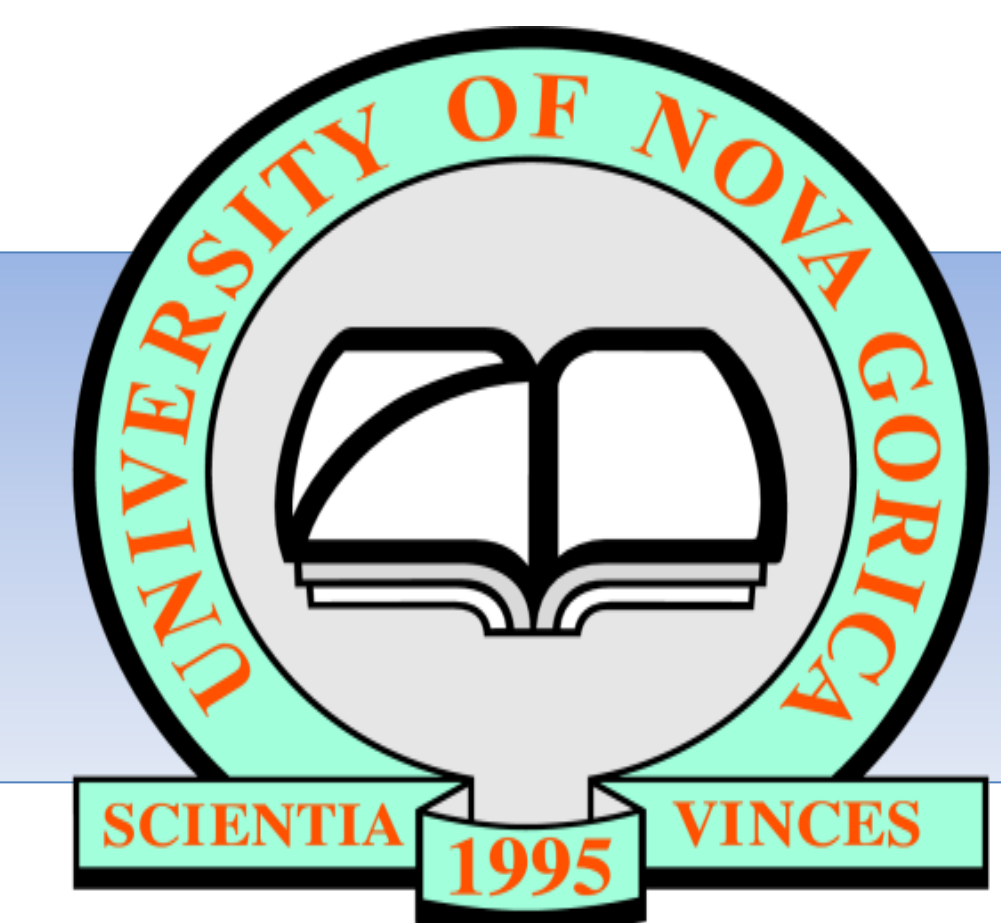


The Modal Cycle vs. Negation

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DiGS 18

Universiteit Gent (29 June – 1 July)



Possibility Modality in Slovenian (Hansen 2005, Lenček 1996, etc.)

- (1) a. *Lahko grem v kino.* **Adv_{MOD} + V_{FINITE}**
easily go_{1SG} in cinema
'I can go to the cinema.'
- b. *Ne morem iti v kino.* **Neg + Aux_{MOD} + V_{INF}**
not can_{1SG} go_{INF} in cinema
'I can't go to the cinema.'
- c. **Ne lahko grem v kino.* **Neg + Adv_{MOD} + V_{FINITE}**
not easily go_{1SG} in cinema
- d. **Morem iti v kino.* **Aux_{MOD} + V_{INF}**
can_{1SG} go_{INF} in cinema

Goal

- investigate crosslinguistically rare pattern **Adv_{MOD} + V_{FINITE}**
- account for current complementarity from (1): **Affirm=Adv_{MOD}** vs. **Neg=Aux_{MOD}**
- situate in theory of language change

Diachronic data

lahko today = 1. 'easily' (manner adv); 2. possibility modal
(differ wrt: modification, comparative, phonology, placement, truth-condition contribution; Lenček 1996)

- (2) *Phelps je včeraj že lahko plaval, a raje ni.* (# manner *lahko*)
Phelps aux yesterday already easily swum but rather not-aux
'Phelps was already able to swim yesterday, but chose not to.'

A. ~ 1000 AD (Freising fragments) (+OCS ..., Hansen 2009)

- (3) a. *Tíge se mosem i mui este buiti [...]* **Aux_{MOD} + V_{INF}**
thus ptcl can_{1PL} and we still be_{INF}
'We can still be like them'
- b. *[...] egose ne mosem nikimse liza ni ucriti [...]* **Neg + Aux_{MOD} + V_{INF}**
whose not can_{1PL} noone face us hide
'before his face we cannot hide behind anyone'

B. 16th through 18th century: as in I., plus ...

- (4) a. *[...] taku iz tiga vsaki lahku zastopi, de [...]* **lahko + V_{FINITE}**
thus from this everyone easily understands, that
'so that everyone can understand that ...' (1557)
- b. *Sakaj GOSPVD Jlednimu lahku more vfmerti povèrniti, [...]* **lahko + Aux_{MOD} + V_{INF}**
because lord last-ones easily can_{3SG} in-death return_{INF}
'Because after death, the lord can give to everyone ...' (1584)

C. 19th century: as in I.-II., plus ...

- (5) *Dalje s piscem ne morem lahko o tej reči govoriti.* **Neg + Aux_{MOD} + laško + V_{INF}**
further with writer not can_{1SG} easily of this thing speak_{INF}
'I cannot discuss this further with the author.' (1877)

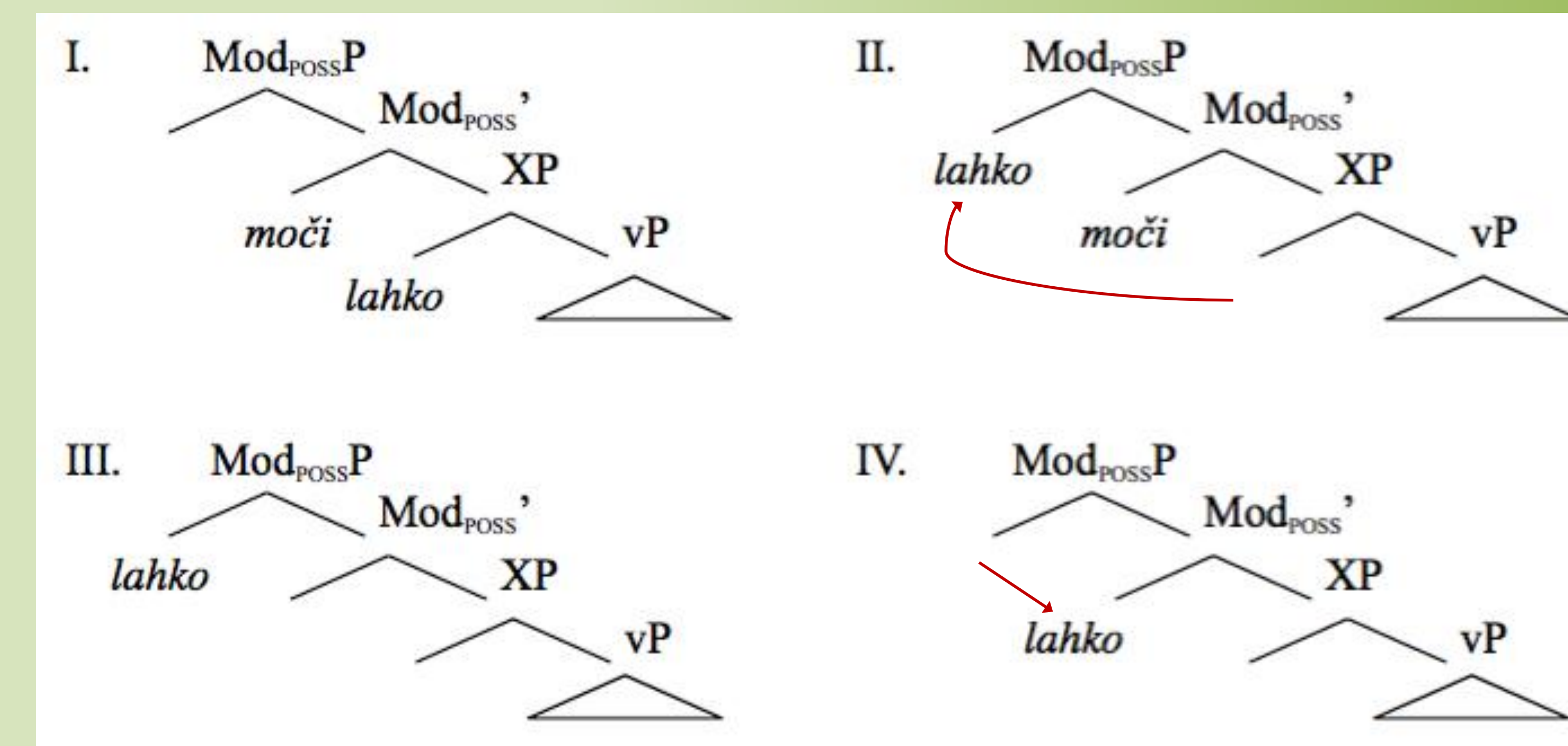
D. 20th century: as in (1) above, plus ... dialectal variation

See Table 1:

		NEGATION	NO NEGATION
11 TH CENTURY		<i>moči</i>	<i>moči</i>
16 TH CENTURY		<i>moči</i>	<i>moči / moči+lahko / lahko</i>
17 TH CENTURY		<i>moči</i>	<i>moči / moči+lahko</i>
18 TH CENTURY		<i>moči</i>	<i>moči / moči+lahko / lahko</i>
LATE 19 TH , EARLY 20 TH CENTURY		<i>moči / moči+lahko</i>	<i>moči / moči+lahko / lahko</i>
PRESENT-DAY SLOVENIAN (LATE 20 TH AND 21 ST CENTURY)	DIALECTS OF RESIA, SLAVIA VENETA	<i>moči</i>	<i>moči+lahko / lahko</i>
	STANDARD AND MANY DIALECTS, E.G. LJUBLJANA	<i>moči</i>	<i>lahko</i>
	DIALECT OF NOVA GORICA	<i>(upati /) lahko</i>	<i>(upati /) lahko</i>

Table 1: Slovenian Root Possibility Modality in Diachrony

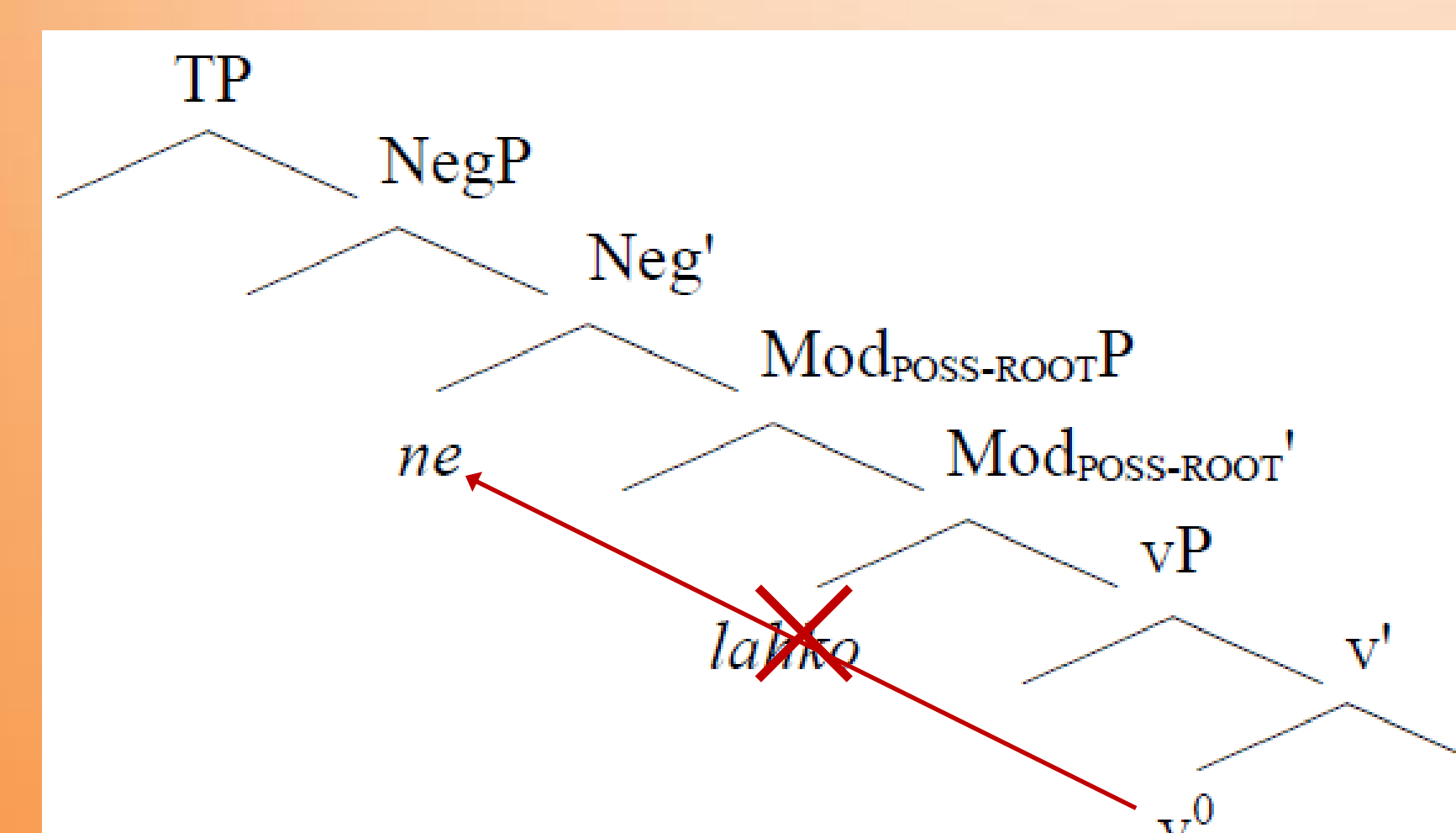
Moči > lahko: Modal Cycle



- moči* = head Mod_{POSS}P (cf. Linguistic Cycle, van Gelderen 2011)
- lahko*:
 - manner just above vP (Cinque 1999)
 - bleaching, modal strengthening
 - grammaticalizes into a Mod_{POSS}P element, pushes out *moči*

Why no *lahko* under sentential negation?

- ne* = Neg⁰, from [TP [NegP [vP]]] (Ilc & Sheppard 2003)
 - proclitic, actually syntactic constituent with finite verb, via V⁰-to-Neg⁰
 - (hence *ne*+verb host to 2P clitics) (ibid.)
- Mod_{POSS}P = [TP [NegP [Mod_{POSS-ROOT}P [vP]]]] (Butler 2003)

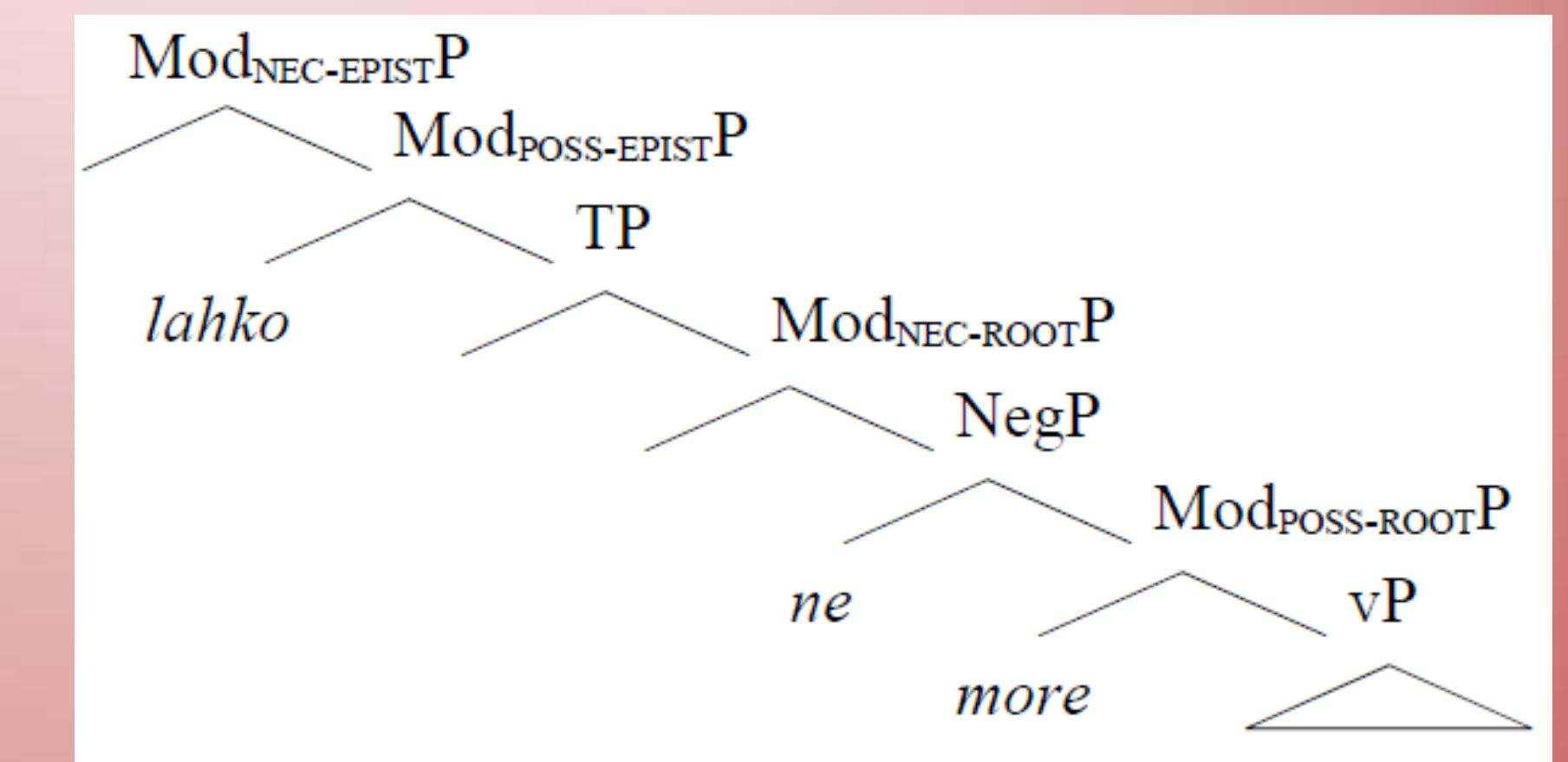


- lahko*: non-affixal head
 - intervener, blocking V⁰-to-Neg⁰
 - (cf. English *not*)
- Neg+*moči*+*lahko* (e.g. (5)):
 - lahko* in Spec,Mod_{POSS}P or as manner in XP

Lahko and negation: continued

- Lahko* ok with **constituent/VP negation**
- Lahko** ok with negation when used as **epistemic modal** – Mod_{POSS-EPIST}P above NegP (cf. Butler 2003), no block

- (6) *ker se mokra čebela lahko ne as refl wet bee easily not more več vrniti v panj,*
can_{3SG} more return_{INF} to hive
'because a wet bee could be unable to return to the hive,



- Nova Gorica dialect**: *ne* not always cliticized on finite verb (Skubic 1997)
 - conditions met for *lahko* to spread to negative clauses

- (7) *A vam né lahko tako naštímajo, da [...]* (OK in NG, * in Standard Slovenian/LJ/etc)
Q you_{DAT} not easily thus arrange that
'Can they not arrange it so that ...'

Moči persisting in non-negative clauses

- Moči* {better/ok} with questions with *wh*-movement, matrix and embedded (cf. Roeder & Hansen 2007)
 - (8) not environment predicted by account to be ruled out

- (8) a. *Kako moreš tako govoriti?* (Google=434) b. *Kako lahko tako govoriš?* (Google=761)
how can_{2SG} thus speak_{INF} how easily thus speak
'How can you talk like this?' 'How can you talk like this?'

- Downward entailing environments? *Moči* as NPI? No:

- (9) a. **A moreš komurkoli pomagati?* b. *A lahko komurkoli pomagaš?*
Q can_{2SG} anyone help_{INF} Q easily anyone help
'Can you help anyone?'

- Paradigmaticity? (cf. Lehmann 2015)

- (10) a. *Nisem mogel iti v kino.* b. **Nisem lahko šel v kino.*
not-aux could go_{INF} to cinema not-aux easily gone to cinema
'I could not go to the movies.'

Conclusion

- Typological peculiarity (modal adv + finite verb)
 - moči* > *moči+lahko* > *lahko*
 - Modal Cycle (cf. Linguistic Cycle)
- Peculiar complementarity (*moči*=negation, *lahko*=elsewhere)
 - lahko* as affixal head blocking V⁰-to-Neg⁰, *ne* as verb-needing clitic
- Q: *Lahko* and *ne* as phrasal elements in specifiers?

Ms., to app. in *Formal Studies in Slovenian Syntax. In Honor of Janez Orešnik* (Benjamins):
<http://sabotin.ung.si/~rzaucer/papers/MarusicZaucer-2016-Modal-cycle-vs-negation.pdf>

Funding: - FP7/2007-2013 Cooperation grant agreement 613465-ATHEME
- Slovenian Research Agency (program No. P6-0382)

