The degree of grammaticalization of gotta, gonna, wanna and better: A corpus study

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Abstract
The paper studies the degree of grammaticalization of the structures gotta, gonna, wanna and better. The study presumes that the semantics of these structures – more precisely their modal polyfunctionality (i.e. the ability to express deontic and epistemic meaning at the same time) – has an impact on their morphosyntactic properties. Using corpora (predominantly the British National Corpus and the Corpus of Contemporary American English) and web forums, the paper studies in detail the level of independence of gotta, gonna, wanna and better from their respective auxiliaries (have and be) and the development of the operator properties of these structures typical for central modals (i.e. inversion in questions, compatibility with clausal negation and occurrence in elliptical contexts). It demonstrates that gonna and gotta are partially grammaticalized, especially with respect to the independence of their auxiliaries, but they do not syntactically behave as modals. The verb wanna behaves as a modal morphologically but not syntactically. On the other hand, better is grammaticalized to a high degree, and it does demonstrate both the morphology and syntax of central modal verbs.

Keywords
grammaticalization, operator properties, agreement, gotta, gonna, wanna, had better

Introduction
Modal verbs belong to a part of grammar currently experiencing significant changes, prompting linguists to focus on this part of grammar from various perspectives (Krug, 2000; Collins, 2009; Leech et al., 2009). Among changes frequently mentioned in connection with the grammaticalization of modals is the emergence of phonetically reduced structures such as gotta, gonna, and wanna. Leech et al. (2009, p.105), using data from Krug (2000, p.175) claim that these structures are constantly progressing in the British National Corpus. Despite the fact that the literature focusing on this topic is plentiful, scholars rarely provide any explanation of the stimuli leading to the formation of such structures. Therefore, this paper does not approach the issue from the descriptive perspective only but also aims to provide a possible explanation for the rise of such forms. Then the hypothesis concerning the rise of such forms will be challenged by a corpus study.

In Machová (2014, pp.87), I proposed a hypothesis stating that the emergence of such phonetically reduced forms is fully predictable and based on the modal polyfunctionality of their ‘mother’ structures. I explained in detail why marginal modals such as dare, need, shall and ought demonstrate non-standard morphosyntactic behaviour and discussed briefly the formal properties of structures such as be able, be to, had better, be going, have got to, and the like. This paper is a follow-up study focusing in detail on four structures, have got to, be going, had better and want, and their phonetically reduced counterparts gotta, gonna, better, and wanna, respectively.

In the first section, the paper presents the hypothesis. Secondly, the mother structures have got to, be going, had better and want are analysed from the perspective of their
syntax and semantics. Then follows the corpus analysis, which studies to what extent the phonetically reduced forms gotta, gonna, better, and wanna are dependent on the accompanying auxiliaries have (had), is, and the auxiliary do. Finally, the study analyses to which extent these structures demonstrate syntactic structures typical of auxiliaries (inversion in questions, an ability to combine with sentence negation etc.).

1. Hypothesis

Polyfunctionality is the ability of a modal element to express more types of meaning, more precisely deontic (permission, obligation or ability) and epistemic (probability) at the same time. Polyfunctionality does not apply only to English modals but is a property of modal verbs in many other languages as well – for an analysis of, for example, German modal verbs, see Heine (1995, pp.17). Polyfunctionality is common for all central modal verbs, as well as for some marginal elements such as need, have to, etc. The meanings are exemplified in (1a–b).

(1) a. He may go home now. deontic (permission)
   b. He may well be at home now. epistemic (probability)

The hypothesis claims that polyfunctionality has an impact on the morphology and syntax of modals in English. More precisely, polyfunctionality in English is closely related to the absence of agreement (in English visible only with the 3rd person singular) – i.e. polyfunctional elements (including central modals) do not show any agreement morphology, as in he must/*musts, she can/cans. Furthermore, polyfunctionality also triggers operator properties, known also as NICE properties in the descriptive approach – see Huddleston and Pullum (2002). In more formal terms, central modals appear in the INFL/T slot, unlike lexical verbs that appear in a VP, as discussed by Haegeman (1994), among many others. As a result, a modal polyfunctional element inverts in questions, can be followed by the negative particle n’t and appears in question tags or short answers – for examples, see (2a–d).

(2) a. Can you speak Chinese?
   b. She can’t speak Chinese.
   c. She can’t speak Chinese, can she?
   d. No, she can’t.

Several pieces of evidence suggest a correlation between polyfunctionality and morphosyntactic properties, one being an example of the marginal modal need in (3a–b), demonstrating its polyfunctional and monofunctional varieties.

(3) a. He needn’t be in his office now.
   b. He doesn’t need to be in his office now.

In (3a), need is polyfunctional and, as visible from the example, does not demonstrate any agreement morphology. At the same time, it is in the INFL/T node and demonstrates operator properties – namely the combination with the clausal negative particle n’t. On the other hand, (3b) shows that its counterpart in VP does not permit polyfunctional interpretation.

From the syntactic perspective, such change in morphosyntactic behaviour may be explained as a process of grammaticalization, as understood by, for example, Roberts and Roussou (2003, pp. 194). In their view, grammaticalization is defined as the movement upwards in the syntactic tree. In the case of gotta, gonna, wanna and better, their mother structures drop the auxiliary and then move from a lower position into the INFL/T node. As a result, they demonstrate the morphosyntactic properties of central modals (i.e. absence of agreement and NICE properties). Grammaticalization of these elements is also accompanied by a change of category – in this case the element acquires a new part of speech: gotta, gonna, better, and wanna may be regarded as new emerging modals.

Another issue is the sequence of the model polyfunctionality – absence of agreement – operator properties. The question which arises in relation to the treatment of gonna, gotta and wanna is whether the meaning triggers the changes in grammar, or the new formal structures result in semantic changes. There are advocates of both approaches; Traugott and Dasher (2002, p.283) hypothesize that grammaticalization is actuated by semantic changes, whereas formal approaches suggest that the grammatical change triggers the semantic
change; see Roberts and Roussou (2003, pp. 194). More precisely, Roberts and Roussou (2003) claim that the movement up the syntactic tree results in the changes in meaning, i.e. in their approach the sequence of the changes would be absence of agreement – operator – polyfunctionality. Despite the fact that this theory looks attractive, its practical application seems less feasible. In this way, we could conclude that any element can become grammaticalized, i.e. it can undergo the same structural reduction as gotta, wanna, or gonna. However, structures such as start – “starta, plan – “planna, prefer – “prefera, hope – “hopa are non-existent.

To clearly trace the temporal order of changes is difficult. Traugott and Dasher (2002, p.149) claim that have got to acquired its epistemic reading in the 20th century – such dating is, unfortunately, too imprecise. However, the corpus shows that the first environments where the structure was potentially epistemic can be traced much earlier – see the following example:

(4) What articles did he purchase, sir. Puf. Pufpace New fine clothes, an extravagant villain; he has got to be as proud as Lucifer.

[COHA: 1812: FIC: Miser]

As for the reduced form, epistemic gotta starts to appear in 1910s, according to Corpus of Historical American English (COHA). Therefore, the example of gotta is the illustration that the meaning preceded the form. According to my working hypothesis, the sequence absence of agreement – operator properties is triggered by potentiality of the polyfunctional reading. More precisely, once there is a context where the element can be interpreted as polyfunctional, the formal changes start to follow. Only later does the polyfunctional reading spread in its frequency.

2. Syntactic status of have got to, be going, had better and want

The reduced forms gotta, gonna, wanna and better originated from the forms have got to, be going, want and had better, respectively. Syntactically, the structures be going, have got to and had better consist of an auxiliary be or have (got) in the INFL/T node and a following verb (going), particle to (have got to) or adjective (better); see Table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auxiliary (Operator), INF/T node</th>
<th>modal part</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>going</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have (got)</td>
<td>to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>had</td>
<td>better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø/do</td>
<td>want</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Syntactic structure of be going to, have got to, had better and want

In a sentence, the auxiliary is in the INFL/T node, and as a result takes the subject–verb agreement and at the same time functions as a syntactic operator (it inverts in questions and is followed by n’t). However, I claim that this auxiliary is only an integrating element not contributing in any way to the meaning of the structure. In other words, the modal meaning is conveyed only by going, to and better. Despite the fact that this view might go against the traditional view and might even seem counterintuitive at first, there are good reasons for such an analysis. For example, when the structure have got to is considered, it has the same meaning as have to, or be to – see the following set of sentences:

(5) a. He has got to study hard.
   b. He has to study hard.
   c. He is to study hard.

Despite the fact that the sentences (5a–c) might differ stylistically, from the perspective of modality, they are synonymous, as they primarily denote deontic modality (more precisely necessity). The only difference is the auxiliary used; in the case of be to, it is the auxiliary be; in the case of have got and have, it is the auxiliary have, which lands in INFL/T in the first case and in VP in the second case. The meaning is thus on the modal part to. The same holds for structures be going and had better. More precisely, I claim that the modal parts are going and better. The auxiliaries are semantically redundant, and therefore, are frequently dropped in the structures gotta or gonna, as will be shown later.

3. Semantic status of be going, have got to, had better and want

This part shows that all the analysed structures are polyfunctional, i.e. they when necessary, is combined with the auxiliary do, which is inserted into INFL/T.
express both epistemic and deontic meaning. Concerning *be going*, its default use is to denote future predictions, i.e. epistemic modality. At the same time, *be going* has recently started to be used in the deontic sense as well, as exemplified in (6b) in Collins (2009, p.148).

(6)a. **It is going to rain.**
   b. **You're going to try and be bit earlier.**

Whereas in (6a) *be going* expresses future prediction – i.e. epistemic modality – in (6b) *be going* carries the deontic meaning of advice or order. I am not aware of sources that would discuss the meaning of *be going* with respect to its non-future meanings. Such examples can be, however, found in the corpus – see the following sentence, taken from a teacher-student interaction:

(7) **You are going to decide now, by looking at your graph how you could improve this piece of work […]** [BNC: 1992: F7R:S_classroom]

In this example *be going* is likely to be interpreted as an order, rather than the future reference (which is, moreover, not compatible with adverbial *now*). Polyfunctionality also occurs with *have got to/have to*, as this structure expresses primarily the deontic meaning of obligation, as shown in (8a). However, this semi-modal has recently developed an epistemic usage as well, as shown in (8b), taken from Leech et al. (2009, p.109):

(8)a. **The students have (got) to submit their homework in time.**
   b. **This has got to be some kind of local phenomenon.**

Besides *be going* and *have got to*, the structure *had better* is polyfunctional as well. Its default meaning is deontic, as being a synonym for *should*, as in (8a). Denison and Cort (2010, pp. 349) demonstrate that *had better* has also an epistemic reading, providing an example in (9b):³

³ Another author defending the existence of the epistemic meaning is Mitchell (2003, pp.129). On the other hand, some authors deny the existence of the epistemic reading of *had better* – for example Collins (2009, pp. 19) and Westney (1995, p.183). Denison and Cort themselves (2010, p.369) doubt the epistemic interpretation of Mitchell’s sentence *It had better be important*, providing a wider (deontic) context for it. However, the issue of polyfunctionality is based on the fact that if there is a context where a modal is epistemic (and deontic), it is regarded as polyfunctional. In other words, a wider context, or a contextual frame can (and frequently does) disambiguate the meaning, but if there is any context where the sentence *It had better be important* is interpreted epistemically (and there is), *had better* must be regarded as epistemic. For more information on the role of context, see Heine (1995).

(9)a. **You had better go now.**
   b. **The annual parade is in September. The weather had better be good.**

*Want* is not generally regarded as polyfunctional, at least not in Standard English. It expresses volition; still, *want* seems to be currently developing other meanings as well. Collins (2009, p.152) provides an example of a deontic *want* in (10a). Westney (1995, p.32) shows an example of the epistemic use of *want* in (10b).

(10)a. A: **Do you want tap water or this**
   B: **Just normal water**
   A: *It’s it’s Spa*
   B: **Solpadeine is is uh**
   A: **What You want to use the tap water then**
   b. **They want to be pretty stupid if they believe everything he says.**

This shows that the structures are at least marginally polyfunctional, though not yet standard speech. Taking this into consideration, this paper presumes that the phonetically reduced forms *gotta, gonna, wanna* and *better* are results of the emerging polyfunctionality of their mother structures *(have got to), (be) going, (do) want and (had) better*. More precisely, there is a tendency of the polyfunctional modal elements *going, to, want and better* to be non-agreeing and to move to a higher INFL/T position, which is in mother structures realized by the auxiliaries *have, be and do* that, however, do not convey any modal meaning. Such development is thought to occur in several steps:

0. Formation of reduced (non-agreeing) forms *gotta, gonna, wanna* and *better* with auxiliaries pronounced in the full form → **He has gotta go.**
1. The auxiliary is reduced into *‘ve, ‘s, ‘m, ‘d* → **He’s gotta go.**
2. The auxiliary is dropped altogether
→ He gotta go.
3. Structures gotta, gonna, wanna, better
acquire the operator position themselves —
they are syntactically in INFL/T.
→ He gotta not go.
→ Gotta he go?
Furthermore, notice that the structures
formed in step 2 and 3 are inherently non-
agreeing "He

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4. Corpus analysis
The corpus analysis is divided into two parts.
First, the paper ascertains to what extent the
structures gotta, gonna and better
are independent of their auxiliaries, i.e. if the
structure is preferred to be used with the full
auxiliary (11a), abbreviated auxiliary (11b) or
without it (11c):

(11) a. S/he has gotta relax. Step 0
b. S/he's gotta relax. Step 1
  c. S/he gotta relax. Step 2

The second part of the research focuses on
the syntactic properties of the abbreviated
forms gonna, gotta, wanna and better.
Based on the previously presented
hypothesis, I assume that these structures
should move to INFL/T and gradually
develop operator properties; more precisely
they should be followed by the negative n't,
invert in questions, or appear in question
tags.

4.1. Methodology
For the purpose of this study, I will
predominantly use the following corpora:
Corpus of Contemporary American
English/COCA, British National Corpus/BNC,
Corpus of Historical American English/COHA
and Corpus of American Soap Operas/SOA.
In isolated cases, I will also use a web search
engine.

The first part studies the status of the
auxiliary, and the search is limited solely to
a corpus search in the BNC and COCA. The
aim is to ascertain tendencies in the relation
of a structure to its auxiliary, and for the
sake of simplicity, the search was limited
only to declarative sentences. The subject
is limited to the third person singular, more
precisely to he or she subjects. An example
of search strings is as follows (for the case
of gotta):

(12) a. he has got ta [v*]
    b. he's got ta [v*]
    c. he's got ta [v*]

The same search was performed for the
subject she. The sentences were individually
checked, and the examples that do not
relate to the studied area were discarded,
despite following the search string; e.g. the
result he better understands [...] clearly does
not relate to the phrase had better, but
better functions here as an adverbial,
modifying a verb.

The second part of the analysis focuses on
the ability of a free-standing structure gotta,
gonna, wanna and better to form questions
by inversion with subjects and negative
sentences with not. For this purpose BNC
and COCA were searched using the following
strings (in case of gotta):

(13) a. got ta he [v*]
    b. got ta not [v*]

The examples were then manually processed
and checked. However, since some strings
did not show any results, a web search
engine was also used in isolated cases. The
results of such searches were not processed
into a chart, since the data from this source
may be unreliable. Accidental examples from
the web search engine are used in order to
outline the possible future development of
the structure. In some cases, further and
more detailed searches were carried out (for
example in COHA), but these are described
in detail in respective sections.

4.2. Gotta
4.2.1. Auxiliary reduction and omission
According to Table 2, it is obvious that gotta
is grammaticalized to the extent that the
auxiliary is pronounced in full in zero cases

4 Despite the fact that the (in)dependence of the
structure of its auxiliary may be different in various
sentence types (i.e. declarative, negative sentences and
questions), the search in declarative sentences will be
sufficient to ascertain the basic tendencies in terms of
the structure behaviour.
- i.e. in declarative the auxiliary in the full form does not occur.⁵

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BNC</th>
<th>COCA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s/he has gotta +V</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s/he’s gotta +V</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>94 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s/he gotta +V</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Occurrence of gotta in the BNC and COCA in affirmative sentences

In the vast majority of cases, the auxiliary is obviously present, though reduced. Structures without an auxiliary are infrequent. When analysing the corpus data, there is one interesting fact. In the BNC the auxiliary used with gotta is only have, as expected, however, in the COCA, clausal negation of gotta is much more frequently formed with don’t or ain’t than with its mother auxiliary haven’t. More precisely, the structure haven’t gotta has only 1 result in the COCA, whereas don’t gotta shows 19 results and ain’t gotta occurred in 17 cases – an example given in (14a–b).

    b. You ain’t gotta say that. [COCA: 2005: SPOK: PBS_Tavis]

In my opinion, this documents that gotta constitutes a separate unit and is in fact completely independent of its auxiliary.

4.2.2. Operator properties

As shown, gotta is not frequently used without its auxiliary. Therefore, it cannot be expected that the operator properties will be developed to a great extent yet. Concerning question formation, there is no evidence in the corpora or in web forums that gotta would invert in questions.

As far as the negative is concerned, the corpora do not reveal any example of clausal negation attached to gotta; however, research in websites reveals that structures as in (15) are not rare.

(15) a. Sometimes you just gotta not worry so much about money and just get xp. [IPS Community – Forum]  
    b. You gotta not care about what people think in general about you. [Morning Brew – Article]

Still, these examples do not reliably prove that gotta functions as an operator, as not can alternatively constitute a phrasal negation. A few cases of gottan’t/gottn’t (in the main clause as well as in the question tag) can be found in various web discussions – as shown in (16), but their number is not significant.

(16) a. We Gotta Get Out Of This Place, Gottan’t we? [The Partridge Family Bulletin Board: General Chit-Chat – Forum]  
    b. Otherwise I know now why we gottn’t a new patch from Activision. [Thread: Temporary File Database – Forum]

To conclude, gotta is not used with the full auxiliary, i.e. the structure is already grammaticalized to a certain extent. Moreover, it is frequently used with the auxiliary don’t or ain’t, which only supports the statement that an auxiliary plays no role in the modal meaning of the structure. At the same time, however, its usage with a zero auxiliary is still rather marginal, though existent. As far as the operator properties are concerned, there is no reliable data that would confirm that gotta functions as an operator in present-day English.

4.3. Gonna

4.3.1. Auxiliary reduction and omission

As for gonna, the results are similar to gotta – see Table 3. The most frequent use is with the reduced auxiliary. Especially the COCA, however, shows that the dropped auxiliary is actually more frequent than the auxiliary pronounced in the full form. Moreover, the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) shows that since the 1930s the use of the structure he gonna has risen. Therefore, more independence on the auxiliary may be expected in the future.

⁵ Whereas the auxiliary in the full form does not show any results for this third person, both corpora give few results of the full auxiliary for the second person, i.e. you have gotta (5 results for BNC and 1 result for COCA). Therefore, the form with the full auxiliary is existent, however, very limited – for the string with the reduced auxiliary (i.e. you’ve gotta), there are 600 results in BNC and 250 for COCA – this means less than one per cent.
### Table 3. Occurrence of *gonna* in the BNC and COCA in affirmative sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BNC</th>
<th>COCA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s/he is gonna +V</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s/he’s gonna +V</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>98 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s/he gonna +V</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.2. Operator properties

Concerning operator properties, *gonna* is not frequently used without its auxiliary, and as a result of this, it is not prone to demonstrate operator properties, as the omission of the auxiliary is thought to be a necessary prerequisite for that. As far as question inversion is concerned, there are no examples in the corpora or in web forums that would prove the existence of the structures, as in (17):

(17) *Gonna he stay here tonight?* [Not attested]

Concerning negation, the corpora do not attest to the existence of *gonna* being an element followed by clausal negation – i.e. *gonnan’t*. In some web forums, however, we may find sentences as in (18a–b).

(18) a. *Hello pastor, your article talks much of wisdom and inspiration, i gonna not miss this again, thanks and more blessings.*
    [Beware: The Silent Relationship Killer – Comments]

b. *Tomorrow is a friend’s birthday party i think I gonna not eat anything all day tomorrow and prepare for the food there...* [Nutritional Ketosis / High Fat, Low Carb – Forum]

They are rather rare and maybe close to idiosyncratic occurrences, but such examples may foretell future development tendencies.

To conclude, *gonna* is used with the reduced auxiliary. The cases with a full auxiliary are extremely rare. The occurrences with the omitted auxiliary are also rare, although there is a clear developmental tendency towards this kind of behaviour. Concerning the operator syntax, there are not enough attested examples that would prove that *gonna* behaves syntactically as a modal.

4.4. Wanna

4.4.1. Operator properties

*Wanna* (in contrast to *want*) already copies the morphology of central modals, i.e. it does not demonstrate any agreement morphology, nor does it occur with the to infinitive – see (19a–b).

(19) a. *She wants to leave.*
    b. *She wanna leave.*

*Wanna* originates as a verb not combining with any auxiliary, and therefore it will be analysed only in terms of its syntactic properties (i.e. steps 0–2 are not applicable). It does not occur in question inversion in any of the analysed corpora. Concerning negation formation, the corpora shows an overwhelming majority of the auxiliary *do*, however there are some cases in the corpora as well as in internet blogs and articles when *wanna* is followed by *not*, as in (20a–b).

    b. *I kinda overate yesterday, and I wanna not eat as much today.* [What should I eat? I’m a fruitarian – Question]

However, as mentioned previously, it does not confirm that these sentences demonstrate an example of clausal negation, as these can be interpreted as phrasal negations. Therefore, I conclude that despite behaving as a modal on the morphological level, its syntax still copies the structures typical of lexical verbs.

4.5. Better

4.5.1. Auxiliary reduction and omission

Data for *had better* are available in Table 4, which shows that there are significant differences between British and American English. As far as the BNC is concerned, the structure can be used with the auxiliary in the full or reduced form; the version with the omitted auxiliary is rather rare. In the COCA, on the other hand, the full auxiliary is the least frequent form. The reduced auxiliary is used most often; however, the variant with zero auxiliary occurred in one-third of the cases. The structure without the auxiliary is, therefore, fully acceptable in American English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BNC</th>
<th>COCA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s/he had better</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>43 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4. Occurrence of had better in the BNC and COCA in affirmative sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+V</th>
<th>s/he'd better</th>
<th>+V</th>
<th>s/he better</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53 %</td>
<td></td>
<td>51 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 %</td>
<td></td>
<td>31 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5.2. Operator properties

The structure had better seems to be by far the most grammaticalized structure, i.e. it is most independent of its auxiliary had. Therefore, it is expected that its operator properties will be the most developed of all elements.

As far as question formation is concerned, no occurrences of better being inverted with the subject of a sentence were found. Concerning negation, in corpora there are two ways of negating the structure had better – namely hadn’t better and (had) better not. According to the COHA, the negation hadn’t better has a declining frequency, and when the two versions are compared, hadn’t better is much less frequent than (had) better not – 4/28 occurrences for the BNC and 4/1,248 occurrences for the COCA. Obviously, the position of negation itself supports the development of better as an operator. Moreover, structures SUBJ + better + not + V are not infrequent in the BNC or COCA – see the examples in (21a–b):

(21) a. I better not put these on the table. [BNC: 1993: KPU: S_conv]
   b. You better not leave me here! [COCA: 1994: FIC: BilingualRev]

In these cases, better most probably functions as the operator of the sentence as there is no agreement morpheme on the following lexical verb – see example (22a–b).

(22) a. He better not go to Cheryl’s again! [BNC: 1992: KBY: S_conv]

Despite the fact that Collins (2009, p.18) gives an example of better combined with n’t as in (23), neither the corpora nor the web analysis proved the existence of such examples:

(23) *We better go, bettern’t we. [Not attested]

Another property of the operator is its appearance in short answers and elliptical contexts. The corpus (mostly the COCA) showed that better does occur in such environments, as exemplified in (24a–c):

   b. The evangelist cried out. “Christ save me!” He better, nobody else will!” [COCA: 1993: FIC: Bk: Homeland]
   c. You will not leave it on the bathroom sink in the men's room someplace, please. Ms-MAPEL: He better not. [COCA: 2007: SPOK: NBC Today]

In addition, better shows that it is grammaticalized to such an extent that it copies the positions reserved exclusively for modals, as in (25a–b).

(25) a. If that item is on the test, we better have taught it. [COCA: 1990: NEWS: WashPost]
   b. And next time you appear before me, Mr. Kenyon, you better have done your homework. [SOAP: 2002: AMC]

Such examples occurred 6 times in the COCA, but 16 times in the SOAP, which means that such occurrences are far from being idiosyncratic uses. The last area where better demonstrates operator behaviour is shown in sentences in (26a–b):

(26) a. Better he stay where he is. [COCA: 2008: FIC: Bk: Darkest Pleasure]

Due to the absence of the agreement in the third person singular, it must be concluded...
better again functions as an operator. Most probably the original structure of the sentence is SUBJ + better + V, in (26a–b) better is fronted for emphasis.

As has been shown, the use of an isolated better is quite common, especially in American English. As far as syntactic properties are concerned, it has been shown that better is already in the INFL/T node, and therefore, behaves as an operator – in terms of the formation of negation, despite the fact that the form better'n has not been attested. It clearly appears in elliptical contexts, and it is combined with a perfective infinitive; this is a property typical only of central modals.

**Conclusion**
The aim of the paper was to evaluate the degree of grammaticalization of the structures gotta, gonna, wanna and better. First, it studied the level of (in)dependence of these structures from their auxiliary, and second, it analysed to what extent the structure develops operator properties. The analysis showed that the modals gonna and gotta demonstrate a similar level of grammaticalization – they are used with the reduced auxiliary, but independent use is rare. They do not demonstrate operator properties; however, occurrences in some web discussions might imply such future development. As far as wanna is concerned, despite behaving as a modal in its morphology, it does not show operator properties, apart from the sparse use of negative structures in web discussions. On the other hand, it can be said with a high degree of confidence that better is independent of its auxiliary and already copies the syntax of central modals in most environments. The analysis also showed that the dependence of the structures is tightly connected with the syntactic behaviour – more precisely, better, which is most independent of its auxiliary, demonstrates a high degree of operator behaviour, whereas structures dependent on their auxiliary do not yet syntactically behave as modals.

**References**


Corpora used
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