

Contents

List of Figures — IX

List of Tables — IX

Abbreviations — XI

1 Introduction — 1

- 1.1 Layered modality — 1
- 1.2 The double modal puzzle — 5
- 1.3 Methodological note — 10

2 Modality: An overview — 14

- 2.1 Modal flavour — 14
- 2.2 Modal force — 19
- 2.3 Syntax of modal verbs — 21
- 2.4 Main assumptions of the Kratzerian theory of modality — 23
- 2.5 What counts as a double modal? — 26

3 Layered modality: Previous accounts and overview of the data — 30

- 3.1 Double modality in previous work — 30
 - 3.1.1 Di Paolo's lexical analysis — 30
 - 3.1.2 Syntactic analyses — 31
 - 3.1.3 Typological and cartographic work — 40
 - 3.1.4 Modal concord — 43
 - 3.1.5 Summary of proposals and unanswered puzzles — 44
- 3.2 Overview of the Croatian modal system — 45
- 3.3 Overview of Croatian DMCs — 49
 - 3.3.1 Non-epistemic modals over non-epistemic modals — 50
 - 3.3.2 Epistemic modals over non-epistemic modals — 63
 - 3.3.3 Epistemic modals over epistemic modals — 65
 - 3.3.4 Non-epistemic modals over epistemic modals — 66
 - 3.3.5 Summary of restrictions — 67

4 Force and flavour as semantic restrictors in DMCs — 70

- 4.1 The main puzzle — 70
- 4.2 A preliminary analysis — 71
 - 4.2.1 Epistemic modals over epistemic and non-epistemic modals — 71

- 4.2.2 Non-epistemic over epistemic modals — **76**
- 4.2.3 Non-epistemic over non-epistemic modals — **78**
- 4.3 The anti-concord constraint — **79**
- 4.4 The variety within the group — **85**
 - 4.4.1 Grammatically (non-)distinct flavours — **85**
 - 4.4.2 Three types of circumstantials — **90**
 - 4.4.3 Role of circumstantial flavours in modal ordering — **101**
- 4.5 The final ordering — **104**
 - 4.5.1 Modal orderings: flavours and forces — **104**
 - 4.5.2 Inside the modal head — **109**
- 4.6 Revised summary of restrictions — **117**

5 Motivating the hierarchy — 118

- 5.1 A deeper look into DMCs — **118**
- 5.2 Epistemic vs. non-epistemic — **119**
- 5.3 Non-epistemic ordering — **121**
 - 5.3.1 Circumstantial flavours — **121**
 - 5.3.2 Priority vs. circumstantial group — **126**
- 5.4 Additional evidence from adverb position — **129**
- 5.5 Universal vs. existential — **133**
- 5.6 Compositionality of double modality — **137**
 - 5.6.1 How do modals combine? — **137**
 - 5.6.2 Subset hypothesis — **138**
 - 5.6.3 Intersection hypothesis — **142**
 - 5.6.4 The modal base puzzle — **147**

6 Conclusion — 152

- 6.1 Summary — **152**
- 6.2 Cross-linguistic evidence — **154**
- 6.3 Final remarks — **155**

Appendix — 157

Bibliography — 220

Index — 226