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versus specific past in Wandala -- 10. Locative complement versus direct object marker in Hdi -- 11. Inherently locative versus inherently non-locative goal in Hdi -- 12. A scenario for grammaticalization within a domain -- 13. The directionality of grammaticalization within a domain -- 14. Implications -- 15. Open questions -- References -- Abbreviations -- Delexicalizing di -- 1. Introduction -- 2. Previous studies on the development of nominalizer di ~ de -- 3. Delexicalizing di -- 3.1 Etymology and cognates of di -- 3.2 From locative noun to light noun and interrogative pronoun -- 3.3 Intensifier and exclamative functions -- 3.4 Emergence of nominalizer and adnominal uses of di -- 3.5 An attitudinal nominalizer: The rise of sentence-final de -- 4. Another Chinese attitudinal nominalizer - zhe -- 5. Cross-dialectal and cross-linguistic parallels -- 6. Conclusion -- References -- Abbreviations -- Should conditionals be emergent ... -- 1. Interrogatives and conditionals. 2. The grammaticalization perspective -- 3. Asyndetic conditionals as constructions -- 4. Synchronic discourse basis -- 5. Historical data -- 6. Conclusion -- References -- Corpora -- Old English and old high German texts -- Abbreviations -- From manner expression to attitudinal discourse marker -- 1. Introduction -- 1.1 Type I anders: [+comparative, +phoric] -- 1.2 Type II anders: [-comparative, +phoric] -- 1.3 Type III anders: [-comparative, -phoric] -- 1.4 Outline of the structure -- 2. Identifying intraclausal type I anders -- 2.1 Proportionality -- 2.2 Clefting -- 2.3 Interaction with negation -- 2.3.1 Anders in the scope of negation -- 2.3.2 Anders in initial position of a negative clause -- 3. Identifying strongly interclausal type II anders -- 3.1 Non-applicability of type I criteria -- 3.1.1 Proportionality -- 3.1.2 Clefting -- 3.1.3 Interaction with negation -- 3.2 Accommodation -- 3.2.1 Negative conditionality accommodation -- 3.2.2 Disjunctive accommodation -- 3.2.3 Exceptive accommodation -- 3.3 Interaction with conjunctions -- 4. Identifying weakly interclausal type III anders -- 4.1 Non-applicability of type I criteria -- 4.1.1 Proportionality -- 4.1.2 Clefting -- 4.1.3 Interaction with negation -- 4.2 Non-applicability of type II criteria -- 4.2.1 Accommodation -- 4.2.2 Interaction with conjunctions -- 4.3 Type III anders as an attitudinal discourse marker -- 5. Word order patterns -- 6. Conclusions -- 6.1 The three types of anders in a broader perspective -- 6.2 From synchronic criteria to grammaticalization parameters/principles -- References -- Appendix: The standard lexicographical analyses of anders -- 1. Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal -- 2. Van Dale Groot woordenboek van de Nederlandse taal -- Grammaticalization and lexicalization effects in participial morphology -- 1. Introduction -- 1.1 Data. 1.2 Grammaticalization and lexicalization -- 1.3 Constructional approach -- 2. Old Czech participial adjective -- 3. Case-study -- 3.1 PAs in an event-profiling (predicative) function -- 3.2 Functionally ambiguous PA tokens -- 3.3 PAs in a participant-profiling (modification) function -- 3.3.1 Habitual meanings -- 3.3.2 Resultative meaning -- 3.3.3 Modal extensions: Possibility and purposes/intentions -- 3.3.4 Summary of features in participant-profiling patterns -- 4. Generalizations about partial changes -- 4.1 Grammaticalization vs. lexicalization -- 4.2 Constructional representation of incremental changes -- 5. Conclusions -- References -- Abbreviations -- Frequency as a cause of semantic change -- 1. Introduction -- 2. Data -- 3. Methodology -- 3.1 Grammatical roles -- 3.2 Frequency as linguistic data -- 4. The history of omae -- 4.1 The locative usage -- 4.2 The third person usage -- 4.3 The second person usage -- 4.4 The distributional patterns of omae -- 5. Frequency as a cause of semantic change -- 6. Lexicalization as a reflection of

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## Sommario/riassunto

This article revisits the alleged unidirectionality of grammaticalization, focusing on the marginal modal dare, which previous research has discussed as a potential counterexample. Being in its origin a member of the inhomogeneous group of modal auxiliaries, dare has since Early Modern English times developed certain full verb characteristics that would assign it a place near the lexical end of the grammaticalization scale. This study provides detailed corpus data, yielding a complex picture that defies an easy localization of dare on the lexical - grammatical scale: different verb forms of dare have to be distinguished, which appear to occupy different stages of evolution or even tend to drift into opposite directions. The results furthermore point to cross-cutting influences on the marking of dependent infinitives (rhythm, grammatical complexity).

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