Mitchell 1985: §601a for a list of these "ambiguous" forms).

Thus, person, number, tense and mood are the four basic grammatical categories that Old English could be inflected for. The expression of another grammatical category, namely voice, is periphrastic (in combination with the verbs *beon/wesan* or *weorþan*), with the exception of the verb *hatte* "is/was called", plural *hatton* "are/were called" (cf. Mitchell 1985: §600).

This brief summary of the morphological features of OE verbs reveals that the verbal system of Old English was highly inflected as compared with that of Present-Day English. This summary also makes it possible to classify *þurfan* and its derived verb *beþurfan* as preterite-present verbs, and *neodian* and *behofian* as weak verbs. In the next sections the syntactic features of these four verbs will be examined.

3.2. Preterite-present verbs and Old English pre-modals

This section is divided into two parts. In the first part (3.2.1), I give a brief account of preterite-present verbs, a class to which two of my verbs belong. In the second part (3.2.2), the OE preterite-presents *þurfan* and *beþurfan* are described.

3.2.1. *Morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics*

Preterite-present verbs are not very numerous in Old English if we compare them to weak and strong verbs. However, most of them are high-frequency verbs, and, therefore, they occur very often in OE texts. I will start by describing preterite-present verbs from a morphological perspective, and will turn later to their syntactic features as well as to their semantic dimension.

As already mentioned, scholars differ as to where to include these verbs in a morphological classification of OE verbs. They may be either included in the 'irregular' group (within the general classification strong, weak and irregular) or they may constitute a class of their own. This obviously implies that these verbs are 'special' as far as their morphological nature is concerned. Roger Lass (1994: 169) provides a suitable definition of these verbs:

> The origin is a non reduplicating IE [Indo-European] perfect, which developed present tense […]. Since the past sense was lost in these historical perfects, new pasts had to be constructed; and since the weak conjugation even in early times was the only productive one, this is the natural source. Some of these verbs are of course ancestors of our modern auxiliaries; the fact that the present is 'really' (historically) a strong preterite accounts for one major structural anomaly: the lack of 3 sg inflection (*he can*, not **can-s*). Since the strong PRET1 has no ending here […], the descendants of these OE presents don't either. Therefore *he can* is really equivalent to *he sang*, not *he sings*.

These verbs, therefore, derive from original preterites of strong verbs, and after they lose their past time reference, they develop a new preterite following the weak conjugation, since this is the productive one in Old English.[3] Denison's (1993: 296) definition is very similar to Lass's, but he provides a new piece of information. He states that there is a difference between the inflectional ending of the second person singular in the preterite of *regular* strong verbs and in the present of preterite-present verbs: while the ending for the preterite of the first group is *–e*, the ending for the present in preterite-present verbs is *–st*. This seems to be a clear indicator that these verbs had lost their past time reference and had come to express only present time. Consequently, Denison's definition of these verbs is as follows: "a set of verbs with a present tense just like the past (preterite) tense of a **strong** verb (apart from the *–st* of the 2 SG) and a past tense formed on an irregular stem with the endings of the **weak** past" (Denison 1993: 296).

The fact that these verbs have historically been conjugated according to two different classes has led some scholars to call them 'strong-weak.' However, this term is not very accurate, since, as Campbell (1959: §726, fn. 1) points out, this label "implies commitment to the view that the dental element in the preterite of these verbs is identical in origin with that of the Gmc. [Germanic] weak preterite." In other words, it is a mistake to imply that the dental inflectional ending of preterite-present verbs is the same as the one of weak verbs, since these endings did not appear at the same point of time. The term strong-weak seems to imply that the verbs under that label belong to both classes simultaneously, and this is not true. As already mentioned, they used to belong to the strong class and then transferred to the weak one after having lost their past time reference.

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[3] The same class of verbs may be found in all Germanic languages, as well as in Latin (e.g. *coepi*, 'I begin') and Greek (e.g. *oida*, 'I know'), which evidences the Indoeuropean origin of this class of preterite-presents (cf. Warner 1993: 140).

Preterite-present verbs may be subdivided into two groups: the 'non-modal' verbs and the so-called 'pre-modals' (Traugott 1992: 193, Denison 1993: 296). Non-modal verbs include: *beneah/geneah* 'suffice,' *deah* 'avail,' *gemunan* 'remember,' *(ge)unnan* 'love, grant,' and *witan* 'know.' [4] None of these verbs survives in Present-Day English.

The 'pre-modal' group is the most relevant one for the purposes of this study. According to Mitchell (1985: §990) pre-modals include: *agan* 'own,' *cunnan* 'can,' *durran* 'dare,' *magan* 'may,' *motan* 'must,' *sculan* 'shall,' and *þurfan* 'need.' Denison's (1993) classification coincides with Mitchell's, except for the fact that Denison treats OE *agan* as a marginal modal, since "its syntactic properties were significantly different from the rest" (1993: 295).

Nearly all these verbs survived in Present-Day English, and they belong to a special class of verbs, the modal verbs, a group which also includes PDE *will*. We know that all these verbs are somewhat different from the rest in Present-Day English, and scholars agree in that they are also different from the rest in Old English. However, there is no agreement as to what label would be suitable to cover all of them plus *willan* in Old English. OE *willan* does not have a preterite-present origin,[5] and therefore the term 'preterite-present' is not a comprehensive one for all these verbs.

As already pointed out, Traugott (1992: 193) uses the term 'pre-modal,' while Mitchell (1985: §991) calls them '"modal" auxiliaries.' The term auxiliary, however, is not very suitable for these verbs, since they could also be used independently as full lexical verbs. In addition to this, the term modal is also misleading, because the verbs included under this label do not necessarily convey modality in Old English. Denison (1993: 292) states that "For simplicity I shall stick to **modal**, without inverted commas." I will follow Traugott (1992) and use the term pre-modal without inverted commas, since, even though they did not behave exactly like PDE modals, they are obviously their ancestors.

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[4] Since these verbs are taken from Denison (1993), the forms appear in the third person singular, as opposed to the infinitive, which is the form used by Mitchell (1985) to quote OE verbs.

[5] Even though OE *willan* exhibits the morphology of a regular weak verb, Warner (1993: 142) mentions a couple of anomalies, which bring it close to preterite-presents. The first one is the second person singular of the present indicative, *þu wilt*, which resembles preterite-presents rather than the expected form for a weak verb (*willest*). The second anomaly concerns the third person singular of the present indicative, *he wile*, which clearly contrasts with the expected weak form (*willeþ*). These two features, nevertheless, are not enough to include OE *willan* into the group of preterite-presents.

I have tried to show that most scholars agree that preterite-present verbs should not be treated as a single category, but included into the class known as OE pre-modals. I will follow this classification in the remainder of this section, where I deal with the syntactic and semantic characteristics of these verbs. However, since I am overtly discussing modals, I should not forget to, at least, mention what Denison (1993: 315-323) calls marginal modals in Old English, as opposed to 'non-modals' and 'pre-modals.' These are: *agan* (which Mitchell 1985 included into the main modal group), *have* 'be obliged,' *be* 'of necessity, obligation or future,' *uton* 'let' and *onginnan* 'begin.' These verbs fall outside of the scope of this study because they do not provide any relevant information related to the group of pre-modals, to which one of the verbs under analysis, OE *þurfan*, belongs. In other words, my concern here has to do with the OE preterite-present verbs that have yielded any PDE modal, alongside OE *willan*, since its syntactic and semantic features bring it very close to preterite-present verbs. By excluding marginal modals I avoid dealing with marginal cases, which could constitute a hindrance to my attempt to offer a clear description of the background of OE *þurfan*.

Table 3.1 provides a graphic summary of all the groups of verbs that have been mentioned so far, with the aim of delimiting the scope of this study. In order to determine the classification of these verbs, I have used the following sources. The list of OE pre-modals follows Traugott (1992) and Mitchell (1985). The inventory of the OE preterite-present verbs has been taken from Campbell (1959). The label "marginal modals" has been borrowed from Denison (1993). And finally, I have followed Huddleston (1984) and Quirk *et al.* (1985) for the identification of PDE modals.

The Xs in bold type in this table signal the verbs which I attempt to describe in this section. All of them are OE central pre-modals, PDE modals and, with the exception of OE *willan*, all of them are preterite-present verbs.

In the following paragraphs I describe this set of verbs along three different dimensions. Firstly, their morphological features. Secondly, their syntactic idiosyncrasy. And, finally, a semantic outline of these verbs.

	OE Pre-modal	Preterite-present	OE marginal modal	PDE modal
witan 'know'		X		
agan 'possess, ought'		X	X[6]	(X)[7]
*dagan 'avail'		X		
unnan 'grant'		X		
gemunan 'remember'		X		
cunnan 'can, know'	**X**	**X**		**X**
þurfan 'need'	**X**	**X**		**X[8]**
*durran 'dare'	**X**	**X**		**X**
*sculan 'owe, shall'	**X**	**X**		**X**
*motan 'must'	**X**	**X**		**X**
magan 'may, be able to'	**X**	**X**		**X**
willan 'wish, desire'	**X**			**X**
habban 'have'			X	(X)[9]
be of necessity, obligation or future			X	(X)
uton 'let(us)'		?[10]	X	
onginnan 'begin'			X	

Table 3.1: OE pre-modals, OE preterite-present verbs, OE marginal modals and PDE modals.

Campbell (1959: §767) classifies preterite-present verbs morphologically according to their original strong class. There are seven classes of strong verbs according to the Ablaut series, that is, according to the stem vowel in the following forms: infinitive, preterite singular, preterite plural and past participle. In Old English, there are preterite-present verbs belonging to class I (*wat, ah,*), to class II (*deag*), to class III (*ann, cann, þearf, dearr*), to class IV (*sceal, geman, be-, geneah*) and to class VI (*mot*). There is also a verb whose class is uncertain according to Campbell (1959: §767), namely *mæg*.

Warner (1993: 142) considers that the group of pre-modals is coherent as early as Old English, since it is linked to stative semantics, probably due to the perfect origin, which focuses on the state achieved.

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[6] As already mentioned, I follow Denison (1993: 295) in treating OE *agan* as a marginal modal, rather than as a central modal, a claim defended by Mitchell (1985: §990).

[7] Huddleston (1984: 165) states that *ought* "is on the periphery of the class," the class being PDE modal verbs. Quirk *et al* .(1985: §3.40) classify this verb as a "marginal modal." This is the reason why brackets have been used in this category.

[8] Huddleston (1984: 165) argues that both PDE *need* and *dare* may be main verbs, and Quirk *et al*. (1985: §3.41, 3.42) agree in that "for each there is also a homomorphic verb (DARE, NEED) constructed as a main verb."

[9] According to Huddleston (1984: 165), both PDE *have* and *be* "in certain uses have some affinities with the modals."

[10] Denison (1993: 318) points out that for some scholars *uton* 'know' is a form of OE *witan* 'depart, die,' a rare strong verb, rather than a form of the preterite-present *witan*.

Another special morphological feature of OE pre-modals concerns the possibility of contraction with the negative particle *ne*. This particle merges with certain common words, which have an initial vowel (e.g. *ic nam < ne + am*), initial [w] (e.g. *ic nylle < ne + wille*), or initial [h] (e.g. *ic næbbe < ne + hæbbe*), as noted by Warner (1993: 150-151). Present-Day English still exhibits a vestige of this phenomenon in *willy-nilly*, a contraction of *ne + will* (Denison 1993: 309). Although in a different order of elements (i.e. verb + negation), negative contractions are also exclusive of auxiliaries in Present-Day English (e.g. *won't*).

A last morphological characteristic of OE pre-modals is their defective paradigm, since they rarely occur as non-finite forms. In fact, the infinitives of some of these verbs are not recorded (those asterisked in Table 3.1), and that is the reason why Campbell (1959), for instance, uses the third person singular to quote them. Therefore, these verbs are already defective in Old English, since the original infinitive is no longer valid for the new meaning they have acquired. Visser (1963-1973: §§1649-1651, 1684-1687, 1722-1723, 1839, 2042, 2134) provides some examples of this rare use of non-finite forms of OE pre-modals, and Warner (1993: 145) offers a complete list of the recorded non-finite forms of these verbs in Old English.

Therefore, the verbs under analysis in this section are, from a morphological point of view, quite different from the vast majority of OE verbs. Now I will examine their syntactic behaviour, in order to check whether they also differ from the main stream of verbs, in a way that can explain their characteristics in Present-Day English.

In section 2.3.2.5, I described PDE modals as auxiliary verbs which have undergone a complex process of grammaticalization in the course of history. In the following paragraphs I will examine their ancestors in the OE period in order to determine their degree of grammaticalization at this early stage.

OE pre-modals could be construed according to four different patterns: intransitively, as in (3.1), with a NP as object, as in (3.2), followed by an infinitive, as in (3.3), and, in the case of OE *magan* and *willan*, with a *þæt*-complement, as in (3.4):

(3.1) *Eac neah   þan ealle þa ðing   þe ðanon*
Also nearly then all those things that thence
*cumað, wið   ælcum attre **magon**.*
come, against every poison they-prevail

‘But nearly all those things that are extracted from it can be used as antidote to any poison.’
(*Bede* 1 1.30.3)

(3.2) *...þæt he geornor* **wolde** <u>sibbe</u> *wið hiene þonne gewinn.*
...that they rather wanted peace with him than conflict
‘…that they wanted peace with him rather than conflict.’
(*Or* 3 1 96.17)

(3.3) *...swa þæt hi næfre* **ne mihton ne noldon**   *syððan fram his willan* <u>gebugan</u>
…so that they never not might nor not-wanted since from his will   bend
‘so that they never were able or wanted after that to revolt from this will.’
(*ÆCHom* I, 1 12.7)

(3.4) *Deme ge   nu, swa swa ge* **willon**   <u>þæt eow   sy   eft   gedemed</u>.
judge you now, as   as you wish (subj) that to-you be afterward judged
‘Judge now as you wish to be judged later.’
(BlHom 5) 130)
                              (examples and translations from Traugott 1992: 193, 194, 263)

Therefore, OE pre-modals seem to behave as lexical verbs, at least in some contexts, namely when they are used absolutely or when they are complemented by an NP or a *wh-* finite complement clause. However, they are very commonly found with infinitives as complements.[11] This preference for the infinitive seems to point towards an auxiliary-like nature of these verbs in Old English, as Bolinger (1980, as cited in Heine 1993: 27) states: "[t]he moment a verb is given an infinitive complement, that verb starts down the road of auxiliariness." As for Old English, we must differentiate between the plain or bare infinitive (e.g. *singan*, 'to sing') and the inflected infinitive which is always preceded by *to* (e.g. *to singenne, to singanne, to singan*, 'to sing').

The origin of the inflected infinitive is a prepositional phrase implying direction or purpose, by means of the preposition *to* followed by a dative. However, in Old English–*enne* and –*anne* are no longer datives (cf. Warner 1983: 200 ff.). The plain and the inflected infinitive are normally distributed as follows. The plain infinitive occurs with a few high frequency verbs, and, therefore, is very frequent in Old English. The inflected infinitive, on the contrary, is recorded with a wide range of OE verbs. However, the vast majority of OE verbs shows variation as for the choice of the infinitive, that is, most verbs

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[11] According to Visser (1963-1973: §548), whether the pre-modal was complemented by a noun phrase or an infinitive is not a relevant feature, because, since infinitives were nouns, the relationship between them and the modal was the same as the relationship between the NP and the pre-modal.

may select either the plain or the inflected infinitive. The only verbs which never occur with the inflected infinitive are *cann, dearr, mæg, mot, sceal, þearf, uton* and *wile* (cf. Warner 1993: 137). More specifically, Warner (1993: 138) observes that the inflected infinitive is preferred in constructions in which the (assumed) subject of the infinitive is the same as the one of the verb, as in PDE *I want to go*, as opposed to constructions in which the infinitive and the verb have different subjects, e.g. verbs of perception such as OE *seon*, 'to see,' as in *I saw you go*. Pre-modals are an exception, since, in spite of occurring in shared subject constructions, they only select the plain infinitive.[12] The fact that OE pre-modals select the plain infinitive exclusively seems to imply that this group has a distinctive syntactic feature which evokes their incipient auxiliariness as early as in Old English. There are, in addition, further pieces of syntactic evidence in favour of such an interpretation.

OE pre-modals occur in a number of constructions which reveal their non-fully lexical character, that is to say, they prove to have undergone decategorialization, one of the four processes of grammaticalization mentioned by Hopper (1991) and Heine (1993: 58 ff.), which implies, among other changes, a reinterpretation of syntactic function (cf. section 2.3.2.5). These frequent constructions impersonal and elliptical constructions. Impersonal constructions (see section 2.3 for a complete description) have been thoroughly studied in coocurrence with OE pre-modals, since the ability of pre-modals to occur with a non-nominative argument by influence of the accompanying infinitive reveals that their status is subordinate to the infinitive, which is the syntactic head (Denison 1990a; Warner 1993, among others). See, for example, (3.5):

> (3.5) *Forþon ne **þearf** nanne man tweogan, þæt seo forlætene cyrice ne hycgge*
> because not need no man (acc) doubt that the forsaken church not take-care
> *ymb   þa   þe on hire neawiste   lifgeaþ.*
> about those that in her neighbourhood live
> 'Because no man need doubt of this, that the forsaken church (will) not take-care for those that live in her neighbourhood.'
> (BlHom 41.36)
>
> (example and translation from Warner 1993: 123)

In sentence (3.5), the third person singular of the pre-modal *þurfan*, 'need,' namely *þearf*, occurs together with the impersonal verb in the infinitive form,

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[12] Mitchell (1985: §996) mentions the exceptional behaviour of *agan* (a marginal modal, according to Denison 1993: 295) which demands the inflected infinitive, unless two or more infinitives are joined; in such cases, only the first one is inflected.

tweogan, 'doubt,' and the experiencer of the construction, *nanne man*, 'no man,' is inflected for the accusative, as *tweogan* demands, instead of nominative, as was expected from *þearf*. The fact that *þearf* loses its usual way of marking the experiencer in favour of the syntactic requirements of *tweogan* seems to imply that this OE pre-modal has less syntactic weight than the impersonal verb. In other words, *þurfan* seems to function as an auxiliary verb. However, as Warner (1993: 132) points out, "the fact that a verb may 'intervene' in a impersonal construction is in itself a poor argument for its auxiliarihood […]. We need a set of interrelated properties." That is, we cannot draw a conclusion on the basis of the fact that a group of verbs occurs characteristically in a given construction, but further characteristics of that group are needed in order to evidence their status as a coherent group.

Indeed, according to Warner (1993: 111-116), further syntactic features are common to this group, namely, elliptical and pseudo-gapping constructions. Elliptical constructions are those in which an element of a clause is elided. It is said that an auxiliary verb occurs in an elliptical construction when the omitted element is the infinitive which should occur after it, as illustrated in (3.6):

(3.6) *deofol us wile ofslean gif he **mot.***
     devil us will   kill   if he is-allowed
     '(the) devil will kill us if he can.'
     (ÆCHom i270.10)
                   (example and translation from Warner 1993: 112)

In this sentence, the pre-modal *motan*, 'be allowed,' is not followed by the expected infinitive *ofslean*, 'to kill.' Instead, such an infinitive is elided and must be retrieved from the preceding context. The clause, therefore, may be said to be an instance of elliptical construction.

Pseudo-gapping constructions may be considered a variant of elliptical constructions in which the infinitive is elided and the complement of the infinitive is retained and occurs after the auxiliary, as illustrated in (3.7):

(3.7) *We magon monnum bemiðan urne geðonc   & urne willan,   ac we*
     we may   men (dat.) hide   our thoughts (acc.) & our desires (acc.) but we
     *ne **magon** Gode.*
     not may God (dat.)
     'We can hide from men [lit.: from-men hide] our thoughts and our desires,
     but we cannot [lit.: not can] from God.'
     (CP 39.12)
                   (example and translation from Warner 1993: 114)

In the first of these coordinated clauses we see that the plural form of *magan*, 'may,' *magon*, is followed by the infinitive *bemiðan*, 'hide,' and its two complements, *urne geðonc & urne willan*, 'our thoughts and our desires,' and *monnum*, 'from men.' However, in the second of the coordinated clauses, *magon* is only complemented by one of the complements of *bemiðan*, 'hide,' but this infinitive is elided. This is, therefore, an instance of pseudo-gapping in which an OE pre-modal *adopts* the syntax of the infinitive which complements it, even when it is absent.

It must be borne in mind that not all cases of ellipsis may be taken into account as instances of auxiliarization of OE verbs. Warner (1993: 113-114) mentions three exceptional OE contexts. The first exception concerns those cases in which the verb in question is followed by a phrase denoting motion (see ex. in Mitchell 1985: §1007). The fact that there is no verb of movement linking both elements is not an instance of ellipsis, because it "can be accounted for in terms of the semantics of the combination verb + adverbial/prepositional phrase or verb + complement" (Warner 1993: 113). An instance of such a context is (3.8):

> (3.8) …*þa   hi to scipan* **woldon**.
>   …when they to ships wanted
>   '...when they wanted to go to their ships.'
>   (*Chron* E (Plummer) 1009.38)

In sentence (3.8) the pre-modal *willan*, 'want' is complemented by the *natural* complement of a verb of movement, that is, the prepositional phrase *to scipan*, 'to the ships.' However, this cannot be considered an instance of pseudo-gapping, because the omission of verbs of movement is very frequent in Old English.

The second exception involves instances of coordination or comparative clauses, according to Warner (1993: 113). The last case which we must disregard as symptomatic of syntactic ellipsis (and consequent auxiliary nature of the verb) is that of verbs which may be used absolutely, as, for instance, OE *magan*, when it means 'be strong.'

Not all the OE pre-modals show the same patterns, and describing syntactically each pre-modal separately will reveal that not all of them are grammaticalized to the same extent. OE **sculan*, for example, proves to be highly grammaticalized in Old English, as opposed to *cunnan*, which, in that

period, behaves primarily as a main lexical verb. Goossens (1987) analyses these two OE pre-modals both from a syntactic and a semantic point of view. He resorts to a syntactic scale of grammaticalization from the purely lexical end (full predicates) to the highly grammaticalized end (predicate operator) (cf 1987:118). The OE picture as for *cunnan* and **sculan* is shown in the following figure:

Full predicate	Predicate formation	Predicate operator
cunnan	(*cunnan*)	
	(*sceal*) *sceal*	(*sceal*)
	((*sceold-*) (*sceold-*)	*sceolde*

Figure 3.1: Degree of grammaticalization of OE pre-modals cunnan *and* *sculan *(from Goossens 1987: 138).*

OE **sculan* is found to be a predicate operator due to a number of syntactic reasons: absence of a non-finite form (hence the asterisk), occurrence in impersonal and in elliptical constructions, among others, as well as due to semantic reasons such as its ability to express futurity (cf. also Del Lungo Camiciotti and Díaz Vera 2004). On the contrary, OE *cunnan* does not go beyond the predicate formation stage and it most often functions as a full predicate, meaning 'to know.'

It may be concluded that, from a syntactic point of view, some OE pre-modals exhibit auxiliary-like characteristics. However, as Denison (1993: 325) points out, "The syntactic history of the modals inevitably (in my opinion) involves semantics too." I also believe that in the case of pre-modals the syntactic and semantic levels of analysis are closely interrelated, and, consequently, in the remainder of this section I examine their semantics.

Traugott (1992: 195) is clear as regards the semantic characterization of OE pre-modals: "The semantic evidence is strong that pre-modals had properties of auxiliaries (that is, expressed obligation, possibility, probability, temporal relation or even mood)." Obviously, this assertion does not apply equally to all pre-modals. Some of them show preference for lexical meanings, while others frequently convey the kind of modal meanings which Traugott (1992) refers to. In order to provide a graphic description of the cline from full lexical meanings to auxiliary meanings, Goossens (1987) resorts to the following figure:

> Facultative > Deontic > Epistemic > Futurity, Conditional, etc.

Figure 3.2: Scale of desemanticization of modals (from Goossens 1987: 118).

This figure shows the evolution of the meanings of the English modals in the course of history. The relation between the elements of the scale may be explained in terms of desemanticization (cf. Heine 1993: 58 ff., and section 2.1.3.1 above for a definition of this term), since the scale seems to move rightwards from full semantic content to a loss of lexical content in favour of grammatical meaning. In the original stages, the verbs express full lexical meanings (facultative, in Goossens' terms, e.g. **sculan* meaning 'to owe'), then they develop a new meaning (deontic, in Figure 3.2, or root in our terms, as defined in section 2.2.2.2), namely 'to have to, to be obliged.' Goossens claims that the next step in the development of the meanings of pre-modals is the epistemic meaning, that is, that which appears in contexts where the truth of the propositions is put into question, as in, for example, *I gather that he should be in the library*. The modal *should* in this sentence does not express that I am fully asserting that he is in the library, nor fully negating it, but I produce a statement which merely expresses the possibility that he is in the library. Finally, on the right end of the scale, Goossens (1987) includes the temporal meanings such as the futurity implied in *We shall come to the party*. However, in Traugott's (1992) description of the OE pre-modals, we observe that they express temporal meanings more frequently than epistemic meanings, which appear to be marginally grammaticalized in this period.

   In Old English, we find instances of root meanings (which Goossens calls 'deontic'), for instance, in **sculan*, a pre-modal verb which may express moral obligation, as in (3.9):

   (3.9) *and we **sceolan** gehyhtan on Godes þa gehalgodan cyricean.*
         and we must   trust   in God's that hallowed church
         'And we must trust in the hallowed church of God.'
         (BlHom X.111.8-9)
                              (example, translation and gloss from Traugott 1992: 173)

We also find examples of OE pre-modals expressing temporal meanings, [13] and they may also express their basic original meaning, as *willan* in (3.10):

>(3.10) *Þa Darius geseah þæt he oferwunnen beon* **wolde,** *þa* **wolde** *he hiene selfne*
>When Darius saw that he overcome   be would, then wanted he him self
>*on þæm gefeohte forspillan.*
>in that   fight   to-destroy
>'When Darius saw that he would be defeated, he wanted to destroy himself/die in the battle.'
>(Or 3.9.128.5)
>   (example, translation and gloss from Traugott 1992: 197)

The first *wolde* clearly expresses future meaning, while the second one retains the basic meaning of 'wish' (see Warner 1993: 168-169 for a list of examples of OE *willan* conveying future meaning). However, OE *willan* is not only used to express these two semantic nuances. It may, together with **sculan* and *magan*, be used to express possibility of probability (Traugott 1992: 195). An example of *magan* in this use is (3.11):

>(3.11) *Þonne* **mæg** *hine (ACC) scamigan þære brædinge (GEN/DAT) his hlisan.*
>Then   may to-him   shame of-that spreading   of-his fame
>'Then he may be ashamed of the extent of his fame.'
>(Bo 46.5)
>   (example, gloss and translation from Traugott 1992: 195)

In this sentence, the meaning of OE *magan* is not ability or permission, but is closer to possibility.

Summing up, OE pre-modals may express their basic (lexical) meaning (e.g. *willan* meaning 'to wish'), root meanings such as obligation (e.g. **sculan* meaning 'must'), possibility (e.g. *magan* meaning 'may'), and temporal relations (e.g. *willan* 'will' futurity). However, OE pre-modals do not clearly occur in epistemic contexts (cf., for example, Warner 1993: 162). Thus, of all the semantic connotations referred to in Figure 3.2, those which exist in Old English are the so-called facultative, deontic and temporal relations, i.e. the first, second and fourth step, respectively. Epistemic meanings, therefore, seem to be absent from the OE panorama.

The absence (or presence) of epistemic meaning seems to be the most controversial point about the semantics of OE pre-modals. As seen in section

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[13] The most representative among temporal meanings is the one related to future time reference. According to Denison (1993: 303), futural meaning has affinities with both epistemic and deontic meanings.

2.2.2.2, the epistemic function is related to the speaker's belief in the truth or untruth of what he is saying. In other words, it is mostly a subjective quality that ranks a certain statement on a scale that goes from the fully asserted to the fully negated (cf. Goossens 1982: 74-75). PDE modals such as *can, may, must, shall* and *will* show, in addition to their root meanings of volition, permission, etc., epistemic meanings such as possibility or probability.

As for Old English, Warner (1993: 162) considers that *motan* and **sculan* "are open to interpretation in terms of the less clearly epistemic area of inevitable or expected futurity," and gives some examples which are closer to the inevitable future. Consider, for instance, (3.12):

(3.12) *gif þu þonne gelefst þæt hit swa sie on Gode, þonne **scealt** þu nede*
if you then believe that   it so   is in God   then shall you necessarily
gelefan þæt sum anwald sie mara þonne his
believe that some power is more than his
'if you then believe that God is such [lit.: that it thus is (subjunctive) in God], then must you necessarily believe that some power is greater than his'
(Bo 34.84.24)
(example and translation from Warner 1993: 163)

Here *scealt* expresses future rather than the above-mentioned epistemic meaning which is at some point in between what is fully asserted and what is fully negated.

Together with *motan* and **sculan*, the pre-modal *magan* is also said to occur expressing epistemic modality (Denison 1993: 152-154). Goossens (1982: 78) claims that in most of the instances, it is not the verbs on their own that express epistemic meaning. In these instances the pre-modals are either accompanied by adverbs such as *wel* 'indeed, to be sure,' *eaþe* 'easily, perhaps,' or appear in a clause dependent on a verb of opinion. Despite's Goossen's (1982) claim, Warner (1993: 166) affirms that *magan* "could be used in epistemic contexts, even if this did not form an important part of its meaning and was partly restricted to contexts which neutralized the epistemic-dynamic distinction," and provides a couple of examples. One of them is (3.13):

(3.13) *and hi   ða ealle sæton, swa swa **mihte** beon fif þusend   wera*
and they then all   sat   so so   might   be five thousand men (gen.)
(Part of the narrative of the feeding of the 5,000 with loaves and fishes)
'And they then all sat, so that (there) might-have been five thousand (of) men
(ÆCHom i.182.16)
(example, explanation and translation from Warner 1993: 166)

In sentence (3.13), *mihte* seems to express the uncertainty typical of epistemic modality, so it does not appear impossible to find examples of epistemic meanings in Old English, even tough they are rare. The most favourable environment for the expression of such modal meaning is the impersonal construction with pre-modals (Denison 1990a: 154; Traugott 1992: 197), but even in these constructions the epistemic meaning was not very common. An instance of such a marginal phenomenon is (3.14):

> (3.14) *...ic wat þæt hine (ACC)* **wile** *tweogan hwæder heo him soð secge*
> …I know that him   will doubt   whether she him truth may-say
> 'I know that he will doubt whether she will tell him the truth.'
> (HomU 21 (Nap 1) 35)
>   (example, gloss and translation from Traugott 1992: 197)

According to Traugott (1992), OE *willan* expresses in this sentence, as well as *magan* in example (3.11), an epistemic meaning, since the veracity of the event described in the proposition is put into question, that is, it is not fully asserted or fully negated.

As already mentioned, instances such as this one are very rare in Old English, because the expression of epistemic modality is in itself rare in that period. This is seen in two facts, in addition to the general absence of epistemic modals. The first piece of evidence is that the subjunctive mood does not express doubt in main clauses, but only in subordinate clauses (Goossens 1982: 79-80, Traugott 1992: 197). The second fact is the low number of OE adverbs expressing epistemic possibility and probability (these meanings are primarily expressed by phrases such as *wen is þæt*, 'hope is that'), as opposed to the ample range of OE adverbs expressing certainty (*æfæstla* 'certainly,' *forsoþ* 'truly'), as mentioned by Traugott (1992: 197-198). In view of this scarcity of means to express epistemic meanings, it may be concluded that the grammaticalization of epistemic modality is marginal in Old English (cf. Traugott 1992: 197-198).[14]

In addition, the typological study carried out by Bybee *et al.* (1994) shows that the late development of epistemic meaning is universal (1994: 195). Neither lexical items, such as adverbs, nor grammatical devices, such as the subjunctive mood and pre-modals themselves, are epistemic markers with a relevance similar to that found in Present-Day English. Bearing this in mind, we must expect that

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[14] A recent study by Rodríguez Redondo and Contreras Domingo (2004) shows that quotative verbs could be used in Old English to convey epistemicity.

the semantic features of OE pre-modals concern the expression of their basic root meanings and, in some cases, temporal meanings.

In addition to the variety of meanings which OE pre-modals may convey, it is also important to notice that, on occasions, they prove to be semantically empty, since they are accompanied by a synonymous non-pre-modal (cf. Beths 1999). Consider, for example, (3.15):

(3.15) *Hwa **dear** nu gedyrstlæcan, þæt he derige   þam folce?*
           Who dare now dare   that he harm (subj) this people (dat)
           'Who would now dare to harm these people?'
           (ÆHomI vii, 306)
                                   (example, gloss and translation from Beths 1999: 1081)

Sentence (3.15) contains the third person singular of the pre-modal **durran*, 'to dare,' namely *dear*, followed by an infinitive, *gedyrstlæcan*, which also means 'to dare.' This is not an isolated example (see Beths 1999 for more examples), and it might indicate that the meaning of the pre-modal is totally bleached, because otherwise it would be redundant to have two verbs expressing the same meaning in the same verbal unit. In other words, it is redundant to say *who dares to dare?*, so the presence of the second *dare* must be due to the semantic void of the pre-modal **durran*.

Summarizing the features of the OE pre-modals, there is a cline from fully lexical to partially grammaticalized verbs. In some cases, the OE pre-modals may function as fully lexical verbs, keeping their original meaning, and occurring in syntactic constructions in which they prove to be the head. In other cases, the OE pre-modals behave as auxiliaries, since they lose their syntactic idiosyncrasy in favour of the infinitive which follows them, and they may be used to express root modality and temporal meanings. We observe, then, that as early as in Old English, some of the pre-modals have undergone two of the formal processes claimed by Heine (1993: 58 ff.) to be part of the grammaticalization chain, as seen above in section 2.1.3.1. These two processes are, on the one hand, decategorialization, or change in morphosyntax, and, on the other hand, desemanticization, or change in semantics.

Once I have examined the morphological, syntactic and semantic features of OE pre-modals (which, as repeatedly mentioned, include the preterite-present verbs plus *willan*), I will have a look at the pre-modal verb that is the concern of this study, namely OE *þurfan*, and at its derived verb *beþurfan*.

3.2.2. *Preliminary approach to Old English* þurfan *and* beþurfan

As already mentioned, **OE *þurfan*** is a preterite-present verb belonging to class III (Campbell 1959: §767). Its possible forms are:

PRESENT	INDICATIVE	1ˢᵗ sg.	*þearf*
		2ⁿᵈ sg.	*þearft*
		3ʳᵈ sg.	*þearf*
		Pl.	*þurfon*
	SUBJUNCTIVE		*þurfe(n), þyrfe(n)*
PRETERITE			*þorfte*
INFINITIVE			*þurfan*
PRESENT PARTICIPLE			*þearfende*[15]

Table 3.2: Forms of OE þurfan *(from Campbell 1959: §767)*

Campbell also mentions that in the *Rushworth Gospels* the present participle form *ðorfende* and *ðurfende* are recorded. In addition to that, the Northumbrian dialect has a re-formed present *ðorfeð*, used as a third person singular and plural. Finally, in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* the form *ðurfu* is also attested.

The label *þurfan* includes, in this piece of research, other semantically and morphologically similar verbs, namely, OE *þearfan,* 'to need, suffer need,' *þorfan*, 'to need,' and *þearfian*, 'to be in need,' according to the respective entries in Bosworth and Toller. These verbs are clearly synonyms of *þurfan* in the sense of Bosworth and Toller (*s.v. þurfan* v.), and they are morphologically similar as well. In fact, the main difference between these verbs and *þurfan* is the radical vowel (<u>, <ea> or <o>). This is not, however, such a substantial difference, because it is possible for *þurfan* to exhibit either of these vowels, as shown in Table 3.2. In addition, the present participle of *þurfan*, namely *þearfende*, is also the present participle of *þearfan* (cf. Bosworth and Toller s.v. *þearfan*). Thus, the apparent difference between both verbs seems to be neutralized in the present participle forms, which, furthermore, are usually adjectives meaning 'poor, needy' in both cases, according to the entries given by Bosworth and Toller. The same signification is carried by the present participle of *þorfan*, namely *þorfende*, though this may also be used substantively (cf. Bosworth and Toller s.v. *þorfend* m.), and that of *þearfian*, namely *þearfigend*, as can be gathered from the only example of this verb offered by Bosworth and

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[15] According to Bosworth and Toller (s.v. *þurfan* v.), the present participle of *þurfan* is *þurfende, þyrfende*. Although these forms will also be searched for in the corpus, I list *þearfende* as the most common form of the present participle of *þurfan* in Table 3.2, following Quirk and Wrenn (1955: 57) and Campbell (1959: §767).

Toller (s.v. *þearfian*, v.). The fact that the dictionary does not provide any personal form of the verb reveals that such forms are marginal in Old English.

Therefore, although the initial panorama offered by Bosworth and Toller contains four different verbs, *þurfan, þearfan, þorfan* and *þearfian*, their semantic and morphological features do not prove to be so specific; rather, they converge at the same morphological and semantic point. They may be morphologically referred to as *þ*rfan* verbs, and they all convey the meaning 'need.' In addition, the fact that these verbs seem to merge in Middle English under the verb *thurven* (*MED*, s.v. *thurven*, v.) seems to indicate that they are close relatives. For all these reasons, in the analysis of the corpus data, the label *þurfan* will include not only the verb referred to in the lexical entry of such a word in the dictionary, but also its morphological variants *þearfan, þorfan* and *þearfian*.

Having made these morphological clarifications, it must be noticed that, as far as the syntax of *þurfan* is concerned, it behaves much like PDE modal *need*, that is, it is essentially restricted to non-affirmative contexts, interrogative and negative (cf. Denison 1993: 295). The syntactic pattern in which it occurs depends on the meaning it conveys in each example. For this reason, I will start by analysing the meaning of this verb following the semantic indications found in Bosworth and Toller (*s.v. þurfan* v. I-III). In this dictionary we can observe that OE *þurfan* may have three different meanings:[16]

> 1.- '*to be in need, have need* of something.' In this sense, the verb could be used:
> - absolutely
>   (3.16) *Gif ðu   claþa   þe   ma on hæfst,   þonne ðu* **þurfe***.*
>   if you (nom) clothes (gen.) part. more on have (2 sg) than you need (sg. subj.)
>   'If you have more clothes than you need.'
>
> - with genitive of thing needed
>   (3.17) *ne   ðu   mines   **þearft***.
>   neg. you (nom.) mine (gen.) need (2 sg)
>   'You don't need mine.'
>
> - with accusative
>   (3.18) *Muþa gehwylc mete   **þearf***.
>   mouth   each meat (acc.) needs

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[16] Unless otherwise stated, glosses and translations are mine.

'Each mouth needs meat.'

2.- '*to need* to do something.' Obviously, in this sense, *þurfan* will be followed by an infinitive. The nuances that describe the necessity may be of different types:

a.- "where a want has to be satisfied, a purpose accomplished or the like."
   (3.19) *Hi witan   hwær hi   eafiscas   secan* **þurfan***.*
       they know (3 pl) where they river-fish (acc- pl.) seek need
       'They know where they must seek the river-fish (if they are to find them).'

b.- "where the need is based on the grounds of right, fitness, law, morality, etc., to be bound to do something because it is right, etc."
   (3.20) *Gif he gewitnesse hæbbe, ne* **þearf**   *he ðæt geldan.*
       if   he knowledge   has   neg need (3 sg) he that pay
       'If he knows that he is not bound by law to pay.'

c.- "with the idea of compulsion, or where the inevitability of a consequence is expressed; in some cases the word might be taken almost as an auxiliary, of much the same force as *shall*: to be obliged, be compelled by destiny."
   (3.21) *Ge   ne* **þurfon**   *her leng wunian.*
       you (pl) neg need (pl) here long dwell
       'You shall not be obliged to stop here any longer.'

d.- "to have a good cause or reason for doing something."
   (3.22) *Ne* **þearf**   *he gefeon.*
       neg need (3 sg.) he rejoice
       'He has no reason to rejoice.'

e.- "where the need arises from an advantage to be gained, or purpose to be served, *to be use, to be good* for a person to do something."
   (3.23) *Ne* **þearf**   *ic   yrfestol   bytlian.*
       neg need (1 sg) I hereditary seat build
       'It is no good to me to build an hereditary seat.'

3.- *to owe* (cf. *sculan)
   (3.24) *Ne* **þear**   *ic N. sceatt   ne scilling.*
       neg need (1 sg) I N. property neg shilling
       'I owe no property of money.'

As can be observed, the semantics of OE *þurfan* does not include any epistemic meaning. However, the information in the dictionaries contrasts with Borgenstierna's (1988) findings. In her monographic work devoted to the verbal expression of modality in Old English, she comes to the conclusion that OE *þurfan* is rarely found expressing other meanings than epistemic. This assertion

strikingly contrasts with the information offered in section 3.2.1, where we have seen that there is a general agreement on the absence of grammaticalized epistemic meanings in Old English. The reason for the mismatch between Borgenstierna's conclusions and the other scholars' lies on her criterion for the identification of epistemic meanings. She considers that the fact that OE *þurfan* is often followed by verbs of thought (e.g. *think, doubt, consider*, etc.) implies that this pre-modal has epistemic values. However, I am of the opinion that the carrier of the epistemic weight is the infinitive and not *þurfan*.

Therefore, the most frequent meanings of *þurfan* range from 'need something' and 'need to do something,' up to 'to be obliged or compelled.' Consequently, the modal meanings expressed by OE *þurfan* seem to be restricted to root necessity, either weak, or strong, i.e. 'obligation.' If we take into account that this verb used to appear in non-affirmative contexts, both meanings will converge into the more general meaning of 'lack of obligation.' In addition, OE *þurfan* may also be a synonym of OE **sculan* in its basic 'owe' meaning.

Syntactically, OE pre-modal *þurfan* may be used absolutely. This is not to be confused with apparent cases of post-verbal ellipsis, because, as mentioned above, the possibility of a pre-modal to occur in absolute uses is one of the exceptions for the existence of syntactic ellipsis, as mentioned by Warner (1993: 113-114). It may also be followed by an NP or by an infinitive, that is, it may have a nominal or an infinitival theme. The wide variety of possible semantic nuances of OE *þurfan* when it has an infinitival theme seems to reveal that this is the most frequent type of construction for this OE pre-modal. The preference for an infinitival theme seems to suggest that OE *þurfan* has auxiliary status. In fact, this pre-modal verb occurs also in impersonal constructions of the type mentioned above, in which the pre-modal loses its syntactic characteristics and adopts those of the impersonal infinitive (cf., for instance, Warner 1993: 125). Consider, for example, (3.25):

(3.25) *þæt us (DAT) þonne ne **ðurfe** sceamian.*
that   us   then   not need be ashamed
'that we need not be ashamed.'
(Foerst VercHom 9)

(example and translation from Allen 1997: 15)

In this example, the non-nominative experiencer *us* occurs, instead of the nominative *we*, because *þurfan* adopts the syntax of *sceamian*, 'to be ashamed.' OE *þurfan*, therefore, has lost its syntactic weight in this construction in favour

of the impersonal infinitive which follows it, which can be analysed as a case of decategorialization. It may be said, therefore, that its function is that of an auxiliary, as we saw above in example (3.5). Further evidence of this auxiliary status is seen in the fact that *þurfan* may occur with a passive construction, and it, therefore, becomes a "sentence modifier" (in Warner's 1993: 160 terms). Consider, for example, (3.26):

> (3.26) *ac witodlice þæt gesegen beon mæg, ne **þearf*** *þæt ben gelyfed.*
>   but indeed what   seen   be   can not need (3 sg.) that be believed
>   'but indeed what can be seen [lit.: seen be can] does not need [lit.: not needs that] to be believed.'
>   (GD 269.15)
>
>   (example and translation from Warner 1993: 161)

Warner (1993) considers that the pre-modal *þearf* functions as a sentence modifier in this example. That is, here *þurfan* acts as most PDE modals, since it does not mark a relationship between the subject and the object (the experiencer and the theme). In a sentence such as *John drinks water*, the verb *drink* mediates between the subject *John* and the object *water*. In addition, *drink* always selects its subjects, that is to say, neither the noun *water* nor the pronoun *what* may occur as subjects of *drink*. PDE modal verbs, however, do not select their subjects, because they do not mediate between them and the object; they are merely sentence modifiers. This is what Warner (1993) claims for examples such as (3.26), where *þurfan* is just modifying the sentence in which the main verb occurs in the passive voice.

   In spite of these auxiliary-like features of OE *þurfan*, it must also be noted that *þurfan* is not expected in contexts involving pseudo-gapping, because, as mentioned by Warner (1993: 133-134), this verb, together with OE *cunnan, *durran* and *motan*, is not attested in such a construction. In the analysis of the corpus data, however, we will see the frequency of each of the possible constructions and meanings of this OE pre-modal, and, therefore, check the accuracy of the information found in the literature.

   The second preterite-present verb expressing necessity which will be part of my study is **OE beþurfan**, a verb derived from *þurfan* by means of the OE prefix *be-*. This is one of the most common OE verbal prefixes, which in stressed contexts may be realized as *bi-* (cf. Kastovsky 1992: 379). It may have the following effects on the verb: (a) transitivization, i.e., it may make an intransitive

verb transitive (e.g. *feohtan*, 'fight,' *befeohtan*, 'take by fighting'); (b) intensification, i.e., it intensifies the meaning of the original verb (e.g. *brecan*, 'break,' *bebrecan*, 'break to pieces'); and, finally, (c) it may not change the meaning of the verb at all (e.g. *beodan, bebeodan*, 'offer, announce'), as mentioned in Kastovsky (1992: 379). The fact that *be-*, together with other OE prefixes (e.g. *a-, ge-*), may not have any semantic effect on the verb, and the subsequent existence of two synonymous verbs which may alternate in the same text leads to an inevitable decay of these prefixes in Middle English (cf. Kastovsky 1992: 377). It will be interesting to check in the corpus data if the frequency of *beþurfan* is even throughout the Old English period, or if, as could be expected, it decreases along the period.

The forms of *beþurfan* are those listed in Table 3.2 for *þurfan*, though with an initial *be-* or *bi-*. There are not any morphological variants alternating the radical vowel, as was the case with *þurfan*. Semantically, both *þurfan* and *beþurfan* are synonyms in their basic meaning 'to need, to be in need' (cf. Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *beþurfan*, v., and *þurfan*, v.). However, as far as syntax is concerned, the information we obtain from Bosworth and Toller (*s.v.beþurfan*, v.) reveals that the use of both verbs is somewhat different. The prefix *be-* seems to reduce the range of possible syntactic constructions where this verb may appear, especially as compared to the ample variety of constructions available for OE *þurfan*. The examples provided in the *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* share a particular characteristic: in no case has *beþurfan* a sentential theme. Instead, genitival noun phrases are found, sometimes preposed and sometimes postposed to the verb. Consider, for instance, (3.27)

(3.27) *Wisdomes*   **beþearf.**
         wisdom (gen. sg.) requires
         'he requires wisdom.'

A different interpretation for sentences like this one is suggested by Krug (2000: 123). In his opinion, OE *beþurfan* may be a synonym to OE *þolian* when constructed with a genitival theme, meaning 'to lose, lack.' I have not found the meaning 'to lack' in any of the entries of *beþurfan* in the two Old English dictionaries used for this study (Bosworth and Toller, and Clark Hall). However, it is undeniable that there is a direct relationship between the meanings 'to lack' and 'to need.' This information will be checked in the analysis of the examples from the corpus, in section 3.4.1.

3.3. **Preliminary approach to Old English *neodian* and *behofian***

In this section, I will provide a description of the syntactic features of OE *neodian* and *behofian*, as found in the relevant literature. 3.3.1 deals with *neodian*, and offers and explanation of the complex range of verbs which are analysed under this form. In its turn, 3.3.2 concentrates on *behofian*, with special reference to its claimed impersonal nature.

3.3.1 *Old English* neodian

As mentioned, the aim of this section is to analyse the syntactic features of *neodian*, which basically concern its impersonal character. However, before undertaking this task it is necessary to clarify and also justify the forms that I have decided to include under the form *neodian*.

From a morphological perspective, the editors of the *OED* state that the etymological predecessor of the PDE modal and non-modal verb *need* is OE *neodian* (cf. *OED s.v. need* v.2), and, therefore, all possible forms of that verb are to fall under the scope of my analysis. In addition, Old English has another verb *neodian* (cf. *OED s.v. need* v.1), which is said to mean 'compel, force, urge.' In order to find and analyse all the possible examples of the etymological predecessor of PDE *need* meaning 'to be necessary' or 'to need,' I opted to analyse all other possible variants of OE *neodian*, based on the morphological information provided in the *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* edited by Bosworth and Toller, as is explained below.

From a morphological perspective, OE *neodian* (cf. Bosworth and Toller, *s.v. neodian, neadian*) is an OE weak verb class 2, since it exhibits the characteristics of this class of verbs, as opposed to weak verbs class 1: the absence of an *i*-mutated vowel and of a geminated consonant in the stem, and the presence of /i/ in the infinitive (cf. Hogg 1992c: 157-162). As is well-known, verbs belonging to the weak class are derived from other lexical items of the language. Therefore, we expect *neodian, neadian* to be derived from a noun such as *neod* or *nead*. In Old English there actually exists a noun *neod*,[17] for which Bosworth and Toller (*s.v. neod*, n.) provide two entries:

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[17] In fact, the construction of this noun together with the verb *beon/wesan* or *habban*, is very frequent in OE as an expression of necessity (meaning 'it is necessary' or 'have need'). This type of construction will not be considered in this paper, since my purpose is to account for verbs exclusively. However, it is my intention to analyse, in future research, constructions such as *neod beon / neod habban* and *þearf beon / þearf habban*, since the noun *þearf*, from the pre-

> *Neod, ned, nied, nyd* f. 'desire, eagerness, diligence, earnest, endeavour.'
> *Neod (=nead)* 'necessity.'

According to Bosworth and Toller (s.v. *neod(=nead)*), there seem to be no formal distinctions between both words. In addition, the dictionary refers us to the entry *nid*, which exhibits the alternative spellings *nead, ned, neod, nied* and *nyd*, and a series of possible meanings, from 'necessity, inevitableness' to 'difficulty' or 'compulsion.' Therefore, there are three OE nouns, namely *neod, nead* and *nid* whose meanings refer to 'necessity.' It is foreseeable, then, that Old English also exhibits three weak verbs derived from these three nouns, verbs such as *neodian, neadian* and *nidan*. This is actually the situation we find in Old English, and we also find variants from these verbs according to the different spellings of the nouns from which they derive, that is, we may find verbs such as *nedan, niedan* or *nydan*. Also, as shown in the Bosworth and Toller dictionary, these verbs may have *ge*-variants, that is, variants beginning with the prefix *ge-*. For the sake of clarity, Table 3.3 summarizes the different spellings of these necessity weak verbs, as related to the nouns from which they derive.

In Table 3.3 we see that the meanings of the verbs in the right hand column may be easily divided into two groups: one group containing those verbs expressing 'be necessary' and the like, and a second group containing those verbs expressing 'force, compel' and related meanings. The meaning of both groups falls within the scope of necessity as understood in the force-dynamic conception of modality described in section 2.2, that is, as analysed in terms of forces and barriers. Thus, when something is necessary (in the sense of 2a *neodian*, for example), there is some force for it to exist or to be present. In a similar line, when a person compels or forces somebody to perform an action (in the sense of 3 *neadian* or 5a *nidan*, for instance), such a person (i.e. the antagonist) exerts some kind of force on the other person (i.e. the agonist). In other words, we may say that the verbs in the latter group, meaning 'force, compel' (listed as 3, 5a, 7 and 8 in Table 3.3) are causative, while the verbs in the former group, meaning 'be necessary' (listed as 2a, 4 and 6) lack such a nuance.

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modal verb *þurfan* is also common in OE, and also *nedþearf beon / habban*, showing a combination of both stems (cf. Taeymans 2004b).

NOUN + MEANING	VERB + MEANING
1) *Neód, néd, niéd, nýd* 'desire, eagerness, diligence, earnest endeavour' 2) *Neód* (=*neád*) 'necessity.' See passages under *níd*	 2a) *Neódian* 'to be necessary', v.*neádian*
No entry for *neád*	3) *Neádian* (v. *níd* VI) 'to force, compel, constrain' 4) *Neádian, neódian* (v. *níd* IV) 'to be necessary'

5) *Níd, neád, néd, neód, niéd, nýd* (cf. 2) above)
      I 'necessity, inevitableness'
      II 'necessity, need, urgent requirement'
      III 'a necessary business', duty'
      IV 'need, what one wants'
      V 'necessity, need, difficulty, hardship, distress'
      VI 'force, compulsion'
      VII 'the name for the rune'
	
	 5a) *Nídan* 'to force, compel, urge'

No entries for nominal *ge*-forms	6) *Ge-neódian* 'to be need'
	      I. of something for a person
	      II. that something be done

	7) *Ge-neádian* 'to compel'
	8) *Ge-nédan, -niédan, -nýdan* 'to compel, force, urge'

Table 3.3: Entries for neodian, neadian *and related items in Bosworth and Toller (1898).*[18]

Given the above-mentioned difference between the two groups of verbs, it could be argued that each group of verbs should be dealt with separately. However, I have embraced them all under the label *neodian* for a series of reasons. Firstly, these weak verbs can all be said to ultimately derive from the very same noun, namely OE *nid* (listed as 5 in Table 3.3). Secondly, in Old English the verbs *neodian* (2a) and *neadian* (4), on the one hand, and *neadian* (3) and *nidan* (5a), on the other hand, are synonymous, which makes *neadian* a polysemous verb ('to be necessary' and 'to force, compel, urge' respectively). Thirdly, both meanings, 'need, to be necessary' and 'compel, force,' fall under the scope of the force-dynamic interpretation of modality followed in this study (cf. section 2.2.2.2 above). Finally, in Middle English, all three verbs yield the

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[18] The entries provided in Table 3.3 are taken from *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, both from the edition by Bosworth & Toller (1898) and from the appendix by Alistair Campbell (1972).

same morphological form, namely *neden* (cf. *MED*, s.v. *neden* v. 1, and *neden* v.2), which seems to imply that the OE counterparts are morphologically and semantically bound to fall under the same term. For this reason, as already mentioned, this is the only method that will make it possible to cover all the potential forms meaning 'need' or 'to be necessary,' especially if we take into account that the actual forms of *neodian* do not convey this meaning, as revealed by a preliminary overview of the corpus. Moreover, Molencki (2002) and van der Auwera and Taeymans (2004) are of the opinion that there is only one OE verb *neodian*, which may exhibit two meanings, namely 'be necessary' or 'need' and 'compel.'

A second division of the verbs in Table 3.3 could be made between verbs with and without the prefix *ge-*. This is one of the most common verbal prefixes in Old English (cf. section 3.2.2 above on the prefix *be-*). According to Kastovsky (1992: 380), this prefix may have three different values. In some cases, it denotes perfectivity, which often involves transitivization (e.g. *ærnan*, 'run,' *geærnan*, 'gain by running'). It may form idiosyncratic verbs, i.e., *ge-*verbs may have a completely different meaning than the original verb (e.g. *weorþan*, 'become,' *geweorþan*, 'agree'). Finally, the prefix may not alter the meaning of the original verb at all (e.g. *(ge)adlian* 'be, become ill'). From the entries of the dictionary which appear in Table 3.3, it may be concluded that the prefix *ge-* does not alter the meaning of *neodian, neadian*, and, for this reason, no difference will be made in the treatment of these verbs.

As is clear from my analysis of all the verbal forms in Table 3.3, in the analysis of the corpus data I will take into account the totality of such verbal variants and I will include them under the label *neodian*. This label conveys a wide range of possible necessity meanings which might constitute the origin of the multiplicity of meanings of PDE *need*, as seen in section 2.2.2.3.

Once the questions of spelling and semantics have been clarified, I will outline the syntactic behaviour of *neodian* in Old English, with special reference to its claimed impersonality.

To begin with, Bosworth and Toller's dictionary (s.v. *neadian, neodian*) implies that *neodian* is an impersonal verb, since its meaning is 'to be necessary.' Only two examples are given under such an entry:

(3.28) *On cealdum eardum   neodaþ   ðæt ðæs reafes   mare sy.*
On   cold   lands (dat.) is necessary that the vestment (gen.) more is
'In cold lands it is necessary that there are more garments.'

(3.29) *Ðæs abodes   forsceawung   sceal beon be ðysum,   hu*
The abbot (gen.) contemplation (nom.) shall be by these (dat.) how
ðæs   neodige.
that (gen.) is necessary
'Contemplation of the abbot shall be in conformity with these, as is necessary.'

On the other hand, Visser (1963-1973: 1424, §1345) states that "The Old English verb *(ge)neodan* was an 'impersonal' verb, and consequently complemented by a pronoun in the dative as an indirect object," which is the experiencer (cf. Allen 1995, and section 3.2.3 above). He provides the following pair of examples:

(3.30) *Gyf þe   smælre candelle   geneodige.*
if   you (acc. or dat.) small candle (gen.) be necessary
'If a small candle is necessary for you (if you need a small candle).'

(3.31) *ðonne   þe   martirlogium   geneodie.*
therefore you (acc. or dat) martyrology (nom.) is necessary
'Therefore martyrology is necessary for you (you need martyrology).'

The first thing we notice is that the experiencer occurs only in (3.30) and (3.31), that is, in the examples of the *ge-* compound of the verb (the experiencer is the oblique pronoun *þe*, in both cases); on the contrary, in examples (3.28) and (3.29) there is not an experiencer. We could then think that the appearance of the experiencer is, therefore, conditioned by the *ge-* prefix. Therefore, it will be interesting to check whether the prefix *ge-* plays any important role as for the selection of the experiencer.

On a different line, we also notice that OE *neodian* may appear at least in three different types of constructions depending on the nature of the theme. In sentence (3.28), the theme is a *that*-clause (*ðæt ðæs reafes mare sy*), whereas in sentences (3.29) and (3.30) the theme is a genitive noun phrase (*ðæs* and *smælre candelle*, respectively). Only example (3.30) is an instance of Allen's Type N, because it has an oblique experiencer, while sentence (3.29) does not exhibit any experiencer (cf. section 2.3.2.3 above). Finally, sentence (3.31) illustrates a different type of impersonal construction. In this case the theme is nominative (*martirlogium*) and the experiencer is oblique. Example (3.31) is, therefore, an experiencer verb construction Type I, according to Allen (1995).

From the data we obtain from the specialized literature, such as Bosworth and Toller (1898) and Visser (1963-1973), we may draw two conclusions. Firstly, OE *neodian* may be construed with or without an explicit experiencer, apparently depending on whether the verb occurs with the *ge*-prefix or not. Secondly, OE *neodian* is an experiencer verb which may appear, at least, in two different types of impersonal construction, namely Type N and Type I. This verb keeps its impersonal nature "well into the Middle English period", when it gradually developed a personal construction (e.g. OE **þam cynge neodaþ* > ME *þe king nedeth*), as stated in Visser (1963-1973: 1424, §1345; 1425, §1346). I will test these two conclusions with the analysis of the OE corpus (cf. section 3.4.2 below).

3.3.2. *Old English* behofian

Behofian is also an OE weak verb class 2. It seems to be etymologically derived from the noun *behof*, 'behoof, profit, need' (Clark Hall, s.v. *behof* n.), which would account for the non-existence of an OE corresponding verb without the *be*-prefix, **hofian* (cf. 3.2.2 above on the dichotomy *þurfan-beþurfan*). Possible variants of this verb are OE *bihofian* (cf. above in 3.3.1 the relationship *be-/bi-*), and OE *abehofian*, which is claimed to be a verb derived from it.[19] Morphologically this verb does not demand further attention. However, its semantic and syntactic features, as well as the relationship between them, are worthy of a closer examination.

Let us start with the basic semantic notion conveyed by OE *behofian*. According to Bosworth and Toller (*s.v. behofian*, v.), this verb may express two basic meanings: 'to have need of, to need, require,' and 'it behoves, it concerns, it is needful or necessary.' Obviously, the second of these meanings applies to impersonal constructions, while the first one concerns personal constructions (cf. also Mitchell 1985: §1092). Therefore, from this initial approach to OE *behofian*, we may gather that it is used both in impersonal and personal constructions, with a slight difference of meaning, since in the impersonal construction the notion of appropriateness ('it is necessary') accompanies that of bare necessity ('to need'). This notion of appropriateness is what makes Elmer (1981) decide to group several impersonal verbs under the label 'BEHOVE class.' The BEHOVE class (1981: 6) includes OE *behofian* together with *(ge)byrian, gerisan,* and

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[19] I may advance that no instances of *abehofian* have been found in my 1.2 million-word corpus.

gedafenian, all sharing the basic meaning 'it concerns, it is fitting, it behoves;' the notion of bare necessity is only present in *behofian*. In other words, in his classification, Elmer is only considering one of the possible meanings of OE *behofian*, namely that of appropriateness. In a similar line, Anderson (1986), who follows Elmer in his analysis of the BEHOVE class, excludes examples where personal *behofian* appears, claiming that this is a different verb meaning 'to need.'

In Elmer's analysis of the different semantic classes of OE impersonal verbs, *behofian* rarely coincides with the syntactic environments characteristic of the other members of the BEHOVE class (cf., for instance, 1981: 65, 73). This lack of parallelism between *behofian* and the verbs which belong to the same semantic class raises the question of whether 'it is fitting, it behoves' is the primary meaning of *behofian* in Old English, and whether this verb is usually found in impersonal constructions.

Allen (1997: 3) answers these questions when she states that in Old English there is no occurrence of impersonal *behofian*: "no examples are to be found in manuscripts from before the 12th century of *behofian* used with a clear non-nominative Experiencer in either poetry or prose. Instead, the Experiencer, when it was expressed, was always in the nominative case." This assertion is based on the analysis of every single occurrence of *behofian* in Old English. Allen (1997: 4-5) mentions that in *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English*, compiled by Venezky *et al.* (1985) there is not a single non-gloss example of impersonal *behofian*. How should we consider, then, the data offered by Bosworth and Toller, and also by Mitchell (1985)? According to Allen, the examples they provide only appear in the interlinear glosses of the 12th century copies of the OE manuscripts, so they are not original OE examples, but a mark of the ME scribe (cf. Allen 1997: 5). Since these cases must, then, be excluded from the analysis, all examples of OE *behofian* to be found in the corpus are expected to occur in personal constructions, with the meaning 'to need.'[20]

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[20] Fischer and van der Leek (1987: 115, note 12) observe a parallelism between OE *behofian* and its cognate Present-Day Dutch *behoeven*. The basis of this parallelism is that Present-Day Dutch *behoeven* exhibits two possible constructions: a personal (i), and an impersonal one (ii).:

    (i) *deze man behoeft hulp* → 'this man has need of help'
    (ii) *u behoeft dat niet over te vertellen* → 'you are not required to say that again'

Since Allen (1997) proves that in Old English no example of impersonal *behofian* is recorded, Fischer and van der Leek's parallelism may only apply to in later periods of English. In addition, Mackenzie (1997: 81) points out that Present-Day Dutch *hoeven*, which appears to be etymologically related to *behoeven,* is similar to PDE *need* in some respects.

I will now describe the syntactic features of OE *behofian*. According to Allen (1997), *behofian* can occur either with two NPs or with an NP and a sentential argument. When *behofian* has two NPs as arguments, the experiencer is always inflected for the nominative, while the second NP, the theme, is usually genitive (rarely accusative). OE *behofian*, therefore, shows the pattern of experiencer verb constructions Type II (cf. section 2.3.2.3 above). As an example, see (3.32), from Allen (1997: 5):

> (3.32) *se hlaford (NOM) heora (G) behofað.*
>   the   lord   of them   needs
>   'The lord needs them.'
>   (ÆCHom I, 14.1 206.12)

When *behofian* has an NP and a sentential theme, the experiencer is always present and inflected for the nominative case. It belongs, therefore, to the 'Personal' Type of experiencer verb constructions. Apparently, the difference between this type of argumentation and that of two NPs is very slight and concerns the meaning of the verb. Consider, for instance, the following example, provided by Allen (1997: 6):

> (3.33) *And þæs   behofað se cyning þæt he clypige to his witum.*
>   and because of that needs the king   that he calls   to his counsellors
>   'and for this reason the king ought to call to his counsellors.'
>   (Æhom 9 46)

The expression of strong root necessity of OE *behofian* could be seen as a hint of the gradual movement of the semantics of this verb towards the notion of appropriateness, and hence its translation as 'ought to' instead of 'need.' The analysis of the corpus data will shed more light on this topic (see below, section 3.4.3, as for the features of ME *bihoven*).

Summing up, sections 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 pave the way towards an analysis of the corpus data, since they provide a general description of the language in the Old English period (-1150). We have seen that at this period there are two preterite-present verbs, namely *þurfan* and *beþurfan*, and two weak verbs, namely *neodian* and *behofian*, which may signify 'to need.' We have also seen that they differ syntactically to quite an extent. In the next section, devoted to the analysis of the corpus data, I will analyse how these verbs interact and *compete* in Old English.

3.4. **Evidence from the Old English corpus. analysis of the findings**

3.4.0. *Introduction: the corpus, variables studied and general frequency of the verbs*

Before the analysis of the linguistic data, this introductory section describes the corpus selected for Old English as well as the variables studied in the corpus. Finally, it will set out the general frequency of the verbs per subperiod. In earlier versions of this study, which focused on Old English exclusively, I worked with the OE section of the *Helsinki Corpus* (compiled by Rissanen *et al*. 1991), which contains 413,250 words (Loureiro Porto 2002). Such a corpus-size allowed me to draw some conclusions, but it proved to be inadequate for the purposes of this study. As a consequence I decided to resort to a larger corpus in order to extract a collection of texts which, added to those of the *Helsinki Corpus*, would yield a reasonably large corpus. The selected corpus was the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (*DOEC*, edited by diPaolo Healey *et al.* 2000), which, as is well-known, contains the totality of the extant texts of Old English (ca. 3000 texts), which make a total of ca. 3 million words. I decided to triple the size of the *Helsinki Corpus* and compile a 1.2-million-word corpus, which represents more than one third of the total extant OE words. The methodology used to select the ca. 800,000 words from the *DOEC* is explained in the paragraphs which follow.

The first task was to obtain a complete list of the texts which are contained in the *DOEC*; this was downloaded from the following internet site: <http://www.mshs.univ-poitiers.fr/Forell/OETINDEX.RTF>. The list of texts contains the short title of each text (convention used by the editors of the *DOEC*), the Cameron Number,[21] and a three-letter code which specifies the form of the text (prose or verse), the period (early, late or indeterminate), and the dialect (Saxon, Anglian or unknown). With that information in hand, I first identified which of those ca. 3000 texts are also present in the Old English section of the *Helsinki Corpus*, so that they are disregarded in the selection of the new texts to be added to my corpus. For the identification of texts the help provided by the Cameron Numbers was crucial, because both the list of the *DOEC* and the texts of the *HC* contain the reference to such codes.

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[21] As is well-known, Angus Cameron (1973) assigned to each of the Old English texts a code made of one letter (from A to F) and a series of numbers. These codes have been internationally acknowledged from then onwards.

The next task was to randomize the list of texts, so that the sample is not biased by any external influence, such as, for example, the criteria followed by the editors when ordering the texts in the 77 files. The electronic tool used to randomize the texts was Microsoft Excel,[22] which produced a randomly ordered list of all the Old English texts which appear in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*. The selection of the texts to be included in my corpus was then safely extracted from this list, where the order of the texts is not biased by any factor.

A preliminary overview of the list of the texts revealed that the chronological distribution of the Old English texts was extremely uneven. As is well-known, the OE period is traditionally divided into early and late Old English. The definition of the term "early Old English" is not uncontroversial. *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (Hogg 1992a) follows the traditional distinction between early and late Old English. According to it, early Old English or Alfredian Saxon refers to the language produced before 950, or, in other words, the language used in the texts written in the court of King Alfred, who ruled from 871 to 899 (cf. Hogg 1992b: 6). After that date, and due to the standardization introduced by Æthelwold (abbot of Abingdon from 954, and bishop of Winchester from 963), the orthography changed considerably up to the point that "there is no direct chronological line of descent between Early and Late Old English" (Hogg 1992c: 83-84). Therefore, according to *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, the main representative of early Old English is King Alfred, while Ælfric, one of Æthelwold's pupils and abbot of Eynsham, is the most outstanding figure of late Old English (cf. Hogg 1992c: 78).

The compilers of the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* seem to agree on the delimitation of late Old English, since they label as early Old English all texts dated before 950. However, as for early Old English, they consider not only those texts written at the court of King Alfred, but also all other written texts, such as old runic inscriptions. As a consequence, in this study I will consider that early Old English includes all the English texts written before 950, and that late Old English comprises those texts written between 950 and 1150. For historical reasons, the number of extant texts dating from early Old English is much more restricted than those of late Old English. For this reason, I decided to extract all such texts, with the exception of those which appear in the *Helsinki Corpus* and

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[22] The procedure is the following. The list of texts must be pasted in Column A in a new document of Microsoft Excel. In Column B, a formula must be applied so that a random number from 0 to 1 appears in each cell. Then the list is ordered according to the number in Column B.

those which belong to Latin-Old English Glossaries, since such material does not provide a running context for a linguistic study such as the one I intend to carry out.

The routine followed in the extraction of the texts is the following. Using the Cameron Number I located each text within the 77 files of the *Oxford Text Archive*,[23] with the aid of the Index to the Old English Corpus (OTA), which I downloaded from <http://www.georgetown.edu/faculty/ballc/englisc/oecorpus-index.html>. Then I opened the relevant file, searched the text, copied it, and pasted it on a new Microsoft Word document. After counting the words in each text the document was saved as a TXT file.[24] This process was repeated as many times as necessary up to completing the number of words needed for my 1.2 million word corpus.

As for the chronological distribution of texts, I extracted 140 texts of early Old English, which come up to 153,802 words. Added to the early OE words in the *Helsinki Corpus*, we obtain a total of 248,042. Therefore, the totality of the extant early Old English texts (-950) is included in my corpus.

That leaves us with a list of texts containing works dating from late Old English (950-1150) and also works whose date is indeterminate. In my selection of the 1.2 million words I needed to represent OE, I decided to include only texts whose date of composition was known, since this is a diachronic study which aims at describing the chronological evolution of some verbs. Therefore, I left out the texts which cannot be classified as belonging to either early or late Old English. My goal, therefore, was to obtain a randomly selected list of late Old English texts which would be representative of that period. A total of 373 texts were included in my corpus, making a total of 638,603 words, which added to the late Old English material present in the *Helsinki Corpus* comes up to 957,613 words. Therefore, my Old English corpus contains 1,205,655 words chronologically distributed as shown in the following table:

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[23] I acknowledge my debt of gratitude to Dr. Alejandro Alcaraz for his invaluable help and generosity in providing me with the files extracted from the *Oxford Text Archive* formatted by himself.

[24] DOC files have a number of drawbacks when working with the concordance program Wordsmith Tools. One drawback is that Wordsmith Tools does not provide a complete wordlist from the DOC files. Another disadvantage of the DOC files is that Wordsmith concordance repeats some of the examples, when they occur at the beginning of the file. The TXT files, however, yield accurate data when working with Wordsmith Tools.

	EARLY OLD ENGLISH (-950)	LATE OLD ENGLISH (950-1150)	TOTAL
Helsinki Corpus	94,240	319,010	**413,250**
Dictionary of Old English Corpus	153,802	638,603	**792,405**
TOTAL	**248,042**	**957,613**	**1,205,655**

Table 3.4: Number of words per corpus and OE subperiod.

The examples retrieved from this corpus have been analysed according to morphological, syntactic and semantic variables. All in all, the following 43 variables have been taken into consideration:

❑ GENERAL INFORMATION
1) Code. Both the *HC* and the *DOEC* codify the texts they contain according to some parameters, such as author or title.
2) Example. It contains the example in the original language with a large enough linguistic context to interpret the verb under scrutiny.
3) Translation. The example is translated into Present-Day English.
4) Name of the text.
5) Author.
6) Subperiod. Though the information given in the *Helsinki Corpus* is very specific (namely, O1 (-850), O2 (850-950), O3 (950-1050) and O4 (1050-1150)), the *DOEC* subdivides Old English only into early and late OE, and this is the subperiodization used in this study.
7) Dialect: The *HC* provides the following dialectal information A (Anglian), AM (Anglian Mercian), AN (Anglian Northumbrian), K (Kentish), WS (West Saxon). The *DOEC*, on the other hand, only classifies examples as Saxon (which roughly corresponds to West Saxon), Anglian (including Mercian and Northumbrian) or unknown.
8) Verse or prose. Verse may favour the particular syntactic constructions, which might concern the verbs under study.
9) Text-type. This variable will allow for generalizations as regards the use of some of the verbs in certain text-types.
10) Contemporaneity between the original text and the manuscript which is kept nowadays. This information may be relevant for the interpretation of anachronistic constructions, because it may reveal that the copyist changed some aspects of language influenced by the language of the time

when he copied the document. Unfortunately, this piece of information is only provided in the *HC*.

11) Relationship to foreign original (gloss, translation, etc.). It may be the case, as will be seen below, that the foreign language in which a text is originally written may bias the translator or glossator towards the use of a given form or construction.

12) Foreign original (e.g. Latin).

❑   LINGUISTIC INFORMATION

MORPHOLOGY

13) Archi-verb:[25] *þurfan, neodian, beþurfan* and *behofian*. For example, the archi-verb *þurfan* stands for the orthographical variants *þurfan / ðurfan*, the archi-verb *neodian* stands for *neodian / neadian / nydan,* and so on. This label is useful when dealing with orthographical variants of the same verb.

14) Verb. The base form of any of the orthographical variants mentioned above (e.g. *ðurfan, nedan, nydan*).

15) Verb form. The actual form found in the corpus (e.g. *þearf, nedde, behofað*).

16) Person/number.

17) Tense/mood. Tense is a crucial aspect when dealing with modal verbs, because changes in tense may entail changes in the subjectivity conveyed by the verb (cf. Sanders and Spooren (1997: 103), as quoted by Mortelmans 2003).

18) Voice. This field includes information as regards the voice of the verb, as well as the voice of the infinitive accompanying the modal verb. The latter proves crucial for the interpretation of the status of the modal verb as being more or less grammaticalized (cf. Warner 1993: 160).

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[25] The label "archi-verb" is mine, and it is used here to refer to the basic orthographical form of each of the verbs under analysis. I have selected this label based on linguistic labels such as *archi-phoneme*, which, as stated in the *OED* (*s.v. archiphoneme* n.) refers to "A phonological unit comprising the totality of distinguishable features common to two or more phonemes." In the same sense, it could be said that an "archi-verb" is a verbal unit comprising the totality of distinguishable features common to two or more verbal variants.

SYNTAX

19) Complement or theme. This variable only states the presence or absence of a complement or a theme, and, therefore, the absolute uses of the verbs as opposed to other uses.

20) Type of complement or theme. Here I specify the nature of the complement or theme of the verb, namely, transitive uses or nearly auxiliary function when the complement or theme is an infinitive.

21) Complement verb (if any). The information contained in this variable is important when dealing with grammaticalization, more specifically with semantic bleaching, because if a verb is followed by an infinitive with the same meaning, for example, this implies that the former has lost part of its semantic weight.

22) Main / subordinate clause.

23) Matrix verb. I specify the verb which occurs in the matrix clause (if my verb occurs in a subordinate clause), because it may also be revealing of semantic bleaching or of a certain degree of subjectivity.

24) Negation. Negation is recorded for it can be a marker of subjectivity (cf. Langacker 1991: 134; Mortelmans 2003).

25) Type of negation: *not, nowhere,* raising, etc.

26) Scope of negation. When negation occurs in a construction with two or more verbs, it may affect any of them, and it, therefore, may have different semantic implications.

27) Experiencer-verb construction. As already mentioned, my verbs are prone to occur in this kind of construction. Moreover, impersonality may also be a marker of auxiliarization.

28) Allen's (1995) Type. The possibilities of this variable are those mentioned by Allen (1995), that is, Types N, I, II, when the theme is a noun phase, and S, *hit* and 'personal,' when the theme is a clause (cf. 2.3.2.3 above).

29) Dummy subject. It specifies the presence of a dummy *hit* subject, or any other dummy subject (e.g. *there*).

30) Experiencer case: nominative, oblique, prepositional phrase, etc.

31) Cause / theme. It specifies the case for which the thing needed is inflected.

32) Interrogative. As was the case with negation, interrogative clauses are non-affirmative contexts which are generally considered to be more subjective than declarative clauses.

33) Time reference. One of the PDE features of modal verbs is the abnormal time reference, i.e. a past form need not refer to a past event, but it may just imply some kind of remoteness.

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34) Modality. As repeatedly mentioned, the types of modality distinguished in this study are root and epistemic.

35) Subject force. From a cognitive point of view the subject of a verb expressing necessity may be agonist or antagonist (cf. section 2.2.2.2 above).

36) Force. The type of force implied in the interaction between agonist and antagonist may be of different types: general, legal, religious, inner (with split of the agonist), and so on.

37) Strength. The force exerted by the antagonist may be strong or weak.

38) Origin. The origin and the strength of the force exerted on the agonist oscillate in a scale from strong external to weak internal (cf. section 2.2.2.2).

39) Force not to. Depending on the scope of the negation, a given verb may imply a force not to (or a prohibition), as in *you mustn't do that*, of lack of force (of absence of obligation), as in *you needn't do that* (variable 37).

40) Lack of force.

41) Translation of the verb. This is a rudimentary variable which facilitates the search for a given example or set of examples.

42) Animacy of the experiencer / subject. In origin, the meaning of necessity is restricted to human beings who might need something; when non human or non animate experiencers start to occur with these verbs, we might think of a higher degree of grammaticalization (cf. Heine *et al.* 1991: 156; Krug 2000: 90; Mortelmans 2003).

43) Modality somewhere else. The presence of two or more modality markers such as subjective hedges (e.g. *I think, I suppose*) may underline the subjective character of some modal verbs (Mortelmans 2003). Also, with the help of this variable we may retrieve examples in which our modal verbs appear close to other semantically similar modal verbs.

For the analysis of this corpus, I have resorted to the computer program *Wordsmith Tools*, which has proved very suitable for a number of reasons, such as its ability to obtain a longer context for each example. After having scrutinized more than 1,500 potential examples (see Appendix I below for details), the number of occurrences of each verb expressing necessity in the OE corpus is the following:[26]

VERB	NUMBER	N.F.	%
ÞURFAN	158	(13.11)	46.61%
BEÞURFAN	47	(3.89)	13.86%
NEODIAN	104	(8.62)	30.68%
BEHOFIAN	30	(2.48)	8.85%
Total	**339**	**(28.12)**	**100%**

Table 3.5: Frequency of each verb in the OE corpus.

Table 3.5 also shows, in brackets, the normalized frequencies for 100,000 words and, finally, the percentage which each of the verbs represents in the total number of occurrences. These examples have been introduced into a *Microsoft Access* computer database, and later analysed as regards the features mentioned. The findings will be illustrated in this study with examples which will take the following form:

> *Ne þurfan   we us ondrædan þa deoflican costnunga.*
> not need (pl) we us fear   the devilish temptations (acc)
> 'We need not fear devilish temptations.'
> (2.524 helsinki\coaelet3) or (ÆLet 2 (Wulfstan 1), 96)

The OE example is followed by the gloss and the translation into Present-Day English; finally, I include in brackets the codification used in each of the corpora I have analysed. If the example is taken from the *Helsinki Corpus*, the code contains the following information. The number refers to the location of the verb form (in this case *þurfan*) within the text in which it occurs. The code of the text is specified at the very end of the bracketed codification; in this case, *coalet3*, which is the convention used in the *Helsinki Corpus* to refer to the text *Let Wulfstan 1*, by Ælfric (cf. Kytö 1991).

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[26] As already mentioned, in Old English there exist other linguistic means to express the same kind of necessity of my verbs, namely constructions consisting of the nouns *þearf, neod* or *nedþearf* in combination with the verb *beon / wesan*, or *habban*, as in *Him is þearf / Him is neod / Him is nedþearf þæt...* 'it is necessary for him that...' (cf., among others, Taeymans 2004b).

If, on the other hand, the example is retrieved from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, the codification differs. The information provided contains the short title of the text in which the example occurs (ÆLet 2, in this example), the author, the editor or the recipient of the text (Wulfstan is the recipient of Ælfric's letter, in this case), and, finally, a series of numbers which refer to the location of the segment within the text, which may be the line, paragraph, or page of the text (line 96, in this instance).

In what follows, I will deal separately with each of my verbs. Section 3.4.1 deals with OE *þurfan* and OE *beþurfan*. Section 3.4.2 is devoted to the analysis of OE *neodian*. Finally, section 3.4.3 concentrates on OE *behofian*.

3.4.1 *Old English* þurfan *and* beþurfan *in the corpus*

These two verbs are examined in the same section, because, as mentioned in section 3.2.2, *beþurfan* is derived from *þurfan*, and it will be interesting to see up to what extent their morphology makes them differ semantically and syntactically. OE *þurfan* is much more frequent (46.61 %) than *beþurfan* (13.86 %) and this is so both in early and late Old English, as seen in Table 3.6[27] which displays the actual number of occurrences of each of these verbs together with the normalized frequencies calculated for hypothetical 100,000-word subperiods, i.e. for early (O1 and O2 in the *Helsinki Corpus*) and late (O3 and O4 in the *Helsinki Corpus*) Old English:

	O1-O2	N.F.	O3-O4	N.F.	TOTAL	N.F.
ÞURFAN	48	19.35	110	11.49	158	13.11
BEÞURFAN	8	3.22	39	4.07	47	3.89
TOTAL	**56**	**22.57**	**149**	**15.56**	**205**	**17.00**

Table 3.6: Distribution of OE þurfan *and* beþurfan *by subperiods.*

The normalized frequencies reinforce the evidence provided by the sheer number of occurrences of each OE verb. As for the frequency of each of the verbs, Table 3.6 shows that *þurfan* undergoes a slight decrease at the end of the period, while

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[27] The dating of the OE texts is fairly ambiguous in the *Helsinki Corpus*. Many of the texts selected by the editors of this corpus are tagged as, for example, O2/3, which implies that the original text was written in O2, and that the copy used by the compilers of the editors dates from O3. In cases such as these, I have considered the text as belonging to subperiod O2. On other occasions, the texts are tagged as OX/3, which implies that, although the original text is of unknown date, the copy used by the compilers of the corpus dates from O3. In these cases, I have considered the text to be from O3.

beþurfan exhibits practically the same frequency. Let us now turn to the analysis of these verbs paying attention to their semantics first, and to their syntactic features later.

3.4.1.1 Semantic features of Old English *þurfan* and *beþurfan*

In this section I will analyse the meanings conveyed by OE *þurfan* and *beþurfan*, in order to see the extent to which they represent the meanings conveyed by PDE *need*. We will also observe how the meanings of *þurfan* and *beþurfan* overlap, which opens the way to the semantic analysis of the other OE verbs.

As seen in section 3.2.2, Bosworth and Toller (*s.v. þurfan* v.) suggest three main meanings for *þurfan*: 'to be in need/have need of something,' 'to need to do something' and 'to owe' (the latter being nearly synonymous with **sculan*, 'be obliged'). These meanings are related to the notion of necessity, and that is, indeed, the case of 157 examples of *þurfan* in my corpus, while in one sentence *þurfan* conveys possibility or, rather, absence of possibility. Consider example (3.34):

> (3.34) *Þurh   soþe bireousunge þeo soule reste onfoþ. Ac ne **þearf** ic nefre resten*
> through true   mercy   the   soul's rest begins but not need I never rest
> *þurh   þine bireousunge, ac altogædere ic am forloren þurh   þine luþere*
> through your mercy   but altogether I am destroyed through your wicked
> *deden.*
> deeds
> 'Through true mercy the rest of the soul begins. But I cannot ever rest through your mercy, but altogether I am destroyed by your wicked deeds.'
> (HomU 5.6 (Buch F) 13)

As seen in section 2.2.2.2, possibility meanings are described as barriers in force-dynamic terms. Hence the absence of possibility expressed by *þurfan* in (3.34) can be considered a barrier. The meaning is clear from the context: "I cannot rest, because I do not receive mercy, but wicked deeds." It seems obvious that a necessity meaning does not fit in this context at all (i.e. a sequence such as "I need not rest, because I do not receive mercy, but wicked deeds" does not seem to make any sense). Despite the marginality of this example, it constitutes another piece of evidence of the polysemic values of OE *þurfan*. This polysemy arises as a consequence of the logical relations between necessity and possibility, as claimed by Lyons (1977) and Palmer (1986) (cf. section 2.2.2.2), which establish that if X is not necessary, not-X is possible. These relations seem to

operate in other languages than English, because, as noted by van der Auwera and Plungian (1998), German *dürfen*, the cognate of *þurfan*, developed its current possibility meaning, 'be allowed to,' from its original necessity meaning 'to need.'[28] According to these scholars, the development is highly conditioned by the non-affirmative contexts in which *dürfen* used to occur. From an original meaning 'need not,' expressing absence of necessity, it developed the meaning of prohibition 'must not,' and, then, due to the logical relations between necessity and possibility (which establish that if you must not do X, you can do not-X), it developed its current possibility meaning 'may, may not.' In the analysis of the ME corpus, we will observe how this meaning gains ground with ME *thurven* and is also possible with ME *neden* v.2 (cf. section 4.4.2.1).

Going back to the meanings of OE *þurfan* as offered by Bosworth and Toller (*s.v. þurfan* v.), we must say that the three of them are root necessity meanings, which are defined in the cognitive terms of forces, as mentioned in section 2.2.2.2. In that section, devoted to the description of root modality, I also point out that one of the advantages of defining necessity in terms of forces is the possibility of resorting to three scales of gradience. The first scale I mentioned concerns the degree of subjectivity of the forces implied. It is said that root modality is subjective when it is based on subjective referents (cf. *you must get out of the bath now*). On the other hand, objective root modality is that stated in general truths (as *clay pots must have some protection from severe weather*). The second scale refers to the strength of the force, and it goes from very weak (as in *she must buy a new pair of shoes*) to very strong (as in *she must pay taxes every year*). Finally, the third scale concerns the origin of the force, which may basically be internal (exemplified earlier on with *I need to call her now*), or external (as in *I must turn in this paper tomorrow*), as mentioned above; however, in the analysis of the corpus data I have found examples of a third type of force, namely that of general origin (in general statements such as *the adjective need not always precede the noun*).

The combination of the latter two scales, namely strength and origin of the force will yield different types of forces, that is, social (which may have different nuances such as religious or hierarchical), legal, inner, general, and so on. When illustrating the scarce examples of general types of forces it will be observed that among them we will find the few examples which can be considered cases of

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[28] Interestingly enough, its derived verb *bedürfen* has remained as a verb meaning 'need' in German (cf. Molencki 2002).

objective root modality found in my corpus, the vast majority being instances of subjective root modality. For this reason, the degree of subjectivity is not reflected in Table 3.7, which only combines the possible degrees of strength and the origin of the forces conveyed by OE *þurfan*. It must be noted that external and internal force, due to their concrete origin, can be classified as strong or weak, while general forces, due to their ambiguous origin and nature, can only be considered neutral as for strength:

ORIGIN	STRENGTH	N. OF EXAMPLES	TOTAL
EXTERNAL	STRONG	102	106
	WEAK	4	
INTERNAL	STRONG	15	44
	WEAK	29	
GENERAL	NEUTRAL	7	7
TOTAL	**STRONG**	**117**	
	WEAK	**33**	**157**
	NEUTRAL	**7**	

Table 3.7: Origin and intensity of the forces conveyed by OE þurfan.

According to the data in this table, OE *þurfan* seems to exhibit a pronounced tendency to convey strong (118 instances) and external (106 instances) types of forces. Though this is broadly so, we must take into account that this table is a simplified version of the analysis of the findings. A table of a more fine-grained quality, which would specify the different types of strong external, weak external, strong internal, weak internal, and neutral general forces, would produce a chaotic picture of the meaning of *þurfan*. For this reason, I will try to account for the different types of forces conveyed by each of the combinations resulting from this table independently, with the support of other tables and the illustration provided by the OE examples.

Let us begin with **strong external forces**, the most common type of force conveyed by OE *þurfan* (102 examples, out of the total 157 examples expressing necessity). These are forces which result from an external entity and which exert a strong influence on the agonist, such as the above-mentioned example *you must pay taxes every year*. In this example, the agonist, *you*, is constrained by a strong external entity, namely the state, to pay taxes. Examples of strong external force such as this will be referred to as *legal*. There are, however, other types of strong external forces, depending on the exact external origin. As for OE *þurfan*, the possible external origins of strong force are all of a social origin, which may be sub-classified in order of frequency as follows: religious (based on the religious

dogma written on sacred books or stated by preachers), hierarchical (based on relationships such as the one held between a landlord and a servant, or a bishop and a priest, for instance), legal (based on official responsibilities).

These types of forces may occur in affirmative contexts, and also in non-affirmative contexts.[29] Their occurrence in positive contexts is easy to interpret, because the meaning conveyed is the existence of a weaker or stronger force which the antagonist exerts on the agonist. However, when a force occurs in a non-affirmative context, the meaning conveyed may be twofold. On the one hand, the sequence may imply that the antagonist releases the agonist from acting in a given way, that is, absence of obligation (e.g. PDE *needn't*). On the other hand, the sequence may imply that the antagonist exerts a force on the agonist not to act in a given way, that is, prohibition (e.g. PDE *mustn't*). Table 3.8 clarifies and sketches the different types of strong external forces conveyed by OE *þurfan* both in affirmative and non-affirmative contexts:

CLAUSE POLARITY TYPE OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE		TOTAL
		LACK OF FORCE	FORCE NOT TO	
RELIGIOUS	3	53	7	**63**
HIERARCHICAL		23	1	**24**
LEGAL		13	2	**15**
TOTAL	**3**	**89**	**10**	**102**

Table 3.8: Types of strong external forces conveyed by OE þurfan *with specification of clause polarity.*

The left-hand column of Table 3.8 specifies the different types of strong external forces found in the corpus as for OE *þurfan*, which are, as already mentioned, religious, hierarchical and legal. On the other hand, the top line of this table contains information regarding the polarity of the sentences in which *þurfan* occurs and its influence on the type of force, as explained above. From Table 3.8 it becomes apparent that *þurfan* shows a strong preference for non-affirmative contexts (99 examples out of 102). As for the type of forces *þurfan* conveys, it seems to be mainly used to express religious forces (63 examples out of 102 total examples of strong external force). This may be due to the fact that a vast amount

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[29] Let us remember that non-affirmative contexts include not only explicit negative contexts (e.g. *you need not do the exam*), but also other contexts in which the realization of the proposition does not necessarily take place, such as conditional or comparative clauses (e.g. *if you need to do the exam;* or *you have done more than you needed to do*, cf. section 2.2.1.1; Huddleston 1984: 424).

of the OE texts which have survived and which, hence, belong to my corpus, are of religious nature.

Beginning with the affirmative contexts in which strong external *þurfan* occurs, the force conveyed is always religious. Witness (3.35):

> (3.35) *þu **þurfe** bidden þone ele of þan treowe þære mildheortnysse,   þæt þu*
> You need ask the oil (acc) of the truth   the love-kindness (gen) that you
> *Adam þinne fæder mide   gesmerigen   **mote** for his lichames   sare,*
> Adam your father with prepare-with-ointment may for his body (gen) pain
> *for get ne synden gefyllede fif þusend wintre and þa   fif hundred, þe*
> for yet not are   fulfilled five thousand winters and the five hundred that
> *sculen beon agane, ær   þone he gehæled wurðe.*
> should be   one before it (acc) he healed becomes
> 'you must ask for the oil of the truth of love-kindness, with which you may prepare the body of your father, because of the pain, so that the 5500 winters that shall be gone before he is healed are not fulfilled.'
> (Nic (C), 224)

In the previous context of this example, taken from the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, Seth is told not to shed tears over his father (*ne þeart þu swincan biddende ne þine teares geotende…*) and such a piece of advice is conveyed by the verb *þurfan* (*þeart*). Immediately after that, the interlocutor tells Seth what he must do, and the selected verb is again *þurfan*. In other words, the same verb is used to express what the agonist must and does not need to do. In the three examples of positive strong external religious force, OE *þurfan* expresses the directions or commands which the antagonist exerts on the agonist.

Moving on to the non-affirmative examples of strong external *þurfan* (99 instances), we observe that in 89 cases the syntactic negation implies semantically the absence of such strong external force, that is, absence of obligation, which can be based on religious forces, as observed in (3.36):

> (3.36) *Ne **þurfan** we us ondrædan þa deoflican costnunga. Ne magon hig us*
> not need we us   fear   the devilish temptations not may they us
> *derian, gif hi   us ne lyciað.*
> hurt   if they us not please
> 'We need not be afraid of devilish temptations. They will not be able to hurt us if they do not please us.'
> (2,524 helsinki\coaelet3)

Sentence (3.36) is a prototypical example of absence of what I have decided to call religious force. In this sentence, the agonist, *we*, is released from a devilish threat based on the power of religious faith. The message is "if we are faithful,

we need not fear the Devil." In other words, the agonist is threatened or forced by the Devil to fear; however, religious faith is the antagonist, which frees the agonist from such a threat or force. Therefore, the strong external religious force is absent. A similar explanation holds for the other 51 examples of absence of strong religious force expressed by *þurfan* in my OE corpus.

Lack of obligation may also be encoded in hierarchical forces (23 instances), that is, the force exerted by the antagonist on the agonist on the basis of a hierarchical superiority, such as a landlord on a servant, or a bishop on a priest, as stated above. Sentence (3.37) is a clear example of hierarchical release from an obligation (absence of force):

> (3.37) *Biddað   Drihten þæt hys þunorrada 7 ðes hagol geswicon, 7 ic*
> Ask (pl. imperative.) Lord   that his thundering & the hail   cease   & I
> *wille   eow   forlætan 7   ge   ne **þurfon**   her leng wunian.*
> will you (pl. dat) let-go   & you (pl. nom) not need (pl.) here long dwell
> '(the pharaoh says to Moses and Aaron) Ask God to cease his thundering and hail, and I will let you go and you will not need to dwell here any longer.'
> (Exod 9.28)

In this example the antagonist is the interlocutor, namely the pharaoh, and offers the agonists (Moses and Aaron) the possibility to be released from his power, if they accept his conditions. In other words, the agonists are constrained to stay there, but the antagonist frees them from such a constraint, so that they are no longer obliged to remain in that place. In addition to a clear example of what I have labelled hierarchical force, (3.37) is also an instance of abnormal temporal use of *þurfan*. Though *þurfon* is the morphological present plural of *þurfan*, in this context it clearly conveys future time meaning. This is not to be taken, however, as a piece of evidence in favour of the auxiliary nature of *þurfan* in Old English, because in this period morphological present forms of verbs are very commonly used to convey future time as well.

Finally, lack of obligation may also be expressed when *þurfan* expresses strong legal forces. Consider (3.38):

> (3.38) *gif se hlaford him wile   þæt land aræran to weorce & to gafole, ne **þearf***
> if   the lord   him wants that land   set up to work   & to tribute not need
> *he him onfon.*
> he him accept
> 'if the lord wants him to set up in þat land to work and tribute, he need not accept it.'
> (7,575 helsinki\colaw2)

In this example, taken from Ine's *Laws of England*, it is established that a man is exempted from acceptance of the lord's commands. It is, therefore, an instance of lack of obligation.

The third column of Table 3.8 shows that when *þurfan* occurs in non-affirmative contexts, it may also express a positive force not to act in a given way, in other words, prohibition. Such a prohibition can be based on religious grounds (seven examples), as in (3.39):

> (3.39) *Ne **þearf**   nan man   þæs wænan,   þæt hyne   ænig man*
>   no need (3 sg.) no man (nom.) that believe that him (acc.) any man (nom.)
>   *mæge alysan fram helle   wite.*
>   may   free   from hell (gen.) torture (acc.)
>   'no man must think that he may free himself from the torture of hell.'
>   (588 helsinki\coepihom)

In this sentence, taken from the *Homily for the sixth (or fourth) Sunday after Epiphany*, the preacher tells the listeners what they must not do: they are requested not to think that they will be able to challenge the Devil. Sentence (3.39) is a clear case of a force not to do something. In fact, this clause may also be expressed in the cognitive terms adapted from Talmy (2000: 447-451) and used in section 2.2.2.2:

> A. The agonists think that they are able to free themselves from the torture of hell.
> B. In the antagonist's system, there are reasons why the agonists should not think so (the agonist is a preacher and, as such, an intellectual in religious matters).
> C. The antagonist is an external entity and from such a position it represents an external force for the agonists (the preacher is an authority for the audience).
> D. Due to A-C, the antagonist opts to exert his force on the agonists not to think they can free themselves from the torture of hell (by means of an instruction, request or command).

Example (3.39), therefore, is an instance of a kind of prohibition, conveyed by PDE *mustn't*, a rather different meaning from the expected absence of obligation conveyed by PDE *needn't*. Though this meaning is not very frequent, the seven instances found in the corpus cannot be dismissed, since they clearly show that *þurfan* expresses a wider range of meanings than PDE *need*. In addition, my corpus records examples of *þurfan* expressing hierarchical and legal forces not to act in a given way.

The single instance of *þurfan* expressing strong prohibition (a force not to) based on a hierarchical superiority is (3.40):

> (3.40) *...and þæt is seo swutelung his soðan godcundnysse, þæt he mæg asmeagan*
> …and that is the manifestation his true divinity   that he may examine
> *ealra manna heortan, and ure geþohtas þurhseon ealle; and we ne **ðurfon***
> all men (gen) hearts and our   thoughts through-see all   and we not need
> *axian hu he sylf don wylle.*
> ask   how he self do will
> '...and the manifestation of his divinity is that he may examine the hearts of all men and see through all our hearts, and we must not ask how he will do it himself.'
> (ÆHom 8 244)

Though this example could also be considered an instance of religious force, it seems to me that it is closer to a hierarchical force, because the preacher stands of a higher level than his audience. The difference between this example and examples such as (3.36) or (3.39) lays on the fact that in those cases the force comes from religion itself (faith, on the one hand, and devilish temptations, on the other), while in this example, the agonist is using his hierarchical superiority to instruct the audience. In any case, the relevance of this example is that it illustrates once more the use of *þurfan* to convey a force not to act in a given way: men are banned to hypothesize about the divine powers of God.

Finally, *þurfan* may also express prohibition in legal contexts. Witness (3.41):

> (3.41) *man rædinge ne **þearf**   rædan on nanre bec for þan scortan nihton.*
> man reading not need (3 sg.) read   on no   book for those short nights
> 'no one shall read any reading on any book during those short nights.'
> (6,118 helsinki\cobenrul)

This example, taken from the *Benedictine Rule*, is an instance of force not to, that is, a prohibition; what is negated is not the necessity to act in a given way, but the act itself: people are compelled not to read.

I will move on now to the expression of **weak external forces** by OE *þurfan*. The difference between this set of meanings and strong external forces concerns the degree or intensity of the force. For this reason, the classification of my findings in these terms is, to some extent, subjective. I have decided to include into this category those examples in which the verb *þurfan* does not express a strong necessity (strong obligation), an absence of such a strong

necessity (absence of strong obligation) or a strong necessity not to act in a particular way (strong prohibition). In other words, this category includes those examples of *þurfan* in which the agonist is tentatively counselled by the antagonist to act or not to act in a given way, or released from the expected behaviour. After analysing the examples retrieved from my corpus, only a scarce number of instances have been considered to convey weak external forces. All of them are non-affirmative, as can be seen in Table 3.9 below:

CLAUSE POLARITY TYPE OF FORCE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE		TOTAL
	LACK OF FORCE	FORCE NOT TO	
HIERARCHICAL	1	1	2
RELIGIOUS	1		1
LEGAL	1		1
TOTAL	**3**	**1**	**4**

Table 3.9: *Types of weak external forces conveyed by OE* þurfan *with indication of clause polarity.*

One example will suffice to illustrate the use of *þurfan* to express weak external forces:

> (3.42) *Drihten is min onlyhtend, and min Hælend; hwæt **þearf**   ic ondrædan?*
> Lord   is my light   and my saviour what need (1 sg.) I   fear
> 'The Lord is my light and my Saviour; what shall/need I fear?'
> (7,061 helsinki\coparips)

Sentence (3.42) is an instance of absence of weak external religious force (line 2 in Table 3.9). This example illustrates a particular type of non-affirmative context, namely interrogative clauses. It is transparent that this interrogative clause expresses absence of force, because it is a rhetorical question. Hence, the sentence is equivalent to a hypothetical *I need not fear anything* (*because the Lord is my Saviour*). The consideration of this sequence as an instance of weak religious force may be subject to controversy, but, as already stated, the difference between strong and weak forces is quite a subjective matter. The reason why I have considered that this is an instance of weak religious force is that, as opposed to strong forces such as those illustrated in (3.36) above, the agonist seems to me to be aware of the real absence of the necessity to be afraid. In (3.36) above, the antagonist releases the agonist from the Devil's threat on the condition that he should be faithful, which seems to be a strong condition. However, in example (3.42), the agonist is conscious of the absence of necessity to be afraid, and, therefore, the potential fear seems weaker.

After having analysed and illustrated the different types of external forces conveyed by OE *þurfan* (107 examples out the total 158), I will concentrate on those cases in which this pre-modal verb expresses internal types of forces (44 examples). As was shown in the previous paragraphs, external forces are analysed by taking into account the origin of the force, namely religious, hierarchical, legal or general. Internal forces, however will not be subject to such an analysis. As explained in section 2.2.2.2 above, internal forces arise from a split of the agonist's self, that is, the agonist self becomes both the agonist and the antagonist. Though internal forces may also be affected by social or religious factors, they are undoubtedly rooted in the agonist's self, and, therefore, they are analysed as inner forces. Having explained this difference of analysis of external and internal forces, I will proceed to the illustration of, firstly, strong internal forces (Table 3.10), and, secondly, weak internal forces (Table 3.11).

The OE pre-modal *þurfan* expresses **strong internal forces** in 15 instances in my corpus, as shown in this table:

CLAUSE POLARITY \ TYPE OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE		TOTAL
		LACK OF FORCE	FORCE NOT TO	
INNER	2	11	2	15
TOTAL	**2**	**11**	**2**	**15**

Table 3.10: Strong internal þurfan *with indication of clause polarity.*

The distribution of internal forces as far as polarity is concerned does not differ from the cases of external forces within non-affirmative contexts, since in both cases *þurfan* is most common in non-affirmative contexts. We will see an example of each of the internal meanings of *þurfan*; starting with line 1 in Table 3.10, an example of strong internal positive force expressed by OE *þurfan* is, for example, (3.43):

> (3.43) *hi   eac witon   hwær hi   eafiscas secan   þurfan, and swylcra*
> they also know (pl.) where they river-fish look (pl.) need (pl.) and such
> *fela weoruldwelena.*
> many worldly-wealth
> 'they also know where they must look for river-fish and much similar worldly wealth.'
> (3,173 helsinki\cometboe)

The kind of internal force conveyed by *þurfan* in this example is that of strong volition: they must look for river-fish because they *want* river-fish. Half of the agonist's self, characterized as the antagonist, exerts a force on the other half of the self to make river-fish necessary. I have considered this sentence as an example of strong internal force, because the necessity of river-fish, or any sort of food, for that matter, seems stronger than other types of weaker volition, as will be seen below.

As regards the expression of lack of strong internal force, I will comment on two different examples. On the one hand, in sentence (3.44) *þurfan* is followed by an infinitive:

> (3.44) *Se mann wæs swa gesceapen ðæt he syngian ne **ðorfte**, and he wære*
>   the man was so   created   that he   sin   not needed and he was
> *gesælig gif he na ne syngode and æfre undeadlic gif he his Drihtne*
> happy   if he not not sinned and ever immortal   if he his lord
> *gehyrsumode.*
> were-obedient
> (talking about the composition of the body: earth, fire, air) 'The man was created in such a way that he needed / would not sin, and he would be happy if he did not sin and he would be immortal if he always were obedient to his Lord.'
> (ÆHex, 413)

In this example, the agonist's self, that is, the man's self, is split: one half seems to be prone to sinning, and the other half is strongly shaped against sinning. In that sense, one of the halves frees the other half from the human inherent propensity towards sinning. Since inclination to sins is taken, at least in this kind of texts, to be strong in humans, this negative example implies the absence of a strong force. In addition, we must note that this force is not necessarily limited to the meaning of necessity implied by 'need,' but it may also be expressed by 'would,' as proposed in the translation. In other words, *þurfan* seems to have lost its full meaning in this example, and, in fact, it seems to function as a substitute for the subjunctive mood in the subordinate clause of purpose in which it occurs. For this reason, it may be claimed that *þurfan* exhibits in (3.44) its most auxiliary-like features.

Another type of lack of strong internal force which may be expressed by *þurfan* is exemplified in (3.45):

> (3.45) *Seo gesyhð þonne is angyt. (...) Gyf heo ðonne hal   eagan hæft, þæt is,*
>   The vision   then is knowledge if   she then healthy eyes   has   that is

> *hal   angyt,   hwæs byd hyre ðonne wana, oððe hwæs* **þearf** *heo*
> healthy/whole knowledge what   is her (obl) then lack   or   what need she
> *ðonne maran?*
> then   more
> 'Then vision is knowledge. If she has healthy eyes, that is, whole knowledge, what does she lack, then or what else does she need?'
> (Solil 1 28.6)

Sentence (3.45) is an instance of absence of strong internal force, when the theme of *þurfan* is a noun phrase, the pronoun *hwæs*, 'what,' in this case. As in the previous examples, the self is split and, instead of volition, as in (3.43), the antagonist makes the agonist feel lack of volition.

If we compare examples (3.45) and (3.44) we immediately observe that, contrary to the case of (3.44), the meaning of *þurfan* in this sentence is that of a full verb, as evidenced in the coordination of synonymous clauses *hwæs byd hyre ðonne wana*, 'what does she lack' (literally: 'what is to-her then lack') and *hwæs þearf heo ðonne maran*, 'what else does she need').[30] The existence of an auxiliary implies that it is followed by a verbal element, as will be explained in the section devoted to the syntactic behaviour of *þurfan* and *beþurfan* below. However, the semantic analysis of my verbs is not affected by the fact that they are followed by a verbal element, because they may imply the same kind of meanings, whether they are auxiliaries or not. Thus, we may say that in sentence (3.45), *þurfan* expresses absence of an inner force, because, despite the fact that there is not any infinitive in the sentence the implied meaning is that the agonist is released from an internal force or desire. In addition, a sentence such as *he needs X* is synonymous to *he needs to have X*. Therefore, the presence or absence of an infinitive as complement of a verb conveying necessity does not affect the meaning conveyed by such a verb.

A last possible type of strong internal force expressed by *þurfan* is what I have been referring to as force not to, that is, prohibition. Consider, for instance, (3.46):

> (3.46) *Soð þæt is gesælig he wæs, ac swa þeah ne* **þurfe** *we   forþi   ceorian, þæt*
> True that is happy   he was but so though not need we because complain that
> *we nabbað   Crist lichamlice nu   on urum timan, swaswa hi hæfdon.*
> we not-have Christ bodily   now on our   time   so   they had
> 'It is true that he was happy, but however we must not complain for that reason, that we do not have Christ bodily now in our times as they had.'
> (ÆHomM 12 (Brot 1), 231)

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[30] The meanings of shortage and necessity are, as repeatedly stated, intimately related.

The split of the self in this example does not imply that one half of the self frees the other half from complaining. The meaning seems to be quite another. The antagonist (one of the halves of the self) forces the agonist (the second half) not to complain. There is not an external antagonist imposing such a prohibition, but the internal antagonist is conscious of the necessity not to act in that way. The meaning conveyed by *þurfan* in this example could be labelled internal prohibition.

To end up with the analysis of the semantic features of OE *þurfan*, I will explain those cases in which this pre-modal expresses **weak internal forces**. That is to say, the origin of the force will be rooted in the split of the self, but the strength or urgency of the force will not be so strong as in the last set of meanings, but it will be basically weak volition. The following table summarizes the findings:

CLAUSE POLARITY TYPE OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE		TOTAL
		LACK OF FORCE		
INNER	9	20		29
TOTAL	9	20		29

Table 3.11: Weak internal þurfan *with specification of clause polarity.*

Despite the fact that there are more instances of weak internal *þurfan* than of strong internal *þurfan*, the variety of meanings implied is narrower than with the previous set of internal forces. Thus, we observe, in Table 3.11, that weak internal *þurfan* may be positive (9 instances) or, non-affirmative, implying, in this case, lack of force (20 examples). When it occurs in positive contexts, the meaning conveyed is volition or wish, as exemplified in (3.47):

(3.47) *Siððan min on englisc ælfred kyning awende worda gehwelc, and me his*
After   my in English   Alfred king translated words each   and me his
writerum sende suð and norð, (...) ðæt he his biscepum sendan meahte,
scribes   send south and north (…) that he his bishops send were-able
*forðæm hi   his   sume **ðorfton**, ða ðe lædenspræce   læste cuðon.*
because they his/of-them some needed because Latin-language lest knew
'Afterwards King Alfred translated every word of me into English, and sent me to his scribes south and north, (...) ordered more such to be brought to him after the example, so that he might send them to his bishops, for some of them needed it, who knew but little Latin.'
(CPPref 11)

In this example, *þurfan* expresses the volition or wish of the bishops to read King Alfred's translations, an internally rooted necessity born out of the fact that they do not know Latin. I have considered this necessity to be weak, because it is not related to survival, as is the river-fish in example (3.43) above.

In order to illustrate the last possible force conveyed by *þurfan*, that is, absence of weak internal force, I have chosen sentence (3.48):

(3.48) *Ne **þearf**   nan mon on ðys andweardan life spyrian æfter þæm soðum*
        not need (3 sg.) no man on this present   life travel after   the true
        gesælðum.
        happiness
        'No man need travel after true happiness in this present life.'
        (1,300 helsinki\coboeth)

The pre-modal *þurfan* makes reference, in this context, to all kind of internally rooted desire to search for happiness, which is cancelled in the philosophical dialogue in which this sentence occurs. Obviously, there is not any external element acting as antagonist, but the origin of the force is internal. In addition, the force cannot be said to be strong, since it is not an obligation, or a requirement for survival. Therefore, the interpretation of this example is unequivocal: *þurfan* expresses absence of weak volition. *Þurfan* conveys this kind of meaning on 20 occasions in my corpus.

Having analysed those instances in which *þurfan* expresses external and internal forces, it remains to examine those cases in which this verb expresses **general force**, as the last type of force in Table 3.7. This type of general or neutral force has been accounted for by Langacker (1999) in force-dynamic terms. In the evolution of modal meanings from the physical to the social domain, the origin of the force may be sometimes difficult to identify: "This shift from physical to social force constitutes attenuation in regard to domain. Moreover, the source of potency (…) is not necessarily any specific individual, but may instead be some nebulous generalized authority. In other words, the source of potency is highly diffuse" (1999: 308). On seven occasions the origin of the force implied by *þurfan* in my OE corpus is diffuse or undetermined and, for that reason, these examples have been analysed as conveying general forces. In addition to the ambiguity of the origin of the force, the strength with which it is exerted is also ambiguous. For this reason, I have considered general forces to

be of a neutral strength. This type of examples can be classified according to clause polarity as represented in Table 3.12:

CLAUSE POLARITY ⟍ TYPE OF FORCE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE	TOTAL
	LACK OF FORCE	
NEUTRAL GENERAL	7	7
TOTAL	7	7

Table 3.12: Neutral general þurfan *with indication of clause polarity.*

As Table 3.12 shows, none of the instances of general type of force expressed by *þurfan* is affirmative, and all seven non-affirmative cases express absence of force (absence of obligation). An example of neutral general force is (3.49), taken from Ælfric's *Grammar*:

> (3.49) *pronomen is ðæs naman   speliend,   se spelað   þone naman, þæt*
>   pronoun   is the noun (gen) representative it substitutes the noun (acc) that
>   *ðu ne ðurfe tuwa hine nemnan.*
>   you not need twice it (acc) name
>   'the pronoun is a representative of the noun, it is a substitute for the noun, so
>   that you need not name it twice.'
>   (ÆGram, 8.11)

I have analysed this sentence as an example of absence of neutral general force, because it represents a piece of advice as far as the use of language is concerned. The origin of the force expressed by *þurfan* in (3.49) is not concrete, it is not any external or internal entity, but is unspecified or diffuse (cf. Langacker 1999: 308). In addition, the strength with which such a general force is exerted is neither strong not weak, but of a neutral intensity.

To sum up the semantic analysis of OE *þurfan*, we must recall that on one occasion it does not express necessity, but possibility, that is, there is not any cognitive force involved, but a barrier meaning 'cannot' (example (3.34) above). That leaves us with 157 examples of *þurfan* expressing necessity, where it is only rarely found in positive contexts (less than 10% of the occasions), and it shows a strong tendency for non-affirmative contexts (more than 90% of the instances). The most common meaning expressed by *þurfan* in non-affirmative contexts is absence of necessity (cf. PDE *needn't*), although it is also found conveying prohibition (cf. PDE *mustn't*). All the semantic information concerning OE *þurfan* is summarized here in two tables. Table 3.13 pays attention to the strength of the force expressed by *þurfan* and its internal, external or general character,

both in affirmative and in non-affirmative contexts. Table 3.14 concentrates on the specific semantic type of force, that is, it defines the exact origin of each force. The origin, as already seen, may be social (based on religious or hierarchical grounds), legal, inner or general.

CLAUSE POLARITY ⟋ ORIGIN AND STRENGTH OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE		TOTAL
		LACK OF FORCE	FORCE NOT TO	
STRONG EXTERNAL	3	89	10	**102**
WEAK EXTERNAL		3	1	**4**
STRONG INTERNAL	2	11	2	**15**
WEAK INTERNAL	9	20		**29**
NEUTRAL GENERAL		7		**7**
TOTAL	**14**	**130**	**13**	**157**

Table 3.13: Types of force expressed by OE þurfan *according to origin, strength and clause polarity.*

It may be concluded that OE *þurfan* expresses mainly forces originated in an external element (67.5% of the instances), among which lack of strong external necessity is the most common meaning. However, when expressing internally rooted forces, *þurfan* shows preference for weaker types of necessities. A second conclusion which may be drawn from Table 3.13 is that, in general, the relationship between this pre-modal and the expression of strong forces is tighter than with the expression of weak forces (nearly 75% of its instances express strong forces). A final conclusion which may be drawn from Table 3.13 is the strong tendency for *þurfan* to occur in non-affirmative contexts (more than 90% of its occurrences). The following table goes beyond this classification and pays attention to specific types of forces.

CLAUSE POLARITY ⟋ TYPE OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE		TOTAL
		LACK OF FORCE	FORCE NOT TO	
RELIGIOUS	3	54	7	**64**
INNER	11	31	2	**44**
HIERARCHICAL		24	2	**26**
LEGAL		14	2	**16**
GENERAL		7		**7**
TOTAL	**14**	**130**	**13**	**157**

Table 3.14: Types of forces expressed by OE þurfan *according to clause polarity.*

This comprehensive table roughly describes the semantic features of OE *þurfan* and includes all the possible types of force (external and internal) expressed by *þurfan* in any context in my corpus. It is, therefore, the amalgamation of Tables

3.8, 3.9, 3.10, 3.11 and 3.12. Taking into account the type of force, we observe that *þurfan* expresses most commonly religious forces (40.8% of the occurrences), followed in frequency by inner (28.0%), hierarchical (16.6%), legal (10.2%) and general forces (4.5%).

Finally, I must highlight a semantic feature of OE *þurfan* which may point towards its auxiliary-like status. As mentioned above, commenting on example (3.44), the meaning of *þurfan* is not necessarily limited to the expression of full necessity (of any of the kinds described here), but this pre-modal verb may lose its meaning in contexts such as subordinate clauses, acting as a mere marker of subjunctive mood.

After the analysis of the semantic intricacies of the pre-modal *þurfan*, the paragraphs which follow pay attention to the semantic description of the other verb with preterite-present morphology, namely **beþurfan**, which occurs on 47 occasions in my corpus. In section 3.2.2 above, we mentioned that the prefix *be-*, which forms this verb from the pre-modal *þurfan*, undergoes a decrease in frequency in the ME period, and it was hypothesized that this decay might be manifest already throughout the OE period. The corpus data, however, prove that this verb is used both in early (8 instances) and late Old English (39 examples). Therefore, we do not observe any trace of decay.

The OE instances of *beþurfan* will be interpreted semantically in force-dynamic terms, that is, involving forces and barriers, as has been done with *þurfan*. The main observation to be made concerns the combination of forces according to the degree of strength exerted and the origin of the force. Table 3.15 outlines the features of the 47 examples of *beþurfan* taking into account these two scales:

ORIGIN	STRENGTH	N. OF EXAMPLES	TOTAL
EXTERNAL	STRONG	1	1
	WEAK		
INTERNAL	STRONG	13	45
	WEAK	32	
GENERAL	NEUTRAL	1	1
TOTAL	**STRONG**	14	**47**
	WEAK	32	
	NEUTRAL	1	

Table 3.15: Origin and intensity of the forces conveyed by OE beþurfan.

At first sight, this table illustrates two major differences between *þurfan* and *beþurfan*. On the one hand, while the force exerted by the pre-modal *þurfan* is

prone to be originated in an external element, *beþurfan* seems to be directly related to internally rooted forces (45 instances, out of 47; more than 95% of its occurrences). On the other hand, the force expressed by this verb is weak in a high percentage (32 out of 47; 68% of its occurrences), while *þurfan* expresses mainly strong forces. Therefore, these two morphologically related verbs seem to be quite apart as far as semantics is concerned. In order to go deeply into the semantic intricacies of *beþurfan*, I will follow the same steps as in the illustration of *þurfan*, that is, each combination of strength and origin will be analysed separately, and finally all findings will be drawn together in a single table.

OE *beþurfan* expresses **strong external force** on only one occasion in my corpus. It is an instance of external prohibition, as shown in (0):

(3.50) *And se þe þær deð ænig   unnyt   wordes oððon weorces, he dryhð*
　　　And the that there does any unprofitable words or   works   he performs
　　　*deofles   willan 7 abelhð   his Drihtne swiðor þonne he **beþorfte**.*
　　　devil (gen) will   & irritates his Lord   more   than he   needs
　　　'And there he who (says and) does some unprofitable words and works, he
　　　performs the devil's will and irritates his Lord more than he should.'
　　　(WHom 18 47)

This example is analysed as expressing force not to act in a given way, because it must be interpreted as 'he should not irritate his Lord.' Though the agonist breaks the prohibition, there is a religious force which bans him from irritating his Lord. The verb *beþurfan*, therefore, expresses the presence of a strong force not to act as stated, and the meaning of the verb is synonymous to PDE *mustn't*, the modal auxiliary verb which usually denotes prohibition. It must be noted that that OE *þurfan* also occurs in this type of context with the same meaning (cf. example (3.64) below), which implies that *beþurfan* still keeps some of the characteristics of the pre-modal from which it derives.

This is not, however, the only aspect in which *beþurfan* in this example has auxiliary-like characteristics in the same way *þurfan* does. We also observe that in this example the verb is inflected for the preterite, while its connotations are present. In other words, the preterite *beþorfte* has abnormal time reference, one of the characteristics of PDE auxiliaries, according to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 137; cf. also section 2.1.3.4 above). At the same time, this example exhibits a syntactic characteristic which, as will be seen below, is commonly found with *þurfan*, i.e. the ellipsis of the sentential element in a comparative clause.

Therefore, the use of *beþurfan* in this example may be said not to differ from the most auxiliary-like uses of the pre-modal *þurfan*.

Since, as outlined in Table 3.15, there is not any instance of *beþurfan* conveying weak external force, it may be concluded that, though *beþurfan* occurs only rarely conveying external forces, the syntactic constructions in which it actually occurs are indeed highly revealing for they exhibit pre-modal characteristics such as its abnormal time reference.

After having dealt with the scarce number of examples of *beþurfan* expressing external forces, we move on now to the analysis of the instances in which this verb conveys **internal forces**. Table 3.16 below classifies the 13 examples of the verb *beþurfan* expressing strong internal forces:

CLAUSE POLARITY TYPE OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE		TOTAL
		LACK OF FORCE	FORCE NOT TO	
INNER	11	1	1	**13**
TOTAL	**11**	**1**	**1**	**13**

Table 3.16: Strong internal beþurfan *with indication of clause polarity.*

This table shows that strong internal *beþurfan* occurs on 11 occasions in positive contexts, while it occurs only twice in non-affirmative environments. Despite the low number of examples found, such a difference in frequency is too marked to be considered irrelevant. In fact, this is the first hint towards a differentiation between *þurfan* and *beþurfan*.

When *beþurfan* expresses the presence of a strong internal force, its meanings may be the following; 'need,' 'be in need,' 'lack,' or 'deserve.' Sometimes it is difficult to decide which of these meanings fits better into a single example. Consider, for example, (3.51):

(3.51) *Crist sylf sang pater noster ærest (...) 7 on ðam godcundan gebede syn VII*
Christ self sang pater noster first (…) & in that   divine   prayer are 7
gebedu mid þam   se ðe hit inwerdlice gesingð geærndað to Gode sylfum
prayers with which he who it heartily   sings   intercedes to God self
*ymbe æfre ælce neode þe man **beðearf**, aðor oððon for ðisum life oððon for*
about ever each need that one   needs either or   for this   life   or   for
ðam toweardan.
the   coming
'Christ himself sang the pater noster (...) and in that divine prayer there are 7 prayers with which he who sings it heartily carries a message to God himself about each necessity that one needs / is in need of / lacks, either in this life or

in the future one.'
(WHom 7 11)

In this sentence, the agonist has one or various strong internally rooted necessities, and, therefore, asks God for their fulfilment. Interestingly enough, two of the necessity stems taken into account in this piece of research occur in this sentence, namely *neod-* and *beþurfan*. While *beþearf* is a transitive verb, *neode* is a noun functioning as its direct object, that is, *man beþearf neode*, 'one needs necessities.' Two questions arise from this construction. On the one hand, it illustrates the semantic overlap between the stems *neod* and *beþearf*. On the other hand, this construction may look redundant, because in Present-Day English one does not need necessities, but *one has necessities* or *needs*. However, this context provides the appropriate environment to understand that the meaning of *beþurfan* may also be 'to be in need' or 'to lack.' If we take these alternative meanings into consideration, example (3.51) becomes easier to interpret, because it is easily seen that one may *lack* what one needs, or that one is in need of something which he lacks. In fact, the meaning 'lack' and the meaning 'need' are notionally related, as has also been shown as for OE *þurfan* in example (3.45) above. In addition, Krug (2000: 123) mentions 'to lack' as the main meaning of *beþurfan*, and connects it with *want*, a verb which has evolved in the history of English from 'lack' to the volition meaning it implies nowadays. Both meanings 'lack' and 'need' may be interpreted in all the positive examples outlined in Table 3.16, and this is indeed easy to explain in cognitive terms: lack is a powerful force leading to necessity.

Apart from this frequent use and meaning of *beþurfan* in positive contexts, we observe in Table 3.16 above that it may also be used in non-affirmative contexts, implying different negative meanings. On the one hand, on one occasion *beþurfan* expresses the absence of a force, i.e. absence of necessity. This is example (3.52):

> (3.52) *Ic secge eow   þæt swa byð on heofone blis be anum synfullum þe dædbote*
> I   say you (obl) that so   is   on heaven bliss by any   sinful who penitence
> *deð, ma þonne ofer nigon 7 nigontigum rihtwisra þe dædbote ne **beðurfon**.*
> does more than over nine & ninety righteous-people who penitence not need
> 'I say to you that in Heaven there will be more bliss for a sinner who does penitence than for ninety-nine righteous (people) who need no repentance.'
> (Lk(WSCp) 15.7)

I have considered that the force expressed by *beþurfan* in this context is internal, rather than external, because I understand that the need for repentance, despite the fact that it is based on a religious belief, is born in the agonist's self as a decision or an act of one's will to stop sinful behaviour, rather than imposed by an external authority. This example can be compared to sentence (3.45), in which *þurfan* is followed by a noun phrase and it expresses absence of force (*hwæs þearf heo ðonne maran?* 'what else is she in need of?'). In a similar line, in sentence (3.52) *beþurfan* also conveys absence of a force, namely absence of the force to repent, because, despite the fact that there is not any infinitive in the sentence, the nominal direct object, *dædbote,* 'repentance,' implies the same course of events. In other words, while a sentence such as *you need not repent* contains an auxiliary verb, and *you need no repentance* contains a full transitive verb, the meaning conveyed by *need* in both cases is the same, that is, absence of necessity to repent.

The last example of strong internal *beþurfan* expresses a force not to act in a given way, i.e. internal prohibition:

(3.53)… *þæt we him   oftor   swyðor abelgað þonne we* **beþorftan.**
     … that we him more-often more   irritate than   we should
     '…that we irritate him more often than we should.'
     (1,090 helsinki\cowulf4)

This sentence is interpreted as expressing an internal prohibition, because, as opposed to external prohibitions such as that expressed in (3.50), there is not an external authority exerting force on the agonist, but it is the agonist's self that splits in two halves, one of which exerts a prohibition on the other ('we should not…'). Despite this difference in origin, both in (3.50) and in (3.53) the verb is inflected for the preterite, despite its present time reference. These two sentences exhibit, therefore, the most auxiliary-like behaviour of *beþurfan*.[31]

The last set of meanings conveyed by OE *beþurfan* is defined in terms of **weak internal forces**, which is the most frequent set of meanings found for this verb in my corpus, as shown in Table 3.17:

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[31] These two sentences also show the ellipsis of the verbal constituent of *beþurfan* in comparative clauses, which, as mentioned, is not exclusive of auxiliaries.

CLAUSE POLARITY	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE	TOTAL
TYPE OF FORCE		LACK OF FORCE	
INNER	24	8	32
TOTAL	24	8	32

Table 3.17: Weak internal beþurfan *with specification of clause polarity.*

Not surprisingly, 75% of the instances of weak internal *beþurfan* occur in positive contexts. This coincides with the data concerning the cases of strong internal forces. As was the case then, weak internal *beþurfan* usually means 'to be in need' or 'to lack,' as can be seen in (3.54):

> (3.54) *...and þider wilniað   oððe þæs   þe   him lyst   oððe þæs*
> …and thither desire (pl)   or   that (gen) what them pleases or   that (gen)
> *þe   hi* **beþurfon.**
> what they need (pl.)
> '...and they thither desire either what pleases them or what they need/are in want.'
> (ÆLS (Christmas), 56)

This sentence illustrates the co-occurrence of *beþurfan* with a verb related to the notion of volition, which is a very specific type of necessity that falls out of the scope of this analysis, namely *willnian*, 'wish, desire.' This verb, which disappears in the ME period due to its fusion with *willan*, expresses a concrete type of internal necessity, but it seems to be significantly different from *beþurfan*. From my point of view, the former, *willnian*, is concerned with a kind of necessity motivated by ambition, while the latter, *beþurfan*, is concerned with a kind of necessity motivated by insufficiency. As mentioned above, this is the most common meaning expressed by *beþurfan* in positive environments.

When the context of *beþurfan* is non-affirmative and the force expressed is weak and internal, the only meaning found in the eight instances of the corpus is that of absence of necessity, as illustrated in (3.55):

> (3.55) *Ða andswarude se Hælend 7 cwæþ to him, Ne* **beþurfon**   *læces*
> Then answered   the Saviour & says to them not need (pl.) doctor (gen.)
> *þa   ðe   hale   synd, ac   þa   ðe unhælþe habbaþ.*
> those who healthy are   but those who not-health have
> 'Then the Saviour answered and said to them: "Those who are healthy do not need a doctor, but those who are unhealthy (lit.: have not-health)".'
> (Lk (WSCp) 5.31)

In this sentence the verb *beþurfan* expresses the absence of the internal necessity for a doctor. This same meaning may be expressed by *þurfan*, as is shown in my

corpus, since in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, the pre-modal occurs in a similar sentence:

(3.56) *& ondsuarade se hælend cuoeð to him ne **ðofeð** [^SKEAT EMENDS AS ðorfeð^]*
       &   answered the Saviour said   to him not need (pl.)

       ða   ðe halo   sint to lece   ah ða   ðe   yfle habbað.
       those who healthy are to doctor but those who evil have
       'And the Saviour told him that those who are healthy do not need a doctor,
       but those are ill.'
       (7,986 helsinki\colindis)

The fact that in the translation of the same text two scribes choose *þurfan* and *beþurfan* indistinctly seems to be a good piece of evidence that both verbs may be used as exact synonyms.

Finally, as seen in Table 3.15, my corpus also contains one instance of *beþurfan* expressing **neutral general force**. Witness (3.57):

(3.57) *Ic nat   þeah   hym   þuhte þæt hym **beþorften** þæt hi   his   mare*
       I know-not however them seemed that them needed that they their more
       wiston.
       knew
       'I did not know, however, that it seemed to them that it was necessary for
       them to know (lit.: that they knew) more about him.'
       (Solil 1 20.8)

In this sentence, *beþurfan* expresses a general force of diffuse origin. The agonist, *hym*, 'them,' stands inflected for the dative, instead of the expected nominative, because, as will be mentioned below, this is a Type S experiencer construction (oblique experiencer + verb + sentential theme; cf. section 2.3.2.3). Despite the fact that this clause is embedded into a superordinate negative clause, the negation does not affect the verb *beþurfan*, and for that reason, it conveys the presence of a general force, and not absence of force, as it could be understood at first sight.

We have seen that the meanings of *beþurfan* range from bare necessity, which stems from deficiency, to modal auxiliary-like meanings such as absence of obligation or prohibition. In contrast with *þurfan*, the scarce variety of specific types of forces allows me to summarize the semantic features of *beþurfan* in a single table:

CLAUSE POLARITY ORIGIN AND STRENGTH OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE		TOTAL
		LACK OF FORCE	FORCE NOT TO	
STRONG EXTERNAL			1	1
NEUTRAL GENERAL	1			1
STRONG INTERNAL	11	1	1	13
WEAK INTERNAL	24	8		32
TOTAL	36	9	2	47

Table 3.18: Types of forces expressed by OE beþurfan *according to origin, strength and clause polarity*.

OE *beþurfan* is almost exclusively used to express the existence or non-existence of internal forces. As already stated, this type of force may be affected by external elements, but it originates in the agonist's self. Only on two occasions does the verb express a type of force not originated in the agonist's self; one of them is of (external) religious origin, and the other one is general. Either originated in the agonist or in an external or general entity, the verb usually expresses the presence of such a force (36 occasions), though it may also be absent (9 instances), and marginally it may be a force not to act in a given way (2 cases).

With this information in mind, we may compare *þurfan* and *beþurfan*. They both express types of necessity which may be explained in terms of forces. As far as the origin of the forces is concerned, *þurfan* expresses mainly externally-originated forces (67.7% of its occurrences), while *beþurfan* is mostly related to internal forces (more than 95% of its occurrences). For this reason, *þurfan* shows a wider range of possible types of forces: religious, hierarchical, legal, inner of general, while *beþurfan* is, however, restricted to the expression of religious, general and, mostly, inner types of forces. If we take into consideration the strength with which the forces are exerted, we must remember that *þurfan* expresses strong forces in nearly 75% of its occurrences, while *beþurfan* is mainly concerned with weak forces (in 68% of its occurrences). It still remains to compare these two verbs from the point of view of polarity, as sketched in the following table:

CLAUSE POLARITY	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE		TOTAL
OE VERB		LACK OF FORCE	FORCE NOT TO	
ÞURFAN[32]	14	130	13	**157**
BEÞURFAN	36	9	2	**47**
TOTAL	**50**	**139**	**15**	**204**

Table 3.19: Comparison of þurfan *and* beþurfan *as for clause polarity.*

In this table we can observe that these two verbs differ considerably as far as polarity is concerned. The absolute numbers of Table 3.19 show the strong tendency of *þurfan* to occur in non-affirmative contexts (91.1% of the cases), while *beþurfan* is mainly used in positive contexts (more than 76.6% of its occurrences).

Despite all these differences, we have also seen that these verbs may occasionally occur in the same contexts and with the same meaning, as in examples (3.55) and (3.56). They may both express wish, deficiency, obligation, absence of obligation and prohibition. It has been shown, therefore, that both *þurfan* and *beþurfan* share enough characteristics to be used in the same kind of context with auxiliary-like characteristics.

3.4.1.2. Syntactic features of Old English *þurfan* and *beþurfan*

Both *þurfan* and *beþurfan* can be considered experiencer verbs according to Allen's (1995) classification, because they express an experience (i.e. a necessity) which is undergone by an experiencer. The constituent expressing the thing needed is, as already mentioned, referred to as theme (cf. section 2.3.2.3 Allen 1995). Thus, in the syntactic analysis of these verbs, we will follow Allen's classification, that is, we will analyse these verbs according to the nature of the experiencer and the theme.

Beginning with OE *þurfan*, we have seen (section 3.2.2) that its syntactic patterns are plentiful, i.e. the theme may be of many different types, and that the experiencer is always present. These data are corroborated by the findings of my corpus, as can be seen in Table 3.20:

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[32] Let us not forget that these numbers do not include the single instance of OE *þurfan* expressing possibility, which occurs in a non-affirmative context.

THEME	SUBPERIOD	O1-O2	O3-O4	TOTAL
Ø / absolute use		4	3	7
Noun phrase		11	11	22
Sentence	Bare infinitival clause	28	91	119
	To-infinitival clause	1		1
	Bare passive infinitival clause	1	3	4
	Elided infinitival clause	2	2	4
	Pseudo-gapping construction	1		1
TOTAL		48	110	158

Table 3.20: Nature of the theme of þurfan *in early and late Old English.*

This table shows that, (i) OE *þurfan* may be used intransitively (or absolutely) and transitively, with nominal and sentential themes; and (ii) the sentential themes far outnumber zero or nominal themes. The predominance of sentential themes is especially evident in late Old English, when 96 out of 110 examples (87.3%) choose this pattern, while in early Old English the ratio was somewhat lower (33 out of 48, i.e. 68.7%). In any event, OE *þurfan* does not show radical syntactic changes from the beginning to the end of the period and, for that reason, the analysis in the following paragraphs will not take into account diachronic factors.

I will begin my explanation with **absolute uses**, since it is the only type of structure which does not fit into Allen's (1995) classification of experiencer verb constructions. A paradigmatic example of the absolute use of *þurfan* is (3.58):

(3.58) *þonne mot he gesellan on þara hyndenna gehwelcere monnan & byrnan &*
    then may he   give up in those hundred   each   men   & corselet &
    *sweord on þæt wergild,   gif he **ðyrfe.***
    sword in that compensation if he needs
    'then he must give up in front of each of those hundred men and give the corselet and the sword in compensation, if he is compelled/has good cause.'
    (7,205 helsinki\colaw2)

It could be argued that this is an instance of ellipsis of the infinitive *gesellan* 'surrender,' the reconstructed sentence being 'if he needs to surrender.' However, since OE *þurfan* may be construed absolutely, as recorded by Bosworth and Toller (*s.v. þurfan* v. I 1) and as mentioned above in section 3.2.2, in (3.58) no elided infinitive need be brought forth. The same kind of environment has favoured the occurrence of absolute uses of *þurfan* in other six cases in my corpus, all of which are examples of dependent clauses (three temporal, two conditional and one relative).

More frequently *þurfan* has a **nominal theme** (22 examples; 11 in early and 11 in late Old English). The experiencer is nominative in all cases and the theme may be genitive, accusative or unmarked as for case (e.g. the relative particle *þe*, the ambiguous form *maran*, 'more'). When the theme is genitive as in (3.60) below, the sentence fits into Allen's classification as Type II construction with experiencer verbs. This occurs ten times in my OE corpus. When, on the contrary, the theme is accusative or unmarked, as in (3.59) below, the sentences can only be said to be a variant structure of Allen's Type II. This is the predominant construction with OE *þurfan* when its theme is an NP (12 times out of the total 22 examples of my corpus):

> (3.59) *muþa gehwylc* <u>*mete*</u> **þearf.**
>   mouths each(nom.) meat (acc) needs (3 sg.)
>   'each of the mouths needs meet (food).'
>   (3,929 helsinki\coexeter)

> (3.60) *ne ðearf* *he* <u>*nanra*</u> *domboca* *oþerra.*
>   not needs (3 sg.) he none (gen) code-of-law (gen) other (gen)
>   'he is not in need of any other code of law / he does not need any other code of law.'
>   (1,727 helsinki\colaw2)

In addition to this, examples with nominal themes occur either on main or on subordinate clauses and in both negative and affirmative contexts. Therefore, it may be said that this kind of construction, though not the most frequent, is not restricted to particular linguistic environments.

The by far most common syntactic pattern of OE *þurfan* is, as mentioned, the construction with a **sentential theme**, which is always an infinitival clause, they amount to 81.1% of the cases, considering all five variants in Table 3.20. The experiencer may, in this context, be nominative or oblique. When it is nominative, the construction fits into Allen's (1995) 'Personal' Type with experiencer verbs. When, on the contrary, the experiencer is oblique, the construction is classified as Type S, as shown in Table 3.21:

ALLEN'S TYPE SENTENTIAL THEME	'Personal' Type	Type S	TOTAL
Bare infinitival clause	115	4	119
To-infinitival clause	1		1
Bare passive infinitival clause	4		4
Elided infinitival clause	4		4
Pseudo-gapping construction	1		1
TOTAL	125	4	129

Table 3.21: Experiencer verb constructions of OE þurfan *with a sentential theme.*

Table 3.21 displays not only the type of experiencer verb construction for OE *þurfan*, which is in most cases the 'Personal' Type (96.9% of the occasions in which it has a sentential theme), but also the type of infinitive *þurfan* can take as theme. Let us begin the analysis of OE *þurfan* with the constructions of the 'Personal' Type.

The examination of the corpus examples reveals that in **'Personal' Type constructions**, the bare infinitive is the most frequent type of infinitive selected by this verb (118 out of the 125 infinitival themes). However, I have also found one example of *þurfan* with by a *to*-infinitive, contravening Warner's (1993: 137) assertion that it only occurs with bare infinitives. Consider sentences (3.61) and (3.62) respectively:

> (3.61) *Ða cwæð se encgel to hyre: Ne* **þearftu**   *ðe   ondrædan, Maria.*
>   Then says the angel to her   not need-you you (obl) fear   Maria
>   'Then the angle said to her: "You need not fear, Maria."'
>   (LS 18.2 (NatMaryAss 10J) 581)

> (3.62) *Gif hit sie winter ne* **þearft**   *þu   þone wermod   to don.*
>   If   it is winter not need (2 sg.) you (sg.) the wormwood (acc.) to take
>   'If it is winter, you need not take too much wormwood.'
>   (4,428 helsinki\colaece)

Sentence (3.61) is an example of *þurfan* followed by the **bare infinitive** *ondrædan*, 'to fear.' The verb *ondrædan* is frequently construed with a reflexive pronoun (*ðe*, in this case), and it follows *þurfan* on 14 occasions in my corpus. This example is, therefore, prototypical. Sentence (3.62), on the contrary, is an exceptional example. The infinitive which follows *þurfan* is not plain or bare, but a ***to*-infinitive**, namely *to don*. This example, therefore, contradicts Warner's (1993: 137) assertion that *þurfan* never appears in Old English with a *to*-infinitive. Moreover, it is also a rare case of an uninflected *to*-infinitive in Old English, since, as is well-known, *to*-infinitives are expected to be inflected in that

period of English (we should expect *to donne*, instead of *to don*). As mentioned, this is the only example in which *þurfan* is followed by a *to*-infinitive in my corpus, and it therefore should be regarded as an exception to the general rule.

The **bare passive infinitival clause** is another possible type of infinitival theme of *þurfan*. Though the frequency of this construction is much lower than that with an active infinitive (four passives as against 120 actives), it is worth pointing out here that the occurrence of pre-modals with a passive infinitive is one of the pieces of evidence which Warner (1993: 160) uses to describe pre-modals as OE auxiliaries, because the presence of a passive infinitive after a given verb implies that such a verb does not select its experiencer / subject, and non-selection of subjects is a characteristic of auxiliaries. One of the four examples of *þurfan* followed by a passive infinitive is (3.63):

> (3.63) *Ac se   byð swyðe mildheort, (...) þæt he ne **þurfe**   **beon** on ecnysse*
> But he who is very merciful (…)   that he not need (subj.) be   on eternity
> *mid deoflen gecwylmed.*
> by devil   tormented
> 'But he who is very merciful (...) he need not be tormented for ever and ever by the devil.'
> (Alc (Warn 35) 163)

In this sentence, the passive infinitive *beon gecwylmed*, 'be tormented,' is the theme of the pre-modal *þurfan* in a non-affirmative context. The other three examples of this type of constituent in the corpus, as well as the example provided by Warner (1993) to illustrate this construction, are negative sentences. As will be seen below, the pre-modal *þurfan* shows a strong preference for non-affirmative contexts. According to Warner's (1993: 160) argumentation that the occurrence of pre-modals with passive infinitives is a sign of auxiliary status, these four sentences would support the auxiliarihood of *þurfan* in Old English.

Going on with the explanation of Table 3.21, we observe that the infinitival theme is elided in four of the examples retrieved from the corpus. These cases of **ellipsis** must not be taken as a piece of evidence in favour of the interpretation of *þurfan* as an auxiliary, because these instances concern the special cases of ellipsis mentioned by Warner (1993: 113-114) and specified in section 3.2.1 above, that is, absence of infinitive in a comparative clause and absence of an infinitive of motion. An example of the former is (3.64):

> (3.64) *Sume him ondrædað earfoðu swiðor þonne hi **þyrfen**,   þeah   hi   hi*
> some them fear (pl.)   power   more than they need (pl.) although they they

eaðe   adreogan mægen.
easily suffer   may
'Some of them fear his power more than they need, although they may easily suffer.'
(10,409 helsinki\coboeth)

Sentence (3.64) exemplifies the ellipsis of an infinitive when the pre-modal *þurfan* occurs in a comparative clause, *swiðor þonne hi þyrfen*, 'more than they need' (cf. also example (3.50) above with *beþurfan*).

The last possible syntactic pattern of OE *þurfan* when it occurs in 'Personal' constructions does reveal the auxiliary-like nature of this pre-modal, since it concerns **pseudo-gapping**. As mentioned above (section 3.2.1), pseudo-gapping involves the absence of the infinitive, and the presence of the complements of such an infinitive following the auxiliary, as illustrated in (3.65):

(3.65) *min folc fretað   swa fælne hlaf, ne hio   god wyllað   georne ciegan*
　　　 my   folk eat (pl.) so beloved bread not they God want (pl.) eagerly invoke
　　　 *þær   hio forhtigað, frecnes   egesan   æniges   ne **þurfon.***
　　　 though they are-afraid dangerous (gen.) horror (gen) any (gen.) not need (pl.)
　　　 'my people eat so the beloved bread, they do not want to invoke God/wealth eagerly, though they are afraid, they needn't (be afraid) of any dangerous horror.'
　　　 (251 helsinki\cometreps)

This is the only example of *þurfan* in a pseudo-gapping construction found in the OE corpus. The personal verb *forhtigað*, third person singular of the verb *forhtian*, 'to be afraid,' is the main verb in the subordinate clause meaning 'though they are afraid.' This verb should also occur after the pre-modal *þurfan* in the following clause. However, the infinitive is absent from the latter clause, probably due to the proximity of the inflected verb *forhtigað*. At the same time, the complements of the elided infinitive occur as apparent complements of the pre-modal *þurfan*, namely *frecnes egesan æniges*. Though it could be thought that this is the complement of *forhtigað*, the comma between such a verb and *frecnes egesan æniges* is the clue not to interpret them as belonging to the same sentence. Sentence (3.65), therefore, appears to be a clear instance of a pseudo-gapping construction, and, consequently, a piece of evidence in favour of the interpretation of *þurfan* as having auxiliary-like characteristics.

Moving on in Table 3.21, we observe that OE *þurfan* occurs with an oblique experiencer in **Type S constructions** on four occasions in my corpus. The four instances exhibit a non-nominative experiencer of the necessity

expressed by *þurfan* and a bare infinitival clause as theme. In addition, they are also alike in the fact that the reason for the obliqueness of the experiencer is the impersonal nature of the infinitive following *þurfan*. As mentioned in section 3.2.1, when some OE pre-modals occur with an impersonal infinitive, the former may be influenced by the syntax of the latter, that is, pre-modals may take non-nominative subjects when in contact with an impersonal infinitive. When this occurs, it is commonly accepted that their syntactic role is somewhat subordinated to the impersonal infinitive (they have undergone decategorialization), and, therefore, their function is closer to that of an auxiliary than to that of a full verb (cf. Denison 1990a; Warner 1993, among others). The analysis of the examples retrieved from the corpus reveals that OE *þurfan* does take non-nominative experiencers when accompanied by an impersonal infinitive. One of the four instances of such a structure in my corpus is (3.66):

> (3.66) *Ne **þearf** 　　　nanne man　**tweogian***: *æfter his deaþe oðrum þissa he*
> 　　　　not need (3 sg.) no man (acc.) doubt　　after his death　other these he
> 　　　　*onfehð, swa life swa unlife, swaðer　his gewyrhto bioð 7 his earnung.*
> 　　　　receives so　life so death whichever his　　deeds　　is　& his merit
> 　　　　'No man need doubt: after his death he receives one of these, whether life or
> 　　　　death, whichever his deeds and his merit is.'
> 　　　　(HomU 9 (ScraggVerc 4) 93)

In this sentence we observe that the pre-modal *þurfan* is followed by the impersonal verb *tweogian*, 'to doubt,' and the experiencer is the accusative noun phrase *nanne man*, instead of the expected nominative *nan man*, 'no man.' As already explained, the fact that *þurfan* loses its usual way of marking the experiencer in favour of the case-marking selected by *tweogian* points out towards an interpretation of this pre-modal as an auxiliary, since it is syntactically constrained to the requirements of the infinitive, which functions as main verb.

　　　To sum up, the syntactic patterns exhibited by *þurfan* are numerous and at least some of them reveal the auxiliary-like nature of this OE pre-modal, namely the occurrence with passive infinitives and in pseudo-gapping constructions together with the occurrence with impersonal infinitives, which makes *þurfan* acquire impersonal characteristics such as oblique experiencers. Though none of these constructions is of a high frequency in the corpus, they are still relevant, if we taken into account Warner's criteria for the identification of auxiliaries in Old English.

It is my aim now to look at the **syntactic patterns of OE *beþurfan*** in order to check whether it differs qualitatively from the verb from which it derives. Bosworth and Toller (*s.v. beþurfan*) do not offer any example of a sentential theme with *beþurfan*; its arguments seem to be limited to noun phrases. If that were true, the overlapping between *þurfan* and its derived verb would only concern cases of nominal themes. The findings obtained from the OE corpus, however, reveal that this premise is not completely true, since OE *beþurfan* occurs in absolute uses (two instances), with nominal themes (37 instances) and with sentential themes (eight examples). It must be said that all instances of *beþurfan* contain an explicit experiencer. However, not all instances can be described according to Allen's (1995) classification of experiencer verb constructions. Such is the case of the two instances of *beþurfan* which occur without any complement, that is in **absolute use**. Witness (3.67):

(3.67) *Ne wanda   ðu   ðæt   ðu   ðinum frynd   ne helpe ðær he*
not hesitate you (nom.) that you (nom.) your   friend not help when he
***beðurfe**, 7 Drihten, eower Godd, eow   bletsie on æclne timan.*
needs   & Lord   your   God you (acc.) bless on any time
'Do not hesitate to help your friend when he is in need / needy, and the Lord, your God, will bless you any time.'
(Deut 15.10)

The main difference between the absolute uses of *þurfan* and those of *beþurfan* concerns the necessity to resort to the previous context in order to understand the meaning of the clause. It was seen that in absolute uses of *þurfan*, such as (3.58) above, the previous context is very important, and hence the occurrence of these absolute uses only in subordinate clauses (e.g. *gif he ðyrfe*, which has been translated as 'if he is compelled / has good cause). However, for the understanding of the clause in which intransitive *beþurfan* occurs no previous context is needed, since its meaning is complete, namely 'to be in need, needy or poor,' as illustrated in (3.67). Further evidence of this meaning is provided by the other example of absolute use of *beþurfan*. In that example, taken from Ælfric's Grammar, the intransitive clause *ic beþearf* translates Latin *indigeo*, an intransitive verb meaning 'to lack, to be needy.'

When *beþurfan* has a **nominal theme**, the construction may be Allen's (1995) Type I (oblique experiencer + nominative theme) or Type II (nominative experiencer + genitive theme); in addition, the theme may be ambiguously

marked; this is the case of the particle *þe* or of a feminine noun phrase, since the OE accusative and genitive ending for feminine nouns is <-e>. These cases are analysed as variants of Type II in Table 3.22:

SUBPERIOD ⟍ ALLEN'S TYPE	O1-O2	O3-O4	TOTAL
Type II	4	18	22
Variant Type II	1	13	14
Type I		1	1
TOTAL	5	32	37

Table 3.22: Experiencer verb constructions of beþurfan *with a nominal theme.*

Table 3.22 shows that most of the sentences are clear examples of Allen's (1995) **Type II construction** with experiencer verbs, because the theme is an unambiguous genitive noun phrase, as in (3.68):

(3.68) *ic freonda* **beþearf** *liðra* *on lade.*
I friends (gen) need (1 sg.) gentle (gen) on way (dat.)
'I need gentle friends on the way.'
(538 helsinki\cocynew)

The split genitive noun phrase *freonda liðra*, 'gentle friends,' functions as theme of the verb *beþearf*. In fact, the genitive seems to be the preferred case for the theme of *beþurfan*, as evidenced in the corpus.

There are, however, 14 instances in which the theme of *beþurfan* may not be considered unequivocally genitive, since the noun phrase is ambiguous as for case, as seen in (3.69):

(3.69) *Ic secge eow* *þæt swa byð on heofone blis be anum synfullum* *þe*
I say you (dat.) that so is on heaven bliss for one sinful (dat.) who
dædbote *deð, ma þonne ofer nigon 7 nigontigum rihtwisra* *þe*
penitence does more than over nine & ninety righteous men (dat.) who
dædbote *ne* **beðurfon***.*
penitence (gen. / acc.) not need (pl.)
'I say to you that in Heaven there will be more bliss for a sinner who does penitence than for ninety-nine righteous (people) who need no repentance.'
(Lk(WSCp) 15.7)

The feminine noun *dædbote* is ambiguously marked for accusative, genitive or even dative case. Obviously, a dative is not expected in this type of constituent, but we still have a doubt between accusative and genitive, since both are plausible markers of themes, as has been seen as for OE *þurfan*. On the basis of the fact that there is not a single case in which the theme of *beþurfan* is clearly

marked for the accusative, it does not seem illogical to consider that the five instances of ambiguously marked themes should be regarded as genitival. Therefore, OE *beþurfan* seems to have a strong tendency to occur in Allen's (1995) Type II constructions, since the experiencer is nominative, such as *ic* in (3.68), and the theme is genitival, as *liðra* also in (3.68).

To finish up with nominal themes, Table 3.22 also displays the only instance of OE *beþurfan* found in a **Type I construction**, that is, with an oblique experiencer and a nominative theme, as evidenced in (3.70):

(3.70) ...*for þon þe   heom   **beþorfte**   stræw   to heora bedræste.*
…for that reason them (dat.) needed (sg.) straw (nom.) to   their   bed
'...for that reason they needed straw (lit.: for-them was necessary straw) for their bed.'
(LS 9 (Giles) 83)

This sentence is a clear example of *beþurfan* occurring in a Type I experiencer verb construction. The experiencer, *heom*, occurs in the dative case (cf. the nominative *hi*), while the theme, *stræw*, is ambiguously marked as for case, since it is a neuter noun, and it may be considered a nominative or an accusative. The possibility of an experiencer verb construction with a dative experiencer and an accusative theme is regarded as marginal by Allen (1995: 74-79), as mentioned in section 2.3.2.3. In addition, the few ambiguous examples she mentions concern the verb *lician*, 'like.' For this reason, it seems acceptable to interpret that *stræw* stands, in this context, for a nominative. Sentence (3.70) is, therefore, an example of Allen's experiencer verb construction Type I (dative experiencer + nominative theme).

Having analysed the patterns exhibited by *beþurfan* in absolute uses and with nominal themes, we must pay attention to those instances in which this verb is followed by a clause (eight examples, as mentioned above):

ALLEN'S TYPE / THEME	'PERSONAL' TYPE			TYPE S			TOTAL		
	O1-O2	O3-O4	T.	O1-O2	O3-O4	T.	**O1-O2**	**O3-O4**	**T.**
Elided clause		5	5				**0**	**5**	**5**
That-clause	2	0	2	1		1	**3**	**0**	**3**
TOTAL	**2**	**5**	**7**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**5**	**8**

Table 3.23: Experiencer verb constructions of beþurfan *with a sentential theme.*

This table shows that *beþurfan* mostly takes a nominative experiencer when followed by a sentential theme ('Personal' Type) and that it may also take an

oblique experiencer (Type S). In this case, let us analyse the data of Table 3.23 according to the type of sentential theme rather than to the type of experiencer verb construction.

Beginning with the most frequent type, i.e. **elided clause**, all five instances in my corpus are illustrations of Allen's 'Personal' Type, because the experiencer is nominative. In addition, the ellipsis does not seem to be indicative of auxiliary status (Warner 1993: 113-114), since the five instances of *beþurfan* occur in comparative clauses, such as (3.71), which was quoted above as (3.53):

> (3.71)…*þæt we him oftor   swyðor   abelgað   þonne we **beþorftan.***
>   …that we him more-often very much irritate (pl.) than   we needed (pl.)
>   '…that we irritate him more often than we needed/should.'
>   (1,090 helsinki\cowulf4)

As was the case with *þurfan* in example (3.64) (namely *swiðor þonne hi þyrfen*, 'more than they need'), *beþurfan* also occurs in short comparative clauses where the sentential theme is elided. However, there seems to be an important difference between both constructions, because in the case of *þurfan*, the elided element is an infinitive, while in the case of *beþurfan*, such an element must be a *that*-clause, since in no other example in the corpus does it occur with an infinitival theme. Therefore, the only conclusion which can be drawn is that both *þurfan* and *beþurfan* occur in elliptical comparative clauses, even though their respective elided constituents differ in nature. In contrast, the semantic-morphological features of *beþorftan* in (3.71) are typical of auxiliaries, since it exhibits abnormal time reference: it is inflected for the past tense, while it does not convey past time, but it refers to a hypothetical situation.

The second line of Table 3.23 shows that *beþurfan* can also be found with a ***that*-clause** as sentential theme; in other words, *beþurfan* also accepts verbal constituents other than infinitival. This occurs in three instances in the corpus, and all of them belong to an early OE translated text, namely, the *Soliloquies* written by St. Augustine. Consider, for example, (3.72) as an example of a *that*-clause with 'Personal' *beþurfan*:

> (3.72) *Gyf he ðonne unhale æagan hæfð, þonne **beþearf**   he þæt hyne man lære*
>   If   he then unhealthy eye   has   then need (3 sg.) he that him man teach
>   *þæt he lochige ærest ...*
>   that he looks   first
>   'If he has a sick eye, he needs a man to teach (lit.: that a man teaches) him to
>   look first...'
>   (Solil 1 45.24)

The underlined *that*-clause functions as the theme of the verb *beþearf*. In Present-Day English it is not possible for *need* to be followed by a *that*-clause, and therefore, the translation I propose is 'he needs a man to teach him.' Sentence (3.72) may be considered to belong to Allen's (1995) 'Personal' Type of experiencer verb constructions, because it has a nominative experiencer, namely *he*, and a sentential theme, a *þæt*-clause, in this case. Finally, the verb *beþurfan* may also be followed by a *that*-clause when the experiencer is non-nominative, as in (3.73):

> (3.73) *Ic nat   þeah   hym þuhte   þæt <u>hym</u>* **beþorften**   *þæt hi   his*
> I   not-know however them seemed that them needed (pl.) that they their
> <u>*mare wiston.*</u>
> more know
> 'I did not know, however, that it seemed to them that it was necessary for them to know (lit.: that they knew) more about him.'
> (Solil 1 20.8)

Sentence (3.73), quoted above as (3.57), illustrates the fourth possible type of experiencer verb construction for *beþurfan*. In this case the experiencer, *hym,* occurs in the dative, instead of the nominative *hy*, and the theme is a *that*-clause. It belongs, therefore, to Allen' (1995) Type S construction. Strangely enough, in this case *beþurfan* is inflected for the plural, which is not the norm in this type of experiencer verb constructions. In spite of this irregularity, it seems reasonable to label this sentence as an experiencer verb construction Type S (cf. Allen's classification in section 2.3.2.3 above).

      Leaving experiencer verb constructions apart, the syntactic combination of *beþurfan* with a *that*-clause does not seem very frequent in Old English. In fact, the corpus-data reveal that on 100% of the occasions it occurs in early translated texts, which could lead us to hypothesize that this construction has its base on the original language of the text, that is to say, we could think that the translator was somewhat influenced by the syntax of the source language. In Present-Day English necessity verbs are not followed by *that*-clauses, but by *to*-infinitives. Thus, a PDE sentence such as **we want that you go* is ungrammatical, the grammatical counterpart being *we want you to go*. The same applies for the verbs *need* or *wish*. The fact that *beþurfan* takes *that*-clauses as themes may explain why it is never found with infinitives. Both content clauses and infinitives are syntactic resources to involve two verbs within a sentence. While *þurfan* selects infinitives, *beþurfan* seems to show a preference for the choice of content

clauses. That is to say, when it comes to have a verbal theme, *þurfan* selects non-finites, and *beþurfan* chooses finites.

The following table overlaps the information provided as for the syntactic patterns exhibited by *þurfan* and *beþurfan* respectively:

OE VERB / THEME		*ÞURFAN*	*BEÞURFAN*	TOTAL
Ø / absolute use		7	2	9
NOUN PHRASE		22	37	59
SENTENCE	Bare infinitival clause	119		119
	To-infinitival clause	1		1
	Bare passive infinitival clause	4		4
	Elided clause	4	5	9
	Pseudo-gapping construction	1		1
	That-clause		3	3
TOTAL		158	47	205

Table 3.24: Themes of OE þurfan *and* beþurfan.

The information contained in Table 3.24 reveals that *þurfan* and *beþurfan* seem to show a preference for different types of themes, and this difference seems to correlate with a difference in their nature. On the one hand, *þurfan* seems to be closer to auxiliaries for several reasons. Firstly, it is very often accompanied by an infinitive, and as Bolinger (1980: 297) points out, "The moment a verb is given an infinitive complement, that verb starts down the road of auxiliariness." Secondly, it may take passive infinitives as themes, which implies that *þurfan* does not select its experiencer / subject. Absence of subject selection, which implies decategorialization, is considered a piece of evidence of auxiliarihood by Warner (1993: 160). In addition, *þurfan* is also found in pseudo-gapping constructions, that is, the infinitive may be elided while its complements are retained next to the auxiliary. This is another criterion selected by Warner (1993: 111-116) to identify auxiliaries in early English. On the contrary, *beþurfan* seems to be closer to full verbs, because it is primarily construed with noun phrases. However, as already mentioned, it is highly significant that *beþurfan* may also occur in special cases of elliptical comparative constructions, and that it may choose a verbal finite theme introduced by the complementizer *that* in cases where *þurfan* would have selected an infinitive. This seems to constrain *beþurfan* to the category of full verbs.

A piece of information which is not present in Table 3.24 is the possibility for *þurfan* to take non-nominative experiencers when followed by an impersonal infinitive, as seen above in sentence (3.66), which constitutes another instance of lack of experiencer / subject selection and, hence, decategorialization.

To sum up, it may be concluded that the auxiliary-like characteristics exhibited by OE *þurfan* are quite significant: high frequency of plain infinitives, occurrence in pseudo-gapping constructions, and loss of syntactic weight when followed by an impersonal infinitive. OE *beþurfan*, in contrast, behaves as a lexical verb on most occasions, though it may also occur in two-verb constructions, as shown by its ability to combine with content clauses and to appear in elliptical comparative clauses.

3.4.2 *Old English* neodian *in the corpus*

As explained in section 3.3.1, under the label *neodian* I analyse a series of OE verbs related to the notion of necessity which derive from the noun *neod* (cf. Bosworth and Toller, *s.v. neod*, n.), as do authors such as Molencki (2002) or van der Auwera and Taeymans (2004). In all I have found 104 examples of *neodian* in my 1.2 million-word corpus, and the variety of spellings found is, in order of frequency: *nydan* (30 examples), *nedan* (22 examples), *neadian* (15 examples), *genydan* (13 examples), *geniedan* (12 examples), *niedan* (4 examples), *geneadian* (3 examples), *genedan* (3 examples), *neodian* (1 example), *nidan* (1 example). I can advance that only the variant *nedan* has been found to mean 'need' or 'to be necessary,' which reveals the importance of including all these variants under the study of *neodian* as the predecessor of PDE *need* (cf. *OED*, *s.v. need* v.2). In this section, I describe in detail the semantic and syntactic features of this OE verb (or this set of OE verbs) with the aim of elucidating its role in the expression of necessity in the very early period of English, as opposed to the other OE verbs studied in this piece of research, namely *þurfan*, *beþurfan* and *behofian* (sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.3).

Before analysing the examples of OE *neodian* in my corpus, I offer the number of occurrences of this verb in the main OE subperiods, namely early and late Old English, as has been done for OE *þurfan* and *beþurfan*, together with the normalized frequencies calculated for 100,000 words:

	EARLY OE	N.F.	LATE OE	N.F.	TOTAL	N.F.
OE *neodian*	52	20.96	52	5.43	104	8.62

Table 3.25: Distribution of OE neodian *by subperiods.*

The normalized frequencies reveal that the apparent even distribution of *neodian* in early and late Old English is not real, but this verb is nearly four times as frequent in early as in late Old English. In addition, I must say that the only example of *neodian* meaning 'need, be necessary' occurs in late Old English. The analysis of corpora from later periods of English will shed light on the evolution of this verb (cf. Chapters 4 and 5). Let us now turn to the linguistic analysis of the examples of *neodian*.

The examples of OE *neodian* will be analysed according to a series of variables. The first is voice, since this verb is unexpectedly frequent in the passive voice (25% of its occurrences). In other words, active and passive examples will be treated separately in the analysis of the data. Then, both active and passive examples will be analysed in semantic terms in 3.4.2.1, and we will see how meaning conditions the range of possible syntactic complementation types, which will be finally dealt with in section 3.4.2.2.

3.4.2.1. Semantic features of Old English *neodian*

Semantically, OE *neodian* expresses mainly strong external types of forces, as outlined in Table 3.26. The first column of Table 3.26 indicates the origin of the force exerted by *neodian*, which can be, as was the case with *þurfan* and *beþurfan*, external, internal, and general or undetermined. The second column of this table, on the other hand, specifies the strength with which the force is exerted, namely strong, weak or neutral. Since *neodian* has not been found expressing weak forces, the combination of variables renders only three possible types of force expressed by *neodian* in each sentence:

ORIGIN	STRENGTH	N. OF EXAMPLES	TOTAL
EXTERNAL	STRONG	100	100
	WEAK		
INTERNAL	STRONG	2	2
	WEAK		
GENERAL	NEUTRAL	2	2
TOTAL	STRONG	102	104
	WEAK		
	NEUTRAL	2	

Table 3.26: Origin and intensity of the forces expressed by OE neodian.

Table 3.27 offers the breakdown of these three types of forces expressed by *neodian* with specification of whether the verb occurs in the active or the passive voice in each case:

VOICE / ORIGIN AND STRENGTH OF FORCE	ACTIVE	PASSIVE	TOTAL
STRONG EXTERNAL	74	26	**100**
STRONG INTERNAL	1	1	**2**
NEUTRAL GENERAL	2		**2**
TOTAL	**77**	**27**	**104**

Table 3.27: Origin of the forces expressed by neodian *with indication of voice.*

In order to provide a fine-grained analysis of each of these three force types, I will follow the same method used for the analysis of OE *þurfan* and *beþurfan*, namely, each combination is treated separately according to type and polarity.

    Let us begin with strong external types of forces, since this is the most common type of force expressed by *neodian* (100 instances). In 74 sentences *neodian* occurs in the active voice, while in 26 cases the voice is passive. The semantic analysis of the **active instances of strong external *neodian*** is outlined in Table 3.28:

POLARITY / TYPE OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE / LACK OF FORCE	TOTAL
PHYSICAL	11		**11**
PHYSICAL (METAPHORICAL)	5		**5**
SOCIO-PHYSICAL	15		**15**
HIERARCHICAL	23	5	**28**
RELIGIOUS	8	2	**10**
LEGAL	4	1	**5**
TOTAL	**66**	**8**	**74**

Table 3.28: Types of strong external forces expressed by active neodian*, with indication of clause polarity.*

As in the previous tables devoted to the semantic analysis of other OE verbs, the first line specifies the polarity of the clause in which the verb occurs. An affirmative context implies the presence of the force involved, while a non-affirmative context may imply the absence of such a force, or the presence of a force not to act in a given way. In this case, the occasional instances of non-affirmative contexts only express the absence of the force expressed by *neodian*, that is, this verb is not used to express force not to act in a given way, or

prohibition. Therefore, strong external active *neodian* expresses only existence and absence of force.

On the other hand, the first column of this table refers to the exact (notional) type of force expressed by this OE verb. The types of forces are listed not according to their frequency, but according to the semantic gradience used to describe modal verbs from a force-dynamic point of view, that is, from purely physical forces to in-between stages such as socio-physical forces, to social forces such as those based on hierarchical, religious and legal grounds. As explained in section 2.2.2.2, scholars such as Sweetser (1990) resort to the force-dynamic conception of modality to explain the emergence of epistemic meanings. This cognitive account of the evolution of modals explains, for instance, the development of the modal verb *may* from the OE verb *magan*, which conveys the physical meaning 'to be strong.' This verb is gradually used to refer to non-physical abilities by means of metaphors referring to the social world, such as 'be allowed,' one of the meanings included in root modality. Finally, the verb is also used to convey epistemic meanings related neither to the physical nor to the social world, but to the mental world, as, for example, 'to be possibly the truth.' This semantic evolution is illustrated in the following figure:

referential meanings	>	root meanings	>	epistemic meanings
physical world	>	social world	>	mental world
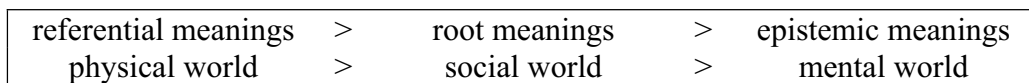
Figure 3.3: Meanings implied by modal verbs in the history of English: from the physical to the mental world (adapted from Traugott 1989 and Sweetser 1990).

Since the development of PDE *may* can be accounted for in these cognitive terms, my aim is to try to account for the evolution of PDE *need* in the same terms. That is, we expect a semantic evolution from physical to social and, later, epistemic meanings (cf. section 2.2.2.3 above for the illustration of all possible meanings of PDE *need*). For this reason, the first column of Table 3.28 sets out the semantic cline of the possible meanings conveyed by OE *neodian*. The cline ranges from clearly physical, referential meanings to the different types of social meanings (hierarchical, religious or legal).

When *neodian* expresses a **physical force** unequivocally, it is always positive, and it may mean 'to press' or 'to push.' Consider example (3.74) as an intransitive use of this meaning:

(3.74) *Rinc bið on ofeste, se mec   on þyð æftanwearnde, hæleð mif hrægle;*
hero   is in haste   the me (acc.) on ?   behind   hero with dress
hwilum   ut tyhð   of hole hatne, hwilum eft   fareð   on nearo
at-times out draws of hole hot   at-times again travels one narrow
*nahtwær,   **nydeþ** swiþe suþerne secg.*
somewhere presses hard southern man (nom.)
'The hero is in haste, who from behind belabours me, the champion, with his dress; he draws me out at times from the hole; at times I fare again into the narrow part somewhere; he presses hard, the southern man.'[33]
(4,996 helsinki\coriddle)

In this sentence, *neodian* expresses physical force, 'to press,' as evidenced in the translation. It could be thought that the expression of physical force by *neodian* is an old relic, but, as seen in Table 3.28, it is not infrequent in Old English (almost 15% of occurrences), and it occurs both in early and in late texts from this period and in different syntactic contexts. See sentence (3.75) as an instantiation of transitive *neodian* expressing physical force:

(3.75) *he hine **nydde** ut of paradiso (…) we   eac **nydað**   ut þa forsyngodan of*
he him pushed out of paradise (…) we also push (pl.) out the sinners   of
Godes cyrican.
God's church
'he (God) pushed him out of paradise (...) we also push the sinners out of God's church.'
(WHom 15 37)

In this double example of *neodian*, the physical character of the force is evidenced by the use of the adverb *ut*, 'out,' which clearly refers to the tangible reality. In the 11 cases of *neodian* expressing physical force, the antagonist (which functions syntactically as subject) is human and animate, since he exerts the force consciously. As already stated, this referential meaning of *neodian* is recorded in early and late Old English, and the spelling variants found to convey this meaning are: *nydan, nedan, geniedan, genydan.*

Also related to these referential meanings, I have found that *neodian* may also express **metaphorical physical** meanings, that is, the meaning of *neodian* refers ambiguously to the physical reality. However, the antagonist is not conscious of the force he is exerting, because he, or rather it, is not human and inanimate, as evidenced in example (3.76):

(3.76) *Ac se   suðerna wynd (…) swyðe   gedrehte and hyne swa **genydde**,*
but the southern wind (…) very much tormented and him so compelled (sg.)

---

[33] Translation provided by Rodrigues (1990: 115).

þæt he to þam gete becom æt þære ceastre Lybie.
that he to the   gate go   at the   castle Lybie
'But the Southern wind (...) tormented him very much in such a way that it compelled/pushed him to go to the gate of the castle Lybie.'
(VSal 1 (Ass 16), 19)

This sentence illustrates what I have decided to call metaphorical physical force. Although the force exerted on the agonist (*him*) may be physical (if we understand that the meaning is 'push'), it may also imply that the presence of the antagonist (the southern wind) obliges the agonist to move in a given direction (hence the meaning 'compel'). Therefore, the force is ambiguously defined. In addition to the meaning of the verb, the antagonist is non-human and inanimate, and therefore, it cannot be said to exert any force consciously. The southern wind may physically condition the movements of the agonist, but it cannot impose an obligation on him, because it is an inanimate entity. Therefore, in order to understand the meaning of *neodian* in this instance as 'compel' we have to resort to metaphor. As already stated, the occurrence of inanimate subjects where animate entities are expected is common in the grammaticalization of verbs because they imply decategorialization (cf., for instance, Heine *et al*. 1991: 156; Krug 2000: 90). Although it is obvious that in this case we are not dealing with the grammaticalization of *neodian* in the OE period, this feature must be taken into account as a sign that this verb is evolving towards metaphorical uses.

A further metaphorical use of *neodian* concerns the cases in which it expresses **socio-physical forces**, as labelled in Table 3.28. In this classification I include those instances of *neodian* referring to any physical force used to impose a social obligation. These examples represent a bridge between pure physical meanings and pure social meanings of *neodian*. The examination of one of such instances will clarify this idea:

(3.77) *Se com of Rome in   Galwalas in ða ceastre Ambeanis, ðær Riciouarus*
he came from Rome into Galwalas in the castle Ambeanis there Riciouarus
se   gerefa   mid miclum witum hyne **nydde**   *to hæðengylde.*
the high-official with many tortures him compelled (sg.) to idolatry
'He came from Rome into Galwalas in the castle of Ambeanis, where Riciouarus, the high official, forced him to idolatry by means of many tortures.'
(11,445 helsinki\comartyr)

In sentence (3.77), one of the OE variants of *neodian*, namely *nydan*, expresses the obligation exerted by the antagonist (*the high official*) on the agonist (*him*).

However, this is not a paradigmatic example of obligation, because standard PDE obligation is based on social matters, and in this sentence the obligation is exerted on the basis of physical superiority. In other words, the antagonist exerts his force on the agonist by means of physical tortures, with the aim of obtaining a social response, namely that the agonist worships the antagonist. On the basis of the cognitive explanation of the semantic evolution of verbs, it does not seem incoherent to hypothesize that the first term used to refer to a force designated a physical force. Such a term would then undergo metaphorization and would be used to refer to forces which had no physical component, but purely social ones. In the process of metaphorization, it is possible that the term refers to socio-physical forces such as that conveyed in (3.77). For all these reasons, I consider that examples such as (3.77), which have been analysed as expressing socio-physical force, are in between instances referring to pure physical forces (such as (3.74) and (3.75) above) and strictly social forces, such as the ones which I proceed to describe.

The last three lines in Table 3.28 contain the different contexts in which OE *neodian* is used to convey **social forces**, which can be based on the superiority of the antagonist on three different fields: **hierarchy, religion** and **law**. Therefore, the types of strong external social force expressed by *neodian* are hierarchical, religious and legal. As opposed to the instances in which *neodian* expresses some kind of physical force, when it expresses social force, it may occur in affirmative or in non-affirmative contexts, though the latter are fairly infrequent. All the instances of negative social force are, as stated above, examples of absence of obligation, that is, the antagonist releases the agonist from an assumed obligation.

With the aim of illustrating the possible strong external social obligations imposed by active *neodian*, I will provide an instance of each of the types of force conveyed. Thus, sentence (3.78) is an example of *neodian* expressing hierarchical obligation; (3.79) illustrates a religion-based obligation; and, finally (3.80) exemplifies a legal type of obligation:

(3.78) *Ða sona he* **nydde**   *his leorningcnihtas on scyp stigan, ...*
    then soon he compelled (sg.) his disciples   on ship   board…
    'He soon compelled his disciples to board on the ship,...'
    (Mk(WSCp) 6.45)

(3.79) *...and þærto hi*   **genydað**   *men to gebiddanne, forðan se   deofol sylf*
    …and thereto they compel (pl.) men to pray   because the devil self

> *sprecð þurh   ða deadan anlicnesse.*
> speaks through the dead   face
> '...and thereto they compel men to pray, because the devil himself speaks by
> a dead face.'
> (HomU 34 (Nap 42) 205)

(3.80) *gif hit gelewed bið oððe dead bæftan þam hlaforde,* **nyde**   *man*
       if   it ill   is   or   dead behind the   lord   compel (imperative) man
       hine þæt he hit gylde.
       him that he   it pays
       that 'if it (a lent animal) is ill or dead behind his lord (when his lord is not
       present), compel him to pay for it.'
       (Exod 22.14)

Even if these three sentences, as can be seen in their code, are taken from religious texts, the type of social force exerted by *neodian* in each case is based on different principles. In sentence (3.78), the antagonist, namely Jesus, compels the agonists, his disciples, to board on the ship not on the basis of religious faith, but on the basis of his hierarchical superiority. In example (3.79), on the contrary, the antagonist compels the agonists to pray under the threat of the Devil, that is, on the basis of religious dogmatic beliefs. Finally, sentence (3.80) is a fragment of chapter 22 of the Exodus, devoted to the laws related to property and customs, and, therefore, it is written in a legal tone. The laws contained in this chapter are stated as a series of instructions, and for that reason, the verb *neodian* is inflected for the imperative mood.

     In all three contexts, (3.78), (3.79) and (3.80), hierarchical, religious and legal, we observe that the antagonist, which functions as syntactic subject, imposes his will on the agonist in a strictly social manner, without resorting to physical force. It is perhaps due to these established social norms that on some occasions the antagonist must discharge the agonist from an expected obligation, as can be seen in (3.81), (3.82) and (3.83), which express absence of hierarchical, religious and legal obligation, respectively:

(3.81) *We* **ne** *magan eow*   **neadian,** *ac we mingiað eow,*   *þæt*
       we   not may you (dat. pl) compel but we   remind you (dat. pl) that
       ge   *clænnysse healdan.*
       you (nom. pl.) chastity   keep
       'We are not able to compel you (pl), but we remind you to keep chastity.'
       (2,261 helsinki\coaelet3)

(3.82) **Nolde**   *swa ðeah* **nænne** *to cristendome* **geneadian.** *for ðan ðe*
       did-not want (sg.) so however no one to Christianity compel (inf.) because

he ofaxode. æt ðam lareowum his hæle   þæt cristes ðeowdom ne sceal
he asked   at the   preacher   his salvation that Christ service   not shall
beon geneadad. ac   sylfwilles.
be   compelled but voluntary
'However, he does not want to compel anyone to Christianity, because he asked the teacher/preacher about his salvation that the service of Christ shall not be compelled, but voluntary.'
(ÆCHom II, 9, 79.220)

(3.83) *Gyf (...) hit bið dead oþþe gelewed oþþe ætbroden, 7 hit nan man ne*
       if   it is dead   or   ill   or   snatched & it no man no
       *gesyhð, Sylle   him aþ   7 **ne   nyde**   hine to gylde.*
       sees   make (imp.) him oath & not compel (imp.) him to pay
       'If (...) it (a lent animal) is dead or ill or snatched away, and no one sees it, make oath for him and do not compel him to pay.'
       (Exod 22.10)

These three sentences are instances of *neodian* expressing absence of obligation and, in addition, they illustrate different types of negation in Old English. In example (3.81), the negative particle *ne* negates the pre-modal *magan*, rather than the verb *neodian*. I still consider it an instance of absence of social obligation, because the implied meaning is that 'we do not compel you,' that is, the antagonist makes explicit the absence of obligation for the agonist. Sentence (3.82), in turn, is another instance of negation of the auxiliary which accompanies *neodian*. It is a double example, because I have included a longer context in order to understand the whole meaning. What concerns us here, however, is only the main clause of the sentence, since the latter part, the purpose clause, is an instance of passive *neodian* (*beon geneadad*), which will be analysed below. In the main clause, the negated verb is *willan*, a pre-modal verb which exhibits auxiliary-like characteristics as early as in the OE period (cf. section 3.2.1 above). As such, *willan* may be contracted with the negative particle, and yield the form *nillan*, the preterite of which occurs in (3.82). In addition to this kind of negation, this sentence contains another negative marker, namely *nænne*, 'no one.' As is well-known, double negation is grammatical in Old English. Like (3.81), this example is an instance of absence of obligation, because the implied meaning is 'he did not compel.' Finally, sentence (3.83) illustrates a simple example of negation of *neodian*, by means of the common particle *ne*. Like in example (3.80) above, *neodian* is inflected for the imperative mood. In these three sentences, (3.81), (3.82) and (3.83), the antagonist releases the agonist from an obligation which is hierarchically, religiously, or legally expected.

The existence of social conventions seems to bring obligation into every day norms, and sometimes it is even necessary to express its absence, because it may be understood that in the agonist's mind the obligation is taken for granted. If we assume that what makes the antagonist express the liberation of the agonist from the expected obligation is his immersion into the agonist's mind, we must agree with Mortelmans (2003) that negation is a marker of subjectivity. We could go further and state that when *neodian* expresses absence of obligation it seems to be closer to PDE modal *need* with respect to its degree of subjectivity than when it expresses obligation and, obviously, much closer than when it expresses physical force, because modal verbs are more subjective than full lexical verbs. However, this statement cannot be held true without analysing all instances of OE *neodian*, because we must not forget that when *neodian* occurs in the active voice, the syntactic subject is the antagonist, and hence, the *agent* of the force, while in Present-Day English the syntactic subject of *need* is the agonist, that is, the *patient* of the force. This is too important a difference not to take it into account. For this reason, active *neodian* has been analysed separately; now I proceed to the analysis of the passive instances of *neodian* when it expresses strong external force.

As already stated, *neodian* is unexpectedly frequently used in the passive voice (25% of its occurrences). The main semantic difference between active and passive *neodian* is, as repeatedly mentioned, the fact that the agonist becomes the subject in passive sentences ('I compel you' > 'you are compelled'). In order to discover other differences, it is necessary to analyse in detail the examples retrieved from the corpus. The number of **passive instances of strong external forces** of *neodian* is 25, as shown in the following table:

CLAUSE POLARITY / TYPE OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE LACK OF FORCE	TOTAL
SOCIO-PHYSICAL	3		3
HIERARCHICAL	10	2	12
RELIGIOUS	5	3	8
LEGAL	3		3
TOTAL	21	5	26

Table 3.29: Types of strong external forces expressed by passive neodian*, with specification of clause polarity.*

A quick look at this table reveals a striking difference between active and passive strong external *neodian*, namely the low number of instances of passive *neodian*

expressing some kind of physical force. While nearly 42% of the active occurrences of *neodian* expressed three types of physical force, when *neodian* occurs in the passive, it only expresses one type of physical force, i.e. socio-physical, and only in 11.5% of the occasions. It can be said, therefore, that passive *neodian* is mostly concerned with the expression of social types of forces. These social forces may occur in positive contexts and, hence, convey obligation, or in negative contexts. As was the case with the active instances of *neodian*, all negative instances express absence of obligation, rather than prohibition. After having made these initial observations, the following paragraphs explain Table 3.29 line by line.

The only type of physical force expressed by *neodian* is the **socio-physical** type. In other words, in the whole corpus there is not a single instance of passive *neodian* expressing pure physical force in the way we have seen above as for active *neodian* (meaning 'press' or 'push'). As mentioned, not even socio-physical forces are frequent in the passive instances of this OE verb. One of the three examples of socio-physical force is the following:

(3.84) *ic* **eom neded** *þæt ic sceal hraðe deað underhnigan.*
      I   am forced that I shall quickly death succumb
      'I am forced to succumb to death quickly.'
      (Bede 3 11.190.16)

This sentence is an instance of the expression of socio-physical force, because the agonist (*I*) is compelled to die by means of physical forces. Therefore, in this kind of instances we observe the basic presence of physical force used in some way which yields an obligation or a constraint.

The expression of socio-physical force is, as mentioned, not very frequent with passive *neodian*; this construction is primarily devoted to the expression of social types of forces.

Such **social forces** may be expressed by passive *neodian* from three different perspectives: **hierarchical, religious** and, to a lesser extent, **legal**. The context for social forces may be affirmative or non-affirmative. If it is affirmative, the verb expresses social obligation. If, on the contrary, the context is non-affirmative, the verb expresses absence of obligation, as was the case with active *neodian*. In the following paragraphs I first illustrate the affirmative contexts and, secondly the non-affirmative instances.

Example (3.85) illustrates hierarchical obligation when *neodian* is passive:

(3.85) *Se **bið geneadod**   to cumenne. se ðe   ðurh ungelimpum   þissere*
          he is compelled to   come   the part. through misfortunes (dat pl) this
          worulde   oððe þurh untrumnysse bið ætbroden his   lustum.
          world (gen) or through weakness   is deprived his desire (dat pl)
          'He is compelled to come. He who, due to the misfortunes of this world or to
          weakness, is deprived of his desire/pleasure/lust.'
          (ÆCHom II, 26, 216.107)

In this example it is easy to observe that social passive *neodian* is semantically close to PDE *must* or *have to*, that is, the agonist expresses the obligation he is imposed on social matters. This parallelism becomes evident if we rephrase the translation of this example as 'those who must / have to come…' This meaning is conveyed in Old English by the pre-modal **sculan*, which at this period of English means 'be obliged.' Therefore, this pre-modal verb and the passive forms of *neodian* overlap semantically. Taking this into account, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that they may also overlap in use and function. This is evidenced, in fact, in the following fragment from *Beowulf*:

(3.86) *ac [{gesecan}] **sceal** sawlberenda,*
          but   find   shall soul-possessors
          *nyde   **genydde**,   niþða bearna,*
          necessarily compelled men descendant
          grundbuendra gearwe stowe,
          earth-dwellers well   place
          þær   his lichoma legerbedde fæst
          there his body   bed   secure
          swefeþ   æfter symle.
          put-to-sleep after revel
          'Forced of fate, he shall find his way
          to the refuge ready for race of man,
          for soul-possessors, and sons of earth;
          and there his body on bed of death
          shall rest after revel.'[34]
          (5,483 helsinki\cobeowul)

This example illustrates in a direct way the overlapping existing between OE **sculan* and passive *neodian*, since the past participle of the latter occurs in a parenthetical construction which expands the meaning of the finite form *sceal*. In other words, the pre-modal expresses that the agonist is obliged to do something,

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[34] Translation taken from the website of the *Beowulf Project*: <http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca/~beowulf/modern/mod_15.html> (accessed February 2004).

and the construction with the past participle of *neodian* specifies the source of such an obligation, by means of the adverb (or dative form) *nyde*.

Indeed, the corpus exhibits other examples containing a past participle form of *neodian* in which the source of the obligation is clearly stated. The following is an instance of social obligation based on religious faith (cf. Table 3.29):

> (3.87) þa swa se Godes þeowa **wæs genyded**   *fram werignysse his [{gerefan}],*
> then so the God's servant was compelled by   evil   his   reeve's
> *þæt he wunode þa niht   on his mynstre.*
> that he spent   that night in his monastery
> 'then the servant of God was compelled by the reeve's evil to spend that night in his monastery.'
> (856 helsinki\cogregd4)

In this case, the source of the obligation is specified in this passive sentence by means of an agent phrase, *by the reeve's evil*. The referent of such an agent phrase is of religious nature, and, therefore, the constraints exerted on the agonist, the servant of God, are considered religious, as outlined in Table 3.29. Unless for the explicitation of the agent phrase, it could be argued that passive *neodian* is equivalent to **sculan*. It seems, therefore, that passive *neodian* overlaps semantically with **sculan*, although they usually differ syntactically, since the former has the capacity to make the antagonist explicit, while the pre-modal is characterized by the sole presence of the agonist.

The antagonist, however, is not always present in the passive instances of *neodian*, and is especially absent in cases where it can be easily recovered from the context, such as example (3.88), which is an instance of obligation on a legal basis, the last type of force outlined in Table 3.29:

> (3.88) þær **wæron geniedde** *þæt hie þæt ilce þigedan   þæt hie   ær*
> there were compelled that they the same food-and-drink that they before
> *oþrum   seladon.*
> others (dative) gave (pl)
> 'there (they) were compelled / condemned to accept the same that they had given to the others.'
> (4,911 helsinki\coorosiu)

In this sentence, only the agonist is present, namely *they*. Since the context refers to a legal situation, it is understood that the antagonist is he who represents the law. The double translation I suggest for *neodian* in this example is pragmatically determined. On the one hand, if one is legally compelled to do something after a

trial, one is condemned to do it. In fact this possible meaning of *neodian* is slightly hinted at in one of the Latin-Old English glossaries in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus;* in the glossary segment codified as <PrudGl 1 (Merritt) 923>,[35] we can observe that the Latin past participle *adiudicata*, which means 'awarded' and, in some contexts, 'condemned,' is given the OE translation *genydd*, which seems to be a syncopated form of *genyded*. Therefore, the interpretation of *wæron geniedde* as 'were condemned' does not seem unreasonable, since it is supported by pragmatics and by the semantic comparison between Latin and Old English.

To sum up the semantic import of the positive examples of passive *neodian* expressing strong external force, we can say that this construction is basically concerned with the expression of social kinds of obligation. In this sense, it resembles the pre-modal **sculan*, since they express the same kind of meaning. An important difference between them would be the fact that *neodian* accepts the source of the obligation as (agent) complement, while **sculan* does not exhibit such a syntactic construction.

Moving on to the negative instances of passive strong external *neodian*, we observe that only two types of force are expressed: absence of hierarchical and absence of religious forces, as exemplified in the following sentences, respectively:

> (3.89) *se þe hit þonne don nele,   **ne sy** he to þan **geneadod**, þæt he hit do, buton*
> the who it then   do not-want not is he to that compelled that he   it do   but
> *him selfon þe bet   licie.*
> him self what better pleases
> 'He who does not want to do that is not compelled to do is, but what he likes best.'
> (RegC 1 (Zup) 63)

> (3.90) *Us is to gelyfenne þæt he þyder come, **næs   no geneded**,   ne*
> us is to believe   that he thither come not-was not compelled not
> *underþeoded, ac mid   his wyllan.*
> subjugated   but according to his will
> 'We believe that he who comes on that side/thither was neither forced, nor subjugated, but according to his will.'
> (HomS 10 (BlHom3) 44)

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[35] The complete reference of the glossary in the *DOEC* is <*Prudentius, Cathemerinon, Peristephanon, and Epilogus* (Meritt 1959: 1-115)>.

In sentence (3.89), the passive *ne sy geneadod*, 'is not compelled,' expresses the same kind of meaning which could be expressed in Present-Day English by modal *need not* or *do not have to*. Therefore, the meaning of the verb in this sentence is clearly lack of obligation, one of the typical root modal meanings (cf. section 2.2.2.2 above). Sentence (3.90) also expresses absence of force, though, in this case, the origin of the force does not lie on a hierarchical superiority, but on a religious basis. In addition, *neodian* is not complemented by any other verb in this sentence, as opposed to the verbal complementation exhibited in (3.89), for example (namely *þæt he hit do*). Therefore, *næs no geneded* in (3.90) is not equivalent to PDE *need not*, as is the case in the previous sentence, but it has a more independent meaning, as evidenced in its absolute construction. Thus, examples (3.89) and (3.90) exhibit two different syntactic and semantic possibilities of OE *neodian*.

After having explained the external examples of *neodian*, I move on to illustrate the **internal types of forces**, that is, those instances in which the force is originated in the agonist's self (cf. Table 3.26). As seen above, in Table 3.26, the expression of internal force is limited as for *neodian*, since it conveys this meaning only on two occasions, and in both cases the force is strong. One of such instances expresses inner force in the active voice, and the other in the passive voice. Sentence (3.91) is the passive instance:

> (3.91) *Ungecyndelic is ælcre wuhte   þæt hit wilnige frecennesse oððe deaðes, ac*
>   unnatural   is each creature that   it desires   harm   or death   but
>   *þeah   mænig þing **bið** to þæm **gened**   þæt hit wilnað þara ægðres;*
>   even-if many thing is to that compelled that it desires   the   everyone (gen)
>   *forðæm   se willa bið þonne strengra þonne þæt gecynd.*
>   therefore the will is   then stronger   than the nature
>   'It is unnatural that a creature desires harm or death, but even despite this it
>   (i.e. the creature) is constrained to desire everything; therefore the will is
>   stronger than nature.'
>   (5.305 helsinki\coboeth)

Again, the force is clearly internal, because it is rooted in the agonist's own will, as stated in the sentence itself. If we compare this example to the above-mentioned passive examples of strong external *neodian*, we observe that in this case, the meaning of *bið gened* is not equivalent to *sceal*, because it does not express the typical modal meaning of obligation, as in (3.85) or (3.86), but rather a full concrete meaning, as in (3.90). The creature is internally constrained to

desire everything, and *constrain* in this context has a more referential meaning than OE **sculan* and PDE *must*. This instance of passive *neodian*, therefore, expresses a non-modal kind of force.

As seen in the previous paragraphs, the analysis of the examples of *neodian* expressing internal forces does not provide additional information to that obtained from the analysis of external forces. Let us finally move on to the analysis of the two instances which have been classified as expressing **general types of forces** in Table 3.26. Although the type of force is in both cases of a neutral intensity and of a general origin, and both sentences occur in the active voice, the two examples differ in a relevant aspect: while the subject of one of them is, as in the other examples of active *neodian*, the antagonist, the subject of the other sentence is the agonist. The difference in the semantic role of the subject is the instantiation of a difference in the meaning conveyed by OE *neodian* in each case, that is, 'compel' in the former and 'need' in the latter. Let us first analyse the sentence in which *neodian* means 'compel,' which keeps in line with the examples seen so far:

> (3.92) *þa wæs Deoma aan of þæm feower foresprecenan sacerdotum biscop*
> then was Deoma one of the   few   aforesaid   priests   bishop
> *geworden (...) forðon   seo feanis* **nedde**   *þara sacerda,   þætte*
> became (…) forthwith the scantiness compelled the   priests (gen.) that
> *aan biscop sceolde   beon ofer tuu folc.*
> one bishop should / was obliged be   over two peoples
> 'then Deoma, one of the few aforesaid priests became bishop (...) forthwith the scantiness of priests compelled / made it necessary that one bishop should be (for) more than two peoples.'
> (Bede 3 15.222.26)

This example illustrates thoroughly what I have analysed as strong general force. The force is general because the source is undetermined. It may not be claimed that it is internal, because it is not originated in the agonist's self or external, because there is not any external entity imposing the force. This may be so because of the general character of the agonist, which I consider to be the social (religious) system, since it is the social (religious) system that undergoes the necessity that a bishop should be for more than two peoples. The force is not external, either, because there is not an external authority compelling the agonist. Therefore, the force is neither internal, nor external, and for that reason, I interpret that sentence (3.92) expresses a general type of force. This general force

is also neutral, because it cannot be described as weak or strong in this context. Therefore, the force expressed by *nedde* in sentence (3.92) is neutral and general.

The second example of *neodian* expressing neutral general force is a very special one, because it is the only OE sentence in which *neodian* means 'need.' Witness (3.93):

> (3.93) *Ic nemæg for sceame þa sceandlican dæde (...) swa fullice secgan swa hit*
> I not-may for shame the vile   deeds (…) so   fully say   so   it
> *fullic is; ac þæt næfre **nedeð** nan ðæra manna   ðe   deah.*
> fully is but that never needs none the man (gen. pl) who are-virtuous
> 'For shame I am not able to relate the vile deeds (…) so completely as it is,
> but none of the men who are virtuous need that.'
> (Let 2 (Kluge) 32)

The force expressed by *nedeð* is general because, again, it is not originated in an external entity, or in the agonist's self (*men who are virtuous*, in this case). Sentence (3.93) contains a broad statement, and the force expressed by *nedeð* is of an undetermined source. At the same time, this general force is of neutral character, because the constraint influencing the force is of undetermined intensity.

This neutral general force differs from all the other types of forces expressed by *neodian* and, for this reason, it is interesting at least from three different perspectives, which make it closer to PDE *need*. Firstly, this is the only case in which the agonist functions as syntactic subject, even though the verb occurs in the active voice. This unexpected syntactic-semantic feature goes hand in hand with the semantic implications of the verb *nedeð*, which does not mean 'compel' but 'need.' This is directly connected with the second aspect to be highlighted in this example: the OE verb *neodian* means 'need,' instead of the expected 'be necessary.' That is, OE *neodian* here is not an impersonal verb with an oblique experiencer, as stated in all of the pieces of specialized literature that I have consulted, but, on the contrary, a personal verb with a nominative experiencer like PDE *need* (cf. section 2.2 above). A third point worthy of attention concerns the non-affirmative nature of this sentence. As seen in Table 3.28 and 3.29, only a limited number of examples of *neodian* are non-affirmative. In all, the percentage of non-affirmative instances of this verb is 13.5%. This ratio is quite low, especially if we compare it to the percentage of negative examples of another verb studied in this piece of work, namely *þurfan* (more than 90% of its occurrences). If we take into account that negation is

considered a marker of subjectivity (cf. Mortelmans 2003), we may conclude that *þurfan* expresses subjective meanings more frequently than *neodian*. The negative instances of *neodian* have been found to exhibit, in addition, more subjective features than the positive instances (cf. active examples (3.81)-(3.83), and passive (3.89)), and, as such, they are similar to PDE modal verbs such as *need not* or *do not have to*, as mentioned above. Therefore, example (3.93) must be considered an interesting exemplification of three linguistic features which link OE lexical verb *neodian* to PDE modal *need*: the agonist is the subject; the verb means 'need;' and, finally, the sentence is negative, which is the selected environment for PDE modal *need*. To end up with the analysis of this example, it must be said that the fact that an inflected form of the variant *nedan* is the example of *neodian* which proves closer to PDE *need* comes to justify the decision taken for this piece of work to include all spelling variants of *neodian, neadian* as subject of analysis.

Summing up the semantic analysis of OE *neodian*, this verb exhibits a wide range of meanings in this period of English. Indeed, it expresses most of the necessity meanings in the force-dynamic line from the physical to the social domain. It is not rarely found meaning 'press' or 'push,' though it largely expresses strong external social forces. Among the latter, *neodian* is mainly concerned with the expression of strong external forces when the antagonist is the syntactic subject (i.e. meaning 'compel, force, constrain'). However, its unexpectedly frequent use in the passive voice (which renders a subject agonist, the meaning being 'be compelled') and the instances of negative constructions (expressing absence of obligation) seem to represent a bridge between its basic construction and PDE *need*. We must not forget that, though attested only on one occasion, example (3.93), it may also express absence of a weak type of necessity when the agonist is the subject. Undoubtedly, *neodian* in this example is closest to PDE *need* than in any other instance. ME *neden* is expected to express this meaning, while it also progressively acquires the typical modal meanings associated to OE *þurfan* (ME *thurven*), which often functions as an auxiliary in Old English. Therefore, I hypothesize that in the ME period the proportion of examples of ME *neden* expressing the same kind of force as PDE *need* increases to the detriment of those examples related to classic strong external *neodian*. This hypothesis will be tested in further chapters of this piece of research.

3.4.2.2. Syntactic features of Old English *neodian*

With the support of the conclusions drawn as regards the semantics of *neodian*, the following paragraphs analyse the syntactic behaviour of this verb. As repeatedly mentioned, *neodian* occurs is the passive voice in a high percentage. Table 3.30 below displays the distribution of active and passive instances of *neodian* in early and late Old English:

SUBPERIOD / VOICE	EARLY OE		LATE OE		TOTAL	N.F.
	NUMBER	N.F.	NUMBER	N.F.		
ACTIVE *NEODIAN*	36	14.51	41	4.28	77	**6.38**
PASSIVE *NEODIAN*	16	6.45	11	1.15	27	**2.24**
TOTAL	**52**	**20.96**	**52**	**5.43**	**104**	**8.62**

Table 3.30: Distribution of active and passive instances of OE neodian *by subperiods.*

As expected from the data in Table 3.25, most of the occurrences of active and passive *neodian* occur in early Old English, because this verb registers a considerably high frequency in that subperiod (nearly four times the ratio of late Old English). In the paragraphs which follow I will first analyse the active instances of *neodian*.

As seen in the section devoted to semantics, most of the **active instances** of *neodian* express a strong external force, and the meaning suggested in the translations is 'compel.' On the basis of this fact, we may hypothesize that such instances may contain two elements. One of those elements could be a noun phrase identifying the agonist, which seems to be constrained to the syntactic function of direct object. Although the agonist is present in most of the instances, it is not, however, obligatory. The second element we could expect would be a sequence describing the kind of imposition inflicted. The syntactic representation of such an imposition is manifold (it may have the shape of a *that*-clause, of a preposition phrase, or of an infinitive), but its occurrence is not compulsory either. In order to combine the presence and nature of these two types of elements involved in the expression of a force, the following table crosses over both variables. Therefore, in the horizontal axis I mark the presence or absence of the agonist (syntactic direct object), while in the vertical line, I place the different syntactic materializations of the force exerted by the antagonist, from most to least frequent:

COMPLEMENT \ AGONIST		+ AGONIST			- AGONIST			TOTAL
		O1-O2	O3-O4	TOT.	O1-O2	O3-O4	TOT.	
Ø		6	8	14		3	3	17
PP		5	7	12	2	1	3	15
SENTENCE	*That*-clause	20	9	29	2	2	4	33
	Bare inf. clause	1	5	6				6
	To-inf. clause		4	4		1	1	5
TOTAL		32	33	65	4	7	11	76

Table 3.31: Complementation patterns of active OE neodian

Before the analysis of the different types of complementation, a clarification is in order. As mentioned above, the number of active instances of *neodian* is 77, but Table 3.31 only records 76. The reason for this inaccuracy lies on the only active example of *neodian* which takes the agonist as subject, which cannot, for this reason, be included in Table 3.31. The exceptional example is the sole case of *neodian* meaning 'need,' and quoted above as (3.93). The late OE sentence says that *þæt næfre neded nan ðæra manna ðe deah*, 'none of the men who are virtuous need that.' The arguments of *neded* are *þæt* and *nan ðæra manna ðe deah*, where the former is the theme or thing needed and the latter is the experiencer. Since the theme is accusative and the experiencer is nominative, sentence (3.93) represents an instance of variant of Allen's Type II construction with experiencer verbs. Therefore, this example is an exception both semantically, since the verb means 'need,' and syntactically, since it differs radically from the mainstream syntactic pattern of this OE verb. It must be highlighted that OE *neodian* was not expected to mean 'need' and to have a nominative experiencer, because the literature (cf. Bosworth and Toller *s.v. neadian, neodian* v.; Visser 1963-1973: §1345) states that it is an impersonal verb meaning 'be necessary' and taking non-nominative experiencers (e.g. *þe martirlogium geneodie* 'martyrology is necessary for you,' cf. section 3.3.1). For this reason, this sentence constitutes an important finding, because it appears to reveal that OE *neodian* could also occur in *personal* constructions in the same way as PDE *need*.

As for the analysis of the remaning active instances of *neodian*, Table 3.31 shows vertically the predominant presence of the agonist / direct object in the active instances of the corpus. From a horizontal perspective, the most common type of syntactic complement is a *that*-clause, and the less frequent one is the *to*-infinitival clause. However, it is interesting to highlight that in 44 instances (57.9% of the total) active *neodian* requires another verb in its environment; in

early Old English the most frequent sentential type is *that*-clauses, while most of the bare and *to-* infinitival clauses occur in late Old English. In the following paragraphs, each of these syntactic types will be illustrated, and it will be shown how they are determined by the semantic features of *neodian* in each case. For reasons of space, I will only provide one instance of each syntactic type independently of the presence or absence of the agonist, except for the cases in which its absence implies a radical difference in the meaning of the verb. The other, irrelevant, instances in which the agonist is absent must be understood as cases of ellipsis of the direct object.

The following paragraphs pay attention to each of the possible syntactic structures which *neodian* exhibits when it occurs in the active voice, and the syntactic subject is the semantic antagonist. To begin with, the first line in Table 3.31 is marked with the sign Ø, i.e. it stands for **zero complement**. This means that the force imposed by the verb *neodian* is not encoded syntactically; on the contrary, the verb is either intransitively constructed or complemented by the direct object / agonist exclusively. When *neodian* selects a direct object without any specification of the force imposed, it mainly means 'push,' as in the example below:

> (3.94) *Ða* **nydde**   *se Hælend*   *þone unclænan gast*   *ut, 7 gehælde*
> then pushed the Saviour (nom.) the   impure spirit (acc.) out & healed
> *þæne cnapan 7 agef hine his fæder*.
> the   child & gave him his father
> 'Then the Saviour pushed the impure spirit out, healed the child and gave him to his father.'
> (Lk(WSCp) 9.42)

The underlined noun phrase *þone unclænan gast*, 'the impure spirit,' is the direct object of *nydde*, and its only argument. The imposition inflicted by the verb is not syntactically expressed, because in this type of context the force is not social, but physical, as mentioned above. In fact, most of the examples of active *neodian* complemented by a noun phrase expressing the agonist are instances of physical force.

In Table 3.31 we observe that there are also instances of *neodian* in which there is no syntactic element representing either the consequences of the force or the agonist. One of these examples is quoted above as (3.74). A reduced version is *nydeþ swiþe suþerne secg*, 'he presses hard, the southern man.' The verb *nydeþ* is construed intransitively, and it does not take a complement representing the

agonist, or a sequence expressing the imposition inflicted by the antagonist. The reason for these absences is the semantic connotation of the verb, which, again, expresses physical force.

The second syntactic type of complementation of active *neodian* is, as shown in Table 3.31, a **prepositional phrase**. The semantic schema of the clause will, then, be 'compel / constrain someone to something.' The preposition which introduces such a prepositional phrase is predominantly *to*, but prepositions *on*, *be* and *from* have also been recorded, once each. The following sentence, quoted above as (3.82), illustrates this common syntactic structure:

(3.95) *Nolde   swa ðeah   nænne <u>to cristendome</u> **geneadian**. for ðan...*
did-not-want so however no-one to Christianity   compel   because…
'However, he does not want to compel anyone to Christianity, because...'
(ÆCHom II, 9, 79.220)

The prepositional phrase *to cristendome*, 'to Christianity' represents the kind of constraint imposed on the agonist, *nænne*, in this case. In fact, PDE *compel* also allows for prepositional complementation (*OED, s.v. compel*, v. 1b –*no one may compel them to peace*). There does not seem to exist any semantic difference between the kind of imposition expressed by a *that*-clause and by a prepositional phrase, because both constructions imply a course of action. The difference between both types of constructions concerns their degree of frequency, *that*-clause being much more common.

The last three lines of Table 3.31 show the types of sentential complements with which active *neodian* occurs. Beginning with ***that*-clauses**, I must say not only that it is the leading syntactic representation of the force, but also that in four of these instances the content clause contains a form of the verb **sculan*, which, as already mentioned, overlaps semantically with *neodian* in some contexts. The following sentence illustrates this phenomenon:

(3.96) *and þa Cristenan **nyddon**   þæt hi   mid heom deofle on hand*
and then Christians compelled (pl.) that they with them devil on hand
*<u>gangan</u> **sceoldon.***
go   should
'and then they compelled Christians to bear the devil with them.'
(LS 34 (SevenSleepers) 52)

On the one hand, this example is in direct connection with the above-mentioned hypothesis that **sculan* only expresses the existence of an obligation, while *neodian* specifies the origin or the antagonist of such an obligation: this is the

noun phrase *deofolscinne*, 'evil spirits,' which can be recovered from the context. If we reconstruct this sentence without *neodian*, it would become something like this: *hi sceoldon mid heom deofle on hand gangan*, 'they should go on hand with the devil,' and, therefore, the antagonist, *deofolscinne*, would not be specified.

On the other hand, this example also points towards the incipient grammaticalization of **sculan* in Old English, for, at least, two reasons. One of the reasons concerns its appearance next to *neodian*, which may reveal that **sculan* is no longer a semantically-heavy verb (cf. Beths 1999: 1087, for a similar development of *dare*, which takes as complements nearly synonymous infinitives such as *gedyrstlæcan*, which also means 'to dare'). The second reason is its occurrence in a subordinate clause as a mere mood marker. We must not forget that Old English is still an inflectional language, and therefore, we could also find a subjunctive form of the verb *gangan*, 'go,' instead of the periphrastic construction with **sculan* in this context.

Apart from these semantic considerations, this sentence is a paradigmatic illustration of *neodian* complemented by a *that*-clause. The agonist occurs twice in the sentence: in one occasion as the direct object of *neodian* (*Cristenan*), and secondly as subject of the content clause (*hi*). For obvious reasons, the translation does not reflect this construction, but exhibits instead the PDE syntactic pattern of the semantically similar verb *compel*, which is frequently followed in Present-Day English by a *to*-infinitival clause. As seen in Table 3.31, OE *neodian* can also occur with a **bare** and a ***to*-infinitive**. As mentioned above (section 3.2.1), the variation between these two infinitival forms is constant in the vast majority of OE verbs. Here follow two examples:

(3.97) *Ða sona   he **nydde**   his leorningcnihtas on scyp stigan, ...*
          then immediately he compelled his disciples   on ship board…
          'He immediately compelled his disciples to board on the ship,...'
          (Mk(WSCp) 6.45)

(3.98) *ðu halga wer   miltsa   me, þæt þu   me ne **genyde***
          you holy man be-compassionate (imp.) me that you me not compel
          to areccenne mine gescyndnysse.
          to relate   my disgrace (acc)
          'you, holy man, have mercy on me, so that you do not force me to relate my disgrace.'
          (LS 23 (MaryofEgypt) 359)

Sentences (3.97), quoted above as (3.78), and (3.98) illustrate respectively the use of bare and *to*- infinitives as complements of *neodian*. There does not seem

to be any difference between both constructions. In both cases, the subject of *neodian* and the assumed subject of the infinitive are different entities; the subject of *neodian* is the antagonist, and the subject of the infinitive is the agonist. This contradicts Warner's (1993: 138) hypothesis that the *to*-infinitive is selected when the subjects of both verbs are the same, while the bare infinitive is favoured when the subjects differ. In any case, the occurrence with an infinitive may represent a step in the evolution of *neodian* towards a modal status, as will be more clearly seen in the analysis of the passive examples (cf. Bolinger 1980: 297).

To sum up the syntactic behaviour of active *neodian*, we have seen that semantics exerts a strong influence on the structural pattern exhibited by this verb. When it means 'need,' the agonist functions as syntactic subject and the verb takes a nominal complement which functions as direct object. If it means 'push' or 'press' and therefore the force expressed is mainly physical, the verb selects a subject-antagonist and, optionally, a direct object-agonist. If, on the contrary, the verb means 'to compel,' it usually specifies the agonist as a direct object and it takes another type of complement which expresses the force or imposition inflicted by the antagonist. Such a complement may be encoded as a *that*-clause, a prepositional phrase or an infinitival clause.

To end up with the syntactic analysis of *neodian*, we turn now to the analysis of the **passive instances** of this verb, which convey a meaning related to the general 'be compelled' or 'must.' I must point out that within passive examples I include both sentences in which the past participle of *neodian* occurs next to a form of the verb *beon / wesan* in a finite form, and sentences in which the past participle occurs on its own, and there is ellipsis of the passive auxiliary, because in both cases the non-finite form of *neodian* is part of a passive periphrasis and may take some kind of complement. Table 3.32 outlines the possible syntactic complementation patterns of passive *neodian*:

SUBPERIODS COMPLEMENT		O1-O2	O3-O4	TOTAL
Ø		4	5	9
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE		2	1	3
SENTENCE	*That*-clause	9	4	13
	Bare infinitive clause	1		1
	To-infinitive clause		1	1
TOTAL PASSIVE NEODIAN		**16**	**11**	**27**

Table 3.32: Complementation patterns of passive OE neodian.

It is easy to see that this table and Table 3.31 differ in one crucial aspect, namely that Table 3.32 does not specify the presence or absence of the agonist. The agonist is necessarily present in passive instances of *neodian*, since it functions as patient subject. Therefore, for the analysis of passive *neodian* we only pay attention to the type of syntactic sequence which expresses the imposition exerted by the antagonist on the agonist. Both Table 3.31 and Table 3.32 overlap vertically, since the syntactic patterns, as well as the relative frequency of occurrence coincides in active and passive instances of *neodian*. Thus, the first type of complementation shown in Table 3.32 concerns the **absolute uses** of passive *neodian*. One of such examples has been quoted above as (3.90); in this example we observe that the passive form is not complemented by any syntactic element: *Us is to gelyfenne þæt he þyder come, næs no geneded, ne underþeoded, ac mid his wyllan*, 'we believe that he who comes on that side was not compelled, nor subjugated, but according to his will.' We could reconstruct the sentence as 'he was not compelled to come,' but probably the complement has been elided in order to avoid repetition. This is the conclusion gathered from the 9 examples of absolute use of passive *neodian*.

The second possible type of complementation is **prepositional phrases**. In passive *neodian*, only the preposition *to* is selected, as in example (3.99):

(3.99) **Næron** *þa Iudeiscan ne se dyrna læwe þurh   God* **geneadode** *to ðam*
    not-were the Jewish   nor the secret traitor through God compelled to the
    gramlican geþeahte.
    wrathful thoughts
    'Neither the Jewish not the secret traitor (i.e. Judas) are compelled to
    wrathful thoughts.'
    (ÆLS (Exalt of Cross), 165)

The prepositional phrase *to ðam gramlican geþeahte*, 'to wrathful thoughts' stands for the imposition inflicted by the antagonist.

The third type of complementation of passive *neodian* is, as shown in Table 3.32, sentential complement. The most common type of sentential complement of passive *neodian* is a ***that*-clause**, as in (3.100):

> (3.100) *ic **eom neded**   þæt ic **sceal** hraðe   deað underhnigan.*
>   I am compelled that   I shall quickly death succumb
>   'I am forced to succumb to death quickly.'
>   (Bede 3 11.190.16)

As was the case with active *neodian*, the OE pre-modal **sculan* was found to occur at times as auxiliary verb in the content clause (in 3 out of the 13 instances).

Finally, passive *neodian* may be complemented by an **infinitive**, either bare of with *to*, as was the case with the active instances, as exemplified in (3.101) and (3.102) respectively:

> (3.101) *Forðon   swa swa synderlice anne   gehwylcne had godd 7 drihten*
>   For-this-reason so   so separately each-one each   person God & Lord
>   *andettan of cristenre soþfæstnesse we **beoð genyd.***
>   confess   of Christian truth (dat.)   we are compelled
>   'For this reason, each person is compelled (we are compelled) to confess the Christian truth to the Lord and God.'
>   (PsCaD (Roeder) 19(11).19)

> (3.102) *Se   **bið geneadod** to cumenne. se   ðe   ðurh   ungelimpum þissere*
>   those are compelled to come   those who through misfortunes (dat) this
>   *worulde   oððe þurh untrumnysse bið ætbroden his   lustum.*
>   world (gen) or through weakness are deprived-of their desire/pleasure/lust
>   'Those who are compelled to come (are) those who, due to the misfortunes of this world or to weakness, are deprived of their desire/pleasure/lust.'
>   (ÆCHom II, 26, 216.107)

As was the case with the active instances of *neodian*, no difference is observed between the use of the bare and the *to-* infinitive, except for the fact that the bare infinitival complement is recorded in an early OE text, and the *to*-infinitival clause belongs to a late OE text, as shown in Table 3.32. It is interesting to note, however, that when *neodian* occurs in the passive voice and is complemented by an infinitive, its meaning is very close to PDE *must* (as in *we must confess*). That is, the subject fulfils the semantic role of agonist, the antagonist is absent from the context, the force expressed by *neodian* is social, namely obligation, and, finally, the complement is infinitival. It could be concluded, therefore, that the

passive instances of *neodian*, especially those in which the complement is an infinitive, are directly related to the modal notion of obligation.

Summing up the syntactic analysis of OE *neodian*, we must say that semantics exerts a tight constraint on syntax and, therefore, the syntactic patterns found for this verb differ from those expected from the study of the literature (cf. section 3.3.1). Thus, I have not found any instance of impersonal *neodian* meaning 'to be necessary.' Consequently, it has not been possible to ascertain, as intended, whether the occurrence of the experiencer depends on the presence or absence of the prefix *ge-*, or the types of impersonal construction (Type S, N or I, according to Allen 1995) which this verb selects. Perhaps this is possible in my analysis of the ME period if the verb *neden* exhibits a wider range of constructions.

The data retrieved from my corpus allow for the following generalizations. Firstly, OE *neodian* has taken some steps in the evolution from its mere physical meaning, 'press' or 'push,' into the social domain, to mean 'compel' or 'constrain.' Secondly, the data prove that this verb is surprisingly frequent in the passive voice, where the meaning is 'be compelled,' and this connects *neodian* to the pre-modal **sculan* from a semantic perspective. Thirdly, like PDE *need*, OE *neodian* could marginally mean 'need' and occur in a variant of Type II construction with experiencer verbs like *þurfan* or *beþurfan*. Finally, *neodian* exhibits a complex syntactic complementation system, in which we find, among others, infinitival complements, which represent the first step into the road of auxiliariness (cf. Bolinger 1980). In the light of the conclusions arrived at so far, I believe that my decision to include a list of spelling variants as instances of *neodian* in my analysis has made it possible to obtain all this relevant information about the origin of *need*, especially as far as the relation between the modal notions of obligation and necessity is concerned.

Let us now analyse the examples of OE *behofian*, the last of the four verbs investigated in this piece of research. The data obtained will round off the description of my verbs in Old English, and will allow for an analysis of their use and variation in this period.

3.4.3 *Old English* behofian *in the corpus*

Behofian is the last and the least frequent of the OE verbs studied in this work. It only occurs on 30 occasions in my 1.2 million-word corpus, distributed in early and late OE texts as shown in Table 3.33, which displays the actual number of occurrences of *behofian* in each subperiod together with the normalized frequencies:

	EARLY OE	N.F.	LATE OE	N.F.	TOTAL	N.F.
OE *behofian*	1	0.40	29	3.02	30	2.48

Table 3.33: Distribution of OE behofian *by subperiods.*

This table shows that the vast majority of examples of *behofian* occur in late Old English, that is, in texts from 950 to 1150. After this preliminary approach to this OE verb, let us now turn to the semantic analysis of *behofian*.

As seen in section 3.3.2 above, *behofian* may exhibit two kinds of necessity. It may express basic necessity, such as 'need, have need, require,' or it may convey necessity with a slight nuance of appropriateness, such as 'behove, be proper or fitting.' According to the literature, the first, neuter meaning is much more common than the second, specific one (cf. Elmer 1981: 65, 73). In order to account not only for this semantic difference, but also for any shade of necessity, the examples of *behofian* retrieved from the corpus have been analysed, as has been done for *þurfan, beþurfan* and *neodian*, in force-dynamic terms, taking into account the degree of strength and the origin of the force. The following table outlines the types of forces expressed by this OE verb:

ORIGIN	STRENGTH	N. OF EXAMPLES	TOTAL
INTERNAL	STRONG	5	22
	WEAK	17	
GENERAL	NEUTRAL	5	5
EXTERNAL	STRONG	3	3
	WEAK		
TOTAL	STRONG	8	30
	WEAK	17	
	NEUTRAL	5	

Table 3.34: Origin and intensity of the forces expressed by OE behofian.

Table 3.34 clearly shows that *behofian* is mainly concerned with the expression of weak (17 cases) and internal (22 cases) forces. However, it may also express general types of forces, that is, forces which are originated in an ambiguous entity, and external forces, that is, forces which are exerted by an external

antagonist. It will not be necessary to break down this table into further tables devoted to the analysis of the different types of forces here identified, as we have done as for the other OE verbs, because the examples of *behofian* are fairly homogeneous: internal forces are originated in the agonist's self, general forces are imposed from a nebulous, generalized authority and, therefore, we cannot determine the intention hidden behind such impositions, and the external forces expressed by *behofian* are all of the same type: they are all based on religious grounds. As a consequence of this homogeneity among examples, it will suffice to analyse some instances of the forces in Table 3.34, in order to illustrate the different meanings which OE *behofian* has been found to express in my OE corpus.

Beginning with the first line in Table 3.34, we see that *behofian* seems to specialize in the expression of **internally-rooted necessity**. Such a necessity may be strong or weak, depending on its urgency. Consider, for example, the difference between the following pair of sentences, which express strong internal and weak internal necessity respectively:

(3.103) *Þa cwæð se ercebiscop, Ic eom eac synful, and myltse*   **behofige**
then said the archbishop I am   also sinful and mercy (gen.) need (1 sg.)
þæs heofonlican dryhtnes.
the   heavenly   Lord (gen.)
'Then said the archbishop: "I am sinful and also need the mercy of the heavenly Lord".'
(ÆLS (Basil), 557)

(3.104) *...oððe gif he   ræd   tæcð   þam þe   rædes*   **behofað** *...*
...or   if   he wisdom teaches those who wisdom (gen) need (pl.)
'...if he shows/teaches wisdom to those who need wisdom.'
(ÆBusMor, 143)

In sentence (3.103), the agonist (*I*) has the urgent inner necessity for the compassion of the Lord, while in (3.104), the agonist (*they*) does not seem to have an urgent need for wisdom, but an inner wish for wisdom. Four out of the five instances of strong internal force are affirmative, while only one of them is non-affirmative, that is, *behofian* expresses lack of strong internal force:

(3.105) *for ði þæt he sceolde Crist fullian.   se ðe   ne* **behofode**   *nanre*
because   he should Christ baptize he part. not needed (sg.) no (gen.)
synne forgifenysse.
sin   forgiveness (gen.)
'because he [i.e. John] was obliged to baptize Christ, he did not need

forgiveness of any sin.'
(ÆCHom II, 3, 25.197)

The type of force expressed by *behofian* in (3.105) is the same as that of (3.103), with the only difference that the context in (3.103) is affirmative, while that of (3.105) is non-affirmative. In a parallel way, five out of the 17 examples of weak internal force expressed by *behofian* are non-affirmative, that is, this verb can express lack of internal necessity, as seen in (3.106):

(3.106) *we soðlice ne **behofiað** þyssera   eorðlicera   æhta.*
we truly   not need (pl.) these (gen.) earthly (gen.) possessions (gen.)
'we truly do not need these earthly wealth/possessions.'
(ÆCHom II, 38, 282.65)

The meaning of *behofian* in (3.106), then, does not differ much from that of *beþurfan* in example (3.55), for instance, because both express the absence of weak internal necessity.

As for the **general types of forces** expressed by OE *behofian*, all of them are extracted from Ælfric's *Grammar*, and they are concerned with the usage of Latin words and concepts. Three of them occur in affirmative contexts, while two of them occur in non-affirmative ones. Consider, for example, (3.107) and (3.108):

(3.107) *Þæt ðridde gemet ys OPTATIVVS, þæt ys, gewiscendlic, and hit hæfð*
the   third mood is   optativus   that is optative   and it has
*forðgewitenne timan and **behofað** oðres wordes   him to fultume,*
past   tense and   needs   other words (gen.) it to   help
þæt   he fulfremednysse hæbbe.
so-that he perfection   has (sbj.)
'The third mood is OPTATIVUS, that is, optative, and it has past tense and needs other words to help/support it, so that it has perfection.'
(ÆGram, 125.9)

(3.108) *Þonne ic cweþe ego ic and ðu cwest   to me tu ðu, þonne beo   wyt*
when   I   say   ego I and you say (2 sg.) to me tu you then are both-of-us
*ætgædere and for ði   ne **behofað** naðor þissera PRONOMINA na*
together   and for-that-reason not needs neither these pronouns (gen.) not
ma   stemna, buton twegra.
more voices   but   two (gen.)
'When I say "ego" 'I' and you say to me "tu" 'you,' then we two (both of us) are together, and for that reason, we need neither these pronouns or more voices, but two.'
(ÆGram, 93.4)

From the context in example (3.107) and (3.108) it is easily understood that the origin of the force expressed by *behofian* is general, since it concerns general grammar rules, and not any type of internally or externally-rooted necessity. In (3.108) *behofian* occurs in a similar context to *þurfan* in example (3.49) above, i.e. lack of general necessity in a grammar book, with the only exception that *þurfan* selects an infinitival theme, and *behofian* a nominal one.

Finally, *behofian* may also express **external types of forces**. As mentioned above, all the examples found are based on religious matters and the three of them express the presence of a strong external force. Consider, for instance, (3.109):

> (3.109) *Cildru   **behofiað**. swiðlicere steore.   and godre*
> Children (nom.) need (pl.) intense rules / punishment (gen.) and good
> *gymene.   To godum ðeawum.*
> cares (gen.) to   good   morals / virtues
> 'Children need intense rules/punishment (gen.) and good cares (gen.) for good morals / virtues.'
> (ÆCHom II, 21, 186.195)

The agonists of this sentence, *the children*, do not feel the necessity for punishment in themselves, that is, *behofian* does not express internal force in this example. Quite on the contrary, the force conveyed is of religious character, and the antagonist is some religious authority. Therefore, the difference between the origin of the forces expressed by *behofian* in sentences such as (3.103), (3.107) and (3.109) is clear.

From the previous analysis we can gather that *behofian* overlaps semantically with most of the instances of OE *beþurfan*, and also with some of the instances of OE *þurfan*, despite the fact that these two preterite-presents cover a wider range of modal meanings. Finally, OE *behofian* also overlaps with the marginal use of OE *neodian* described above (3.93), the only example of active *neodian* with a subject agonist meaning 'need.'

Let us now turn to its syntax, in order to find out how this verb differs from the other verbs under study. We must begin with the controversial impersonal nature of *behofian*. As mentioned in section 3.3.2 above, Allen (1997) claims that there is not any instance of impersonal *behofian*, i.e. with a non-nominative experiencer, in "pure" Old English. In fact, Allen (1997: 5) affirms that the OE instances of *behofian* with the meaning 'be proper, fitting'

and with a non-nominative experiencer (i.e. impersonal *behofian*) are not original OE examples, but appear in non-contemporaneous manuscripts, which implies that the ME scribe could have been influenced by his own language when copying a given OE text. I must say that out of the thirty instances of *behofian* in my corpus, only one case seems ambiguous as for impersonality. In the other 29 instances, *behofian* is clearly a personal verb, with a nominative experiencer. The ambiguous example is (3.110):

(3.110) *Bifore alle þing,   þreo þing beoð efric man helwuurþe, and ærest*
        Before all things three things are every man worthy   and first
        bihoueð   *tehabbe.*
        needs / is needed to-have
        'Before all things, three things are worthy for every man, and it is needed/
        he needs to have (them) first.'
        (HomM 15 (Wanley) 9.1)

The verb *bihoueð* occurs in this sentence without a clear specific experiencer. Therefore, it is impossible to determine whether the experiencer is a hypothetical *he* (which would yield a personal *behofian*) or *him* (impersonal *behofian*). The context does not seem to favour either the personal or the impersonal type. Unfortunately, I have not found out whether the manuscript of *Incipits and Explicits of Thirteen Homilies* is a contemporaneous manuscript or if, on the contrary, it has been manipulated by a ME scribe. Despite its apparent ambiguity, sentence (3.110) will be considered to have an elided nominative experiencer and, hence, it will be analysed as a 'Personal' Type of experiencer verb construction, whose constituents are nominative experiencer + sentential theme.

    Taking into account the type of theme it exhibits, sentence (3.110) is unusual, because it is followed by a *to*-infinitive (*tehabbe*), which is the case only twice in my corpus. However, other types of theme are more common, as shown in the following table:

THEME		NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES
NOUN PHRASE		25
SENTENCE	*That*-clause	3
	To-infinitival clause	2
TOTAL		**30**

Table 3.35: Nature of the theme of OE behofian.

The data contained in Table 3.35 reveal that *behofian* has a strong preference for nominal themes, although it may also be followed by a sequence containing a verb. If we compare *behofian* with *þurfan* and *beþurfan* as regards their syntactic

patterns, we observe that the three of them may have nominal themes. In addition, more coincidences are recorded as for these verbs. On the one hand, both *behofian* and *beþurfan* may select *that*-clauses as themes. On the other hand, *behofian* and *þurfan* are construed in similar syntactic patterns, because both of them may be followed by an infinitive, with the only difference that *behofian* takes the *to*-infinitive and *þurfan* takes the bare form. Therefore, OE *behofian* shows both semantic and syntactic similarities with these two preterite-presents.

We have already seen plenty of examples of nominal themes of *behofian* (cf. examples (3.103)-(3.109)) and all cases are instances of Type II construction with experiencer verbs (nominative experiencer + genitive theme). For that reason, I offer now only instances with sentential themes, that is, cases in which *behofian* occurs in Allen's (1995) 'Personal' Type construction (nominative experiencer + sentential theme). Beginning with ***that*-clauses**, we must differentiate the case in which the subject of the *that*-clause and the experiencer of the main clause denote two different referents, as in (3.111), from the cases in which the referent is the same, as in (3.112):

> (3.111) *Læwede menn* **behofiað** *þæt him lareowas secgon ða godspellican lare.*
> Lay men (nom.) need (pl.) that them preachers say   the evangelical lore
> 'Lay men need preachers to tell them the evangelical knowledge.'
> (ÆCHom II, 21, 180.1)

> (3.112) *we* **behofiað** *þæt we wisra lareowa   trahtnunga be ðisum*
> we need (pl.) that we wise preachers (gen) explanation by these
> *ðingum   understandan.*
> things (dat.) understand
> 'we need to understand the explanation of the wise preachers through these things.'
> (ÆCHom II, 3, 21.76'

The underlined elements in (3.111) and (3.112) are the experiencers of *behofian*, placed immediately before the verb, and the subjects of the verbs in the respective *that*-clauses. While in (3.111) the experiencer and the subject are different, in (3.112) they are co-referential. This is the case in two out of the three cases of *behofian* with a *that*-clause theme. Co-referentiality is a typical characteristic of modal verbs and, therefore, it may interpreted that (3.112) is closer to, for instance, pre-modal *þurfan*, than (3.111).

Another possible relation between *behofian* and *þurfan* is, as mentioned, its possibility to be combined with an infinitive; while the pre-modal chooses the

bare infinitive, *behofian* takes the **to-infinitive**, as seen above in (3.110), and in (3.113) below, which is the only early OE example of this verb:

> (3.113) *Ælces licuman æagan* **behofað** *þreora þinga   on hym silfum to habbæne*.
>   each   bodily   eye   needs   three things (gen) on it self   to have
>   'Each of the eyes of the body needs to have three things in itself.'
>   (Solil 1 27.17)

This sentence represents an interesting example in the evolution of one verb into its construction with an infinitival theme. If the infinitive *to habbæne* were the first theme of *behofian*, the noun phrase *þreora þinga* could not be inflected for the genitive, but it should appear in the accusative, since it would be the direct object of the infinitive. This is not, however, what we find in this example. The verb *behofað* has a theme inflected for the genitive, the selected case of this verb, namely *þreora þinga*, and a purpose adjunct, *to habbæne*. This construction is expected to evolve to a catenative construction of the type verb + *to*-infinitive + complements of the infinitive. Such an evolution accounts for the explanation of the emergence of root *have to* (cf. Heine 1993: 42). From an original *I have a letter*, going through steps *I have a letter to mail* and *I have a letter to write*, we reach the PDE usage of *have to* in *I have to write (a letter)*. It is possible that the construction with *behofian* in sentence (3.113) represents an early stage into that development. In fact, it is significant that the two instances of *behofian* followed by a *to*-infinitive contain the verb *to have* ((3.110) and (3.113)). Moreover, the verb of one of the *that*-clauses following *behofian* is also *to have*, a verb that is semantically empty in the expression of a necessity, because there does not seem to be any sharp difference between *I need three things* and *I need to have three things*.

Therefore, if we take into account that *behofian* selects primarily nominal themes, and that it selects the verb *have* in three out of the five instances in which it is followed by a verbal construction, it seems reasonable to conclude that this verb is at one of its earliest stages in the path towards its PDE status as a lexical verb featuring in the pattern *it* + *behoves* + oblique experiencer + *to*-infinitive. It will be very interesting to study the changes undergone by *behofian* in the ME period, due to its progressive detachment from its OE status towards its PDE features.

3.4.4. *Summary and conclusions*

After the detailed analysis of each OE verb as found in the corpus, this section summarizes the main results and offers an interpretation of the coexistence of these four verbs. To begin with, let us compare the frequency of each of the verbs in early and late Old English. Table 3.36 shows the number of instances of each verb in each subperiod, together with the normalized frequencies calculated per 100,000 words:

PERIOD / VERB	O1-O2		O3-O4		TOTAL	
	NUMBER	N.F.	NUMBER	N.F.	**NUMBER**	N.F.
ÞURFAN	48	19.35	110	11.49	**158**	**13.11**
BEÞURFAN	8	3.22	39	4.07	**47**	**3.89**
NEODIAN	52	20.96	52	5.43	**104**	**8.62**
BEHOFIAN	1	0.40	29	3.02	**30**	**2.48**
TOTAL	**109**	**43.94**	**230**	**24.02**	**339**	**28.12**

Table 3.36: Frequency of the four verbs in Old English.

The data in Table 3.36 are represented in Figure 3.4, where only the normalized frequencies are taken into account. As seen in this figure, only *beþurfan* and *behofian* show an increasing frequency in Old English, while *þurfan* and *neodian* are considerably more frequent at the beginning of the period.[36] In what follows, I will first compare the semantic features of these verbs, and then, I will summarize their syntactic characteristics.
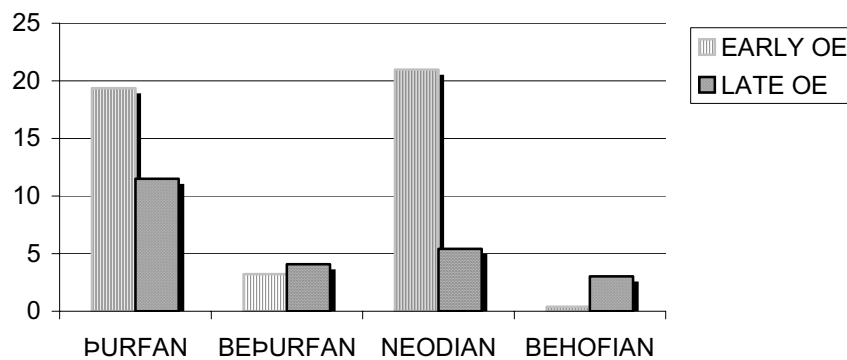
Figure 3.4: Frequency of the four verbs in early and late Old English.

From a **semantic point of view**, the four OE verbs were analysed in terms of cognitive forces, which have been classified according to two axes: their strength and their origin. Thus, the forces expressed by my verbs were classified

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[36] A preliminary examination of the distribution of these four verbs showed that there are not significant differences between them as far as text-type is concerned.

as strong, weak or neutral, and internal, external or general. As mentioned, general forces are always neutral as for origin. Table 3.37 below displays the types of force expressed by each OE verb:

ORIGIN	STRENGTH	VERBS		TOTAL	
EXTERNAL	STRONG	*Þurfan* (102) *Neodian* (100) *Behofian* (3) *Beþurfan* (1)		**Þurfan (106)** **Neodian (100)** **Behofian (3)** **Beþurfan (1)**	210
	WEAK	*Þurfan* (4)			
INTERNAL	STRONG	*Þurfan* (15) *Beþurfan* (13) *Behofian* (5) *Neodian* (2)		**Beþurfan (45)** **Þurfan (44)** **Behofian (22)** **Neodian (2)**	113
	WEAK	*Beþurfan* (32) *Þurfan* (29) *Behofian* (17)			
GENERAL	NEUTRAL	*Þurfan* (7) *Behofian* (5) *Neodian* (2) *Beþurfan* (1)		**Þurfan (7)** **Behofian (5)** **Neodian (2)** **Beþurfan (1)**	15
TOTAL	**STRONG**	**Þurfan (117)** **Neodian (102)** **Beþurfan (14)** **Behofian (8)**	241	**Þurfan (157)** **Neodian (104)** **Beþurfan (47)** **Behofian (30)**	338
	WEAK	**Þurfan (33)** **Beþurfan (32)** **Behofian (17)**	82		
	NEUTRAL	**Þurfan (7)** **Behofian (5)** **Neodian (2)** **Beþurfan (1)**	15		

Table 3.37: Origin and intensity of the forces expressed by each OE verb.

Table 3.37 gives the semantic description of 338 out of the total 339 OE examples of my verbs in the corpus. The example missing is, as will be seen below, the only instance of my verbs conveying a barrier rather than a force. From the data in Table 3.37, we can draw the following conclusions:

- All verbs can express forces originated in different entities and exerted with different degrees of strength (as seen in the TOTAL column and line), with the exception of *neodian*, which is the only verb which does not express weak types of forces.
- OE *þurfan* is the most versatile of the four verbs, since it occurs in all the possible cells.

- Both *þurfan* and *neodian* mostly express external forces, while *behofian* and *beþurfan* are mostly concerned with the expression of internal forces (both of strong and weak nature).

These conclusions seem to imply that from a semantic perspective *þurfan* and *neodian*, on the one hand, and *beþurfan* and *behofian*, on the other, are somewhat synonymous. However, as we have seen in earlier sections, these verbs differ semantically in aspects which are not accounted for in Table 3.37. For this reason, it is necessary to resort to a more comprehensible schema which will offer a fine-grained description of the semantic characteristics of these OE verbs. Such a schema must include references to the notional type of force, as well as to the polarity of the clause in which the verb occurs, which may yield meanings such as lack of obligation and prohibition. Table 3.38 below accounts for all these variables.

It must be noted that Table 3.38 sets apart the active and the passive instances of *neodian*, because, as seen in earlier sections, voice plays an important role in the semantics of this verb. Since it primarily means 'compel,' the subject of the active instances is normally the antagonist ('he compels'), while the subject of passive sentences is the agonist, and the conveyed meaning is 'be compelled;' in other words, passive *neodian* expresses obligation in the same sense as *þurfan* in affirmative contexts.

SEMANTICS OF THE FOUR OE VERBS						
	BARRIER				*Þurfan* (1)	**1**
	FORCE	PHYSICAL			*Neodian* active (11)	**11**
		PHYSICAL-METAPHORICAL			*Neodian* active (5)	**5**
		SOCIO-PHYSICAL			*Neodian* active (15) *Neodian* passive (3)	**18**
		SOCIAL	OBLIGATION		*Neodian* active (35) *Neodian* passive (18) *Þurfan* (3) *Behofian* (3)	**59**
			LACK OF OBLIGATION		*Þurfan* (92) *Neodian* active (8) *Neodian* passive (5)	**105**
			PROHIBITION		*Þurfan* (11) *Beþurfan* (1)	**12**
		INTERNAL	OBLIGATION	OBLIGATION	*Þurfan* (2) *Neodian* active (1) *Neodian* passive (1)	**4**
				LACK OF OBLIGATION	*Þurfan* (11)	**11**
				PROHIBITION	*Þurfan* (2) *Beþurfan*(1)	**3**
			NECESSITY	NECESSITY	*Beþurfan* (35) *Behofian* (16) *Þurfan* (9)	**60**
				LACK OF NECESSITY	*Þurfan* (20) *Beþurfan* (9) *Behofian* (6)	**35**
		GENERAL	NECESSITY		*Behofian* (3) *Beþurfan* (1) *Neodian* active (1)	**5**
			LACK OF NECESSITY		*Þurfan* (7) *Behofian* (2) *Neodian* active (1)	**10**
		LOGICAL	NECESSITY			**0**
			LACK OF NECESSITY			**0**
TOTAL						**339**

Table 3.38: Semantic implications of the four OE 'need'-verbs.

Let us now interpret the data in Table 3.38. The first interesting piece of information in Table 3.38 is that OE *þurfan* has the capacity to convey cognitive barriers in negative contexts and, hence, it expresses impossibility. The relationship between necessity and possibility accounted for in section 2.2.2 is, then, evident with OE *þurfan*. In fact, its German cognate *dürfen*, 'be allowed,' evolved from a meaning expressing necessity to a modal verb conveying possibility, as explained above (cf. section 3.4.1; and van der Auwera and Plungian 1998).

Paying attention to the forces conveyed by my OE verbs, we observe that external forces are by far the most frequent type, which includes physical, physical-metaphorical, socio-physical and social forces, making a total of 210

examples. Internal forces, in turn, are only present in 113 examples. This difference in frequency may show that the semantic change from the external to the mental domain involves a process of metaphorization which is not complete in Old English. Finally, there are only 15 cases of general forces which seems to imply that at this point of history semantic generalization has not taken place yet.

Beginning with the external forces, we observe that the expression of physical forces and related types is restricted to *neodian* (mainly in the active voice). We also see that *þurfan* and *neodian* are the most frequent verbs expressing social forces; their distribution is determined by two factors: the nature of the subject and clause polarity. As for the nature of the subject, if the subject is the agonist, *þurfan* is more likely to be found; if the subject is the antagonist, *neodian* is selected. As for clause polarity, *þurfan* exhibits a preference for non-affirmative contexts, while *neodian* shows the opposite tendency. This difference as regards polarity does not hold for social forces exclusively, but is a constant rule in the OE corpus. In fact, *þurfan* is found not only expressing absence of obligation, but also prohibition (both social and internal), with relative frequency, and facing only the very weak competition of *beþurfan*.

Having a look at internally-rooted forces, we observe that the expression of internal obligation is not very common with any of my verbs. The expression of internal necessity is primarily controlled by *beþurfan* and *behofian*, which come to be fairly exact synonymous in some contexts. Absence of internal and general necessity is mostly expressed by *þurfan*, which shows once more a strong preference for non-affirmative contexts. The distinction between *þurfan* and *beþurfan* in the expression of internal forces is conditioned by the strength of the force (*þurfan* prefers strong forces, and *beþurfan* is basically concerned with weak ones), and by clause polarity (*þurfan* tends to occur in non-affirmative contexts, and *beþurfan* is especially common in affirmative clauses). Despite these differences, both *þurfan* and *beþurfan* may express internal necessity and absence of necessity, and in some contexts they appear to be interchangeable.

As for general forces, Table 3.38 shows that their ratio is fairly low, but it corroborates the distribution of my verbs according to clause polarity, since the list of verbs occurring in affirmative contexts is headed by *behofian*, and the list of non-affirmative ones is headed by *þurfan*. In addition, it must be recalled that it is when *neodian* expresses general forces that it comes closer to the meaning 'need,' in contrast with the great majority of the examples in which it means

'compel, force.' In fact, the only example of OE *neodian* which can be considered an instance of *need* v.2 (*OED s.v. need* v.2 'need') is its single example of absence of general necessity, as seen in section 3.4.2. Finally, my OE corpus does not provide any example of my verbs expressing logical forces, as was expected, since this meaning is known to grammaticalize later in history.

After the semantic conclusions of the analysis of my OE verbs, I turn now to summarize of the **syntactic analysis** carried out in earlier sections. Before proceeding any further, we must differentiate between the active instances of *neodian* when it means 'compel, force,' which have an antagonist subject (76 examples) and the rest of the examples of my corpus, which have either an agonist subject, as is the case of passive *neodian*, or a syntactic experiencer which encodes the agonist of the force expressed by the verb, as is the case of the only instance of *neodian* meaning 'need' and of all the examples of *þurfan, beþurfan* and *behofian*.

In 76 out of the 77 instances in which *neodian* occurs in the active voice, the subject is the antagonist of the force, that is, the entity which constrains the agonist to a course of action. The types of complement found when the subject is the antagonist are, in order of frequency, *that*-clause (33 instances), zero complement (17 instances), prepositional phrase (15 examples), bare infinitive (six examples), and *to*-infinitive (5 instances). In all these cases *neodian* is a purely lexical verb and, therefore, it does not exhibit auxiliary features. For this reason, it will be more interesting to examine the cases of *neodian* in which the subject is the agonist of the force, together with the examples of with a syntactic experiencer.

Table 3.39 displays the type of theme of the experiencer verb constructions in which my verbs occur, as well as the type of complement of passive *neodian*:

THEME / COMPLEMENT		PASSIVE *NEODIAN*	ACTIVE *NEODIAN*	*ÞURFAN*	*BEÞURFAN*	*BEHOFIAN*	TOTAL
Noun Phrase			1	22	37	25	**85**
Ø		9		7	2		**18**
Prepositional phrase		3					**3**
SENTENCE	Bare infinitival cl.	1		119			**120**
	That-clause	13			3	3	**19**
	Elided clause			4	5		**9**
	To-infinitival cl.	1		1		2	**4**
	Bare passive inf. cl.			4			**4**
	Pseudo gapping			1			**1**
TOTAL		**27**	**1**	**158**	**47**	**30**	**263**

Table 3.39: Syntactic patterns of my experiencer verbs and of passive neodian.

Contrary to the strong preference of *þurfan* for sentential themes and of *neodian* for sentential complements, *beþurfan* and, especially, *behofian* exhibit an overwhelming majority of nominal themes. Table 3.39 shows that despite the semantic similarity between passive *neodian* and *þurfan*, they differ syntactically as for their sentential arguments; while passive *neodian* has a strong preference for *that*-clauses, *þurfan* takes the bare infinitive almost exclusively, and it only occurs once with a *to*-infinitive, contravening Warner's (1993: 137) assertion that this verb takes the bare infinitive exclusively. Together with its preference for the bare infinitive, *þurfan* also exhibits other sentential themes which are revealing of its somewhat auxiliary nature, namely occurrence with passive infinitives, and occurrence in elliptical and pseudo-gapping constructions.

In addition to the type of themes and complements exhibited by these OE verbs, I have also paid attention to the type of experiencer verb construction in which they occur, since necessity is an experience (cf. Allen 1995). Not all examples in Table 3.39 have been analysed as for this classification. Passive *neodian* is left out, because it is not an experiencer verb in itself, but its meaning is derived from its passive character. In addition, the absolute instances of *þurfan* and *beþurfan* are also left out, because they do not contain a theme, i.e. a thing needed. Table 3.40 below shows the type of experiencer verb construction in which the remaining examples have been found:

VERB / ALLEN'S TYPE	ACTIVE NEODIAN	ÞURFAN	BEÞURFAN	BEHOFIAN	TOTAL
Type II		10	22	25	57
Variant Type II	1	12	14		27
Type I			1		1
Type N					0
Type 'Personal'		125	7	5	137
Type S		4	1		5
Type *hit*					0
TOTAL	1	151	45	30	227

Table 3.40: Experiencer verb constructions found with the OE verbs.

In Table 3.40, which comprises all possible experiencer verb constructions with nominal and sentential themes, we can see that in Old English, my verbs strongly favour nominative experiencers. In fact, Type N (oblique experiencer + genitive theme) is never recorded with these verbs, and Type I (oblique experiencer + nominative theme) is only recorded with *beþurfan*. Interestingly enough, this construction is never recorded with *neodian*, even if it was expected from the literature (cf. Bosworth and Toller *s.v. neadian, neodian* v.; Visser 1963-1973: §1345). On the contrary, the only instance of *neodian* in which it does not mean 'compel, force' occurs once with a nominative experiencer and meaning 'need' rather than 'be necessary.' When the theme is sentential, the ratio of oblique experiencers rises a bit with *þurfan*, since it occurs in Type S construction on four occasions. We must bear in mind that this verb takes a non-nominative experiencer not because of its impersonal nature, but because of the impersonal nature of the infinitive which follows it. In other words, *þurfan* gives up its syntactic preference for a nominative experiencer when the following infinitive takes an oblique experiencer, in which case *þurfan* adopts an oblique experiencer too. This feature, which implies lack of experiencer / subject selection, and hence decategorialization, has been considered as indicative of auxiliary status of some verbs (cf. Warner 1993).

After having summarized the semantic and syntactic features of the four OE verbs analysed in this study, we are ready to draw a series of conclusions as for the grammaticalization of these verbs.

As expected, *þurfan* shows the clearest pieces of evidence that it is a grammaticalized verb which functions as an auxiliary. Semantically, it expresses a broad range of modal meanings, such as obligation, lack of obligation, prohibition and even impossibility. Syntactically, its features also allow for a grammatical reading, since (i) it mainly selects the bare infinitive (cf. Bolinger

1980: 297); (ii) it occurs in pseudo-gapping constructions (Warner 1993); and (iii) it shows lack of experiencer / subject selection when it occurs with passive infinitives or with impersonal verbs (Denison 1990a, Warner 1993).

Contrary to *þurfan*, its derived verb, *beþurfan*, exhibits a preference for those contexts in which *þurfan* is more reluctant to occur, namely construction with nominal themes and affirmative sentences (as is also the case of *behofian*). Though it may at times occur with sentential themes, there is not enough evidence to consider *beþurfan* an auxiliary verb.

Neodian is a complex verb, both from a semantic and from a syntactic point of view. Analysing all forms of *neodian* has proved necessary, since the verbs meaning 'compel' and 'need' are so closely related in the corpus that only an analysis that includes them both will help to decipher the origins of PDE *need* (cf. also Molencki 2002; van der Auwera and Taeymans 2004). The verb *neodian* exhibits a semantic evolution which fits into Sweetser's (1990) analysis of the grammaticalization of verbs from their initial physical reference, since the examples in my corpus show that it expresses meanings from the physical 'press' or 'push' to the quasi-modal '(do not) be obliged to.' An important factor in the meaning conveyed by *neodian* is voice. When it occurs in a passive sentence its meaning is 'be obliged,' which makes it close to OE **sculan,* or 'do not be obliged,' which makes it close to OE *þurfan,* and we must not forget that *neodian* occurs unexpectedly very often in the passive voice. Finally I must make reference to the occurrence of one single example of *neodian* meaning 'need' in a negative context, like PDE modal *need*, although its theme is a noun phrase.

Finally, *behofian* is a lexical verb which occurs mainly with nominal themes. It is interesting to find that the experiencer of this verb is always nominative, which contradicts most of the literature, and confirms Allen's (1997) findings. *Behofian* and *beþurfan* come to be fairly close synonyms in some contexts.

CHAPTER 4

MIDDLE ENGLISH *THURVEN* (AND *DURREN*), *BETHURVEN, NEDEN, BIHOVEN* AND *MISTEREN*

After the analysis of my verbs in Old English, we move on now to the Middle English period. The differences between Old English and Middle English are so numerous and significant that it is necessary to have a cursory look at the social background of this period in order to understand and contextualize the linguistic changes which English undergoes in this intermediate stage of its history. For this reason, I firstly offer a brief description of the social settings as related to their influence on language (4.1); secondly, I concentrate on the strictly semantic, morphological and syntactic changes observed in Middle English (4.2); thirdly, section 4.3 provides information of each of my verbs as can be obtained from the specialized literature; and finally, section 4.4 contains the exhaustive analysis of the ME 'need'-verbs as retrieved from the corpus.

4.1 An overview of the extralinguistic factors influencing language change

Middle English is a period of radical linguistic change, partly due to foreign influence. On the one hand, the Scandinavian invasion in the OE period has its linguistic consequences in Middle English. Thus, the language spoken in the north is much affected by the speech of Norsemen, since these entered the land from the northern coast. On the other hand, as a consequence of the Norman invasion at the beginning of the ME period, the language used in the courts is Norman French. The fact that Normans are also of Germanic origin facilitates the

cultural interrelations among the different peoples who coexist in the island at this period. Therefore, the ME panorama may be summarized as the progressive influence of the Scandinavian language from north southwards, a radial influence of French from each of the courts scattered mainly in the south of the island, and a midland area which receives influence from both communities. In addition to this situation in the island, events going on in the continent also affected the ME language. For instance, Central French, i.e. the language spoken in the continental French courts, became very prestigious and developed into a kind of lingua franca influencing the languages of all peoples who had commerce with France.[1]

From such a miscellaneous society, expectancies are that quite a bunch of dialects are spoken in the island in the ME period. The widely-accepted classification of ME dialect areas are: south-eastern, which is spoken in the area equivalent to Kentish in Old English; south-western, barely the OE West Saxon area; northern, in the north, as was the case with OE Northumbrian; and midland, a heterogeneous area in between the north and the south, which is further sub-divided into south-east midland, north-west midland, and so on and so forth (cf., for example, Milroy 1992: 172).[2]

Bearing these facts in mind, it is not surprising that scholars such as Milroy (1992: 156) affirm that Middle English "exhibits by far the greatest diversity in written language of any period before or since." However, such a statement derives not only from the rich dialectal variability in Middle English, but also from the absence of a standard dialect,[3] as opposed to OE West Saxon. Such an absence leads scribes to hypothesize about the spelling of every word up to the point that a single scribe may use different spellings for the same word in a single document, because in their attempt to spell a given word according to its pronunciation, they may be influenced by their knowledge of West Saxon, Latin or French orthographies (cf. Burnley 1992: 410; Milroy 1992: 157). Therefore,

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[1] For detailed works on the Scandinavian and French influence on Middle English, see Wakelin (1972: chapter 7), Barber (1993: chapter 6) and Baugh and Cable (1993).

[2] As widely-acknowledged dialectal atlases of English, see Orthon *et al.* (1978), and McIntosh *et al.* (1986).

[3] Samuels (1963) has identified a series of written standards which emerge in the 14th and 15th centuries, which he calls Standard I (Central-Midland dialect), II, III and IV (London dialects). Only standard IV, also called Chancery English, will prevail for a series of reasons which must not delay us here. As for spoken language, it is not standardized until the 17th or 18th centuries. See also Blake (1996: chapter 7).

Middle English is far from linguistic uniformity, and, as Milroy (1992: 157) claims, it can be argued that "the label 'Middle English' does not refer to a coherent entity, but to a complex series of divergent rapidly changing and intertwining varieties retrospectively seen as transitional between 'Old English' and 'Modern English.'" It is this transitional stage of English that concerns us in this part of the study.

4.2. Linguistic changes in Middle English: semantics, morphology and syntax

The panorama described in the previous section is clearly prone to be the scenery for linguistic changes of any type. The myriad of dialects, the influence of foreign languages and the lack of a standardized norm lead to a series of communicative circumstances which are inevitably reflected in the evolution of the language.

Lexical and **semantic** changes in this period are mainly due to the influence of foreign languages, as is the case of, for example, OE *steorfan*, which used to mean 'to die' in a neutral sense (cf. Present-Day German *sterben*), until it was replaced by the Scandinavian form which gave origin to PDE *die*. Due to the inclusion of this loanword into the language, the original English word underwent a specialization in meaning and came to signify 'die with hunger.' A similar semantic development can be seen in OE *stinc*, 'smell,' which specializes derogatively as 'bad smell,' in favour of French loanwords which have positive connotations: *odour, perfume, aroma*.

The **morphological** changes undergone by the ME language are worthy of a closer examination, because they constitute the basic triggers for syntactic changes. Not in vain has morphology been defined as "something of a 'bridge' or interface between phonology and syntax" (Lass 1992: 91). In fact, the complex social and linguistic situation described above has also an influence on phonology, but this falls out of the scope of this study. For the purposes of this piece of work it suffices to mention that, due to a relaxed pronunciation, the vowels of unstressed syllables became gradually eroded or weakened, and this phonological erosion led to neutralization of inflectional endings in nouns, adjectives and verbs. Nominal and adjectival items came to be marked only for the nominative (zero inflection), the genitive, and oblique, merging the dative and the accusative case, which will have its effects in verbal complementation.

As for verbs, we have seen that Old English has three different classes, namely, weak verbs, strong verbs and preterite-present verbs. The three of them survive in Middle English, although their morphology also undergoes weakening or erosion of the unstressed vowels. A morpho-phonological change which affects both weak and strong verbs concerns the verbal inflections. Out of seven original OE endings, only four inflections remain at the end of the ME period: <-Ø, -(e)st, -eþ, -en>.[4]

The weak verb class undergoes specific changes. For instance, one of the basic distinctions between OE weak verbs class 1 and weak verbs class 2, namely, the past tense ending <od(e)> and <ed(e)> is neutralized due to the weakening of unstressed vowels to /@/. Further phonological changes trigger the evolution of weak verbs, which at the end of the period are only differentiated according to their syllabic or non-syllabic past participle, as can be seen in *deemd* (non-syllabic) and *loved* (syllabic). As is well-known, this is the only distinction that holds for PDE weak verbs, although the only syllabic types are now those verbs ending in /t/ or /d/ (for an explanation of this evolution, see Lass 1992: 126-130). A further characteristic of the weak type is that it becomes the host for loan verbs such as ME *joynen, chaungen,* or *preyen*, among many others.

Strong verbs, whose main characteristic is their formation of the preterite by means of a change in the radical vowel, also exhibit changes in the ME period. On the one hand, they undergo reduction in the variants of their stems vowels (so-called vowel grades), and mixing of forms of more than one class in the conjugation of a given verb. On the other hand, some originally strong verbs move wholly or partially to the weak conjugation type, as can be seen in PDE *show-showed-showed / shown* (cf. Lass 1992: 130-134 for a thorough explanation of these changes).

Finally, preterite-present verbs exhibit phonological and morphological changes on the conventional line of weakening of stressed vowels. However, phonological erosion does not play an important role in the development of this verb class. One of the most significant changes of preterite-presents in Middle English concerns the dissociation between present and past forms, which would develop as individual items (cf. PDE *shall* as opposed to its morphological preterite *should*). This kind of change, however, is not morphological, but basically related to semantics. A second change in the preterite-presents concerns

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[4] For a detailed account of the verbal paradigm of four ME dialects (North, West Midlands, East Midlands and South) and that of London Standard at Chaucer's time, see Lass (1992: 137, 138).

the gains and losses in the membership of this verb class. Among the losses, Warner (1993: 143-144) mentions *uton*, 'let's', which is last recorded in the thirteenth century, and *þurfan*, 'need,' which becomes less frequent and survives only in the north. Warner (1993: 144) also mentions some gains within this class of verbs: *mun*, 'shall, must,' which is a northern and midland form, and *can* (not to be confused with **cunnan*), which the *MED* calls 'a peculiar variant of *gan*, p[a]st of *ginnen*' ('begin').

ME morphology, therefore, proves itself changing and variable. When searching for examples of my verbs in the corpus, this dialectal and diachronic heterogeneity of spellings was taken into account.

The morphological impoverishment of the inflectional system has, as already mentioned, significant consequences on the **syntactic** component of Middle English. As Fischer (1992: 207) points out, "a 'middle' language tends to have a fairly strict word order, and to make greater use of periphrastic constructions; i.e. it relies more heavily on auxiliary verbs, prepositional phrases, etc."

An instance of the effect of the loss of inflections on word order may be seen in the fixation of the subject before the verb and the object after the verb (SVO). In Old English the clausal word order was relatively variable; case-marking avoided ambiguity, and, therefore, we could come across unequivocal OVS, VSO and SVO constructions. Another important ME contribution to the fixation of word order as we know it in Present-Day English concerns the placement of the verb, which gradually takes possession of its position right after the subject. As is well-known, this was not the case in Old English for subordinate clauses. This change of word order has led scholars to the discussion about the nature of Old English as an SVO or an SOV language (for details, see Fischer (1992: 370)). What seems to admit no discussion is the characterization of Middle English as mainly an SVO language.

The second consequence of the loss of inflections mentioned above is the profusion of analytic forms. For instance, due to the fall of nominal case-marking, prepositions are resorted to more often than in Old English to express relationships between clausal constituents. What interests us in particular is the use of verbal periphrastic expressions. Middle English is the scenery in which the use of progressive forms increases, although the auxiliary status of *be* is not always very clear, as in (4.1):

(4.1) *Heere **is** the queene of Fayerye,*
  With harpe and pipe and symphonye,
  ***Dwellynge** in this place*[5]
  (*CT* VII.814-16 [10: 814-16])

           (example from Fischer 1992: 251)

This period of language also exhibits the completion of the development of the perfect and pluperfect with *have* as auxiliary. Consider, for instance, (4.2):

(4.2) *...þe feader hwen he **haueð** inoh **ibeaten** his child ant **haueð** hit **ituht***
  …the father when he has enough beaten his child and has it brought-up
  wel, warpeþ the gerde i þe fur.
  well throws the rod into the fire
  '…the father, when he has beaten his child enough and has brought up him
  well, throws the rod into the fire.'
  (*Ancr.* (Corp-C) 96.13-14)

       (example and translation from Fischer 1992: 257)

   In addition to these periphrastic constructions, Middle English is also the host for the consolidation of most of the preterite-present verbs as modal auxiliaries. As opposed to the terminological controversy of OE pre-modals (cf. section 3.2.1 above), scholars do not seem to be reluctant to use the term "modal" for Middle English (cf., for example Fischer (1992: 262). The semantic and syntactic characteristics of this group of verbs in the ME period indeed allow for their characterization as modal auxiliaries, despite the fact that some of them retain part of their lexical verb characteristics even until late Middle English (cf. Warner 1993: 102).

   Some of such auxiliary characteristics have already been pointed out in section 3.2.1 above. One of them is the non-existence of non-finite forms of the preterite-present verbs. This remains as a ME characteristic, though some verbs which are not recorded in a non-finite form in Old English may exhibit infinitives in Middle English, as is the case of **durran* (cf. Warner 1993: 145). The absence of non-finites, however, is so widespread, that it is usually one of the first characteristics mentioned to describe this class of verbs.

   A second auxiliary feature may be their occurrence in impersonal and elliptical constructions. The environments in which these verbs occur and their behaviour are those described for Old English (see section 3.2.1). It must be said, however, that, in addition to their occurrence in impersonal constructions, some

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[5] Some ME examples are so transparent that neither a gloss nor a translation is necessary. On other occasions, the translation suffices to interpret a given sequence. For this reason, examples in this chapter do not always have a gloss or a translation.

ME modals develop the possibility of being construed impersonally themselves, as is the case, for example, of ME *tharf*, or *dearr* (cf., for instance, Mustanoja 1960: 433-436; Allen 1997: 15 or Pocheptsov 1997: 478-480).

Another auxiliary characteristic of ME modals concerns their subcategorization for the plain infinitive. As mentioned above, in the OE period verbs could easily select either the plain or the inflected infinitive. This is not the case in Middle English, since now most full verbs take the *to*-infinitive, while modals are still attached to the plain infinitive (cf., for example, Fischer 1992: 263, Warner 1993: 139). This may be explained in terms of what has been called 'intimacy' of the relationship between the modal verb and the infinitive (cf. Kaartinen and Mustanoja 1958; Quirk and Svartvik 1970). According to Fischer (1992: 317), such intimacy is related to the degree of grammaticalization of the verb in question; in other words, the more grammaticalized a verb is, the more intimate the relationship between the verb and the infinitive is, and, therefore, the more likely it is that a plain infinitive occurs.

As opposed to these auxiliary characteristics, which are already present in Old English, the last two characteristics of ME modals which I will allude to are specific to this period. The first one concerns the growing independence of the preterite forms of these verbs, which have evolved to Present-Day English as *could, should,*[6] *might* and *would*, and which, despite of their past-tense morphology, do not express past time reference. Although it is difficult to date the first occurrence of such uses, it is generally acknowledged that the development is quite advanced at the end of the ME period, though it is not yet fully completed in Present-Day English. What seems to be clear, however, is that such a development has been most rapid in the Middle and early Modern English periods (cf. Warner 1993: 149, 150).

The last ME feature of modal auxiliaries concerns both syntax and semantics, and it brings forth the new modal meanings which this verb class may convey in Middle English. One of such meanings is that of 'subjunctive equivalent' (cf. Warner 1993: 178). The use of periphrastic constructions with modals as an alternative to the inflectional subjunctive starts already in the OE period, but such a tendency increases in the ME period when, due to the gradual erosion of verbal inflections, the differences between the indicative and the

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[6] As mentioned in section 4.3 above, **sculan* starts this development in Old English (cf. Goossens 1987).

subjunctive mood are neutralized (cf. Fischer 1992: 262). See sentence (4.3) as an illustration of the use of a modal verb as a subjunctive equivalent:

> (4.3) *'Amen,' þat es 'sua **most** [vr mot] it **be.'***
>   'Amen, that is, so may it be.'
>   (a1400 (a1325) *Cursor Mundi* (ed. R. Morris, EETS 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101) 25387
>   (example and translation from Warner 1993: 179)

Another new meaning developed by modals in the ME period is the expression of futurity (cf., for instance, Fischer 1992: 263). The OE use of the non-past forms of verbs to express future time is not the main tendency from early Middle English, when *shall* and *will* become the general markers of futurity (cf. Warner 1993: 178). However, it must also be noted that in late Middle English future time developed other periphrastic forms, such as *wurthen*, *to be about to* and *to be going to*, according to Mustanoja (1960: 495, 354 and 592, respectively) and Navalpotro (2000). A last special meaning fully developed by preterite-presents in the ME period at least for some verbs is the expression of epistemic modality. As mentioned above (section 3.2.1), the expression of such a meaning is very rare in Old English, and it is a very controversial topic in itself. However, in Middle English epistemic modality is clear at least for *mot* and *may*. Consider, for example, sentences (4.4) and (4.5):

> (4.4) *yif preisynge make gentilesse, thanne **mote** they nedes **ben** gentil that been preysed.*
>   'if praising creates nobility, then they who are praised must necessarily be noble.'
>   (?a1425 (c1380) Chaucer, *Boece* III, Prosa 6.41)

> (4.5) *It **may** wel **be** he looked on his face*
>   *In swich a wise as man that asketh grace.*
>   "It may well be that he gazed on his face in just the manner of one who begs favour.'
>   ((c1395) Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* V.957)

>   (examples and translations from Warner 1993: 175, 176)

Both *mote* in (4.4) and *may* in (4.5) clearly express epistemic meanings, since they do not refer to any social obligation or possibility, but refer to logical notions which are based on the speaker's (or listener's or the community's) mind. In the case of (4.4), the presence of the adverb *nedes* may play a role in the epistemic character of the sentence (cf. Traugott 1989: 42).

To sum up this section on the ME linguistic changes, it may be said that this period hosts important morphological, semantic and syntactic changes, which, undoubtedly, will have consequences on the analysis of the verbs which are the subject of this study. Firstly, we must bear in mind that the spelling variants of each verb form will be very numerous. Secondly, since the auxiliary class of verbs is better defined, it will be interesting to see which of my verbs is closer to that class, if any. Thirdly, we must take into account the new range of possible meanings which auxiliaries may express in the different contexts. And finally, it must not be forgotten that Middle English is highly influenced by foreign languages, such as French, and this may result in the introduction of new verbs conveying similar types of meanings. In the next section, I offer a review of the features of my verbs as described in the specialized literature.

4.3. Preliminary approach to the Middle English verbs meaning 'need'

Following the structure of chapter 3, in this section I offer an outline of the main features of my verbs as found in the relevant literature. The ME verbs concerned in this study are those discussed for the OE period, though with some losses and some gains. As for the losses, OE *beþurfan* does not seem to exist in Middle English, since the *MED* (*Middle English Dictionary*) does not include any entry for it or for any related noun or adjective. I have scanned all the quotations of the *MED* online in search of any word related to *beþurfan*, and I have only found four quotations in which the noun *beþurfe*, 'necessity, need,' occurs. All such occurrences are dated from the very early ME period. The evidence in the *MED*, therefore, points towards the existence of *beþurfan*-words only in the first years of this period, as a remnant of the OE period; it seems to have died out so early that the compilers of the dictionary did not find it relevant to include an entry for such marginal and scarce occurrences. This verb was, nevertheless, included in my analysis of the ME corpus.

Concerning the gains of verbs meaning 'need' in Middle English, one of them, namely *durren* (<OE **durran*, 'dare'), is said to emerge from the phonological confusion between its pronunciation and that of *thurven* (<OE *þurfan*, 'need'). Such a confusion may be due to the drop of final /v/ in the verbal forms of *thurven*, and it is alleged to be one of the causes for the gradual obsolescence of *thurven* in the ME period (cf. Visser 1963-1973: 1423, §1343; and section 4.3.1 below). Since *durren* means 'need' due to its phonological

confusion with *thurven*, and the number of its instances is extremely low in my corpus, forms belonging to either stem will be analysed together as examples of *thurven*. The other 'need'-verb which emerges in Middle English has its origin in a foreign language, to be exact, in French. This is ME *misteren* (see *OED, s.v. mister* v.1). The adoption of a new loan verb meaning 'need' seems to be in accordance with the idea that necessity is a basic meaning, as is confirmed by the fact that it is one of the first meanings assimilated by children (cf. Lyons 1977: 768-769). In the following paragraphs I describe the main linguistic features of all these ME verbs.

4.3.1 *Middle English* thurven *(and* durren*)*

Morphologically, ME *thurven* is a preterite-present verb, as its OE predecessor *þurfan*. Given the orthographical variability which characterizes Middle English, I find it useless to provide a list of the possible verbal forms of this verb, which vary according to dialectal and temporal parameters, among others. From a strictly formal point of view it suffices to mention that the ME spelling chosen to designate this verb (for instance, in the *MED*) greatly differs from the OE one. Firstly, the old grapheme <þ> is replaced by the modern digraph <th>. In the second place, the voiced labio-dental fricative sound [v] is no longer represented by <f>,[7] but has been replaced by the more straightforward <v>.

In addition to these strictly formal characteristics of *thurven*, the sound represented by the letter <v> is sometimes dropped, which brings about confusion between *thurven* and another preterite-present verb, namely ME *durren*, the counterpart of OE **durran*, 'to dare' (cf. Molencki 2005). In fact, in the *MED* entry for *durren* there is a sense including the necessity meanings expressed by *thurven* (*s.v. durren* v. 2). Moreover *durren* may occur in the same syntactic environments as ME *thurven*, as will be seen below. This situation is claimed to be the one of the reasons for the eventual obsolescence of *thurven* before the end of the 15th century (cf. Visser 1963-1973: 1423, §1343). Due to the phonological, morphological and syntactic similarities and the confusion between these two verbs, all instances of *durren* expressing necessity will be also included in my analysis of verbs meaning 'need.'

Moving on to the semantic and syntactic features of *thurven*, it is necessary to provide a fine-grained description of this verb in order to distinguish

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[7] Visser (1963-1973: 1423, §1343), however, retains the <f> grapheme.

it from its ME *competitors*, as well as from its OE predecessor. In order to provide a sketched list of the possible meanings and constructions in which ME *thurven* may be found, I follow the *MED*.

The *MED* offers eight senses for *thurven* (*MED s.v. thurven* v.), basing not only on semantic aspects, but also on syntactic grounds. Since *thurven* is an experiencer verb which may take a nominative or a non-nominative experiencer, I divide the eight senses according to such a feature. This is, in point of fact, the only parameter followed by Visser in his classification, using the terms personal and impersonal respectively (1963-1973: 1423, §1343).

When *thurven* is used with a nominative experiencer (or personally, in Visser's terms), it is defined as a modal auxiliary, and it is said to convey meanings related to the semantic field of necessity and one meaning related to the semantic field of possibility, namely bare possibility. Among the necessity meanings, *thurven* may express bare necessity, obligation, volition or what is fitting (usually confused with bare necessity). In the following lines I illustrate the most characteristic senses.

A basic example of ME personal *thurven* expressing bare necessity, which indeed reminds of OE *þurfan*, is the following:

> (4.6) *Ʒe.. ne **þurue** [Tit: þurn; Roy: þuruen] na þing <u>dreden</u>, for he sit on*
> You (nom.) not need no thing fear for he sits on
> *heh þet is ow on helpe.*
> high so-that is you on help
> 'You need not fear anything, because he sits high to help you.'[8]
> (c1225(?c1200) SWard (Bod 34) 26/240)

This is a typical example of personal *thurven* expressing absence of necessity (cf. *MED s.v. thurven* v. 2a). It is combined with a verb, *dreden*, 'fear,' with which it is very frequently found in Old English. In a similar context, we may find *durren*, due to the above-mentioned confusion:

> (4.7) *Of þe welsse..ne **dorre** Ʒe noʒt drede.*
> Of the Welsh not need you (nom.) not fear
> 'The Welsh.. you need not fear.'
> (c1325(c1300) Glo.Chron.A (Clg A.11) 9392; from *MED, s.v. durren* v. 2 (a))

It is fairly evident that *þurue* in (4.6) and *dorre* in (4.7) are exact synonyms, since they convey the same meaning (lack of obligation) in the same kind of

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[8] All examples taken from the *MED* are glossed and translated by me.

construction (negative with infinitive), and followed by the same verb (*dreden*, 'to fear'). To judge from the quotations provided by the *MED*, this kind of meaning and construction is the most common representation of *thurven* (and of *durren* when it conveys necessity). It is nevertheless interesting to have a look at some of the other meanings which *thurven* can convey. Sentence (4.8), for example, illustrates its volitional meaning:

> (4.8) *Thay say that they **thernot** take it vppon hem.*
> 'They say that they do not want to take it upon them.'
> ((1465) Paston 1.304)

The kind of necessity conveyed by the verb *ther* in this sentence is internal, and not external, as seen in (4.6) and (4.7).

Finally, another meaning which ME personal *thurven* may express is possibility. One of the examples provided to illustrate this meaning in the *MED* (*s.v. thurven* v. 7a) is sentence (4.9):

> (4.9) *Otuwel..was þe boldeste sarazin Þat euere **þorte** drinke win.*
> 'Otuwel was the boldest Saracen who could / had the possibility to ever drink wine.'
> (c1330 Otuel (Auch)104)

Although the *MED* does not specify that this use of the verb is confused with that of *durren*, it does not seem unreasonable to hypothesize that both verbs overlap in this meaning. In fact, example (4.9) appears to accept a different interpretation, namely 'Otuwel was the boldest Saracen who ever dared to drink wine,' since the presence of the adjective *bold* seems to suggest that the verb refers to the courage of the referent of the subject. I must clarify that in the analysis of the examples retrieved from the corpus, I have not taken into consideration examples of verbal forms of *durren* when they occur in sequences such as (4.9), because, though they may overlap with the meanings expressed by *thurven*, they do not express necessity, and, therefore, fall out of the scope of this piece of work. However, all verbal forms of the verb *thurven* are included in this study independently of their meaning, because the primary meaning of *thurven* concerns the expression of necessity, and any deviation from that sense may, for instance, point towards the emergence of other verbs to fill the gaps which *thurven* may leave.

In addition to these strictly semantic features of ME personal *thurven*, the relevant literature mentions two syntactic features which must be tested in the corpus-analysis, since they imply that this verb has undergone grammaticalization by the ME period. The first is the characterization of *thurven* as a modal auxiliary in all these personal contexts; all such instances quoted in the *MED*, as well as those of *durren* (in sense 2 of the *MED*) contain an infinitive as theme. Accordingly, ME *thurven* never seems to be followed by a nominal theme, as was the case with OE *þurfan* (cf. sections 3.2.1 and 3.4 above). This feature is confirmed by Warner (1993: 102), who says that *thurven* is only found with the plain infinitive or, and this would be the second syntactic feature of *thurven*, with ellipsis of the following infinitive. Elliptical constructions are, indeed, also highlighted in the entry of *thurven* in the *MED*. It must be recalled that the occurrence in elliptical constructions is one of the features of auxiliaries, and that Warner (1993: 113-114) mentions three exceptional contexts for elliptical constructions concerning pre-modals, because they are not indicative of auxiliary status. Such exceptional contexts are those in which the elided infinitive is a verb of motion, those in which the ellipsis takes place in a coordinate or comparative clause, and, finally, those in which the verb is used absolutely. In principle, it appears that ME *thurven* cannot be construed absolutely, at least it is not recorded as such in the *MED*. That leaves us with two exceptional contexts for auxiliary *thurven* to occur in. It will be interesting, therefore, to find out whether ME *thurven* occurs in elliptical constructions which characterize it as an auxiliary in the corpus or whether, on the contrary, the alleged elliptical constructions do belong to the contexts mentioned by Warner (1993). The following example, taken from the *MED* (*s.v. thurven* v. 7a (d)) illustrates this verb in a clear elliptical construction of an auxiliary:

> (4.10) *Our leuedi..Spake no word, bot maked doile;* **Thort** *no womman more.*
> our   lady   spoke no word but made   dole can no woman more
> 'Our lady spoke no word, but made dole (i.e. lamented); no woman can (do) more.'
> (a1500 SLeg.Pass.(Vsp A.3) 6)

This late ME example suggests that ME *thurven* may occur with an elided infinitive in pseudo-gapping constructions, which fall out of the three exceptions mentioned by Warner (1993: 113-114), and, that therefore, it is closer to auxiliaries than its OE predecessor *þurfan*.

Another semantic-syntactic feature of ME personal *thurven*, as gathered from the *MED*, concerns its predominant use in negative contexts (cf. *MED s.v. thurven* v. 2 through 8, and *s.v. durren* v. 2)). As regards this final feature, ME *thurven* parallels PDE modal *need*, which is basically restricted to non-affirmative contexts, and continues in the same line as OE *þurfan* (cf. section 3.4.1 above and Denison 1993: 295).

In addition, personal *thurven* is usually inflected for the past tense when it actually conveys present time; it may express, therefore, abnormal time reference, a prototypical characteristic of modal auxiliaries (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: § 3.40), which is also present in OE *þurfan* as seen above (section 3.4.1).

We must turn now to the impersonal uses of *thurven*. According to the *MED* (*s.v. thurven* v.), when this verb is used impersonally it may express the same kinds of meanings as it does in its personal uses, except for volition. In other words, *thurven* is used impersonally in a wide variety of semantic contexts. This is an interesting innovation of this verb in the ME period, and it has attracted the attention of scholars such as Mustanoja (1960: 433-436), Allen (1997: 15) and Pocheptsov (1997: 479-480). As mentioned above (section 3.4.1.2), OE *þurfan*, as well as other pre-modal verbs, could be construed in combination with an impersonal infinitive and adopt its syntax. This is, indeed, one of the pieces of evidence in favour of considering pre-modals as such, because they prove to subordinate their syntactic features to those of their infinitival complement. However, in the ME period, *thurven* (as well as *durren* v. 2 and other pre-modals) develops impersonal features itself, and conveys the general meanings of 'it is necessary for somebody' and 'it is not necessary for somebody.'

According to the examples in the *MED* (*s.v. thurven* v.),[9] impersonal *thurven* is always construed with an infinitival theme, which may be elided. A basic example of impersonal *thurven* is, for instance, (4.11):[10]

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[9] Visser (1963-1973: 1424, §1343) also provides impersonal uses of *thurven* followed by an infinitive, but this cannot be understood as implying an absence of constructions with nominal complements, because this information is given in Visser's section entitled "Syntactical units with two verbs."

[10] The same kind of construction may be found as for *durren* when it expresses necessity, as can be seen in the following example from the *MED* (*s.v. durren* v. 2 (b)):

　　(i) *Thanne **dar** the dredyn Of non thing.*
　　'Then you need not fear anything'
　　(a1450(c1410) Lovel. Grail (Corp-C 80) 21.159)

(4.11) <u>Me **thar**</u> *[Vsp: wil i] noght <u>tell</u>, For wele ʒe   wat   hou   it bifell.*
    Me need   not   tell   for well you knew how it happened
    'It is not necessary for me to tell, because you knew well how it happened.'
    (a1400 Cursor (Göt Theol 107) 8393)

If we follow Allen's (1995: 86 ff.) classification, sentence (4.11) may be classified as an impersonal construction Type S, since it consists of a non-nominative experiencer (*me*) and a sentential theme (*tell*). If *thurven* actually turns out to be construed only with infinitives, it will occur in this kind of construction as well as in Type *hit* constructions, which are made up of a non-nominative experiencer, a formal *hit* and a sentential theme. However, it may also be the case that the experiencer is not present, as pointed out in *MED* (*s.v. thurven* v. 2b (b)), and as exemplified in (4.12):

(4.12) <u>It **thurt**</u> *not <u>recche</u> to wite of this   anoon, For j haue taken thee ensaumples*
    It   need not say   indeed of this instantly for you have taken the examples
    onliche for avisement for to make thee   soone   vnder-stonde.
    only   for advisement for to make thee immediately understand
    'It is not necessary indeed to say (this) instantly because you have taken the examples only for deliberation to make thee immediately understand.'
    (c1450 Pilgr.LM (Cmb Ff.5.30) 49)

Sentence (4.12) illustrates a Type *hit* construction in which there is not any experiencer, because the necessity is not oriented to anybody in particular, but it is a fairly general statement. The analysis of the corpus data will reveal the frequency of occurrence of each type of impersonal constructions.

As a closing remark to the analysis of ME impersonal *thurven*, it must be highlighted that the association between the expression of necessity and syntactic impersonality seems to be quite common in the English language (cf., for instance, McCawley 1976; Fischer 1992: 319, note 33; Warner 1993: 102; and Krug's 2001 evolution of *want*). In fact, *thurven* is not the only one of my verbs which develops an impersonal nature in the ME period: *neden*, *bihoven* and *misteren* also exhibit similar characteristics, as is duly explained below.

Summing up the information provided for ME *thurven*, it may be said that even if this verb is doomed to disappear, or at least, become dialectal, in the ME period, it develops important semantic and syntactic features as compared to its

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This construction is also a Type S, because the arguments of the verb are the oblique experiencer, *the*, and the sentential complement whose verb is *dredyn*. No examples of elided infinite, however, are recorded in the *MED*.

OE predecessor *þurfan*. In the first place, this verb develops impersonal uses which it did not have in Old English. Secondly, it moves in the grammaticalization chain towards a quite clear auxiliary position, since it ceases to be used absolutely and to be followed by a nominal constituent, and it also acquires additional modal meanings. The analysis of the examples from the corpus will shed more light on these and possibly other ME features of *thurven*. Now, I proceed to the pertinent analysis of ME *neden*.

4.3.2. *Middle English* neden

In section 3.3.1 above I justified my decision to analyse OE *neodian* and all the possible variants of OE *neadian* together, under the label *neodian*, on the basis of a series of reasons which were clarified there. One of such reasons is the coalescence of all spelling variants under the same term in Middle English, namely *neden*, with long closed /e/ in the first syllable. Their morphological identity makes the consideration of all their examples inevitable, and, therefore, I will analyse them under the same label, namely ME *neden*. This way, I make sure that I analyse all possible forms conveying necessity meanings (from 'need' or 'be necessary' to 'compel, force,' meanings which are related to one another from a cognitive force-dynamic point of view. Before analysing the examples of these verbs as retrieved from the corpus, the following paragraphs aim at providing a preliminary overview of the ME features of this set of verbs, as described in the literature.

According to our knowledge of Present-Day English, we may expect ME *neden* meaning 'compel' to gradually become obsolete, and ME *neden* meaning 'be necessary, need' to acquire a wider range of meanings and syntactic possibilities. This is, indeed, the main conclusion which can be gathered from a cursory look at the *MED*. The entry for *neden* v.1 is defined as 'to force, require, trouble, oppress,' and 38 quotations illustrate such a definition. The entry for *neden* v.2, however, contains three definitions and around 200 quotations to illustrate them. Such a disproportionate number of entries seems to suggest that *neden* v.1 is conspicuously less frequent than *neden* v.2. This would reverse the situation in Old English, when *neodian* meaning 'compel' was the predominant *neod*-verb (cf. section 3.4.2 above). An instance of ME *neden* v.1 is the following:

(4.13) *Þe Egipciens **nedidden** þe puple <u>to gone</u> oute of þe londe swyftly.*
    'The Egyptians compelled the people to go out of the land quickly.'
    ((a1382) WBible(1) (Bod 959) Ex.12.33)

This biblical example illustrates the syntactic characteristics of ME *neden* v.1. This verb takes an antagonist subject (*þe Egipciens*), an agonist direct object (*þe puple*) and a third complement which specifies the imposition inflicted by the antagonist on the agonist. This complement differs formally from that taken by OE *neodian* meaning 'compel;' while in Old English this complement is mainly represented by a *that*-clause (see Tables 3.31 and 3.32 in section 3.4.2.1), most of the instances provided by the *MED* contain a *to*-infinitive complement, and on no occasion does *neden* occur with a *that*-clause complement. Therefore, the syntax of ME *neden* v.1[11] seems to be closer to that of PDE verbs conveying the same meaning, namely *compel, force, oblige* and so on. The demise of *neden* v.1 meaning 'compel' might well be influenced by the borrowing of these French loanwords in the ME period, as well as by a progressive spread of *neden* v.2 with a wide variety of meanings and constructions. I proceed now to provide the general overview on *neden* v.2.

    The second *neden* (cf. *MED s.v. neden* v.2 meaning 'to be necessary, to need') may occur basically in three types of construction, one of them being intransitive, and the other two transitive. The intransitive use of *neden* v.2 may convey the meanings of 'be necessary,' or 'be poor,' as illustrated in (4.14) and (4.15) respectively:

(4.14) *In a goode spouse and wif **nediþ** <u>þese condiciouns</u>.*
    'These conditions are necessary in a good spouse and wife.'
    ((a1398) * Trev. Barth.(Add 27944) 71b/a)

(4.15) *<u>Who ȝueþ to þe pore</u> shal not **needen**.*
    'Who gives to the poor will not be poor / be in need.'
    ((a1382) WBible(1) (Bod 959) Prov.28.27)

Both sentences contain a form of *neden* which is construed intransitively, despite their semantic differences. The meaning of *nediþ* in sentence (4.14), namely 'be necessary,' could lead to the conclusion that this is an instance of an impersonal

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[11] The ME counterpart of the OE *ge*-compounds of *neodian* is, according to the *MED*, *ineden*. To judge from such an entry in the dictionary, this variant verb disappears from the language at the very beginning of the ME period. In fact, the only example of a finite form of the verb that the editors provide dates from 1150, and it occurs in the OE part of the *Helsinki Corpus*. The past participle of *ineden* is used as a noun meaning 'needy person' (cf. OE *þearfende*). Despite the apparent rarity of this variant of *neden* it will be searched out in the ME corpus.

construction. However, this sentence has a clear subject in the nominative, *þese condiciouns*, and it does not have any oblique experiencer. The meaning of *needen* in (4.15), on the other hand, shows once more the relationship between connotations such as 'lack,' 'be poor' and 'need;' ME *neden* is not the only verb showing this type of semantic overlapping; let us recall, in this connection, the past participle of OE *þurfan*, namely *þearfende*, which is usually used as and adjective meaning 'poor.' To judge from the number of quotations offered in the *MED* (*s.v. neden* v.2 1a), this does not seem to be the primary meaning of *neden* in intransitive contexts; its most common meaning is apparently 'to be necessary.'

Concerning the transitive uses of *neden*, they occur in two different types of syntactic constructions: impersonal and personal. Since the personal construction is said to be a ME innovation, I will begin with the impersonal types.[12]

According to the classification proposed by the editors of the *MED*, there are five possible impersonal constructions with *neden* v.2 1b:

(a) Type *hit nedeth / hit nedeth him* + something / + to do something: 'it is necessary (for somebody).'
(b) Type *him nedeth* + something: 'X is necessary for him' / 'he needs X.'
(c) Type *him nedeth* + to do something: 'it is necessary for him to do something.'
(d) Type *to me neden, hire to neden* + something / + to do something: (b) + (c).
(e) Type *what nedeth* + of something / + to do something: 'what need is there of something?' what need is there to do something?'

Type (e) will be analysed below when dealing with the behaviour of *neden* in questions. As for types (a), (b), (c) and (d), the differences between them lie on a series of aspects: the type of theme (nominal or infinitival), the presence of *hit*, and the presence and form of the experiencer (oblique form or prepositional

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[12] For the sake of clarity, here I use the terms 'personal' and 'impersonal' to differentiate between those cases in which the personal element, i.e. the experiencer, is inflected for the nominative, and those in which the experiencer is inflected for the dative or accusative, which is the classification made by the editors of the *MED* and Visser (1963-1973), for example. According to Allen's (1995) terminology, however, ME *neden* v.2 is an experiencer verb, because the personal item in the sentence *experiences* the necessity conveyed by the verb. According to Allen, the function of the personal element is always the subject, irrespective of its morphological inflection.

phrase). These four types, (a) to (d) are considered by Visser in the same section (1963-1973: 1424, §1345), where he pays special attention to cases in which they are followed by an infinitive. According to Visser, the construction *neden +* infinitive is possible from early Middle English; however, the only early example he proposes is not free from controversy. This is (4.16), taken from Visser (1963-1973: 1425, §1345):

(4.16) ʒitt   *nohht att hofelæs Ne* **mede** *[read:* **nede***]   þeʒʒm*
　　　　Both-of-you not immoderately not is necessary / compel them
　　　　to swinnkenn.
　　　　to work-hard
　　　　'(both of you?) It is not immoderately necessary for them to work hard' /
　　　　'Both of you do not compel them immoderately to work hard.'
　　　　(?c1200 Orm.(Jun 1) 6225)

I offer a pair of glosses and translations for this example, based mainly on the nature of *ʒitt*. It seems to be a nominative dual personal pronoun meaning 'both of you' (see *OED*, *s.v. yit*, pron.). If we take this for granted, we must understand that *ʒitt* functions as the subject of *nede*, and, therefore, sentence (4.16) contains a personal construction meaning 'Both of you do not compel them immoderately to work hard.' This may have been the line of reasoning of the editors of the *MED*, because they give this example to illustrate *neden* v.1 'compel.' They may be right, judging from the fact that the next example exhibiting the same syntactic pattern dates from 1340, more than a century later than the alleged first example, which would seem to indicate that there is an intriguing gap between 1200 and 1340 in the use of *nede* v.2 'be necessary' + infinitive (Visser 1963-1973: 1425, §1345):[13]

(4.17) *It* **nedis** *to hym to do many gud werkis.*
　　　　'It is necessary for him to do many good works.'
　　　　(c1340 Hampole, Prose Treatises (EETS) IX, 32, 10)

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[13] The *MED* (*s.v. neden* v.2, 1b (a)) provides an example from 1230; however, I am not entirely sure that this is an instance of impersonal *neden*, because it actually looks like one of the intransitive uses mentioned above; its subject is the pronoun *hit*, which, in my view, is not semantically empty. Such an example is:
　　(i) *Ʒe muhe seggen hit bi uoren & efter uhtsong anan, ʒef hit swa* **neodeð***.*
　　　　'You may say it before and after uht-song at once, if it is necessary'
　　　　(c1230(?a1200) Ancr.(Corp-C 402) 15/10)
In my opinion, there is an alternative interpretation of this sentence, according to which the antecedent of *hit* could be the first *hit*, i.e. a pronoun, rather than a dummy *hit*. Thus, (i) could be interpreted as an intransitive use of *neden*, rather than an impersonal use, and would be, therefore, closer to example (4.14) than to (4.17).

In order to interpret (4.16) as an impersonal use of *neden* v.2, it would be necessary to provide a different interpretation of the word ʒitt, so that we could come to a translation similar to 'it is necessary for them to work hard.' Be it as it may, it is undeniable that examples such as this one offer more controversy than clarity in the attempt to treat *neden* v.1 and *neden* v.2 as separate unconnected verbs. This type of ambiguous examples gives support to my decision to analyse all possible forms under the same perspective.

Going on with the analysis of impersonal uses of *neden* v.2, Visser also notes that, though they are much more frequently used with a *to*-infinitival theme, they may also be followed by a plain infinitive, and he registers the first occurrence in 1412 (Visser 1963-1973: §1345):

> (4.18) It **nedeth** <u>Avise</u> *hym what he speke shalle.*
>   'It is necessary to advise him what he shall say.'
>   (c1412 Hoccleve, Reg. Princ. 88)

The verb *avise* is the first plain infinitive recorded with impersonal *neden*. For the purposes of this piece of work, it will be more interesting to focus on the nature of the infinitive in the personal uses of the verb, because such uses are the direct predecessors of PDE *need*, which, as mentioned in section 2.2.1, also shows variation in the type of infinitive it selects, between *to*-infinitive and plain infinitive. The use of plain infinitives as complements in Middle English must be highlighted, because, as Fischer (1992: 263) and Warner (1993: 139), among others, note, most ME verbs select a *to*-infinitive, even those which took plain infinitive in Old English changed their choice, while the plain infinitive remains basically within the group of pre-modals.

Sentence (4.18) has a dummy *hit* in subject position and an infinitival clause in postverbal position. Sentence (4.19) has the same constituents in addition to an oblique experiencer and, for that reason, it is an instance of Allen's (1995: 86 ff.) Type *hit* construction with experiencer verbs:

> (4.19) It **neded** <u>hem</u> *no wepers for to here -- Þei hadde I-nowe of her owne stoor.*
>   'It was not necessary for them to hear weepers – They had enough with their own business.'
>   (c1425(a1420) Lydg. TB (Aug A.4) 4.3062)   (from *MED, s.v. neden* v.2 1b (a))

The structure of (4.19) is basically equal to that of (4.18) with the exception that (4.19) contains the oblique pronoun *hem* which encodes the experiencer of the

necessity. An alternative translation would be 'they did not need to hear any weepers…,' but I have stuck to the impersonal translation for reasons of transparency. A similar interpretation –personal and impersonal– may hold for the next example, which parallels (4.19), except for the fact that it lacks an empty *hit*:

> (4.20) *He made his servauntes riche, þat <u>hem</u> **nedede** [vr. **neodede**] <u>to greve no man</u>.*
> 'He made his servants rich so that it was not necessary for them to grieve any man.'
> ((a1387) Trev. Higd.(StJ-C H.1) 5.5)   (from *MED, s.v. neden* v.2, 1b (c))

The relevant constituents in (4.20) are: an impersonal verb (*nedede*), an oblique experiencer (*hem*), and a sentential theme (*to greve no man*). Given the absence of *hit*, this is no longer a Type *hit* construction, but a good example of Allen's (1995: 86 ff.) Type S construction with experiencer verbs. In addition to this list of possible impersonal constructions for *neden*, we must mention the instances in which the theme is not sentential, as is the case of (4.21), for example:

> (4.21) *Thou schalt have enformacioun Such as Silvestre schal the teche; <u>The</u> **nedeth** <u>of non other leche.</u>*
> 'You shall have information such as [that which] Sylvester shall teach you, no other physician is necessary for you / you need not other physician.'
> ((a1393) Gower CA (Frf 3) 2.3364; from *MED, s.v. neden* v.2 1b (b))

In this sentence, we observe that impersonal verb *nedeth* is accompanied by an oblique pronoun, *the*, 'you,' and a prepositional phrase, *of non other leche*. According to Allen's (1995: 69 ff.) classification, this sentence would be a Type N construction with experiencer verbs, because we can consider that an *of*-prepositional phrase is equivalent to the genitive noun phrase which she identifies in this type of construction.

There is, however, a final type of impersonal construction of *neden* concerning nominal themes, as illustrated in (4.22):

> (4.22) *Thus **nedeth** <u>me no repentance</u>.*
> 'Thus no repentance is necessary for me / Thus I need no repentance.'
> ((a1393) Gower CA (Frf 3) 1.2446; from *MED, s.v. neden* v.2 1b(b))

It may not seem very exact to say that this is an impersonal construction, because there is a nominative noun phrase which plays the role of a syntactic subject, namely *no repentance*. In examples such as this, we see the convenience of using

Allen's (1995) term 'experiencer verb construction.' In that line, she considers that a sentence such as (4.22) is an experiencer verb construction Type I, because it contains a nominative theme (*no repentance*) and an oblique experiencer (*me*). Examples such as these are very similar to the intransitive constructions which I have mentioned and illustrated with sentence (4.14), with the only difference that (4.22) contains an explicit experiencer, namely *me*, in the oblique case. In my analysis of the data, I will refer to examples such as (4.22) simply as Type I constructions, without entering the controversy surrounding the function of the experiencer. As already mentioned, the nominative noun phrase *no repentance* looks like the syntactic subject. However, Allen (1995) and others consider that in all types of experiencer verb constructions, the experiencer functions as subject despite its morphological inflection (for a series of reasons for such an interpretation, see section 2.3). Since my aim in this piece of work is to describe some English verbs, I will not take a position in the controversial topic of the nature of the experiencer in these constructions. Instead, I will stick to the classification offered by Allen (1995) concerning the constituents of the constructions.

So far we have seen that ME impersonal *neden* v.2 is an experiencer verb which may be construed, according to Allen's (1995) classification, in the following types. If it is followed by a sentential theme (an infinitival clause), it may occur in:

-Type S constructions, which have a non-nominative experiencer and a sentential theme, as is the case of (4.20) above.

-Type *hit* constructions, which have a non-nominative experiencer, a formal *hit*, and a sentential theme, as is the case of (4.19).

When impersonal *neden* v.2 is combined with a nominal theme, it may occur in the following types mentioned by Allen (1995):

-Type N constructions, which consist of an oblique experiencer and a genitive theme, as is the case of example (4.21) above, if we consider that an *of*-prepositional phrase is syntactically and semantically equivalent to a genitive noun phrase.

-Type I constructions, which have a dative experiencer and a nominative theme, as is the case of (4.22) above.

ME impersonal *neden* v.2, therefore, has proved to occur in four out of the six possible constructions mentioned by Allen (1995), when it does not occur with a nominative experiencer. We must recall that she mentions two additional types of constructions in which there is a nominative experiencer, namely Type II, and Type 'Personal.' Type II constructions consist of a nominative experiencer and a genitive theme. Type 'Personal,' in its turn, contains a nominative experiencer and a sentential theme. In other words, these two constructions contain a nominative experiencer which functions as subject, and constitute, therefore, what is called personal construction (cf., for instance. *MED s.v. neden* v.2; Visser 1963-1973). ME *neden* v.2 may also occur in similar types of constructions, even though it may not fit exactly into Allen's taxonomy, as seen in the paragraphs which follow.[14]

The *MED* (*s.v. neden* v.2 2) provides a myriad of examples of personal *neden*, that is, *neden* with a nominative experiencer. In some cases, it has a nominal theme, as in (4.23):

(4.23) *Þis one onelich I* **nede***: þat I fynde grace in þi siȝt lord myn.*
　　　 'This one thing I need only: that I find grace in your sight, my lord.'
　　　 ((a1382) WBible(1) (Bod 959) Gen.33.15; from *MED, s.v. neden* v.2 2(a))

The verb *nede*, in this example, has a nominative experiencer, *I*, and an unmarked theme, *þis one*. If it were not for the fact that the latter noun phrase is not genitive, it could be argued that (4.23) is an instance of Allen's (1995) Type II. Although the genitive case is, apparently, not found with arguments of *neden*, there exists a common construction which reminds us of a genitive, that is, the use of *of*-prepositional phrases following *neden*, as in (4.24), from the *MED* (*s.v. neden* v.2 2(b)):

(4.24) *Trees, herbes, and gras* **nedeþ** *of hete of þe sonne to make digestioun in þe humour.*
　　　 'Tress, herbs and grass need the heat of the sun to make digestion in the humour.'
　　　 ((a1398) * Trev. Barth. (Add 27944) 208b/b)

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[14] Visser (1963-1973: 1425, §1346) accounts for the evolution of *neden* from impersonal to personal paralleling Jespersen's (1909-1949) example for *like*, and proceeds to hypothesize about such an evolution based on the loss of inflectional endings. He proposes that a theoretical **þam cynge neodaþ* would yield into *þe king nedeth*. However, as explained in section 2.3.3, the loss of inflections cannot be given full responsibility for this change.

The noun phrase *trees, herves and gras* functions as the experiencer of *nedeþ*, and the prepositional phrase *of hete of þe sonne* is the theme of the verb. In fact, in Middle English a *to*-prepositional phrase may also be found instead of an *of*-phrase, as illustrated in (4.25):

> (4.25) *Fremmde menn..**nedenn** to þin hellpe.*
>   'Foreign men need your help.'
>   (?c1200 Orm.(Jun 1) 6161)   (from *MED, s.v. neden* v.2 2(b))

Considering an *of*-prepositional phrase equivalent to a genitive noun phrase seems to be straightforward, but considering a *to*-prepositional phrase equivalent to a genitive may be more problematic. For that reason, it would not be accurate to classify sentences such as (4.25) as Allen's Type II constructions concerning experiencer verbs.

There are, finally, other types of constructions involving ME *neden* v.2, that is, those constructions in which it has a nominative experiencer and a sentential theme, which is in most of the cases an infinitival clause. Actually, the *MED* (*s.v. neden* v.2 2(c)) only provides instances concerning infinitives, but Visser (1963-1973: 1426, §1347) notes that Shakespeare uses *need* followed by a *that*-clause: *But I, who never knew to entreat, Nor never needed that I should entreat, Am starv'd for meat* (1596 Shakespeare, Taming Shrew IV, iii, 7). Perhaps it is only a later eModE development, or a sign of Shakespeare's idiolect, but in any case it must be taken into consideration when analysing the examples from the ME corpus.

The first recorded instance of personal *neden* v.2 followed by an infinitive is dated from 1380, according to Visser (1963-1973: 1426, §1347):

> (4.26) *More than he **nediþ** for to have.*
>   'More than he needs to have.'
>   (c1380 Wyclif, Select. Wks. III, 348)

The infinitive is marked by *for to*, which in Middle English alternated with *to*. The marked infinitive is the only type recorded in the *MED* (*s.v. neden* v.2 2(c)). We know that the plain infinitive after *need* must have reached its climax in the eModE period, since, according to Krug (2000: 202), in Shakespeare "the ratio of plain to marked infinitives is approximately eight to one". Even if the *MED* does not register any occurrence of *need* + plain infinitive, Visser (1963-1973) records the first occurrence quite early in the history of English:

(4.27) *þou mai ʒt not longe endure, And **nedes** <u>dye</u>; henne þou mote.*
    'You may not suffer for a long time and need die when you must.'
    (c1390 In a Pistel (in Brown, Relig. Lyr. XIVth C.) 75)

According to Visser, *dye* is an infinitive which complements the verb *nedes*, supposedly inflected for the second person singular, which could be possible in a northern dialect (cf. Lass 1992: 137). Although he does not record any other instance of plain infinitive after personal *need* until the last quarter of the 17th century, the occurrence of examples of *neden* with a plain infinitive is potentially possible in the corpus.

In any case, when *neden* is construed with a nominative experiencer and a sentential theme of any type, it may be said to be one of Allen's (1995) 'Personal' constructions with experiencer verbs with sentential themes. Therefore, ME *neden*, v.2 seems to be a rich experiencer verb, since it may be construed in Allen's (1995) six possible types, including nominal and sentential themes, that is, Types S, *hit*, N and I, when it occurs with a non-nominative experiencer, and Types II and 'Personal' when it has a nominative experiencer.

In addition, the *MED* records another possibility: a reflexive construction. Consider (4.28):

(4.28) <u>*Thow* **ned** <u>the</u> *to fyght..With youre flesche, and with the fende*</u>.
    'You need to fight (yourself) with your flesh and against the fiends.'
    (a1500 God of hewine (Tit A.26) 197; from *MED, s.v. neden* v.2 2 (c))

In this sentence there is a nominative pronoun, namely *thow*, and its oblique counterpart, namely *the*. For this reason, the editors of the *MED* consider that this is an instance of a reflexive construction with the verb *neden* v.2. I wonder whether an interpretation of *ned* as a form of *neden* v.1 is possible. In this sense, (4.28) might well be interpreted as 'you compel yourself to fight.' If such an interpretation holds true, this sentence would be another instance of ambiguity between *neden* v.1 and *neden* v.2.

There is yet another instance of semantic overlapping between both verbs. One of the meanings provided by the editors of the *MED* for *need* v.2 is 'to be required, to be obliged' (*MED s.v. neden* v.2 2 (c)). In other words, one of the meanings of *need* v.2 is the corresponding passive voice of *neden* v.1 'compel, force.' This has already been suggested in the section devoted to the analysis of the data retrieved from the OE corpus (3.4.2.2). There it was mentioned that OE *neodian* occurs very frequently in the passive voice, which results in a change in

the syntactic structure of the sentence in which it occurs, because the subject is no longer the antagonist, but the agonist, just like in the examples of OE *þurfan*. The fact that ME *neden* v.2 develops in that way constitutes a significant piece of evidence of the semantic connection between ME *neden* v.1 and *neden* v.2.

The last feature of ME *neden* v.2 which I want to highlight concerns the polarity of the sentences in which it occurs. A look at the entry *neden* v.2 in the *MED* reveals that in senses 1b (meaning 'it is necessary…') and 2 (meaning 'to need, be obliged…') negative instances outnumber positive examples (cf. OE *þurfan*). Polarity in this verb is so relevant that Visser (1963-1973) treats negative and interrogative instances as separate constructions, independent of affirmative ones. As far as negative constructions are concerned, he mentions that the first occurrence of negative *neden* with a plain infinitive dates from 1470, that is, from the very end of the ME period (1963-1973: 1428, §1348):

> (4.29) *The woman…Cawkit ilk ȝett, that thai **neid nocht** gang by.*
>   'The woman…Cawkit (?) each gate that they need not go by.'
>   (c1470 Henry the Minstrel, Wallace VII, 414)

The infinitive *gang*, 'go,' follows the negated form of *neden*, namely *neid nocht*, in this first example with a plain infinitive, which is also recorded in the *OED* (*s.v. need* v.2, 8b). In fact, this is the first example of any structure of *neden* v.2 which the editors of the *OED* consider to have a bare infinitive, since they do not record the 1390 example quoted above as (4.27).

As far as interrogatives are concerned, they also deserve special comment, since, according to Visser, they are construed impersonally until the second half of the 15th century, just the same as affirmatives (1963-1973: 1429, §1351). Consider, for instance, (4.30):

> (4.30) *What **nedith** it thane a new lawe to bigynne?*
>   'What need it there then to begin a new law?'
>   (1377 Langland, P. Pl. B XVII, 30)

This sentence consists of an opening *what*, the main interrogative type as for *need* until the eModE period (cf. Visser 1963-1973: §1351), a formal *it*, and a *to-infinitive*. Another possible interrogative sentence would have an oblique personal pronoun instead of *it*, specifying the experiencer of the necessity. In its way towards a personal type, interrogative *need* also takes the bare infinitive, whose first recorded example is (4.31):

(4.31) <u>*What **nede** ʒe be abast*</u>?
    'What need is there for you to be abashed? / 'Why should you be abashed?'
    (c1460 Towneley Pl. p. 143)   (from Visser 1963-1973: 1430, §1351)

The passive infinitive *be abast* follows the verb *nede* without any particle. As mentioned above, the use of plain infinitives in Middle English is very rare, and almost limited to the descendants of the OE pre-modal verbs.

To summarize the characterization of ME *neden* as found in the literature, we should begin by saying that *neden* v.1 and *neden* v.2 prove to overlap to so large an extent that the best way to capture their evolution is to analyse them jointly. Secondly, both verbs develop in the expected way, that is, *neden* v.1 'compel' becomes less frequent than in the OE period, and *neden* v.2 'need, be necessary' not only increases its frequency, but also develops new uses. Thirdly, *neden* v.2 may be both a transitive and an intransitive verb, and as a transitive verb, it may take both nominal and sentential themes / complements. We must not forget, in this connection, that the presence of a sentential infinitival complement is one of the first features which auxiliaries exhibit (cf. Bolinger 1980), and the presence of a plain infinitive seems to be especially related to modal verbs already in the ME period. Fourthly, the frequent use of *neden* v.2 in impersonal constructions, added to the fact that ME *thurven* also occurs in this type of structure, come to corroborate the idea that impersonality and the expression of necessity are closely associated (cf. Fischer 1992, Warner 1993, Pocheptsov 1997, and Krug, 2001, 2002). Finally, *neden* v.2 exhibits a close connection with non-affirmativeness, like OE *þurfan* and PDE *need*.

4.3.3. *Middle English* bihoven

Like ME *thurven* and *neden*, *bihoven* also undergoes important changes in the ME period. We have seen that in Old English, *behofian* is primarily a verb construed with a nominative experiencer and either a genitive theme or a sentential theme (cf. sections 3.3.2 and 3.4.3). In Allen's (1995) terminology, we could ascribe OE *behofian* to Type II and Type 'Personal' constructions. In Old English the main meaning of this verb is 'to need,' despite the fact that scholars such as Bosworth and Toller, for example, claim that *behofian* may also mean 'be appropriate, be fitting.' We expect a series of changes to take place in the history of this verb, on the grounds that its PDE counterpart, *behove*, exhibits

syntactic and semantic features which differ considerably from those in the OE period.

Indeed, some of the changes which affect *behove* begin in the ME period. Allen (1997: 8) considers that *bihoven* started to appear with non-nominative experiencers in the late 11th century, and in addition, she mentions that such a usage is the norm in texts written in the 12th century, as in (4.32):

> (4.32) *alswa micel swa <u>heom</u>*   ***behofeð.***
>   as   much as   them (dative) behoves
>   'as much as is suitable for them.'
>   (Ch 1110 Harm 62)
>   (example, gloss and translation from Allen 1997: 7)

However, *bihoven* may also occur with nominative experiencers in non-original manuscripts, that is, in ME copies of OE composition, as in (4.33):

> (4.33) *for þan <u>mancynn</u>*   ***behofeð*** *godcundre*   *lare.*
>   for that mankind (nominative) behoves godly (gen.) learning (gen.)
>   'because mankind needs good learning.'
>   (LS 28 (Neot) 1)
>   (example, gloss and translation from Allen 1997: 7)

The ME copyist of this text opted to be faithful to the OE manuscript and retained the noun *mancynn* in the nominative, although by this time the use of non-nominative experiencers was extended (cf. Allen 1997: 8).

Therefore, the ME period seems to be the turning point in the syntax of *behove*, since it moves from the Type II construction consisting of a nominative experiencer and a genitive theme which can be found in Old English (as in (4.33)), to a Type I construction, consisting of a non-nominative experiencer and a nominative theme (as in (4.32)). This is not, however, the only type of construction which emerges in the ME period. According to Allen (1997: 10), the combination of *bihoven* with sentential elements increases considerably in the 13th century. Consider, for instance, (4.34):

> (4.34) ***Bihofde*** *nawt <u>þæt swuch were leafdi of castel</u>.*
>   behoved   not that such   were lady of castle
>   'It would not be fitting that a lady of a castle were like that.'
>   (AW 58.7)   (example, gloss and translation from Allen 1997: 10)

In sentence (4.34), the *that*-clause *þæt swuch were leafdi of castel* is the only argument of the verb *bihofde*. The absence of an explicit experiencer is also a ME innovation. If a sentence such as (4.34) had an oblique experiencer, it would

be considered an instance of Allen's Type S constructions with experiencer verb constructions. The basic difference between Type S construction and the 'Personal' Type in which OE *behofian* can be found concerns the nature of the experiencer. While in Old English the experiencer is inflected for the nominative, in Middle English the experiencer is either non-nominative or absent from the sequence.

The last type of syntactic construction in which ME *bihoven* may occur is Type *hit*, that is, the construction consisting of the formal subject *hit*, an oblique experiencer, and a sentential theme, as can be seen in (4.35), from the *MED* (*s.v. bihoven* v. 2b (a)):

> (4.35) *It* **byhoveth** *the* _____ *to ben obeisaunt* *to the maneris of thi lady*
> it   behoves you (obl.) to be obedient to the manners of your lady
> *[i.e. fortune]*.
> [i.e. fortune]
> 'It behoves you to be obedient to (the manner of –*OED s.v. manner* n.1 2a)
> your lady [i.e. fortune].'
> (?a1425(c1380) Chaucer Bo.(Benson-Robinson))

The use of *bihoven* in this type of construction seems to emerge in Middle English, and it will remain in the language up to Present-Day English. While in Middle English the sentential theme may be a *that*-clause or a *to*-infinitival clause, the sentential constituent is in Present-Day English mostly a *to*-infinitive, rather than a *that*-clause (cf. *OED s.v. behove* v. 4).

Therefore, in Middle English we must expect *bihoven* to exhibit a wide variety of syntactic constructions, which ranges from the OE relic of Type II (nominative experiencer and genitive theme) and the 'Personal' Type (involving a nominative experiencer and a sentential theme), to the ME innovations, namely Type I (non-nominative experiencer and nominative theme), Type S (non-nominative experiencer and sentential theme) and Type *hit* (formal *hit*, non-nominative experiencer and sentential theme). This scenario, therefore, includes all the types mentioned by Allen (1995) but one, namely Type N constructions, which consist of an oblique experiencer and a genitive theme. According to Allen (1997: 19, note 11), "unambiguous instances of this verb with two non-nominative arguments are not to be found." It remains to check out whether the ME corpus contains any sentence with these features. In addition to occurring in all these types of experiencer verb construction, ME *bihoven* is also likely to be

found without any experiencer, a construction which is considered archaic in Present-Day English (cf. *OED s.v. behove* v. 4 b)

Having explained the syntactic changes undergone by ME *bihoven*, we must turn now to another linguistic level of analysis, namely semantics. As already mentioned, the PDE connotations of *behove* are mainly concerned with the notion of appropriateness, while OE *behofian* expresses basically volitional necessity. The shift towards the PDE notion takes place in the ME period, as illustrated in example (4.34), where *bihofde* means 'be fitting.' Although we may suspect that this semantic change originates in the syntactic changes undergone by this verb in Middle English, Allen (1997: 10-11) considers that such a nuance of appropriateness is mainly based on the natural development of the semantic notion of necessity. It is not difficult to conceive that from an internally rooted necessity such as that expressed by OE *behofian*, a new meaning may emerge conveying externally generated necessity, such as 'be obligatory or highly advisable,' finally, the change from 'be obligatory' to 'be fitting' is subtle and straightforward.

According to the *MED* (*s.v. bihoven* v.), this verb may express types of necessity rooted in different external entities, such as destiny, circumstances, and morals or doctrine. It is in this light that we must interpret the meaning suggested for *byhoveth* in (4.35), namely 'be proper;' in this sentence *bihoven* expresses appropriateness based on destiny.

In addition, ME *bihoven* may still express the older meanings, which include volitional necessity and obligation. An example of the former is, for instance, (4.36), from the *MED* (*s.v. bihoven* v. 1a (b)):

(4.36) *Þe oost dryed vp þe ryueres, for hem **byhoued** so moche water.*
        the host dried up the rivers   for them behoved so much water
        'The host dried up the rivers, because they needed so much water.'
        ((a1387) Trev. Higd.(StJ-C H.1) 3.237)

Despite its syntactic features, which might lead to an appropriateness reading of the meaning of *bihoven*, this sentence expresses internally rooted necessity (close to strong volition), and hence the translation provided is 'need.' This is the most common meaning of OE *behofian*, but it is still common in the ME period.

Another old meaning which can be found in ME *bihoven* is that of externally imposed necessity (obligation), as illustrated in (4.37), from the *MED* (*s.v. bihoven* v. 2b (a)):

(4.37) *Sayle hem **bihoued**   holliche al a niȝt.*
      sail   them were-obliged wholly all night
      'They were obliged to sail wholly all night.'
      (a1375 WPal.(KC 13) 2721)

In this sentence *bihoven* expresses an externally generated necessity (based on the conditions of the sea), and the crew is obliged to sail the whole night in order to save their lives. Therefore, the verb expresses an obligation, rather than appropriateness, and for that reason *bihoued* is better translated as 'be obliged.'

We can gather from the preceding paragraphs that ME *bihoven* expresses a wide range of possible meanings, from volitional necessity and obligation (cf. examples (4.36) and (4.37)), to general appropriateness (as in (4.32) and (4.34)), and specific types of appropriateness based on destiny (as in (4.35)).

The syntactic and semantic complexity of ME *bihoven* is not surprising, because it takes place in the period of English in which most linguistic changes occur. Since *bihoven* is in a transitional stage from its OE status to its modern idiosyncrasy, we expect the old and the new structures and meanings to co-occur until the prevalent one overrides the others. In the corpus section devoted to the ME period, it will be seen which of the syntactic and semantic features of *bihoven* are more common and are, therefore, prone to survive in the eModE period.

4.3.4. *Middle English* misteren

In this final section, I provide an outline of the features of a new verb meaning 'need,' which enters the language in the ME period via French: *misteren*.

The first example of *misteren* recorded in the *MED* (*s.v. misteren* v. 1(d)) dates back to 1412:

(4.38) *Richard sall gette all the stuff of the stane <u>that</u> **misters** more of the makyng of the Kirk of Katrik than that stuffe that is founde within the kirke yerde.*
      'Richard shall get all the stuff of the stone that is more necessary for the making of the Church of Katrik than that stuff that is found within the church yard.'
      (1412 in Salzman Building in Engl. 487)

However, the *OED* (*s.v. mister* v.1 2) provides an earlier example, from 1375:

(4.39) *And alkynd othir apparaill That mycht availl, or <u>ȝeit</u> **mysteir** Till hald castell.*

> 'And all kind of other apparels that might be of value or be necessary for you
> to the old (?) castle.'
> (1375 Barbour Bruce xvii. 215)

Sentences (4.38) and (4.39) have a common characteristic, which is the meaning of *misteren* in both cases, namely 'be necessary.' However, the constructions in which the verb occurs are different. In (4.38) we have an intransitive construction, while in (4.39) the verb is construed transitively. As will become clear from the following paragraphs, these are indeed the two main possible constructions in which ME *misteren* may occur.

When *misteren* is used intransitively, it has a single argument. An instance of such constructions is (4.38) above, which has as only argument the relative pronoun *that*. Despite the fact that such a pronoun cannot be said to be nominative or oblique, the *MED* includes this example in the personal sense of *misteren*. In this respect, *misteren* resembles the intransitive use of ME *neden* exemplified above with (4.14), namely *In a goode spouse and wif nediþ þese condiciouns* ('These conditions are necessary in a good spouse and wife'). In both cases the verb means 'be necessary,' and takes only a subject argument (presumably) inflected for the nominative.

Another intransitive use of *misteren* may be that in which the verb has a formal subject *it*, or an oblique experiencer in subject position, as illustrated in (4.40) and (4.41) respectively:

(4.40) *Yf it **mystier**, we shal guyde & lede you wel.*
  'If it is necessary, we will guide and lead you well.'
  (c1500 Melusine (Roy 18.B.2) 222/36)

(4.41) *Þe enchauntere rade on his Mule..þat bar him, whanne him **mysteryd**, by þe way.*
  'The enchanter rode on his mule, which bore him by the way, when it was necessary for him.'
  (a1500(?a1425) Lambeth SSecr.(Lamb 501) 104/28)

As mentioned, the only difference between (4.40) and (4.41) is the nature of the constituent in subject position. While in the first it is a formal *it*, in the second sentence there is an oblique pronoun, *him*. Both *it* and *him* occupy the subject position and, as mentioned in section 2.3, there are scholars who consider that oblique experiencers may function as syntactic subjects. Another aspect which (4.40) and (4.41) have in common is their occurrence in parenthetical constructions introduced by conditional items, namely *yf* and *whanne*. The use of

expressions of necessity in parenthetical constructions seems to have remained important even in Present-Day English (cf. PDE *if need be* in *OED s.v. need* n. I 3a).

As far as the transitive uses of *misteren* are concerned, they may be classified according to the nature of the experiencer, which may be nominative or non-nominative. When the experiencer is nominative, the verb may be followed by an unmarked theme, as (4.42), for instance, from the *MED* (*s.v. misteren* v. 1 (a)):

(4.42) <u>He sayde he was a synner &</u> **mysterd** <u>forgyfnes of his syn.</u>
  'He said he was a sinner and needed forgiveness of his sin.'
  (c1450 Alph.Tales (Add 25719) 75/24)

The experiencer of *mysterd* in this sentence is clearly nominative, namely *he*. The theme, on the contrary, is unmarked (*forgyfnes*), which implies either that it is accusative or that it has no inflections as a result of the erosion of inflectional endings in Middle English. This type of construction may be said to be a variant of Allen's (1995) Type II, because in that type the theme takes the genitive case. Another variant of Allen's Type II is the following, in which ME *misteren* is followed by an *of*-prepositional phrase, as in (4.43):

(4.43) *Þou* **mysters** *not* <u>of my lectuarie,</u> *for þou erte a leche*.
  'You do not need my electuary, because you are physician.'
  (c1450 Alph.Tales (Add 25719) 136/4)

Sentence (4.43) also has a nominative experiencer, *þou*, but the theme is not an ambiguously marked noun phrase, but an *of*-prepositional phrase, *of my lectuarie*. If we interpret, as has been done above, that an *of*-prepositional phrase is equivalent to a genitival noun phrase, sentence (4.43) would be an instance of Allen's (1995) Type II constructions with experiencer verbs. This is another respect in which *misteren* and *neden* function alike (cf. examples 21 and 24 above). The preposition *of* seems to be somewhat frequent in the introduction of complements of verbs meaning 'need.'

The last transitive use of *misteren* with a nominative experiencer involves infinitival themes, although Visser (1963-1973: 1424, §1344) mentions that it is rarely found in such a collocation. In fact, the *MED* and Visser mention only one and the same ME example, given below as (4.44):

(4.44) *I sall so ordand at* <u>þou</u> *sall nott* **myster** <u>to be a thief no mor</u>.

> 'I shall ordain that you shall no need to be a thief any more.'
> (c1450 Alphabet of Tales 6)[15]

The verbal form *myster* has a nominative experiencer, *þou*, and an infinitival theme, *to be a thief no mor*. Despite the fact that this is not a common construction, *misteren* proves to overlap syntactically with other 'need'-verbs under study, such as *thurven* and *neden*, since the three of them are experiencer verbs which may occur in Allen's (1995) 'Personal' type.

Having dealt with the transitive uses of *misteren* when it has a nominative experiencer, it remains to explain what appears to be the only possibility of transitive use of this verb with a non-nominative experiencer. To judge from the examples provided in the *MED* entry for *misteren*, the oblique experiencer is always present and the theme is unmarked. One of such examples is (4.39) above, since it exhibits an oblique experiencer, namely *ʒeit*, and an unmarked theme, namely the relative pronoun *that*, which stands for the previous phrase *alkynd othir apparaill*. Another example is (4.45):

> (4.45) <u>Vs</u> **mistris** *neuire <u>na medcyne</u> for malidy on erthe.*
> 'We never need any medicine for malady on earth.'
> (c1450(?a1400) Wars Alex.(Ashm 44) 4281)

In this case, I have opted to offer a translation of the sequence which implies a nominative experiencer, breaking the transparency principle I have followed so far, because a translation of the type 'it is not necessary for us' sounds awkward in this kind of context. In any case, we can see that *misteren* may take a nominal theme when it has a non-nominative experiencer. This construction falls into Allen's (1995) Type I construction with experiencer verbs, because it has a nominative theme, *na medcyne*, and an oblique experiencer in subject position, *vs*.

ME *misteren* involving a non-nominative experiencer does not seem to occur in other types of construction, although the *MED* offers one example which may be misinterpreted as an instance of Allen's Type S construction. Such an example is (4.46):

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[15] Visser and the editors of the *MED* give two different dates for this example. The former gives 1440, and the latter 1450, which is the date I follow here, for coherency with other examples taken from the *MED*. It must be noted, however, that the *OED* (*s.v. mister* v.1 4), like Visser, also offers 1440 as the date of composition of this example as well as other examples taken from the text *Alphabet of Tales*. Since the *OED* and Visser agree on considering 1440 the date of composition of this work, I will follow them in the analysis of the corpus.

(4.46) *Blase sought all <u>that</u> <u>hym</u> **mystered** to write with.*
'Blasé sought all that he needed to write with.'
(a1500(?c1450) Merlin (Cmb Ff.3.11) 22)

The two arguments of *misteren* in this example are, as underlined, the oblique personal pronoun *hym* and the relative pronoun *that*. The *to*-infinitive which follows the verb does not function as an argument of the verb, but it belongs to a subordinate purpose clause introduced by the preposition *to*. Therefore, sentence (4.46) is, like (4.39) and (4.45), an instance of *misteren* in a Type I construction.

As a summary of the syntactic features of ME *misteren*, we can point out that it is an experiencer verb which may occur intransitively or transitively. When it is intransitive, it may express only the thing needed, it may also have a formal *hit* subject, and, finally, it may have a non-nominative experiencer in subject position (cf. (4.41)). When *misteren* is construed transitively, it may occur in a variety of constructions, depending on the nature of the experiencer. When it takes a nominative experiencer, it may occur in a variant of Allen's (1995) Type II with a unmarked theme, and in constructions which may be considered Type II with an *of*-prepositional phrase theme, and finally in Allen's 'Personal' Type with sentential themes. When *misteren* is construed transitively and takes a non-nominative experiencer, it may said to belong to Allen's Type I, that is, consisting of a non-nominative experiencer and a nominative theme.

Semantically, ME *misteren* is not so complex a verb as *thurven, neden* and *bihoven*. It expresses internal (volitional in many cases) necessity, and it may express what appears to be absence of external obligation. The apparently infrequent use of this verb in Middle English may be the reason why it exhibits so narrow a range of possible meanings. The analysis of the ME corpus will reveal the level of frequency and the syntactic and semantic features of this loan verb, which, according to Visser (1963-1973: 1424, §1344) becomes obsolete after 1585.

4.4. **Evidence from the Middle English corpus: analysis of the findings**

4.4.0. *Introduction: the Middle English corpus and general frequency of the verbs*

In the previous sections I examined the general characteristics of my verbs in Middle English as found in the literature. Section 4.4 offers a detailed analysis of my verbs as represented in my corpus. Since the OE corpus contains 1.2 million words, I decided to compile a ME corpus of the same size. The ME section of the *Helsinki Corpus* contains only 608,000 odd words (91 files). In order to supply the other 600,000 words I resorted to the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*, which is included in the *Middle English Compendium*, edited by the University of Michigan. The *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* contains 61 texts, which have more than 4 million words. The selection of the 600,000 words was carried out as described in the following paragraphs.

The main parameter which conditioned the selection of the texts is the date of composition. As is well known, the ME section of the *Helsinki Corpus* is divided into four subperiods: M1 (1150-1250), M2 (1250-1350), M3 (1350-1420) and M4 (1420-1500). Following this division, I tried to select the new texts according to their chronological distribution into four subperiods. The first step in the selection, therefore, was to determine the date of composition of each text. The *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* does not always provide such information, which made it necessary to resort to other sources of information, such as the *OED*.

Once the texts in the corpus had been appropriately dated, I classified the texts within each of the subperiods determined by the editors of the *Helsinki Corpus*. Since my intention was to obtain around 600,000 words, each subperiod should ideally have ca. 150,000 words. However, a preliminary overview of the texts revealed that there are not enough words of subperiod M2 (it only contains 109,000 words), and, therefore, I had to single out around 175,000 words for each of the other three subperiods.

The *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* does not contain many texts dating from subperiod M1 (1150-1250), and some of the texts which appear in this corpus for this period are already fully included in the *Helsinki Corpus*, such as, for instance, *Hali Meidenhad*. Some other texts occur partially in the *Helsinki Corpus*, such as *Vices and Virtues*. Naturally, I dismissed all such excerpts and included all the remaining words and texts into my selection, which

amount to 175,561 words. The following table provides the list of M1 texts as well as the number of words in each text:

1190-1210	*Owl and nightingale* (Ms Cotton)	11,716
1200	*Vices and Virtues*	18,518
1205	Layamon's *Brut* (Ms Cotton Caligula)	141,742
1230?	*Seyn Julian* (The Life Of St. Juliana), from Ashmole Ms. 43.	2,589
1240	*Sawles warde*	996
TOTAL		**175,561**

Table 4.1: Texts selected from the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*, period M1 (1150-1250).*

As can be seen in Table 4.1, the size of each text is disproportionate; Layamon's *Brut*, for example, is by far the largest of the texts. This selection of texts covers, however, five of the decades of subperiod M1, as shown in the leftmost column of Table 4.1.

However, as already mentioned, subperiod M2 (1250-1350) is not so well represented in my corpus, even though I have included all the texts in the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*, with the exception of some excerpts of *Ayenbite of Inwit* which also occur in the *Helsinki Corpus*. The resulting list of texts is sketched in Table 4.2:

1310	The Harley Lyrics	11,171
d 1333	Works of William Herebert	3,535
fl 1340	Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit* (Kentish)	94,846
TOTAL		**109,552**

Table 4.2: Texts selected from the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse, *period M2 (1250-1350).*

These are the only three M2 texts which appear in the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*. They are far from being ideally representative: firstly, they are scarce and two of them have a low number of words; secondly, the largest text (*Ayenbite of Inwit*) is a translation from French; thirdly, they seem to have been composed in a period of three decades only. One of the authors, William Herebert, died in 1333, but the exact date of his works is unknown. As for Dan Michel, his best professional moment is dated around 1340, but his *Ayenbite of Inwit* is not precisely dated. In spite of all these weaknesses, these three texts are the only M2 material which can be used in my study. This subperiod seems indeed to have been a non-prolific age in the history of English, or maybe the texts written at that time have not survived to our days, because it is also scarcely

represented in the *Helsinki Corpus*, standing for only 16% of the totality of the words in the Middle English period.

Contrary to the scarcity of texts from M1 and M2, the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* contains more than three million words for subperiods M3 (1350-1420) and M4 (1420-1500). As for M3, my aim was to obtain a sample of ca. 25,000 words of each of the decades in this period. This selection was not always possible, because there are not enough words for each decade, as is the case of 1350 or 1360. Where the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* offers more words than necessary, I randomized the texts with the help of Microsoft Excel, following the same steps described in section 3.4.0 above, so that the result obtained would not be biased. As done with subperiods M1 and M2, when some excerpts of any text also appear in the *Helsinki Corpus* they have been deleted, as, for instance, *A Revelation of Love*. This procedure has yielded the texts which are listed in Table 4.3 below:

1350-1375	*Octovian* (Cambridge University Library Ms Ff. 2. 38)	12,277
1370*	*Three Kings of Cologne*	4,932
1373	*A Revelation of Love*	36,213
1380	Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*	26,669
1390	John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*	21,617
1390-1400	*The siege of Jerusalem*	3,546
1394	*Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*	9,655
1400	*Pearl*	3,595
1400	*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*	21,343
fl 1410	*Mirrour of the blessed lyf of Jesu Christ*	26,925
1417-1420	An Anthology of Chancery English	14,854
TOTAL		**181,626**

Table 4.3: Texts selected from the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse, *period M3 (1350-1420).*

Some of these texts are extremely large, such as, for instance, John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, which is made up of nearly 250,000 words. In cases such as this, the text was divided into small sections, which were randomized once more. *Confessio Amantis*, for example, was divided into 67 sections of 500 lines each; finally, 5 random sections, which add up to 21,617 words, were selected. With other texts, the sections are based on chapters, stanzas, or pages, and the procedure has been the same.

Finally, subperiod M4 is also widely represented in the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*, with more than 2 million words. Since my aim was to select some 175,000 or so words, the method followed was the same as for M3.

Firstly I have dated and classified the texts into the different decades within M4, and secondly I randomized the texts, and, within large texts, I randomized sections. The list of texts which have finally come to be part of my M4 corpus is included in Table 4.4:

1425-1440	*English conquest of Ireland*	19,642
1440	*Prose life of Alexander*	6,297
1440	*Alphabet of Tales*	18,350
1440	*Gesta Romanorum*	4,983
1440	*The Lyfe of Ipomydon*	972
1448	Works of John Metham	5,698
1450	*Rewle of Sustris Menouresses enclosid*	8,454
1450-1460	*Merlin*	15,631
1450-1460	An Anthology of Chancery English	2,320
1460	The Towneley plays	12,781
1469-1470	*Le Morte Darthur* / by Sir Thomas Malory	12,333
1480-1490	Paston Letters and papers of the 15th c	11,395
1480 ca.	Minor poems of Robert Henryson	1,642
1484	*Book of the Knight and La Tour-Landry*	11,804
1485	*Everyman*	2,989
1485	*Lyf of the noble and Crysten prynce*	3,412
1500	*The Three Kings' Sons*	23,145
1500	*Melusine*	11,608
TOTAL		**173,456**

Table 4.4: Texts selected from the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse, *period M4 (1420-1500).*

The 18 texts which I have finally included into subperiod M4 cover most of the decades of this subperiod in a seemingly representative way. The text-types to which they belong include fiction, history, private correspondence and documents.

All in all, 37 texts have been selected from the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* to complement the data in the *Helsinki Corpus*. The total number of words analysed in each subperiod is given in Table 4.5, which specifies the number of words obtained from each corpus:

	Helsinki Corpus	*Corpus of ME Prose and Verse*	**TOTAL**
M1 (1150-1250)	113,010	175,561	**288,571**
M2 (1250-1350)	97,480	109,552	**207,032**
M3 (1350-1420)	184,230	181,626	**365,856**
M4 (1420-1500)	213,850	173,456	**387,306**
TOTAL	**608,570**	**640,195**	**1,248,765**

Table 4.5: Number of words per ME subperiod in my corpus.

As Table 4.5 makes clear, my ME corpus contains 1,248,765 words. Subperiod M2 remains the less represented age of Middle English, and its proportion with respect to the total is the same as that in the *Helsinki Corpus*, namely 16% of the total of Middle English. Despite this weakness, the corpus I have selected appears to be a representative one for several reasons. Firstly, it doubles up the size of the *Helsinki Corpus*, which is in itself a representative one. Secondly, the texts cover all the ME decades, when possible. Thirdly, the texts are instances of different text-types, different dialects, and they represent both original compositions and translations from Latin or French. Therefore, it looks as if the corpus described in this section will be an appropriate one for the analysis of my verbs.

After having scrutinized more than 15,000 potential examples (see appendix II below for details), I have found out that the number of occurrences of each verb in the corpus is the following:[16]

VERB	OE	ME	OE N.F.	ME N.F.	OE %	ME %
THURVEN	159	55	13.19	4.40	46.77%	12.82%
BETHURVEN	47	4	3.89	0.32	13.82%	0.93%
NEDEN	105	161	8.62	12.89	30.59%	37.53%
BIHOVEN	30	206	2.48	16.49	8.82%	48.02%
MISTEREN	0	3	0.0	0.24	0%	0.70%
Total	**341**	**429**	**28.20**	**34.35**	**100%**	**100%**

Table 4.6: Frequency of each verb in the ME corpus as compared to Old English.

The differences in the frequency of occurrence with respect to the OE data are striking. If we recall the figures for Old English, we observe that the frequencies of *thurven* and *bihoven* reverse those of *þurfan* and *behofian* respectively, and *neden* increases its frequency to the detriment of *bethurven*. There are no OE data about *misteren*, because, as is well-known, this is a ME loanword.

Following the same steps as for the analysis of the OE corpus-data, I have included all these ME examples into a *Microsoft Access* computer database, and have analysed them according to the series of variables listed in section 3.4.0. The findings will be illustrated with examples retrieved from my corpus. As far as the examples taken from the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* are

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[16] In Middle English, as was the case in Old English, there exist other linguistic means of expressing the same kind of necessity as these verbs, namely expressions consisting of the noun *nede* or *myster* in combination with the verbs *be* and *have* (e.g. *hym is nede, he hath nede, he hath myster*). Taeymans (2004b) shows that the frequency of *have need* in Middle English is similar to that of the verb *need*. Although I am aware of the important role played by these expressions, they have been left out of my analysis, which is only concerned with verbs.

concerned, I will provide the year of composition, the title of work, the author, and, in the case of verse works, the number of the lines where the example occurs.

In what follows, I deal separately with each of my ME verbs with the same structure adopted for the analysis of Old English. Section 4.4.1 deals with ME *thurven* (and *durren*) and *bethurven*. Section 4.4.2 is devoted to the analysis of ME *neden*. Section 4.4.3 concentrates on ME *bihoven*, and, finally, section 4.4.4 analyses the scarce number of examples of ME *misteren*.

4.4.1 *Middle English* thurven *(and* durren*) and* bethurven *in the corpus*

ME *thurven* and *bethurven* are the descendants of OE *þurfan* and *beþurfan*. Despite the predominant use of *þurfan* in Old English, its ME counterpart becomes less frequent in favour of other verbs (cf. sections on ME *neden* and *bihoven* below). Nonetheless, ME *thurven* occurs in all the four subperiods of Middle English. Table 4.7 shows the actual number of occurrences of *thurven* in each of the four subperiods (second column),[17] as well as the normalized frequencies per 100,000 words (third column).

Subperiod	Number of Occurrences	Normalized Frequencies
M1	31	10.74
M2	7	3.38
M3	7	1.91
M4	10	2.58
TOTAL	**55**	**4.40**

Table 4.7: Distribution of ME thurven *by subperiods.*

The normalized frequencies reveal that more than half of the examples of *thurven* (10.74) occur in M1, which implies that it became less and less frequent in the following subperiods. In fact, the frequency of occurrence of *thurven* seems to decrease from one subperiod to another, with the exception of M4, when it undergoes a slight increase. However, the results of this table are tentative and this slight increase might be due to textual factors, since most of the texts of M4 belong to fiction.

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[17] Six out of the 31 examples of M1 are actually coded as MX/1 in the *Helsinki Corpus*. The seven instances of M2 also include examples of M2/3 and M2/4, since the date of composition is M2, although the manuscripts used by the compilers of the *Helsinki Corpus* belong to M3 and M4 respectively.

ME *bethurven*, in turn, undergoes a drastic decay from Old English, since my ME corpus only records four instances (as compared to the 47 OE examples), and all of them belong to non-contemporary manuscripts from M1, which may imply that they are copies from OE originals. If it were so, we could conclude that in M1 copyists take for granted that the recipients of their works would be able to understand this verb, even if, as it seems, *bethurven* is no longer productive in the ME period.

After these preliminary remarks on the frequency of use of *thurven* and *bethurven* in Middle English, I proceed now to offer the analysis of the examples retrieved from my corpus, paying special attention to semantics (section 4.4.1.1) and syntax (section 4.4.1.2).

4.4.1.1 Semantic features of Middle English *thurven* (and *durren*) and *bethurven*

As mentioned in section 4.3.1 above, ME *thurven* may express a wide range of necessity meanings, and also, at times, possibility. This is indeed verified in my corpus, where four out of 55 total examples express possibility rather than necessity, as can be seen in (4.47) and (4.48):

> (4.47) *4172   Nu is Iulius awei ifloen; (...)*
>   now is Julius away fled
> *4174   ne **þurfe** we nu nauer-mare; iseon hine cumen here.*
>   not can we now never-more see   him come here
> 'Now Julius has fled (...) we cannot / will not have the occasion to see him come here any more.'
> (1205 Layamon's *Brut,* lines 4172-4174)

> (4.48) *he wax so mylde and so meke,*
>   he was so mild and meek
> *A mylder man **þurt** no man seke.*
>   a milder man could no man see
> 'he grew so mild and so gentle, no one could seek a milder man.'
> (6,024 helsinki\cmhansyn)

These two examples illustrate clearly the possibility meanings conveyed by ME *thurven*, which does not express a cognitive force, but a cognitive barrier, conveying the meaning 'cannot.' In section 4.3.1 I formulated the hypothesis that *thurven* expresses possibility only when its spelling combines features of this verb and of ME *durren*. This seems to be the case in (4.48), where *þurt* exhibits the absence of any [f] or [v] sound. However, this is not the case of sentence (4.47), which is also used in the *MED* to illustrate the possibility meaning of

thurven (*s.v. thurven* 7a (a)), and, therefore, it may be taken as prototypical. The morphology of the verb form, *þurfe*, reveals that such a form belongs to the paradigm of ME *thurven*, rather than to that of *durren*. This should not be surprising either, because, as seen in section 3.4.1.1, the meaning of OE *þurfan* may also be that of absence of possibility, that is, it may express the presence of a cognitive barrier. The construction illustrated in (4.48), namely a negative verb of necessity expressing possibility when following a comparative adjective, is also possible and rather frequent with ME *neden*, as will be seen below.

Leaving aside the four instances of *thurven* where it expresses possibility, 51 examples expressing necessity remain to be analysed. Table 4.8 sketches the semantics of *thurven* in terms of cognitive forces, taking into account their origin and strength:

ORIGIN	STRENGTH	N. OF EXAMPLES	TOTAL
EXTERNAL	STRONG	28	28
	WEAK		
INTERNAL	STRONG	8	14
	WEAK	6	
GENERAL	NEUTRAL	9	9
TOTAL	**STRONG**	**36**	**51**
	WEAK	**6**	
	NEUTRAL	**9**	

Table 4.8:Origin and intensity of the forces conveyed by ME thurven.

As was the case in Old English, ME *thurven* exhibits a tendency to express strong forces (36 instances) and external forces (28 instances), though it also expresses other types of forces with more frequency than in the previous period. Thus, in Middle English *thurven* may express internal forces with relative frequency (14 instances), as well as general types (nine instances). Such general forces are originated in a nebulous, generalized authority, as has been described above, and the degree of strength of such forces is neither strong nor weak. In the paragraphs which follow, however, I expand each of the types of forces mentioned here in order to analyse the different nuances expressed by *thurven* in each case.

Let us begin with **strong external forces**, the most frequent type of meaning expressed by *thurven*, as was the case of OE *þurfan*. Table 4.9 shows the different notional types of strong external forces expressed by *thurven*, namely forces exerted by a religious or a hierarchical authority on the agonist. It also shows the polarity of the sentences in which *thurven* occurs, because polarity conditions the semantics of the verb. When the verb occurs in an

affirmative context it expresses the presence of a given force; when, on the contrary, the verb occurs in a non-affirmative context (cf. section 2.2.1.1 above for examples of non-affirmative contexts), it may express either the absence of a force (absence of obligation), or the presence of a force not to act in a given way (prohibition). The latter meaning, however, is not recorded for ME *thurven* in my corpus, while OE *þurfan* expresses it on 14 occasions:

CLAUSE POLARITY / TYPE OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE	TOTAL
		LACK OF FORCE	
RELIGIOUS	2	19	21
HIERARCHICAL		7	**7**
TOTAL	**2**	**26**	**28**

Table 4.9: Types of strong external forces conveyed by ME thurven*, with indication of clause polarity.*

If we read this table horizontally, we observe that, as was the case with OE *þurfan*, ME *thurven* expresses strong external forces predominantly exerted on the basis of a religious authority. If, on the contrary, this table is read vertically, the numbers indicate that *thurven* shows a pronounced tendency to express lack of obligation, as was also common for OE *þurfan*. Nevertheless, this ME verb may also express strong external forces in affirmative contexts, such as (4.49):

> (4.49) *Þu schalt (...) wakien   i moni   care.   Nawt ane for þe-seolf; ase*
>   you shall   weaken in many mental-sufferings not   only for your-self as
>   *þerf godes spouse.*
>   must God's spouse
>   'You shall become weak due to many mental sufferings, not only for yourself, as must (is proper of) a spouse of God (i.e. nun).'
>   (5,237 helsinki\cmhali)

The meaning expressed by *thurven* in this sentence is that referred to above as 'what is fitting' (cf. section 4.3.1). From this context we gather that a nun knows that her religious career implies mental sufferings, that both things are correlated. Therefore, it is an external authority, religion, that inflicts an imposition on nuns, but such an imposition is not an obligation, it is inherent to God's spouses. It does not mean that nuns must suffer, but that it is proper for nuns to suffer. In this sense ME *thurven* is similar to some uses of ME *bihoven*, as will be described below.

Moving on to the negative examples of *thurven* (Table 4.9), where it expresses absence of obligation, the release of the imposition may come from

two different types of authorities, namely religious or hierarchical. A prototypical example of absence of religious force is (4.50):

> (4.50) *Ase techeth holy bok,*
> as   teaches holy book
> ***Þarf** me noþing drede,*
> need me nothing fear
> *Sathan shal nout spede*
> Satan   shall not succeed
> *Wyþ wrenches ne wyþ crok.*
> with tricks   nor with deceit
> 'As the holy book teaches, I need not fear anything, Satan will not succeed with tricks or with deceit.'
> (d1333 The Works of William Herebert)

As in other examples mentioned in the OE section of this study, *thurven* is followed by an infinitival clause headed by a verb meaning 'fear,' which remains the most frequent verbal meaning associated with this preterite-present verb in Middle English. In this example, the doctrine taught in the Bible makes the speaker feel with enough strength to feel released from the fear towards Satan.

  Although in a lesser rate, the absence of obligation expressed by *thurven* may also be based on a hierarchical superiority, as in sentence (4.51):

> (4.51) *7226   heo wulleð bi-witen þi lond; (...)*
>   they will   protect your land
>   *7227   Þenne mihte þu mid winne;   þi   lif al uor-werien. (...)*
>   then might you with possessions your life all wear-out
>   *7229   ne **þræt** þu nauere habben kare; of uncuðe leoden.*
>   not need you never have   care of unknown people
>   'They (Octa and Ebissa) want to /will protect your land (...) then you might wear out your life with your possessions (...) you need not take care / worry about unknown people.'
>   (1205 Layamon's *Brut*, lines 7226-7229)

The speaker tells the listener that the presence of two hierarchical superior people, such as Octa and Ebissa, implies the absence of any need to worry about instability in the region. Therefore, sentence (4.51) expresses absence of a force based on the hierarchical principle that superior authorities provide protection for the people. Another example of *thurven* expressing absence of force from a hierarchical perspective is (4.52), where the verb occurs in a interrogative sentence introduced by *what*:

> (4.52) *799 an   þe oþer ne can sweng but anne (...)*
>   and the other not can strike but one

> 803 *[w]at **þarf** he recche of a mo swenge*
>   what need he trouble of a more strike
> 'and (MED says "if") the other cannot strike but one (...) why should he trouble / worry to strike one more?'
> (1910-1210 *The Owl and the Nightingale*, lines 799-803)

This is the first example found in my corpus for this kind of construction involving the interrogative pronoun *what*. The translation I suggest is 'why should?' following the *MED* (*s.v. thurven* 3a (a)), instead of the expected 'what does he need?' As will be seen in the next chapter, this kind of construction with interrogative pronoun *what* will be especially common in early Modern English with the verb *need*.

If we go back to Table 4.8, we observe that *thurven* does not express weak external forces in Middle English. In fact, the expression of this kind of forces was not very frequent in Old English either, since it only occurred on four occasions out of 159 examples of *þurfan*. The absence of this type of examples leads us to the next line of Table 4.8, that is, that containing the examples in which *thurven* expresses forces originated in the agonist's self. In eight cases *thurven* expresses the absence of an **internally rooted strong force**, as in (4.53):

> (4.53) *104   I swere you by this light.*
>   I swear you by this light
> *105   ffor whosoeuer may get thise close,*
>   for whosoever may get this close
> *106   he **ther** neuer rek where he gose,*
>   he need never care where he goes
> *107   ffor he semys nothyng to lose.*
>   for he seems nothing to lose
> 'I swear to you by this light, for whosoever may get this close, he need never care where he goes, for he seems [to have] nothing to lose.'
> (1460 *The Towneley Plays*)

The verb *thurven* in sentence (4.53) expresses the internally rooted strong necessity related to the instinct of self-protection. Such a force is cancelled when the agonist feels that he has nothing to lose, because in this case, he need not protect what he does not have. Therefore, (4.53) seems to be a clear example of absence of strong internal force.

ME *thurven* also expresses **weak internal force** on six occasions, that is, a type of force originated in the agonist's self and which is close to volition rather

than to obligation. Only on one occasion is the force positive. In the other five cases *thurven* expresses the absence of a weak internal force, as is in (4.54), for instance:

> (4.54) *By this proverbe thou shalt understonde,*
> by this proverb   you shall understand
> *Have thou ynogh, what **thar** thee recche or care*
> have you enough what need you worry or care
> *How myrily that othere folkes fare?*
> how happily that other folks travel
> (The proverb implies that he is most contented who is not envious of others)
> 'By this proverb you shall understand, if you have enough, what need have you to concern yourself with how happily other people live?' (from Blake 1980: 187-188, n.327, 329-330) / "why should you care a curse how well-off other people are?" (from Wright 1985: 227)
> (4,840 helsinki\cmctvers)

In this fragment of *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, *thurven* expresses the absence of a weak internal force which makes the agonist envy others. The double translation I offer is taken from two different editions of the *Canterbury Tales*. The PDE versions of Blake (1980) and Wright (1985) reveal that these authors also consider the force expressed by *thar* to be weak, since they choose respectively 'what need have you?' and 'why should you?,' instead of a strong 'why must you?'

The last line of Table 4.8 shows that ME *thurven* also expresses **general types of forces** on nine occasions, that is, forces which are exerted by a nebulous, generalized authority, as defined by Langacker (1999: 308). As already mentioned, the strength of such forces is neutral, that is, neither strong nor weak. The clause polarity is non-affirmative in all nine cases, and the meaning conveyed is lack of force. Sentence (4.55) is a good illustration of this kind of force:

> (4.55) *Þo quaþ þe hule "[W]u schal us seme,*
> then says the owl   who shall us reconcile
> *þat kunne & wille rit   us deme?"*
> that can   & will right us judge
> *"Ich wot wel" quaþ þe nitingale,*
> I know well   says the nightingale
> *"Ne **þaref** þarof bo no tale.*
> not need thereof but no conversation
> *Maister Nichole of Guldeforde,*
> Mister Nichole of Guldeforde

> *he is wis   an war   of worde.*
> he is wise and prepared of words
> 'Then said the owl: "Who shall reconcile us that can and will judge us right?" "I know well," said the nightingale, "There need/shall be no conversation / talk, Mister Nicole of Gulderforde, he is wise and prepared with words".'
> (1190-1210 *The Owl and the Nightingale*, lines 187-192)

The verbal form *þaref* in this example expresses the absence of a force, and such a force is not concretely defined, but general. The sentence means, then, 'there is no general necessity for a conversation.' Another common context for the expression of this kind of force concerns those cases in which it is generally stated that 'no one need ask or tell how anything happened.' This context for the expression of a general type of force, which is exemplified in (4.56), is also commonly found with other ME verbs such as *neden* or *bihoven*:

> (4.56) *So þat he cam to caunturburi : and dude ase riȝt was # þere,*
> so that he came to Canterbury   and did   as right was there
> *And Erchebischop was i-maud : is vnþonkes þei   it were.*
> and archbishop   was made   is unwilling though it were
> *Ne þarf no man þar-of esche : ȝweþur he toke on wel i-nouȝ*
> not need no man thereof ask   whether he took on well enough
> *And wel wissede holie churche : and to eche guodness drouȝ!*
> and well guided holy church   and to each goodness moves
> 'So that he came to Canterbury and did as was right there, and was made archbishop, though it was unwillingly. No man need/must ask whether he took on well enough or guided well the holy church, and to each goodness moves!'
> (6,034 helsinki\cmseleg)

With this example, which will be referred to below when analysing the features of other 'need'-verbs, I close this section of the semantic characteristics of ME *thurven*.

As far as ME *bethurven* is concerned, the only type of meaning conveyed by the four examples in my ME corpus is **strong internal force**. One of such examples is (4.57):

> (4.57) *& hwitere gose smere anes sceallinges. wyht . & euforbeo swa micel. &*
> &   white goose grass   one schilling   weight & euphorbia so much &
> *wyne æl togadere. & do in ane boxs. & nime syþþan   swa oft.   swa*
> dry   altogether   & do in one box   & take afterwards so   often so
> *he beþurfe.*
> he needs

'and the weight of one shilling of white goose grass & the same amount of euphorbia and dry it all together and put it in one box and afterwards take so often as he needs.'
(4,898 helsinki\cmperidi)

This sentence is an excerpt of the medicine handbook *Peri Didaxeon*, and it represents a piece of advice or instruction about how to proceed in case of sickness. The meaning of *thurven* in this sentence seems to be clearly that of a strong internal force, since the necessity is related to health (hence it is a strong force) and it originates in the agonist's own body (hence it is internal). In addition to (4.57) there are other three examples, two of which also belong to the same text, and in all three cases *bethurven* refers to the strong necessities of the patient who wants to be healed. Interestingly enough, only one out of the four examples of *bethurven* occurs in non-affirmative contexts (i.e. 25%), while *thurven* shows a strong preference for such contexts (94.5%). This was also the case of their OE counterparts, since OE *þurfan* occurs in non affirmative contexts 90.5% of its occurrences and OE *beþurfan* 25.5%). Therefore, *thurven* and *bethurven* seem to have a complementary distribution as far as clause polarity is concerned. We will see below whether such a distribution is also witnessed from a syntactic point of view.

The main conclusions which can be drawn from the analysis of *thurven* and *bethurven* are similar to those of Old English, although these verbs have undergone a clear reduction in the range of the possible meanings which they may express. Such a reduction is most evident in *bethurven*, which is highly restricted to the expression of inner necessity in the very early years of Middle English. As for *thurven*, we have seen that it rarely expresses the presence of a force. In non-affirmative contexts, it never expresses prohibition, but absence of necessity. The following table graphically represents the possible semantic values of this verb, as compared to its OE counterpart. Revealingly enough, ME *thurven* does not convey any meaning which has not been attested for OE *þurfan*, that is, it only undergoes semantic losses.

CLAUSE POLARITY	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE		TOTAL
ORIGIN AND STRENGTH OF FORCE		LACK OF FORCE	FORCE NOT TO	
STRONG EXTERNAL	2	26	0	28
WEAK EXTERNAL		0	0	0
STRONG INTERNAL	0	8	0	8
WEAK INTERNAL	1	5		6
NEUTRAL GENERAL		9		9
TOTAL	3	48	0	51

Table 4.10: Types of forces expressed by ME thurven *according to origin, strength and clause polarity.*

The cells with a zero <0> in Table 4.10 mark the types of forces which OE *þurfan* can express and which are lost in ME *thurven* (cf. Table 3.13 above for details on the OE verb). In spite of these evident losses, *thurven* keeps the tendency of its OE counterpart to express strong external forces, and absence of obligation. I will now proceed to examine the syntactic characteristics of these two ME preterite-presents and the syntactic changes they exhibit since the OE period.

4.4.1.2. Syntactic features of Middle English *thurven* (and *durren*) and *bethurven*

In chapter 3 I mentioned that OE *þurfan* and *beþurfan* exhibit a wide range of possible syntactic patterns, depending on the type of theme they have, which may be zero, nominal or sentential (cf. Table 3.24). Both OE verbs occur with all these types of themes, though they show evident preferences for one choice or another. ME *thurven* and *bethurven* can only occur with two types of theme, i.e. nominal or sentential, as outlined in Table 4.11:

ME VERB		*THURVEN*	*BETHURVEN*	TOTAL
THEME				
NOUN PHRASE			3	3
SENTENCE	Bare infinitival clause	48		48
	Bare passive infinitival clause	3		3
	Elided clause	4	1	5
TOTAL		55	4	59

Table 4.11: Themes of ME thurven *and* bethurven.

This table indicates that ME *thurven* and *bethurven* distribute their contexts of occurrence in such a way that they show a complementary distribution as far as their syntactic patterns are concerned. With the only exception of elided clauses, which encode themes of both verbs, it may be stated that *thurven* is almost

exclusively concerned with sentential themes, and *bethurven* has a pronounced tendency to occur with nominal themes.

As for the classification of experiencer verb constructions proposed by Allen (1995), the only examples which do not fit into such a classification are the two sentences in which *thurven* is only followed by an infinitive. In these two cases there is not any experiencer undergoing any kind of necessity and, therefore, we cannot talk of experiencer verb constructions. The other examples of these ME verbs can be classified as follows.

To begin with, **nominal themes**, which only occur with *bethurven*, may yield two kinds of constructions depending on the case for which the experiencer and the theme are inflected. If the experiencer is oblique and the theme is nominative, Allen (1995) calls that structure Type I, as in (4.58):

(4.58) *do hym þanne hnesce mettas & godne drincan. eal swa hit beforen seið.*
do   him then soft   meat & good   drink all   so   it before says
swylce hwile swa hym hit **beþurfe**.
such   while so   him it needs
'Give him then soft flesh and good drink, all (that) it said before, or such as it is necessary for him.'
(3,431 helsinki\cmperidi)

In this sentence, the experiencer is oblique (*hym*) and the theme is nominative (*hit*), which implies that this example falls into Allen's Type I, together with another example of *bethurven*. If, on the contrary, the experiencer is nominative and the theme is genitive, the construction is called Type II, which occurs once with *bethurven*:

(4.59) *Help æigðer gea cuðen   gea uncuðen, þær þu   muge; uncuð   hware*
help   either both known and unknown where you may   unknown where
hwa oðres   beðurfe.
who other needs
'Help both the known and the unknown, where you may; it is unknown where and who has need of others.'
(4,795 helsinki\cmveshom)

The experiencer of sentence (4.59) is nominative (*hwa*) and the theme is genitive (*oðres*). Although this example is the only exhibiting this type of construction, it must be recalled that this is the most common type as for OE *beþurfan*, which never occurs with an oblique experiencer. Therefore, with the analysis of ME *bethurven* we witness the first piece of evidence for a gradual movement from

OE 'personal' constructions (namely with nominative experiencers) towards ME 'impersonal' constructions (namely with non-nominative experiencers).

Moving on in Table 4.11 we get into the **sentential themes** of these verbs. The analysis of this type of pattern will also provide evidence for the potential auxiliary character of these verbs in Middle English.

ME *thurven* is followed by infinitives on 55 occasions (if we are to consider that the elided sentential element in four examples is an infinitive). It has already been mentioned that in two of those cases the verb does not take any experiencer as argument, therefore, they are left out of the analysis of experiencer verb constructions. This leaves 53 instances in which *thurven* has an experiencer and an infinitive as arguments. According to Allen's (1995) taxonomy, these elements may combine in three different patterns: Type 'Personal,' which contains a nominative experiencer, Type S, with an oblique experiencer, and Type 'hit,' with an oblique experiencer and a dummy *hit*. Type 'hit' is never recorded with *thurven* in my corpus, the 'Personal' Type occurs on 41 occasions, and Type S in 12 instances. They are chronological distributed as follows:

PERIOD TYPE	M1	M2	M3	M4	TOTAL
Type S	4	2	4	2	**12**
Type 'Personal'	26	5	2	8	**41**
TOTAL	**30**	**7**	**6**	**10**	**53**

Table 4.12: Diachronic evolution of experiencer verb construction with thurven.

Table 4.12 shows that the 'Personal' Type is predominant in each subperiod (except for M3). As an illustration, consider (4.60):

(4.60) *beo stalewurðe & stont wel ne **þearf þu**   drede na deð.*
       be   courageus & stay well not need you (nom.) fear no death
       'be courageous and stay well. You need not fear death.'
       (3,818 helsinki\cmkathe)

Sentence (4.60) exemplifies the most common experiencer verb construction for *thurven* with an infinitival theme. In (4.60) the experiencer is clearly nominative (*þu*) and, therefore, it is an instance of a 'Personal' construction with an experiencer verb. This is also the case in other 40 examples of *thurven* and in the only example of *beþurfan* with an elided sentential element. Sentence (4.61) is a reduced version of such an example of *beþurfan*, which has been quoted above as (4.57):

> (4.61) *(…) & nime syþþan swa oft. swa he **beþurfe***.
>   (…) & take afterwards so often so he needs
>   '(…) and afterwards take so often as he needs.'
>   (4,898 helsinki\cmperidi)

The experiencer, *he*, is nominative, and the theme, which I assume to be a sentential element headed by the verb *nimen*, 'take,' is elided, probably because *bethurven* occurs in a comparative clause. This is the same pattern exhibited by *thurven* in the four cases of elided sentential theme. Ellipsis in comparative clauses is not an unusual phenomenon and in the analysis of the OE data we have seen that *þurfan* and *beþurfan* are also prone to occur in such constructions. However, we must recall that, although ellipsis is claimed to be one of the features of auxiliaries, comparative clauses represent one of the exceptional contexts mentioned by Warner (1993: 112-113). Therefore, these cases of ellipsis (four examples with *thurven* and one with *bethurven*) are not revealing as for as the auxiliary status of these ME verbs.

Going back to the 12 instances of *thurven* in an experiencer verb construction Type S mentioned above, sentence (4.62) contains an oblique experiencer (*me*), as do other 11 examples of *thurven* in my corpus:

> (4.62) *If i be made hele   here, me **thare** noght dred ded, ne the hand of the*
>   if I be made healed here   me need not   fear death not the hand of the
>   *leche   brennand or sherand.*
>   physician burning or cutting
>   'If I am saved here, I need/shall not fear death, or the hand of the physician burning or cutting.'
>   (5,714 helsinki\cmrollps)

This kind of construction does not take place in Old English, except when the following infinitive is an impersonal verb (cf. section 3.4.1.2 above). This sentence, therefore, exemplifies a ME innovation and represents another piece of evidence for the emergence of *new ME impersonals* (cf. section 2.3.3 above). An additional comment on this sentence concerns the ambivalent semantics of *thare*. I propose a double translation which reflects the ambiguity of its meaning. On the one hand, it may mean 'need not,' as in sentence (4.60), for example. On the other hand, I propose an alternative translation based on the conditional status of the sentence: when the *if*-clause takes a present tense verb, the main clause takes a future tense verb. For this reason, we could understand that *thurven* loses part of its necessity meaning in this example, in favour of a temporal meaning, which would be indicative of some degree of auxiliarization (cf. section 2.1.3). This

double interpretation is not, however, an innovation of the ME period; we also came across an OE sentence in which *þurfan* is better interpreted as a subjunctive marker, rather than as a 'need'-verb (cf. ex. (3.44) above in chapter 3, *ðæt he syngian ne ðorfte*, ' that he would not sin').

Clearer pieces of evidence for an auxiliary status of ME *thurven* concern its ability to be followed by passive infinitives, and its abnormal time reference (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985). According to Warner (1993: 160), when a verb selects a passive voice infinitive, such a verb no longer selects its subject (or experiencer); the experiencer / subject is determined by the infinitive in the passive voice. This lack of experiencer / subject selection represents for Warner the loss of a characteristic of full verbs. The occurrence with passive infinitives, however, does not take place in Middle English for the first time; we have also witnessed it with OE *þurfan* (cf. above chapter 3). In the three cases of *thurven* followed by a passive infinitival theme the context is non-affirmative, as the majority of the examples of *thurven* (52 out of 55); in the case of *bethurven*, on the contrary, three out the four examples are affirmative. Another characteristic of the sentences in which *thurven* is followed by a passive infinitive is the nominative character of the experiencer. This means that these three sentences are instances of Allen's (1995) Type 'Personal' construction with *thurven*. The fact that *thurven* does not select its subject when followed by a passive infinitive is witnessed in 4.63, where the alleged experiencer is the inanimate noun phrase *no candle*:

(4.63) ***Derst*** <u>no candel</u> *be [ky]nde*[18]   *whan clerkes scholde rise.*
        need   no candle be lit / ignited   when clerks wanted rise
        '[there are so many precious stones, rubies, diamonds, pearls, etc. that] No candle need be lit when the clergymen wanted to get up.'
        (1390-1400 *The siege of Jerusalem*)

As far as abnormal time reference is concerned, which is claimed to be one of the characteristics of auxiliaries (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 137; cf. also section 2.1.3.4 above), ME *thurven* is inflected for the past tense and does not express past time on five occasions. One of them is (4.64):

(4.64) *Þou **þart** drede no grevows peynes in   þi deyng, for   þu xalt haue thy*
        you needed fear no grievous pains   in your honour for you shall have your

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[18] *MED* (*s.v. durren* v. 2 (b)) says *be tende*.

> *desyre, þat is to haue mor mynde   of my Passyon þan on þin owyn peyne.*
> desire   that is to have more memories of my passion than on your own pain
> 'You should not fear any more pains in your honour, for you shall have your
> desire, that is to have more memories of my Passion than of your own pain.'
> (1,442 helsinki\cmkempe)

The past indicative form *þart* (cf. *OED s.v. tharf* v. 3a β) does not express past time, but refers to the present moment. Just like *should* (which also appears in the translation) is originally a past tense form which does not necessarily express past time reference in Present-Day English, the ME speaker has the licence to use the past form of *thurven* when he refers to the moment of speaking. Again, this auxiliary-like feature is not exclusive of Middle English, since OE *þurfan* and *beþurfan* already exhibit it (cf. section 3.4.1).

Summing up, we may conclude that ME *thurven* and *bethurven* complement each other syntactically at least in two senses. On the one hand, *thurven* is primarily non-affirmative, while *bethurven* shows a preference for affirmative contexts. On the other hand, *bethurven* is mainly found with nominal themes, while *thurven* is almost exclusively followed by infinitival clauses. Such a complementary distribution is reflected in the type of experiencer verb construction in which they are found: *bethurven* occurs in Allen's (1995) Types I, II and only one 'Personal,' while *thurven* is found in Allen's Types S and 'Personal.'

At the grammaticalization level, ME *thurven* behaves as a true auxiliary expressing root modality, for the following reasons: it is almost exclusively construed with sentential themes headed by a bare infinitive; it may express different types of root necessity meanings such as inner necessity or lack of obligation; it may also express mood rather than necessity; it may occur with passive infinitives and, finally, it may be used with abnormal time reference. On the contrary, ME *bethurven* expresses a very concrete type of necessity (of a strong internal force); it seems to be highly restricted to taking nominal themes, and it is mostly construed in affirmative contexts. It will be interesting to examine the other 'need'-verbs used in Middle English so as to find out how OE non pre-modals, such as *neodian* and *behofian* begin to acquire auxiliary-like features and replace *thurven* in late ME subperiods.

4.4.2. *Middle English* neden *in the corpus*

As mentioned in section 4.3.2, the label *neden* comprises two ME verbs which coalesce under the same form. They both express some kind of force, and have evolved from the OE form *neodian*. We have seen that in Old English most of the instances of *neodian* convey the meaning of 'press, compel, force,' while those forms of *neodian* meaning 'need' or 'be necessary' are extremely rare (only one case in my 1.2 million-word corpus). In Middle English this proportion is reversed: out of 161 total examples of *neden*, only 15 express 'press, compel, force;' these will be referred to as *neden* v.1, following the *MED*. As expected, the disappearance of the use of *neden* to express 'compel, force' is also attested as a gradual process within the subperiods of Middle English, since it occurs seven times in M1, twice in M2, six times in M3, and, finally, no instance is recorded in M4, the last ME subperiod. On the contrary, my corpus contains 146 examples of *neden* forms meaning 'need, be necessary,' which will be referred to as forms of *neden* v.2, following the *MED*. Their frequency increases as Middle English advances with two cases in M1, no instance in M2, 72 instances in M3 and other 72 instances in M4. The following table illustrates graphically the decay of *neden* v.1 and the rise of *neden* v.2, as found in my corpus:

VERB / PERIOD	*Neden v.1*		*Neden v.2*		TOTAL	
	NUMBER	N.F.	NUMBER	N.F.	NUMBER	N.F.
M1	7	2.42	2	0.69	9	3.12
M2	2	0.97			2	0.97
M3	6	1.64	72	19.68	78	21.32
M4			72	18.59	72	18.59
TOTAL	15	1.20	146	11.69	161	12.89

Table 4.13: Distribution of ME neden *v.1 and v.2 by subperiods.*[19]

This table shows that *neden* v.1 is primarily found in early Middle English, while *neden* v.2 reaches its peak of frequency in late Middle English. Sections 4.4.2.1 and 4.4.2.2 deal with the semantics and syntax of these verbs respectively.

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[19] The seven examples of *neden* v.1 in M1 also contain one instance coded as MX/1 in the *Helsinki Corpus*, and the 72 instances of *neden* v.2 in M3 contain six examples of texts from M3/4.

4.4.2.1. Semantic features of Middle English *neden*

In the OE section of this study, I analysed all *neden* forms together, because the chances to find instances of *neodian* meaning 'need' were so low that it was pointless to analyse all the semantic aspects of each verb individually. However, the numbers in Middle English allow for an analysis for each of the verbs separately, and, therefore, I will begin my semantic analysis with the forms of *neden* v.1, and then analyse those of *neden* v.2.

ME *neden* v.1 'press, compel, force' expresses only strong external forces, the most common type of meaning expressed in Old English. Like OE *neodian*, ME *neden* v.1 is unexpectedly frequent in the passive voice, namely in 40% of the occasions, that is, above the OE ratio of 25%. Since, as mentioned, voice determines semantic aspects such as the nature of the subject as agonist or antagonist, the semantic analysis of this verb must necessarily take into account this syntactic parameter. Table 4.14 sketches the types of strong external force expressed by *neden* v.1:

VOICE TYPE OF FORCE	ACTIVE	PASSIVE	TOTAL
PHYSICAL	2		2
HIERARCHICAL	7		7
RELIGIOUS		6	6
TOTAL	**9**	**6**	**15**

Table 4.14: Types of strong external forces expressed by active and passive neden *v.1.*

As can be seen in Table 4.14, the number of possible notional types of strong external forces expressed by *neden* v.1 is reduced from that in Old English (cf. Tables 3.28 and 3.29, section 3.4.2.1). However, ME *neden* v.1 still keeps important values which illustrate the wide range of semantic implications which fall under the scope of forces. I will not break down this table into others devoted to each of the notional types of forces, because the numbers are too low and do not require further specification. I must say, however, that three out of the fifteen examples occur in negative contexts and express absence of force. Now I proceed to illustrate and examine the three types of forces expressed by *neden* v.1.

From a force-dynamic perspective, the expression of meanings related to the physical world is, as mentioned in section 2.2.2.2, the most distant semantic notion with respect to the expression of modal meanings. Since I have been

describing necessity in terms of forces, it seems appropriate to allude to the fact that the expression of physical force is the *natural* predecessor of modal necessity, and this evolution has been observed in OE *neodian* (cf. section 3.4.2.1). Middle English also exhibits instances of *neden* v.1 expressing physical force, such as (4.65):

> (4.65) *he crepeð cripelande forð,*
>   it   creeps creeping forth
>   *his craft he ðus kiðeð,*
>   his craft it does shows
>   *Sekeð   a ston   ðat a ðirl is on,*
>   looks-for a stone that a hole is on
>   *Narwe, buten he   nedeð him,*
>   narrow but   it (nom.) presses it (obl.)
>   *Nimeð vnneðes   ðurg,*
>   takes with-difficulty through
>   *for his fel   he ðer leteð.*
>   for its skin it there leaves
>   '(the adder) it creeps forth, (and) thus shows its craft, looks for a stone with a hole; narrow but it presses itself, goes through with difficulty, for it leaves its skin there.'
>   (748 helsinki\cmbestia)

This is a clear example of physical force, because the adder presses itself to go through a small hole in order to leave its skin there. As repeatedly said, it is from these physical meanings that metaphorical meanings such as 'to press someone to do something, to oblige' evolve. The following example illustrates this metaphorical force based on the existence of a hierarchical superiority:

> (4.66) *Ðe hali gast   hem warneð, and seið: 'Godd ðe ȝeu #   haueð icleped*
>   the holy ghost them warns   and says   God who you (obl.) has   summoned
>   *ut of ðare lease woreld in to gode liue, he ne nett #   ȝeu   naht ðer to,*
>   out of the false world   in to good life he not compel you (obl.) not thereto
>   *ac seið: (\Si uis   perfectus esse,\).*
>   but says if you-want perfect   be
>   'The holy ghost then warns and says: "God, who has summoned you out of the false world into the good life, he does not compel you thereto, but says: if you want to be perfect..."'
>   (5,767 helsinki\cmvices1)

Sentence (4.66), which is also quoted in the *MED* (*s.v. neden* v.1 (b)), illustrates a type of obligation or, rather, absence of obligation, based on hierarchy: since God stays over all things, he is a superior entity able to compel or not compel anyone. He is the antagonist who forces the agonist (*you*) to perform his will.

Finally, we may have a look at one of the examples of *neden* expressing force based on religion. As seen in Table 4.14, all such examples occur in the passive voice, which implies that the subject is no longer the antagonist, but the agonist. Consider, for instance, (4.67):

> (4.67) *as holy writt maketh mynde / oure lorde wepte notably thre tymes: one tyme*
>   as holy writ makes   notice   our lord   wept notably three times one time
>   */ in the deth of laare / the wrecchednesse of mankynde wherby he is **nedede***
>   in   the death of lore   the wretchedness of mankind whereby he is compelled
>   *to deye for the firste synne.*
>   to die   for the first   sin
>   'as the holy writs notice, our Lord wept notably three times: one time in the death of doctrine, the wretchedness of mankind whereby it is compelled to die for the first sin.'
>   (fl1410 *Mirrour of the blessed lyf of Jesu Christ*)

The agonist of this sentence is expressed by the nominative pronoun *he*, which stands for the noun *mankind*, although this noun is originally neuter (cf. OE *mancynn* n., as found in Clark Hall). A paraphrase of this sentence could be *because of the first sin (committed by Adam and Eve when they ate the apple and disobeyed God), mankind must die*. In this paraphrase I have replaced the passive form *is compelled* for a modal verb, *must*, because their connotations are fairly close, at least when *must* expresses root modality. It could be said, therefore, that examples such as (4.67) represent the closest stage of *neden* v.1 to the field of modality, in which *neden* v.2 is included.

Though the number of examples of *neden* v.1 in my ME corpus is very low, it allows for some conclusions. Firstly, the use of this verb decreases gradually in the ME period. Secondly, its meanings keep the main distinctive OE features, that is, it may express both physical and social force, which in turn may be based on hierarchical or religious reasons. And, thirdly, the passive constructions of *neden* v.1 represent a bridge between the expression of physical force and the expression of metaphorical forces of the type that may be found with *neden* v.2, because in both cases the subject is the agonist, and the meaning expressed is related to a type of necessity, which may be of a weaker or a stronger character.

The following paragraphs concentrate on the analysis of the examples of **neden v.2** as found in my corpus. To begin with, I must point out that there is an important difference between *neden* v.1 and *neden* v.2, as regards polarity. While

neden v.1 occurs in non-affirmative examples only on 25% of its occurrences, *neden* v.2 exhibits quite a high ratio of non-affirmative instances, 82 cases, namely more than 56% of its occurrences. As is well-known, PDE modal *need* is also mainly concerned with non-affirmative examples. Therefore, the ME data seem to begin to show this tendency. In addition, ME *thurven* like its predecessor OE *þurfan,* is also especially frequent in non-affirmative contexts (see above 4.4.1, and Table 4.10). This may imply that ME *thurven* and *neden* v.2 *compete* to some extent in the expression of the same kind of meanings. This is what I aim to show in the paragraphs which follow.

To begin with, ME *neden* v.2, the same as ME *thurven* and OE *þurfan*, does not always express necessity, but it may also express possibility, which may be defined in terms of cognitive barriers. When barriers occur in non-affirmative contexts, the event is blocked. This is the case of three examples out of the total 146 examples of *neden* v.2. Consider (4.68):

(4.68) *These dide merveilously wele, and so dide Sir Ewein, that a better knyght*
these   did marvellously well   and so did Sir Ewein that a better knight
*than he **neded** no man to be-holde.*
than he needed no man to behold
'These did marvellously well, and so did Sir Ewein, that no man could behold a better knight than him.'
(1450-1460 *Merlin*)

This is one of the three examples in which *neden* v.2 expresses the existence of a barrier. The context is similar to those of *thurven*, mentioned above, and illustrated with sentence (4.48) in this chapter, because in both cases the verb follows a comparative adjective in order to imply that there cannot be anything better than what is being described. The *MED* (*s.v. neden* v.2) does not include this type of construction, but, as mentioned, it occurs thrice in my corpus. All of them appear in the text *Merlin* and, therefore they may be considered to be influenced by textual factors such as the idiolect or the dialect of the author. In any case, these three examples represent a piece of evidence that *neden* v.2 and *thurven* express similar types of meaning in similar types of construction.

The other 143 examples of *neden* v.2 express some kind of necessity which can be described in terms of cognitive forces, as shown in Table 4.15, which follows the same model used above to outline the general semantic features of each verb, accounting for the origin and strength of the force:

ORIGIN	STRENGTH	N. OF EXAMPLES	TOTAL
EXTERNAL	STRONG	33	33
	WEAK		
INTERNAL	STRONG	48	70
	WEAK	22	
GENERAL	NEUTRAL	40	40
TOTAL	**STRONG**	**81**	**143**
	WEAK	**22**	
	NEUTRAL	**40**	

Table 4.15: Origin and intensity of the forces expressed by ME neden *v.2.*

We observe that *neden* v.2 may express forces originated in external or internal entities, as well as forces of diffuse origin, i.e. general forces. The strength with which they are exerted may be strong, weak or neutral. It is necessary now to break down this table into other tables describing with detail each of the forces expressed. As shown in Table 4.16, ME *neden* v.2 expresses **strong external force** on 33 occasions:

CLAUSE POLARITY / TYPE OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE		TOTAL
		LACK OF FORCE	FORCE NOT TO	
RELIGIOUS	15	7		**22**
HIERARCHICAL	1	6		**7**
APPROPRIATENESS			3	**3**
LEGAL	1			**1**
TOTAL	**17**	**13**	**3**	**33**

Table 4.16: Types of strong external forces expressed by neden *v.2, with specification of clause polarity.*

This table shows that strong external *neden* v.2 is mostly concerned with religious matters, though it may also be due to other types of notional forces. In the polarity axis, it is worth pointing out that nearly half of the instances of strong external *neden* v.2 are non-affirmative, and that in most of them the verb expresses absence of force, lack of necessity. As for affirmative religious force a good example is (4.69):

(4.69) *... and God lovith wol tenderly us while (we) be in synne, and so us* **nedyth**
…and God loves well tenderly us while (we) be in sin   and   so us need
to doe our neybor.
to do our neighbour
'… and God loves us tenderly while we are in sin, and so we must do to our neighbours (lit.: so it is necessary to do to our neighbours).'
(1373 *A Revelation of Love*)

One of the Ten Commandments says that we must love our neighbour. Sentence (4.69) expresses this idea, that is, there is a strong religious force which inflicts

on us the imposition to love our neighbours. This justifies the choice for *must* in the translation rather than *need*. A similar kind of strong external force expressed by *neden* v.2 is that based on a hierarchical superiority, which only occurs once in affirmative contexts in my corpus. Consider (4.70):

> (4.70) *so seid he to his folkes: "I pray you remembre wele thies matiers, for it* **nedith** *to take good aduise; for our abidyng here is fulle noious and dangerous / & oure departyng shold be shamefulý."*
> 'so he said to his folks: "I pray you remember well these matters, for you must take good advice; for our abiding here is fully annoying and dangerous and our departing should be shameful."'
> (1500 *The Three Kings' Sons*)

As is the case of (4.69), *neden* v.2 expresses the existence of a strong external force which is best translated with the modal of obligation *must*. In the case of (4.70), the source of the obligation is a knight who is giving commands to his people and reminds them that it is their obligation to take good advice. The only difference between examples such as (4.69) and examples such as (4.70) lies on the nature of the external authority which inflicts an imposition on the agonist. A third type of imposition is that which I have labelled as legal (cf. Table 4.16, fourth line). The verb *neden* v.2 is also found expressing an obligation inflicted by law on one occasion.

I turn now to the analysis of those instances of *neden* v.2 expressing the absence of a strong external force, namely lack of obligation or of necessity. According to Table 4.16, *neden* v.2 may express absence of forces based on religion and hierarchical superiority. A paradigmatic example of absence of religious obligation is (4.71):

> (4.71) *Here may we sen that we arn al bound to God for kinde, snd we arn al bound to God for grace. Here may we sen us* **nedith** *not gretly to seken fer out to knowen sundry kindes, but to holy church.*
> 'Here we may see that we are all bound to God for kind and grace. Here we may see we need not (lit.: it is not necessary for us to) search far out to know different kinds, but the holy church.'
> (1373 *A Revelation of Love*)

In sentence (4.71) *nedith* expresses the absence of necessity for believers to look for other types of religion, because they find all they need in the Holy Church. This means that the agonists, the believers, are exempted from wandering in search of explanations by an external antagonist, namely Christianity. In this respect, *neden* v.2 is semantically similar to *thurven*, because the latter also

shows a tendency to express absence of religious necessity or obligation, as seen above (cf. ex. (4.50)).

Finally, let us consider those instances in which *neden* v.2 occurs in non-affirmative contexts and expresses a force not to act in a given way. An interesting type of force not to is seen in sentence (4.72), where the source of the force is strong and external, and is based on the appropriateness of circumstances:

> (4.72) *... for she wolde speke to moche and clatre there it* **nedithe**   *not.*
> …for she would speak too much and clatter there it is-necessary not
> '(one out of three sisters is selected to be the queen, and the second has been rejected) for she would speak too much and there it is not appropriate to clatter.'
> (1484 *Book of the Knight and La Tour-Landry*)

The previous context of this sentence, which I provide between brackets, is crucial to understand the meaning of *nedithe*. It seems fairly obvious that if speaking too much were not necessary, it would not be a reason to reject the second sister, it would just be an unnecessary quality. However, it appears that her logorrhea is a handicap or disadvantage for her to become a queen. Therefore, the meaning of *nedithe* in (4.72) must be one of absence of appropriateness, and the meaning is that it is not appropriate for a queen to clatter. It could be claimed that this meaning is closer to expressing the existence of a barrier than the existence of a force. In other words, (4.72) and the other two examples which express absence of appropriateness might be understood to be examples of *neden* v.2 expressing possibility rather than necessity (sentence (4.72) would then mean 'it is impossible to clatter there'). Since the *MED* (*s.v. neden* v.2) does not mention that such a semantic value is possible, I have decided to analyse these examples as instances of absence of strong external force not to act in a given way. They are not examples of harsh prohibition, but rather the context explains that circumstances make some types of behaviour inopportune, and there is an implied force for the agonists not to act according to such types of behaviour.

After examining the possible semantic nuances of *neden* v.2 when it expresses strong external forces, we must move on in Table 4.15, and observe that in no case does this verb express weak external force. As repeatedly mentioned, the interpretation of a force as weak or strong is fairly subjective. As

a consequence, the absence of examples expressing this kind of force should not be necessarily interpreted as a gap in the semantic map of *neden* v.2, but may be attributed to my subjective analysis of the examples.

So far we far examined all possible types of strong forces expressed by *neden* v.2; now I will concentrate on the internally-rooted forces, paying attention to strong internal forces first, and to weak internal forces afterwards.

ME *neden* v.2 expresses **strong internal forces** in 48 instances of my corpus, as sketched in Table 4.17:

CLAUSE POLARITY TYPE OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE		TOTAL
		LACK OF FORCE	FORCE NOT TO	
INNER	25	19	1	**45**
INNER-PHYSIOLOGICAL	3			**3**
TOTAL	**28**	**19**	**1**	**48**

Table 4.17: Types of strong internal forces expressed by ME neden *v.2, with indication of clause polarity.*

Table 4.17 displays the possible types of strong internal forces expressed by *neden* v.2. Up to now all internal forces expressed by my verbs have been characterized simply as inner, because they have their origin in the agonist's self. However, Table 4.17 introduces a new type of internally rooted force which is not related to the agonist's self, to his will, desires of emotional needs, but to the agonist's physiological necessities. Table 4.17 also shows the polarity of the sentences in which the verb occurs. The percentage of non-affirmative sentences decreases as compared to strong external forces, but it still represents a fairly high proportion. Finally, as was the case with external forces, we also observe one negative example of strong internal force which expresses a force not to, rather than the absence of a force.

Beginning with the affirmative examples, (4.73) illustrates the use of *neden* v. 2 when expressing the presence of a strong internal force:

(4.73) *600 (...) he bad his folk leuen,*
    he bad his folk leave
   601 And only seruen him-self · & hijs rewle sechen,
    and only serve himself and his rule seek
   *602 And all þat nedly **nedeþ** þat schuld hem nout lakken.*
    and all that necessarily is-necessary that should them not lack
   'He bad his folk leave and only serve himself and search his rule, and all that
   is necessarily necessary, which they should not lack.'
   (1394 *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*)

The form *nedeþ* expresses a strong internal necessity for the agonists: the authority who bids them leave also suggests that they should search everything that they should not lack, that is, all that is 'necessarily necessary' for them. If it is necessarily necessary, the force expressed is strong, and if it refers to something they must have for themselves, the origin of such a force is internal. This clear example of strong internal force expressed by *neden* v.2 also illustrates the use of the adverb *nedly*, 'necessarily,' which is very frequent since Old English in combination with *þurfan* and will also be very common with ME *bihoven*. In sentence (4.73) it also serves the purpose of reinforcing the meaning of the verb.

As an example of what I have called strong inner-physiological force, witness (4.74):

> (4.74) *And þus schalt þou knowe when þin hors*   **nedeþ** *to be I-lete blod. Ʒif he*
> and thus shall   you know when your horse needs   to be let blood if he
> *be ranke*   *of blod he wol gnappe himself & rubbe him a-ʒens þe*
> be strongly-smelly of blood he will gnaw himself & rub   him against the
> *walle þat he stondeþ bi.*
> wall that he stands   by
> 'And thus you shall know when your horse needs to let blood. If it is strongly smelly of blood, it will gnaw itself and rub itself against the wall that it stands by.'
> (614 helsinki\cmhorses)

The other two examples of strong internal inner-physiological force expressed by *neden* v.2 are also related to blood-letting or venesection, which, according to the *OED* (*s.v. phlebotomy* n. 1), is a medical practice used therapeutically. When a person or an animal, as in this case, suffers some kind of illness, it may be necessary for them to have a vein cut so that blood flows. This practice must have been quite common to judge from the *OED* (*s.v. blood* n. I 1 (d)), which includes a series of quotations of different periods of English, as well as an explanation of the passive use of this expression, as is the case in sentence (4.74). Therefore, it seems fairly evident that in this context *neden* v.2 expresses strong internal force, and the origin of the force is not on the agonist's self, but on the agonist's body. Hence its characterization as inner-physiological force.

Moving on to the non-affirmative examples of *neden* v.2, we observe in Table 4.17 that in most of the cases it expresses absence of force, as in (4.75):

> (4.75) *What wirshippe shulde we wynne therby?*
> what   worship should we win   thereby

> *To ete þerof vs* **nedith** *it nought,*
> to eat thereof us is-necessary it not
> *We have lordshippe to make maistrie*
> we have lordship   to make mastery
> *Of alle þynge þat in erthe is wrought.*
> of all   thing that in earth is performed
> '(Eve tells Satan) What worship should we win thereby? We need not eat
> that, we have lordship to make mastery of all the things which are made on
> earth.'
> (1,721 helsinki\cmyork)

This example concerns the well-known passage of the Bible in which Satan
tempts Eve to eat the apple from the forbidden tree. Eve replies saying that she
and Adam have power to do anything on earth, and do not need to eat that piece
of fruit; they do not have any strong need to break the only prohibition they have
been imposed. Sentence (4.75), therefore, exemplifies the absence of a strong
internal force. This meaning is expressed by *neden* v.2 in other 18 instances in
my corpus.

The last possible type of strong internal force which may be expressed by
neden v.2 is, as Table 4.17 shows, the presence of a force not to act in a given
way, namely a sort of prohibition. It is not a self-evident example, and I provide
quite a large context to elucidate its real meaning:

> (4.76) *And seyst it is an hard thyng for to welde*
>   and   says it is an hard thing for to control
>   *A thyng that no man wole, his thankes, helde.*
>   a thing that no man would his thanks   hold
>   *Thus seistow, lorel, whan thow goost to bedde,*
>   thus you-say laurel when you   go to bed
>   *And that no wys man* **nedeth** *for to wedde,*
>   and that no wise man needs   for to wed
>   *Ne no man that entendeth unto hevene*
>   nor no man that intends   to heaven
>   'Says you, it's hard to manage or control
>   A thing no man would keep of his own will.
>   That's how you talk, pig, when you go to bed,
>   Saying that no sane man need ever wed,
>   Nor any man who hopes to go to heaven.' (from Wright 1985: 226)
>   (4,405 helsinki\cmctvers)

This fragment from the Prologue of *The Wife of Bath's Tale* exhibits an
ambiguous use of the form *nedeth*. The translation I offer is taken from Wright
(1985: 226); he opts to interpret this verb as expressing absence of force, namely
'a sane man or a man who wants to go to Heaven need not get married.'

However, it does not seem incoherent to interpret that *nedeth* actually expresses a force not to, namely 'a sane man or a man who wants to go to Heaven must not get married,' taking into account the previous context: if "a thing no man would keep of his own will" refers to marriage, it makes sense that marriage does not refer to an unnecessary requisite to be sane or to go to Heaven, but rather it seems to refer to something to be avoided. If this line of reasoning is correct, it makes sense to consider that *neden* v.2 in sentence (4.76) expresses a force not to.

After the analysis of *neden* v.2 as a verb expressing strong internal force, I will proceed to examine those examples in which it expresses **weak internal force** (cf. Table 4.15). This type of meaning occurs 22 times in my corpus, 11 of which are affirmative, while other 11 are non-affirmative and express absence of force. Sentence (4.77) is an instance of affirmative force:

> (4.77) *And Salomon seith: 'Nevere in they lyf to thy wyf, ne to thy child, ne to thy freend, ne yeve no power over thyself, for bettre it were that thy children aske of thy persone thynges that hem* **nedeth** *than thou see thyself in the handes of they children.'*
> 'And Salomon says: "Never in your life give power to your wife, or to your child, or to your friend over yourself, for it is better that your children ask to your person for things that they need, than you see yourself in the hands of your children."'
> (891 helsinki\cmctpros)

In this sentence Salomon gives somebody a piece of advice: if you want to control everything, make sure you are independent even if people will ask you for things they need. I consider that this type of necessity is weak, because I assume that it does not refer to strong necessities related to topics such as health, but rather to weaker types of everyday necessities, here labelled as 'things.'

As an instance of absence of weak internal force, consider (4.78):

> (4.78) *1461   What profrestow thi light here forto selle? (...)*
>   what offer-you   your light here to sell
>   *1463   We wol the   nought, vs* **nedeth**   *no day haue."*
>   we want you (obl.) not   us is-necessary no day have
>   'Why do you offer to sell your light here? (...) We don't want you, we need not have day'
>   (1380 Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, lines 1461-1463)

Sentence (4.78) illustrates the use of *neden* v.2 to convey internal force, because the meaning of *nedeth* is somewhat reinforced by the previous *wol*, which

expresses volition, an evident marker of internal feelings. I consider that the force is weak, because it is not related to indispensable matters, and the verb is used to reject an offer from a merchant who intends to sell light.

To finish the semantic analysis of ME *neden* v.2, I will proceed now to analyse those instances in which this verb expresses forces originated in a diffuse, nebulous authority, namely **general forces**. The expression of general forces is an important innovation for ME *neden* v.2, and it is also very frequent, since it occurs in 40 out of 146 examples (more than 27%). This is also a common meaning of ME *thurven* (9 occasions out of 55, more than 16%), as seen above. Table 4.18 outlines the classification of the neutral general forces expressed by *neden* v.2:

CLAUSE POLARITY \ TYPE OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE LACK OF FORCE	TOTAL
GENERAL	8	32	40
TOTAL	8	32	40

Table 4.18: Neutral general neden *v.2 with indication of clause polarity.*

The notional type of force expressed by general *neden* v.2 is labelled simply 'general,' because, as repeatedly mentioned, sometimes it is difficult to define the source of the potency (cf. Langacker (1999: 308)). Horizontally, Table 4.18 specifies the polarity of the sentences in which the verb occurs. Only on eight occasions does the verb express the existence of a force. Witness (4.79):

(4.79) *and also we wile   þat þe catel þat leueþ be put in-to þe box in kepynge of*
        and   also we want that the goods that leave be put into the box in keeping of
        the mene, þat, ȝif (...) eny salarye be ordeyned to prest,   or what
        the men that if (…)   any salary be o rdained to pay-in-advance or what
        *þing   þat **nedeþ**   touchyng the bretherhede, it schal be take of þe box*
        thing that is-necessary touching the brotherhood it shall be taken of the box
        holiche.
        wholly
        'and also we want the remaining of the goods to be put into the box in the keeping of men, that if (...) any salary is ordered to be paid in advance, or any thing that is necessary concerning the brotherhood, it shall be wholly taken from the box.'
        (11,750 helsinki\cmdocu3)

The type of necessity expressed by *nedeþ* in this sentence is of an ambiguous nature: it cannot be said to originate in an external entity, or in an internal one. This may be so because the agonist, the one who experiences the necessity seems

to be the brotherhood, and therefore all kinds of necessities which may be experienced by the brotherhood can be included, namely internal necessities (such as a potential need for food), and external necessities (such as a potential obligation with respect to taxes).

On most of the occasions the sentence is non-affirmative, which results in the expression of absence of force. The expression of absence of general forces is common with absence of an explicit agonist (which may or may not be recovered from the context, as in (4.79)). Consider (4.80):

> (4.80) *5.1699   It **nedeth**   noght to tellen al,*
>   it is-necessary not   to   tell all
> *5.1700   The matiere is so general.*
>   the matter   is so general
> 'It is not necessary to tell all, the matter is so general.'
> (1390 John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Book 5, lines 1699-1700)

Although (4.79) and (4.80) have been analysed as lacking an experiencer, there is an important difference between both sentences, because in (4.79), as just seen, the experiencer can be recovered from the context, while in (4.80), it cannot.

As was the case with ME *thurven*, it is very frequent to find *neden* v.2 combined with verbs such as *tell* or *speak*, in contexts where the narrator refers to the evident sequence of events which need no explanation. In sentence (4.80) there is no experiencer present, but there may be one, as in (4.81):

> (4.81) *The goode new gyse   nowadays I wyll not dysalow.*
>   the   good new method nowadays I will not disallow
>   *I dyscomende   þe vycyouse gyse; I prey haue me excusyde,*
>   I not-recommend the vicious method I pray have me excused
>   *I **nede** not to speke of yt, yowr reson wyll tell it yow.*
>   I need not to speak of it your reason will tell it you (obl.)
>   *Take þat ys to be takyn and leue þat ys to be refusyde.*
>   take what is to be taken and leave what is to be refused
>   '(Mercy to Mankind) The good new method I will not disallow. I do not recommend the vicious old method; I pray have me excused, I need not speak of it, your reason will tell you about it. Take what is to be taken and leave what is to be left.'
>   (1,585 helsinki\cmmankin)

The experiencer of this sentence is *I*. Both in (4.80) and (4.81) the verb *neden* v.2 is followed by a verb of saying, and, in my opinion, in both cases it expresses the absence of a general force. This is the most common environment when this verb occurs in non-affirmative contexts (32 cases).

To conclude the semantic analysis of the features of *neden* v.2, it must be said that this verb expresses a wide range of meanings, as shown in the following table, which does not include the three instances of *neden* v.2 expressing absence of possibility:

CLAUSE POLARITY ORIGIN AND STRENGTH OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE		TOTAL
		LACK OF FORCE	FORCE NOT TO	
STRONG EXTERNAL	17	13	3	**33**
WEAK EXTERNAL				**0**
STRONG INTERNAL	28	19	1	**48**
WEAK INTERNAL	11	11		**22**
NEUTRAL GENERAL	8	32		**40**
TOTAL	**64**	**75**	**4**	**143**

Table 4.19: Types of forces expressed by ME neden *v.2 according to origin, strength and clause polarity.*

Several conclusions can be drawn from the data in this table. Firstly, *neden* v.2 expresses primarily internal forces (nearly 50% of its occurrences), which contrasts with *thurven*, which is mainly concerned with the expression of external forces (cf. Table 4.10 above). Secondly, *neden* v.2 seems to emerge as a ME verb especially accurate for the expression of necessity in a general sense (most of the times without a clear experiencer, as will be seen below). Finally, ME *neden* v.2 has a relatively high tendency to occur in non-affirmative contexts (more than 56%, including the three instances which express barriers). We can relate this to ME *thurven*, which shows a tendency to occur in non-affirmative contexts (more than 94% of its occurrences, cf. Table 4.10 above), and to PDE modal *need*, which also has a tendency to occur in these contexts. Therefore, *neden* v.2 seems to be on its way towards becoming a good candidate to take over the position left by *thurven*.

It is important to highlight that ME *neden* v.2 may express three different meanings when used in non-affirmative contexts, the third of which does not appear in Table 4.19, because it does not concern a force, but a barrier. The most frequent meaning is lack of force, that is, absence of obligation or necessity, which is the same meaning conveyed by ME *thurven* and PDE *need not*. The second meaning it may express in non-affirmative contexts is force not to, that is prohibition, a meaning expressed by OE *þurfan* as seen above (section 3.4.1.1) and by PDE *must not*. The last meaning conveyed by *neden* v.2 in non-

affirmative contexts is barrier, that is, a possibility meaning usually conveyed by PDE *cannot*. This latter meaning has also been found for ME *thurven*, which seems to reveal that the expression of necessity and the expression of possibility are not far apart (cf. the notions on the logical relations between these two modal meanings in section 2.2.2). Nevertheless, this semantic richness is not witnessed in PDE *need*. The semantic productiveness of Middle English *need*, therefore, is expected to decrease in the eModE period in its way towards the PDE situation. Before analysing the data obtained from the eModE corpus, however, we must first have a look at the syntactic features of *neden* v.1 and *neden* v.2.

4.4.2.2. Syntactic features of Middle English *neden*

As was the case with the semantic features, the syntax of *neden* v.1 is very different from that of *neden* v.2, and this makes it indispensable to analyse them separately. I will first explain the complementation patterns of *neden* v.1, and then those of *neden* v.2. As was the case with OE *neodian*, we must analyse in different steps the active and the passive instances of *neden* v.1, because they render different types of complements.

Beginning with the nine active examples of **neden v.1**, the agonist is always expressed via a direct object NP, as opposed to OE *neodian* (cf. section 3.4.2.2, Table 3.31), which could select the presence of the agonist or not. Therefore, in Middle English *neden* v.1 may be complemented by a single noun phrase functioning as direct object (three cases), by a noun phrase direct object and a *to*-infinitival clause (four cases), and by a noun phrase direct object and a *to*-prepositional phrase (two cases), as is illustrated below.

ME *neden* v.1 may have the agonist as the only complement of the verb, when this expresses physical force, as in sentence (4.65) above, and also when it expresses hierarchical force, as in (4.82):

(4.82) *2019   Feowere here weren riche; þe haueden ferden muchele.*
            few   here   were rich who had   travel much
      2020   þeo **nedden** *al þæ oðere; & heom ne[ð]ðer sætten.*
            they oppress all the others & them nether   set
      'Few were rich, (those) who had travelled much. They oppressed all the others, and set them nether / brought them low.'
      (1205 Layamon's *Brut* (Ms Cotton Caligula), lines 2019-2020)

The noun phrase *al þæ oðere*, 'all the others,' is the direct object of *nedden* and its only complement. This syntactic pattern occurs three times with active *neden* v.1.

On some occasions the sentence also specifies the type of imposition which is inflicted on the agonist. As mentioned, the imposition may have the form of a *to*-infinitival clause, or a *to*-prepositional phrase, as seen in (4.83) and (4.84) respectively:

> (4.83) *Willfulnesse letteð   þe mannes shrift.   þat þincheð uuel þat man him*
> wilfulness   obstructs the man's confession who thinks much that man him
> *wile **neden** his sinnes to forleten.*
> will compel his sins to forsake
> 'Wilfulness obstructs the man's confession, who thinks (much) that he is compelled to forsake (i.e. deny) his sins.'
> (3,242 helsinki\cmtrinit)

> (4.84) *Sume weneð bien sacleas of ðessere senne, for ðan ðe   me   **nett***
> some   think   be innocent of these   sins   because man / one compel
> *hem to ðan aðe.*
> them to the oath
> 'Some think they are innocent of these sins, because they are compelled to the oath/curse.'
> (1,252 helsinki\cmvices1)

In sentence (4.83) the imposition inflicted on the agonist, *him*, is expressed by the *to*-infinitival clause *his sinnes to forleten*. This is the most frequent type of complementation of *neden* v.1 in active sentences, since it occurs in four out of the nine cases. This is an interesting innovation of Middle English, because this construction was the least common one for active *neodian* in Old English (cf. Table 3.31), which preferred *that*-clauses to all other types of complementation. The ME syntactic complementation pattern of *neden* v.1, therefore, comes closer to the types of complements found in Present-Day English with semantically similar verbs such as *compel* or *force*.

Sentence (4.84), in turn, illustrates the possibility for *neden* v.1 to be complemented by a *to*-prepositional phrase, *to ðan aðe*, a type of complementation which was also productive in Old English.

As far as the passive instances of *neden* v.1 are concerned, in all six cases the verb is complemented by a *to*-infinitival clause:

> (4.85) *And so Crist suffrede more # freely þan Baptist or oþre martires, but he*
> and   so Christ suffered more freely than Baptist or other martyrs   but he

> *was* more **nedid**   *by # wisdam to suffren as hymself hadde cast.*
> was more compelled by wisdom to suffer   as himself had cast
> 'And Christ suffered more freely than (John) Baptist or other martyrs, but he
> was more constrained / compelled by wisdom to suffer as he himself had
> cast/designed (*OED*, s.v. cast v. VII 44b).'
> (8,131 helsinki\cmwycser)

In addition to the *to*-infinitival clause headed by *to suffren*, in this sentence *neden* v.1 has another complement, which functions as agent, *by wisdam*, which would be subject in a corresponding active sentence paraphrasable as 'wisdom compels / constrains him to suffer.' This is the only example of passive *neden* v.1 in which an agent complement occurs; the remaining five instances only take the *to*-infinitival clause as complement, as seen above in example (4.67). It is interesting to note, however, that the agent of (4.85) is inanimate. Since in all examples of active *neden* v.1 the subject is animate, it does not seem unreasonable to consider that the choice of the passive voice in this example is a strategy to avoid an awkward structure with an inanimate subject.

In general, passive *neden* v.1, therefore, has an agonist subject and is complemented by a *to*-infinitival clause. It must be borne in mind that the six passive examples of ME *neden* v.1 are the last ME instantiation of this verb, and they occur when active *neden* v.1 has already disappeared from the language (i.e. in M3). This seems to imply that passive *neden* v.1 in combination with a *to*-infinitival complement is a somewhat fossilized form, in a similar way to PDE semi-auxiliaries such as *be obliged to* (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 143), which differs from its active counterpart on a series of aspects (cf., for instance, Westney 1995: 18-37). It is not fitting to subject passive *neden* v.1 to the tests of PDE semi-auxiliaries, because we have very few examples and the results would not be conclusive, but we can state that passive *neden* v.1, indeed, differs from its active counterpart, at least, as far as its lifetime is concerned, because active *neden* v.1 disappears earlier from the language. We can also formulate the hypothesis that the potential semi-auxiliary nature of passive *neden* v.1 acted as a bridge in the linguistic transition from *neden* v.1 to *neden* v.2, because, as mentioned, both passive *neden* v.1 and *neden* v.2 take agonist subjects, and, as will be seen in the paragraphs below, both *neden* v.1 and *neden* v.2 have a tendency to be followed by *to*-infinitival clauses.

In this final part of the section, I want to pay attention to the syntactic features of **neden v.2**. The 146 examples of this verb must be separated into two

groups depending on the presence or absence of an experiencer. In 42 instances *neden* v.2 occurs without an experiencer, that is, the verb expresses necessity but does not specify who experiences such a necessity. In the other 104 cases the experiencer is present.

Beginning with the 42 cases in which there is **no experiencer**, which may be paraphrased as 'X is necessary,' my corpus records two types of examples (all of which occur in M3 and M4): those in which the thing needed is expressed by a noun phrase (15 examples), and those in which the thing needed is expressed by an infinitival clause (27 examples). A prototypical example of an NP as the thing needed is (4.86):

> (4.86) *and these iii   that I shall seyen,* **neden***:*   *love, longing, pite.*
>   and these three that I shall say   are-necessary love   longing pity
>   'and these three things that I shall say are necessary: love, longing and pity.'
>   (1373 *A Revelation of Love*)

The only argument of *neden* in sentence (4.86) is its subject, *these iii that I shall seyen*. The context does not specify who the experiencer of such a necessity is, but the verb *neden* is only used to express the existence of the necessity and of the thing needed. Another possible pattern for *neden* v.2 when it only expresses the thing needed is (4.87):

> (4.87) *This chapitre is so generall evere in oon that <u>there</u>* **nedith**   <u>*no more*</u>
>   this   chapter   is so general   ever in one that there is-necessary no more
>   <u>*declaracioun*</u>*; but forget it not…*
>   explanation   but forget it not
>   'This chapter is so general ever in one that there is no need for more explanation; but do not forget it…'
>   (3,903 helsinki\cmastro)

Sentence (4.87), as (4.86) above, has a noun phrase which stands for the thing needed, *no more declaracioun*. The difference between (4.86) and (4.87) is the presence of the dummy subject *there* in the latter sentence. It has been explained in section 2.3 that *hit* may occur in impersonal constructions in which there is not any experiencer, in order to fill the empty slot which is usually occupied by the personal subject. The form *there* is an alternative for *hit*, and in fact it occurs twice in my corpus (in M3 and M4) in the same context as (4.87), that is, in clear subject pre-verbal position.

As mentioned, when *neden* v.2 is construed without an experiencer, it may also have an infinitival theme which stands for the thing or the circumstance

needed. These infinitival clauses may be of different types depending on the nature of the infinitive. Most of these sentences contain a dummy *hit* in subject position (80%). Table 4.20 clarifies all these aspects:

DUMMY *HIT* / THEME	+ *HIT*	- *HIT*	TOTAL
TO-INFINITIVAL CLAUSE	14	1	15
ELIDED CLAUSE	7	1	8
BARE INFINITIVAL CLAUSE	2	2	4
TOTAL	23	4	27

Table 4.20: Type of infinitival theme of neden *v.2 without an explicit experiencer.*

This table displays the possible types of infinitival themes of *neden* v.2 from most to least frequent. *To*-infinitival clauses seem to be the favourite sentential theme of *neden* without an experiencer, since it represents more than half of its occurrences. Since it occurs nearly always with a dummy *hit*, I have selected sentence (4.88) to exemplify this type of construction (cf. also (4.80) above for an illustration of this type of construction):

> (4.88) *Of þeese þre þou schalt fynde wretyn in anoþer   book of anoþer mans*
> of these three you shall find   written in another book of another man's
> *werk moche betyr þen I can telle þee;   and þerfore it **nedeþ**   not*
> work much better than I can tell you (obl.) and therefore it is-necessary not
> *here to telle þee #   of þe qualitees of hem.*
> here to tell you (obl.) of the qualities of them
> 'Of these three you shall find written much better work than I can tell you in another man's work; and therefore it is not necessary here to tell you of their qualities.'
> (4,828 helsinki\cmcloud)

Sentence (4.88) contains a dummy *hit*, the verb, and a *to*-infinitival clause expressing the thing needed. The verb which heads the *to*-infinitival clause is *tell*, and the polarity of the sentence is non-affirmative. As mentioned above, verbs of saying are very commonly found with *neden* v.2, and this verb exhibits a strong tendency to occur in non-affirmative contexts (more than 56% of its occurrences).

The second line of Table 4.20 shows the second most common type of infinitival theme with *neden* v.2 when it does not have an experiencer, namely elided clause. As already mentioned in this study, ellipsis may be considered a symptom of auxiliary-like character, except when it occurs in a particular set of contexts (cf. Warner 1993: 112-113). The eight cases of elided infinitival clause which Table 4.20 records belong to those exceptional contexts, since the verb

neden occurs in subordinate clauses, and the ellipsis probably responds to the wish to avoid the repetition of the infinitive mentioned in the main clause. A clear example is (4.89):

> (4.89) *Þe sustris first wole be confessid* <u>*whan it* **nediþ**</u>   *& schul resseyue*
> the sisters first want be confessed when it is-necessary & should receive
> *twies eche moniþ in reuerence & deuocioun.*
> twice each month in reverence & devotion
> 'The sisters first want to be confessed when it is necessary and should receive twice a month in reverence and devotion.'
> (1450 *Rewle of Sustris Menouresses enclosed*)

Sentence (4.89) contains a subordinate temporal clause, *whan it nediþ*, which shows ellipsis of an infinitive, *be confessid*, because such an infinitive occurs in the immediately preceding context.[20] The other instances of ellipsis also occur in subordinate clauses: another temporal, two comparative, two causal, one *that*-clause, and one conditional clause.

Moving downwards in Table 4.20, we observe that *neden* v.2 may also be followed by a bare infinitival clause, though this construction only occurs in four instances. All four occur in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, as (4.90):

> (4.90) *1643   It* **nedeth**   *naught this matere ofte* <u>*steere;*</u>
>   it is-necessary not   this matter again disturb
> *1644   ffor wystestow myn herte wel, Pandare.*
>   you you-know my heart well Pandare
> 'It is not necessary to disturb this matter for you know my heart well, Pandare.'
> (1380 Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*)

This sentence illustrates a basic use of *neden* without experiencer and followed by a bare infinitive. Although the use of bare infinitives is usually associated with auxiliaries, I wonder whether examples such as (4.90) are relevant, because the absence of an experiencer cancels out the possibility of interpreting *neden* as an auxiliary. When dealing with *neden* v.2 in experiencer verb constructions, we will check whether bare infinitives are commonly found or not.

Let us move on now to the 104 examples of *neden* v.2 which contain **an explicit experiencer**. These are, then, examples of experiencer verb

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[20] It must be highlighted that if it were not elided, *nediþ* would be followed by a passive infinitive. Examples of this type of construction with an explicit passive infinitive will be discussed below.

constructions which may be sub-divided according to the type of theme taken by the verb: zero (one case), noun phrase or *of*-prepositional phrase[21] (50 cases), and infinitival clause (53 cases). The single instance of zero complementation is (4.91):

> (4.91) *Eueryman.*
> 283   *O, that is a symple aduyse in dede.*   signature B.ii
>   oh that is a simple advice   indeed
> 284   *Gentyll felawe, helpe me in my necessyte!*
>   gentle   fellow help   me in my necessity
> 285   *We haue loued longe, and now I* **nede***.*
>   we have loved   long and now I am-in-need-of-help
> 'Everyman: "Oh! That is simple indeed. Gentle fellow, help me in my necessity! We have loved [each other] long, and now I am in need of help!"'
> (1485 *Everyman*, lines 283-285)

The verb *nede* occurs on its own in an absolute use meaning 'be in need of help' (cf. *MED s.v. neden* v.2 1a (b)). In other absolute uses, this verb may mean 'be needy or poor' (cf. also *OED s.v. need* v.2 III 7.b), just like OE *þurfan*, as is evidenced in the present participle of this OE verb, *þearfende*, whose primary meaning is 'poor, needy.' None of the absolute uses of *neden* v.2 can be ascribed to any of the types of experiencer verb constructions mentioned by Allen (1995).

When *neden* v.2 has an explicit experiencer and a nominal theme (50 cases), it exhibits a variety of possible constructions, most of which are identified by Allen (1995), as shown in the following table:

ALLEN'S (1995) TYPE	OCCURRENCES	TOTAL
Type I (oblique experiencer + nominative theme)	30	
Type II (nominative experiencer + genitive theme)[22]	9	50
Type N (oblique experiencer + genitive theme)	1	
Variants of Type II	10	

Table 4.21: Experiencer verb constructions of neden *v.2 with a nominal theme.*

This table shows the possible syntactic patterns exhibited by *neden* v.2 when it has an experiencer and a nominal theme or an *of*-prepositional phrase according to Allen's (1995) classification; in addition, it also records some types of construction with this experiencer verb which are not mentioned by Allen (1995).

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[21] Prepositional phrases introduced by *of* have been included into the group of nominal complementation, because, as will be seen below, an *of*-prepositional phrase may be considered as a genitival noun phrase.

[22] As will be seen below, these examples of Type II constructions are dubious since the case of the theme is ambiguous. Since it is not possible to determine what the case is, I have opted to analyse them as potential examples of Type II constructions.

The most common type of construction for *neden* v.2 when it has an experiencer and a nominal theme is what Allen (1995) calls **Type I**, namely those constructions in which the experiencer is inflected for the oblique case and the theme is nominative. This construction is found once in M1, 18 times in M3 and 11 in M4. A M3 example from my corpus is (4.92):

> (4.92) *Such lyt þer lemed in alle þe strate* <u>*Hem*</u> **nedde** <u>*nawþer sunne ne mone.*</u>
> such light there shined in all the street them needed neither sun   nor moon
> 'Such light shined in the street (that) neither sun or moon was necessary for them / that they needed no sun or moon.'
> (1400 *Pearl*)

The experiencer of the verb *nedde* is the oblique pronoun *hem*, 'them,' and the theme is the nominative noun phrase *nawþer sunne ne mone*, 'neither sun or moon.' It must be noted that the position of the experiencer and the theme in my corpus is most of the times the same as in this sentence, that is, the experiencer occupies prototypical subject preverbal position, and the theme occurs after the verb, as complements usually do, despite its nominative case which would imply that it has subject-like characteristics. Although I will not get into this controversial topic, some scholars consider that the preverbal position of the oblique experiencer together with other features are revealing of its subject status in constructions such as (4.92), as explained above (cf. section 2.3.2; Elmer 1981; Allen 1995, among others).

The second line of Table 4.21 shows that *neden* v.2 may also be found in Allen's (1995) **Type II**, which ideally consists of a nominative experiencer and a genitive theme (this construction is recorded for the first time in M3). A word of explanation, however, is in order here. As has been explained above, Middle English is the period of the decay of morphological inflections and the rise of analytical markers such as prepositions (cf. section 4.2 above). For this reason, it is easy to understand that the expected genitive themes are not always noun phrases inflected for the genitive, but it may also be the case that the theme is an *of*-prepositional phrase, because it seems to be the *natural* substitute for genitival noun phrases. While I have not found any construction with a clear genitive, my corpus does record *of*-prepositional phrases in three out of the 9 instances of Type II constructions. One of such instances is (4.93):

> (4.93) "*now it is tyme to auenge you, For he is without eny armure or wepen /he*
> *may not escape you / and yf we see that* <u>*ye*</u> **nede** <u>*of help*</u>   folio 45b   *we*
> *shall helpe you.*"

'now it is time to avenge you, for he is without any armour or weapons, he may not escape you, and if we see that you need help, we shall help you.'
(1500 *Melusine*)

The nominative pronoun *ye* and the prepositional phrase *of help* stand for the experiencer and the theme respectively. From my point of view, this kind of construction is very close to Allen's (1995) Type II constructions with experiencer verbs, because, as mentioned, *of*-prepositional phrases are doomed to substitute genitive noun phrases in the ME period. In addition to *of*-prepositional phrases, I have also included under Type II constructions other structures in which the theme is not clearly inflected for the genitive case. In four of those instances, the theme is an ambiguously marked noun phrase, because it consists of a pronoun such as *what*. Consider (4.94):

> (4.94) *and it is beter to thanke God thanne to requere hym, for he wote beter*
> and   it is better to thank God than   to require   him for he knows better
> *what **nedithe** man or woman thanne hem selff.*
> what needs   man or woman   than   them self
> 'and it is better to thank God than to require him, for he knows better what a man or a woman needs than themselves.'
> (1484 *Book of the Knight and La Tour-Landry*)

In (4.94) the theme, *what* is an invariable pronoun, and therefore, sentences such as this one cannot be said to clearly deviate from Allen's (1995) Type II. For this reason, I have opted to include them as potential examples of this type of experiencer verb construction. A final type of structure which I have included into this group is that in which the theme is an elided noun phrase, as in (4.95), for example:

> (4.95) *4. þyngus þou schalt loke in a hors. & þat þei faile noȝt. ffurste þe schap of*
> four things you shall look in a horse & that they fail not   first the shape of
> *an hors þat þou schalt wite þat he be of good heythe to such traualie as þou*
> a horse that you shall know that he be of good height to such travail as you
> ***nedest** & þat he be þicke & wel I-growe to his heythe.*
> need   & that he be thick & well grown to his height
> 'Four things you must look for in a horse and (must) not be absent. First, the shape of the horse. You must know that it (i.e. the horse) is of appropriate height for those travails as you need, and that it is thick and well grown for its height.'
> (220 helsinki\cmhorses)

Probably the reason why the theme is elided in the clause *as þou nedest* is that it is inserted into a context which clarifies the meaning. The obvious theme of such

a clause should make reference to the height of the horse, either by using these words or by means of a pronoun (namely *you need a tall horse*, or *you need it*). Since in this case the theme is elided, it cannot be said that this is not case of Type II, and for this reason I have included the two sentences with elided themes as potential examples of Type II.

The third possible type of experiencer verb construction in which *neden* v.2 is found in my corpus concerns Allen's (1995) **Type N construction**, consisting of an oblique experiencer and a genitive theme. The only possible instance of this construction in my corpus is (4.96):

> (4.96) *2.3361   Forthi   to thi salvacion*
>   for-this-reason to your salvation
>   *2.3362   Thou   schalt have enformacioun,*
>   you (nom.) shall have information
>   *2.3363   Such as Silvestre schal the   teche:*
>   such as Sylvester shall you (obl.) teach
>   *2.3364   <u>The</u>   **nedeth**   <u>of non other leche</u>.*
>   you (obl.) is-necessary of no other physician
>   'For this reason, for your salvation, you shall have information, such as Sylvester shall teach you: you need no other physician.'
>   (1390 John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (Book II, lines 3361-3364))

The experiencer of the verb *nedeth* is oblique, *the*, and the theme is the prepositional phrase *of non other leche*. Following the same line of reasoning as above, I consider that this *of*-prepositional phrase is not far from the expected genitive noun phrase in Allen's (1995) Type N construction, and, for this reason I analyse (4.96) as the only instance of such a pattern in my corpus.

Finally, Table 4.21 shows that *neden* v.2 may also occur in experiencer verb constructions which do not fit into Allen's (1995) classification, but which can be considered **variants of Type II;** the experiencer is nominative and the nominal theme is either oblique or unmarked, probably due to the late date of composition of these examples: two are from M3 and eight from M4. The theme is a morphologically unmarked noun phrase in six instances, as in (4.97):

> (4.97) <u>*I*</u> **nede** <u>*no grete helpe*</u> *there.*
>   'I need no great help there / I don't need great help there.'
>   (1480-1490 *Paston Letters*)

The only type of Allen's experiencer verb constructions into which this sentence could fit is Type II, because the experiencer is clearly nominative, *I*. However, the noun phrase *no grete helpe* in (4.97) is morphologically unmarked and,

hence, it cannot be said to be genitive, as is the rule in Allen's Type II. The line which separates examples such as (4.97), classified as a variant of Type II construction, and sentence (4.94) above classified as a Type II construction is too thin, but still decisive. In the case of (4.94) above the theme is ambiguously marked, that is, the nominal element which stands as theme is invariable and, as such, it could in no case exhibit a genitival ending, even if it is meant to be genitive. In the case of (4.97), however, the theme is clearly morphological unmarked, that is, there is no ambiguity stemming from the nature of the nominal theme and, for this reason, sentences such as this have been considered as variants of Type II construction.

In addition to instances such as this one, I have found other sentences in which the experiencer is nominative and the theme is clearly oblique, as (4.98):

> (4.98) *& I thanke you of thonour   that ye proffre me / but as for this tyme*
> & I   thank you of the-honour that you offer me   but as for this time
> *present I shall not **nede** you,   For I haue men of armes ynough*
> present I shall not need you (obl.) for I have men of arms enough
> *for taccomplyss   myn enterprise.*
> for to-accomplish my enterprise
> 'And I thank you for the honour that you offer me, but as for this present time, I shall not need you, for I have enough men of arms to accomplish my enterprise.'
> (1500 *Melusine*)

The theme of (4.98) is the pronoun *you*, which is the oblique form of the nominative *ye*. Therefore, it is not genitive, and the four sentences which have the same pattern as (4.98) cannot be considered Type II constructions, but they must be treated apart, as a different type of construction with *neden* v.2, which remains an experiencer verb.

After dealing with the types of constructions in which *neden* v.2 occurs when it has an experiencer an a nominal theme, I will concentrate on the last and most interesting section of the syntactic analysis of this verb, namely those constructions in which it occurs with an experiencer and an infinitival clause functioning as theme. This pattern occurs in 53 instances in my corpus (36.3%), and all of them may be classified according to Allen's (1995) taxonomy, namely Type S, Type 'Personal' or Type *hit*. Since I consider the nature of the infinitival clause to be relevant for my analysis, I combine this parameter with the type of experiencer verb construction in the following table:

ALLEN'S TYPE / THEME	TYPE S	TYPE 'PERSONAL'	TYPE *HIT*	TOTAL
To- / *for to-*infinitival clause	21	11	7	39
Bare infinitival clause	4	4	1	9
To- passive infinitival clause		4		4
Elided infinitival clause		1		1
TOTAL	25	20	8	53

Table 4.22: Experiencer verb constructions of neden *v.2 with an infinitival theme.*

Vertically, Table 4.22 shows that the most common type of construction with *neden* v.2 when it has an experiencer and an infinitival theme is Allen's (1995) Type S (25 instances), which is the only construction with sentential theme recorded in M1. Horizontally, we observe that the nature of the infinitival theme is most often marked by the presence of the particles *to* or *for to* (39 instances). In the following paragraphs I explain in detail each of the possible patterns sketched in Table 4.22, taking as starting point the type of experiencer verb construction.

Allen's (1995) **Type S construction** with experiencer verbs consists of an oblique experiencer[23] and a sentential theme, which, in the case of *neden*, is always infinitival. As mentioned, the most common type of infinitive found in this construction, as well as in the others, is the infinitive preceded by the marker *to* or *for to*, as in (4.99):

> (4.99) *And therefore <u>us</u> **nedith**   mekil <u>for to prayen</u> our lord of grace that we*
> and therefore us is-necessary much for to pray   our lord of grace that we
> *may have this reverent drede and meke love, of his gift, in herte and in*
> may have this reverent dread and meek love of his gift   in heart and in
> *werke; for withouten this no man may plesyn God.*
> work   for without   this no man may please God
> 'And therefore we need / must very much pray our lord of grace that we
> may have this reverent dread and meek love, of this gift, in heart and in
> work; for without this no man may please God.'
> (1373 *A Revelation of Love*)

As in the examples above, the underlined elements of the sequence are the experiencer and the theme. Actually, in the case of infinitival clauses, I only underline the head of the clause in order to clearly visualize the type of infinitive involved. In sentence (4.99) the infinitive is marked by the particle *for to*, and the

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[23] At times, the experiencer is also expressed by means of a *to*-prepositional phrase, which stands for the oblique case. As mentioned above (section 4.2), Middle English is the period in which morphological marking is gradually substituted by analytical devices such as prepositions.

experiencer occurs, as in most cases, in preverbal position. This is the most common pattern found with *neden* v.2 when its theme is infinitival, and, in fact, the first occurrence in my corpus dates from subperiod M1:

(4.100) ...*habbeð ase monie as* <u>*ow*</u>   *to* **neodeð**   <u>*to bedde & to rugge.*</u>
          …have   as many as you (obl.) to is-necessary to beg   & to rug
          '...(they) have as many as you need to beg / pray and rug.'
          (9,194 helsinki\cmancre)

The pattern of (4.100) differs in one aspect from that of (4.99), because the experiencer is not only oblique, but also occurs with the preposition *to*, which in this case is postposed. The *MED* (*s.v. neden* v.2 1b (d)) gives some quotations of this type of construction from 1200 to 1607. While in the earlier examples the preposition is postposed especially with pronouns (the dictionary refers to this pattern by means of the sequence *hire to nedeth*), in the later examples, from 1400 onwards, the preposition is preposed, and it may be *to* or *unto*. The infinitives of (4.100) are also marked by the particle *to* and, as mentioned, this is the first instance of this construction recorded in my corpus.

     ME *neden* v.2 may also occur in Type S constructions with bare infinitival clauses, although this does not occur until M3. An early example of this pattern is (4.101), from Chaucer's *The Wife of Bath's Prologue*:

(4.101) *The thre were goode men, and riche, and olde; (...)*
          the three were good men   and rich and old
          They had me yeven hir lond and hir tresoor;
          they had me given their land and their treasure
          <u>*Me*</u> **neded**   *nat* <u>*do*</u> *lenger diligence*
          me was-necessary not do longer diligence
          To wynne hir love, or doon hem reverence.
          to win   their love or do   them reverence
          'The three were good men, and rich, and old; (...) They had given me their land and treasure; I did not need to do longer diligence (I'd no more need to be assiduous, from Wright 1985: 224) to conquer their love.'
          (3,838 helsinki\cmctvers)

The pattern exhibited in (4.101) occurs in four occasions in my corpus, two of which belong to Chaucer. It must be highlighted that all these four instances are non-affirmative, and they all have the presence of the negative particle *not*. This connects with the PDE usage of modal *need*, which occurs with bare infinitives in negative contexts. It appears that *neden* v.2 exhibits incipient signs of an auxiliary status, although it still has an oblique experiencer.

The second column of Table 4.22 contains all possible patterns found when *neden* v.2 occurs with a nominative experiencer and an infinitival theme, that is, Allen's (1995) **'Personal' Type** of experiencer verb constructions. The nominative experiencer brings this construction closer to PDE *need* than any of the other constructions. On most occasions such an experiencer is human (18 instances). However, on two occasions the experiencer is non-human and inanimate. We will see below how this feature is related to the incipient auxiliarization of this ME verb. Let us analyse now the possible types of infinitival patterns found with this 'Personal' Type; we will observe that some patterns are really similar to PDE *need*. The most common pattern found with this type of construction involves *to*-infinitival clauses, as Table 4.22 shows (10 occasions). Consider (4.102):

> (4.102) *ye   shalle **nede** to sadelle no hors therfore, but   it please*
>   you (nom.) shall need to saddle no horse therefore unless it pleases
>   *you,   for y can bringe you   thider on foote.*
>   you (obl.) for I can bring you (obl.) thither on foot
>   'you shall not need to saddle any horse therefore, unless it pleases you, I
>   can bring you there on foot.'
>   (1500 *The Three Kings' Sons*)

In this sentence the infinitive *to sadelle* is the theme of the verb *nede*. This example resembles the PDE equivalent construction with *need*, because the fact that the auxiliary *shall* precedes the verb *need* reveals that in contexts such as this one PDE *need* is not an auxiliary and, therefore, it takes the *to*-infinitive. However, I must say that in my ME corpus, *neden* v.2 is also found with *to*-infinitival themes and the negative particle *not* without an auxiliary, a context which would yield the PDE modal *need* with a bare infinitive. Consider (4.103):

> (4.103) *I **nede** not to speke of yt, yowr reson wyll tell it yow.*
>   I need not to speak of it your reason will tell it you (obl.)
>   *Take þat ys to be takyn and leue þat ys to be refusyde.*
>   take what is to be taken and leave what is to be refused
>   'I need not speak of it, your reason will tell you about it. Take what is to be
>   taken and leave what is to be left.'
>   (1,585 helsinki\cmmankin)

Sentences such as (4.103) reveal that ME *neden* v.2 still has to undergo some developments in order to exhibit the auxiliary nature of PDE *need*, since the ME verb shows a strong tendency to occur with *to*-infinitival themes in 'personal' constructions, while the PDE modal verb takes the bare infinitive in such

contexts. Though the *to*-infinitival theme is the most common pattern in the 'personal' construction of *neden* v.2, there is variation between *to*-infinitive and bare infinitive in Middle English. Such a variation does not seem to be related to dialect, text-type or idiolect of the author; the same text where (4.102) is found, namely *The Three Kings' Sons*, contains also examples of bare infinitival themes, as (4.104):

> (4.104) "*sir, ye* **nede** *make no grete purveaunce / for ye* *haue not*
> sir you (nom.) need make no great provision   for you (nom.) have no
> *right ferre to go."*
> right far   to go
> '"sir, you need not make great provision, for you have no right to go far."'
> (1500 *The Three Kings' Sons*)

In fact, examples (4.102) and (4.104) occur consecutively in the text. Therefore, it could be concluded that *to*-infinitive and bare infinitive seem to be in free distribution as for *neden* v.2 when its experiencer is nominative. However, their ratio makes a difference, since the *to*-infinitive occurs twice as many times as the bare infinitive. In the temporal axis they differ subtly, the *to*-infinitive being first recorded in subperiod M3, while the bare infinitival theme occurs only in M4. It appears that ME *neden* v.2 shows its most modern characteristics at the end of the period, and, in fact, the five instances of *neden* v.2 with a nominative experiencer and a bare infinitival theme have a very modern appearance, since all of them occur in non-affirmative contexts.

The third type of pattern with infinitival theme exhibited by 'Personal' *neden* v.2 concerns passive infinitives, as seen in Table 4.22. They are four instances of passive infinitives marked by the particle *to* which function as themes of the experiencer verb construction. As seen above, this characteristic is not exclusive of this 'need'-verb, since OE *þurfan* and ME *thurven* may also be combined with passive infinitives. The first attestation of such a construction occurs in M3 and has been quoted above as (4.74). Another instance, from M4, is (4.105):

> (4.105) *and # than* **nedith** *mankynde to be brused with yren hamours, that is*
> and   then is-necessary mankind to be bruised with iron hammers that is
> *with dyuerse temptacions.*
> with diverse temptations
> 'and then mankind must be bruised with iron hammers, that is, with diverse temptations.'
> (936 helsinki\cmaelr4)

In this sentence both the experiencer, *mankynde*, and the theme, *to be brused*, occur after the verb *nedith*. The ability to occur with passive infinitives has been considered by Warner (1993) a feature of auxiliaries, because it implies that the verb in question does not select its subject. The experiencer / subject of (4.105) has an animate and human referent. However, it may also be the case that when *neden* v.2 occurs with a passive infinitive it takes a non-human inanimate experiencer / subject. This occurs twice in my corpus; one is (4.106):

> (4.106) *hou be it, there was in any of the tothir two as moche <u>honour</u> as in any*
> how be it there was in any of the other two as much   honour as in any
> *persone **neded** <u>to be wished</u>.*
> person needed to be wished
> 'however, there was in any of the other two as much honour as needed to be wished in any person.'
> (1500 *The Three Kings' Sons*)

The elided *experiencer* of *neded* in this comparative clause is *honour*, that is, an inanimate entity. This represents a good example of lack of experiencer / subject selection, because *honour* cannot experience anything, but it is the *natural* subject of the past participle *to be wished*, which has been raised as experiencer / subject of *neded*. This is one of the three instances of 'Personal' *neden* v.2 with a non-human inanimate experiencer / subject, which represents a step into its grammaticalization, according to Heine *et al*. (1991: 156), Warner (1993), Krug (2000: 90) and Mortelmans (2003).

As seen in the last line of the second column of Table 4.22, the last type of sentential theme found with *neden* v.2 in 'Personal' experiencer verb constructions is evidenced in only one example in my corpus: elided infinitival clause. Such an example is (4.107):

> (4.107) *Syr, and ʒe   be # remembyrd, whe thaulkyd, togydyr in hour bed of*
> sir and you (nom.) be remembered   we talked   together in our   bed of
> *Dawltonys syster, and ʒe   ferryd the condyscyons of father and*
> Dawlton's sister and you (nom.) played the conditions   of father and
> *brethyrn, byt ʒe #   **neyd** not.*
> brother   but you (nom.) needed not
> '(letter to his brother) Sir, and you are remembered, (when) we talked together in our bed of Dawlton's sister, and you played the role of father and brother, but you needed not.'
> (19,689 helsinki\cmpriv)

This sentence, recorded in a M4 private letter from a young boy to his elder brother, is the only example of elided sentential theme found with 'personal' *neden* v.2. Since the sentential theme of this verb is always an infinitival clause, I assume that what is elided in (4.107) is an infinitival clause paraphrasable as *[you did not need to] play the role of father and brother*. The question now is to interpret whether or not such an ellipsis is a symptom of the auxiliary status of *neden* v.2 in M4. As already mentioned, ellipsis is not relevant in three contexts: when the verb may be used absolutely, when the verb occurs in a coordinate or comparative clause, and when the elided infinitive is a verb of motion (cf. Warner 1993: 112-113). *Neden* v.2 in (4.107) may be used absolutely (cf. example (4.91) above) and, in addition, the context in which it occurs is a coordinate clause. Therefore, sentence (4.107) cannot be considered an instance of *neden* v.2 with an auxiliary status.

Finally, Table 4.22 shows that *neden* v.2 can also occur in **Type *hit* constructions**, namely with a dummy *hit*, an oblique experiencer, and a sentential theme, which in the case of this verb is always an infinitival clause (this construction occurs four times in M3 and four times in M4). Following the tendency of constructions Type S and 'personal,' the most common infinitive found in *hit* constructions is the *to*-infinitive, as in (4.108):

(4.108) *And than she # seyde unto that knyght, 'Sir, <u>hit</u> **nedith** nat <u>you</u>   <u>to</u>*
and then she   said to that knight sir it is-necessary not you (obl.) to
put me to no more payne, for # hit semyth nat you   to spede   thereas
put me to no more pain   for   it   seems not you (obl.) to succeed where
all thes othir knyghtes have fayled.
all the other knights   have failed
'And then she said to the knight: "Sir, it is not necessary for you to / you need not put me to more pain, for it seems that you are not going to succeed where others have failed."'
(955 helsinki\cmmalory)

However, this construction is also recorded with the bare infinitive, as in (4.109), which is the first attestation of a bare infinitival clause as theme in a Type *hit* experiencer verb construction with *neden* v.2:

(4.109) *And it is Gods will that we have gret regard to al his dedes that he hath*
and it is God's will that we have great regard to all his deeds that the has
*don, but evermore <u>it us</u> **nedyth**   levyn the beholdyng what the dede*
done but evermore it us is-necessary believe the vision   what the deed

> *shal be.*
> shall be
> 'And it is God's will that we have great regard tot he deeds he has done, but evermore it is necessary for us / we must believe the vision of what the deed shall be.'
> (1373 *A Revelation of Love*)

Examples (4.108) and (4.109) provide another piece of evidence that *to-* and bare infinitives are in a somewhat free distribution as for *neden* v.2, although, as seen in other cases above, the occurrence with *to-*infinitives is much more common than with bare infinitives. In any case, it appears that *neden* v.2 is one of those verbs which show alternation between *to-* and bare infinitive in Middle English, as opposed to the modal auxiliary group into which *thurven*, among others, is included, which only take the bare infinitive (cf. Warner 1993: 136-137).

To sum up the analysis of ME *neden* v.2 as an experiencer verb, we can say that it may occur in all types of construction identified by Allen (1995). When the theme is nominal, it may occur in constructions Type N, Type I and Type II. When, on the contrary, the theme is sentential, it may occur in constructions Type S, Type *hit* and Type 'personal.'

Finally, in the remainder of this section I will summarize the main conclusions that can be derived from the syntactic analysis of *neden* v.1 and *neden* v.2. Both of them are, as repeatedly mentioned, verbs which express some kind of force, but they may differ in the syntactic codification of such a force. The main difference between both is observed when *neden* v.1 is construed in the active voice, because the experiencer or agonist of the force functions as direct object of the verb, while the antagonist is the subject. In these cases, the obligation to which the agonist is forced may be expressed by a *to-*infinitival clause or by a *to-*prepositional phrase. On the contrary, when *neden* v.1 is construed in the passive voice, the experiencer or agonist functions as syntactic subject, and the imposition inflicted on him is always expressed by a *to-*infinitival clause. It is significant that *neden* v.1 chooses infinitival clauses as complements in Middle English, substituting for the OE *that-*clauses, because the parallelism between *neden* v.1 and *neden* v.2, based on semantics (both may mean 'be obliged, must'), comes to be reinforced in Middle English by a parallelism in syntactic structure, because when *neden* v.2 occurs in the 'Personal' Type, it takes a nominative agonist or experiencer and an infinitival theme standing for the thing needed or the imposition inflicted on the agonist.

The possibilities of syntactic structure found with *neden* v.2 are outlined in the following table, which matches two variables: the presence or not of an experiencer and the syntactic nature of the thing needed, i.e. the theme:

THEME \ **EXPERIENCER**	NO EXPERIENCER	EXPERIENCER	**TOTAL**
Ø		1	**1**
NOUN PHRASE	15	50	**65**
TO- / FOR TO-INFINITIVAL CLAUSE	15	39	**54**
BARE INFINITIVAL CLAUSE	4	9	**13**
ELIDED INFINITIVAL CLAUSE	8	1	**9**
PASSIVE INFINITIVAL CLAUSE		4	**4**
TOTAL	**42**	**104**	**146**

Table 4.23: Syntactic features of neden *v.2 taking into account the presence or absence of the experiencer and the nature of the theme.*

This table shows that in my corpus *neden* v.2 selects an infinitival theme in most instances (nearly 55% of the total). If we apply Bolinger's (1980: 297) well-known maxim that "The moment a verb is given an infinitive complement, that verb starts down the road of auxiliariness," we must conclude that this ME verb has started a way towards becoming an auxiliary. However the selection of infinitival themes does not suffice to conclude that a given verb is an emergent auxiliary.

In section 4.2 we reviewed the features of ME auxiliaries, as pointed out by Warner (1993). Among these we may highlight the selection of a bare infinitive, the possibility to occur with elided infinitival clauses or with passive infinitives. Table 4.23 shows that *neden* v.2 may occur with bare infinitives, though the *to-* or *for to*-infinitive is selected thrice as many times. This verb may also exhibit ellipsis of the infinitive, but we have seen that in such instances the ellipsis is justified according to one of the exceptions mentioned by Warner (1993: 113-114), namely it takes place in subordinate clauses or coordinate clauses. Finally, *neden* v.2 is also combined with passive infinitives on four occasions. This is, indeed, the only piece of evidence in favour of considering *neden* v.2 as an emergent ME auxiliary, because, as Warner (1993: 160) points out, occurrence with a passive infinitive may imply that the verb in question does not select its experiencer / subject, but takes that of the passive infinitival clause. In fact, we have seen one example of *neden* v.2 in a 'Personal' Type construction with a passive infinitive (quoted above as (4.106)), which seems to be a good illustration of what Warner calls lack of experiencer / subject selection. I repeat such an example here for convenience:

(4.110) *hou be it, there was in any of the tothir two as moche <u>honour</u> as in any*
  how be it there was in any of the other two   as much honour as in any
  *persone **neded** <u>to be wished</u>.*
  person needed to be wished
  'however, there was in any of the other two as much honour as needed to
  be wished in any person.'
  (1500 *The Three Kings' Sons*)

The recovered experiencer / subject of *neden* is *honour*, an inanimate element which cannot be considered to experience any kind of necessity. However, it is the only experiencer of the necessity expressed by *neden*, and has been raised to that role because it is the real subject of the passive infinitive *to be wished*, which implies that *neden* ceases to selects its experiencer / subject when in combination with a passive infinitive. In addition, *neden* v.2 has also been found to select at the very end of Middle English an inanimate non-human experiencer in combination with a *to*-infinitive. This example implies that the necessity expressed by this verb is no longer a personal experience, but it has entered the field of abstractness, and, therefore, it has walked into grammaticalization. Therefore, as mentioned, this is the main piece of evidence in favour of an incipient grammaticalization of ME *neden* v.2.

As a summary of the syntax of *neden* v.2 as an experiencer verb, the following table outlines the possible types of constructions in the different ME subperiods. Naturally, this table leaves out those examples in which *neden* v.2 occurs without an experiencer (42 instances), as well as the only instance in which *neden* v.2 is used absolutely with the meaning 'be needful' (in M4, cf. Table 4.23):

SUBPERIOD CONSTRUCTION	M1	M2	M3	M4	TOTAL
TYPE N			1		1
TYPE II			4	5	9
Variants of Type II			2	8	10
TYPE I	1		18	11	30
TYPE S	1		18	6	25
TYPE *HIT*			4	4	8
TYPE 'PERSONAL'			2	18	20
TOTAL	2	0	49	52	103

Table 4.24: *Experiencer verb constructions with ME* neden v.2 *by subperiods.*

This table shows that in M1 *neden* v.2 could only occur in Type I and Type S constructions, that is, with a non-nominative experiencer, whereas in late Middle

English nearly all types of experiencer verb constructions are possible. Unfortunately, my corpus leaves a big gap in M2, and no information is offered about the development of *neden* v.2, which must have been gradual, contrary to the drastic evolution suggested in Table 4.24. As said above (cf. section 4.4.0), I have added all M2 texts from the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* (cf. *Middle English Compendium*) to the texts given in the *Helsinki Corpus*, which implies that the textual representation of this subperiod is optimal (in fact, ME *thurven* and *bihoven* show quite high a frequency of occurrence in this selection of texts). However, it appears that for *neden* v.2 I would have to resort to a larger corpus, which, as far as I know, is not available.

Paying attention to the data concerning late Middle English, it must be noted that the proportion of occurrences of each syntactic type is very similar in M3 and M4, with only one exception: Type S and Type 'Personal' constructions seem to have reversed the tendency in these subperiods. While in M3 non-nominative experiencer are selected when the theme is sentential (Type S), in M4, nominative experiencers rise to the detriment of non-nominative ones (Type 'Personal'). This contrast is significant because this is precisely the pattern that will give rise to auxiliary uses of *need*. A similar conclusion can be drawn from the sentences in which *neden* v.2 has a nominal theme (be it genitival, unmarked or accusative): nominative experiencers rise from six to 13, and oblique experiencers drop from 19 to 11. Without having analysed the eModE data, we may conclude that this seems to be a movement towards its PDE *personal* status. The analysis of the eModE corpus will surely provide important information as for the evolution of this ME verb.

4.4.3 *Middle English* bihoven *in the corpus*

Let us now turn to the analysis of the fourth ME 'need'-verb subject of this study, namely ME *bihoven*. After its OE marginal status, where it scarcely represents 9% of the occurrences of my verbs in my OE corpus, this verb exhibits a radical increase in use in Middle English so that it comes to represent 48% of all the occurrences. However, its frequency is not even throughout the period; it shows its highest peak in M2 and M3, as shown in the following table, which contains the actual number of examples of the verb in each subperiod, as well as the normalized frequencies per 100,000 word, which makes up for the dissimilar size of the corpus in each subperiod (examples tagged as MX/1, MX/2 and MX/4

in the *Helsinki Corpus* are included as examples of the period of the manuscript used by compilers, that is, M1, M2 and M4 respectively):

SUBPERIOD	NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES	NORMALIZED FREQUENCIES
M1	28	9.70
M2	81	39.12
M3	77	21.05
M4	20	5.16
TOTAL	**206**	**16.49**

Table 4.25: Distribution of ME bihoven *by subperiods.*

Although the real number of examples of *bihoven* in each subperiod is fairly revealing in itself, the normalized frequencies yield more striking results, because even if M2 is the subperiod with a shorter textual representation in my corpus (for the reasons adduced above in section 4.4.0), it is also the subperiod with a larger amount and proportion of instances of *bihoven*. The high peak in M2 is basically due to a single text, namely Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit*, which, as mentioned above, contains nearly 70 occurrences of *bihoven* and none of any of the other 'need'-verbs analysed in this study. Recalling what has been said in section 4.4.0, the whole *Ayenbite of Inwit* has been selected to be part of my corpus due to the scarcity of texts dated from subperiod M2. Leaving this consideration behind, Table 4.25 shows that subperiod M3 is also very productive as for the use of this ME verb. In fact, *bihoven* has in M3 around the same ratio of occurrence as *neden* v.2: the former occurs 77 times, and the latter is recorded on 72 occasions (cf. Table 4.13 above). It appears, therefore, that at this subperiod of Middle English, *bihoven* and *neden* v.2 were the most commonly used 'need'-verbs. Finally, the use of *bihoven* decreases in M4, the subperiod in which *neden* v.2 is consolidated as the main semantic predecessor of *need* (cf. Table 4.13).

After these preliminary observations on the frequency of *bihoven*, it seems appropriate to turn to its semantic and syntactic analysis in order to obtain a detailed description of the behaviour of this ME verb throughout the period. We have seen that in Old English this verb conveys the meaning 'need' exclusively, and it is found only in two types of construction, namely experiencer verb construction Type II and Type 'Personal' (cf. section 3.4.3). In the following sections, I analyse the semantic (4.4.3.1) and the syntactic features (4.4.3.2) which this verb shows in Middle English.

4.4.3.1. Semantic features of Middle English *bihoven*

Semantically, ME *bihoven* is more complex than its OE predecessor, and it exhibits a variety of meanings described in terms of forces in the following table:

ORIGIN	STRENGTH	N. OF EXAMPLES	TOTAL
EXTERNAL	STRONG	95	95
	WEAK		
INTERNAL	STRONG	22	28
	WEAK	6	
GENERAL	NEUTRAL	83	83
TOTAL	**STRONG**	117	**206**
	WEAK	6	
	NEUTRAL	83	

Table 4.26: Origin and intensity of the forces expressed by ME bihoven*.*

According to the origin of the force expressed by *bihoven*, the force may be said to be external, internal or general, that is, based on a nebulous, generalized authority. The high proportion of general forces (more than 40% of the occurrences) is surprising, since, as seen above, the other verbs expressing necessity convey general types of forces in a much lower ratio. We will see below that the high number of instances with general forces explains the PDE use and meaning of *behove*. Table 4.26 also shows that the strength with which the force is exerted may be considered strong, weak, or neutral. As mentioned above on several occasions, I have labelled as neutral forces those instances in which the verb expresses a general kind of force, which, as such, cannot be fully characterized as strong or weak. Summing up, Table 4.26 shows that ME *bihoven* expresses mostly strong external and neutral general forces, although it may also express internally rooted forces.

Before I proceed to describe and illustrate the possible combination of origin and strength of the forces conveyed by *bihoven*, a preliminary remark must be made concerning the polarity of the sequences in which this verb occurs. Contrary to the tendency observed with *thurven* and *neden* v.2, *bihoven* occurs only rarely in non-affirmative contexts, more specifically only on four occasions. Such instances are examples of *bihoven* expressing general forces and, therefore, I will take into account the variable of polarity only when analysing general forces. For the analysis of forces originated in external and internal entities, I will only provide the notional type of force, without any reference to their polarity, because they are all affirmative, that is, they express the presence of a force.

Beginning with **strong external forces**, *bihoven* conveys mainly the existence of religious forces (80 instances), and hierarchical forces (15 instances) from M1 to M4. An example in which the verb expresses religious force is (4.111):

(4.111) *in as mech as we faylen, in so mekyl we fallen, and in as mekyl as we*
        in as much as we fail   in so   much we fall   and in as much   as we
        fallen, so mekyl we dyen; for us **behovyth** *nedes*   *to deyen in as mech as*
        fall   so much   we die   for us behoves necessarily to die   in as much as
        we failen syght and felyng of God that is our lif.
        we fail   sight and feeling of God that is our life
        'in as much as we fail, in so much we fall, and in as much as we fall, so
        much we die; for we must necessarily die in as much as we fail sight and
        feeling of God, that is our life.'
        (1373 *A Revelation of Love*)

Sentence (4.111) seems to imply that there is a sacred dogma which establishes that the more sinful deeds we commit in life, the more painful our death will be. This is the cultural background for sentences such as (4.111), in which the meaning of the verb is clearly of religious obligation. The meaning of *behovyth* in this instance is very similar to examples of *neden* expressing religious force, as in (4.69) above, which, incidentally, is also taken from *A Revelation of Love* (*and so us nedyth to doe our neybor*, 'and so we must do to our neighbour'). The coincidence between *neden* v.2 and *bihoven* in the expression of strong external religious force seems to reveal that these two verbs occur in free distribution. In other words, they appear to be synonyms in a semantic context like this. Before proceeding any further with the semantic analysis of *behove*, I would like to comment on the presence of the adverb *nedes* in (4.111). In the analysis of *bihoven* we will see how this verb is commonly combined with the adverb *nede* and related forms, as in this sentence. It could be thought that the presence of such an adverb implies that the verb is semantically weak and needs to be reinforced; in fact, Pantaleo (2002: 147) claims that when *bihoven* is combined with this adverb it mostly conveys strong obligation and is synonym with *must*, as is the case of sentence (4.111). In addition, the various forms of the adverb *nede* are very frequently found with other verbs since OE times. For example, OE **sculan*, which itself expresses strong obligation, occurs very often with adverbs such as *neode, nyde* etc. Actually, we have seen that ME *thurven* also takes the adverb *nede* on some occasions. This phenomemon (i.e. verbs being modified by adverbs of the same semantic field) has sometimes been called

"harmonic collocation" (cf., for example, Lyons 1977; Traugott and Dascher 2002: 117). In addition, Traugott and Dascher (2002: 128) consider that the adverb *nedes* played an important role in the development of epistemic *must*. It will be interesting to check whether it has a parallel effect on *bihoven*.

I have remarked on the similarity between *neden* v.2 and *bihoven* as far as the expression of religious obligation. These two verbs are also similar in the expression of strong external force based on a hierarchical superiority. Consider (4.112):

> (4.112) *And þan Seneca ansswerd agayn & said; "Sur, sen me*   ***bus***
> and then Seneca answered again & said   sir since me behoves
> *nedis   dy,I pray þe   grawnt me att I may dy   what maner of*
> necessarily die I pray you (obl.) grant   me that I may die what manner of
> *dead at me likis to chese my selfe."*
> death at me likes to choose my self
> 'And then Seneca answered and said: "Sir, since I must necessarily die, I
> pray you grant me that I may die in what manner of death I prefer to
> choose myself."'
> (1440 *Alphabet of Tales*)

When Seneca knows that the Emperor, a hierarchically superior person, wants to get rid of him, he asks to be allowed to choose the way to die. ME *bihoven* expresses in this sentence clear obligation, a direct necessity meaning, as it does in (4.111). Since these sentences exemplify the two notional types of forces expressed by strong external *bihoven*, it may be concluded that in the expression of strong external forces, this verb remains attached to the basic necessity meaning of obligation, a notion directly related to the main necessity meaning it expresses in Old English (cf. section 3.4.3 above).

After having analysed the instances of external *bihoven*, all of which are strong, I must proceed now to the analysis of this verb when it conveys **internally rooted forces**. In Middle English this verb may express necessity originated in the agonist's self, as it does in Old English, although this kind of meaning is only found in M1, that is, at the very beginning of the period. The main classification which can be made of internal forces concerns degree of strength (cf. Table 4.26), that is, *bihoven* may express strong internal forces, or internal obligation (22 instances), and weak internal forces, close to the notion of volitional necessity (6 instances). Consider (4.113) and (4.114) respectively:

(4.113) *John the Apostle*
    295   The sothe **behowys** *me nede   to say,*
       the truth behoves me necessarily to say
    296   he is damyd to dede this day.
       he is doomed to die this day
   'John the Apostle (to Mary Magdalene): I must tell you the truth: he is doomed to die today.'
   (1460 The Towneley plays)

(4.114) *...fif hundred schipes. ifulled mid cnihten; & al þat heom* **bihoueð**.
    …five hundred ships filled with knights & all that them behoves
   '...five hundred ships filled with knights and all that they need.'
   (3,717 helsinki\cmbrut1)

The internal force which makes the apostle tell the truth to Mary Magdalene in (4.113) is very strong, because he knows it will hurt her, but nevertheless he acts according to what he considers to be correct, and forces himself to inform her. The fact that he chooses to introduce what he is going to say with a sequence meaning 'I must tell you the truth' implies that it is a difficult moment for him, and the necessity to tell the truth arises from a strong internal force. On the contrary, in (4.114) the forces which make the knights need various things are originated in their own selves, but are of a weaker degree, because they may include non-vital elements. The weak internal meaning of *bihoven* in (4.114) is the most common nuance of OE *behofian*, as in example (3.108) in section 3.4.3, *þam þe rædes behofað*, 'those who need wisdom.' The intensity of the internal forces conveyed by ME *bihoven* is different from Old English: in Old English, weak internal forces were the most common, while in Middle English *behoven* is more prone to convey strong internal forces (cf. Table 3.34). Therefore, it looks as if ME *bihoven* is slighting moving away from its OE position as a basic 'need'-verb which expressed mainly volitional necessity, into a ME status as a verb expressing obligation based on various grounds.

    Nonetheless, the most conspicuous piece of evidence which shows that *bihoven* is changing positions and moving into its PDE status as a verb expressing appropriateness concerns, as already mentioned, its pronounced tendency to express forces based on a generalized authority. This occurs 83 times in my corpus from M1 to M4, and, contrary to the cases of general forces expressed by other verbs, with *bihoven* it is possible to identify different notional types of general forces. In addition, the only four non-affirmative instances of this verb are examples of general forces, therefore, it will be necessary to specify the effect that polarity has on the meaning of the verb. Table 4.27 makes

reference to all notional types of general force expressed by *bihoven* as well as to its polarity:

CLAUSE POLARITY TYPE OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE		TOTAL
		LACK OF FORCE	FORCE NOT TO	
GENERAL	28	1	1	30
APPROPRIATENESS	21		2	23
DUTY	16			16
CIRCUMSTANCES	8			8
LOGICAL	6			6
TOTAL	79	1	3	83

Table 4.27: Types of neutral general forces expressed by bihoven, *with indication of clause polarity.*

This table shows that *bihoven*, contrary to other verbs conveying general types of forces, can be said to express different notional types of general forces. This means that, although it is not possible to determine the source of the potency, namely the origin of the force, it is possible to describe the general force according to the context in which it occurs and the effect it has on the agonist, if there is one.[24] As mentioned, the following paragraphs concentrate on the notional type of force exerted by this verb when the origin of the force is undetermined, as well as on the effects that polarity may have on the meaning of the verb.

To begin with, the first line of Table 4.27 refers to **general types of forces** without further description. This implies that on 30 occasions *bihoven* expresses forces of undetermined origin which may not be described according to their notional implications, since they are merely of a generalized sort. This will be easier to understand considering one of such instances:

(4.115) *lx chapter. But now* **behovyth** *to sey a litil mor   of this forthspredyng.*
        9 chapter   but now behoves to say a little more of this spreading
        'Chapter 9. But now it behoves to say a little more of this spreading.'
        (1373 *A Revelation of Love*)

Sentence (4.115) represents the prototypical example of general force without further implications. The force is of general origin, because it cannot be said to be inflicted by any external authority, and it obviously cannot be internally rooted on the agonist, because there is not any agonist. The structure of this

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[24] A total of 41 out of 83 instances of general forces do not contain an experiencer. More information concerning the presence or absence of an experiencer will be given below when describing the syntactic features of *bihoven*.

example seems to be a formula used by writers to introduce new topics, and it is clearly seen in this sentence which corresponds to the beginning of a chapter. The verb *bihoven* precedes a verb of saying in a sequence used by a narrator to express what must or must not be told. However, it has been observed that this context is not exclusive for *bihoven*, because ME *neden* v.2 and *thurven* are frequently found in similar contexts (cf. Table 4.18 and examples (4.80) and (4.81) above as for *neden* v.2; and (4.55) and (4.56) above as for *thurven*). These two verbs tend to occur in non-affirmative sequences, while *bihoven* occurs normally, but not exclusively, in affirmative contexts. Witness (4.116):

> (4.116) *Þerof anoþre time we habbeþ yspeke ine þe chapitle of uices. an þeruore*
>   thereof another time we have spoken in the chapter of vices and therefore
>   *hit ne* **behoueþ** *naȝt to reherci.*
>   it not behoves not to repeat
>   'Thereof we have spoken another time (i.e. previously) in the chapter of
>   vices, and therefore it is not necessary to repeat it.'
>   (fl1340 Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit*)[25]

This sentence is very similar to the above mentioned examples of *thurven* and *neden* v.2 construed in negative sentences to convey absence of a general type of necessity when combined with a verb of saying. It looks as if authors used either of these verbs in their formulaic expressions used to pay attention to, or distract attention from, a given topic; while *bihoven* is primarily selected in affirmative contexts, *thurven* and *neden* v.2 seem to be mainly concerned with non-affirmative ones.

Moving on in Table 4.27, we observe that the second most frequent notional type of general force expressed by *bihoven* is that which belongs to the field of **appropriateness**. The emergence of this meaning is very significant, because it contributes to the evolution of this verb into PDE *behove* as a verb expressing appropriateness rather than basic necessity. The expression of appropriateness is witnessed in 23 instances in my corpus, 21 of which are affirmative. Consider (4.117):

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[25] It will be observed that many of the examples used to illustrate the semantic and syntactic feature of *bihoven* are excerpts of Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit*. This M2 work contains 69 examples of this verb (more than 33% of its occurrences take place in this text) and has not even one instance of any of the other verbs subject of this study. It appears that either Dan Michel only wanted to express the type of meaning conveyed by *bihoven*, or that he had a preference for this verb, which led him to use it on occasions in which other authors would have chosen *neden* or *thurven*.

(4.117) *Man or womman þat haþ a chylde Þat wyþ vnþewys   wexyþ wylde, (...)*
man or woman   that has   a child   that with bad-habits grows wild
Chastysment   behoueþ þarto.
corrective-punishment behoves thereto
'A man or a woman who have a child that grows wild with bad habits (...)
corrective punishment is appropriate thereto.'
(4,319 helsinki\cmhansyn)

The background for this sentence, taken from a religious treatise, concerns the education of children and it highlights that it is appropriate to impose a punishment in order to correct wild behaviours. Sentences such as this have been considered to express a general type of force, because the force expressed by *bihoven* cannot be said to be based on the superior authority of clerical elements. The force, on the contrary, seems to be based on the general assumption that behaviour can be corrected and it is appropriate to do so. In this example the appropriate action or thing is expressed by a noun phrase, but there are other instances in my corpus in which the appropriate thing is expressed by a sentential element, the same as found with PDE *behove*. I have opted to illustrate this meaning with an example with a noun phrase in order to make clear the in-between status of ME *bihoven* in all respects.

When *bihoven* expresses appropriateness, it may also occur in non-affirmative contexts (2 instances in my corpus); here it does not express absence of force, but rather it implies the existence of a force which prevents acting in a given way. That is to say, the verb does not convey absence of necessity, but it is closer to the meaning of prohibition. Witness (4.118):

(4.118) *deere sire, al be it so that for youre richesses ye   mowe have muchel*
dear   sir albeit   so that for your richness you (nom.) may   have much
*folk, yet **bihoveth** it nat, ne it is nat good, to bigynne werre whereas*
folk yet behoves it not   no it is not good   to begin   war   whereas
ye   mowe in oother manere have pees unto youre worshipe and profit.
you (nom.) may in other manner have peace unto your worship and profit
'dear sir, although because of your richness you may have many people, it
does not behove, and it is not good to begin war whereas you may in other
manner have peace in your worship and profit.'
(4,602 helsinki\cmctpros)

Contrary to example (4.116), in which *bihoven* expresses absence of necessity, in (4.118) it rather implies the existence of a general force which makes it inappropriate to begin war. This is a good example to notice the difference between bare necessity and appropriateness. While in affirmative contexts both express the existence of a force to act in a given way and their meanings differ in

terms of nuances, in non-affirmative contexts, absence of necessity and absence of appropriateness are clearly far apart. The absence of necessity implies the absence of a force, but the absence of appropriateness implies the presence of a force negating the appropriateness. In other words, if doing X is not necessary, doing X is superfluous, but not damaging; however, if doing X is not appropriate, doing X may be destructive. Therefore, absence of force is closer to the meaning of prohibition, rather than to the meaning of absence of obligation. This prohibition-like meaning is also manifest with *bihoven* when it expresses general types of forces without further description, as seen in Table 4.27.

The remaining notional types of general force expressed by *bihoven*, namely based on duty, circumstances and logic, only occur in affirmative contexts. In the following paragraphs I illustrate the differences between these notional types of general forces, as well as their differences with respect to the already mentioned general forces without further description and general forces based on appropriateness. The most common of the remaining types of general forces concerns those based on **duty**. Duty cannot be said to be exclusively based on internal forces or in external ones, but is a mixture of both, and, for that reason, I include these examples under the label of general forces. An example will serve to clarify this meaning:

> (4.119) *And what eyled ʒow   to seche me? Knowe ʒe   not wele that it*
> and what ailed   you (obl.) to search me know you (nom.) not well that it
> ***byhoueth*** *me to be occupied in tho thinges that longen to the worschippe*
> behoves   me to be occupied in the things that concern to the worship
> *of my fader?*
> of my father
> '(Jesus asks Virgin Mary) What ails you? Don't you know that it is my duty to be occupied in the things that concern the worship of my father?'
> (fl1410 *Mirrour of the blessed lyf of Jesu Christ*)

This well-known passage of the biblical history illustrates the use of *bihoven* when it expresses obligation based on duty. In this example, Jesus claims his duty to worship God. He does not praise him because of an external imposition, or because of an internal necessity, but because of a combination of both. He feels the general necessity to praise God, because he knows it is his duty.

In other cases (8 in total), *bihoven* expresses general force based on **circumstances**. The agonist is forced to act in a given way not because of an inner necessity, or because of an external imposition, but because of circumstantial reasons, as in (4.120):

(4.120) *And whan sche hadde alle tho thre monthes dwelled with hem that were*
     and   when she had   all the three months dwelled with them that were
     plenteuous and hauinge·now sche torneth aen into her owne pouert and
     plenteous   and having   now she   turns again into her own poor   and
     *bare hous / where sche **byhoueth** to gete her lyflode with hir owne hondes*
     bare house where she   behoves to get   her life   with her own hands
     and bodily trauaille.
     and bodily travail
     'And when she had dwelled 3 months with them who were plenteous (i.e.
     rich) and having, now she turns again to her poor and bare house where
     she must get her life with her own hands and bodily work.'
     (fl1410 *Mirrour of the blessed lyf of Jesu Christ*)

In this example the agonist moves from a rich house to a poor place, and the circumstances surrounding poverty make her work hard to get a living. It may be claimed that circumstantial reasons are external and, indeed, they are. However, the force exerted by such external factors does not come from an external authority, but from a series of generalized circumstances. For this reason, forces based on circumstances have been considered to be general, rather than external.

Finally, *bihoven* also expresses the existence of a general force when the notion implied is based on **logic** (cf. *MED s.v. bihoven* v. 2a). In the six instances of *bihoven* with this meaning, it may be interpreted that the verb expresses the epistemic meaning of deduction. It must be highlighted that in five out these six examples of *bihoven* the verb is modified with the adverb *nedes*. As mentioned above, the presence of such an adverb in combination with *mot* has been considered as a step in the development of epistemic meanings (cf. Traugott 1989: 42). It appears that that is also the case with *bihoven*, because when this verb does not convey logical necessity (i.e. on 200 occasions), it only occurs in combination with *nedes* on 14 occasions, that is, a much lesser ratio than in the expression of logical epistemic forces. Consider (4.121):

(4.121) *it is the most impossible that may ben that God shuld be wreth, (...) for he*
     it is the most impossible that may be   that God should be wrath (..) for he
     that westeth and destroyith our wreth and makyth us meke and mylde, it
     that wastes   and destroys   our wrath and makes us meek   and mild   it
     behovyth *neds   to ben that he be ever on in love, meke and myld,*
     behoves necessarily to be   that he be ever on in love, meek and mild
     which is contrarious to wreth.
     which is contrary   to wrath
     'it is impossible that God may be wrathful, (...), for he who wastes and
     destroys our wrath and makes us meek and mild, it must necessarily be the
     case that he ever is love, meek and mild, which is contrary to wrath.'
     (1373 *A Revelation of Love*)

In sentence (4.121) *bihoven* occurs in a context belonging to the world of logic. The narrator offers a line of reasoning: if God makes us meek and mild, he must be meek and mild. In this paraphrase of (4.121) it is clear that *must* is an epistemic modal which arises from a context of logical deduction. Therefore, *bihoven* must also express epistemic necessity in this context. It has been explained above (cf. section 2.2.2.2) that epistemic meanings arise from root meanings due to a process of metaphorical change. The concept of epistemic necessity is a metaphor of the concept of social obligation, because the social force which is inflicted on the agonist in root modality ('X is obliged to do Y') correlates with the logical force which affects the sequence of events in epistemic modality ('it is necessarily the case that Y'). In fact, sentence (4.121) is clear in that respect, because *bihoven* is combined with the verb *be*, which, in turn, is combined with a *that*-clause. The translation reflects the original construction: 'it must necessarily be (the case) that…'

The six instances of ME *bihoven* expressing logical necessity represent the first instance of epistemic necessity in the history of my verbs. However, *bihoven* cannot be considered to be grammaticalized as an epistemic marker, because it is not the verb in itself that conveys epistemic connotations: the logical meaning is born out of the syntactic construction of this verb combined with *be* and a *that*-clause. This reflection on the importance of syntax and its relation with semantics opens the way towards the analysis of the syntactic features of *bihoven*.

4.4.3.2. Syntactic features of Middle English *bihoven*

For the analysis of the syntactic characteristics of ME *bihoven*, I will follow the same procedure adopted when analysing ME *neden* v.2, that is, constructions with an explicit experiencer (138 instances) are treated separately from constructions without an explicit experiencer (68 examples).

Beginning with **constructions without an explicit experiencer**, they may be semantically characterized as 'X is needed or necessary,' where X is the theme. The theme can be of two different types: on 14 occasions the theme is nominal (20.5%), and on 54 occasions it is of sentential nature (79.5%). All the instances of *bihoven* with nominal theme occur in the nominative case and without a dummy *hit* subject. Consider, for example, (4.122):

(4.122) *...iijC knyghtes of the contrey; and that nyght were thei well serued of <u>all</u>*
…300 knights   of the country and that night were they well served of all
*<u>that</u> **be-hoved.***
that behoved
'...300 knights of the country, and that night they were well served of all
that was necessary.'
(1450-1460 *Merlin*)

The theme of the verb *be-hoved* is the underlined relative pronoun *that*, whose
antecedent is the indefinite pronoun *all*; this is the structure found in all the other
instances of this kind of construction too. The theme is also the subject of the
verb, and as such it occupies pre-verbal position. This construction is also
common with ME *neden* v.2, as seen above (ex. (4.86)). In addition to this,
bihoven is also similar to *neden* v.2 in its ability to occur with expletive *there*
subject. This is found twice in my corpus. Consider (4.123):

(4.123) *Tomore ʒe is þi feste*;
tomorrow is the feast
*Þer **bihoueþ** <u>geste</u>.*
there behoves guests
'Tomorrow is the feast; there is need for guests.'
(2,284 helsinki\cmhorn)

The theme of this example is *geste*, and the meaning it conveys is 'guests are
necessary.' However, the theme occurs after the verb, leaving the subject
position empty, which comes to be occupied by the dummy subject *þer*. As
exemplified in sentence (4.87), this kind of construction is also possible with
neden v.2, and it will become especially common in early Modern English.

When *bihoven* occurs without an experiencer, it may also have a sentential
theme (54 occasions). The following table outlines the type of sentential theme
with which *bihoven* may be found as well as the presence or absence of a dummy
hit subject:

THEME \ DUMMY *HIT*	*+ HIT*	*- HIT*	TOTAL
THAT-CLAUSE	20	3	**23**
TO-INFINITIVAL CLAUSE	10	3	**13**
BARE INFINITIVAL CLAUSE	8	1	**9**
TO-INFINITIVE + *THAT*-CLAUSE	7		**7**
BARE INFINITIVE + *THAT*-CLAUSE	1		**1**
ELIDED CLAUSE	1		**1**
TOTAL	**47**	**7**	**54**

Table 4.28: Types of sentential themes of bihoven *without an explicit experiencer.*

On the vertical axis, this table shows that *bihoven* tends to occur with a dummy *hit* subject when it is combined with a sentential theme and does not have an explicit experiencer (87% of its occasions without an experiencer). Examples of *bihoven* without *hit* are also available. Witness (4.124):

> (4.124) *Thes arn iii menys, as I understond, wherby that al soulis come to hevyn –*
> these are 3   means as I understond whereby that all souls come to heaven
> *that is to seyn, that have ben synners in erth and shal be save -- for be*
> that is to say   that have been sinners in earth and shall be save for by
> *these medycines* **behovyth** *that every soule be helyd.*
> these medicines behoves that every soul be healed
> 'These are 3 means [contrition, compassion & true longing for God] whereby all souls come to heaven, that is, those who have been sinners on earth shall be saved, for by these medicines every soul must be healed (i.e. it must necessarily be the case)'
> (1373 *A Revelation of Love*)

This is an example of a *that*-clause theme following *bihoven* when there is not a *hit* subject. As will be immediately shown, the construction is parallel to those in which *hit* occurs, except for the absence of this element.

If, in turn, we read this table horizontally, we observe that *bihoven* may occur with a variety of sentential themes. The most frequently found is *that*-clauses, followed by infinitival clauses, which may be marked by *to* or bare. The third most common type of theme consists of an infinitive complemented by a *that*-clause, that is, a combination of the two most common types of themes. Finally, *bihoven* may also occur with an elided sentential theme.

That-clauses are the most frequent type of sentential argument of *bihoven* when it does not have an experiencer, and this feature remains constant from M1 to M4. Worthy of mention is the fact that on 14 out of the 20 occasions in which *bihoven* chooses *that*-clauses and has a dummy *hit* subject, the *that*-clause contains a human subject which is also the implicit experiencer of the necessity expressed by the verb. Though the experiencer can be contextually recovered, I have considered these instances as examples of the construction without an experiencer, because syntactically speaking there is not any, and these sentences cannot be classified according to Allen's taxonomy. One of such instances is (4.125):

> (4.125) *þanne hit* **behoueþ** *þet hi yelde : oþer þet hi hongi.*
> then   it behoves that they pay   or that they hang
> 'then they must make up for / pay or be hanged.'
> (fl1340 Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit*)

The constituents of this sentence are a dummy *hit*, the verb inflected for the third person singular, and a *that*-clause, whose subject (bolded *hi*) is the implicit human experiencer of the necessity expressed by the verb. In spite of this implicit experiencer, it cannot be considered that (4.125) is an example of an experiencer verb construction.

In the other examples with *that*-clause themes (six with *hit*, and three without *hit*), the subject of the *that*-clause is non-human. However, it is quite awkward to consider that a noun phrase referring to an inanimate entity can be co-referential to the implicit experiencer, because an inanimate being cannot actually experience anything, and in addition, *bihoven* only occurs with an explicit non-human inanimate experiencer on one occasion (cf. below the explanation of Type 'Personal' usages of *bihoven*). Sentence (4.126) is one of these examples:

> (4.126) *Þise zix leues   beuore yzed uayreþ moche þe lylye of maydenhod. ac <u>hit</u>*
> these six leaves before said beautify much   the lily of maidenhood but it
> ***behoueþ** þet þis   flour habbe wyþ-inne þri cornes of gold.*
> behoves that this flower has   within   three seeds of gold
> 'These six leaves aforesaid beautify (make beautiful) the lily of maidenhood, but it behoves that this flower has within three seeds of gold.'
> (fl1340 Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit*)

The constituents of this sentence are the same as those in sentence (4.125). The only difference between both examples concerns the nature of the subject of the *that*-clause.

The second most common type of theme found with this ME verb when it does not have an explicit experiencer is **infinitival clauses**. As seen in Table 4.28, *to*-infinitives are more commonly found with *bihoven* than bare infinitives; specifically there are 13 instances distributed in M2, M3 and M4 as against nine instances occurring in M2 and M3. Here follow examples of both types of infinitival clauses:

> (4.127) ÞE   ZEUE BOƷES /   OF CHASTETÉ. (...) *Nou **behoueþ** <u>to zigge</u> / of þe*
> THE SEVEN BRANCHES OF CHASTITY   now behoves   to say   of the
> *boƷes /   of þise trawe / þet byeþ zeuen.*
> branches of this tree   that are seven
> 'THE SEVEN BRANCHES OF CHASTITY. (...) Now it behoves to speak of the branches of this tree, which are seven.'
> (fl1340 Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit*)

(4.128) ÞE   *UERÞE STAPE OF RIȜTUOLNESSE. (...) Ac ine þise zide <u>hit</u> **be-houeþ***
THE FOURTH STEP OF RIGHTNESS   but in this   side it behoves
hyealde riȜtuolnesse and discrecion.
keep   rightness   and discretion
'THE FOURTH STEP OF RIGHTNESS (…) But in this side it behoves to keep
rightness and discretion.'
(fl1340 Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit*)

Sentence (4.127) does not have a dummy *hit* and has a *to*-infinitival theme. Sentence (4.128), in turn, has a dummy *hit* and a bare infinitival theme. It seems evident that the presence or absence of dummy *hit* is not determined by word-order factors, since irrespective of the presence or absence of *hit*, the infinitival clause always occurs after the verb *bihoven*. What may, however, explain the absence of *hit* in sentence (4.127) is the presence of the adverb *nou* in pre-verbal position, since *nou, there* and *here* are the strongholds of the adverbs triggering verb second constraint. On a different note, the nature of the infinitive which heads the sentential themes is not conditioned by the presence / absence of *hit* or by semantic factors, since the verb conveys the same meaning in both examples. Since these two sentences are taken from the same text, we cannot adduce dialectal, textual or idiolectal factors for the choice between both types of infinitives. The choice for one infinitival type or another appears, then, to be based on varying factors, and they are, therefore, in free variation.

Moving downwards in Table 4.28, we observe that *bihoven* may also be combined with an **infinitive followed by a *that*-clause**, that is, *bihoven* may be the first of the verbs in a three-verb sentence (7 instances). On some occasions this construction favours an epistemic characterization of the meaning of the verb, as seen above with sentence (4.121), where the infinitive is marked by the particle *to* and which, the same as all other instances, dates from M3. A similar example with bare infinitive + *that*-clause has also been recorded; it dates from M4:

(4.129) *Now sothely Ȝe   pray þam note to be our helpers, Bot oure*
now truly   you (nom.) pray them not to be our helpers   but our
*tourmentours.For <u>it</u> **byhoues** nedis   <u>be þat, als many goddes als</u>*
tormentors   for it behoves necessarily be that, as many Gods   as
<u>Ȝe   wirchipe & gyffe þam powere of our lymmes,   als many</u>
you (nom.)worship & give them power   of our limbs / bodies as many
<u>tourmente Ȝe   suffere</u>.
torment   you (nom.) suffer

> 'Now truly you pray them not to be our helpers, but our tormentors. For it must necessarily be that, as many Gods as you worship & give them the power of our bodies, as many torments you suffer.'
> (1440 *Prose life of Alexander*)

This example also illustrates the irrelevance of the nature of the infinitival theme of *bihoven* for its identification as an incipient auxiliary verb. In none of the examples of bare infinitival themes can we consider the possibility to interpret *bihoven* as a potential auxiliary verb mainly for two reasons. On the one hand, Warner (1993) claims that in Middle English many verbs may choose bare or *to*-infinitival complements, while *real* auxiliaries attach to the bare infinitive only. On the other hand, *bihoven* does not have a personal experiencer which experiences the necessity or obligation expressed by the verb. The last apparent hint to consider *bihoven* a potential auxiliary is its possibility to occur with an **elided clause** (see last line of Table 4.28). This marginal example is (4.130):

(4.130) *And also þat þe forhede & þe   yen been couerid, as* <u>*it*</u> **bihouiþ***, & in*
         and also that the forehead & the eyes are   covered as it behoves & in
         none oþer maner be þey nat so hardi for to apere bifore strawngeris.
         no other manner be they not so hard for to appear before strangers
         'And also that the forehead and the eyes are covered, as is proper, and in
         no other way may they appear before strangers.'
         (1450 *Rewle of Sustris Menouresses enclosid*)

The elided clause would be something like *þat þe yen been couerid* or *(to) couer þe yen*, because what *is proper* is that the eyes are covered. As expected, this example does not constitute a piece of evidence in favour of the auxiliary status of *bihoven* because of three reasons. The first one is that there is not an explicit experiencer. The second reason is that it is impossible to know whether what is elided is a *that*-clause or an infinitival clause and auxiliaries are only combined with infinitives. Finally, the third reason concerns the context, since *bihoven* in (4.130) occurs in a comparative clause, which is one of the exceptional contexts mentioned by Warner (1993) for the identification of post-auxiliary ellipsis. Therefore, after having analysed all possible types of syntactic patterns exhibited by ME *bihoven* when it does not have an experiencer we conclude that it does not behave as an auxiliary verb at any level. Let us now move on to the 138 instances in which the experiencer is explicit and discover its syntactic features.

When *bihoven* occurs in **constructions with an explicit experiencer** it may, as was the case with non-experiencer constructions, have two basic types of

theme: nominal (21 occasions, 15.2%) or sentential (117 instances, 84.8%). Never does this verb occur in absolute uses as *neden* v.2, conveying meanings such as 'X is needy.' The ratio of nominal themes is lower than in constructions without an experiencer, in which the percentage is 20.5%. The different constructions require a detailed explanation.

      None of the sentences in which *bihoven* occurs with an experiencer and a nominal theme contain dummy *hit*. All, but one, have oblique or *to*-prepositional phrase experiencers and nominative themes, that is, *bihoven* occurs mostly in **Type I constructions**. A standard example is (4.131):

> (4.131) *8629 Ah we scullen us ær   baðien; & bonnien ure beornes.*
>   ah we must   us first bathe   & summon our warriors
> *8630 græiðien ure wepnen; for wel <u>heo</u>   us* **bi-houeð**.
>   prepare   our weapons for well they us behove
> 'We must first bathe ourselves, summon our warriors and prepare our weapons, for they are very necessary for us / we need them very much.'
> (1205 Layamon's *Brut*, lines 8629-8630)

Since this is an early example, the verb occurs in final position in the causal subordinate clause in which it appears. The theme is the nominative noun phrase *heo*, and the experiencer is the oblique noun phrase *us*. This sentence is, therefore, an instance of Allen's (1995) Type I construction with experiencer verbs. This pattern is repeated on other 11 occasions in my corpus and all of them date from M1. However, this pattern shows variant forms in the ME period. The experiencer may not be an oblique noun phrase but a *to*-prepositional phrase (five occasions, in M1, M2 and M4), and the nominal theme may be elided (three occasions, in M1 and M2). Sentence (4.132) comprises both variants:

> (4.132) <u>*More* **behoueþ** *to ane kuene* / *þanne* **behoueþ** *to ane borgayse* / *oþer to*</u>
>   more behoves to a   queen than   behoves to an bourgeois   or t o
> *ane simple wyfman.*
>   a   simple woman
> 'More things are necessary for a queen than to a bourgeois or to a simple woman / A queen needs more things than a bourgeois or a simple woman.'
> (fl1340 Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit*)

In this double example we see that the experiencer of *bihoven* may be expressed by a *to*-prepositional phrase (*to ane kuene*, in the first clause, and *to ane borgayse*, in the second). In addition, the second, comparative, clause exhibits ellipsis of the nominal theme, which in the main clause is compressed in *more*, which stands for the noun phrase *more things* or similar. Despite the fact that the

experiencer is expressed by a *to*-prepositional phrase and that the nominal theme is elided, these sentences may be considered equivalent to the 12 instances in which the experiencer is clearly oblique and the theme clearly nominative, and may, therefore, be considered Allen's Type I construction.

ME *bihoven* still exhibits a final type of syntactic construction, Allen's (1995) **Type II construction**, which occurs only once in my corpus. Such an example is (4.133):

> (4.133) *...for þan <u>mancynn</u>   **behofeð** <u>godcundre lare</u>.*
>   …because mankind (nom.) needs   eligious doctrine (gen.)
>   '...because mankind needs religious doctrine.'
>   (1,350 helsinki\cmveshom)

Sentence (4.133) has a nominative experiencer, *mancynn*, and a genitival theme (the feminine noun phrase *godcundre lare*). Therefore, it is an instance of Allen's Type II constructions with experiencer verbs. This is the main type of construction found with OE *behofian* (cf. section 3.4.3 above), and Allen (1995: 8) claims that after the 12th century, nominative experiencers are only found in non-original manuscripts. This is, in fact, the case of sentence (4.133), as provided in the COCOA headers of the *Helsinki Corpus*. According to the editors of the corpus, the manuscript which they have used dates from M1, but it is not the original. Therefore, the analysis of the instances in which *bihoven* occurs with an experiencer and a nominal theme corroborate Allen's (1995) claims about this verb, since it proves to have changed its OE personal syntax in favour of the obliqueness of the experiencer.

Let us turn now to the 117 instances of *bihoven* with an explicit experiencer and a sentential theme. These examples are analysed below according to two parameters. On the one hand, I pay attention to the type of sentential theme chosen by the verb. On the other hand, the 117 examples are classified according to Allen's (1995) taxonomy as for experiencer verbs into Type S constructions (oblique experiencer + sentential theme), Type *hit* (dummy *hit* subject + oblique experiencer + sentential theme) and Type 'Personal' (nominative experiencer + sentential theme). The only difference between Types S and 'Personal' concerns the case inflection of the experiencer, which may be controversial in Middle English, because, as is well-known, the loss of inflections affected nouns, but not pronouns. Therefore, when the experiencer of *bihoven* is a nominal noun phrase it is not possible to determine whether it is

nominative or oblique. In order not to produce incorrect or biased results, I have included them under the intermediate label S-'Personal,' as is shown in the following table:

ALLEN'S TYPE / THEME	S	*HIT*	S-'PERSONAL'	'PERSONAL'	TOTAL
Bare infinitival clause	41	5	4	2	**52**
To-infinitival clause	27	12	3	2	**44**
Bare passive infinitival clause	1		3	1	**5**
To-passive infinitival clause	1	4			**5**
That-clause	5	1	1		**7**
Elided clause	4				**4**
TOTAL	**79**	**22**	**11**	**5**	**117**

Table 4.29: Experiencer verb constructions of bihoven *with a sentential theme.*

This table shows that the type of sentential theme selected by *bihoven* may be of three types: active infinitival (96 instances, in total), passive infinitival (10 occasions), and *that*-clause (7 examples). Marginally, the sentential theme may be elided, and therefore it is impossible to determine its nature (4 sentences). The columns of this table also show that *bihoven* may occur in all Allen's (1995) types of experiencer verb constructions, though it shows a tendency to occur in Type S constructions (79 instances), followed by Type *hit* (22 occasions). Type 'Personal' is the most marginal type of construction of *bihoven* with a sentential theme (five sentences) and, in fact, there are more instances of ambiguously marked experiencer, labelled as S-'Personal,' (11 occurrences), than of clear 'Personal' type. In the following paragraphs, I explain and illustrate the possible types of syntactic patterns outlined in Table 4.29.

As mentioned, ME *bihoven* tends to occur with **Type S constructions** (oblique experiencer + sentential theme). In fact, it is the only construction which exhibits the six possible sentential themes with which *bihoven* can be found, probably because it takes place in all four subperiods of Middle English. The most common type of sentence found as theme for *bihoven* in Type S constructions is the bare infinitival clause, as opposed to its occurrence in examples without an explicit experiencer, where it takes mostly *that*-clauses. This preference for bare infinitival themes and *that*-clauses contrasts with *neden* v.2, which selects *to*-infinitival themes with a much higher frequency when it has an experiencer (cf. Table 4.22 above). Sentence (4.134) illustrates the prototypical ME construction with *bihoven*:

(4.134) *For þat prynces of pris   depresed hym so þikke, Nurned hym so nee   þe*
for that honour of thrice pressed   him so hard   urged   him so near the
*þred, þat nede   hym **bihoued** Oþer lach   þer   hir luf, oþer*
limit that necessarily him behoved other accept there her love or
lodly   refuse.
offensively refuse
'For that noble honour pressed him so hard, urged him so near the limit
that he must needs either accept her love there and then or refuse
offensively' (from Barron 1974: 123).
(1400 *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*)

Sentence (4.134) illustrates Type S constructions with a bare infinitival clause as theme. The experiencer occurs in subject position, and the bare infinitival clauses (headed by *lach* and *refuse* in this case) appear after the verb. Although this is a late ME example, it must be said that the earliest examples of this construction date from M2, more precisely, from Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit*, written about 1340.[26]

ME *bihoven* may also occur in Type S constructions with *to*-infinitival clauses as theme (cf. Table 4.29). As repeatedly mentioned, both types of infinitives appear to be in free variation in Old English (cf. section 3.2.1) and in Middle English non-modal verbs prefer *to*-infinitives, while auxiliaries are characterized by its preference for the bare infinitive (cf. section 4.2). As for the next type of theme found in this construction, namely passive infinitival clause, my corpus equitably offers one example of passive infinitival clause marked with the particle *to* and another without *to*, both from M3. The example of the bare passive infinitive is the following:

(4.135) *For byfor   ar   þai may God se*
for before before they may God see
***Byhoves** als thre thynges brinned be,*
behoves as three things   burned be
Þat es at say, als wodde, and hay,
that is at say   as wood and hay
And stubble, þat may sone wast away.
and stubble that may soon waste away
'(Talking about souls in Purgatory) For before they may see God, they
must be burnt as three things, that is to say, as wood, and hay, and stubble,

---

[26] This example is also interesting from a semantic point of view, because it comprises three verbs expressing different types of forces. The forms *depresed* and *nurned* express metaphorical forces which imply a tension between the antagonist and the agonist very much in the same way as in the examples of *neden* v.1 analysed above. The third verb in question is *bihoven*, which expresses the obligation felt by the agonist, rather than the imposition inflicted by the antagonist.

which may soon waste away.'
(2,139 helsinki\cmprick)

The passive infinitival clause *brinned be*, which occurs without the infinitival marker *to*, is the theme of the verb *byhoves*. This example is also the only instance of an elided experiencer of *bihoven* in my corpus. It seems fairly clear that the experiencer of the verb is the underlined pronoun *þai* in the previous sentence, which refers to the souls in Purgatory. However, there must be a reason why the experiencer is elided in this example, the only one in my corpus. I consider that probably the reason has to do with metrical factors, since it belongs to a verse text. A question which may arise is why I have considered the experiencer to be oblique, if it is elided. The reason concerns number: the verb *byhoves* is inflected for the third person singular, and the elided experiencer is plural, and therefore it cannot be nominative, because it would require subject-verb agreement.

Leaving apart all these considerations about the experiencer of *bihoven*, this sentence has been brought up to illustrate Type S construction with a passive infinitival theme, a type of construction which occurs only twice in my corpus. If we recall Warner's (1993) assumption that occurrence with passive infinitives is a characteristic of auxiliary verbs, we must examine whether *bihoven* exhibits any other auxiliary-like feature, since two sentences in a 1.2 million-word corpus do not suffice to draw any conclusion, as seen above, OE *þurfan*, ME *thurven* and ME *neden* v.2 may also be combined with passive infinitival clauses.

Type S constructions with *bihoven* may also have a *that*-clause as theme, although its ratio is much lower than in constructions without an explicit experiencer. One of the five examples is (4.136):

(4.136) *HIER after ðe*   **behoueð**   *ðat tu*   *habbe (...) ðo gaten and ðo*
          hereafter   you (obl.) behoves that you (nom.) have   the gates and the
          duren wel bilokin of ðis holi temple.
          doors well locked of this holy temple
          'Hereafter it behoves you to (you must) have the gates and the doors of this
          holy temple well closed.'
          (1200 *Vices and Virtues*)

The order of the constituents is the same as with infinitival themes: the experiencer occurs before the verb, and the theme after the verb. The early date of this example gives a hint about its usage in Middle English. Two out of the five instances of this construction occur in M1, and the other three occur in M2.

In other words, the use of *that*-clauses as themes of *bihoven* when it has an experiencer seems to be restricted to early Middle English, while in the late stages of the period infinitival themes are more common, foreshadowing the PDE pattern for *behove*. However, as seen above, when *bihoven* does not exhibit an explicit experiencer, *that*-clauses are still the preferred theme all throughout the period.

To end up the analysis of *bihoven* when occurring in Type S constructions, we must comment on the last line of Table 4.29, which records four instances in which the sentential theme is elided. ME *bihoven* exhibits such an ellipsis only in Type S constructions and, as mentioned above, it is not possible to determine the syntactic nature of the elided sentence. One of these instances is (4.137):

> (4.137) *Ich habbe iblend   men & ibroken ham þe schuldren.(...) Se feole ich*
> I   have made-blind men & broken them the shoulders   so many I
> *habbe i-fulet   of þeo þe neren   iblescet nawt se wel as ham **bihofde**.*
> have corrupted of them the were-not blessed   not so well as them behoved
> 'I have made men blind and broken their shoulders (...). So many who I
> have defiled / corrupted were not so well blessed as they should.'
> (4,443 helsinki\cmjulia)

If we reconstructed the elided sentential element, the translation of this sentence would be '(they) were not so well blessed as they should be blessed.' As in many other cases, the ellipsis takes place in a comparative clause, in order to avoid redundancy. This is also the context for the other three instances of elided sentential theme in Type S constructions (which occur in subperiods M1, M2 and M3). As repeatedly mentioned, ellipsis in comparative clauses must not be taken as an auxiliary-like characteristic of a given verb, because it is one of the exceptional contexts mentioned by Warner (1993).

After Type S, the second most common experiencer verb construction of *bihoven* is Allen's (1995) **Type *hit* construction**, that is, a structure in which the subject position is occupied by a dummy *hit*, there is an oblique experiencer and a sentential theme, which in turn can be a *to*-infinitival, bare infinitival, passive *to*-infinitival and *that*-clause. This construction type occurs in my corpus from M2 to M4 and exhibits all the possible sentential forms in all these subperiods, except for the last subperiod, M4, which only records Type *hit* with *to*-infinitival themes. An example of this infinitival type is (4.138):

> (4.138) *Jhesu (...) wente aȝen in to Galilee. And it **bihofte**   hym to passe bi*
> Jesus   went again into Galilee   and it behoved him to pass by

> *Samerie. Therfor Jhesus cam in to a citee of Samarie.*
> Samaria therefore Jesus came into a city of Samaria
> 'Jesus (...) went again into Galilee. And it behoved him (he had to) to pass
> by Samaria. Therefore Jesus came into a city of Samary.'
> (2,400 helsinki\cmntest)

This excerpt from the New Testament is a prototypical example of the most common sentential form of *bihoven* in Type *hit* constructions. The dummy subject occurs in pre-verbal position, the experiencer is the oblique form *hym*, and the sentential theme is a *to*-infinitival clause, *to passe*. As mentioned, this type of infinitive is the only sentential theme which survives in M4, which appears to be the last ME step towards the modern syntactic features of *behove*. Instances of type *hit* constructions of ME *bihoven* occur in M2 and M3, while the only occurrence of *bihoven* in a Type *hit* construction and a *that*-clause theme takes place in M2 only, probably as an OE relic. We must not forget, however, that in constructions without an experiencer *that*-clauses are frequent all throughout the ME period.

When *bihoven* appears in Type *hit* constructions it shows its highest ratio of occurrence with passive infinitival themes (almost half of the occurrences of this sentential type in my corpus). On all four occasions the infinitive is marked by *to*. Consider (4.139):

> (4.139) *And as Moises areride a serpent in desert, so <u>it</u>* **bihoueth** <u>*mannys sone*</u>
> and   as Moses raised   a serpent in desert so it behoves   man's son
> <u>*to be reisid, that ech man that bileueth in hym, perische not, but haue*</u>
> to be raised that each man that believes in him perish   not but have
> *euerlastynge lijf.*
> everlasting   life
> 'And the same as Moses raised a serpent in the desert, so it behoves the
> man's son to be raised, that each man that believes in him does not perish,
> but has everlasting life.'
> (1,895 helsinki\cmntest)

The sentential theme is, as underlined, the *to*-passive infinitive *to be reisid*, which refers to the experiencer *mannys sone*. The four instances of this type of construction are not to be taken as pieces of evidence in favour of an auxiliary-like feature of *bihoven*. Warner (1993) claims that passive infinitives are proper of auxiliary verbs because they imply lack of experiencer / subject selection, that is, the auxiliary accepts the subject of the passive infinitive as its own. In fact, in (4.139) and the other four instances of this infinitival pattern in Type *hit* constructions the experiencer of *bihoven* is the subject of the passive infinitive.

As a tangent remark, we must also pay attention to the form of the experiencer, *mannys sone*, a noun phrase which could be interpreted as nominative were it not for its occurrence with the dummy subject *hit*, which satisfies the characteristics of a formal subject. Therefore, the experiencer cannot be considered a subject. In addition, according to Allen's (1995) definition of Type *hit* constructions, the experiencer is always oblique, which seems to imply that *mannys sone* in (4.139) is an oblique noun phrase, despite the fact that it does not show oblique inflections.

My corpus contains sentences in which the experiencer is unmarked, as in (4.139), and there is not a *hit* subject which facilitates the interpretation. Since an unmarked noun phrase may be considered nominative (and hence, it would occur in a Type 'Personal' construction) or oblique (as in Type S constructions), the results would be biased if I analysed these ambiguous instances as belonging to any of these two experiencer verb constructions. For this reason, I have included them together under the label **S-'Personal' constructions**, a combination of the two types. As seen in Table 4.29, *bihoven* occurs in this indeterminate construction on 11 occasions, and as such it exhibits all of the possible sentential themes: bare infinitival, *to*-infinitival, passive bare infinitival and *that*-clause themes. The following M1 example illustrates this construction with a *that*-clause theme, an early tendency:

> (4.140) *Nu **bihoueð** þe forwunded wreche þet he habbe leche*.
>   now behoves the wounded wretch that the has physician
>   'Now it behoves the wounded wretch to have a physician / Now the
>   wounded wretch needs to have a physician.'
>   (8,621 helsinki\cmlambet)

The sentential theme of this sentence is the *that*-clause *þet he habbe leche*, and the experiencer is the ambiguously marked noun phrase *þe forwunded wreche*; *wreche* may be the nominative form, according to the OE morphology of this noun (cf. Clark Hall *s.v. wræcca (e)*), as well as the oblique form, since in Old English the dative inflection for masculine nouns is <-e>. In spite of this ambiguity, given that this is an early text, this noun phrase is likely to be nominative, because this is the tendency in Old English, to find *behofian* with a nominative experiencer. In fact, Allen (1997: 8) says that the first occurrence of *bihoven* with a non-nominative experiencer takes place in the late 11th century. However, the analysis of examples from later periods is more difficult:

(4.141) *and smote be-twene hem the grettest bateile that she euer hadde seyn or*
and fought between them the greatest battle that she ever had   seen or
herde speke; but in the fyn the bestes with the crowned lyon **be-houed** to
heard speak but in the end the beasts with the crowned lion   behoved to
turne bakke, and the crowned lyon was sore a-dredde to lese his pasture.
turn   back and the crowned lion was deeply afraid   to let-out his pasture
'(battle between lions & other beasts) and they fought between them the
greatest battle she had ever seen or heard speak of; but in the end the beasts
with the crowned lion had to turn back, and the crowned lion was deeply
afraid to let out his pasture.'
(1450-1460 *Merlin*)

Since this example belongs to a 15ᵗʰ-century original text (notice its *to*-infinitival theme), we could follow Allen's (1997) criterion that after the 12ᵗʰ century *bihoven* is only found with non-nominative experiencers in original texts, and with nominative experiencers in non-original texts. We would, then, consider that the underlined noun phrase, *the bestes with the crowned lyon*, although unmarked as for case, stands for a non-nominative experiencer. However, my corpus contains examples from late ME original texts where *bihoven* has a nominative experiencer, which comes to contradict Allen's (1997) findings. Therefore, it would not be accurate to analyse sentences with an ambiguously marked experiencer as non-nominative. For this reason, I have grouped them up under the label S-'Personal.'

The last type of construction in Table 4.29 is the **'Personal' construction**. There are only five occurrences of *bihoven* with clear nominative experiencer and sentential theme and they all belong to subperiods M3 and M4. The possibilities of sentential theme are the bare infinitival clause, *to*-infinitival clause and passive bare infinitival clause, which constitutes quite a broad variety taking into account the low number of occurrences of this construction. Witness (4.142) as an instance of bare infinitival theme with nominative experiencer:

(4.142) *Bot what schal suche a deuoute soule doo whan sche (...)? Sothely* sche
but what shall   such a devout   soul do   when she   truly she
byhoueth *besily   and ofte* clepe   *hym aȝen in to continuel   desire and*
behoves   busily and often invoke him again in to continuous desire and
deuoute prayer.
devout prayer
'But what shall a devout soul do when she (...)? She truly must invoke him
(i.e. Jesus) again in continuous desire and devout prayer.'
(fl1410 *Mirrour of the blessed lyf of Jesu Christ*)

This M3 example exhibits a clear nominative experiencer, *sche*, which refers to the previous noun phrase *a deuoute soul* (*sche* is also the form which functions as subject of the verb *doo* in the previous question). At the beginning of the 15th century this kind of experiencer is not to be found, according to Allen (1997). Therefore, her assertion that from the 12th century onwards nominative experiencers are only recorded in non-original texts proves to be inexact, as the five examples from my corpus show. Another clear instance of the 'personal' use of *bihoven* in late Middle English is (4.143), whose theme is expressed by a *to*-infinitival clause:

> (4.143) *59 Sa evill   wondit   was the knycht*
>   so evilly wounded was the knight
>   *60 That <u>he</u> **behuvit** <u>to de</u>.*
>   that he behoves to die
>   'The knight was so evilly wounded that he was bound to die.'
>   (ca1480 Minor poems of Robert Henryson, lines 59-60)

The experiencer of this sentence, *he*, offers no doubt: it is nominative and, like *sche* in (4.142), it occurs in subject pre-verbal position. These examples with nominative experiencer make manifest that syntax and semantics go hand in hand, because the meaning of *bihoven* in these instances is far from the appropriateness meaning it shows in other constructions; instead it expresses necessity and obligation, very much in the same way as ME *neden* or OE *þurfan*. In fact, these instances of 'personal' uses of *bihoven* may be considered the most auxiliary-like in my ME corpus; this auxiliary-like status becomes more transparent in the case of (4.142), which has a bare infinitival clause as theme.

In addition, my corpus also contains one example of a 'personal' use of *bihoven* with a passive bare infinitival clause, namely (4.144) below:

> (4.144) *þe whiche is an instrument of þe # body, <u>it</u> **behoueþ** alweis <u>be spoken</u> in*
>   that which is an instrument of the   body it behoves always be spoken in
>   *bodely wordes. Bot what þerof? Schal it þerfore   be taken and conceyuid*
>   bodily words   but what thereof shall it therefore be taken and conceived
>   *bodely? Nay, it bot # goostly.*
>   bodily   not it   but ghostly
>   '...that which is an instrument of the body, it must always be spoken in bodily words. But what thereof? Shall it therefore be taken and conceived bodily? Not, but ghostly.'
>   (1,128 helsinki\cmcloud)

The experiencer of this M3 sentence is the pronoun *it*, which does not function as an empty marker, but as a deictic pronoun referring to the previous noun phrase,

þe tonge, þe whiche is an instrument of þe body. Sentence (4.144) could, then, be paraphrased as 'the tongue, that which is an instrument of the body, must always be spoken in bodily words.' The experiencer of this example is, therefore, an inanimate entity, the only one in my corpus. This example is unique in a series of respects: it has an inanimate experiencer, it is one of the few instances of *bihoven* in 'personal' uses and it has a passive infinitival theme. This example is, in fact, one of the occurrences of *bihoven* exhibiting its most auxiliary-like characteristics. However, given the low number retrieved from my corpus, we must conclude that in general this ME verb does not show sound signs of grammaticalization as an auxiliary in this period. It is interesting, nevertheless, to observe that a single ME verb may display such a large variety of syntactic constructions, as well as a complex semantic map.

After this detailed examination of the semantic and syntactic behaviour of *bihoven*, I close this section with a short summary of the results. Semantically, this verb is very complex, and this is shown in the large variety of meanings it may convey. All throughout the four subperiods it expresses internally-rooted forces and, most frequently, externally-rooted ones, which are based on religious or hierarchical grounds, that is, it mainly expresses obligation. However, this verb shows in Middle English a movement towards its PDE semantic status of verb expressing appropriateness, and this is shown in the large amount of general types of forces expressed in each of the four subperiods, which can only be compared to the frequency of strong external forces. General forces are those originated in a nebulous, generalized authority, and in this context the meaning of appropriateness arises as a kind of necessity born out of a diffuse origin, but expressing a real force.

A final comment on the semantic features of *bihoven* must be a reference to its ability to express epistemic or logical necessity. This meaning (recorded in *MED s.v. bihoven* 2a) probably stems from a metaphorical use of *bihoven* as a verb of obligation. As mentioned, *bihoven* is the first of my verbs which shows any trace of epistemic meaning, but this must not be taken as a step towards its grammaticalization as a modal, not only because we know that it is not a PDE modal, but also because its logical meaning arises from a construction involving the verb *bihoven* and a combination with the verb *be* followed by a *that*-clause, as seen in example (4.129) above, repeated here for convenience:

(4.145) *Now sothely ʒe   pray þam note to be our helpers, Bot oure*
         now truly   you (nom.) pray them not to be our helpers   but our
         *tourmentours.For it **byhoues** nedis   be þat, als many goddes als*
         tormentors   for it behoves necessarily be that, as many Gods   as
         ʒe   wirchipe & gyffe þam powere of our lymmes,   als many
         you (nom.)worship & give them power   of our limbs / bodies as many
         tourmente ʒe   suffere.
         torment   you (nom.) suffer
         'Now truly you pray them not to be our helpers, but our tormentors. For it
         must necessarily be that, as many Gods as you worship & give them the
         power of our bodies, as many torments you suffer.'
         (1440 *Prose life of Alexander*)

This is an instance of the inevitable overlapping of semantics and syntax, which leads us to the summary of the syntactic findings.

   Syntactically, *bihoven* may be said to be basically an experiencer verb, although in numerous instances it does not occur with an experiencer. The theme, or thing needed, is always present and it may take the shape of a nominal or a sentential element. The following table provides the breakdown of these two parameters, (i) the presence or absence of an explicit experiencer and (ii) the syntactic type of the theme:

EXPERIENCER / THEME	EXPERIENCER	NO EXPERIENCER	TOTAL
Bare infinitival clause	52	9	61
To-infinitival clause	44	13	57
Noun phrase	21	14	35
That-clause	7	23	30
Bare passive infinitival clause	5		5
To-passive infinitival clause	5		5
To-infinitive + *that*-clause		7	7
Bare infinitive + *that*-clause		1	1
Elided clause	4	1	5
TOTAL	138	68	206

Table 4.30: *Syntactic features of ME* bihoven *taking into account the presence or absence of the experiencer and the nature of the theme.*

In addition to the evident tendency to occur with an explicit experiencer rather than without it, this table reveals that *bihoven* chooses nominal themes only on 17% of the occurrences. It mostly takes sentential themes, and these may be of different kinds: active infinitival (118 instances), *that*-clause (30), passive infinitival (10), infinitival + *that*-clause (8) and elided (5). Alternation between bare and *to*-infinitival clauses with *bihoven* is almost fifty-fifty, except when the

infinitive is followed by a *that*-clause, in which case *to*-infinitival clauses seem to be the norm, while bare infinitival clauses are quite exceptional. Such alternation between marked and unmarked infinitives is very common in Middle English, as Warner (1993) notes. The use of one or other infinitival type seems to depend on arbitrary reasons, rather than on syntactic rules.

The combination of nominal and sentential themes with the presence or absence of an experiencer yields different types of constructions which vary from one period to another. The following table outlines the possible type of experiencer verb constructions and non-experiencer verb constructions found with *bihoven* in the four ME subperiods:[27]

SUBPERIOD / CONSTRUCTION	M1	M2	M3	M4	TOTAL
Ø	6	38	18	6	68
TYPE II	1				1
TYPE I	14	5		1	20
TYPE S	6	31	36	6	79
TYPE *HIT*		6	12	4	22
TYPE 'PERSONAL'			4	1	5
TYPE S-'PERSONAL'	1	1	7	2	11
TOTAL	28	81	77	20	206

Table 4.31: Distribution of experiencer and non-experiencer verb constructions with ME bihoven *by subperiods.*

The most significant conclusions which can be drawn from the data in this table are the following. The experiencer verb construction Type S and constructions without an experiencer are the only syntactic types which occur all throughout Middle English and also the most common. Constructions without an experiencer on some occasions have a dummy subject *there*, the same as *neden* v.2. Experiencer verb constructions Type II occur only marginally in a non-original M1 text, probably as an OE relic. The same was expected for Type 'Personal,' but, contradicting Allen's (1995: 8) claim that after the 12th century nominative experiencers are only found in non-original texts, this syntactic type occurs for the first time in my corpus in M3 (1350-1420), and is recorded in later periods in original texts. The Type *hit* construction occurs from M2 onwards and it appears to undergo a decrease in M4 (only two occurrences), although, as is well-known, it is the only construction which survives in Present-Day English.

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[27] As has been done with the analysis of other verbs, examples dated in the *Helsinki Corpus* as MX/1, for example, have been considered to belong to M1.

4.4.4 *Middle English* misteren *in the corpus*

In order to finish my analysis of the ME verbs which express necessity, I must now pay attention to the only verb borrowed from French which is found to express necessity in my corpus, namely *misteren*. Section 4.3.4 mentions that the first occurrence of this verb dates back to 1375 according to the editors of the *OED*, while the earliest quotation given in the *MED* dates from 1412. Unfortunately, my 1.2-million-word corpus only records three instances of this verb, and all of them belong to the same text, *An Alphabet of Tales*, a translation from Latin[28] dating back from 1440 or 1450 depending on the sources. Visser (1963-1973) and *OED* give 1440 as the date of translation of this text, while the *MED* states that the text dates from 1450, as seen in section 4.3.4. The fact that all three examples of *misteren* occur in a translation from a Latin text seems truly significant, because the introduction of *misteren* in Middle English does not seem to be justified but by the liking of French loanwords in a context of massive borrowing from this language. Therefore, the fact that the original text was written in Latin may have reinforced the use of a Romance word such as *misteren*.

Despite the low frequency of occurrence of this verb in my corpus, it exhibits three different syntactic types depending on the nature of the experiencer and the theme. On two occasions it takes a nominal theme, and in the remaining instance it takes a sentential theme. Therefore, the examples from my corpus exemplify all possible types of construction with *misteren* documented in the literature with the exception of constructions without an experiencer. As mentioned above (section 4.3.4), when *misteren* takes a nominal theme it may occur in experiencer verb constructions Type I and Type II. One of the instances in my corpus occurs in an ambiguous Type II construction; (4.146) below is ambiguous because, the experiencer is clearly nominative and the theme is not genitival, but unmarked:

> (4.146) *And þan sho prayed hym, þat (...) he wold so pray for   hur att sho mott be*
>   and then she prayed him   that   he would so pray for her that she may be
>   *forgiffen of þat syn. And he bad hur go away from hym, & sayde he was a*
>   forgiven of that sin and he bad her go away from him   & said   he was a
>   *synner &* **mysterd** *forgyfnes of his syn als wele as sho did.*
>   sinner & needed forgiveness of his sin as well as she did

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[28] According to the information provided in the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*, the original text is *Alphabetum narrationum*, and its author is Etienne de Besançon.

'And then she prayed him that (...) he would so pray for her that she may
be forgiven of that sin. And he bad her go away from him, and said he was
a sinner and needed forgiveness of his sin as much as she did.'
(1440 *Alphabet of Tales*)

The experiencer of (4.146) is the nominative pronoun *he*, which functions as
subject of *was* and as experiencer / subject of *mysterd*. However, the theme is the
unmarked noun phrase headed by *forgyfnes*, as expected at this late stage of
Middle English. Therefore, it cannot be said that this is a prototypical Type II
construction with an experiencer verb. The other example with a nominal theme
in my corpus is an instance of a Type I construction, because the experiencer is
oblique, and the theme is nominative:

(4.147) ... *when* hym **mysters**,   LX Ml   of harnessid men.
                … when him is-necessary 40 million of harnessed men
                'when 40 million harnessed men are necessary for him.'
                (1440 *Alphabet of Tales*)

In this example *misteren* occurs in a temporal-conditional clause with a non-
nominative experiencer (*hym*), and a nominative theme, the underlined noun
phrase (cf. also (4.41) above). Semantically, both (4.146) and (4.147) express
strong internal necessity. In (4.146) the internal force has also a religious nuance,
that is, the agonist has an internal need for forgiveness, but this inner force is
born out of religious convictions. However, in (4.147) the internal force is
somewhat related to the social context in which the agonist is, for instance a
warlike conflict.

Finally, my corpus records one instance of *misteren* with a sentential
theme in a Type 'Personal' construction:

(4.148) *& þan þis Abbott said vnto þis maister thieff, "Whi laburs þou þus, &*
                & then this abbot said unto this master thief   why labour you thus &
                puttis þi   selfe in so grete perell as þou dose, for þi   lifelod?
                put   your self in so great peril   as you do   for your means-of-living
                Com with me   vnto our abbay, & I sall so ordand at þou   sall nott
                come with me unto our abbey & I shall so ordain that you shall not
                myster *to be a thief no mor."*
                need   to be a thief no more
                'And then this abbot said to this master thief: "Why do you labour thus,
                and put yourself in so great a peril as you do, for your means of living?
                Come with me into our abbey, and I shall ordain so that you shall not need
                to be a thief any more."'
                (1440 *Alphabet of Tales*)

This example (also provided by Visser 1963-1973: § 1344) brings *misteren* close to *neden* v.2, since it not only occurs with nominative experiencer and sentential theme (as is the tendency for *neden* v.2 in M4; cf. Table 4.24), but it also occurs in a non-affirmative context, like *neden* v.2. However, as noted by Visser, this collocation is only rarely found with *misteren*. The meaning of *misteren* in this example is lack of necessity (inner necessity, as in the other two instances): the thief has a strong internal necessity to commit robbery, which the abbot considers may be due to the absence of religious beliefs, and the abbot offers him a possibility not to undergo this strong internal necessity any more. Lack of necessity is also the most common meaning of *thurven*, although it most frequently expresses externally-rooted necessities (cf. Table 4.10 above). Therefore *misteren* seems to be semantically closer to *neden* v.2 as far as the expression of strong internally-rooted necessities is concerned, at least in the scarce number of instances offered by my corpus. Given this semantic closeness to other 'need'-verbs, the borrowing of the French loanword *misteren* does not seem to respond to semantic factors, but it appears to be due to the speakers' wish for linguistic variation (cf. Kuteva 2004), and to the above-mentioned tendency to borrow French words in this period. Since, according to Visser (1963-1973: 1424, §1344) *misteren* becomes obsolete after 1585, there is still some possibility to find more instances of this verb in the analysis of the data from the eModE corpus.

4.4.5. *Summary and conclusions*

This section outlines the main results obtained from the analysis and examination of the ME corpus. It will compare the semantic implications of the verbs examined, namely *thurven, bethurven, neden* v.1, *neden* v.2, *bihoven* and *misteren,* and will provide an interpretation of their syntactic features in the light of their potential degree of grammaticalization in Middle English. As a first approach to the overall results obtained for Middle English, it is necessary to offer the frequency of each verb in the four subperiods. Table 4.32 displays the number of occurrences in each subperiod in addition to the normalized frequencies calculated for 100,000 words:

PERIOD	M1		M2		M3		M4		TOTAL	
VERB	N.	N.F.	N.	N.F.	N.	N.F.	N.	N.F.	N.	N.F.
THURVEN	31	10.74	7	3.38	7	1.91	10	2.58	**55**	**4.40**
BETHURVEN	4	1.38							**4**	**0.32**
NEDEN v.1	7	2.42	2	0.97	6	1.64			**15**	**1.20**
NEDEN v.2	2	0.69			72	19.68	72	18.59	**146**	**11.69**
BIHOVEN	28	9.70	81	39.12	77	21.05	20	5.16	**206**	**16.49**
MISTEREN							3	0.77	**3**	**0.24**
TOTAL	**72**	**24.95**	**90**	**43.47**	**162**	**44.28**	**105**	**27.11**	**429**	**34.35**

Table 4.32: Frequency of the six verbs in Middle English.

Figure 4.1(a) provides a clearer picture of the frequency of the ME verbs, taking into account the normalized frequencies only:
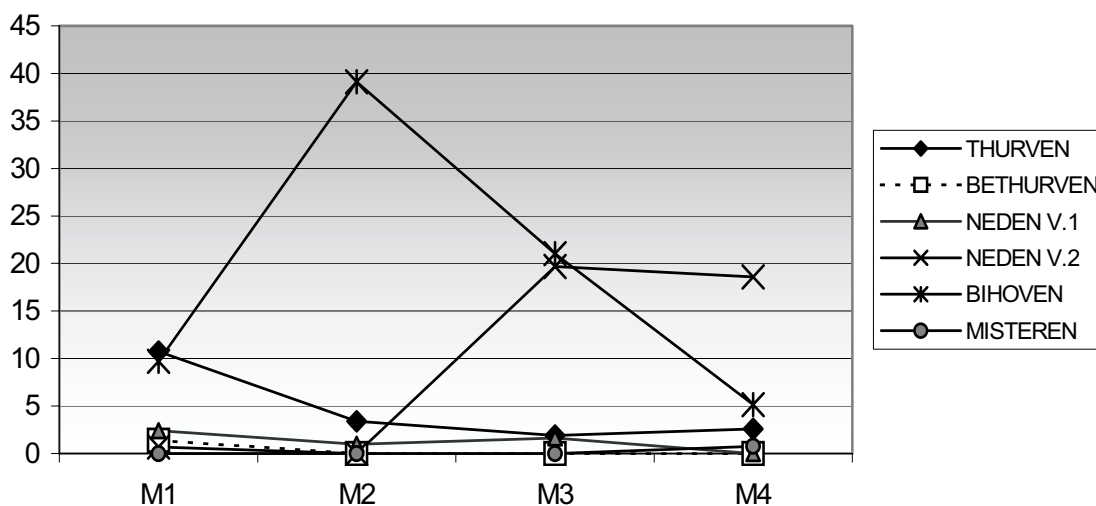
Figure 4.1(a): Frequency of the six verbs in the four ME subperiods.

Figure 4.1(a) offers a clear picture of the evolution of *neden* v.2 and *bihoven* in Middle English, but it fails to clarify the evolution of lower frequency verbs such as *thurven, bethurven, neden* v.1 and *misteren*. For this reason, Figure 4.1(b) magnifies the results as for these four verbs:
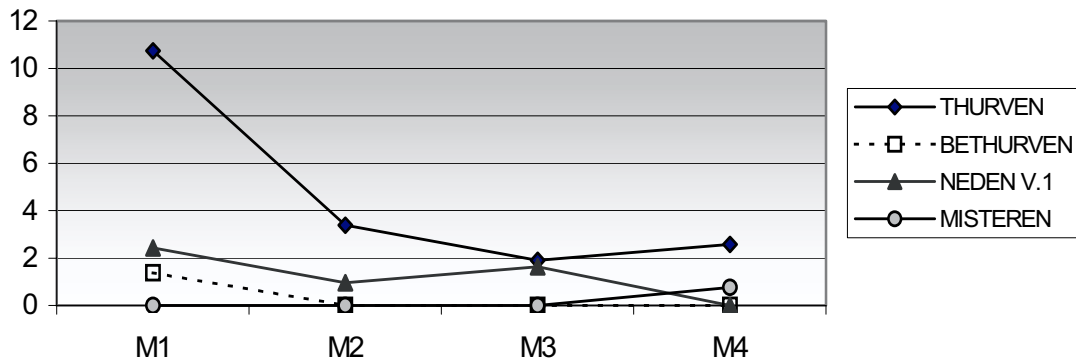
Figure 4.1(b): Frequency of four of the verbs in the four ME subperiods.

Figures 4.1(a) and 4.1(b) show that at the very beginning of the period *thurven* and *bihoven* were the most frequent verbs while at the end of the period only *neden* v.2 occurs frequently. In M2, *bihoven* detaches from the others and reaches its peak (due, as repeatedly mentioned, to its overwhelming frequency in *Ayenbite of Inwyt*),[29] only to undergo a drastic fall at the end of the period. Meanwhile, *thurven* experiments a progressive decrease in Middle English. As for the *neden* v.1 and *neden* v.2, at the beginning of the period *neden* v.1 is more common than *neden* v.2, but in M3 *neden* v.1 disappears and *neden* v.2 gains in frequency. Thus, by the end of the ME period, *neden* v.2 is confirmed as the main verb expressing the type of necessity analysed in this study.

   Beginning with the **semantic analysis** of the ME verbs, and in order to observe how they compete for the expression of their meanings, Table 4.33 offers their classification according to the origin and strength of the force expressed by these verbs:

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[29] This is the main finding as for the textual distribution of the ME 'need'-verbs. No other significant differences were observed.

ORIGIN	STRENGTH	VERBS		TOTAL	
EXTERNAL	STRONG	*Bihoven* (95) *Thurven* (28) *Neden* v.2 (33) *Neden* v.1 (15)		**Bihoven (95)** **Thurven (28)** **Neden v.2 (33)** **Neden v.1 (15)**	171
	WEAK				
INTERNAL	STRONG	*Neden* v.2 (48) *Bihoven* (22) *Thurven* (8) *Bethurven* (4) *Misteren* (3)		**Neden v.2 (70)** **Bihoven (28)** **Thurven (14)** **Bethurven (4)** **Misteren (3)**	119
	WEAK	*Neden* v.2 (22) *Thurven* (6) *Bihoven* (6)			
GENERAL	NEUTRAL	*Bihoven* (83) *Neden* v.2 (40) *Thurven* (9)		**Bihoven (83)** **Neden v.2 (40)** **Thurven (9)**	132
TOTAL	**STRONG**	**Bihoven (117)** **Neden v.2 (81)** **Thurven (36)** **Neden v.1 (15)** **Misteren (3)**	252	**Thurven (51)** **Bethurven (4)** **Neden v.2 (143)** **Neden v.1 (15)** **Bihoven (206)** **Misteren (3)**	422
	WEAK	**Neden v.2 (22)** **Thurven (6)** **Bihoven (6)** **Bethurven (4)**	38		
	NEUTRAL	**Bihoven (83)** **Neden v.2 (40)** **Thurven (9)**	132		

Table 4.33: Origin and intensity of the forces expressed by each ME verb.

This table gives the semantic description of only 422 out of the total 429 examples of the ME 'need'-verbs in my corpus; in the remaining seven examples the verbs do not convey forces, but barriers. The main conclusions we can draw from Table 4.33 are the following. Firstly, like in Old English, most verbs can express all types of forces with exception of weak external forces, which are not represented at all. And secondly, despite the lack of a clear distribution and functional delimitation of the verbs, we already observe in this period some significant tendencies in use:

- *Bihoven* is favoured for the expression of external and general forces, while *neden* v.2 is normally selected to convey internal forces.
- In the expression of internal forces *neden* v.2 faces the weak competition of *bethurven* and *misteren*, which occur only marginally.

- *Thurven*, though in a clear process of disappearance, still shows a clear preference for external forces.

For a more detailed analysis of the semantics of these verbs, we must take into account the notional type of force, as well as clause polarity. The diachronic distribution of the meanings is also relevant; Middle English is a period of drastic changes, and consequently the various subperiods represent radically different stages of the language. In order to account for all these variables, Table 4.34 below displays the number of instances of each verb in each notional type of force, taking into account clause polarity and their chronological distribution.

Table 4.34 shows that my ME verbs can be described in terms of cognitive barriers, since, when they occur in non-affirmative contexts, they convey impossibility. We have seen that in Old English, this is only possible for *þurfan*, just like in early Middle English it is only possible for *thurven*. In late Middle English, however, the same meaning is recorded only with *neden* v.2, a finding which is not expected from the information in the literature (cf. *MED s.v. neden* v.2). In fact, the expression of barriers mirrors what is actually taking place in the ME period, i.e. pre-modal *thurven* is gradually replaced by *neden* v.2. It is very significant that the only verbs which can express possibility in my corpus are precisely the ones which are prone to undergo auxiliarization. The logical relations between necessity and possibility (cf. section 2.2.2; and Lyons 1977; Palmer 1986) seem to operate only with auxiliary verbs.

Paying attention to the forces conveyed by my verbs, we observe that physical forces can only be conveyed by *neden* v.1 in the active voice, as was the case in Old English. As for the remaining types of forces, it is more interesting to summarize them by subperiods, in order to show that they are in complementary diachronic distribution.

				VERB	M1	M2	M3	M4	TOT.
BARRIER				*Thurven*	3	1			7
				Neden v.2				3	
FORCE	PHYSICAL			Active *neden* v.1		2			**2**
	SOCIAL	OBLIGATION		*Bihoven*	5	44	40	6	**125**
				Neden v.2			13	4	
				Passive *neden* v.1			6		
				Active *neden* v.1	5				
				Thurven	2				
		LACK OF OBLIGATION		*Thurven*	20	3		3	**41**
				Neden v.2			5	8	
				Active *neden* v.1	2				
		PROHIBITION		*Neden* v.2				3	**3**
	INTERNAL	OBLIGATION	OBLIGATION	*Bihoven*	7	8	2	5	**22**
			LACK OF OBLIGATION	*Thurven*	4	1	2	6	**13**
			PROHIBITION	*Neden* v.2			1		**1**
		NECESSITY	NECESSITY	*Neden* v.2	2		18	19	**51**
				Bihoven	6				
				Bethurven	3				
				Misteren				2	
				Thurven			1		
			LACK OF NECESSITY	*Neden* v.2			11	19	**32**
				Misteren				1	
				Bethurven	1				
	GENERAL	NECESSITY		*Bihoven*	9	27	34	9	**87**
				Neden v.2			4	4	
		LACK OF NECESSITY		*Neden* v.2			20	12	**42**
				Thurven	2	2	4	1	
				Bihoven		1			
		PROHIBITION		*Bihoven*	1	1	1		**3**
	LOGICAL	NECESSITY							
		LACK OF NECESSITY							
TOTAL					72	90	162	105	429

Table 4.34: Semantic implications of the six ME 'need'-verbs.

At the very beginning of the period (M1), the affirmative contexts in which a verb expressing necessity is needed are filled mainly with *bihoven* (obligation and necessity), and, less often, with *bethurven* and *neden* v.2 (internal necessity). Non-affirmative contexts in M1, on the contrary, are highly probable environments for *thurven* (lack of obligation and lack of necessity), which proves to be the main M1 verb which occurs in non-affirmative contexts, just like in Old English.

M2 is special because it yields many examples of *bihoven*, and very few examples of the other verbs. The predominance of *bihoven* in this period has been accounted for due to its high frequency in the text *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, which,

significantly enough, does not contain any other verb expressing necessity. *Thurven*, as usual, only occurs in non-affirmative contexts, and active *neden* v.1 only expresses physical force. Thus, *bihoven* expresses nearly all kinds of forces in affirmative contexts (social and internal obligation, as well as general necessity). This rich polysemy of *bihoven* has been interpreted in line with its peak in frequency.

In M3, things get more complicated. This is the last subperiod in which *neden* v.1 occurs, and on all occasions it is found in the passive voice expressing social obligation, in the same way as *bihoven* and *neden* v.2. The latter undergoes a drastic increase in M3 and confirms itself as a powerful ancestor of *need*, up to the point that it is the main verb expressing internal necessity in affirmative and non-affirmative contexts. Only *thurven* coexists with these three verbs in M3. M3, therefore, is the subperiod in which the coalescence between passive *neden* v.1 and *neden* v.2 marks the beginning of the disappearance of *neden* v.1. It is also the period in which we witness an important decrease in the use of *thurven* (accounted for, in the literature, as a result of its phonological confusion with *durren*), while *neden* v.2 proves itself as a basic reference for the expression of necessity in affirmative and non-affirmative contexts.

Finally, in M4, only *bihoven*, *neden* v.2 and the ephemeral *misteren* express necessity in affirmative contexts. In non-affirmative contexts, *neden* v.2 is the most common verb, *thurven* occurring only occasionally. In this period, we also witness a reduction in the variety of meanings which *bihoven* can express, because it is limited now to social obligation and general necessity, foreshadowing its PDE semantic nuance 'it is fitting or appropriate,' rather than its former common meaning 'need.' *Bihoven* also exhibits the first pieces of evidence that epistemic necessity stems from social necessity, since it conveys general meanings related to the field of epistemicity on six occasions. The appearance of *misteren* as a French loanword does not seem to be justified but as a consequence of the speakers' wish for linguistic variation (cf. Kuteva 2004), because the English language has at this time enough verbs expressing the kind of meaning it conveys, and it is probably because of this that it drops from the language soon after its entry. In any case, it seems significant that it expresses the same kind of meanings as *bethurven* in M1, before it disappeared, and almost in the same proportion.

This diachronic analysis of the ME period allows us to understand how *thurven* loses substance as a verb meaning 'need,' and is gradually replaced by

neden v.2 in all kinds of contexts, including non-affirmative ones, the former natural environment of *thurven*. Another similarity is their ability to express absence of possibility. As mentioned, only these two verbs express possibility in Old and Middle English, which seems to imply that only verbs which have been or will be modal auxiliaries may exhibit possibility, the modal meaning which is logically related to necessity.

After concluding the semantic analysis of the ME verbs, I will summarize their **syntactic features**, in order to obtain the evidence which may be indicative of grammaticalization, i.e. in order to observe which of the verbs, if any, exhibits auxiliary characteristics. To begin with, we must exclude the active instances of the verb *neden* v.1 from any search for grammaticalization nuances, since it conveys the purely lexical meaning 'compel, force;' as repeatedly mentioned, its subject is not the agonist of the force, but the antagonist, which makes it fall out of the auxiliary category.

Passive *neden* v.1, in its turn, is worthy of mention in this section, because at the end of its life, it only occurs in the passive voice (in M3). In this respect, it appears to be fossilized in a similar way to PDE semi-modals such as *be obliged to*. Such a structure seems to represent a syntactic bridge from active *need* v.1 and *need* v.2, because it has a subject agonist and it always takes *to*-infinitival complements, very much like *neden* v.2.

Out of the remaining ME verbs, *thurven, neden* v.2 and *bihoven* exhibit in Middle English the possibility to occur without an explicit experiencer, a syntactic possibility which did not exist in Old English. *Bihoven* is especially frequent in this pattern (33%), and *neden* v.2 is also relatively frequent (almost 27%), while *thurven* occurs without an experiencer only on 5.5% of its occurrences. Since these verbs do not have an experiencer, the constructions are of the type 'X is necessary,' where X may be of nominal or of sentential nature. While *thurven* only selects bare infinitives, *neden* v.2 and *bihoven* strongly favour *to*-infinitival clauses.

Another ME syntactic innovation is that, as opposed to Old English, my verbs may occur with an oblique experiencer even if the following infinitive is not impersonal. The frequency of nominative or non-nominative experiencer differs from verb to verb. ME *thurven* favours nominative experiencers, and, since it always takes sentential themes, it proves to have a strong preference for the 'Personal' Type of experiencer verb construction. It exhibits the same

auxiliary features it had in Old English, i.e. strong preference for the bare infinitive and occurrence with passive infinitives, which leads to lack of experiencer / subject selection. Although it occurs with ellipsis of the infinitive, such ellipses are not revealing of auxiliary status (cf. Warner 1993).

ME *bethurven* occurs both with a nominative experiencer, and with a non-nominative one. Its short life and its preference for nominal themes suggests that this verb never reached auxiliary status.

ME *neden* v.2 prefers non-nominative experiencers from M1 to M3, while it favours nominative ones in M4, especially when it has a sentential theme. This change in the last years of the ME period foreshadows the current features of PDE *need*. In addition, by selecting nominative experiencers, *neden* v.2 gets closer to the auxiliary group. In Middle English, however, *neden* v.2 does not exhibit sound auxiliary features. It does occur with bare infinitives, but has a pronounced tendency to occur with *to*-infinitival themes; it occurs with elided clauses, but in cases which are not indicative of auxiliary status, because they fall within Warner's (1993) exceptions; finally, it occurs with passive infinitives, which implies that it does not select its experiencer / subject. Indeed, occurrence with passive infinitives is the only characteristic of *neden* v.2 which may have some grammaticalization flavour. Therefore, except for the preference for *to*-infinitival themes, the syntactic features of *neden* v.2 at the end of the ME period are, then, somewhat similar to those of *thurven* at the beginning of the period. However, the syntactic replacement of *thurven* by *neden* v.2 is not fully complete at the end of the ME period. The grammaticalization of *neden* v.2 may have started its way, but there is no doubt it is in its very early years. It must not be forgotten that this verb may commonly occur with nominal themes and, less often, in absolute uses meaning 'be needy.' For this reason we can conclude that the semantic overlap and later replacement of *thurven* by *neden* v.2 took place considerably earlier than the syntactic one, which cannot be seen yet in Middle English.

ME *bihoven* has a strong preference for non-nominative experiencers from M1 to M4, contrary to its OE exclusive occurrence with nominative experiencers. Like *neden* v.2, it highly favours sentential themes, but, contrary to *neden* v.2, it has a similar proportion of bare and *to*-infinitives, and it may also take *that*-clauses. Though *bihoven* has been found to occur with passive infinitives, this verb does not show any trace of being on the way towards becoming an auxiliary: it occurs without an experiencer on many occasions; when it has one, it

is mostly oblique; and it has a considerable tendency to take *that*-clauses. This, in addition to the semantic rise of the meaning 'be appropriate,' rather than 'need,' seems to imply that this verb has started to drift away from the group of potential auxiliaries expressing 'need'-meaning.

Finally, ME *misteren*, which only occurs on three occasions in M4, has nominative experiencers on two occasions and an oblique experiencer once. Although the frequency of this verb in my corpus is extremely low, the number of syntactic possibilities is as large as it can be, since *misteren* occurs in Type I, Type II and Type 'Personal' constructions. The ephemeral character of this verb does not allow for any conclusion as to its grammaticalization as an auxiliary.

CHAPTER 5

EARLY MODERN ENGLISH *NEED* AND *BEHOVE*

This chapter closes the diachronic description of the evolution of my *ñee d'*-verbs, and is devoted to the analysis of these verbs in early Modern English. As has been done for earlier periods, before analysing the results from the eModE corpus (section 5.3), I provide a general background of the period (section 5.1), and of the grammatical features of eModE verbs (section 5.2).

5.1. The early Modern English period

Early Modern English is the last period of the English language which I analyse in this study. Though there is some controversy as for the dates which delimit this period, it is commonly admitted that it begins around 1500 and ends around 1700, because, according to Barber (1997: 1) 'there are a number of features in the language of that period which mark it off fairly clearly from Middle English (ME) and Later Modern English (LModE).' In addition, there are some historical events which support this decision. Some of the facts which open the period are the introduction of the printing press in England in 1476,[1] the end of the medieval feudal system and the rise of Renaissance dukes and courtiers (the Tudors come to the throne in 1485), the discovery of America in 1492, and the breakaway of the English Church from Rome in 1534. 1700 is conventionally selected as the end of the period, because by this time the language has reach ed

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[1] The introduction of the printing press will contribute to the considerable rise of the degree of literacy in early Modern English (cf. Siemund 1997: 287).

the state of considerable homogeneity characteristic of the eighteenth century"
(Görlach 1991: 9-11).

Indeed, early Modern English is the period in which the English language
is modernized in such a way that most of the linguistic characteristics of Present-
Day English are present by the end of this period (cf., for instance, Görlach 1991:
xv; Rissanen 1999: 187). To begin with, punctuation undergoes changes such as
the appearance of the semicolon, and of the question and exclamation marks, as
well as the loss of the virgule (Fisher 1996: 12-13). Spelling is also regularized
after the failure of radical reformation proposals (Barber 1997: 81-86), and
therefore the ME variations such as *people / pepil / pepul* disappear, as do letters
thorn <þ> and geoc <ȝ> (Fisher 1996: 12-14); the arbitrary use of double
consonant graphs is stabilised as in *mortall* vs. *mortal* (Lass 1999b: 11).
Vocabulary also undergoes an important evolution in this period, not without
controversy among the different schools of thought, namely the neologizers, the
purists, and the archaizers. While neologizers are willing to borrow or adapt
words from the classical languages (e.g. Latin *affirmatio* > English *affirmation*;
the so-called inkhorn terms), the purists propose to invent new compounds from
English words (e.g. *yeasay*, instead of *affirmation*). The archaizers advocate the
revival of obsolete words, such as *algate*, instead of *always* (cf. Barber 1997: 53-
68). Phonology is also modernized, and old /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/ in *beet, boot* are raised to
/i:/ and /u:/ among other changes, brought about by the Great Vowel Shift.
Finally, grammar is also affected by this tendency to regularize the language. On
the morphological level, the third person singular marking {es} gains ground to
the detriment of the old morpheme {eth} and *–en* vanishes as a plural and
infinitive marker (Lass 1999b: 11). On the syntactic level, some of the changes
concern the establishment of auxiliary *do* or the increasing use of progressive
verbal forms (cf., for instance, Barber 1997: 2-10). Grammatical changes
concerning verbs are analysed in section 5.2.

All these modernizing changes lead to a regularization of the language,
and indeed early Modern English is said to be the period of the standardization of
the language, contrary to the apparent linguistic anarchy witnessed in Middle
English (cf. section 4.1). According to Barber (1997: 75 ff.), in the seventeenth
century there was a general desire for a regulation of the language, and there
were proposals for the creation of an English academy of the language. Although
this idea came to nothing, in the eModE period a standard did emerge and
gradually gained ground to other varieties of language. How did this take place?

One of the most widely diffused theories states that Standard English developed from a dialect spoken in the Central Midlands and spread from London. However, this theory is no longer considered valid. Standardization of English is an ongoing process which may have begun in the early Modern period and which continues today, as can be seen in the existence of grammars, dictionaries, classes of rhetoric, and the individual style sheets of every publisher, and in opposition between linguistic alternatives such as *I don't have any* / *I have none* (Fisher 1996: 3, Wright 2000: 6). In addition, Standard English did not develop from a single ancestor, be it text-type, place or time. An eModE text which exhibits a standardized feature is not necessarily standard in all features. Quite on the contrary, Standard English is, in Wright's (2000: 6) words a "consens us dialect," that is, it contains features fro m different dialects. The question may be: which dialects are those which leave a seal on the standard one? Both Fisher (1996) and Wright (2000) believe that the dialects used in the authoritative texts are those which prevail in one way or another in the standard, because they are the dialects found in serious non-ephemeral texts (Wright 2000: 6). Fisher's (1996: 15) statement is clear: "English has never been governed by laws or academies, but its "standard" us ages have been, and still are, dictated by the "authority" in the culture." For this reason, spellings such as *thru* (instead of *through*), or *ain't*, will not be accepted until they occur in an authoritative text (Fisher 1996: 11).

After this short introduction to the eModE period, I proceed to offer a description of the verbs in this period of English, with the aim of describing the features which will be necessary to interpret the data retrieved from my corpus.

5.2 Early Modern English verbs

According to Rissanen (1999: 210), the early Modern English period "witnesses developments that result in the establishment of the Present-Day English verbal system." Therefore this period constitute s a bridge towards the modern verbal system, and it will be interesting to observe in what ways it is linked to the past, and in what ways it is linked to the future. The same as in Old and Middle English, early Modern English has three verb classes: strong verbs, weak verbs, and a miscellaneous group, which Lass (1999c: 175) calls "m inor repairs," and which contains the verbs *be, do, go* and the modals.

The four vowel grades found in OE strong verbs (standing for present, past singular, past plural and past participle) are reduced to, at most, three forms, due to the loss of number distinction in the past. This leaves verbs with three forms: present, past tense, and past participle, as in *sing / sang / sung*. In many cases, however, both past tense and past participle exhibit the same vowel, as is the case of *bear / bore / born(e)*, where the expected past tense would be *bare* (cf. Barber 1997: 175-176; Lass 1999c: 16 6-171). The distinctions between the seven OE classes of strong verbs are blurred and the number of patterns is reduced, although many verbs do not fall into any of these patterns and it appears as if each verb needed a particular class (cf. Lass 1999c: 168-169, and 169-170 for a review of some verbs which used to belong to OE classes I and III). This resembles the PDE verbal system, in which strong verbs are broadly considered irregular verbs, because they cannot be systematized according to a set of rules. In addition, some kind of overlap between the strong and the weak classes appears to have occurred (cf. PDE hybrid *swell / swelled / swollen*).

As for weak verbs, they also undergo some changes in the eModE period. It is well-known that in Present-Day English they are characterized by the addition of a dental suffix to the base form in order to form the past tense and the past participle. The suffix varies depending on the nature of the ending of the verbal stem ([t] after voice less sounds except *t*, [d] af   ter voiced sounds except [l] and the vocalic counterp art [id] after *t* or *d/*   ). According to Lass (1999c: 173) in early Modern English, "the sy stem is only about halfway toward the modern distribution," since there is a grea t deal of variation between the vocalic and non-vocalic suffixes (Shakespeare writes *banished* and *banisht* in the same line of *Romeo and Juliet* III.iii.19). The use of non-vocalic suffixes instead of the vocalic one seems to have been a gradual development which was almost complete by the eighteenth century. Another change concerning weak verbs in the eModE period is the stabilization of unexpected weak pasts (which are today considered irregular), such as *caught, taught* or *fit*, as well as the unexpected /t/ in verbs which end in a voiced sound, such as *smelt* or *learnt*. The eModE period also witnesses the alternation between strong and weak classes (e.g. *climb* may have past form *clamb*, *clomb* or *climbed*), and even in some cases verbs which are strong in Old and Present-Day English exhibit variation in early Modern English (e.g. *shake* exhibits both *shaked* and *shook*), as noted by Barber (1997: 175).

The third class of verbs recognized by Lass (1999c: 175 ff.) is what he calls "minor repairs," and it includes   *be, do, go* and the modal verbs. These all show irregular paradigms. The paradigm of the verb *be* contains in early Modern English three stems: 1) *am, are, is*, 2) *be, being, been*, and 3) *was, were*. The verb *do* is irregular, because it exhibits a different length in the radical vowel (cf. long in *do* vs. short in *does*). Thirdly, the verb *go* also exhibits suppletive forms, as seen in the paradigm *go / went / gone*. Finally, the modals, which are 'irregular' along the entire history of English, belong to a special class of verbs called preterite-present, as seen in the earlier chapters on Old and Middle English. They will be thoroughly discussed below, when describing eModE auxiliaries.

These irregular verbs are inflected according to their irregular paradigm, but both strong and weak verbs are inflected for a series of forms in early Modern English. Barber (1997: 164) distinguishes seven verbal forms at the beginning of the eModE period:

1) base form: Ø
2) second person singular present: <-(e)st>
3) third person singular present: <-(e)th>, <(e)s>
4) progressive form: <-ing>
5) pastness or unreality: <-(e)d> for weak verbs, and change in the radical vowel for strong verbs
6) second person singular past: that in 5) and <-(e)st>
7) past participle: <-(e)d> for weak verbs, and change in the radical vowel for strong verbs

The only quantitative difference between this paradigm and the one of PDE verbs concerns forms (2) and (6), that is, those related to the second person singular inflection, which is unmarked today. In fact, these two inflections will decrease in use throughout the eModE period, as the pronoun *thou* falls into disuse, and the pronoun *you* takes over its position and becomes the only second person pronoun.[2] In the list above there is also a qualitative difference between eModE inflections and PDE ones: the marking for third person singular, which may be <-(e)th> or <-(e)s>. The original difference between both forms was regional, <-(e)th> being typical in the south and <-(e)s> in the north. The northern form

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[2] Originally *thou* was the second person singular pronoun, while *you* was the second person plural one. However, in the ME period, probably due to French influence (cf. Present-Day French *tu* vs. *vous*), *thou* began being used to address (or among) lower social classes, while *you* became the polite pronoun to refer to upper classes. As is well-known, *you* pushed *thou* out of the system and became the only second person pronoun, both plural and singular, polite and informal. For a more detailed account of the evolution of these second person pronouns see Barber (1997: 152-157) or Lass (1999c: 148-155).

spread southwards throughout the period so that "by the m iddle of the seventeenth century, {eth} has becom e a good deal less frequent" (Barber 1997: 167).

Barber (1997: 171) also notes that the present plural could be marked occasionally with morphemes {eth} {es} or even with archaic {en} However, the "form al and overwhelmingly predominant form of the present plural throughout the Early Modern period is the uninflected one, the base form."

From the list of inflectional endings above it can also be gathered that eModE verbs express tense, as seen in the distinctive inflections for present and past tense. Present tense forms, however, not only express present time, but they also refer to the future, or to the past (in historical present constructions). As for past tense forms, they can express past time and past-before-past (which today is expressed by past perfect). The expression of tense is not the only category of eModE verbs, they also convey mood and aspect.

Since the characteristic of the subjunc tive mood is to lack inflections, the subjunctive-indicative contrast is shown only in two forms, namely the second person singular, e.g. indicative *thou comest* > subjunctive *thou come*, and in the third person singular, e.g. indicative *he cometh* > subjunctive *he come*. The subjunctive is used to express desire and uncertainty about the future, which can also be expressed by a modal verb such as *should, may, might* (cf. Görlach 1991: 113).

As for aspect, it appears to have been the latest verbal category to develop in the history of English, despite the fact that the expanded form, namely ending in <-ing>, was in use from OE times; however, it was difficult to ascribe a meaning to it (Görlach 1991: 114) . In addition to this, the progressive was not so common as today, as can be seen in Shakespeare's *Richard III* with *Soft, he wakes*, instead of *he is waking up*. The same can be applied to perfect tenses composed of the verb *have* and a past participle (Barber 1997: 188).

Early Modern English also witnessed an increased frequency of passive constructions, due to, among other factors, the possibility of using them in structures such as *the book I was told about*, a prepositional passive, or *she was given a job*, an indirect passive. The conclusion may be, therefore, that eModE verbs have attained a degree of modernization which brings them very close to the PDE situation. In the following sub-sections, I concentrate on two additional features of some of the eModE verbs, namely impersonal or subjec tless constructions (5.2.1), and auxiliary verbs (5.2.2).

5.2.1 *Experiencer verb constructions in early Modern English*

As seen in the analysis of Old and Middle English, verbs expressing necessity are likely to occur in experiencer verb constructions. For this reason, this section is devoted to the review of experiencer verb constructions in this period of English. According to Rissanen (1999: 250), these may be semantically classified as belonging to one of the following semantic groups:

> (a) Events or happenings (e.g. *chance, happen*)
> (b) Seeming or appearance (e.g. *seem, think*)
> (c) Sufficiency or lack (e.g. *lack, need*)
> (d) Mental processes or states (e.g. *like, repent*)

These four groups coincide with Elmer's (1981) classification of OE experiencer verbs, as follows. Group (a) is Elmer's HAPPEN, (b) is Elmer's SEEM, (c) is Elmer's BEHOVE, and finally (d) is Elmer's RUE + PLEASE (cf. section 2.3.2.1 above).

As seen in section 2.3.3, constructions with a preposed oblique experiencer are bound to disappear by early Modern English. Theories about the decay of this kind of construction disagree as to the factors which may have caused it, but they all coincide in dating such a decay by the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century (cf., among others, von Seefranz-Montag 1984;Alle n 1995). By the mid-sixteenth century the preposed dative experiencer is said to be found only in fixed expressions such as *me thinks* (Allen 1995). This is somewhat confirmed by Rissanen (1999: 250), who says that in the sixteenth century the type *me repenteth* is being replaced by *it repenteth me* or *I repent*." Gölach (1991: 106), in the same line, mentions that constructions with an oblique experiencer with t he verbs *ail, chance, list, please* and *think* sounded archaic by 1600, and were obsolete by 1660," and claims that Spencer uses types such as *me behoueth* as an archaizing feature. Therefore, all these scholars agree in that in early Modern English the construction consisting of an (usually preposed) oblique experiencer and a verb inflected for the third person singular becomes archaic. This construction corresponds to Allen's (1995) Type N (oblique experiencer + genitive theme), Type I (oblique experiencer + nominative theme) and Type S (oblique experiencer + sentential theme). These constructions disappear in favour of constructions in which the experiencer is nominative example, namely Allen's Type II or Type Personal' (e.g. *I like pears*, or Rissanen's (1999: 250) *I repent*), or constructions in which the subject

position is filled with an empty *hit* (e.g. *it seems to me*, or *it repenteth me*), namely Allen's Type *hit*.

Since necessity falls into one of the semantic groups claimed to occur in experiencer verb constructions, some of the verbs analysed in this study exhibit constructions with a non-nominative experiencer in Old and Middle English. It will be interesting to observe whether they preserve this characteristic in early Modern English, or, as expected, they cease to occur in this kind of structure in favour of the nominative experiencer or dummy *it*.

The need for dummy subjects to occu py pre-verbal position is related to the verb-second constraint, a word order rule which states that irrespective of where the elements of the clause are placed, the verb must always be in the second position. In fact, dummy subjects are prone to exist in languages which have or have had this word order rule (cf. Haiman 1974; Breivik 1983: 415-418). That is, when the subject of the verb m oves to post-verbal position for different reasons, its *natural* position must be filled by an empty element. Such an element may be *it* in Present-Day English, as just mentioned, and it may also be existential *there* (cf. Breivik 1983: 413 for the characterization of *there* as a dummy subject). In fact, these two dummy subjects are claimed to be interchangeable, as noted by Breivik (1983: 257, 263), who offers some late ME examples of *neden* in combination with *there*, where it is expected to occur with dummy *it*. In the same line, Visser (1963-1973: §66) points out that *there* often takes the place of older English *it* in such sentences as "it behoueth but one stroke"> "there be houeth but one stroke wel sette"(Caxton, Ason 22)]." Although unfortunately Breivik's (1983) outstanding work disregards this type of construction with *there* + *neden* on the grounds that it is marginal (1983: 273), in the section devoted to the corpus, I will analyse constructions in which my verbs occur with dummy *there* according to the hypothesis stated by Visser and Breivik as for its interchangeability with dummy *it*. We will also see that this construction, which is already attested in Middle English, is considerably common in early Modern English with my verbs.

5.2.2. *Early Modern English auxiliary verbs*

Contrary to earlier periods of the language, in Early Modern English no scholar hesitates to refer to auxiliary verbs. As we have seen above, in Old English scholars select a number of different terms to refer to this type of verbs: "m odal"

auxiliaries (Mitchell 1985), pre-modals (Traugott 1992), or modals (without inverted commas;Denison 1993). However, in early Modern English there is no place for controversy: Warner (1993: 198) claims that in this period 'the status o f modals and auxiliaries was substantially clarified' and Rissanen (1999: 232), in a similar line, says that the gradual process of development of the category auxiliary 'culminated and came to a c onclusion in Early Modern English."

It is also clear for scholars that two types of auxiliary verbs can be identified in this period: non-modal or primary (*be, have* and *do*), and modal (Barber: 1997: 177). Among the non-modal or primary auxiliaries, let us consider auxiliary *do* because the use of this auxiliary allows us to differentiate today between modal and non-modal verbs (e.g. *I don't need / I need not*).

As is well-known, the insertion or omission of auxiliary *do* is strictly regulated today, which implies that it cannot be used at will, but according to a series of rules. This situation has been reached from the emergence and development of the use of this verb as an optional tense operator, which took place in Middle and early Modern English (Rissanen 1999: 239). At that time, expletive *do* may occur in affirmative, negative or interrogative sentences, but it is not obligatory. There are two theories which account for such a development. One of these theories states that auxiliary *do* stemmed from a causative use of the verb (e.g. *he did write a letter* i.e. 'he caused a letter to be written'), while the second theory considers that the origin of such a construction lies on a 'substitute' or 'vicarious' use of *do* (for a combination of both theories, see Denison 1985). Whatever the origin of periphrastic *do*, in early Modern English its frequency of use increases, as shown by Ellegå d (1953: 162, as quoted by Görlach 1991: 118). Since the use of *do* is not yet strictly regulated, at the beginning of the period *do* can be used at will in all kinds of sentences, but in the course of time its occurrence will be restricted to negative and interrogative questions. According to Barber (1997: 194-195), the regulating process 'was very nearly complete by 1700,' although Warner (1993: 215) claims that it takes even up to the nineteenth century for negatives. Therefore, the presence or absence of *do* in early Modern English is, to a large extent, arbitrary and, consequently, its absence does not imply that a given verb functions as an auxiliary itself (for instance, in negative questions). Quite on the contrary, the presence or absence of *do* has been found to be determined by a number of aspects, among which Barber (1997: 196) mentions the following:

- Register: in colloquial speech *do* is less common in affirmative declarative sentences and most frequent in negatives and questions.
- Type of verbs: *do* spread faster with transitive verbs than with intransitive ones.
- Syntax: *do* is more likely to be used when an adverb occurs before the lexical verb.
- Lexical factors: its presence or absence may be determined by the idiosyncrasy of some individual verbs; verbs such as *care, doubt, speak* seem to resist the use of *do* in negative sentences, whereas verbs such as *come, dare, need, say* resist such a construction in interrogatives.

To this list we may add the tendency of poets to use *do* for metrical reasons from the late fifteenth century onwards, which implies that the use of *do* may also be determined by textual factors (Görlach 1991: 117). Despite this irregular behaviour of auxiliary *do* in early Modern English, scholars agree in its characterization as an auxiliary (although it is not grammaticalized yet), on the grounds that it proves not to be a full verb: its meaning has been weakened, it is reduced to the marking of tense, and it does not have a clear syntactic role in the SVO pattern.

Warner (1993: 221-222) goes further and relates auxiliary *do* with the modal auxiliaries, saying that both are important eModE developments in the field of auxiliarihood. One of the factors which connect *do* and the modals is chronological, that is, the development and increase in use of both types of auxiliaries takes place around the same date, namely 1475-1525. Warner believes that this apparently coincidental fact is so crucial that he claims that "Any linguistic history must give some account of this interconnection if it is to be convincing" (1993: 222). The second factor which, according to Warner, relates auxiliary *do* and the modals concerns their parallel establishment in the language; this is seen in the fact that the northern dialects in which *do* last penetrated are the dialects in which non-finite forms of the modals have been best preserved, which seems to imply that speakers of those dialects are somewhat reluctant to the acquisition of auxiliaries as such. Be it as it may, the fact is that the use and grammaticalization of *do* is a complex phenomenon which will not be further discussed here, because it does not belong to the core of this study (for a thorough explanation see the primary reference by Ellegård (1953), and, as a more recent analysis, Warner (1993: 219-232)). However, the analysis of

emergence and development of auxiliary *do* opens the way to the analysis of the other type of auxiliaries developing in early Modern English, namely modal auxiliaries.

Modal verbs constitute one of the ways of expressing modality in early Modern English, other types being adverbs or the subjunctiv e mood (cf. Gölach 1991: 112). At the beginning of the eModE period, there were six pairs of modal auxiliaries, which consisted of a present and a past form, namely *can / couth, dare / durst, may / might, mote / must, shall / should* and *will / would* (cf., for instance, Barber 1997: 177). However, in the course of the period *mote* will disappear, leaving the preterite form *must* unpaired. In addition to this, two other unpaired modals emerge in the sixteenth century, namely *ought* and *need*, so that the modal auxiliaries in the central part of the period are: *can / couth, dare / durst, may / might, shall / should*, *will / would, must, need* and *ought* (cf. Gölach 1991: 114; Barber: 1997 : 178-179). Except for *will* and *need*, all these modal verbs derive from the OE preterite-present verbs described in section 3.2.1 (*ought* is the past tense of the OE marginal modal preterite-present *agan*, cf. Table 3.1 above). As seen in 3.2.1, *will* has always gone hand in hand with the preterite-present class, and this leaves *need* as the only new element in this group of verbs. Close attention will be paid to its development below, after dealing with the general characteristics of the class.

This verb class has a series of morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics which differentiates them from other verbs and which unites them as a class. Morphologically, modal verbs share the following features in early Modern English (cf. Warner 1993: 199-208; Barber 1997: 177-178):

- They do not take the third person singular present indicative morpheme {eth} or {es}
- They do not have non-finite forms, such as infinitive or *–ing* form (only *may* does in some rare examples, see *OED* s.v. *may* v., but they are obsolete and very infrequent).
- They begin to appear in clitic forms, such as *we'll, thou'lt*.
- They may contract with negation in *–nt*, such as *mayn't, shan't*.

Syntactically, eModE modal verbs exhibit the following characteristics (cf. Warner 1993: 203-207; Barber 19 97: 197; R issanen 1999: 234-236):

- They do not take *to* as a link to the following lexical verb. Occurrence with the plain infinitive becomes restricted to the modal group in the sixteenth century.

- They may be followed by a past participle indicating (plu)perfect, as they could in Old and Middle English (e.g. *she should in ground vnsatisfied been lodg'd*, in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*).

- They may exhibit ellipsis of the infinitive, when it is a verb of movement (e.g. *I must to Couentree*, Shakespeare's *Richard II*; Barber 1997: 197). This gapping is considered a sign that the category of modal auxiliary was not yet fully established.

- It is in this period that auxiliaries cease to occur next to another auxiliary.

- Lightly stressed adverbs such as *never, always, seldom* are placed after modals and auxiliaries in general, while they are placed before the other verbs.

- From the mid-sixteenth century they may take what appear to be tag ' questions (e.g. *Come, come; thou'lt do my message, wilt thou not?*, Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*; Warner 1993: 207).

Semantically, modal auxiliaries exhibit the following eModE characteristics, in addition to the OE and ME ones (Warner 1993: 201-203; Rissanen 1999: 233-237):

- Development of purely modal non-past use of the preterite forms *would, should, might, could* and *must*.

- *Shall / should* and *will / would* are grammaticalized as future time reference auxiliaries.

- Development of the epistemic uses of *may, can* and *must* (e.g. *As that thing may be true, so rich folks may be fooles*; Rissanen 1999: 237). [3]

- *May* loses its non-modal sense þe strong, prevail.'

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[3] Early Modern English is said to be a period of notable increase in subjectivi ty in language, probably as a result of the overall social and philosophical changes going on, with maxims such as Descartes' *cogito ergo sum*, as claimed by Siemund (1997). For him, the rise of epistemic modals would be explained in philosophical terms.

- Differentiation between *can* and *will* and the corresponding full verbs *con / cun* and *will (willed)* (cf. OE *cunnian* 'know how to,' and *willnian* 'wish, desire').

- Development of lexemic splits in *dare* and *need*. *Dare* is a preterite-present verb which shows modal characteristics in Old and Middle English, taking bare infinitives or directional phrases, and very rarely finite clauses, in early Modern English it develops a new, transitive, use, as in *I dare you to climb that mountain*, which is clearly a full verb construction, as opposed to the modal use, as in *you daren't climb that mountain*. In addition, modal *dare* becomes different from the other preterite-presents in that it sometimes occurs with a *to*-infinitive and with periphrastic *do* from the seventeenth century. *Need*, on the contrary, was a regular full verb in earlier periods of English which, in the sixteenth century, develops modal characteristics, probably in response to the loss of OE *þurfan* /ME *thurven*. *Need* is described below in detail.

We can gather, then, that the eModE modal verbs constitute a coherent class, since they have enough morphological, semantic and syntactic characteristics which are exclusive of auxiliary verbs, some of which also hold for PDE modals, such as negative contraction, the position of the adverb, the occurrence with the bare infinitive, the absence of non-finite forms, the lack of third person singular present marking and the abnormal time reference (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 137, and section 2.1.3.4 above). Therefore, modal auxiliaries have achieved quite a degree of grammaticalization in early Modern English, though not all verbs belonging to this class are grammaticalized to the same extent. Among the most grammaticalized ones we may highlight *shall* and *will*, as future time markers and, especially, *should* and *would*, since they have lost all trace of past tense forms of verbs meaning 'ob lige' and 'want,' and have become mere future time markers. In fact, OE *sceolde* already pointed towards grammaticalization, as claimed by Goossens (1987) (cf. section 3.2.1 above). It is not my intention to focus on each eModE modal auxiliary; since this study is concerned with verbs expressing necessity, in the next paragraphs I concentrate on the status of eModE *need*.

5.2.3. *Early Modern English* need

Contrary to the ME and OE periods, in early Modern English the verb *need* only has one entry in the dictionary, with the meaning 'be necessary' or 'need.' OE *neadian* and ME *neden* v.1, 'com pel,' do not survive in the modern periods of English. In fact, the *OED* (*s.v. need* v.1) does not offer any example of this entry after 1449, and the *MED* (*s.v. neden* v.1) offers the latest example in 1500. In addition, as seen in 5.4.2 above, the decay of *neden* v.1 is also attested in my ME corpus, since the number of occurrences decay gradually in Middle English, and the last ME subperiod (1420-1500) does not record any example of this verb. Therefore, in the analysis of early Modern English, our concern with *need* will only involve the meanings 'be necessary' or 'need.' For this reaso n, and taking into account that in Present-Day English the verb *need* is claimed to have auxiliary features (cf. section 2.2.1 above), in the paragraphs which follow I offer the revision of the specialized literature as for eModE *need* as a potential incipient auxiliary verb.

According to Görlach (1 991: 114), 'The PrE [.e . Present-Day English] marginal modals *dare* and *need* are closer to the central modals in EModE.' So far, we may agree with Görlach in ap plying the term marginal modal to *need* in Present-Day English, because as seen in section 2.2.1, PDE *need* is considerably far from the central modals. Indeed, its use with auxiliary *do* and with *to-*infinitive is getting more and more frequent than its use as a prototypical auxiliary, namely followed by a bare infinitive, and in construction without auxiliary *do*, which leads scholars to consider it a marginal modal, that is, closer to the group of emerging modals than to central modals (Kug 2000). It rem ains to be seen whether the rest of Görlach's statement is also true, that is, we must find out whether *need* is closer to the central modals in early Modern English than it is in Present-Day English.

EModE *need* is, in the same line as ME *neden*, a syntactically complex verb. It may occur in a wide range of constructions due to its nature as an experiencer verb and, in addition, it may also occur without any experiencer. Let us begin with the possible patterns in which *need* may occur without an experiencer.

The first construction of eModE *need* without an experiencer concerns the old type *it needs + that*-clause or infinitive, meaning ́it is necessary to ̓.(cf. *OED s.v. need* v.2 1.a):

> (5.1) *The owners of all suche nettis shall repaire them when <u>it</u> **nedith**.*
>   (1503 Waterf. Arch. in 10th Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm. App. V. 324)

The verb *need* is inflected for the third person singular ending (*nedith*) in order to agree with the pronoun *it*. The (elided) theme of this construction can be deduced from the initial part of the sentence, and it is a sentential theme headed by the verb *repaire*, ́repair.' The last example of this type of construction quoted in the *OED* (*s.v. need* v.2 1.a) dates from 1765, which means that it may have been still quite frequent in early Modern English; the editors, however, note that it is obsolete in Present-Day English, from which we can hypothesize that it was in late Modern English that the old type *it needs + that*-clause or infinitive meaning ́it is necessary to ̓.died out of us   e.

Another possible construction with *need* without an experiencer is that in which the thing needed is the subject of the verb, namely the pattern *X needs*, meaning X́s necessary   .' An instance from the *OED* (*s.v. need* v.2 I.3) is the following:

> (5.2) *That he forme & pronounce euery lettre & syllable..with more diligence*
>   *than **nedeth**.*
>   (1526 Pilgr. Perf. (W. de W. 1531) 163)

This is the first instance of this construction as quoted in the *OED* (*s.v. need* v.2.I.3). However, I have found earlier examples of this construction in Middle English (cf. section 4.4.2.2 and *MED s.v. neden* v.2). According to the *OED*, the use of this construction with *need* is recorded until 1846. The subject of *nedeth*, namely the diligence, is elided in this sentence because it occurs in a comparative clause, but it is easily gathered from the context.

When eModE *need* is construed without an experiencer it may also occur with the particle *there* in subject position, in the construction *there needs* followed by a noun phrase, meaning ́there is need for X The first instance provided by the *OED* dates from 1440;in the analys is of the ME corpus (section 4.4.2.2) I offered earlier examples of this construction, which occur in M3 (1350-1420) and M4 texts (1420-1500). An eModE example is (5.3), from *OED* (*s.v. need* v.2 I.2.a):

(5.3) *There **needes** no such Apologie.*
   (1594 Shakes. *Rich. III*, iii. vii. 104)

The particle *there* occupies the subject position which in other instances is filled with *it*, and the thing needed occurs after the verb (*no such Apologie*). This use of *need* seems to be fairly frequent in early Modern English.

   Finally, the last possible construction with *need* when it does not have an experiencer concerns interrogative sentences introduced by the pronoun *what*, according to the pattern *what needs* + noun phrase, or *what needs* + (*to-*) infinitive, meaning 'what need is there for X to do X'. The latter construction appears to have been quite infrequent, and the only eModE example provided in the *OED* (*s.v. need* v.2 I 1.b) dates from 1641:

   (5.4) *Seeke onely Vertue, not to extend your Limits; for **what needs**?*
      (1641 Milton Reform. ii. 69)

The sentential element which stands for the thing needed is elided in this case, but from the context we may gather that it must be headed by the verb *extend*. The meaning of the reconstructed clause would, then, be 'what need is there to extend your limits?' Since this is the only eModE instance provided in the *OED* for this usage of *need*, and also the last in the history of English, we expect it to be seldom used. The contrary can be expected from the construction involving *what needs* and a noun phrase. An instance is (5.5), from *OED* (*s.v. need* v.2 I 2.b):

   (5.5) *Struck dead at first, **what needs** a second striking?*
      (1592 Shakes. *Ven. & Ad.* 250)

This Shakespearian example clearly illustrates this type of construction. The noun phrase *a second striking* stands for the thing needed, and the meaning of the clause would be 'what need is there for a second stroke?' As will be seen below, interrogative sentences with *need* opening with *what* are also frequent when there is an explicit experiencer.

   As mentioned, eModE *need* may also occur in constructions with an oblique experiencer. If the thing needed is expressed by a nominal element, *need* occurs in experiencer verb constructions Type I, namely those consisting of an oblique experiencer and a nominative theme. Consider (5.6), from *OED* (*s.v. need* v.2. II.4.b):

(5.6) ***Needs*** *me then* *hope, or doth me need mis-dread.*
(1597 Bp. Hall Sat., Defiance to Envie 25)

The experiencer of the verb *need* in this example is the oblique pronoun *me*, while the theme is the nominative noun *hope*. This construction is possible with *need* since Middle English times (*OED*'s first instance dates from 1382), but it does not seem to be very frequent in early Modern English, because the *OED* (*s.v. need* v.2) only gives two examples.

Another construction in which *need* may occur when the experiencer is oblique is the Type *hit* construction, where it occurs with a dummy *hit* and a sentential theme. Visser (1963-1973: §1345) offers a clear example:

(5.7) *Quhat evir I list,* *it **neidis** me nocht to craif.*
(1500-1520 Will. Dunbar, Poems (ed. Mackenzie) p. 92)

The dummy *hit* occurs in subject position, the verb *neidis* is inflected for the third person singular, the experiencer *me* is oblique, and the theme is the *to*-infinitival clause *to craif*. Sentence (5.7), therefore, is a paradigmatic example of an eModE Type *hit* construction with the verb *need*. As will be seen below, *need* occurs in this period in similar constructions though without third person singular inflectional ending (cf. example (5.18) below).

A pattern similar to Type *hit* in which *need* may be found concerns questions introduced with the pronoun *what*. The only difference between this interrogative type and others seen above concerns the presence of an explicit oblique experiencer. Consider (5.8), from Visser (1963-1973: §350):

(5.8) *what **nedeth** me to care for al Tindalls whies*?
(1532-1533 St. Th. More, Wks. (1557) 478 F13)

The parallelism between the constituents of (5.8) and those of (5.7) is evident. The pronoun *what* occupies the place of dummy *hit*, and the other elements keep the same roles and positions. Below I will analyse other possible interrogative syntactic types opening with *what*, and we will see that the verb may also occur without the third person singular inflection in the verb.

Another possible construction with *need* when the experiencer is oblique is Allen's (1995) Type S, that is, oblique experiencer + verb + sentential theme. Consider (5.9), from Visser (1963-1973: §345):

(5.9) *me* **nedith** *neuer to loke more for the matter.*
        (1533 St. Th. More, Wks. (1557) 1024 C9)

The oblique experiencer in (5.9) occupies the subject position (*me*), the verb is inflected for the third person singular (*nedith*), and the theme is a *to*-infinitival clause headed by *to loke*. It is a paradigmatic Type S construction. However, *need* exhibits a variant of this construction which involves a sentential theme headed by a bare infinitival clause. Consider (5.10), from Visser (1963-1973: §345):

(5.10) *New* **needeth** *him no lenger labour spend.*
        (1590 Spenser, F. Q I, 1, 26)

The constituents of (5.10) are the same as those of (5.9) except for the fact that the sentential theme in (5.10) is headed by the bare infinitive *spend*. As shown in (5.11) below (from Visser 1963-1973: §345), it may also be the case that *need* is found with an oblique experiencer, a bare infinitival theme and without the third person singular inflectional ending:

(5.11) *Ne* **need** *her implore Lucinaes aide.*
        (1590 Spenser, F. Q III, 6, 27)

In this sentence *need* occurs in an experiencer verb construction Type S, as in (5.9) and (5.10), but its morphology with absence of the third person singular ending, and the nature of the infinitival theme, bare infinitive, rather than a *to*-infinitive, seem to reveal that it is close to auxiliaries, despite the fact that its experiencer is non-nominative, *her*, as will be seen below (cf. Rissanen 1999: 232).

So far I have been dealing with the possible constructions in which eModE *need* occurs without experiencer and with an oblique experiencer. *Need* may also be construed with a nominative experiencer, and it will be patterns involving nominative experiencers that demand most of our attention, because some of them will favour the analysis of *need* as a modal auxiliary.

To begin with, when eModE *need* occurs with a nominative experiencer, it may take a nominal theme unmarked as for case, or, in other words, *need* may occur in a variant of Allen's (1995) experiencer verb constructions Type II, which consists of nominative experiencer + genitive theme. This is the case of (5.12), taken from the *OED* (*s.v. need* v.2 III.7):

(5.12) (1530 Palsgr. 6432) *It is veryly the thyng <u>that we</u> **nede**.*
(Ibid.) *And shall <u>we</u> **nede** <u>an habyt or a cope</u>.*

In this double example we observe that the verb *need* takes a nominative experiencer / subject,   *we* in both cases, and a nominal theme, which may be a pronoun (*that*, in the first clause), or a noun phrase (*an habyt or a cope*, in the second clause). We have already mentioned that the last modals which could occur in this structure type in early Modern English are *can* and *will*. These split and develop new lexemes which specialize in nominal complements, namely *con* and *will (willed)* as mentioned above, while *can* and *will* specialize exclusively as auxiliaries. Warner (1993: 202-203) also claims that there is a split in *need*, in which the full verb constructions are clearly differentiated from the auxiliary constructions. Undoubtedly, sentence (5.12) is an instance of a full verb construction with *need*, as proved by the fact that the auxiliary *shall* precedes the verb *need*; as mentioned in section 5.2. 2, the concatenation of auxiliaries ceases to be possible in early Modern English.

The second, and last, type of construction in which eModE *need* may occur when it has a nominative experiencer concerns those cases with a sentential theme, that is, they fall into the definition of Allen's (1995) Type Personal.' In the case of *need* the sentential theme is always infinitival, and for this reason scholars do not hesitate to include *need* in the list of eModE modal auxiliaries. In fact, it seems to be generally acknowledged that *need* emerges as a modal verb as ME *thurven* disappears and leaves an empty gap in the group of preterite-present verbs (cf., among others, Visser 1963-1973: §343; Warner 1993: 203). We have seen (section 4.4.2.1) that ME *neden* is used in some contexts where ME *thurven* would also be fitting, and therefore, as we would expect, after the loss of *thurven*, *need* continues to occupy its place. Indeed, all the eModE grammars reviewed for this study include *need* in the list of modals without any observation about its marginal status. As mentioned above, *need*, together with *must* and *ought*, is one of the three unpaired modals in this period, since the other ten modals are coupled as present and past forms of the same verb.

On the syntactic side, one of the first pieces of evidence in favour of considering *need* an eModE modal concerns the nature of the infinitive which follows it. As seen in section 4.4.2.1, ME *neden* may select the bare infinitive, but it most often selects the *to*-infinitive thereby setting itself apart from ME

modals, which are quite restricted to appearing with the plain infinitive. However, Rissanen (1999: 232) claims that in the seventeenth century the plain infinitive becomes common with *need*, and, in fact, Shakespeare shows a pronounced tendency to use *need* with bare infinitive (Warner 1987: 142;1993: 203), as seen in sentence (5.13), from the *OED* (*s.v. add* v. 1a):

> (5.13) *I **need** not adde more fuell to your fire.*
>   (1593 Shakes. 3 Hen. VI, v. iv. 70)

The same tendency is observed in interrogative sentences, as those shown in Visser (1963-1973: §35 1). Consider (5.14):

> (5.14) *What **need** you blush?*
>   (1679 Dryden, Troil. &Cr. (W ks., ed. Scott‚) 331)

The same as *adde* in (5.13), *blush* is a bare infinitive in construction with the eModE verb *need* in the apparently frequent interrogative construction with the pronoun *what*. As an aside, it must be mentioned that the meaning of *need* in this type of sentences is ʻshoul dʼ, and the meaning of *what* is ʻwhyʼ (cf. Barber 1997: 179), so that (5.14) would be paraphrased as ʻwhy shoul d you blush? I have cited above other instances of sentences opening with *what need* both without an experiencer (examples (5.4) and (5.5)), and with an oblique experiencer (example (5.8)). There is, therefore, a wide range of possible constructions of *need* in interrogative sentences introduced by *what*. According to Visser (1963-1973: §350- 1351), the evolution of interrogative sentences with *need* begins with the pronoun *what* and an oblique experiencer, turns later to a *personal* version of it, with a nominative experiencer, and only very late in the history is *need* construed in interrogative sentences without the pronoun *what*. The first of such examples provided by Visser (1963-1973: §351) dates from the end of the eModE period:

> (5.15) ***Need** the reader be informed, that he is disingenuous?..*
>   (1686 Dryden *Controversy with Stillingfleet* (Wks., ed. Scott‚) 211)

In this sentence, *need* occurs without the interrogative pronoun *what* introducing the question. This is the pattern which will remain in auxiliary use when auxiliary *do* is thoroughly regulated.

Going back to the syntactic characteristics for eModE *need* as an auxiliary, we must conclude that in the patterns involving nominative experiencer and sentential theme mentioned so far, eModE *need* seems to strongly favour the

bare infinitive. We will observe whether the analysis of the corpus corroborates this, or whether it shows that *need* still has a preference for the *to*-infinitive, as it does in Middle English.

In addition to occurring with bare and *to*-infinitive, eModE *need* is also recorded in combination with a *that*-clause, as mentioned by Visser (1963-1973: §346). The exam ple he quotes belongs to Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*:

> (5.16) *But I, who never knew to entreat,*
>   *Nor never* **needed** *that I should entreat,*
>   *Am starv'd for meat*
>   (1596 Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* IV, iii, 7)

This construction *need + that*-clause, which has not been recorded for ME *neden* v.2, appears to have been marginal in early Modern English, because this is the only example found in the literature. In addition, Shakespeare is claimed to have a pronounced tendency to use the bare infinitive, as mentioned above. It will be interesting to observe whether my corpus records any sentence of *need + that*-clause.

EModE *need* may also exhibit a morphological characteristic of modals, namely, failing to take the third person singular present ending (morphemes {-eth} or {-es}. According to Barber (1   997: 178), the origin of this phenomenon could be the fact that *need* was very frequently used in contexts in which the subjunctive mood was selected and, by extension, forms without {-eth} or {-es} became common in all types of contexts. See the following example:

> (5.17) *Such selfe assurance* **need** *not feare the spight*
>   *Of grudging foes.*
>   (Spenser, *Amoretti*;from Barber 1997: 179)

The subject and e xperiencer of the verb *need* in this sentence is the noun phrase *such selfe assurance*, which would take a verb inflected for the third person singular. However, the verb lacks such an inflection because by this time it has acquired this auxiliary characteristic. In addition, Rissanen (1999: 232) notes that *need* occurs without third person singular inflectional marking in impersonal constructions, which seems to imply that even in the cases in which the experiencer is not nominative the weight of the auxiliary nature of the verb may be dominant (cf. example (5.11) above). Rissanen does not provide any such example, but I have found some in the *OED* and Visser:

(5.18) *It **nede** not you to demaunde for ye are lyke to knowe it to soone.*
        (a1533 Ld. Berners *Huon* lxxxi. 242)
                    (from *OED, s.v. need* v.2, II.5.a.; and Vi sser 1963-1973: §1345)

(5.19) *What **neede** them caren for their flocks, Theyr boyes can looke to those.*
        (1579 Spenser, *Sheph. Cal.*, Iulye 195)
                                (from Visser 1963-1973: §1350)

Sentence (5.18) is a clear Type *hit* experiencer verb construction, because the subject pos ition is filled with the empty pronoun *it*, the experiencer is oblique (*you*, as opposed to nominative *ye*,[4] in the same sentence), and the theme is sentential (a *to*-infinitival clause). However, the experiencer verb, *need*, is not inflected for the third person singular present morpheme {eth}or {es} but is unmarked. Sentence (5.19), in turn, is a typical interrogative sentence in which the pronoun *what* functions as subject of the verb *need*, which takes an oblique experiencer (*them*, in this case). The meaning of constructions such as this one is 'what need is there for an ybody to do anything?' or 'why should anybody do anything?' The expected form of the verb is that inflected for the third person singular, because the pronoun *what* requires such an inflection (cf. example (5.8) above); however, in (5.19) the verb lacks any inflection, as was the case in sentence (5.17). Visser (1963-1973: §351) seems to imply that the reason for such an absence has to do with the reinterpretation of *need* as a personal verb, and, therefore, (5.19) would represent a transitional stage between the construction with the oblique experiencer and the verb inflected for the third person singular, and that with a nominative experiencer and the verb agreeing in person and number with it. This seems to hold for sentence (5.18), as well, because the corresponding nominative form of *you*, namely *ye*, would take the verbal form *nede*. Rissanen (1999: 232) does not offer any explanation for such a phenomenon, but he mentions it when he is accounting for the auxiliary status of *need* in early Modern English, which seems to imply that Rissanen considers the fact that *need* occurs without the third person singular marking as an auxiliary characteristic irrespective of the oblique or nominative form of the experiencer. Structures like those illustrated in (5.18) and (5.19) do not seem to be frequent phenomenon. The examination of my corpus will shed light on its actual frequency in early Modern English.

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[4] Since this is an early example (a1533), *ye* is still in use, as seen in the second part of the sentence. However, throughout the eModE period *ye* recedes, giving way to *you* as the general V pronoun, both as oblique an nominative (cf. Lass 1999c: 153), while the distinction between *thou* and *thee* is still retained.

From the above-mentioned characteristics of auxiliaries, eModE *need* exhibits, at least, two of them. On the syntactic side, it takes plain infinitival themes, and morphologically, it lacks the third person singular ending. These are the reasons scholars adduce to consider *need* as a clear eModE modal auxiliary. However, if we examine some other characteristics of eModE auxiliaries, we observe that *need* does not seem to exactly fit into this category. Specifically, while modal auxiliaries are claimed to lack non-finite forms, *need* occurs in infinitival form in early Modern English, as gathered from Warner's (1987: 142) assertion that in Shakespeare 'the *to*-infinitive is strikingly prominent after infinitive *need*.' In addition, the *OED* (*s.v. need* v.2 III 7.b) gives an example of an *–ing* form of *need*:

(5.20) *If Nature need not, Or God support Nature without repast Though* ***needing****.*
(1671 Milton P.R. ii. 251)

Sentence (5.20) contains the form *needing*, a non-finite form of the verb *need*, which seems to run counter to the general tendency of eModE modal auxiliaries to lack non-finite forms. It must be born in mind that in this case *need* does not carry the meaning of the hypothetical auxiliary verb, but is an intransitive verb meaning 'to be in need or in want.' However, Warner (1987) mentions infinitive forms of *need* which occur in potential contexts for an auxiliary, that is, followed by an infinitive. This implies that eModE *need* exhibits non-finite forms both when it is intransitive and transitive.

EModE *need* also contravenes another characteristic of modal auxiliaries, namely the impossibility to occur with another auxiliary. The *OED* (*s.v. need* v.2) contains several examples in which *need* is preceded by *shall* or *should*, one of which has already been quoted above as (5.12):

(5.21) *To seek out many expositions of these words, it* <u>*shall*</u> *not* ***need****.*
(1575-85 Abp. Sandys Serm. (Parker Soc.) 357)
(from *OED s.v. need* v.2 I.1.a.)

(5.22) *What* <u>*shoulde*</u> *this obligation* ***nede****?*
W hy should this obligation be necessary?
(1560 J Daus tr. Sleidane's Comm. 110 b)
(from *OED s.v. need* v.2 I.2.b)

(5.23) *If at any time the common-wealth* <u>*should*</u> ***neede*** *of counsell.*
(1598 R. Grenewey Tacitus, Ann. xiv. xii. (1622) 213)
(from *OED s.v. need* v.2 III.6)

(5.24) *What <u>should</u> **need** me to give a penny to have my bills warranted?*
   (1550 Latimer Last Serm. bef. Edw. VI, Wks. (Parker Soc.) I. 244)
                                              (from *OED s.v. need* v.2 II.5.b)

Three of these four quotations from the *OED* entry for *need* v.2 are instances of *need* in a non-auxiliary use. Sentences (5.21) and (5.22) are examples of intransitive *need*, bearing its old meaning 'be necessary,' and (5.23) is an instance of *need* when followed by the preposition *of*, which introduces the thing needed. None of these constructions would, therefore, accept an infinitive as theme, which implies that these are non-auxiliary uses of *need*. Sentence (5.24), finally, contains an infinitival theme, headed by a *to*-infinitive, which corroborates Warner's (1987: 142) above-mentioned assertion, and an oblique experiencer. Its structure is, therefore, similar to that of sentence (5.19) above, except for the fact that *need* is preceded, in this case, by a modal auxiliary, namely *should*. According to Rissanen (1999: 234), the concatenation of auxiliaries ceases to be possible in early Modern English and, for that reason, the presence of *should* next to *need* in this sentence admits two possible interpretations: either in this case *need* is not an auxiliary, or it is one of the last instances of coocurrence of auxiliaries. Due to the early date of this example, the latter interpretation does not seem implausible and only an analysis of the corpus will reveal whether *need* is usually preceded by an auxiliary throughout early Modern English. In addition, sentence (5.24) seems to be an example of the transition towards the sequence *what need(s)?* meaning 'why should?' because it includes the auxiliary *should* in the sequence *what should need*.

In addition to these two auxiliary characteristics which eModE *need* seems to lack, there are others which cannot be examined, a priori, because the pieces of literature reviewed do not offer any relevant example. Some of these auxiliary features are morphological, such as the cliticization of auxiliaries or the contraction with negation. As far as Present-Day Standard English is concerned, the cliticization of *need* has not yet been achieved (that is, forms such as **he'eed* are ungrammatical). However, PDE *need* is often contracted with the negation marker *not* (e.g. *he needn't do that*). Neither the *OED* nor Visser provide any example of contracted negation with eModE *need*, it does not seem risky to hypothesize that the first instances of such a phenomenon may occur in this period, since it is well established in Present-Day English. The analysis of the corpus will shed more light on this aspect.

On the syntactic side, we cannot foresee whether eModE *need* will be found in tag' questions, or whether lightly stressed adverbs occur after it in this period, because no such example has been found in the literature. We cannot anticipate either if it will be recorded in combination with past participles indicating (plu)perfect, as in the above-mentioned Shakespeare's example *she should in ground vnsatisfied been lodg'd*. Finally, from the literature reviewed I gather that eModE *need* has not undergone any important semantic change, apart from the already mentioned ¢should' meaning in questions opening with *what*. As for the first instance of an epistemic use of *need* found in the literature, it dates from 1838 (cf. Visser 1963-1973: §1346):

> (5.25) *I* **need** *look somewhat changed, … for I have undergone some suffering, both of mind and body.*
> (1838-9 Dickens, *Nich. Nickl.* Ҳ

The necessity expressed by *need* in this sentence is of a clear logical nature: ¢since I have undergone suffering, it is nece ssarily the case that I look different.' The fact that they are not recorded in the literature does not imply that they are left out of my analysis;on the contrary, the possibility that epistemic nuances in *need* may occur will be considered when analysing the corpus data.

Before I summarize the auxiliary characteristics of *need*, it is worth mentioning that, as the examples quoted evidence, this verb, the same as its PDE counterpart, seems to show a marked tendency to occur in non-affirmative contexts. Out of the 24 examples quoted, only four are affirmative sentences, and one of them dates from 1838. The others are negative sentences (nine cases), interrogative sentences (eight instances), conditional sentences (two cases) and comparative sentences (one instance). In this respect, eModE *need* seems to keep in the same line as OE *þurfan*, ME *thurven* and ME *neden*.

As a way of conclusion, the data in the literature show that eModE *need* fulfils two auxiliary features, namely complementation by a plain infinitive and lack of third person singular inflectional ending. *Need*, however, seems to contravene two other features, namely it has non-finite forms, and it may co-occur with another auxiliary;it will be ne cessary to check whether these features involve contexts which would favour the use of modal or non-modal *need*. Finally, I also mentioned a set of features which cannot be proved from the examples in the *OED* and Visser, and therefore, no preliminary conclusion can be drawn as for them. With these data in mind there seems to be only one way to

understand why all scholars concerned with early Modern English do not hesitate to consider *need* a modal auxiliary, despite the fact that it breaks some of the auxiliary rules and it fails to show evidence of other characteristics. I think that they have reached that conclusion based on the general observation of *need*, taking into consideration the majority of its uses, while I have offered examples of *need* selected specifically to illustrate constructions which were possible, but which may be exceptions to its general use. For this reason, the analysis of the corpus, taking into account the frequency of examples, is crucial to ascertain whether eModE *need* is an auxiliary or not.

Summing up the syntactic behaviour of eModE *need*, we have seen that it may occur in the following constructions:

Without an experiencer:

It needs + *that*-clause or infinitive (example (5.1))
X needs, X̶s necessary   ' (example (5.2))
There needs + NP (example (5.3))
What needs + (*to*)-infinitive (example (5.4))
What needs + NP (example (5.5))

With an oblique experiencer:

Type I construction (example (5.6))
Type *hit* construction (example (5.7))
    Variant + *what* instead of *it* (example (5.8))
    Variant without third person singular ending (examples (5.18) and (5.19))
Type S construction
    With *to*-infinitival theme (example (5.9))
    With bare infinitival theme (example (5.10))
    With bare infinitival theme and without third person singular ending (example (5.11))

With a nominative experiencer:

Variant of Type II (with unmarked theme, instead of genitive) (example (5.12))
Type Pers onal' (potential context for auxiliary use) (examples (5.13), (5.14), (5.15) and (5.17))

After this explanation of the syntactic uses of eModE *need*, I proceed to explain the other verb which survives in this period, namely *behove*.

5.2.4. *Early Modern English* behove

All the preliminary information I provide as for eModE *behove* is taken from the *OED* (*s.v. behove* v.), since other works available do not give any examples of this verb. Probably the reason for this unbalanced treatment of *need* and *behove* in the literature has to do with the adaptation of the former to the category of modal auxiliaries in this period, while the latter is a lexical verb.

EModE *behove* may occur in a series of constructions which I have classified, as I have done with *need*, according to the presence and nature of the experiencer. EModE *behove* may occur without an explicit experiencer in constructions involving a dummy *it* subject and an infinitival theme, or a *that*-clause. The first instance of this type quoted in the *OED* (*s.v. behove* v. 4.b) dates from 1240, and is considered archaic today. An eModE example is (5.26):

> (5.26) *Now it **behoueth** to make mention of an other order*.
>   (1563 Shute Archit. D iiijb)

In addition, *behove* may occur without any explicit experiencer with a dummy *it* and a *that*-clause. However, in those instances, as in (5.27) below, the experiencer can be recovered from the *that*-clause (cf. *OED s.v. behove* v. 4.c):

> (5.27) *It **behooves**, likewise, that you give some roome and place to those that speake to you.*
>   (1647 W. Browne Polexander i. 126)

In this sentence the only constituents of *behove* are the initial *it* and the *that*-clause which expresses the thing needed or appropriate. However, it is easy to gather who the experiencer of such a necessity is, namely *you*, for it is implicit in the subject of the *that*-clause. The first instance of constructions such as this dates back from 950 according to the *OED* and it seems to have survived parallel to the infinitival theme.

According to the *OED*, *behove* is mostly used with an oblique experiencer, contravening Görlach's (1991: 106) assertion that in the sixteenth century sentences with an oblique pronoun in subject position ar e reanalysed according to the SVO pattern. As a consequence, his affirmation that "Spenser uses the impersonal construction [namely, with an oblique experiencer]as an archaizing feature in forms such as *me behoueth*"does not necessarily hol d true in a period where such a construction still survived.

When *behove* occurs with an oblique experiencer and a nominal theme, it may be said to correspond to Allen's (1995) Type I. The *OED* gives examples of this pattern in which *behove* exhibits slightly different meanings. Consider (5.28) and (5.29), from *OED* (*s.v. behove* v. 2, and 3.a respectively):

(5.28) **Behoves** _him_ now _both Oare and Saile_.
　　　(1667 Milton P.L. ii. 942)

(5.29) *They informed him of the King's Testament and _what_ **behoved** _him_.*
　　　(1684 Contempl. State Man ii. vi. (1699) 190)

In both of these examples *behove* is construed with an oblique experiencer, *him*, in both cases, and a nominal theme, the noun phrase *both Oare and Saile* in (5.28), and the pronoun *what* in (5.29). However, the meaning of the verb is different, according to the editors of the *OED*, because in (5.28) it expresses what is necessary, and in (5.29) the nuance conveyed is that of what is incumbent or due to a person. This semantic difference is not surprising, since in the ME section of this study we already witnessed the different meanings which ME *bihoven* could express. Moreover, the PDE meaning of *behove* has more to do with incumbency or appropriateness than with bare necessity, as is well-known.

Another possible syntactic type for eModE *behove* when it has an oblique experiencer concerns those cases in which the theme is sentential. According to the data found in the *OED*, such a theme has the shape of a *to*-infinitival clause. Consider (5.30), from *OED* (*s.v. behove* v. 4.a):

(5.30) *In all things _it_ **behooued** _him_ _to bee made_ like vnto his brethren.*
　　　(1611 Bible Heb. ii. 17)

This prototypical sentence has a dummy *it* in subject position, an oblique experiencer (*him*) and a *to*-infinitival clause which stands for the theme; it belongs, then, to Allen's (1995) Type *hit* constructions with experiencer verbs. This pattern is expected to be quite frequent to judge from the number of examples provided by the editors of the *OED*. *Behove* with an oblique experiencer and a sentential theme exclusively, which would render Allen's (1995) Type S construction, is also available in this period.

Finally, eModE *behove* is said to occur with a nominative theme only in Scottish dialects. As mentioned in the OE section of this study, this construction type was predominant in that period, and it was still productive in Middle English. However, in early Modern English its use becomes restricted to the very

north of the island. The editors of the *OED* offer examples only with *to-*infinitival themes (*s.v. behove* v. 5.a). One of them is (5.31):

> (5.31) <u>He</u> ***behooved*** <u>to offend</u> the Iewes.
>   (1637 Gillespie Eng. Pop. Cerem. ii. ix. 52)

Since this type of construction, which fits into Allen's (1995) Type Personal' construction with experiencer verbs, is said to be only possible in the northern dialects, the geographical distribution of such occurrences will be taken into account in the analysis of my corpus.

5.2.5. *Other verbs meaning 'need'*

This section closes the brief review of the eModE verbal system. The aim of this section is to account for the losses witnessed in this period in the category of 'need'-verbs as compared with earlier periods.

   In the first place, the most important loss concerns ME *thurven*, which already shows a gradual decrease in frequency in Middle English, and which appears to be absent in early Modern English, since Visser (1963-1973: §343) does not provide any example after 1500. However, the *OED* (*s.v. tharf* v.B.1) gives evidence that it survived dialectally. In order to account for this marginal, geographical existence, I will look for examples of this verb in my eModE corpus.

   The second, less dramatic, eModE loss concerns the ME innovation *misteren*. This French loanword seems not to have found a place in the field of verbs meaning 'need,' because according to Visser (1963-1973: §424) i t becomes obsolete after 1585, in the first half of the eModE period. The only eModE example provided by Visser is the following:

> (5.32) *That way ... <u>ye</u> shall nat **myster** <u>To go</u> without a glister*.
>   (1540 J Heywood, Four P.P. (Manly Spec.) 175)

In this example *mister* occurs with a nominative experiencer (*ye*), a *to-*infinitival theme (headed by the verb *to go*) and in combination with the modal auxiliary *shall*. Due to the scarce frequency of this verb after 1500, my corpus is not likely to record any instances of it.

5.3. Evidence from the eModE corpus: analysis of the findings

5.3.0. *Introduction: corpus, new variables studied and general frequency of the verbs*

After a brief overview of the characteristics of my verbs in early Modern English as described in the literature, I proceed now to analyse the verbs as found in my corpus. This section describes the corpus used for the analysis of eModE data. As was the case with earlier periods, my corpus includes the corresponding section of the *Helsinki Corpus*, which amounts to ca. 551,000 words, distributed in subperiods as follows:

EMODE 1 (1500-1570)	190,160 words
EMODE 2 (1570-1640)	189,800 words
EMODE 3 (1640-1710)	171,000 words
TOTAL	**550,960 words**

Table 5.1: Number of words in the eModE section of the Helsinki Corpus *per subperiod.*

The *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* is the one used by Rissanen (1999) to illustrate the syntactic features of the eModE period which he considers relevant to appear in a comprehensive history of the English language. In his own words, using this corpus "ha s made it possible to draw conclusions concerning the frequency of the variant constructions" (1999: 190). However, for the reasons adduced in section 4.4.0 I decided to analyse an ampler selection of the eModE language. As done with the OE and ME periods, I have enlarged this corpus by incorporating new texts from other corpora and by ascribing them to the subperiods in the *Helsinki Corpus*. The ICAME collection includes, among others, two corpora which contain some other texts from the eModE period. One is the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler*, henceforth *CEECS*, a collection of letters compiled by Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (1999). The other is the *Lampeter Corpus*, compiled by Schmied (1999), which comprises texts of six different text-types, namely economy, law, miscellaneous, politics, religion and science. However, these corpora contain texts which do not fit into the periodization of the *Helsinki Corpus*, that is, texts dated both before 1500 and after 1710. With the aim of levelling up all three corpora, I excluded those texts which fall out of the scope of the subperiods in the *Helsinki Corpus*, with the following results. The *CEECS*, which originally has 450,085 words, is reduced to 393,430 words after having subtracted the words of all those texts

dated before 1500. The *Lampeter Corpus*, which originally has 1.1 million words, is reduced to 759,134, after having subtracted those words belonging to texts dated after 1710.[5] The following table outlines the number of words in each text-type per decade from 1500 to 1710:

	CORRESP.	ECON.	LAW	MISC.	POLIT.	RELIG.	SCIEN.	TOTAL
1500	15,591	0	0	0	0	0	0	**15,591**
1510	14,386	0	0	0	0	0	0	**14,386**
1520	9,586	0	0	0	0	0	0	**9,586**
1530	6,011	0	0	0	0	0	0	**6,011**
1540	6,240	0	0	0	0	0	0	**6,240**
1550	2,658	0	0	0	0	0	0	**2,658**
1560	2,553	0	0	0	0	0	0	**2,553**
1570	1,678	0	0	0	0	0	0	**1,678**
1580	86,178	0	0	0	0	0	0	**86,178**
1590	18,113	0	0	0	0	0	0	**18,113**
1600	7,668	0	0	0	0	0	0	**7,668**
1610	17,801	0	0	0	0	0	0	**17,801**
1620	62,004[6]	0	0	0	0	0	0	**62,004**
1630	30,060[7]	0	0	0	0	0	0	**30,060**
1640	31,696	11,253	16,766	22,517	15,066	28,819	24,818	**150,935**
1650	47,591	11,369	16,703	10,852	16,823	14,294	14,250	**131,882**
1660	22,985	12,328	17,296	11,642	13,225	15,218	13,505	**106,199**
1670	7,760	13,453	21,021	15,372	23,686	24,064	24,089	**129,445**
1680	1,050	35,582	23,440	16,510	30,326	13,755	22,962	**143,625**
1690	0	16,212	15,627	15,615	31,193	21,514	16,329	**116,490**
1700	0	18,033	20,937	12,624	15,092	9,758	15,196	**91,640**
TOTAL	**391,609**	**118,230**	**131,790**	**105,132**	**145,411**	**127,422**	**131,149**	**1,150,743**

Table 5.2: Number of words per decade and text-type in the CEECS *and the* Lampeter Corpus.

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[5] The texts which have been deleted from the *CEECS* because they are dated before 1500 appear in the files named ORIGINA1 STONOR, MARCHALL, SHILLINGFORD, PLUMPTON and RERUM. The texts from the *Lampeter Corpus* which have been disregarded because they are dated after 1710 are the following: ECA1714, ECA1720, ECA1731, ECB1717, ECB1720, ECB1731, LAWA1716, LAWA1723, LAWA1732, LAWB1715, LAWB1723, LAWB1738, MSCA1712, MSCA1722, MSCA1730, MSCB1718, MSCB1729, MSCB1739, POLA1711, POLA1720, POLA1731, POLB1713, POLB1724, POLB1730, RELA1711, RELA1721, RELA1730, RELB1718, RELB1721, RELB1730, SCIA1712, SCIA1720, SCIA1730, SCIB1714, SCIB1722, SCIB1735.

[6] Actually, the real number of words contained in *CEECS* for this decade is 63,594, but 1,590 of them are already present in the *Helsinki Corpus*, and for that reason I have not considered them. The repeated texts are letters by Lady Brilliana Harley (file named HARLEY) labelled in the corpus as follows: three letters labelled <Q HAR 1625 BHARLEY>, and other three letters with the following labels <Q HAR 1627 BHARLEY >, <Q HAR 1628 BHARLEY>, <Q HAR 1   629 BHARLEY>.

[7] The actual number of words of this text in the *CEECS* is 30,291, but, the same as in the 1,320s, in this decade there is a letter by Lady Brilliana Harley (file named HARLEY) present in the *Helsinki Corpus*, which contains 231 words, and these words are deleted from the total. The repeated letter is coded as <Q HAR 163   0 BHARLEY> in the *CEECS*.

The numbers in the second column, that is text-type correspondence, all belong to the *CEECS*, while the numbers in the other six columns represent the text-types included in the *Lampeter Corpus*. Table 5.2 is clearly shows that before 1640 the only texts we can analyse are those in the *CEECS* and those in the *Helsinki Corpus*, because the *Lampeter Corpus* only covers the years from 1640 onwards. If we add the results in Table 5.2 to the number of words in the three subperiods of the *Helsinki Corpus*, we obtain the following numbers:

SUBPERIOD	*HELSINKI CORPUS*	*CEECS & LAMPETER*	TOTAL
EMODE 1 (1500-1570)	190,160	57,025	247,185
EMODE 2 (1570-1640)	189,800	223,502	413,302
EMODE 3 (1640-1710)	171,000	870,216	1,041,216
TOTAL	**550,960**	**1,150,743**	**1,701,703**

Table 5.3 Number of words per subperiod in my eModE corpus.

As witnessed in Table 5.3, the total number of words obtained when adding together all the texts from the three corpora is 1.7 million words, that is, it contains more words than the corpus selected for the Old and Middle English period, which had 1.2 million words each. In a first approach to this period, I decided to randomize the texts in the *CEECS* and the *Lampeter Corpus* in order to study a selection of a 1.2-million-word corpus, following the same parameters as with OE and ME. However, in the resulting sample, the number of instances of *behove* was too low, which would make it difficult to determine the reasons for its decrease in frequency after its high incidence in Middle English. In addition, I thought that a larger sample would also provide the necessary linguistic evidence to study in detail the (incipient) grammaticalization of *need*. For these reasons, I finally decided to enlarge my corpus as much as possible using the resources available in the ICAME collection, and for this reason I have finally analysed all 1.7 million words as outlined in Table 5.3.

The variables studied in the database are those studied in earlier periods (cf. section 3.4.0) in addition to new variables which account for eModE linguistic innovations. These additional variables have to do with the development of auxiliary verbs in this period. As mentioned above, eModE auxiliaries are claimed not to allow the presence of another auxiliary in front of them any more, and therefore, I have included in my database a variable which confirms the presence of absence of any auxiliary before my verbs. The possible auxiliaries which are referred to are the modals and *do*, which, as seen above emerges in early Modern English as an incipient auxiliary which may occur in

affirmative, negative or interrogative sentences (cf. section 5.2.2; and Rissane n 1999: 234). The second of the variables which I have added to my database concerns the preposition or postposition of lightly stressed adverbs such as *never* or *usually*. According to the literature, this type of adverbs occurs before all verbs and after auxiliaries (Warner 1993: 206). The inclusion of this variable in my database will allow for a description of my verbs as having this auxiliary feature or not.

In my eModE corpus I have found more than 5,000 potential examples of my verbs, taking into account that at this stage of English four necessity lexemes have survived according to the literature, namely*, need, behove, tharf* and *mister* (cf. appendix III for details).[8] After having scrutinized all of them, I have found that none of the apparent instances of *tharf* and *mister* were actual examples of these verbs, but forms belonging to words such as *their, thirst* or *dare*, on the one hand, and *miss* or *mister* (noun) on the other. Therefore, my corpus only contains examples of *need* and *behove*, as shown in the following table, which also includes the normalized frequencies calculated for 100,000 words:

VERB	NUMBER	N.F.	%
NEED	295	(17.33)	94.55%
BEHOVE	17	(0.99)	5.45%
Total	**312**	**(18.33)**	**100%**

Table 5.4: Frequency of each verb in the eModE corpus.

Since *tharf* and *mister* seem to have disappeared, or at least to have become so marginal as to be completely absent in a 1.7 million-word selection of texts, my corpus only yields examples of the two English verbs which have survived from Old English, namely *need* and *behove*. Contrary to Middle English, the most common verb is *need*, which has undergone a growing frequency in the course of time, from its OE marginality to its eModE preponderance. This increase in frequency goes hand in hand with an increase in the number of structures in which it occurs, as well as a wider variety of meanings it can express. EModE *behove* occurs in a much lesser frequency, and it has undergone a radical decrease from its ME predominance.

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[8] Like in Old and Middle English, in early Modern English there exist combinations of the verb *have* + the noun *need* which come to convey similar meanings to these verbs. Especially interesting in early Modern English is the rise of the periphrastic construction *had need* (in line with *had better* or *had rather*), which, falls out of the scope of this study. The characteristics of *have need* in early Modern English are accounted for in Loureiro Porto (2004).

In what follows I provide a detailed analysis of *neden* and *bihoven*, paying attention to its semantic, syntactic and morphological features. My eModE examples will consist of the raw text from the corpus and the code which alludes to the location of the example within the corpus. I will not provide a gloss and a translation for all examples since the language of the 16th and 17th centuries do not require them.

5.3.1. *Early Modern English* need *in the corpus*

EModE *need* is the successor of OE *neodian* and ME *neden*. As repeatedly mentioned, these verbs have two different meanings in the periods in which they occur. On the one hand, they mean 'be necessary' or 'need,' and, on t he other hand, they convey the meanings of 'force, compel.' As noted in earlier chapters, the 'force, compel' meaning is the most frequent one in Old English, with only one exception in the 1.2 million-word corpus. In Middle English the meaning 'be necessary, need' clearly pushes out 'com pel', as is evidenced in Table 4.13 above, which shows that the meaning 'compel' decreases gradually in the ME subperiods, up to the point that my ME corpus does not record any instance of *neden* with such a meaning in the last subperiod (1420-1500). Consequently, we expect a complete absence of this meaning in early Modern English, and that is the actual result of the analysis of the corpus: the 295 examples of eModE *need* convey the meaning 'be n ecessary, need.' These are chronologically distributed as follows:

Subperiod	Number of Occurrences	Normalized Frequencies
E1	26	10.52
E2	71	17.18
E3	198	19.02
TOTAL	**295**	**17.34**

Table 5.5: Distribution of eModE need *by subperiods.*

As the normalized frequencies show, there is a steady increase in frequency of *need* along the eModE period. The 295 sentences do not convey the same kind of necessity in all cases;the necessity meaning differs with respect to the origin and intensity of the force implied. It is the semantic features of *need* that I will examine first (section 5.3.1.1). After the semantic analysis, section 5.3.1.2 examines the syntactic features of eModE *need*.

5.3.1.1 Semantic features of early Modern English *need*

As just hinted, the necessity expressed by eModE *need* will be analysed in terms of the cognitive theory of forces put forward by Talmy (1988, 2000) and Sweetser (1990), as done above for Old and Middle English. The analysis of the examples in the corpus revealed that the types of forces conveyed by eModE *need* may be originated in different domains. They may have an external origin, but they may also be originated in the agonist's self, that is, they may originate in the internal domain. Finally, they may also stem from a generalized ambiguous origin, which is not easily identified, or from the world of logic, that is from the field of knowledge. These four possible origins are listed in the leftmost column of Table 5.6 below. The forces originated in any of these four domains may be exerted with different degrees of intensity, namely strong, weak or neutral, as seen in the second column of Table 5.6:

ORIGIN	STRENGTH	N. OF EXAMPLES	TOTAL
EXERNAL	STRONG	59	70
	WEAK	11	
INTERNAL	STRONG	72	80
	WEAK	8	
GENERAL	NEUTRAL	143	143
LOGICAL	NEUTRAL	2	2
TOTAL	**STRONG**	**131**	**295**
	WEAK	**19**	
	NEUTRAL	**145**	

Table 5.6: Origin and intensity of the forces conveyed by eModE need.

Table 5.6 shows that the frequency of *need* expressing external and internal types of forces is similar (70 and 80 instances respectively), while there is an overwhelmingly predominant use of *need* expressing forces originated in a general, diffuse entity (almost 50% of all the occurrences of this eModE verb). This table also shows that eModE *need* may express logically-based necessity, which, as will be seen below, constitutes the first attestation of *need* conveying epistemic modality. In order to expand this table and analyse it in a more fine-grained manner, I have broken it down into subsequent tables. These account for the notional types of forces identified for the combination of origin and intensity contained in each of the cells of Table 5.6, as well as for the polarity of such examples.

To begin with, let us analyse **strong external forces**, which are described in Table 5.7:

CLAUSE POLARITY	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE	TOTAL
TYPE OF FORCE		LACK OF FORCE	
SOCIAL	1	15	16
HIERARCHICAL		10	10
RELIGIOUS	1	9	10
LEGAL	2	7	9
SOCIO-ECONOMIC		7	7
SOCIO-POLITIC	1	5	6
CIRCUMSTANCES		1	1
TOTAL	5	54	59

Table 5.7: Types of strong external forces conveyed by eModE need *with indication of clause polarity.*

Table 5.7 reveals the following features of eModE *need* when it expresses strong external force. To begin with, it may express different notional types of forces depending on the nature of the antagonist. The most common type of force is that based on social matters (16 instances out of 59), and the least frequent type is that based on external circumstances which condition the behaviour of the agonist, with only instance. In the second place, Table 5.7 also shows that strong external *need* occurs mainly in non-affirmative contexts (54 out of 59 examples are non-affirmative), and in all of them it conveys lack of force, rather than force not to. As will be seen below, eModE *need* may also express force not to, but not when it conveys strong external force; strong force not to seems to be conveyed by other modal verbs such as negative *must*, for example.

I will now turn to the analysis of the various notional types of strong external forces conveyed by *need*. Since affirmative contexts are the least common ones, non-affirmative sentences will predominate in the illustration of these notional types of forces. Thus, an instance of **social force** expressed by strong external *need* is (5.33):

> (5.33) *then are wee to doupt the taking in # of the Army of the Lowe Contreys to be transported, w=ch= (as it # falleth out)* **need not** *feare ffraunce if the Truce be made as all the world # sayes it is.*
> (636 hcceoffic2)

Sentence (5.33) states the absence of necessity for the Low Countries to fear France, because truce is going to be made. The fear which one nation may have for another is a social issue which can be neutralized by a truce. Therefore, it is clear that the agonist, the Low Countries, is socially released from the need to fear another country, namely France. Examples such as (5.33) express, then, lack of social force. It must be pointed out that one of the most common verbs in

connection with eModE *need* is *fear*; it occurs 17 tim es in my corpus, a number which is increased if we add together other verbs expressing fear, such as *be afraid* or *dread*. This collocation was not unusual in Middle English either, where my corpus records four occurrences of *neden* in combination with a fear'-verb. Curiously enough, OE *þurfan* and ME *thurven* were also quite prone to occur in conjunction with infiniti ves meaning fear.' The fact that *need* expresses the same kind of meaning and is combined with the same kind of infinitive seems to support the hypothesis that *need* has replaced archaic *tharf* in this type of context.

The example I have selected to illustrate the next notional type of force expressed by strong external *need*, namely hierarchical, also contains one of these *fear*-verbs. This is not unexpected because it makes sense that hierarchically superiors make people feel insecure and, at times, feel fear of them. Thus, sentence (5.34) is an instance of **hierarchical force** expressed by strong external *need*:

> (5.34) *the markis sent me word he remembered him to me, and that I **need not** feare him, for he was gooing away, but bide me feare him that came affter him.*
> (7.660 hceeplay3a)

In this fragment from a theatre play we observe that the speaker feels himself in a hierarchically inferior position as compared to the marquis, who releases him from the necessity to be afraid.

A similar expression of absence of strong external force to fear something may also be manifest when the external entity belongs to the religious world, that is, *need* may express absence of **religious force**, as evidenced in sentence (5.35):

> (5.35) *And indeed no man that hath lived well and uprightly, & done good in his Generation (as Mr. Wing had done) **need** be affraid of Death, or of the knowledge of the time thereof.*
> (8.538 lampeterm scb1670.sgm)

The context previous to *need* states that no man who has been good in his life need fear death, which is a religious belief. Therefore, good men are released from their fear against death, because a religious authority tells them so.

Going further down in Table 5.7, we see that another common strong external force expressed by *need* is that based on legal grounds. **Legal forces** are clearly of a strong external character, because they are originated in an external

legal authority. These contexts exhibit the highest number of affirmative occurrences, like the following:

> (5.36) *Concerning the Attainder and Execution of Sir JOHN FENWICK (...)*
> *Every thing that is unusual, and that in the first appearances, seems a*
> *strain upon Justice as well as Law, **needs** a Commentary.*
> (1.112 lampeterlawb1697.sgm)

In this sentence *need* expresses the strong need for a commentary on anything which may be unusual for justice. Legal *need* may also express absence of necessity, as in (5.37):

> (5.37) *Then the Prisoner demanded the cause of the Chalenge: the Sergeante*
> *aunswered, we **neede** not shew you the cause of the Chalenge for the*
> *Queen.*
> (947 hccetri1)

The hierarchically superior sergeant tells the prisoner that there is no legal requirement for them to show him the cause of challenge of the Queen.

Absence of strong external force may also be based on **socio-economic** grounds, as in (5.38):

> (5.38) *the exporting of which Commodities a gain to other Countries, gives our*
> *Ships full Employment, so that they **need** not go in Ballast to seek Freight,*
> *but by the Profit of our outward bound Voyages, are enabled to serve*
> *Foreigners so cheap.*
> (2.968 lampetereecb1700.sgm)

The paraphrase of (5.38) may be 'since our ships have a great deal of work, they need not go laden with ballast only to seek freight.' The absence of necessity to seek freight is born out of an external entity which determines the voyages of ships to foreign countries in order to control the economy of the fleet. For this reason, I have labelled the notional type of force expressed in these cases as socio-economic. In a similar line, we can find **socio-politic types of forces**, as seen in (5.39):

> (5.39) *In this Case, no Man nor Party of Men, **need** any Eloquence to persuade*
> *the World, that they Act with the greatest clearness and Sincerity, if they*
> *are heartily desirous to have their Sufferings commiserated.*
> (127 lampeterpola1702.sgm)

In this case, the sentence states that no eloquence is needed to persuade the world, but clearness and sincerity suffice. The forces which regulate this

statement operate in the socio-politic world, that is, in an external domain and with a considerable degree of intensity.

Finally, Table 5.7 reflects that there is one instance in the corpus in which the strong force expressed by *need* is originated in an external entity which does not fit into any of the above-mentioned notional types, but refers to **external circumstances**. In this case, the external circumstances have a climatologic character:

> (5.40) *so that we **need** not dread Winter Storms, besides the Advantage we have of lying in a moderate Climate, and in the very Center of the Trade of Europe...*
> (4.276 lampeterecb1700.sgm)

The context in which this sentence occurs refers to England's geography and weather. Because of the climatologic conditions of that land, the agonist has no reason to be afraid of winter storms. The origin of the force (or, absence of force, rather) is the climate in England, therefore it is external to the agonist, and it is strong, because the power of severe weather is immense.

This example of external circumstances closes the analysis of *need* when it expresses strong external forces. Following the order in Table 5.6, we observe that *need* may also express **weak external forces** in 11 instances. The difference between these 11 instances and the 59 cases of strong external force lies on the degree of intensity with which the force is exerted. As repeatedly mentioned in this study, the analysis of a given force as strong or weak is a very subjective issue, and I have basically determined the degree of the force according to the principles mentioned above, that is, according to the negative consequences which may fall on the agonist if the course of events is not fulfilled, and to the intention of obligation witnessed in the antagonist. However, I am conscious that there is no sharp line dividing strong forces from weak ones, and different interpretations may be possible. All the examples of *need* which I have considered to express weak external force in my corpus fall into the notional force based on hierarchical superiority. One is affirmative, and ten are non-affirmative expressing absence of force. As an instance of such examples, see (5.41):

> (5.41) *A lie unlesse it be very grosse you **need** not always # seeme to take notice of, and soe trye to give him an abhorrence of it # by gentler ways, but obstinancy being an open defiance you cannot # overlooke.*
> (4.915 hcceeduc3a)

In this fragment from an handbook on education, the antagonist, the expert in educating children, releases the agonist from the need to scold a child every time he tells a lie, because the agonist considers such practice to be unproductive and believes that there are better ways of correcting such a conduct. The force is clearly external to the agonist, because it comes from a hierarchically superior person who is well-versed in education. I consider the intensity of the force to be weak, because the statement semantically closer to a piece of advice rather than to absence of obligation.

The next combination of origin and intensity of the force expressed by eModE *need* concerns, according to Table 5.6, **strong internal forces**, which occur on 72 occasions in my corpus. All internally-rooted forces are undoubtedly of an inner nature, but depending on the context, we can witness different types of inner forces. Thus, as Table 5.8 below shows, strong internal forces may be notionally classified as barely inner, but also as internal forces born out of the learning of social matters. On other occasions, the internal forces develop from strong religious beliefs, and, finally, internal forces may be much more physical, in the sense that they may refer to physiological forces. Table 5.8 gives record of the polarity of the sentences in which *need* occurs.

CLAUSE POLARITY / TYPE OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE		TOTAL
		LACK OF FORCE	FORCE NOT TO	
INNER	19	39	1	59
INNER-SOCIAL		5		5
INNER-RELIGIOUS		4		4
INNER-PHYSIOLOGICAL		4		4
TOTAL	19	52	1	72

Table 5.8: Types of strong internal forces conveyed by eModE need *with specification of clause polarity.*

Table 5.8 shows that when *need* expresses strong internal force, it mostly conveys strong volition originated in the mere agonist's self. As was the case with external forces, in most of the instances where *need* expresses strong internal force it occurs in non-affirmative contexts and expresses lack of force. On one occasion, however, the verb expresses force not to, or prohibition, as will be seen below.

Beginning with **barely inner** strong internal *need*, it is interesting to have a look at the following affirmative sentence:

(5.42) *you shal find of me the carefulst prince of your quiet gouuernment, ready to assist you with forse, with treasor, counsel, or any thing you shal <u>haue nede of</u>, as muche as in honor you can <u>require</u>, or upon cause you shal* **nede.**
(6.162 ceecsʻroyal1)

Sentence (5.42) is semantically interesting for a number of reasons. On the one hand, we observe that bolded *nede* is the form of the verb *need* which expresses strong internal force. The speaker is offering his help for anything the addressee may need. On the other hand, the addressee is using elaborated language and trying to avoid repetition in the enumeration of things that the addressee may need. For that reason, the speaker resorts to lexical elements equivalent to *need*, namely the underlined forms *have need of* and *require*. As mentioned, the construction involving the verbs *have* or *be* and the noun *need* are common all through the history of English, and seem to be used as alternative forms to express necessity. As for the verb *require*, it is well-known that its meaning is not exactly the same as that of *need*, but it is somewhat close that of OE *neadian, neodian*, ʻto compel, force.' In some respect *require* may be said to be semantically in between ʻheed' and ʻcompel, force,' because it seems to be located between the notions of necessity and obligation.

Going on with the inner forces expressed by *need*, Table 5.8 shows that in most instances (39 out of 59), it occurs in non-affirmative contexts expressing lack of force, which implies lack of strong internal obligation or necessity, as is evidenced in (5.43):

(5.43) *I shall not **neade** nor <u>wyll</u> not be so bolde as t'advise you to stonde harde to yo=r= centere, but I assure you I see this parte of the circumference shrewedlye inclined, and to beare a great swaye to yo=r= hurte, yf yt be not looked unto.*
(11.976 ceecsʻorig ina2)

The speaker (which, in this case, is also the agonist) states his absence of inner necessity to be bold by means of the old form *neade*, but this statement also expresses the absence of intention to be bold, in the underlined form *wyll*. Therefore, the course of action expressed by the proposition *be bold* is said to be internally unnecessary and, at the same time, undesired, concepts which are expressed by *neade* and *wyll* respectively.

The final possible semantic connotation of *need* when it expresses strong inner necessity is, as seen in the third column of Table 5.8, the expression of

force not to, or in other words, prohibition. Consider sentence (5.44), the only case of such a meaning in the corpus:

> (5.44) *(^Hodge^) Might ha kept it when ye had it, but fooles will be fooles styll.*
> *Lose that is vast in your handes, ye **neede** not but ye will.*
> (683 hcceplay1b)

This is a fragment from an early eModE theatre play. The previous context is the speech of one of the characters, who is complaining about having lost his treasure. In sentence (5.44), the character called Hodge is being quite harsh on the other character and blaming him for his loss, 'you m ight have kept it when you had it, but fools will always be fools,' he says. He goes on with his reprimand concluding with a generalization about what he considers that the other usually does, and he says: 'l ose what you have in your hands, you must not, but you will.' According to my interpretation, in this negative sentence *neede* expresses force not to act in a given way, what is commonly known as prohibition, but it is not a typical external prohibition; the force not to act in a given way is originated in the agonist's self, although it is precisely the agonist who breaks that prohibition, because his will leads him to act opposite. If we accept this sentence as an example of *need* expressing internal prohibition, we can conclude that the expression of strong barely inner necessity may convey strong volition (example (5.42)), lack of inner necessity ((5.43)) and inner prohibition ((5.44)).

Table 5.8 shows that strong internal *need* may also express other types of internally-rooted necessities which emerge from external influences such as the agonist's knowledge of society or of religion, labelled in Table 5.8 as **inner-social** and **inner-religious**. All such examples in my corpus are non-affirmative and express lack of force Consider sentences (5.45) and (5.46):

> (5.45) *And for the common Sea-men, they **need** not be discontended, having had an Augmentation of four shillings in a Moneth more then ever any King or Queen in England gave them.*
> (2.420 lampeterm scb1646.sgm)

> (5.46) *But that truth then delivered to the saints being received and believed, what now **need** we more, or any renewed miracles?*
> (12.729 lampeterrela1679.sgm)

In sentence (5.45), we have an instance of absence of internal necessity, originated in a social matter, such as a rise of salary. The sentence can be

paraphrased as the se a-men have no cause to be discontented, because they have had a rise of four shillings a month.' The lack of necessity to be discontented is obviously internal, but the reason for such a lack concerns a social fact. For this reason, I have analysed example (5.45) and the other four examples included in Table 5.8 as expressing inner-social necessity. A similar explanation holds for (5.46): íf t he truth has been delivered to the saints, what else do we need? The agonists notice the absence of any internal force to need anything they do not have: the absence of such a need derives from the knowledge of the religious fact that the truth has been told to the saints. This kind of meaning, inner-religious, is found four times in my corpus, as Table 5.8 shows.

Finally, strong internal *need* may also occur (4 occasions) in contexts where it expresses internal necessity conditioned by physical constraints, what I have decided to call **inner-physiological necessity**, as in (5.47):

> (5.47) *Nor are any found in the Arteries, in which the bloud, with mighty force impulst by the constriction of the heart, and of the Arteries,* **needs** *no additional machine to accelerate its motion.*
> (5.576 lampeterˈscia1683.sgm)

In the scientific context of (5.47), *need* expresses the absence of necessity of blood for a machine to accelerate its motion. Blood is the agonist, and, according to its internal constitution, has no necessity for a machine. It is hard to conceive, as we do for other cases of internal necessity, that the agonist's self is split and one of its halves acts as antagonist. What I understand in examples such as (5.47) is, rather, that there is no physiological need for the motion of blood to be accelerated with a machine. The absence of necessity is internally-rooted, but it cannot be said to be inner in the same sense as above, in example (5.42) or (5.43), for instance; it seems to be an internal necessity determined only by physiological factors. The other three instances of physiological necessity in my corpus occur in scientific contexts such as this.

When the origin of the force expressed by *need* is internal, it may also be of a weak intensity, which brings it close to volitional meanings. There are eight examples of *need* expressing **weak internal force** in my corpus, two of which are affirmative. The following sentence is interesting:

(5.48) *his Book (...) we judge it for Matter, Proof and Style, to be especially useful for those who **need**, or* <u>desire</u> *Information concerning the Quakers and their Principles.*
(5.953 lampeterrelb1674.sgm)

In this sentence *need* expresses the weak internal necessity felt by those who are interested in information concerning the Quakers. The origin of the force is clearly internal, and I consider the intensity to be weak, because the context in which the verb occurs does not reveal any strong urgency for such a necessity, it rather refers to the possible existence of some kind of interest in that topic. In fact, there occurs another verb which locates the necessity in its weakest side, namely *desires*, a verb which expresses volition in one of its most basic ways. The fact that *need* is coordinated with *desire* seems to be a convincing piece of evidence in favour of considering this occurrence of *need* as conveying weak internal necessity. Therefore, this example expresses the possible weak inner necessity and the volition which may be felt by the addressees of the text where these verbs occur.

Weak internal *need* occurs in non-affirmative contexts on six occasions. One of such instances, namely (5.49) below, is especially interesting:

(5.49) *(^Ph.^) (...) Let me ask thee, can that, dost thou think, which **needeth** nothing* <u>want</u> *Power?*
(^Bo.^) No, I am not of that Opinion.
(^Ph.^) Thou thinkest right indeed; for if there be any thing which, upon any occasion of Performance, doth shew a Weakness or want of Power, it <u>must</u>, *as to that,* <u>necessarily need</u> *foreign Aid.*
(248 hcboeth3) (291 hcboeth3)

This excerpt from the translation of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* by Richard Lord Viscount Preston (published in 1695, subperiod E3) contains a fragment of a conversation between Boethius and Philosophy, which deals with the necessity felt by strong and weak people. This context is ideal for the occurrence of two different uses of *need*, and the volitional verb *want*. The form of *need* which, from my point of view, illustrates lack of weak internal force is the bolded form, *needeth*: 'do you think that he who needs nothing wants power? Forms of *need* and *want* coincide in the same sentence to express different degrees of internal forces; while *needeth* expresses weak necessity, *want* refers to volition. However, my corpus contains another version of the translation of *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, by Queen Elizabeth I (published in 1593). Her translation of this passage is interestingly different from that of subperiod E3. Consider (5.50):

(5.50) *"Dost thou suppose that nothing he <u>wantes</u> that powre **needes**?"*
"I think not so."
"Truly thou hast sayde, for if ought be that is of weakist worth, <u>must needly</u>
<u>neede</u> som others help."
(197 hcҫeboeth2)

This earlier version of the Latin text contains the same verbs, but in a different position. The translation of the first sentence seems to be 'do you suppose that he who wants nothing needs power?' The verbs have exchanged their positions with respect to their themes. In E3 (example (5.49)), *nothing* is the theme of *needeth* and *power* that of *want*. In E2 (example (5.50)), on the contrary, *nothing* is the theme of *wants* and *powre* that of *needes*. This alternation between both verbs seems to imply that they are interchangeable to some extent, and, therefore, partly synonymous. For this reason I analyse both *needeth* in (5.49) and *needes* in (5.50) as expressing weak internal force. Both sentences exhibit a second form of the verb *need* in the last clause. In both cases it is an infinitive following the modal *must* and accompanied by the adverb *necessarily* (5.49), *needly* (5.50). Its occurrence in a context with so many markers of necessity seems to imply that *need* expresses in these instances internal force of a strong character.

After the analysis of internally-generated forces, and following the order of lines in Table 5.6, it is the turn of **general types of forces**, which represent almost 50% of the occurrences of eModE *need*. Such a large proportion of general forces can be considered as a piece of evidence for the desemanticization or semantic bleaching undergone by this verb in early Modern English. To a large extent the intensity with which these forces are exerted is indecipherable, because, as mentioned, the origin of these forces is not concrete, but diffuse and, as such, their intensity is basically indeterminate or, as I have labelled it, neutral. This is the case of the 143 general forces expressed by *need* in my corpus. Though the semantic differences among them are not very sharp, I have classified them according to the implied notions which can be found in the context of each example, and have come to distinguish the notional types of general force exhibited in Table 5.9. This table also makes reference to the polarity of the context in which the verb occurs:

CLAUSE POLARITY \ TYPE OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE		TOTAL
		LACK OF FORCE	FORCE NOT TO	
DISCOURSE	2	78		80
GENERAL	4	41	1	46
CIRCUMSTANCES	1	11		12
OBJECTIVE		3		3
APPROPRIATENESS		1		1
EPISTEMIC		1		1
TOTAL	7	135	1	143

Table 5.9: Types of neutral general forces conveyed by eModE need *with specification of clause polarity*.

The left hand column of Table 5.9 displays the different notional forces I have identified when *need* expresses neutral general force. The most common type of general force is that which reflects the speaker's concern about his discourse, while the least frequent types are those which convey some kind of appropriateness and which are somewhat linked to the field of epistemicity. The notional type of force referred to simply as general is that which cannot be classified as belonging to any of the other types, and, as shown, it represents the second most common type. Let us now begin with general forces related to the discourse.

Discourse forces are the most frequent in my eModE corpus (80 out of total 143). The following pair of examples is self-explanatory:

(5.51) *POSTSCRIPT (...) and all that I **need** say more, is, that, since the Sureties enter into a Contract with God...*
(5.481 lampeter\relb1701.sgm)

(5.52) *I **need** not report Captain Porter's Evidence, it being so oft in Print, as to this particular.*
(5.800 lampeter\lawb1697.sgm)

Sentences (5.51) and (5.52) illustrate the general-discourse type of force both in affirmative and non-affirmative contexts. In both cases the experiencer /subject is a first person pronoun who expresses the absence of a general force to add or not information to their discourse. The force they express is clearly general, because it does not come from any external or internal entity, but it lies on the general conception of what is necessary or not in a speech. A common characteristic of sentences expressing this type of force is their combination with verbs or expressions of saying (e.g. *say, report, make a commentary*, etc.).

The second line of Table 5.9 is for **barely general forces**. These are forces which express sheer necessity, without any other semantic nuance. Sentence (5.53) surely sheds light on their meaning:

> (5.53) *I pray speak to John Fenn to buy me 3 ownces of masticott more than I wrote for, & it **need** not be of the best sort, yt being for yo=e= seate.*
> (20.766 ceecscornwall)

The non-affirmative context in (5.53) illustrates what I have termed barely general force. The speaker wants someone to buy three ounces of a substance which need not be of the best sort. There is an absence of force for the substance to be of the best quality, but where is the origin of such a force? Where is the antagonist? I find it diffuse and general. It is not one half of the agonist's self (i.e. the substance's), and it is not external, because no external entity is exerting influence on the substance to be of one sort or of another. In addition, the general force does not convey any additional semantic nuance such as that related to discourse, as just seen, or to any of the other types which will be seen below. For these reasons, I have decided to analyse this type of sentences as expressing bare general force.

General forces such as this are mostly non-affirmative and express lack of force, as in (5.53), but I have found one example in my corpus which seems to admit the interpretation of a prohibition, while it hardly fits into the absence of necessity scope. Consider (5.54):

> (5.54) *hee may come and goe betweene you both: and in any case haue a nay-word, that you may know one anothers mide, and the Boy neuer **neede** to vnderstand any thing; for 'tis not good that children should know any wickedness.*
> (3.074 hcceplay2a)

This fragment, from Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives Of Windsor*, provides a context for an interpretation of *neede* as expressing prohibition rather than absence of necessity. Such an interpretation is the following: Mrs. Quickly is giving Falstaffe instructions on how to act secretly in a given situation, and considers that the boy had better not understand anything, because it is not good that children learn wicked deeds or ideas. That is, the boy must not or should not understand the plan they are talking about. In my opinion, the interpretation of *neede* as expressing absence of necessity does not hold, because the causal clause which follows it would not make sense (that is, the boy ne ed not understand

anything, because it is not good that children learn wicked plans). Absence of necessity would imply that if the course of action expressed in the proposition after *need* actually took place, it would not entail negative consequences. On the contrary, force not to implies that if the prohibition is broken, unwanted events will occur, which is clearly the case.

Moving downwards in Table 5.9, we observe that the following notional type of force in frequency terms is that based on **circumstances** which are explicit in the context. In 11 out of such 12 instances *need* expresses absence of force, as in (5.55):

> (5.55) *we **need** not be now very accurate in determining the numbers; wherein Astronomers are not yet very well agreed.*
> (3.816 lampeter⸲scia1666.sgm)

The absence of the force expressed by *need* in this example is caused by the fact that astronomers do not agree in determining the numbers, and such a circumstance suffices to release us from the general force to be accurate. It may be argued that the instances which have been analysed as expressing bare general force are also based on some circumstance, and this is, indeed, true. However, the difference between such sentences and the 12 sentences like (5.55) lies on the fact that the latter express explicitly the circumstance which provokes the force, while those expressing bare general force do not.

In addition to all these subjective gene ral forces, my corpus also contains instances where *need* expresses **objective force**. In chapter 2 (section 2.2.2), I mentioned that Coates (1983) distinguishes objective from subjective r oot modality (cf. the above-mentioned example of objective root modality *Clay pots must have protection from severe weather*). In the analysis of my Old and Middle English corpora all the instances of my verbs express subjective modality; in early Modern English, however, *need* exhibits clearly objective modality in three instances. The three of them are non-affirmative and express absence of force. Sentence (5.56) comprises two of such instances:

> (5.56) *And if occasion required, allayed with water, nor **needs** either of these solutions be applyed hot, any more than the Ivory **needs** to be heated.*
> (10.146 lampeter⸲scib1684.sgm)

The forces exerted by both forms of *need* are objective and scientific. The same as Coates' (1983) clay pots must objectively have protection from severe weather, because they are very fragile, the solutions and the ivory referred to in

(5.56) are objectively not forced t o be heated for the scientific purposes stated in the text. The other example of *need* expressing objective lack of force occurs also in a scientific context. The difference between objective and subje ctive forces is, as easily gathered, the fact that the objective forces such as thos e expressed by *need* in (5.56) do not depend on the subjec tive interpretation of events done by any of the speech act participants. There is not any subject imposing or releasing the agonist from an obligation. The agonists, namely the solutions and ivory, objectively do not need to be heated for the purposes of the experiment.

Contrary to these objective forces, the final two types of notional force expressed by general *need*, according to Table 5.9, contain highly subjective meaning. They are based on appropriateness and epistemicity, and my corpus only records one example of each. Sentence (5.57) illustrates *need* conveying **appropriateness** in a general way:

> (5.57) *After this were there certaine questions among his councell proponed,*
> *whether the king* ***needed*** *in this case to have any scruple at all; and if he*
> *had, what way were best [{to be taken{] to deliuer him of it.*
> (796 hctebio1)

We could paraphrase this sentence as there were questions whether it was appropriate for the king to have any scruple in this case.' The force, rather absence of force, expressed by *needed* in this non-affirmative context is general and based on appropriateness. It is general because the origin of such an absence of force is not easily identified, but it appears to be born out of arbitrary thoughts about a king's behaviour. It lies on appropriateness, because the questions do not concern any necessity of the king, but rather what is expected of a king to feel, namely what is appropriate in a king's behaviour. In this use, eModE *need* is close to the appropriateness meaning displayed by eModE *behove*, as will be seen below.

The only example of general *need* which I consider to enter the field of **epistemicity** is the following:

> (5.58) *Electrical Attractions* ***need*** *not* <u>*be suppos'd*</u> *still to proceed from the*
> *substantial, or even from the essential Form of the Attrahent; but may be*
> *the effects of unheeded, and, as it were, fortuitous Causes.*
> (2.950 hctescie3b)

The context of this example is scientific and apparently very similar to those instances we have analysed as objectiv e modality, because electrical attractions

cannot be imposed or released from any necessity or obligation;the author of the text is merely trying to state a characteristic of electrical attractions. However, in this precise instance, the force cannot be considered objective , because the absence of necessity does not apply to objective characteristics of electrical attractions but to the consideration men can have about them. The origin of such a force is general and it is also addressed to a general entity evidenced in the passive construction (see below section 5.3.1.2 for a syntactic analysis of eModE *need*). As for the epistemic colouring of this example, it is derived from the verb following *need*, namely *be supposed.* [9] The verb *suppose* contains a clear epistemic load, because it refers to knowledge and inference. Sentence (5.58) contains a sequence of three verbs: *need + be supposed + proceed*. The combination of these three verbs makes the sequence acquire a logical epistemic flavour. However, the verb *need* cannot be said to express epistemic modality in this case, because it is not the carrier of such epistemicity, such a carrier being the verb *be supposed* (vs. *electrical attractions need not proceed from the …, but from …*). The following set of examples of *need* do convey epistemic meanings; they have been analysed as instances of *need* expressing logical, epistemic necessity.

Indeed, the last row in Table 5.6 includes two instances of *need* expressing **neutral logical force** in my corpus. Logical forces are those originated in the mental domain and they differ from the other types of forces in that they do not require the existence of a concrete antagonist (as in external and internal forces) or of a diffuse, nebulous one (as in general forces). Logical forces emerge in the mental domain as a consequence of our knowledge of the world, according to which we formulate a line of reasoning which does not affect the behaviour of a concrete agonist, but which only works in the world of logic. Since logical forces are abstract, they cannot be easily described as strong or weak, and, for this reason I consider them of a neutral strength. The two examples of eModE *need* expressing logical forces occur in non-affirmative contexts and express lack of force. This is in tune with Sweetser's (1990: 154, note 17) findings that PDE

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[9] In fact, the PDE sequence *be supposed to* is one of the 13 semi-auxiliaries identified by Quirk *et al* (1985: 143), and it is considered to convey epistemic necessity in some occasions, as in *their team is supposed to be the best* (from Quirk *et al*. 1985: 237). On the historical development of semi-modal *be supposed to*, see Agrafojo Blanco (2003, 2004).

need only expresses epistemic meanings in non-affirmative contexts.[10] The two eModE examples are the following:

(5.59) *The knowledg of this dependeth upon the proportion which the Equator beareth to the Parallels, which is learned out by the skill of Trigonometrie, but* **need not** *now bee so hardly attained to; for the Proportions are alreadie cast up into a Table.*
(13.069 lampeterˋscib1649.sgm)

(5.60) *The communicating such happy Thoughts and Occurences* **need not** *much take up a mans time to fit it for the Press; the Relation being so much the better the plainer it is.*
(784 lampeterˋscia1674.sgm)

In example (5.59) it is especially easy to interpret *need* as an epistemic marker: since the proportions of the earth are cast up into a table, the proportion of the equator need not be hard to find. In example (5.60) we learn that since the relationship is much better the plainer it is, it is not necessarily the case that communicating such happy thoughts takes much of a man's time. In these two examples eModE *need*, then, may be said to convey epistemic modality, a kind of meaning which has its origin in root meanings such as those exhibited by this eModE verb in the other types of forces seen from (5.33) through (5.57). These findings come to reveal that the first epistemic use of *need* occurs much earlier than is attested in the literature, where, according to Visser (1963-1973: §346) and Nykiel (2002), the first example occurs in 1838.

As is easily gathered from the preceding paragraphs, *need* has developed all semantic values it has in Present-Day English (cf. section 2.2.2.3 for these data) as early as early Modern English. This is particularly relevant since, firstly, it constitutes new data as regards the emergence of epistemic *need*, which occurs earlier that was commonly thought. Secondly, it shows that early Modern English is a crucial period for the semantic development of *need* because it is the period when, from a semantic perspective, fully-fledged *need* occurs for the first time.

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[10] However, I have found a late Modern English example of epistemic *need* in an affirmative context, which has already been mentioned, namely *I need look somewhat changed,… for I have undergone some suffering, both of mind and body* (1838-1839 Dickens, *Nicholas Nickleby* X), as quoted in Visser (1963-1973: §346) . As mentioned in section 2.2.3, this is the first instance of epistemic *need* found by Nykiel (2002).

5.3.1.2. Syntactic and morphological features of early Modern English *need*

EModE *need* is a syntactically complex verb. It displays many different types of syntactic patterns, and this makes it necessary to classify them according to different criteria in order not to miss any relevant feature. I decided to make a first classification according to the nature of *need* as a verb expressing an experience, namely necessity (cf. section 2.3 above for a description of experiencer verbs). As such, *need* is expected to have an explicit experiencer in the sentence in which it occurs, but this is not always the case. The absence or presence of an experiencer is, therefore, the first criterion I have followed in order to analyse the data found in the corpus.

Out of the 295 examples of *need*, in 30 of them the verb occurs without an explicit experiencer, while 265 sentences do have an experiencer. Beginning with the 30 instances **without an experiencer**, I have made further classifications, on the basis of the presence of a dummy subject and on the type of theme, as can be seen in Table 5.10 below. I have found that when *need* does not have an experiencer it may occur without any dummy subject, with the theme as only argument (e.g. *flowers are necessary*), and with dummy subjects *there* and *it* which fill the empty pre-verbal slot, as seen in the horizontal axis of Table 5.10. As far as the themes of the verb are concerned (vertical axis), I have found that the verb may occur with a noun phrase, an elided clause, a passive infinitival clause, and a *to*-infinitival clause. Table 5.10 below sketches the results of the occurrences of eModE *need* when it does not have an explicit experiencer:

DUMMY SUBJECT / THEME		Ø				Dummy *there*				Dummy *it*				TOTAL
		E1	E2	E3	T	E1	E2	E3	T	E1	E2	E3	T	
NOUN PHRASE		4	5	3	12			8	8			2	2	22
SENTENCE	Elided clause										2	2	4	4
	Bare pass. inf. cl.							3	3					3
	To-infinitive cl.											1	1	1
TOTAL		4	5	3	12			11	11	2		5	7	30

Table 5.10: *Syntactic features of eModE* need *without an experiencer: chronological distribution.*

Table 5.10 displays the chronological distribution of experiencerless *need* according to the presence or absence of a dummy subject and the type of theme. In each of the columns which account for the different dummy subjects, I have included four small columns which stand for the three eModE periods (labelled E1, E2 and E3, following the terminology of the *Helsinki Corpus*), and a shaded

column which states the total number of occurrences of each syntactic type. The most common syntactic pattern found with eModE *need* when it does not have an experiencer is that in which its only argument is the theme or thing needed. In 10 out of the 12 instances of this pattern the sentence is non-affirmative, and only in two of them *need* is preceded by an auxiliary. A prototypical example is (5.61):

> (5.61) *You have the title of that, have you not? My wife saith <u>such exquisite thancks</u>* **nede not**.
> (10.302 ceecscosin)

In this E2 example the inanimate noun phrase *such exquisite thancks* is the theme and the only argument of the verb *nede* in this negative context.

The second most common syntactic pattern when *need* occurs without an experiencer is that in which a **dummy *there* subject** occurs. This construction is only recorded in E3, although it must be recalled that it also occurs four times in my ME corpus, twice with *neden* (in M3 and M4) and twice with *bihoven* (in M1 and M2), all of them with a nominal theme (cf. sections 4.4.2.2 and 4.4.3.2 above). In early Modern English, dummy *there* occurs with *need* on 11 instances, eight of which have an NP as theme, as in (5.62):[11]

> (5.62) *<u>There</u>* **needed** *<u>no long gazing, or consideration</u>, to examine who this fair creature was; he soon saw (^Imoinda^) all over her; in a minute he saw her face.*
> (3.935 hccefict3b)

This fragment from Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* illustrates the most common context in which dummy *there* occurs with eModE *need*. The verb occurs in strictly second position, dummy *there* occupies the initial subject position, while the theme or thing needed, *no long gazing or consideration* in this case, is extraposed to post-verbal position.

Dummy *there* may also precede eModE *need* in constructions with a bare passive infinitive, as shown in Table 5.10, and it does so on three occasions in my corpus. One of them is (5.63):

> (5.63) *For the third Calendar <u>there</u>* **need not** <u>*much bee said*</u>*, though it bee more absolute then the second.*
> (2.519 lampeterscib1649.sgm)

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[11] As is well-known, this type of construction with *need* is no longer possible in Present-Day English, when the only combination of dummy *there* with *need* takes place when *need* is an auxiliary (cf. Martínez Insua 2000, 2004).

The main constituents of (5.63) are those highlighted: the verb and negation are bolded (all examples with dummy *there* are non-affirmative in my corpus); the dummy subject *there* is underlined; and, f inally, the theme is also underlined, namely the noun phrase *much* and the passive infinitive *bee said*. A final consideration about constructions with dummy *there* in early Modern English concerns the fact that it occurs with auxiliary *will* on one occasion in which it takes only an NP as theme. When the theme of *need* is an NP, it does not display its modal auxiliary characteristics, but it functions as a main verb. For this reason it is not surprising to find it in combination with a modal verb. We will see below whether *need* + sentential theme also occurs next to another auxiliary or not.

Moving rightwards in Table 5.10, we observe that the next syntactic pattern of *need* when it does not have an experiencer has a **dummy *it* subject**, which is recorded on seven occasions in my corpus, in subperiods E1 and E3. The context in six out of the seven cases is non-affirmative, as in the E3 example given below:

> (5.64) <u>It</u> **needs** <u>no long Enquiry</u>, *where this must end, as little, whence it proceeds; since, when our Artificer hath worn out himself with toyl, the Foreiner, who hires his money at three or four per Cent. under-sells, and out-trades him.*
> (5.729 lampeter eca1668 .sgm)

This example parallels quite exactly (5.62) above, since it exhibits its theme in post-verbal position (*no long enquiry*, in this case). The similarity between (5.62) and (5.64) seems to confirm Visser's (1963-1973: §6) a nd Breivik's (1983: 257) assertion that dummy *it* and dummy *there* are interchangeable in some contexts. Constructions with dummy *it*, however, exhibit a wider range of possible syntactic patterns, and they may also occur with elided clauses. According to Table 5.10, this occurs four times in my corpus, namely twice in E1 and also twice in E3. Due to the scarce number of examples, the absence of such a construction in E2 must not be considered representative. One E1 example is the following:

> (5.65) *(^Attourney.^) Why, <u>will you denie this matter</u>? (...)*
> *(^Throckmorton.^) <u>It</u> **shal** not **neede**, I know his unshamefastnes, he hath aduowed some of this vntrue talk before this tyme to my Face.*
> (4.304 hc etri1)

The fragment of this trial conversation between the attorney and the witness illustrates the use of *need* without an experiencer, with a dummy *it* occupying the

subject position, while the expected theme, a clause, is elided. I have underlined the question uttered by the attorney because it refers to the elided clause in the sentence with *need*, that is, the reconstructed sentence could be paraphrased as ‛it shall not be necessary to deny this matter.’ Since the sentence is elided, we cannot say whether it is a bare or a *to-* infinitival clause. What my corpus records, however, is a clear instance of *need* without an experiencer and with a dummy subject *it* followed by a *to*-infinitival clause. Such an example is (5.66):

> (5.66) *Here <u>it</u> **will** not **need** <u>to take</u> much notice of those who have described the Situation of Countries by the Climes and Paralells.*
> (6.345 lampeter‛scib1649.sgm)

Sentence (5.66) is the only example of *need* in my corpus exhibiting this kind of pattern. It must be noticed that in both (5.65) and (5.66) *need* is preceded by an auxiliary (*shall* and *will* respectively), which shows that also in this context *need* allows for the presence of auxiliaries.

The description of sentences of *need* occurring with a dummy *it* subject closes the analysis of this eModE verb when it does not have an experiencer. As seen, these instances represent 10% of t he total occurrences of *need* in my corpus, while the remaining 90% of the e xamples contain an explicit experiencer. Let us now move to the analysis of constructions of *need* with an explicit experiencer.

As mentioned above, the number of occurrences of ***need* with an experiencer** amounts to 265 instances. These 265 examples are not identical and it is necessary to classify them according to various criteria. The first criterion I have selected concerns the nature of the experiencer. The experiencer may be nominative (264 instances) or non-nominative (one instance in my corpus). Let us first analyse the single instance of *need* with a non-nominative experiencer.

We have seen in earlier sections that experiencer verbs are characterized by flexibility in the nature of its experiencer. Specifically, in Middle English 39 examples of *need* exhibit a nominative experiencer (in Types II, variant of Type II and Per sonal’), while on 64 occasions the experiencer is non-nominative (cf. Table 4.24 above). In early Modern English, *need* seems to specialize as a nominative-experiencer verb, to judge from the high number of such occurrences, but my corpus also contains a vestigial instance of its former predominant usage, namely with a **non-nominative experiencer**. Not

surprisingly, the text in which this sentence occurs dates from 1534, that is, subperiod E1:

> (5.67) *but howe it shulde be sowen, weded, pulled, repeyled, watred, wasshen, dryed, beaten, braked, tawed, hecheled, spon, wounden, wrapped, and wouen,* <u>*it*</u> **nedeth not** <u>*for me*</u> <u>*to shewe*</u>*, for they be wise ynough.*
> (3.626 hccehand1a)

The constituents of the clause in which *need* occurs, namely dummy *it* in subject position, the experiencer in the shape of a prepositional phrase introduced by *for*, and the *to*-infinitival clause, make it clear that (5.67) is an instance of Allen's (1995) Type *hit* construction. According to Allen (1995), in earlier periods of English the experiencer could be oblique and occur without a preposition (cf. section 2.3 above). However, this type of construction is not very common with *need* even in Middle English, when it only occurs in M3 (four occasions) and M4 (four times), as sketched in Table 4.24 above. Type *hit* construction with *need*, then, appears not to have been the most productive type with *need* in any of its periods, which roughly explains why such a construction has not survived in Present-Day English.

Having analysed the single example of eModE *need* with a non-nominative experiencer in my corpus, we must move on to the analysis of the examples of this verb with a **nominative experiencer**, which amount to 264 sentences. Obviously, the characterization of these examples as having a nominative experiencer is drawn from those examples in which the experiencer is pronominal, because, as expected in this period of English, nominal elements are not inflected for case. Though unmarked, they have been classified as having a nominative experiencer, because if they were intended to be non-nominative, they would be introduced by a preposition, as was the case of (5.67). For a clear analysis of these 264 examples, it is necessary to further classify them according to the type of theme taken by the verb, if any. My corpus contains two examples of *need* with a nominative experiencer and without any theme; 75 instances of nominative experiencer and nominal theme; and 187 exam ples of nominative experiencer and a sentential theme.

The two examples of *need* with a nominative experiencer and without any theme are instances of an **absolute use** of *need*, which has been attested in Middle English as well (cf. section 4.4.2.2 above; and *OED s.v. need* v.2 III 7.b). In these instances the meaning of the verb is be needy' or 'be in want,' and they

occur in E2 and E3. Sentence (5.68) illustrates this absolute use in the last eModE subperiod:

> (5.68) *When the D[\uke\] has wherewithall, it wilbe very graciously done of him to supply the wants of them* <u>*that*</u> ***need****.*
> (22.672 ceecstcosin)

The only argument of the bolded verb *need* is the underlined relative pronoun *that*. A paraphrase of (5.68) could be the duke will supply the wants of those who are needy.' This is an E3 example of this absolute use, and, in fact, the *OED* (*s.v. need* v.2 III 7.b) offers examples of this construction up to the nineteenth century. Although *need* occurs in an affirmative context in this sentence, in the other absolute use of *need* in my corpus the context is non-affirmative. Neither of these sentences contains an auxiliary before the verb *need*.

More complex than the absolute use of eModE *need* is its use with a nominative experiencer and a **nominal theme**. As seen above (section 5.2.3), if the nominal theme were inflected for the genitive, we could say that *need* occurs in Allen's (1995) Type II construction with experiencer verbs. However, the noun phrase which follows the verb in these instances is unmarked as for case, because at this stage of the history of English, nouns are no longer inflected for case. Therefore, as mentioned in section 5.2.3, I can only say that these 75 instances are **variants of Allen's (1995) Type II construction** with experiencer verbs. In this type of sentences, we find the first evidence that *need* has undergone a change in its full meaning. Such a change has to do with the animacy of its experiencer / subject, because the nominative NP encodes the alleged experiencer of the necessity expressed by the verb. However, in the variants of Allen's Type II construction, the experiencer may be non-human and inanimate and, as such, it cannot experience any kind of necessity. If the original experiencer cannot experience the necessity expressed by the verb, there seems to be no doubt that the verb has undergone lack of experiencer / subject selection (cf. Warner 1993). In his opinion, verbs which do not select their subjects are probably amenable to undergo grammaticalization (cf. also Heine *et al*. 1991: 156; Kug 2000: 90;   Mortelmans 2003). In fact, the presence of inanimate experiencers / subjects im plies decategorialization and desemanticization of an experiencer verb (cf. Kug   2000: 90). For this reason, in my analysis of the constructions with a nominative experiencer and a nominal theme, I will pay special attention to the animacy of the experiencer throughout the eModE period,

in order to observe whether the number of inanimate experiencers increases as the period advances. Table 5.11 offers the results:

SUBPERIOD ANIMACY	E1	E2	E3	TOTAL
+H +A	3	15	31	49
-H A		3	23	26
TOTAL	3	18	54	75

Table 5.11: Distribution of animate and inanimate experiencers with eModE
need in a variant of Allen's (1995) Type II construction.

This table shows the increase in frequency of *need* in the variant of Allen's (1995) Type II construction throughout the eModE period irrespective of the animacy of its experiencer. Interestingly enough, the ratio of inanimate experiencers undergoes a more drastic increase than that of animate experiencers. In subperiod E1, my corpus contains no instance of inanimate experiencers, but the ratio raises to nearly 17% in E2,   and finally more than 42% of the E3 experiencers are inanimate. This might be interpreted as a sign that eModE *need* undergoes internal changes in this period so that it ceases to select its experiencer / subject. As already m entioned, several scholars relate inanimacy of the experiencer / subject and lack of experiencer / subject selection to grammaticalization. The analysis of the examples in Table 5.11 reveals another piece of information in support of this hypothesis, as follows.

As mentioned in section 5.2.1, one of the eModE features of auxiliary verbs is their non-occurrence with other auxiliaries (cf. Rissanen 1999: 234). Although it cannot be said that *need* is an auxiliary in the context of the examples in Table 5.11, I find it interesting to offer the ratio of occurrence of *need* with an auxiliary in this kind of construction, as I have been doing in the analysis of previous constructions with *need*. The general results show that 20 out of the 75 examples of *need* in variants of Type II construction take an auxiliary (i.e. 26.6% of the cases). Going to the detail, my corpus reveals that in this type of construction, *need* is much more likely to occur with an auxiliary when its experiencer is animate (19 times) than when it is inanimate (only one example). Thus, when *need* in variant of Type II construction occurs with an animate experiencer, it occurs with an auxiliary twice in E1 (that is, 66% of its occurrences), in nine instances of E2 (namely 60% a nd in eight cases of E3 (26% Summing up the results of the th ree periods, we can conclude that *need* in variant of Type II construction with animate experiencer occurs with an auxiliary in 38.8% of its occasions in early Mode rn English. The most common auxiliary

found in combination with *need* in this kind of construction is *shall* (12 instances), but there are also examples with *must* (2)*, should* (2)*, will* (2) and *can* (1). Consider the following E3 example:

> (5.69) *I received D=r= Kings letter; but I* **shall not need** <u>much of # his phiseck,</u>
>   *for I thank God I am much better.*
>   (10.205 hcˋcepriv3)

Sentence (5.69) is a clear example of what I have been calling variant of Allen's (1995) Type II construction with experiencer verbs. The experiencer is the nominative pronoun *I*, and the theme is the unmarked noun phrase *much of his phiseck*. In addition, in this example *need* is preceded by the modal auxiliary *shall*, which in this context seems to convey the notion of futurity, as it does on other 11 occasions in this type of construction. The context in (5.69) is non-affirmative, as in other 31 instances out the 49 examples with animate experiencer (namely 65% of its   occurrences). The propensity for *need* to occur in non-affirmative context is not surprising by now.

    When the experiencer of *need* in this same kind of construction is non-human and inanimate, the probability to find it in connection with an auxiliary is significantly lower than with animate experiencers, since only in one E3 sentence does the verb admit an auxiliary (namely *should*), which proportionally implies less than 4% of the total   number of occurrences with an inanimate experiencer, as against 38.8% of the cases with an   animate experiencer. Therefore, in the analysis of the variant of Allen's (1995) Type II construction, we observe two features which seem to reveal that at this stage of history this verb has acquired a status which differs from its earlier one, and which brings it closer to the field of grammaticalization. On the one hand, it does not select its experiencer /subject, since it no longer appears with animate experiencers exclusively, but with inanimate experiencers as well (which goes hand in hand with the generalization of its meaning, as seen in the semantic analysis of this verb, section 5.3.1.1). On the other hand, when its experiencer is inanimate, a feature which is commonly related to grammaticalization, this verb seems reluctant to accept the presence of an auxiliary, a characteristic shared by eModE auxiliaries (Rissanen 1999: 234). A prototypical example of this type of construction with inanimate experiencers is (5.70):

(5.70) *This* **needeth** *no long discourse*, *sith it plainely appeareth, that these troublesome, hard kernelly swellings, be found so rebellious, that …*
(3.531 hccescie2a)

The experiencer of *need* in (5.70) is the demonstrative pronoun *this*, which refers to a previous statement, and, therefore, cannot be considered to experience the necessity. The theme is another inanimate noun phrase which carries a non-affirmative element, the most common type of context when the experiencer is inanimate (22 occasions out of the 26 instances of my corpus, namely nearly 85% of its occurrences). Another interesting example of *need* with an inanimate experiencer in a variant of Type II construction is (5.71), in which the experiencer is a clause introduced by the particle *how*:

(5.71) *How willing then he will be, I think,* **needs** *no Proof: For besides that Land, being visi&rehy;ble and immovable, is most responsible to the Law.*
(10.247 lampeterca166 8.sgm)

This construction, which occurs twice in E3 in my corpus seems to imply that *need* no longer selects its experiencers / subjects, since a clause cannot experience the necessity expressed by the verb.

After having analysed the examples in which *need* occurs with a nominative experiencer and a nominal theme, and having found evidence in favour of considering that it is moving into the field of grammaticalization, it is interesting to analyse the results of *need* with a nominative experiencer and a **sentential theme**, because it is only in this context that we may confirm its characterization as an incipient eModE auxiliary. This type of construction is what Allen (1995) termed **'Personal' Type**.

To begin with, it is interesting to note that in 187 out of total 295 examples of *need* (i.e. more than 63% of its occurrences), *need* chooses to occur in this kind of construction. Taking into account that the majority of the sentential themes are infinitival clauses, we must recall Bolinger's (1980: 297) well-known statement that "The moment a verb is given an infinitive complement, that verb starts down the road of auxiliariness."Bearing this in mind, we must proceed with the analysis of the 187 examples in order to determine the degree of auxiliarihood *need* has achieved. These examples differ in the **type of the sentential theme** they take, and, for that reason, I have sub-classified them according to this factor. In addition, I have also taken into account other factors, like their chronological distribution in order to check

whether grammaticalization becomes more evident as the period advances, and whether some sentential types vanish as other types emerge or become more productive. Another important factor in the analysis of Personal' Type of constructions with *need* concerns the **animacy** or inanimacy of the experiencer / subject. Table 5.12 aims at accounting for all these variables:

PERIOD & ANIMACY / THEME	E1			E2			E3			TOTAL		
	+H+A	-H-A	T	+H+A	-H-A	T	+H+A	-H-A	T	+H+A	-H-A	T
Bare infinitival cl.	6		6	28	1	29	77	5	82	111	6	117
To-infinitival cl.	8		8	15		15	16	1	17	39	1	40
To- passive inf. cl				2		2	1	11	12	3	11	14
Bare passive inf. cl.							2	8	10	2	8	10
Elided clause	1		1				3		3	4		4
That-clause	1		1	1		1				2		2
TOTAL	16	0	16	46	1	47	99	25	124	161	26	187

Table 5.12: Type of sentential theme and evolution of experiencer-animacy with eModE
need *in Allen's Type 'Personal' construction.*

The first column of Table 5.12 displays the types of sentential themes which can be found with *need* when it occurs in Allen's (1995) Personal' Type, from the most common type (bare infinitival clause) to the least frequent one *that*-clause. On the upper line of the table, we observe the three subperiods of early Modern English. Each of the columns which refer to the subperiods is further subdivided into three small columns: two columns which refer to the animacy of the experiencer /subject, and a third (shaded) column which gives the total number of examples of each sentential theme in each of the subperiods.

    The number of examples occurring in the Personal' Type increases from E1 to E3, but this is not surprising, because, as seen, the general results of the examples of *need* in my corpus also exhibit this rise (cf. Table 5.5). Table 5.12 also shows that the number of possible types of sentential themes of *need* has increased from Middle English. In that period, the sentential theme following *need* in Pe rsonal' Type constructions could be of the following types: *to- / for*-infinitival clause, bare infinitival clause, *to*- passive infinitival clause, and elided infinitival clause. Thus, the three most common types of sentential themes found in early Modern English are already present in the ME material, as well as elided clauses. Moreover, we observe that the eModE types of sentential theme also include the bare passive infinitival clause and *that*-clauses. In addition, it must be

noticed that (except for *that*-clauses) all new sentential types occur in late early Modern English (periods E2 and E3).

As far the animacy of the experiencer /subject is concerned, Ta ble 5.12 reveals that the proportion of inanimate experiencers rises as the eModE goes on. In E1 we find that all experiencers are animate and human, while in E2 one instance out of 47 (i.e. 2.1% is inanim ate, and 20% of the occurrences in E3 have an inanimate experiencer (25 instances out of 124). The drastic rise of occurrences with inanimate experiencers is somewhat conditioned by the fact that passive infinitival clauses are common themes of eModE *need*. Passive sentential themes usually imply that an inanimate noun phrase rises as the experiencer of *need*, as is witnessed in the data in Table 5.12: 11 out of the 14 instances of *to-* passive infinitival clause, and eight out of the ten instances of bare passive infinitival clause have inanimate experiencers. This confirms Warner's (1993) view of the relation between lack of experiencer / subject selection and inanimacy of the experiencer /subject. We will see examples of these constructions below.

Going on with the general analysis of eModE *need* in P ersonal' Type constructions, I would like to draw attention to another important feature of this verb which is not present in Table 5.12. I am referring to the **presence or absence of auxiliaries preceding** *need*. It is interesting to take into account such a variable in order to determine the degree of grammaticalization of *need* in early Modern English, because, as mentioned, auxiliaries cease to co-occur in this period of the language (cf. Rissanen 1999: 234). Table 5.13 below comes to add new information to that contained in Table 5.12:

PERIOD & ANIMACY / THEME	E1			E2			E3			TOTAL		
	+H+A	-H-A	T	+H+A	-H-A	T	+H+A	-H-A	T	+H+A	-H-A	T
Bare infinitival cl.	1		1	3		3	2		2	6		6
To-infinitival cl.	3		3	9		9	6		6	18		18
To- passive inf. cl				1		1		1	1	1	1	2
Bare passive inf. cl												
Elided clause												
That-clause												
TOTAL	4	0	4	13	0	13	8	1	9	25	1	26

Table 5.13: Use of auxiliaries with eModE need *in Type 'Personal' constructions.*

Table 5.13 reproduces the same structure as Table 5.12 above, but the data in Table 5.13 only refer to the number of occurrences of eModE *need* with an

auxiliary in the different sentential types. We observe that auxiliaries are only found with the four most common types of sentential themes. This could be due to the fact that my corpus contains an ampler set of examples for these sentential types than for the others. Having clarified this, the first striking fact about the constructions in Table 5.13 is their relatively low probability to occur with an auxiliary (less than 14% of its occurrences), in contrast with the constructions involving a nominative experiencer and a nominal theme (26.6% of the occurrences, as seen above). Thus, eModE *need* seems to have started down the road of auxiliariness (paraphrasing Bolinger 1980) not only because of its tendency to occur with sentential themes (63% of its occurrences), but also because of its reluctance to admit an auxiliary in such a context.

Table 5.13 also shows that the probability for eModE *need* to occur with an auxiliary is much lower in E3 than in E1, since 25% of its occurrences in E1 have an auxiliary, while only 7.25% of the E3 examples do. This seems to point towards an increasing grammaticalization of this verb throughout the period. Another important piece of information we can draw from Table 5.13 concerns the ratio of occurrence of auxiliaries with the different sentential types. As was the case with variants of Allen's Type II construction, *shall* is the most common auxiliary found in Personal' Type , registering 22 occurrences, while *would, may, did* and complex *should have* are recorded only once each in this kind of construction.

Before the analysis of each type of sentential theme found in the Personal' Type of construction with *need*, I would like to mention that, as was the case with other syntactic patterns, *need* occurs primarily in non-affirmative contexts. Only 12 out of the 187 examples of this type of construction occur in affirmative contexts, that is, only 6.4%

Let us now have a close look at each of the possible sentential themes. As stated, and as shown in Table 5.12, the most common sentential type found in combination with *need* in early Modern English is the **bare infinitival clause**. The difference between its frequency and the immediately following syntactic type, namely *to*-infinitival clause, is overwhelming (117 as against 40 examples).[12] This is not, however, the tendency all throughout the period. It is

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[12] The 117 examples of *need* + bare infinitival clause include one instance of *need* + bare perfect infinitival clause:

 (i) *This Lady Newport leads the Lord Bellasis in one hand, and Iack Russell in the*
   *other, and cuts a kindnes so equally between them, that <u>Sir Kenelm Digby</u> **needed not**
   have come in to decide the controversie.*

especially interesting to observe that in E1, my corpus contains more instances of *need* followed by a *to*-infinitival clause than by bare infinitives. From then onwards, this tendency is reversed. In E2 the number of bare infinitival themes almost doubles up that of *to*-infinitives, and in E3 bare infinitives occur nearly five times the number of *to*-infinitives. Taking into account that already in Middle English non-auxiliary verbs tend to attach to *to*-infinitival themes, while modals prefer bare infinitives (cf. Fischer 1992: 263, Warner 1993: 139), the fact that eModE *need* has a strong tendency to occur with bare infinitives seems to imply that its role as an auxiliary has acquired more weight in this period of the language.

As already mentioned, the fact that *need* prefers bare infinitival clauses does not imply that it is restricted to these themes. Consider the following sentence:

> (5.72) *[^POSTSCRIPT AUTOGRAPH^] I* **nede** *not* <u>commend</u> *this gentleman to ye, but assuredly he ys gretly to be esteemed. I besech further him yf* <u>he</u> **shall nede** <u>your favour</u>.
> (27.062 ceecsley ceste)

Sentence (5.72) is a double example, as evidenced in the bolding and underlying. In the first part *need* selects the bare infinitival clause headed by the infinitive *commend*, while in the latter part, *need* is followed by a noun phrase, *your favour*. Thus, in this period of early Modern English, the 'Personal' Type coexists with the variant of Type II, exactly like today. Sentence (5.72) is a good example in other respects as well. Notice that the first and the second clause with *need* differ not only in the type of theme, but also in the presence of an auxiliary. Indeed, auxiliaries are much more common when *need* has a nominal theme (26.6%) than when *need* selects a bare infinitival theme (5.1%). This seems to imply that when *need* is followed by bare infinitival clauses, its characterization as an auxiliary gains ground.

(3.393 lampeterm sca1650.sgm)

As for the 40 examples of *need* + *to*-infinitival clause, these include two instances of *to*- perfect infinitival clause. E.g.:

> (ii) *Had our wise and wary Ancestors thought fit to depend so far upon the Contingent Honesty of Judges,* <u>they</u> **needed not** <u>to have been</u> *so zealous to continue the usage of Juries.*
> (5.978 lampeterlawa1680.sgm)

Since the presence of a perfect infinitive does not alter the syntactic analysis of *need*, these three examples have been included into the group of the corresponding present infinitive (bare or *to*-).

The experiencer of *nede* in both clauses of (5.72) is an animate and human entity, but it may also be the case that the verb takes an inanimate experiencer. In fact, my corpus contains six such examples:

> (5.73) *And so for Hats, no Duty being on Wool, <u>the Felts **need not** be</u> much advanc'd in their Rates, nor other Hats, none being obliged to Pay, but left to their selves, either to Buy, or not to Buy.*
> (5.337 lampeterecb1696.sgm)

The experiencer of *need* (again in a non-affirmative context) is the noun phrase *the felts*, that is, an inanimate entity. It could be claimed that *need* in (5.73) is not followed by a bare active infinitive, but by a bare passive infinitive, *be advanc'd*. However, I consider this past participle to be of an adjectival, rather than a verbal, nature, because this sentence does not seem to admit an active counterpart (i.e. *they need not advance the felts in their rates*). On the contrary, the fact that the felts are expensive seems to be based on economic factors, instead of being the result of an action performed by an agent. The ratio of inanimate experiencers when *need* is followed by a bare infinitival clause is, however, not very high, since it only occurs in six out of 117 instances, that is, in 5.1%

The ratio of inanimate experiencers when *need* is followed by a **to-infinitival clause** is even lower, since only one out of the 40 instances have an inanimate experiencer (which represents only 2.5% of   the total). At the same time, the frequency of auxiliaries with *to*-infinitival clauses is considerably higher than with bare infinitival themes. Following the general tendency, *shall* is the most frequent auxiliary in this type of context (17 out of the 18 instances with auxiliary exhibit *shall*). Consider, for instance, (5.74):

> (5.74) *my request will seme to your reasonable, and the gentleman so worthie to be cherished and encouraged, that <u>I **shall not need** to use</u> with you anie further perswasion.*
> (7.629 ceecshutton)

This sentence, which dates from 1595 (i.e. E2), is a prototypical example of *need* when followed by a *to*-infinitival clause: the experiencer is animate, it is preceded by auxiliary *shall*, and it occurs in a non-affirmative context. The main differences between occurrences of *need* with a bare infinitival theme and with a *to*-infinitival one lie, then, on the animacy of the experiencer and on the possibility to admit an auxiliary. As for the animacy of the experiencers, constructions with *to*-infinitival themes have inanimate experiencers in 2.5% of

the cases, while constructions with bare infinitival themes have up to 5.1% of inanimate experiencers. The difference of the ratios is not significant enough to draw any conclusion, and, in addition, the animacy of the experiencer is not a criterion in itself to determine the auxiliarihood of an item, but it can only support the conclusions drawn from other tests. As far as auxiliaries are concerned, they are possible in 45% of the occurrences with *to*-infinitives and only in 5.1% of bare infinitives. This overwhelming difference between *to*- and bare infinitival themes can indeed be considered relevant in the identification of auxiliary characteristics in eModE *need*. The fact that *need* rejects auxiliaries when it is followed by a bare infinitival clause seems to imply that in this context *need* behaves as an auxiliary (Rissanen 1999: 234).

Though to a lesser extent, the same occurs with **passive infinitival themes**, since when such themes are introduced by *to*, they may admit auxiliaries (14% of the occasions), but when the passive infinitive is bare, no auxiliary is used. As mentioned above, the fact that *need* is followed by passive auxiliaries has been found to favour the occurrence of inanimate experiencers. This comes to confirm Warner's (1993: 160-163) assertion that complementation by passive infinitives leads to lack of experiencer /subject selection. Consider the following examples of *to*- and bare passive infinitival themes respectively:

> (5.75) *The King of England is not an Absolute but a limited Monarch. And indeed, if these Republicans were not much more forward, to remind the King of his Duty than to discharge their own,* <u>these things</u> **did not need** <u>to be repeated</u>.
> (8.983 lampeter pola1684.sgm)

> (5.76) *for all kinds of Ferns (...) and covered there, in some shady place till the Ships are ready to Sail; when* <u>each root</u> **need** *only* <u>be enclosed or wrapt</u> *up in a lump of Clay or Loame, and then put up into a Box with Moss, and so sent over.*
> (6.067 lampeter scib1696.sgm)

The experiencers of (5.75) and (5.76) are *these things* and *each root*, respectively. Both of them refer to inanimate entities. Both sentences are non-affirmative. The main difference between both sentences is the type of passive infinitive which follows *need*, introduced by *to* in (5.75) and bare in (5.76). Sentence (5.75) contains, in addition to the marker *to*, an auxiliary, namely *did*. This is, indeed, a rare example in my corpus, because *need* occurs with auxiliary

do only on another occasion.[13] This rarity of auxiliary *do* in combination with *need* was expected, since although in early Modern English expletive *do* may occur in affirmative, negative or interrogative sentences, *need*, among other verbs, is resistant to its occurrence next to *do* Barber (1997: 196). The results from my corpus come to confirm such a statement, because only two examples out of 295 sentences with *need* occur with *do*. We must remember, however, that the absence of *do* before *need* does not imply that the latter functions as an auxiliary itself, because the use of *do* in this period of English is not regularized as today.

The overall conclusion we can draw is that *need* shows a tendency to select the bare infinitive, which *per se* is a characteristic connected to modal auxiliaries, and that in such contexts *need* is less prone to take an auxiliary than with *to*-infinitival themes, which comes to reinforce the auxiliary interpretation of *need* in such instances. Therefore, eModE *need* concentrates a bunch of auxiliary features in some of its uses.

Moving downwards in Table 5.12, we observe that the next type of theme found with eModE *need* is **elided clause**. This is another context which is usually associated with auxiliaries, although we must not forget that occurrence with an elided clause is not indicative of auxiliary status on three occasions: (i) when the verb is used absolutely, (ii) when the elided clause would contain a verb of movement, and (iii) when the verb occurs in coordinate or comparative clauses (cf. Warner 1993: 113-114). My corpus records four examples of *need* with ellipsis of the sentential theme (see Table 5.12), but in two of them we cannot consider that it functions as an auxiliary, because it occurs in a comparative clause and in a coordinate clause, reproduced in (5.77):

> (5.77) *The Earth and Moon being known to be Bodies of so great connexion (whether by any Magnetick, or what other Tye, I will not <u>determine</u>; nor* **need** *I<u>,</u> as to this purpose;) as that the motion of the one follows that of the other.*
> (3.636 lampeter˘scia1666.sgm)

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[13] Namely, in construction without an experiencer in which the only argument is the theme or thing needed:

> (i) *"Dost thou think that ought in mortall & fleeting things can make such a state?"*
> *"No," quoth I, "That thou hast showde sufficiently, as <u>nothing more</u>* **doth neede***.*
> (856 hc˘ebo eth2)

The meaning of the sequence is ˘y ou have shown enough, nothing else is necessary.'

The coordinate clause *nor need I* exhibits ellipsis of a sentential clause, which, considering the types of sentential themes of this verb in the eModE corpus, could be either infinitival or a *that*-clause. However, it is easy to gather that the verb of the elided clause would be the underlined *determine* in (5.77), which occurs after auxiliary *will* in a clause which is coordinated with the clause in which *need* occurs by means of the conjunction *nor*. Although, according to Warner (1993: 112-114) when ellipsis takes place in a coordinated clause it cannot be concluded that the verb is an auxiliary, the coordination in (5.77) seems þin two auxiliaries, namely *will* and *need*. In any case, although we could consider that *need* is an auxiliary in this example, this isolated piece of evidence can only come to support the conclusions drawn from the occurrence with bare infinitival themes and the resistance to occur with another auxiliary in such contexts. The other two examples of eModE *need* with an elided sentential themes are one concessive and one *that*-clause. These two contexts fall out of Warner's (1993) exceptions and, therefore, are pieces of evidence of the auxiliary status of eModE *need*. Consider, for example, (5.78):

> (5.78) *I will follow your former instructions and take him to Cambridge and admit him; from thence if you please (which I hope you **need** not) you may send for him to you.*
> (6.005 ceecsþasire)

In sentence (5.78) *need* occurs in a *that*-clause (although the complementizer *that* is elided) dependent on the verb *hope*. The sentential theme of *need* is also elided and it can be recovered from the context, namely *I hope you need not send for him*. Since in this sentence *need* has an elided sentential theme in a context which falls out of Warner's (1993) exceptions, we may conclude that (5.78) is an example of the auxiliary status exhibited by *need* in early Modern English.

Going back to Table 5.12, we observe that eModE *need* can be combined with one last type of sentential theme, namely ***that*-clause**, which occurs twice in my corpus (once in E1 and once in E2). This finding is interesting because we know that this construction does not survive in Present-Day English, and we have seen that it is not found in Middle English either (cf. section 4.4.2.2). In section 5.2.3 I mentioned the single eModE example of this construction found in the literature, namely Shakespeare's *But I, who never knew to entreat, Nor never **needed** <u>that I should entreat</u>, Am starv'd for meat* (1596 *The Taming of the Shrew* IV, iii, 7), as quoted by Visser (1963-1973: §346). Since this   was the only

example found in the literature, we concluded that this is a marginal pattern (section 5.2.3). In both of the examples found in my eModE corpus the experiencer is animate and both occur in non-affirmative contexts, just like in Shakespeare's quote. One of such examples, dating from E2, is (5.79):

> (5.79) *24 But* <u>*Iesus*</u> *did not commit himselfe vnto them, because he knew al men, 25 And* **needed not** <u>*that any should testifie of man*</u>*: for hee knew what was in man.*
> (1.631 hccentest2)

As can be seen in the bracketed codification, this sentence belongs to the *New Testament*. Interestingly enough, the other example in my corpus, dating from E1, belongs to an earlier manuscript of the same text, that is, the *New Testament* (Saint John, II, 24-25). As mentioned, my corpus does not contain any example of ME *neden* v.2 followed by a *that*-clause, so this must be an eModE innovation. This innovation, in turn, must not have lived long, because, as is well-known, this syntactic construction is not possible with PDE *need*. However, I looked for the PDE version of this fragment of the Bible and found that this *archaic* structure (i.e. *needed not that anyone should testify of a man*) is retained in some version.[14] What is the origin of this eModE structure which survives only in PDE biblical texts?With the aim of shedding light on this matter, I have looked for earlier versions of this fragment of the Bible. The *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* offers the following OE version to this biblical passage:

> (5.79b) *Se Hælend ne geswutelode hine sylfne him forðam he cuðe hi ealle 7 forþam him* **næs** *nan* **þearf** <u>*þæt ænig man sæde gewitnesse be men*</u>*.He wiste witodlice hwæt wæs on men.*
> (Jh(W SCp) 2.24;2.25)

As sentence (5.79b) shows, where the eModE corpus recorded the verb *need*, the OE corpus offers the construction *beon / wesan* + the noun *þearf* (*næs nan þearf,* 'there is no need') followed by a *that*-clause. This kind of construction with a noun meaning 'need' and the verbs *have* or *be* is, as repeatedly mentioned, common from Old to early Modern English and their meaning is equivalent to the respective verbs. Thus, in (5.79b) we observe that the noun *þearf* expresses absence of necessity in the same way as the verb *þurfan* (cf. section 3.4.1.1).

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[14] For example, I have googled this example of the Bible containing the archaic structure *need + that*-clause and found that the web records it more than 3,000 times.

The ME version of this fragment from the *New Testament* also concerns a combination of *be* + a necessity noun, although in this case the noun is not *þearf*, but the noun *nede*:

> (5.79c) *But Jhesus trowide not hym silf to hem, for he knewe alle men; and for it* **was** *not* **nede** *to hym, that ony man schulde bere witnessyng, for he wiste, what was in man.*
> (1.560 helsinki em ntest)

According to the text provided in the *Helsinki Corpus*, the OE construction *beon þearf* has been replaced in M3 by the construction *be nede*, also in combination with a *that*-clause.[15] Thus, both in the OE and ME versions of the *New Testament* this sequence contains an expression of necessity followed by a *that*-clause. The only constant element in the three versions of this fragment is, then, the *that*-clause. While it was common to have OE *beon þearf* and ME *be nede* followed by *that*-clauses, such a syntactic pattern was unexpected for eModE *need*. I believe that the reason for eModE *need* to exhibit this type of theme might be due to analogy with the earlier construction with the noun *need*. In this sense, the sequence would be *is þearf that* > *is nede that* > *need that*. In addition to this explanation, I adduce influence from Latin, because the Latin version of this fragment contains a *that*-clause (actually, a clause introduced with the complementizer *ut*):

> (5.79d) *24 Ipse autem Iesus non credebat semetipsum eis, eo quod ipse nosset omnes, 25 et quia* **opus** *ei non* **erat**, *ut quis testimonium perhiberet de homine; ipse enim sciebat quid esset in homine.*[16]

As sentence (5.79d) shows, the Vulgate contains the periphrastic expression *opus erat* ('was necessary') followed by a s ubordinate clause introduced by *ut* ('that'). This Latin version could have influenced the translators of the Bible from Old to early Modern English.

Summing up, the reasons adduced for the unexpected construction exhibited by eModE *need* in sentence (5.79) are (i) the influence of earlier necessity expressions found in the same context, and (ii) the influence of the Latin version of the Bible. However, we must recall that, as noted above (section

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[15] Examples such as this one suggest that not only the verb *need* filled the gap left by *tharf* as it disappears, but that their corresponding nouns underwent the same development.
[16] Taken from *Nova Vulgata-Bibliorum Sacrorum Editio*, at <http:/www.va tican.va/archive/ bible/nova_vulgata/documents /nova-vul gata/ntevang-ioannem _lt.html#>, (accessed September 2004).

5.2.3), Visser (1963-1973: §346) offers one example of eModE *need + that*-clause in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*. This is an original text and, as such, it cannot be influenced by earlier versions or by the language of the original text. How to account for this construction, then? I belieˊve that a probable reason is analogy with other verbs meaning ˋnee dˏ' because OE *beþurfan* and *behofian* and ME *bihoven* may occur with *that*-clauses. In addition, in Old English, the verb *neodian, neadian,* ˋbe nece ssaryˏ' could have a *that*-clause as theme or thing needed, to judge from Bosworth and Toller (*s.v. neadian, neodian,* v.), in constructions such as *On cealdum eardum neodaþ ðæt ðæs reafes mare sy*[17] (In cold lands, it is necessary that there are more garments'). Since *that*-clauses are old arguments of necessity verbs, Shakespeare may be using *need + that*-clause trying to sound archaic with this type of construction, because, as we know, he is claimed to have a strong preference for the bare infinitive.

The analysis of this last type of syntactic pattern of eModE *need* closes the analysis of the syntactic features of this verb. To sum up, *need* in early Modern English exhibits its widest range of syntactic constructions of all the periods of English analysed in this study. As shown, it occurs without an experiencer on 30 occasions, while 265 sentences do contain an explicit experiencer. When it occurs without an experiencer, it may occur without a dummy subject, with dummy *there* and dummy *it.* In such contexts, the verb may occur with any of the following themes: noun phrase, elided clause, bare passive infinitival clause, and *to*-infinitival clause (cf. Table 5.10 above).

In the 265 sentences in which *need* does have an experiencer, this may be non-nominative (one example) or nominative (264 examples). The only instance of non-nominative experiencer dates from 1534 (i.e. E1) and it is a clear relic of Middle English. The 264 instances with a nominative experiencer may occur absolutely (two instances) or may have a nominal (75 examples) or a sentential theme (187 cases). Examples of absolute *need* with a nominative experiencer may occur in E2 and E3, and the verb conveys the meaning ˋb e necessary' or ˋbe needy.' Examples with a nominal theme occur all throughout the eModE period and, since the theme is unmarked as for case, I have labelled them as variants of Allen's Type II construction. I have paid special attention to the animacy of the experiencer in this type of construction. Finally, the 187 examples of eModE *need* with a nominative experiencer and a sentential theme, i.e. Allen's (1995)

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[17] My OE corpus does not contain any instance of such a construction (cf. Chapter 3).

Personal' Type of e xperiencer verb construction, have been analysed as regards their chronological distribution, the animacy of the experiencer, and the type of sentential theme (cf. Table 5.12). In order to complement this information, Table 5.13 also accounts for the presence of auxiliaries in combination with *need* in the Personal' Type.

The main conclusions drawn from this analysis of the syntactic features of eModE *need* are the following. The verb *need*, which exhibits in this period the widest range of possible syntactic structures from Old English, offers evidence of modern constructions (e.g. with a bare infinitive in a negative context without auxiliary as in ἠou need not go'), as well as of old constructions (e.g. with an experiencer in the shape of a *for*-prepositional phrase, as ἰt needs not for you to go'). In this period, we witness an increasing frequency of *need* with inanimate experiencers. This goes hand in hand with a generalization of the meaning of *need*, a semantic change sometimes related to grammaticalization (cf. Campbell 2001: 118).[18] The verb *need*, which admits the presence of auxiliaries in a variety of contexts, e.g. with nominal themes, and with *to*-infinitival themes, does not accept it freely when followed by bare infinitival clauses, which come to be one of the most frequent types of eModE constructions (almost 40% of its occurrences). In addition to this, eModE *need*, following the tendency of OE *þurfan* and ME *neden* v.2, exhibits a strong tendency to occur in non-affirmative contexts.

As a final remark on the syntactic features exhibited by eModE *need*, and in line with the characterization of this verb as an auxiliary, I would like to draw attention to two syntactic characteristics of eModE auxiliaries which have not been attested with *need*. The first feature concerns occurrence in tag-questions, a characteristic which, according to Warner (1993: 207), begins to be typical of auxiliaries from the mid-sixteenth century. EModE *need* never occurs in such a construction in my corpus. The second auxiliary characteristic concerns the position of lightly stressed adverbs (if present in the sentence). It has been mentioned above that these adverbs, e.g. *never, always*, etc., occur after eModE auxiliaries (cf. also Warner 1993: 206). My corpus records one example of *need* in combination with one of such adverbs, namely *it should never need the Help of One and Twenty Divines*. However, this sentence is not revealing as for the auxiliary nature of *need*, since it behaves as a full verb followed by a noun

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[18] As will be duly explained in chapter 6, the increase in the semantic possibilities of *need* correlates with the development of auxiliary status of this verb.

phrase. Therefore, from my corpus we cannot ascertain whether eModE *need* fulfils these two eModE characteristics of auxiliaries, namely occurrence of tag-questions and position of lightly stressed adverbs.

After seeing that eModE *need* fulfils many of the semantic and syntactic features of eModE auxiliaries, I would like to go through its **morphological characteristics** (cf. section 5.2.2), in order to round off the analysis of this verb. To begin with, no negative contracted form is recorded in my corpus (cf. PDE *needn't*). However, this verb exhibits a typical morphological characteristic of auxiliaries, namely the lack of the third person singular present morpheme {eth} or {es}. My corpus contains 86 instances[19] of eModE *need* which should have this morpheme, but on 34 occasions it is not present. Although this may seem a low ratio of absence of the morpheme (39.5%), it is interesting to systematize these occurrences, differentiating between instances in which the verb does not have an explicit experiencer (20 examples) and instances in which it does have one (66 sentences). The fact that *need* occurs without the morpheme {es} or {eth} even when it does not have an experiencer may be considered as an indicator that the auxiliary nature of this verb starts to be dominant. When third person singular *need* occurs without an experiencer, it may have two different types of theme: noun phrase and sentence. Hypothesizing that the presence or absence of the third person singular morpheme may vary depending on the type of theme, Table 5.14 below offers the possible combinations:

{-eth} or {-es} / THEME	+ {-eth} or {-es}	- {-eth} or {-es}	TOTAL
NOUN PHRASE	13	4	17
SENTENCE	2	1	3
TOTAL	**15**	**5**	**20**

Table 5.14: Presence of morpheme {-eth} or {-es} when eModE need *does not have an experiencer.*

Table 5.14 shows that, although *need* without an experiencer strongly favours the presence of the third person singular morpheme (75% of its occurrences), the absence of such a morpheme seems to depend on the type of theme. Thus, we observe that the morpheme is absent in only 23.5% of the occurrences of *need* with a nominal theme, and 33.3% of the occurrences of *need* with a sentential

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[19] Only two out of these 86 examples could be hosting a form of *need* in the subjunctive, because they are instances of conditional clauses. The remaining 84 sentences are clear exponents of the present indicative.

theme. The higher probability of finding *need* without this morpheme when it is followed by a sentential theme may be accounted for because it is in such a construction that the verb is closer to auxiliary verbs, as repeatedly mentioned in this study. However, Table 5.14 only accounts for those instances of third person singular *need* without an experiencer, and it is when *need* has an experiencer that it displays most of its auxiliary features. In order to observe the frequency of the absence of the third person singular morpheme when *need* has an experiencer, let us have a look at Table 5.15:

{-eth} or {-es} THEME	+ {-eth} or {-es}	- {-eth} or {-es}	TOTAL
SENTENCE	12	25	37
NOUN PHRASE	24	4	28
ZERO	1		1
TOTAL	37	29	66

Table 5.15: Presence of morpheme {-eth} or {-es} when eMode need *has an experiencer.*

The differences between Table 5.14 and Table 5.15 are considerable. To begin with, the frequency of the various types of themes is quite the opposite, since when third person singular *need* has an experiencer it strongly prefers sentential themes, while experiencerless *need* favours the occurrence of noun phrases. As for the morpheme {-eth}/ {-es} 43.9% of   the occurrences of *need* with an experiencer do not exhibit it (as compared to the 25% of   the occurrences with an experiencer). In addition, the frequency of the absence of this morpheme is considerably representative with sentential themes, since 67.6% of s uch occurrences do not take {-eth}/   {-es} How   ever, when *need* has an experiencer and a nominal theme it occurs without such a morpheme only on 14.3% of t   he occasions. Thus, we can conclude that eModE *need* exhibits its most clear morphological auxiliary characteristics when it has an experiencer and a sentential theme, because in most of such instances, it favours the absence of the third person singular present indicative morpheme, a typical characteristic of eModE auxiliaries (cf. Barber 1997: 177).

     The main general conclusion which can be drawn from the analysis of eModE *need* is that it appears to have entered the group of auxiliary verbs because it proves to have undergone some of the changes pertinent to grammaticalization, such as desemanticization (increase of general meanings) and decategorialization (due to lack of experiencer / subject selection), in

addition to other changes particular to modal auxiliaries, such as its non-occurrence with other auxiliaries or the absence of the third person singular morpheme. Despite all these features, eModE *need* proves not to have given up its lexical status (e.g. it is still construed with nominal themes). The fact that the old, lexical verb survives parallel to the new, auxiliary verb implies that there will be competition between both in later periods of the language, and one form will predominate over the other. We have seen (section 2.2.1) that in Present-Day English *need to* has won out to the detriment of modal *need*. Traugott's (2001: 9) words as for *dare* seem to fit for the explanation of *need* as well: "the earlier main verb use was marginalized in the early periods and then the grammaticalized one was marginalized in turn and then lost in later periods." This phenomenon, which has recently been labelled 'retraction' by Has pelmath (2004:33-35), may have operated with *need* as well. At the same time, section 2.2.1.2 also shows that PDE *need to* must not be considered a pure lexical verb, since it proves to be undergoing grammaticalization processes which bring it close to the group of emerging modals (cf. Krug 2000).

5.3.2. *Early Modern English* behove

Behove is, together with *need*, the only 'need'-verb which survives into early Modern English. This verb exhibits an irregular frequency in the different periods of the language. We have seen that in Old English its occurrences represent less than 9% of the total of ve rbs expressing necessity analysed in my study. This ratio increases dramatically to 48% in Middle English, when it exhibits its peak, while in early Modern English it only occurs 5.4% of the totality of the 'need'-verbs in this period. So there seems to be a drastic decay in the use of this verb from Middle English onwards. As shown in Table 4.25 above, the use of this verb descends at the end of the ME period, namely from 77 occurrences in M3 to 20 instances in M4. Thus, in early Modern English, *behove* just continues to decrease in use, as show in Table 5.16:

Subperiod	Number of Occurrences	Normalized Frequencies
E1	11	4.45
E2	4	0.97
E3	2	0.19
TOTAL	**17**	**0.99**

Table 5.16: Distribution of eModE behove *by subperiods.*

This table reflects the decay of eMode *behove*, a tendency which reverses that of *need*, as seen in Table 5.5 above, which gains more ground as the period advances. In the paragraphs which follow I offer the semantic and syntactic analysis of *behove* in order to compare it to its earlier features, as well as to eModE *need*. This analysis should unearth the factors that determine the decrease in use of *behove* and the parallel increase of *need* in this period.

Semantically, eModE *behove* expresses a lower number of notions than its ME predecessor, since it ceases to express weak forces. The following table sketches the possible type of forces expressed by this verb taking into account, as usual, origin and strength of the force exerted:

ORIGIN	STRENGTH	N. OF EXAMPLES	TOTAL
GENERAL	NEUTRAL	6	6
LOGICAL	NEUTRAL	6	6
EXERNAL	STRONG	3	3
	WEAK		
INTERNAL	STRONG	2	2
	WEAK		
TOTAL	STRONG	5	17
	WEAK		
	NEUTRAL	12	

Table 5.17:Origin and intensity of the forces expressed by eModE behove.

Beginning with the forces most frequently expressed by eModE *behove*, we observe in Table 5.17 that on six occasions the verb expresses **neutral general force**. As seen in other analyses above, general forces may also be sub-classified according to the notion they convey. Table 5.18 summarizes the possible general forces expressed by *behove*:

CLAUSE POLARITY / TYPE OF FORCE	AFFIRMATIVE	NON-AFFIRMATIVE	TOTAL
		LACK OF FORCE	
APPROPRIATENESS	4	1	5
DISCOURSE	1		1
TOTAL	5	1	6

Table 5.18: Types of neutral general forces expressed by eModE behove*, with indication of clause polarity.*

This table shows that there is only one non-affirmative sentence with *behove*. In addition, Table 5.18 also shows that the semantic nuances conveyed by this eModE verb are various. The differences between them are not radical, but I still consider that they deserve close attention. The notion most commonly expressed by *behove* is bare appropriateness. On four occasions, the context for this

notional force is affirmative, while the fifth example is non-affirmative. Consider (5.80) and (5.81):

> (5.80) *PHIL: It **behoueth** that thou adde souerayne good to all these thinges that folowe.*
> (2.734 hcboeth1)

> (5.81) *For the wise giuer sparyth him whom he knowes aduersity will him payre, so as he will not suffer him labour in payne, for ought **behooues** him not.*
> (6.293 hcboeth2)

In both of these sentences *behove* expresses appropriateness, and it is not possible to identify the origin of the force which determines it. The only difference between them is that (5.80) is affirmative, that is, it expresses what is appropriate for the agonist, while (5.81) is non-affirmative, and it expresses what is not appropriate for the agonist, and it can be paraphrased as 'nothi ng is appropriate for him,' that is, there is nothing which may fit him. EModE *need* also expresses appropriateness in the same sense as *behove* in (5.80), although my corpus only records one of such examples, namely sentence (5.57).

General *behove* may also express appropriateness within the discourse, a meaning which is very close to that conveyed by eModE *need* on 80 occasions in my corpus (cf. Table 5.9 above). The single instance of *behove* with this nuance is (5.82):

> (5.82) *PHIL: But it is graunted before that soueraygne good, is # perfytte felycitie and blessednes.*
> *B: I saye no lesse but it is euen soo.*
> *PHIL: Therfor it **behoueth** to confesse that God is the same soueraygne good.*
> (2.266 hcboeth1)

In this sentence, *behove* expresses the necessity or appropriateness for the speaker to specify a part of the speech which may be relevant for the addressee to understand the speech (that God is the same sovereign good), that is, the necessity or appropriateness is originated in the discourse itself. This is a very common meaning expressed by eModE *need*, although this verb shows a marked tendency to occur in non-affirmative contexts, in order to express what is not necessary to understand the discourse, cf. Table 5.9, where 78 out of the 80 instances of *need* expressing this meaning are non-affirmative.

The second line of Table 5.18 makes reference to six examples which express **neutral logical force**. This characterization refers to epistemic forces,

that is, forces originated in the world of logic, rather than in the physical or social world. Indeed, in all examples the context offers the complete line of reasoning which makes the speaker come to the conclusion expressed by *behove*. The context is affirmative in all instances. Consider, for example, (5.83):

> (5.83) *And as men be made iuste by obtaynyng of Iustice, and wyse by obteynyng of wysedome: So by lyke reson it **behoueth** that men y=t= haue gotten diuinitie, # be made gods.*
> (2.541 hccteboeth1)

The paraphrase of this example may be 'as men are made just by obtaini ng justice, and wise by obtain ing wisdom, it behoves that men that have obtained divinity are made gods,' or 'm en who have obtained divinity must be made gods.' The speaker comes to a conclusion based on his knowledge about a given reasoning: since justice makes men just, divinity must make men gods. The only type of force which operates in contexts such as this is the logical type. EModE *need* may also express logical necessity, although in a much lower frequency (cf. Table 5.6 above, and examples (5.59) and (5.60)). However, this is not a complete innovation of early Modern English, because ME *bihoven* already pointed towards epistemic meanings in constructions with the infinitive of the verb *to be* and a following *that*-clause (cf. section 4.4.3.1).

 Moving downwards in Table 5.18, we observe that my corpus contains three instances of *behove* expressing **strong external forces**. The three of them occur in affirmative contexts, and convey forces based on social matters. Consider, for example, (5.84):

> (5.84) *he that thynkethe it a harde thynge to agre to the conclusion, it # **behoueth** hym to shew eyther that some false thynge hath gone before, or ells he **must** shewe that the conferrynge of proposions is not effectuall or maketh no force of a necessary conclusion.*
> (5.432 hccteboeth1)

The verb *behoueth* expresses social force. The force is inflicted on that who thinks it is hard to agree in conclusion, and he must show the false argument. It is not a strict imposition, but it is rooted in the private set of rules established by a group of people who aim at achieving social balance: whoever thinks that there is some fallacy must show evidence. The clause containing the verb *behove* is coordinated with another clause containing the modal *must*, the prototypical modal of obligation. This coordination gives support to my analysis of the force expressed by *behove*.

Finally, this eModE verb may also express **strong internal forces** (two examples in my corpus). Both sentences are affirmative and the notional type of force is related to appropriateness originated in the agonist's self, as shown in (5.85):

> (5.85) *(^Lisle.^) those Persons that rob me, are not fit to be Evidences against me, because it **behoves** them that I be convicted, to prevent their being indicted for Felony.*
> (2.217 hc̓cetri3b)

In this sentence, taken from an excerpt of a trial document, we see that the speaker in his declaration alludes to an internal benefit that the others may obtain from his guilty verdict. Thus, the verb *behove* conveys appropriateness, i.e. the others find it appropriate for them to get Lisle convicted, rooted in the agonist's self (they internally benefit).

Summing up, eModE *behove* exhibits a relatively ample variety of meanings, and it is especially common expressing different notions of appropriateness on the one hand, and logical necessity, on the other.

Syntactically, eModE *behove* may be initially classified, as was the case with ME *bihoven*, according to the presence or absence of an experiencer, and later, according to the type of theme the verb takes. Out of the 17 instances of this verb, ten examples occur without an experiencer, and seven with an experiencer.

The possibility of syntactic patterns of eModE *behove* are not so complex as those of ME *bihoven*, as will be witnessed in the subsequent analysis. The ten examples which occur **without an experiencer** have dummy *hit* subject (on no occasion does dummy *there* occur), and have sentential themes, never nominal ones, as shown in Table 5.19:

DUMMY *IT* / THEME	+*IT*	TOTAL
THAT-CLAUSE	8	8
TO-INFINITIVAL CLAUSE	1	1
ADVERB *SO*	1	1
TOTAL	**10**	**10**

Table 5.19: Types of theme of eModE behove *without an experiencer.*

As Table 5.19 shows, the most common type of theme when *behove* does not have an experiencer is a *that*-clause. In these cases, although the experiencer is

not present as such in the experiencer verb construction, it can be inferred from the *that*-clause, since the subject of the verb in such a clause corresponds to the experiencer expressed by *behove*. Consider, for example, (5.86):

> (5.86) *PHIL: It* **behoueth** *that thou adde souerayne good to all these thinges that folowe.*
> (2.734 hcceboeth1)

The main constituents of sentence (5.86) are: dummy *it* subject, verb *behove* in the third person singular, and a *that*-clause, which is the whole sequence after *that* up to the end of the sentence. The subject of the *that*-clause, namely *thou*, is the evident experiencer of the necessity expressed by *behoueth*;there seems to be no difference between the sequence in (5.86) and *it behoves you to add sovereign good*. However, sentences such as (5.86) cannot be considered to be experiencer verb constructions, because, strictly speaking, among the constituents of the sentence there is not any experiencer.

Instances of *behove* without any experiencer, explicit or implicit, are also found in my corpus, as is the case of the single instance of *to*-infinitival theme in Table 5.19. Such an example is the same sentence quoted above as (5.82), and repeated here for convenience as (5.87):

> (5.87) *PHIL: But it is graunted before that soueraygne good, is # perfytte felycitie and blessednes.*
> *B: I saye no lesse but it is euen soo.*
> *PHIL: Therfor it* **behoueth** *to confesse that God is the same soueraygne good.*
> (2.266 hcceboeth1)

The only constituents of the *behove* sentence in (5.87) are those highlighted: dummy *it*, verb *behove* in the third person singular, and *to*-infinitival clause. The absence of any experiencer is also witnessed on another occasion in my corpus, in the single case of adverbial theme in Table 5.19:

> (5.88) *PHI. Then thou doughtest not that they that be worthye ponyshmente be wretches.*
> *BOE. I saye it* **behoueth** *so.*
> (6.622 hcceboeth1)

The theme of *behove* in (5.88) is the adverb *so*, which refers anaphorically to the previous sentence, that is that those w ho are worth of punishment are wretches.' In this case, as in (5.87), no experiencer can be gathered from the context.

Moving on to the examples of eModE *behove* when it occurs **with an explicit experiencer**, i.e. seven instances, we must first pay attention to the nature of the experiencer. In the analysis of the ME data, we could see that the experiencer is mostly oblique (121 examples), although on six occasions it is clearly nominative, and there are also 11 examples in which the case of the experiencer is unclear (cf. Table 4.31 above). In early Modern English, *behove* occurs primarily with oblique experiencers (four instances), but there are also three sentences in which the case of the experiencer is unmarked. Contrary to what I have done for Middle English, i.e., considering ambiguous examples as a separate group, for the analysis of eModE *behove*, I do not find it necessary to include such a group, because the context makes clear that ambiguous experiencers are meant to be oblique. This will be proved with the help of examples.

Let us now turn to the analysis of *behove* with an experiencer. The range of possible syntactic constructions is wider in these cases. These examples may occur with or without a dummy *it* subject, and the t heme may be nominal or sentential. Table 5.20 sketches the different possibilities:

THEME \ DUMMY *IT*		+*IT*	-*IT*	TOTAL
NOUN PHRASE			1	**1**
SENTENCE	*To*-infinitival clause	5		**5**
	That-clause	1		**1**
TOTAL		**6**	**1**	**7**

Table 5.20: Types of theme found with eModE behove *with an experiencer.*

The order of the syntactic types in Table 5.20 is not based on frequency, but on a differentiation between nominal and sentential themes. It is interesting to observe that the only example of *behove* with an experiencer and without dummy *it* is the sentence with a **nominal theme**. Let us begin the explanation with such an example:

(5.89) *For the wise giuer sparyth him whom he knowes aduersity will him payre, so as he will not suffer him labour in payne, for* <u>ought</u> **behooues** <u>him</u> *not.* (6.293 hcceboeth2)

The constituents of sentence (5.89) are the noun *ought* in the nominative (cf. *OED s.v. aught* n. (pron.)), which stands for the theme, the verb in the third person singular, and the oblique experiencer *him*. We are, then, witnessing an instance of Allen's (1995) Type I construction with experiencer verbs.

When eModE *behove* is construed with an experiencer and a sentential theme, it most often selects the **to-infinitival theme** (five instances), and only on one occasion does it take a *that*-clause. All six sentences take a dummy *it* subject and, therefore, can be classified as belonging to Allen's (1995) Type *hit* construction with experiencer verbs. The following sentences illustrate Type *hit* construction with a *to*-sentential theme:

> (5.90) *he that thynkethe it a harde thynge to agre to the conclusion, <u>it</u> #* **behoueth** <u>*hym to shew*</u> *eyther that some false thynge hath gone before, or ells he must shewe that the conferrynge of proposions is not effectuall or maketh no force of a necessary conclusion.*
> (5.432 hcceboeth1)

> (5.91) *I feare the lyttle hope that owre martyall men have of rewarde wyll drawe somme of them to fayle in their dutye, and therfore <u>yt</u>* **wyll behove** <u>*your lordship to have*</u> *a watchefull eye of the looser sorte of the capteyns.*
> (45.929 ceecsley ceste)

Both (5.90) and (5.91) have a dummy *it* subject, an explicit experiencer, and a *to*-infinitival clause as theme. The main difference between them is the nature of the experiencer. In (5.90) it is clearly an oblique pronoun (*hym*), while in (5.91) it is an unmarked noun phrase (*your lordship*). As said above, the unmarked noun phrase must necessarily be understood as inflected for the oblique, because the context supports that hypothesis, i.e. historically the experiencer of Type *hit* constructions is oblique throughout history. A second difference between (5.90) and (5.91) concerns the presence of the auxiliary *wyll* in (5.91). Contrary to eModE *need*, the presence or absence of a previous auxiliary is not determining for eModE *behove*, because *behove* is not expected to have undergone grammaticalization and acquired auxiliary characteristics. However, I can say that only three examples of *behove* contain an auxiliary. One of them is (5.91), the other examples contain another instance of *will*, and expletive *do*, which, as already mentioned, is optional in eModE affirmative and non-affirmative clauses.

Finally, the last type of sentential theme found with eModE *need* when it has an experiencer and dummy *hit* is, as seen in Table 5.20, a **that-clause**. It is the same sentence quoted above to exemplify inner appropriateness, and I repeat it here for convenience

> (5.92) *(^Lisle.^) those Persons that rob me, are not fit to be Evidences against me, because <u>it</u>* **behoves** <u>*them*</u> <u>*that I be convicted*</u>, *to prevent their being indicted for Felony.*
> (2.217 hccetri3b)

In addition to dummy *it* and the oblique experiencer *them*, this sentence has a *that*-clause as sentential theme. We have seen above that *that*-clauses are especially common when *behove* occurs without an explicit experiencer, because the subject of the *that*-clause is the implicit experiencer of the verb. Since in (5.92) the experiencer is explicit, it might seem redundant that the verb takes a *that*-clause as theme. However, (5.92) is different from all the examples of *behove* we have seen so far, because in this sentence the experiencer of the necessity expressed by *behove* (i.e. *them*) is not the same as the subject of the *that*-clause (i.e. *I*). This explains why the selected sentential theme of *behove* is a *that*-clause instead of the expected *to*-infinitival clause.

Having analysed all possible syntactic patterns in which eModE *behove* may occur, we may conclude that it keeps in the same line as in Old and Middle English and occurs mainly in affirmative contexts, as opposed *need*. This is, however, one of the few syntactic characteristics which eModE *behove* retains from its etymological ancestors, because in general this verb has undergone many semantic and syntactic changes from Old English. In Old English it was a necessity verb expressing mostly internal forces (as in I need mercy'); it took only nominative experiencers and nominal themes, that is, OE *behofian* was very similar to non-modal PDE *need*. In early Modern English, on the contrary, it expresses basically appropriateness in constructions in which the experiencer, if present, is inflected for the oblique. The syntactic and semantic characteristics of eModE *behove* imply that this verb is no longer a competitor of *need* in the expression of necessity, because it has specialized in the field of appropriateness, as is reflected in its syntactic features. It is perhaps this semantic specialization that played a role in the decrease in the use of this verb, whereas eModE *need* gained ground due to the variety of meanings it came to express and especially due to the fact that it became the only verb meaning 'need' i n this period. Needless to say, *behove* does not exhibit any of the above-mentioned morphological characteristics of auxiliaries, such as the absence of the third person singular present indicative morpheme {eth}/{es}.

After having analysed eModE *need* and *behove* separately, in the following section, I briefly compare the semantic and syntactic features of these verbs throughout the three eModE subperiods, with the aim of establishing their semantic distribution, as well as to compare their syntactic characteristics.

5.3.3. *Summary and conclusions*

The list of verbs analysed in this period is reduced to two, namely *need* and *behove*, since none of the other verbs included in this study survives in early Modern English. This section will show the degree of grammaticalization achieved by eModE *need* and the absolute detachment of *behove* from the necessity meanings it could express in Old English, and which made it subject of this study. To begin with, I offer the number of occurrences of both verbs in the three eModE subperiods, namely E1 (1500-1570), E2 (1570-1640) and E3 (1640-1710). Table 5.21 below offers the number of occurrences of the verbs, as well as the normalized frequencies calculated for 100,000 words:

PERIOD / VERB	E1		E2		E3		TOTAL	
	N.	N.F.	N.	N.F.	N.	N.F.	**N.**	**N.F.**
NEED	26	10.52	71	17.18	198	19.02	**295**	**17.34**
BEHOVE	11	4.45	4	0.97	2	0.19	**17**	**0.99**
TOTAL	**37**	**14.97**	**75**	**18.15**	**200**	**19.21**	**312**	**18.33**

Table 5.21: Frequency of the two eModE verbs.

Table 5.21 shows the clear predominance of *need*, which is consolidated as the main eModE verb meaning 'need,' while the use of *behove* decreases progressively. Figure 5.1, built on the normalized frequencies, describes the evolution of these eModE verbs by subperiods:
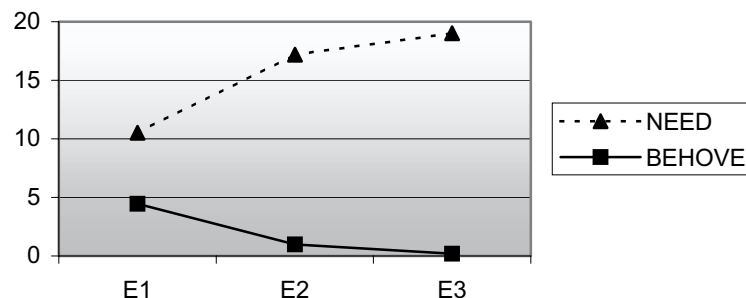
Figure 5.1: Frequency of the two verbs in the three eModE subperiods.

At the very beginning of the period, *need* occurs more than twice as often as *behove*. Figure 5.1 shows that as the eModE period advances the distance grows broader due to the decrease of *behove* and the increase of *need*; and in E3 their frequency is of 0.19 and 19.02 occurrences per 100,000 words respectively.

After this introductory review of the frequency of my eModE verbs, let us turn to the **semantic comparison** between them. Table 5.22 below offers the

number of occurrences of both verbs expressing the different types of forces according to their origin and to their strength:

ORIGIN	STRENGTH	VERBS		TOTAL	
EXERNAL	STRONG	*Need* (59) *Behove* (3)		**Need (70)** **Behove (3)**	**73**
	WEAK	*Need* (11)			
INTERNAL	STRONG	*Need* (72) *Behove* (2)		**Need (80)** **Behove (2)**	**82**
	WEAK	*Need* (8)			
GENERAL	NEUTRAL	*Need* (143) *Behove* (6)		**Need (143)** **Behove (6)**	**149**
LOGICAL	NEUTRAL	*Behove* (6) *Need* (2)		**Behove (6)** **Need (2)**	**8**
TOTAL	**STRONG**	**Need (131)** **Behove (5)**	**148**	**Need (295)** **Behove (17)**	**312**
	WEAK	**Need (19)**	**19**		
	NEUTRAL	**Need (145)** **Behove (12)**	**160**		

Table 5.22: Origin and intensity of the forces expressed by each eModE verb.

As expected from their general frequencies, *need* expresses more types of forces than *behove*. However, the latter has the ability to express a wide variety of forces, considering its low number of occurrences (namely 17). Thus, *behove* expresses strong internal, strong external, neutral general and neutral logical forces. *Need*, in turn, expresses the same kinds of forces as *behove*, together with internally rooted forces (both strong and weak). From these preliminary observations, we could think that when *need* and *behove* express forces with the same origin and strength, they are synonyms. However, this is not the case. The semantic implications of *need* are not similar to those of *behove* on many occasions;this becomes apparent in Tabl e 5.23 which displays the precise types of force expressed by the two eModE verbs taking into account the polarity of the clause:

				VERB	E1	E2	E3	**TOTAL**
BARRIER								
	PHYSICAL							
		SOCIAL	OBLIGATION	*Need*		1	5	9
				Behove	2		1	
			LACK OF OBLIGATION	*Need*	7	12	45	64
			PROHIBITION					
	INTERNAL	OBLIGATION	OBLIGATION					
			LACK OF OBLIGATION					
			PROHIBITION	*Need*	1			1
		NECESSITY	NECESSITY	*Need*	6	21	21	48
			LACK OF NECESSITY	*Need*	1	9	21	31
	GENERAL	NECESSITY		*Need*	1	2	4	14
				Behove	3	3	1	
		LACK OF NECESSITY		*Need*	10	25	100	136
				Behove		1		
		PROHIBITION		*Need*		1		1
	LOGICAL	NECESSITY		*Behove*	6			6
		LACK OF NECESSITY		*Need*			2	2
TOTAL					37	75	200	312

Table 5.23: Semantic implications of the two eModE verbs.

Table 5.23 contains all the types of forces expressed by my verbs in this study from Old to early Modern English. For this reason, there are lines which refer to types of meanings never recorded with my eModE verbs. Thus, neither eModE *need* nor *behove* express barriers, although, as we have seen above, *need* could express impossibility in Middle English (cf. section 4.4.2.1). Another absence in the semantic scope of these eModE verbs is the expression of physical forces, while in early periods (up to M2), *need* v.1 could convey such referential meanings. Despite these losses, Table 5.23 shows that *need* and *behove* express a rich variety of semantic notions in early Modern English.

The main difference between eModE *need* and *bihove* is their distribution as for clause polarity: while *behove* occurs mostly in affirmative contexts, *need* shows a pronounced tendency to occur in non-affirmative ones, as shown at the end of the ME period when it became the natural substitute for *thurven*. Another difference is that in early Modern English the expression of social and internal forces is almost exclusively represented by *need*, while *behove* is mainly concerned with general and logical forces. In other words, the verb that takes on the meanings expressed by the lost *bethurven, misteren* and *thurven* is *need*, whose semantic variety outshines that of *behove*.

As mentioned, both *behove* and *need* are recorded conveying general forces. However, when *behove* conveys general forces it proves to have undergone a semantic movement from the notion of necessity to that of

appropriateness. EModE *need*, on the contrary, does not lose its necessity meaning and, therefore, it expresses absence of general force. Interestingly enough, the number of general forces conveyed by eModE *need* is much larger than that of external or internal forces. In fact, the overall proportion of general forces in early Modern English reaches its highest peak and becomes the overwhelming predominant type, while in Old English this meaning was quite marginal and in Middle English it had become only the second force (cf. OE and ME sections). This spread of general forces, which implies that *need* ceases to convey concrete types of forces, seems to imply that this verb has undergone semantic generalization, a process typically related to desemanticization or semantic bleaching (cf., among others, Lehmann 1995 [1982]; Bybee and Pagliuca 1985; Kteva 2004). In other words, *need* appears to have lost part of its specificities, i.e. the expression of external and internal forces, in favour of a more generalized meaning.

The final type of force conveyed by *need* and *behove* in early Modern English is logical forces, that is, epistemic forces originated in the logical, mental world. *Behove* is the verb which conveys epistemic necessity earlier in my corpus (E1) and it always occurs in affirmative contexts. Despite its ability to express epistemic forces, eModE *behove* cannot be considered an incipient auxiliary of necessity, because its meaning has become too specialized in the notion of appropriateness; besides, its syntactic features also imply a large distance from auxiliary verbs. *Need*, in its turn, expresses absence of logical necessity in E3. The fact that *need* comes to express epistemic necessity may be seen as the culmination of a semantic development which will end in the grammaticalization of this verb as a modal of necessity. This semantic evolution is said to be due to metaphor and also to subjectification, a phenomenon which implies an increased involvement of the speaker judgement (Traugott 1989; Hopper and Traugott 2003). For this reason, epistemic modals are claimed to be closer to the grammatical (i.e. auxiliary) end of the chain than to root modals (cf. Nuyts 2001: 176-178; Pelyvás 2003; and section 2.1.3.4 above). This will be corroborated with the summary of the syntactic features of eModE *need* and *behove*.

For the summary of the **syntactic features** of eModE *need* and *behove* it is necessary to take into account the presence or absence of an explicit experiencer. In this connection, *behove* occurs without an explicit experiencer in a higher proportion than in Middle English (59% as against 33%. However,

eModE *need* reduces its proportion from nearly 29% in Middle English to 10 % in early Modern English. When *need* has an explicit experiencer, it occurs in absolute use meaning 'be needy' on t wo occasions. The remaining instances of *need* and *behove* with an experiencer may be classified according to the type of experiencer verb construction which they represent, as seen in the following table:

VERB ALLEN'S TYPE	*Need*	*Behove*	TOTAL
Type I		1	**1**
Type *hit*	1	6	**7**
Variant Type II	75		**75**
Type Personal'	187		**187**
TOTAL	**263**	**7**	**270**

Table 5.24: Types of experiencer verb constructions found with
eModE need *and* behove.

Table 5.24 shows that the experiencer of *behove* is always non-nominative, and that this verb is especially common in Type *hit* constructions, like in Present-Day English, while *need* takes, almost invariably, nominative experiencers, and it is especially common in the Personal' Type , i.e. in combination with a sentential theme. This preference for nominative experiencers and sentential themes is highly revealing of the tendency of *need* to enter the field of auxiliarization, while *behove* appears to have given up any possibility of becoming an auxiliary.

In addition to its tendency to occur in the Pers onal' Type of experiencer verb constructions, the syntactic auxiliary features of eModE *need* can be summarized in the following points:

- It shows an increasing preference for the bare infinitival theme, which reaches its maximum in E3. This piece of evidence shows that *need* belongs to the modal class in this period, because, as claimed by Warner (1993: 203), occurrence with the plain infinitive becomes exclusive of the modal group in the sixteenth century.
- It relatively often takes passive infinitival themes (especially in E3), and, as repeatedly mentioned, occurrence with passive infinitives implies lack of experiencer / subject selection, which is one of the features of auxiliaries.

- It exhibits ellipsis of the infinitive in contexts which are revealing of auxiliary status, i.e. they fall out of the three exceptions mentioned by Warner (1993).
- As the eModE period advances, it is less and less likely to be found with a preceding auxiliary when it has a sentential theme, and, according to Rissanen (1999), auxiliaries cease to co-occur in the sixteenth century.

In addition to these strictly syntactic features, we have also seen that *need* exhibits other characteristics which reveal its incipient auxiliary status:

- It is more prone to favour inanimate experiencers /subjects as the period advances, and according to Heine *et al.* (1991: 156);K rug (2000: 90) and Mortelmans (2003), the occurrence of non-human subjects with ver bs which refer to an experience proper of humans implies a somewhat high degree of grammaticalization.
- It exhibits a typical morphological feature of auxiliaries, namely absence of the third person singular present indicative morpheme {eth}or {es}, especially when it has a sentential theme (67.6% of the occurrence s).

EModE *need*, then, not only has the semantic control of the meaning 'need' in this period, but it also has acquired enough syntactic and morphological features which relate it to the group of auxiliary verbs. At the same time, it does not abandon its lexical status, since it may have nominal themes and it sometimes takes *to*-infinitives. Thus, early Modern English is probably the period when *need* enters the field of grammaticalization while not losing its lexical status. From then onwards, competition between the lexical and the auxiliary form will vary according to the period, up to the PDE situation in which *need to* has recovered the main position it had before grammaticalization took place, which constitutes a case of retraction (cf. Haspelmath 1999). EModE *behove*, in its turn, has begun to semantically detach from the group of verbs meaning 'need,' and to syntactically distance itself from auxiliary verbs.

CHAPTER 6

DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS OF THE SEMANTIC PREDECESSORS OF *NEED*

This chapter seeks to offer a diachronic review of the analysis of each of the verbs in the three periods studied in the earlier chapters. Contrary to the synchronic perspective adopted so far, in this part of the study I will analyse the evolution of each verb from early Old English to early Modern English, paying special attention to their semantic and syntactic features. The result is a panchronic analysis of the verbs meaning 'need' from the beginnings of the English language to the end of the early Modern period. The panchronic approach is defended, among others, by Kuteva (2004: 5-9), as the most effective way of dealing with language, which is a complex, dynamic system in continuous change.

Before the analysis of each verb, I will comment on their relative frequency in the history of English. Table 6.1 below displays their number of occurrences as well as the percentage they represent out of the total number of examples of all the verbs in each period (cf. sections 3.4.0, 4.4.0 and 5.3.0):

VERB	OE	%	ME	%	EMODE	%
THARF	158	46.61%	55	12.82%		0%
BETHARF	47	13.86%	4	0.93%		0%
NEED	104	30.68%	161	37.53%	295	94.55%
BEHOVE	30	8.85%	206	48.02%	17	5.45%
MISTER		0%	3	0.70%		0%
TOTAL	**339**	**100%**	**429**	**100%**	**312**	**100%**

Table 6.1: Frequency of each verb from Old English to early Modern English.

Table 6.1 shows that not all the verbs occur in all the periods of English. Thus, *mister* is only recorded in Middle English, while *tharf* and *betharf* occur from the very origins of English but disappear in late Middle English. Only *need* and *behove* have been attested throughout the history of English with varying frequencies. As for their percentage, we clearly observe that the predominant verb in Old English is *tharf*, while in Middle English *behove* is the most frequent ħeed'-verb and in early Modern English *need* triumphs over all the others.

    After this general chronological picture I would like to offer the number of examples found in each of the subperiods with a distinction between *need* v.1 and *need* v.2. Table 6.2 below displays the number of occurrences of each verb per subperiod, together with the normalized frequencies calculated for 100,000 words, which are shown in italics below the real number of examples:

PERIOD VERB	O1-O2	O3-O4	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3	TOTAL
THARF	48	110	31	7	7	10				213
	19.35	*11.49*	*10.74*	*3.38*	*1.91*	*2.58*				*5.12*
BETHARF	8	39	4							51
	3.22	*4.07*	*1.38*							*1.23*
NEED v.1	52	51	7	2	6					118
	20.96	*5.33*	*2.42*	*0.97*	*1.64*					*2.84*
NEED v.2		1	2		72	72	26	71	198	442
		0.10	*0.69*		*19.68*	*18.59*	*10.52*	*17.18*	*19.02*	*10.63*
BEHOVE	1	29	28	81	77	20	11	4	2	253
	0.40	*3.02*	*9.70*	*39.12*	*21.05*	*5.16*	*4.45*	*0.97*	*0.19*	*6.08*
MISTER						3				3
						0.77				*0.07*
TOTAL	109	230	72	90	162	105	37	75	200	1080
	43.94	*24.02*	*24.95*	*43.47*	*44.27*	*27.11*	*14.97*	*18.15*	*19.21*	*25.99*

Table 6.2: Frequency of all verbs per chronological subperiod.[1]

As Table 6.2 shows, all in all I have analysed 1080 examples of ħeed'-verbs. [2] Since the number of words in each of the subperiods is not the same, I have resorted to normalized frequencies. These reveal that (i) *tharf* undergoes a gradual decrease from early Old English to the end of Middle English; (ii)

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[1] As mentioned in the corresponding chapters, texts tagged as, for instance, M2X have been considered to belong to M2, and those tagged as M2ꝥ have been considered to belong to M2.

[2] It must be noted that this is the first time in this study that I differentiate between *need* v.1 and *need* v.2 for the Old English period. In chapter 3, when analysing Old English, I considered that all morphological forms of *neod-* verbs should be analysed together (cf. also Molencki 2002; van der Auwera and Taeymans 2004). In Table 6.2, however, I distinguish between *need* v.1 and *need* v.2 in order to provide a diachronic account of the frequency of *need* with the meaning ċo mpel,' which decreases gradually and disappears at a given point of time.

betharf is only an OE marginal verb expressing necessity;(iii) *need* v.1 loses ground as *need* v.2 increases its frequency;(iv) *need* v.2 undergoes a meteoric increase in Middle English, and maintains such a high frequency in early Modern English;(v) *behove* also shows a spectacular increase towards the middle of the ME period, but it is followed by a not less spectacular decrease in early Modern English; and finall y (vi) *mister* is a loanword which appears to have an ephemeral life, as proved by the scarce examples in a single subperiod. The results of Table 6.3 are represented graphically in Figure 6.1:
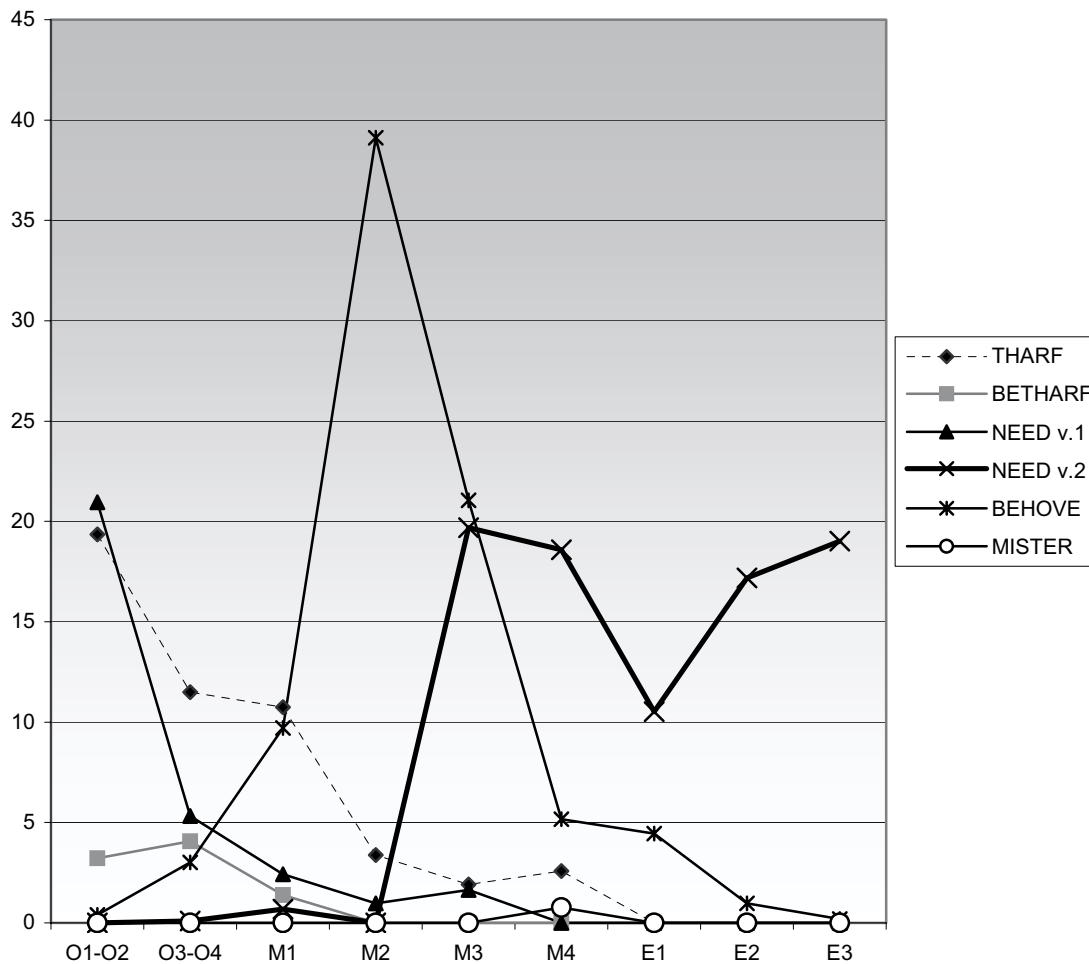
Figure 6.1: Frequencies of my verbs from Old to early Modern English.

This figure shows that most of my verbs are under the line of 20 occurrences per 100,000 words in all subperiods, which seems to imply that none of them is a high frequency verb. At this point it is interesting to compare the frequency of these verbs in my corpus to that found in other studies. According to Madden and Magoun (1979: 12, 15) in Old English *þurfan* is between the 201 and 250 most frequent words, and it occurs 90 times per 100,000 words; *neodian* meaning

'compel,' in turn, is between the 301 and 350 most frequent words and occurs 61 times per 100,000 words. The frequency of these two verbs is much lower in my corpus, as shown in Figure 6.1. In addition, *behofian*, which is quite infrequent in my OE corpus, appears between the 1251-1300 most frequent words and registers less than 3 occurrences per 100,000 words (cf. Madden and Magoun 1979: 42). Finally, *neodian* meaning 'be necessary, need' and *beþurfan*, which are very infrequent OE verbs in my corpus, do not appear at all in Madden and Magoun's (1979) word-list. As a conclusion of the comparison between the two studies, we can say that the data are fairly similar and the differences observed for *þurfan* and *neodian* 'compel' are probably determined by the differences in the sizes of the corpora, namely 168,500 words as against 1.2 million words.

In Middle English significant changes in frequency take place. *Bihoven* undergoes a meteoric increase in M2, and then drops in quite a sudden way, while *neden* v.2 becomes the most frequent verb at the end of period, paving the way for its eModE predominance over its semantic competitors. This seems to be also the case today; according t o Kug (2000: 291-292), it is the 45th most frequent verb in Present-Day English, with a ratio of almost 70 occurrences per 100,000 words, excluding those instances in which *need* is followed by *to*, which Kug analyses under a different pers pective. According to Hofland and Jo ha nnson (1982), the frequency of all *need* forms (including the noun) in the *LOB Corpus*, i.e. a one-million-word collection of British English texts from 1960, is of 64.9 occurrences per 100,000 words, and it is similar in the *Brown Corpus*, which, as is well-known, is the American counterpart to the *LOB Corpus*. The 20th century is actually claimed to be the time in which the frequency of *need* 'rockets to unpredecente d heights' (Nykiel 2002: concl usion). In E3 I found 19,02 occurrences per 100,000 words including all occurrences of *need*, which allows to predict that the frequency of *need* will increase rapidly after early Modern English until it reaches its PDE frequency. The progressive decay of *behove* must also continue after the end of the eModE period, because it is not recorded even once in the one-million-word *LOB Corpus* (cf. Hofland and Jo ha nnson 1982).

After this general overview of the frequency of the verbs studied in this work, the next sections pay close attention to the evolution of each of the verbs, reviewing the results offered in chapters 3, 4 and 5.

6.1. Diachronic analysis of *tharf*

Tharf is the form I use to refer to all the different forms of this verb from Old English to its disappearance in late Middle English, following its entry in the *OED*. On numerous occasions in this piece of work I have alluded to the similarities between this preterite-present and the PDE verb *need*, first following scholars such as Denison (1993) or Warner (1993), and later on the basis of the data obtained from the analysis of my corpus. In this diachronic revision of this verb, we will observe how, in fact, this verb can be claimed to be the OE and ME equivalent to PDE *need*, both semantically and syntactically.

6.1.1. *Diachronic semantic analysis of* tharf

The semantic predecessors of PDE *need* have been analysed in terms of cognitive forces, which may be of external, internal or general origin, as well as of a strong, weak or neutral strength. The combination of both of these axes yields the following types of forces:

SUBPERIOD / FORCE	O1-O2	O3-O4	M1	M2	M3	M4	TOTAL
STRONG EXTERNAL	26	76	22	3		3	130
WEAK EXTERNAL	2	2					4
STRONG INTERNAL	7	8	2	1		5	23
WEAK INTERNAL	13	16	2		3	1	35
NEUTRAL GENERAL		7	2	2	4	1	16
TOTAL	48	109*	28*	6*	7	10	208

Table 6.3: Origin and intensity of the forces expressed by tharf *per subperiod.*

Table 6.3 is only concerned with forces and, therefore, it does not account for the five instances in which *tharf* expresses the presence of a barrier, which would belong to the slots marked with an asterisk. The results of Table 6.3 reveal that *tharf* has a strong tendency to express strong external forces. In this sense, *tharf* proves to be radically different to its derived verb *betharf*, which, as will be seen below, is highly specialized in the expression of weak internal forces. In addition, Table 6.3 shows that the decrease in frequency of *tharf* does not imply an impoverishment of the semantic nuances it can convey, since in M4, despite of its low frequency, it still expresses four out the five meanings it can convey in its history.

Given that the whole semantic picture of *tharf* requires a more fine-grained analysis, Table 6.4 below accounts for the types of forces and barriers

which this verb expresses throughout its history paying attention also to the influence of clause polarity on the overall meaning of the verb:

				OE	M1	M2	M3	M4	**TOTAL**
BARRIER				1	3	1			**5**
FORCE	PHYSICAL								**0**
	PHYSICAL-METAPHORICAL								**0**
	SOCIO-PHYSICAL								**0**
	SOCIAL	OBLIGATION		3	2				**5**
		LACK OF OBLIGATION		92	20	3		3	**118**
		PROHIBITION		11					**11**
	INTERNAL	OBLIGATION	OBLIGATION	2					**2**
			LACK OF OBLIGATION	11	4	1	2	6	**24**
			PROHIBITION	2					**2**
		NECESSITY	NECESSITY	9			1		**10**
			LACK OF NECESSITY	20					**20**
	GENERAL	NECESSITY							**0**
		LACK OF NECESSITY		7	2	2	4	1	**16**
	LOGICAL	NECESSITY							**0**
		LACK OF NECESSITY							**0**
TOTAL				158	31	7	7	10	**213**

Table 6.4: Types of forces and barriers expressed by tharf *from Old to late Middle English, with indication of clause polarity.*

Table 6.4 has been obtained from a combination of similar tables in sections 3.4.4 and 4.4.5 and, as such, it does not split Old English into two subperiods, because the language of the OE period proves much more homogeneous than that of Middle English. Another peculiarity of Table 6.5 is the fact that it makes reference to all the types of forces expressed by the verbs under analysis in this study. This explains the gaps in the lines referring to physical types of forces, which, as is well-known by now, are only expressed by *need* v.1, and also in the lines referring to logical (epistemic) forces, because *tharf* disappears relatively early from the language and epistemic meanings are the last to occur in the sequence of development of modal semantics. Leaving physical and logical forces aside, *tharf* proves to express a wide variety of meanings and most of them in non-affirmative contexts, which turns out to be the favourite environment for *tharf* to occur; non-affirmative contexts are the examples expressing barriers, lack of force and force not to, which constitute more than 91% of the total. [3]

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[3] In this respect, we must recall Langacker's (1991: 134) words: "NEG should be considered an epistemic predication, or at least a close cousin." Although such an extreme interpretation of negation has not been applied in this piece of research, it must be borne in mind that some scholars consider that non-affirmative contexts are more subjective than affirmative ones, and

The five examples of *tharf* analysed in terms of barriers are all non-affirmative and, for this reason, they express impossibility. As will be seen below, this meaning is also expressed by *need*, but it is never conveyed by the other verbs. This seems to imply that only those verbs which are bound to become modal auxiliaries have the capacity to develop a possibility meaning. In fact, van der Auwera and Plungian (1998: 97 ff.) claim that "deontic possibility can develop out of deontic necessity," and they offer the development of *dürfen* 'to be allowed,' the G erman cognate of English *tharf*, as an illustration. This verb was first a polarised necessity modal conveying negative necessity (namely 'need not'), just like OE *þurfan* and ME *thurven*. In addition to this meaning, it could also convey a positive necessity not to do something (i.e. 'must not'), from which, due to the logical relations between necessity and possibility, it came to express impossibility to do something (i.e. 'may not'). Finally, it lost its limitation to non-affirmative contexts and developed the current positive possibility meaning 'may, to be allowed.' The evolution of German *dürfen* can be sketched as in the following figure:

| 'need' > 'ne ed not' /'must not' > 'm ay not' > 'm ay' |

Figure 6.2: Semantic evolution of German dürfen.

It seems sensible to believe that *tharf*, the English cognate of *dürfen*, undergoes a similar semantic change, although, in its case, the ability to express possibility did not push out the original necessity meaning, and both meanings coexist. Thus, we can hypothesize that, the same as German *dürfen*, English *tharf*, which is highly constrained to non-affirmative contexts meaning 'need not,' develops the ability to also express prohibition, namely a force not to, meaning 'must not' (13 instances in my corpus, as shown in Table 6.4). Due to the logical relations between necessity and possibility ('if not-X is necessary, then X is not possible'), from a meaning such as 'must not' it developed the meaning 'cannot.' The semantic evolution of *tharf* is summarized in Figure 6.3:

| 'need' > 'need not' > 'must not' > 'cannot' |

Figure 6.3: Semantic evolution of English tharf.

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that subjectification is one of the processes involved in the development of the epistemic meanings of the modals (cf. section 2.1.3.4;Traugott 1989;Ho pper and Traugott 2003).

The examples of *tharf* conveying impossibility are, then, the first piece of evidence against Traugott and Dascher's (2000: 120-121) claim that in the relationships between necessity and possibility, the former derives from the latter, and never the other way round. The relationships between the modal notions of necessity and possibility seem to be bi-directional as formulated by Palmer (1986).

In addition to the five examples of *tharf* expressing the existence of a barrier, Table 6.4 also displays a wide variety of meanings which can be analysed in terms of forces, that is, meanings related to the notions of necessity and obligation. On rare occasions does *tharf* occur in affirmative contexts and, therefore, it seldom expresses social obligation (five instances), internal obligation (two instances) and internal necessity (ten examples).[4] *Tharf* faces the competition of other verbs in the expression of these meanings;the meanings of obligation are expressed by other verbs such as *shall* (< OE **sculan* be obliged'). As for internal necessity, *tharf* is not very common with this meaning probably because *betharf* takes its place in such contexts. In addition, as will be seen below, *behove* is preferred for the expression of internal necessity in the earliest stages of the language.

Contrary to the low frequency of *tharf* expressing obligation and necessity, we find it very frequently conveying lack of obligation and lack of necessity all throughout its history. This semantic development is very similar to that of PDE *need*, as noted by various scholars (Visser 1963-1973; De nison 1993, among others). As will be seen below, this tendency to express lack obligation and lack of necessity is also a feature of *need* from Middle English onwards.

On some occasions, the non-affirmative context does not affect the modality of the verb but the proposition which follows it, so that *tharf* does not express absence of obligation, but an obligation not to do something, i.e. prohibition (11 examples of social prohibition and two examples of internal prohibition). This meaning, which is not at all common with PDE *need* (cf. section 2.2.2.3), is, however, also expressed by *need* in Middle and early Modern

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[4] The difference between internal obligation and internal necessity lies on the relationship between the antagonist and the agonist, which are the two halves of the self. If the agonist agrees with the antagonist on the urgency of the force, the verb expresses internal necessity. On the contrary, if the agonist does not agree on the urgency of the imposition inflicted by the antagonist, the verb expresses internal obligation.

English. In Middle English, then, the two verbs coincide also in the expression of the meaning of prohibition.

To sum up, the meanings which *tharf* expresses in its history are: (i) obligation, not very commonly, like *need*, (ii) necessity (in a low proportion, in favour of verbs such as *betharf* or *behove*), (iii) lack of obligation and necessity (the overwhelmingly most frequent meaning, like *need*), (iv) prohibition (with a fairly significant frequency, in the same way as *need*), and, finally (v) impossibility, a meaning apparently restricted to *tharf* and *need*, the only verbs from my analysis which prove to be grammaticalized at some stage of their history. These five semantic nuances show that *tharf* and *need* overlap semantically to a great extent. This similarity between both verbs may be considered one of the factors determining the drop of *tharf* from the language after the ME period, when *need* became more frequent. This factor would have had a synergic effect with the alleged phonological confusion with *durren* (cf. section 4.3.1) and the subsequent decay of *tharf*.

6.1.2. *Diachronic syntactic analysis of* tharf

The syntactic features of *tharf* are as interesting as the semantic ones, especially if we adopt a diachronic perspective, which comes to complement the synchronic analysis offered in chapters 3 and 4 as for Old and Middle English. Let us first review the possible types of syntactic patterns found with this verb along its history, as shown in Table 6.5:

SUBPERIOD THEMES	O1-O2	O3-O4	M1	M2	M3	M4	TOTAL
Ø	4	3					7
NOUN PHRASE	11	11					22
SENTENCE — Bare infinitival clause	28	91	27	6	5	10	167
SENTENCE — *To*-infinitival clause	1						1
SENTENCE — Bare passive inf. clause	1	3	1	1	1		7
SENTENCE — Elided clause	2	2	3		1		8
SENTENCE — Pseudo-gapping constr.	1						1
TOTAL	48	110	31	7	7	10	213

Table 6.5: Themes exhibited by tharf *per subperiod.*

This table shows an important number of interesting data about the syntax of this preterite-present verb. To begin with, syntactic variation found in early Old English is progressively reduced as history advances, up to the point that in the

very late ME period all the possibilities have been reduced to one, namely bare infinitival clause. Indeed, bare infinitival clauses are the only constant type of theme throughout history, which is very significant, since bare infinitives are the prototypical companions of auxiliary verbs (cf., among others, Warner 1993).

Table 6.5 also shows the low frequency of *tharf* with nominal themes in Old English. In fact, *tharf* with a nominal theme is never found after Old English, in favour of other verbs, such as *beþurfan*, which, as will be seen below, occurs with nominal themes on 76.5% of its occurrences in Old and Middle English. This reluctance to take nominal themes seems to imply that *tharf* specializes as an auxiliary, which only takes sentential themes, while *betharf* specializes as a main verb taking nominal themes.

The type of sentential theme selected by *tharf* is, as stated, mainly represented by a bare infinitival clause. However, my corpus records one very early example of *tharf* followed by a *to*-infinitival clause, which comes to contradict Warner's (1993: 137) claim that *tharf* is one of the few OE verbs which is only found with bare infinitives. Apart from bare and *to*-infinitive clauses, my corpus records other types of sentential theme with *tharf* which are highly revealing of its auxiliary nature.

To begin with, *tharf* proves to occur with ellipsis of the following infinitive, which is one of the features mentioned by Warner (1993) for the identification of early auxiliaries (and of PDE auxiliaries, according to Quirk *et al.* 1985: 137). However, the nine examples of *tharf* with ellipsis fall within Warner's elliptical contexts which are not revealing of auxiliary status, namely (i) the elided infinitive is a verb of movement, (ii) the verb occurs in comparative or coordinate clause, and (iii) the verb is used absolutely. However, there is one example of *tharf* in a variant type of ellipsis, namely pseudo-gapping, which can be interpreted as an auxiliary feature (cf. section 3.4.1.1 for definition and examples).

Table 6.5 offers another result which connects *tharf* with auxiliary verbs, namely its occurrence with passive infinitival themes. According to Warner (1993), occurrence with passive infinitives is a feature of auxiliary verbs, because in such contexts they cease to select their experiencer /subjects and accept the subject of the passive infinitive as proper. Thus, a verb expressing necessity, which usually takes as experiencer /subject a noun phrase referring to an animate being who can experience the necessity expressed by the verb, may have as experiencer / subject a noun phrase referring to an inanimate entity, which,

logically, cannot experience anything, but is the natural subject of the following passive infinitive (cf., for example, PDE *need* in *the table need not be laid before we arrive*). By accepting as proper the subjec t of the following infinitive, any verb shows its subordination to the following verb, which, from my point of view, constitutes evidence of its decategorialization, one of the features of grammaticalization mentioned by Heine (1993 : 58 ff.).

Another instance of lack of experiencer / subject selection, and, hence, decategorialization, concerns the syntactic construction with so-called impersonal verbs, i.e. verbs which take non-nominative experiencers. As is the case with passive infinitival themes, when the verb following an auxiliary is impersonal, the auxiliary gives up its natural subject (or experiencer) in favour of the non-nominative experiencer (cf. section 3.4.1.1 above; an d Denison 1990a; Warner 1993). OE *þurfan* occurs in such a construction on four occasions. In Middle English, however, we cannot take this feature into consideration, because ME *thurven* develops the possibility to occur with non-nominative experiencers in itself, like other verbs expressing necessity do. The four OE examples show, therefore, that this verb no longer selects its experiencer / subject. Lack of experiencer / subject selection when fo llowed by an impersonal verb is, then, another feature favouring the consideration of *tharf* as an auxiliary verb. We have seen that other syntactic features indicative of its auxiliary nature are (i) its strong preference for bare infinitives, (ii) its loss of nominal themes, (iii) occurrence in elliptical and pseudo-gapping constructions, and (iv) lack of experiencer /subject selection when followed by a passive infinitive.

The last characteristic I would like to point out in this diachronic syntactic analysis of *tharf* is the type of experiencer verb construction in which it occurs throughout its history. In Middle English, this verb develops, together with other verbs of necessity, the possibility to have an oblique experiencer, while in Old English the experiencer is nominative (unless *tharf* is followed by an impersonal verb). According to Allen (1995) experiencer verb constructions vary as regards the form of two syntactic constituents, namely the experiencer and the theme or thing needed (cf. section 2.3.2.3 and *passim*). When the theme is nominal, the types of construction are Type N (oblique experiencer + genitive theme), Type I (oblique experiencer + nominative theme) and Type II (nominative experiencer + genitive theme). When the theme is sentential the types of construction are Type S (oblique experiencer + sentential theme), Type *hit* (dummy *hit* + oblique experiencer + sentential theme) and Type P ersonal' (nominative experiencer +

sentential theme). If we want to analyse *tharf* according to this classification, we must leave out the seven examples of OE *þurfan* in which it does not take any theme and the two examples of ME *thurven* which occur without an experiencer, meaning it is necessary to do X This leave s 204 OE and ME examples which are diachronically classified as shown in the following table:

PERIOD TYPE	O1-O2	O3-O4	M1	M2	M3	M4	TOTAL
Type II	5	5					10
Variant Type II	6	6					12
Type Personal'	32	93	26	5	2	8	166
Type S	1	3	4	2	4	2	16
TOTAL	44	107	30	7	6	10	204

Table 6.6: Experiencer verb constructions in which tharf *is found.*

In addition to the already mentioned experiencer verb constructions, Table 6.6 includes also what I have called a variant of Type II construction. It refers to the constructions in which the experiencer is nominative (as in Type II), and the nominal theme is accusative or undetermined as for case (e.g. the particle *þe*). Having clarified this, we can conclude that *tharf* shows an unquestionable preference for the nominative experiencer throughout its history. In Old English, when the theme is nominal, the experiencer is invariably nominative.

When *tharf* has a sentential theme of any kind, there is more variation. Both in early and in late Old English, *þurfan* can be found with non-nominative experiencers when it is followed by an impersonal verb, as has been explained. This tendency increases in the ME period, when *tharf* can have a non-nominative experiencer irrespective of the infinitive which follows it. Thus, the presence of an oblique experiencer in Middle English cannot be justified by the impersonal nature of the following infinitive; on the contrary, *tharf* has developed itself the ability to occur with an oblique experiencer, in line with other verbs of necessity (e.g. *neden*, *bihoven*, etc.), as seen in this study (cf. also Pocheptsov 1997). It must be highlighted, however, that despite this ability to occur with non-nominative experiencers, ME *thurven* has a stronger preference for nominative experiencers, i.e. it tends to occur in Type Pe rsonal' constructions.

After this brief analysis of the experiencer verb constructions found with *tharf* throughout its history, we may conclude that the tendency of this verb is to remain a personal verb, i.e. a verb taking a nominative experiencer, and to be construed in combination with a sentential (infinitival) theme. This tendency is

well evidenced from the OE period, when, although there was variation, *þurfan* already showed a pronounced inclination towards sentential themes.

After this syntactic review of *tharf*, some words are in order as for its morphological features. This verb shows a particular morphology from OE times, because, as repeatedly mentioned, it belongs to the preterite-present class, a morphologically defective class of verbs, showing coalescence of the first and the third person singular, as well as absence of non-finite forms. In this respect, the ME data only come to confirm this preterite-present morphology. Therefore, this verb has not undergone morphological changes, but shows morphological evidence for grammaticalization from its first appearances in Old English, when it belongs to a closed and reduced paradigm (cf. Lehmann's 1995 [1982] process of paradigmaticization; section 2.1.3.1 above).

As a closing remark to this section, it may be concluded that *tharf* undergoes grammaticalization in the sense that it moves from less grammaticalized to more grammaticalized from Old English onwards. Morphologically, it belongs to the preterite-present class, a group of verbs which are bound to grammaticalize as auxiliaries. Semantically, it conveys a series of nuances related to the modal notions of necessity, obligation and possibility. Syntactically, it exhibits enough evidence of its grammaticalized status: (i) strong preference for bare infinitives, (ii) absence of nominal themes, (iii) occurrence in pseudo-gapping constructions, (iv) lack of experiencer / subject selection evidenced in its occurrence with passive and with impersonal infinitives.

6.2. Diachronic analysis of *betharf*

This section reviews the corpus findings for *betharf*, the verb derived from the preterite-present *tharf*. This verb exhibits 8 occurrences in early Old English, 39 in late Old English and only 4 in M1 (1150-1250), when it finally disappears from the language. Throughout its brief history, *betharf* proves to be a verb in complementary distribution with *tharf*, both semantically and syntactically, as will be seen in the paragraphs which follow.

From a semantic perspective, *betharf* shows a pronounced tendency to express internally rooted forces or necessities:

SUBPERIOD / FORCE	O1-O2	O3-O4	M1	TOTAL
STRONG EXTERNAL		1		1
WEAK EXTERNAL				0
STRONG INTERNAL	1	12	4	17
WEAK INTERNAL	6	26		32
NEUTRAL GENERAL	1			1
TOTAL	8	39	4	51

Table 6.7: Origin and intensity of the forces expressed by betharf *per subperiod.*

Table 6.7 shows that *betharf* expresses internal forces in more than 97% of its occurrences, while only rarely does it convey external and general types of forces (one example of each). This entails that from the very early Old English, *betharf* appears to be in complementary distribution with the verb from which it derives, namely *tharf*, which, as seen above, is highly concerned with strong external forces. In fact, the only meanings of *betharf* which survive into Middle English are internally rooted forces (four examples). Table 6.8 describes the meanings of this verb more precisely:

BARRIER				OE	M1	TOTAL
	PHYSICAL					0
	PHYSICAL-METAPHORICAL					0
	SOCIO-PHYSICAL					0
	SOCIAL	OBLIGATION				0
		LACK OF OBLIGATION				0
		PROHIBITION		1		1
FORCE	INTERNAL	OBLIGATION	OBLIGATION			0
			LACK OF OBLIGATION			0
			PROHIBITION	1		1
		NECESSITY	NECESSITY	35	3	38
			LACK OF NECESSITY	9	1	10
	GENERAL	NECESSITY		1		1
		LACK OF NECESSITY				0
	LOGICAL	NECESSITY				0
		LACK OF NECESSITY				0
TOTAL				47	4	51

Table 6.8: Types of forces and barriers expressed by betharf *from Old to Middle English, with specification of clause polarity.*

The same as Table 6.4, this table comprises all the types of meanings conveyed by all my verbs, which explains why there are so many empty cells. Moreover, this table does not differentiate between the two subperiods of Old English, as was the case of Table 6.4.

On the one hand, Table 6.8 corroborates the pronounced tendency of *betharf* to express internally rooted forces, which differentiates *betharf* from the

verb from which it derives, *tharf*. On the other hand, Table 6.8 also shows that *betharf* proves to have a stronger preference for affirmative contexts (39 examples) than for non-affirmative ones (12 examples), which is another difference from *tharf*. Despite its low occurrence in non-affirmative contexts, *betharf* proves to express not only lack of force, but also force not to, i.e. prohibition (two instances, adding together social and internal prohibition). However, this meaning does not survive into Middle English, when *betharf* expresses only internal necessity or absence of necessity.

From a syntactic perspective, *betharf* exhibits a reduced number of patterns, as sketched in the following table:

THEME / SUBPERIOD		O1-O2	O3-O4	M1	TOTAL
Ø			2		2
NOUN PHRASE		5	32	3	40
SENTENCE	*That*-clause	3			3
	Elided clause		5	1	6
TOTAL		8	39	4	51

Table 6.9:Themes exhibited by betharf *per subperiod.*

Betharf proves to have a strong preference for nominal themes, as stated in the dictionaries, which, actually, do not record any other syntactic type for *betharf* (cf. Bosworth and Toller *s.v. beþurfan* v.). This preference, then, corroborates the syntactic complementary distribution between *betharf* and *tharf*, which, as seen above, has a strong tendency to take sentential themes.

However, *betharf* may also occur with sentential themes, which, contrary to those of *tharf*, are represented by *that*-clauses, rather than infinitival clauses. It has also been attested with elided clauses, but these are not revealing of auxiliary nature, because they occur in comparative clauses, one of the three exceptional contexts mentioned by Warner (1993).

In Old English, *betharf* may also be used absolutely with the meaning 'be needy,' which, as will be seen below, is also a feature of *need*, and contrary to the absolute uses of *tharf*, in which it means 'have good cause.' In Middle English only the most common syntactic patterns survive, that is, nominal themes and elided clause.

With the exception of the two instances of absolute use of *betharf*, the other 49 examples of this verb may be analysed according to Allen's (1995) classification of experiencer verb constructions, since they have an experiencer

and a theme. Table 6.10 below offers the type of experiencer verb constructions of *betharf* throughout history:

PERIOD TYPE	O1-O2	O3-O4	M1	TOTAL
Type II	4	18	1	23
Variant Type II	1	13		14
Type I		1	2	3
Type Personal'	2	5	1	8
Type S	1			1
TOTAL	8	37	4	49

Table 6.10: Experiencer verb constructions in which betharf *is found.*

Table 6.10 comprises the possible types of experiencer verb constructions with nominal theme (Type II, variant of Type II and Type I), and with sentential theme (Type Personal' and Type S). In line with the above-mentioned preference of *betharf* for nominal themes, this verb occurs mostly in Type II and variant of Type II constructions, as will be the case of *behove* in Old English. However, it may also occur in other types, and it is relatively frequent in Type Personal' (more than 18% of its total   number of occurrences). Occurrence in the Personal' Type is not, howe ver, indicative of auxiliary status because, as just mentioned, *betharf* selects *that*-clauses, rather than the prototypical bare infinitival complement of an auxiliary.

The predominance of Type II, variant of Type II and Type Personal' in Old English reveals also that the experiencer of OE *beþurfan* is mostly nominative, while 50% of t   he experiencers of ME *bethurven* are oblique (Type I). This reflects the already mentioned tendency for necessity verbs to develop impersonal constructions in Middle English (cf. also Pocheptsov 1997). We have seen that both *tharf* and *betharf* can have a *natural* oblique experiencer in Middle English and we will see that this is also the case of other verbs of necessity.

Summing up the syntactic features of *betharf,* we have seen that more than 75% of its occurrence   s have nominal themes. Such a high proportion of nominal themes seems to be indicative of its non-auxiliary status. There are, however, other 25% of occurrences which select sentential themes. In these cases, the theme or thing needed is expressed by either a *that*-clause or an elided clause. The presence of a *that*-clause prevents us from concluding that *betharf* shows any auxiliary feature, because auxiliaries prefer infinitival themes from Old English onwards (cf. Warner 1993). In addition, the examples of elided sentential

theme cannot be considered to be typical of auxiliaries either, because they occur in comparative clauses, one of the exceptional contexts mentioned by Warner (1993). Thus, the syntactic features of *betharf* do not allow for an identification of auxiliary-like characteristics in this verb. Unlike *tharf*, *betharf* never ceases to occur with nominal themes, it never shows lack of experiencer /subject selection (and, in addition, it always occurs with human experiencers), and it expresses a very low range of semantic values. Furthermore, *betharf* is mainly concerned with affirmative contexts, which are less subjective than non-affirmative ones. Thus, the only relation between *betharf* and the pre-modal class concerns its preterite-present morphology, which is not sufficient to consider this verb an auxiliary. Quite on the contrary,   *betharf* appears to be the lexical counterpart to auxiliary *tharf* both in Old and in Middle English.

6.3 Diachronic analysis of *need*

This section aims at describing the diachronic evolution of *need*, one of the central verbs of this study, because it survives from early Old English into Present-Day English. The term *need* includes, as explained in chapter 3 and *passim*, two lexical entries in the dictionary, namely *need* v.1, 'compel, oblige,' and *need* v.2, 'be necessary, need' (cf. *OED*). The reasons adduced for such a decision can be found in section 3.3.1 above, and its relevance has made itself evident in the light of the corpus examples in chapters 3 to 5. As for their frequency, that of *need* v.1, 'com pel, oblige,' decreases as the English language evolves, while the use of *need* v.2, 'be ne cessary, need,' rises considerably. A more detailed analysis of these verbs follows here;6.3. 1 examines their semantic implications, and section 6.3.2 concentrates on their syntactic features.

6.3.1. *Diachronic semantic analysis of* need

The relationship between *need* v.1 and *need* v.2 is basically a semantic one: they can be analysed in terms of forces because both develop from the same noun meaning 'necessity,' i.e. OE *neod* (cf. section 3.3.1). Table 6.11 below offers the number of examples of each type of force in the different subperiods. For the sake of precision, I differentiate between examples of *need* v.1 and of *need* v.2: the number of examples of *need* v.1 are placed in the upper left-most side of each cell in italics, and the number of examples of *need* v.2 are placed in the lower right-most side of each cell in normal font:

PERIOD \ FORCE	O1-O2	O3-O4	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3
STRONG EXTERNAL	*49*	*51*	*7*	*2*	*6* / 18	15	5	9	45
WEAK EXTERNAL							2	4	5
STRONG INTERNAL	*2*		1		18	29	7	27	38
WEAK INTERNAL			1		12	9	1	3	4
NEUTRAL GENERAL	*1**	1			24	16	11	28	101
LOGICAL									2
TOTAL	*51* / *1**	*51* / 1	*7* / 2	*2*	*6* / 72	69	26	71	195

Table 6.11: Origin and intensity of the forces expressed by need *throughout its history.*

Like Table 6.3, Table 6.11 is only concerned with forces and, therefore, it does not account for the three instances of *need* v.2 conveying the presence of a barrier in M4. A preliminary observation of this table reveals several results. To begin with, the total bottom line shows a radical decrease in use of *need* v.1, which ceases to occur in M3 (1350-1420), a timid rise in frequency of *need* v.2 before *need* v.1 drops from the language, and finally its drastic increase after M3, when *need* v.1 disappears. A second finding we could draw from Table 6.11 is the practically complete restriction of *need* v.1 to the expression of strong external forces, since only three of its examples express other types of forces. One of them is an ambiguous example expressing neutral general force, which is marked with an asterisk. This ambiguous example is indicative of the semantic relationship between *need* v.1 and *need* v.2, because, although I have considered it an example of *need* v.1, it also includes the nuances of necessity proper of *need* v.2. Consider (6.1):

(6.1) *þa wæs Deoma aan of þæm feower foresprecenan sacerdotum biscop*
then was Deoma one of the few aforesaid priests bishop

*geworden (...) forðon seo feanis **nedde** þara sacerda, þætte*
became ().forthwith th e scantiness compelled the priests (gen.) that
aan biscop sceolde beon ofer tuu folc.
one bishop should /was obliged be over two peoples
then Deom a, one of the few aforesaid priests became bishop (...) forthwith the scantiness of priests compelled / m ade it necessary that one bishop should be (for) more than two peoples.'
(Bede 3 15.222.26)

The translation I offer for (6.1) makes clear the relationship between *need* v.1, 'compel,' and *need* v.2 'be necessary.' In fact, this example only comes to illustrate the repeatedly mentioned relationship between obligation and necessity, which are two essential modal meanings. The absence of an agonist in (6.1) allows for this twofold interpretation: since it is unknown on whom the obligation falls, it is considered that the force expressed by *nedde* is a general necessity. A third interesting result is the semantic expansion of *need* as time advances, because the expression of forces is much richer in E3 than in any earlier subperiod. The fourth conclusion that becomes apparent from Table 6.11 is that in contrast with the verbs studied so far, *need* is found to express forces born out of the logical domain, i.e. epistemic forces.

The analysis of the semantics of *need* in chapters 3, 4 and 5 has included other factors, such as the notional type of force or the polarity of the context in the different subperiods, among others. With the aim of accounting for these and other factors, Table 6.12 offers the types of notional forces conveyed by *need* v.1 and *need* v.2 throughout history. It must be noted that Table 6.12 does not differentiate between early and late Old English, because no relevant semantic differences have been observed as for these two subperiods, as seen in Table 6.11. Like in Table 6.11, the numbers of examples of *need* v.1 are offered in italics in the upper left-most side of each cell, and those of *need* v.2 are offered in normal font style in the lower right-most side. In addition to this, Table 6.12 differentiates between active and passive instances of *need* v.1 (active /passive), because, as repeatedly mentioned, there are important semantic differences between the two voices, e.g. the subject of the passive counterpart is the agonist or experiencer of the force expressed by the verb, while the subject of the active counterpart is the antagonist of such a force. For example, we observe that in Old English, *need* v.1 expresses lack of social obligation eight times in the active voice and five times in the passive voice, and hence its representation in Table 6.12 as *8/5*:

FORCE			OE	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3	TOTAL
BARRIER							3				**3**
	PHYSICAL		*11/0*		*2/0*						***13/0***
	PHYSICAL-METAPHORICAL		*5/0*								***5/0***
	SOCIO-PHYSICAL		*15/3*								***15/3***
	SOCIAL	OBLIGATION	*35/18*	*5/0*		*0/6* 13	4		1	5	***40/24*** **23**
		LACK OF OBLIGATION	*8/5*	*2/0*		5	8	7	12	45	***10/5*** **77**
		PROHIBITION					3				**3**
	INTERNAL	OBLIGATION — OBLIGATION	*1/1*								***1/1***
		OBLIGATION — LACK OF OBLIGATION									**0**
		OBLIGATION — PROHIBITION					1	1			**2**
		NECESSITY — NECESSITY		2		18	19	6	21	21	**87**
		NECESSITY — LACK OF NECESSITY				11	19	1	9	21	**61**
	GENERAL	NECESSITY	*1/0*			4	4	1	2	4	***1/0*** **15**
		LACK OF NECESSITY	1			20	12	10	25	100	**168**
		PROHIBITION							1		**1**
	LOGICAL	NECESSITY									**0**
		LACK OF NECESSITY								2	**2**
TOTAL			*76/27* **1**	*7/0* **2**	*2/0*	*0/6* **72**	**72**	**26**	**71**	**198**	***85/33*** **442**

Table 6.12: Types of forces and barriers expressed by need *from Old to early Modern English, with specification of clause polarity.*

Table 6.12 shows that *need* may express a wide variety of notions related to necessity, since it conveys physical, social, general and logical forces, and that it may also express notions related to possibility, as evidenced in the first line of the table, which refers to cognitive barriers. Since the three examples of *need* expressing a barrier occur in a non-affirmative context, the meaning of the verb is that of impossibility, ʽcannot.ʼ The fact that *need* may convey cognitive

barriers is another example which corroborates that possibility can develop out of necessity, as claimed by van der Auwera and Plungian (1998: 97 ff.), and contrary to Traugott and Dascher's (2000: 120-121) assertion that only necessity develops from possibility and not vice versa. As mentioned above, *tharf* can also convey barriers in some contexts. It is interesting that of all the verbs analysed in this study, the only ones which come to express impossibility are *tharf* and *need*, that is, those verbs which reach some stage of grammaticalization as modals of necessity. Thus, the capacity to oscillate between the notions of necessity and possibility appears to be a feature of auxiliaries (cf. the above-mentioned example of German *dürfen*, the cognate of *tharf*, section 6.1).

The other 439 examples of *need* express different types of forces. By having a close look at the notional types of forces which *need* expresses, we understand what the semantic evolution of *need* was like. To begin with, *need* v.1 is located in concrete areas of Table 6.12, that is, in the left-hand side, which represents the early stages of English, and in the upper part of the table (leaving aside barriers), which stands for referential meanings (i.e. physical forces such as pressure) and first metaphorical uses of such referential meanings (e.g. social obligation and absence of obligation). In fact, before M3 *need* v.1 is the main *need*-verb, and it basically expresses meanings such as physical force and social obligation. It is only in M3 that *need* v.1 and *need* v.2 coincide in the expression of social obligation, and, from then onwards, *need* v.2 becomes the most frequent *need*-verb. Revealingly enough, the six instances of *need* v.1 expressing social obligation in M3 occur in the passive voice. Due to the passive nature of the verb, *need* v.1 and *need* v.2 coincide in a basic semantic aspect, that is, both have agonist subjects. T hus, sentences with *need* v.1 such as *he is compelled to board on the ship* become practically equivalent to *he must board on the ship*. Probably the overwhelming frequency of *need* v.1 in the passive voice (40% in Middle English) is a factor leading to its semantic confluence with *need* v.2, which, at this time of history appears to express obligation in a similar way to PDE *must*, though not so frequently. This may be graphically illustrated as in the following figure:

M3
(1350-1420)

v.1

v.1 + v.2

v.2

'he com pels'
'he is com pelled'

'he is
compelled'
('m ust')

'he needs'

'he needs'
('m ust')
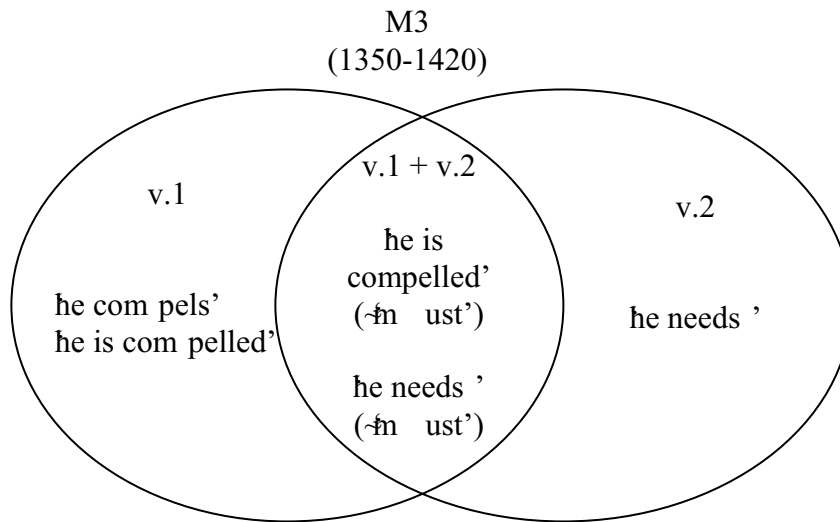
Figure 6.4: Semantic confluence of need *v.1 and* need *v.2 in M3 (1350-1420).*

From M3 onwards, *need* v.2 takes the lead and becomes the only surviving *need*-verb, which expresses forces based on social, internal, general and logical factors. When it conveys social, general and logical forces, it appears to be highly concerned with non-affirmative contexts, which was one of the main features of *tharf*. The same as *tharf*, the main meaning *need* conveys in non-affirmative contexts is lack of obligation or necessity, and it can, though seldom, express prohibition. When *need* conveys internally-rooted forces, however, there is a slight majority of examples of *need* in affirmative contexts. This may be explained as the result of the drop from the language of *betharf*, which, as seen above (6.2), was frequently used to express this meaning;as will be seen below, the specialization of *behove* as a verb of appropriateness rather than necessity may also explain why *need* occurs in affirmative contexts with this meaning.

Especially interesting is the increase of the cases of general forces from M3 onwards, because they imply that the concrete meaning of *need* in earlier stages of its history has faded away and given way to more abstract meanings. Thus, in the earliest periods, *need* conveys a concrete, almost tangible, type of force, i.e. physical forces. In a first metaphorical use, it expresses forces based on social factors, giving way to social obligation and absence of obligation, which later develop into further metaphorical forces located in the agonist's self, i.e. internal forces (internal necessity and obligation). After this change of domain, from external to internal, the meaning conveyed by *need* undergoes generalization and it expresses a type of force which cannot be identified as external or internal, strong or weak, but which is exerted by a generalized, nebulous authority (cf. Langacker 1999) and which has been analysed as general

force. This has sometimes been called desemanticization or bleaching and is one of the mechanisms involved in the process of grammaticalization (cf. section 2.1.3.1 above and also Lehmann 1995 [1982], Bybee and Pag liuca 1985, Heine 1990, 1993, Kteva 2004, am ong others).

The final lines of Table 6.12 show that *need*, in contrast with the verbs analysed so far, may convey epistemic necessity. As with social and general forces, epistemic forces expressed by *need* are more likely to occur in non-affirmative contexts, because the two examples from my corpus express absence of logical necessity; epistemic *behove*, on the contrary, is especially common in affirmative contexts as will be seen below. The degree of subjectification of the forces expressed by *need* reaches its highest peak with the expression of epistemic forces, because such forces no longer affect the behaviour of people, but their thoughts. Epistemic forces operate in the mental domain and are only based on our knowledge of the world. For this reason, epistemic meanings have been considered the last step in the semantic changes characteristic of the grammaticalization of modal auxiliaries.

In general, then, the semantic analysis of *need* reveals three important facts. The first one is that *need* v.1 and *need* v.2 prove to be so close that they must be analysed together both as the etymological and as the semantic predecessors of PDE *need*, as also defended by Molencki (2002), and van der Auwera and Taeymans (2004). In addition to the above-mentioned common etymology (from the OE noun *neod*, 'necessity') and to th eir possibility to be described in terms of forces (cf. section 3.3.1), the analysis of the corpus has revealed that there are instances in which it is hard to figure out whether a given form in a given context belongs to *need* v.1 or to *need* v.2. In addition, we have seen that the overwhelming use of *need* v.1 in the passive voice may have been one of the factors responsible for its confluence with *need* v.2 and its subsequent disappearance.

The second conclusion we can derive from the semantic analysis of *need* is that this verb exhibits a semantic development which follows the steps of the well-known semantic scale of modal verbs: physical meaning > social meaning > epistemic meaning, as is the case of *may*, as described by Sweetser (1990). This verb has undergone a series of semantic changes from its original physical connotations, 'be strong' in Ol d English, to its use as a modal of permission (e.g. *may I come in?*), and finally to its use as an epistemic marker (e.g. *she may be in*

the library; she said she would like to go there). In the same line as *may*, the evolution of *need* has also been explained in terms of force dynamics, which accounts for its evolution from its original physical meaning þ ush, press,' only found in early subperiods of English, to its use as a verb of obligation, meaning b̄e com pelled' or 'need' (where *need* v.1 and *need* v.2 overlap), with special frequency in non-affirmative contexts expressing absence of obligation; finally, after a progressive generalization of its meaning (witnessed in the high number and rich variety of general types of forces in my corpus), *need* develops epistemic necessity meanings (as in *that need not be hard to attain*). Therefore, force dynamics proves the key for the interpretation of the semantic development of *need* (cf. Loureiro Porto 2003, and forthcoming).

The semantic evolution of *need*, therefore, begins with the expression of physical forces (external) and of social obligation which, in turn, results from a metaphorical use of physical forces. In this respect, the evolution of *need* seems to go against van der Auwera and Plungian's (1998: 115) claim that the grammaticalization of modals implies a semantic movement from internal to external meanings, and not the other way round. Traugott and Dascher (2002: 121), however, state that there is not always historical evidence that internal meanings precede external ones. Thus, *need* seems to be one of these historic counterexamples to van der Auwera and Plungian's hypothesis.

The third important fact which can be drawn from the semantic analysis of *need* concerns its relationship with *tharf*. My data show that though they have been repeatedly considered parallel verbs, they are not always so. On the one hand, *need* proves to express most of the meanings conveyed by *tharf*, since from M3 onwards it may convey, like *tharf*, (i) obligation, (ii) necessity, (iii) lack of obligation and necessity, (iv) prohibition and (v) impossibility. On the other hand, however, *need* expresses a couple of meanings which are never recorded with *tharf*, namely physical forces and epistemic forces. The development of *need* from then onwards is not accounted for in this study, because by E3 it proves to have reached its highest peak in the semantic evolution towards a modal auxiliary. In the next section we will review the analysis of the syntactic features of this verb in order to find out more clues of its grammaticalization.

6.3.2. *Diachronic syntactic analysis of* need

In section 6.3.1 I have offered the semantic description of *need* as a single verb, because, as repeatedly mentioned, *need* v.1 and *need* v.2 share enough semantic features to be analysed together. However, for the syntactic analysis of *need*, which is the concern of this section, it will be necessary to differentiate between *need* v.1 and *need* v.2 because their syntagmatic characteristics cannot be juxtaposed. In addition, it will be ve ry interesting to make a further differentiation between active and passive *need* v.1, because the passive instances are semantically and syntactically closer to instances of *need* v.2 than their active counterparts. The following table displays the number of occurrences of active and passive *need* v.1 and of *need* v.2 in each subperiod:

	O1-O2	O3-O4	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3	TOTAL
ACTIVE *NEED* v.1	36	40	7	2						85
PASSIVE *NEED* v.1	16	11			6					33
NEED v.2		1	2		72	72	26	71	198	442
TOTAL	**52**	**52**	**9**	**2**	**78**	**72**	**26**	**71**	**198**	**560**

Table 6.13. Chronological distribution of active and passive need *v.1 and* need *v.2 throughout history.*

The right-most column, which shows the total number of occurrences of each *need*-type reveals that the most common *need*-verb is *need* v.2, and that passive *need* v.1 represents almost 28% of the total occurrences of *need* v.1, which, as mentioned, is unexpectedly high for these early periods (Old and Middle English). Moreover, the last appearances of *need* v.1 in my corpus date back to M3 and all of them are in the passive voice, which implies that the subject is the agonist of the force, as mentioned above. Table 6.13 also shows the by now well-known diachronic distribution of *need* v.1 and *need* v.2, with the predominance of the former in the earlier periods, and the drastic increase of the latter in the later periods. The syntactic differences between the three verb-types must be analysed separately;I will follow the same order presented in Table 6.13, that is, I will begin with examples of active *need* v.1.

Constructions with **active *need* v.1** are all characterized by the following syntactic feature: their subject is the an tagonist of the force expressed by the verb, that is, the semantic role of the subject is to ex ert a force on the agonist (or patient, in this case), which undergoes the force expressed by the verb. While the antagonist is always present with active *need* v.1, the agonist may be present in the shape of a direct object or absent. Fo r this reason, Table 6.14 below offers the

type of complement of active *need* v.1 and specifies the presence or absence of the agonist of the force in the different subperiods:

AGONIST / COMPLEMENT	+ AGONIST				- AGONIST				TOTAL
	O1-O2	O3-O4	M1	M2	O1-O2	O3-O4	M1	M2	
Ø	6	8	1	2		3			**20**
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE	5	7	2		2	1			**17**
SENTENCE *That*-clause	20	9			2	2			**33**
SENTENCE *To*-inf. clause		4	4			1			**9**
SENTENCE Bare inf. cl.	1	5							**6**
TOTAL ACTIVE *NEED* V.1	**32**	**33**	**7**	**2**	**4**	**7**	**0**	**0**	**85**

Table 6.14: Types of complement of active need *v.1 throughout history.*

Table 6.14 shows that the type of complement selected by active *need* v.1 to specify the action to which the agonist is forced is mainly of a sentential type (48 examples, adding together *that*-clauses and infinitival clauses). While in Old English *that*-clauses are the favourite sentential complement, these are replaced in Middle English by *to*-infinitival clauses. In any event, the most important result from Table 6.14 is that active *need* v.1 occurs without an agonist only on 11 OE occasions, while in its nine ME occurrences it always selects an explicit agonist (which functions as the direct object of the ver b). Thus, active *need* v.1 is the only *need*-verb which may occur without an explicit agonist, while passive *need* v.1 and *need* v.2 always have an agonist subject. For t his reason, active *need* v.1 is the *need*-verb which differs most from PDE modal *need* from a syntactic point of view.

One step ahead of active *need* v.1 we find **passive *need* v.1**, which, obviously, always has an explicit agonist which functions as the subject of the verb. As repeatedly stated, it is in the passive instances of *need* v.1 that this verb gets the closest to *need* v.2, since both take subje c t agonists. Table 6.15 below displays the type of syntactic complementation selected by passive *need* v.1:

SUBPERIODS / COMPLEMENT	O1-O2	O3-O4	M3	TOTAL
Ø	4	5		**9**
PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE	2	1		**3**
SENTENCE *That*-clause	9	4		**13**
SENTENCE *To*-infinitival clause		1	6	**7**
SENTENCE Bare infinitival clause	1			**1**
TOTAL PASSIVE *NEED* V.1	**16**	**11**	**6**	**33**

Table 6.15: Types of complement of passive need *v.1 throughout history.*

Table 6.15 shows that passive *need* v.1 is very frequent in Old English, with 26.2% of its occurrences, and that this   frequency rises considerably in Middle English with 40% of t   he cases. Furthermore, at the very end of the life of *need* v.1 it is only recorded in the passive voice. Table 6.15 also shows that the various syntactic complements it exhibits in Old English are reduced to *to*-infinitival complements in Middle English. In fact, in M3 *need* v.1 appears to exhibit a fossilized structure, in the passive voice and with *to*-infinitival complement. With this structure, on the one hand, it is very close both syntactically and semantically to *need* v.2. On the other hand, it appears to have a set of features similar to some PDE semi-modals, such as *be obliged to*, which occur in the passive voice, are always followed by a *to*-infinitival element, and express external obligation. Passive *need* v.1, then, represents a sensible bridge between the pure lexical active *need* v.1 and the potential auxiliary *need* v.2, since it combines syntactic and semantic features of both.

As stated, **need v.2** is the most common of the *need*-verbs in my corpus and it is claimed to have an agonist subject. This is true, indeed, when the construction has an explicit experiencer, but it may also be the case that *need* v.2 occurs without an experiencer. Table 6.16 offers the number of examples of *need* v.2 with and without an experiencer:

	O3-O4	**M1**	**M2**	**M3**	**M4**	**E1**	**E2**	**E3**	**TOTAL**
- EXPERIENCER				23	19	6	5	19	72
+ EXPERIE NCER	1	2		49	53	20	66	179	370
TOTAL	**1**	**2**	**0**	**72**	**72**	**26**	**71**	**198**	**442**

Table 6.16: Presence of the experiencer with need *v.2 from Old to early Modern English.*

According to the data in Table 6.16, *need* v.2 does not occur without an experiencer until M3, with a proportion of nearly 32% of its occurrences. The ratio of occurrences without an experiencer decreases as history advances until in E3 only about 10% of its   occurrences adopt this pattern. The type of theme exhibited by *need* does not differ much depending on the presence or absence of the experiencer, as Tables 6.17 and 6.18 show:

PERIOD / THEME	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3	TOTAL
NOUN PHRASE	10	5	4	5	13	37
SENTENCE / *To*-inf. clause	6	9			1	16
Elided clause	3	5	2		2	12
Bare inf. clause	4					4
Pass. inf. clause					3	3
TOTAL	23	19	6	5	19	72

Table 6.17: Themes of need *v.2 without an experiencer: chronological distribution.*

PERIOD / THEME	O3-O4	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3	TOTAL
Ø					1		1	1	3
NOUN PHRASE	1	1		25	24	3	18	54	126
SENTENCE / Bare infinitival cl.				4	5	6	29	82	126
To-infinitival clause		1		19	19	9	15	17	80
To- passive inf. cl.				1	3		2	12	18
Bare passive inf. cl.								10	10
Elided clause					1	1		3	5
That-clause						1	1		2
TOTAL	1	2	0	49	53	20	66	179	370

Table 6.18: Themes of need *v.2 with an experiencer per subperiod.*

Tables 6.17 and 6.18 show that the main types of themes of *need* with and without an experiencer are the same, namely nominal and sentential themes. However, *need* with an experiencer may also occur without any theme when it means be needy or poor' (a s is also the case of *betharf*, cf. section 6.2). Apart from considerations such as this, it is important to highlight that the only constructions in which *need* may exhibit auxiliary features are those in which it has an explicit experiencer. For this reason, in the remainder of this section, I concentrate on the 370 examples of this verb which have an explicit experiencer and may therefore reveal some degree of grammaticalization.

Leaving out the three examples of absolute use of *need* when it has an experiencer (first line of Table 6.18), the remaining 367 sentences in which *need* occurs may be described according to Allen's (1995) classification of experiencer verb constructions, because all of them have an experiencer and a theme, which, in turn, may be nominal or sentential. As repeatedly mentioned, when the theme is nominal, constructions can be of Type N (oblique experiencer + genitive theme), Type I (oblique experiencer + nominative theme), and Type II (nominative experiencer + genitive theme). In turn, when the theme is sentential, constructions can be of Type S (oblique experiencer + sentential theme), Type *hit* (dummy (*h*)*it* + oblique experiencer + sentential theme) or Type 'Personal'

(nominative experiencer + sentential theme). Table 6.19 below displays the number of occurrences of *need* in each type in the corpus:

PERIOD TYPE	O3-O4	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3	TOTAL
Type I		1		18	11				**30**
Variants of Type II	1			2	8	3	18	54	**86**
Type II				4	5				**9**
Type N				1					**1**
Type S		1		18	6				**25**
Type *hit*				4	4	1			**9**
Type Personal'				2	18	16	47	124	**207**
TOTAL	**1**	**2**	**0**	**49**	**52**	**20**	**65**	**178**	**367**

Table 6.19: Evolution of experiencer verb constructions with need *v.2 throughout history.*

The results in Table 6.19 reveal the following findings. To begin with, *need* occurs in a type of experiencer verb construction not mentioned by Allen (1995), namely the variant of Type II construction, which consists of a nominative experiencer and an unmarked or accusative theme (86 examples). Interestingly enough, this is the most common type of construction when *need* has a nominal theme in early Modern English (as is the case of PDE *need*). However, in Middle English the presence of a nominal theme highly favoured the occurrence of an oblique experiencer in Type I. The frequency of *need* in other types of construction with nominal theme is significantly low (only one example of Type N in the whole corpus).

As for sentential themes, *need* happens to be most frequent in the Personal' Type in ea rly Modern English, although that is not the case in M3, when Type S constructions far outnumber the Personal ' ones. We have seen that this ME possibility to occur with oblique experiencers is also witnessed in *tharf* (cf. section 6.1) and will also be seen with *behove* (cf. section 6.4). From M4 onwards, however, the Personal' Type ta kes the lead of all the patterns of *need*. My corpus records 207 examples of *need* in this experiencer verb construction and, since they represent the context for the identification of auxiliary features of *need*, it is interesting to examine the type of sentential theme selected by *need* in this construction, as shown in Table 6.20:

PERIOD THEME	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3	TOTAL
Bare infinitival clause		4	6	29	82	121
To-infinitival clause	1	10	8	15	17	51
To- passive infinitival clause	1	3		2	12	18
Bare passive infinitival clause					10	10
Elided clause		1	1		3	5
That-clause			1	1		2
TOTAL	2	18	16	47	124	207

Table 6.20: Chronological distribution of sentential themes in Allen's Type 'Personal' constructions with need *v.2.*

Table 6.20 shows that, in M4 and E1 *to*-infinitive themes are slightly more common than bare infinitive ones. However, this proportion is drastically reversed in E2, when the number of bare infinitives doubles the number of *to*-infinitives, and in E3, when the proportion rises up to nearly 5 to 1. The overwhelming predominance of bare infinitives over all other types in E2 and E3 is very revealing as for the auxiliary character of *need*, because, according to Warner (1993: 203), the bare infinitive is restricted to the modal group from the 16th century onwards.

A second important piece of information derived from Table 6.20 is the fact that *need* is considerably often construed with a passive infinitive clause (28 occasions out of 207). As mentioned above, whenever a verb takes a passive infinitival complement, it ceases to select its experiencer /subject and adopts as proper that of the passive infinitive. This phenomenon, named lack of subject selection, is one of the main auxiliary features mentioned by Warner (1993:160-163).

The third result of Table 6.20 which seems to be indicative of auxiliary nature is the possibility of *need* to occur with ellipsis of the sentential theme. Out of the four examples showing ellipsis of the sentential theme, two eModE sentences can be considered indicative of the auxiliary nature of *need*, since the other two fall within the exceptional contexts mentioned by Warner (1993: 113-114), namely occurrence with a verb of motion, occurrence in comparative or coordinate clauses, and occurrence as an absolute use of the verb.

The data in Table 6.20, then, offer at least three features indicative of the increasing auxiliary nature of *need* as history advances, a nature which becomes most evident in early Modern English. However, this table also shows a feature of *need* which does not fit into the description of an auxiliary, namely its emergence as a verb taking *that*-clause themes. This usage was interpreted as an

attempt to sound old-fashioned and, as such, it must not be considered a hindrance for the identification of auxiliary features in eModE *need*.

Indeed, in addition to the three auxiliary characteristics of *need* extracted from Table 6.20, this verb exhibits other features which must be raised here as evidence of its considerably advanced grammaticalized status. One of these features concerns the animate or inanimate nature of the experiencer of the necessity. As mentioned above (section 2.1.3), some scholars relate the occurrence of inanimate experiencers / subjects with the incipient grammaticalization of a given verb (cf., among others, Heine *et al.* 1991: 156; Kug 2000: 90; Mort elmans 2003). The line of reasoning is the following: the experiencer of a verb of necessity must by definition have the capacity to *experience* the necessity expressed by the verb and, hence, it must be animate (and most likely human). However, if the alleged experiencer of the verb of necessity is inanimate and non-human, it cannot *experience* the necessity of the verb, and this comes to have lost part of its lexical meaning. Table 6.21 accounts for the animacy of the experiencer of *need* in the P ersonal' Type throughout history:

SUBPERIOD ANIMACY	O3-O4	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3	TOTAL
+H +A				2	16	16	46	99	213
-H A					2		1	25	28
TOTAL	0	0	0	2	18	16	47	124	241

Table 6.21: Animacy of the experiencer of need *v.2 in Type 'Personal' constructions from Old to early Modern English*

Table 6.21 shows that the number of inanimate experiencers with Personal' *need* is extremely low before E3, but in this subperiod the ratio rises to more than 20% of the occurrences. Possibly, one of the reasons which provoke this rise of inanimate experiencers is the increase of constructions with passive infinitives, as seen in Table 6.20. Thus, the relation between inanimate experiencers and passive infinitival themes seems to show why these two features have been considered as relevant as for the identification of auxiliary features in *need* at the end of the eModE period.

A final syntactic piece of evidence for the grammaticalization of *need* as a modal auxiliary concerns its occurrence with other auxiliaries. As mentioned above (section 5.2.2), according to Rissanen (1999: 234), auxiliaries cease to occur with each other in early Modern English. For this reason, I have checked

out the eModE examples of *need* in order to observe whether this verb occurs with (other) auxiliaries or not. The analysis of my eModE corpus revealed that *need* is preceded by an auxiliary in 51 out of the 295 examples of this verb, i.e. 17.3% of its eModE occurrences.

We must now consider the particular proportion of auxiliary + *need* in the examples in which *need* may be acquiring auxiliary features, i.e. examples of the Personal' Type. In these cases, onl y in 13.9% of t he instances does *need* occur with another auxiliary (i.e. 26 out 187 examples), which seems to indicate that the probability to find an auxiliary in front of *need* is lower when it has a sentential theme than in general terms. This percentage undergoes a drastic decrease if we take into consideration the data from E3, where only 9 out of the 124 examples of Personal' *need* have an auxiliary, i.e. 7.3% of its occurrences. Thus, the overall analysis of the co-occurrence of eModE *need* with (other) auxiliaries reveals that auxiliaries are less prone to be found when this verb occurs in potential contexts for auxiliaries (i.e. with sentential themes) than when it is a full lexical verb (e.g. with nominal themes). This entails that *need* exhibits features indicative of its auxiliary nature, although its development is not complete. In fact, within sentential themes, the ratio of occurrence of *need* with an auxiliary decreases as history advances.

Summing up, the syntactic features of *need* which reveal its auxiliary character are: (i) strong preference for the plain infinitive, (ii) lack of experiencer / subject selection (occurrence with passi ve infinitives), (iii) ellipsis of the infinitive, (iv) increasing inanimacy of the experiencer / subject, and (v) increasing reluctance to accept other auxiliaries when it occurs in the Personal' Type of experiencer verb constructions.

In addition to the syntactic evidence for the auxiliarization of *need*, we have also seen that in early Modern English *need* develops a morphological feature of auxiliaries, namely the absence of the third person singular present indicative morpheme {eth} or { es} (cf. section 5.3.1.2). Out of the 86 instances in which *need* occurs in the third person singular, 34 do not show the corresponding morpheme (39.5%). The ratio, however, is not the same in all contexts. When *need* occurs without an experiencer, it shows absence of the morpheme on 25% of the occasions; however, w hen *need* has an explicit experiencer, it lacks the third person inflection 43.9% of the times. Moreover, if we concentrate only on the examples with an experiencer, we observe that when the theme is nominal, only in 14.3% of the occasions is the morpheme absent.

However, and most importantly, when eModE *need* occurs with an experiencer and a sentential theme, it exhibits absence of the third person singular inflectional morpheme on 67.6% of the cases. This m orphological feature, therefore, comes to corroborate the syntactic conclusions stated above: eModE *need* is closer to lexical verbs when it has a nominal theme, and stands out as an incipient auxiliary when followed by a sentential theme.

6.4 Diachronic analysis of *behove*

This section is concerned with the diachronic evolution of *behove*. We have seen at the beginning this chapter that the frequency of *behove* in the historic subperiods is very uneven, since it undergoes a drastic increase in M2, when it exhibits its highest peak, and after that date it undergoes a dramatic decrease up to its marginality in E3. This uneven frequency will have an impact on its semantic and syntactic features.

From a **semantic** point of view, the meanings conveyed by *behove* have been analysed, as with the other semantic predecessors of PDE *need*, in terms of forces. Table 6.22 below displays the types of forces expressed by *behove* taking into account their origin (external, internal, general and logical) and the strength with which they are exerted (strong, weak or neutral):

PERIOD / FORCE	O1-O2	O3-O4	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3
STRONG EXTERNAL		3	5	44	40	6	2		1
WEAK EXTERNAL									
STRONG INTERNAL		5	7	8	2	5		1	1
WEAK INTERNAL	1	16	6						
NEUTRAL GENERAL		5	10	29	35	9	3	3	
LOGICAL							6		
TOTAL	1	29	28	81	77	20	11	4	2

Table 6.22: Origin and intensity of the forces expressed by behove.

Table 6.22 shows that semantically the richest semantic periods are late Old English and Middle English. Although *behove* may convey internal forces and, indeed, this is the most frequent meaning in Old English, it happens to develop a preference for the expression of external and general forces in subsequent subperiods. Moreover, *behove* is the first of my verbs which expresses logical forces, i.e. epistemic necessity, as the six E1 instances prove. In fact, as mentioned, it develops epistemic meanings earlier than *need*, which does not have this meaning until E3 (cf. section 6.3.1). Furthermore, the proportion of

epistemic meanings of *behove* is significantly higher than that of *need*, since they represent 35.3% of the total, as against only 0.7% of the examples of *need*.

As was the case with the semantic analysis of the other verbs, it is necessary to account for other variables, such as clause polarity. Consider Table 6.23:

			OE	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3	TOTAL
BARRIER											**0**
	PHYSICAL										**0**
	PHYSICAL-METAPHORICAL										**0**
	SOCIO-PHYSICAL										**0**
	SOCIAL	OBLIGATION	3	5	44	40	6	2		1	**101**
		LACK OF OBLIGATION									**0**
		PROHIBITION									**0**
	INTERNAL	OBLIGATION — OBLIGATION		7	8	2	5				**22**
		OBLIGATION — LACK OF OBLIGATION									**0**
		OBLIGATION — PROHIBITION									**0**
		NECESSITY — NECESSITY	16	6							**22**
		NECESSITY — LACK OF NECESSITY	6								**6**
	GENERAL	NECESSITY	3	9	27	34	9	3	3	1	**89**
		LACK OF NECESSITY	2		1				1		**4**
		PROHIBITION		1	1	1					**3**
	LOGICAL	NECESSITY							6		**6**
		LACK OF NECESSITY									**0**
TOTAL			30	28	81	77	20	11	4	2	**253**

Table 6.23: Types of forces expressed by behove *from Old to early Modern English, with indication of clause polarity.*

Table 6.23 shows that *behove* is clearly favoured in affirmative contexts, in the same line as *betharf*, and contrary to the tendency described by *tharf* and *need*, which are mainly non-affirmative verbs. As mentioned, the largest proportion of internal meanings is located in Old English and, due to its preference for affirmative contexts, in this period of English *behove* overlaps semantically with *bethurfan* to a large extent.

Another interesting result shown in Table 6.23 concerns the wide variety of meanings which *behove* can express in M2, a period in which other semantic predecessors of PDE *need* are scarcely recorded. As seen in section 4.4.3, the overwhelming frequency of *behove* in this subperiod is mainly due to its numerous instances in one specific text, namely *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, where no other 'need'-verb is used. This peak in frequency does not exactly reflect a wider number of semantic categories, but consolidates *behove* as a ME verb concerned with the expression of external and general forces.

The tendency to convey general types of forces is highest in early Modern English. This rise in the proportion of general forces goes hand in hand with a specialization of *behove* as a verb meaning appropriateness, rather than necessity. In early Modern English, then, *behove* proves to be completely detached from the group of semantic predecessors of *need* which I study in this piece of research.

Connected with this meaning of appropriateness is the fact that, contrary to the other 'need'-verbs, when it occurs in non-affirmative contexts it tends to express prohibition rather than absence of necessity or obligation. The negation of this notion implies that something is not appropriate or advisable, that is, it is forbidden rather than unnecessary.

The last lines of Table 6.23 are devoted to logical forces, i.e. to epistemic necessity. There we observe that, despite the fact that *behove* and *need* express epistemic necessity, they are specialized in different contexts; while *need* conveys this meaning in non-affirmative contexts, the six examples of epistemic *behove* take place in affirmative contexts.

From this overall semantic analysis of *behove* throughout history, we can conclude that its line of evolution goes from internal meanings to general and external ones, and finally to epistemic meanings. In other words, the semantic development of *behove* adapts itself to that proposed by van der Auwera and Plungian (1998: 115). These scholars claim that the semantic evolution of modals, which implies a higher degree of grammaticalization, is accounted for with the following scale: participant internal ≤ participant external ≤ epistemic modality, where ≤ means 'exhibits a lower or equal degree of grammaticalization' (1998: 115). We have seen however that this evolution not always holds true, since *need*, which indeed grammaticalizes, does not exhibit this pattern, but a somewhat reverse one (cf. section 6.3).

The fact that *behove* undergoes the semantic pertinent changes to grammaticalization does not imply that it acquires a grammaticalized nature at

any point of its history. More evidence on the non-auxiliary nature of *behove* is offered in the following paragraphs, which are devoted to the diachronic syntactic analysis of this verb.

The diachronic **syntactic** analysis of *behove* must begin, as was the case with *need*, with the differentiation between the instances in which it occurs with an experiencer and those in which the experiencer is absent. Table 6.24 below gives the number of examples of *behove* in each subperiod taking into account the presence of an explicit experiencer:

	O1-O2	O3-O4	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3	TOTAL
- EXPERIENCER			6	38	18	6	10			78
+ EXPERIENCER	1	29	22	43	59	14	1	4	2	175
TOTAL	1	29	28	81	77	20	11	4	2	253

Table 6.24: Presence of the experiencer with behove *from Old to early Modern English.*

Like *need*, *behove* shows a strong preference to occur with an experiencer in the overall counting. However, this is not so in the individual analysis of each subperiod; for example in M2 the proportion of constructions without an experiencer is of nearly 47% and in E1 it is of practically 91% Nevertheless, the type of syntactic pattern exhibited by *behove* both with and without an experiencer does not differ much, as seen in Tables 6.25 and 6.26 respectively:

PERIOD / THEME	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3	TOTAL
NOUN PHRASE	5	6	2	1				14
ADVERB *SO*					1			1
SENTENCE *That*-clause	1	18	2	2	8			31
SENTENCE *To*-infinitival clause		6	6	1	1			14
SENTENCE Bare infinitival clause		8	1					9
SENTENCE *To*-inf. + *that*-clause			7					7
SENTENCE Bare inf. + *that*-clause				1				1
SENTENCE Elided clause				1				1
TOTAL	6	38	18	6	10	0	0	78

Table 6.25: Type of theme of behove *without an experiencer per subperiod.*

PERIOD / THEME	O1-O2	O3-O4	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3	TOTAL
NOUN PHRASE		25	15	5		1		1		**47**
SENTENCE — Bare infinitival cl.			1	23	25	3				**52**
SENTENCE — *To*-infinitival cl.	1	1	1	10	23	10	1	3	1	**51**
SENTENCE — *That*-clause		3	3	4					1	**11**
SENTENCE — Bare pass. inf. cl.					5					**5**
SENTENCE — *To*- passive inf. cl.					5					**5**
SENTENCE — Elided clause			2	1	1					**4**
TOTAL	**1**	**29**	**22**	**43**	**59**	**14**	**1**	**4**	**2**	**175**

Table 6.26: Type of theme of behove *with an experiencer per subperiod.*

Tables 6.25 and 6.26 are, indeed, very similar as for the type of theme *behove* may take. Since the only evidence for an incipient grammaticalization of *behove* might be searched for when it has an experiencer, from now on I will only pay attention to the data in Table 6.26.

Table 6.26 shows that in the course of time *behove* specializes in constructions with a sentential theme. Among these, the most common sentential theme is the bare infinitival clause; as for the *to*-infinitival clause, the pattern surviving into Present-Day English, it has been attested in all periods of English with varying frequencies.

Table 6.26 shows that M3 is the host of the instances of *behove* which could be considered indicative of auxiliary status, namely when it occurs with passive infinitive themes or with elided clauses. Examples of these patterns do not provide evidence for grammaticalization, because most of them occur in constructions in which *behove* does not have a nominative experiencer, i.e. constructions different from the Per sonal' Type of experiencer verb construction. Contrary to *need*, *behove* evolves as a verb taking mostly non-nominative experiencers, as seen in Table 6.27:

PERIOD / TYPE	OE	M1	M2	M3	M4	E1	E2	E3	TOTAL
Type I		14	5		1		1		**21**
Type II	25	1							**26**
Type S		6	31	36	6				**79**
Type *hit*			6	12	4	1	3	2	**28**
Type Personal'	5			4	1				**10**
Type S-Personal'		1	1	7	2				**11**
TOTAL	**30**	**22**	**43**	**59**	**14**	**1**	**4**	**2**	**175**

Table 6.27: Evolution of experiencer verb constructions with behove.

Table 6.27 is, indeed, the best representative of the syntactic evolution of *behove*. In Old English it exhibits not only a predominance of nominal themes, just like

betharf, but also it strongly prefers nominative experiencers, in the same line as *tharf, betharf* and *need*. In the ME period it develops a great variety of experiencer verb constructions, and, at the same time that it progressively ceases to take nominal themes, it develops a preference for non-nominative experiencers, as witnessed in the prevalence of Types S and *hit* over the Personal' Type. In the same line, ME *need* also shows a slight preference for non-nominative experiencers (cf. section 6.3 above), but it soon changes preferences and enters the eModE period as a verb taking nominative experiencers on most of the occasions. *Behove*, however, undergoes the opposite development, that is, it sticks to the non-nominative experiencer and enters the eModE period as a consolidated Type *hit* verb, which is the type we still find in Present-Day English.

The syntactic evolution of *behove*, in addition to its semantic one, clearly shows that, although in early stages this verb fulfilled all the requirements to develop as a verb prone to undergo grammaticalization as an auxiliary, and, actually, its Dutch cognate appears to be close to the auxiliary group (cf. Fischer and van der Leek 1987: 115, note 12;an d Mackenzie 1997: 81), in the course of time it shifts away from its group both semantically, specializing in the expression of appropriateness, and syntactically, abandoning the path of the Personal' Type and r emaining as a Type *hit* verb.

6.5. Diachronic analysis of *mister*

This final section of chapter 6 reviews the characteristics of *mister*, the last verb analysed in this study. This French loanword is a low-frequency verb and my corpus only records three examples in M4. Although Visser (1963-1973: 1424, §344) states that it becomes obs olete after 1585, my corpus records no instance of this verb from 1440 onwards. For this reason, this section does not provide any semantic or syntactic evolution of this verb, but merely summarizes the findings offered in section 4.4.4 above.

The semantic implications of *mister* in M4 are reduced to the expression of strong internal forces: two instances express internal force, and one example expresses absence of internal force. The fact that it can occur in a non-affirmative context brings this verb close to *tharf* or *need*. However, no conclusions can be drawn from a single example. The semantics of *mister* is, therefore, quite limited, and although it falls within the notion of modal semantics, just like that of

betharf, it is not enough to conclude that this verb may have reached any degree of grammaticalization in English.

The syntactic analysis of *mister*, in turn, reveals that this verb is mostly found in combination with nominal themes. In this context, the experiencer may be oblique (i.e. *mister* may occur in Type I construction) or nominative, which does not yield a clear Type II construction, because as late as M4 case inflections have been blurred. Moreover, *mister* may also take sentential themes and occur in a Personal' Type construction, sinc e the experiencer is nominative. This construction is found only once in my corpus. Therefore, syntactic evidence is too little to draw any conclusion as for its grammaticalization, although its ephemeral life seems to suggest that did not have time to develop a grammatical status.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this chapter is to summarize briefly the contents and main conclusions of this piece of research. This study has attempted to describe the historic evolution of the verbs meaning 'need' from Old to early Modern English, with special reference to their semantic import and to the linguistic changes which could be indicative of their grammaticalization as auxiliaries. Although this study is essentially corpus-based, Chapter 2 is devoted to the description of the theoretical foundations of the analysis, while chapters 3 to 6 offer the analysis of corpus-data. The summary and conclusions of this piece of research are the following.

1. Chapter 2 sets out the theoretical framework of this study, which concern the three linguistic areas in which verbs meaning 'need' co nverge. These are, firstly, grammaticalization (section 2.1); secondl y, modality (section 2.2); and, thirdly, impersonality (section 2.3). The convergence of these three aspects of language accounts for the unity of my verbs as a group based not only on semantic reasons, but also on syntactic factors.

2. Section 2.1 opens with an introduction to language change and the mechanisms which explain it; it focuses on reanalysis and analogy as major morphosyntactic mechanisms, and on metaphor and metonymy as the main semantic ones. This introduction to linguistic change provides a suitable ground for describing grammaticalization, which involves changes in different linguistic

levels. After a brief introduction to the notion of grammaticalization as defined by different scholars, I explain the main processes involved in grammaticalization. These processes are described according to the analysis of scholars such as Lehmann (1995 [1982]), Heine (1993), or Hopper and Traugott (2003), and are classified as involving semantics, morphosyntax and phonology. Thus, the main semantic characteristics of grammaticalization described are desemanticization, metaphor and metonymy, subjectification and sem antic layering. As far as morphosyntax is concerned, special attention was paid to decategorialization, reanalysis, analogy, divergence, paradigmaticization, obligatorification and fixation. Finally, on the phonological level, grammaticalization was described as involving coalescence or cliticization and condensation or erosion. Finally, I discussed the controversial unidirectionality of grammaticalization, and showed that most of the alleged counterexamples are indeed examples of other phenomena, such as conversion or delocutive word-formation (cf. Haspelmath 2004). The apparently true counterexamples to unidirectionality are considered to be scarce to conclude that grammaticalization is bidirectional.

3. After the general description of grammaticalization, section 2.1.3.4 dealt with the grammaticalization of English modal auxiliaries, which have evolved from full lexical verbs with full lexical meaning and function (e.g. OE *magan*, 'be strong') into deontic, epistemic or temporal markers (e.g. epistemic PDE *may* meaning 'it is possibly the case that' or future time PDE *will*). This section showed that the processes involved in the grammaticalization of the English modals include reanalysis, desemanticization, decategorialization and cliticization.

4. Section 2.2 focuses on PDE *need* and *need to* and discusses the different conceptions of modality as a semantic category. First I examine the controversial double nature of *need* which, according to the traditional vision postulated by authors such as Huddleston (1984) and Quirk *et al.* (1985), is a (marginal) modal with a homomorphic lexical counterpart. This section also offers the latest analyses of *need* (cf. Smith 2003, Leech 2003, Taeymans 2004a, among others), which reveal that such a clear distinction between a modal and a non-modal *need* does not exactly hold, since *need to* appears to be replacing *need* in most contexts. In fact, Krug's (2000) work on emerging modals locates *need (to)* on

the verge of falling into this new class, which also includes *going to, got to, want to* and *have to*. His model breaks with the traditional considerations that auxiliaries cannot be followed by the particle *to* and, that *to*, in fact, is likely to coalesce with the preceding verb in forms such as *gonna* or *wanna*, which are gaining ground in Present-Day English. Equally, *need to* is developing the form *needa* or *neeta*. It was therefore concluded that *need (to)* should be regarded as a single PDE verb which oscillates between the central modals and the emerging modals.

5. Section 2.2.2 dealt with modality. Two main approaches were discussed, namely the threefold division of modality into deontic, epistemic and dynamic modality, defended, among others, by Lyons (1977), Palmer (1979, 1986, 2003) and Warner (1993), and the twofold division of modality into root and epistemic, as in, for instance, Coates (1983) and Sweetser (1990). I decided to follow the distinction root /epistemic as the most appropriate for this study mainly for two reasons. One is the transparent nature of such a dichotomic distinction, which clearly implies that root modality is prior in time to epistemic modality, which derives from the former. This dynamic view of modality fits into my diachronic study, because it contemplates evolution in time. The second reason for the election of the root /epistemic classifica tion of modality is that both types of modality admit gradience in relation to two or three axes. Thus, root modality oscillates in the axis of strength (it may be strong or weak), in that of origin (external or internal), and that of subjec tivity (subjective or objective). Epistemic modality, in turn, is said to oscillate in the axis of subjectivity. Together with the distinction root / epistemic, I have followed Sweetser's (1990) account of modality as based on the cognitive grounds proposed by Talmy's (1988, 2000) model of force dynamics, which describes modality in terms of forces and barriers in which agonist and antagonist represent the opposing forces resulting in the modal meanings (e.g. obligation, permission).

6. Taking as my basis this interpretation of modality, the semantic connotations of PDE *need* and *need to* are analysed as expressing external and internal strong and weak root necessity, with a strong preference for non-affirmative contexts, and epistemic necessity.

7. The last section of chapter 2 focuses on the definition and characterization of impersonal constructions, i.e. constructions with experiencers in non-nominative case. As mentioned, necessity is one of the experiences traditionally associated with impersonality (cf., for instance, Elmer 1981). I discuss the classification of impersonal constructions according to Elmer (1981), Fischer and van der Leek (1983, 1987) and Allen (1995), and I justify my decision to follow Allen (1995). According to her, experiencer verb constructions vary as to the nature of the experiencer and the nature of the theme. Thus, when the theme is nominal, constructions may be of Type N (oblique experiencer + genitival theme), Type I (oblique experiencer + nominative theme) or Type II (nominative experiencer + genitive theme). If, on the contrary, the theme is sentential, constructions may be Type S (oblique experiencer + sentential theme), Type *hit* (dummy *hit* + oblique experiencer + sentential theme), and Type 'Personal' (nominative experiencer + sentential theme). I offer Allen's (1995) explanation as to the evolution of impersonal constructions in the history of English, which proves to depend largely on the nature of each verb rather than on the general tendency of the speakers of a given period.

8. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 offer the analysis of the OE, ME and eModE verbs meaning ħeed.' The chapters are divided in to two main parts;the first provi des background information as to the period and the language of the time, and the second part analyses the examples retrieved from the corpora. Therefore, Chapter 3 starts with the morphological classification of OE verbs as strong, weak, preterite-present and anomalous, paying special attention to the preterite-present verbs and to the pre-modals, which in Old English oscillate in a cline from full lexical verbs to partly grammaticalized ones. The following sections concentrate on my four OE verbs as described in the relevant literature. There I justify my decision to analyse all possible forms of *neodian* as potential instances of *need* v.2 (cf. *OED*) on the grounds that they all seem to develop from the OE noun *neod*, ħecessity' and that all express meani ngs which can be defined in terms of force dynamics.

9. Section 3.4 is devoted to the analysis of the OE corpus. Before the analysis itself, I describe the OE corpus, which amounts to 1.2 million words, and the variables studied. Sections 3.4.1 to 3.4.3 examine the semantic and syntactic

features of the OE verbs. The final section summarizes the findings and offers the comparison between the four OE verbs.

10. OE *þurfan* proves to be the most frequent of the OE verbs meaning 'need,' with 13.2 occurrences per 100,000 words, followed by *neodian* with 8.6 occurrences, while *beþurfan* and *behofian* exhibit low frequencies (3.9 and 2.5 occurrences respectively).

11. My OE verbs prove to convey different types of forces (physical, social, internal and general) and also barriers, which encode the notion of possibility. OE *þurfan* is highly common expressing social forces in non-affirmative contexts and it is the only one of my verbs which expresses the existence of barriers, i.e. impossibility, in Old English. OE *neodian* is mostly restricted to the expression of physical and social forces in affirmative contexts. Finally, the favourite semantic expression of OE *beþurfan* and *behofian* is that of conveying internal forces, where they prove to be fairly equivalent in meaning.

12. Syntactically, my OE verbs are very heterogeneous. To begin with, *neodian* clearly differs from the rest of the members of the group, because its most common meaning is 'com pel,' which yields a completely different syntactic pattern. In addition, *neodian* is extraordinarily common in the passive voice in the pattern 'X is compelled   to do Y,' which comes closer to 'Xne   eds /m ust (do) X Thus, I considere d the passive instances of *neodian* as the closest to the 'need'-verbs. Despite this, *neodian* has not been considered an experiencer verb, except for the one example in which it means 'need.'

13. The single instance of active *neodian* meaning 'need' and the examples of *þurfan, beþurfan* and *behofian* when they do not occur absolutely were analysed as experiencer verb constructions. Very rarely do my verbs have an oblique experiencer; they mainly prefer nom inative ones. Interestingly enough *neodian* and *behofian*, which, according to Bosworth and Toller, were expected in impersonal constructions, only occur with nominative experiencers. In contrast with Visser (1963-1973: §345), the single instance of *neodian* is a variant of Type II, because the theme is unmarked, and *behofian* features mainly in Type II constructions, with genitival themes, in accordance with Allen (1997). *Beþurfan*,

which has a strong preference for nominal themes, is also frequently found in Type II and variant of Type II.

14. OE *þurfan* is the only 'need'-verb which proves to have achieved some degree of grammaticalization, as follows. It has a strong preference for sentential themes. It features mainly in the 'Personal' Type of construction, that is, with a nominative experiencer, and has a strong preference for the bare infinitive (although it occurs once with a *to*-infinitive, contrary to Warner 1993: 137). It may occur in pseudo-gapping constructions. Finally, it shows lack of experiencer /subject selection since it may occur with passive infinitives and may also be influenced by the syntax of the following impersonal verb. These syntactic features of *þurfan* were interpreted as symptoms of decategorialization.

15. Chapter 4 focuses on the analysis of the ME verbs *thurven* (and *durren*), *bethurven, neden, bihoven* and *misteren*. Before the corpus-analysis, section 4.1 provides a general overview of the heterogeneous social situation in the ME period, and section 4.2 focuses on the main semantic, morphological and syntactic changes which the language underwent in this period. This section shows that the auxiliary characteristics of the modal group in this period are those in Old English, i.e. lack of non-finites, occurrence in impersonal and elliptical constructions, subcategorization for the plain infinitive, together with some new ME characteristics. These are the growing independence of the preterite forms, which do not always express past time, and the rise of new modal meanings, such as the 'subjunctive equivalent,' and the expression of futurity and epistemicity. Finally, section 4.3 describes the features of the ME 'need'-verbs based on the information found in the literature. Specifically, I clarify the phonological confusion between *thurven* and *durren* and justify the decision to analyse examples of both forms as instances of *thurven*. Finally, I explain that the forms of *neden* should be analysed taking into account whether they belong to *neden* v.1, 'compel,' or to *neden* v.2 'need, be necessary.'

16. Section 4.4 explores the ME corpus. Section 4.4.0 describes the corpus as comprising the ME section of the *Helsinki Corpus* and a selection of texts from the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*, which amount to 1.2 million words. Sections 4.4.1 to 4.4.4 offer the analysis of ME *thurven* (and *durren*),

bethurven, *neden, bihoven* and *misteren*. Finally, section 4.4.5 summarizes the main findings obtained in the previous sections.

17. Middle English reveals itself as the period of the most radical changes as far as ħeed'-verbs are concer ned, which was not unexpected to judge from the general changes that the language undergoes in this period. Owing to the diversity and rapid evolution of the ME language, special attention is paid to the chronological distribution of the ME examples. Sections 4.4.1 to 4.4.4 show that the ME period hosts a radical turn by which the most common verb at the beginning of the period, namely *thurven*, is the least frequent one at the end, and the least frequent one at the beginning, namely *neden* v.2, becomes the most common at the end of the period and displays the widest range of possible constructions and meanings. In the four centuries comprised in Middle English many other changes were attested.

18. Early Middle English represents the beginning of the incipient changes. The M1 situation is fairly similar to that of Old English. *Thurven* is the most common verb and is highly constrained to non-affirmative contexts expressing absence of obligation or necessity and, marginally, impossibility, while *bihoven* features especially in affirmative contexts. *Bethurven* is not very frequent, and it expresses internal forces; the few examples of *neden* v.2 convey internal necessity, and *neden* v.1 is restricted to social and physical forces. In M2 *bihoven* reaches its maximum peak in frequency and exhibits the richest semantic values, while the other ħeed'-verbs are qu ite scarce or completely absent. *Thurven* exhibits the frequency it will maintain until it drops out of the language.

19. Late Middle English witnesses the most dramatic changes. M3 is the subperiod of the rise of *neden* v.2, and of the decay of *neden* v.1, which occurs always in the passive voice expressing social obligation, very much like PDE semi-auxiliaries such as *be obliged to*. The M3 confluence of the last examples of *neden* v.1, significantly enough always in the passive voice, and the rise in frequency of *neden* v.2, which could also convey social obligation, was interpreted as the turning point in the evolution of *need*, from a ¢ompel'-verb to a ħeed'- verb. M3 is also the peri od of the decay in frequency of *bihoven*.

20. In M4, *neden* v.1 is no longer recorded and *bihoven* decreases considerably, while *neden* v.2 maintains the same frequency as in M3 and confirms its status as the main 'need'-verb of th e end of the period, featuring especially in non-affirmative contexts. This is the old favourite environment for *thurven*, which still occurs but only occasionally. I emphasized the fact that *tharf* and *need* are the only ones which may express possibility in addition to necessity, and these two verbs are the only ones which come to function as modal auxiliaries in the history of English. The semantic replacement of *thurven* with *need* seems to be complete at the end of the ME period. In addition, in M4 we observe the borrowing of a French loanword meaning 'nee d,' namely *misteren*, which appears to have entered the language under the influence of a number of factors, namely the prestige of French loanwords, the need for many terms conveying necessity, since this is a basic meaning, and the speakers' urge for variation (cf. Kte va 2004). Semantic factors are not responsible for the introduction of *misteren*, because there is no semantic gap for it to fill.

21. On the syntactic dimension, the following changes take place in Middle English. Need'-verbs develop the possi bility to occur without an explicit experiencer;however, they still tend to occur with it. As for their auxiliary status, active *neden* v.1 was left out of the count for obvious reasons, but passive *neden* v.1 was explained as a kind of fossilized structure close to PDE semi-auxiliaries such as *be obliged to*, because at this point in time it only occurred with *to*-infinitival complements, rather than *that*-clauses as it did in Old English. This syntactic pattern causes *neden* v.1 to overlap semantically with *neden* v.2, because both have agonist subjects, and this ma y have determined the disappearance of *neden* v.1. *Thurven* reinforces the auxiliary characteristics it had in Old English since it ceases to occur with nominal themes when it has an experiencer. Its decreasing frequency, however, did not allow for an interpretation of *thurven* as an auxiliary throughout the ME period. *Bihoven*, which semantically had much of a verb of obligation, overtly prefers non-nominative experiencers, which brings it closer to its PDE status. It was also noted that it occurred with nominative experiencers as late as M4, which contradicts Allen's (1997) claim that this verb ceases to occur with nominative experiencers in the 11th century. *Neden* v.2 also prefers non-nominative experiences up to M3, but this changes in M4 when it begins to show some of the syntactic features it has in Present-Day English, such as occurrence with passive

infinitives. However, it is far from having auxiliary status, because it frequently selects *to*-infinitives and nominal themes. Finally, the examples of *misteren* are so rare that no conclusions could be drawn as to its grammaticalization. Thus, the ME period ends without a clear modal auxiliary meaning ħeed.'

22. Chapter 5 examines the eModE verbs meaning ħeed.' Section 5.1 brie fly outlines the developments that modernized the language and brought about a standardization in the eModE period. Section 5.2 focuses on the verbal features in this period and pays special attention to experiencer verb constructions and to auxiliary verbs. Then I describe the eModE ħeed'-verbs, namely *need, behove* and, to a much lesser extent, *mister*, according to the information retrieved from the literature.

23. Section 5.3 examines the instances of the eModE verbs found in the corpus. First I describe the characteristics of the eModE corpus, which amounts to 1.7 million words, and then I analyse the examples of *need* and *behove* respectively, the only verbs under study still found in this period of the language. Section 5.3.3 offers a summary and the conclusions drawn from such an analysis.

24. The increasing frequency of *need* and the decrease of *behove* in the three eModE subperiods proves significant as to the semantic and syntactic import of these verbs. This is the period in which *need* confirms itself as the main ħeed'-verb, and *behove* sticks to its status as a verb implying appropriateness. *Need* continues to show its tendency to occur in non-affirmative contexts, while *behove* occurs mostly in affirmative ones. In addition, *need* is the verb which most often expresses social and internal forces, whereas *behove* hardly ever expresses such meanings any more, being now confined to the expression of general and logical forces. Furthermore, *need* is strikingly common in the expression of general forces, which was interpreted as a sign of the desemanticization undergone by this verb. In addition, *behove* and *need* prove to express epistemic necessity in affirmative and non-affirmative contexts respectively. The epistemic values of *behove* could not be taken as evidence of its grammaticalization, because it is syntactically far removed from this group; on the contrary, the fact that *need* comes to express epistemic necessity at the very end of the eModE period was considered as a highly significant finding; firstly, because it contradicts the general belief that epistemic *need* emerges

much later, namely in the 19th century. Secondly, because it parallels analogous developments in the field of morphology and syntax.

25. The syntactic features of eModE *behove* are very similar to those it has in Present-Day English, since it tends to occur in Type *hit* constructions and also without an experiencer. As for the syntactic features of *need*, it shows an increasing tendency to occur in Personal' Types of c onstruction as the period advances, which was interpreted as evidence of its approximation to the modal verbs, as it also shows a strong preference for the bare infinitive. In addition, at the end of the period it exhibits other auxiliary features, such as its combination with passive infinitives, and its progressive reluctance to admit an auxiliary before it. From a morphological perspective, *need* lacks the third person singular present indicative morpheme, especially when it is followed by an infinitive. The main conclusion was, then, that at the end of the eModE period *need* exhibits features of modal verbs in some contexts, while it does not give up its lexical status, thus showing a double nature that predicts its controversial PDE situation.

26. After the synchronic analysis of my verbs in Old, Middle and early Modern English, chapter 6 offers a diachronic explanation of the evolution of each verb. Section 6.1 reviews the evolution of *tharf*. This verb is, from Old English, always close to the auxiliary group, for a number of morphological, semantic and syntactic reasons. Morphologically, it belongs to the preterite-present group, a defective verb class which yields most of PDE modals. Semantically, it conveys absence of obligation or necessity, and syntactically it exhibits auxiliary-like features such as subcategorization for the plain infinitive or lack of subject selection. However, it drops from the language precisely when it shows the most defining modal characteristics and ceases to exhibit full verb features, i.e. in Middle English. Section 6.2 examines the brief life of *betharf*, derived from *tharf*, which throughout its history functions as the complementary lexical counterpart of *tharf*, featuring mainly in affirmative contexts and with nominal themes.

27. Section 6.3.1 reviews the complex semantic evolution of *need*. In Old English it has two manifestations, as meaning 'compel' and 'need / be necessary.' The first of these meanings is the most common one before M3 (1350-1420), precisely when the second one begins to gain ground. A succinct

summary of the semantic evolution of *need* shown in Table 6.12 above could be the following:

Physical	>	Social	>	Internal	>	General	>	Epistemic
Need v.1		*Need* v.1						
		Need v.2		*Need* v.2		*Need* v.2		*Need* v.2

Figure 7.1: Takeover of need *v.1 with* need *v.2.*

Thus, *need* evolves from the physical to the social, the internal and, finally, the mental domain, therefore following the same steps as, for instance, modal *may* (cf. Sweetser 1990). The force-dynamic relations between the agonist and the antagonist account for the convergence of *need* v.1 and *need* v.2 on the expression of social forces in M3. Thus, force dynamics, contrary to Traugott and Dasher (2002: 111), turns out to be the key for the interpretation of *need* and, for that matter, of modal necessity (cf. Loureiro Porto 2003, and forthcoming). If we understand, as I did, that *need* v.1 and *need* v.2 are two manifestations of the same verb (cf. the reasons adduced in chapter 3 and also Molencki 2002;va n der Auwera and Taeymans 2004), we observe that social, i.e. external forces, are prior to internal forces in the evolution of *need*, which goes against van der Auwera and Plungian's (1998) claim that the movement of the semantics of the modals in the process of grammaticalization moves from internal to external and not vice versa. The evolution of *need*, then, can be interpreted as a counterexample of van der Auwera and Plungian (1998), and supports Traugott and Dasher's (2002: 121) idea that historical evidence does not always show that internal meanings precede external ones. In addition to the metaphorical development of internal meanings from external ones, the semantic values of *need* have also been seen to undergo generalization, which is inherent to desemanticization or semantic bleaching, because it conveys forces originating in nebulous authorities with increasing frequency. Finally, in a last metaphorical change, the root meanings of social, internal and general forces made possible the rise of epistemic necessity as one of the clearest signs of the grammaticalization of *need* as a modal of necessity. We also saw that *need* shows a strong preference for nominative experiencers from M3 onwards, which contributed to its status as an eligible candidate to replace *tharf*, which was undergoing a steady decrease in frequency at this point in time.

28. On the syntactic level, *need* also moves steadily from constructions with non-nominative experiencers to others with nominative experiencers and with a preference for sentential themes with bare or *to*-infinitives, bare infinitives being the preferred one as time goes by. It is not until the eModE period that this verb is seen to exhibit auxiliary features such as this preference for bare infinitive, lack of experiencer /subject selection,   non-co-occurrence with other auxiliaries and absence of the third person singular present indicative morpheme. Thus, it is not until then that *need* comes to replace *tharf* on syntactic grounds. However much the use of *need* as a modal auxiliary may be increasing, it never ceases to exhibit its former lexical features, such as combination with nominal themes. The fact that the most recent studies on PDE *need* reveal that *need to* is replacing *need* has been interpreted as a case of retraction, i.e. a return to its original syntactic pattern (cf. Haspelmath 2004;Ta eymans 2004a).

29. Section 6.4 shows that *behove* could have undergone grammaticalization and become a modal auxiliary of necessity, for a series of semantic reasons. To begin with, the meaning it exhibits in Old English is very close to that of *tharf* and, in particular, *betharf*, since both have a preference for affirmative contexts. Secondly, its semantic evolution implies a movement from internal to external forces in Middle English, as van der Auwera and Plungian (1998) claim that the modal evolution must be. Thirdly, it is the first of the 'need'-verbs which comes to express epistemic necessity, namely in E1. However, *behove* also shifts away from the meaning 'need' wh en from late Middle English onwards it specializes as a verb conveying appropriateness. In addition, it clearly sticks to constructions with non-nominative experiencers from early Middle English. Its eModE status is very similar to that of Present-Day English, which differs qualitatively from its Dutch cognates *behoeven* and *hoeven*, as described by Fischer and van der Leek (1987: 115, note 12) and Mackenzie (1997: 81) respectively.

30. Section 6.5, finally, recalls the information provided for *mister*, which only occurs in M4, and which does not grammaticalize, because its frequency is too scarce and its life too short.

Beyond these 30 specific conclusions, three general ideas emerge from this study: (i) force dynamics proves a useful descriptive method to interpret verbs meaning 'nee d'; (ii) gram maticalization is a highly unpredictable

mechanism of change;the corpus showed how a full auxiliary, *tharf*, drops from the language and is replaced by the least expected item, *need*, while the element more prone to undergo grammaticalization, *behove*, specializes in the concrete meaning of appropriateness, giving up its original modal meaning and frequency; and (iii) historical research from a panchronic perspective is the key to understanding the present situation of *need* as a controversial verb. However, there is still much work to be done in this field and further research is still necessary.

APPENDIX I
FORMS SCRUTINIZED IN THE OLD ENGLISH CORPUS

I have used two different corpora for the search of OE examples, namely the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* and the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*. Due to their differences in the transcription of OE letters, I have had to operate with each corpus separately and, for this reason, this appendix is sub-divided into two parts: one accounting for the forms scrutinized in the *Helsinki Corpus* and another with the forms looked for in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*. All in all, the total number of forms scrutinized for each verb and the real number of their examples is the following:

VERB	NUMBER OF SCRUTINIZED FORMS	NUMBER OF ACTUAL EXAMPLES
ÞURFAN	1,017	158
BEÞURFAN		47
NEODIAN	477	104
BEHOFIAN	39	30
TOTAL	**1,533**	**339**

This table is broken down below, where I offer the number of examples of each verb in each OE corpus.

A. FORMS SCRUTINIZED IN THE *HELSINKI CORPUS*

The following tables contain all the forms which have been looked for in the Old English section of the *Helsinki Corpus* in order to find all the possible examples of verbs expressing necessity. The forms are listed according to the spelling rules of the *Helsinki Corpus*, that is, containing only the basic ASCII characters, because those are the forms I retrieved from the wordlist made with the concordance program Wordsmith Tools. Therefore, initial <t> may stand for <þ>, and initial <d> may stand for <ð>. This means that some of the words I have looked for are not forms of my verbs, because they do not begin with <þ> or <ð>. If any non-ASCII character occurs in between a word, the wordlist only provides the beginning or the end of the word (e.g. <beþearf>, which is <be+tearf> in the *Helsinki Corpus*, is identified under <be> or under <tearf> in the wordlist), since the recurring plus sign (+) used in the *HC* interrupts the word as for the counting of the wordlist. This implies that all forms of OE *beþurfan* are listed in the same table as those forms of *þurfan*, and as such they are listed in the fourth column of the *Þurfan* table.

The following tables contain information concerning the search for examples. The first column contains the forms extracted from the wordlist made by Wordsmith Tools which could be forms of my verbs. The second column contains the number of occurrences of such form in the corpus. Finally, the third (and fourth, in the case of *beþurfan*) column contains the actual number of examples of each form if they are forms of my verbs.

I.1: OLD ENGLISH *ÞURFAN* & *BEÞURFAN* IN THE *HELSINKI CORPUS*:

Forms	Total number of occurrences	Examples of *þurfan*	Examples of *beþurfan*
TEARF	114	25	4
TEARFA	5	0	0
TEARFAN	11	0	0
TEARFANA	1	0	0
TEARFE	108	0	0
TEARFENA	7	0	0
TEARFENDE	3	0	0
TEARFENDRA	1	0	0
TEARFENDUM	7	0	0
TEARFES	1	0	0
TEARFOD	1	0	0
TEARFT	11	11	0
TEARFUM	10	0	0
TEARRFUM	1	0	0
TERF	1	0	0
TERFE	1	0	0
TERFETE	1	0	0
TERFETUM	2	0	0
TERFINNA	1	0	0
TERFLITAN	1	0	0
TORFEDON	1	0	0
TORFENDE	1	0	0
TORFIAN	2	0	0
TORFOTUM	1	0	0
TORFTAN	3	1	1
TORFTE	8	7	1
TORFTON	2	2	0
TORFTUN	1	1	0
TURF	1	0	0
TURFAN	4	2	2
TURFE	6	6	0
TURFENDE	1	0	0
TURFON	3	3	0
DEARF	28	8	1
DEARFA	8	0	0
DEARFE	24	0	0
DEARFEDNISSE	1	0	0
DEARFENA	10	0	0
DEARFENDRA	1	0	0
DEARFIGE	1	0	0
DEARFNISSUM	2	0	0
DEARFOSTA	1	0	0
DEARFT	1	0	1
DEARFUM	3	0	0
DERFETAN	1	0	0
DERFLITAN	1	0	0
DERFOTA	1	0	0
DORFE	1	1	0

DORFENDO	2	0	0
DORFENDRA	1	0	0
DORFENDUM	1	0	0
DORFIAN	1	0	1
DORFTAN	1	0	1
DORFTE	4	4	0
DURFAN	2	1	1
DURFE	3	3	0
DURFON	1	0	1
DURFUN	1	1	0
DYRF	2	0	0
DYRFA	1	0	0
DYRFE	6	5	1
DYRFEN	2	2	0
TYRF	3	0	0
TYRFE	4	2	0
TYRFEN	2	2	0
TOTAL	**442**	**87**	**15**

I.2: OLD ENGLISH *NEODIAN* IN THE *HELSINKI CORPUS*:

Forms	Total number of occurrences	Examples of *neodian*
NEAD	3	0
NEADA	2	2
NEADIAN	2	2
NEADIGE	1	1
NEADUNGE	1	0
NED	17	0
NEDA	1	0
NEDDE	6	6
NEDDON	1	1
NEDE	14	0
NEDES	1	0
NEDEST	1	1
NEOD	25	0
NEODA	2	0
NEODAN	1	0
NEODDE	1	1
NEODE	31	0
NEODFUL	1	0
NIED	3	0
NIEDBE	1	0
NIEDD	1	0
NIEDE	4	0
NIEDENGA	2	0
NIDE	1	0
NIDER	1	0
NYD	12	0
NYDBADE	1	0
NYDBEHOF	2	0
NYDDE	6	6

NYDE	17	2
NYDENDRE	1	0
GENEADOD	3	0
GENED	1	1
GENEDDE	1	1
GENEDE	1	1
GENEDED	1	1
GENEODDE	1	1
GENIED	1	0
GENIEDDE	6	4
GENIEDDON	1	1
GENIEDED	1	1
GENIDERA	1	0
GENYDAN	1	1
GENYDDE	3	3
GENYDDON	2	2
GENYDDUM	1	0
GENYDE	1	1
GENYDED	3	3
TOTAL	**192**	**43**

I.3: OLD ENGLISH *BEHOFIAN* IN THE *HELSINKI CORPUS*:

Forms	Total number of occurrences	Examples of *behofian*
BEHOFA	2	2
BEHOFADON	1	1
BEHOFDAN	1	1
BEHOFIA	3	3
BEHOFIGE	1	1
BEHEFE	2	0
TOTAL	**10**	**8**

B. FORMS SCRUTINIZED IN THE *DICTIONARY OF OLD ENGLISH CORPUS*

I.4: OLD ENGLISH *ÞURFAN* IN THE *DICTIONARY OF OLD ENGLISH CORPUS*:

Forms	Total number of occurrences	Examples of *þurfan*
ÞAFEDON	1	0
ÞAFIENDE	1	0
ÞÆRF	1	1
ÞÆRFTIGUM	1	0
ÞÆRFUM	1	0
ÞEARF	95	10
ÞEARFA	12	0
ÞEARFAN	55	1

ÞEARFÆN	1	0
ÞEARFE	84	0
ÞEÆRFE	1	0
ÞEARFENA	11	0
ÞEARFENDAN	2	0
ÞEARFENDE	2	0
ÞEARFENDRA	2	0
ÞEARFENDUM	8	0
ÞEARFGENDUM	2	0
ÞEARFIENDNE	1	0
ÞEARFIGENDUM	1	0
ÞEARFLIC	6	0
ÞEARFLICAST	1	0
ÞEARFLICNESSE	1	0
ÞEARFLICU	1	0
ÞEARFT	6	6
ÞEARFTU	1	1
ÞEARFUM	44	0
ÞEART	1	1
ÞEATRA	1	0
ÞEORF	1	0
ÞEORFA	1	0
ÞEORFE	3	0
ÞEORFNE	1	0
ÞEORFUM	4	0
ÞERF	2	1
ÞERFAN	1	0
ÞERFE	1	0
ÞORFTE	3	3
ÞORFTON	1	1
ÞURFA	1	0
ÞURFAN	1	1
ÞURFE	9	9
ÞURFEN	1	1
ÞURFON	8	8
ÞURFTE	1	1
ÞYRFEN	2	2
ÐÆRFT	1	1
ÐEARA	17	0
DEARF	1	0
ÐEARF	9	2
ÐEARFA	20	0
DEARFA	1	0
ÐEARFAN	42	0
ÐEARFE	13	0
ÐEÆRFE	1	0
ÐEARFENA	15	0
ÐEARFENDE	1	0
ÐEARFLEAS	1	0
ÐEARFLIC	1	0
ÐEARFLICRE	1	0
ÐEARFON	1	0
ÐEARFT	2	2

ÐEARFUM	7	0
ÐORFTE	4	4
ÐORFTON	3	3
ÐURFAN	1	0
ÐURFE	7	7
ÐURFEN	1	1
ÐURFON	4	4
DYRFE	1	0
DYRFÞ	1	0
TOTAL	**541**	**71**

I.5: OLD ENGLISH *BEÞURFAN* IN THE *DICTIONARY OF OLD ENGLISH CORPUS*:

Forms	Total number of occurrences	Examples of *beþurfan*
BEÐEARF	1	1
BEÐEDE	1	0
BEÐORFTE	1	1
BEÐORFTON	1	1
BEÐURFE	3	3
BEÐURFEN	2	2
BEÐURFON	2	2
BEÞEARF	3	3
BEÞORFTE	3	3
BEÞORFTEN	1	1
BEÞORFTEST	2	2
BEÞORFTON	3	3
BEÞORFTUN	1	1
BEÞURFAN	1	1
BEÞURFE	2	2
BEÞURFON	6	6
TOTAL	**34**	**32**

I.6: OLD ENGLISH *NEODIAN* IN THE *DICTIONARY OF OLD ENGLISH CORPUS*:

Forms	Total number of occurrences	Examples of *neodian*
NEOD	35	0
NEOÐAN	1	0
NEODBEHÆFE	1	0
NEODBEHEFE	2	0
NEODE	55	0
NEOÐEARF	1	0
NEODÞEARF	10	0
NEODÞEARFE	4	0
NEAD	2	0
NEADAÐ	1	1
NEADAÞ	1	1
NEADBEHEFE	1	0
NEADE	1	0

NEADIAN	1	1
NEADIAÞ	1	1
NEADINGA	2	0
NEADODE	1	1
NEADÞEARF	3	0
NEADÞEARFE	1	0
NEADUNG	2	0
NEADUNGA	2	0
NEADUNGE	2	0
NED	7	0
NEDDE	3	3
NEDDUN	1	1
NEDE	5	0
NEDED	2	2
NEDEÐ	1	1
NEDÞEARF	2	0
NEDÞEARFE	2	0
NIEDBEHEFE	2	0
NIEDDON	2	2
NIEDE	3	0
NIÐ	8	0
NIÐAS	4	0
NIDBEHEFU	1	0
NIDDON	1	1
NIDE	2	0
NIDE	8	0
NYD	8	0
NYDAÐ	1	1
NYÐAN	1	0
NYDBEHEFE	4	0
NYDDE	7	7
NYDÐEARF	1	0
NYDÐEARFE	2	0
NYDDON	4	4
NYDE	9	3
NYDÞEARF	14	0
NYDÞEARFA	1	0
NYDÞEARFE	10	0
GENEADAD	1	1
GENEADAÐ	1	1
GENEADIAÐ	1	1
GENEADIAN	1	1
GENEADOD	2	2
GENEADODE	3	2
GENEDDAN	1	1
GENEDDE	3	2
GENEÐDE	1	0
GENEDED	2	2
GENEÐEDLIC	1	0
GENIDERAÐ	1	0
GENIDERAD	2	0
GENIEDDE	6	6
GENIEDDON	2	2

GENYD	2	2
GENYDAÐ	1	1
GENYDAN	1	0
GENYDDE	4	4
GENYDDON	1	1
GENYDE	1	1
GENYDED	1	1
TOTAL	**285**	**61**

I.7: OLD ENGLISH *BEHOFIAN* IN THE *DICTIONARY OF OLD ENGLISH CORPUS*:

Forms	Total number of occurrences	Examples of *behofian*
BEHOFAÐ	10	10
BEHOFAST	1	1
BEHOFEDON	1	1
BEHOFIAÐ	6	6
BEHOFIGE	1	1
BEHOFODE	1	1
BEHEFAST	1	1
BEHEFDEN	2	0
BEHEFE	3	0
BEHEFOST	1	0
BIHOUEÐ	1	1
BIHAFAÐ	1	0
TOTAL	**29**	**22**

APPENDIX II
FORMS SCRUTINIZED IN THE MIDDLE ENGLISH CORPUS

The total number of potential and real examples of my ME verbs in the corpus is the following:

VERB	NUMBER OF SCRUTINIZED FORMS	NUMBER OF ACTUAL EXAMPLES	
THURVEN	13,237		55
BETHURVEN			4
MISTEREN	323		3
BIHOVEN	553		206
NEDEN	1,593	*NEDEN* v.2	146
		NEDEN v.1	15
TOTAL	**15,706**		**429**

Like in Old English, for the study of Middle English I resorted to two different corpora, namely the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* and the *Middle English Corpus of Prose and Verse*. Due to the ortographical reasons adduced in Appendix I, the forms of the two verbs are listed in different tables.

A. FORMS SCRUTINIZED IN THE *HELSINKI CORPUS*

II.1: MIDDLE ENGLISH *THURVEN* IN THE *HELSINKI CORPUS*

Form	Total number of occurrences	Examples of *þurfan*	Examples of *beþurfan*
DAR	78	0	0
DARE	87	0	0
DAREN	1	0	0
DARET	1	0	0
DARH	1	0	0
DARRIE	20	0	0
DARRIES	4	0	0
DARRY	1	0	0
DARRYE	1	0	0
DARST	1	0	0
DART	1	0	0
DARTE	1	0	0
DARTIS	1	0	0
DARTO	2	0	0
DAS	12	0	0
DASE	3	0	0
DASSE	6	0	0

DASSHE	2	0	0
DASSHEN	3	0	0
DASSHT	1	0	0
DER	537	0	0
DERE	128	0	0
DEREDE	1	0	0
DEREN	13	0	0
DERER	1	0	0
DERES	3	0	0
DEREST	2	0	0
DERET	1	0	0
DERETH	1	0	0
DERF	9	0	0
DERF	9	0	0
DERI	2	0	0
DERIE	2	0	0
DERIN	1	0	0
DERINNE	1	0	0
DERON	3	0	0
DERRER	1	0	0
DERST	4	0	0
DERTH	1	0	0
DERTHE	2	0	0
DERTO	16	0	0
DERUE	11	0	0
DERUEST	1	0	0
DERUESTE	1	0	0
DERURE	1	0	0
DERYGE	1	0	0
DIER	1	0	0
DIERE	3	0	0
DIERNE	1	0	0
DIERS	1	0	0
DOR	14	0	0
DORE	49	0	0
DOREH	1	0	0
DOREN	2	0	0
DORES	4	0	0
DORFTEN	1	1	0
DORHAM	1	0	0
DORIS	5	0	0
DORSE	4	0	0
DORSET	2	0	0
DORSETTE	1	0	0
DORST	2	0	0
DORSTE	12	0	0
DORTE	1	0	0
DORYS	2	0	0
DOS	28	0	0
DOSC	1	0	0
DOSE	12	0	0
DOSEYN	1	0	0
DOST	14	0	0

DOSTE	5	0	0
DOSTER	1	0	0
DOSTOW	4	0	0
DOTE	4	0	0
DOTIE	2	0	0
DOTIST	1	0	0
DOTYNG	1	0	0
DOU	39	0	0
DUR	31	0	0
DURAS	3	0	0
DURE	23	0	0
DURED	2	0	0
DUREDE	3	0	0
DUREN	5	0	0
DURES	6	0	0
DUREST	1	0	0
DURETH	2	0	0
DURFE	2	1	1
DURG	13	0	0
DURH	71	0	0
DURHTIH	1	0	0
DURHTO	2	0	0
DURHUT	2	0	0
DURRE	1	0	0
DURREN	2	0	0
DURST	17	1	0
DURSTE	21	0	0
DURSTEN	4	0	0
DURSTI	1	0	0
DURSTL	1	0	0
DURSTYN	1	0	0
DURUE	1	1	0
DUS	54	0	0
DUSE	7	0	0
DUSIE	2	0	0
DUST	22	0	0
DUSTE	14	0	0
DUSTEN	2	0	0
DUSTES	1	0	0
DUSTI	1	0	0
DUT	3	0	0
DUTE	10	0	0
DUTED	1	0	0
DUTEN	11	0	0
DUTEST	1	0	0
DUTIE	1	0	0
DUTTEN	2	0	0
DUUEL	1	0	0
TAR	259	1	0
TARE	237	0	0
TARES	1	0	0
TARF	3	3	0
TARFOR	6	0	0

TARFORE	12	0	0
TARFURTH	1	0	0
TARIE	4	0	0
TARIED	2	0	0
TARIEDE	1	0	0
TARIENG	2	0	0
TARIENGE	1	0	0
TARIING	1	0	0
TARIN	1	0	0
TARINNE	1	0	0
TARIS	2	0	0
TARIYNG	3	0	0
TARON	1	0	0
TARONNE	1	0	0
TARRA	1	0	0
TARRAY	1	0	0
TARRY	1	0	0
TARST	1	0	0
TART	2	1	0
TARTO	15	0	0
TARTRE	2	0	0
TARY	13	0	0
TARYE	2	0	0
TARYED	2	0	0
TARYEN	1	0	0
TARYENG	1	0	0
TARYETH	1	0	0
TARYS	1	0	0
TARYYNG	3	0	0
TEAR	15	0	0
TEARE	1	0	0
TEAREFEN	1	0	0
TEAREN	1	0	0
TEARES	4	0	0
TEARF	8	6	0
TEARFE	2	0	0
TEARFENDAN	1	0	0
TEARFNYS	1	0	0
TEIRE	64	0	0
TER	2449	0	0
TERA	1	0	0
TERAN	1	0	0
TERAT	1	0	0
TERATT	1	0	0
TERE	601	0	0
TERED	2	0	0
TEREN	28	0	0
TEREON	1	0	0
TERES	22	0	0
TEREST	1	0	0
TERF	6	5	0
TERFRO	4	0	0
TERFT	1	1	0

TERHED	2	0	0
TERHEDE	10	0	0
TERHWET	1	0	0
TERIHTES	1	0	0
TERIN	1	0	0
TERING	1	0	0
TERINN	1	0	0
TERINNE	1	0	0
TERINNE	12	0	0
TERIS	4	0	0
TERR	21	0	0
TERRA	12	0	0
TERRAM	10	0	0
TERRAUNT	1	0	0
TERRE	9	0	0
TERREDDENE	1	0	0
TERREDE	1	0	0
TERTO	43	0	0
TERTOO	1	0	0
TERYN	4	0	0
TERYNG	1	0	0
TERYNNE	3	0	0
TERYS	1	0	0
THAR	8	5	0
THARE	42	2	0
THARR	1	1	0
THARSE	2	0	0
THER	428	0	0
THERE	349	0	0
THORO	2	0	0
THORU	14	0	0
THORW	24	0	0
THORWE	1	0	0
THRU	1	0	0
THRUSTED	1	0	0
THRUTHE	1	0	0
THRYD	2	0	0
THRYDDE	3	0	0
THRYFE	2	0	0
THRYFFE	1	0	0
THRYFT	1	0	0
THRYSE	1	0	0
THRYSTE	1	0	0
THRYUE	2	0	0
THURST	1	0	0
THURSTY	1	0	0
THURT	1	0	0
THURTE	2	0	0
THURW	6	0	0
TIE	2	0	0
TIEF	1	0	0
TIERES	2	0	0
TOR	3	0	0

TORD	1	0	0
TORE	17	0	0
TOREENDEN	1	0	0
TOREN	1	0	0
TORENDE	1	0	0
TORENT	1	0	0
TORENTEN	1	0	0
TORET	1	0	0
TORGES	1	0	0
TORGH	1	0	0
TORH	1	0	0
TORR	1	0	0
TORRI	1	0	0
TORTE	5	0	0
TORTE	5	0	0
TORTES	1	0	0
TORTES	1	0	0
TORTH	1	0	0
TORTH	1	0	0
TORU	73	0	0
TORUION	1	0	0
TORUTH	1	0	0
TORW	6	0	0
TORWE	2	0	0
TOUR	37	0	0
TOURE	4	0	0
TOURES	5	0	0
TOURET	1	0	0
TOURH	8	0	0
TOURHOUT	1	0	0
TUR	147	0	0
TURE	17	0	0
TURES	2	0	0
TURF	4	0	0
TURFE	3	0	3
TURFTE	2	2	0
TURG	1	0	0
TURGH	14	0	0
TURGHE	1	0	0
TURHF	1	0	0
TURHFARAN	1	0	0
TURHFAREN	1	0	0
TURHSTUNGEN	1	0	0
TURHTIH	2	0	0
TURHTO	1	0	0
TURHTU	1	0	0
TURHUT	2	0	0
TURS	3	0	0
TURST	16	0	0
TURSTE	2	0	0
TURSTON	2	0	0
TURSTY	1	0	0
TURT	1	1	0

TURTE	1	0	0
TURTES	1	0	0
TURTH	1	0	0
TURU	1	0	0
TURUE	4	4	0
TURUEN	1	0	0
TURUES	1	0	0
TURUT	1	0	0
TURW	1	0	0
TOTAL	**6,820**	**36**	**4**

I have also looked for forms beginning with *ne-*, since, according to the *MED*, *thurven* may occur in contraction with the negative, e.g. *neþerfte*. After having seen the 3418 examples which begin with *ne*, I have not found any case of contraction with *thurven*.

As for *bethurven*, I have also examined those forms containing the equivalent digraph <th> (both beginning with <be> and with <bi>), but none of the forms in the word list from the *Helsinki Corpus* have been found to be potential examples of *bethurven*.

II.2: MIDDLE ENGLISH *NEDEN* IN THE *HELSINKI CORPUS*:

Forms	Total number of examples	Examples of *Neden* v.2	Examples of *Neden* v.1
NID	1	0	0
NIEDE	4	0	1
NIEDES	2	0	0
NYD	1	0	0
NYED	2	0	0
NYEDE	8	0	0
NYENDE	1	0	0
NYTENDE	1	0	0
NYTEN	2	0	0
NYTE	4	0	0
NYTT	2	0	0
NYTTE	2	0	0
NYTES	1	0	0
NYTH	2	0	0
NED	10	0	0
NEDDE	3	0	0
NEDDEN	2	0	0
NEDDI	1	0	0
NEDDER	2	0	0
NEDDERS	1	0	0
NEDDIRE	1	0	0
NEDDIRS	1	0	0
NEDDRE	15	0	0
NEDDREN	5	0	0
NEDDUR	1	0	0
NEDDYRE	1	0	50
NEDER	1	0	0
NEDYR	1	0	0

NEDE	224	12	2
NEDED	2	2	0
NEDEN	1	0	1
NEDES	29	2	0
NEDEST	1	1	0
NEDETH	14	14	0
NEDI	3	3	0
NEDID	3	1	2
NEDIS	14	0	0
NEDITH	7	7	0
NEDUD	2	0	2
NEDY	7	0	0
NEDYD	1	1	0
NEDYE	1	0	0
NEDYNG	1	0	0
NEDYNGIS	5	0	0
NEDYS	14	1	0
NEDYT	1	0	1
NEDYTH	1	1	0
NEDYTHE	1	1	0
NEED	2	0	0
NEEDE	3	0	0
NEET	1	0	0
NEFDE	8	0	0
NEFDEN	3	0	0
NEOD	14	0	0
NEODDE	1	0	0
NEODE	16	1	0
NEODEN	1	0	0
NEODY	1	0	0
NEOT	1	0	0
NEOTE	1	0	0
NEOTEN	2	0	0
NEOTES	1	0	0
NEOTUS	5	0	0
NEOUSTE	1	0	0
NET	12	0	1
NETES	2	0	0
NETH	4	0	0
NETT	5	0	2
NETTES	5	0	0
NETUS	2	0	0
NETYS	1	0	0
NEYD	3	2	0
NEYTE	1	0	0
NEEDID	0	0	0
INE	285	0	0
INNE	157	0	0
YNE	2	0	0
YNNE	66	0	0
TOTAL	**1016**	**49**	**12**

II.3: MIDDLE ENGLISH *BIHOVEN* IN THE *HELSINKI CORPUS*:

Forms	Total number of occurrences	Examples of *bihoven*
BEHEST	2	0
BEHESTE	2	0
BEHESTYD	1	0
BEHET	3	0
BEHETE	6	0
BEHETEN	1	0
BEHEUE	1	0
BEHIEUE	1	0
BEHITE	3	0
BEHODE	1	0
BIHEST	1	0
BIHESTE	2	0
BIHESTES	1	0
BIHET	7	0
BIHETE	4	0
BIHETEN	3	0
BIHETET	1	0
BIHEUE	3	0
BIHOF	1	0
BYHEST	2	0
BYHESTE	1	0
BYHESTES	1	0
BEHOFE	2	1
BEHOUES	1	1
BEHOUYTH	1	1
BEHOVEDE	1	1
BEHOVYD	1	1
BIHEOWEN	1	0
BIHEOWON	1	0
BIHEUEDEDE	1	0
BIHOFDE	1	1
BIHOFE	1	1
BIHOFTE	1	1
BIHOUED	1	1
BYHEUEDED	1	0
BIHEFDET	2	0
BIHEUEDED	2	0
BIHOVETH	2	2
BYHOUE	2	2
BYHOUES	2	2
BYHOUETH	2	2
BEHOUED	3	3
BEHOUI	3	3
BIHOUES	3	3
BYHOVES	3	3
BIHOUETH	7	7
BEHOUE	13	13
BIHOUE	17	14
TOTAL	**123**	**63**

II.4: MIDDLE ENGLISH *MISTEREN* IN THE *HELSINKI CORPUS*

Forms	Total number of occurrences	Examples of *misteren*
MESTE	12	0
MESTER	2	0
MESTERE	2	0
MESTRESSE	2	0
MESTRIE	1	0
MIST	3	0
MISTE	2	0
MISTER	1	0
MISTERA	1	0
MISTROUING	1	0
MISTRU	1	0
MUSTER	1	0
MUSTERD	1	0
MUSTERS	1	0
MUSTIR	1	0
MUSTIRD	1	0
MUSTOW	1	0
MUSTREISUN	1	0
MUSTRYD	1	0
MYST	2	0
MYSTER	4	0
MYSTRONETH	1	0
MINISTRE	3	0
MINISTRED	2	0
MINISTRES	2	0
MINISTRIS	1	0
MINSTRE	5	0
MINYSTRES	2	0
TOTAL	**58**	**0**

B. FORMS SCRUTINIZED IN THE *CORPUS OF MIDDLE ENGLISH PROSE AND VERSE*

II.5: MIDDLE ENGLISH *THURVEN* IN THE *CORPUS OF MIDDLE ENGLISH PROSE AND VERSE*:

Form	Total number of examples	Examples of *thurven* and *durren*
DAR	43	1
ÐAR	60	0
ÐÆR	2	0
DARE	14	0
ÐARE	61	0
ÐÆRE	1	0
DARES	2	0
DARST	5	0

DÆRST	1	0
DARTED	1	0
DARÞ	1	1
ÐARTO	1	0
ÐAS	12	0
DASED	1	0
DER	14	0
ÐER	5	0
DERE	111	0
ÐERE	3	0
DERED	1	0
DEREDE	1	0
DERER	1	0
DERF	5	0
DERFDE	1	0
DERIE	3	0
DERIEN	2	0
ÐERINNE	1	0
DERYINDE	2	0
DERNEN	1	0
DERNEST	1	0
DERRE	2	0
DERRER	3	0
DERREST	2	0
DERST	2	1
DERT	1	1
DERTE	2	0
DERTENE	1	0
DERUE	2	0
DERYE	1	0
DERYTH	1	0
DES	11	0
ÐES	18	0
DEST	17	0
DIER	3	0
DIERE	6	0
ÐIERE	1	0
DIES	3	0
ÐIES	21	0
DIEST	2	0
DIETH	1	0
DOR	10	0
DORE	24	0
DŒRE	1	0
DOREN	1	0
DORES	3	0
DORIS	1	0
DORRE	5	0
DORREN	1	0
DORSETE	2	0
DORST	3	0
DORSTE	14	0
DORSTEST	1	0

DORTRE	1	0
DOS	7	0
DOSE	1	0
DOSEN	4	0
DOSER	1	0
DOSEYN	1	0
DOST	7	0
DOSTU	3	0
DOT	1	0
DOTE	1	0
DOTED	2	0
DOTEN	1	0
DOTER	1	0
DOTH	53	0
DOÞ	133	0
DOUST	2	0
DOUT	1	0
DUR	1	0
ÐUR	1	0
DURE	28	0
DURED	7	0
DUREDE	1	0
DUREN	4	0
DURR	1	0
DURRE	3	0
DURREN	1	0
DURST	25	1
ÐURST	1	0
DURSTE	38	0
DURSTEN	6	0
ÐURSTES	1	0
DURÞE	1	0
ÐUS	14	0
DUSE	4	0
DUSI	1	0
DUSIE	1	0
DUSIEN	1	0
DUSTE	4	0
DUT	4	0
DUTTE	1	0
DUTTEN	1	0
THAR	12	1
THARE	20	2
THART	1	0
THER	513	1
THERAT	5	0
THERE	474	0
THERTH	1	0
THERTHE	3	0
THERTO	66	0
THETHUR	1	0
THETHYN	2	0
THEUES	4	0

THEUYS	1	0
THEVIS	1	0
THIRST	1	0
THOR	1	0
THORD	1	0
THORE	7	0
THORIENT	1	0
THORN	3	0
THORNE	2	0
THORNES	8	0
THORNYS	1	0
THURST	2	0
THURSTE	1	1
THYRDE	3	0
THRUSTE	3	0
THRUSTIT	1	0
THRYD	2	0
THRYES	1	0
THRYFE	2	0
THRYFTE	1	0
THRYST	1	0
THRYUE	2	0
THREIST	1	0
THREST	8	0
THRESTE	1	0
THRESTED	1	0
THRETE	1	0
ÞAR	140	0
ÞÆR	50	0
ÞARE	126	0
ÞÁRE	1	0
ÞÆRE	42	0
ÞAREF	1	1
ÞARF	2	2
ÞARIN	1	0
ÞARINNE	1	0
ÞAROF	6	0
ÞARON	1	0
ÞARONE	1	0
ÞARSTEN	1	0
ÞÆRSTEN	1	0
ÞART	1	0
ÞARTO	17	0
ÞARU	1	0
ÞAÞ	1	0
ÞAYR	2	0
ÞAYRES	1	0
ÞEF	1	0
ÞEDETH	1	0
ÞEIR	1	0
ÞEIRE	2	0
ÞEOF	1	0
ÞEOFÐE	1	0

ÞEOHTE	1	0
ÞEOHTEN	1	0
ÞER	2002	0
ÞÉR	1	0
ÞERA	1	0
ÞERAT	4	0
ÞERE	428	0
ÞEREOF	1	0
ÞEREYN	1	0
ÞERFO	1	0
ÞERFOR	32	0
ÞERFORE	33	0
ÞERFORNE	1	0
ÞERFRO	1	0
ÞERIN	16	0
ÞERINE	1	0
ÞERINNE	20	0
ÞEROF	72	0
ÞEROFF	10	0
ÞERON	11	0
ÞEROUTE	6	0
ÞERTO	48	0
ÞERYN	1	0
ÞERYNNE	1	0
ÞIR	1	0
ÞIRE	55	0
ÞOR	1	0
ÞORDRE	1	0
ÞORE	5	0
ÞORH	2	0
ÞORN	3	0
ÞORNE	2	0
ÞORNEN	1	0
ÞORNES	10	0
ÞORNEZ	1	0
ÞORO	1	0
ÞOROU	7	0
ÞORSSE	2	0
ÞORST	13	0
ÞORU	10	0
ÞOS	21	0
ÞOSE	2	0
ÞOT	34	0
ÞOTE	9	0
ÞOTEN	1	0
ÞOTES	1	0
ÞOTEST	1	0
ÞOU	804	0
ÞOUES	1	0
ÞOUH	1	0
ÞOUHT	5	0
ÞOUHTE	2	0
ÞOUHTEN	1	0

ÞOUHTES	2	0
ÞOUT	1	0
ÞOUTE	2	0
ÞOUTES	3	0
ÞOUHTE	2	0
ÞRAST	1	0
ÞRASTE	2	0
ÞRASTEN	6	0
ÞRÆSTEN	2	0
ÞRAT	4	0
ÞRÆT	3	1
ÞRÆTE	1	0
ÞRÆTED	1	0
ÞREATED	1	0
ÞREATT	1	0
ÞRED	1	0
ÞREDDE	1	0
ÞRESTE	1	0
ÞRESTEN	1	0
ÞRESTES	1	0
ÞRET	1	0
ÞRETE	3	0
ÞRISTE	4	0
ÞROF	1	0
ÞRUSTE	1	0
ÞRUSTID	1	0
ÞRYF	1	0
ÞRYFTES	1	0
ÞRYUE	1	0
ÞRYUEN	6	0
ÞUF	6	0
ÞUFF	1	0
ÞUHTE	57	0
ÞUHTEN	5	0
ÞUR	45	0
ÞURÐ	1	0
ÞURE	1	0
ÞURFE	1	1
ÞURFEN	1	1
ÞURG	5	0
ÞURST	1	0
ÞURSTE	1	0
ÞURU	1	0
ÞURUE	2	2
ÞURUEN	1	1
ÞURUT	2	0
ÞUSTE	1	0
ÞUSTER	3	0
ÞUSTERE	2	0
ÞUT	4	0
ÞUTE	4	0
ÞUTTE	2	0
ÞUUELE	1	0

ÞYEF	17	0
ÞYEFÞE	5	0
ÞYEUE	1	0
ÞYEUES	11	0
TOTAL	**6388**	**19**

I have also searched for forms beginning with *ne-*, in order to see if they were potential contracted forms of *ne + thurven*, but there was none.

II.6: MIDDLE ENGLISH *BETHURVEN* IN THE *CORPUS OF MIDDLE ENGLISH PROSE AND VERSE*:

Forms	Total number of examples	Examples of *bethurven*
BEDUER	27	0
BEÐUER	1	0
BEDVER	1	0
TOTAL	**29**	**0**

II.7: MIDDLE ENGLISH *NEDEN* IN THE *CORPUS OF MIDDLE ENGLISH PROSE AND VERSE*:

Forms	Total number of examples	Examples of *neden* v.2	Examples of *neden* v.1
NED	3	0	0
NEÐ	1	0	0
NEDDE	1	1	0
NEDDEN	1	0	1
NEDDER	1	0	0
NEDDES	1	0	0
NEDE	132	22	0
NEÐE	1	0	0
NÉDE	4	0	0
NEDED	10	10	0
NEDEDE	1	0	1
NEDEN	1	1	0
NEDES	32	1	0
NEDETH	18	18	0
NEDEÞ	3	3	0
NEDEZ	3	0	0
NEDID	4	4	0
NEDIS	13	3	0
NEDIT	1	1	0
NEDITH	11	10	0
NEDITHE	2	2	0
NEDIÞ	2	2	0
NEDS	7	1	0
NEDUD	1	1	0
NEDY	1	0	0
NEDYD	2	2	0
NEDYRE	1	0	0

NEDYS	16	4	0
NEDYTH	8	8	0
NEED	3	0	0
NEE	3	0	0
NEEDE	2	1	0
NEEDES	1	0	0
NEEDS	3	1	0
NEETHE	1	0	0
NEEZ	1	0	0
NEFDE	25	0	0
NEFDEN	7	0	0
NEFDEST	1	0	0
NEID	1	1	0
NID	1	0	0
NIÐ	1	0	0
NIE	8	0	0
NIED	10	0	0
NIEDE	24	0	0
NIEDES	10	0	0
NYE	20	0	0
NYED	10	0	0
NYEDE	16	0	0
NYEDES	10	0	0
NYT	15	0	0
NYTE	2	0	0
NYTES	3	0	0
NYTEÞ	1	0	0
NYTEZ	2	0	0
NYTH	1	0	0
NEO	2	0	0
NEOD	7	0	0
NEODE	64	0	0
NEOÐE	2	0	0
NEODEN	6	0	0
NEOÐEN	3	0	0
NEODES	1	0	0
NET	1	0	1
NETAN	1	0	0
NETE	1	0	0
NETENE	1	0	0
NETT	1	0	0
NETTE	3	0	0
NETTES	5	0	0
NEID	1	0	0
NEI	8	0	0
NEÞEN	1	0	0
NEÞE	3	0	0
NEÞ	2	0	0
TOTAL	**577**	**97**	**3**

II.8: MIDDLE ENGLISH *BIHOVEN* IN THE *CORPUS OF MIDDLE ENGLISH PROSE AND VERSE*:

Forms	Total number of examples	Examples of *bihoven*
BOS	1	0
BOST	8	0
BOSTE	3	0
BOSTYD	1	0
BODE	13	0
BODEDE	2	0
BODEN	4	0
BODES	1	0
BŒDES	1	0
BODEST	3	0
BODEÞ	1	0
BODI	61	0
BODIE	36	0
BODIEN	2	0
BODIES	2	0
BUÐ	7	0
BUDEL	2	0
BUDEN	5	0
BUDIZ	1	0
BUS	1	1
BUSSE	1	0
HOEÞ	1	0
HOEZ	1	0
HOUE	3	0
HOUED	3	1
HOUEÐ	6	6
HOUEDE	1	1
HOUEN	5	0
HOUENE	5	0
HŒUENE	7	0
HOUES	2	1
HOUETH	1	1
HOUEÞ	12	12
HOVE	1	0
HOVED	2	1
HOVETH	2	2
HOWE	19	0
HOWEDE	1	0
HOWES	1	0
HOWEÞ	1	0
HOF	2	0
HOFT	1	0
HOEÐ	1	0
HOEDE	2	0
HOEDEN	1	0
HOEDEST	1	0
BEHES	1	0
BEHEST	2	0

BEHESTE	10	0
BEHESTES	1	0
BEHESTS	2	0
BEHET	2	0
BEHETE	2	0
BEHETT	1	0
BEHEUE	3	0
BEHIEUE	1	0
BEHOFDE	2	1
BEHOFE	1	0
BEHOFSAM	1	0
BEHOFTE	1	0
BEHOUE	1	0
BEHOUED	1	1
BEHOUEÐ	4	4
BEHOUEDE	2	2
BEHOUES	3	1
BEHOUETH	4	4
BEHOUEÞ	55	55
BEHOUEZ	1	1
BEHOUITHE	1	1
BEHOVELY	1	0
BEHOVETH	2	2
BEHOVID	3	3
BEHOVITH	10	10
BEHOVYD	3	3
BEHOVYTH	7	7
BEHOWYS	1	1
BEHUVIT	1	1
BIHEDDE	7	0
BIHEDE	1	0
BIHEDED	1	0
BIHEHTE	3	0
BIHEITE	1	0
BIHESTE	5	0
BIHETE	2	0
BIHEUE	1	0
BIHEUEDI	1	0
BIHEYTE	2	0
BIHOEDEN	2	0
BIHOFEDE	1	1
BIHOTE	2	0
BIHOUE	3	0
BIHOUED	1	1
BIHOUEÐ	1	1
BIHOUES	2	2
BIHOUIÞ	1	1
BIHOUS	1	1
BIHOUYD	1	1
BYHEST	1	0
BYHESTE	4	0
BYHET	1	0
BYHETE	1	0

BYHIT	1	0
BYHITE	1	0
BYHOD	1	0
BYHODE	1	1
BYHOFF	1	0
BYHOUED	3	3
BYHOUES	2	2
BYHOUETH	5	5
BYHOUEZ	1	1
TOTAL	**430**	**143**

II.9: MIDDLE ENGLISH *MISTEREN* IN THE *CORPUS OF MIDDLE ENGLISH PROSE AND VERSE*:

Forms	Total number of examples	Examples of *misteren*
MESTERES	1	0
MESTIER	1	0
MESTYERES	3	0
MENES	1	0
MENEST	2	0
MENET	1	0
MENETH	2	0
MENEÞ	2	0
MEST	52	0
MESTE	25	0
MESTEN	4	0
MIST	4	0
MISTE	3	0
MISTORNETH	3	0
MISTORNITHE	1	0
MUST	55	0
MUSTE	11	0
MUSTRED	1	0
MUSTYRS	1	0
MYST	2	0
MYSTER	6	1
MYSTERD	1	1
MYSTERS	1	1
MYSTY	1	0
MYSTYE	1	0
MINISTER	10	0
MINISTRE	26	0
MINISTREN	1	0
MINISTRES	8	0
MINISTREÞ	1	0
MINISTRID	1	0
MINISTRIS	4	0
MINSTER	2	0
MINSTERIS	1	0
MYNISTER	2	0
MYNISTRE	5	0

MYNISTRES	2	0
MYNISTRIS	1	0
MYNSTER	9	0
MYNSTRE	1	0
MYNYSTRE	3	0
MINSTER	2	0
MINSTERIS	1	0
TOTAL	**265**	**3**

APPENDIX III
FORMS SCRUTINIZED IN THE EARLY MODERN ENGLISH CORPUS

I have used three corpora for the analysis of the eModE period, namely the *Helsinki Corpus*, the *Lampeter Corpus* and the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler*. The number of forms under scrutiny and the real examples of my verbs in this period are the following:

VERB	NUMBER OF SCRUTINIZED FORMS	NUMBER OF ACTUAL EXAMPLES
NEED	978	295
BEHOVE	130	17
THAR, THARF	4,407	0
MISTER	8	0
TOTAL	**5,523**	**312**

The results from the three corpora are offered together in the following tables, which display the forms examined (first column), the number of occurrences of these forms (second column) and, finally, the real number of examples of my verbs.

III.1: EARLY MODERN ENGLISH *NEED* IN THE CORPUS:

Form	Total number of occurrences	Examples of *need*
NEADE	3	3
NEADES	3	0
NEADS	1	0
NED	197	0
NEDE	72	19
NEDED	2	2
NEDES	35	0
NEDEST	2	2
NEDETH	5	5
NEDIS	1	0
NEDS	6	0
NEDY	3	0
NEDYD	1	0
NEDYE	1	0
NEDYES	1	0
NEDYS	1	0
NEED	351	163
NEEDE	45	28
NEEDED	22	22
NEEDES	47	5
NEEDEST	1	1
NEEDETH	6	6
NEEDING	2	1
NEEDS	170	38
TOTAL	**978**	**295**

III.2: EARLY MODERN ENGLISH *BEHOVE* IN THE CORPUS:

Forms	Total number of occurrences	Examples of *behove*
BEHOFE	1	0
BEHOFFE	1	0
BEHOOF	1	0
BEHOOFE	3	0
BEHOOUE	1	1
BEHOOUES	1	1
BEHOUETH	11	11
BEHOVE	2	2
BEHOVES	2	2
BID	36	0
BIDDE	1	0
BIDDEN	1	0
BIDDETH	1	0
BIDDING	1	0
BIDE	5	0
BIDS	3	0
BIE	1	0
BIEFE	1	0
BOET	5	0
BOETH	3	0
BOOD	2	0
BOOSE	1	0
BOOT	2	0
BOSSES	1	0
BOUDEN	1	0
BUD	22	0
BUDDED	2	0
BUDS	17	0
BUSEED	1	0
TOTAL	**130**	**17**

III.3: EARLY MODERN ENGLISH *THAR, THARF* IN THE CORPUS:

Forms	Total number of occurrences	Examples of *thar, tharf*
THAR	8	0
THARE	8	0
THARTE	1	0
THEAIR	3	0
THEAIRE	11	0
THEARE	118	0
THEDER	2	0
THEDYR	4	0
THEIARE	3	0
THEIR	1953	0
THEIRE	150	0
THEIRES	1	0
THEIRS	17	0
THER	1181	0

THERAN	1	0
THERAT	8	0
THORED	1	0
THORP	3	0
THORPE	3	0
THURD	2	0
THURS	2	0
DAR	21	0
DAR'ST	2	0
DARE	102	0
DARED	1	0
DARES	7	0
DAREST	1	0
DARI	1	0
DARR	1	0
DARST	1	0
DARSY	1	0
DEAR	167	0
DEARE	444	0
DEARES	1	0
DEAREST	57	0
DEARST	3	0
DEARTH	1	0
DEARST	3	0
DEARTHE	2	0
DOST	48	0
DOSTE	3	0
DURST	47	0
DURSTE	5	0
DURT	2	0
DURTE	2	0
DURTY	2	0
DYRST	1	0
DYRST	1	0
TOTAL	**4,407**	**0**

III.4: EARLY MODERN ENGLISH *MISTER* IN THE CORPUS:

Forms	Total number of occurrences	Examples of *mister*
MISTE	3	0
MISTER	1	0
MYSTE	3	0
MYSTERES	1	0
TOTAL	**8**	**0**

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OS PREDECESORES SEMÁNTICOS DE NEED: DE INGLÉS ANTIGO A INGLÉS MODERNO TEMPERÁN

De acordo coa normativa establecida polo Vicerrectorado de Extensión Cultural e Terceiro Ciclo, que regula a presentación de Teses Doutorais da Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, incorpórase este resumo dos contidos deste estudo, así como as conclusións ás que se chegaron ó longo dos diferentes capítulos.

1. INTRODUCCIÓN E OBXECTIVOS

Este estudo é parte dun proxecto maior que leva por nome "Variación, cambio lingüístico e gramaticalización, con especial referencia á lingua inglesa", que se está a levar a cabo por un número de investigadores do Departamento de Filoloxía Inglesa da Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.[1] Como é ben sabido, o estudo da gramaticalización tense convertido nunha área prolífica, especialmente no que se refire á gramaticalización dos modais (cf. Plank 1984; Goossens 1987; Heine 1993; Warner 1993; Bybee *et al*. 1994; van der Auwera e Plungian 1998; Krug 2000, 2001, 2002; Traugott e Dasher 2002, entre moitos outros). Máis especificamente, ten habido tradicionalmente un interese pola marxinalidade do verbo *need* en inglés actual (por citar só uns poucos, Bolinger 1942, Jacobsson 1974, Duffley 1994, Leech 2003, Smith 2003, Taeymans 2004a). A maioría destes autores concéntranse na dobre natureza de *need*, que pode ser considerado modal e non-modal (cf. Huddleston 1984, ou Quirk *et al*. 1985, por exemplo). Sen embargo, estes estudos concéntranse exclusivamente nas súas características sincrónicas. Por iso son necesarias máis exploracións que expliquen a evolución de *need*. Como verbo modal, difire morfoloxicamente dos modais centrais, porque a maioría destes derivan etimoloxicamente do grupo de verbos pretérito-presentes de inglés antigo (por exemplo, do inglés antigo **sculan > shall* no inglés actual). Unha ollada ó inglés antigo amosa que daquela esta clase verbal incluía un verbo que era semántica e sintacticamente equivalente a *need* no inglés actual, é dicir *þurfan* (cf., por exemplo, Denison 1993: 295). Xa que *þurfan* non sobrevive no inglés actual (coa excepción de dialectos do norte, cf. *OED s.v. tharf* v.), pódese formula-la hipótese de que a súa desaparición favoreceu a auxiliarización de *need*. Sen embargo, outras aproximacións ó inglés antigo e medio revelan que *þurfan* e *need* non son os

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únicos verbos que significan 'necesitar' na historia do inglés, senón que houbo outros verbos, tales como *beþurfan, behofian* ou *misteren* e, en principio, calquera deles puido ter substituído a *þurfan*. O noso coñecemento da situación actual do inglés, que indica que *need* non só é o supervivente, senón que tamén é un dos 100 verbos máis frecuentes en discurso espontáneo (cf. Krug 2000: 291) esperta e alimenta a nosa curiosidade para explorar a historia deste verbo e daqueles que puideran competir semanticamente con el, para así descubrir por que *need* gañou e por que amosa a dobre natureza como auxiliar modal e non auxiliar en inglés actual.

Por estas razóns, o obxectivo deste traballo é dilucidar a evolución de *need* e a dos seus predecesores semánticos dende inglés antigo ata inglés moderno temperán, porque, por unha banda, hai moitos estudos sobre *need* en inglés actual e, por outra banda, como Rissanen (1999: 189) menciona, hai poucos cambios significativos na sintaxe do inglés dende fins do século XVIII. Neste traballo tentarei descubrir como *need* e os seus predecesores semánticos compiten polo mesmo significado, como se desenrolan morfolóxica, sintáctica e semanticamente ó longo da historia, e por que sobreviven, cambian ou desaparecen da lingua. Ademais, a análise de case 1000 anos de evolución lingüística debería tamén proporcionarnos a información que cómpre para explica-la evolución de *need* e dalgún dos seus competidores semánticos como auxiliares modais.

A estrutura deste traballo é a seguinte. O capítulo 2 presta atención ás fundamentacións teóricas baixo as que os meus verbos serán analizados: cambio lingüístico e gramaticalización (sección 2.1), modalidade e significados que exhibe *need* no inglés actual (sección 2.2), e construccións impersoais (sección 2.3)

Os capítulos 3, 4 e 5 constitúen a análise sincrónica do inglés antigo, medio e moderno temperán respectivamente. Estes tres capítulos teñen estruturas similares e están divididos en dúas partes diferenciadas. A primeira parte de cada capítulo ofrece as nocións necesarias para comprender cada un dos períodos, é dicir, describe a situación lingüística e, cando é necesario, un panorama xeral da situación social. A segunda parte dos capítulos 3, 4 e 5, á súa vez, concéntrase na análise dos datos do corpus. Antes desas análises, cada capítulo contén unha sección que describe o corpus (4.1 millóns de palabras) e as variables (44 en total) que se inclúen na base de datos. Despois os diferentes verbos son analizados en sincronía, describindo as súas características

idiosincráticas e observando como compiten pola expresión do mesmo significado nos tres períodos (seccións 3.4, 4.4 e 5.4 respectivamente).

O capítulo 6 combina a información obtida da análise dos corpus dos tres períodos do inglés e debuxa un cadro diacrónico de cada un dos verbos, prestando atención especial á evolución semántica e sintáctica e ó seu grado de gramaticalización. Finalmente, o capítulo 7 resume os resultados e conclusións obtidos neste traballo.

2. GRAMATICALIZACIÓN, MODALIDADE E IMPERSONALIDADE

Este capítulo senta as bases teóricas relacionadas coas tres áreas lingüísticas nas que conflúen os verbos que significan 'necesitar'. Así este traballo presta atención á gramaticalización (sección 2.1), xa que é ben sabido que *need* exhibe características auxiliares e que *þurfan* pertencía á clase de verbos que evolucionaría ós modais do inglés actual, o que implica que é probable que os verbos que significan 'necesitar' sufran gramaticalización; á modalidade (sección 2.2), xa que os a necesidade é unha das nocións básicas modais; e, finalmente, á impersonalidade (sección 2.3), xa que a experiencia da necesidade favorece as construccións impersoais en inglés medio. A converxencia nestes tres aspectos da lingua dá conta da unidade dos meus verbos como grupo baseada non só en cuestións semánticas, senón tamén en factores sintácticos.

A sección 2.1 abre cunha introducción ó cambio lingüístico e ós mecanismos que os explican e describe brevemente eses mecanismos, entre os que se destacan a reanálise e a analoxía, como os maiores mecanismos morfosintácticos, e a metáfora e a metonimia como os maiores semánticos. Esta introducción ó cambio lingüístico serve como base para describir un proceso complexo de cambio lingüístico, é dicir, a gramaticalización, que comprende cambios en distintos niveis lingüísticos. Como a gramaticalización é un fenómeno complexo, a sección 2.1.3 presta atención ás súas características. Despois dunha breve introducción á noción de gramaticalización segundo a definen diferentes autores, a sección 2.1.3.1 explica os principais procesos que se inclúen na gramaticalización. Estes procesos descríbense segundo autores como Lehmann (1995 [1982]), Heine (1993), ou Hopper e Traugott (2003), son clasificados en canto á semántica, morfosintaxe e fonoloxía. Así, as principais características da gramaticalización que describo son a desemantización, metáfora, metonimia e subxectivización. En canto á morfosintaxe, presto especial atención á decategorialización, reanálise e analoxía (descritas na sección 2.1.3.2), diverxencia, paradigmaticización, obrigatorificación e fixación. Finalmente, no

nivel fonolóxico, vemos que a gramaticalización abarca coalescencia ou clitización, e condensación ou erosión. A sección 2.1.3.3 presta atención á suposta unidireccionalidade da gramaticalización, que resulta ser un tema controvertido entre os lingüistas e conclúe, con Haspelmath (2004), que os contra-exemplos á unidireccionalidade son demasiado escasos como para considerar que a grammaticalización é bidireccional. Ademais, a sección 2.1.3.3 amosa que a maioría dos supostos contra-exemplos non son máis que exemplos de fenómenos diferentes, tales como a conversión ou a formación de palabras (Haspelmath 2004).

Despois da descrición da gramaticalización como un fenómeno complexo, a sección 2.1.3.4 ofrece un exemplo paradigmático da gramaticalización, é dicir os verbos modais auxiliares do inglés, que teñen evolucionado desde verbos léxicos con significado e función completos (p. ex. *magan* no inglés antigo significaba 'ser forte, ser capaz') ata marcadores de epistemicidade ou tempo (ex. *may* no inglés actual significa 'é posible que sexa o caso de que..' ou *will*, que expresa tempo futuro). Esta sección amosa que os procesos que ocorren na gramaticalizacións dos modais do inglés son reanálise, desemantización, decategorialización e clitización.

No marco da gramaticalización dos modais do inglés, a sección 2.2 presta atención a *need* no inglés actual e discute as diferentes concepcións da modalide como categoría semántica. A sección 2.2.1 examina a controvertida dobre natureza de *need*, que, de acordo coa visión tradicional postulada por autores como Huddleston (1984) e Quirk *et al.* (1985) é un modal (marxinal) cun verbo léxico homomórfico. Esta sección tamén ofrece as análises máis recentes de *need* (cf. Smith 2003, Leech 2003, Taeymans 2004a, entre outros), que revela que tal distinción entre o *need* modal e non modal non representa exactamente a situación actual, porque *need to* parece estar substituíndo a *need* en tódolos contextos. De feito, o traballo de Krug (2000) sobre os modais emerxentes sitúa *need (to)* a piques de entrar na nova clase, que tamén inclúe *going to, got to, want to* e *have to*. O seu modelo rompe coas consideracións tradicionais de que os auxiliares non poden ir seguidos da partícula *to* e, esta, de feito, fusiónase co verbo precedente en formas como *gonna* ou *wanna*, que están avanzando no inglés actual, ó mesmo tempo que *need to* está desenvolvendo a forma *needa* ou *neeta*. Así, a sección 2.2.1.3 conclúe que *need (to)* debe ser considerado un só verbo en inglés actual que oscila entre os modais centrais e os modais emerxentes.

Para completar o debuxo de *need* e *need to*, a sección 2.2.2 examina o campo da modalidade. Dúas aproximacións son discutidas, é dicir, a división tripartita da modalidade en deóntica, epistémica e dinámica (defendida, entre outros, por Lyons 1977; Palmer 1979, 1986, 2003; Warner 1993) e división dobre en raíz e epistémica (cf., por exemplo, Coates 1983; Sweetser 1990). Xustifico a miña decisión de elixir a distinción raíz / epistémica como a máis apropiada para o meu estudo. Unha desas razóns é a transparencia desta división dicotómica, que claramente implica que e a modalidade raíz e anterior no tempo á modalidade epistémica, que deriva da primeira. Esta visión dinámica da modalidade encaixa neste estudo diacrónico, porque implica evolución no tempo. A segunda razón para a elección da clasificación raíz / epistémica é o feito de que ambos tipos de modalidade admiten unha gradación en canto a dous ou tres eixes. Así, a modalidade raíz oscila no eixe da forza (pode ser forte ou débil), no da orixe (pode ser externa ou interna), e no da subxectividade (pode ser subxectiva ou obxectiva). A modalidade epistémica, á súa vez, oscila no eixe da subxectividade soamente. Ademais, Sweetser (1990) dá conta da modalidade baseándose nas bases cognitivas propostas por Talmy (1988, 2000) e so seu modelo de *force dynamics*, que describe a modalidade en termos de forzas e barreiras nas que o agonista e o antagonista representan forzas opostas que dan lugar ós significados modais (ex. obriga, permiso).

Baseándose nesta interpretación da modalidade, a sección 2.2.2.3 analiza as connotacións semánticas de *need* e *need to* no inglés actual, que pode expresar necesidade raíz externa e interna, forte e débil, e que ten unha preferencia moi forte por contextos non-afirmativos, ademais de expresar necesidade epistémica.

A última sección do capítulo 2, é dicir, 2.3, céntrase na definición e caracterización das construccións impersoais, construccións con experienciadores en caso non-nominativo. A necesidade é unha das experiencias tradicionalmente asociadas coa impersonalidade (ex. Elmer 1981), e, como tal, espérase que os verbos analizados neste estudo aparezan neste tipo de construcción. Despois de discutir as vantaxes e desvantaxes das clasificacións segundo Elmer (1981). Fischer e van der Leek (1983, 1987) e Allen (1995), finalmente, inclínome pola clasificación de Allen (1995). Segundo esta autora, as construccións con verbos de experiencia varían en canto á natureza do experienciador e a do tema. Así, cando o tema é nominal, as construccións poden ser Tipo N (experienciador oblicuo + tema xenitivo), Tipo I (experienciador oblicuo + tema nominativo) ou Tipo II (experienciador nominativo + tema xenitivo). Se, polo contrario, o tema é clausal, as construccións poden ser Tipo S (experienciador oblicuo + tema

clausal), Tipo *hit* (*hit* vacío + experienciador oblicuo + tema clausal), ou Tipo 'Persoal' (experienciador nominativo + tema clausal). A sección 2.3.3 ofrece a explicación de Allen (1995) en canto á evolución das construccións impersoais na historia do inglés, que resultan depender máis da natureza de cada verbo que da tendencia xeral dos falantes dun período determinado.

3. *ÞURFAN, BEÞURFAN, NEODIAN* E *BEHOFIAN* NO INGLÉS ANTIGO

A sección 3.1 é a introducción que prepara o terreo para a análise do inglés antigo. Ofrece unha clasificación morfolóxica dos verbos como fortes, débiles, pretérito-presentes e anómalos e di que *þurfan* e *beþurfan* son pretérito-presentes, mentres que *neodian* e *behofian* son débiles da clase 2. A sección 3.2 presta atención ós verbos pretérito-presentes e ós pre-modais, que no inglés antigo oscilan entre os verbos léxicos e os parcialmente grammaticalizados. Algúns pre-modais exhiben características auxiliares como a ausencia de forma de infinitivo, a aparición en construccións elípticas e impersoais (cf. Denison 1990a, Warner 1993, entre outros), e a perda de significado completo nalgúns contextos, como é o caso de **sculan*, que parece ter alcanzado os primeiros estadios da gramaticalización xa en inglés antigo (cf. Goossens 1987), ou de *willan*, que expresa relacións temporais ademais do seu significado completo 'querer' (cf. Traugott 1992). As seccións 3.2.2, 3.3.1 e 3.3.2 describen os meus catro verbos de inglés antigo baseándome na información obtida na bibliografía para comparala coa da análise do corpus ofrecida na sección 3.4. A información máis importante ofrecida na sección 3.3 e a xustificación da decisión de analizar tódalas formas posibles de *neodian* como exemplos potenciais de *need* v.2 (cf. *OED*), baseándome no feito de que todos parecen evolucionar do nome do inglés antigo *neod*, 'necesidade', e en que todos expresan significados que poden ser descritos nos termos de forzas e barreiras.

A sección 3.4 dedícase á análise do corpus de inglés antigo na busca de exemplos dos meus verbos para observar como compiten pola expresión do mesmo significado e se algún deles exhibe características auxiliares en inglés antigo. Antes da análise do corpus, a sección 3.4.0 describe o corpus de inglés antigo, que ten 1.2 millóns de palabras, e as variables estudadas, que foron obtidas das revisións bibliográficas ofrecidas no capítulo 2 e nas seccións 3.1 a 3.3. A sección 3.4.1 examina as características semánticas e sintácticas de *þurfan* e *beþurfan*, e as seccións 3.4.2 e 3.4.3 as de *neodian* e *behofian* respectivamente. Finalmente, a sección 3.4.4 resume os resultados e ofrece a comparación dos verbos de inglés antigo.

Semanticamente, os catro verbos expresan distintos tipos de forzas (física, social, interna e xeral), e tamén barreiras, que codifican a noción de posibilidade. Só *þurfan*, que é o verbo máis frecuente, expresa imposibilidade neste período. As forzas físicas son expresadas exclusivamente por *neodian*, que as máis das veces é a realización de *need* v.1 máis que de *need* v.2. O tipo de forza máis común que expresan os meus verbos está baseada en asuntos sociais. *Neodian* domina a expresión destas forzas en contextos afirmativos, mentres que *þurfan* aparece maioritariamente nos non-afirmativos, expresando a noción de ausencia de obriga e, menos frecuentemente, a de prohibición. *Beþurfan* e *behofian* expresan marxinalmente forzas sociais, porque a súa expresión favorita é a de forzas internas, onde resultan ser bastante equivalentes. *Neodian* rara vez expresa forzas internas e *þurfan* é un pouco máis frecuente, aínda que en contextos non-afirmativos, expresando ausencia de necesidade interna. Finalmente, as forzas xerais poden ser representadas por calquera dos catros verbos, a pesares da baixa frecuencia deste tipo de forza.

Sintacticamente, os meus verbos de inglés antigo son moi heteroxéneos. Para empezar, *neodian* difire claramente do resto dos membros do grupo, porque o seu significado máis común 'obrigar' implica un modelo sintáctico distinto. Ademais, *neodian* resulta ser extraordinariamente común na voz pasiva no modelo 'X é obrigado a facer Y', co que se acerca a 'X necesita / debe (facer) Y'. Deste xeito, os exemplos pasivos de *neodian* son considerados os máis próximos ós verbos que significan 'necesitar'. A pesar disto, *neodian* non é un verbo de experiencia, excepto cando significa 'necesitar', isto é, nunha soa ocasión.

O único exemplo de *neodian* na activa co significado 'necesitar' e os exemplos de *þurfan, beþurfan* e *behofian* cando non son usados absolutamente son analizados como construccións de verbos de experiencia. Rara vez teñen os meus verbos un experienciador oblicuo, senón que prefiren os nominativos. Era esperable que *neodian* e *behofian* apareceran en construccións impersoais, segundo Bosworth and Toller, pero só aparecen con experienciadores en nominativo. O único exemplo de *neodian* é unha variante do Tipo II, porque o tema é non-marcado (contrastando con Visser 1963-1973: §1345), e *behofian* aparecen principalmente en construccións Tipo II con temas en xenitivo (de acordo con Allen 1997). *Beþurfan*, que ten unha grande preferencia por temas nominais, tamén é frecuentemente encontrado en Tipo II e variante de Tipo II, e rara vez toma experienciadores non-nominativos. *Þurfan* tamén prefire experienciadores nominativos, coa excepción dun caso de Tipo I e de catro casos de Tipo S.

Þurfan é o único dos catro verbos que amosa algún grado de gramaticalización. As razóns aducidas son as seguintes. Ten unha grande preferencia por complementos clausais, en lugar de nominais (ó contrario que *beþurfan*). Aparece maioritariamente en construccións de Tipo 'Persoal', é dicir, con un experienciador en nominativo e con preferencia polo infinitivo sen *to* (aínda que aparece unha vez con infinitivo con *to*, contradicindo a Warner 1993: 137). Pode aparecer en construccións elípticas (chamadas *pseudo-gapping*). Finalmente, amosa falta de selección do suxeito, xa que ocorre con infinitivos pasivos e é influído pola sintaxe do verbo impersoal que o segue, como nos catro exemplos de construcción Tipo S. Estas características sintácticas de *þurfan* son interpretadas como síntomas da súa decategorialización.

4. *THURVEN* (E *DURREN*), *BETHURVEN, NEDEN, BIHOVEN* E *MISTEREN* NO INGLÉS MEDIO

A sección 4.1 ofrece unha visión xeral da situación social heteroxénea no período do inglés medio, e a sección 4.2 céntrase nos principais cambios semánticos, morfolóxicos e sintácticos que sofre a lingua neste período. Esta sección amosa que as características auxiliares do grupo modal neste período son as mesmas que en inglés antigo e algunhas novas. Estas son a crecente independencia das formas de pretérito, que non expresan tempo pasado (Warner 1993: 149, 150) e o ascenso de novos significados modais, como o 'equivalente do subxuntivo', principalmente debido á perda de flexións, e a expresión de futuro e epistemicidade (Warner 1993: 175-178). Finalmente, a sección 4.3 describe as características dos verbos que significan 'necesitar' en inglés medio baseándome na información que ofrece a bibliografía. Especificamente, a sección 4.3.1 clarifica a confusión fonolóxica entre *thurven* e *durren* e xustifica a decisión de analizar os exemplos de ambos como exemplos de *thurven*. Ademais, a sección 4.3.2 explica que as formas de *neden* deber ser tratadas por separado tendo en conta se pertencen a *neden* v.1 ou *neden* v.2

A sección 4.4 explora o corpus de inglés medio na busca de exemplos dos meus verbos. A sección 4.4.0 describe o corpus de inglés medio, que comprenden a sección de inglés medio do *Helsinki Corpus* e algúns textos do *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*, que suman 1.2 millóns de palabras. A sección 4.4.1 ofrece a análise de *thurven* (e *durren*) e *bethurven*, e as seccións 4.4.2, 4.4.3 e 4.4.4 concéntranse en *neden, bihoven* e *misteren* respectivamente. Finalmente, a sección 4.4.5 resume as principais conclusións obtidas nas seccións previas.

O inglés medio resulta ser o período dos grandes cambios no que se refire ós verbos que significan 'necesitar', o que non é sorprendente tendo en conta os cambios xerais que sofre a lingua neste período. Debido á diversidade e evolución rápida do inglés medio, a análise de exemplos destes verbos tivo que facerse tendo en conta os sub-períodos, que son M1, M2, M3 e M4, seguindo a división do *Helsinki Corpus*. As seccións 4.4.1 a 4.4.4 amosan que o período de inglés medio alberga o cambio máis radical polo que o verbo máis común ó principio do período é o menos frecuente ó final, e o menos frecuente ó principio, *neden* v.2, convértese no máis común ó final e amosa o abano máis amplo de construccións e significados.

A primeira metade do inglés medio representa o principio dos cambios incipientes. A situación en M1 é bastante similar á do inglés antigo. *Thurven* é o verbo máis común e está altamente restrinxido a contextos non-afirmativos expresando ausencia de obriga ou necesidade e, marxinalmente, imposibilidade, mentres que *bihoven* aparece especialmente en contextos afirmativos. *Bethurven* non é moi frecuente e expresa forzas internas, os poucos exemplos de *neden* v.2 expresan necesidade interna, e *neden* v.1 está restrinxido a forzas físicas e sociais. En M2 *bihoven* alcanza o seu cumio en frecuencia e en valores semánticos, mentres que os outros verbos son bastante escasos ou completamente ausentes. *Thurven* exhibe a frecuencia que manterá ata que desaparece da lingua.

A segunda metade do inglés medio é testemuña dos cambios máis radicais. Mentres que *thurven* mantén en M3 e M4 a mesma frecuencia que en M2, expresando ausencia de necesidade e obriga, os outros verbos sofren importantes evolucións. M3 é o sub-período do ascenso de *neden* v.2, que expresa maioritariamente necesidade interna e ausencia de necesidade interna e, menos frecuentemente, obriga e falta de obriga social. Ó mesmo tempo, os últimos exemplos de *neden* v.1 ocorren en textos de M3 e sempre na voz pasiva expresando obriga social (moi parecido a semi-auxiliares do inglés actual como *be obliged to*). A confluencia en M3 dos últimos exemplos de *neden* v.1 (sempre na voz pasiva) e o ascenso en frecuencia de *neden* v.2, que pode expresar obriga social é interpretada como o punto de inflexión na evolución de *need*. *Bihoven* segue coa preferencia por contextos afirmativos e pola expresión de obriga social e necesidade xeral, aínda que a súa frecuencia é moito menor que en M2.

En M4, *neden* v.1 non aparece e *bihoven* decae considerablemente, mentres que *neden* v.2 mantén a mesma frecuencia que en M3 e confirma o seu status como o verbo principal que significa 'necesitar', e aparece principalmente en contextos non-afirmativos, o antigo contexto favorito de *thurven*, que aínda

aparece ocasionalmente, e tamén expresa imposibilidade. O feito de que *tharf* and *need* son os únicos dos meus verbos que expresan posibilidade ademais de necesidade é moi importante porque a relación entre necesidade e posibilidade é un dos principios básicos da modalidade, e estes dous verbos son os únicos que chegan a funcionar como modais auxiliares na historia do inglés. A substitución semántica de *need* parece, logo, estar completa á fin do período de inglés medio. Ademais, en M4 tamén temos o préstamo do francés *misteren*, que tamén significa 'necesitar' e que parece ter entrado na lingua inglesa por algunha das seguintes razóns: (i) o prestixio de préstamos do francés, (ii) a necesidade de ter moito termos expresando necesidade, xa que este é un significado básico, ou (iii), a ansia dos falantes pola variación (cf. Kuteva 2004).

No lado sintáctico tamén hai cambios no inglés medio. Os meus verbos desenrolan a posibilidade de aparecer sen un experienciador, aínda que, sen embargo, prefiren a súa presencia as máis das veces. En canto ó seu status auxiliar, *neden* v.1 na voz activa non foi considerado por razóns obvias, pero na voz pasiva foi explicado coma un tipo de estructura fosilizada próxima ós semi-auxiliares no inglés actual, como *be obliged to*, porque neste momento da historia só ocorre con complementos de infinitivos con *to*. Esta estructura sintáctica provocou que *neden* v.1 se solapara semanticamente con *neden* v.2, porque ambos teñen suxeitos agonistas. *Thurven* reforza as súas características auxiliares que tiña en inglés antigo xa que deixa de aparecer con complementos nominais. A súa frecuencia decrecente, sen embargo, non permitiu unha interpretación de *thurven* como un auxiliar ó longo de todo o período do inglés medio. *Bihoven*, que semanticamente tiña moito dun verbo de obriga, abertamente prefire experienciadores non-nominativos, o que foi interpretado como un indicio do seu status actual. Tamén chamei a atención ó feito de que pode ocorrer con experienciadores nominativos tan tarde como en M4, o que contradí a afirmación de Allen (1997) de que este verbo deixa de aparecer con experienciadores en nominativo no século XI. *Neden* v.2 tamén prefire experienciadores non-nominativos ata M3, pero isto cambia en M4, cando comeza a amosar outras características sintácticas que ten en inglés actual, como, por exemplo, a aparición con infinitivos pasivos. Sen embargo, este verbo está lonxe de ter status auxiliar, porque prefire infinitivos con *to* e aparece frecuentemente con complementos nominais. Finalmente, os exemplos de *misteren* son tan poucos que non permiten extraer ningunha conclusión en canto ó seu nivel de gramaticalización. Polo tanto, o período de inglés medio conclúe sen ningún verbo que desempeñe as funcións dun auxiliar co significado 'necesitar'.

5. *NEED* E *BEHOVE* EN INGLÉS MODERNO TEMPERÁN

Este capítulo ofrece primeiro unha introducción que proporciona a información apropiada para unha análise do período. A sección 5.1 apunta brevemente ós feitos que modernizaron a lingua e que provocaron a estandarización neste período. A sección 5.2 céntrase nas características dos verbos neste período e presta especial atención ás construccións con verbos de experiencia (sección 5.2.1) e ós verbos auxiliares (sección 5.2.2). Na sección 5.2.2 vemos que a clase dos modais auxiliares está claramente definida en bases morfolóxicas, sintácticas e semánticas. Morfoloxicamente, non amosan o morfema de terceira persoa de singular do presente de indicativo, non teñen formas non-persoais, poden ter clíticos e poden contraer coa negación. Entre as características sintácticas, toman o infinitivo sen *to*, pode ir seguidas dun participio de pasado indicando (pluscuam)perfecto e deixan de aparecer ó carón doutro auxiliar. Semanticamente, desenrolan significados epistémicos, confirman a súa gramaticalización como marcadores de tempo futuro, e as formas de pasado perden á referencia ó tempo pasado, entre outros cambios. As seccións 5.2.3 a 5.2.4 describen os meus verbos en inglés moderno temperán segundo a información extraída da bibliografía, é dicir, *need*, *behove* e, con moita menos representación, *mister*.

A sección 5.3 examina os exemplos dos verbos de inglés moderno temperán encontrados no corpus. A sección 5.3.0 describe as características do corpus deste período, que ten 1.7 millóns de palabras. As seccións 5.3.1 e 5.3.2 analizan os exemplos de *need* e *behove* respectivamente, porque estes son os únicos dos meus verbos que se atopan neste período da lingua, xa que non se atoparon exemplos de *mister* no corpus. A sección 5.3.3 ofrece un resumo e as conclusións desta análise.

A crecente frecuencia de *need* e o retroceso de *behove* nos tres sub-períodos de inglés moderno temperán resultan ser moi significativos en canto á relevancia semántica e sintáctica destes verbos. Este resulta ser o período no que *need* se confirma como o principal dos verbos que teñen o significado 'necesitar', e *behove* adhírese ó seu status como verbo que expresa o que é apropiado. *Need* continúa coa súa tendencia polos contextos non-afirmativos, e *behove* ocorre maioritariamente nos afirmativos. Ademais, *need* está a cargo de expresar forzas internas e sociais, namentres que *behove* está máis restrinxido ás forzas xerais. Asemade, *need* é sorprendentemente común na expresión de forzas xerais, o que foi interpretado como un indicio cara a súa desemantización. Ademais, *behove* e *need* resultan expresar necesidade epistémica en contextos afirmativos de E1, e

non-afirmativos de E3 respectivamente. Os valores epistémicos de *behove* non se puideron considerar como proba da súa gramaticalización, porque está sintacticamente lonxe deste grupo. Sen embargo, o feito de que *need* chega a expresar necesidade epistémica ó final do período é considerado como unha información moi interesante, especialmente se a comparamos coas características morfosintácticas.

As características sintácticas de *behove* (descritas na sección 5.3.2) son moi similares ás que ten en inglés actual, xa que tende a ocorrer en construccións Tipo *hit* e tamén sen experienciador. En canto ás características sintácticas de *need*, a sección 5.3.1.2 amosa que ten unha tendencia crecente a aparecer en construccións do Tipo 'Personal' e con infinitivo sen *to* a medida que o período avanza, o que é interpretado como unha mostra da súa aproximación ós verbos modais. Ademais, en E3 exhibe outras características sintácticas, como a complementación con infinitivos pasivos e unha progresiva reticencia a admitir un auxiliar diante del. *Need* tamén carece do morfema da terceira persoa de singular do presente de indicativo especialmente cando vai seguido dun infinitivo. A principal conclusión é, logo, que ó final do período do inglés moderno temperán *need* exhibe características de verbos modais nalgúns contextos, mentres que non renuncia ó seu status léxico.

6. ANÁLISE DIACRÓNICA DOS PREDECESORES SEMÁNTICOS DE *NEED*

Despois da análise sincrónica dos tres períodos nos capítulos 3, 4 e 5, o capítulo 6 ofrece unha explicación diacrónica da evolución de cada verbo de forma separada. A sección 6.1 revisa a evolución de *tharf*. Este verbo está, dende inglés antigo, cerca do grupo dos auxiliares, debido a razóns morfolóxicas, semánticas e sintácticas. Morfoloxicamente, pertence ó grupo dos pretérito-presentes, unha clase de verbos da que derivan a maioría dos modais do inglés actual. Semanticamente, expresa ausencia de obriga ou necesidade e sintacticamente exhibe características auxiliares como a preferencia polo infinitivo sen *to*, ou a falta de selección do suxeito. Sen embargo, desaparece da lingua unha vez que comeza a amosar as características auxiliares máis definitorias e deixa de exhibir características de verbos léxicos, é dicir, en inglés medio. A sección 6.2 examina a breve vida de *betharf*, que deriva de *tharf*, que ó longo da historia funciona como o complementario léxico de *tharf*, e que ocorre principalmente en contextos afirmativos e con complementación nominal.

A sección 6.3.1 revisa a complexa evolución semántica de *need*. En inglés antigo, ten dúas manifestacións, unha co significado 'obrigar' e outra co significado 'necesitar, ser necesario.' O primeiro destes significados é o máis común antes de M3 (1350-1420), precisamente cando o segundo significado comeza a gañar terreo. *Need* evoluciona do físico ó social, ó interno e, finalmente, ó mental, e segue os mesmos paso que o modal *may*, por exemplo (cf. Sweetser 1990). A relación entre o agonista e o antagonista dá conta da converxencia de *need* v.1 e *need* v.2 na expresión de forzas sociais en M3. Así, o modelo de *force dynamics*, en contra do que din Traugott e Dascher (2002: 111) resulta ser a clave para a interpretación de *need* e, xa que logo, da necesidade modal (cf. Loureiro Porto 2003 e en prensa). Se interpretamos, como fago neste estudo, que *need* v.1 e *need* v.2 son dúas manifestacións do mesmo verbo (cf. tamén Molencki 2002, van der Auwera e Taeymans 2004), observamos que as forzas sociais, é dicir, externas, son previas ás internas na evolución de *need*, o que vai en contra de van der Auwera e Plungian (1998), que defenden que o movemento da semántica dos modais no proceso de gramaticalización vai de interno a externo e non viceversa. Ademais, os valores semánticos de *need* parecen ter sufrido xeneralización, que é inherente á desemantización, porque exhibe una frecuencia crecente a expresar forzas orixinadas en autoridades nebulosas. Finalmente, nun último cambio metafórico, or significados raíz de forzas sociais, internas e xerais fan posible o xurdimento da necesidade epistémica como unha das máis claras mostras da gramaticalización de *need* como un modal de necesidade. Ó mesmo tempo, *need* amosa unha preferencia por experienciadores nominativos dende M3 en adiante, o que é interpretado como a incipiente substitución de *tharf*, que estaba sufrindo unha caída constante en frecuencia neste momento da historia.

No eixe sintáctico, a sección 6.3.2 amosa que *need* tamén se move regularmente dende as construccións con experienciadores non-nominativos a outras con experienciadores nominativos e con preferencia polos complementos clausais con infinitivos, con ou sen *to*, sendo os últimos os máis frecuentes a medida que o tempo avanza. Non é ata o período do inglés moderno temperán que este verbo exhibe características auxiliares como esta preferencia, falta de selección do suxeito, non combinación con outros auxiliares e ausencia do morfema da terceira persoa de singular do presente de indicativo. Polo tanto, non é ata entón cando *need* substitúe a *tharf* sintacticamente. Por moi crecente que sexa o seu uso como un auxiliar, nunca abandona as súas características léxicas iniciais, como, por exemplo, a complementación nominal. O feito de que os máis

recentes estudos sobre *need* no inglés actual revelen que *need to* está substituíndo a *need* é interpretado como un caso de retracción, iso é, unha volta ó seu modelo sintáctico anterior (cf. Haspelmath 2004, Taeymans 2004a).

A sección 6.4 amosa que *behove* puido ter sufrido gramaticalización e terse convertido nun auxiliar modal de necesidade, por unha serie de razóns semánticas. Para comezar, o significado que exhibe en inglés antigo é moi próximo ó de *tharf* e, máis especialmente, ó de *betharf*, xa que ambos prefiren contextos afirmativos. En segundo lugar, a súa evolución semántica implica un movemento de forzas internas a forzas externas (e inglés medio), como van der Auwera e Plungian (1998) defenden en canto á evolución dos modais. En terceiro lugar, é o primeiro dos predecesores de *need* que expresa necesidade epistémica (en E1). Sen embargo, *behove* afástase semanticamente do significado 'necesitar' cando da segunda parte do inglés medio en adiante se especializa co significado 'do que é apropiado'. Ademais, claramente se decanta polas construccións con experienciadores non-nominativos dende comezos de inglés medio. O seu status no inglés moderno temperán é moi similar ó que ten en inglés actual, que difire cualitativamente dos seus cognados neerlandeses *behoeven* e *hoeven*, segundo os describen Fischer e van der Leek (1987: 115, nota 12) e Mackenzie (1997: 81) respectivamente.

Finalmente, a sección 6.5 recupera a información ofrecida sobre *mister*, que só ocorre en M4, e que non se gramaticaliza, porque a súa frecuencia é demasiado escasa e a súa vida demasiado curta.

As principais conclusións extraídas deste estudo pódense resumir en tres frases: (i) a gramaticalización é impredicible, xa que un auxiliar, *tharf*, desaparece da lingua e é substituído polo elemento menos esperado, *need*, mentres que o elemento máis adecuado para substituílo, *behove*, se especializa no significado concreto 'do que é apropiado', renunciando á alta frecuencia que tivera unha vez; (ii) o modelo semántico de *force dynamics* resulta ser un método moi útil para interpretar os significados dos verbos que significan 'necesitar'; e (iii) a investigación diacrónica é a clave para entender a situación actual de *need*, como un verbo non pouco controvertido.