English Degree Modifiers: a Diachronic Corpus-based Study of the Maximizer Class

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by

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Abstract

The study of degree modifiers (cf. 'intensifiers', Quirk et al. 1985; Allerton 1987; Bolinger 1972) has been a popular topic in English historical linguistics. This is largely due to their markedly emotional function, giving rise to frequent 'renewal' (Hopper & Traugott 1993, 2003) for reasons of expressivity (cf. e.g. Klein 1998). However, the vast majority of the previous research focuses on one specific type, i.e. 'boosters' (e.g. *very*, *really*), cf. Peters 1992, 1994; Lorenz 2002; Méndez-Naya 2003, 2006, 2007. In comparison, other sub-categories distinguished in standard grammars of English (Quirk et al. 1985; Huddleston & Pullum 2002) have received little attention.   This thesis begins to address this gap in the literature, by focusing on one of the neglected sub-categories, viz. maximizers (e.g. *absolutely*, *completely*). Specifically, two main research aims are addressed: the initial one being to provide individual comprehensive accounts of the development of seven selected maximizers (viz. *absolutely*, *completely*, *entirely*, *perfectly*, *quite*, *totally* and *utterly*), and a secondary one, through extrapolation of the results of the individual analyses, being to investigate the diachronic characteristics of the English maximizer sub-class of degree modifier as a whole.

Following a survey of the various definitions and classifications of degree modifiers in the literature and of previous diachronic studies on other varieties (including details of the historical process of grammaticalization typically involved), the study takes a corpus-based, diachronic approach to the analysis of the maximizer variety, using data from Middle English up until the present day. In accordance with the initial aim, a series of case studies document the findings of the analyses of the seven adverbs, elucidating their emergence and their subsequent development, taking account not only of their maximizer uses, but also of any other functions available to them throughout their history. By way of addressing the secondary aim, the findings of the individual analyses are then compared in order to present conclusions about the English maximizer class overall.

On a more general level, the study also highlights important terminological issues arising from the case studies in connection to the distinction between maximizers and emphasizers and the validity of the maximizer class as currently described in the literature (cf. e.g. Allerton 1987 and Paradis 1997, and standard grammars such as Quirk et al. 1985 and Huddleston & Pullum 2002). It also offers several contributions to general discussions of language change and theorising in diachronic linguistics, e.g. concerning the debate on whether it is reanalysis or analogy that is the driving force of grammaticalization processes (cf. Harris & Campbell 1995, Newmeyer 1998, Haspelmath 1998, Fischer 2007, 2008) and regarding the nature of the conceptualization of developmental pathways (cf. Vandewinkel & Davidse 2008).

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

The study of degree modifiers (cf. 'intensifiers', Quirk et al. 1985; Allerton 1987; Bolinger 1972) has been a popular topic in English Historical linguistics since famous works such as Stoffel (1901) and Borst (1902) at the beginning of the twentieth century. This is largely due to the fact that intensification is considered one of the most productive areas of grammar in relation to lexical and semantic change (e.g. Pyles & Algeo 1993: 250; Quirk et al. 1985: 590). Specifically, it is often claimed that it is the markedly emotional function of degree modifiers which gives rise to such frequent 'renewal' (Hopper & Traugott 1993, 2003) for reasons of expressivity (cf. e.g. Klein 1998). In other words, degree modifiers are employed as a means to highlight specific parts of a message, often in an original way, but over time and due to frequent use, their perceived effectiveness wanes and/or their originality wears out, leading them to be gradually replaced by 'newer'[1] items that are considered more appropriate to the purpose. To this effect, the competition of different degree modifiers over time has been examined in studies such as Peters 1992. However, more common among the previous research in this area are studies analysing the development of individual degree modifiers (e.g. Nevalainen & Rissanen 2002; Méndez-Naya 2003, 2006, 2007, 2008; Adamson & González-Díaz 2004; Buchstaller & Traugott 2006; Rissanen 2008). One thing that the vast majority of the above-mentioned studies have in common though is that they deal with one particular type of degree modifier, viz. the *booster* variety. In comparison, other varieties, notably the maximizer sub-class, have received very little attention, hence this latter group forms the focus of the research presented in this thesis.

Through corpus-based diachronic study, the research takes a detailed look at the English maximizer sub-class from Middle English up until the present-day. Centring on the analysis of seven selected maximizers (*absolutely*, *completely*, *entirely*, *perfectly*, *quite*, *totally* and *utterly*), the immediate aim of the study is to provide comprehensive accounts of the development of each of these individual items. In this respect, these case studies begin by considering the emergence of the adverbs in English, paying particular attention to whether the evidence suggests native grammaticalization from source adjectives (see chapter 2) or borrowing from another language. Following this, diachronic corpus evidence of each adverb from the time of its emergence to its use in the present-day is analysed in detail and used to elucidate its development over time. Initially, the focus is on charting

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[1] See e.g. Ito & Tagliamonte 2003 on the recycling of degree modifiers.

the semantic and syntactic development of each item, which characterises functional changes, not only the rise of their maximizer use, but also any other functions that feature in their history. The latter part of each case study then comprises a detailed examination of the frequency and of the collocational behaviour of the maximizer use across time.

Extrapolating from the findings of the above analyses, the secondary aim of the research is to investigate the diachronic characteristics of the English maximizer sub-class of degree modifier as a whole. By comparing the findings of the seven case studies in terms of the source of the adverbs, the developmental pathways traversed, the number of functions performed and the frequency and collocational behaviour of their maximizer uses over time, conclusions are drawn about the finer traits of this sub-class, that is, the similarities and differences exhibited by its members over time.

The thesis is organised as follows: **chapter 2** provides the necessary background on degree modifiers, both in terms of their description and classification, and from a diachronic perspective in terms of their typical developmental trajectory. The former part surveys the relevant authorities on this type of linguistic device, describing and comparing their various terminology, definitions and classifications, before clarifying the position assumed in the present study. The latter part then reviews previous research on degree modifiers, concentrating particularly on those that have taken an historical approach, and draws on some of these in order to explain the typical processes of language change involved in their development. The main focus of this part is on describing the historical process of grammaticalization and its associated processes and parameters. To close, the focus turns specifically to maximizers, noting, in relation to some of the issues dealt with earlier in the chapter, particular issues that are considered in the subsequent diachronic analysis of this sub-class of degree modifier. **Chapter 3** explains the selection of maximizers for the study and provides details of all the corpora used. It also describes the methodology used for both the quantitative and the qualitative analyses of the corpus data. Following this, the case studies presented in **chapters 4-10** trace the development of the seven selected maximizers by means of in-depth corpus analysis, in line with the initial aim of the study detailed above. Finally, **chapter 11** briefly summarises the main findings of the seven case studies before drawing upon them in order to consider the maximizer sub-class of degree modifier as a whole, in accordance with the second aim of the study (detailed above). On a more general level, this chapter also explores important terminological issues arising from the case studies, highlighting certain matters for consideration in the future, and discusses the contributions of this thesis to general discussions of language change and theorising in diachronic linguistics.

CHAPTER 2: Degree Modifiers

1. Expressions of degree

Elements that are used to modify other elements with respect to degree are referred to in numerous different ways in the wide range of literature on the topic.   For instance, scholars such as Bolinger (1972), Quirk et al. (1985), Partington (1993) and more recently Méndez-Naya (2003, 2006, 2007, 2008) adopt the term 'intensifiers', whereas Allerton (1987) also makes use of the slightly different 'degree intensifier', Peters (1992, 1994) opts for 'degree adverb' and Paradis (1997) prefers 'degree modifier'. Paradis (1997: 12) attributes this lack of consensus with regard to the labelling of these linguistic items to the 'complexity and fuzziness' that characterise them. Indeed, in this connection, it is not only the terms themselves that are different, but also the respective definitions provided. In light of these issues, this initial sub-section surveys the terminology used in some of the most noteworthy literature on the topic and examines their various applications in these selected sources. It does this with a view to justifying the choice of adopting the term 'degree modifier' for the purpose of present study and clarifying precisely how it will be applied in this particular case.

An initial important difference that can be observed with regard to the various definitions of the above-mentioned terms concerns the type(s) of element(s) each one is said to encompass. The majority of sources (namely Stoffel 1901, Borst 1902, Quirk et al. 1985, Allerton 1987, Peters 1992, 1994, Partington 1993, Paradis 1997, Klein 1998 and Méndez-Naya 2003, 2006, 2007, 2008) focus solely on adverbs, such as 'absolutely', 'extremely', 'very', and 'slightly', as elements that are used to indicate degree; however, an example of a much wider approach is that of Bolinger (1972). In his study, he mentions not only individual adverbs as examples, but also elements such as certain phrasal structures (e.g. 'He's a genius *and then some*', 'It's lousy *with a capital L*'), similes (e.g. 'hard *as nails*', 'sick *as a dog*') and predicate complements, as in 'burnt *black*' and 'beaten *to a pulp*'(see e.g. Bolinger 1972: 19). Along similar lines, Vermeire (1979: 10) discusses comparative and superlative structures (citing Bresnan 1973 in this connection), adjectives, nouns, indefinite pronouns, emphatic DO, some expletives and certain prepositional phrases, all as potential means of intensification in addition to adverbs. Whilst not disputing the fact that such a range of items as those noted in Bolinger (1972) and Vermeire (1979) can no doubt be used in English as a means by which to add some sort of intensification or specification of degree to a particular element, the present study takes the more focused view of the general consensus, concentrating only on adverbs. All other means of communicating degree thus

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fall outside the scope of the study and the ensuing discussion will therefore concentrate only on adverbial elements, regardless of the perceived scope in each of the sources referred to hereafter.

Even within this narrow interpretation, there is further disagreement with regard to the application of the various labels in terms of the precise type(s) of adverbs they incorporate. For instance, the most popular label for this linguistic phenomenon is, as suggested above, that of 'intensifier'; however, the way in which it is used is not consistent across all sources. In the works of Bolinger (1972) and Quirk et al. (1985), this is the overarching term that embraces any item that is used to denote degree, i.e. to 'scale…a quality, whether up or down' (Bolinger 1972: 17) and it is in this sense that it is later adopted in studies such as Lorenz 2002 and Méndez-Naya 2003, 2006, 2007, 2008[2]. Though this term is also employed by scholars such as Klein (1998), Biber et al. (1999) and Huddleston & Pullum (2002), it is applied by these in a more restricted way, referring only to those degree adverbs that denote degree scaling upwards from an assumed norm, i.e. what Stoffel (1901) and Borst (1902) traditionally termed 'intensives' and which are referred to in Quirk et al. 1985 as 'amplifiers' (cf. section 2.2 below for further details of this). Generally, the reason given as to why the latter approach is adopted is that the term 'intensifier' implies upward scaling degree and is therefore deemed inappropriate for referring to degree scaling downwards (cf. e.g. Méndez-Naya2003: 374)[3]. Instead, these tend to be referred to by proponents of this view as 'downtoners' (cf. e.g. early accounts by Stoffel (1901) and Borst (1902) as well as Quirk et al. (1985) and subsequent followers of their approach). Indeed, it is precisely because of this lack of transparency, and thus perceived unsuitability, of the terminology employed in most previous works that Paradis (1997) chooses to use the term 'degree modifiers', which she believes to be more semantically appropriate to all types of degree. In her model, this is used as the umbrella term for all adverbs that are used to denote degree and encompasses two main sub-groups, viz. 'reinforcers' and 'downtoners'. The latter is that which describes those adverbs that denote degree scaling downwards and the former is a term that is synonymous with Quirk et al.'s (1985) 'amplifier' and with the more restricted sense of 'intensifier', though is preferred in order to avoid any confusion with regard to the various different ways in which

[2] Earlier research by Allerton (1987) also adopts this as a principal term, though as is noted in the subsequent discussion (see section 2.3), his application is somewhat more limited than the sources mentioned above.
[3] As noted by Méndez-Naya (2003: 373), scholars also disagree with regard to the term 'intensification'. For some (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985: 589ff and Lorenz 2002: note 1), this is concomitant with 'intensifiers', i.e. adverbs that are used to denote degree, yet for others its application is much broader, also encompassing features such as stress, intonation and word order (see e.g. Peltola 1971: 649 and Bolinger 1972: 288ff).

the latter in used the literature (for further details of Paradis' (1997) model of degree modifiers, see section 2.4, below).

Agreeing with these latter sources as to the potential inappropriateness of the term 'intensifier' to refer to downscaling degree adverbs, the present research, in opting for a term of maximal clarity, follows Paradis 1997. In this respect, all adverbs that are used to denote degree are hereafter referred to as 'degree modifiers', irrespective of whether they denote upward scaling or downward scaling degree and of any alternative terms that are utilised in the sources discussed henceforth. As for the stance taken with regard to the precise nature of the structure of this overall category, i.e. the different sub-groups of adverbs within it, this will be described in due course in section 2.5, following consideration of various prominent practises.

The final most significant way in which opinion deviates with regard to adverbs that denote degree concerns the precise way in which they are used, that is, what types of elements they are used to modify. Most scholars are of the view that the 'prototypical function' of degree modifiers is to modify adjectival constituents, as in collocations such as 'absolutely *perfect'* and 'very *interesting*' (cf. e.g. Quirk et al. 1985, Allerton 1987, Peters 1992, 1994, Paradis 1997, Klein 1998, Lorenz 2002, Méndez-Naya 2003, 2006, 2007, 2008). Indeed, in works such as Allerton 1987, Klein 1998 and Paradis 1997, it is this specific use that forms the sole focus of the analysis. In the cases of the former two, some mention is made of the use of degree modifiers in other contexts, though only for preliminary purposes. Allerton (1987), for instance, distinguishes between 'degree intensifiers' (i.e. degree modifiers of adjectives) and 'degree verbal adverbials' (i.e. degree modifiers of verbs), thus highlighting a perceived difference between these two groups. However, he does point out that there is actually a great deal of overlap between them, largely because of their striking semantic similarities, thus whilst he concentrates his model on the former type, he suggests that both types are perhaps best regarded as 'two subclasses of a single class' (Allerton 1987: 18), a view that is echoed more recently by Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 585).

A slightly broader approach is taken by Méndez-Naya (2008), who notes that degree modifiers 'typically modify adjectives, *adverbs* or verbs' (ibid.: 267, italics added), thus echoing the direction of Quirk et al. 1985 (see section 2.2 for further details on their model). However, an even wider range of contexts is considered in the introductory sections of the work of Klein (1998), who notes that 'grading of an expression is possible if an inherently gradable feature is present' (Klein 1998: 9). In other words, Klein acknowledges here that a member of any syntactic category has the potential to be

modified by a degree modifier, providing it can be conceived of as being somehow gradable. This notion is discussed, perhaps most extensively, by Bolinger (1972); whilst pointing out that 'manifestations of degree and intensity are commonly associated with adjectives and adverbs' (ibid.: 15), he goes on to explore the grading and degree modification of a range of syntactic categories, also including those of nouns and verbs. Following Bolinger's insight, Klein (1998) discusses a similar range, though also discussing degree modifiers in the context of prepositional phrases, something Bolinger (1972: 45) only mentions somewhat briefly in relation to *much*. The precise nature of these different types of collocation will not be discussed any further at this point, but will be taken into consideration in the examination of the selected maximizers. To this effect, the analyses in chapters 4-10 take a broad view, such as that of Bolinger (1972) and Klein (1998), considering combinations of the selected degree modifiers with adjectival, verbal, adverbial, nominal and prepositional constituents.

In summary, this section clarifies that from the range of items that may be considered indicators of degree in English, adverbs are selected as the sole focus of the present study. Moreover, having observed the variation in the literature regarding the types of constituent it is deemed possible for these adverbs to modify, they are considered in the present study in the widest possible sense, i.e. as modifiers of an entire range of syntactic elements, viz. adjectival, verbal, adverbial, nominal and prepositional. Finally, the term 'degree modifiers' is adopted as the umbrella term encompassing all types of these adverbs, whether they denote degree scaling upwards or downwards. In this latter connection, it is to the more precise classification of the different types of degree modifier and to the various models that have been put forward in the literature that the subsequent section turns.

2. The classification of degree modifiers

Degree modifiers are united as a category by means of their shared function of adding a specification of degree to the particular item they are used to modify[4]. However, differences exist among the individual members of the category, most notably in terms of the precise value that they ascribe to constituents. Moreover, there are also noticeable groups of items that denote roughly the same degree, for example, items such as

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[4] Although this similarity based on semantic grounds is foregrounded here, it should perhaps be noted that degree modifiers also share syntactic properties, namely that they are always optional, but that when they do occur, they require the presence of a constituent that permits degree modification (cf. Allerton 1987: 16).

extremely, *highly* and *very*, which all express a very high degree, and those such as *fairly*, *pretty* and *rather*, which can each be used to indicate a moderate degree. In light of the extreme variety with regard to the terminology used to refer to degree modifiers, it is perhaps not surprising that there are also various approaches to distinguishing different types within this overall category. A survey of the literature reveals, for instance, much variability concerning the number of sub-categories discerned and the method of distinction as well as a lack of consensus with regard to the names chosen for the various categories. Accordingly, the main purpose of this section is to explore and evaluate some of the existing models of degree modifier classification before setting out the one adopted as the basis for the present study. Prior to the more extensive discussion (in sections 2.2-2.4) of three important recent models, viz. those devised by Quirk et al. (1985), Allerton (1987) and Paradis (1997), preliminary consideration is given in the first sub-section to a brief survey of some of the early classifications which have influenced them. Following this discussion of the existing models, the remaining sub-sections are concerned with clarifying the classification adhered to for the purpose of the present study and examining some of the previous research that has been conducted on English degree modifiers with a view to explaining the precise areas and issues that are investigated by means of the ensuing analysis.

2.1 Early classifications

One of the earliest known studies of English degree modifiers is that of Stoffel (1901). Examining both upward scaling and downward scaling varieties, Stoffel distinguishes two main sub-types on the basis of this variable scaling potential, viz. 'intensives' and 'downtoners'. As instances belonging to the former category, which encompasses all degree modifiers that denote degree scaling upwards, be that 'completeness…[or]…merely a high degree' (Stoffel 1901: 1), he examines items such as Old and Middle English *full* and *pure*, Early Modern English *right* and the surviving *very*. Items such as *rather* and *pretty* are included in the 'downtoner' category as they are considered to denote degree scaling downwards, i.e. expressing 'a moderate, slight, or just perceptible degree' (Stoffel 1901: 129)[5]. This two-way distinction is also observed in the commentary of Borst (1902), yet later on in the 20thC, as the study of English degree modifiers started gaining popularity, a wider range of groupings began to be discerned due to more detailed analysis. A notable

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[5] Though the downward scaling application of *rather* is widely acknowledged as its typical degree modifying function (in addition to Stoffel 1901, cf. e.g. Quirk et al. 1985, Rissanen 1994, 2008 and Paradis 1997), see Traugott (2007: 551) and McManus (2008: 50ff) for discussion of an additional upward scaling use.

example from the early 1970s is the influential work of Bolinger (1972). Maintaining the same basic binary division as his predecessors, Bolinger conducted more fine-grained analysis of a number of individual degree modifiers, which resulted in the recognition of four main groups according to the region of the 'degree scale' that they occupy, viz. 'boosters', 'compromisers', 'diminishers' and 'minimizers'. His 'booster' category comprises all degree modifiers from the upward scaling part of the earlier classifications; however, within the overall group of downward scaling degree modifiers Bolinger identifies two notably different types, viz. his 'diminishers' and 'compromisers'. The former of these, which includes items such as *rather*, *fairly* and *pretty*, is described as those items that refer to the 'lower part of the scale, looking down' (Bolinger 1972: 17), whereas the latter are those that point to the absolute bottom of the degree scale, just above non-presence of the modified element, e.g. *slightly*, *mildly* and *moderately*. The 'compromiser' category breaks away from the previous two-way distinction in that it contains items which Bolinger (1972: 17) considers denote a 'middle' degree on the scale, i.e. which 'try…to look both ways at once'. In other words, the creation of this category in particular (as well as the finer distinction reached with regard to down-scaling degree modifiers) reflects the realisation that the nature of these linguistic items is more complex than is demonstrated in the earlier classifications. More specifically, Bolinger's groupings, in addition to advocating a more fine-grained set of distinctions in general, seem to provide the first indication in the literature that it may be more appropriate to conceive of degree modifiers as pertaining to an entire scale of degree force, rather than to only two somewhat discrete categories. The fact that he asserts that a certain group of degree modifiers (his compromiser category) cannot be assigned definitively to either one of these pre-distinguished binary categories may be considered particularly insightful in this respect.

Carrying on the trend for a more in-depth analysis of the various different types of degree modifier, the classification devised by Bäcklund (1973) is even more detailed again, consisting of the following eight sub-categories which take their names from the degree expressed by its members: complete or partial absence (e.g. *almost*, *nearly*, *practically*, *virtually*), minimum degree (e.g. *barely*, *hardly*, *scarcely*, *just*), low degree (e.g. *mildly*, *slightly*, *somewhat*), low degree of a positive idea (i.e. *little*), moderate degree (e.g. *fairly*, *pretty*, *quite*, *rather*), increasing degree (i.e. *increasingly*), high degree (e.g. *extremely*, *terribly*, *tremendously*, *very*), and highest degree (e.g. *absolutely*, *completely*, *entirely*, *totally*).As with Bolinger's categories, these groupings clearly illustrate a whole range of 'degree force' that can be expressed by means of degree modifiers. Perhaps some of the most notable additions are the rather specific categories of 'increasing degree' and 'low

degree of a positive idea', the latter of which involves an element of evaluation which is not considered in previous models.

Continued interest in this particular linguistic phenomenon in more recent years saw further analysis of the nature of various individual degree modifiers in order to understand more about the category as a whole as well as the different 'types' it encompasses. The proposed classifications of Quirk et al. (1985), Allerton (1987) and Paradis (1997), which are arguably the most influential models of more recent years, followed from such investigations. In light of the notable significance of these three models, sub-sections 2.2-2.4 are devoted to each of them in turn.

2.2 Quirk et al.'s (1985) classification

Degree modification is discussed by Quirk et al. (1985) in two sections. As part of a chapter on adjectives and adverbs, the first of these (see Quirk et al. 1985: 445-446) specifically concerns the degree modification of adjectives (which is noted to be comparable to the modification of adverbs). The second forms part of the description of subjuncts, one of the four broad categories of grammatical functions that they use to distinguish adverbs within a chapter addressing 'the semantics and grammar of adverbials' (see Quirk et al. 1985: 566-612)[6]. In this instance, the focus is on the degree modification of verbal constituents. The method of classification is the same in both instances, although the latter section is much more detailed, accounting for a division of the overall category at two levels. In the first instance, they appear to follow the general principle of the early classifications of Stoffel (1901) and Borst (1902) in identifying two broad categories of degree modifier: *amplifiers*, i.e. those that 'scale upwards from an assumed norm' (Quirk et al. 1985: 445) and *downtoners*, i.e. those that 'have a generally lowering effect, usually scaling downwards from an assumed norm' (ibid 1985: 445)[7]. More in-keeping with the level of detail evident in the groupings distinguished by Bolinger (1972) and Bäcklund (1973), each of these is then further divided into sub-categories as shown in figure 2.1, overleaf.

The subcategories form a type of scale of degree force, with *maximizers* at one end denoting the upper extreme and *minimizers* at the other denoting the lower extreme. The remaining ones indicate levels of degree in between: *boosters* convey a high degree on the scale; *approximators* express an approximation to the force of the modified constituent,

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[6] Quirk et al. (1985) classify adverbs as adjuncts, subjuncts, conjuncts or disjuncts. Further details of those types that are relevant to the adverbs in focus on the present research (viz. adjuncts and subjuncts) can be found in chapter 3 (section 3.1)

[7] This initial distinction has also been adopted in more recent standard grammars (cf. e.g. Biber et al. 1999 and Huddleston &Pullum 2002). The terminology, however, is not always the same; Biber et al. 1999, for instance, prefer 'intensifier' to 'amplifier' and 'diminisher' to 'downtoner'.

indicating that it expresses more than is relevant (Quirk et al. 1985: 597); *compromisers* 'have only a slight lowering effect and tend…to call in question the appropriateness of the [modified constituent] concerned' (ibid.: 597) and *diminishers* indicate a very low degree along the lines of 'to a small extent'.
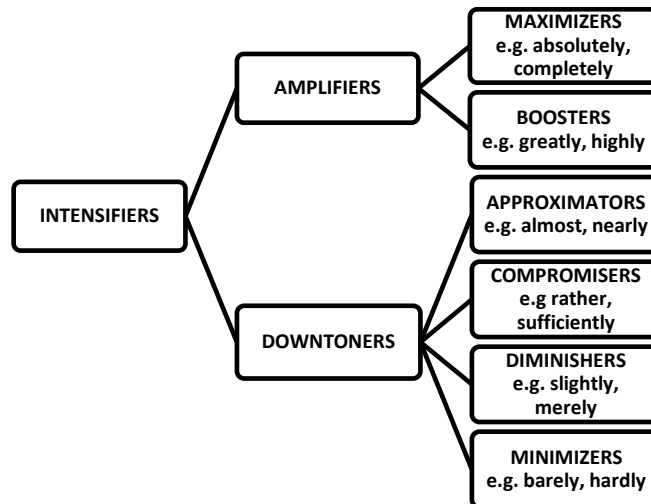
Figure 2.1 – Quirk et al.'s (1985) classification of degree modifiers

Essentially, this model is based on the nature of the intensifying force of the items and the various categories are presented as interrelated (at least superficially) within the overall scale structure. In this respect, like that of Bolinger (1972), it portrays degree force as an entire range set out on a scale, with the various types of degree modifier occupying its own position on this scale. However, as noted above, Bolinger's comments suggest that certain items (i.e. members of his 'compromiser' category) seem to relate to a more variable area of this scale than other types of degree modifier, therefore making it difficult to pinpoint their precise position with respect to the primary distinction between amplifiers and downtoners. This issue is not reflected in the model of Quirk et al. (1985), which in contrast, clearly identifies 'maximizers' and 'boosters' as the two types manifesting upward scaling degree and all the remaining types as indicators of some downscaling degree.

2.3 Allerton's (1987) classification

Allerton (1987) proposes an essentially tripartite classification of degree modifiers based primarily on their occurrence with adjectives (though he also acknowledges a strong similarity with degree modifiers of lexical verbs). In contrast to Quirk et al. (1985), he makes no attempt to analyse the connection between the different types of degree modifier or thus to devise any type of hierarchy. Rather, his model is based on semantic

considerations and the notion of gradability, of which he believes Quirk et al.'s (1985) classification takes too broad an approach, thus failing to account precisely for the more fine-grained distinctions that actually exist among degree modifiers. Crucial to Allerton's approach is therefore the notion that each type of degree modifier is associated with a particular type of grading and as a result of which occurs with particular semantic sub-classes of adjectives (Allerton 1987: 19). The three main sub-varieties of degree modifier in his taxonomy are 'scalar', 'telic' and 'absolutive'.

Scalar degree modifiers are those that 'indicate parts of a mental scale of assessment of degree which ranges from immeasurably high down to zero' (ibid.: 19), thus representing 'prototypical gradability' (ibid.: 19). Examples of this type include *extremely*, *fairly*, *pretty* and *very*, which can occur with adjectives such as *big*, *small*, *bright* and *surprising*. The majority of Quirk et al.'s sub-categories of degree modifier, viz. boosters, compromisers, diminishers and minimizers, are subsumed by this category.

Items such as *barely*, *hardly*, *nearly*, *virtually* and *not quite*, are classed as telic degree modifiers within Allerton's model. He describes the function of these as 'relat[ing] the actual degree of the adjectival quality to the degree required for a particular purpose, and plac[ing] it above or below that mark, either by a wide margin or by a narrow margin' (ibid.: 19). Accordingly, they are used to modify adjectives such as *sufficient*, *cooked*, *afloat* and *fully-grown*. It is noticeable that some of the items listed as members of this category by Allerton are ones noted in Quirk et al. 1985 as examples of the approximator sub-category, yet the overlap between the two models in this respect is only partial since the respective motivations behind the distinction differs slightly. For Allerton, this sub-type encompasses both items that indicate that a constituent falls short of applying (e.g. '*nearly* finished', which communicates that the point of 'finishing' is close to being, but has not yet been, reached) as well as those that denote a position above the point at which the constituent applies (e.g. '*barely* cooked', which indicates that the state of being 'cooked' has been reached, but only by a small margin). Quirk et al. (1985) on the other hand define a stricter group, containing only the former type and instead place cases of the latter type in their 'minimizer' category.

Allerton's 'absolutive' group comprises items such as *absolutely*, *entirely*, *totally* and *utterly* and so corresponds to Quirk et al.'s sub-category of maximizer. Absolutive degree modifiers 'emphasize that the degree of the adjectival quality is genuinely within the range required by the "superlative" type of adjective with which they occur' (ibid.: 19-20). The adjectives they are used to modify are therefore ones such as *ridiculous*, *huge*, *scorching* and *freezing*, which indicate the extreme end of an imagined scale.

A fourth 'differential' category is also distinguished, yet this is presented as being somewhat more marginal than the three central groups outlined above. Allerton (1987: 21) defines this group as comprising items that 'indicate the difference of degree between the item being described and some reference point'. Among the examples of this type, he lists *slightly* and *a bit* , as well as *far*, *much*, *a lot*, *marginally*, all of which must occur in what he refers to as 'differential adjective complexes', that is together with a comparative (*more/-er*, *less* or *too*) and a scalar adjective, e.g. 'much too big'. The majority of these items are not discussed by Quirk et al. (1985) in the context of degree modification, as comparatives are not dealt with at all in their classification. The few exceptions are *slightly* and *a bit*, which they place in their 'diminisher' category and *too*, which they briefly mention as a member of the broad sub-category of amplifier, yet do not assign to either of their more precise amplifier types (i.e. booster or maximizer).

Corresponding to and crucial to Allerton's method of distinguishing degree modifiers is his related classification of gradable adjectives[8]. One of the fundamental differences between his model and the one devised previously by Quirk at el. (1985) is that his takes into account the complex nature of the combination of the degree modifier and its constituents, and in particular, the fact that many of the collocating items can be graded in more than one way, depending on the context. To this effect, Allerton (1987: 20) differentiates in the first instance, three main varieties of gradable adjective, the terms for which match those of his main categories of degree modifier, viz. 'scalar', 'telic' and 'absolutive'. Scalar adjectives are those that were noted above to be typical collocates of scalar degree modifiers (e.g. *big*, *small*, *bright* and *surprising*), the term 'telic', as a category of adjectives, refers to those listed above as archetypal constituents of telic degree modifiers (e.g. *sufficient*, *cooked*, *afloat* and *fully-grown*) and adjectives pertaining to the type, 'absolute' are those that combine with absolute degree modifiers (e.g. as *ridiculous*, *huge*, *scorching* and *freezing*). Due to the complexity of the gradability of adjectives, specifically the fact that depending on the context, many can be graded in accordance with more than one of the three categories of adjective listed above, Allerton distinguishes, further to his principal three-way division, another four types of adjective. Each of these additional categories straddle two or more of the main categories, a feature that is reflected in the labels given to them, viz. 'scalar-telic', 'scalar absolutive', 'telic-absolutive'

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[8]Allerton (1987: 20-21) clearly sets aside these various types of gradable adjectives from non-gradable (or 'classifying') adjectives. The latter type is not included in the classification at all, since they do not permit modification by degree modifiers (cf. Paradis 1997: 49 on this issue, which contains the following examples of such prototypically non-gradable adjectives: 'classical', 'daily', 'available', 'Russian', 'symphonic' and 'wooden', and also Klein 1998: 6).

and 'scalar-telic-absolute'. As the labels suggest, adjectives placed in any of these categories are ones that can potentially be graded in line with either one of the main types featured in the title.

As is clear from the titles and definitions of each of Allerton's categories, his classifications of degree modifiers and adjectives are inextricably linked; the definitions of the latter being based to some extent[9] on the types of degree modifier with which they occur, and the former being distinguished partly[10] according to the type(s) of adjective they are used to modify. Since his degree modifier model is explicitly devised in this way, on the basis of detailed examination and comparison of the collocational behaviour of various degree modifiers, it may be considered, in some respects, more insightful than previous accounts. However, it is inevitably the case that in focusing solely on achieving a comprehensive understanding of the discrete types of degree modifier, it does not offer any consideration of the relationship between these different types within the overall category, such as is preferred to some extent in earlier accounts.

2.4 Paradis' (1997) classification

The model proposed by Paradis (1997) is influenced by both of the earlier models described above[11], though has most in common with that of Allerton (1987). Like Allerton's, Paradis' model is concerned specifically with elements that modify adjectives with respect to degree and emphasizes the importance of the relationship between degree modifiers and their adjectival collocates in order to distinguish types of each of these elements. However, taking Allerton's classifications of degree modifiers and adjectives as a basis, Paradis seeks to provide a more refined description of the former by analysing the reasons behind the typical degree modifier-adjective pairings that motivated his distinctions. For this purpose, she adopts a cognitive approach, inspired by scholars such as Lakoff (1987), Langacker (1987), Taylor (1989), Cruse (1995) and Cruse & Togia (1996), thus assuming that 'meanings of linguistic expressions arise by the activation of conceptual patterns in the cognitive system' (Paradis 1997: 48).

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[9] Though in Allerton (1987) more detail is devoted to the description of the various types of degree modifier than to the adjective types, it is assumed from his discussion, particularly his mention of the 'complex meaning *vis-à-vis* gradability' (ibid.: 20) that the semantics of the adjective is also taken into account when distinguishing the latter.

[10]The 'type' of degree each member is used to denote is also taken into account.

[11]Prior to the presentation of her own model, Paradis (1997 also discusses a third influence: a model she refers to as the 'scale model'. This is not attributed to (a) particular person/people, but rather is based on the views and commentary of various scholars, e.g. Lyons 1977 and Westney 1986. See Paradis (1997: 22-23) for further details on this.

Paradis' classification of degree modifiers features five groups, the grading force of which, as with Quirk et al.'s model, form a cline ranging from strongly reinforcing to strongly attenuating. Central to her model is the notion that 'in context, the use of degree modifiers is constrained by the semantic features of the collocating adjective on two dimensions: totality and scalarity' (Paradis 1997: 26). Accordingly, the five types of degree modifier are also sub-categorised in terms of which of these dimensions they are typically associated with, resulting in the model exemplified in table 2.1.

DEGREE	TOTALITY MODIFIER	SCALAR MODIFER
REINFORCER	**maximizer** e.g. *completely*	**booster** e.g. *very*
ATTENUATOR	**approximator** e.g. *almost*	**moderator** e.g. *rather*
		diminisher e.g. *slightly*

Table 2.1 –Paradis' classification of degree modifiers (adapted from Paradis 1997: 28).

As illustrated in the above table, the terminology used for the five paradigms, or 'levels of degree', is essentially (with the exception of the minimizer category) those from Quirk et al. 1985. However, the label 'moderator' is substituted for 'compromiser', since Paradis asserts that this more adequately reflects the capability of this type to express either attenuation or reinforcement, which she believes is somewhat obscured by Quirk et al.'s term. In addition, the model maintains the basic distinction made by Quirk et al. (1985) between those degree modifiers that scale upwards from an assumed norm and those that scale downwards, though adopting from Allerton & Cruttenden (1978) the term 'reinforcer' for the former and 'attenuator' for the latter, as opposed to Quirk et al.'s (1985) 'amplifier' and 'downtoner'. The significant addition made by Paradis is the consideration of the distinction between totality and scalar modes of construal. Similar to Allerton's 'scalar', 'telic' and ' absolutive' differentiation, this aspect of Paradis' model concerns the particular type of grading of the degree modifiers and thus links with that of Allerton (1987). However, whereas Allerton presents this as a tripartite classification, Paradis proposes that it be viewed as comprising two types. Moreover, in contrast to Allerton's semantic basis, in her model, this distinction has a cognitive foundation, thus having to do with the way in which the degree modifier is conceptualised. The totality mode of construal is one of 'either-or', thus encompassing maximizers and approximators, whereas a scalar conception is one of 'more or less' (cf. Allerton's (1987: 19) 'prototypical gradability'), as is the case with the case with the booster, moderator and diminisher sub-types.

Whilst Allerton's classifications and definitions of the different types of degree modifiers and adjectives implies an inextricable link between these, a fundamental

assumption of Paradis' model is the explicit foregrounding of the 'bidirectionality of semantic pressure' that is crucial to the selection and interpretation of each. This notion is encapsulated in figure 2.2, below.

selects

degree modifier
adjective

restricts the
interpretation
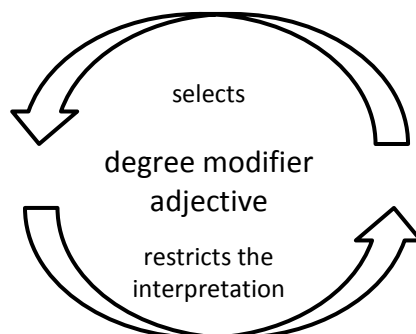
Figure 2.2 – An illustration of the bidirectionality of semantic pressure between degree modifiers and adjectives presented in Paradis (1997: 62)

As this diagram illustrates, the nature of the adjective in any 'degree modifier + adjective' collocation determines the type of degree modifier that can be used to modify it, whilst the nature of the degree modifier simultaneously exerts influence on the selection and interpretation of a compatible adjective constituent. More specifically, it is the way in which the gradability of each of these two items is conceptualised that has the effect. This issue has been discussed above in connection to degree modifiers as it forms a key aspect of Paradis' model of these items; however, given the two-way influence of the modifier and the modified in such combinations, an understanding of Paradis' classification of adjectives is also necessary for a full understanding of her model.

Like Allerton (1987), Paradis (1997) assumes a three-way distinction of gradable adjectives. The details of each sub-category are essentially the same as Allerton's, except that whilst also using the term 'scalar' for the first type, she prefers the terms 'limit' and 'extreme' for Allerton's 'telic' and 'absolute', respectively.

Scalar adjectives are those which are comparable (e.g. 'long', 'longer', 'longest'), can occur in the question 'How X is it?', (e.g. 'How *good* is it?'), can occur in exclamatory expressions (e.g. 'How *interesting*!), and have antonyms (in the sense of Cruse 1986: 204), e.g. 'fast'/'slow'; 'difficult'/'easy'(cf. characteristics of 'gradable' adjectives in standard grammars, e.g. Quirk et al. 1985:435). From a cognitive perspective, they are opposite terms that denote degrees of a variable property that may be conceptualised as a range set out on a mental scale. Each member of an antonymic pair can only be interpreted within the antonymic mode of construal, i.e. it is always conceived of as implicitly comparative in association with the other member of the pair. Examples of scalar adjectives include 'good', 'fast', 'long', 'difficult', 'nasty' and 'interesting'.

Paradis' extreme adjectives are conceived of in terms of the same mode of construal as her scalar variety (i.e. a 'more or less' one) in that they too occupy a point on a mental scale representing the range of a variable property. However, whereas scalar adjectives are interpreted as indicating some medial area of the imagined scale, members of the extreme type occupy the outer, much more restricted parts. Accordingly, Paradis (1997: 54) likens the latter to implicit superlatives, giving the examples of 'excellent', 'huge', minute', 'terrific', 'disastrous' and 'brilliant'. In contrast to their scalar counterparts, the capacity for comparison with regard to these adjectives is questionable, as is their occurrence in the question 'How X is it?'[12]; they do, however, fit naturally into exclamative expressions, as illustrated, for instance, in 'How terrific!'. Extreme adjectives do not satisfy all the characteristics of typical antonyms embodied by scalar adjectives (cf. above and Cruse 1986: 205), notably since they do not represent a range on a scale and thus are not fully comparable[13]. Despite this, Paradis regards them as antonymic due to the existence of what Cruse (1986: 205) terms a 'pivotal region', i.e. a section of the mental scale that is not covered by either member of a pair of extreme adjectives at opposite ends such as 'excellent' and 'terrible', which she exemplifies by considering the region indicated by something that is 'neither *excellent* nor *terrible*'.

The adjectives Paradis refers to as 'limit' adjectives are fundamentally different from both of the other two categories by nature of their conceptualisation, since they pertain to the 'either-or' mode of construal. Essentially, this equates to something being either 'true' or 'not true' or 'the case' or 'not the case', thus; examples of limit adjectives include 'true', 'sober', 'sufficient', 'dead', 'identical' and 'possible'. Adjectives of this kind do not apply until the point where a certain limit of criterial nature has been reached, and once this is the case, Paradis (1997: 57) asserts that the application of the adjective is exactly the same for all speakers. This latter point, she argues, differs substantially to the application of scalar and extreme adjectives, since both of these have an evaluative element to them which may differ from person to person. For example, what is termed 'good' by one person, may be 'bad' from another person's perspective, whilst '*a dead body* is *a dead body* for all speakers, since there is not only consensus as to the meaning of *dead*, but also its application' (ibid.: 57). In accordance with the four criteria against which the gradability of the other two varieties of adjectives was assessed, it can be noted that limit

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[12] Note that this is possible in some informal contexts, though as a rhetorical device where the meaning is not the same as in a literal question.

[13] This is in spite of comparative and superlative constructions such as ?'A is more excellent than B' and ?'A is the most excellent of them all', respectively (Paradis 1997: 56), since as noted above, the acceptability of these types of constructions with extreme adjectives is disputed.

adjectives are not comparable and are unnatural in both the question 'How X is it?'[14] and exclamatory expressions. In terms of the conceptualisation of their relationship with their opposites, limit adjectives differ from their scalar and extreme counterparts; by reason of them being absolute and dividing some conceptual domain into two distinct parts, they have a truly incompatible relationship to their opposite as opposed to an antonymic one. In other words, the application of one member of the pair entails that the other cannot hold true, thus their opposition is one of 'complementarity' (cf. e.g. Cruse 1986: 198-204).

Echoing Allerton's concern over the need to account for variable gradability of many adjectives, Paradis, rather than adding a series of intermediate categories as Allerton does, opts for highlighting the importance of treating her sub-categories as representing the *typical* uses of adjectives and not as denoting their type of gradability *per se*. According to her model, an adjective can either get its most typical reading or can undergo 'contextual modulation', whereby it is conceptualised in an alternative way without becoming polysemous (Paradis 1997: 65). In other words, contextual modulation refers to the process by which, in a certain context, an adjective may be conceived of as pertaining to a mode of construal that deviates from its established or biased one. This phenomenon therefore explains cases such as 'clear' and 'certain' which have the potential to be conceptualised in terms of a totality mode of construal (and generally are so when out of context) or can be coerced in particular contexts into a scalar one (cf. e.g. 'absolutely certain' and 'fairly certain', respectively). The emphasis on contextual factors in contextual modulation foregrounds, once again, the importance in Paradis' model of the relationship between a degree modifier and its modified constituent, since it is precisely the type of degree modifier an adjective selects which concurrently restricts its interpretation. For instance, collocations with degree modifiers that exhibit a totality mode of construal, such as '*almost* clear' and '*completely* clear' determine that the adjective must have the same mode of construal, thus resulting in its interpretation as a totality (limit) adjective. Due to the simultaneous nature of the relationship (see figure 2.2, above), the model details that, at the same time, the choice of a totality adjective reaffirms the totality mode of construal of its modifier[15].

In summary, the model proposed by Paradis (1997) maintains the initial two-tier distinction of Quirk et al. (1985) and their predecessors, e.g. Stoffel (1901) and Borst (1902).

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[14] As noted with respect to this criterion in connection to extreme adjectives, such constructions are possible in informal speech, though they are used in a rhetorical sense and thus do not have the same literal meaning.
[15] Paradis (1997: 18) also details prosody as an influential factor in the interpretation of degree modifiers in 'degree modifier + adjective' collocations. However, as the present research is to focus predominantly on written data and will thus not consider spoken language, this issue will not be explored any further. For a discussion of data in relation to this aspect, see Paradis 1997: 96ff.

Moreover, the second layer of distinction is essentially the same as that of Quirk et al. (1985), even to the point that though Paradis agrees that her moderator category (Quirk et al.'s (1985) compromisers) somewhat straddles the reinforcer-attenuator divide, she, too, chooses to represent it in her model as a sub-category of attenuator. However, to this model, she adds detail in line with Allerton's (1987) by examining the nature of degree modifiers in use in order to account more precisely for the second level distinctions. To this effect, whilst Allerton *observes* degree modifier collocations to inform his model, Paradis (1997) goes a step further and adopts a cognitive approach in order to offer explanations for such observations and thus for the proposed groupings.

2.5 Degree modifiers in the present study

Having considered the degree modifier classifications of Quirk et al. (1985), Allerton (1987) and Paradis (1997), the model adopted for the present study is presented in figure 2.3, below.
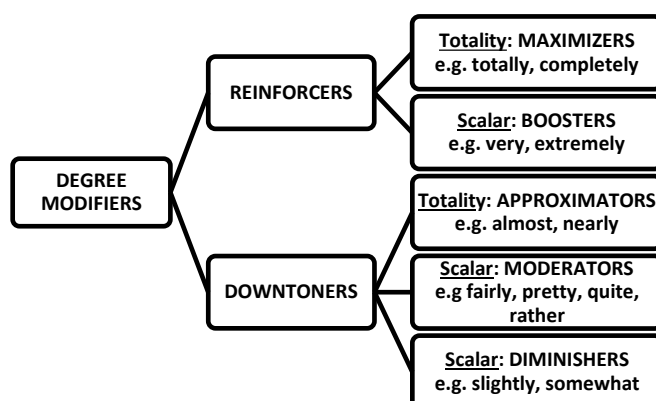
Figure 2.3 – Classification of degree modifiers (model based on Quirk et al. 1985 and Paradis 1997)

In terms of the hierarchical element, the levels of distinctions, and the terminology, it is basically a hybrid of the models of Quirk et al. (1985) and Paradis (1997). However, in the ensuing analysis, it will be clear that the more detailed aspects of both Allerton (1987) and Paradis (1997) with regard to the focus on the nature of the specific collocations of degree modifiers are also taken into account. In particular, the cognitive approach advocated by Paradis is implemented at various points in order to detail some of the finer aspects of analysis.

Even in selecting this model, there are still several important issues pertaining to its source classifications with which to contend. The first of these is that all three of the source models (and indeed all those prior ones mentioned above) are synchronic, being based on observations of present-day usage. Although that of Quirk et al. (1985) in

particular has been applied in some diachronic studies, most notably by Méndez-Naya (2003, 2006, 2007, 2008), it is typically only used in such cases as a preliminary means of distinguishing a particular type of degree modifier within the overall class; it offers no insight into the historical aspects of these items or, indeed, as to whether the same classification is appropriate for describing this phenomenon during previous stages of the language. Given that the research detailed in the ensuing sections focuses on only one of these categories (viz. maximizer), the former of these consequences is not of great import; however, with regard to the latter, it should be noted that the present research takes this model as it stands purely as a basis (in much the same way as in the studies by Méndez-Naya mentioned above) with the intention of providing further specificity by means of the diachronic analysis of the selected items.

The second issue concerns the scope of the existing classifications. Both that of Allerton (1987) and that of Paradis (1997) were designed on the basis of examinations of adjectival modification, and although the earlier model of Quirk et al. (1985) also makes reference to verbal constituents and, albeit more marginally, adverbial ones, any exemplification they provide tends to be limited to adjectival and verbal modification. Whilst it is not suggested that the classification of the degree modifiers would be any different had the models also considered their use with other constituent types, namely nominal and prepositional, it does mean that there is no previous direction as regards how the model may be applied to such collocations. In this respect, a certain amount of guidance can be taken from Bolinger (1972) and Klein (1998), both of whom deal with a wide range of collocations in their studies of degree modifiers. Nonetheless, since these studies are synchronic, it is important to excise some caution when applying their insight to diachronic cases.

The amalgamated model of degree modifiers depicted in figure 2.3 is thus regarded in the analysis sections of the investigation that follows with these issues in mind. However, prior to this, its principal preliminary purpose is to provide a uniform classification and set of terms with which to consider the previous research on degree modifiers and to detail the focus of the present study within this context. It is to these latter-mentioned issues that the subsequent section turns.

3. Previous research on degree modifiers

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the study of degree modifiers has been a popular topic in English linguistics, though much of the recent focus had been on synchronic issues such as their precise context(s) of use in present-day English (e.g. Diehl 2005; Tao 2007; Palacios-Martínez 2009), their distribution across social groups, varieties, registers and text types (e.g. Paradis 2000; Stenström 2000; Bauer & Bauer 2002; Tagliamonte & Roberts 2005; Pahta 2006), and their competition within a given time period (e.g. Ito &Tagliamonte 2003; Méndez-Naya 2004; Tagliamonte 2008). In taking synchronic approaches, these sources provide focused descriptions of specific issues concerning selected degree modifiers within particular time-frames. Nevertheless, they fail to account for issues such as the developments beyond that of the degree modifier functions (e.g. response particles) and the way in which the various functions of the members of the maximizer class are (inter)related, all of which may be observed through historical analysis.

Among the more limited diachronic studies, typical concerns are the competition of different degree modifiers across time (e.g. Peters 1992) and elucidating the development of the degree modifying function of individual items (e.g. Nevalainen & Rissanen 2002; Méndez-Naya 2003, 2006, 2007, 2008; Adamson & González-Díaz 2004; Buchstaller & Traugott 2006; Rissanen 2008). In focusing on degree modifiers as a class, or on a particular sub-type, the former type of study is unable to go into detail with regard to individual items. Conversely, the latter type is able to provide specific details of the development of individual degree modifiers, yet does not consider the way in which these relate to the particular sub-category to which they belong. In this respect, it is not possible for such investigations to consider issues pertaining to a particular sub-category which may arise from the comparison of the development of its members.

In view of the above-noted imbalance with regard to the relative proportions of synchronic and diachronic studies among the previous investigations of degree modifiers, the present research seeks to contribute to the less abundant diachronic consortium. Its contribution achieves somewhat of a balance between the concerns of the limited previous diachronic studies (detailed briefly, above) in that it provides detailed accounts of the development of a selection of individual degree modifiers, but also extrapolates from these analyses in order to gain a comprehensive insight into an entire sub-class.

3.1 Degree modifiers and grammaticalization

From a historical perspective, degree modifiers are generally former lexical items[16] that have acquired (a) more grammatical function(s) over time. Accordingly, their development can be said to be an example of a process of grammaticalization, briefly defined as:

> that subset of linguistic changes whereby a lexical item or construction in certain uses takes on grammatical characteristics, or through which a grammatical item becomes more grammatical
> (Hopper &Traugott 2003 [1993]: 2).

To characterise such processes of grammaticalization more precisely, Lehmann (1995 [1982]: 164) posits a set of six correlated parameters, which according to his system, are realised in two dimensions: the syntagmatic (i.e. concerned with linguistic ordering) and the paradigmatic (i.e. having to do with discrete linguistic categories). His scheme is summarised in figure 2.4, below.

	PARADIGMATIC	SYNTAGMATIC
WEIGHT	**integrity** (i.e. degree of phonological or semantic substance)	**scope** (i.e. the extent of the construction which it enters or helps to form)
COHESION	**paradigmaticity** (i.e. degree of cohesion within a paradigm)	**bondedness** (i.e. the degree of cohesion with another sign)
VARIABILITY	**paradigmatic variability** (i.e. the degree of freedom with which the language user chooses a sign)	**syntagmatic variability** (i.e. the degree to which a sign may be shifted around in its context)

Figure 2.4 Lehmann's (1995[1982]) six parameters of grammaticalization

According to Lehmann (1985: 307), the degree to which the six parameters correlate indicates the extent to which a sign has grammaticalized. More specifically, this is measured in terms of the degree of increased cohesion along with decreased weight and variability. However, this judgement is therefore based on synchronic analysis of isolated

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[16]As noted above, the present research considers only adverbs that function as degree modifiers, but cf. Bolinger (1972: 18) on the possibility of 'more grammatical' sources, e.g. *more*, *most* and the suffixes of comparison, *-er* and *–est*.

stages and does not explain the diachronic processes that lead to the more grammaticalized forms. To account for this, Lehmann also distinguishes six processes; each one corresponding to one of his parameters. The correspondence between Lehmann's parameters and processes is summarised in figure 2.5, below.

	Weak grammaticalization	- Process	→ Strong grammaticalization
PARADIGMATIC PARAMETERS			
integrity	bundle of semantic features, rich phonological substance	- *attrition*	few semantic features, reduced phonological substance
paradigmaticity	item participates loosely in semantic field	- *paradigmaticization*	small, tightly integrated paradigm
paradigmatic variability	free choice of items according to communicative intentions	- *obligatorification*	choice systematically constrained, use largely obligatory
SYNTAGMATIC PARAMETERS			
scope	item relates to constituent of arbitrary complexity	- *condensation*	item modifies a word or stem
bondedness	item is independently juxtaposed	- *coalescence*	item is affix or even phonological feature of carrier
syntagmatic variability	item can be shifted around freely	- *fixation*	item occupies a fixed slot

Figure 2.5 – Parameters and processes of grammaticalization
          (adapted from Lehmann 2005: 309)

The processes of *attrition*, *paradigmaticization,* and *obligatorification* describe the diachronic processes that correspond to the paradigmatic parameters of integrity, paradigmaticity, and paradigmatic variability, respectively. Briefly, *attrition* results in 'the gradual loss of semantic and phonological substance' (Lehmann 1985: 307). In other works on grammaticalization, semantic attrition is distinguished from phonological attrition, with the latter sometimes referred to as 'erosion' (cf. e.g. Hopper & Traugott 1993, 2003; Traugott & Dasher 2002; Heine 2006: 579) and 'desemanticization' and 'semantic

bleaching'[17] among alternative labels for the former. The process o*f paradigmaticization* describes the tendency for grammaticalized forms to be arranged into increasingly small, homogeneous paradigms (Lehmann 1985: 307 and Heine 2006: 588 for further details). Finally, the process of *obligatorification* concerns 'the tendency for optional forms to become used obligatorily' (Heine 2006: 588) as choice among members of a paradigm becomes constrained by grammatical rules.

On the syntagmatic axis, figure 2.5 demonstrates the relations between the parameters of scope, bondedness, and syntagmatic variability and the respective processes, *condensation*, *coalescence*, and *fixation*. Essentially, *condensation* refers to scope reduction, *coalescence* concerns an increase in bondedness at the morphological level, and *fixation* is the process whereby a construction loses freedom or variability at the syntactic level, coming to occupy a fixed syntactic slot.

The cumulative effects of these six processes in an overall process of grammaticalization are that the grammaticalized construction can be seen to undergo *extension*, i.e. when the construction comes to be used in new contexts that were previously unavailable to it (see e.g. Heine 2006: 580) and *decategorialization* (Hopper 1991: 22), i.e. when the construction shifts grammatical category, e.g. from a 'major' or 'open class paradigm', e.g. nouns or verbs, to a 'minor', 'closed-class' one, e.g. conjunctions, inflections etc. (see e.g. Heine 2006: 588-589 for further details).

As for degree modifiers, evidence from previous research exemplifies how Lehmann's parameters and processes apply to their grammaticalization. Overall, their development can be illustrated by the cline in figure 2.6, since they are typically recruited from the domain of adverbs, which, in turn, tend to be derived from adjectives (via a particular sub-type of grammaticalization known as *adverbialization*).
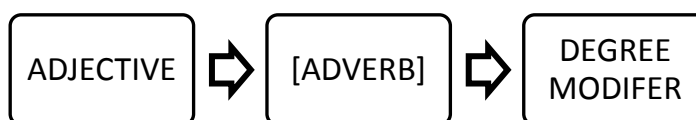
Figure 2.6 – Typical cline of grammaticalization involved in the development of degree modifiers.

A well-known instantiation of this cline is Middle English *verray*. In origin, this was an adjective conveying the meaning 'true', as in 'a *verray* (true) priest' (cf. MED *s.v. verrei*,

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[17] It is often suggested that all three terms, *attrition*, *desemanticization* and *semantic bleaching* are inadequate because although grammaticalized concepts do lose their original meaning(s), they also gain new meanings. In this respect, terms such as 'semantic enrichment' are also offered to aid the description of the changes that occur in paradigmatic weight during processes of grammaticalization (cf. e.g. Hopper &Traugott, 1993: 88).

adj.), but over time, it underwent grammaticalization, eventually resulting in the use that survives in PDE, viz. *very* as a degree modifier (booster), meaning 'to a great degree', e.g. '*very* happy' (cf. OED *s.v. very*, adv.).

In accordance with Lehmann's proposals (outlined above), there is, at each stage of the cline, loss of paradigmatic weight, or integrity, not necessarily in phonological terms, but always in semantic terms, as the grammaticalizing constructions undergo (semantic) attrition. For instance, in the case of the degree modifier *very* (outlined, above), the original adjective *verray* is 'bleached' of its adjectival meaning, 'true' (notice that this loss is coupled with semantic enrichment as *very* takes on its new degree meaning). On the syntagmatic axis, degree modifiers tend to display a decrease in scope over time as a result of the process of condensation. This is clearly evidenced in the development of the degree modifier *right*, which develops 'from an adjunct having the whole predication in its scope, to a modifier of [only] the element it precedes' (Méndez-Naya 2006: 159). In relation to the parameter of cohesion, the grammaticalization of degree modifiers always involves paradigmaticization as the constructions leave a larger, 'open-class' paradigm, viz. adjective, becoming part of increasingly smaller 'closed-class' paradigms, viz. adverb[18] and degree modifier, respectively. A decrease in variability is evidenced on the syntagmatic axis as a result of fixation. At the initial stage on the cline represented in figure 2.6, the adjectives have relative syntactic freedom in that they can typically occur in attributive and predicative position. Likewise as adverbs (stage 2 on the cline), the constructions typically have the ability to appear in various syntactic positions e.g. sentence initial, sentence final, pre-verbal, post-verbal (see Quirk et al. 1985: 490ff for details on the various positions of adverbs). Though not all the adverbs that become degree modifiers are able to appear in all the above-mentioned positions, the point is that at this stage, they have more syntactic freedom than they do as degree modifiers, when they are typically restricted to the syntactic slot immediately before the constituent they modify (see, e.g. Quirk et al. 1985: 590ff; Paradis 1997). Once again, the development of degree modifier *right* provides an illustration of this:

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[18] In actual fact, the present research here follows Heine (2006) in his endorsement of adverbs as constituting a closed-class grammatical paradigm, though this issue is somewhat controversial, with many other scholars taking the view that they are an open-class lexical one (see e.g. Quirk et al. 1985 and Huddleston & Pullum 2002). Since it is not of import with regard to the focus of this thesis, the divergent scholarly opinion on this matter of adverbial classification will not be discussed any further in the present work. For details of this, the reader is directed, for example, to Ramat & Rica (1994).

…'right' adjunct was not restricted to any position in the clause. As a focusing modifier, however, it could at first occur pre- or postposed…but at the close of the Middle English period its position became fixed: it could only be found preceding the focused element. As an intensifier right always precedes its head. (Méndez-Naya 2006: 159).

Closer examination of the above-mentioned studies on degree modifiers that do take diachronic approaches reveals a noticeable trend for analysis of the grammaticalization processes pertaining to members of the booster sub-category (e.g. Peters 1992 on the competition of boosters across time; Méndez-Naya 2003 on the development of *swīpe*; Adamson & González-Díaz 2004 on the development of *very*; Méndez-Naya 2006, 2007 on the development of *right*) as well as a smaller selection concerned with items from the moderator group (e.g. Nevalainen & Rissanen 2002 on the development of *pretty* and *fairly*; Rissanen 2008 on the development of *rather*). In light of this, the present study focuses on a comparatively under-investigated sub-category, namely the maximizer one.

3.2 Maximizers

Aside from having not received much attention in diachronic studies to date, there are additional factors that make the maximizer class particularly worthy of investigation. One of the most notable is the fact that, in general, its members appear to be considerably more versatile, both synchronically and diachronically, than those belonging to other sub-categories. That is to say, a brief survey of dictionary entries for these items and of some of the synchronic research on their present-day usage reveals a series of other functions alongside their maximizer one at various points throughout their history, for instance that of manner adverb and emphasizer (see chapter 3, section 3.1 for explanations of all additional functions). To the best of my knowledge, this versatility, which appears, for some reason, to be characteristic of this particular sub-type has not been examined in any previous studies. It seems particularly conducive to diachronic investigation, since this provides a means of establishing how and when each of the functions arose and to what extent they are (inter)related, especially as such developments are not accounted for in the general cline of degree modifier grammaticalization presented in figure 2.6. Furthermore, it enables an assessment of whether there is any perceivable explanation in the history as to why this should be characteristic of members of this particular group of degree modifiers.

From the perspective of grammaticalization theorising, an analysis of the grammaticalization of a selection of maximizers will be of benefit in order to consider how the cline of degree modifier grammaticalization that was presented in figure 2.6, which is largely based on the investigation of boosters (see discussion in section 3.1), corresponds to the development of this type of degree modifier. In particular, it remains to be seen whether the above-mentioned versatility of the maximizers affects conformity to this cline and where the additional functions fit, issues that may warrant a (more detailed) refining of the cline as a description of the grammaticalization of members of this particular sub-class of degree modifier.

In summary, the above sections demonstrate that maximizers are deserving of diachronic analysis not only to explain the development of individual cases, but also to detail the history of this particular sub-class of degree modifier. Furthermore, the detailed examination of the selected items will reveal any relations between their additional functions and their maximizer one and the potential implications these may have for the existing portrayal of pathways of adverbial change and grammaticalization.

CHAPTER 3: Data and Methods

Given that the overall aim of this study, as detailed in the previous chapter, is to provide a comprehensive diachronic account of the maximizer sub-class of degree modifier, those chosen for investigation each had to be examined in corpora dating from their earliest known attestation (determined via the OED) right up until the present-day. This chapter explains the selection of maximizers for the study (section 1) and provides details of all the corpora used (section 2). The final section (section 3) describes the methodology used for both the quantitative and the qualitative analyses of the corpus data.

1. Selection of the data

As the maximizer sub-category of degree modifier encompasses a fairly large number of linguistic items (cf. e.g. the lists in grammars such as Quirk et al. 1985: 590), it was first of all necessary to select a suitable sample for investigation. The sample needed to be manageable within the constraints of the thesis (i.e. of a size that would allow suitably detailed analysis of each item) and yet sufficient to enable the observation of shared and/or particularly distinguishing traits in connection to the overall class. To this effect, the decision was made to follow Paradis (1997) in taking the following seven maximizers that were selected for her synchronic study of degree modifiers of adjectives: *absolutely*, *completely*, *entirely*, *perfectly*, *quite*, *totally*, and *utterly*. Her preliminary investigation (see details in Paradis 1997: 33) showed these to be the most frequent maximizers in combination with adjectives in the positive degree in her present-day data[19]. Furthermore, a survey of the OED entries for each, as well as a brief exploratory search in historical corpora, indicated that they all have fairly long histories, each having been in use from the Middle English or Early Modern English periods. In this respect, selecting this group ensured a sample size that was appropriate to the aims of the study, whilst at the same time providing maximizers that would likely illustrate the most recent changes within the maximizer class as well as the historical ones.

Having selected the sample for the study, each of the seven maximizers was individually searched in historical corpora in order to provide data for the investigation of

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[19] Having reviewed the work of Bolinger (1972), Quirk et al. (1985), Sinclair (1990) and Altenberg (1991), Paradis (1997: 33) made a concordance of each of the degree modifiers mentioned in the London-Lund Corpus (see Greenbaum & Svartvik (1990) for details) and selected those that occurred most frequently in combination with adjectives in the positive degree.

the research aims. The subsequent section presents detailed information about each of the corpora used.

2. Corpora

In order to trace the diachronic development of each of the seven maximizers data were retrieved from a selection of corpora ranging from the Middle English period through to the present-day[20]. As is customary in historical studies, these corpora were divided into the sub-periods of Middle English, Early Modern English, Late Modern English and Present-day English.

2.1 Middle English

The data from the Middle English (ME) period were extracted from the second edition of the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English* (PPCME2) (Kroch & Taylor 2000) and from the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* (CMEPV) (see http://www.hti.umich.edu/c/cme/). The former database was used in its entirety, thus comprising approximately 1.2 million words taken from 55 text samples. More precise details of the corpus distribution are illustrated in table 3.1.

Sub-period	PPCME2
1150-1250	258,090
1250-1350	93,999
1350-1420	403,007
1420-1500	400,869
Total	1,182,965

Table 3.1 The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English

As this corpus is notably small in comparison to those from the later periods (cf. sections 2.2-2.4), the decision was made to supplement it with text from the CMEPV. To this effect, a sample of 35 of the prose texts from the CMEPV, totalling approximately 2.9 million words, were added to the ME database. This brought the total word count of this database in the region of 4 million words. Although this figure remains much lower than that of the subsequent periods, the combining of these corpora served to increase the validity of the findings in relation to this period. Details of the texts from the CMEPV that were used and of their respective word counts are provided in table 3.2.

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[20] It was not necessary to use corpora from Old English as information in the OED and the MED indicated that none of the seven maximizers under investigation were in use in English prior to the Middle English period.

Text	CMEPV
Hali Meidenhad[21]	17,477
Mitchel's Ayenbite	95,287
Sawles Warde	4,875
The Life of St. Juliana	16,670
Vices and Virtues	30,513
Two 15thC cookery-books	49,236
Alphabet of Tales	172,058
An Anthology of Chancery English	89,871
Caxton's Blanchardyn and Eglantine	74,243
Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce, Charles the Grete	86,145
Chaucer's Translation of Boethius's "De consolatione philosphiæ"	64,194
English Conquest of Ireland	60,990
William Dunbar's "The Tretis of the Twa Mariit Women and the Wedo"	5,934
Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London	58,579
English Gilds	164,700
Treatises of Fistula in Ano : Haemorrhoids, and Clysters	43,527
Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum	193,776
Lincoln Diocese Documents, 1450-1544	75,001
Caxton's edition of Malory's Le Morte d'Arthur	354,135
Melusine, Part I, Jean d'Arras	124,037
Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, Nicholas Love	105,058
Paston letters and papers of the 15thC, Part I	250,993
The Prose Life of Alexander	48,680
Ratis Raving, and Other Moral and Religious Pieces	10,620
Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse	24,139
Merlin : or the Early History of King Arthur : a Prose Romance	288,122
15thC Courtesy Book ... and Two 15thC Franciscan Rules	22,564
Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum	98,772
The Three Kings' Sons, Part I	100,353
Three Kings of Cologne	50,864
Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry	79,565
Chaucer's Treatise on The Astrolabe	17,072
Total	2,878,050

Table 3.2 The Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse

Due to some overlap between PPCME2 and CMEPV, it was necessary to eliminate some duplicated examples before beginning the data analysis.

2.2 Early Modern English

Data for the Early Modern English (EModE) period were initially obtained from two sources: the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler* (CEECS) and the Early Modern English sections of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (Helsinki). CEECS consists of 450,085 words

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[21] For further details of each of the texts, see the bibliography at
http://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/cme/browse.html.

of personal correspondence from 23 letter collections (1123 letters), featuring contributions from a total of 194 writers, and spanning the years 1418-1680. A detailed breakdown of the various collections making up this corpus can be found in Nurmi 1999.

The diachronic part of the Helsinki corpus features texts from a vast selection of genres, seeking to provide a representative sample of the language written in the selected time period (for further details of the selection process see Kytö 1996 and also Rissanen et al. 1993). The EModE section contains 551,000, thus when added to the CEECS data, results in approximately 1 million words of data for this period. More precise details of the distribution of the EModE part of the Helsinki corpus are illustrated in table 3.3.

Sub-period	Helsinki (EModE)
1500-1570	190,160
1570-1640	189,800
1640-1710	171,040
Total	551,000

Table 3.3 The EModE sections of the Helsinki Corpus

Even with the addition of the data from the Helsinki corpus, the size of the EModE database, at c.1 million, remained much smaller than those of any other period (cf. section 2.1, above and 2.3-2.4, below). In light of this, it was supplemented with a third source, viz. the *Early Modern English Dramatists Corpus*. Compiled from the Chadwyck-Healey Literature Online collection[22], this corpus consists of approximately 3.7 million words from a selection of dramatic works from the EModE period. Table 3.4 provides a breakdown of the data according to playwright.

Collection	EModEDramatists
Dekker	235,737
Fletcher	310,892
Heywood	477,694
Jonson	513,597
Kyd	2,899
Marlowe	133,842
Middleton	352,998
Rowley	35,256
Shakespeare	860,578
Collaborations	777,574
Total	3,701,067

Table 3.4 The EModE Dramatists Corpus

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[22] http://lionreference.chadwyck.co.uk/.

The addition of the EModE Dramatists Corpus brought the word count for the EModE database to c.4.2 million, thus making it much more analogous with the previous and subsequent periods (cf. sections 2.2 and 2.4-2.5[23]). It is also important to note at this point that the number of tokens retrieved from this single-genre corpus, both in terms of the function of each maximizer and the distribution of their collocate types, is in line with the ratios of that retrieved from the other EModE sources. This means that any concern that it may not be representative of general usage and thus may not be sufficiently comparable to the other multi-genre EModE corpora is eliminated.

2.3 Late Modern English

For the Late Modern English (LModE) period, data were gathered from both the extended version of the *Corpus of Late Modern English texts* (CLMETEV) (De Smet 2005)[24] and *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers* (ARCHER[25]) (see Biber et al. 1994). The first of these consists of texts freely available online through the *Project Gutenberg* and the *Oxford Text Archive* as well as some from the *Victorian Women Writer's Project*. Divided into three sub-periods, this corpus spans the years 1710-1920. However, since the cut-off point for LModE in the present research was set at 1900 inclusive, any texts dating from 1901-1920 were eliminated from the database for the search purposes. Specific details of the number of words remaining in the corpus after these changes are provided in table 3.5.

Sub-period	CLMETEV
1710-1780	3,037,607
1780-1850	5,723,988
1850-1900	4,158,231
Total	12,919,826

Table 3.5 The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (extended version)

ARCHER (version 3.1) comprises around 1.8 million words of British and American English from 1650-1990, featuring the following eight genres: drama, fiction, sermons, journal/diaries, medicine, news, science and letters. Since the decision was made to define

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[23] Although the ME and EModE databases are now similar in size, the LModE and PDE ones are still considerably larger; however, this is an inevitable effect of there being more data available from these more recent times. What is important is that the additional corpora sourced for the earlier periods ensures that the samples are as representative as possible, thus maximizing the validity of the findings.

[24] I would like to thank Hendrik De Smet for granting me access to CLMETEV.

[25] I am grateful to Nuria Yáñez-Bouza and the University of Manchester for having granted me access to ARCHER: ARCHER-3.1 = A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers 3.1. 1990-1993/2002/2007. Originally compiled under the supervision of Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan at Northern Arizona University and University of Southern California. Modified and expanded by subsequent members of a consortium of universities. The universities involved in the compilation of ARCHER 3.1 were Northern Arizona, Southern California, Freiburg, Heidelberg, Helsinki, Uppsala, Michigan, Manchester, Lancaster, and Bamberg.

the LModE period in the present research as between 1700 and 1900, texts from pre 1700 and those from 1900-1990 were excluded. Furthermore, as the study focuses on British English, the American English sections of the corpus were also eliminated. Details of the distribution of the remaining data from this corpus are given in table 3.6.

Sub-period	ARCHER
1700-1749	177,726
1750-1799	178,675
1800-1849	180,793
1850-1899	181,026
Total	718,220

Table 3.6 A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers

As shown by the figures in tables 3.5 and 3.6, utilising both these corpora for this time period made for a very substantial database of c.13.6 million words.

2.4 Present-day English

In the case of Present-day English (PDE), data were extracted from the post-1900 sections of both CLMETEV and ARCHER (detailed in tables 3.7 and 3.8, respectively) as well as from the *Freiburg-Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus* (FLOB) and the *British National Corpus* (via the web-based interface, *BNCweb*).

Sub-period	CLMETEV
1900-1920	2,093,333
Total	2,093,333

Table 3.7 PDE - The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (extended version)

Sub-period	ARCHER
1900-1949	176,907
1950-1999	178,241
Total	355,148

Table 3.8 PDE - A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers

Compiled in the early 1990s, the FLOB corpus (see Hundt et al. 1998) was designed to match the *Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus* (for details, see Johansson et al. 1978) of twenty years previous. To this effect, it contains c.1 million words of written British English from the 1990s, across fifteen genres. When added to the present-day data from CLMETEV and from ARCHER, the database for this period consisted of c.3.4 million words.

The decision to consult the c. 100 million-word BNC in addition, thus bringing the total number of words in the PDE database up to c.103.4 million, was twofold. On the one hand, the further increase to the sample size was deemed advantageous in terms of

achieving maximal representativeness and thus further enhancing the validity of the results of the study. On the other hand, an added benefit was the fact that this corpus contains both spoken and written data. Although the study primarily focuses on written data (largely for reasons of uniformity, since this type of data is more readily available from the earlier stages of the language), access to spoken data was required in order to aid the investigation of the additional more pragmatic 'response particle' function, which is evidenced by a number of the maximizers under investigation [26].

Covering the latter years of the twentieth century (specifically, 1960 to 1993), this web-based version of the BNC consists of a series of text samples from a variety of genres, registers, domains and situations (for further details of the sampling method, see e.g. Burnard 2007 or Hoffmann et al. 2008: 27-45). As the breakdown in table 3.9 shows, the ratio of written to spoken data in this corpus is 9:1, the former comprising 87,903,571 words (from 3140 texts) and the latter 10,409,858 words (from 908 texts).

Data type	BNC
Written	87,903,571
Spoken	10,409,858
Total	98,313,429

Table 3.9 The British National Corpus (accessed via BNCweb)

Whilst the inclusion of the BNC proved useful to some extent for the investigation of the above-mentioned 'response particle' functions, the number of examples in some cases was too few to ascertain any developmental patterns. For this reason, and given that an American source was intuitively assumed for this function in certain cases (cf. e.g. discussion of *totally* in chapter 9), the decision was made to conduct an additional examination of relevant terms in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) compiled by Davies (2008-)[27].

COCA is a web-based corpus of c.425million words of present-day American English, spanning the time period 1990-2011 and featuring texts from five genres, viz. spoken, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and academic texts (for further details, see Davies 2008-).

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[26] In the absence of spoken data, the few instances retrieved were found in data from the written corpora that imitate speech, for instance, in dialogue in novels and plays. Unfortunately, due to lack of access to spoken data from previous stages of the language, these latter sources had to be relied on for any evidence of this use prior to PDE.

[27] Since the present study focuses on British English, any consultation of COCA is purely exploratory as a means of hypothesising how the emergence of this function in British English may be connected to earlier usage in American English. This is thus clearly indicated as such in any of the relevant forthcoming sections.

3. Methodology

Having consulted the OED in order to determine the initial attestation dates of each of the seven selected maximizers, they were individually searched in corpora dating from the time of their earliest recorded use until the present-day in order to retrieve data for the analysis of their development. In the case of the majority of the corpora, the concordance programme *Monoconc Pro*, version 2.2 (Barlow 2004) was used for the data retrieval; the exceptions being BNCweb and COCA, which were each searched (the latter, when necessary) using their own web-based facilities.

In most cases, exhaustive searches were conducted, though in some cases particularly high frequencies made it necessary to take a random sample of the results. This was often the case with the CLMETEV corpus for the LModE period and was required for all seven of the searches of the BNCweb. Where this was the case, it is clearly indicated during the presentation of results for that item.

Following extraction, any cases where a maximizer was used in the scope of a negative was eliminated, since this particular type of context falls outside the scope of the present study. The remaining data for each item was then subject to a series of manual sorting in preparation for the analysis. In the first instance, and taking each period consecutively, the data was sorted according to the function of the item. This was so as to enable the charting of the functional development of each item across time (in conjunction with qualitative analysis of the data). The categories (depending on the item[28]) included *manner adverb*, *maximizer*, *scalar degree modifier*, *emphasizer*, *focussing adverb*, *epistemic/modal adverb*, and *response particle* (each of which is defined in section 3.1, below). There was also a category entitled 'ambiguous', in which examples were placed if they were potentially ambiguous between two or more of the named categories and thus could not be positively classified in any particular one.

In the second of the data sorts, all of the degree modifier cases were further grouped according to the type of constituent it was used to modify. The purpose of this was to examine, again in conjunction with qualitative analysis, the historical development, particularly in terms of collocational behaviour, within the maximizer class. The categories distinguished were 'adjective phrase' (ADJP), 'verb phrase' (VP), 'adverb phrase' (ADVP), 'prepositional phrase' (PP) and 'noun phrase' (NP). In addition, there was a category designated 'other' to admit those items that did not fit any of the common named categories.

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[28] Not all of these functions were available to every one of the items.

After the manual sorting of the extracted data, a combination of detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis was conducted for each item along the above-noted lines in order to elucidate the development of the individual maximizers. To this effect, detailed diachronic accounts of each of the seven selected maximizers are presented consecutively in chapters 4-10. Subsequently, these individual accounts were compared so as to ascertain similarities and differences and thus build up a picture of the entire maximizer sub-class (see chapter 11). Finally, the data and the findings of the analyses conducted for the above-mentioned purposes were also used to address the wider concerns presented in the previous chapter (see chapter 11).

3.1 Adverbial functions

It was noted in chapter 2 (section 3.2) that information provided by dictionaries and standard grammars of English on each of the seven maximizers, as well as some of the synchronic work on their present-day usage (e.g. Bolinger 1972, Vermeire 1979, and Paradis 1997, to name a few), identifies a series of other functions alongside their maximizer ones at various points throughout their history. Overall, the following additional functions were highlighted by the survey of these sources in conjunction with the evidence from the corpus data: *manner adverb*, *scalar degree modifier*, *emphasizer*, *focussing adverb*, *epistemic/modal adverb*, *response particle*. Not all of these functions are performed by all seven of the maximizers under scrutiny and those that do display particular ones do not necessarily do so throughout their entire history. Nevertheless, the corpus searches conducted verified that each of them were in use at some point during the history of at least one of the maximizers under investigation, meaning that they will each need to be taken into account to some extent within the case studies (chapters 4-10). Consequently, in preparation for this, detailed explanations of each of the above-noted functions are provided in the ensuing sub-sections.

3.1.1 Manner adverb

In accordance with Quirk et al.'s (1985) classification of the grammatical function of adverbs, manner adverbs belong to category of *adjunct*. This means that they are clause constituents in themselves, thus having similar syntactic weight to other clause constituents, e.g. Subject, Object. They function to convey information about the manner of the verb in a clause, typically answering the question 'In what way/manner...?' The

following examples illustrate the adverbs *absolutely*, *completely* and *perfectly* employed in a manner function.

(1)   *…with their whole revenues, taxes, composicions, and all manner of benefittes that they have, or may have, **to be putt** freely and **absolutely** into my hands…*
(CEECS: 1586, The Earl of Leycester to Lord Burghley)

(2)   *No less then heaven can dim the splendour of this glorious day. All thinges wear so* **completely** *acted, both by bride, and bridmayde….*
(CEECS: TIXALL, Letter L, Winefrid Thimelby to Herbert Aston, 1660s.)

(3)   *Victoria* behaved **perfectly** *all afternoon, but did the expected thing at the baptism – cried and splashed the vicar with water.*
(FLOB A42 57-A42 60)

Criteria noted in the literature that characterise manner adverbs include the following[29]:

- They can serve as a response to an interrogative transformation of the clause introduced by *how* (Greenbaum 1970: 25; cf. also Quirk et al. 1985: 504-505), e.g. 'He treated the job *seriously*' > 'How did he treat the job?' '*Seriously*'[30].
- They can be paraphrased by a prepositional phrase in which the adjective base of the adjunct is inserted in the frame *in a _____ manner* or *in a _____ way* (Greenbaum 1970: 26; Quirk et al. 1985: 557).

These features were employed as means to identify cases in the data where an adverb performs a manner function.

3.1.2 Maximizer

Maximizers are classed as *subjuncts* by Quirk et al. (1985). According to their direction, adverbs of this type function as modifiers of more central clausal constituents, themselves having a comparatively more subordinate role in the clause. Their purpose is to add specification of degree, specifically denoting the upper extreme. Examples (4)-(8), below, illustrate the use of maximizers in the context of an adjectival constituent ('incompatible'),

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[30] Quirk et al. (1985: 558) note, however, that *How*-questions most often elicit means or instrument adjuncts. Nevertheless, for the purpose of the present study, this criterion is useful for distinguishing between e.g. manner adverb function and degree modifying function (see also in this connection sections 3.1.2-3.1.3).

a verbal constituent ('destroy'), an adverbial constituent ('alone'), a prepositional constituent ('of another class') and a nominal constituent ('the contrary'), respectively.

(4)   *But…setting aside our private sentiments respecting the justice of its application, we cannot help thinking it **absolutely** <u>incompatible</u>, with the laws of history.*
        (CLMETEV: Godwin, W. 1783-84. *Four Early Pamphlets*.)
        (Modifying an adjectival constituent)

(5)   *Every animal has the requisite endowments; but these endowments are bestowed with so scrupulous an economy, that any considerable diminution must **entirely** <u>destroy</u> the creature.*
        (CLMETEV: Hume, D. 1779. *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*.)
        (Modifying a verbal constituent)

(6)   *He was so shabbily attired; he was so diffident from the habit of living **quite** <u>alone</u>; he was horribly afraid lest it should be supposed that he looked for other assistance than he had requested.*
        (CLMETEV: Gissing, G. 1891. *New Grub Street*.)
        (Modifying an adverbial constituent)

(7)   *… the question of the freedom of human actions is **totally** <u>of another class</u>.*
        (CLMETEV: Godwin, W. 1831. *Thoughts on Man*.)
        (Modifying a prepositional constituent)

(8)   *I am sure the finding of this treasure has not been any good luck to us, but **quite** <u>the contrary</u>; and I wish we never had found it.*
        (CLMETEV: Edgeworth, M. 1796-1801. *The Parent's Assistant*.)
        (Modifying a nominal constituent)

Since gradability is a prerequisite for degree modification, it is a fundamental requirement of maximizers that the constituents they modify are gradable.   More specifically, according to the direction of the existing literature on degree modifiers (e.g. Allerton 1987, Paradis 1997), they should be gradable in a particular way, i.e. that corresponding to Allerton's (1987) 'absolutive' and 'telic' constituents, which are re-labelled by Paradis (1997) as 'extreme' and 'limit' (see discussion of these terms in chapter 2). Accordingly, they are said to be used only to modify collocates that represent the upmost point on the 'degree scale'

(e.g. *splendid*, *wonderful*) or those for which a certain limit or point of conception which must be reached in order for them to hold true, e.g. *true*, *wrong*, *broke*, *forget*, *kill*).

In order to identify cases of maximizers in the data, the following properties documented in the literature as characteristic of degree modifiers were taken into account:

- They cannot serve as a response to an interrogative transformation of the clause introduced by *how*[31], e.g. 'He needs the money *badly*' > 'How does he need the money?' *'*Badly'*

- They cannot be made the focus of a cleft sentence[32], hence the unacceptability of *'It was *completely* that he ignored your request' (Quirk et al. ibid.).

- Most can be contrasted in alternative negation with *to some extent*, e.g. 'They don't admire his music *greatly*, but they do admire it *to some extent* (Quirk et al. 1985: 590, cf. also Greenbaum 1970: 26).

- They can be contrasted with other degree modifiers in alternative interrogation (Quirk at el. 1985: 596), e.g. 'Did she *totally* or *slightly* misjudge the situation?

Whilst the initial two characteristics help to discern a subjunct function, they are generic features of this overall adverb class (cf. sections 3.1.3-3.1.5) and thus are of no use in achieving any finer distinction. In this latter respect, the latter two attributes proved most useful in specifically identifying a degree modifying function. The precise identification of the maximizer variety then relied upon the above-mentioned criteria pertaining to the degree modifying function and the nature of the (gradability of the) modified constituents.

3.1.3 Scalar degree modifier

The following two examples illustrate the scalar degree modifier use of the adverb *quite* (in the context of an adjectival and an adverbial constituent, respectively).

(9) {=f MARCIA} *Tell me about this girl.*

{=f MILDRED} *Well, she's **quite** <u>pretty</u> in a queer way-*

(ARCHER: McCraken, E. 1938. *Quiet Wedding*.)

(10) *Hallucinations in the half-waking state are surprisingly common, you know…Children have them **quite** <u>frequently</u>.*

(FLOB: K04 132-K04 134.)

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[31] An exception to this is in the context of a verbal element that has to do with general evaluation (see Quirk et al. 1985: 597 for details).

[32] Some people accept them as the focus of a cleft sentence if they are modified or if the focal clause is interrogative or negative (see Quirk et al. 1985: 597).

Scalar degree modifiers fall under the same grammatical function category as maximizers, viz. that of *subjunct* (Quirk et al. 1985). Similar to the maximizer function, this other degree modifying use also serves to add specification of degree to a more central element in a clause; however, in this instance, it denotes a more medial point on the degree scale and the constituent that is modified is one that is conceptualized as scalar. For instance, the characteristic denoted by the adjective 'pretty' in (9) can be set out on a scale and thus can apply to various degrees, hence the related comparative and superlative terms, 'prettier' and 'prettiest', respectively.

As a subjunct and degree modifier, this function is distinguished from other (non degree modifying) functions by means of the same criteria listed in the previous section for the maximizer variety. Determining the precise degree modifying force of the adverb therefore requires consideration of the type of gradability exhibited by its collocates (in line with the descriptions in this and the previous section). For instance, the fact that 'pretty' in (9) is conceptualised as scalar (see above discussion and chapter 2, especially sections 2.4 and 2.5) helps distinguish a degree modifier that is used to modify it (*quite* in this case) as scalar. Conversely, collocates such as *incompatible*, *destroy*, and *alone* (shown in (4)-(6), respectively) are conceptualised as gradable only in terms of totality (see, chapter 2, sections 2.4-2.5) and thus any degree modifier that is used to modify any such elements is determined to be a totality modifier.

3.1.4 Emphasizer

Examples of emphasizers are displayed in (11)-(14), below.

(11) *But she was so happy in the force and **absolutely** <u>loved</u> the job.*

      (BNCweb: 1985-1993, Written books and periodicals: *Today*)
      (Modifying a verb that does not accept modification by degree)

(12) *The loveliest scene I ever saw. As I sit, the snowpeaks of the Wasatch tower above the opposite houses five miles off, while the heat is **utterly** <u>tropical</u> in the streets.*

      (ARCHER: Kingsley, C. 1874. *His Letters and Memories of His Life*)
      (Modifying an adjective that does not accept modification by degree)

(13)   *I haue receaued yours of the 13, and am so farre from being vnsatisfied with the*
Cardinall's retrenching my pention, that I am sure I haue tould you before, if he had
inclined to haue continued it, I would **absolutly** <u>*haue*</u> *refused it.*
(CEECS: 1656, King Charles II to Lord Jermyn.)
(Positioned immediately before an auxiliary verb)

(14)   *That, however, was the smallest feature in the character of Mr Monckton, who was*
entirely <u>*a man of the world*</u>, *shrewd, penetrating, attentive to his interest, and*
watchful of every advantage to improve it.
(CLMETEV: Burney, F. 1782. *Cecilia*.)
(Positioned immediately before a noun phrase)

Once again, this function is classified as a subjunct in the terminology of Quirk et al. (1985). Accordingly, similar to maximizers and scalar degree modifiers, emphasizers also have a more subsidiary role in a clause, serving to modify a more central clause element. The fundamental difference between this function and the previously described two is that whereas the purpose of maximizer and scalar degree modifiers is to specify degree, the role of the emphasizer is to add to the force (as distinct from degree) of the constituent it modifies 'reinforcing the truth value of the...part of the clause' to which it applies (Quirk et al. 1985; 583). In this latter connection, the meaning of an emphasizer is similar to some of the present-day uses of *really* and *truly* (cf. e.g. 'she...*really* loved the job' or 'she...*truly* loved the job' as equivalent alternatives for (11)). Another consequence of this functional difference is that, in contrast to a maximizer or a scalar degree modifier, an emphasizer does not require that the constituent it modifies should be gradable. Typical constituents modified by emphasizers therefore include lexical verbs and adjectives that do not accept modification by degree, e.g. *know*, *need*, *loathe*, *love* (see (11)) and *fundamental*, *amazing*, *splendid* and *tropical* (see (12)). It is also common to find some emphasizers positioned immediately before an auxiliary verb, as shown in (13), or a noun phrase, as shown in (14).

In terms of criteria by which to recognise emphasizers, Quirk et al. 1985: 586 note the following:

- (Unlike degree modifiers,) They cannot be contrasted with one another in alternative interrogation, e.g. *'Does she *really* or *truly* know the answer?'
- They cannot be the focus of focusing subjuncts or of a cleft sentence, e.g. *'She only *really* knows the answer', *'It is *really* that she knows the answer'.

- They cannot be the focus of clause comparison or premodified by *however*, *how*, or *so*, e.g. *'She knows the answer more *really* than he does', * 'However *really* she knows the answer…*'How *really* she knows the answer!'

The identification of emphasizers in the data therefore took into account these criteria in comparison with those used to distinguish other types of subjunct (cf. sections 3.1.2-3.1.3 and 3.1.5).

3.1.5 Focussing adverb

Focussing adverbs also belong to Quirk et al.'s (1985) category of subjunct. Their purpose is to draw attention to a part of a sentence (be it as wide as an entire predication or as narrow as a single constituent), in other words, to put it in focus. According to Quirk et al.'s (1985: 604) direction, focussing adverbs may be classified as either *restrictive* or *additive*. The restrictive kind can either precede or follow the part of the sentence on which they are focused and serve to indicate that 'the utterance concerned is true in respect of [that] part' (Quirk et al. ibid.). These are further subcategorized into *exclusives* (e.g. *exclusively*, *merely*, *precisely*, *solely*), which as their name suggests, 'restrict the application of the utterance *exclusively* to the part focussed' (Quirk et al. ibid., original italics), and *particularizers* (e.g. *chiefly*, *mainly*, *notably*, *primarily*, *specifically*), which 'restrict the application of the utterance *predominantly* to the part focussed' (Quirk et al. ibid., original italics). On the other hand, the additive variety (e.g. *again*, *also*, *further*, *likewise*, *similarly*) most commonly precede the focused part, conveying that 'the utterance concerned is *additionally* true in respect of [that] part' (Quirk et al. ibid., original italics).

Example (16), below, shows the adverb *entirely* being used with a focussing function.

(16)   *My recent days here have brought home what a culture shock this will be. Out in the darkness there, people have been living almost **entirely** by human association. Thinking and talking centre on reality, on birth and death, sickness, hunger and fear.* (FLOB B07 25- B07 27)

Here, *entirely* works to draw particular attention to the Adverbial sentence element 'by human association'. As this example shows, its function corresponds more precisely to the *exclusive* subcategory of the *restrictive* variety, so that the meaning conveyed is equivalent to the following: 'people have been living almost *exclusively/solely* by human association'.

Quirk et al. (1985) do not list specific syntactic criteria for distinguishing focusing adverbs. Furthermore, they note that intonation is often the only clue to ascertaining the intended focused element, hence typical placement in formal written language immediately before the focused element to avoid ambiguity. Accordingly, and since focusing adverbs share the general characteristics of subjuncts with degree modifiers and emphasizers (see sections 3.1.2-3.1.4), the data analysis must rely primarily on semantic contextual evidence to identify instances of this adverbial function.

3.1.6 Epistemic/modal adverb

An epistemic or modal adverb corresponds to Quirk et al.'s (1985) *disjunct* category, which is distinguished in the first instance from other adverbial functions by means of them not being able to occur in the syntactic structures available to adjuncts (cf. 3.1.2) . More specifically, this label *disjunct* encompasses the fact that, in this use, an adverb is syntactically more detached than other clause elements and has an entire clause or sentence in its scope.   Example (15) is a clear illustration of this, since the adverb *absolutely* is explicitly detached from the rest of the clause by means of punctuation and is placed at a considerable distance from the entire clause that it qualifies (underlined in the example).

(15)   *I come now to speak to you of the affair of the Duke of Newcastle; but **absolutely**, on considering it much myself, and on talking of it with your brother, <u>we both are against your attempting any such thing</u>.*
(CLMETEV: Walpole, H. 1735-48. *Letters*, Vol. 1.)

In some respects, an epistemic or modal adverb is similar to an emphasizer one, since both of these are used to comment on 'truth value' (Quirk et al. 1985) or epistemic commitment. The crucial difference between these two functions is one of scope: whereas an emphasizer applies only to a *part* of the clause (i.e. an individual clause constituent), an epistemic disjunct (or modal adverb) is somewhat 'superordinate', its scope extending over an entire clause or sentence. In this respect, the latter is employed to provide a speaker comment on the epistemic commitment of the clause/sentence, conveying a meaning similar to items such as present-day *certainly* and *definitely*, thus it is possible to paraphrase (15) as '*It is certain that* we both are against your attempting any such thing'.

3.1.7 Response particle

The 'response particle' (cf. Quirk et al.'s 1985 'emphatic affirmative') function of an adverb describes its freestanding use, either as an 'answer particle' in response to a polar question, or as a comment on a previous utterance (respective uses exemplified in (17) and (18), below).

(17)   *"Listen. I'm supposed to be meeting a guy. Johnny Birch, that fame whore from TV. Have you seen him?" "Um." He scanned the room. "**Totally**. What a freak. I think he's just finished up with Kelsey."*
       (COCA: Henry, M. 2010. *Battle of the Network Zombies*.)

(18)   Speaker 1: *Anthony said years ago, when the rail ma men went on strike why do it? You'll only bring misery and distress on your own country!*
       Speaker 2**: Absolutely**!
       Speaker 1: *And that's as true today!*
       (BNCweb: SConv.KC0)

In cases like these, the adverb is completely independent, and either functions in a similar way to the affirmative answer, *yes* (as in (17)), or serves to express agreement with regard to a previous utterance, e.g. in (18). Due to the nature of this function, it is only found in spoken data and written data that imitates speech (e.g. dialogues in novels).

       The identification of this function in the data was straightforward, since it is the only one of the functions performed by the adverbs under investigation that is characterised by a freestanding position.

4. Organisation of the analysis

Using the corpora presented in section 2 and the methodology described in section 3, the ensuing chapters provide comprehensive examinations of the history of the seven selected maximizers. In doing this, the adverbial functions detailed above (see 3.1.1-3.1.7) are further examined, since, as noted above, the corpus searches conducted verify that each of these are performed by at least one of the selected adverbs at some point during their history. With each chapter focusing on one item, the developments of *absolutely*, *completely*, *entirely*, *perfectly*, *quite*, *totally* and *utterly* are presented in chapters 4-10, respectively. To finish, chapter 11 then draws together the local conclusions of the

individual analyses by means of encapsulating the nature of the history of this sub-class of degree modifier overall.

CHAPTER 4: The development of *absolutely*

1. Introduction

In present-day English, the predominant use of *absolutely* is as a maximizer. This use is illustrated in examples (1) and (2), below, in which *absolutely* expresses the maximum degree of the adjective *sure* and the verb *trust*, respectively.

(1) *First, research workers must be **absolutely** <u>sure</u> they know what the statistics are about.*

  (BNC B25 459, *Methods of Social Investigation*)
  ***Absolutely** functioning as a maximizer*

(2) *There is a French saying that you should only accept a mushroom or an identification of a mushroom from someone you can <u>trust</u> **absolutely**!*

  (FLOB H30.197-H30.199: *The Gazette. John Lewis Partnership*. August 1991)
  ***Absolutely** functioning as a maximizer*

Perhaps due to its salience, this particular function of *absolutely* has received quite considerable attention from a synchronic viewpoint, with some notable studies including Bäcklund 1973, Vermeire 1979 and Paradis 1997. However, it is not the only function that this adverb has in present-day English; the OED entry for *absolutely* and accounts in standard grammars of English (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985; Huddleston & Pullum 2002) reveal details of three other uses, viz. emphasizer, epistemic or modal adverb, and response particle (see examples (3)-(5), respectively[32]).

(3) *Sir, unless you will **absolutely** <u>challenge</u> him/the man, we dare not proceed further.*

  (EModEDramatists: Middleton, T. & Webster, J. 1662. *Anything for a Quiet Life.*)
  ***Absolutely** functioning as an emphasizer*

(4) *I come now to speak to you of the affair of the Duke of Newcastle; but **absolutely**, on considering it much myself, and on talking of it with your brother, <u>we both are against your attempting any such thing</u>.*

  (CLMETEV: Walpole, H. 1735-48. *Letters*, Vol. 1.)
  ***Absolutely** functioning as an epistemic or modal adverb*

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[32] Examples here are primarily for illustrative purposes. For more comprehensive explanations of each of these functions, see chapter 3 (section 3.1).

(5)   Speaker 1: *I've decimated the…the arrangement*

Speaker 2: *Have you?*

Speaker 1: ***Absolutely***

 Speaker 2: *Hahaha*

(BNC: SConv.KC9)
***Absolutely* functioning as a response particle**

In addition to these, the OED also documents a manner adverb function of *absolutely* (see (6), below), which though no longer used in PDE[33] (see section 3), represented a fairly significant use during previous stages of the language.

(6)   *…though the change of any considerable part in a mass of matter destroys the identity of the whole, let we must <u>measure</u> the greatness of the part, <u>not</u> **absolutely**, <u>but by its proportion to the whole</u>.*

(CLMETEV: Hume, D. 1739-40. *A Treatise of Human Nature*)
***Absolutely* functioning as a manner adverb**

With the exception of Tao 2007, which addresses the emergence of the response particle function of *absolutely* (see section 2), there does not appear to have been any detailed investigations into these additional functions. Moreover, all of the above-mentioned research is based only on data from the twentieth century. As a consequence of this, no consideration whatsoever has been given to the manner adverb function, meaning that the questions of whether/how this function relates to the ones in use in PDE, as yet, remain unanswered. Furthermore, the polysemous nature of *absolutely* in PDE raises questions concerning the diachronic development of this item, inciting interest, for instance, in determining how and when each the various functions developed, and thus the extent to which they are (inter)related.

In order to provide a complete, systematic description of *absolutely*, all of its functions inevitably need to be taken into account, since it is only by elucidating the emergence and propagation of each of these that will it be possible to determine the extent to which the various functions are interrelated and thus to ascertain precisely how the overall development proceeded. Consequently, by way of improving on the current descriptions of *absolutely*, it is this task that constitutes the aim of the present chapter.

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[33] There are two examples of manner adverbs in the PDE data, but these express different meanings from the original manner adverbs and will be discussed in section 3.

The chapter is organized as follows: section 2 provides a more detailed overview of the limited previous research. Following this, section 3 maps out the development of *absolutely* based on the analysis of the corpus data (ME-PDE). The initial part of this section deals with the rise of the adverbial form from its adjectival source, and the remainder documents the subsequent developments of this form. Finally, section 4 provides a summary of the main findings and considers the implication of these, particularly in relation to other members of the maximizer class.

2. Previous research on *absolutely*

Concentrating mainly on collocational restrictions and preferences, the descriptive accounts of present-day *absolutely* provided by Bäcklund (1973), Vermeire (1979) and Paradis (1997) have contributed to an improved understanding of the precise contexts in which this maximizer is used. For instance, the studies by Bäcklund (1973) and Vermeire (1979) coincide in showing that its most typical collocate is the adjective *right*. Incidentally, Vermeire (1979: 187), in this respect, even goes so far as to suggest that 'frequent use of *absolutely* as a strongly affirmative clause [i.e. its response particle function] is probably related to this collocation', but since his research only considers the degree modifying function, whether this is indeed the case remains to be investigated.

The findings of Paradis 1997 in relation to *absolutely* include the observation that it does not collocate with any of the constituents in her data more than four times, which suggests that this maximizer does not have particularly strong or fixed collocations. She also notes that it 'stands out form the rest of the maximizers as the modifier favoured by extreme adjectives' (ibid: 82).

In terms of broader trends, 37.7% of the cases of *absolutely* in Vermeire's data modify a collocate with a 'favourable connotation' (1979: 189), that is words 'relating to goodness & beauty' and to 'ability and achievement' (ibid: 168). Furthermore, many of these words are said to 'express an emotively coloured evaluation and already have an inherent intensive feature' (ibid. 189), a description which seems to tie in with Paradis' mention of a propensity for extreme adjective collocates. Whilst it is less common in Vermeire's data for collocates of *absolutely* to have an 'unfavourable connotation' (ibid: 189), with such instances accounting for only 17.4% of the sample, some patterns may nonetheless be discerned within this group, viz. 'words with negative moral or ethical connotations' (e.g. *rotten*, *wretched*, *sordid*, *wrong*), 'words relating to foolishness and

stupidity' (e.g. *bonkers*, *crazy*, *mad*, *hysterical*, *ridiculous*) and 'words relating to upset states of mind, including anxiety, fear and guilt' (e.g. *appalling*, *convulsed*, *frightful*, *horrid*, *terrifying*, *unpleasant*).

Despite the value of the above-mentioned studies, there are two obvious drawbacks. Firstly, they all concentrate only on present-day English, thus are not able to consider, for instance, how the synchronic patterns observed may have been shaped by diachrony. Secondly, they each focus solely on the maximizer use of *absolutely*, therefore are not able to offer any insight into any of its other diverse functions or, indeed, how these may be inter-related.

With regard to the latter issue, it was noted in the previous section that there is one study that has explored the use of *absolutely* beyond its maximizer function, namely that of Tao 2007, which investigates the most recent application of *absolutely*, viz. its response particle use, and attempts to elucidate a connection between this use and earlier uses. Using corpus data from American English, Tao proposes that the 'independent' response particle use of *absolutely* develops from the 'dependent' use (i.e. specifically the maximizer one) as a result of lexical strengthening (Bybee 1985, 2001) or lexical priming (Hoey 2004). Recurrent occurrence of *absolutely* with semantically positive and affirmative collocates is thought to be crucial to the emergence of the independent use, in which the collocate is no longer specified. This explanation implies the existence of an earlier stage in this development where the response particle can be interpreted as elliptical, maintaining an element of its maximizer function. Take, for example, (7), below.

(7)   Speaker 1: *How about Birmingham?*

Speaker 2: *You serious?*

Speaker 1: ***Absolutely***

(FLOB N07.164 – N07.166)

In this case, it seems that *absolutely* may not only convey an affirmative answer; it may also be possible to give it a degree reading, in the sense that it is an elliptical version of '(Yes,) I am *absolutely* serious'. A significant number of examples like this, and from the appropriate time (i.e. in the earlier stages of use), may lend support to Tao's explanation; nevertheless, there is no mention of such cases in his paper. As it stands, the argument he puts forward is somewhat unconvincing (or, at best, hypothetical) due to a lack of adequate supporting evidence.

A further shortcoming of Tao's research concerns his treatment of the 'dependent' (i.e. maximizer) use of *absolutely*. Specifically, he does not appear to draw a distinction between the unequivocal maximizer uses and cases where the meaning of *absolutely* is potentially more epistemic. For instance, during the course of his argument, Tao quotes the following two examples, in which *absolutely* occurs in copula constructions immediately before the Subject Complement:

(8) *not to make a hard and fast recommendation that says that this is **absolutely** what we think should happen.*
     (from Tao 2007: 17)

(9) *So let's think first about this great public research university that we have. there are so very few of them, really i would argue in this country, and we are **absolutely** one of them*
     (from Tao 2007: 17)

His discussion makes no mention of these being in any way different to any of the other examples he has previously considered (e.g. 10) and (11), below), yet intuitively, it seems that *absolutely* is functioning differently in these two types of examples.

(10) *release any examples that you're not **absolutely** certain about*
      (from Tao 2007: 14)

(11) *some of these warnings seem **absolutely** ridiculous until you understand why they're there.*
      (from Tao 2007: 13)

In cases such as (10) and (11), in which *absolutely* modifies gradable constituents such as adjectives, its maximizer function is relatively clear[34]. However, in copula constructions such as those in (8) and (9), the fact that there is no gradable constituent rules out a maximizer interpretation (cf. chapter 3). Instead, *absolutely* in this type of context seems to present a comment on the epistemic commitment of the clause/part of the clause, more in

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[34] In actual fact, this issue is slightly more complicated and the precise nature of the distinction between the maximizer and emphasizer uses of *absolutely* is explored in more detail in section 4. However, for the present purpose, it is sufficient that examples such as those in (10) and (11) are recognised as clear cases of maximizer *absolutely* in line with traditional definitions of maximizers (cf. chapter 3).

line with its emphasizer or epistemic adverb function than its maximizer one. This issue brings into question the accuracy of Tao's analysis, with the result that further doubt is cast upon his explanation of the emergence of the response particle function; it seems that a finer grained analysis of the data may lead to a more accurate conclusion.

In summary, although Tao 2007 does provide some interesting insights into one of the previously under-investigated uses of *absolutely*, the fact that there are a series of limitations to his study, clearly indicate the need for further research in this area. Moreover, as his study is, to the best of my knowledge, the only investigation into one of the non-maximizer functions of *absolutely*, research into the emergence and development of the remaining functions (viz. *manner adverb*, *maximizer*, *emphasizer* and *epistemic/modal adverb*) is obviously still required.

3. Mapping out the development of *absolutely*

As stated in section 1, this account of the development of *absolutely* is organized into two main sections: first, section 3.1 details the rise of the adverb from its adjectival source, then section 3.2 elucidates the subsequent development of this form, documenting when and how each of its uses emerges.

3.1 The rise of the adverb

Ultimately, *absolutely* has its roots in Latin, as it was formed by the addition of the *–ly* *adverbial* suffix to the ME adjective *absolute*, which itself derives from the Latin *absolutus* ('complete, finished, perfect, pure, unqualified, unconditional, unambiguous', OED, *s.v. absolute*, adj. (and adv.) and n.).

According to the MED and the OED, (adj.) dates back to the late 1300s, when it could be used to express three closely related shades of meaning in connection to its Latinate source: freedom from dependence or restriction, freedom from imperfection or deficiency, and freedom from conditions/mental reservations (see examples (12), (13), and (14), respectively).

Similarities can be noted between the first two senses and the present day use of adjectives such as *complete* (cf. e.g. OED *s.v.* complete, adj.), and *perfect* (cf. e.g. OED *s.v. perfect*, adj.). In comparison, the latter sense conveys more abstract meaning, hence it tends to describe abstract nouns, as illustrated in (14), where it is used with the nouns 'jugement', 'feeling' and 'knowing'.

(12)   *Thanne trowe I that thilke selve freedom of wil schal duellen al hool and **absolut** and*

        unbounden.

        [Then I believe that same freedom of will shall remain whole and absolute and

        unconstrained.]

        (Chaucer, G. ?a1425 (1380) *Boethius, Benson-Robinson*, MED *s.v. absolute*)
        (***absolute** expressing the meaning 'freedom from dependence or restriction'*)

(13)   *A young man so **absolute** as that nothing may be added to his further perfection.*

        (Lyly, J. 1578 *Euphues*. OED *s.v. absolute* adj. 8.a.).
        (***absolute** expressing the meaning 'freedom from imperfection or deficiency'*)

(14)   *þer may no man make a comparison bitwixe his worþines in godis and an oþer*

        *mannys worþines in godis, but if first and before he haue an **absolute** jugement,*

        feeling, and knowing of his owne worþines in it silf.

        (Pecock, R. C1443. *Reule of Crysten Religioun,* OED *absolute* adj. 2.a.)
        (***absolute** expressing the meaning 'freedom from conditions/mental reservations'*)

Evidence from the corpora supports the dictionary entries in attesting the earliest

use of the adjective *absolute* in 1383. Nevertheless, it indicates that this use was perhaps

not particularly common during the ME period, as only ten examples were retrieved in

total. Furthermore, closer examination revealed all except one of these examples[35] to be

from Chaucer's translation of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, thus it is impossible to

discount the possibility that this use is merely an idiosyncrasy of this particular author.

Nevertheless, even if this is the case, there may still be some noteworthy conclusions that

can be drawn. For instance, the fact that Chaucer's writing appears to be one of the

earliest recorded uses of the adjective *absolute* potentially supports the notion that the

emergence and use of this adjective in English may have been significantly influenced by

French, since it is widely acknowledged that Chaucer was fluent in French and that his

writing often displays evidence of this, i.e. through the use of vocabulary of romance origin

(see e.g. Canon 1998 and Horobin 2003)[36]. In this connection, the first examples of

absolute to be found in a source other than Chaucer date from the EModE period. This

highlights the need to treat the ME examples with some degree of caution, since it suggests

that it may not be possible to speak of *absolute* as being part of 'general' usage until

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[35] Details of the exception are given below (see footnote 6).
[36] There is also the possibility that the influence is directly from Latin, given that Chaucer was translating from Boethius' Latin original. Nevertheless, this does not invalidate the theory that the introduction of the adjective into English may have been due to romance influence, via influential ME writers such as Chaucer, in the way suggested above.

EModE. Nevertheless, proceeding tentatively, the semantic and syntactic characteristics of the ME examples will be analysed in order to facilitate a comparison between these and the EModE ones.

Closer examination of these initial examples revealed that, in the vast majority of instances, ME *absolute* occurs in predicative position[37], with no evidence of any attributive use. Furthermore, it is evident that *absolute* tends to be conjoined with another adjective with which it is related in sense, as in the following example:

(15)   *…for whi þer ben somme þinges to bytide of whiche þe endys and þe bitidynges of*
          *hem ben **absolut** <u>and quit</u> of alle necessite.*
          […therefore there are some things that happen of which the consequence and the
          occurrence is absolute and free of all necessity]
          (CMEPV, Chaucer, G. 1383. *Boethius' Consolation of* Philosophy)

In this case, *absolute* occurs in conjunction with the adjective *quit*, which is recorded as having the meaning 'free from obligation, exempt, released' during the ME period (cf. MED *s.v. qu $\bar{\imath}te$* adj. and OED *s.v. quite* adj.). Similar combinations include 'al hool and absolut', as documented in example (12), above, and 'vtterly fre and absolut', as shown in (16), below. In relation to the former, *al hool* is recorded in the MED as an adjective meaning 'entire, whole, intact, undiminished' (MED *s.v.* al-h $\bar{o}$l adj. & adv. 1) and in the case of the latter, the adjective *fre* conveys meanings associated with independence and lack of restrictions (cf. MED *s.v.* fr $\bar{e}$ adj.). In both cases, the meanings closely mirror that of *absolute*.

(16)   *…but certys whan it is vndirstonden in hys owen kynde men sen it is <u>vtterly fre</u>*
          *<u>and</u> **absolut** from alle necessite.*
          […but certainly when it is understood in its own nature one sees it is utterly free and
          absolute from all necessity.]
          (CMEPV, Chaucer, G. 1383. *Boethius' Consolation of* Philosophy)

The predominant meaning conveyed by the adjective in this period seems to be 'detached, free from dependence or restriction', as illustrated, e.g. in (15) and (16). In this

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[37] The one exception to this is a case where *absolute* is used postpositively in a specialized sense pertaining to grammar, viz. 'an ablative case absolute'. Given that this is the translation of a technical term from Latin and that it is infrequent in the corpora, it will not be considered in any detail in the present research.

connection, and as can also be seen in (17) and (18), it is very common for the adjective (or adjectives, when conjoined) to be followed by a prepositional phrase beginning with *from* or *of*, which reinforces this meaning.

(17)   *…oure corage…demiþ and knoweþ…þe passioun or suffraunce subject to þe body.*
       Moche more þan þoo þinges þat ben **absolut** *and quit fram alle talentӡ or affecciouns*
       of bodies.
       […our spirit…perceives…the suffering to which the body is subject. Much more than
       those things that are absolute and free from all affections of the body.]
       (CMEPV, Chaucer, G. 1383. *Boethius' Consolation of* Philosophy)

(18)   *…yif þat þise þinges ben referred to þe deuyne knowynge þan ben þei necessarie. and*
       yif þei ben considered by hem selfe þan ben þei **absolut** *from þe bonde of necessite.*
       […if these things are related to God's knowledge they are necessary. and if they are
       considered by themselves they are absolute from the bonds of necessity.]
       (CMEPV, Chaucer, G. 1383. *Boethius' Consolation of* Philosophy)

    By the EModE period, the adjective *absolute* is much more widespread, with over 100 examples retrieved from the corpora. Whereas the predominant sense of this adjective in ME was 'detached, free from dependence or restriction' (see e.g. (15)-(18), above), the EModE period witnesses its diversification, enabling it to be used in additional contexts where the former meaning is incongruous or unlikely. An example of this is in (19), below, in which *absolute* denotes the more abstract sense of 'free from mental reservation', i.e. somewhat akin to present-day 'certain'.

(19)   *It is like to prove a very troublesome busines, if we doe not agree quickly, but my*
       cosin is **absolute** *of the opinion that my cousin Abrahall shall not recover against me.*
       (HELSINKI: CEPRIV2, Knyvett to his wife)

    This period also sees the emergence of the attributive use of the adjective (e.g. (20), overleaf), which, incidentally, takes over as the most common use by far (92 of 133 retrieved examples are attributive adjectives). There are still examples of predicative use, as evidenced e.g. in (19), above. However, whereas in ME the meaning conveyed by predicative *absolute* was typically 'free from dependence or restriction', the EModE use

tends to convey either 'free from mental reservation' (see (19)) or 'free from imperfection or deficiency'.

(20)   *…whatsoever books or matter Schollers do learne, after they beginne to learne*
          without booke…they learne them so perfectly, and hold them so surely, by daily
          repetition and examination, that they may have in their minds
          *such <u>an **absolute** knowledge</u> of all the words, and matters which they have learned...*
          (HELSINKI, Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius or the Grammar Schoole*)

Evidence of the former meaning is also found in the EModE data, though only with attributive cases. Moreover, it seems to be restricted to contexts concerning 'governing' or 'reigning' etc. as illustrated in the following two examples:

(21)   *The name Præter is deriued from Præessendo or Præeundo, from priority of place,*
          *which as a learned Roman Author writs, had **absolute** <u>power</u> ouer all publique and*
          priuat affaires, to make new Lawes, and abolish old, without controwle, or
          contradiction...
          (EModEDramatists, Heywood, T. 1631. *London's Ius Honorarium*)

(22)   *…they…brought with them a heralt and trumpettes, meaning as soone as they had*
          delyvered their speech, which D. Leoninus had to make for them, which was to offer
          *to me, with many good woordes for her majesties sake, <u>the</u> **absolute** <u>governement</u> of*
          the whole provinces, and to proclaime the same immediatly.
          (CEECS, LEYCESTE Letter XXII, 1585-86, The Earl of Leycester to Lord Burghley)

To summarize, it seems to be evident from the corpora that the source adjective *absolute* first appears in English usage in the ME period. However, the fact that all of the small selection of examples are from the writing of Chaucer adds a degree of limitation to this, since it presents the possibility that the use recorded at this time is merely characteristic of that particular author, rather than being a true reflection of more 'general' usage. Nevertheless, *absolute* is found to be much more frequently used, and much more widespread (i.e. used in a variety of different genres of text and by different authors) by the EModE period. Bearing this in mind, together with Chaucer's knowledge of French and Latin (and the fact that the text from which the initial ME examples are taken is a translation from

Latin), it seems possible to tentatively deduce that the ME examples may evidence the romance influence on the emergence of the adjective in English.

Among the earliest examples, the meaning 'detached, free from dependence or restriction' prevails, thus implying that this was probably the original sense. However, by EModE, the adjective is much more versatile, being used in a wider range of contexts and sometimes with more abstract meaning, viz. 'free from mental reservations'. Given that there are traces of these more abstract meanings in the Latin *absolutus*, it is impossible to say with certainty whether they are directly influenced by this (perhaps via French) or whether transference of the adjective from more concrete to more abstract contexts is due to processes of inferencing in the minds of English speakers. Nonetheless, what is clear from the corpus evidence is that the adjective could be used with three different meanings, and that regardless of the motives behind it, there appears to have been some semantic development between the ME and the EModE period from (more) concrete > (more) abstract along the lines of subjectification (cf. e.g. Traugott 1989, 1995, 2003, 2010).

In order to determine which of the three senses of *absolute* is/are involved in the development of the adverb *absolutely*, the remainder of this section begins by considering the initial instances of the latter. According to the corpus search, the earliest example of *absolutely* also dates from the late 1300s, implying that, if this adverb is indeed derived from the adjective *absolute* in English (i.e. as opposed to it being a calque[38] influenced by French and/or Latin), the development took place during the ME period. However, given that only two instances of this item were uncovered ((23) and (24)), it seems that it was not used very extensively during this period and the conclusions made on the basis of these are thus inevitably somewhat tentative.

(23)   *So graunte I wel for soþe þat vicious folk ben wicked, but I ne may nat <u>graunten</u>*
       absolutely *and sympely þat þei ben.*
       [So I acknowledge truthfully that vicious folk are wicked, but I cannot acknowledge
       absolutely and simply (honestly) that they are]
       (CMEPV, Chaucer, G. 1383. *Boethius' Consolation of* Philosophy)

(24)   I haue **absoluteli** <u>sayde</u> to you, ones for alle that while I lyve, Kyng Alymodes shall
       nevr wedde me.
       (CMEPV, Caxton, W. 1489. *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*)

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[38] The suggestion is that it is a calque as opposed to a loan word since its form is characteristic of English, i.e. in consisting of the adjective *absolute* and the *–ly* adverbial suffix.

In each of these cases, only a manner reading of the adverb seems possible due to the nature of the verbs it occurs with, *graunten* ('admit, acknowledge', MED *s.v. graunten* v.) and *sayde*. The fact that neither of these accepts modification by degree, rules out a maximizer interpretation. For instance, in the case of (24), it is clear that it is not possible to 'say' something *to any degree*. Moreover, in example (23), the fact that *absolutely* is coordinated with another manner adverb, *sympely* ('honestly, without suspicion' MED *s.v. simpli* adv. 1.; 'without qualification, absolutely' MED *s.v. simpli* adv. 4.a.) is further evidence of its manner adverb status in this context, since, as mentioned earlier, coordinated elements can be assumed to be of the same type and status. As regards the meaning of *absolutely* in these examples, a detailed analysis of the context of (23) in particular, offers some convincing evidence. It is noticeable that this example contains the parallel constructions 'graunte...wel' and 'graunten absolutely'. A comparison of these not only lends further support to the manner adverb interpretation, but also sheds light on the meaning of *absolutely* in this context. According to the dictionary entries, ME *s.v. wel*, when used in the context of verbs relating to saying or speaking, typically expressed the meaning 'in a way appropriate to the facts or circumstances; fittingly, properly' (OED *s.v. well* adv. 5). The verb *graunte(n)* seems to fit this criterion, since the act of 'acknowledging' is verbal, thus it can be assumed that the first part of example (23) may be paraphrased along the lines of 'I acknowledge truly, based on the facts that...'. In light of this, the most obvious interpretation of *absolutely* seems to be 'freely, without doubt/mental reservations', i.e. 'undoubtedly', since the crux of the phrase relies on the contrast between being able to 'acknowledge truly' *based on the facts* and actually being able to 'acknowledge' *undoubtedly*. The implication is that in the former scenario, there may still be an element of doubt, despite the facts available. The coordination of the manner adverb, *sympely*, again reinforces this reading of *absolutely*, since its semantics (cf. information from the MED cited, above) harmonize with the proposed 'undoubtedly' reading.

The fact that the meaning of *absolutely* in both of the ME examples relates to the more abstract sense of the original adjective (viz. 'free from mental reservation') would seem to suggest that the adverbial use may have developed primarily from this particular sense of the adjective. However, if this was indeed the case, it appears likely that this development was subject to some outside influence because these adverbial examples date from ME and, according to the data, the corresponding adjectival sense is not in use until EModE. In this respect, the fact that the earliest example of *absolutely*, as with the initial instances of the adjective *absolute*, is found in the work of Chaucer (see (23), above), once

again, raises the question of whether the development of this element is a reflection of developments that have occurred in romance languages (either French or Latin as discussed above), rather than evidence of a purely native coinage. Regardless of the particular source of this item, its presence in the ME data is useful from the perspective of mapping out the development of *absolutely* as a means of confirming that the initial function of this adverb in English was that of a manner adverb. However, because of its low frequency at this time, examination of its use in the subsequent EModE period helps to shed some more light on the early use of this adverb.

In the EModE period, *absolutely* is more established, with 33 examples uncovered in the corpus search; however, closer examination revealed that only in four of these cases does it function as a manner adverb (see (25)-(27), below). Whether this low frequency reflects the fact that the manner adverb use was not particularly common at the time, or whether it is merely a shortcoming of the limited data available remain,ns unknown. Nevertheless, the fact that two of these manner adverb examples are the earliest examples of *absolutely* retrieved from the data for this period (see examples (25) and (26), below,) does add strength to the conclusion that was tentatively reached on consideration of the ME data, namely that the initial function of *absolutely* was that of a manner adverb.

(25)   *…hir majesty having hir one servant, whome she may comaunde, to be ther governor and comaunder, she ys sure to <u>comande</u> them as **absolutly** as he hath his authorytye from them to comand other under his charge.*
(CEECS, LEYCESTE Letter XXVII, 1586, The Earl of Leycester to Mr Davison)

(26)   *...I would take the place and name of absolute govenour, and generall of all their forces and souldiers, with their whole revenues, taxes, composicions, and all manner of benefittes that they have, or may have, to be <u>putt freely and</u> **absolutely** into my hands...*
(CEECS, LEYCESTE Letter XXII, 1585-86, The Earl of Leycester to Lord Burghley)

(27)   *…God in Heaven knoweth, not I, whether he intended to travel or no. But for that Practice with Arabella, or Letters to Aremberg framed, or any Discourse with him, or in what Language he spake unto him; if I knew any of these things, I would* **absolutely** <u>confess</u> *the Indictment, and acknowledge myself worthy ten thousand Deaths.*
(HELSINKI: *The Trial of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 1603)

As a manner adverb, *absolutely*, in these cases is used to convey information about the manner of the verbs 'comande', 'putt(into my hands)', and 'confess', respectively. This reading is confirmed in the first case by the fact that it occurs as part of the comparative phrase 'as absolutly as', a position that could not be filled by the other functions of *absolutely*, e.g. the maximizer one. In the case of (26), the manner function of *absolutely* is verified firstly by the fact that the verb it modifies ('putt') does not license any other interpretation (e.g. maximizer, emphasizer etc.), and secondly by the presence of the coordinated adverb *freely*, which is unquestionably a manner adverb as it does not have any other adverbial functions (cf. OED *s.v. freely* adv.)[39]. In terms of meaning, only in (27) does *absolutely* seem to share the more abstract sense of the ME examples, yet this example dates from the latter half of the EModE period (1603). In comparison, the only reading permitted by the contexts of the two earlier examples seems to be 'freely, without restrictions/constraints'. This interpretation is further supported in the case of (26), by the fact that the adverb *freely* with which it is coordinated was used in EModE to denote meanings relating to independence and lack of restriction (see OED *s.v. freely* adv.). Accordingly, it would seem that these EModE adverbial meanings relate to the 'more concrete' meaning of the adjectival source, viz. 'free from dependence or restriction'. Interestingly, this contrasts with the ME cases, which were found to relate to the more abstract adjectival source. Furthermore, it permits the possibility that the development of the adverb is a case of adverbialization that occurred in English because, in this case, as detailed previously, the related adjectival sense 'free from dependence or restrictions', was already established in the language in ME[40].

In conclusion, despite the fact that the examples are not very numerous, the data suggests that *absolutely* was in use from the ME period and the analysis of the earliest examples (both from ME and EModE) confirms that its initial function was that of a manner adverb. More specifically, two manner adverb senses were noted, viz. the 'more concrete' 'freely, without restrictions or constraints' and the 'more abstract' 'freely, without doubt or mental reservations'.

As regards elucidating precisely how (i.e. in what context(s)) the adverb emerged, limited data means that the conclusions offered may only be treated as indicative. Nevertheless, based on the evidence available, it can be deduced that both native

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[39] There is mention in the OED of a degree modifier use of *freely* (OED *s.v. freely* adv. 8.), yet this is recorded as being relatively rare and restricted to Scottish dialects in later use.

[40] Regardless of whether the ME Chaucerian examples of *absolute* are considered to reflect French influence, there is clear evidence that this adjective was used in at least some contexts/genres at this time.

adverbialization and romance influence/borrowing may have had a hand in the emergence of the two manner adverb functions. In the case of the 'more abstract' sense, which is found as early as ME, there is a clear connection to the adjectival sense of 'freedom from doubt/mental conditions', but since this later use is not recorded in English until the EModE period, it seems possible, based on the limited evidence available, that the adverbial use was subject to romance influence. In this connection, the fact that the earliest example of this 'more abstract' sense of the adverb is from the work of Chaucer lends further support to this assertion.

In contrast, the 'more concrete' sense of the adverb is not found in the data until EModE, by which time its corresponding adjectival sense of 'freedom from dependency or restriction' has already been established (see discussion of *absolute*, above). Consequently, although outside influence cannot be completely ruled out, the timescale permits the possibility that the development of this function may have occurred in English as a case of adverbialization.

3.2. *Absolutely* from ME to PDE

Having considered the rise of the adverbial *absolutely*, the remainder of this section details its subsequent development. Taking account of all five of the functions of this adverb mentioned in section 1, the analysis in this section aims to elucidate how and when each of these functions arose and what relation(s) they bear to one another. With this intention, table 4.1, below, presents a break-down of the corpus data for *absolutely* from each period (ME-PDE) according to function.

	MANNER ADVERB	MAXIMIZER	EMPHASIZER	EPISTEMIC/ MODAL ADVERB	RESPONSE PARTICLE	AMBIGUOUS	TOTAL
ME	2 (100%[41])	-	-	-	-	-	2 (100%)
EModE	4 (12%)	17 (52%)	4 (12%)	-	-	8 (24%)	33 (100%)
LModE	11 (1%)	660 (73%)	154 (17%)	9 (1%)	3 (1%)	70 (8%)	907 (100%)
PDE	4 (1%)	184 (60%)	102 (33%)	7 (2%)	6 (2%)	3 (1%)	306 (100%)

Table 4.1: The function of *absolutely* from ME-PDE

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[41] Percentages, as opposed to normalised frequencies, have been used throughout the thesis because overlap between corpora (see discussion e.g. of ME coprora in section 2.1) and some instances of corpus sampling (see e.g. discussion of the use of LModE corpora in Chapter 8) made the latter approach impractical.

As discussed in the previous section, the table shows that the only function of *absolutely* evidenced in the ME corpora is its manner adverb use. This fact, together with the attestation dates of the same function in the subsequent EModE period, was used to establish that this was the initial sense of this adverb. However, row two of the table shows that the diversification of this item is already under way at this time since it also records the use of *absolutely* as both a maximizer and an emphasizer. Row three indicates further diversification in LModE when both an epistemic/modal adverb use and a response particle use are identified. In order to establish the more precise ordering of the development of these additional functions and to determine more specifically the contexts in which they emerged, more detailed qualitative analysis is required. To this effect, what follows discusses examples of *absolutely* that seem to be significant in elucidating the emergence of each of these modifying functions, and provides a detailed analysis of the collocational behaviour of each.

3.2.1 The emergence and development of maximizer *absolutely*

The first examples of maximizer *absolutely* are found in the EModE period (see table 4.1) and include those given in (28)-(30). Whilst the earliest cases are those such as (28) in which *absolutely* is employed in the context of verbal collocates, there is evidence from the later stages of this period which indicates that the functional range of maximizer *absolutely* also encompassed other types of gradable collocate, i.e. adjectives (as in (29)) and adverbs (see (30)).

(28)   *Put not yourself into amazement how these*

   things should be: all difficulties are but easy

   when they are known. Call your executioner, and off

   with Barnardine's head: I will give him a present

   shrift and advise him for a better place. Yet you

   *are amazed; but this shall **absolutely** resolve* you.*

   (*resolve = 'free of doubt'/'bring to understanding')
   (EModEDramatists, Shakespeare, W. 1623. *Measure for Measure*)
   (Maximizer *absolutely* modifying a verbal constituent)

(29)   *Now, my Lord, we shall go to our Evidence to prove that all this is **absolutely** false…*

   (HELSINKI: *The Trial of Titus Oates*)

(Maximizer *absolutely* modifying an adjectival constituent)

(30) Mistress Centaur: *How like you her wit, Mavis.*

Mistress Mavis: *Very prettily,* **absolutely** <u>well</u>.

(EModEDramatists, Jonson, B. 1609. *Epicœne*)
(Maximizer *absolutely* modifying an adverbial constituent)

As regards determining how this function of *absolutely* arose, it proved fruitful to consider the instances in the EModE data that fall in to the 'ambiguous' category (see table 4.1). Closer examination of these revealed a number of examples in which *absolutely* can potentially be read as a manner adverb or as a maximizer. Often, these are with verbs of 'governing'/'reigning', as illustrated in (31), where it is difficult to decide whether the meaning is that 'those no principles' are 'governed *without restrictions or constraints*' (i.e. *in a complete manner*) or are 'governed *to a complete degree*'.

(31) *He has no principles himself, and those no principles of his are* <u>governed</u> **absolutely** *by hers, which are no-issimes.*

(CLMETEV: Walpole, H. 1735-48. *Letters*, Vol. 1.)

Other cases include that of (32) and (33), below, in which the meaning of *absolutely* is potentially ambiguous between the more abstract manner adverb sense of 'without doubt/mental reservations' and the degree modifier sense.

(32) *What's musitian, vnlesse he play? what's/a tall man, vnlesse he fight? For, indeed, all this, my wise brother* <u>stands/vpon,</u> **absolutely**: *and, that made me fall in with him, so resolutely.*

(Jonson, B. 1598. *Every Man in His Humour*).

(33) *…if I knew any of these things, I would* **absolutely** <u>confess</u> *the Indictment*[42].

(HELSINKI: *The Trial of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 1603)

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[42] For wider context, see example (27).

Since the manner adverb function has already been established as the initial function of *absolutely* (detailed in the previous section), the ambiguous nature of such examples may be taken as potential evidence of change in progress, thus providing a likely explanation as to the source of the degree modifier function. In this respect, the proposed process of inferencing by which this took place is from considering something as being done 'without restrictions or constraints' or 'without doubt/mental reservations', i.e. in a complete manner, to considering that thing to have been done 'to a complete degree'. In other words, the development concerns a change in perspective from considering *how* something was done, to considering *to what extent* it was done. The plausibility of this notion lies in the conceptual closeness of these two perspectives, which is so much so that they seem to entail each other in most, if not all, contexts. As the source of this change, the manner adverb, is, by definition, closely connected with the verb in a clause, it seems that the initial use of the maximizer function of *absolutely* was likely to have been in the context of verbal constituents.

In further support of this suggested development, there is a selection of other examples that, whilst still being somewhat ambiguous between a manner adverb reading and a maximizer reading, are perhaps further towards the maximizer end of the spectrum:

(34)   *I have no other nues tyll these states have fully ended ther consultacions, which wylbe to morrow, as I hear, and* <u>*wholy,*</u> *without contradyctyon,* <u>*to be at the devotyon and dispocyon of hir majesty*</u> **absolutly***.*
(CEECS, LEYCESTE, 1585, Letter XXII, The Earl of Leycester to Mr Secretary Walsyngham)

(35)   *…and the Provost or Warden of either of the saide Colledges within the same, shall have all such power and authoritie, and* <u>*shall doe and execute*</u> *all and everie such Acte and Act Thinge and Thing in this Acte before mentioned, within theire severall Precinct and Jurisdictions abovesaide, as* <u>*whollie*</u> **absolutelie** <u>*and fullie*</u> *to all Intent and Purposes as any Mayor Bailiff Head Officers or Justices of Peace within theire severall Precinct and Jurisdictions may elswhere by force of this Acte doe and execute.*
(HELSINKI: *Statutes (IV)*)

In each of these cases, the presence of the adverb 'wholy/whollie' (and also 'fullie' in the case of (35)) lends favour to a maximizer interpretation of *absolutely*, since both these items

were well established as maximizers in contemporary usage (cf. MED *s.v. fulli* adv.; OED *s.v. fully* adv. and MED *s.v. holli* adv.; OED *s.v. wholly* adv.).

Given that the majority of EModE ambiguous cases (80%) are found in the initial stages of the EModE period (i.e. between 1585 and 1616), together with the fact that it is the data from this period that contains the first clear examples of the maximizer function, it seems that the transition period and emergence of the maximizer use may be attributed more specifically to the first half of the EModE period. Moreover, detailed consideration of all the examples from the corpora that are potentially ambiguous between a manner adverb reading and a maximizer one revealed that the majority of the EModE cases (80%) are ambiguous between the more abstract manner adverb sense and a maximizer one, whereas those found in the LModE corpora are overwhelmingly (83%) of the type that are indeterminate between the more concrete manner adverb sense and the maximizer one. Accordingly, and in line with the above-mentioned fact that clear examples of the maximizer function are found from the EModE period (cf. table 4.1, above), it seems that the more abstract manner adverb sense of *absolutely* may have been the most influential of the manner adverb senses in the development of the maximizer function.

So as to examine the precise nature and propagation of the maximizer function in more detail, the remainder of this section considers its collocational behaviour over time. To this effect, the following table presents details of the constituent types it is used to modify throughout its history, including their relative frequencies.

	ADJ/ADJP	V/VP	ADV/ADVP	P/PP	N/NP	OTHER	TOTAL
EModE	10	5	2	-	-	-	17
	(59%)	(29%)	(12%)				(100%)
LModE	486	134	8	27	3	2	660
	(74%)	(20%)	(1%)	(4%)	(<1%)	(<1%)	(100%)
PDE	160	12	5	5	-	2	184
	(87%)	(7%)	(3%)	(3%)		(1%)	(100%)

Table 4.2: The constituent types modified by maximizer *absolutely* (EModE-PDE)

The figures in row 1 of the above table indicate that the functional load of maximizer *absolutely* in EModE is distributed across adjectival, verbal and adverbial constituents. As it was proposed that this function of *absolutely* emerged in this period in the context of verbal elements, these results suggest that the extension to the adjectival and adverbial varieties occurred relatively soon after the rise, in the same period (cf. discussion of (29) and (30), above, in this connection). Moreover, despite the function having arisen with verbal collocates, the rapid onset of the surge in popularity of applying maximizer *absolutely* to adjectival elements, means that these actually represent the most common collocate type

(59%) in this period. Verbal elements, though still reasonably significant at 29%, are more typical of the earlier use in this period, only constituting the second most frequent collocate type overall.

By LModE, the functional range of maximizer *absolutely* has further extended to prepositional and nominal constituents. However, the latter accounts for less that 1% of the total number of cases retrieved from the data for this period and is not evidenced as a collocate in the PDE data. Although the prepositional variety is slightly more frequent at 4% and continues to be used in PDE (3%), its significance is fairly negligible in comparison to the adjectival collocates, which constitute 75% of the LModE data and dominate even more so in PDE, where they account for 87% of cases. In light of this, the subsequent analysis will concentrate predominantly on combinations with the archetypal adjectival constituents. Although verbal constituents demonstrate a successive decrease over time (falling to 20% in LModE and then to 7% in PDE), some consideration will also be given to combinations with this variety, since it does represent the initial constituent type and is consistently the second most frequent in the data for each period.

Beginning with the EModE collocates of maximizer *absolutely*, it is first of all noticeable that they are all ones that only accept modification by the maximizer variety of degree modifier (cf. examples (28)-(30), above, which illustrate the modification of *resolve* (verb), *false* (adjective) and *well* (adverb)[43], respectively. Accordingly, and in line with traditional descriptions of 'maximizer + collocate' pairings (see chapter 2, particularly sections 2.4-2.5), the data seems to present this particular type of environment as typical of the initial application of this maximizer. This is further supported by the fact that all of the potential bridging examples mentioned above that are seemingly ambiguous between the more abstract manner adverb sense and a maximizer function, also reflect this particular type of context. For instance, in the case of (33), above, it is possible to '*completely confess* the Indictment', i.e. to confess it to a *complete* degree, yet note the incongruity of *'*slightly/very (much)* confessing' it (cf. also in this connection, example (32), above).

This initial maximizer use of *absolutely* continues to dominate in later usage, accounting for 84% of all the cases of maximizer *absolutely* in both of the subsequent periods. However, from LModE onwards there is a noticeable influx of cases such as (36) and (37), below, which evidence the extension of *absolutely* to collocates that accept modification by varying degree.

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[43] Note that although some of these collocates can be conceptualised as scalar in PDE, examination of contemporary corpora suggests that this was not the case in EModE.

(36)   *…for it is three fifty pounds, he gave him, as he thought, as a salary for three years*
       that he has been with him: but there was no agreement between them; and he
       absolutely <u>*depended on*</u> *my master's favour.*
       (CLMETEV: Richardson, S. 1740. *Pamela*.)

(37)   *…but those who are in a state of mediocrity, are best flattered upon their beauty, or*
       at least their graces; for every woman who is not ***absolutely*** <u>*ugly*</u> *thinks herself*
       handsome; but not hearing often that she is so, is the more grateful and the more
       obliged to the few who tell her so…
       (CLMETEV: Chesterfield, P. D. S. 1746-1771. *Letters to his son(s)*, 1748)

A possible explanation for this extension in the application of maximizer *absolutely* takes
into account the semantic similarity of the two types. Having been used repeatedly
throughout the EModE period as a means of reinforcing the maximal nature of constituents
that inherently denote 'completeness', the association of *absolutely* with the meaning
'completely' would seemingly have been firmly established. It was perhaps as a
consequence of this that speakers began to employ *absolutely* in contexts in which the
addition of this degree meaning was strictly necessary to convey the desired meaning, i.e. in
the context of constituents that could potentially apply to a range of degrees and therefore
required a specific indication of maximum degree. The respective dates of appearance of
the two types of maximizer *absolutely* in the corpora lend support to this theory.   One
other factor highlighted by the corpus analysis that potentially offers some insight into this
is a potential connection between the more recent maximizer use and the more concrete
manner adverb sense. This is suggested by the presence of a series of examples, such as the
following, that are ambiguous between these two senses:

(38)   *Heinsius, a venerable old minister, grown gray in business, and who had governed the*
       republic of the United Provinces for more than forty years, was ***absolutely*** <u>*governed*</u>
       by the Duke of Marlborough, as that republic feels to this day.
       (CLMETEV: Chesterfield, P. D. S. 1746-1771. *Letters to his son(s)*, 1748)

(39)   *I will directly make you a present of 500 guineas…which you may dispose of to any*
       purpose you please: and will <u>*give it*</u> ***absolutely*** *into the hands of any person you shall*
       appoint to receive it…
       (CLMETEV: Richardson, S. 1740. *Pamela*.)

Take, for example, (38). A manner adverb reading of *absolutely* in this context gives the interpretation '…was governed *in a manner without restriction* (i.e. an *absolute* manner)', whereas a maximizer reading results in '…was governed *to a complete degree*'. In the case of the latter, the presence of *absolutely* specifies that the 'governing' is *complete* as opposed to e.g. *partial* (cf. '…was *partially* governed by the Duke…'). In contrast to the examples that are indeterminate between the more abstract manner adverb sense and the earlier maximizer use (the vast majority of which date from the first half of the EModE; cf. above discussion), all except one of the ambiguous examples of this nature date from the LModE period. This coincides with the fact that the use of the maximizer in the context of collocates that permit modification by varying degree is not common in the data until the LModE period (specifically from 1740 onwards), and thus lends support to the notion that this particular manner sense of *absolutely* may have had an influence on its emergence. However, as there are relatively few of these ambiguous examples in the corpora, it is difficult to claim that link is a particularly significant one. In light of this, it seems that the best explanation offered by the data is that the rise of the more recent use of maximizer *absolutely* (i.e. in the context of constituents that accept modification by varying degree), is potentially the result of a combination of influences, viz. stemming from the use of both the existing maximizer function and the more concrete manner adverb sense.

In addition to the above-noted two-way distinction among the diachronic collocates of maximizer *absolutely*, some other more specific trends may be observed. For instance, close examination of the verbal constituents reveals a tendency in both EModE and LModE (constituting 60% of all the verbal collocates in each of these periods) for items that are semantically negative or contain a negative affix. The EModE examples are *denie*, *forfeited* and *lose*, and some illustrative cases from the LModE data include *annihilate*, *destroy*, *fail* and *prohibit*, as well as the most frequent verbal collocates from this period: *refuse* (13%), *deny* (6%), *forbid* (6%) and *forget* (6%). By PDE, it is more likely for verbal constituents of *absolutely* to have neutral or positive connotations (e.g. *guarantee*, *increased* and *trust*), with the figure for negative elements having reduced to 42%. However, in light of the overall decline in the use of *absolutely* to modify verbal constituents in general by this time (representing only 7% of the PDE maximizer use), this apparent reversal in the typical nature of this collocate type between LModE and PDE may not actually be particularly significant.

In terms of the adjectival collocates, the EModE instances display a relatively equal balance of inherently positive (e.g. *good*), negative (e.g. *disliked*) and neutral (e.g. *necessary*) items, but the low number of tokens overall prevents any other trends being noted. In the

LModE data, the total number of adjectival collocates of *absolutely* is 486 (see table 4.2), therefore much more substantial patterns can be observed. The most notable adjectival collocate at this time is *necessary*, which displays the strongest link to *absolutely*, accounting for 33% of all the adjectival collocates in the data from this time. Other combinations recurring in the data include those with the adjectives *impossible* (4%), *certain* (3%) and *free* (2%). Overall, the majority of the LModE adjectival collocates are inherently positive or neutral items (e.g. *beautiful*, *fair*, *honest*, *perfect* and *shy*), with only 35% having negative connotations or containing a negative affix. By PDE, *necessary* is still the most common adjectival collocate of *absolutely*, though at 9% of the data, its predominance is much less than in the previous period. Combinations with *certain* and *essential* represent the second most frequent types, each accounting for 8% of the data from this period, followed by *clear* at 6%. The proportion of adjectival constituents that are inherently negative or contain a negative affix has increased to 53%, though there is still a greater number of this collocate type with positive connotations (e.g. *perfect*, *sure*, *truthful*, *wonderful*) in comparison to other collocate types, notably verbs.

3.2.2 The emergence of emphasizer *absolutely*

Absolutely is first attested in an emphasizer capacity in the EModE period (see e.g (40), below), where this function accounts for 12% the use of this adverb at this time (cf. table 4.1). This proportion has increased to 17% in LModE (see e.g. (41), below), and by PDE, it has almost doubled in frequency to 33%, perhaps suggesting that it is on the rise.

(40)   *…shee saith you write that you are sorie to heare that I have* **absolutelie** <u>*declared*</u> *my self against the parliament, which I wonder at this time to heare, when all the gentlemen of this countie complaine of me to the King for being to affectionate to the parliament.*
       (CEECS, WESA, 1642, Lord Thomas Savile to Lady Temple).

(41)   *One thing only was clear to him—that to dogmatise about any subject under heaven, at the present day, more than the immediate practical occasion* **absolutely** <u>*demanded*</u>*, was the act of an idiot.*
       (CLMETEV: Ward, M. A. 1894. *Marcella*)

(42)   *Your best way will be, when you go away from thence, to send to England, by*

*Hamburg, all the books that you do not **absolutely** want.*

(CLMETEV: Chesterfield, P. D. S. 1746-1771. *Letters to his son(s)*, 1748)

In the above examples, which represent one of the two main contexts in which this use of *absolutely* is applied, it is clear that neither 'declared', 'demanded' nor 'want' can be 'done' *to any extent*, therefore, *absolutely* is understood as adding to the 'force', rather than degree, i.e. is functioning as a emphasizer. In other words, it comments on the epistemic commitment of the constituents, conveying meaning akin to present-day *really* or *truly*, i.e. 'I have *really/truly* declared…' and '…that you do not *really/truly* want'. In addition to *declared* and *demanded*, other verbs of saying that occur commonly as collocates of emphasizer *absolutely* include *assert*, *insist* and *say*.

The other context in which this function of *absolutely* is commonly employed is immediately preceding an auxiliary, as illustrated in (43)-(45), overleaf.

(43)   *"I **absolutely** must show you, someday, to my friend Lady Battersby…she'd quite*

adore you"

(CLMETEV: Edgeworth, M. 1796-1801. *The Parent's Assistant*)

(44)   *"Louisa would so like this Flora," said she, arguing with herself. "Besides, it would be*

so generous in me to give it to her instead of that ugly mandarin; that would be doing

only common justice, for I promised it to her, and she expects it. Though, when I

come to look at this mandarin, it is not even so good as hers was. The gilding is all

*rubbed off, so that I **absolutely** must buy this for her. Oh, yes! I will, and she will be*

so delighted!"

(CLMETEV: Edgeworth, M. 1796-1801. *The Parent's Assistant*)

(45)   *He lent me a guitar that had cost 90 dollars. He was prepared to sell it for 16. It didn't*

look anything very special but it had an awfully nice tone & was twice as easy to play

*on. One chord I had to play this morning I **absolutely** can't play on mine.*

(ARCHER: Elmhirst, W. 1911-1912. *A Freshman's Diary*)

In examples of this type, the combination of *absolutely* + auxiliary does still permit the same 'really/truly' meaning that is evident with lexical verbs, as is verified by substituting either of these terms for *absolutely* in the above examples, since no alteration of the overall meaning results, c.f. e.g. 'I *really/truly* must show you…/buy this…/can't play on

mine'. However, given the more 'functional' purpose of auxiliaries in comparison to their more 'contentful' lexical counterparts, it seems that, rather than reinforcing their 'epistemic commitment', *absolutely* may be more readily interpreted in such contexts as emphasizing the polarity expressed by the auxiliary.

As regards how this emphasizer use of *absolutely* arose, the data seems to suggest that the answer may lie in its maximizer function. More specifically, it is proposed that the link between these two functions concerns the use of maximizer *absolutely* in combination with collocates that only accept modification by maximizers. Due to the notion of 'completeness' inherent to such constituents, it seems that it could be argued that the maximizer reading of *absolutely* is rendered somewhat redundant. For example, in (46), below, the adjective *noiseless* conveys the meaning '*completely* without noise'/'the *complete* absence of noise', thus the understanding that this adjective applies 'to the maximum degree' does not depend on the use of a maximizer.   Compare this to an example such as (47). In this case, the verb *disliked* conveys negative regard, yet this is a concept that can hold true to varying degrees and no indication of the extent in this particular case is communicated without the degree modifier *absolutely*. The presence of this item communicates that it is the maximum degree of 'disliking' that is referred to (cf. e.g. *'slightly* disliked', '*very much* disliked').

(46)   *I heard his sympathetic voice travelling away from me by degrees--but, large as he*
         *was, I never heard him. He had the negative merit of being **absolutely** <u>noiseless</u>. I*
         don't know when he opened the door, or when he shut it.
         (CLMETEV: Collins, W. W. 1859-1860. *The Woman in White*.)

(47)   *…if I thought my daughter **absolutely** <u>disliked</u> him, or that she loved another, I would*
         not thwart a first affection; --no, for the world, I would not. [sighing] But that her
         affections are already bestowed, is not probable.
         (CLMETEV: Inchbald, E. 1798. *Lovers' Vows.*)

According to traditional definitions, cases like (46) still belong in the realm of maximizers, since in such contexts, the adverbs are said to *reinforce* the maximal nature of the constituents (cf. e.g. Paradis 1997: 69 & 78), i.e. to stress that they apply to the maximum degree, thus eliminating any possible doubt as to the extent to which they apply. However, on comparing these with cases like (47) in which the collocates accept modification by varying degree, the question is raised as to whether this type of example, in actual fact, is

somewhat encroaching on the territory of the emphasizer use, since it effectively seems to be adding to the *force,* rather than denoting the *degree* of the constituent[44]. In this respect, it seems possible that in cases like (46), an emphasizer function of *absolutely* may be inferred instead. The assumption behind this idea is that language users seek to identify the purpose of *absolutely* and given that the maximizer reading is semantically redundant since it does not add any information that is not already present in the content, understand its function to be that of commenting on the epistemic commitment of the relevant part of the clause, i.e. *emphasizing* the maximum degree that is already denoted inherently (cf. Davidse et al. 2008 and Ghesquière 2011 who discuss similar cases of 'semantic redundancy' as key to the linguistic changes involved in the development of secondary determiners). On a general level then, it seems possible that the recurrent use of maximizer *absolutely* in the context of constituents that only accept modification by maximizer degree modifiers could have acted as a bridging context (Evans & Wilkins 2000) for the emergence of the emphasizer use proper in the context of non-gradable collocates. Eventually, from these bridging cases in which the emphasizing function is a possible, though not the only interpretation, *absolutely* becomes sufficiently associated with the emphasizing meaning that language users begin to use it in contexts where only an emphasizer reading is possible, i.e. with constituents that do not accept modification by any degree, e.g. those in (40)-(42).

It is difficult to determine with any real precision when this development took place, due to the fuzzy nature of this area. In this connection, it may be noted that this division is present in both the EModE and the LModE data; however, the fact that there are clear cases of emphasizer *absolutely* in EModE (e.g. (40)) suggests that the emergence of this use, via the processes of inferencing described above, took place at some point during the EModE period. More specifically, given that the first confirmed example of the emphasizer use dates from 1642, it can be assumed that although the inferences leading to the development of this function were probably underway for some time beforehand, the 'final stage' in this change was not reached until the latter half of the EModE period.

3.2.3 The emergence of epistemic/modal adverb *absolutely*

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[44] This question also has wider implications with regard to the way in which issues such as the distinction between maximizers and emphasizers and the nature of the maximizer class are dealt with in the existing literature. They are outside the purpose of the present chapter, but are considered in chapter 11.

Absolutely is only found in use as an epistemic/modal adverb in the LModE and PDE data (see e.g. (48) and (49), below), and with only sixteen examples in total from these two periods, it is clear that this is its most peripheral adverbial function.

(48)   *I come now to speak to you of the affair of the Duke of Newcastle; but* **absolutely***, on considering it much myself, and on talking of it with your brother,* <u>we both are against your attempting any such thing</u>*.*
        (CLMETEV: Walpole, H. 1735-48. *Letters*, Vol. 1.)

(49)   *He had done nothing for which this woman could justly reproach him; marvellous--so he considered--had been his self-restraint;* **absolutely***,* <u>he had behaved like a gentleman.</u>
        (CLMETEV: Gissing, G. 1893. *The Odd Woman*.)

    The emergence of this use seems to relate to the earlier emphasizer use, with which it shares a connection in that both are concerned with commenting on epistemic commitment (the emphasizer in relation to part of a clause, and the epistemic/modal adverb in relation to an entire clause or sentence). Of particular significance in this respect appears to be the use of emphasizer *absolutely* to modify an auxiliary verb (see e.g. (43)-(45), above).

    When it modifies a lexical verb, it is clear to see that *absolutely* has only this element in its scope. Likewise, when it is positioned immediately before an auxiliary verb, the most likely interpretation based on the syntax (particularly in contrast to cases such as (48) and (49), above), seems to be that it has scope only over the subsequent auxiliary and thus emphasizes the polarity of the clause. However, in this latter context, some degree of similarity can be observed with the epistemic/modal adverb use and it seems at least plausible that the latter may have emerged following the reanalysis of the former as having scope over the entire clause/sentence, rather than one part of it. Eventually, the peripheral positioning makes explicit this broader scope and the resulting distinct function presents a speaker comment on the epistemic commitment of the entire clause/sentence in a similar way to present-day *certainly* and *definitely*.

3.2.4 The emergence of response particle *absolutely*

The response particle function of *absolutely* is undoubtedly its most recent function as it is not found in the corpora until the very end of the LModE period (1898; cf. figures in table

4.1)[45]. Only nine examples of this use were found; however, given that it is, by definition, characteristic of spoken language and that the majority of the corpora used for this research contain only written data, this result may not be a true reflection of usage. For this reason, the investigation of this particular function was supplemented with a search of the spoken sections of the BNC, which revealed approximately 250 additional examples.

Among the instances of this function, two sub-types may be observed. In the case of the first, *absolutely* is used in response to a polar question (see (50) and (51), overleaf), and in the second, it is used as a comment on a previous utterance (see (52) and (53), overleaf).

In relation to the first type, i.e. the response to a polar question, there is an obvious connection between this and the variant of the emphasizer use that is positioned pre-auxiliary, in that, in both uses, the link between *absolutely* and the auxiliary (and thus the polarity of the clause/sentence) is central. In this connection, it is proposed that this particular type of emphasizer use was the prerequisite for the emergence of the response particle function.

(50)   PS093: *And yet if you go for a top job in the city or anywhere an…and start talking in the southern dialect they'll [unclear] you.*

PS08Y: *Yeah, you're, you're made a laugh of <u>aren't you?</u>*

PS093: ***Absolutely!***

PS08Y: *Yes.*

PS093: *That's very true!*

PS08Y: *It is extraordinary!*

(BNC: SConv. KC0)

(51)   PS000: *Seven, a bit big I would, I wouldn't go bigger than five, you get through a lot more business with four or five. Still, I don't, I don't mind.*

PS3L0: *<u>You do want it cross-party?</u>*

PS000: ***Absolutely, absolutely.***

(BNC: SMeeting HYX)

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[45] Given that this function of *absolutely* is characteristic of spoken discourse, the fact that the majority of the corpora contain only written data cannot be ignored, as it is possible that it was in use earlier than is evidenced in the written language. Nevertheless, this potential limitation may not be too detrimental, since the corpora for each period do contain a variety of different genres (see details of the corpora given in chapter 3), including plays and novels in which often imitate speech, therefore the typical spoken language of the various stages is represented, at least to some extent, in the database.

(52)   Speaker 1: *But you know, let's not talk him all the time because I think some of our players gave good performances today.*

Speaker 2: ***Absolutely**, you didn't come here and kick and rush, you didn't come here and defend, you played some delightful football, football I know you always like to play, that must have pleased you the way the game was played.*

(BNC: SBroadcast discussion KS7)

(53)   Speaker 1: *Seven percent, you have to add them together. You have to add the cost of waiver on a joint life policy, you have to add, add the costs together.*

Speaker 2: ***Absolutely**. Good.*

Speaker 1: *She even got round giving me the wrong answer first, which I thought was quite subtle.*

(BNC: SUnclassified JK7)

Only after *absolutely* comes to be used to emphasize the polarity conveyed by the auxiliary and the connection of these two items has been sufficiently established, is it possible for it to be used as a response particle, i.e. where this connection is maintained despite the fact that the items are no longer adjacent. In its function as an response particle in examples such as (50) and (51), *absolutely* expresses an affirmative answer by reinforcing or confirming the polarity conveyed by the auxiliary that is used to form the polar question. The connection between *absolutely* and the auxiliary is more indirect than in cases of the emphasizer use because the constituent is picked up from a previous utterance (and, in fact, spoken by another person). The fact that this use occurs independently, i.e. seemingly detached from any other clause elements[46], is perhaps an indication that its emergence is also connected to some extent with the development of the epistemic/modal adverb function, since this, too, is syntactically more detached. Furthermore, despite the obvious connection to the emphasizer use, alongside the expression of affirmation, it is impossible to paraphrase any of the response particle uses as 'really' or 'truly', yet substitution of other epistemic disjuncts such as 'certainly' or 'definitely' is possible.

As regards examples of the type exemplified in (52) and (53) in which *absolutely* provides a response, as opposed to an answer, the message conveyed is more of agreement than affirmation. This use seems to bear more connection to the syntactically detached epistemic or modal adverb, as it seems to connect back to an entire

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[46] Although it is assumed that a connection still present in the minds of language users, this is no longer explicitly evident in the grammar of the clause.

clause/sentence and can be paraphrased as 'certainly' or 'definitely'. In this respect, it is proposed that this 'response' variant of response particle *absolutely* was particularly influenced by its function as an epistemic or modal adverb, or at least, given the low frequency of this in the data, by the potential for this use.

4. Summary

Based on the analyses presented in section 3.1, the emergence of the adverbial *absolutely* was attributed to the ME period and it was concluded that its initial function was that of a manner adverb, specifically of two variants: one conveying 'more concrete' meaning and the other 'more abstract'. It was argued that the development of these senses involved native processes of change (i.e. adverbialization in English), but possible romance influence via French and perhaps Latin was also acknowledged. The subsequent development of the adverbial form (with its five different functions) then formed the focus of section 3.2. Based on the analyses of the four significant stages (as presented in subsections 3.2.1-3.2.4), the development of the suffixed adverbial form *absolutely* can be summarized in the diagram overleaf (figure 4.1).

| EPISTEMIC DISJUNCT commenting on the epistemic commitment of an entire clause/sentence. | RESPONSE PARTICLE used in response to a polar question or as a comment on a previous utterance. |
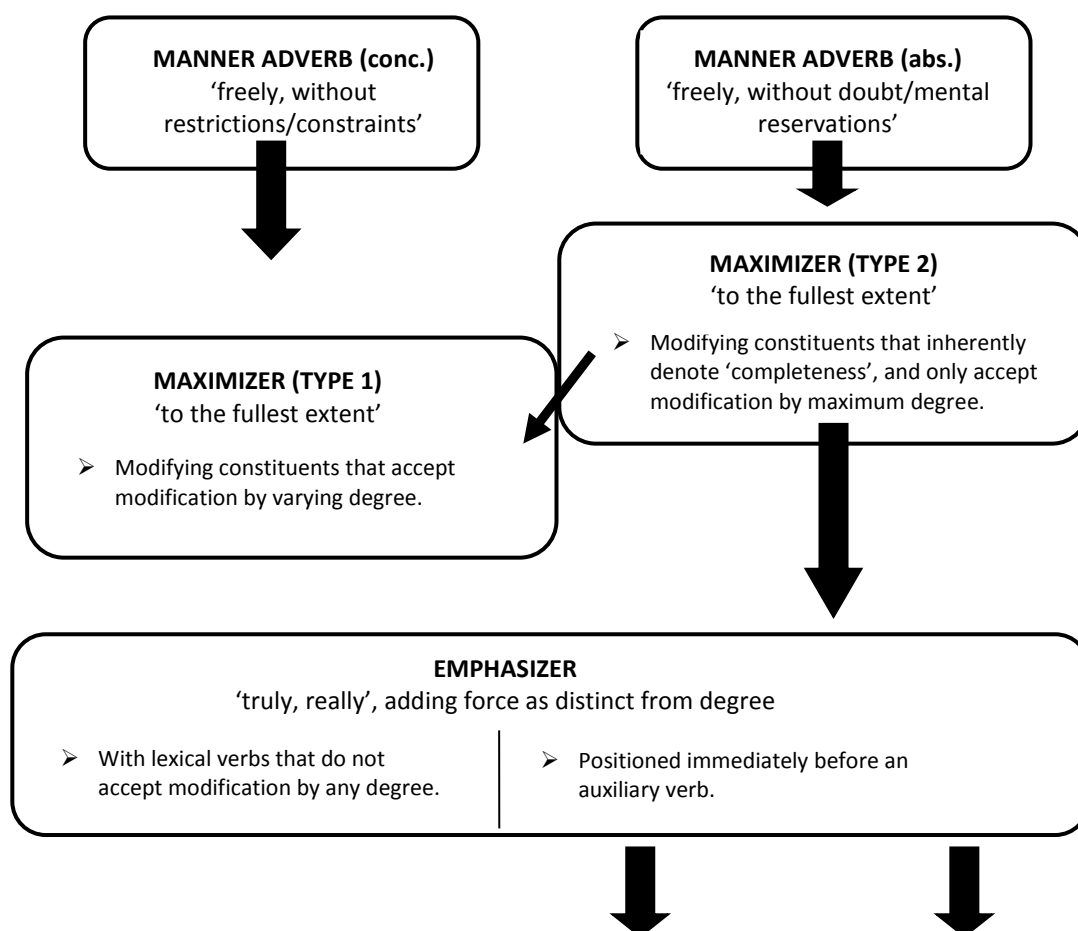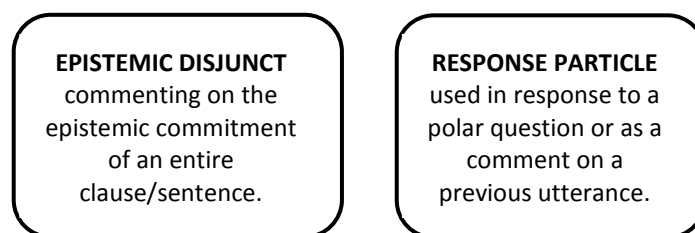
Figure 4.1 Diagram of the development of *absolutely*

In terms of the timescale, the analysis dated the emergence of the maximizer function and the emphasizer function in EModE, but with the latter specifically attributed to the later stage of this period. The epistemic/modal adverb represented the least common adverbial use of *absolutely* and was present in the data only in LModE and (to a lesser extent) PDE. Finally, the response particle use emerged from the corpora very late on in the LModE period, thus representing the most recent function of *absolutely*.

The conclusions of the present research regarding the emergence of the response particle function present a challenge to those reached in Tao 2007. Whereas Tao claimed that this recent function emerged in specific contexts of the maximizer use, it is argued here that the connection is actually with one particular sub-type of the emphasizer use (see figure 4.1. and section 3.2.4). Due to the shortcomings of Tao 2007 pointed out in section 2, particularly in relation to his classification of the data and the nature of his arguments concerning the developmental pathway he puts forward, it is proposed that the present account is more plausible and a more accurate representation of the data.

Finally, on a more general level, the analyses of the maximizer and the emphasizer uses of *absolutely* (see, in particular section 3.2.2) raise questions concerning the validity of the maxmizer class as it is currently described in the literature (cf. e.g. Allerton 1987 and Paradis 1997, amongst others, as well as standard grammars such as Quirk et al. 1985 and Huddleston & Pullum 2002). In the contexts of constituents that already inherently denote the upper extreme on the scale of degree force, it is questionable as to whether the item should actually be termed a 'maximizer', since its presence is, in fact, not necessary to denote maximum degree. This quandary is particularly apparent when such cases are compared with those in which the modified constituents accept modification by varying degree. In these latter cases, the maximizer function has a clear degree modifying purpose because no other indication of maximum degree is present in the context. Ultimately, this issue brings to the fore the distinction between maximizers and emphasizers and suggests the need for a more fine grained description of each function, and a more detailed

consideration of what it is that sets them apart, particularly with regard to items such as

absolutely which evidence both uses (see chapter 11).

CHAPTER 5: The development of *completely*

1. <u>Introduction</u>

Of all the maximizers considered in the present research, *completely*, like *absolutely*, *entirely*, and *totally* (cf. chapters 4, 6 and 9, respectively), is among the newest recruits to the group, since it is not attested in the corpus data until the EModE period[47]. Moreover, judging by the OED entry for this item, it seems that it is considerably less versatile throughout its history than any of the other adverbs examined, being recorded in only one sense, viz. 'In a complete manner; fully, perfectly; entirely, wholly, thoroughly' (cf. OED *s.v. completely*, adv.), which the OED illustrates with cases such as (1), below.

(1)   *Our labour and seruice done **completly** and fulfylled.*
         (OED *s.v. completely* adv.: Bonde. W. 1526. *Pylgrimage of Perfection*)

Interestingly, the above definition makes no direct mention of the maximizer function of *completely*, despite three of the only five examples listed showing *completely* modifying an adjectival collocate (see (2), below), i.e. a context in which a manner adverb reading of *completely* is incongruous.

(2)   *Miss Arabella Wilmot was allowed by all…to be **completely** pretty.*
         (OED *s.v. completely* adv.: Goldsmith, O. 1766. *Vicar of Wakefield*)

This issue, which is discussed more comprehensively in section 3, points towards a need for close examination of corpus data in order to clarify whether both a manner adverb function and a degree modifier function of *completely* may be clearly distinguished. Furthermore, this matter is particularly noteworthy when compared with the entry for *totally*, a present day synonym of *completely* that is also listed in the Historical Thesaurus of the OED[48] as one of its contemporary synonyms in the EModE period. Unlike the dictionary entry for *completely*, the definition listed for *totally* makes direct reference to a degree modifying function as well as a manner adverb one, since this has the documented meaning 'In a total manner *or degree*; wholly, completely, entirely, altogether' (OED *s.v. totally*, adv., italics

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[47] There is brief mention of *completely* in the MED, which suggests that it may have been in use in the ME period; however the reliability of the limited number of examples given is questionable, thus this issue is discussed detail in section 3.
[48] (cf. Historical Thesaurus of the OED: the external world > relative properties > wholeness > completeness > completely [adverb])

added, cf. chapter 9, section 2.1). It would seem from a comparison of these entries that the OED compilers noted a functional difference between these two adverbs, yet the precise nature of this (if it indeed exists), is not clear from the examples offered. In this respect, it will be useful, at a later stage, to compare the findings of this chapter with the details of *totally* presented in chapter 9 in order to determine whether any light can be shed on this seemingly perceived difference.

Finally, in addition to the two above-mentioned functions, the corpus data evidences another use of *completely* that is not acknowledged in the OED, viz. an emphasizer one, as illustrated in the following example:

(3) *Maria shook her head. "You all take things too seriously, señorita. Even Dr Rafaelo is not yet* **completely** <u>*a southerner*</u>*. He is from Madrid, and although he has lived among us for many years now, he still thinks like a madrileño sometimes."*
(BNC: 1985-1993, Ashe, J. 1993. *Sweet Deceiver*.)

To date, there do not appear to have been any comprehensive diachronic studies of this adverb, yet there are a selection of sources and synchronic studies which offer some insights as to selected aspects of its use. Among these, some worthy of mention are Greenbaum (1970, 1974), Vermeire (1979) and Paradis (1997), as well as standard grammars of English, such as Quirk et al. (1985). Drawing upon each of these works as a basis, the aim of this chapter is therefore to provide a comprehensive diachronic account of *completely* by means of a detailed corpus analysis. To this effect, following more extensive consideration of the limited previous research on *completely* (section 2), section 3 focuses on mapping out the development of this item based on the analysis of the corpus data (ME-PDE). The initial part of this section deals with the rise of the adverbial form from its adjectival source, and the remainder documents the subsequent developments of this form. Section 4 offers a summary of the main findings and considers the implication of these, particularly in relation to other members of the maximizer class.

2. Previous research on *completely*

Of all the previous studies that have considered *completely*, one of the most comprehensive accounts is that provided by Vermeire (1979). Following a discussion of its present-day meaning (including very brief consideration of the historical source of this), Vermeire considers the nature of the intensifying force of *completely*, before turning to an

examination of the syntactic, lexical and semantic aspects of its typical environment in corpus data from PDE. One of the interesting features he notes with regard to the intensifying force of *completely* is that it collocates with 'gradable as well as non-gradable words' (Vermeire 1979: 204), i.e. 'scalar' as well as 'totality' elements in Paradis' (1997) terms[49]. In accordance with current descriptions in sources such as standard grammars of English, for instance Quirk et al. 1985, maximizing degree modifiers, by definition, are typically associated with the latter type of collocate. Although it has since been observed, notably by e.g. Paradis (1997), that combinations with scalar collocates are apparent, at least in PDE data, for many members of this class of degree modifier, these are presented in her work as a somewhat more marginal use in the specific case of *completely*. In fact, her data contains only one such example, with the adjective *heavy* (Paradis 1997: 80). Moreover, Paradis (1997: 59ff) asserts that such combinations are permitted because the scalar constituents are ones that have the potential to also be conceptualized in a non-scalar way and it is this non-scalar construal that is foregrounded when the item collocates with a maximizer (cf. chapter 2). In light of these somewhat contrasting insights, it will be interesting to explore the collocates of maximizer *completely* in more detail in the corpus analysis in order to gain a better understanding of their precise nature.

In terms of the more specific characteristics of this particular maximizer, Vermeire's analysis shows that *completely* is used to modify a verbal constituent in roughly 50% of the instances in his data. Adjectival elements are the second most frequent constituent type, accounting for approximately 37%, and prepositional constituents are modified 10% of the time (see Vermeire 1979: 205-206). Among its strongest collocates in his database are the verbs *forget*, *destroy*, *ignore*, *disappear* and *take* and the adjectives *new*, *unaware*, *different*, *empty*, *mad* and *wrong* (see table 4, Vermeire 1979: 210). The findings in relation to the verbal collocates corroborate those of Greenbaum's slightly earlier study in 1974, which concludes that *completely* collocates most often with the verbs *forget* and *ignore*. As regards the adjectival collocates, support for Vermeire's findings comes from the later study of Paradis (1997), who notes that the most common adjective it is used to modify in her data is *different*, closely followed by *wrong*, both of which are in Vermeire's list. Additionally, combinations with the adjectives *new* and *empty*, both of which feature commonly in Vermeire's data (see above), are also noted as typical in Paradis (1997: 80).

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[49] Note that though Vermeire's (1979) terminology perhaps suggests otherwise, the example he gives of what he refers to as 'non-gradable' words, the adjective 'impossible', does correspond to Paradis' (1997) 'non-scalar' *gradable* items, i.e. to her the 'limit' type of her 'totality' items.

With regard to prepositional constituents, the sample of examples Vermeire (1979: 209) quotes, e.g. *at a loss*, *out of hand*, and *out of the question*, suggests that these are most typically idiomatic expressions with a descriptive function similar to that of an adjective. However, as his discussion mentions only five actual examples, and this collocate type is not considered in any of the other studies, it seems that this type of combination may require further investigation.

An additional noteworthy finding that is common across the above-mentioned investigations is that maximizer *completely* is very often used as a modifier of constituents that have negative import (cf. e.g. Greenbaum 1970: 76 and Vermeire 1979: 212ff) or at least contain a negative prefix or suffix (Paradis 1997: 80). Some examples of such collocates found in the data analysed by Paradis (1997: 80) include *ungrammatical*, *incomprehensible*, and *meaningless*. Whilst this consistent finding is undoubtedly interesting with regard to the present-day use of maximizer *completely*, none of the above-mentioned studies adopt a diachronic approach, thus the possibility that the origin of this trait lies in the history of the item remains unexplored.

To summarise, all the previous research concerning the adverb *completely*, e.g. Greenbaum (1970, 1974), Vermeire (1979) and Paradis (1997), is of a synchronic nature. More specifically, each of these studies focuses on present-day usage from between the late 1960s and the 1990s; thus whilst they cumulatively contribute quite a lot to the understanding of the use of this adverb during this particular period, they do not provide details of the use of this adverb during previous stages of the language or of the way in which it has developed from its emergence in EModE to its current use in the twenty-first century. In this respect, there is clearly room for further investigation of this adverb in order to find out about its diachronic development and to understand more about its contexts of use, not only in PDE, but also in earlier stages of use. To this effect, the ensuing section provides a comprehensive account of the development of *completely*, based on the analysis of corpus data (EModE-PDE). In addition to facilitating the examination of the rise of this adverb and its development in the earlier stages of the language (i.e. EModE-LModE), the large and varied PDE corpora provides a suitable testing ground for some of the claims made in the above mentioned studies.

3. Mapping out the development of *completely*

It was stated above that the adverb *completely* is first attested in the corpus data in the EModE period. Whilst this coincides with the information provided by the OED (which records the earliest instance in 1526), a search of the MED revealed that it also contains an entry for this item, therefore suggesting that it was already present in the language during the Middle English period. However, the entry in the MED contains only three illustrative examples, which is considerably fewer than the number of examples it provides for other ME adverbs, for instance, *entirely* and *utterly* (see MED *s.v. entērlī* adv. and MED *s.v. ŏutrel ī* adv., respectively). Furthermore, the first two examples listed are from a text that has been translated into English from French. There is therefore a possibility that *completely* was in use in the English language only (or at least predominantly) via translated text at this time, and thus was not yet common among native usage. In light of this and the fact that no examples of *completely* are found in the ME corpora, this adverb will be treated as having emerged in English during the EModE period, therefore the analysis of its use will begin with data from this time. However, in the course of the investigation (see section 3.1) some ME data will also be examined in order to ascertain whether there is any evidence in earlier usage (notably of the adjective *complete*) which may be linked to the development of this adverb.

3.1. The rise of the adverb

According to the OED (OED *s.v. completely*, adv.), the adverb *completely* is a product of native adverbialization, having been formed by the addition of the English *-ly* adverbial suffix to the adjective *complete*. Via its adjectival source, which is first recorded in English during the Middle English period (cf. OED *s.v. complete* adj.), it ultimately derives from Latin, since *complete* is recorded as having been adopted from the Latin *complēt-us*, the past participle of the verb *complēre*, meaning 'to fill up, finish, fulfil' (OED, ibid.).

The dictionary entries record the English adjective *complete* from the ME period and the adverb *completely* is attested regularly from the EModE period. In view of this, in order to discover precisely how the adverb arose in English, the ensuing analysis begins in the ME period.

According to both the MED and the OED, the adjective *complete* was in use from the late 1300s. The two sources concur in listing three main senses of this adjective, though they differ slightly with regard to the attestation dates they attribute to each of them. The three senses listed (cf. MED *s.v. complēt(e* adj. and OED *s.v. complete* adj.) are

as follows: 'not lacking in any part, having all its parts or members, fully developed' (see (4), below), 'without defect, perfect in nature or quality' (see (5), below), and 'full' (of a period or space of time that has run its course) (see (6), below).

(4)   *Somtyme þe firste eiren bene corrupt by coold…and þe latter eyren beþ* **complete** *and bringeþ first brides.*

        [Sometimes the first eggs are damaged by cold…and the later eggs are complete and produce birds.]

        (MED *s.v. complēt(e* adj. 1.: (a1398)*Trev. *Barth.*)
        Complete: **'not lacking in any part, having all its parts or members, fully developed'**

(5)   *Eueryche of hem of makyng and fasioun Ful wel* **complete** *by proporcioun.*

        [The composition of every one of them full well complete with regard to proportion.]

        (MED *s.v. complēt(e* adj. 2.: (a1398)*Trev. *Barth.*)
        Complete: **'without defect, perfect in nature or quality'**

(6)   *The fourthe day* **complete** *fro noon to noon.*

        (OED *s.v. complete* adj. 2.: Chaucer, G. c1386. *The Merchants Tale*.)
        Complete: **'full' (of a period or space of time that has run its course)**

In both the MED and the OED, each of these three senses is recorded initially in the 1380s (see examples (4)-(6), above), though more regularly from the EModE period onwards. Due to the close proximity of these initial attestation dates, it is not possible to use them to infer any ordering in the development of the three senses.

As for the adverb *completely,* this is recorded in the OED from 1526, in the above-mentioned sense of 'in a complete manner; fully, perfectly; entirely, wholly, thoroughly' (cf. OED *s.v. completely*, adv.). Among the few examples quoted are those replicated in (7) and (8), below.

(7)   *Our labour and seruyce* <u>*done*</u> **completely** *and fulfylled.*

        (OED *s.v. completely* adv.: Bonde. W. 1526. *Pylgrimage of Perfection*)

(8)   *The currency does not* **completely** <u>*represent*</u> *the wealth of the country*.

        (OED *s.v. completely* adv.: Ruskin, J. 1862. *Munera Pulveris*)

Judging by the information offered in the dictionaries, it would therefore seem that, should there be any evidence of a process of native adverbialization, it will be observable in the

data from between the late ME period (i.e. when the adjective *complete* is first recorded) and the initial stages of the EModE period (i.e. when the adverb *completely* is first attested). However, despite the evidence of ME examples of the adjective *complete* in the dictionaries, the corpus search of the ME data did not yield any instances. In light of this, data from the subsequent EModE period was searched, revealing ninety-three tokens, e.g. (9)-(11), below.

(9)   *The very day that doth afford him light,*
        Is Morning, the Meridian, Evening, Night.
        Foure seasons still successively appeare,
        *Which put together make a **compleat** <u>yeare</u>.*
        (EModEDramatists: Heywood, T. 1637. *Londini Speculum*.)

(10)   *Deare Brother, I had receaved most **complet** <u>satisfaction</u> in my sister's letter, had I*
        not perceived your suspition that I wanted itt.
        (CEECS: TIXALL, Letter LIV, Winefrid Thimelby to Herbert Aston, 1670s.)

(11)   *If thou exceed thy elder Brothers worth, And shine in **compleat** <u>virtue</u> more than they,*
        Thou shalt be king before them…
        (EModEDramatists: Marlowe, C.1587/1588. *Tamburlaine the Great*.)

Of all the EModE examples of *complete* retrieved from the corpora, the vast majority are used attributively, as in (9)-(11), above. With a few cases in which the adjective is used to modify nouns relating to militia (see (12), below) or periods of time (see (9), above), the general tendency appears to have been for *complete* to be used as a modifier of abstract nominal referents e.g. *glory*, *goodnes*, *joy(es)*, *majesty*, *satisfaction* and *virtue* (the latter two of which are shown in (10) and (11), above) or human entities[50], e.g. *(gentle)man*, *master*, *knave*, *courtier* and *lady* as in (13), below.

(12)   *'Tis safe then, As if a **compleat** <u>Army</u> undertook it.*
        (EModEDramatists: Fletcher, J. & Massinger, P. 1647. *The Little French Lawyer*.)

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[50] Very similar semantic groupings of collocates of *total* are also observed in Ghesquière 2001: 123.

(13)   *I have not seene <u>a lady</u> more **compleate**; Her modesty and beauty, both are*

   matchlesse.

   (EModEDramatists: Heywood, T. 1637. *The Royal King and the Loyal Subjects*.)

In the context of periods of time, as in example (9), *complete* clearly conveys the meaning 'full'. In other contexts, the meanings 'not lacking in any part' and 'without defect, perfect in nature or quality' seem to prevail. Among these latter cases, it appears the most fitting interpretation can be gleaned from whether or not the nominal referent is conceived of as being made up of a series of 'parts'. For instance, in example (12) the nominal referent, 'army', is one that is generally conceptualised as a body made up of several individuals; *complete* in this type of context therefore seems to convey that the particular army in question has all its individuals present, i.e. is 'not lacking in any part'. Conversely, in cases such as (13), where the referent (in this case, 'a lady') is conceptualised as a whole, rather than a sum of parts[51], the most likely interpretation of *complete* seems to be the more subjective 'without defect, perfect in nature or quality' (in this connection, see also Ghesquière (2011: 121) who distinguishes these in terms of the more objective variety, 'invoking a closed scale' and the more subjective counterpart, 'allowing both closed and open scale construals') . Among the collocates, most typically the abstract ones, there appears to be a tendency for nouns that are not generally associated with 'lacking' (e.g. *satisfaction*, *dotage* and *command*) or that inherently denote a 'perfect nature/quality' (e.g. *vertue*, *glory*, *majesty*, *joy(es)*, *Virgin* and *Goddesse*). Although it is possible for the description(s) that may be expressed by *complete* to be applied to such nouns, its application is actually somewhat redundant. Consequently, it seems possible that, rather than having a descriptive function (or, at least solely a descriptive function) in such contexts, *complete* may function (at least to some extent) as an emphasizer adjective, serving to express the speaker's heightening of the noun in question (see e.g. Ghesquière 2011 and Ghesquière & Davidse 2011).

   In order to determine whether there is any evidence to support the theory that the development of the adverb *completely* was a case of native adverbialization from (a) particular sense(s) of the adjective *complete*, it is necessary to now also consider the precise nature of the early instances of *completely*. To this effect, as was noted above (see introduction to section 3), the search of the ME data did not reveal any examples of

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[51] Although it is theoretically possible to conceptualise a human entity as a sum of parts, this does not appear to be indicated in the context of (13), or indeed any similar examples with human referents retrieved from the corpora.

completely, so the earliest instances from the corpora are from EModE usage. Even then, the corpus search of the data for this period yielded only eight tokens. Whilst this may be indicative of the fact that the adverb was not particularly well established at this time, the possibility remains that it may be the result of limited available data from the EModE period. Regardless of the reason, it does inevitably mean that the subsequent observations may only be treated as indicative of trends of the time as the cases are not numerous enough to draw any firm conclusions.

The adverb is attested in the corpora from 1622 and is used in the context of both verbal and adjectival constituents, as exemplified in (14)-(15) and (16)-(17), respectively.

(14)   *Keat was the bearer of her crowne; was itt not fit she shuld, who meanes to duble itt,*
       in the last, and lasting nuptial feast? No less then heaven can dim the splendour of
       *this glorious day. All thinges wear so **compleatly** <u>acted</u>, both by bride, and*
       bridmayde, that my brother Ned and I wear not a lettle goodly.
       (CEECS: TIXALL, Letter L, Winefrid Thimelby to Herbert Aston, 1660s.)

(15)   *His coat, I say, is of more authority: Borrow his coat for an houre. I doe love <u>To doe</u>*
       *all things **compleately**, Chanon Hugh; Borrow his Coat, Miles Metaphore, or nothing.*
       (EModEDramatists: Jonson, B. 1640. *A Tale of a Tub: A Comedy*.)

(16)   *…if they were put to a Writing-Schoole, where they might be,…helped to keep their*
       English…taught to write a fair hand; and…afterwards exercised in Arithmatique, and
       *such preparative Arts, as may make them **compleatly** <u>fit</u> to undergoe any ordinary*
       calling.
       (HELSINKI: Hoole, C. *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole*.)

(17)   *Heaven being just could not deal longer roughly with one so virtuous and*
       ***compleatly** <u>honest</u>, he merits all he hath, but to my state.*
       (EModEDramatists: Heywood, T & Rowley, W. 1655. *Fortune by Land and Sea*.)

More specifically, the verbal constituents that are modified by *completely* in the EModE examples are typically ones that not accept modification by degree, e.g. 'acted' and 'do' in (14) and (15), respectively. In such cases, the only plausible interpretation of *completely* is as a manner adverb, providing a comment on the manner of the verb in its scope. In the case of (14), there appears to be an undertone of the source adjective sense of 'without

defect, perfect in nature or quality', such that the manner meaning would perhaps have been understood as 'in a complete/perfect manner', i.e. 'a manner without defect'. In (15), it seems the meaning could feasibly be the same, though perhaps in this case is could also be argued that it somewhat echoes the 'not lacking in any part' sense of the source adjective.

When *completely* has scope over an adjectival constituent, e.g. 'fit' and 'honest' in (16) and (17), respectively, the only conceivable interpretation is that of a modifier. The presence of such cases alongside instances of a manner nature among the earliest examples of the adverb makes it very difficult to determine which function arose first. If it is the case that the manner adverb represents the initial sense, it may be that the modifier use resulted from an extension of the former to the context of constituents that can accept degree modification, e.g. verbs that can be graded for degree. Alternatively, if the two uses emerged fairly simultaneously, it could be that the modifier one also stems from (a) use(s) of the source adjective. To this effect, the small sample size means that it is not possible to note any substantial trends in this respect. Nevertheless, it seems plausible that the modifier meaning 'to a complete extent/degree' could have arisen from either or a combination of both of the seemingly most common senses of the adjective at the time, viz. 'not lacking in any part' and 'without defect, perfect in nature or quality'. For instance, if the adjective *complete* could be used to denote that a particular nominal referent is 'not lacking' or 'without defect', it is only a small step to employing its adverbial relation *completely* to express that an adjective applies 'without lacking/defect', i.e. applies to the maximum degree.

Clearly, though both suggested developments are plausible, the issue of precisely how *completely* came to be used as a modifier cannot be definitively accounted for on the basis of the attestation dates. In this respect, this issue is returned to in section 3.2.1, where it is considered in light of more fine-grained quantitative analysis. Regardless of this, the above analysis of some of the earliest instances of this adverb does seem to indicate, in support of the OED direction, that by one means or the other, its emergence is a case of native adverbialization; whether it arises initially as a manner adverb or rather simultaneously as a manner adverb and a modifier, the hypothesised developmental pathway(s) begin with the adjective *complete*.

3.2. *Completely* from EModE to PDE

Having considered the rise of the adverb *completely*, the remainder of this section details its subsequent development, based on the analysis of the corpus data. Initially, the primary

focus is on both its manner adverb and its maximizer uses, though the LModE data revealed some evidence of an emphasizer function, thus this is also taken into consideration in due course. The main objectives of this section are to consider the precise nature of these uses and the relationship between them and in particular to elucidate how and when each of them features in the overall development of *completely* from its emergence in the EModE period. As a starting point for this, the following table illustrates the breakdown of the corpus data for *completely* from each period (EModE-PDE) according to function.

	MANNER ADVERB	MAXIMIZER	EMPHASIZER	AMBIGUOUS	TOTAL
EModE	2 (25%)	4 (50%)	-	2 (25%)	8 (100%)
LModE	8 (1%)	632 (92%)	11 (2%)	39 (6%)	690 (100%)
PDE	-	438 (94%)	2 (<1%)	26 (6%)	466 (100%)

Table 5.1: The function of *completely* from EModE-PDE

3.2.1 Early *completely*

As is evidenced in row 1 of the above table, the majority of the EModE examples of *completely* that can be definitively classified as performing one particular function (accounting for 50% of the small number of instances retrieved from this period) function as maximizers, e.g. (18), below. (cf. also examples (16) and (17), above). A further 25% of cases are used with a manner adverb function, as illustrated in (19), overleaf (replicated from (11) for ease of reference), and the remaining 25%, e.g. (20), overleaf, are somewhat ambiguous between these two senses.

(18)   *Which cannot betray it selfe, we two are one,*
        One soule, one body, one heart, that think all one thought,
        *And yet we two are not **compleatly** <u>one</u>,*
        But as have deriv'd my selfe from you,
        Who shall betray us where there is no second?
        (EModEDramatists: Massinger, P., Middleton, T. & Rowley, W. 1656. *The Old Law*.)

(19)   *Keat was the bearer of her crowne; was itt not fit she shuld, who meanes to duble itt,*

   in the last, and lasting nuptial feast? No less then heaven can dim the splendour of

   this glorious day. All thinges wear so **compleatly** <u>acted</u>*, both by bride, and*

   bridmayde, that my brother Ned and I wear not a lettle goodly.

   (CEECS: TIXALL, Letter L, Winefrid Thimelby to Herbert Aston, 1660s.)

(20)   *So: at all parts I finde Cæsarea*

   Compleatly <u>gouernd</u>*, the licentious souldier*

   Confined in modest limits, and the people

   Taught to obey, and not compeld with rigor…

   (Dekker, T. & Massinger, P. 1622. *The Virgin Martyr*.)

   The ambiguity in cases such as (20) arises because the verbal collocate (in this case, *gouernd*) is one that has the potential to be graded for degree. This means that unlike in cases such as (19), where only a manner reading of *completely* is possible, in (20), the adverb can potentially be interpreted as conveying either the manner meaning (i.e. 'gouernd *in a complete manner*') or the maximizer one (i.e. 'gouernd *to a complete extent*'). Although the overlap hinted at in such ambiguous examples suggests that the manner adverb sense and the maximizer one are related, the fact that both these uses are initially attested in this period, added to the fact that there are very few examples retrieved from the data of this time, means that, as noted above (see section 3.1), the direction of the development is not clear from the data. However, observing the LModE figures in conjunction with the EModE ones, it is noticeable that the manner adverb function has diminished in frequency significantly by the LModE period, to the extent that it now accounts for only 1% of the instances. Simultaneously, the maximizer use of *completely* has increased in frequency, dominating even more so over the manner adverb one in representing 92% of the instances from this period. In other words, there is evidence of a decrease in the frequency of the manner adverb function and a corresponding increase in the frequency of the maximizer function between the EModE and the LModE periods. In light of this, it could perhaps be surmised that *completely* follows the same development as other maximizers that show the same kind of patterns in function distribution, e.g. *absolutely* in the previous chapter. To this effect, in accordance with the developmental pathway traversed by these items, the suggestion is that the initial function of *completely* is that of a manner adverb, with the maximizer one having emerged slightly later and coinciding with an apparent phasing out of the manner adverb use. Furthermore, the fact

that the above-noted item was recruited to both the adverb class and the maximizer class prior to *completely*, evokes the possibility that the development of the latter was influenced by analogical thinking: language users may have perceived similarities with the manner adverb senses of earlier adverbs such as *absolutely* and thus implemented *completely* in the modifier contexts with which the former were already also associated. In this respect, there is a notable semantic connection between the manner adverb sense expressed by *entirely* in ME, i.e. 'wholly, fully, thoroughly, in entirety; without exception or reservation' (cf. OED *s.v. entirely* adv. and chapter 6) and the 'in a complete manner; fully, perfectly; entirely, wholly, thoroughly' sense of *completely* illustrated in (7)-(8), above.

It should, however, be acknowledged at this point that a possible counter-argument to the above hypothesis arises in connection to the three examples of *completely* listed in the MED (see e.g. (21), below), since these provide evidence of the use of the adverb prior to the EModE period.

(21)   *He…neuyr dyde blyn tyl* **completely** *He had* <u>performyd</u> *[etc.]*

[He…never ceased until he had performed completely]

(MED: *s.v. complētelī* adv. 1447 Bokenham *Sts.*)

Nevertheless, the definition provided for these is merely 'completely; fully', which does not offer any indication of a distinction between a manner adverb function and a maximizer one, and in all three instances, either reading seems at least plausible. Moreover, two of the three examples are taken from a text translated from Latin and there is no corpus evidence to corroborate the use of *completely* in ME. Consequently, and in light of the very limited number of examples in the MED, it seems that in actual fact, the hypothesis presented above still seems the most probable on the basis of the data.

3.2.2 Maximizer *completely*

The corpus examples of maximizer *completely* can be divided into two groups. In one, the constituents it modifies are ones to which the notion of 'completeness' is already inherent, and thus which only accept degree modification by the maximizer variety of degree modifier (see e.g. (22)-(23), below), whereas in the other, the constituents can occupy various positions on a scale of degree and thus have the potential to be modified by a range of degree modifiers (see e.g. (24) and (25), below).   In this way, maximizer *completely* displays the same two-way distinction that was observed for *absolutely* (see chapter 4) and in a

similar way to the latter item, it can be noted that the former variety of *completely* functions not only to denote maximum degree, but more precisely, to specify maximum degree *as opposed to any other degree*. In the case of the latter variety, the nature of the modified constituent arguably renders the addition of *completely* unnecessary for the purpose of communicating maximum degree; rather, the presence of the adverb may be considered to serve to reinforce that utmost point on the 'degree scale', thus potentially encroaching on the territory of emphasizers (cf. later discussion of the emergence of emphasizer *completely* in section 3.2.3).

(22)   *…everything seemed to have changed since her swim in the pool, and the great hall,*
       with the glass table and the little door, had <u>*vanished*</u> ***completely****.*
       (CLMETEV: Carroll, L. 1865. *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*.)

(23)   *The arrow whistled through the air, and in another moment the owl fell fluttering to*
       the ground ***completely*** <u>*transfixed*</u>*; but it underwent no change, as was expected by*
       the credulous archer.
       (CLMETEV: Ainsworth, W. H. 1843. *Windsor Castle*.)

(24)   *We may consider the polypi in zoophyte, or the buds in a tree, as cases where the*
       divisio [sic.] of the individual has not been ***completely*** <u>*effected*</u>*.*
       (CLMETEV: Darwin, C. 1839. *The Voyage of the Beagle*.)

(25)   *In 1670 Mr. Betterton married a gentlewoman on the same stage, one Mrs.*
       Saunderson…In her, he was ***compleatly*** <u>*happy*</u>*, and by their joint endeavours even in*
       those days, they were able not only to acquire a genteel subsistence, but also to save
       what might support them in an advanced age.
       (CLMETEV: Cibber, T. 1753. *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland*.)

In the EModE data, the only type evidenced is that exemplified in (22) and (23) whereby the constituents are ones that only accept modification by maximizers and it is not until LModE that examples of the alternative type are found. From this it may be deduced that the former characterises the initial use of maximizer *completely* and that by the LModE period, as was also shown to be the case with *absolutely* (cf. chapter 4), there is evidence of this use having been extended to contexts in which the collocate accepts modification by varying degree.

In order to examine the precise nature and propagation of maximizer *completely* in more detail, table 5.2 presents details of the constituent types it is used to modify throughout its history, including their relative frequencies.

	ADJ/ADJP	V/VP	ADV/ADVP	P/PP	N/NP	OTHER	TOTAL
EModE	5	1	-	-	-	-	6
	(83%)	(17%)					(100%)
LModE	250	320	4	34	5	24	637
	(39%)	(50%)	(1%)	(5%)	(1%)	(4%)	(100%)
PDE	203	190	3	32	1	9	438
	(46%)	(43%)	(1%)	(7%)	(<1%)	(2%)	(100%)

Table 5.2: The constituent types modified by maximizer *completely* (EModE-PDE)

The figures in the above table evidence that adjectival constituents are the most common type of element modified by maximizer *completely* in the EModE data. From this, it may be hypothesised that, in its initial use in the EModE period, maximizer *completely* was used predominantly with adjectival collocates. However, as the overall number of examples for the EModE period is so small, caution needs to be exercised when drawing any conclusions on the basis of this evidence.

Much more substantial claims can be made with respect to the LModE use, since the figures for this time period are based on a total sample of six hundred and thirty-seven examples. As table 5.2 shows, the most typical constituent type modified by maximizer *completely* during this period is verbal. However, with a frequency of only 50%, this is not a very high majority and is closely followed by adjectival constituents, which account for 39% of the total number of collocates of maximizer *completely* from this period. With the other three constituent types, viz. adverbial, prepositional and nominal, each accounting for only 5% or less of the total number of instances, it seems that these are not particularly significant, thus the main focus in the ensuing discussion is on the more frequent combinations, i.e. those with adjectival and verbal constituents. However, before turning to this, there are a few issues that are perhaps worthy of note in relation to the prepositional collocates. First of all, the figures evidence an increase in frequency of this collocate type from 5% in LModE to 7% in PDE. Whilst this figure remains low in comparison to the number of adjectival and verbal collocates, it is indicative of a recent increase in the use of maximizer *completely* to modify one of these less typical constituent types. Furthermore, among the examples of such prepositional collocates, the corpora evidences, in line with Vermeire's (1979; 209) findings for PDE, the modification of the idiomatic phrases 'at a loss' and 'out of the question' in both LModE and PDE, in addition to

others such as 'out of context', 'out of the blue' and 'up to date'. Such descriptive elements rooted in metaphorical locative expressions form the vast majority of the prepositional collocates across both periods; however, there is also a selection (12%) of ones in the LModE data that are literal locative expressions, e.g. 'round the neck' and 'behind the house', which do not appear in the PDE data. The proportion of LModE cases and their distribution within this period is not sufficient to suggest that combinations with the literal locatives were the precursor to the modification of metaphorical ones along a concrete>abstract development. However, their presence in the corpora does imply that the nature of the prepositional collocates of maximizer *completely* was slightly more versatile in LModE than in PDE. In this respect, the recent rise in frequency of this constituent type appears to coincide with a certain degree of specialisation.

       With respect to the verbal and the adjectival elements that are more frequently modified by maximizer *completely*, one thing that is clearly observable is that they can be divided into the two sub-types of constituent mentioned above, viz. those that accept various types of degree modification and those that only accept degree modification by maximizers. Of the former category are, for example, the verbs *changed* and *control*, illustrated in (26) and (27), below, and the adjectives *charming* and *bewildered*, shown in (28) and (29), respectively.

(26)   *He really had **completely** <u>changed</u> his opinion, though quite unconsciously; so*
       desirous was he to comply with the wishes of others.
       (CLMETEV: Gaskell, E. 1848. *Mary Barton*.)
       (Maximizer *completely* modifying a verbal constituent)

(27)   *These banks can in no degree control the permanent value of money, but they can*
       ***completely** <u>control</u> its momentary value.*
       (CLMETEV: Bagehot, W. 1873. *Lombard Street*.)
       (Maximizer *completely* modifying a verbal constituent)

(28)   *This was exactly as it should be; for the young man wanted only regimentals to make*
       *him **completely** <u>charming</u>.*
       (CLMETEV: Austen, J. 1813. *Pride and Prejudice*.)
       (Maximizer *completely* modifying an adjectival constituent)

(29)   *We therefore turned aside and proceeded along the marsh for a considerable*

distance, till we reached a narrow path which led us into a thick wood, where we soon

became ***completely*** <u>*bewildered*</u>*.*

(CLMETEV: Borrow, G. 1842. *The Bible in Spain*.)
(Maximizer *completely* modifying an adjectival (participial) constituent)

In each of these cases, *completely* is used to communicate the maximum degree as
opposed to any possible alternatives (cf. e.g. '*slightly/very much* changed' for example (26)
and '*somewhat/quite/very* charming' in the case of (28)). Other constituents of this kind
include the verbs *covering*, *diverted*, *overpowered*, *restored*, *unnerved*, and *effected* (the
latter of which is shown in (19), above), and the adjectives *successful* and *happy* (the latter
of which is exemplified in (20), above).

Among the combinations where only a maximizing degree modifier is possible, the
most typical constituents include the verbs *abolished* and *forgotten* (illustrated in (30) and
(31), below) and the adjectives *miserable* and *perfect*, as shown in (32) and (33),
respectively.

(30)   *These natural obstructions to the establishment of a better system, cannot be*

removed but by a long course of frugality and industry; and half a century or a

century more, perhaps, must pass away before the old system, which is wearing out

gradually, can be ***completely*** <u>*abolished*</u> *through all the different parts of the country.*

(CLMETEV: Smith, A. 1766. *The Wealth of Nations*.)
(Maximizer *completely* modifying a verbal constituent)

(31)   *Madge instantly recollected Great Ormond Street, but she did not know the number,*

and oddly enough she had ***completely*** <u>*forgotten*</u> *Mrs Caffyn's name'*

(CLMETEV: Rutherford, M. 1896. *Clara Hopgood*.)
(Maximizer *completely* modifying a verbal constituent)

(32)   *Your conduct has almost broken your afflicted mother's heart, and has rendered me*

completely <u>*miserable*</u>*.*

(CLMETEV: Hunt, H. 1820-1822. *The Memoirs of Henry Hunt*.)
(Maximizer *completely* modifying an adjectival constituent)

(33) *"If this man," said the Sergeant (apparently meaning me), "only understood the*
        growing of roses he would be the most **completely** <u>perfect</u> *character on the face of*
        creation!"

        (CLMETEV: Collins, W. 1868. *The Moonstone*.)
        (Maximizer *completely* modifying an adjectival constituent)

As is characteristic of all instances of this sub-type, the constituents that *completely*
modifies in these four examples are ones that cannot apply to a lesser degree than the
maximum and thus are associated with an inherent 'completeness'. Other constituents of
this kind include the verbs *annihilates*, *destroyed*, *failed*, *lost*, *ruined* and *vanished* (the
latter of which is exemplified in (21), above) and the adjectives *exhausted*, *mistaken*,
paralyzed, *satisfactory* and *transfixed* (the latter of which is exemplified in (22), above).

          Overall, maximizer *completely* is found predominantly as a modifier of constituents
that are semantically negative. In addition to 'abolished' and 'forgotten', illustrated in (30)
and (31), respectively, examples from the LModE data include the following negative verbs:
annihilate(d/s), *blinded*, *decayed*, *defeated*, *destroyed*, *failed*, *invalidated*, *obliterated*,
ruin(ed), *strangulated*, and *wrecked*. Typical adjectival instances from this period include
the following of negative import: *bad*, *decayed*, *destructive*, *failed*, *foolish*, *hag-ridden*,
ignorant, *lost*, *ruined*, and *wretched*. This trend continues in the PDE period, with typical
verbal constituents including *miserable*, as shown in (32), as well as the following:
abandoned, *abolished*, *decomposed*, *exclude*, *failed*, *ignored*, *killed*, *lacked*, *perjure*,
prohibits, and *withered*. Archetypal adjectival collocates from this period include *ashamed*,
bored, *dismayed*, *hostile*, *unacceptable*, and *unjustified*.

          In spite of the general dominance of semantically negative collocates across both
periods, there is some noteworthy difference with regard to word class, namely that there
is also evidence of a number of semantically positive adjectival constituents, a finding that
is not mirrored by the verbal constituents. Some examples of such collocates from the
LModE period include *happy*, *healed*, *justified* and *reconciled* and *satisfied*. PDE evidence
includes the adjectives *accurate*, *clear*, *devoted*, *fascinating* and *legitimate*. There are some
semantically neutral verbal constituents in both periods (e.g. *attain*, *chang(ed/ing)*,
documents, *identified*, *personifies*, and *renders*), but there is very little evidence of any
semantically positive ones, some of the few exceptions being *succeed(ed)* in the LModE
data and *recover*, *relieved*, *resolved* and *restored* from the PDE resources.

3.2.3 Emphasizer *completely*

Evidence of a new emphasizer function of *completely* is found in the data for LModE (cf. table 5.1). Since the examples are not very numerous (accounting for only 2% of the instances from this initial period, made up of only 11 actual tokens), the deductions made with regard to this use inevitably remain somewhat tentative. Nevertheless, it is interesting to examine because it is not recorded in any of the prior sources on *completely* (cf. discussion of the OED entry in section 1).

Example (34) illustrates its use in the context of a verbal collocate ('project'), though judging by the corpus data, it appears to be more common with nominal collocates (see e.g. (35) and (36), below).

(34)   *There is a picture of this subject by the young and singularly gifted artist, the late Oliver Madox Brown, more generally known as a novelist, which is one of the few pictorial interpretations that seem to **completely** <u>project</u> on the canvas a visible embodiment of the spirit of the original.*
        (CLMETEV: Blind, M. 1883. *George Eliot*.)

(35)   *It was evident that the gentleman (**completely** <u>a gentleman</u> in manner) admired her exceedingly.*
        (ARCHER: Austen, J. 1818. *Persuasion*.)

(36)   *the guide…had the talent of finding out and seeing uncommon likenesses in the different forms of the stalactite…here was a lion's claw, nothing but flesh and blood wanting to make it **completely** <u>a claw</u>!*
        (CLMETEV: Gillman, J. 1838. *The Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*.)

In this function, the meaning of *completely* is somewhat akin to present-day 'really' or 'truly' and it serves to reinforce the application of the description it precedes. For instance, in (35) it is used to communicate that the description 'a gentleman' is 'truly' accurate, i.e. that the person in question possesses all the necessary characteristics to warrant that description. Similarly, in (36), it is communicated that the description 'a claw' would be 'truly' appropriate were it for the addition of the two missing characteristics, *flesh* and *blood*. In (34), where the modified constituent is verbal, a maximizer reading is rendered unfeasible, since, at least in the context of this example, the verb *project* cannot be graded for degree.

Rather, the adverb seems to serve as a means of highlighting the relative uniqueness that the picture in question achieves by communicating the suggested surprising fact that it *actually* succeeds in representing 'a visible embodiment of the spirit of the original'. As the focus is on whether this is 'projected' or not, *completely*, in this context, appears to be employed in an emphasizer capacity, indicating that the picture 'really/truly *projects*' the aforesaid 'embodiment'. The fact that the information is presented as something contrary to the norm (cf. 'one of the few') lends support to this analysis since it suggests a context in which a speaker is likely to want to employ a device to further emphasize the epistemic commitment of a proposition.

Given the close functional link noted in a number of the LModE examples between the maximizer and emphasizer functions of *completely* (see discussion above in connection to examples such as (22) and (23)), and the fact that the former was well-established prior to any evidence of the latter, it seems likely that the emphasizer function developed from the maximizer sense. To this effect, the use of maximizer *completely* in the context of such constituents exemplified in (22) and (23) that only accept modification by maximizing degree modifiers may therefore have been a possible contributing factor to this development. In further support of this, it is noted that instances of the use of maximizer *completely* in such contexts appear to dominate across all three periods, though it is difficult to state this with certainty with respect to the EModE period because of the low number of overall examples for this stage. Certainly in the LModE and PDE data, the distribution of this type is 66% and 61%, respectively, i.e. there are over twice as many instances of this type compared with ones in which the modified constituent permits modification by various types of degree modifier. Moreover, the peak of the dominance in the LModE period coincides with the initial surge of emphasizer examples. Due to the notion of completeness that is inherent to the constituents modified in this type of example, the collocation with *completely*, as an indicator of maximum degree, is actually redundant. It is this fact that it seems could have eventually led to the emphasizer use of *completely*. In the context of constituents that themselves denote maximum degree, it seems likely that the adverb started to be associated more with emphasis than degree, since this opened up the possibility of interpreting it as a device for reinforcing the appropriateness of an application, rather than denoting degree. Following frequent use in such contexts (as is indicated by the high proportion of this type in the corpora), it seems likely that the logical deduction that *completely* adds emphasis became more frequent, eventually leading to the use of *completely* in contexts where a degree reading is not possible, and therefore where an emphasizer function is clear.

Although there is evidence of continued use of *completely* in this emphasizer function in the present-day data (see table 5.1), the figures indicate that it remains unpopular, having in fact even decreased in frequency to less than 1%.

4. Summary

Based on the corpus evidence, the native adverbialization of the adverb *completely* from the adjective *complete* was attributed to the EModE period (see section 3.1), with the earliest example of the adverb from the data dating from 1622. Despite an entry for this item in the MED containing three illustrative examples from the previous ME period, the analysis suggested that these should perhaps be treated as reflecting the specific language of translated texts and thus not necessarily representative of common native usage. In light of this, they were marginalised and the conclusion, based on the corpus evidence, is that the adverb was first used in common native usage in the EModE period. Its subsequent development is summarised in figure 5.1, below.

MANNER ADVERB *completely*
('in a complete/perfect manner')

MAXIMIZER *completely* (TYPE 2)
('to the fullest extent')
➢ Modifying constituents that inherently denote 'completeness', and only accept modification by maximum degree.

MAXIMIZER *completely* (TYPE 1)
('to the fullest extent')
➢ Modifying constituents that accept modification by varying degree.

EMPHASIZER *completely*
('truly, really', adding force as distinct from degree)

Figure 5.1 Diagram of the development of *completely*

Among the limited instances of *completely* retrieved from the EModE data, evidence of a manner adverb use was found in cases in which the adverb occurs with verbal constituents that do not accept modification by degree, and its only plausible function is to

provide a comment on the manner of those constituents. However, simultaneous clear evidence of a maximizer use can be observed in cases where *completely* is used to modify an adjectival constituent. Due to the close proximity of the initial instances of each of these functions, it was impossible to determine conclusively on the basis of the attestation dates alone which of the senses emerged first and thus how the development of the maximizer use took place. However, in conjunction with the quantitative analysis and drawing comparison from the development of other maximizers, it was proposed that the manner use was the initial sense, with the maximizer one emerging via the extension of the former to contexts with constituents that can be graded for degree. The fact that this aspect of the development of *completely* was suggested to have taken place very soon after the emergence of the initial manner function was accounted for by means of the proposed likelihood of speakers having drawn analogies with adverbs similar to *completely* (e.g. *absolutely*) which were recruited to the maximizer class at an earlier stage (see e.g. in this connection, Traugott 2008 on the influence of so called 'attractor sets').

The maximizer function of *completely* dominates throughout all periods of investigation, with the manner adverb function ceasing to be found in the corpora after the LModE period. More specifically, the initial maximizer use was found to be in the context of collocates that only permit modification by maximum degree (labelled 'type 2' in figure 5.1), yet this had extended, by LModE (in a similar way to *absolutely* (see chapter 4) to constituents that can accept modification by varying degree (referred to as 'type 1' in figure 5.1). This latter period also sees the rise of an emphasizer use of *completely* in the context of constituents (most typically nominal) that cannot be graded for degree. The evidence indicates that this emphasizer use developed from the maximizer one, but following a somewhat brief surge in the LModE period, it accounts for less than 1% of the PDE data, suggesting that it never really propagated.

On examining the use of the most prominent maximizer function in more detail, it emerged that it is most typically used throughout its history to modify verbal and adjectival constituents. In support of the findings of Greenbaum (1974), Vermeire (1979) and Paradis (1997), the analysis reveals a very strong tendency in the PDE data for these to have negative connotations or at least contain a negative affix. Furthermore, the analysis of the LModE data indicates that this was also true in earlier usage. Despite the overall tendency, some variation was noted depending on the word class of the constituent, viz. that several semantically positive adjectival elements are recorded alongside the majority of negative ones, yet there is considerably less evidence of this among the verbal elements, which retain a much stronger negative bias.

As Vermeire (1979) found in present-day data, combinations with prepositional constituents are the third most common in both the LModE and the PDE data. These combinations are interesting in that they show a steady increase in popularity between the two periods, which is perhaps indicative of more recent and on-going change. However, as this use is still comparatively infrequent in both periods, the analysis focused on where the more substantial claims could be made, i.e. on the more frequent combinations with adjectival and verbal constituents.

Finally, as mentioned briefly above, the collocational analysis revealed two main contexts of use of maximizer *completely*, viz. with constituents that accept various types of degree modification and with ones that only accept degree modification by maximizers. In line with the account of *absolutely* in the previous chapter, this offers further evidence of the existence of two 'sub-types' of maximizer. In this respect, it raises the same issue of the validity of the maximizer class as it is currently described in the literature (cf. e.g. Allerton 1987 and Paradis 1997, amongst others, as well as standard grammars such as Quirk et al. 1985 and Huddleston & Pullum 2002), and thus, once more, questions the nature of the distinction between maximizers and emphasizers and supports the need for a more fine-grained description of each of these functions and a more detailed consideration of what it is that sets them apart.

CHAPTER 6: The development of *entirely*

1. <u>Introduction</u>

Of all the adverbs considered in the present research, *entirely* is, along with *absolutely*, *completely* and *totally*, one of the more recent recruits to the maximizer class, since it is not recorded until the EModE period. Moreover, second to *absolutely* and *quite*, it is also one of the more versatile adverbs: in PDE, its maximizer function, as exemplified in (1), below, is its most renowned; however, during its history, *entirely* is also used as a manner adverb (e.g. in the sense of 'heartily, sincerely, earnestly', cf. section 3.1), an emphasizer and a focussing adverb (see examples (2)-(4), respectively[52]). In addition to these, there are a few instances of *entirely* being used as a response particle, as illustrated in (5), overleaf.

(1)   *I am interested in writing about families, broken hearts and intrigue, but it will be*
        entirely <u>*fictitious*</u> *– whatever people want to read into it.*
        (FLOB: A09.10 – A09.12).
        Entirely **functioning as a maximizer**

(2)   *…the lords…sent oute a man onto the duke of Clarense,* <u>*praying*</u> *him* ***enterly*** *that thei*
        myte trete [negotiate] *with the kyng, and that he schuld make gunneres to sese*
        [cease]*…*
        (PPCME2: Capgrave, J. a1464. *Capgrave's Chronicle.*)
        Entirely **functioning as a manner adverb**

(3)   *England has had many heroes; but never one who so* ***entirely*** <u>*possessed*</u> *the love of*
        his fellow-countrymen as Nelson.
        (CLMETEV: Southey, R. 1813. *The Life of Horatio Lord Nelson*.)
        Entirely **functioning as an emphasizer**

(4)   *His life's changes are almost* ***entirely*** *inward ones; it falls into broad, untroubled,*
        perhaps somewhat monotonous, spaces; his biographers have very little to tell.
        (CLMETEV: Pater, W. H. 1886-1890. *Essays from The Guardian*.)
        Entirely **functioning as a focussing adverb**

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[52] Examples here are primarily for illustrative purposes. More comprehensive explanations of each of the functions are provided in chapter 3, and cases pertaining specifically to *entirely* are discussed in section 3 of the present chapter.

(5)   *"Beuno," she said, as he approached up the path, "is it altogether wise to be cheeky*

        to the devil?" "Oh, **entirely** *," said Beuno without hesitation. "No other course is*

        possible. If he is afforded the slightest respect it makes him worse, larger."

        (BNCweb: Ellis, A. T. 1985. *Unexplained Laughter*.)

        Entirely **functioning as a response particle**

        Despite this wide range of applications, the few noteworthy previous studies of

entirely (see section 2, below) have concentrated mainly on the precise contexts in which it

is employed as a maximizer in present-day English. The development of its other functions

and the way in which they may relate to the maximizer one remain, to the best of my

knowledge, unaccounted for in the existent literature.

        Beginning with a more detailed overview of the limited previous research on

entirely (section 2), this chapter proceeds (in section 3) to map out its development based

on the analysis of the corpus data (ME-PDE). The initial part of this latter section deals with

the rise of the adverb, and the remainder documents the subsequent developments of this

form. To close, section 4 provides a summary of the main findings and considers the

implication of these, particularly in relation to other members of the maximizer class.

2. Previous research on *entirely*

It is noted by Vermeire (1979: 229) that '*entirely* has some peculiarities which distinguish it

from ordinary word-modifying intensifiers', a comment that alludes to the above-noted

range of functions with which this item is associated (cf. previous section). However, in

spite of this versatility, research on *entirely* remains rather sparse and in the few notable

exceptions, viz. the collocation-based studies of Greenbaum (1974), Vermeire (1979), and

Paradis (1997), consideration is limited to its maximizer use in PDE.

        In the earliest of these studies, Greenbaum (1974) sets out to examine verb-

intensifier collocations in American and British English, via a series of elicitation

experiments conducted in the late 1960s. His subjects (undergraduate students) were

asked to complete a series of sentences of which they were given the opening words,

including a intensifier, e.g. 'I *badly*…', 'I *entirely*…'. The results were then analysed with the

view to determining whether strong collocational links existed between any of the

intensifiers and particular verbs. In relation to *entirely*, he observes that the most frequent

verbal collocate in the British English data was *agree*, which accounts for 82% of the results

elicited for that particular modifier. Furthermore, he notes that this is part of a more

general trend, which is characterised by an association with verbs of 'agreeing and disagreeing' in 92% of cases.

Vermeire's (1979) chapter on *entirely* opens with a brief discussion of its meaning, during which he notes that 'in many instances, especially before a verbal complement, *entirely* stresses the 'undividedness' of the complement, deriving from it a restrictive meaning comparable to that of the focussing [adverbs]' (Vermeire 1979: 230-231). In this connection, following Jacobson (1964: 251), he distinguishes two separate meanings of *entirely*, viz. 'completely' and 'completely and exclusively' and later discusses the following two specific examples in which he claims that *entirely* 'generally gets a focussing function in addition to its intensifying function' (Vermeire 1979: 233).

(6)   *In contrast, the professional scale-makers of the town constructed their products*
        entirely *of metal.*
        (from Vermeire 1979: 233)

(7)   *I leave it* ***entirely*** *with you.*
        (from Vermeire 1979: 235)

Clearly, Vermeire, like Jacobson, considers this expression of restriction as a supplementary feature of maximizer *entirely* that is brought out in certain contexts. However, since his subsequent analysis focuses solely on the prototypical maximizer use, there is no further exemplification of cases with this additional focussing function.

With regard to the syntactic environment of maximizer *entirely*, Vermeire's data evidences use with a range of collocate types, viz. verb phrases, adjectivals, adverbs, noun phrases, prepositional phrases and pronouns (Vermeire 1979: 232). Of these, verb phrases are found to be the most common constituent type, closely followed by adjectivals[53] and then prepositional phrases. By comparison, the remaining three types are much less frequent. More specifically, Vermeire's qualitative analysis of the combinations reveals a strong relationship between this maximizer and the adjective *different*, which, in fact, is found to be its strongest collocate (see table 4 in Vermeire 1979: 238). Other significant adjectival collocates in his data include *new* and *satisfactory* and the most common verbal collocates in his data are *leave*, *devote* and *blame*. Contrary to Greenbaum (1974), it is

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[53] In Vermeire 1979, this term is used to describe both prototypical adjectives and participial adjectives in all available syntactic positions, though in the case of *entirely*, only 6% of the collocates in this category are of the participial variety (cf. Vermeire 1979: 235).

interesting to note that in Vermeire's (1979) database, the verb *agree* does not feature as a prominent collocate.

Finally, as part of her wider investigation of a range of degree modifiers (previously mentioned in chapters 4 and 5), the study by Paradis 1997 uses corpus data to examine the use of maximizer *entirely* as a modifier of adjectival constituents. In line with the earlier findings of Vermeire 1979, Paradis (1997: 81) notes a tendency for this maximizer to occur with 'limit' adjectives (i.e. those associated with a limit and conceptualized in terms of 'either-or' (Paradis 1997: 57-58)[54]) such as *quiet*, *true*, *automatic* and *unacceptable*. In particular, she observes a noticeably strong link with the adjectives *new* and *different* (Paradis 1997: 81), both of which are also noted as significant collocates of *entirely* in Vermeire's study (cf. above discussion in connection to Vermeire 1979: 238). In addition, Paradis' analysis reveals that 35% of the instances of *entirely* are combinations that occur only once in the data.   This perhaps suggests that maximizer *entirely* is less flexible (at least in PDE) than some of its counterparts, appearing more often in somewhat more fixed collocations.

Whilst the studies by Greenbaum (1974), Vermeire (1979) and Paradis (1997) do provide some interesting insights into the contemporary usage of the most prominent function of *entirely*, viz. the maximizer one, each have their own shortcomings. For instance, both Greenbaum (1974) and Paradis (1997), are concerned exclusively with the modification of one type of collocate, viz. verbal and adjectival, respectively. Inevitably, this means that they are not able to offer any insight into the use of maximizer *entirely* with other constituent types. This issue is addressed by Vermeire 1979, through his consideration of the use of PDE *entirely* with an entire range of collocate types; however the results of this study conflict (as do findings in Bäcklund 1973) with Greenbaum's (1974) account of the typical verbal collocates. Vermeire (1979: 239) attributes this difference in findings to Greenbaum's experimental method; he contends that the test situation and the sentence opening given to participants (e.g. 'I *entirely*') influenced the frequency of this particular collocate.   Another factor which may have had a significant influence on Greenbaum's results is his choice of participants, since in using undergraduate students, the likelihood is that the vast majority (if not all) of them would have been 'younger' speakers and studies such as Lorenz 2002 and Ito & Tagliamonte 2003, to name but a few, have shown that the age of speakers has a significant effect on the types of degree modifier-constituent collocations used.

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[54] Cf. also the discussion of constituent types of degree modifiers in chapter 2.

Further to these issues, there are drawbacks common to all three studies, one of which concerns the size of the data samples in each. The database used by Vermeire (1979) (a combination of the 'Progress in Applied Linguistics' corpus and the 'Computer Archive of Modern Texts'[55]) is the largest of the three, with around two million words. Paradis (1997) extracts her data from the half a million word London-Lund Corpus[56], and Greenbaum has an even smaller sample made up of the responses to his elicitation tests from around 100 informants. By today's standards, all of these databases are extremely small (cf. e.g the one hundred million word BNC), thus it remains to be seen whether the findings of these studies will be validated with a more extensive corpus. Furthermore, all three share the limitation of being restricted to PDE data. As a result, it seems that research of a diachronic nature is still needed in order to understand how this function arose and how it was used during previous stages of the language, as well as whether there are any significant aspects in its history which may account for the collocational tendencies noted in the studies of Greenbaum (1974), Vermeire (1979) and Paradis (1997). Moreover, as none of the previous studies examine the other functions of *entirely*, viz. manner adverb, emphasizer, focussing adverb and response particle, research to elucidate the emergence and development of these and the way(s) in which they may be (inter)related is also required. To this effect, the ensuing section provides a comprehensive account of the development of *entirely*, based on the analysis of corpus data (ME-PDE). In addition to facilitating the examination of the rise and development of *entirely* in the earlier stages of the language (i.e. ME-LModE), the large and varied PDE corpora provides a suitable testing ground for the conflicting and unresolved issues noted in relation to the limited previous work on this item.

3. Mapping out the development of *entirely*

As stated in section 1, the development of *entirely* is presented in two main sections: first, section 3.1 examines the rise of the adverb, then section 3.2 elucidates its subsequent development, documenting when and how each of its uses emerges.

3.1 The rise of the adverb

According to the OED, *entirely* derives from the English adjective *entire* through the addition of the native *–ly* adverbial suffix (OED *entirely* adv.). However, contrary to this,

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[55] For details of each of these, see Vermeire 1979: 129-130.
[56] For details of this corpus, see Paradis 1997: 30ff or Greenbaum and Svartvik 1990.

and indeed to the development of the items considered in the previous chapters, such native adverbialization actually seems unlikely based on the available evidence. This is because the attestation dates of each of these forms in the dictionaries and the corpus data coincide in pointing to the adverb as being in use in English before the adjective. More specifically, the earliest use of the adverb recorded in the dictionaries dates from 1340, whereas the adjective is first recorded in the OED from C1380 and in the MED from c1390. These dates are closely mirrored by the corpus data, which evidences the adverb from 1348 and the adjective from 1400 onwards, i.e. around fifty years later. In light of this evidence, the implication seems to be that the adverb was adopted into English from an external source. Given its apparent arrival during the ME period, a likely source is perhaps French, possibly even Latin, given the cultural influence of the former, as well as the vast numbers of translations from both these languages that were made at this time (e.g. the translation of the French 'Mandeville's Travels', the various translations of the Latin 'Speculum S. Edmundi' and Chaucer's translation of Boethius' Latin 'Consolation of Philosophy', amongst others[57]). This coincides with the claim made by both Jespersen (1905: 94) and Baugh (1935: 91) that the greatest influx of French borrowings into English occurred between 1250 and 1400[58].

As regards the initial sense of the adverb, the dictionaries concur in documenting the now obsolete manner sense of 'heartily, sincerely, earnestly' (see MED *entḗrlī* adv. 1. and OED *entirely* adv. 4.), as illustrated in (8)-(10).

(8) *Fulhard it is to be <u>turnyd</u> **enterly** til þe bryghthed and þe pees of godis lyght.*
     [It is very difficult to have one's spiritual direction changed entirely to the brilliance and the peace of God's light.]
     (OED *entirely* adv.: Rolle, R. *a*1340. *Psalter*)

(9) *<u>Loue</u> þyn enemy **entyerly** · godes heste to ful-fille.*
     [Love your enemy entirely, God's Commandment to fulfil.]
     (OED *entirely* adv.: Langland, W. 1393. *Piers Plowman*)

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[57] This is by no means an exhaustive list, but these particular works are mentioned to illustrate this point as they each feature in the ME corpora used for this study (PPCME2 and CMEPV), further details of which can be found in chapter 3.
[58] Dekeyser (1986) makes a similar claim, although he advocates a somewhat shorter timeframe, proposing that the number of French loans shows a notable decrease in frequency after c1350.

(10)   *I you <u>beseche</u>, frend, ryht* **enterly,** *That ye vouchesaf for me to preye.*

[I beseech you, friend, right entirely, that you permit me to pray.]

(MED *entērlī* adv.: 1447 Bokenham *Sts.*(Arun 327))

Shortly after, from 1390, it is attested in these sources with the meaning 'wholly, fully, thoroughly, in entirety; without exception or reservation' (see MED *entērlī* adv. 2. and OED *entirely* adv. 2.). Among the examples of this sense quoted are the following:

(11)   *Thei <u>kepen</u>* **entierly** *the Comaundement.*

(OED *entirely* adv.: c1400. Translation of Jehan de Bourgogne's *Mandeville's Travels.*)

(12)   *Cesar..<u>hadde</u> hoolly &* **enterely** *þe gouernaunce of Brutes Albion.*

(MED *entērlī* adv.: ?a1450(1422) Lydg. *SD* (McC 182))

(13)   *To <u>preserve</u> the possessions of the Crown hoolly and* **entirely** *without any severaunce or decreasing therof.*

(OED *entirely* adv.: 1491)

It is noticeable in these cases that *entirely* always has a verbal element in its scope and it is difficult to determine whether it is to be interpreted in this sense as 'in a complete manner' (i.e. another manner sense) or 'to a complete extent/degree' (i.e. a degree modifier sense). For instance, in (11), it could be understood that they 'kepen (i.e. 'adhere to') the Comaundement *without exception*', or equally that they do so *to a complete extent*. The difference in meaning seems fairly negligible, however, strictly speaking, *entirely* in the former scenario answers the question 'in what way/manner…?', thus placing it in the category of manner adverb, whereas in the latter, it satisfies the question 'to what extent…?' and therefore functions as a maximizer. As a consequence of such ambiguity, it is not easy, based on these examples, to draw the line between these uses. Furthermore, this is something which the dictionaries seem to avoid, since, unlike with other maximizers (e.g. *absolutely*, detailed in chapter 4) there is no explicit reference in their accounts of a degree modifier function of *entirely*.

In terms of the insights offered by the corpora regarding the original use of *entirely* in English, the trends that emerged from the 60 examples yielded from the ME data do support the direction of the dictionaries, namely that the 'heartily, sincerely, earnestly' sense is the initial one, with that illustrated in (11)-(13), above, emerging at a slightly later

stage. For instance, of all the retrieved examples that could be decidedly classified[59], the

majority (accounting for 35% of the total number of cases) were used in a definite manner

adverb function, which is perhaps indicative of this having been the most established of its

functions at this time. In most of these cases, the specific manner meaning conveyed is

'heartily, sincerely, earnestly' (see (14)-(16)), most typically in reference to 'verbs of saying',

e.g. *pray* and *beseech*, as evidenced in (14) and (15), respectively.

(14)   *the lords…sent oute a man onto the duke of Clarense, <u>praying</u> him **enterly** that thei*

         myte trete [negotiate] *with the kyng, and that he schuld make gunneres to sese*

         [cease]…

         (PPCME2: Capgrave, J. a1464. *Capgrave's Chronicle.*)

(15)   *'By my sowle, my brother, I hold wel withal that ye doo as ye say / but I <u>beseche</u> you*

         *ryght **entierly** brother that we leue our countre in the gouernaunce of our barons…*

         (CMEPV: *Melusine*. C1500)

(16)   *The persyenes also weped wonder faste, note allanly for þe dede of Darius, bot for*

         *petee of þaire hertis, þat þay saw Alexander <u>wepe</u> so **enterely**.*

         [The Persians also wept a lot, not only on account of the death of Darius, but because

         of the grief they felt in their hearts when they saw Alexander weep so entirely.]

         (CMEPV: *The Prose Life of Alexander*. C1440)

    As none of the verbs in these examples are ones that accept degree modification (cf.

e.g. **completely/very (much)/partially* praying/beseche/wepe), the possibility of a

maximizer reading of *entirely* in such contexts can be excluded. Instead, the adverb is used

in each of these cases to comment on the manner of the verb in its scope. The precise

nature of the verbs that are typical in this context (e.g. those shown in (14)-(16)) seems to

favour the 'heartily, sincerely, earnestly' sense of the adverb over a 'wholly, fully,

thoroughly, in entirety; without exception or reservation' reading, since they all denote

processes concerned to some degree with inward 'feelings'. *Wepe*, for instance, is clearly a

process representative of some internal emotion and the verbs *praying* and *beseche* are

both more 'emotionally charged' 'verbs of saying' than their rough equivalent *ask*, denoting

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[59] In a number of examples, the interpretation of *entirely* is potentially ambiguous between two senses, often that of a manner adverb and that of a maximizer. Such cases are discussed during the mapping out of the subsequent development of the adverb in section 3.

more 'emotive' requests along the lines of 'pleading, begging, asking fervently' (cf. e.g.

MED *bisēchen*, v., OED *pray*, v. and MED *asken*, v.).

3.2 *Entirely* from ME to PDE

As detailed in the previous sections, *entirely* performs four different functions at various

stages in its history, thus the objective of this section is to show how and when each of

these functions arose and to what extent they are related. As a starting point for this, a

breakdown of the corpus data for *entirely* from each period (ME-PDE) according to

function, is provided in the following table:

	MANNER ADVERB	MAXIMIZER	EMPHASIZER	FOCUSSING ADVERB	RESPONSE PARTICLE	AMBIGUOUS	TOTAL
ME	24 (40%)	-	1 (2%)	-	-	35 (58%)	60 (100%)
EModE	4 (8%)	5 (10%)	3 (6%)	-	-	36 (75%)	48 (100%)
LModE	-	562 (84%)	13 (2%)	75 (11%)	-	23 (3%)	673 (100%)
PDE	-	482 (84%)	5 (1%)	69 (12%)	3 (1%)	16 (3%)	575 (100%)

Table 6.1: The function of *entirely* from ME-PDE

The ME data evidences two clear functions of *entirely*, namely that of manner

adverb and that of emphasizer. Of these, the former is overwhelmingly more common,

accounting for 40% of all the examples from this period[60], whereas the latter only

represents 2% of the sample. However, since the manner adverb function has already been

discussed in connection to the corpus data in the previous section, the present section will

begin by considering the emphasizer one, as the first of the additional functions to be

evidenced in the corpora.

3.2.1 The development of emphasizer *entirely*

The earliest example from the corpora of *entirely* being used as an emphasizer dates from

the ME period (cf. table 6.1) and is exemplified in (17), overleaf.

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[60] Although this is not a majority, it does represent the highest proportion of the examples that can be
unambiguously assigned to one of the five functions, since a large number of the examples from this period
(58%) are classified as 'ambiguous'.

(17)   *Vaynglorye is oone the moste Perueylosse synne that is, for hit comyth euer of good*

dedis, and many a man that holili lyuen...Peryschyth. And ther-for **entirly** <u>thynke</u> *and*

leue fully that al goodnes is, was, and euer shal be in god, throgh god, and of god,

and So hit lyeth in no manes Power to do good...

[Vainglory alone is the most perilous sin, because it always proceeds from good

deeds, and many a man who lives devoutly...perishes. And therefore entirely think

and believe fully that all goodness is, was, and ever shall be in God, through God, and

of God, and so it lies in no man's power to do good...]

(CMEPV: C15th. Translation of *Secreta Secretorum.*)

As this is the only example of this function of *entirely* in the data for this period, the

implication is that it was not particularly common at this time. Nevertheless, its presence is

noteworthy in providing evidence of this function in ME, since this is not documented in any

of the previous literature or in the dictionary entries. Given that *entirely* is not attested at

all before the ME period (cf. MED *entēr̄l̄ī* adv. 1. and OED *entirely*, as well as the discussion

of the rise of the adverb in section 3.1), finding evidence of its use as an emphasizer in the

ME data indicates that this function must have arisen during this stage of the language.

That *entirely* functions as an emphasizer in (17), is clear due to the nature of the

constituent it modifies. In the context of the mental verb 'thynke', neither of its established

manner adverb readings seems conceivable. This is because the verb 'thynke' is not one

that can be readily described as being 'done' in a 'sincere way/manner' or 'a manner

without exception', and so instead, *entirely* seems to act as a modifier of the verb. Since the

verb in question is one that cannot be graded for degree (cf. e.g. **'completely/slightly*

think')[61], *entirely* seems to fulfil the function of an emphasizer, adding to the 'force', rather

than to the 'degree' of the constituent in its scope. In this respect, it conveys meaning akin

to present-day *really* or *truly*.

With regard to examining the origin of this function, it is noticeable in table 6.1,

above, that there is a particularly high percentage of examples from this period (and

indeed, from the subsequent period) that fall into the 'ambiguous' category. Consideration

of some of these examples proves insightful in determining the context in which

emphasizer *entirely* likely emerged. Specifically, it seems that the answer may lie in the

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[61] Although it is possible to ask the question 'To what extent/degree do you think X?', this is not intended to
elicit an expression of degree in relation to the verb 'think'. Rather, its purpose is to determine the strength of a
person's belief in the proposition X.

26% of ambiguous examples that are indeterminate between a manner adverb sense of 'heartily, sincerely, earnestly' and an emphasizer one, as illustrated in (18) and (19), below.

(18) *God will schew us till* [to] *hys lovyng and oure joy. For that es his joy, when we er strenghfull to stande agaynes the pryve* [unseen] *and the aperte* [overt] *fandyng* [tempting] *of the devell, and sekes na thyng bot the honoure and the lovyng of hym, and that we myght **enterely** love hym.*
(PPCME2: Rolle, R. ?1348. *Epistles-Ego Dormio, The Commandment*)

(19) *I…wish from the bottom of my soul all true happines and blisse both in this life and a better to you and all yours, whom I doe most sincerely and **entirely** love;*
(CEECS: Letter CXVIII. 1628. Thomas Meautys to Jane Cornwallis.)

As these examples illustrate, the ambiguous cases of this nature are ones in which *entirely* is used in the context of the verb 'love'. If direction was to be taken from the dictionaries, instances of *entirely* with an 'emotional' verb like this, particularly in a religious context like that of (18), would probably be classed as manner adverbs (cf. e.g. the placing of examples of this kind in the OED entry); yet there does not actually appear to be any objective grounds for such a classification. In fact, it is argued here that is seems equally plausible that *entirely* in such cases functions as an emphasizer, thus conveying the meaning '*really/truly* love'. In this way, it seems possible that such examples may represent a bridging context fundamental to the emergence of emphasizer *entirely* from this particular one of the initial manner adverb senses. Crucially, the two senses share a semantic connection (i.e. with 'truth' and 'a lack of falsification'; cf. in this connection OED *sincerely* adv. 1.), meaning that it requires only a small inferential step to associate 'loving X *sincerely*', i.e. *in a sincere manner*, and '*really/truly* loving X' and thus move from a conceptualization of the adverb as commenting on the manner of the verb, to serving to modify it. Given that the nature of the verbal element is such that it does not accept modification by a maximizer, the modifier function is understood as an emphasizer one. This suggested reanalysis may be considered particularly likely in cases such as (19), where the manner adverb sense of *entirely* could possibly be considered redundant, due to the presence of the adverb 'sincerely', which conveys the same meaning.

By the EModE period, table 6.1 shows that the emphasizer function has increased its proportion of the examples by only four percentage points (and only one actual token). Furthermore, the figures actually evidence a successive decrease in its use in the later

periods, where it accounts for 2% of the LModE data and only 1% in PDE. Clearly, the implication of these findings is that this use of *entirely* has never really taken off.

3.2.2 The development of maximizer *entirely*

3.2.2.1 The rise of maximizer *entirely*

As the figures in table 6.1 show, the first clear examples of maximizer *entirely*, two of which are exemplified in (20)-(21), below, are found in the EModE data.

(20)   *…you shall first currie him from the tips of the eare to the settling on of his taile, all*
       his whole bodie most **entirely** *ouer with an iron combe…*
       (HELSINKI: Markham, G. *Countrey Contentments*).

(21)   *He will hear none: he hath evermore had the liberty of the prison; give him leave to*
       escape hence, he would not: drunk many times a day, if not many days **entirely** *drunk.*
       (EModEDramatists: Shakespeare, W. 1623. *Measure for Measure*)

Accounting for only 10% of the data for this period (only five actual tokens), it is clear that this function of *entirely* is only just starting to take off at this time. Even so, the fact that these examples occur with non-verbal constituents renders its maximizer function clear, largely since the previously prevalent manner adverb function, must relate, by definition, to a verbal constituent.

Once again, the examples that were deemed potentially ambiguous between two functions prove to be useful in determining the most likely source of this use. This time, the relevant cases are those that appear indeterminate between a manner reading of 'in an entire manner'/'without exception' and a maximizer one, viz. 'to a complete degree'. Although these only represent 11% of the 'ambiguous' EModE cohort, they do also account for a significant number (31%) of the 'ambiguous' ME examples. In this respect, though there is no evidence of the maximizer function (in neither the data, nor the dictionary entries) prior to the EModE period, it is possible that its development may already have been underway in ME. Four examples of such ambiguous cases, the first two from the ME data and the other two from the EModE data, are provided in (22)-(25), overleaf.

(22)   *Grace and the goodenes of oure lorde Ihesu Criste that he hath shewed to the , - in with-drawynge of thyne herte fro luste and from likynges of worldely vanite , and vse of flesshly synnes and in the turnynge of thi will* **enterely** *to his seruyce and his plesaunce , - bryngith into my herte much mater to loue hym in his mercy.*
(PPCME2: Rolle, R. 1349. *Prose Treatises from the Thornton Ms*.)

(23)   *Whanne thou art turmentid with tribulacioun or with temptacioun, vse also ofte with thi praier confessioun, in the which thou schalt schewe, with al the contricioun of thin herte to thi confessour* **enteerli** *and pleynly, alle the woundis of thi conscience moore and lesse, as ferforth* [much] *as thou woldist schewe hem* [them] *to thin owne aungel...*
(PPCME2: Hilton, W. a1450-a1396. *Hilton's Eight Chapters on Perfection*.)

(24)   *…the proceeding with the subsidies, which wear till then at a stand, followed the next day in Parliament, and are ready to be passed* **entirely** *within two or three days…*
(CEECS: Letter CXIII. 1627. Thomas Meautys to Jane Cornwallis.)

(25)   *He had a Convulsion-Fit, and raved; but, Opiates being given him, after some hours rest, his raving left him so* **entirely***, that it never again returned to him…*
(HELSINKI: Burnet, G. *Some Passages of the…Earl of Rochester*.)

Assuming that such verbal collocates do represent a significant bridging context in the development of *entirely*, its eventual application to non- verbal collocates that cannot bring out the manner adverb reading (i.e. adverbial and (participial) adjectival elements, as evidenced in (20) and (21), respectively) would have consolidated the modifying sense. Given that the collocates in question are ones that can be modified for degree, it is therefore specifically a degree modifying sense that is established.

By LModE, table 6.1 illustrates that this function of *entirely* has increased in popularity dramatically (i.e. by 74%) and represents the overwhelmingly predominant use of the adverb from this period onwards (accounting for 84% of all cases in the databases for both LModE and PDE). In order to examine its propagation in detail, by considering its collocational behaviour across time, table 6.2 presents the constituent types modified by maximizer *entirely* throughout its history and their relative frequencies. Although the details for the EModE cases are shown for reference, with only five instances found in the

EModE corpora, it is impossible to make any claims about its collocational behaviour at this time, thus the examination proper will begin with the LModE data.

	ADJ/ADJP	V/VP	ADV/ADVP	P/PP	N/NP	OTHER	TOTAL
EModE	2	1	2	-	-	-	5
	(40%)	(20%)	(40%)				(100%)
LModE	208	241	3	63	5	42	562
	(37%)	(43%)	(1%)	(11%)	(1%)	(7%)	(100%)
PDE	253	135	7	54	13	20	482
	(52%)	(28%)	(1%)	(11%)	(3%)	(4%)	(100%)

Table 6.2: The constituent types modified by maximizer *entirely* (EModE-PDE)

3.2.2.2 Maximizer *entirely* in LModE and PDE

Looking at the second and third rows in table 6.2, it is evident that maximizer *entirely* was fully established by the LModE period and was used to modify a range of constituent types through this and the subsequent PDE period. Among its LModE collocations, those with verbal collocates are shown to be the most common, representing 43% of all instances from this period. The fact that this is not a particularly high majority is perhaps a reflection of the wide application of this maximizer, i.e. to adjectival, verbal, adverbial, prepositional and nominal collocates. In this respect, even when there is a shift in the functional load of *entirely*, whereby adjectival constituents take over as its most frequently modified constituent type in PDE, they do so with a relatively modest majority of 52%. The modification of adverbial and nominal constituents does not appear to be a significant undertaking of *entirely*, since neither represents more than 3% of the total workload of this maximizer during either LModE or PDE. Moreover, with a frequency of only 11% in both LModE and PDE, prepositional constituents, though evidently more frequently modified by *entirely* than the adverbial and nominal varieties, are not particularly common either in comparison to adjectival and verbal elements. Overall, given that these latter-mentioned constituent types are the most significant collocates of maximizer *entirely* throughout both the LModE and the PDE periods (see columns one and two of table 6.2, respectively) it is the combinations with these elements that form the focus of the ensuing qualitative analysis. Through detailed examination of actual instances from the corpora of its most typical uses, it will be possible to elucidate more precisely the nature of maximizer *entirely*.

By way of a starting point, the following examples illustrate the use of LModE maximizer *entirely* in the context of its most common constituent type of this time, viz. verbal.

(26)   *The imperfection of our virtue, joined with the consideration of His absolute rectitude*
       or holiness, will scarce permit that perfection of love which **entirely** <u>casts out</u> *all fear:*
       (CLMETEV: Butler, J. 1726. *Human Nature and Other Sermons*.)
       (Maximizer *entirely* modifying a verbal constituent)

(27)   *But what has his memory to do with it? Suppose him to have* **entirely** <u>forgotten</u> *all*
       the circumstances of the preceding day from the moment of his beginning to feel
       hungry onward…
       (CLMETEV: Butler, S. 1880. *Unconscious Memory.*)
       (Maximizer *entirely* modifying a verbal constituent)

(28)   *I don't think I ever felt more humiliated in my life, and I determined to keep this*
       misfortune from Carrie, for it would **entirely** <u>destroy</u> *the pleasant evening she was*
       enjoying.
       (CLMETEV: Grossmith, G. 1894. *The Diary of a Nobody*.)
       (Maximizer *entirely* modifying a verbal constituent)

The majority of the verbal collocates of maximizer *entirely* in LModE are of the type
exemplified in (26)-(28) that only accept modification by maximum degree (cf. e.g.
**slightly/very (much)/fairly* casts out/forgotten/destroy). Since this is also the only context
of use evidenced in the few EModE instances, it seems that, as well as representing the
most typical use of maximizer *entirely*, it was also its initial context of use. However, an
extension to cases in which the verb is one that can accept modification by varying degree
has clearly taken place by LModE, as is evidenced by the fact that cases with verbs such as
change in (29), are also fairly common among the data for this period.

(29)   *He had…a variety in his genius, which few capital actors have shewn…he could*
       entirely <u>change</u> *himself, could at once throw off the man of sense…*
       (CLMETEV: Cibber, T. 1753. *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland.*)

      Amongst the verbal collocates, certain semantic fields are noticeably frequent,
namely 'verbs of destruction', e.g. *destroy* (as in (28)), *demolish*, *obliterated* and *ruined*, and
'mental verbs' such as *despaired*, *forget* (see e.g. (27)), *regret*, *trust*. As is apparent from
surveying the examples discussed thus far, many of the verbs with which maximizer *entirely*
is typically used are semantically negative; some examples in addition to those above are
abandon, *avoid*, *banish* and *deprive*. However, taking into account the complete range of

verbal collocates, there are also a reasonable number of semantically positive or neutral items, e.g. *agree*, *approve*, *cured*, *fill*, *follow*, and *neutralize*. It is also interesting to note that in support of Vermeire 1979, yet contrary to Greenbaum 1974, the present research finds that 'agree', appearing only ten times in the LModE and PDE data combined, is not the most frequent collocate of *entirely* and thus does not appear to display any particularly significant link to this maximizer.

Although the frequency of combinations of maximizer *entirely* with verbal collocates decreases in PDE, the nature of the constituents remains similar to that of those just described.

In order to now examine the second most common constituent type modified by maximizer *entirely* during the LModE period, viz. the adjective, some examples of this use from the data are provided in (30)-(32).

(30)   *The rod of iron with which he rules her never appears in company--it is a private rod, and is always kept upstairs. His method of recommending himself to me is **entirely** <u>different.</u> He flatters my vanity by talking to me as seriously and sensibly as if I was a man.*
(CLMETEV: Collins, W. 1859-60. *The Woman in White*.)
(Maximizer *entirely* modifying an adjectival constituent)

(31)   *Were there a country where the inhabitants led lives **entirely** <u>natural</u> and virtuous, few of them would die without measuring out the whole period of present existence allotted to them…*
(CLMETEV: Malthus, T. R. 1834. *An Essay on the Principle of Population*.)
(Maximizer *entirely* modifying an adjectival constituent)

(32)   *"How do you happen to be so familiar," inquired Innis, "with the affairs of Mr. Lindsay?" "That question," replied Butler, "as it refers to matters **entirely** <u>private</u> and personal, I must decline to answer."*
(ARCHER: Kennedy, J. P. 1835. *Horse-shoe Robinson*.)
(Maximizer *entirely* modifying an adjectival constituent)

As with the verbal collocates, the data evidenced a mixture of adjectival collocates that only accept modification by maximum degree, e.g. *accidental*, *destitute*, *unconscious* and *void*, and those that permit modification by various types of degree modifier, e.g. *different* (cf. *slightly/fairly/extremely/very* different in relation to (31), above). It is

noticeable that a number of the items have negative connotations or at least contain a negative affix, e.g. *deficient*, *depressed*, *destitute*, *inconsistent*, *unrecognizable* and *useless*; yet, once again, there is also sufficient evidence of semantically positive or neutral elements, such as *frank*, *honest*, *innocent*, *sure* and *new*, the latter of which is actually among the most common individual adjectival collocates. Accordingly, *entirely* does not appear to display any clear preference with regard to the evaluative nature of its collocates.

Some notable common semantic fields that can be distinguished are 'mental states and emotions' (e.g. *disinterested*, *engrossed*, *happy*, *mistaken* and *satisfied*) and 'difference' (e.g. *contrary*, *dissimilar*, *different*, *distinct* and *unlike*). Furthermore, in support of Vermeire 1979 and Paradis 1997, the strongest connections between maximizer *entirely* and individual adjectival constituents are found with the adjectives *new* and *different*, which account for 10% and 4%, respectively, of the total number of adjectival collocates of maximizer *entirely* in the data for the LModE period and 8% and 9%, respectively, in the PDE data.

3.2.3 The development of *entirely* as a focussing adverb

Some examples of *entirely* in use as a focussing adverb are provided in (33)-(35), below, the latter of which is reproduced from (4) for ease of reference.

(33) *The ancient Goths of Germany…had all of them a wise custom of debating every thing of importance to their state, twice, that is,--once drunk, and once sober:-- Drunk--that their councils might not want vigour;--and sober--that they might not want discretion. Now my father being* **entirely** *a water-drinker,--was a long time gravelled almost to death, in turning this as much to his advantage…*
(CLMETEV: Sterne, L. 1759-67. *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*.)

(34) *Yesterday and to-day I have been nearly* **entirely** *employed in reading through Gibbon's "Autobiography", which has fascinated me intensely.*
(ARCHER: Bailey, J. 1886. *Letters and Diaries*.)

(35) *His life's changes are almost* **entirely** *inward ones; it falls into broad, untroubled, perhaps somewhat monotonous, spaces; his biographers have very little to tell.*
(CLMETEV: Pater, W. H. 1886-1890. *Essays from The Guardian*.)

In these examples, the purpose of *entirely* is to put a particular part of the sentence in focus and to restrict the application of the utterance *exclusively* to that part. For instance, in the case of (33), *entirely* puts the noun phrase Subject Complement 'a water-drinker' in focus and indicates that 'my father' is *exclusively/solely* this, i.e. in the context of the example, that he is not, at any time, 'an alcohol drinker'. In examples (33)-(35), this is the only possible reading of *entirely*, thus this function is clearly a distinct one. However, it is interesting to note that *quite* is also employed in contexts similar to that of (33) during the LModE period, yet rather than performing as a focussing adverb, it functions as an emphasizer (see e.g (36), below, taken from chapter 8, section 3.2.3).

(36)   *'He really loves his country visits as he is very pampered and fed on roast chicken,' she*

         *says. 'He is **quite** <u>a character</u>. When he comes back he goes on a hunger strike for*

         chicken…'

         (BNCweb: 1985-1993, *Dogs Today*.)

The difference in the applications appears to be twofold: firstly, *quite*, as an emphasizer, serves to indicate that the Subject in the copular construction (i.e. 'He') possesses all the necessary criteria in order for the indefinite NP Subject Complement (i.e. 'a character') to be *really/truly* applicable. However, in a similar context, *entirely* is concerned with highlighting the Subject Complement (i.e. 'a water-drinker') as the appropriate one of a range of possible options that could potentially characterise the referent (i.e. 'my father'). Secondly, there is the fact that the former may be considered a more subjective application than the latter (cf. e.g. Traugott 2003: 126), in the sense that in the context of the emphasizer, it the personal opinion of the speaker/writer that the referent possesses all the necessary qualities of the noun phrase for it to be a truly valid description. In contrast, with the focussing function, that expressed by the NP is verifiable as being the one from a possible range that characterises the reference. As noted above, these two items developed these divergent functions in the same type of context around the same time. Adding to this the fact that *entirely* is the only one of the adverbs considered in the present research to display the focussing function, and the fact that the emphasizer function of *quite* strongly outweighs the emphasizer function of *entirely*, it seems likely that *entirely* became specialised in this focussing use during the LModE period, whilst the emphasizer workload was taken on by other items, notably *quite* (cf. chapter 8 for further details on the use and development of *quite*).

In order to shed light on how the focussing function of *entirely* arose, consider the following two examples.

(37)   *…Mrs Harrel…had then some reason to expect hearing the rest of the Opera in peace, for the company before her, consisting **entirely** of young men, seemed, even during the dance, fearful of speaking, lest their attention should be drawn for a moment from the stage.*
(CLMETEV: Burney, F. 1782. *Cecilia*.)

(38)   *Yet, how can these things be remedied whilst schoolmasters depend **entirely** on parents for a subsistence; and when so many rival schools hang out their lures to catch the attention of vain fathers and mothers, whose parental affection only leads them to wish, that their children should outshine those of their neighbours?*
(CLMETEV: Wollstonecraft, M. 1792, *Vindication of the Rights of Women*.)

In each of these cases, it is possible to read *entirely* as having a focussing function, i.e. along the lines of 'consisting *exclusively/solely* of young men' in the case of (37) and of 'depend *exclusively/solely* on parents' in (38). In the former, it serves to convey that the 'company' consists of no other 'types of people', whereas in the latter is communicates that no other aspects are 'depended on' for the purpose described. However, where these examples differ from (33)-(35) is that it is also possible in these cases to read *entirely* as having a maximizer function, i.e. 'consisting *to a complete extent*' and 'depend *to a complete extent*', respectively. Presumably, it is instances like this that Vermeire (1979: 233) has in mind when he refers to 'a focussing function in addition to its intensifying function'. The relationship between the two interpretations is very close: taking for instance example (37), it is clear that by nature of something 'consisting' of something *to a complete extent*, it does, by definition, therefore 'consist' *exclusively* of that thing. In light of this, a possible explanation as to the emergence of the focussing function of *entirely* is that examples like (37) and (38), which became common during the LModE period, acted as bridging examples, in which, due to processes of inferencing in the minds of language users, *entirely* was perceived as potentially being able to perform two functions. Eventually, this likely resulted in the use of *entirely* in contexts where only a focussing interpretation is possible, thus securing this as a distinct use. Although this latter function is still very much in its early stages, the corpus search has already noted an increase in frequency (albeit very slight) between the LModE and PDE periods.

3.2.4 *Entirely* as a response particle

The figures in table 6.1 show that only two examples of response particle *entirely* are found in the corpus data, both of which are from the PDE database. Moreover, in this case, unlike those of *absolutely* and *quite* (cf. 4 and 8, respectively), a supplementary search of the BNC did not reveal any additional instances. Evidently, this use is not very common and though it appears to be a relatively recent function of *entirely*, the very few examples mean that no compelling conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of its occurrence in the data. However, given that this use is not recorded in any of the existing literature (cf. section 1), added to the fact that the emergence of a response particle function appears to be a development particularly characteristic of members of the maximizer class (cf. e.g. chapters 4 and 8 on *absolutely* and *quite*), it will still be interesting to examine these two examples – on the one hand to offer some insight (albeit tentative) into this function that is thus far unaccounted for, and on the other, for the purpose of comparison with like developments in order to contribute to the overall depiction of this function and its development among members of the maximizer class.

The two examples of this use retrieved from the corpora are quoted in (39) and (40), below (the latter of which is replicated from (5), above, for ease of reference).

(39)   *Manvell gave the smallest nod to acknowledge d'Alembord's bow. "I shall serve you a*
        *promissory note tomorrow, Captain d'Alembord. Is that agreeable? " " **Entirely**."*
        Manvell thrust his own sword home, then took Lord John's elbow and led him away.
        (BNCweb: Cornwell, B. 1990. *Sharpe's Waterloo*.)

(40)   *"Beuno," she said, as he approached up the path, "is it altogether wise to be cheeky*
        to the devil?"
        *"Oh, **entirely** ," said Beuno without hesitation. "No other course is possible. If he is*
        afforded the slightest respect it makes him worse, larger."
        (BNCweb: Ellis, A. T. 1985. *Unexplained Laughter*.)

In both cases, *entirely* is used in response to a polar question, as a means of expressing an affirmative response. However, it could be argued that, in such cases, it actually constitutes the elliptical version of a full sentence (cf. in this connection González-Díaz 2008 on a similar use of *very much*) e.g. 'It is entirely agreeable' in the case of (39) and 'It is entirely wise to be cheeky to the devil' in (40). In this respect, it seems that alongside conveying affirmation, there is possibly also an element of a modifier function in this use,

since in the full versions of the assumed elliptical sentences, *entirely* is understood to modify the adjectives *agreeable* (39) and *wise* (40), respectively. This being so, the implication is that this use of *entirely* may be related to its earlier use as a modifier. Both of the adjectives in the above examples are gradable, but whilst 'agreeable' is conceived as having an upper limit and thus accepts modification by maximizing degree modifiers, the scale onto which 'wise' maps has a minimum standard, but is open ended. This means that though it does accept modification by some types of degree modifier (cf. e.g. '*very* wise', '*extremely* wise', '*fairly* wise'), it cannot be modified by maximizers (cf. e.g. * '*absolutely* wise', *'*completely* wise', *'*utterly* wise'), since whilst it is possible to be 'wise *to a great/moderate degree/extent*', the property is not conceived as being able to apply *to a complete/maxmium degree/extent*'. In this respect, *entirely* in the context of 'wise' appears to add to the force, rather than the degree of the property.   In other words, in the case of (39), the suggested connection is with the earlier maximizer sense, yet in (40), the use seems to bear connection to its prior emphasizer use. Whilst these observations are somewhat inconclusive with regard to determining the context in which this most recent function arose, it must be born in mind that in the absence of a sizeable number of examples, it is difficult to arrive at any firm conclusions. Moreover, given that the other members of the maximizer class that have developed response particle uses (i.e. *absolutely* and *quite*) did so earlier than *entirely*, i.e. from LModE onwards, added to the fact that the function is much more common in PDE for these items than for *entirely* (see chapters 4 and 8), it seems conceivable that the few instances of response particle *entirely* reflect the extension of its use in line with the developments of similar items. In other words, the emergence of this function of *entirely* may be more due to the influence of other members of the maximizer class, serving as 'attractor sets' as a result of perceived analogy (cf. e.g. Traugott 2008: 33), rather than to development specific to this particular item.

4. Summary

Based on the analyses presented in section 3.1, the corpus search provided confirmation that the adverb *entirely* was, alongside the adjective *entire*, in use from the ME period. Following closer examination of the data, it was concluded that both items likely entered the language directly from the source language(s), rather than via adverbialization in English as with some of the other maximizers. The initial function of *entirely* was shown to be that of a manner adverb, more precisely, with the predominant sense during this time

determined to have been 'heartily, sincerely, earnestly'. Some evidence of a 'wholly, fully, thoroughly; without exception or reservation' use was also uncovered, though this was far less conclusive, since many potential instances of this type were somewhat ambiguous between this sense and a maximizer one (see discussion, below).

Regarding the subsequent development of *entirely* from the ME period through to the present-day, the conclusions of the analyses presented in section 3.2 are summarized in the diagram in figure 6.1, below.

MANNER ADVERB *entirely*
('heartily'/'sincerely'/'earnestly')

MANNER ADVERB *entirely*
('without exception or reservation')

EMPHASIZER *entirely*
('truly, really', adding force as distinct from degree)

MAXIMIZER *entirely* (TYPE 2)
('to the fullest extent')
➢ Modifying constituents that inherently denote 'completeness', and only accept modification by maximum degree.

MAXIMIZER *entirely* (TYPE 1)
('to the fullest extent')
➢ Modifying constituents that accept modification by varying degree.

RESPONSE PARTICLE *entirely*
used in response to a polar question or as a comment on a previous

FOCUSSING ADVERB *entirely*
('exclusively'/'solely', 'restrict the application of the utterance exclusively to the part focussed')

Figure 6.1 Diagram of the development of *entirely*[62]

Each of the two manner adverb senses was shown to be the likely source of one of the two modifying senses: the 'heartily, sincerely, earnestly' one leading to the initial emphasizer modifying sense, and the 'without exception/reservation' variety being the precursor to the more recent and more widespread maximizer modifying sense. In terms of the former, the analysis more specifically highlighted the shared semantic

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[62] Unfilled arrows with dotted edging have been used to represent likely paths for which hard evidence is lacking, compared to the filled arrows which represent pathways for which there is substantial evidence.

association between the relevant manner adverb sense and the emphasizer one and the context of 'emotional' verbs (most typically 'love) as significant to the gradual reanalysis of the adverb as modifying the verb rather than commenting on its manner. With regard to the emergence of the degree modifying maximizer sense, the fairly substantial number of instances that are somewhat ambiguous between a 'without exception/reservation' manner sense were put forward as evidence to suggest that the former was the source of the latter. It was only when *entirely* began to be used in the context of non-verbal constituents that a distinct maximizer function could be confirmed. This prompted the conclusion that reanalysis, over time, of this manner use of *entirely* in the context of verbal collocates that permit degree modification led to its interpretation as a maximizer, modifying the constituent with respect to degree, rather than providing comment on its manner. More specifically, the initial maximizer use was found to be in the context of collocates that only permit modification by maximum degree, yet this had extended, by LModE to constituents that can accept modification by varying degree.

The examination of the subsequent development of the maximizer function revealed, in line with the findings of Vermeire (1979) for PDE, that adjectival and verbal elements (followed by prepositional ones) are consistently the most typical types of constituent modified by *entirely*. Whilst there was no notable correspondence with the findings of previous studies in terms of the most frequent verbal collocates, the analysis of the adjectival constituents revealed the most typical ones to be in line with those most common in the data of both Vermeire (1979) and Paradis (1997). Contrary to the findings in Greenbaum 1974 (and thus in line with Bäcklund 1973 and Vermeire 1979), the data did not reveal any observable connection between *entirely* and verbs of 'agreeing and disagreeing'. This perhaps supports Vermeire's (1979: 239) assertion that Greenbaum's (1974) unique findings are somewhat skewed by his experimental method.

From the LModE period, the data evidenced the use of *entirely* as a focussing adverb, which was proposed to have emerged from the maximizer sense. In relation to the fact that *entirely* is the only member of the maximizer class to have developed this as an additional function, it was noted that it appears to represent a particular specialised use, since other items, notably *quite,* perform alternative functions when used in similar contexts (cf. chapter 8 on *quite*).

Finally, as the most recent function of *entirely*, the response particle use was found in the data for PDE. Given that there are only two instances of this use in total from all the corpora accessed, this is clearly not a particularly significant use. In this connection, it was proposed that though there are tentative links with both the emphasizer use and the

maximizer use of *entirely*, it may be more likely that rather than evolving from either or both of these functions, the response particle use emerged due to analogy with other members of the maximizer class that developed much more widely attested response particle functions at an earlier stage (see e.g. *absolutely*, chapter 4).

On a more general level, the finding that maximizer *entirely* is used in the same two types of context noted for other adverbs, i.e. with constituents that only admit degree modification by maximizers and with those that permit varying degree (see chapters 4-5 on *absolutely* and *completely*), reiterates the issue raised in the previous chapter with regard to the nature of the description of the maximizer class in the current literature. In the case of the former type, which represents the earliest application of maximizer *entirely* (as is the case with e.g. *absolutely*), the fact that the constituents are ones that already inherently denote the upper extreme on the scale of degree force, questions whether *entirely* should actually be termed a 'maximizer' when used in such contexts, since its presence is, in fact, not necessary to denote maximum degree. In this respect, this chapter echoes the need expressed in the previous ones for a more fine-grained description of this class of degree modifier.

CHAPTER 7: The development of *perfectly*

1. <u>Introduction</u>

Alongside *entirely* and *utterly* (see chapters 6 and 10, respectively), *perfectly* is one of the longest standing of the maximizers under investigation in the present study as it is attested in this use as early as the Middle English period (cf. OED *s.v. perfectly* adv. and MED *s.v. parf* Ῑt/Ῑ adv.). However, it is also noteworthy that the accounts in the dictionaries detail only two main functions of *perfectly* throughout its history, viz. that of a manner adverb and that of a maximizer. The latter is exemplified in (1) and the former is illustrated in (2) and (3), which respectively show the two manner senses that are recorded for this adverb in the dictionaries, viz. 'in a manner that is morally or religiously perfect' and 'in a manner that is flawless/perfect/faultless'.

(1)   *The railway line…was **perfectly** <u>straight</u> for a distance of over 700 yards.*
        (OED *s.v. perfectly* adv. 3.a.: 1896. *Law Times Rep.*)
        ***Perfectly* functioning as a maximizer**

(2)   *And þen at first is þe goodnes of God confermed & stablid in oure hertis when we **parfitely** <u>loue</u> God.*
        (MED *s.v. parf*Ῑt/Ῑ adv. 3.a.: Hermit, R. a1450. *PNoster*.)
        ***Perfectly* functioning as a manner adverb conveying the meaning 'in a manner that is morally or religiously perfect'**

(3)   *Teche hyr <u>to speake</u> **perfeyghtly** the language of frenche.*
        (OED *s.v. perfectly* adv. 2.b.: Berners, J. B, Lord. a1533. *Duke Huon of Burdeux* xl.)
        ***Perfectly* functioning as a manner adverb conveying the meaning 'in a manner that is flawless/perfect/faultless'**

(4)   *…in all respects she was taken so much more notice of than I was, that I **perfectly** <u>hated</u> her, and could not help wishing that, by some accident, her beauty might be spoiled…*
        (CLMETEV: Fielding, H. 1749. *The Governess*.)
        ***Perfectly* functioning as an emphasizer**

Although the corpus search reveals some evidence of a potential emphasizer use in addition to these (e.g. example (4), above), the frequency of this is fairly low (see section

3.2 for further details). Consequently, the indication is that it is one of the less versatile members of the maximizer class, particularly in comparison to multifaceted counterparts such as *absolutely* and *quite*, for instance (cf. chapters 4 and 8, respectively).

Beginning with a more detailed overview of this limited previous research on *perfectly* (section 2), this chapter therefore aims to provide a detailed diachronic account of this particularly under-investigated member of the maximizer class. To this effect, section 3 maps out the development of *perfectly* based on the analysis of the corpus data (ME-PDE), with the initial part (3.1) dealing with the rise of the adverbial form from its adjectival source, and the remainder (3.2) documenting the subsequent developments of this form. Section 4 offers a summary of the main findings and considers the implications of these, particularly in relation to other members of the maximizer class.

2. Previous research on *perfectly*

As noted above, previous research on *perfectly* is sparse, the small selection of relevant previous studies being that of Vermeire (1979), Bäcklund (1980) and Paradis (1997). In both Vermeire 1979 and Paradis 1997, the focus is predominantly on the frequency of *perfectly* (compared to other maximizers) and its collocational preferences and restrictions. Bäcklund (1980), however, takes a slightly different approach, comparing the typical collocations of two maximizers with a view to ascertaining the degree of similarity they display in actual usage.

More specifically, Vermeire's (1979) chapter on *perfectly* opens with a brief discussion of its two distinct functions in the data, viz. what he refers to as 'one qualifying and one quantifying' (Vermeire 1979: 263) i.e. a manner adverb function and a maximizer function, respectively. Following this, the main focus is the detailed examination of the nature of the maximizer one. In this respect, the analysis shows that maximizer *perfectly* occurs predominantly (90% of the time) with adjectival collocates and evidences particularly strong collocations with the following ones: *all right*, *normal*, *true*, *clear*, *plain*, *simple*, *ordinary*, *safe*, *useless*. Other frequent combinations noted are with the adverb *well*, and the verb *remember* (cf. Vermeire 1979: 269, table 4 for further details, including frequencies). The presence of the collocate *useless* in this list is somewhat surprising, since it is noted by Vermeire (1979: 271-274) that *perfectly* shows a clear preference for semantically positive collocates, such as *good*, *sincere*, *blameless*, *true*, *genuine*, *happy*, *satisfied* (see Vermeire 1979: 272 for the full list), a characteristic that is reiterated by Quirk et al. (1985: 469).

The study by Paradis (1997) is, in some respect, narrower in scope, as it is concerned, as noted in previous chapters, exclusively with the degree modification of adjectives in PDE. Accordingly, this study does not offer any insight into the use of maximizer *perfectly* with non-adjectival constituent types; nevertheless, the analysis of the adjectival collocates of maximizer *perfectly* does support Vermeire's finding that it has a strong tendency to modify semantically positive constituents:

> among the adjectives modified by 'perfectly' there are no items with negative prefixes. 'Perfectly' is strange with words which have negative morphemes, e.g. ?perfectly illogical, ?perfectly unhappy, ?perfectly unjustified. (Paradis 1997: 81).

Furthermore, despite some differences in frequency ordering, there is noticeable overlap between the common collocates of maximizer *perfectly* observed in these two studies, with Paradis (1997: 78) also listing, for instance, *true*, *all right*, *normal* and *clear*.

According to Vermeire, the tendencies revealed by the corpus analysis relate to the influence of the manner adverb function of *perfectly* and the fact that this is in use alongside its maximizer one. He claims that it is the 'strong qualifying feature' in *perfectly* that constrains the lexical environment in which it is used (Vermeire 1979: 270) and 'determines to an even greater extent the semantic environment in which it occurs' (Vermeire 1979: 271).

Finally, the study by Bäcklund (1980) is a detailed comparison of the maximizers *perfectly* and *quite*. Focusing on the adjectival collocates of these adverbs, Bäcklund deduces that there is a clear difference in their collocational behaviour, which he claims is 'closely related with the fact that *quite* is characterized by implicit contrastiveness, whereas this contrastiveness is explicit in the case of *perfectly*' (Bäcklund 1980: 192). In other words, on examining his data, Bäcklund reports that the collocates typically modified by *perfectly*, (e.g. *adequate*, *normal*, *understandable*) occur in contexts (when they are modified by *perfectly*[63]) that contain explicit contrasts with their opposites (i.e. '*in*adequate', '*ab*normal', '*not* understandable'). For instance, he claims that 'normal' and 'understandable', when

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[63] The claim made in Bäcklund 1980 (see e.g. pg 92) is specifically in relation to instances where these collocates are used within the scope of the modifier *perfectly*. No claims are made about the nature of these lexical items *per se*.

modified by *perfectly*, serve to 'batter down explicitly expressed fears that something might not be 'normal' or 'understandable'' (Bäcklund 1980: 192)[64].

In summary, these three studies undoubtedly provide some valuable insights into the precise semantics of maximizer *perfectly* and the types of environment in which it tends to be used in PDE. However, consideration of the historical development of *perfectly* is outside the scope of all of them, as is, therefore, examination of any of its additional functions. In this respect, they do not offer any insight into the relationship between the maximizer function of *perfectly* and its manner adverb uses that are documented in the dictionaries, or how the collocational tendencies/constraints noted for the maximizer sense may have been shaped by the history of the adverb. Consequently, the comprehensive diachronic analysis of the development of *perfectly* (from ME through to PDE) that forms the focus of the subsequent section serves to address these issues and thus build on the existing descriptions of this adverb.

3. Mapping out the development of *perfectly*

As stated in section 1, the presentation of the development of *perfectly* is organized into two sub-sections: first, section 3.1 details the rise of the adverb from its adjectival source, then section 3.2. elucidates the subsequent development of this form, documenting when and how each of its uses emerges.

3.1 The rise of the adverb

The adverbialization of *perfectly* appears to have been a native development, since it derives from the ME adjective *perfect* by means of the addition of the *–ly* English adverbial suffix (cf. OED *s.v. perfectly* adv. and MED *s.v. parf*ī*tl*ī adv.).

According to both sources, the adjective *perfect* had several related senses during its history, but its earliest use, recorded in c1300, is that which expresses the meaning 'of marked, or characterized by supreme moral or spiritual excellence or virtue' (OED *s.v. perfect* adj. I.1.a.; cf. also MED *s.v. parf*ī*t* adj.6.). Examples (5) and (6), overleaf, are provided by the dictionaries to illustrate this use.

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[64] For more details of his discussion of *quite*, see chapter 8, section 2.

(5)   *Yef þou wylt by **parfit**, guo and zel al þet þou hest and yef hit þe poure.*

        [If you wish to be perfect, go and sell all that you have and give it to the poor.]

        (MED *s.v. perfect* adj. 6.a.: 1340. *Ayenb.*)

(6)   *Be ʒee **parfit**, as and ʒoure heuenly fadir is parfit.*

        [Be you perfect, as your heavenly father is perfect]

        (OED *s.v. perfect* adj. I.1.a.: Wycliffite, E.V. c1384 *Bible*.)

The types of noun modified by this sense of the adjective include animate entities, typically either *God*, *angels,* or general references to people (as is the case in (5) and (6), above, in which *perfect* describes the pronominal referents 'þou' and 'ʒee', respectively). Another common collocate is the abstract noun 'life', as illustrated in (7), below. In contexts like this, the collocation achieves the meaning of 'a religiously moral/righteous life'.

(7)   *Hit is wonder of so greet a man, þat was first archedekon and þanne whyte monk and*

        þanne abbot..and þanne archebisshop, þat he wolde brynge men of more unperfyʒt

        lyf, seculer chanouns [canon]*, instede of men of more **parfyʒt** lyf.*

        (MED *s.v. perfect* adj. 6.a.: c1410 Trev. *Higd.*)

In addition to this rather specialized religious sense, the dictionaries document two 'more general' senses of the adjective *perfect*, viz. 'in a state of complete excellence, free from any imperfection or defect' (OED *s.v. perfect* adj. I.1.b.; cf. also MED *s.v. parf̄ɪt* adj.1.) and 'having all the essential characteristics, elements, or qualities; not deficient in any particular; complete, full, total (OED *s.v. perfect* adj. I.2.a.; cf. also MED *s.v. parf̄ɪt* adj.2.). Since neither of these senses is attested until the late 1300s (with the bulk of the examples dating from 1400 onwards), it seems likely that they emerged via generalisation of the initial sense (though with the initial use continuing to be used in its specific application). Not surprisingly, this generalisation goes hand in hand with an increase in the types of modified nominal constituents. In the case of the former, in which the adjective is used to indicate that the specified noun is 'flawless', i.e. 'free from defect', there appears to be a notable increase in inanimate collocates (both concrete and abstract), e.g. *sight*, *chastity, medicine*, *metal, pen*, *English*, and also *body* (i.e. as opposed to the more animate counterpart, 'person', 'man' etc.). In the case of the latter sense, where *perfect* serves to indicate that an entity is 'not lacking in any respect', there is evidence of extensive

reference to an increased range of both concrete and abstract entities e.g. *body*, *heart*, *world* and *completion, cure, knowing, knowledge, state, soul*.

Of the 124 examples of *perfect* yielded by the corpus search of the ME data[65], the earliest dates from 1340. Closer examination of these and other relatively contemporary cases (i.e. from 1340-1390) indicates, in line with the dictionary entries, that the predominant sense of *perfect* at this time may have been the religious one, viz. 'characterized by supreme moral or spiritual excellence or virtue'. It should be noted here, that this seems likely to be a reflection of the predominance of the religious genre in the corpora of this time. Whilst the possibility of at least some element of corpus bias cannot therefore be completely discounted, this may in fact be a true representation of the period, given the dominance of the church in Middle English society, and thus a true indication of how this adjective was initially used.

The first clear example of *perfect* being used in a 'more general' sense in a non-religious context is that given in (8), below, which dates from 1390. Other instances, including (9)-(11) are found in slightly later texts, with evidence becoming particularly frequent from the late 1400s.

(8)   *Upon this forseide plate ben compassed certeyn cercles…of whiche somme of hem*
         *semen **parfit** <u>cercles</u> and somme semen inparfit.*
         (PPCME2: Chaucer, G. c1390. *A Treatise on the Astrolabe.*)

(9)   *þan thowt sche of þe grace þat God had +gouyn hire befor-tyme, how sche had ij +ger*
         of gret qwyet in sowle, repentawns of hir synne wyth many byttyr teerys of
         *compunccyon, & **parfyt** <u>wyl</u> neuyr to turne a-geyn to hir synne...*
         [then she thought of the grace that God had given her previously, how she had two
         years of a very peaceful soul, repentance of her sin with many bitter tears of
         remorse, and the perfect wish never to return to her sin…]
         (PPCME2: Kempe, M. 1450. *The Book of Margery Kempe.*)

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[65] All spelling variants listed in the MED and the OED were searched.

(10)   *I can not curse to moche myn vnfortune that hath brought me, whiche was come to*

         *haue the goode grace of the most **parfyt** <u>creature</u> that god & nature wythout*

         comparison wold euer make, in to the grete sorowes where I am now Inne Now most I

         be ferre from her:
         (CMEPV: Caxton, W. 1489. *Blanchardine and Eglantine.*)

(11)   *But the fourth and moost hardest is to understande the waye of a man in his*

         growynge age." Tho children thenne the whiche lacke dyscrecyon, use of reason, and

         ***parfyght** <u>cognycyon</u>, and yet attayne to the ende that is prepared for mannes blysse…*
         (PPCME2: 1497. *In Die Innocencium.*)

In all these cases, the 'supremely moral/righteous/virtuous' religious sense of *perfect* is
incongruous because the nominal constituents, *cercles* (circles) *wyl* (will) and *cognycyon*
(cognition, i.e. 'understanding') do not accept this description. Accordingly, a 'more
general' interpretation of *perfect*, along the lines of 'having all the essential characteristics,
elements, or qualities; not deficient in any particular; complete, full, total' (OED *s.v. perfect*
adj. I.2.a.; cf. also MED *s.v. parfīt* adj.2.) or 'in a state of complete excellence, free from any
imperfection or defect' (OED *s.v. perfect* adj. I.1.b.; cf. also MED *s.v. parfīt* adj.1.), seems
more fitting in such cases.

      Again, the attestation dates of such cases as (8)-(11) confirms the picture presented
in the dictionaries, namely corroborating that the adjective appears to have undergone
generalisation by the late 1300s/early 1400s. Additionally, it indicates that its more recent
use had gained significant ground by the late 1400s.

      Alongside the adjective *perfect*, the first instances of the adverb *perfectly* in the
corpora also date from the ME period. In fact, the corpus search of the ME data revealed
122 examples of *perfectly*, signifying that the adverb was as well established as the
adjective during this period (cf. the 124 examples of the adjective in the corpus data from
this period mentioned above).   This ties in with the dictionary entries, thus seeming to
confirm that the development of the adverb from the adjective took place at some point
during this period. In order to understand more precisely the particular context(s) in which
it occurred, the remainder of this section gives close consideration to some specific cases in
the data.

      The earliest instances of *perfectly* in the corpora come from 'Ayenbyte of inwyt'
(1340), the same source of the initial cases of *perfect* (cf. above discussion). An example of

this is provided in (12), below, in which *perfectly* is used to modify the verb 'louie' (love). This example clearly illustrates *perfectly* functioning as a manner adverb, since the verb 'louie' (love) does not permit degree modification and the religious context and the fact that God is the Object of this verb, suggests that the meaning of the adverb in this context is 'in a religiously/spiritually perfect manner'.   It is easy to see the parallels between this use of the adverb and the religious/spiritual sense of the adjective, thus it seems it may reasonably be deduced that these items are related.

(12)   *To þe uorbysne of zainte paul/ssel þe guode religious…guo uram uirtue/to*
         uirtue/alhuet he comþ to þe mont ioye…huer he ssel clyerliche izy god. and him
         *ssel <u>louie</u> **parfitliche**. and worþssipie euremo.*
         [to the example of Saint Paul/shall the righteous religious…go from virtue/to
         virtue/until he comes to the mount of joy…where he shall clearly see God. and shall
         love him perfectly and worship him forevermore.]
         (CMEPV: *Ayenbyte of inwyt.* 1340)

Some slightly later cases of this kind are illustrated in (13) and (14), below, in which *perfectly* modifies the verbs *liuen* (live) and *beleuen* (believe), respectively. Again, the fact that these constituents do not accept modification by degree, rules out a maximizer interpretation and the religious contexts render the meaning 'in a religiously/spiritually perfect manner' most plausible.

(13)   *þIs is þe Bok sikerly þat techeþ to <u>liuen</u> **parfytliche**: hit is clept þe Mirour of seynt*
         Edmound þe Confessour.
         [This is the book for sure that teaches one to live perfectly: it is called the
         'Mirour…Confessour'.]
         (PPCME2: 1390. *The Mirror of St. Edmund*.)

(14)   *For þei knoulechen…þat…all þo þat <u>beleuen</u> **perfectely** in god schul ben saued.*
         [For they profess…that…all those that believe perfectly in God shall be saved.]
         (PPCME2: c1400. Translation of Jehan de Bourgogne's *Mandeville's Travels.*)

Whilst this is the most common manner adverb sense among the earlier examples of *perfectly* (i.e. those from the 1300s), it is not the only one, as the examples overleaf illustrate. In (15), *perfectly* modifies the verb *fillid*, which the MED records as denoting

'satisfied, fulfilled' (cf. MED *s.v. fillen* v.). The presence of the preceding comparative 'lesse'
and the later comparative reference to 'the forseid autorite [I schal be to him in to a fadir,
and he schal be to me into a sone]' being 'fillid *parfitlier'* in another context (i.e. by
'Crist…the sone…bi kind'), confirms that *perfectly* must be interpreted in a manner adverb
sense, since maximizers cannot be used in the comparative. More specifically, its meaning
appears to be that of the 'more general' sense of 'in a manner that is
flawless/perfect/faultless', since the comparision set up between 'the sone…oonly *bi grace*'
and 'the sone…*bi kind*' suggests that the former is, in a sense, deficient, implying therefore
that 'the autorite' cannot be described as 'fillid' flawlessly (i.e. entirely appropriately, in a
non-deficient way) by him (as the case would be with the 'sone…bi kind'). Similarly, in
example (16), which features *perfectly* as a modifier of the past participle *ymaked* (made),
the repeated reference to the 'faire worlde' in the preceding context, seems to also render
the most plausible reading of *perfectly* in this case 'in a flawless/completely excellent
manner' (cf. MED *s.v. fair* (adj. 1a. which details the meaning 'pleasing to the sight; good to
look upon; beautiful' when applied to 'objects or places in nature').

(15)   *…forsothe the forseid autorite…was <u>fillid</u> to the lettre in Salomon, natheles lesse*
         ***parfitly,** for he was the sone of God oonly bi grace, but it was fillid parfitlier in Crist,*
         that was the sone of God bi kinde; but natheles…either expocisscioun is literal outtirly.
         […Indeed the aforesaid statement…was satisfied to the letter in Solomon,
         nevertheless less perfectly, for he was the son of God only by grace, but it was
         satisfied 'perfectlier' in Christ, that was the son of God by kind; but
         nevertheless…either account is literal outwardly.]
         (PPCME2: Purvey, J. 1388. *Purvey's General Prologue to the Bible*.)

(16)   *þou…formedest þis worlde to þe likkenesse semblable of þat faire worlde in þi þout.*
         þou drawest alle þinges of þi souereyne ensampler. and comaundedist þat þis worlde
         ***perfitlyche** <u>ymaked</u> haue frely and absolut hyse perfit parties.*
         [You…created this world to the likeness of that beautiful world in your mind...you
         take all things from the divine archetype and command that this perfectly made
         world have freely and absolute its perfect parts]
         (PPCME2: Chaucer, G. 1383. *Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy.*)

There is also evidence of *perfectly* used as a maximizer in the ME data; however, with the exception of one case assumed to date from 1350[66], examples of this are not found regularly until around 1450. In other words, the manner adverb use is much more frequent among the earliest examples from the ME period. This implies that it was more firmly established than the maximizer one during the early half of this period, which suggests that it was likely the initial adverbial function of *perfectly.* In light of this, the emergence of the maximizer function is considered a later development, thus the examination of this is reserved for the next section.

3.2 The development of the adverb

To facilitate the examination of the subsequent development of *perfectly* beyond its initial adverbialization in the Middle English period, table 7.1 displays the breakdown of the corpus data for this adverb from each period (ME-PDE) according to function.

	MANNER ADVERB	MAXIMIZER	EMPHASIZER	AMBIGUOUS	TOTAL
ME	38	46	-	38	122
	(31%)	(38%)		(31%)	(100%)
EModE	19	28	7	16	69
	(28%)	(41%)	(10%)	(23%)	(100%)
LModE	35	663	37	47	782
	(4%)	(85%)	(5%)	(6%)	(100%)
PDE	49	465	1	56	571
	(9%)	(81%)	(<1%)	(10%)	(100%)

Table 7.1: The function of *perfectly* from ME-PDE

In accordance with the discussion in the previous section, the figures in table 7.1 evidence that *perfectly* was used as both a manner adverb and a maximizer during the ME period.   The latter function is shown to be slightly more prevalent, accounting for 38% of the cases during this period, as opposed to 31% for the manner function. However, as was mentioned in section 3.1, a more detailed look at the individual examples reveals that the manner adverb function is actually more frequent among the earliest examples from this period and that the majority of the maximizer examples are found in the latter half of the period (from around 1450 onwards). In light of this, the initial function of *perfectly* was considered to be that of a manner adverb. As the manner adverb function has already been examined in the previous section, the present section will focus primarily on the emergence of the two additional functions featured in the table, viz. maximizer and emphasizer.

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[66] The date is actually listed as uncertain, viz. "?1350".

However, one thing which is interesting to note with regard to the distribution of the manner adverb function of *perfectly* over time concerns the general decline of this use shown in the figures (i.e. from 31% in ME, to 28% in EModE and then to 4% and 9% in LModE and PDE, respectively). This is much more gradual for *perfectly* than for any of the other six adverbs considered in the present study (cf. figures in chapters 4-6 and 8-10). In this connection, the only other items to display evidence of a manner function beyond the EModE period are *absolutely* and *completely* and even then, this use represents only 1% of the total instances of these adverbs in LModE and, in the case of the former, PDE.

3.2.1 The development of maximizer *perfectly*

Among the ME examples of *perfectly*, cases in which it unmistakably functions as a maximizer are most typically those in the context of either an adjectival constituent or a verbal constituent that admits degree modification and is incongruous with either of the manner adverb senses of *perfectly*. Example (17) illustrates the former, evidencing *perfectly* being used to denote the maximum degree of the adjective *trewe* (other typical examples include *clene* and *fair*).   The latter is demonstrated in (18), in which the verb 'cured' is indicated to apply to the maximum degree as a result of modification by *perfectly* (other typical examples include *restreyne* and *recouered*).

(17)   '*Ther is no wight* [creature] ***parfitly*** <u>*trewe*</u> *to hym that he to soore* [deeply]*dredeth*
        [fears the loss of].'
        (PPCME2: Chaucer, G. c1390. *The Tale of Melibee*.)
        (Maximizer *perfectly* modifying an adjectival constituent)

(18)   *…when he mit not cure som man, he made suggestion to tham that no man mit cure*
        tham, and that affermed he with sweryng that if the fistule war dried, that the
        pacient at the next shuld not eschape dethe; whiche, forsoþe [indeed]*, y-lefte*
        [departed, abandoned] *& forsake of hym I* <u>*cured*</u> ***perfitely****.*
        (CMEPV: John Arderne's treatises on surgery: *Fistula in ano.* c1475).
        (Maximizer *perfectly* modifying a verbal constituent)

     Given that the earliest instances of this maximizer use are found in ME, the data suggests that its development took place relatively soon after the emergence of the initial manner adverb function which is evidenced early on in the same period (cf. section 3.1). With regard to determining the particular context in which it arose, an examination of some

of the 'ambiguous' instances from the ME data proves constructive. In this respect, it is noticeable from the figures in table 7.1 that there is a relatively high number of cases assigned to this category in the ME sample, such that they account for 31% of the instances from the data from this time. Interestingly, 26% of these are cases that are indeterminate between a manner adverb sense and a maximizer sense, e.g. (19)-(21) below.

(19)   *…Fader / the obedience that thou hast ouen* [commanded of] *me I haue **perfitly** and fully* <u>done</u> *in dede· and it I am redy to done what thow biddest me…*
       (CMEPV: *Mirrour of the blessed lyf of Jesu Christ*, made before 1410)

(20)   *Bot þis wondirfull anehede* [union] *may noghte be* <u>fulfilled</u> ***perfytely**, continually, ne hally* [in entirety] *in þis lyfe, for corrupcyon of þe flesche, Bot anely* [only]*in þe blysse of heuen.*
       (PPCME2: Religious Treatise, c1440_a1349.)

(21)   *…ffor with Inne ys foundyn þe fynal cause of oure entent and oure purpos, principal & fynal, when e* [ye] *haue fully þe vnderstondynges of þe sentences, and of þe ensamples, þanne shal e* <u>pursewe</u> *fully & **perfitely** oure purpos desiryd.*
       (CMEPV: C15th. Translation of *Secreta Secretorum.*)

As illustrated in these examples, the ambiguity arises when *perfectly* has scope over a verbal collocate, which has the potential to be graded for degree, but is equally acceptable in the context of a manner adverb sense of *perfectly*. For instance, in (19)-(21), all of which appear in religious contexts, it is difficult to determine whether *perfectly* functions as a maximizer, i.e. 'done/fulfilled/pursewe *to the fullest degree/extent*' or whether it is used as a manner adverb, i.e. 'done/fulfilled/pursewe *in a religiously/spiritually perfect manner*'. Given that both interpretations seem equally conceivable, it appears that cases like these may well have acted as bridging contexts, leading to the emergence of the maximizer function. The fact that the ambiguity in such cases pertains to the more specific religious manner adverb sense seems to suggest that it was this particular use that led to the maximizer one. Whilst this finding of the corpus search may be truly representative of the typical context of use of the adverb at this time, the possibility must be also noted, in line with the previous discussion of the adjective *perfect* in section 3.1, that it may reflect the prevalence of religious texts in the ME corpora. Accordingly, though the data does evidence that the maximizer function arose from the initial manner adverb one, the suggestion that this

specifically involved the particular religious sense of the latter inevitably remains somewhat tentative.

Over time, the figures in table 7.1 show a successive increase in the maximizer function. Whilst it represents the most common function of *perfectly* during all four periods, it accounts for a particularly overwhelming percentage of the usage in LModE and PDE with figures of 85% and 81%, respectively. This general pattern of increase in the maximizer function was also noted in the cases of *absolutely*, *completely* and *entirely* (see chapters 4-6), however, what is particularly interesting about the figures for *perfectly* is that they are consistently lower than for each of these other adverbs: the figures for the maximizer functions of e.g. *completely* and *entirely* in these two periods are each between 91% and 99%[67] (see chapters 5-6, respectively). On closer examination, this deviation from the general tendency appears to coincide with the notable fact that unlike the adverbs considered in the previous chapters, *perfectly* retains its manner adverb function through to PDE[68].

In order to examine the precise nature of the maximizer use in more detail, i.e. by investigating its collocational behaviour throughout its history, table 7.2 details the constituent types modified by maximizer *perfectly* throughout its history and their relative frequencies.

	ADJ/ADJP	V/VP	ADV/ADVP	P/PP	N/NP	OTHER	TOTAL
ME	20	24	-	2	-	1	47
	(43%)	(51%)		(4%)		(2%)	(100%)
EModE	12	12	-	2	-	2	28
	(43%)	(43%)		(7%)		(7%)	(100%)
LModE	535	56	47	20	1	4	663
	(81%)	(8%)	(7%)	(3%)	(<1%)	(1%)	(100%)
PDE	389	13	51	8	-	4	465
	(84%)	(3%)	(11%)	(2%)		(1%)	(100%)

Table 7.2: The constituent types modified by maximizer *perfectly* (ME-PDE)

The figures in the first row of the above table show that during the ME period, the majority of the collocates of maximizer *perfectly* are adjectival and verbal, the latter being slightly more common at 51%, compared to the 43% of the adjectival variety. The functional load of this maximizer has evened out between these two collocate types by the

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[67] The case of *absolutely* is an exception to this tendency, with its maximizer function accounting for 73% and 57% of instances in LModE and PDE, respectively. However, this is probably due to the exceptionally wide range of functions available to the particular adverb, and in particular to the rise in the frequency of its response particle function at this time (cf. table 4.1, chapter 4).
[68] The other exception to this is *absolutely*, although the manner adverb function of this adverb is extremely rare in PDE, accounting for only 1% of the 306 instances from this period (cf. table 4.1, chapter 4).

EModE period, with each accounting for 43% of its workload, but from LModE onwards, the adjectival variety has taken over as overwhelmingly most frequent, representing 81% and 84% of the relevant data from this and the subsequent PDE period, respectively.

Although the table evidences prepositional constituents in all four periods, the fact that these only represent 4% of the elements modified by maximizer *perfectly* in the initial ME period and no more than 10% at any subsequent stage, suggests that they are not particularly significant. Likewise, both adverbial and nominal elements appear as modified constituents of *perfectly* in LModE, though with rather low frequencies, particularly in the case of the latter, which represents less than 1%. Whilst the frequency of the former type does increase in the subsequent PDE database, where it accounts for 11% of the collocates of this maximizer, this application clearly remains mariginal in comparison to the 84% of cases with adjectival constituents. As a result of the above-noted relative infrequency of prepositional, adverbial and nominal collocates of maximizer *perfectly* across time, the subsequent examination will concentrate on examples with its overall archetypal constituents, viz. verbal and adjectival.

In general, the corpus examples of maximizer *perfectly* display the same two-way distinction that was noted with respect to the other maximizers (see e.g. *absolutely*, *completely* and *entirely* in chapters 4-6 respectively). On the one hand, it is used in the context of constituents to which the notion of 'completeness' is already inherent and thus which only accept degree modification by the maximizer variety of degree modifier (see e.g. (22)-(23), below) and on the other, is employed as a modifier of constituent that can occupy various positions on a scale of degree and thus have the potential to be modified by a range of degree modifiers (see e.g. (24) and (25), overleaf).

(22)   *I thought he would fall and crush me, but this shot was the only chance, as B. was*
       perfectly <u>*helpless*</u>.
       (CLMETEV: Baker, S. W. 1854. *The Rifle and the Hound in Ceylon*.)
       (Maximizer *perfectly* modifying a constituent that only accepts modification by maximum degree)

(23)   *For besides, that a relation of ideas operates secretly and calmly on the mind, it*

   bestows an equal impulse towards the opposite passions of pride and humility, love

   and hatred, according as the object belongs to ourselves or others; which opposition

   *of the passions must destroy both, and leave the mind **perfectly** <u>free</u> from any*

   affection or emotion.

   (CLMETEV: Hume, D. 1739-40. *Treatise of Human Nature*.)

   (Maximizer *perfectly* modifying a constituent that only accepts modification by
   maximum degree)

(24)   *We passed another night in the sweetest undisturbed repose, and in the day had*

   *nothing to alarm our fears. In short, our situation was every way so **perfectly** <u>happy</u>*

   and desirable, that we thought, although our mother had charged us not to return

   frequently to the same place, yet she could not mean that we should not take up our

   abode in a spot so secure and comfortable.

   (CLMETEV: Kilner, D. 1783. *The Life and Perambulations of a Mouse*.)

   (Maximizer *perfectly* modifying a constituent that accepts modification by varying
   degree)

(25)   *He is **perfectly** <u>reasonable</u> and pleasant. Should you be disposed to come with me,*

   you would find him quite willing to discuss things.

   (CLMETEV: Forster, E. M. 1905. *Where Angels Fear to Tread*.)

   (Maximizer *perfectly* modifying a constituent that accepts modification
   by varying degree)

The earliest instances of maximizer *perfectly* show a distinct preference for the former variety shown in (22)-(23), though the other type includes not just (24)-(25) but examples where *perfectly* modifies *eschew* (MED *s.v. escheuen* v.: stay away from, avoid), and the adjective *hole/hooll* (MED *s.v.hōl(e* adj.(2): healed, cured, free from disease). By EModE, this predominance is still evident, but is less pronounced due to a fairly significant influx of cases in which the modified constituents are ones that permit modification by various types of degree modifier. Examples of the latter, which account for 31% of the collocates of maximizer *perfectly* in the data from this period include *rare*, *well* and *wise*. The figures for the LModE period display a reversal of this tendency, since by this time, 56% of the instances of the maximizer are used to modify constituents that accept modification by varying degree. This new propensity has gained further ground by PDE, in which it accounts for 75% of all the instances of the maximizer use.

Turning now to the more specific nature of the collocates, the remainder of this section takes a detailed look at the observable trends that can be noted with regard to the most significant collocates of maximizer *perfectly* throughout its history, beginning with the verbal variety. To this effect, a couple of typical semantic fields can be noted among the verbal collocates of ME maximizer *perfectly*, that is 'mental verbs': *forgeten* (forget), *kepten* (keep in mind), *vndirstond*; and 'verbs concerned with health/healing': *cure(d)*, *helid* (healed), *recovered*, *souded* (healed, cicatrized; cf. MED *s.v. souden* (v.(1)). Although there are only twelve tokens of verbal constituents in the EModE data (see row 2 in table 7.2), it seems that similar patterns are reflected, with the verb 'to understand' representing the most common verbal collocate (25%), and 17% of cases involving the verb *recovered*. This latter context of health and healing is still evident among the LModE examples of maximizer *perfectly* (with the verb *recovered*), yet is much less significant as it only accounts for 7% of the instances with this verbal collocates during this period. However, this period and the subsequent PDE one sees a successive increase in the frequency of verbal collocates of the 'mental' variety, since these account for 48% of the verbal collocates from LModE and 77% of those in the PDE data.

Patterns with adjectival collocates in the ME data are less conspicuous than for verbal ones, yet a tendency for semantically positive items can be discerned, e.g. *clene*, *fair*, *hole* (cf. MED *s.v. hōl(e* adj.(2),mentioned above) *humble*, *meke* (MED *s.v. mēk* adj.: gentle, quiet, modest, humble, amenable etc.). Adjectives of this nature also make up a quarter of the EModE collocates of this type (including *well*, *excellent* and *wise*), yet there are more neutral cases in the data from this period in comparison to the previous one, e.g. *round* and *voluntary*. The dramatic rise in the number of adjectival constituents modified by maximizer *perfectly* in LModE and PDE (see rows 3 and 4 of table 7.2) enables much more significant claims to be made about the tendencies from these periods. The picture presented by the data appears to be similar across these two periods, with substantial similarity in constituent types. For instance, although the most typical adjectival constituent differs in the two periods, with *free* representing that of LModE and *natural* being most common in PDE (accounting for 3% and 4% of all adjectival collocates from their respective periods), there is considerable overlap in the ten most frequent collocates from each period, with the following items featuring in both: *calm*, *clear*, *easy*, *free*, *good*, *happy*, *right*, *safe*, *simple*, *true*, and *well*[69]. Closer examination reveals that the majority of

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[69] Constituents featuring the same number of times in the corpora for a particular period were awarded a joint place in the list of frequent collocates (*good* and *well*, for instance, jointly occupy the position of second most common collocate of maximizer *perfectly* in PDE), hence the total number of items in this list exceeding ten.

adjectives across these two periods are ones that belong to Dixon's (1982, 2005) category of 'value adjectives', e.g. *beautiful*, *dreadful*, *delightful*, *elegant*, *good*, *repulsive*, *useless*, and *wonderful* from LModE and *adequate*, *appalling*, *disgusting*, *extraordinary*, *ghastly*, *lovely*, *magnificent*, *respectable* and *satisfactory* from PDE. In addition, there is also a noteworthy selection of the 'human propensity' variety, e.g. *confident*, *honest*, *kind*, *merry*, *self-possessed*, *sensible*, *stupid*, *virtuous*, and *wise*, and particularly ones from the semantic field of 'contentment', e.g. *content*, *contented*, *happy*, *pleased*, and *satisfied*. Overall, there are some collocates with inherently negative semantics, e.g. *appalling*, *disgusting*, *dreadful*, *false*, *ghastly*, *horrid*, *miserable*, *ruinous*, *sinful*, *stupid*, *useless* and *valueless* (some of which have already been listed above), including a series with negative prefixes such as *impossible*, *incomprehensible*, *inexperienced*, *intolerable*, *irrational*, *unintelligible*, *unnecessary* and *unreasonable*. However, these are very much in the minority, accounting for only 6% of all the adjectival collocates from the LModE data and only 3% from the PDE cohort.   To this effect, the indication is that *perfectly* has a strong tendency to modify constituents that are either positive or neutral in their connotations, particularly by PDE.

3.2.2 The development of emphasizer *perfectly*

The earliest example of *perfectly* being used in an emphasizer capacity dates from the EModE period (cf. table 7.1) and is exemplified in (26), below. Although the figures in table 7.1 indicate that this function accounts for 10% of the data from this period, the fact that the overall number of examples of *perfectly* from this time is relatively low (69 cases) means that this actual only equates to 7 tokens. Comparing this with the frequencies of 5% and <1% from LModE and PDE, respectively, it seems that this is not a particularly common use of this adverb at any stage in its history. This also means that any inferences made on the basis of the available examples can only be treated as indicative. Having said that, it is still interesting to consider the context in which this use may have developed, particularly since it is not explicitly recorded in any of the dictionaries or mentioned in any of the limited previous studies of *perfectly*.

(26)   *Vpon a time it came to passe, when Master Winchcombe was farre from home, and*
        his Wife gone abroad: That Mistris many-better, dame tittle-tattle, gossip pinte-pot,
        according to her old custome came to Mistris Winchcombes house, **perfectly** <u>knowing</u>
        of the good mans absence, and little thinking the good wife was from home…
        (HELSINKI: Deloney, T. 1590. *Jack of Newbury*.)

As is illustrated in (26), the emphasizer function of *perfectly* is mostly applied in the context of verbal collocates that do not accept degree modification. Besides the verb *know*, which is featured in (26), other typical constituents that are modified by *perfectly* in this use include *love*, *believe*, and *hate*, the latter of which is exemplified in (27), below. In each case, the meaning of *perfectly* is somewhat in line with present day *really* or *truly* and it serves to add force to the element it modifies, i.e. to further accentuate the strength of the mental process or emotion denoted by the verbs in cases such as (26) and (27).

(27*)* *The Queene hath binne very ill of late, but is now well againe. The noble Lady*
     Roxbrough is in Scotland, which makes me **perfectly** <u>hate</u> *the court.*
     (CEECS: Letter XXXIII. 1617. Lucy Countess of Bedford to Jane Cornwallis.)

In addition to verbal contexts, there are cases in the data such as (28), below, in which *perfectly* is employed in an emphasizer function in the context of a nominal constituent. However, since this particular context of use is only evidenced in the LModE corpora (where it accounts for 24% of the cases of emphasizer *perfectly* from this period), it seems that it is not as significant to this function of *perfectly* as the above-mentioned verbal contexts.

(28) *"Colonel Brandon seems a man of great worth and respectability. I have always*
     heard him spoken of as such, and your brother I know esteems him highly. He is
     undoubtedly a sensible man, and in his manners **perfectly** <u>the gentleman</u>*."*
     (CLMETEV: Austen, J. 1811. *Sense and Sensibility*.)

Given that this emphasizer function is first observed in the EModE corpora, the implication is that any evidence as to its origin is likely to be found in this or the previous period. To this effect, it proved fruitful to examine some of the examples from the 'ambiguous' category from both the ME and EModE periods, specifically those that are potentially ambiguous between a manner adverb reading and an emphasizer one and which accounted for 47% and 40% of all the ambiguous cases in the respective periods. Two typical examples of this nature from the ME data are provided in (29) and (30), overleaf.

(29)   *…God hathe purveyd* [prepared] *me to be the solysytore* [solicitor]*of thys mater, I*

thank hym of hys grace for the good lordys, mastyrs, and frendys that he hath sent

me, whyche haue **parfytely** <u>promysyd</u> *me to take my cause as ther owne...*
(CMEPV: Paston Letters: 1479. John Paston to Margaret Paston.)

(30)   *…the kynge of Scottes made grete sorrowe, and alle his reaume* [realm]*, for yonge*

Dauyd; and so did alle the iij. Reaumes / for the grete vertues yn hym, eueri man

perfitly <u>loued</u> *hym / and thought it was to importable* [unbearable] *a losse.*
(CMEPV: C15th. Translation of *Secreta Secretorum.*)

Due to the ambiguity in cases such as these, there does not appear to be any definitive way of determining whether *perfectly* serves to comment on the manner of the verb or to modify it. Nevertheless, with respect to the latter possibility, the fact that the verbs in question are ones that do not permit degree modification (cf. e.g. * to what extent did he *promise*/ * to what degree did they *love* him), renders the most likely interpretation of its modifying function in such contexts that of an emphasizer. The fairly high frequency of cases like these among the ambiguous examples prior to the initial instances of the emphasizer use suggests that they may be significant to the emergence of the latter. In this respect, it seems that an inference along the lines of to 'promise' or 'love' in a way that is perfect (in either a religious or a general sense) being equated with 'really/truly' doing so may have been instrumental in the eventual application of *perfectly* in a clear emphasizing function in a similar context of 'mental' and 'emotional' verbs as illustrated, for example, in (26) and (27). Interestingly, this pathway to the emphasizer use is similar to the one proposed to have been traversed by *entirely* in ME, since this too was shown to have likely emerged from an earlier manner adverb sense in the context of 'emotional' verbs (cf. chapter 6).

4. Summary

Based on the analyses presented in section 3.1, the emergence of the adverbial *perfectly* was attributed to the ME period. More precisely, the data from this period evidenced two distinct manner adverb senses (i.e. the rather specialized 'in a religiously/spiritually perfect manner' and the more general 'in a manner that is flawless/perfect/faultless') alongside the maximizer one. Although there were some examples of the 'more general' manner adverb

function of *perfectly* during the first half of the ME period, the above-mentioned 'more specialized' sense was found to be the most prevalent. Closer examination of the distribution of the different functions in the corpora revealed that the manner adverb use was more frequent among the earliest ME examples, whereas the majority of the early maximizer cases date from the latter half of this period (i.e. most commonly from 1450 onwards). In light of this, it was proposed that the use of *perfectly* as a manner adverb was more firmly established than the maximizer one during the early half of this period, thus suggesting that it emerged earlier as the initial function of this adverb. Interestingly, and in contrast to almost all of the other adverbs considered in the present study, *perfectly* retains this function through to PDE.

The presence of examples of the maximizer use of *perfectly* alongside the manner function during the ME period, indicated that the rise of the former appeared to have taken place fairly soon after the emergence of the adverb. In this respect, examples of *perfectly* that are potentially ambiguous between a degree modifier sense and the manner sense of 'in a manner that is morally or religiously perfect' were put forward in section 3.2 as representative of the bridging context that eventually resulted in the rise of the new degree modifying function in the context of verbs that accept degree modification. This and the subsequent developments of the adverb are illustrated in figure 7.1, below.
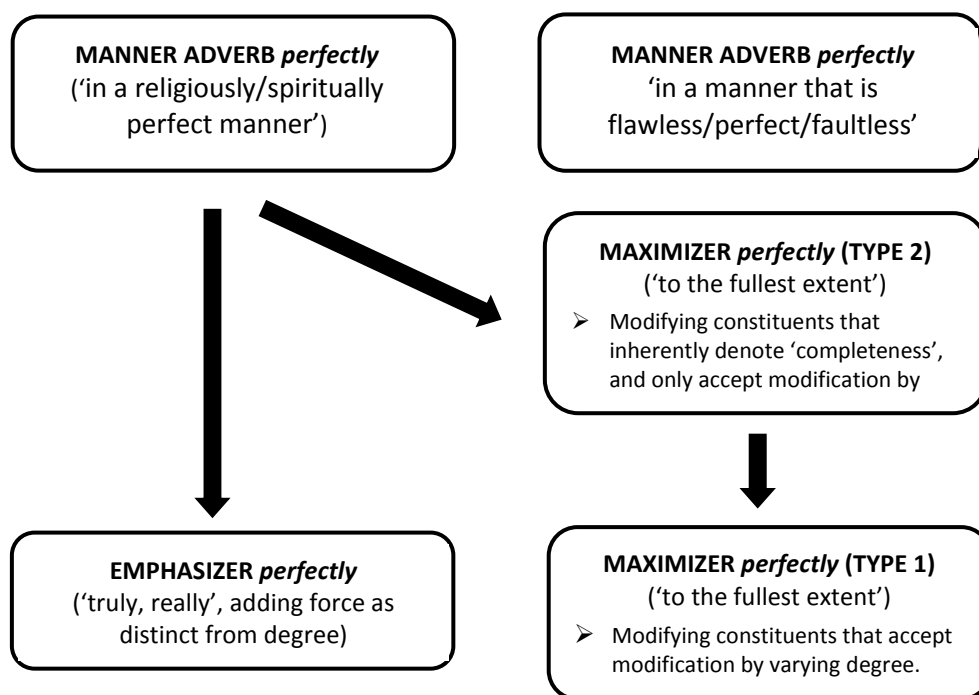

Figure 7.1 Diagram of the development of *perfectly*

The maximizer function of *perfectly* dominates throughout all periods of investigation, most significantly so in LModE and PDE. However, the EModE period also sees the rise of an additional emphasizer function that is not documented in any of the previous literature on this adverb. The data suggests that the source of this function is the manner sense of 'in a manner that is morally or religiously perfect', specifically when employed in the context of 'mental' and 'emotional' verbs that cannot be graded for degree. Moreover, positioning immediately before the verb was also shown to be significant. Whilst this function was also found in the data for LModE and PDE, at no stage was it found to account for more than 10% of the total number of examples, thus seemingly indicating that is not a particularly common use of this adverb during any period in its history.

On examining the diachronic collocates of the most prominent maximizer function of *perfectly* in more detail, the analysis revealed that it is most typically used throughout its history to modify verbal and adjectival constituents. Among more specific findings, the quantitative analysis revealed an increase over time in the proportion of adjectival collocates (quite dramatically so during LModE and PDE), coupled with an equally severe decrease in the frequency of verbal constituents. However, more specific collocational analysis also revealed certain tendencies. For instance, it was noted that a large number of the verbal collocates of maximizer *perfectly* in ME and EModE belong to the specific semantic fields of 'mental verbs' or 'verbs concerning health/healing'. Though both these types are also evidenced in the LModE data, the former have increased dramatically by this period and represent the vast majority of the verbal constituents in the PDE data. General tendencies regarding adjectival collocates noted across all four periods, include a propensity for those with positive connotations (i.e. in line with the findings in Vermeire 1979 and Paradis 1997) and those pertaining to Dixon's (1982, 2005) categories of 'value' and 'human propensity'. Notable overlap was also observed with previous studies with regard to the most common adjectival constituents, with the items *clear* and *true* (each noted as significant collocates of *perfectly* in both Vermeire 1979 and Paradis 1997), appearing among the most frequent in the LModE and the PDE data in the present study. Further concord was achieved with Vermeire (1979) with regard to the significance of the adjectival collocates *good*, *happy*, *safe*, *simple* and *true*, though whilst his research found them to be noteworthy in PDE data, the present study indicates that this was also the case in the previous LModE period. Items that are semantically negative, including those with negative prefixes were much less frequent in the data, yet some cases were noted. With a

few such cases in PDE, the majority were found in the LModE data. In this respect, rather than posing an outright contradiction to Paradis' (1997: 81) finding that maximizer *perfectly* is not used in the context of the latter type, it seems that these results evidence a change in use across time, whereby such combinations, though somewhat infrequent in general, are more characteristic of the application of this maximizer in LModE.

Finally, in line with the findings of previous chapters, the examination of the typical collocates of maximizer *perfectly* evidenced a two-way distinction among its use. In its early application, it was shown to be employed primarily as a modifier of constituents that inherently denote 'completeness' and thus only admit modification by maximizing degree modifiers. However, the EModE period witnessed an influx of cases in which it is used to modify constituents that permit modification by various types of degree modifier and it is this use which gained ground increasingly in LModE and PDE. In this respect, the analysis of this adverb further highlights the issue raised in previous chapters with regard to the validity of the maximizer class as it is currently described in the literature (cf. e.g. Allerton 1987 and Paradis 1997, amongst others, as well as standard grammars such as Quirk et al. 1985 and Huddleston & Pullum 2002).

CHAPTER 8: The development of *quite*

1. Introduction

Quite has one particular fundamental difference in comparison with the other members of the maximizer sub-category of degree modifiers, namely that alongside its maximizer function (example (1), below), it can also be used as a scalar degree modifier (cf. e.g. Paradis 1997; see example (2), below).

(1)   *After you were gone, many questions and subjects of conversation recurred to me*
        which I had intended to mention to you, but **quite** <u>*forgot*</u> *them in the agitation which I*
        felt at the totally unexpected pleasure of seeing you.
        (ARCHER: *Letters of the Brontës*, Letter written by Charlotte Brontë)
        ***Quite* functioning as a maximizer**

(2)   *The curate, who had been crouching silently with his arms over his head, looked up as*
        I passed, cried out **quite** <u>*loudly*</u> *at my desertion of him, and came running after me.*
        (CLMETEV: Wells, H.G. 1897. *The War of the Worlds*.)
        ***Quite* functioning as a scalar degree modifier**

This flexibility of *quite* has led many to consider it 'the most versatile of the modifiers' (Paradis 1997: 35) and even to write of its 'vague intensifying force, which puzzles most grammarians' (Vermeire 1979: 290). Clearly, this unique characteristic, particularly in light of comments such as the latter of the above, presents one of the main motivations for seeking to gain a better understanding of degree modifier *quite*. More specifically, it raises questions from a synchronic viewpoint as to what factors may distinguish its degree modifying force in particular contexts and also from a diachronic perspective in terms of elucidating the way in which this item developed two distinct degree modifying functions.

        Further to the two above-mentioned degree modifying functions, a brief survey of the MED and OED entries for *quite*, some of the previous research (e.g. Stoffel 1901, Bolinger 1972, Vermeire 1979, and Paradis 1997) and accounts in standard grammars of English (e.g. Leech & Svartvik 1975, Quirk et al. 1985, Biber et al. 1999, and Huddleston & Pullum 2002) reveal details of three other functions of *quite* in use at some point

throughout its history, viz. manner adverb, emphasizer, and response particle (see examples (3)-(5), respectively[70]).

(3)   *…and whanne he came nyght hym/he cryed Abyde thou proude knight syr kay/for thou shalt not <u>passe</u> **quyte***

[…and when he came near to him/he cried out Stop noble knight sir kay/because you shall not pass by quite]

(CMEPV: Malory, T. a1470. *Le Morte d'Arthur*.)

***Quite* functioning as a manner adverb**

(4)   *At 2.45 the carpark started overflowing into neighbours' drives. Have you ever seen your garden absolutely full of bodies? It's **quite** <u>a sight.</u>*

(BNC: 1985-1993, *Gardeners' World*.)

***Quite* functioning as an emphasizer**

(5)   *"Can we put Humpty Dumpty together again as a Corporal with a clean record?...Well, we certainly ought to try, and if we can't then there'll be a very good case for generous compensation out of the secret funds."*

*"**Quite**," Husband nodded.*

(BNC: Lyall, G. 1982. *The Conduct of Major Maxim*.)

***Quite* functioning as a response particle**

It would seem, therefore, from these observations that the versatility of *quite* also transcends its use in a degree modifying function, to a similar extent as was noted for *absolutely*.

The history of *quite* is examined in this chapter as follows: following a review of the previous literature on this item (section 2), section 3 maps out its development based on the analysis of the corpus data (ME-PDE). The initial part of this section (3.1) deals with the rise of the adverbial form from its adjectival source, and the remainder (section 3.2) documents the subsequent developments of this form. Finally, section 4 provides a summary of the main findings and considers the implication of these, particularly in relation to other members of the maximizer class.

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[70] Examples here are primarily for illustrative purposes. For more comprehensive explanations of each of these functions, see chapter 3 (section 3.1).

2. Previous literature on *quite*

The previous studies of *quite* tend to focus only on its use as a degree modifier. As a consequence of this, there is comparatively very little information to consider in relation to its other functions, most notably those of manner adverb and response particle. In terms of the former, the only source in which it is mentioned is the MED, which details a sense of 'freely, without hindrance or harm', which is recorded up until a1500 (MED *s.v. quīt(e* adv. c). Given that this is the only source of information on this function, it is clear that further research is needed to understand more about the way in which it was used and to determine whether it bears significant connection to any of the other functions of this item.

With respect to the use of *quite* as a response particle, brief mention can be found in Quirk et al. (1985: 612) and in Paradis (1997: 36), in which it is respectively referred to as a 'comment utterance' and as either an 'equaliser' or 'response item'. In this capacity, which is commented on in each of the above-mentioned sources in relation to PDE only, *quite* is likened to the focusing subjuncts *exactly* and *precisely* which can also be employed in the same way (see Quirk et al. 1985: ibid.). Although this use of *quite* is found in a peripheral position, detached from any matrix, Quirk et al. (1985: ibid.) note that it seems to be related to some implied sentence, commonly expressing agreement with something another speaker has said. In this respect, they give the example '*Quite* ["I quite agree"] (Quirk et al. 1985: ibid.). In cases where it is used as a comment on a previous utterance, this suggestion seems valid; however, when it is used in answer to a polar question (see section 3.2.5 or chapter 3 (section 3.1) for details of this), it must also carry an affirmative meaning. As neither Quirk et al. 1985 nor Paradis 1997 investigate either type of this function in actual usage, a corpus analysis of its emergence and propagation will prove a valuable contribution, serving to improve knowledge of this recent function of *quite*.

Turning now to the more widespread coverage of *quite* as a degree modifier, it was noted above that the majority of the early research in this respect concentrates solely on its maximizer function, which is recorded in the dictionaries as expressing the meaning 'completely', i.e. to a complete extent/degree (cf. MED *s.v. quīt(e* adv. a, b and OED *s.v. quite* adv. A. I.). Although Stoffel (1901) was actually the first to mention this use (see below), some other prominent early studies are that of Bolinger (1972) and Bäcklund (1973, 1980[71]). In the former, initial consideration is given to the origin of this use and in this respect, it is asserted that *quite* bears similarity to the degree modifier *very*. According to Bolinger, maximizer *quite* is one of a group of degree modifiers (also including *very*) that

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[71] The findings of these two studies in relation to *quite* coincide, therefore since the more recent one concentrates specifically on this item, it is this that will be focused on in the ensuing discussion.

have developed from 'truth identifiers', i.e. 'terms that originally expressed some relationship between what is said and the declarativeness of saying it, or the certainty or emphasis of truth attached to it' (Bolinger 1972: 93). Regarding the more detailed analysis of its use, Bolinger refers to both verbal and adjectival constituents, though notes that the former are much more typical. In particular, he states that the verbal collocates of maximizer *quite* are ones 'whose meanings embody some kind of completeness, many of which can only be intensified by *quite* and its synonyms' (Bolinger 1972: 224).

Using data from the Brown Corpus[72], Bäcklund 1980 compares the collocational behaviour of the maximizers *quite* and *perfectly* (cf. chapter 7). He concludes that '*quite* is characterised by implicit contrastiveness' (Bäcklund 1980: 192), asserting, for instance, that 'right' (when modified by *quite*[73]) is used 'as a response to a statement or as a kind of act with the implication: "I concede it is 'right' rather than not 'right', which judgement would have been the alternative"'.

In Vermeire's (1979) corpus-based study of present-day maximizer *quite*, he observes that it most typically modifies adjectival constituents, which account for 56.9% of his data. Adverbial and verbal collocates are also found to be fairly common, with respective frequencies of 17.5% and 8.7%. Since the frequency of the most typical collocate type is not particularly high (cf. e.g. *perfectly*, which in Vermeire's data occurred with adjectival collocates 90% of the time), the implication is that maximizer *quite* is rather versatile in its application.

As a modifier of verbal constituents, Vermeire (1979: 300) notes that maximizer *quite* occurs almost 50% of the time with 'some negative formative (e.g. not, never, nobody etc.)'[74]. Moreover, he finds that the verbal collocates in such negative contexts tend to be either verbs of knowing (e.g. 'know', 'think', 'remember'), verbs of understanding (e.g. 'understand', 'work out', 'follow', 'grasp') or verbs of speaking (e.g. 'tell', 'put into words'). In positive contexts, his data reveals verbs of liking (e.g. 'like', 'enjoy', 'appreciate') and verbs of agreeing (e.g. 'agree') as frequent collocates. More generally, he notes that the great majority of the non-negated verbal collocates in his data do not have a completive

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[72] See chapter 7 on *perfectly* or Francis & Kucera (1979) for details of this corpus.

[73] The claim made in Bäcklund 1980 (see e.g. pg 92) is specifically in relation to instances where these collocates are used within the scope of the modifier *quite*. No claims are made about the nature of these lexical items *per se*.

[74] Though this tendency is also observed by Paradis (1997: 36), the present study focusses only on the use of *quite* in assertive contexts. Discussion of some of the differences between the assertive use of *quite* and its use in the scope of a negative is provided in Bolinger (1972: 119 and 227).

feature (Vermeire 1979: 300). This, however, contrasts with Bolinger's (1972: 225-6) claim that this feature, in fact, characterises all verbal collocates of maximizer *quite*[75].

In the work of Paradis (1997), which considers degree modifiers from a range of sub-categories, *quite* features as both a maximizer and a scalar degree modifier. With regard to its use as a maximizer, her analysis reveals that it is the most frequently used of all the maximizers in her study. Of its adjectival collocations (which represent 56% of all combinations in her corpora[76]), she notes that the majority are with 'neutral limit adjectives' such as the following: *correct*, *normal*, *obvious*, *true*, *safe*, *sufficient*, *right*, *ordinary*, *convinced* and *relaxed*. There is also a selection of 'extreme adjectives' in her data, including *shattered*, *crowded*, *astounding* and *extraordinary*. The most frequent of these in decreasing frequency are as follows: *sure* (17%), *clear* (11%), *different* (9%), *right* (9%), *certain* (7%) and *true* (5%). Concurrent with Vermeire 1979, is her finding that there is a propensity for elements with a negative semantic prosody among the constituents modified by this maximizer.

In comparison to other maximizers, Paradis finds that *quite* stands out in that the majority of its occurrences are in combinations which occur at least five times. She asserts that the reason for this is most likely that '*quite* is a rather neutral, comparatively weak and non-demanding maximizer, which harmonises with common core types of adjectives which are frequent in spontaneous speech' (Paradis 1997: 82). However, given that the particularly frequent combinations mentioned above account for 58% of the instances of *quite* in her data, another possible interpretation is that it has a propensity for certain fixed collocations. Should this be the case, it is likely that the foundation of this will be evident in its use in previous stages of the language, thus a diachronic analysis may elucidate this.

The first known source to mention both the maximizer and the scalar degree modifying uses of *quite* is that of Stoffel 1901. According to his research, it is not until the early nineteenth century that *quite* was first recorded in the sense of 'to a great extent or degree; very; considerably; as, *quite* young' (Stoffel 1901: 43, citing Webster's (1828) dictionary). Clearly, this definition corresponds to a 'booster', i.e. a reinforcing degree modifier and it is in this sense that the scalar degree modifier function of *quite* is also conceived of in the grammar of Leech and Svartvik (1975) and more recently in the work of Diehl (2005). This, however, is only one of two main viewpoints on this matter; the

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[75] Cf. Bolinger 1972 (225-6) and Vermeire 1979: 301) for details of other differences in the findings of these studies in relation to '*quite* + verbal collocate' combinations that are not dealt with in the present work (e.g. tendencies connected to tense and person).
[76] Paradis (1997) uses the London-Lund Corpus (LLC), of which details can be found in Greenbaum & Svartvik 1990.

alternative is that reflected in the OED entry for *quite* (adv. II. and III.), namely that its scalar degree modifying function corresponds to the moderator sub-category, i.e. is used to denote a moderate degree and is thus synonymous with items such as 'rather' and 'fairly'. Other proponents of this view include Quirk et al. (1985: 598), Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 722) and Paradis (1997), and it is in the latter that the most comprehensive details of this function can be found.

Interestingly, just as Paradis notes that *quite* is the most frequently used of all the maximizers in her study, she also finds that it is the most common moderator. Of a total of 429 examples retrieved from the corpora, 61% were found to occur with adjectival constituents and thus were considered in the study. In its moderator function, typical collocates of *quite* are all kinds of scalar adjectives, including the following: *good*, *nice*, *interesting*, *big*, *funny*, *long*, *close*, *strong*, *attractive*, *easy*, *difficult*, *boring*, *disappointed*, *fun*, *rich* and *dirty*. However, Paradis (1997: 87) also notes the possibility for moderator *quite* to occur with adjectives that are principally of the extreme or limit variety, in cases where the adjective is 'contextually modulated' in favour of a scalar moderator reading (i.e. is reinterpreted as scalar in a particular context). Some examples of such cases from her data include combinations with basically limit adjectives which do not have a strong bias, e.g. *certain*, *clear* and *different*, and extreme adjectives which 'dwell in the borderland between scalarity and absoluteness' (Paradis 1997: 87), e.g. *ludicrous*, *lovely* and *beautiful*. Although Paradis 1997 is a synchronic study, she does make some claims relating to the diachrony of *quite*, notably in the above connection that as a result of this fluid nature of its interpretation, it is most likely that it has developed from a maximizer into a moderator in the context of such adjectives (Paradis 1997: 87). Whilst this seems a valid hypothesis, it can only be investigated by means of a diachronic analysis. Moreover, it raises the question of whether, should such a development from maximizer to moderator have taken place, it is actually the result of a change in the conceptualization of *quite* (thus leading to an extension to (potentially) scalar collocates) or whether it is connected to a change in the conceptualization of some of its typical collocates.

The final function of *quite* to be considered in the present section is its emphasizing one. The earliest suggestion of this use can be found in the work of Stoffel (1901: 42), through his mention of there being a 'weak sentence-modifying form [of *quite*] expressing a modal modification which is not easy to define'. It is in this respect that he claims, based on the cases put forward in Webster 1828 as examples of a booster function of *quite*, that *quite* actually differs from boosters such as 'to a great extent' and 'very' in that it has a strong modal connotation. He likens this to the modal adverb use of 'actually', asserting that *quite*

can be employed to 'vouch for statements which seem surprising, incredible, or exaggerated…emphasiz[ing] the truth of those statements which it at the same time characterizes as something out of the common experience' (Stoffel 1901: 47). A similar effect is achieved in Bolinger 1972, where he discusses a perceived link between maximizer *quite* and an earlier 'truth identifying' function, noting a partial similarity with the adverbs *indeed*, *truly* and *very*. Although Bolinger claims to be discussing the maximizer function of *quite* at this point, his commentary, as with that of Stoffel (1901), perhaps resonates somewhat with Quirk et al.'s (1985) definition of an emphasizer (see also Vermeire 1979: 293ff). In fact, one of Bolinger's own definitions of maximizer *quite* at a later point in his work, viz. as having the sense of 'an emphatic 'completely'' (Bolinger 1972: 101), seems to reflect this potential ambiguity.

With regard to distinguishing the function of *quite*, some studies that take account of both the maximizer and the scalar degree modifying function do acknowledge difficulty in distinguishing its precise degree modifying force in particular contexts.   This matter is particularly challenging in the context of constituents that permit modification by both maximizers and scalar degree modifiers (cf. e.g. Paradis 1997: 18). For instance, out of context, it is often difficult to determine whether, in a combination such as '*quite* different', *quite* is to be interpreted as a maximizer (i.e. *completely* different) or as a scalar degree modifier (of either the booster or moderator variety, i.e. *very/fairly* different). The issue is also relevant to the ambiguity surrounding the exact degree modifying force of scalar degree modifying *quite*, of which opinion in the literature has been shown to be divided with some describing it as a booster and others advocating a moderator interpretation. Despite this being one of the factors making *quite* a particularly interesting candidate for study, the related methodological issue of how to disambiguate the various meanings and functions of *quite* is one that needs to be attended to prior to the analysis stage. To this effect, the present research takes some direction from Vermeire 1979 and Paradis 1997, both of which have attempted to understand the fine-grained differences between the various degree modifying functions of *quite*.

Vermeire's (1979) contribution was to administer a series of judgement tests to a group of native speakers in an attempt to gain a clearer insight into the factors which may determine its meaning. The results of these tests evidenced a propensity for maximizer *quite* to occur with non-gradable collocates. Ones that are non inherently gradable, yet can be relativized so as to be interpreted in a gradable sense, divided opinion, with some of the subjects replacing *quite* with a maximizer and others substituting an emphasizer. Generally speaking, *quite* tended to be replaced by a downtoner (i.e. a moderator) in the context of

gradable collocates, though in a number of such cases, the test resulted in almost equal division between boosters and downtoners, which Vermeire (1979: 295) suggests could be an indication of the importance of intonation and context on determining the precise intensifying force of scalar degree modifier *quite*. The word class of the collocate, its affective meaning (i.e. whether it is associated with positive, negative or neutral evaluation) and whether or not it occurs in a declarative clause were found not to have any significant effect. In the context of non-gradable collocates, *quite* was fairly consistently likened to other maximizers; however, with gradable collocates, the findings were much more erratic and subjects even commented that their judgement with items such as *disturb*, *cold*, *deplore*, *happy* and *disappoint* was dependent upon intonation and emphasis.

The more recent study of Paradis (1997) works with the assumption that analysing the various types of adjectival collocates of *quite* and observing the influence that the semantic features of the two items exert on one another (cf. Paradis 1997: 29) will be of use in distinguishing between its various degree modifying uses. In line with the findings of Vermeire (1979), she concludes that though it is sometimes possible to determine the intensifying force of *quite* in a particular context via semantic and/or contextual clues, intonational clues are relied upon in their absence.

This finding arrived at by both the above-mentioned sources, as well as the more specific details of Vermeire's (1979) conclusions, goes some way to explaining the lack of consensus with regard to the classification of degree modifier *quite*. However, whilst it offers a potential solution to differentiating between its various degree modifying senses in spoken data, the same issues must be anticipated in the corpus analysis in the present research, since written data does not provide details of intonation and at best emphasis can be inferred from the context. Nevertheless, since both works are synchronic, it does still remain to be seen whether a study of the diachronic development of *quite* may be able to shed any light on this issue. Moreover, it will be interesting to see whether any explanation can be found in the diachronic development as to how both the maximizer and the scalar degree modifying sense have survived and continue to be used with fairly equal frequency in PDE (cf. figures in table 8.1, section 3.2.), even in spite of the functional overlap noted above. Whilst addressing these issues, it will also be possible to explore the remaining question of whether two types of scalar degree modifying *quite*, viz. one moderating and one reinforcing, do in fact exist, or whether the contrasting classifications are simply different ways of interpreting the same function.

To summarise, each of the previous works on *quite* undoubtedly provides some valuable insights into the contemporary usage of what appears to be one of the most

versatile English degree modifiers. However, the above review has highlighted several issues on which these disagree, and therefore on which further research is needed in order to try to resolve. For instance, in relation to maximizer *quite*, there is a lack of consensus with regard to the precise nature of its typical verbal collocates and the constraints on its combination with verbs. Concerning its scalar degree modifying use, it remains unclear whether both a booster and a moderator sense exist or whether these are simply two sides of the same coin. Perhaps an even more fundamental matter is that, with respect to the disambiguation of its various degree modifying senses, there is still no single all-encompassing method. Alongside these issues, there is the notable fact that since all the previous works deal only with present-day data, consideration of the historical development of *quite* is outside the scope of all of them.

3. Mapping out the development of *quite*

As stated in section 1, this account of the development of *quite* is organized into two main sections: first, section 3.1 details the rise of the adverb from its adjectival source, then section 3.2 elucidates the subsequent development of this form, documenting when and how each of its uses emerges.

3.1 The rise of the adverb

The etymology of the adverb *quite* is less clear-cut than that of other maximizers (cf. e.g. the items examined in chapters 4-7), with two prominent historical resources, the MED and the OED, offering somewhat conflicting information on the issue. In the MED (see MED *s.v. quit(e)* adv.) it is maintained that it derives from the English adjective *quit(e)*, which meant 'excused, exempt, free, freed; freed from an obligation' (MED *s.v. quīt(e* adj.; cf. also OED *s.v. quit(e)* adj.). However, the OED (see OED *s.v. quite* adv.) presents two possibilities: either it arose from the English adjective *quit(e)*, or it stems from the Anglo-Norman *quite* ('without opposition') or the Middle French *quittes* ('totally') and is influenced by the Anglo-Norman and Middle French *quittement* ('freely, unconditionally, completely'). There seems to be an unquestionable French influence, since even if it should be the case that the adverb followed the former of the suggested pathways and developed from the English adjective, this, according to both the MED and the OED is of French origin (see MED *s.v. quī t(e* adj. and OED *s.v. quit(e)* adj., respectively). In accordance with the direction in the MED and the former of the two suggestions in the OED, the implication is that the English

adjective was borrowed from the French adjective and then gradually grammaticalized into the English adverb. This proposed development mirrors that involved in the formation of PDE *very*, an adverb that derives from the English adjective *very*, which was previously borrowed from French (*verray*) and conveyed the meaning 'really or truly entitled to the name or designation; possessing the true character of the person or thing named true' (*OED* s.v. *very*. a., adj. and n. A.I.i). The alternative possibility is that the French adjective underwent grammaticalization in French, leading to the development of the French adverb, which was subsequently borrowed into English. In response to this issue, these two possible trajectories were investigated as part of McManus 2008 in an attempt to establish a more accurate account of the origin of English *quite* (adv.). Drawing on research by Hornero-Corisco (1997), McManus 2008 examined early instances of *quite* (adv.) in English corpora (i.e. from the EModE period[77]) in search of evidence that would suggest that it was directly borrowed from French. Through the study of the development of English prepositions, Hornero-Corisco 1997 showed that borrowed elements tend to occur most frequently in combinations with other borrowed elements in the same syntactic unit. It was therefore assumed, in accordance with this, that if *quite* (adv.) was borrowed as an adverb from French, it would be found predominantly in combination with other loanwords in its early occurrences in the corpora. As the analysis revealed a significantly higher proportion of collocating constituents of a native, as opposed to foreign, origin, it was concluded as highly unlikely, at least in accordance with Hornero-Corisco's (1997) criterion, that the English adverb *quite* was borrowed directly from French. Consequently, the attention turned to the possibility that it derives from the English adjective as in, for example, the cases of *very* (mentioned above) and the ME reinforcing degree modifier *right* (see Méndez-Naya 2007 for details of this development).

By comparing the distribution of the adjective *quite* and the adverb *quite* in the corpora, some point between the ME and EModE periods was determined as the likely point of adverbialization, should the development of the latter have been the result of grammaticalization in English. On examining the data from this potential transitional period, McManus 2008 noted that in 40% of instances, *quite* occurs in the context of a near synonymous adjective, e.g. *free* (see (6), below), *delyvered*[78], *assoyled*[79], *lose*[80] and

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[77] 17 instances of *quite* (adv.) were also retrieved from ME corpora, however, this small number of cases were deemed unsuitable for analysis for reasons discussed in McManus 2008: 14.

[78] 'Free, unencumbered' (MED *s.v. dēliver(e* (adj.) a).

[79] Past participle of the verb 'assoilen': 'To release (sb. from an obligation)' (MED *s.v. assoilen* (verb) a).

[80] MED *s.v. los* (adj.): '(a) Of persons: free from fetters, imprisonment, captivity, encirclement, or physical constraint; of animals: untied, loose; of insects: moving about, at large; also *fig.*; (b) unimpeded in action; free

absolut[81], which creates a combination that indicates emphasis of that meaning through repetition (see, in this connection, Mustanoja (1960: 326) on the development of *very* (adv.) from *very* (adj.).

(6)   *…we now remyse* [pardon (your crime)] *& putte you **free quytte** & at your lyberte*
        (CMEPV: D'Arras, *Melusine*, 1382-1394).

        In addition to such cases, McManus 2008 also notes a selection of examples in which it occurs directly adjacent to a verb with a meaning related to 'freedom', e.g. *assoile* (meaning 'to absolve/free /release': *MED* s.v. *assoilen*. v. 1, 2, 3) in (7), or precedes a phrase with a somewhat synonymous meaning, as in (8), below.   It seems plausible that such contexts may have led the way for the reanalysis of *quite* as a means of conveying maximum degree (i.e. as a maximizer), as reiteration of the concept of 'freedom' may have gradually lent itself to modification by way of emphasis.

(7)   *… we <u>assoile</u> **quyte** Erles & barons, knyӡtӡ, & al oþer maner men, of her homages, seruices & feauteӡ…*
        [… we absolve quite Earls and Barons, knights, and all other manner of men, of their allegiances, services and feudal obligations…]
        (CMEPV: *The Brut*, *or The Chronicles of England*.)

(8)   *…ffor yef* [if] *it falle that I haue of hym the better, I will* [wish] *that alle his men go **quyte** <u>where so thei will.</u>*
        (CMEPV: a1450-1460. *Merlin*.)

In (6) and (7), the element that is potentially the modified constituent, i.e. *free* in (6) and *assoile* in (7), precedes *quite*.   By present-day standards, a degree modifier interpretation would therefore probably be perceived as unlikely because of the known fact that PDE degree modifiers usually occupy a fixed syntactic position (cf. Lehmann's (1985: 309) 'fixation'), directly preceding the items they modify (see Bolinger 1972; Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999; and Huddleston & Pullum 2002). However, the fact that this was not necessarily the case in previous stages of the language is evidenced in other research on

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to move about; **~ fro**, independent of (destiny); (c) exempt (from tithes, taxes, jurisdictions, etc.); absolved of sins'.

[81] MED *s.v. absōlūt* (ppl.): '(a) Free from compulsion or limitation, unrestricted; **~ from (fro, of)**, uncontrolled by, free from, independent of'.

degree modifiers. For instance, Méndez-Naya (2003: 381-382) demonstrates that it definitely was not the case in OE or ME for the degree modifier *swīpe* ('very, much, exceedingly'[82]). Her analysis reveals that in cases where *swīpe* occurs in connection with a verb and is more likely to be interpreted as a degree modifier as opposed to a manner adjunct, the word order *verb + swīpe* prevails. Similarly, Nevalainen & Rissanen (2002: 372), observe that the placement of the adverb *fair(e)* was relatively free in OE and ME, and in EModE, it was typically placed after the verb. Not only do these findings confirm that ME degree modifiers were not subject to the same syntactic constraints as they are in PDE, but the study by Méndez-Naya (2003) also specifically provides evidence of a ME degree modifier occupying the syntactic position directly following the modified constituent. Moreover, similar evidence is also found in the present study among the ME examples of other maximizers (see e.g. *perfectly* in examples (18), (20) and (21) in chapter 7[83]). This is comparable with the syntax of the above examples, thus promoting the possibility outlined above that the frequent co-ordination of *quite* with words and phrases whose meanings are analogous to its own meaning may have aided its eventual reanalysis as an adverb[84].

In light of these findings, McManus 2008 concludes that of the two lines of enquiry investigated, it is most likely that *quite* is derived from the English adjective. In this way, its development is considered to be a process of adverbialization resulting from the negotiation of its adjectival meaning in the context of semantically similar elements. This trajectory mirrors that traversed by many other English degree modifiers in the early stages of their development e.g. *right* and *very*, mentioned above, *full* (Nevalainen 1997), *rather* (Rissanen 1994 & 2008) *fairly* and *pretty* (Nevalainen & Rissanen 2002) and *swīpe* (Méndez-Naya 2007), amongst others.

The earliest clear examples of the adverb *quite* in the corpora date from the Middle English period. Examples (9) and (10), overleaf, are illustrations of such. In each of these cases, a manner adverb reading of *quite*, i.e. 'freely, without hindrance', seems most plausible, yet this appears to be somewhat at odds with the proposed development of adverbial *quite*, which implies that its initial function would have been that of a maximizer. However, closer examination of the sources of the ME examples shows that they come from a relatively small number of texts (as discussed in more detail in section 3.2.1). Moreover, some of the potential bridging examples are even from the same texts as confirmed adverbial examples (cf. e.g. examples (8) and (10)). Accordingly, it is clear that

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[82] Definition as cited by Méndez-Naya (2003: 378) from Bosworth (1989 (Toller 1921)) s.v. *swīpe*. adv.).

[83] See also, example (32) in chapter 10 on *utterly*.

[84] In this connection, it is also worth noting that the EModE examples of maximizer *quite* evidence a comparable syntactic variability (cf. examples such as (45)-(50) in section 3.2.2).

the effect of the development proposed to be at work in the bridging examples would not be reflected in any of the ME data; given the time frame, the outcome of such processes of inferencing would likely only be observable in the later EModE data. In light of this, given that there is no apparent link between *quite (*adj.) and manner adverb *quite*, and taking into account the texts from which the examples of the latter are drawn, viz. Malory's 'Le Morte d'Arthur' and the prose romance of 'Merlin' (see (9) and (10), respectively), it seems likely that this use of *quite* may reflect French and/or Latin influence.

(9)   *…ye shalle telle me of whens ye ar and what be youre names / for suche*
        men ye myte be ye shold hard escape my handes / and ye myghte be suche men of
        suche a countre / that for alle your euylle dedes ye shold <u>passe</u> **quyte**
        […you shall tell me where you are from and what your name is/ for you might be
        such men that should forcibly escape my hands/ and you might be such men to the
        contrary/ who on account of all your evil deeds shall pass by quite]
        (CMEPV: Malory, T. a1470. *Le Morte d'Arthur*.)

(10)   *"Ffeire lordes, lete be the Quene, and <u>go</u> youre wey* **quyte***, ffor I can yow good thanke*
        for that ye haue of hir pite [mercy]*, and gramercy* [many thanks] *for that curtesie."*
        (CMEPV: a1450-1460. *Merlin*.)

3.2 *Quite* from ME to PDE

Having considered the rise of adverbial *quite*, the remainder of this section details its subsequent development, based on the analysis of the corpus data. As noted previously (see section 1), there are five functions associated with *quite* at various stages in its history, thus the main purpose of this section is to elucidate how and when each of these functions arose and what relation(s) they bear to one another. In doing so, it also addresses the issues raised in relation to the findings of previous research, namely whether a diachronic analysis of *quite* may shed any light on how to distinguish its precise intensifying force in any given context, or on how both a maximizer sense and a scalar degree modifier one have continued to co-exist with relatively equal frequency into PDE. In addition, it considers the evidence available with regard to determining whether there are in fact two types of scalar degree modifier *quite*, viz. a moderator and a booster, or whether these could be more appropriately conceived of as varying interpretations of the same function.

By way of a starting point, table 8.1, below, presents a break-down of the corpus data for *quite* from each period (ME-PDE) according to function.

	MANNER ADVERB	MAXIMIZER	SCALAR DEGREE MODIFER	EMPHASIZER	RESPONSE PARTICLE	AMBIGUOUS	TOTAL
ME	4 (13%)	21 (70%)	-	-	-	5 (17%)	30 (100%)
EModE	-	392 (95%)	-	-	-	22 (5%)	414 (100%)
LModE	-	508 (70%)	53 (7%)	57 (8%)	1 (<1%)	110 (15%)	729 (100%)
PDE	-	295 (41%)	214 (29%)	111 (15%)	6 (1%)	101 (14%)	727 (100%)

Table 8.1: The function of *quite* from ME-PDE

3.2.1 Early adverbial *quite*

As detailed in the previous section, and in conjunction with the information presented in the MED and the OED, the earliest instances of the adverbial *quite* are found in the corpus data for the ME period. More specifically, the information in table 8.1, above, evidences both a manner adverb and a maximizing degree modifier function of *quite* during this initial period of use.

It is clear from the figures, that the manner adverb use (illustrated in (11) and (12), which are replicated from (9) and (10) for ease of reference[85]) is the much more infrequent of the two functions, accounting for only 13% of the data from this period (and only four individual examples).

(11)   …*ye shalle telle me of whens ye ar and what be youre names / for suche*
        men ye myte be ye shold hard escape my handes / and ye myghte be suche men of
        *suche a countre / that for alle your euylle dedes ye shold <u>passe</u> **quyte***
        (CMEPV: Malory, T. a1470. *Le Morte d'Arthur*.)

(12)   *"Ffeire lordes, lete be the Quene, and <u>go</u> youre wey **quyte**, ffor I can yow good thanke*
        for that ye haue of hir pite, and gramercy for that curtesie."
        (CMEPV: a1450-1460. *Merlin*.)

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[85] Translation of these examples is provided with (9) and (10).

In contrast, with a frequency of 70%, the maximizer degree modifying function (as exemplified in (13) and (14), below) represents the majority of the examples of ME *quite*.

(13)   *But sire Launcelot smote sir palomydes soo hard that he wente* **quyte** <u>oute of his</u> <u>sadel</u> *and had a grete falle*
        (CMEPV: Malory, T. a1470. *Le Morte d'Arthur*.)

(14)   *…Malgryn brysed* [brought down] *his spere vpon Alysander/ and alisander smote hym* *ageyne so hard that he bare hym* **quyte** <u>from his sadell</u> *to the erthe/*
        (CMEPV: Malory, T. a1470. *Le Morte d'Arthur*.)

As a manner adverb, *quite* had the meaning 'freely, without hindrance or harm' (see MED *s.v. qu⁻ıt(e* adv. c). Accordingly, examples (11) and (12) talk respectively of being granted the ability to 'passe' and to 'go youre wey' in a free manner, without hindrance or harm. As noted above, there are only four clear examples of manner adverb *quite* in the corpora. In previous chapters, findings of this kind were deemed to be indications of the decline of a manner adverb function, typically as the result of the propagation of a new function that has stemmed from it. For example, the chapter on *absolutely* details how the manner adverb sense of the word gives rise to the maximizer one, which quickly becomes the dominant sense, resulting in the manner adverb falling from use (see chapter 4, section 4.2.1.). However, in the case of *quite*, given that both its adjectival sense and its adverbial uses are first attested in the ME period (cf. MED *s.v. qu⁻ıt(e* adj. and *s.v. qu⁻ıt(e* adv., and OED *s.v. quit(e)* adj. and *s.v. quite* adv.) and that the corpus evidence seems to suggest that *quite* (adj.) is the source of maximizer *quite* (as detailed in the previous section), it seems that the low frequency of its manner adverb use in the ME data is simply a reflection of the fact that it was never a common function. One possible reason for this could be the simultaneous existence of a suffixed form of the adverb, *quitely*, which, according to the OED (*s.v. quitely* adv.) was in use from c1330 and is attested in a manner adverb function between 1384 and 1487. Although the OED presents this item as somewhat uncommon, listing only a small selection of examples, a search of the ME corpora revealed 238 instances, which upon brief investigation, were all found to be functioning as manner adverbs, expressing the meaning 'in a free manner, without hindrance'. In this respect, it seems to have been the case that the manner adverb sense tended to be expressed by the suffixed form of the adverb, rather than its zero-derived form. Nevertheless, even this does not appear to have been in use after the late 1400s.

From the EModE period onwards, the manner adverb function of *quite* ceases to appear in the corpus data, thus suggesting that it was no longer in use after ME. Instead, the EModE period sees the rise of the maximizer function, which appears to have taken off considerably during this period, since the figures in table 8.1 show that it is by far the main function of *quite* in the EModE data. The fact that there is no evidence of any significant connection between the manner adverb function and the maximizer one supports the proposal that these functions are not developmentally connected in that the latter derives from the ME adjective *quite*, whilst the former, much more infrequent use is perhaps more likely to reflect French influence during the ME period (as noted in section 3.1).

At this point, given that many of the EModE examples quoted in the subsequent sections are from the works of EModE playwrights, it is important to add some detail about the data retrieval for this period. An initial search, carried out using CEECS and the EModE sections of the Helsinki Corpus, revealed forty examples of *quite* (adv.). This being a relatively low number, a subsequent search of the EModEDramatists corpus was carried out in order to improve the validity of the findings. This increased the number of tokens tremendously to four hundred and fourteen, but what is also important to note is that the numbers increased in line with the ratios from the initial search, both in terms of the distribution of the function of *quite* (illustrated in table 8.1) and the distribution of the collocate types modified by maximizer *quite* and scalar degree modifying *quite* (documented in tables 8.2 and 8.3, respectively, and discussed in more detail in the ensuing sections). This therefore eliminates any concern that a corpus of this genre may not be representative of general usage and thus may not be sufficiently comparable to the other EModE sources.

The predominance of the maximizer function of *quite* continues in the LModE period and in PDE. However the figures in table 8.1 do evidence a successive decrease over these respective periods, from 95% in EModE to 70% in LModE and down to 41% in PDE. This reduction in the popularity of the maximizer sense of *quite* is undoubtedly the result of its increasing number of functions (as evidenced in table 8.1 from the LModE period onwards). However, it is interesting to note that these findings differ from that of Paradis (1997: 36), who records that the scalar degree modifying use of *quite* outweighs the maximizer one in her PDE data, by a ratio of 49% to 34%. As table 8.1 shows, the difference in the frequency of these two functions that can be observed from the data in the present research is actually in the opposite direction, with the maximizer function being more common in comparison to the scalar degree modifying one at a ratio of 41% to 29%. It is possible that these differences are a reflection of the fact that Paradis' data consists of

spoken language, whilst the data used for the present study is of the written variety. However, it seems more likely that they are due to the fact that both the corpus size and the sample size used in the present study are larger[86], which incidentally, also suggests that they may be more representative, thus strengthening the reliability of the results.

Since the more recent developments in the history of *quite* are detailed in the ensuing sections, the remainder of the present section focuses on taking a more detailed diachronic look at the maximizer sense of *quite.* To this effect, table 8.2, below, presents the frequencies of the constituent types modified by maximizer *quite* throughout its history.

	ADJ/ADJP	V/VP	ADV/ADVP	P/PP	N/NP	OTHER	TOTAL
ME	-	4	-	15	-	2	21
		(19%)		(71%)		(10%)	(100%)
EModE	108	184	22	54	-	24	392
	(28%)	(47%)	(6%)	(14%)		(6%)	(100%)
LModE	358	64	20	33	15	18	508
	(70%)	(13%)	(4%)	(6%)	(3%)	(4%)	(100%)
PDE	200	13	38	30	11	5	295
	(68%)	(4%)	(13%)	(10%)	(4%)	(2%)	(100%)

Table 8.2: The constituent types modified by maximizer *quite* (ME-PDE)

3.2.2 The development of maximizer *quite*

3.2.2.1 Maximizer *quite* in ME and EModE

As the figures in table 8.2 show, maximizer *quite* was used as a modifier of two constituent types in its early stages, viz. verbal and prepositional. Of these, the latter was overwhelmingly dominant, accounting for 71% of the total number of ME examples, as opposed to only 19% in the case of the verbal type. Due to the limited ME corpora, all the examples of *quite* from this period are retrieved from only four texts and the vast majority of maximizer instances are from one text, Malory's 'Le Morte d'Arthur'. Aside from the obvious repercussions this has regarding the strength of the conclusions that can be drawn from this data, it also means that it is impossible to determine whether maximizer *quite* was used to modify one of these constituent types prior to the other, since all the examples date from 1470. Nevertheless, judging by the high majority of prepositional constituents in ME, it seems that this use is more firmly established at this time, which seems to suggest that it is likely to be the initial use. Further support for this notion comes when the ME data is considered alongside that from the EModE period. The fact that the modification of verbal constituents seems to increase significantly (from 19% to 47%) in the subsequent EModE

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[86] For more details of the corpora used, see chapter 3.

period at the expense of the prepositional ones, is perhaps an indication that the former is a more recent tendency on the rise, whereas the latter is an older trend which is decreasing in frequency. However, one potentially fundamental issue with regard to this suggestion is that it does not appear to tie in with the proposed origin of *quite* (adv.), which was determined to have emerged in a maximizer function from *quite* (adj.) in the context of near synonymous items (as detailed in section 3.1). Whilst there is evidence of a variety of types of near synonymous items, the majority are adjectives and verbs, which would imply that maximizer *quite* most likely originated in the context of such elements. In light of this inconsistency and taking into consideration that the text from which all the ME corpus examples come from contains a high proportion of text translated from French, it seems possible that the ME examples reflect a French influence, in line with the suggestion in the OED. Should this be the case, it perhaps explains the lack of consistency found in the ME data and also the rather dramatic increase in the combinations with verbal constituents and the appearance of examples with adjectival constituents in the EModE data, which is not subject to the same French influences as that of the previous period.

 Regardless of the potential foreign influence reflected in the ME instances, it is important to examine them in more detail in order to assess their contribution to the development of maximizer *quite* in English. To this effect, the following examples illustrate the use of ME maximizer *quite* as a modifier of prepositional constituents. In (15), it modifies the prepositional phrase 'from his hors', whereas in (16), the modified constituent is 'out of his sadel'.

(15)   *Thenne syr Edward encountred* [met in conflict]*with the Kynge of Scottes…& syre Edward smote the Kynge of Scottes* **quyte** <u>*from his hors*</u>…
        (CMEPV: Malory, T. a1470. *Le Morte d'Arthur*.)

(16)   *But sire Launcelot smote sir palomydes soo hard that he wente* **quyte** <u>*oute of his sadel*</u> *and had a grete falle…*
        (CMEPV: Malory, T. a1470. *Le Morte d'Arthur*.)

In both cases (as, indeed, with all the instances retrieved), the modified prepositional phrases are ones that express a change of location, with the prepositions *out* and (most typically) *from* marking the 'source' (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 683-684). Inherently, through the implication of a final location (presumably 'the ground'), the prepositional phrases convey 'completion', i.e. the transition from the initial location to the final location

is complete. In this respect, the data shows that ME maximizer *quite* was characteristically used in contexts already associated with a sense of 'completeness'.

This trait is also evident in the few examples with verbal collocates. Take, for instance, (17), below, in which *quite* modifies the verb phrase 'smote of' (cf. *MED*, s.v. *smiten*.v. 4. d.: 'cut off').

(17)   *And therwith he tooke of his helme [helmet]/and he aroos* [arose]*and fled/and syr Tor after hym and* <u>*smote of*</u> *his hede* ***quyte***
       (CMEPV: Malory, T. a1470. *Le Morte d'Arthur*.)

In this case, the presence of the perfective particle, 'off', seems to be crucial in permitting modification by maximizer *quite*, since the verb *smote* alone (*MED*, s.v. *smiten*.v. 1: 'struck') is non-gradable (cf. **to what degree/extent did he strike...?*). In reinforcing the completive nature of the action denoted in the verb phrase, the particle, 'off', puts the focus on the result of the process as opposed to the process itself, thus enabling the verb phrase to be modified by degree (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 594-595). Accordingly, maximizer *quite* is used to indicate thorough completion of the action of the verb phrase *smote off*.

Since a completive feature is inherent to all the constituents modified in the ME examples it would seem that this is characteristic of maximizer *quite* during its initial stages of use. Moreover, this means that, strictly speaking, all the examples of maximizer *quite* in the ME period are ones that only accept modification by maximum degree, i.e. they do not permit other types of degree modifier (cf. chapter 2 on the classification of degree modifiers).

By the EModE period, the figures in table 8.2 indicate that maximizer *quite* has become more established, having extended its functional range to include the modification of adjectival and adverbial constituents in addition to the prepositional and verbal ones evidenced in the previous period. The more diverse nature of its application during this period is also reflected in the distribution of the frequencies, notably by the low majority of the most common collocate type, verbal constituents, which stands at 47%. Not only have prepositional constituents ceased to represent the most common collocate type by this time, but they have in fact decreased rather dramatically from 71% in ME to only 14% in EModE. In support of the above discussion, this may be a reflection of the fact that the examples of ME maximizer *quite* modifying prepositional elements are subject to French influence, which subsequently wanes over time as English maximizer *quite* takes off in its own right. Simultaneously, it lends support to the proposed metonymic transfer of

meaning to *quite* from its ME prepositional collocates; once English *quite* itself is firmly associated with 'completeness', it is employed more extensively in the context of constituents that most typically undergo degree modification, viz. verbs, adjectives and adverbs. In connection to the latter two of these constituent types, it is noteworthy that the second most popular collocate type at this time, accounting for 28% of the data from this period, is adjectival elements, whilst the remaining adverbial constituents comprise 6% of the instances.

As the most popular combination during this period, cases of maximizer *quite* modifying verbal constituents form the initial focus of the ensuing detailed examination of EModE maximizer *quite*. To this effect, this use is illustrated in examples (18) and (19), in which *quite* modifies the verbs *lost* and *extinguish't*, respectively.

(18)   *What wilt thou say, if a Man who hath* **quite** <u>lost</u> *his Sight, and hath also forgotten*
that ever he saw, and should think that he wants nothing to render him perfect,
should we therefore judg those who retain their Sight to be blind also?
(HELSINKI: Preston, R. 1695. *Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy*.)

(19)   *Such had been his Principles and Practices in a Course of many years which had*
almost **quite** <u>extinguish't</u> *the natural Propensities in him to Justice and Vertue: He*
would often go into the Country, and be for some months wholly imployed in Study,
or the Sallies of his Wit:
(HELSINKI: Burnet. G, 1680. *Some Passages of the…Earl of Rochester*.)

The first thing to note in relation to these examples is the perfective quality of the verbal constituents. In fact, this is characteristic of the majority of the verbal collocates during this period (a selection of other significant examples being *forgot*, *defeated*, *discarded* and *marred*), thus indicating that maximizer *quite*, despite by this time being firmly associated with denoting the maximum degree in its own right, has retained its association with contexts of 'completeness'. This same notion is also reflected in the adjectival collocates, the majority of which are participial adjectives, often corresponding directly to the verbal collocates. Some examples include, *forgotten*, *lost*, *maymed*, *broken* and *dissolved* the latter two of which are exemplified in (20) and (21), overleaf.

(20) *Some of these I found cleft or cracked, as C, others* **quite** <u>broken</u> *in two and hollow, as*

   D. which seemed to be half the hollow shell of a Granado, broken irregularly in pieces.

   (HELSINKI: Hooke, R. 1665. *Micrographia*.)

(21) *Our Parlement is in pieces and* **quite** <u>dissolved</u>. *My Lord of Bristow close prisoner in*

   the Tower. My Lord of Arundell confined to his mother's house, as before. No lower

   house men committed as yett, but some of the most active amongst them

   commanded not to depart the town till his Majesties pleasure furder known.

   (CEECS: CORNWALL Letter CIV. 1626. Thomas Meautys to Jane Cornwallis.)

Since all these constituents are ones that inherently denote 'completeness', they only

permit modification by maximum degree. In this respect, it appears that, following on from

the ME period, EModE maximizer *quite* continues to be used specifically to modify

constituents of this nature.

   Another noticeable tendency among the EModE examples that is highlighted by the

cases with both verbal and adjectival constituents is for maximizer *quite* to be used as a

modifier of constituents that are inherently negative. In the context of verbal constituents,

this applies in every case, with some of the most frequent items being *lost* (as exemplified in

(18), above) as well as *forgot* and *abandon* (see (22) and (23), respectively).

(22) *…but when he heard the Porter say that he would arrest him, he wondred greatly and*

   hauing **quite** <u>forgot</u> *Perts fauour, being so greatly changed by imprisonment and*

   pouertie, he said, Wherefore should I arrest thee?

   (HELSINKI: Deloney, T. 1590s. *Jack of Newbury*.)

(23)   *…I was to leave my fort, And to* <u>abandon</u> **quite** *all worldly cares.*

   (EModEDramatists: Fletcher, J. et al. 1647. *The Knight of Malta*.)

Excepting a very small number of items such as 'opposite', which perhaps does not have an

inherent semantic bias, this propensity can also be observed in the vast majority of

adjectival collocates, and particularly so with the more common participial variety, as

illustrated by the following representative examples: *forgotten*, *lost*, *maymed*, *bankrupt* and

worthlesse.

   Although the use of maximizer *quite* with prepositional constituents is far less

frequent than in ME, it still represents a fairly substantial proportion of the EModE use.

Moreover, there are some notable differences between the types found in each period which are worthy of mention. For instance, in line with the ME examples, there are a number of cases where the modified prepositional phrase is headed by the preposition 'from'. However, unlike the concrete locative expressions that dominated in ME, the EModE variants communicate more abstract ones, as for instance in example (24), below.

(24)   *But it is doubtful yet, Whether Caesar will come forth to-day, or no; For he is superstitious grown of late,* **quite** <u>*from the main opinion he held once Of fantasy, of dreams and of ceremonies...*</u>
        (EModEDramatists: Shakespeare, W. 1623 (1599). *Julius Ceasar*.)

Moreover, there is a much wider range of prepositional constituents by this time, with two notable additions being prepositional phrases headed by 'through' and 'out of', as illustrated in examples (25) and (26), respectively. As with the above-mentioned cases, the meaning expressed is locative, though of an abstract nature.

(25)   *Thus pour the stars down plagues for perjury. Can any face of brass hold longer out? Here stand I lady, dart thy skill at me; Bruise me with scorn, confound me with a flout; Thrust thy sharp wit* **quite** <u>*through my ignorance...*</u>
        (EModEDramatists: Shakespeare, W. 1598. *Love's Labour's Lost*.)

(26)   *But I shall make very good mirth with it, at supper, (that will be the sport) and put / my little friend, Mr Humphrey Wasp's choler* **quite** <u>*out of countenance.*</u>
        (EModEDramatists: Jonson, B. 1631. *Bartholomew Fayre: A Comedy*.)

    Prepositional constituents describing concrete locations (e.g. (27), below) are still present in the database, but they are far less common than in the ME data, where they dominated.

(27)   *Vpon the verie vpper edge of a faire large Freeze, running* **quite** <u>*along the full breadth of the Arbor,*</u> *and iust a their feete were planted rankes of artificiall Artichocks and roses.*
        (EModEDramatists: Dekker, T., Jonson, B. & Harrison, S. 1603. *The Magnificent Entertainment for King James*.)

As noted above, the extension of maximizer *quite* to adverbial constituents is also evident in the EModE data. Although it is not particularly frequent at this time, accounting for only 6% of the cases of maximizer *quite* from this period, it is interesting to note that in the overwhelming majority of these cases, the adverbs are locative ones, most notably, *away* and *through* (see (28) and (29), respectively) . In this way, they bear a connection to the combinations with prepositional collocates found both in this period and the preceding ME one, thus indicating that the modification of locative expressions continues to be one of the characteristic uses of maximizer *quite*.

(28)   *You smoke me from, as if I were a foxe, And long, belike, to driue me **quite** <u>away</u>.*
        (EModEDramatists: Jonson, B. 1600. *Every Man Out of his Humour*.)

(29)   *…But bestowing your sight vpon a large Azure Table, lined **quite** <u>through</u> with*
        Caracters of gold, likewise you may for your paynes receiue this inscription…
        (EModEDramatists: Dekker, T., Jonson, B. & Harrison, S. 1603. *The Magnificent*
        Entertainment for King James.)

3.2.2.2 Maximizer *quite* in LModE and PDE

By the LModE period, the figures in table 8.2 indicate that adjectival constituents have taken over as the clear majority, accounting for 70% of the constituents modified by maximizer *quite* in the data from this period. Both verbal constituents and prepositional ones have become even less frequent collocates, the former dropping a further 34%, from 47% in EModE to 13% in LModE, and the latter falling by another 8%, from 14% in EModE to only 6% in LModE. Combinations with adverbial constituents which were a new use attested in the data from the previous period, have also decreased in popularity, with their frequency now representing only 4% of the data. Another significant change to note is that this period sees the further diversification of maximizer *quite* with the addition of a small number of cases in which it modifies a nominal constituent (3%).

A more detailed look at the adjectival collocates reveals that there is no longer an overall preference for those of the participial variety or for inherently negative items. Although there is still a number of constituents with this latter characteristic (e.g. *exhausted*, *dejected*, *unworthy*, *neglected* and *melancholy*, to mention but a few), there is also an equally substantial number of neutral and even inherently positive collocates, notably *safe*, *delighted*, *perfect*, *free*, *well*, and *happy* (the latter two of which are exemplified in (30) and (31), below), amongst others. Furthermore, it is noticeable that any

semantically negative adjectival collocates in the data for this period tend to be among the remaining participial variety; the majority of the prototypical adjective constituents are among the semantically neutral or positive cohorts.

(30)   *He cut his forehead two inches long to the pericranium, and another gash upon his temple; but, most luckily, did himself' no other hurt, and was **quite** <u>well</u> again before I came away.*
       (CLMETEV: Walpole Letter 114. 1743. Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann.)

(31)   *My dear lady, said I, you for ever oblige me!--I shall now believe myself **quite** <u>happy</u>. This was all I wanted to make me so!--And I hope I shall always…shew your ladyship, that I have the most grateful and respectful sense of your goodness.*
       (CLMETEV: Richardson, S. 1740. *Pamela*.)

This development is also evident among the verbal constituents, since in contrast to the previous periods, approximately only half of these are clearly semantically negative items in the LModE data. Among the collocates of this nature that are found, *forgot* continues to be a significant type, but there are also additional ones in the data from this period, such as *ruined*, *excluded*, *failed* and *obliterated*. The reason such types no longer represent the majority of the verbal collocates is due to the influx of several instances with neutral constituents (e.g. *chewed* (as in (32), below), *understand*, *changed*) and inherently positive ones (e.g. *charmed* and, most notably, *agree*, which is illustrated in (33).

(32)   *In the other the dog has conquered: the body of the serpent is lying at one side, and the head, most thoroughly bitten off, at the other. The dog seems to have **quite** <u>chewed</u> the neck of the serpent to make sure.*
       (ARCHER: *The Letters of Lewis Carroll*, vol. 1.1837-1885)

(33)   {=M CHRISTIAN.} *I am sure of it - There are so many ways of detecting criminals, and so few escape, that to have comitted* [sic.] *a crime like this, and yet to remain undiscovered, allowed the possession of extraordinary address.*
       {=M MATHIAS.} *I **quite** <u>agree</u> with you…and what you say shows your good sense.*
       (ARCHER: Lewis, L. 1871. *The Bells*.)

One other significant development that is noticeable during the LModE period, particularly in the examples in which *quite* modifies an adjectival constituent, is the extension of maximizer *quite* to modify elements that permit modification by varying degree, such as that exemplified in (34), below.

(34)   *Why, London is a great way off, said the 'squire, and I can't send for her back presently. What, then, said he, have you sent my poor Pamela to London? I would not have said it so, replied the 'squire; but I assure you, upon my honour, she is **quite** safe and satisfied, and will quickly inform you of it by letter.*
(CLEMTEV: Richardson, S. 1740. *Pamela*.)

In the context of this example, a maximizer interpretation of *quite* seems most plausible given the purpose of providing assurance. This reading relies on the adjective *safe* being conceptualised in term of 'either-or', i.e. conceiving 'safe' as opposed to 'not safe'. However, a supplementary search of this adjective in contemporary corpora (i.e. 1728-1740) revealed both cases in which it is modified by a maximizer and instances in which it is modified by a scalar degree modifier. This indicates that during this stage of the language, the adjective *safe* was used, just as it is in present-day English, with both the above-mentioned 'either-or' conceptualisation and a scalar one (cf. e.g. '*completely* safe', '*fairly* safe', '*very* safe'). Via further supplementary corpus searches, the analysis uncovered similar cases with adjectives such as *natural*, *fresh*, *familiar*, *different* and *well*[87]. Although this change in usage is most prevalent among the examples with adjectival collocates, this is likely due to the overall dominance of collocations of 'maximizer *quite* + adjectival collocate' in the data from this period. It is also observable in combinations with other constituent types, for example verbs such as *altering* and *misunderstood* and adverbs such as *innocently* and *seriously*.

Prior to this period, it was noted, above, that all use of maximizer *quite* was in contexts where the modified constituent was one that only permits modification by the maximizer variety of degree modifier. In this respect, these LModE cases in which it modifies elements of the kind illustrated in (34) evidence an extension of its scope to constituents that accept modification by various types of degree modifier. A potential explanation for this extension relies on the semantic similarity with its earlier use. Having

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[87] In cases of this kind, historical analysis (i.e. taking into consideration EModE and, if applicable, ME data) indicates that the adjectives tend to have been used in a limit sense before there is any available evidence of them being used with a scalar conceptualisation.

been used repeatedly throughout ME and EModE as a means of reinforcing the maximal nature of constituents that inherently denote 'completeness' (and arguably also through the influence of the suggested metonymic process involved in its past), *quite*, by this time, would have had a firm association with the meaning 'completely'. It was perhaps as a consequence of this that speakers began to employ it in contexts in which the addition of this degree meaning was strictly necessary to convey the desired meaning, i.e. in the context of constituents that could potentially apply to a range of degrees and therefore required a specific indication of maximum degree. The respective attestation dates in the corpora of the use of maximizer *quite* in these two types of context lends support to this theory. According to the data, it continues to be used in both types of context in PDE, though the initial type (i.e. the one in which it modifies collocates that inherently denote maximum degree and thus only accept modification by maximizers), remains the dominant one, with the more recent type only accounting for 31% and 29% of all instances of maximizer *quite* in LModE and PDE, respectively.

Among the cases in which maximizer *quite* modifies a prepositional collocate in the LModE data, the tendency is for the constituent to be a prepositional phrase of an "adjectival nature", in the sense that it forms a description attributed to a nominal constituent. More specifically, they tend to be phrases headed by 'out of' or 'at' that convey descriptions that are rooted in metaphorical locative expressions, as can be seen in the following two examples.

(35)   *Dryden and Row's manner, Sir, are **quite** <u>out of fashion</u>; our taste has gone back a whole century, Fletcher, Ben Johnson, and all the plays of Shakespear, are the only things that go down.*
        (CLMETEV: Goldsmith, O. 1766. *The Vicar of Wakefield*.)

(36)   *He was so eloquent in drawing the picture of his own neglected merits, and so pathetic in lamenting over it when it was done, that I felt **quite** <u>at my wits' end</u> how to console him, when it suddenly occurred to me that here was a case for the wholesome application of a bit of Robinson Crusoe.*
        (CLMETEV: Collins, W. 1868. *The Moonstone*.)

As the combinations of maximizer *quite* with adverbial constituents are so infrequent in the data of this time, it is difficult to draw significant conclusions. However, one thing that is worthy of note is the presence of manner adverbs (e.g. *still*, *directly*,

plainly, *innocently* and *seriously*) among the modified constituents, since these are not present in any of the earlier data.

Turning finally to the use of maximizer *quite* to modify a nominal constituent, closer examination of the data reveals that the use in such contexts is typically characterised (i.e. in 67% of cases) by a definite noun phrase. More specifically (and in line with the findings of Traugott 2011), these tend to be noun phrases expressing 'contrastiveness', e.g. '*quite* the reverse', '*quite* the contrary' and '*quite* the opposite' as exemplified in (37)-(39), below.

(37) *A scene of love and friendship,* **quite** <u>*the reverse*</u> *of the battle, wherein are shown the different effects of love and goodness from those attending anger, strife, and wickedness: with the life of miss jenny peace.*

(CLMETEV: Fielding, S. 1749. *The Governess, or The Little Female Academy*.)

(38) {=M CAPT. PHOBBS.} *Are you married, sir?*

{=M GOLIGHTLY.}   **Quite** <u>*the contrary, sir,*</u> *- I haven't that happiness.*

{=M CAPT. PHOBBS.} *Happiness - he! he! - I'm married, and look very happy, don't I? - ha! ha!* <(grinning) >

(ARCHER: Morton, J. M. 1889. *Lend Me Five Shillings*.)

(39) *An improper or mischievous principle in such a law may sleep for ages (as in the case it has done) by the general impression of civilized and christian* [sic.] *people being* **quite** <u>*the opposite to that which the law dictates.*</u>

(ARCHER: *Evans and Ruffy's Farmer's Journal and Advertiser*, 1822.)

According to Bolinger (1972: 101), the definiteness of these noun phrases prompts the interpretation of *quite* as an emphasizer, particularly in cases such as (39), whereby the noun phrase in question explicitly functions as a Subject Complement in a copular construction[88], thus serving to 'identify' (Bolinger 1972) the Subject. He asserts that modifiers in this position have scope over the whole predicate, indicating that the identification of an entity (the Subject) in terms of a quality (the predicate), that is either present or not (i.e. cannot take degrees) is fully justified. In this respect, he suggests that (39) should be read as 'civilized and Christian people being *truly* the opposite…' and that *quite* expresses that 'the opposite to that which the law dictates' *truly* identifies/describes

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[88] Note that even though a predictive context is not explicit in (37) or (38), it is perhaps implied, i.e. in the senses of '<u>that is</u> *quite* the reverse' (37) and '<u>I am</u> *quite* the contrary' (38).

'civilized and Christian people'. The particular significance of the predicative contexts to the interpretation of such examples is also highlighted by Allerton (1987: 27) who states that *quite* in such constructions (i.e. '*quite* + det + noun') principally acts as 'a degree modifier within the verb phrase, especially in a predicative phrase after the verb BE'. Despite the noted overlap with Bolinger's view, a significant point of contrast is that Allerton specifies that the function of *quite* in such contexts is that of a degree modifier. In light of this lack of agreement, it may be noted that although the noun phrase collocates do not accept modification by varying degree (cf. e.g. *'*fairly* the reverse', *'*slightly* the contrary', *'*very* the opposite'), it is possible, in examples (37)-(39), to substitute other maximizers for *quite* (cf. e.g. '*totally* the reverse', '*completely* the contrary', '*absolutely* the opposite'), since the bounded nature of the nominal constituents licenses their modification by maximizers[89]. Conversely, substitution with emphasizers other than *truly* is questionable (cf. e.g. ? '*really/actually* the reverse/the contrary/the opposite'). Whilst this seems to suggest that such examples may actually be more in line with a maximizer function (i.e. as per Allerton's direction), there is clearly still an element of ambiguity surrounding them cannot be ignored. In actual fact, based on the above observations, and given that it seems at least possible to infer an alternative emphasizer function in such cases, it may be that they represent the context that permitted the rise of the emphasizer function. To this effect, such cases are revisited in section 3.2.2 which outlines the emergence of emphasizer *quite*.

In Traugott 2011 a distinction is made between examples such as those in (37)-(39) in which *quite* is deemed to function as a 'maximizer of abstractions' and those such as (40)-(41), below, in which it is claimed that *quite* functions as an 'high booster…of human traits, behaviors', or at least in somewhat indeterminate between a maximizer and an high booster.

(40)   "*It is not him; he is **quite** the gentleman; he has a beautiful white hand; and his dress is that of one.*"
       (from Traugott 2011(formatting added))

(41)   "*the prisoner came again at 12 o'clock—he was **quite** the gentleman then, just as I had seen him before—he told me to go down and get him another bottle of wine—*"
       (from Traugott 2011 (formatting added))

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[89] In this connection, it is interesting to note that in line with this way of thinking (and thus contrary to Bolinger's (1972) assertion), Traugott 2011 lists a series of similar cases as examples of maximizer *quite*, e.g. 'Have you told us **quite the truth**?' (original bold type face).

Whilst accepting that cases like these appear to be somewhat different to other cases of maximizer *quite*, it is argued here that rather than also bearing some similarity to boosters as Traugott suggests, the connection is, as described above, with an emphasizer reading. In other words, it is claimed that just as with examples (37)-(39), the bounded nature of the nominal constituents in (40) and (41) may be considered to render a maximizer interpretation of *quite* somewhat superfluous, thus its function in such contexts may be deemed more in-line with that of an emphasizer. The fact that these examples are taken from trial situations where truth is at stake increases the likelihood of this interpretation. As noted above, a logical implication to derive from this type of ambiguity is that the use of maximizer *quite* in the context of such nominal constituents is relevant to the emergence of the emphasizer function (cf. section 3.2.3).

Taking a look at the picture in present-day English, the figures in table 8.2 show that with a very slight increase of 2%, adjectival elements continue to represent the most common constituent modified by maximizer *quite*. This finding coincides with that of Vermiere (1979), yet the actual percentage of such cases in this study (68%) is considerably higher than his (56.9%). Verbal constituents, which previously represented the most frequent collocate type (in ME and EModE), and then the second most frequent type (in LModE), show a 9% decrease from the previous period, now accounting for only 4% of the instances. Contrary to the trends exhibited thus far, both adverbial and prepositional elements show a fairly reasonable increase in frequency, the former increasing by 9%, from 4% in LModE to 13% in PDE, and the latter by 4%, from 6% in LModE to 10% in PDE. The use of maximizer *quite* to modify nominal constituents has increased by only 1% to account for 4% of the data.

More detailed analysis of the instances with adjectival collocates reveals a continuation of the trend for an increased number of inherently neutral and inherently positive collocates. Alongside the items *safe*, *perfect*, *well* and *happy* that were significant in the LModE data, other significant collocates of this kind in the PDE data include *honest*, *good* and *true*. Moreover, it is also noticeable that even though a selection of the adjectival constituents of *quite* during this period have negative affixes, their semantics are inherently positive, e.g. *untainted*, *unspoilt*. In this respect, it seems that this data is perhaps more in line with the findings of Paradis (1997: 36), who records 21% of the collocates of PDE maximizer *quite* in her data as being negative, rather than Vermeire (1979: 300) who documents 50%.

Among the few cases in which *quite* modifies a verbal constituent in the PDE data, the tendency is for the item to be of a mental nature (cf. Levin's 1993 'psych verbs'), such as *understand*, *appreciate*, *expected*, *upset* and *make up (his mind)*[90].

Further to the results of the LModE analysis, the PDE data evidences another increase in the number of manner adverbs among the adverbial constituents modified by maximizer *quite*. Some particularly significant additions include *clearly*, *simply*, *literally* and *well*, all of which occur at least twice in the data sample. New developments with regard to the combinations of *quite* and a prepositional constituent include an influx of instances whereby the prepositional phrase is headed by 'apart from' (accounting for 37% of such combinations in this period) as well as a number of cases (17%) in which the phrase is a comparative one, headed by *like* or *unlike*. Metaphorical locatives are not as common as in the previous period, yet are still found among the prepositional constituents of the PDE data. Some examples include 'above board', 'out of her depth' and 'beyond ugly'.

Although the frequency of cases in which maximizer *quite* modifies a nominal constituent has not changed since LModE, there is a notable difference with regard to the nature of the types, namely that 100% of the cases in the PDE data feature definite noun phrases. The majority are still noun phrases concerned with 'oppositeness', thus as in the previous period, typical examples include 'the opposite', 'the reverse' and 'the contrary'. However, there is also an relatively substantial influx of instances (27%) of 'the same…', signifying an apparent extension to a more general field of comparison, encompassing both 'similarity' and 'dissimilarity', rather than just the latter as in the previous period.

To summarise, the functional range of English maximizer *quite* has extended substantially since its first attestation in the corpora in ME, where it was used to modify only two constituent types, viz. prepositional and verbal. Among the ME examples, the prepositional variety was found to be the most frequent constituent type. However, a lack of observable connections between this and the contexts in which maximizer *quite* was shown to have most likely emerged (i.e. with adjectival and verbal collocates; cf. analysis in section 3.1) and the fact that all the ME corpus examples originate in a text translated from French, led to the conclusion that the use in this period probably reflects French influence. Whilst it may not be a native development, consideration of this use was still significant in terms of investigating the development of maximizer *quite* in English. For instance, it was through examination of both this use and the examples with verbal collocates that it was

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[90] All the examples with verbal collocates discussed are ones in which *quite* is used in an assertive context. However, there are more than twice as many cases with this collocate type in the PDE database in which it is used in the scope of a negative. Whilst this may be an interesting issue to explore in future research, it is, as detailed in section 2, outside the scope of the present study.

determined that ME maximizer *quite* was characteristically used in contexts already associated with 'completeness'. In this respect, and in line with the findings in relation to *absolutely*, *totally*, and *utterly* (cf. chapters 4, 9 and 10, respectively), it was more specifically concluded that maximizer *quite* was initially used to modify constituents that only permit modification by maximum degree. Evidence of maximizer *quite* in the context of collocates that permit modification by varying degree was found from the LModE period onwards, though such cases remained somewhat marginal in comparison with the above-mentioned type which remained dominant throughout the history of this maximizer.

The above-mentioned increase in functional range sees the extension of *quite* to modify adjectival and adverbial collocates (from the EModE period onwards) and later also nominal ones (from LModE onwards), with the adjectival variety quickly becoming the most frequent type. Furthermore, the analysis of the data from these three subsequent periods revealed a clear propensity for collocates with inherently negative semantics in EModE, yet by LModE, there is a fairly equal mix of both negative and neutral or positive items, a trend that continues in PDE.

Changes in the type of prepositional collocates modified by maximizer *quite* were also noted. In the ME data, where combinations of '*quite* + prepositional constituent' are common, the modified prepositional phrase is typically a concrete locative expression headed by the preposition 'from'. However, in the subsequent periods where such combinations have become significantly less popular (in favour of other types, most notably '*quite* + verbal constituent' in EModE and '*quite* + adjectival constituent' in LModE and PDE), there is evidence of a much wider range of prepositional constituents and they are generally of a more abstract nature.

From the EModE period, maximizer *quite* is found with adverbial constituents. As this type of combination does not feature very frequently in the data, it appeared that the modification of adverbial elements has never been a particularly popular application of maximizer *quite*. Accordingly, the findings of the analysis relating to this use obviously do not carry as much weight as those concerning the more prevalent uses. Nevertheless, it was interestingly observed that the early adverbial collocates (i.e. those from EModE), are typically locative ones (most notably *away* and *through*), thus bearing connection to the early prepositional collocates (which by this time have already become dramatically less frequent in combinations with maximizer *quite*) and suggesting that the application of *quite* extended from the latter to the former. Additionally, the LModE period witnesses an extension of maximizer *quite* to modify manner adverbs, a trend which continues in PDE.

The most recent context to which maximizer *quite* has been applied is that of nominal constituents, with examples of this combination appearing in the data from LModE. More specifically, it was shown that in the majority of cases from this initial period of use and all of the instances from the PDE corpora, the modified element is a definite noun phrase that only admits modification by maximum degree. It was shown that initially, there was a strong tendency for these to express 'oppositeness', but a relatively substantial influx of instances concerned with 'similarity' were noted in the PDE data, signifying an apparent extension to a more general field of comparison by the time. Contrary to Bolinger's (1972: 101) opinion that such uses of *quite* should be regarded as that of an emphasizer, it was suggested, in line with Allerton (1987) that they appear to be more in line with a maximizer interpretation, but that the possibility of a potential emphasizer interpretation could not be entirely ruled out. In this latter connection, it was proposed that such instances were likely significant to the emergence of the emphasizer function, on which the ensuing section turns to focus.

3.2.3 The emergence of emphasizer *quite*

According to the figures in table 8.1 (section 3.2), the emphasizer function of *quite* emerged in the LModE period, where it accounts for 8% of the occurrences of *quite*. By PDE, this figure has increased to 15%.

The data evidences its use in two contexts: with adjectival constituents, as in (42), and with nominal constituents, as shown in (43). Of these types, the latter represents the majority.

(42)   *Ruined, beyond hope! the lovers are lost, and I -- The most amusing thing I can do is to hang myself. But, hold! I'm not at my wit's-end yet; and I'll be hanged if I hang myself till I am. I'll make another trial; so tremble, master of mine, for the widow shall yet be yours; -- the captain shall yet marry Emily. --I'll marry Fanny, by way of parenthesis, -- and, as for Jeremy, --Oh! it's* **quite** <u>*shocking*</u> *to think of the revenge I'll take upon that rascal.*
(ARCHER: Poole, J. 1813. *The Hole in the Wall*.)

(43)   *'He really loves his country visits as he is very pampered and fed on roast chicken,' she says. 'He is* **quite** <u>*a character*</u>*. When he comes back he goes on a hunger strike for chicken…'*
(BNC: 1985-1993, *Dogs Today*.)

In (42), the fact that the adjective 'shocking' cannot be conceived of as having an upper limit means that it cannot undergo modification by maximum degree and so *quite* cannot be interpreted as a maximizer. Since 'shocking' is an adjective that can be graded (cf. '*extremely/very* shocking' and '*slightly/fairly* shocking'), it is theoretically possible that a scalar degree modifier could assume the position of *quite* in a case like (42). However, the emphatic nature of the context (note the series of exclamations and the immediately preceding interjection) seems to favour an emphatic sense of *quite*, since it seems that it is intended to add extra prominence to the adjective 'shocking'. In other words, it appears to function as an emphasizer, adding to the force of the adjective in the same way as can be achieved with present day *really* or *truly*. The heightening of the adjective in this way in turn serves to add intensity to the subsequently mentioned revenge.

Although examples like (42) with adjectival constituents appear to testify to the existence of an emphasizer function of *quite*, they do not offer an explanation as to how this use arose as all such examples are among the later evidence of this function of *quite* and there does not appear to be any observable link between this and any of its earlier functions. Rather, it seems that emphasizer *quite* emerged in the other context in which it is observed in the data, viz. that of nominal constituents (see e.g. (43), above and (44), below). Moreover, the corpus evidence seems to suggest that the origin of this function lies specifically in the use of maximizer *quite* in combination with nominal collocates that only accept modification by the maximizer variety of degree modifier (cf. section 3.2.2 on the discussion of the two main contexts of maximizer *quite*).

The earliest example in which *quite* functions as an emphasizer in the context of a nominal constituent is that shown in (44), overleaf, in which it modifies the noun phrase 'a rake', which is defined in the OED as a man of 'dissolute or promiscuous habits' (OED *rake* n.7). Traugott (2011) lists such contexts in which the nominal constituent over which *quite* has scope denotes a personal trait of an human referent among those typical of this application of *quite*. However, with the exception of this initial example, the majority of subsequent cases in the LModE data correspond to the category of examples she describes as 'maximizing the type properties of inanimates', as illustrated in (45), overleaf. It is argued here though, that these are cases of emphasizer *quite*, rather than an extension of its maximizer use.

(44)   *I am sure it is time you were married, or, at this rate, no honest maiden ought to live*
        *with you. Why, dear father and mother, to be sure he grows **quite** a rake! How easy*
        it is to go from bad to worse, when once people give way to vice!
        (CLMETEV: Richardson, S. 1740. *Pamela*.)

(45)   *…it does not produce any one thing of intrinsick value or that can be converted into*
        *an Article of Trade…Pumpkins have got **quite** a footing here, the seeds of which most*
        probably were brought here by the Spaniards.
        (CLMETEV: Cook, Captain. J. 1768-71. *Captain Cook's Journal*.)

Such examples first appear in the corpus at around the same time as those in which
maximizer *quite* modifies a nominal constituent. However, it is noteworthy that whilst in
the early instances of the latter, the vast majority of nominal collocates are definite noun
phrases (cf. section 3.2.2), the earliest instances of emphasizer *quite* modifying a nominal
constituent feature indefinite noun phrases, as, for example , in (43) and (44). The
indefiniteness of these phrases signifies their status as count nouns and therefore as
bounded constituents (Traugott, 2007: 526-527). In this respect, in order to maintain a
harmonic relationship with such collocates, *quite*, in these contexts must function as a
bounded modifier, i.e. a maximizer or an emphasizer. In the absence of intonational clues
(an inevitable consequence of written data), it is sometimes somewhat difficult to ascertain
for sure which of these senses is intended, however, in the case of emotional contexts such
as (44) (note the two exclamations), the latter is perhaps favoured. Furthermore, since an
expression of 'complete extent/degree' in cases such as (43) and (44) appears to be unlikely
(cf. e.g. 'He is a character *to a complete extent/degree*' and 'he grows a rake *to a complete*
extent/degree'), it seems that the constituents are ones that permit modification in terms
of the 'reinforcing of their truth value' (Quirk et al. 1985), yet do not readily accept degree
modification. Accordingly, an emphasizer interpretation of *quite* seems most appropriate
in such circumstances, where it serves to add to the force (as distinct from the degree) of
the nominal constituent, thus reinforcing the validity of its application.

        One particularly notable tendency among the nominal constituents of PDE
emphasizer *quite* is for the noun phrase in question to contain a quantifier, such as 'a lot
(of)', 'a bit (of)', 'a few (of)' and 'a number of' (illustrated in (46)-(49), respectively). This
specific collocate type accounts for 30% of all the nominal collocates of emphasizer *quite* in
the PDE data.

(46)   ***Quite*** <u>*a lot*</u> *of men were skating again today, as the ice still bore & I think it was still*

         freezing out of the sun.

         (ARCHER: Elmhirst, W. 1911-1912. *A Freshman's Diary*.)

(47)   *"…He's been dead a helluva lot longer than two days, and he's French anyway."*

         "So what did you do?"

         *"Pulled one of his boots off and sent it back to battalion HQ. With **quite** <u>a bit</u> of his leg*

         left inside."

         (FLOB: K04.13 - K04.17.)

(48)   *I bow to no one in my virulent loathing of the song Miss You Like Crazy, but it was*

         *much-loved by millions and certainly added **quite** <u>a few</u> pennies to the Cole fortune.*

         (FLOB: C06.53 - C06.55.)

(49)   *In those days **quite** <u>a number</u> of Diamond heights were attempted in large shower*

         clouds and cumulo nimbus, whereas very few are flown today because of the

         unacceptable risks involved.

         (BNC: 1985-1993, *Gliding Safety*.)

In cases of this kind, as illustrated in the above examples, *quite* appears in predeterminer position at the left periphery of the noun phrase, yet actually seems to pertain primarily to the quantifier, rather than the entire noun phrase. With 'a bit' and 'a few', the effect of *quite* is to increase the quantifying quality of these constructions (cf. Palacios Martínez 2009: 207 on the use of *quite* with these particular quantifiers). For instance, in (47), *quite* does not reinforce the fact that a small part of the man's leg was left inside the boot (as would be conveyed by the quantifier 'a bit' alone); rather it serves to indicate, to the contrary, that the part is of a substantial size. Similarly, in (48), the quantifier 'a few' alone signifies a modest amount, yet when in the scope of *quite*, the effect is to convey a substantial amount. Even with 'a lot' and 'a number' (shown in (46) and (49), respectively), which already convey 'a substantial number' in themselves, the effect of *quite* is to heighten or emphasize this, i.e. to add to the *force* of the quantifiers in its capacity as an emphasizer.

        As noted above, the most likely source of the emphasizer function of *quite* seems to be its use as a maximizer in the context of constituents that only permit modification by maximizing degree. More precisely, it seemingly bears particular connection to the use of

maximizer *quite* as a modifier of nominal collocates (cf. section 3.2.2). However, due to the close proximity of the emergence of these two functions (i.e. both in the LModE period), their chronology alone does not offer sufficient evidence in favour of this proposal. Factors which do, nevertheless, lend support to it include the fact that the maximizer function was already established by the time the emphasizer function arose, as well as the close connection noted in the previous section between the emphasizer function of *quite* and its use as a maximizer in the context of collocates that only accept modification by maximum degree. With more specific regard to the latter, it is possible that some cases were deemed to be open to both interpretations, thus representing a potential bridging context leading to the eventual use of *quite* in contexts where an emphasizer function is the most likely or the only possible interpretation. This notion is supported by the data in the fact that a fairly large proportion (26%) of all the ambiguous examples from this period (cf. table 8.1, section 3.2) are cases that are classed as indeterminate because it seems that they could function equally as a maximizer or an emphasizer. Even more convincing with respect to the proposal, is the fact that 66% of these occur with nominal constituents, i.e. in the specific context in which the development is asserted to have taken place. If any further substantiation of this proposed line of development is needed (i.e. in light of the fact that emphasizer *quite* is comparatively infrequent in the data, resulting in somewhat limited corpus evidence) it may be taken from the fact that a similar trajectory was noted for other adverbs considered in the present research, e.g. *absolutely* (cf. chapter 4, section 3.2.2).

3.2.4 The emergence of the scalar degree modifier function

The first examples in the corpora of *quite* being used as a scalar degree modifier also date from the LModE period (cf. table 8.1 in section 3.2), therefore this function seems to have developed around the same time as the emphasizer one. During this initial period, it represents 7% of the occurrences of *quite*. It is not until the subsequent PDE that this function really begins to takes off, resulting in a rise in frequency to 29%.

More specifically, the earliest examples of *quite* as a scalar degree modifier in the corpora date from 1740 onwards and occur with the adjectives, *grieved*, *sick*, *courageous* and *uneasy*, the latter two of which are illustrated in (50) and (51), overleaf, respectively. The fact that the adjectives in examples such as these can be conceived of as gradable, applying to a range of different extents, is what licenses their modification by a scalar degree modifier. For instance, in relation to (51), it is possible to conceive of the adjective 'uneasy' as applying to a low degree (e.g. '*slightly* uneasy'), to a moderate degree (e.g. '*fairly/rather* uneasy'), or to a high degree (e.g. '*very/extremely* uneasy'). However,

unlike the typical collocates of the sub-type of maximizer *quite* that also permit modification by various types of degree modifier, the constituents of scalar degree modifier *quite* cannot be conceived of as having an upper limit. Whilst this clearly indicates a scalar degree modifier function of *quite*, as opposed to a maximizer one, it does not enlighten as to what particular degree is denoted; it is debatable in the absence of intonational clues whether *quite* in examples such as those below, functions as a booster (i.e. expressing a high degree, cf. '*extremely/very* courageous/uneasy') or as a moderator (i.e. indicating a moderate degree, cf. '*fairly/somewhat* courageous/uneasy'). This evidently relates to some of the issues raised in section 3 in connection to the previous literature on *quite*, namely whether *quite* distinctly exists in the data in both of these functions, and if so, whether there is a systematic way of distinguishing between these two scalar degree modifying uses in written data.

(50)   *You did not open your mouth to any other; but did not you write to some other? Why, now, and please your honour, said I, (for I was **quite** <u>courageous</u> just then,) you could not have asked me this question, if you had not taken from me my letter to my father and mother, in which I own I had broken my mind freely to them, and asked their advice, and poured forth my griefs!*
(CLMETEV: Richardson, S. 1740. *Pamela*.)

(51)   *I am **quite** <u>uneasy</u> about the opera, for Mr. Conway is one of' the directors, and I fear they will lose considerably, which he cannot afford.*
(CLMETEV: Walpole Letter 40. 1741. Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann.)

On closer examination of the data, there are some cases in which it seems only a booster interpretation of scalar degree modifier *quite* is possible, for instance, in (52) and (53), below.

(52)   *I am afraid of her, as I told you before, **quite** <u>afraid</u> of her.*
(ARCHER: Austen, J. 1818. *Persuasion*.)

(53)   *Ned laughed again, **quite** <u>loud</u> this time.*
(ARCHER: Kennedy, J. P. 1832. *Swallow Barn*.)

In (52), the words *quite afraid* reiterate the predication from the first clause to emphasize the degree of 'fear', thus providing firm evidence of a reinforcing booster function (e.g. 'I am afraid of her…*very* afraid of her'), since a lesser degree would not complement this expression. Similarly, in (53), only a booster reading is possible because although according to Paradis's (1997) model, *loud* is simply a scalar adjective, it seems to have a clear association with a partially closed scale (Kennedy & McNally 1999). Although there is (in terms of verbal expression) no upper limit on the volume of the laugh, it must be of a minimum volume required to permit the application of the adjective *loud*; anything short of this and the adjective cannot be used[91], thus *loud* does not readily accept attenuating degree modifiers (cf. *'Ned laughed again, *slightly* loud this time').

In many cases, however, the interpretation of *quite* is ambiguous, in the absence of intonational clues, between a moderator and a booster reading. Observe for example in this connection, (54) and (55), below.

(54)   *…the interstices filled up by an immense deposition of coagulable lymph, which was*
        ***quite** <u>soft</u> and recent*
        (ARCHER: Abercrombie, J. 1820. 'Researches on the pathology of the intestinal canal'.
        Part II. *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*.)

(55)   *The vomiting having ceased, I sat down by the fire, but still my feet and hands were*
        ***quite** <u>cold</u>.*
        (ARCHER: Watson, J. 1864. 'Observations on some new Remedies'. *Edinburgh
        Medical Journal.*)

Although both *soft* and *cold* in these examples are also only associated with a lower boundary as in the case of *loud* in (53), these adjectives, at least in PDE, seem to have a lower minimum requirement (compared to *loud*) to justify their application. It is this that licenses their acceptance of attenuating moderators in addition to boosters, e.g. '…which was *slightly/relatively/somewhat* soft and recent' and '…but still my feet and hands were *slightly/relatively/somewhat* cold'.

As pointed to above, there is a similarity in terms of the mode of construal of the collocates of both scalar degree modifier *quite* and the use of maximizer *quite* in the context of constituents that can be modified by various types of degree modifier, i.e. that in both

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[91] The only way this adjective could be used in such a context is in its comparative form, e.g. 'Ned laughed again, *slightly louder* this time', since this conveys an increase in volume in comparison to the first time, yet not necessarily a *very* loud volume.

cases, the element is conceived of as gradable. In light of this, it seems likely that the latter may be the precursor to the former, particularly since the former emerges in the LModE period at a similar time to the extension of maximizer *quite*. Given the scalar bias of the typical collocates of this use of maximizer *quite* in the LModE corpora (and therefore the fact that contemporary data reveals their occurrence with a range of scalar degree modifiers), it is proposed that repeated use of maximizer *quite* in such contexts likely led to its interpretation as a scalar degree modifier. Through its gradual extension to unbounded constituents that only permit modification by scalar degree modifiers, the scalar degree modifier function of *quite* may thus have become properly established. Further to the fact that the earliest cases of this function of *quite* are found with adjectival constituents, convincing evidence in support of this notion lies in the nature of a large proportion of the ambiguous examples in the data from this period. From all the LModE ambiguous cases documented in table 8.1 (section 3.2), 37% are ones in which the interpretation of *quite* is indeterminate between that of a maximizer and that of a scalar degree modifier. Furthermore, 90% of these cases are in the context of adjectival collocates. Additional substantiation of this trajectory comes from previous studies on degree modifiers which cumulatively suggest a general tendency of developing unbounded readings from bounded conceptualizations (Méndez-Naya 2008: 277, Paradis 1997: 82; cf. also amongst others Adamson & Gonzalez-Diaz 2004 on *very*; Buchstaller & Traugott 2006 on *all*; Méndez-Naya 2007 on *right*). Although there is difficulty determining the precise degree modifying force of scalar degree modifier *quite* in many contexts, and thus it is impossible to accurately determine from the data whether the booster or the moderator sense emerged first, it seems most likely that the first of these functions to develop was the booster one. Since the starting point of the proposed change is a maximizer, i.e. a degree modifier specifying the maximum reinforcing position on the degree scale, it stands to reason that a resulting emergent scalar degree modifier would convey a similar degree of force, the highest capable of a scalar degree modifier (and remaining close to that of a maximizer) being a booster. Following on from this, it is likely that the attenuating modifier (i.e. the moderator) function of *quite* stemmed from the reinforcing one (i.e. the booster) as a result of further weakening of intensive force. The plausibility of this proposed direction of change lies largely in previous work on the development of degree modifiers, which has noted a tendency for a weakening of their intensive force over time through use (cf. Klein 1998: 26 and also Lorenz 2002: 145). In this respect, the general tendency is for degree modifiers that develop new degree modifying uses, to do so in the direction of a lesser point on the degree scale. Even more noteworthy is the fact that the exact same path (from booster to

moderator) is shown to have been traversed by the degree modifier *fairly* in Nevalainen and Rissanen 2002: 376.

Having considered how both the booster and moderator scalar degree modifier functions of *quite* seem to relate to its maximizer function and thus of how these uses fit into the overall development of this item, it remains to examine the propagation of these uses more thoroughly. In this respect, table 8.3 shows the breakdown of constituent types modified by scalar degree modifier *quite* throughout its history. In spite of the indication in the data of two distinct scalar degree modifying functions of *quite* (viz. booster and moderator), it is as a result of the difficulties encountered in written data (i.e. in the absence of intonational clues) in distinguishing between these (cf. discussion of (54) and (55), above) that they are subsumed in a single category in this table. Where possible, comments will be made in the ensuing analysis about the individual types, though for the most part, this section, through necessity, concerns only the somewhat broader issue of how the combinations with scalar degree modifier *quite* compare to the collocations of its other modifying uses.

	ADJ/ADJP	V/VP	ADV/ADVP	P/PP	N/NP	OTHER	TOTAL
LModE	43	-	8	-	-	2	53
	(81%)		(15%)			(4%)	(100%)
PDE	167	2	65	1		8	214
	(78%)	(1%)	(30%)	(<1%)		(4%)	(100%)

Table 8.3: The constituent types modified by scalar degree modifier *quite* (LModE-PDE)

In its earliest period of use, scalar degree modifier *quite* most typically occurs (81% of the time) as a modifier of adjectival constituents. The only other collocate type it modifies at this time is adverbial, which accounts for 15% of the instances in the LModE data. By PDE, the most frequent collocate type (adjectival) has dropped slightly (by three percentage points) from the previous period to 78%, yet it continues to represent the most common combination, and adverbial elements have doubled in frequency, resulting in a figure of 30%. This period also witnesses the diversification of this function of *quite*, since it extends to modify verbal and prepositional elements. However, since combinations with each of these new collocate types amount to only 1% or less, it seems that they are not particularly significant, thus they will not be discussed in any further detail.

Combinations with adjectival constituents in the LModE data are found from 1740 onwards. In addition to the examples of these given in (52)-(55), above, some further cases are illustrated overleaf.

(56)   *Their consent, however, was only granted on the condition that I vacated my rooms in*
       college and took lodgings. This I did, and with some difficulty succeeded in obtaining
       very good apartments **quite** <u>close</u> *to the college gates.*
       (CLMETEV: Rider Haggard, H. 1887. *She*.)

(57)   *Carrie was busy all day, making little cakes and open jam puffs and jellies. She said*
       she felt **quite** <u>nervous</u> *about her responsibilities to- morrow evening.*
       (CLMETEV: Grossmith. G. 1894. *The Diary of a Nobody*.)

On closer examination of all the combinations of this kind from this period, it is difficult to
note any significant trends, due to the relatively low number of examples. Nevertheless,
one possible tendency, noted in relation to 44% of the cases, is for the adjective to be a
'human propensity' one (Dixon 1982). Among these, there is a fairly equal distribution of
items expressing positive and negative evaluation, with examples including *nervous* (as in
(57), above), *childish*, *alarmed*, *frightened*, *courageous*, *gentle* and *glad*. By PDE, this
repertoire has expanded quite extensively to include, for instance, adjectives pertaining to
Dixon's (1982) categories of 'age' (e.g. *new*, *elderly*, *young*), 'dimension' (e.g. *short*, *high*,
small, *big*, *large*, *broad*), 'value' (e.g. *good*, *attractive*, *nice*, *remarkable*, *important*, *difficult*)
and 'colour' (e.g. *mousy-brown* and *pink*).

What is particularly interesting to note in relation to the modification of adjectival
constituents is that the degree modifier and the modified constituent are not always
directly adjacent. Rather there is a selection of examples (representing 11% of the cases of
adjectival modification in LModE) in which *quite* is situated in pre-determiner position at the
periphery of an indefinite noun phrase that contains one or more attributive adjectives.
This use, which first appears in the data from 1740, though more regularly from the mid-
nineteenth century, is illustrated in (58), below and (59), overleaf.

(58)   *In the evening, talking with the _mayor-domo_ of these mines about the number of*
       foreigners now scattered over the whole country, he told me that, though **quite** <u>a</u>
       <u>young man</u>, *he remembers when he was a boy at school at Coquimbo, a holiday being*
       given to see the captain of an English ship, who was brought to the city to speak to
       the governor.
       (CLMETEV: Darwin, C. 1839. *The Voyage of the Beagle*.)

(59)   *In particular, there was a butler in a blue coat and bright buttons, who gave **quite** <u>a</u>*

   <u>winey flavour</u> to the table beer; he poured it out so superbly.

   (CLMETEV: Dickens, C. 1848. *Dombey and Son*.)

   As noted in section 3.2.3, the indefiniteness of these constituents taken as whole signifies their status as count nouns and therefore as bounded constituents (Traugott 2007: 526-527). In this respect, it would be assumed in accordance with the boundedness hypothesis (Paradis 1997; cf. also ibid. 2001 & 2003) that *quite* in such contexts must function as a bounded modifier (i.e. a maximizer or an emphasizer) of the entire noun phrase. However, whilst this appeared conceivable in the indefinite noun phrase collocates discussed in the previous section (in the context of which *quite* was shown to evidence an emphasizer function), it seems intuitively incongruous in cases such as (58) and (59). The reason for this seems to pertain to the presence of the attributive adjectives. More specifically, the issue, according to Paradis (1997: 31) is that when the noun phrase contains an adjective, *quite*, despite its predeterminer position, actually modifies the adjective, rather than the entire noun phrase. This view echoes Bolinger's (1972) claim that *quite* has a scalar degree modifying function in such cases. Particular evidence in support of these claims can be found in a case such as the following:

 (60)   <[Approaches Catharine, and upon her rising, kisses her hand.]>

   {=F CATH.} *Oh, Mr. Supine! -- really you are quite complimentary. You think then that*

   the naughty little school girl who once trembled at the sight of your ferule, has

   *become **quite** <u>a passable young lady</u>?*

   {=M SUP.} *Or, as some happy swain would express it, altogether irresistible.*

   (ARCHER: Heath, J. E. 1839. *Whigs and Democrats*.)

In response to the question of whether the 'naughty school girl' has become 'quite a passable young lady', the speaker (Mr. Supine, the school-master) substitutes a stronger adjective ('irresistible'), therefore confirming that, at least in this case, *quite* has been interpreted as applying to the adjective *passable*, rather than the entire noun phrase. Since *quite* pertains primarily to the adjective in such cases, its interpretation is subject to the same ambiguities surrounding its use with adjectival constituents, as illustrated above in connection to (54) and (55).

   For this use to have arisen via the use of maximizer *quite* and/or emphasizer *quite* in the context of nominal constituents, both a reanalysis of the meaning of *quite* and an

extension of context (i.e. to indefinite noun phrases containing one or more adjectives) would have to have taken place simultaneously. This seems too big an inference, thus what seems more likely is that it is largely the result of an extension of the more common and already established use of scalar degree modifier *quite within* a noun phrase as a modifier of an adjectival constituent, i.e. when it occurs directly in front of the adjective it modifies.

The use of scalar degree modifier *quite* in the context of adverbial collocates is not attested in the data until 1864, therefore appears to be a much more recent application than its original one as a modifier of adjectival elements. The vast majority of tokens are manner adverbs, for instance, *suddenly*, *well*, *angrily*, *cheerfully* and *loudly* (the latter two of which are respectively exemplified in (61) and (62), below). As this majority corresponds to a low raw figure, this finding does not amount to much in terms of significance, yet is useful to note for the purpose of comparison with the data from PDE. In this respect, the present-day data yields forty-five manner adverbs modified by scalar degree modifier *quite*, which corresponds to 69%, suggesting that the perceived tendency from the LModE period continues into PDE. A notable addition to the set of adverbial collocates in the PDE data is a rather substantial selection (28%) of time adverbials, most notably *often*, *soon* and *recently*.

(61)   *She might play with all the fairies she met…only they must decidedly object to her forming any acquaintance with Will-o'-the-wisp, whom she had once seen beckoning to her with his lamp. Daffodil agreed* **quite** <u>*cheerfully*</u> *to that for she knew Will-o'-the-wisp was an injudicious sort of person who would be sure to lead her into scrapes.* (CLMETEV: Webster, A. 1884. *Daffodil and the Croäxaxicans*.)

(62)   *The curate, who had been crouching silently with his arms over his head, looked up as I passed, cried out* **quite** <u>*loudly*</u> *at my desertion of him, and came running after me.* (CLMETEV: Wells, H. T. 1897. *The War of the Worlds*.)

3.2.5 *Quite* as a response particle

The first example of *quite* being used as a response particle is found in the data for the LModE period, specifically dating from 1819, and exemplified in (63), below.

(63)   {=M ITEM.} *Well, is Joanna secure - is she safe?*
       {=F MRS. PENFOLD.} **Quite**; *and I have followed your direction in every particular.*
       (ARCHER: Beazley, S. 1819. *The Steward*.)

This is the only example of this function in the LModE data and although it does show an increase in popularity in PDE, there are only a mere six instances in the data from this period. Clearly, these numbers are not great enough to draw any substantial conclusions; however, given that this function is, by definition, characteristic of spoken language and that the majority of the corpora used for this research contain only written data[92], this result may not be a true reflection of usage. For this reason, the investigation of this particular function was supplemented with a search of the spoken sections of the BNC, using BNCweb[93], which revealed 173[94] additional examples. Among these, 21 are of the type shown in (63), above, whereby *quite* is used in answer to a polar question and a further 136 are of the type used to comment on a previous utterance[95]. Examples (64)-(68) illustrate the range of types distinguished in the corpus data.

(64) Speaker 1: *Somebody in authority would have known that he was married though, but probably not anybody who could have done anything about preventing another one.*

Speaker 2: *No. Mm. Yeah, but we wouldn't have had the story would we?*

 Speaker 1: *Well No,* **quite***!*

(BNC: 1985-1993: (other spoken material), Appreciation of literature: lecture and discussion.)

(65) Speaker 1: *Isn't it about time this silly nonsense was laughed out of court, and have done with it?*

Speaker 2: *Yes. Yes,* **quite***. I think we should forget these Yes, yes, yes. I think it's absolutely right.*

(BNC: 1985-1993: (other spoken material), Black Sheep of the Family: Seminar.)

(66) Speaker 1: *I mean most of them are only there cos there* [sic.] *finding it hard with the mortgage*.

Speaker 2: **Quite***,* **quite***.*

(BNC: KBF 10169 (spoken) (PS04U), 1991.)

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[92] The only data akin to spoken language within the corpus sample tends to be that which replicates speech, for instance, in works of fiction.

[93] See chapter 3 for details of this corpus.

[94] 187 examples were actually retrieved from this corpus, yet 14 of these were subsequently excluded on the grounds that it was difficult to interpret how it was being used.

[95] In addition to these, the corpus search yielded 81 instances of the negative 'not quite' used in a similar response particle function. Since this represents a rather significant proportion of all the response particles retrieved (32%), it may be interesting to consider in the future, yet it falls outside the scope of the present study.

(67)   Speaker 1: *Course he's been on it for six weeks.*

Speaker 2: *Yes, **quite**.*

Speaker 1: *Hates the blooming hours but*

Speaker 2:   ***quite***

Speaker 1:   *course now they're putting them*

on at half past four…

(BNC: KBF 6353 (spoken) (PS04U), 1991.)

(68)   *"A woman dead." The Prince waved a hand. "Sad. But what's a woman dead in*

Egypt?"

*"**Quite**."*

"So," said the Prince, "I thought I would let it all blow over."

(BNC: 1985-1993, *The Mamur Zapt and the girl in the Nile*.)

Firstly, it was observed that *quite* is mainly used either in response to a polar question (including tag questions) as in (64) and (65) or in response to a statement as in both cases shown in (67). Of these, the latter is overwhelmingly more popular, accounting for 79% of the cases. A few cases such as (68) were also noted in which *quite* is uttered following a seemingly rhetorical question, though this was not particularly frequent. Within each of the two main categories, it was noted that *quite* can feature in a series of slightly different sub-contexts. The most common of these across the board (58%) is when *quite* is used as a response by itself (including cases of iteration) as in (66) and the second relevant response of the second speaker in (67). The second most common sub-context overall is together with the affirmative token, 'yes' (which typically precedes *quite*), as illustrated in (65), and the third notable sub-type is with the negative response particle, 'no', which can be seen in (64). The various combinations of each of these sub-contexts results in slightly different interpretations of *quite*, though across the board, it serves as an interactional tool to convey agreement with the previous speaker.

When it used alongside the affirmative token 'yes' (e.g. in (65)), the latter on its own carries the meaning of agreement, thus *quite* is not strictly *required* for this purpose, but rather is used to emphasize the agreement. In this respect, this use of *quite* appears to have at least some degree of functional overlap with response particles that stem from adverbs of certainty such as *definitely* and *certainly*, or sometimes even with *exactly*. Similarly, when the preceding statement or question is in some sort of negative context (see e.g. (64), in which *quite* is uttered in response to a tag question following on from a

negative clause), *quite*, as a response, tends to follow the negative 'no'. In picking up on and repeating the negative, agreement with the previous utterance is conveyed, yet the addition of *quite* serves to further emphasize this. It is only in cases such as (66)-(68) where *quite* occurs as a response on its own (which is, incidentally, the most common response particle use) that it actually carries the meaning of agreement itself.

Interestingly, this function of *quite* differs rather noticeably from the seemingly similar response particle function of *absolutely*; *w*hilst the latter typically conveys affirmation (occasionally alongside agreement) and thus may be paraphrased as 'yes', the former tends not to permit such a paraphrase. This suggests that its main purpose is somewhat different, namely to convey agreement and/or to confirm accuracy, as distinct from communicating an *answer* in the affirmative *per se*. This factor is also reflected in the fact that response particle *absolutely* is used much more commonly as a response to a question in comparison to *quite*, which, as noted above, clearly favours post-statement position (cf. chapter 4, section 3.2.4 for details of response particle *absolutely*).

Unfortunately, the data does not afford a clear picture of how the response particle function of *quite* emerged, thus it may be that the perceived 'gap' in the process of change indicates the influence of like developments in similarly behaving constructions. With this in mind, the most likely course of development, based on the information available, seems to be from the emphasizer use. The fact that it has been noted in many of the examples of response particle *quite* that it actually serves to *emphasize* agreement identifies a connection with the emphatic sense of emphasizer *quite*. In this respect, it is only a small leap from emphasizing the validity of the application of an element to asserting or confirming that validity, particularly given the likely influence of similarly behaving items with which a connection is perceived, e.g. *absolutely*, the response particle function of which was detailed in chapter 4 (section 3.2.4) to have stemmed primarily from an earlier emphasizer function. Additional support for this trajectory comes from cases of other adverbs that develop similar functions, for instance, that of *indeed*, discussed by Traugott & Dasher (2002: 159-65). They suggest that an earlier epistemic use was crucial to the emergence of the response particle use of this adverb, which they describe as potentially equivalent to 'that's true'.

4. Summary

In conjunction with the information presented in the MED and the OED, the earliest instances of the adverb *quite* in the corpus data were shown to date from the ME period.

With the exception of four cases in which *quite* functioned as a manner adverb, all the classified examples evidenced a maximizer function. Responding to the lack of agreement between the dictionary entries regarding the etymology of *quite*, research carried out in McManus 2008 was drawn upon in order to postulate that the most likely source of maximizer *quite* is the English adjective *quite*. The one exception to this finding is the very small number of manner adverb examples. However, given the lack of any clear link between the examples of this use and those of the contemporary maximizer one, and taking into account the specific texts from which the former were retrieved, it was proposed that this use of *quite* likely reflects French and/or Latin origin.

Based on the analysis presented in section 3.1, the emergence of maximizer *quite* was more specifically attributed to contexts in which *quite* (adj.) occurred in co-ordination with near synonymous adjectives, and where it was used directly adjacent to a verb with a related meaning. Through the gradual negotiation of its adjectival meaning in the context of such semantically similar elements, it was argued that the development of maximizer *quite* was the result of a native process of adverbialization. The subsequent development of the adverb *quite*, which was the focus of section 3.2, is summarized in figure 8.1, overleaf.

As noted above, the analysis dated the emergence of the maximizer use of *quite* in the ME period. In fact, this use represents the most common function of *quite* in the data of this time and, indeed, continues to do so in all of the subsequent periods. More precisely, the analysis of the collocations of maximizer *quite* indicated that its initial use (i.e. in ME and EModE) was solely in the context of constituents that inherently denote 'completeness' and thus only accept modification by maximum degree (illustrated in figure 1 as 'Maximizer (Type 2)').

In the ME data, the sole collocates of maximizer *quite* were found to be verbal and prepositional elements, but by EModE, this had extended to include adjectival and adverbial constituents too. In particular relation to the adjectival and verbal collocates, a propensity for inherently negative elements was noted in these two initial periods, but by the LModE period, this tendency is no longer evident as an equally substantial number of neutral and even inherently positive items were found among the collocates. On a more general level, the LModE data also revealed a further extension of the collocational range of maximizer *quite* to include nominal constituents. However, most significant in this period is the extension of maximizer *quite* to constituents that are (at least primarily) conceptualized as unbounded and therefore permit modification by various types of degree modifier. Although evidence of this particular use was also found in the PDE data, it was observed

that such cases remained somewhat marginal in comparison with the original maximizer use which remained dominant throughout the history of this item.

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                                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                                    │      quite (adj.)       │
                                    │ 'excused, exempt, free, │
                                    │  freed; freed from an   │
                                    │      obligation'        │
                                    └─────────────────────────┘
```

quite (adj.)
'excused, exempt, free, freed; freed from an obligation'

MANNER ADVERB
'freely, without hindrance or harm'

MAXIMIZER (TYPE 2)
'to the fullest extent'
- Modifying constituents that inherently denote 'completeness', and only accept modification by maximum degree.

MAXIMIZER (TYPE 1)
'to the fullest extent'
- Modifying constituents that accept modification by varying degree.

SCALAR DEGREE MODIFIER
- To a high degree/extent | - To a moderate degree/extent

EMPHASIZER
'truly, really', adding force as distinct from degree
- With adjectives (in exclamative contexts) | - With indefinite noun phrases.

RESPONSE PARTICLE
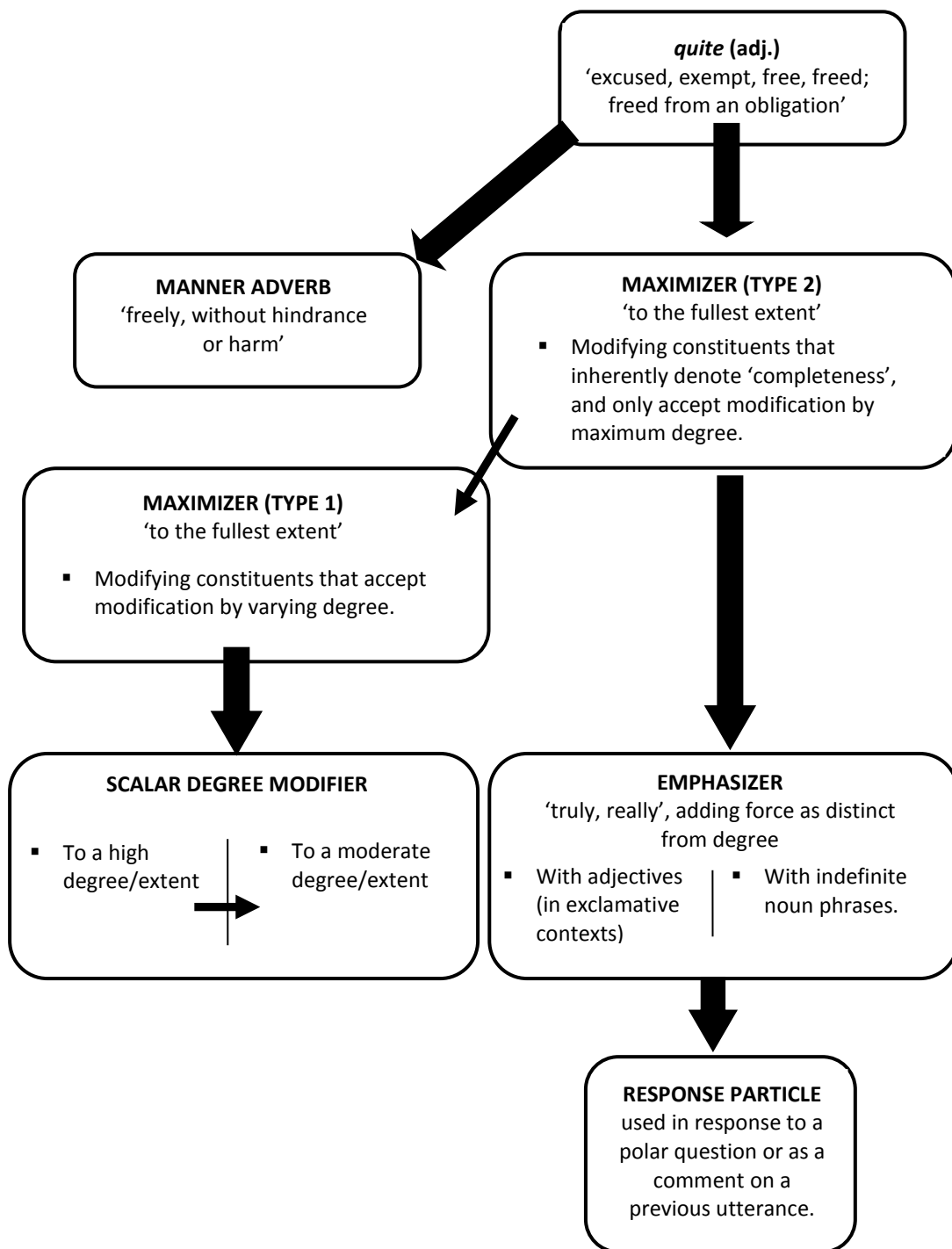used in response to a polar question or as a comment on a previous utterance.

Figure 8.1 Diagram of the development of *quite*

The LModE period witnessed the rise of an emphasizer function of *quite* in the context of nominal, and later (although less commonly), adjectival constituents. Although at no stage does the emphasizer function really rival any of the other functions *quite* has

developed throughout its history, it has begun to gain fairly significant ground in PDE. The corpus data suggested that it is most likely that this function of *quite* originates in the use of maximizer *quite* in combination with nominal collocates that only accept modification by maximizers. Further to the fact that a similar trajectory was noted, for instance, for *absolutely* (cf. chapter 4, section 3.2.2), additional support for this assertion comes from the close connection between the above-mentioned maximizer use and an emphasizer function. Moreover, it was suggested, in conjunction with the analysis of the maximizer function, that there are a series of instances in the data in which *quite* modifies a nominal constituent, where its function is potentially ambiguous between that of a maximizer and that of an emphasizer. The existence of such potential bridging examples further affirms the proposed development, leading to the eventual use of *quite* in contexts where an emphasizer function is the most likely or only possible interpretation.

Evidence of a scalar degree modifier function was found from 1740. On the basis of the corpus analysis, it was proposed that this function developed from the maximizer function of *quite*, following its extension to constituents that permit modification by various types of degree modifier. Given the scalar bias of the typical collocates of this particular use of maximizer in the LModE corpora (and therefore the fact that contemporary data reveals their occurrence with a range of scalar degree modifiers), it was suggested that its repeated use in such contexts likely led to its interpretation as a scalar degree modifier. In line with the already observed tendency for degree modifiers to develop unbounded readings from bounded conceptualizations (cf. e.g. Méndez-Naya 2008: 277 and Paradis 1997: 82 in general and Adamson & Gonzalez-Diaz 2004 on *very*; Buchstaller & Traugott 2006 on *all*; Méndez-Naya 2007 on *right*), it seems likely that through its gradual extension to unbounded constituents that only permit modification by scalar degree modifiers, the scalar degree modifier function of *quite* may thus have become properly established.

Difficulties were encountered when attempting to distinguish between booster and moderator readings, since these share the same unbounded mode of construal, thus they can only be differentiated in written data in cases where there are precise contextual indications. Accordingly, in the absence of intonational clues, it was often necessary to rely on individual, or else very small numbers of, specific examples from whose context(s) it was possible to glean various information which could then be extrapolated in order to put forward broader hypotheses about more wide-scale developmental processes. Nevertheless, in a selection of contexts it was possible to isolate a booster reading due to additional contextual clues. In this respect, the research succeeds in addressing one of the issues noted in connection to the previous work on *quite*, namely whether two distinct

scalar uses of *quite* exist or whether the contrasting classifications are merely different ways of interpreting the same function. Although the number of cases in which this was possible to confirm a booster function is not very numerous, this finding verifies the existence of this function (in line with Diehl's (2005) work and Bolinger's (1972) comments) in addition to the more widely attested moderator one. In this latter respect, the present research also improves on the OED definition of *quite* in specifying these two types of scalar degree modifying function more precisely. Moreover, it potentially refutes Quirk et al.'s (1985) claim that the booster function of *quite* is an American usage, or at least indicates that it may be encroaching on British usage; possibly an interesting topic for future research.

The most recent function of *quite* is its response particle one, which occurs once in the data for the LModE period, but much more consistently in the PDE data. Based on the information available, it was suggested that the most likely source of this function of *quite* is its emphasizer one, but that the development was in all probability influenced by similarly behaving items with which language users could have perceived a connection , e.g. *absolutely*, *indeed*. Contrary to the response particle function of *absolutely*, the analysis showed that this use of *quite* does not readily accept the affirmative particle, 'yes', as a paraphrase. This signified that the functions of these two seemingly similar items must differ somewhat. The investigation revealed that this is because whereas response particle *absolutely* typically conveys affirmation, the main purpose of response particle *quite* is to serve as an interactional tool for expressing agreement and/or confirming accuracy with respect to an immediately preceding utterance.

Given the lack of previous diachronic research into adverbial *quite* (see sections 1 and 2), this comprehensive account of the complete development of *quite* from its ME adjectival source, right through to its present-day uses is undoubtedly a valuable contribution. In addition to elucidating how its various functions are related historically, it has been able to shed light on some of the specific issues pertaining to it that arose in relation to the existing literature. For instance, although in the absence of intonational clues, it was not possible in all cases to determine with certainty whether scalar degree modifier *quite* was functioning as a moderator or a booster, there was enough evidence to at least confirm both functions. As noted above, this goes some way towards resolving the division of opinion evident in the literature with regard to the classification of scalar degree modifier *quite*, since it acknowledges the two uses in their own right, thus ruling out the possibility that the contrasting classifications are merely different ways of interpreting the same function. Moreover, in line with Stoffel (1901), yet contrary to Bolinger's (1972)

assertion, the analysis showed that the initial function of adverbial *quite* was a maximizer. It was not until LModE that examples were found of *quite* being used to 'reinforce truth value' (Quirk et al. 1985) or 'emphasize', rather than denote maximum degree.

Finally, on a more general level, the analyses of the maximizer and the emphasizer uses of *quite* (see, in particular sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3) further contribute to the questions raised in previous chapters concerning the validity of the maxmizer class as it is currently described in the literature (cf. e.g. Allerton 1987 and Paradis 1997, amongst others, as well as standard grammars such as Quirk et al. 1985 and Huddleston & Pullum 2002). In this respect, some of the ambiguity noted in section 2 with regard to Bolinger's (1972) discussion of the meaning and function of early adverbial *quite* is accounted for by the discovery of what are detailed in figure 1 as two 'types' of maximizer *quite*. Despite both these 'types' being subsumed by existing definitions of maximizers (cf. e.g. the above-mentioned sources), some notable overlap was observed between one of them and the current definition of emphasizers in the literature. As with the maximizers examined in each of the previous chapters, the use of maximizer *quite* was found to evidence the following two 'types: as a modifier of constituents that inherently denote 'completeness' and thus only admit modification by maximizing degree modifiers, and as a modifier of collocates that permit modification by various types of degree modifier. In the case of the former, which represents the earliest application of maximizer *quite*, the fact that the constituents are ones that already inherently denote the upper extreme on the scale of degree force, questions whether *quite* should actually be termed a 'maximizer' when used in such contexts, since its presence is, in fact, not necessary to denote maximum degree. Furthermore, the somewhat redundant maximal denotation appears to render the function of *quite* in such contexts very similar to that of an emphasizer. This quandary is particularly apparent when such cases are compared with those in which the modified constituents accept modification by varying degree. In these latter cases, the maximizer function has a clear degree modifying purpose because no other indication of maximum degree is present in the context; it serves specifically to denote maximum degree *as opposed to any other degree* and thus may be considered crucial to the communication of that degree. On a local level, this issue helps to explain the connection between maximizer functions and emphasizer functions in the development of individual items (i.e. explaining the development of the latter from the former in the case of *quite*). It also perhaps explains why some aspects of the description of maximizer *quite* in some of the earlier literature (i.e. Stoffel 1901 and Bolinger 1972) seem to refer to both maximizer and emphasizer characteristics. On a more general level, it serves alongside the analyses of the other

maximizers in the present research in ultimately bringing to the fore the distinction between maximizers and emphasizers. In this respect, it reiterates the need for a more fine grained description of each function, and a more detailed consideration of what it is that sets them apart, particularly with regard to items which evidence both uses.

CHAPTER 9: The development of *totally*

1. Introduction

Attested first in the early 1500s (OED *s.v. totally* adv.), it appears that *totally* is one of the more recent additions to the English adverb class (cf. e.g. *perfectly* and *utterly* in chapters 7 and 10, respectively, each of which are used from the ME period). Moreover, the OED entry for *totally* records only one significant function[96], viz. the maximizer one exemplified in (1)[97], below.

(1) *At length, in a haughty tone, he said, `I hope, madam, your servants have packed up all your things; for the coach will be ready by six in the morning.' My patience was* **totally** <u>subdued</u> *by this provocation, and I answered, `No, sir, there is a letter still remains unpacked;' and then throwing it on the table I fell to upbraiding him with the most bitter language I could invent.*
(CLMETEV: Fielding, H. 1749. *Tom Jones*.)

Interestingly, the corpus search also reveals evidence of an additional function which is not detailed in the dictionary entry, viz. that of response particle (illustrated in (2), below). Even so, with only two distinctive functions, the implication is that this item is much less versatile than many of its counterparts (cf. e.g. *absolutely*, *entirely* and *quite* in chapters 4, 6 and 8, respectively, each of which are used in a wide range of functions throughout their histories).

(2) *"Are you still convinced Joseph killed Sabine Jourdain?" Rain asked as she watched the tea poured. Barbara Coleman stopped pouring and fixed her with a very severe look. "**Totally**." For several minutes, she had nothing more to say.*
(BNC: Grant-Adamson, L. 1988. *Guilty Knowledge*.)

Although *totally* appears in Quirk et al.'s (1985: 590-591) list of maximizing degree modifiers, and is one of the seven maximizers investigated in the study by Paradis (1997),

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[96] Strictly speaking, the entry also includes mention of a manner sense, yet this definition is combined with that of the maximizer sense, i.e. 'in a total manner or degree; wholly, completely, entirely, altogether' (OED *s.v. totally* adv.). The distinction between the two is not clarified, thus it seems that the wording of the definition reflects the difficulty in distinguishing between a manner adverb and a maximizer sense in the context of verbal collocates.

[97] Examples here are primarily for illustrative purposes. For more comprehensive explanations of each of these functions, see chapter 3 (section 3.1).

none of the other prominent works in the field of degree modifiers (e.g. Stoffel 1901, Bolinger 1972, Vermeire 1979, all of which have been referred to frequently in previous chapters) make any mention of this item, despite each containing sections devoted specifically to the maximizer variety. Consequently, it seems that very little is known about *totally*, particularly in comparison to many of its counterparts.

In the work that is carried out by Paradis (1997), the examination of the collocational restrictions and preferences of maximizer *totally* in corpus data elucidates some of the precise contexts in which it is used in present-day spoken British English. For one, she notes that 71% of the adjectives that are found as collocates of maximizer *totally* in her data occur only once. With the exception of *utterly* (which has a corresponding frequency of 80%), this figure is the highest for all the maximizers in her study, thus suggesting that its application in PDE is much more widespread (in the sense that it is less associated with certain fixed combinations) than most of its counterparts. In spite of this, some observations are made with regard to common collocate types, with the items *different* and *wrong* reported as occurring most frequently. As well as noting that *totally* shares these most common collocate types with *completely*, Paradis (1997: 81) observes that these two maximizers also share a propensity for adjectival constituents that are 'negatively loaded' or have negative prefixes.

Undoubtedly, this insight from Paradis (1997) offers a valuable contribution to the knowledge of what is clearly a comparatively under-investigated member of the maximizer class. However, as noted in previous chapters, the narrow scope of her study (i.e. concerning only PDE data and being restricted to the modification of adjectival constituents), means that further research is required in order to fully understand this item in combinations with a variety of constituent types across time. Furthermore, it will be interesting to consider whether the diachronic development of *completely* and *totally* appears to have had any bearing on the connections Paradis (1997: 81) discerns between the way in which these items are employed in PDE.

Seeking to improve on the existing, very limited, descriptions of *totally*, not only with respect to its maximizer function, but also taking account of the previously neglected response particle function, this chapter is organised as follows. Beginning with a consideration of the relevant information provided by the MED and OED, the ensuing section maps out the development of *totally* based on the analysis of corpus data from ME through to PDE*.* Dealing initially with the rise of the adverb (section 2.1), the remainder (section 2.2) documents its subsequent development. Following this, section 3 summarizes

the main findings and considers the implications of these, particularly in relation to other members of the maximizer class.

2. The development of *totally*

As detailed above, this section is organized into two sub-sections: to begin with, section 2.1 details the rise of the adverb from its adjectival source, and then section 2.2 elucidates the subsequent development of this form.

2.1. The rise of the adverb

The OED presents *totally* as a case of native adverbialization, since it notes that it derives from the ME adjective *total* by means of the addition of the *–ly* English adverbial suffix (cf. OED *s.v. totally* adv.). As the adverb is first attested in the EModE period, it seems that the process of adverbialization must have occurred at some point between ME and EModE. In light of this and in order to determine whether any particular context(s) may have been significant in this, the ensuing analysis begins with data from this time period, examining instances of the source adjective in conjunction with the earliest cases of the resulting adverb.

According to both the MED and the OED, the adjective *total* was in use from the late 1300s, with the initial sense of 'comprising or constituting a whole; pertaining or relating to the whole' (cf. MED *s.v. tōtāl* adj. and OED *s.v. total* adj. A. 1 & 2). The earliest example recorded in both sources is from Chaucer's 1386 *Canterbury Tales*, but the use is documented more regularly from the 1400s onwards, as illustrated in (3).

(3)   *Vnder this fourme me shalle write and worche, tille the **totalle** <u>nombre</u> be halfede.*
        (MED *s.v. tōtāl* adj.: c1450 *Art Number.*)

In the OED, another sense attested from 1702 onwards is that expressing the notion 'complete in extent or degree; absolute, utter' (OED *s.v. total* adj. 3.a.). Examples given include those quoted in (4) and (5), below.

(4)   *Nothing less…could…have produced such a **total** and prodigious <u>Alteration and Confusion</u> over the whole Kingdom.*
        (OED *s.v. total* adj.: 1702 *Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion*)

(5)   *Notwithstanding all that Scott says about the **total** <u>failure</u> of his attempts in the art of*
       the pencil,…they proved very useful to him afterwards.
       (OED *s.v. total* adj.: Lockhart, J. G. 1837. *Mem. Life Scott*)

      As for the adverb *totally*, this is recorded in the OED from 1509 onwards with the
meaning 'in a total manner or degree; wholly, completely, entirely, altogether' (OED *s.v.*
totally adv.) The following examples are among those given in the OED to illustrate this
use.

(6)   *Lyke as the worlde was <u>destroyed</u> **totally** By the virgins sone, so it seemed well A*
       virgins sone to redeme it pyteously.
       (OED *s.v. totally* adv.: Hawes, S. 1509. *Pastime of Pleasure*.)

(7)   *The Imprudence, and Preseumption…of carrying the Prince in to Spain was*
       ***totally** <u>Forgotten</u>.*
       (OED *s.v. totally* adv.: 1702 *Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion* I. i. 16.)

      In general, the corpus data supports the dictionary attestations in dating the first
instances of the adjective *total* in ME and the initial use of the adverb *totally* in EModE.
However, in the case of the former, the earliest examples yielded date from approximately
one hundred years later than the recordings in the dictionaries (see (8) from 1489) and in
the case of the latter, the corpus instances are approximately one hundred years prior,
dating from the 1600s (see e.g. (9), below). This in itself seems to suggest a narrower
window within which the assumed adverbialization took place.

(8)   *Madame, as for this I knowe, and can perceyue youre pryde shalbe cause / but yf ye*
       *take hede, of the **total** <u>distruction</u> of your royalme* [realm]*.*
       (CMEPV: Caxton, W. 1489. *Blanchardine and Eglantine*.)

(9)   *Sir Thomas Tildsley, Lord Witherington, Col. Ashurst, and many other persons of*
       quality, and 500 more slayne and taken, himself wounded, escaping to his king's
       army, which army being lodged at Worcester, was on this day seavenight engaged by
       *the Lord General and his forces, and **totally** <u>routed</u>.*
       (CEECS: John Jones to Theophilus Jones, 1651.)

Given that there are only a mere three cases of *total* in the ME data and only ten instances of *totally* in EModE, it cannot completely be discounted that this is simply the result of limited data. Nevertheless, it is interesting that a closer look at the nature of the dictionary attestations and at the frequency of these items in later corpora in light of these findings, suggests that neither the adjective nor the adverb were particularly common until LModE. In the case of the adjective, only four of the examples listed in the OED are pre-1489. Moreover, the subsequent search of the EModE corpora provided just a further twenty-six cases and the OED, in this connection, supplies only two additional examples from this time period; the majority of its examples dating from the LModE period (for which 543 instances were uncovered in the corpora). With regard to the adverb, the overall number of examples listed in the OED is far from numerous (7 tokens) and in actual fact, only one of these dates from before 1600 (that exemplified in (6), above). In this respect, the implication is that the adverbialization of *totally* from the adjective *total* most likely was underway in ME, but never really propagated until later in EModE and LModE.

Among the early examples of *total* (i.e. those retrieved from the ME and EModE data), the overwhelming majority are used attributively (see e.g. (8), above and (10)-(12), below), with only one example of predicative use, (shown in (13), overleaf). Accordingly, the data seems to suggest that this item was used predominantly during the ME and EModE periods as an attributive adjective[98][99].

(10) *'Ha/god! who might comforte me when I see my faders deth byfore me, & the*
       total <u>*dyscomfyture*</u> [defeat] *of hys peple, & also the destruction of my self,…*
       (CMEPV: *Melusine*. C1500)

(11) *ye are cause of the losse of al my worldly joye & of my* ***totall*** *destruction/by god…*
       (CMEPV: *Melusine*. C1500)

(12) *…and I doe worke all such conclusions as hereafter follow, by the said tables, the*
       totall <u>*Sine*</u> *whereof is 10/000/000.*
       (HELSINKI: Blundevile, T. *A Briefe Description of the Tables of the Three Speciall Right Lines…*)

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[98] Examination of cases of *total* from both LModE and PDE corpora (the searches of which revealed 543 and 284 instances, respectively) indicates that this is also true of more recent usage.
[99] In this connection, the MED gives the impression that it was used mostly as a predicative adjective up until around 1450, after which the attributive use dominated, offering an element of support for the deductions that the attributive use is most popular from the end of the ME period onwards.

(13)   *Wee then, after <u>this defeat</u>, which was soe **totall**, releiued the towne with such*

powder and prouisions as wee brought; which donn, wee had notice that there were

6. troupes of horse and 300. foote on the other side of the towne, about a mile off vs.

(CEECS: Letter II. Oliver Cromwell to Sir Edmund Bacon and others, 1643.)

Examples like (12) in which *total* modifies the noun *Sine*, expressing the sense of 'comprising or constituting a whole; pertaining or relating to the whole' form the majority of cases retrieved from both the ME and EModE corpora (64%). However, closer examination of the data reveals that this majority is not necessarily indicative of the prevalence of this sense of the adjective during this time, since all but one of the examples are from the same mathematical text, suggesting an element of corpus bias. On the contrary, the fact that the 32% of cases evidencing the 'complete in extent or degree' meaning (e.g. (10)-(11), above) are from a range of texts (and a wider range of genres) actually implies that this use of the adjective was more widespread at this time. Furthermore, what is particularly interesting is that all three examples of ME *total* (i.e. (8) and (10-(11)) evidence the latter meaning, despite the fact that this is presented in the OED as not having been in use until 1702.

In the context of numerical referents, such as amounts or values (e.g. *sine* as in (12) and also *number* and *sum*), which are regarded as capable of numeration, *total* is clearly concerned with a whole *amount* or *quantity*. However, when used with abstracts and deverbal nouns such as *dyscomfyture* and *destruction* (in (8), (10) and (11)), which are not readily considered with this same quantitative notion of an 'assemblage of all the parts', it seems that an expression of extent (or degree) is a more likely interpretation. The evidence from the corpora alone is not numerous enough to make any substantial claims about the ordering of the development of these senses of the adjective, particularly since both are found fairly simultaneously in the cases uncovered. Nevertheless, taking into account the logical analysis of the contexts of use (above) and the information about the relative attestations in the dictionary entries, the indication seems to be that the original sense may have been the one concerned with conceptualization as a whole in terms of amount/quantity, viz. 'comprising or constituting a whole; pertaining or relating to the whole'[100]. From this, the likely development would therefore have involved the adjective being extended beyond numerical contexts, gradually permitting combinations with referents that are more readily conceptualized as 'wholes' in terms of extent (or degree)

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[100] As noted above, although this was not the earliest sense among the corpus examples, it seems likely that this is due to a lack of data for the ME period, particularly the earlier half, since both dictionaries record this as the initial sense from the late 1300s (cf. above discussion).

rather than quantity. Coinciding with this proposed development and thus lending support in the absence of numerous data is Ghesquière's (2001: 141-142) account of the pathway from 'descriptive modifier' *total* to 'noun-intensifier' *total*. As the nouns in question are typically ones that intrinsically denote 'completeness', e.g. *destruction* and *dyscomfyture*, the adjective, in many cases, arguably takes on a sort of emphasizing function, heightening the semantic specification of the noun.

Contrary to the implication of the attestation dates in the dictionaries (cf. examples (3)-(7), above), the clear semantic connection between this latter sense of the adjective and the earliest instances of the adverb *totally*, (viz. a maximizing degree modifier denoting a 'total degree or extent'), suggests the former to be the most plausible source of the adverbialization. Moreover, among the cases of the proposed more recent sense of the adjective, there is a noticeable preference for nominal referents of an inherently negative nature, e.g. *overthrow*, *rejecting*, *destruction* and *dyscomfyture*, the latter two of which are exemplified in (10) and (11), above (see also Bäcklund 1973: 210 and Ghesquière 2011: 131-132). In this connection, (14) and (15) which are representative of the earliest instances of the adverb *totally* found in the corpora, illustrate that this tendency is also observed in many of the constituents of the EModE use of this item (in these cases, *mistake* and *wasted*, respectively). This contextual connection (also noted in Ghesquière 2011: 137-138) provides some support for the developmental pathway suggested above, as does the finding that the relevant 'complete in extent or degree' sense of the adjective was in use (albeit perhaps rarely) much earlier than documented in the OED.

(14) *SEBASTIAN: With an eye of green in't.*
      ANTONIO: He misses not much.
      *SEBASTIAN: No; he doth but <u>mistake the truth</u> <u>**totally**</u>.*
      (EModEDramatists: Shakespeare, W. 1623. *The Tempest*.)

(15) *…wee expect to meete many difficulties…because the contribucions fall exceeding*
      shorte in most places…and some whole Counties, which paid considerable assessmets
      *the last yeare…are now **totally** <u>wasted</u>, soe that all the Revenue that can be raised*
      here…cannot possibly pay the Forces…
      (CEECS: John Jones to Thomas Scott, 1651.)

2.2. The development of the adverb

Having considered the rise of the adverb *totally*, the remainder of this section details its subsequent development through to PDE, based on the analysis of the corpus data. As a starting point for this, table 9.1 provides a breakdown of the corpus data for *totally* from each period (EModE-PDE) according to function. By supplementing these quantitative results with qualitative investigation of individual examples, it was possible to gain a detailed knowledge of the precise nature of *totally* during each period, as well as of its diachronic development.

The previous section documented that the initial function of *totally* was that of a maximizer and the figures in table 1 show that this is its sole function in the limited EModE data. This remains the case in LModE and it is only in PDE that there is evidence of an additional response particle function. Even then, the figures show that this additional function is extremely rare in comparison to the maximizer one, being represented by only one actual token and thus accounting for less than 1% of the examples from this period.

	MAXIMIZER	RESPONSE PARTICLE	AMBIGUOUS	TOTAL
EModE	9 (90%)	-	1 (10%)	10 (100%)
LModE	470 (98%)	-	10 (2%)	480 (100%)
PDE	277 (99%)	1 (<1%)	2 (1%)	280 (100%)

Table 9.1: The function of *totally* from EModE-PDE

2.2.1 Maximizer *totally*

Among the diachronic evidence of maximizer *totally*, the same two-way distinction that was noted in previous chapters (see chapters 4-8), can be observed. On the one hand, there are cases such as (16)-(17), in which it is used to modify a constituent that is inherently 'at the top of the degree scale' and thus only accepts modification by maximizers. In addition to this type of use, there is also evidence of this maximizer being employed as a modifier of constituents that accept modification by varying degree, such as *precarious*, *changed* and *flexible*, the latter two of which are illustrated in (18)-(19), respectively.

(16)   *The Bructeri…were* **totally** *exterminated by the neighboring tribes...*

(CLMETEV: Gibbon, E. 1776. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*)
(Maximizer *totally* modifying a constituent that only accepts modification by maximum degree)

(17)   *Bertie moved into this **totally** <u>derelict</u> deanery just after Petertide.*

        (BNC: 1985-1993, *Unholy Ghosts*.)
        (Maximizer *totally* modifying a constituent that only accepts modification by maximum degree)

(18)   *Wolsey took it, and broke it open; and as his eye eagerly scanned its contents, the expression of his countenance **totally** <u>changed</u>. A flash of joy and triumph irradiated his fallen features…*

        (CLMETEV: Ainsworth, W. H. 1843. *Windsor Castle*.)
        (Maximizer *totally* modifying a constituent that accepts modification by varying degree)

(19)   *A choice of board arrangement is available — self-catering for the more independent, whilst those on half or full board can savour the delights of the extensive buffet … — so meal times can be **totally** <u>flexible</u> to suit your own daily plans.*

        (BNC: 1985-1993, Written Miscellaneous, *HCI Club Holidays*.)
        (Maximizer *totally* modifying a constituent that accepts modification by varying degree)

As was discussed in previous chapters in relation to other adverbs (see chapters 4-8), there is a significant difference between these two contexts of use concerning the precise function of the adverb. In that represented by (18)-(19), *totally* serves to denote maximum degree *as opposed to any other possible degree*, whereas in contexts such as (16)-(17), it indicates the only degree that is capable of applying to the constituents in question. In this respect, it is argued (cf. chapters 4-8) that, whilst traditional definitions of maximizers actually encompass both types (cf. e.g. Quirk et al. 1985), the latter variety actually appears to display some overlap with emphasizers in that it seems, strictly speaking, to function more to accentuate the maximum degree, rather than denote it *per se* as in the alternative cases.

       Among the EModE examples, *totally* is only evidenced as a modifier of constituents that inherently denote 'completeness', thus suggesting, in line with the findings pertaining to the adverbs already examined (cf. chapters 4-8), that this type of context is characteristic of the early use of this maximizer. Some examples of the constituents among this early usage include *routed* and *wasted* (illustrated above in (9) and (15), respectively) and *unable* (shown in (20)). Even the collocate *different*, exemplified in (21), which does accept modification by various types of degree modifier in PDE (cf. e.g. *slightly/very* different), is

only ever found with maximizing degree modifiers in contemporary EModE data[101], thus suggesting that the typical conceptualization of this adjective at that time was that of a complementary 'either-or' nature, i.e. a 'limit' adjective in Paradis' (1997) terms (cf. discussion of Paradis' (1997) adjective classification in chapter 2).

(20)   *But alas!...you must, when God calls, lett him goe. Be sure, therfor, to make benefitt of the time mercy indulges him to you; and pray I may not out live yr happinis in him, for being* **totally** <u>*unable*</u> *to give you any comfort my self, twod prove an unsufferable cross...*
       (CEECS: Winefrid Thimelby to her nieces and nephews, Letter LXXIX, 1670s.)

(21)   *...we leaped from that to other things* **totaly** [sic.] <u>*different*</u>*...*
       (HELSINKI: Evelyn, J. 1688. *The Dairy of John Evelyn*.)

This observed tendency in EModE also represents the majority (69%) of the use during the subsequent LModE period, with typical collocates form this time including *deserted* and *useless* (see examples (22)-(23), respectively).

(22)   *...we advanced with fear and terror through dark streets* **totally** <u>*deserted*</u>*, every creature being shut up in their houses...*
       (CLMETEV: Beckford, W. 1783. *Dreams, Waking Thoughts, and Incidents.*)

(23)   *She then fell foul on the learned languages, declared they were* **totally** <u>*useless*</u>*, and concluded that she had read all that was worth reading, though, she thanked heaven, she understood no language but her own.*
       (CLMETEV: Fielding, H. 1751. *Amelia*.)

However, by this time, there is also substantial usage (31%) with constituents that are conceptualised as scalar and thus accept modification by varying degree, for instance, *altered*, *obscure* and *new*, the latter two of which are evidenced in (24)-(25).

(24)   *But his method of interrogation was confused and pointless. The drift of it was* **totally** <u>*obscure*</u>*.*
       (CLMETEV: Meredith, G. 1870. *The Adventures of Harry Richmond*.)

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[101] In fact, any pre-modification of this adjective is rare in the EModE data, but when it is present, the modifier is only ever one from the maximizer class.

(25)   *I prefer Hunt's conversation almost to any other person's, because, with a familiar*

   *range of subjects, he colours with a **totally** <u>new</u> and sparkling light, reflected from his*

   own character.

   (CLMETEV: Hazlitt, W. 1821-22. *Table Talk*.)

By PDE, in a somewhat reversal of the trend, this latter type of constituent represented in (24)-(25), accounts for the majority (52%) of the collocates. Nevertheless, those that inherently denote 'completeness', though having dropped to 48%, still constitute a comparatively substantial percentage.

In order to examine the precise nature and propagation of maximizer *totally* in more detail, table 9.2 presents details of the constituent types it is used to modify throughout its history, including their relative frequencies.

	ADJ/ADJP	V/VP	ADV/ADVP	P/PP	N/NP	OTHER	TOTAL
EModE	5	3	-	-	-	1	9
	(56%)	(33%)				(11%)	(100%)
LModE	312	140	1	15	1	1	470
	(66%)	(30%)	(<1%)	(3%)	(<1%)	(<1%)	(100%)
PDE	209	46	3	17	-	2	277
	(75%)	(17%)	(2%)	(6%)		(1%)	(100%)

Table 9.2: The constituent types modified by maximizer *totally* (EModE-PDE)

As illustrated in row 1 of the above table, the most common constituent type modified by maximizer *totally* in EModE is adjectival, which accounts for 56% of the instances from this period (see, e.g. (21)-(23), above). Verbal constituents are also evidenced at this time (see e.g. (9) and (14), above), yet only with a frequency of 33%. These results imply that this maximizer was typically employed as a modifier of adjectival constituents during its initial period of use. However, the fact that the overall number of examples retrieved from this period is extremely low means that, in addition to suggesting that the adverb was not very well established at this time (cf. section 2.1), the above-noted deductions on the collocational behaviour of maximizer *totally* at this time cannot be treated as anything more than indicative.

By the LModE period, the overall frequency of this maximizer has increased dramatically (cf. table 9.1), thus it is possible to make much more substantial claims on the basis of the data from this time. The figures in table 9.2 demonstrate that it is not only the overall number of tokens that has increased in LModE; so too has the functional range. To

this effect, alongside continued use with adjectival and verbal collocates, this period sees the rise of the use of maximizer *totally* with prepositional, adverbial and nominal constituents. The latter two types do not appear to have been particularly significant, since they each account for less than 1% of the uses during this period (and, indeed, the subsequent PDE one, in which the use with nominal constituents is not found at all). The prepositional variety are slightly more interesting as, though they make up only 3% of the examples from this period, they appear to be on the increase, judging by the 3% rise to 6% notes in the figures for PDE (see row 3 in table 9.2). Nevertheless, the consistently most significant collocate type in the use of this maximizer across time is clearly the adjectival variety, which successively increases in frequency to 60% and then 75% in LModE and PDE, respectively. Furthermore, although the figures demonstrate a corresponding decrease in combinations with verbal constituents over time (down to 30% in LModE, then more dramatically to 17% in PDE), this still remains the second most common constituent type throughout the history of this maximizer.

As the most significant collocate types of maximizer *totally* diachronically, the analysis in the remainder of this section concentrates on combinations with adjectival and verbal elements. Moreover, due to the above-mentioned limited data for this item from the EModE period, the focus is on the LModE and PDE data where trends can be observed.

Overall in the LModE period, there is a clearly observable tendency for maximizer *totally* to be used to modify constituents that are inherently negative (or at least contain a negative affix). In this respect, further to the items *exterminated* and *useless*, evidenced in (16) and (23), examples from the corpora for this period include the verbs *banished*, *failed* (as shown in (26) and (27), respectively) as well as *incapacitate*, *impeding*, *lost* and *reject*, and adjectives such as *corrupted*, *deficient*, *destitute*, *disfigured*, *disqualified*, *ignorant*, *inadequate*, *inferior*, *insufficient* and *wrong* (the latter two of which are illustrated in (28) and (29), overleaf)[102].

(26)   *By such means it may appear who those are, that…have* **totally** banished *all integrity*
        and confidence out of public proceedings…
        (CLMETEV: Burke, E. 1770. *Thoughts on the Present Discontents*.)

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[102] A number of these items, e.g. *deficient*, *inadequate*, *insufficient*, also correspond to the 'absence' words that have been noted by Partington (2004: 148) and Aijmer (2007: 11) to be typical collocates of PDE *totally*. (Note that the latter mentioned study is on AmE.)

(27)   *Lord Derford, too, encouraged by his father, endeavoured to engage some share of her attention; but he* **totally** *failed; her mind was superior to little arts of coquetry, and her pride had too much dignity to evaporate in pique; she determined, therefore, at this time, as at all others, to be consistent in shewing [sic.]* him he had no chance of her favour.

(CLMETEV: Burney, F. 1782. *Cecilia*.)

(28)   *Let us then suppose a man entirely disengaged from business and pleasure, sitting down alone and at leisure, to reflect upon himself and his own condition of being. He would immediately feel that he was by no means complete of himself, but* **totally** insufficient *for his own happiness.*

(CLMETEV: Butler, J. 1726. *Human Nature and Other Sermons*.)

(29)   *These remarks, and the triumphant exclamation of Dr. Lightfoot at the close that here "an elaborate argument is wrecked on this rock of grammar," convey a* **totally** wrong *impression of the case.*

(CLMETEV: Cassels, W. R. 1889. *A Reply to Dr. Lightfoot's Essays*.)

More specifically, among the verbal collocates, two notable semantic fields can be discerned. The first of these is 'verbs of destruction', which include the tokens *annihilated*, *destroy(ed)*, *eradicated*, *exterminated*, *extinguished* and *obliterated* (see e.g. (30) and (31), below) and account for 14% of all the verbal constituents modified by maximizer *totally* in the LModE data. The second group are 'verbs of neglect and/or abandonment', such as *abandon(ed)*, *deprived*, *disregarded*, *neglect(ed)* and *overlooked* (see e.g. (32)-(33), overleaf), which comprise a further 12% of the verbal constituents from this period.

(30)   *By rendering justice totally USELESS, you thereby* **totally** destroy *its essence, and suspend its obligation upon mankind.*

(CLMETEV: Hume, D. 1751. *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*.)

(31)   *All his kindness to me in my infancy, all his kindness to me while I was growing up, recurred to my memory, raised a thousand tender, melancholy ideas, and* **totally** obliterated *all thoughts of his latter behaviour…*

(CLMETEV: Fielding, H. 1751. *Amelia*.)

(32)   *Offers of money were made to Mirabeau from the same quarter, if he would*

   totally *abandon his motion.*

   (CLMETEV: Clarkson, T. 1839. *The History of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade*.)

(33)   *In fact, an artist may give the minute particulars of any object one by one and with*

   the utmost care, and ***totally*** *neglect the proportions, arrangement, and general*

   masses, on which the effect of the whole more immediately depends…

   (CLMETEV: Hazlitt, W. 1821-22. *Table Talk*.)

   For verbal constituents, the trend for inherently negative items continues into PDE,
constituting 67% of the verbal collocates of maximizer *totally* from this period. However,
among the adjectival collocates of this time, there is a notable influx of inherently positive
items, e.g. the verbs *accept*, *agree* and *relax*, and the adjectives *dedicated*, *devoted*,
genuine, *honest*, *loyal* and *secure*, (see e.g. (34) and (35), below) and also neutral ones such
as the verbs *change(ed)*, *concentrate* and *generate*, and the adjectives *automatic*, *aware*,
integrated, *liquid* and *soluble* (see e.g. (36) and (37), below). The popularity of this recent
application in the PDE data is such that the percentage of inherently negative items has
dropped from 58% in LModE to 27%.

(34)   *I* ***totally*** *agree with what Joan Hamer says.*
   (BNC: 1985-1993, *Woman*.)

(35)   *Capt Forgrave's citation said he 'became widely respected by all sides as a*
   courageous, ***totally*** *honest and highly capable officer.'*
   (BNC: 1985-1993, *Liverpool Daily Post and Echo: Foreign news pages*.)

(36)   *Just like Michael Quirke, the butcher turned god-carver, he had* ***totally*** *changed his*
   life from Commerce to Art, in middle age.
   (BNC: 1985-1993, *Jaunting through Ireland*.)

(37)   *I can see the day when our London factory will be* ***totally*** *automatic.*
   (BNC: 1985-1993, *Advice from the Top*.)

   This propensity for negative collocates in early usage (and even continued usage in
the case of the verbal type), may be connected to the fact that the source adjective *total*
from which the adverb (maximizer) *totally* derives was used predominantly to modify

nominal referents of an inherently negative nature. In this respect, it is perhaps this trait of the source adjective that manifests itself in the resulting adverb and is thus responsible for the above-noted tendency that characterises its early use in particular.

In keeping with the findings of Paradis (1997: 82; cf. discussion in section 1) for PDE, the analysis reveals that, of all the adjectival elements modified by *totally*, *different* bears the strongest connection in both LModE and PDE. In the former period, this particular combination of maximizer and modified constituent makes up 13% of the use of *totally* in the context of an adjectival constituent. However, for PDE, whereas this combination comprises 21% of Paradis' (1997) data for this maximizer, the link is far less pronounced in the present study, accounting for only 4% of the modification of adjectival collocates. Other typical adjectival collocates of LModE *totally* are *ignorant* and *unacquainted* (each accounting for 4% of the instances with this constituent type) and *destitute*, *devoid*, *indifferent*, *unable* and *useless* (each comprising 3%). For PDE, the second most frequent adjectival collocates after *different* are *dependent* and *inadequate*, each constituting 2% of the combinations of *totally* with this constituent type from this period.

Associations with verbal constituents are slightly less significant with the most frequent item in LModE (*to forget*) only accounting for 5% of this type, followed by *to abandon*, *to destroy* and *to neglect*, each comprising 4%. By PDE, the only tokens to be modified by *totally* more than once in the data are *destroyed*, *disregarded* and *fail*, each of which constitute 4% of all the verbs from this period.

2.2.2 Response particle *totally*

Alongside the dominant maximizer sense, the PDE data evidenced one instance of *totally* being employed in a response particle capacity. The example in question dates from 1988 and is exemplified in (38), below (replicated from (2) for ease of reference). Specifically, in this case, *totally* is uttered in response to a polar question asked by the previous speaker.

(38)   *"Are you still convinced Joseph killed Sabine Jourdain?" Rain asked as she watched*
        the tea poured. Barbara Coleman stopped pouring and fixed her with a very severe
        *look. "**Totally**." For several minutes, she had nothing more to say.*
        (BNC: Grant-Adamson, L. 1988. *Guilty Knowledge*.)

On the basis of only one token it is impossible to observe any trends, let alone draw any substantial conclusions, thus a supplementary search of the spoken sections of the BNC,

using BNCweb (see chapter 3, section 2.4 for details) was carried out. This yielded a further 10 tokens, which includes, alongside another five cases in response to a polar question (including tag questions), five cases of a slightly different use, namely whereby *totally* is utilised as a comment on a previous utterance (see (39), below).

(39) Speaker 1: *They must have sold a lot of tickets* [unclear]. *Was it for a charity?*

       Speaker 2: *Yes, I think so*

       Speaker 1: *Was her brother to do it, Jan, he does a bit of* [unclear] *really*.

       Speaker 2: *Yeah, he does a lot of charity work.*

       Speaker 1: *Oh, yes **totally**.*

       Speaker 2: *Yeah, good luck to them!*

       (BNC: KD8 1568 (spoken)(PS0LK), 1992.)

Whilst these additional examples from the BNC undoubtedly help to shed some light on the particular contexts in which *totally* is employed as a response particle, the number of cases is still too few to use as the basis for significant deductions. Moreover, the low occurrence of *totally* in this function in the data was actually somewhat surprising because intuitively, it seemed that this would be one of the more frequent response particles within the dataset (certainly more so than e.g. *entirely*, detailed in chapter 6).   For these reasons, though the focus of the present study is British English, a further supplementary search was carried out for reference purposes using COCA (see chapter 3, section 2.4 for details). This uncovered 159 instances of response particle *totally* in American English (AmE).

         At first glance, the respective yields seem to imply that this use of *totally* is almost sixteen times more common in AmE than in the British variety and thus more established in the former. However, as detailed in chapter 3, the data in COCA spans an additional eighteen years beyond that of the BNC and on closer examination, only eight of the examples were from within the time-scale covered by the BNC and thus suitably comparable. In light of this, it seems that the surprising lack of evidence for function of *totally* in the PDE BrE data is likely due to the fact that it is a very recent innovation and therefore was only starting to become established in the 1990s. To this effect, the ensuing analysis of the data proceeds somewhat tentatively, since it cannot necessarily be assumed that that latter reflects contemporary (i.e. post 1993) BrE usage. Nevertheless, focusing on some general trends, a comparison of the two datasets reveals some notable similarities across the two varieties as well as some parallels between this use of *totally* and other response particles.

To begin with, with regard to the particular context of use, the ratios of use in response to a polar question compared to use as a comment on a previous utterance are extremely similar, displaying a fairly balanced distribution of the two types in each dataset, at 57%: 43% for the COCA data and 55%: 45% for BrE. Furthermore, the data from each dataset also coincides in revealing similar 'sub-contexts' to those in which the response particles *absolutely* and *quite* were noted to feature (cf. chapter 4, section 3.2.4 and chapter 8, section 3.2.5), viz. by itself (including cases of iteration) as in (40)-(41), and together with the affirmative token *yes* (which typically precedes *totally*), as illustrated in (42).

(40)   *"I'm quite satisfied with how I am." "You're satisfied with your dissatisfaction?"*
       *"**Totally**. I couldn't be happier. I don't want anything to interfere with this state of*
       dissatisfaction."
       (BNC: Reynolds, S. 1990. *The Serpent's Tail*.)

(41)   Couric: *Have you changed in terms of your tolerance?*
       Mr Bakker: ***Totally. Totally. Totally.** I – one of the things that I feel like a mistake for*
       any religious leader is to be totally involved with the political systems.
       (COCA: 1999 (19990310) *NBC Today*.)

(42)   King: *…So it's true that you're out of Brooklyn but Brooklyn is still in you?*
       Streisand: *Of course, it will always be. It will always be there. You know? A street*
       sense. A pragmatism.
       King: *Are you glad you grew up there?*
       Streisand: *Oh, <u>yes</u>, **totally**. People yelling out of the windows and sitting on the*
       stoop, singing, you know? The neighbors caring about you in some way.
       (COCA: 2010 (101215) *One-on-One with Barbra Streisand*.)

Similar to the case of *quite*, when *totally* is used alongside the affirmative token *yes*, the meaning of affirmation/agreement is expressed via the latter, so that rather than being used specifically for this purpose itself, *totally* seems to serve to strengthen that affirmation/agreement. In some cases, it seems that this may be achieved through association with its original maximizer function, adding some specification of degree. For instance, in (40)-(41), above, and (43), below, *totally* may be understood as constituting the elliptical version of a full sentence (cf. in this connection chapter 6, section 3.2.4 on *entirely*

and González-Díaz 2008 on a similar use of *very much*), e.g. 'I am totally satisfied…' 'I have

totally changed…' 'I was totally vindicated…' in (40), (41) and (43), respectively, or at least to

pertain to and modify the logical referent in the preceding utterances, i.e. *satisfied*, *changed*

and *vindicated*, respectively. In other cases, e.g. (44) and (45), where there is no observable

referent that would accept degree modification, there appears to be a noteworthy similarity

between *totally* and the epistemic adverbs *certainly* and *definitely*, either of which would

seemingly form a suitable paraphrase.

(43)   Interviewer: *Did this reaffirm your position? Do you feel now that you were*

  vindicated?

  Mrs. Thatcher: *Yes, **totally, totally**. I wasn't surprised at what had happened.*

  (COCA: 1991 (19910308) *ABC 2020*.)

(44)   King: *And you've known people like that?*

  Madonna: *Yes, **totally**. Yes.*

  (COCA: 2002 (20021019) *CNN* (King Weekend).)

(45)   Chris-Wragge: *Go green. Go green. I mean here is the living proof, this is how you can*

  do it and you can save a whole lot of money in the process. More money for gifts?

  Danny-Seo: *Yeah, **totally**, and it looks great, too…*

  (COCA: 2009 (091128) *CBA Early*.)

In other cases where *totally* is used as the sole response (to a polar question), it

functions in a similar way to the predominant response particle use of *absolutely* (cf.

chapter 4, section 3.2.4). Whilst seeming to convey a stronger degree of affirmation than

would be conveyed by the affirmative token alone (i.e. somewhat encompassing the

strengthening function noted in connection to (40)-(45), above), it assumes the function of

the latter so that it may essentially be paraphrased as 'yes'. Contrary to the cases of

absolutely and *quite*, it does not appear that response particle *totally* is more common in

any one of these specific contexts (cf. above-mentioned ratios).

As regards the source of this use of *totally*, the BNC data, showing the earliest

instances, presents the possibility that it may have stemmed from the maximizer function.

Specifically, 55% of the BNC cases evidence *totally* alongside the affirmative token in

contexts such (40), (41) and (43), implying that this was the most typical application of its

response particle use at this time. The presence of the affirmative token implies that the

meaning of affirmation is not yet sufficiently associated with *totally* for it to be used independently in such contexts. Furthermore, as demonstrated above, a maximizer interpretation remains possible in the event that it is understood as an elliptical version of an entire sentence. In the COCA data, which largely represents more recent usage, only 16% of the instances of response particle *totally* are used together with the affirmative token. Moreover, across the board, there are a greater number of cases whereby (as in (44) and (45), above), *totally* appears to convey the same meaning as the epistemic adverbs *certainly* and *definitely*, yet does not seem to display any possible remnant of a maximizer meaning. To some extent, this lends support to the notion that the response particle function of this item only became used in the latter described context after having become associated with a meaning of affirmation though use in the former described context. In turn, the connection of the assumed initial response particle use with the maximizer use suggests that the former may have arisen through reanalysis of the latter in contexts where it was employed as detached from its referent to add information of degree in addition to the affirmation conveyed by *yes*. However, the suggestion inevitably remains somewhat tentative because of the mismatch between the BrE and AmE data.

3. Summary

The analysis presented in the previous section attributed the emergence of the adverb *totally* to the EModE period. More specifically, it was proposed, contrary to the implications of the attestation dates in the dictionaries, that this adverb most likely developed from the 'complete in extent or degree' sense of the adjective *total*, given the obvious semantic connection between this meaning and that expressed by the resulting maximizer. This proposition was further strengthened by the observed similarity between the nominal referents of the source adjective and the modified constituents of the early instances of the adverb.

Throughout the EModE period and the subsequent LModE one, the corpus analysis indicated that *totally* continued to be used solely as a maximizer and only in the PDE data is there evidence of an additional response particle function. In this respect, *totally* is clearly much less multi-functional than many of the other adverbs considered in this study (notably *absolutely*, *entirely* and *quite*) and this is reflected in its comparatively less complex history.

Overall, the examination of the collocates of maximizer *totally* across time revealed a two-way distinction akin to that noted in previous chapters (cf. chapters 4-8). In its early

application in the EModE period, it was employed solely as a modifier of constituents which, by nature of their inherent association with 'completeness', only accept modification by maximum degree. This remains the general tendency in LModE, yet by this time, there is also evidence of an extension to collocates that permit modification by varying degree. By PDE, this latter type of use has become the dominant one, though the initial use continues to be used alongside it with relatively high frequency.

More specific findings of the collocational analysis included the observation that maximizer *totally* was used exclusively during the EModE period as a modifier of adjectival and verbal constituents. Although the LModE period witnessed the extension to adverbial, prepositional and nominal varieties, combinations with these types do not appear to have propagated. Accordingly, adjectival elements continue to represent the (increasing) majority across all three periods and verbal ones consistently epitomise (in spite of a successive decrease in frequency over time) the second most common collocate type. Furthermore, in support of Paradis (1997), the analysis evidenced that the most common collocate of maximizer *totally* in PDE is the adjective *different*, but the tendency is not as significant as in her data. In fact, the present study indicates that this particular collocate was even more common in LModE, yet its frequency during this period is still not as sizeable as in Paradis' (1997) study.

In addition, the analysis revealed an overall predominance of collocates that are inherently negative (or at least contain a negative affix), which it was suggested is perhaps a remnant of a trait of the source adjective that manifested itself in the adverb following the adverbialization. With the verbal variety, semantic fields of 'destruction' and 'neglect and/or abandonment' are noted to be particularly widespread in this respect. Whilst this propensity continues to be apparent among the verbal collocates into PDE, the adjectival cohort evidences a considerable influx of positive and neutral ones.

Finally, on considering the evidence of the response particle function, it was observed that with only limited presence in the BrE present-day corpora, it appears likely that this is a very recent development, of which only the beginnings are reflected in the most recent BNC data (from the 1990s). Nevertheless, it was possible to note similarities between this function of *totally* and the response particle functions of *absolutely* and *quite*. Moreover, by comparing the early use reflected in the BNC data with more recent (albeit AmE) use found in COCA, it was tentatively proposed that this function of *totally* emerged from its maximizer one. To this effect, it was suggested that central to this development was the gradual association of *totally* with a meaning of affirmation resulting from

continued use in a position detached from its modified constituent (uttered by the previous speaker) and in combination with the affirmative token.

CHAPTER 10: The development of *utterly*

1. Introduction

Recorded as having only one function in addition to its maximizer one throughout its history, viz. that of a manner adverb (see MED *s.v.* ŏutrelī adv. and OED *s.v. utterly* adv.), the indication is that *utterly* is not as versatile, neither synchronically nor diachronically, as some of the other members of the maximizer class (most notably *absolutely*, *entirely* and *quite* cf. chapters 4, 6, 8, respectively).

Previous research on this adverb (see section 2) primarily comprises synchronic studies of its PDE maximizer use, and at the time the present study was conducted, the one exception, which includes some consideration of the diachronic development of *utterly* prior to its use as a maximizer, was that of Partington 1993[103]. However, also evidenced in the corpora, yet not recorded in other sources (cf. e.g. MED *s.v.* ŏutrelī adv., OED *s.v. utterly* adv. and above-mentioned previous research) is an emphasizer function (see (1), below).

(1) *Good men have inserchyd the strete where he felle; some sayde he fell in Lombarde Strete, some sayde in Buklarsbury. And whan it was* **utterly** <u>knowe</u> *he was fallen in every strete (Veritas corruit in plateis), the cause is none other but we lacke our maysters and guyders...*
(PPCME2: cminnoce.m4 (Sermon), 1497)[104]

Taking account of all three above-noted functions, the present chapter sets out to examine and detail the complete history of *utterly*. To this effect, following a more detailed overview of the limited previous research on *utterly* in section 2, section 3 maps out the development of this item based on the analysis of the corpus data (ME-PDE). The initial part of this section deals with the rise of the adverb from its adjectival source, and the remainder documents the subsequent developments of this form. Finally, section 4 summarizes the main findings and considers the implications of these, particularly in relation to other members of the maximizer class.

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[103] Parallel to the present research, a diachronic study of *utterly* was also carried out by Méndez-Naya (forth.). Further mention of this investigation can be found in section 2.
[104] For discussion of this and other similar examples, see section 3.2.1.

2. Previous research on *utterly*

Focusing mainly on collocational behaviour, the synchronic studies of *utterly* by Greenbaum 1970, Vermeire 1979, Louw 1993 and Paradis 1997 offer some valuable insights, contributing to a better understanding of the precise contexts in which this maximizer is used in present-day English. For instance, all four concur that it shows an overwhelming preference in PDE for collocates that are semantically negative, e.g. *despise* and *hate*, recorded in Greenbaum 1970, *bewitched, cruel*, *degenerate* and *unforgiveable*, mentioned in Vermeire (1979: 390), *wrong demolished*, *stupid*, *terrified* and *unsympathetic*, quoted by Louw (1993: 160), and *powerless*, *pointless* and *filthy*, listed in Paradis (1997: 78).

As noted, above, the one previous study to give any consideration to the history of *utterly* is that of Partington 1993, who sets out to do so in order to achieve a better understanding of its PDE use. Partington presents *utterly* as having developed its intensifying use from what he terms an earlier 'modal' sense of 'without reserve, sincerely, truly, plainly' (cf. OED *s.v. utterly* adv. 1.). He describes the change as pertaining to the 'modal-to-intensifier shift' (Partington 1993: 181), a notion that strongly echoes Bolinger's (1972) theory of intensifiers developing out of 'truth identifiers' (cf. Bolinger 1972: 93ff). Whilst theoretically plausible, Partington's argument is slightly unconvincing due to the lack of supporting evidence. As his approach is to describe discrete stages in the development of *utterly*, he explains the semantic and syntactic potential of both the 'modal' and the 'intensifier' uses of *utterly*, yet he does not offer any exemplification (e.g. in the way of bridging examples) as to precisely how (and in what context(s)) the proposed development of the latter from the former occurred. Furthermore, during the brief discussion that is provided in relation to this apparent stage in the development, Partington asserts that

> It is not hard to understand the link between modality and intensification:
> it is a short step from averring truth to being **emphatic** about it...
> (Partington 1993: 181; emphasis added)

Here, Partington appears to conflate degree modification and emphasis, yet as detailed in chapter 3 (section 3.1), these are distinct phenomena, at least according to distinctions of adverbial functions such as those set out in Quirk et al. 1985. In accordance with their criteria, both intensifying adverbs[105] and emphasizing ones correspond to the subjunct category, meaning that they have relatively subordinate functions within the clause, being

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[105] The term 'intensifier' in this context is synonymous with 'degree modifier' (cf. the fuller discussion of these and related terminology in chapter 2).

used to modify other, 'more central' clausal elements (cf. more detailed discussion of this in chapter 3, section 3.1). The crucial difference between the two lies in the fact that the former add specification of degree to the constituent they modify, whereas the function of the latter type is 'to add force (as distinct from degree)...reinforcing the truth value of the...part of the clause' to which it applies (Quirk et al. 1985: 583). Accordingly, intensifying adverbs require the constituent they modify should be gradable, but this is not necessary for collocates of emphasizers. Clearly, in light of this distinction, Partington's reasoning is somewhat ambiguous; it is difficult to ascertain whether he is claiming that the maximizer use of *utterly* can be traced back to an earlier manner sense, or whether it is in fact an emphasizer use that emerges from the manner adverb source. Should this latter possibility be the case, it would seem that Partington may be acknowledging an additional emphasizer function at some stage in its history, which is not recorded in the dictionaries (cf. previous section). Incidentally, it is noteworthy that the example he quotes by way of illustrating the modal sense of *utterly* is the following sentence, in which the verb *saye* is modified:

(2)   *You wyll **utterly** <u>saye</u> unto me this proverb.*(1539)
        (from Partington 1993: 181)

Partington assumes that *utterly* functions as manner adjunct in this case, having equal status to other clause elements, e.g. Subject and Object, and providing a comment on the manner in which the action of the verb was performed (again, see chapter 3 (section 3.1) for a fuller discussion of the various grammatical functions of adverbs). In this respect, the example may be paraphrased along the lines of 'You will say unto me this proverb *in a true/unreserved manner*'. Given that the verb *saye* is non-gradable and therefore cannot be modified by degree, it would seem that if Partington's claims that such 'modal' manner adverb uses of *utterly* in contexts like (2) were the prerequisite for modifier function, the initial modifier use of *utterly* would most likely have been that of emphasizer, rather than maximizer. However, due to the ambiguous nature of Partington's argument (as noted above), this remains unclear, thus further investigation is undoubtedly needed in order to draw any firm conclusions.

One further shortcoming of Partington's research is highlighted by the example replicated in (2), above. This dates from 1539 and is the earliest example of *utterly* provided, yet the dictionary entries claim that it was in use much earlier than this (specifically in the ME period; cf. sections 3.1 and 3.2). In this connection, there is no

mention in Partington's discussion of any development prior to this point, nor is there any indication of when the earliest confirmed uses of modifier *utterly* are found. Once again, this highlights a gap in Partington's research and thus points towards the need for a more detailed account of this item.

In summary, although Partington 1993 does attempt to provide some diachronic insights into the use of *utterly*, in actual fact, what is offered does not go beyond the level of description. In order to search for any possible support for the theory of development Partington puts forward, and to address the above-mentioned gaps and limitations in the existing research, further investigation of an analytical nature is clearly required.   To this effect, by means of a detailed analysis of corpus data for *utterly* from the ME period through to the present-day, the subsequent section provides a comprehensive account of its development.

Before proceeding to the analysis, it is important to mention the diachronic investigation of *utterly* carried out by Méndez-Naya (forth.), which was briefly mentioned in the previous section. Conducted whilst the current research was in progress, the aim of her study coincides with the narrow aim of this chapter, viz. to document the rise and development of this member of the maximizer class. In this respect, a number of her findings run parallel to those of the present work, thus rather than summarise her contribution at this point, reference to it will be made as appropriate during the subsequent sections through comparison with the findings of the present study.

3. Mapping out the development of *utterly*

As stated in section 1, this account of the development of *utterly* is organized into two main sections: first, section 3.1 details the rise of the adverb from its adjectival source, then section 3.2 elucidates the subsequent development of this form, documenting when and how its maximizer function arose.

3.1. The rise of the adverb

The adverbialization of *utterly* appears to have been a native development, since it derives from the OE comparative adjective *utter* by means of the addition of the *–ly* English adverbial suffix (cf. OED *s.v. utterly* adv. and MED *s.v.* ŏutrel ī adv.). Although the adjective was in use in the OE period, the earliest attestations of the adverb in the dictionaries date from the ME period. In light of this, the ensuing analysis begins in the ME period,

examining data for both the source adjective *utter* and the resulting adverb *utterly* with the view to elucidating the specific context of this development.

      According to the OED, the adjective *utter* had two main senses during its history. In its earliest use (attested as early as a901, but more regularly from c1300), it is recorded as denoting that which is 'farther out than another...; relatively far out, outward, external' (OED *s.v. utter* adj. I.1.a.), as illustrated in (3) and (4), below.

(3)   *The Kingis offerandis* [sacrifice to God] *in the* **utir** <u>kyrk</u> [church]*.*
      (OED *s.v. utter* adj. I.1.a.1507. *Acc. Ld. High Treas.*)

(4)   *Opyn the cofyr* [chest]*that standyth in the* **utter** <u>chambyr</u> [room]*.*
      (OED *s.v. utter* adj. I.1.a.1471. *Paston Letters.*)

In these cases, *utter* adds spatial meaning, which serves to describe particular concrete nouns (by means of their location), i.e. *kyrk* (church) and *chambyr* (chamber) in (3) and (4), respectively. More specifically, the interpretation of *utter* in such contexts relies on implicit comparisons with 'inner' variants. Examples with abstract nouns, e.g. *aperaunce* (appearance), are also attested for this sense, although mostly from the EModE period onwards, thus implying that this extension from (more) concrete to (more) abstract contexts is a later development. Moreover, judging by the distribution of example types (i.e. with concrete vs. abstract nouns), the OED clearly portrays this latter use as having been comparatively rare.

    From the early 1400s, an additional use is documented, viz. with the meaning 'going to the utmost point; extreme, absolute, complete, entire, total'. Examples quoted under this definition include (5) and (6), below, in which the adjective is employed to modify the abstract nouns *shame* and *displeasure*, respectively.

(5)   *'This wer to vs...an* **vttir** <u>shame</u> *for euermore.'*
      (OED *s.v. utter* adj. II.4.a.c1430. *Genendes*)

(6)   *'To the...* **vtter** <u>displeasure</u> *of the Kinge.'*
      (OED *s.v. utter* adj. II.4.a.a1577 Fabyan *Chron.*)

Comparing this with the corpus data, the search of the ME period yielded 61 examples of the adjective *utter*[106]. Among these, the predominant meaning conveyed (i.e. in 74% of cases) seems to be a spatial one akin to present-day 'outer' (and in line with the first of the two meanings listed in the dictionary entries), as illustrated in (7)-(8), below.

(7)   *þe forme & þe þridde fondunge of þeos four beoð aa mest under þe <u>inre</u>. Þe oðer & Þe feor*ðe falleð under *þe **utter**.*
      [the first and the third temptation of these four are mostly under the inner. The other and the forth fall under the utter]
      (PPCME2: cmancriw-1.m1 (Religious Treatise) c1230)

(8)   *What is he þat clepiþ* [called] *it nouþgt* [nothing, worthless]*? Sekirly* [certainly] *it is oure **vtter** man, and not our <u>inner.</u>*
      (PPCME2: cmcloud.m3 (Religious Treatise) a1425_?1400)

In this sense, its meaning is reliant upon a comparison (either explicitly or implicitly) with that which is 'inner'. For instance, it can be observed in the context of (8), that '*oure vtter man*' is explicitly contrasted with 'oure inner (man)' (i.e. a distinction between the 'physical' and the 'spiritual'). Similarly, in example (7), those 'fondunge' that are deemed to be *utter* are juxtaposed with those classed as 'inre'.

Alongside a small selection of examples (10%) with partitive terms, such as in (9) and (10), the majority of examples of the original spatial sense of *utter* extracted from the corpus modify concrete nouns, e.g. *man* and *chamber* illustrated in (11) and (12), respectively.

(9)   *But he was assailed in þe way wiþ busshements of Gaskyns, so þat þey sloughte þe **utter** <u>deel</u> of his oost…*
      [But he was attacked on the way by troops from Gascony lying in ambush, so that they slaughtered the utter part of his army…]
      (PPCME2: cmpolych.m3 (History) a1387)

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[106] All spelling variants listed in the MED and the OED were searched.

(10)   *…yn þe hour of þe midday þe kendely* [natives] *spredet* [spread] *him out to þe*

   vttere *partyes* of þe body, wherefore þe stomak comeþ* [became] *feble* [weak]*and*

   losyt [lost] *his strengthe to fully seethe* [digest]*þe mete* [food]*.*

   (CMEPV: *Secreta Secretorum*. 15thC)

(11)   *þe fyrste syxe owres bytokken ioye þat man haþ of worldly þing and þis is byfore*

   spiritual ioye, as ***vttur*** *man is byfore spiritual.*

   [The first six (canonical) hours represent the joy that man has of worldly things and

   this is before spiritual joy as utter man is before spiritual.]

   (PPCME2: cmwycser.m3 (Sermon) 1400)

(12)   *…take the key of the same cofyr* [chest]*and opyn the cofyr that standeth in þe*

   vtter *chambyr* [room]*, and ther ye shall fynd…the deedys.'*

   (CMEPV: *Paston Letters*: J. Paston to Margaret Paston, 1471)

This propensity for concrete noun collocates coincides with the data given in the

OED; however, in addition to these there are a substantial number of cases (representing

49% of the data for spatial *utter* and 36% of the overall data) in which the modified

constituent is an abstract noun, e.g. *fondunge* (temptation) in (13) and *riwle* (rule).

(13)   *Þe inre fondunge is twafalt alswa as is Þe uttere. For Þe* ***uttere*** [fondunge] *is*

   aduersite & prosperte.

   [the inner temptation is twofold as also is the utter. For the utter [temptation] is

   adversity and prosperity.]

   (PPCME2: cmancriw-1.m1 (Religious Treatise) c1230)

On first glance, this finding is seemingly contrary to the dictionary records which suggest

that the use of *utter* with abstract nouns is rare until the EModE period (and even then,

remains comparatively less common than the use with concrete nouns). However, closer

examination of the data reveals this not to be the case, since, in actual fact, all of the

examples of this kind are found in religious texts. Furthermore, over half the cases (55%)

originate in the same text: the *Ancrene Riwle* ('Guide for Anchoresses'), a text that is

fundamentally concerned with the conflict between the 'inner' and the 'outer' (i.e.

'spiritual' and 'physical') life of an anchoress. Consequently, whilst perhaps suggesting that

the original spatial sense of *utter* may, at least in some contexts, have been more prevalent than the dictionary entries imply, there is no evidence to suggest that these findings are indicative of a trend in general contemporary usage; there remains a strong possibility that they merely represent an idiosyncrasy of this particular genre (and to some extent, this particular text).

Alongside this initial spatial sense of the adjective, the data retrieved from the ME corpora evidenced another use of the adjective *utter*, as exemplified in (14)–(16), below.

(14) *þanne þe lord bad* [bade]*his seruauntis to byndon* [bind]*hym , boþe hondys and feet, and senden hym into **vttere** <u>derknesse</u>...*
      (PPCME2: cmwycser.m3 (sermon) c1400)

(15) *He saw a statue of gold of Xerxes the Persian king…And at once the statue broke and was all scattered asunder. And Darius seeing this was smitten with heaviness of heart and began to weep sorely and long. And he said: 'This foretokeneth* [symbolises] *wasting of my life, and the **utter** <u>downfall</u> of the Persian kingdom.'*
      (CMEPV: C1440. *The Prose Life of Alexander*.)

(16) *…euery one, though at first his foe and **vtter** <u>enemie</u>, yet in time viewing his maiesticall and princely corage, became his true and faithful freends…*
      (CMEPV: Caxton, W. 1489. *Blanchardine and Eglantine*.)

In these examples it is clear that *utter* is used in a different sense to the spatial one in the previously discussed examples, as the contexts render this incongruous; the adjective in these cases does not describe the nominal referents (e.g. *derknesse*, *downfall*) as possessing the property 'outer'. Instead, the use illustrated in (14)-(16) seems to convey the more recent sense documented in the OED, viz. 'going to the utmost point; extreme, absolute, complete, entire, total'.   Rather than describing a property of a noun, *utter* in this sense serves as an emphasizer adjective, expressing the speaker's heightening of the noun in question.

In this use, *utter* shows an overwhelming preference for abstract noun collocates, e.g. *derknesse* and *downfall* in (14)-(15), respectively, as well as e.g. *destruccioun*, *delyueraunce* (the act of freeing, releasing, MED *s.v. deliveraunce*, n.) and *veniawns*

(vengeance), the only exceptions being two examples with the concrete noun *enemie*[107], as evidenced e.g. in (16). Moreover, the majority of its collocates have clear negative connotations, e.g. *ruyne* (ruin), *vndoing* and *noghtynge* (belittling, disparagement, depreciation, MED *s.v. noughtinge*, ger.) (cf. also some of the above-mentioned examples).

Although evidence of this emphasizing sense is not as numerous as of its spatial one, it clearly was quite firmly established during this period, since it accounts for 23% of the data. The fact that it is not attested until 1400, suggests that the spatial sense was in use for a considerable time beforehand, and thus substantiates that this emphasizing function is a more recent one. To this effect, the ME data offers some potential indications as to how this more recent emphasizing use may have developed from the original spatial sense of the adjective.

In the majority of cases involving spatial *utter* the comparison is explicitly between two entities, therefore the effect of *utter* is to signify that one of those entities is *more* 'out' than the other (which by contrast is *more* 'in'). For instance, in (17), 'twacune fondunges' (i.e. 'two sorts of temptations') are described; one as 'vttere', i.e.' *more* out', and the other as 'inre', i.e. '*more* in'. The same is true in example (18) where a comparison is made between the '*more* out' 'tokenes of his techyng' and the juxtaposed '*more* in' 'vertu of Crist'.

(17) *Vnderstonde+d +tenne…+tt* <u>*twacune fondunges*</u> *beo+d* ***vttere & inre.***
      [Know then…that two kinds of temptations are utter and inner.]
      (PPCME2: cmancriw-1.m1 (Religious Treatise) c1230)

(18) *And þis liif of Crist schal tow moore rewarden aftir þe* **inward** <u>*vertu of Crist,*</u> *þan aftir*
      þe **vttir** <u>*tokenes of his techyng.*</u>
      [And this life of Christ shall give reward more in accordance with the inward virtue of Christ, than in accordance with the utter evidence of his teaching.]
      (PPCME2: cmhilton.m34 (Religious Treatise) a1450_a1396)

However, when the noun in question is potentially one of a group of entities of three or more (i.e. rather than just one of two options as in the above-mentioned examples), it seems possible that *utter* takes on, or at least could have been interpreted as conveying, the

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[107] The MED records this collocation as a fixed phrase, meaning a 'mortal enemy' (cf. MED *s.v. outre* adj. 4 (b).), thus its entrenchment may explain its divergence from the typical '*utter* + abstract noun' grouping noted above.

superlative meaning 'outermost'. Since there are at least two other entities that are *less* 'out' than the one in focus, logic renders this latter the *most* 'out'. The following quotations exemplify this.

(19)   *If þe leche, forsoþ, may not wirk þus, make he þe pacient for to be fleobotomed of þe*
       vtter <u>*veyne*</u> *of þe legge....*
       [If the leech, indeed, may not work in this way, prepare the patient for bloodletting
       from the utter vein of the leg…]
       (CMEPV: John Arderne's treatises on surgery: *Fistula in ano.* c1475)

(20)   *She in her grete sikenesse began to telle before all, how she hadde disceived Ionatas,*
       *the Emperour sone, and how she had left hym in the **vtter** <u>partie</u> of the world.*
       (CMEPV: Early English versions of the *Gesta Romanorum.* ?a1450-a1500)

In the case of (19), there are a number of veins in the human leg, therefore in the absence of any indication that the one in question is being compared to a specific other one, the implication is that this one is the *most utter* of the entire group, i.e. the one nearest the surface. Similarly, in (20) there is no reference to a specific part of the world to which the one in question is compared, thus permitting the inference that the one mentioned is the *most utter* of them all (i.e. the furthest). As a consequence of use in contexts like this, it seems that *utter* developed an association with 'the extreme'. The link with this new connotation seems to have facilitated its use with an extended repertoire of collocates, notably now including ones that were not acceptable with the original descriptive sense due to their inability to possess the spatial characteristic 'outer'. The result was the emergence of the emphasizing sense of the adjective.

This development parallels that of other adjectives, notably that of 'pure' (cf. Vandewinkel & Davidse, 2008). Once solely a descriptive adjective, attributing the property 'unmixed' to its nominal referent (e.g. *pure water* and *pure silk*), Vandewinkel & Davidse (2008) document the emergence and propagation of an additional function of the adjective 'pure', viz. as an emphasizer adjective in collocations such as '*pure bliss'* and '*pure sowre* (sorrow)*'*. In this more recent sense, 'pure' no longer 'describes properties of the entity depicted by the head noun' (Vandewinkel & Davisde 2008: 258), but rather 'heightens [its] semantic specifications' (ibid: 256). In a similar way to this (and also to the development of *complete* detailed in Ghesquière & Davidse 2011 and discussed in chapter 5), the originally descriptive sense of the adjective *utter* (i.e. the spatial attribute, 'outer') has shifted to a

strengthening value. Since this development concerns a '(more) objective', descriptive function as the source for the emergence of a '(more) subjective' expression of 'force', it clearly embodies a process of subjectification (cf. e.g. Traugott 1989, 1995, 2003, 2010).

Having documented the use of the adjective *utter* in the ME period, the objective of the remainder of this section is to determine precisely how and when the adverbial *utterly* developed from this adjectival source. Given that there are no attestations of the adverb before the ME period in the OED, it is assumed that the adverbialization of the latter from the former took place during the ME period, thus the investigation of this development begins with ME corpora. To this effect, alongside the adjective *utter*, the corpus search of the ME data revealed 138 examples of the adverbial form *utterly*. The fact that the number of examples of the form *utterly* is almost double the number of cases of *utter* signifies that the adverbial form was also well established during this period.

The earliest example of the adverb dates from 1230 and is used to modify the verb *culche*, which is defined in the MED as 'to spew, spit, vomit', or used figuratively (typically followed by 'out' to mean 'utter (sth.) plainly and fully' (MED *s.v. gulchen*, v. 2 a):

(21) *I +geu+de me de+d wunder . Culche hit i schrift ut* **utterliche** *as ha hat dude þe feled hire schuldi. o+der ha is ideamed þurch þe fule brune cwench to þe eche fur of helle.'*
[In youth extraordinary follies are committed. Let her who feels herself guilty, spit it all out in confession utterly, as she committed it. Otherwise, she is condemned through that foul flame to the everlasting fire of hell.]
(PPCME2: cmancriw-1.m1 (Religious Treatise) c1230)

Following this, similar examples are found more regularly from the late 1300s in contexts such as (22)-(24).

(22) *…Dauith killede the man of Amalech that killede Saul* **outirly**
(PPCME2: cmpurvey.m3 (Religious Treatise), c1388)

(23) *His neighebores ful of envye* [hatred, hostility]*…seiden* [said]**outrely** *that he anon* [at once] *sholde wreken* [avenge]*hym* [himself] *on his foes, and bigynne were* [war].
(PPCME2: cmctmeli.m3 (Philosophy/Fiction), c1390)

(24) *Sche durste not <u>say</u> **vtterly** that sche desired inwardely / seyenge* [saying]*as thus:*

"*Now reise my brother fro deth to lyve*" *for sche wiste not* [did not know for certain]*whether it were expedient that hir brother [Lazarus]schulde be reised...*
(CMEPV: *Mirrour of the blessed lyf of Jesu Christ*, made before 1410)

As none of the collocates in these early examples can be graded for degree (it is not possible, for example, to *say* something *to any particular degree*), the present-day maximizer sense of *utterly* (i.e. 'to a complete degree') is ruled out. Instead, closer examination of the contexts in which *utterly* is used in these cases, suggests a manner adverb function, expressing the meaning 'outwardly'/'openly'/'publically', i.e. in an *outward/open/public* manner. Example (24) provides the strongest evidence for this interpretation, as the phrase 'say *vtterly*' (i.e. 'say *outwardly/publically*') is explicitly contrasted with 'desired *inwardely*' (i.e. 'desired *inwardly/privately*). In other words, the sentence expresses the mismatch between these two things; it conveys that the person does not have the courage to voice that which she actually wants. Given the close proximity of this 'outwardly/publically' adverbial meaning and the meaning of the spatial sense of the adjective *utter*, it seems likely that the latter was the source of the former and thus that the development of this particular sense of the adverb was a case of native adverbialization. The fact that the spatial sense of the adjective was the most frequent of the two recorded senses in use around the time the adverbialization seems to have taken place (i.e. in the ME period), further strengthens this notion.

Despite there being no such explicit contrast with 'inwardly' in (22)-(23), the specific contexts in each of these still support this interpretation. In (22), the manner adverb 'outirly' (*utterly*) conveys that the killing was carried out 'outwardly' or 'publically', i.e. in front of witnesses. Although the implicit contrast with 'inwardly' is perhaps not as apparent in this case as with the adjectival cases of *utter* vs. *inner* (cf. discussion of examples (7) and (8) in section 3.1), it is still possible to conceive a comparison with killing 'inwardly' in the sense of 'out of the sight of witnesses'. By the same reasoning, it is feasible to interpret 'outrely' (*utterly*) in (23) in the same way, i.e. as conveying that the action of 'saying' was carried out 'in an outward/public way. Generally, 'saying' is understood to take place in front of other people (i.e. 'outwardly') because by nature of its communicative purpose, at least one listener is required. Nevertheless, it is still possible that saying something *utterly* may be distinguished from saying something in a more 'inward' or private way in the sense of saying it to only one person or a small selection of people, or, indeed, saying it 'to oneself'.   Furthermore, in the specific context of verbs of

'saying' it seems that the meaning of *utterly* may be perceived as extending even further to convey the additional notion of 'openly'/'without reservation'. In this respect, it requires only a small inferential step to associate that which is said 'outwardly'/'publically' with that which someone has the least (or no) reservations about; by comparison, the likely assumption is that those things people choose not to say are generally those that they have reservations about. Interestingly, this closely mirrors one of the manner adverb meanings of *absolutely*, i.e. 'freely, without doubt/mental reservations', which is also often found in the ME (and EModE) data in the context of verbs of saying (cf. chapter 4, section 3.1).

Relying solely on the dates of the examples of *utterly* retrieved from the corpora to determine the initial adverbial function is extremely tentative, since after example (21), dating from 1230, the data presents no further examples of the manner adverb use until the late 1300s (cf. e.g. (22) and (23)), by which time there is also evidence of the maximizer function (cf. discussion of the rise of this function in the subsequent section). Nevertheless, there is various other support in favour of this assertion that the manner adverb sense of 'outwardly/openly/publically' is the initial function of *utterly*.   For one thing, the above-noted popularity of the semantically related sense of the source adjective *utter* at this time highlights the plausibility of this having been the particular sense of the adjective to have been used in the creation of the adverb. In addition to this, it is noteworthy that the findings coincide with the attestation dates recorded in the OED, as well as mirroring the general trend for the development of the suffixed adverbs noted in the present research, whereby a manner function (if available) is typically the earliest function (cf. e.g. chapters 4-7 on the development of *absolutely*, *completely*, *entirely*, *perfectly*, respectively).

3.2. *Utterly* from ME to PDE

Considering the three functions of *utterly* mentioned in the previous sections, viz. manner adverb, maximizer and emphasizer, the analysis in this section aims to elucidate how and when each of them arose and what relation(s) they bear to one another. As a starting point for this, the table overleaf presents a breakdown of the corpus data for *utterly* from each period (ME-PDE) according to function.

	MANNER ADVERB	MAXIMIZER	EMPHASIZER	AMBIGUOUS	TOTAL
ME	13 (9%)	92 (67%)	14 (10%)	19 (14%)	138 (100%)
EModE	-	118 (96%)	-	4 (3%)	123 (100%)
LModE	-	671 (98%)	4 (1%)	8 (1%)	682 (100%)
PDE	-	319 (98%)	1 (>1%)	6 (2%)	326 (100%)

Table 10.1: The function of *utterly* from ME-PDE

Given that the manner adverb sense has already been established as the earliest function of *utterly* and that all three of the functions are in use in ME, it can be deduced that the development of the maximizer and emphasizer ones also took place at some point during the ME period. However, in order to establish which of these developed first or to determine more precisely the contexts in which the developments took place, more detailed qualitative analysis is required. To this effect, what follows identifies examples of ME *utterly* that seem to be significant in elucidating the emergence of each of these modifying functions, and provides a detailed analysis of the collocational behaviour of each.

3.2.1 The development of emphasizer *utterly*

The use of *utterly* as an emphasizer is first evidenced in the ME data, but only accounts for 10% of the use of this adverb at that time (cf. row 1, table 10.1). It does not occur at all in the EModE data and accounts for only 1% of the LModE sample and less than 1% of the PDE one. Accordingly, it seems that this application of *utterly* was never particularly common, yet it is still interesting to consider how it fits into the overall development of this item, particularly since it is not recorded among the senses listed in the dictionaries.

A selection of the ME examples of this use of *utterly* are given in (25)-(27).

(25)   *Thow shalt not **vttirly** <u>folow</u> thi desire forto leve* [cease] *occupacion* [activity] *and besynes* [business]*of the worlde which ar nedefull* [necessary]*to vsen* [carry out]*… and yeve* [give] *the* [yourself] *holy* [wholly]*to gostely* [spiritual] *occupacion of prayers and holy meditacions as itt were a frere or a monke, or anoþer man that war not bonden* [bound] *to the worlde by children and seruantes as þou arte, for itt fallith not to the.*

(PPCME2: cmrolltr.m24 (Religious Treatise), c1440)

(26) *Good men have inserchyd the strete where he felle; some sayde he fell in Lombarde*
     *Strete, some sayde in Buklarsbury. And whan it was **utterly** <u>knowe</u> he was fallen in*
     every strete (Veritas corruit in plateis), the cause is none other but we lacke our
     maysters and guyders...
     (PPCME2: cminnoce.m4 (Sermon), 1497)

(27) *Thre thynges (sayth Salomon) bene harde to me to knowe, and the fourth **utterly***
     I <u>knowe</u> not. The flyghte of the egle in the ayer; The waye of the serpent on the erthe;
     The sayllyng of a shyppe in the see; But the fourth and moost hardest is to
     understande the waye of a man in his growynge age.'
     (PPCME2: cminnoce.m4 (Sermon), 1497)

In each of these cases, *utterly* is used in the context of a verbal collocate, but rather than expressing the established manner sense of 'outwardly/publically' (cf. section 3.1), seems to act as a modifier of the verb. The verbal collocates in question (*knowe* and *folow*) do not lend themselves to degree modification since they are not conducive to grading, thus *utterly* seems to take on an emphasizer function, reaffirming the epistemic commitment of the verb it modifies. For instance, in (27), the manner adverb sense of 'outwardly/publically' is discounted since it is incongruous that one person should 'know something *publically*' as this latter adverb, by definition, implies that the knowledge is widespread across a group of people. As regards potential for a maximizer reading, this too may be ruled out on the grounds that the verb 'knowe' is non-gradable, therefore does not accept degree modification. Consequently, it is assumed that in this context, *utterly* functions to reinforce the epistemic commitment of the proposition in a similar way to present-day *really* or *truly* (cf. 'really/truly I knowe not'; 'it is true that I knowe not').

A comparable effect is achieved in (25) and (26), though the potential links with the earlier manner sense are perhaps easier to observe in these cases. The modified constituents in these instances appear to be of a similar nature to those in the examples of manner adverb *utterly* in that, out of context, it would be perfectly possible, for them to be described as occurring 'outwardly/openly/publically'. However, once the context in each case is taken into account, this reading actually seems unlikely in either case. In (26), for instance, there seems to be a link to the 'outwardly/publically' reading of *utterly* along the lines of 'public knowledge', i.e. as opposed to that which is concealed to some selection of people. Nevertheless, in context, this is arguably not the most natural inference and by

nature of it being a mental process, the process of 'knowing' is probably most likely to be conceived as one that occurs *inwardly*. Likewise, in relation to (25), an inference of *utterly* as 'outwardly' would seem possible in a situation where 'thi' desire' can potentially be 'followed' *inwardly*. However, in this particular context, it is clear that it is something that cannot be followed at all by the person in question (i.e. one who is not 'a frere or a monke' or who is 'bonden to the worlde by children'). Accordingly, the most likely interpretation of *utterly* in each of these examples is an emphasizer one akin to present day *truly/really*. This reading is perhaps most transparent in the case of (26), which can be paraphrased along the lines of 'when it was *truly* known', i.e. 'when it was *actually/correctly* known'. In this respect, a comparison is made with what was wrongly assumed (or '*incorrectly* known') in the preceding clauses, i.e. that 'some sayde he fell in Lombarde Strete, some sayde in Buklarsbury', and *utterly* serves as an emphasizer, adding force to the epistemic commitment of the verb *knowe*. In the case of (25), the idea is that the person in question cannot *really/actually* 'folow thi desire…' as other people can (specifically 'freres' and 'monkes' etc.).

Largely because it was seemingly never particularly common (indicated by the comparatively few instances evidenced in the corpora), there is no clear indication in the data as to how this emphasizing use of *utterly* arose. Nevertheless, some suggestions may be put forward on the basis of the previous history of this item. One possible facilitating factor may have been its manner adverb use in contexts where it potentially carries the implied meaning of 'without reservation, undoubtedly' alongside the meaning 'openly' (cf. examples (23) and (24) and related discussion). From this use, the application to mental verbs such as *knowe* appears to be significant to the emergence of the emphasizer use (cf. discussion of examples (26) and (27), above), along the lines that the notion of '*utterly* knowing' in the sense of 'knowing *without reservation*' is equivalent to '*really/truly* knowing'. In other words, *utterly* is no longer understood as a manner adverb, but rather serves to emphasize the epistemic commitment of the verb it modifies. This new strengthening value seems to parallel the emphasizing use of the adjective *utter* that was discussed in the previous section. In this respect, it also seems possible that this use of the source adjective may have had some influence on the use of the related adverb with an emphasizing function, which occurs with increasing frequency throughout the ME period.

The few instances of emphasizer *utterly* that occur in the LModE data are somewhat different in nature, with the modified constituent being an indefinite noun phrase (as illustrated in (28) and (29), overleaf), or, less commonly, an adjective (see (30)).

(28)   *…in every page of this enlightened writer, I find some captivating hypocrisy which has*
       never occurred to me before, or some superlative piece of selfishness to which I was
       utterly <u>*a stranger*</u>*…An amazing man! a nobleman indeed!*
       (CLMETEV: Dickens, C. 1841. *Barnaby Rudge*.)

(29)   *"Have you left me any honour?" "Oh, come, to play a little trick on a girl--" "You can*
       spare me that. Colonel Sapt, if you would not have me ***utterly*** <u>*a villain*</u>*—if you would*
       not have your King rot in Zenda, while Michael and I play for the great stake
       outside—You follow me?" "Ay, I follow you".
       (CLMETEV: Hope, A. 1894. *The Prisoner of Zenda*.)

(30)   *'The loveliest scene I ever saw. As I sit, the snowpeaks of the Wasatch tower above*
       the opposite houses five miles off, while the heat is ***utterly*** <u>*tropical*</u> *in the streets.'*
       (ARCHER: Kingsley, C. 1874. *His Letters and Memories of His Life*)

Interestingly, examples (28) and (29) mirror the emphasizer use of *quite* during this period (cf. chapter 8, section 3.2.3). As mentioned in the discussion of *quite*, Traugott (2007: 526-527) notes that the indefiniteness of the noun phrases modified in cases like these signifies their status as count nouns and thus as bounded constituents. Consequently, in order to maintain a harmonic relationship with such collocates, *quite*, in these contexts must function as a bounded modifier, i.e. maximizer or an emphasizer. Once again (cf. chapter 8 on *quite*), the absence of intonational clues, makes it difficult to conclusively determine which of these senses is intended; however, in the same way that emotional contexts were argued to point towards an emphasizer reading in such contexts with the case of *quite*, so too does the somewhat emotionally charged language in (28), for instance, (e.g. 'captivating hypocrisy' and 'superlative piece of selfishness' and the two subsequent exclamations[108]) seem to favour an emphasizer reading of *utterly*. Furthermore, as was noted with the similar cases involving *quite,* an expression of 'complete extent/degree' in cases such as (28) and (29) seem intuitively unlikely in comparison to one strengthening the epistemic commitment of the proposition (consider e.g. '…to which I was a stranger *to a complete extent/degree*' as opposed to '…to which I was *truly* a stranger' or '…if you would

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[108] Note also, that no other people are present when Mr. Chester speaks these words, as is indicated in the following line from the text: 'This apostrophe was addressed, like the rest of his remarks, to empty air: for Edward was not present, and the father was quite alone.'

not have me a villain *to a complete extent/degree*' in comparison to '…if you would not have me *truly* a villain').

As regards the case of (30), *utterly* is used in a copular construction with a predicative adjective (*tropical*) that cannot be modified by degree, serving to emphasize the application of that adjective to the nominal referent *the heat*. The heightening of the adjective, and thus the intensity of *the heat* in this way works to further accentuate the contrast made between this location and the previously mentioned 'snowpeaks of the Wasatch tower'.

Given the infrequency of this use at this time and the notable gap in occurrence since its application to verbal contexts in ME, it seems possible that the LModE emphasizer use of *utterly* may have been influenced to some extent through analogy with similar items such as *quite*.

3.2.2 The development of maximizer *utterly*

As the figures in table 10.1 show, the majority of the examples of ME *utterly* (67%) function as maximizers. Most typically, it is employed to denote the maximum degree of either an adjectival constituent or a verbal constituent, e.g. the verbs *ceessiden* and *destroyed* (the latter of which is exemplified in (31)) and the participial adjectives *i-lost* and *iputte* (the latter of which is exemplified in (32)).

(31)   *…man beynge wythout a nouryce* [nurse] *or guyder, lefte to hys naturall guydynge ,*
       mysusyd soo ferre hymselfe, that he ranne to water where he was **utterly** <u>destroyed</u>
       as I sayde before, save Noes housholde...
       (PPCME2: cminnoce.m4 (Sermon), 1497)
       (Maximizer *utterly* modifying a verbal constituent)

(32)   *Suster, byþenk þe now…as þey þu were euene by-twyx þyse tweye companies…and*
       not <u>iputte</u> **outerly** *to on party no to oþer*
       [Sister, think now…as though you were impartial between these two parties…and not
       affiliated utterly to one party and not the other]
       (PPCME2: cmaelr.m23 (Rule) 1400)
       (Maximizer *utterly* modifying a participial adjectival constituent)

With the exception of a few cases, the majority of the examples of maximizer *utterly* are from the latter half of the 15[th] century as indicated in (31) and (32). This suggests that this

function is more recent than the manner one which was shown to have been in use since 1230 and fairly well established from the late 1300s (cf. section 3.1). However, since the first attestations of this maximizer use overlap somewhat with the earliest instances of the emphasizer use (cf. section 3.2.1), the evidence suggests that these two functions of *utterly* arose fairly simultaneously.

Regarding the source of the maximizer use, it is noticeable that it bears some connections to the emphasizer function of the adjective *utter*. Firstly, there is the obvious semantic link, since both items are concerned to some extent with 'the utmost point; extreme, absolute'; in the case of the emphasizer adjective, by stressing this point as a means of heightening a nominal referent and in the case of the maximizing adverb, by specifying it as a means of denoting the degree of a gradable constituent. In addition to this, there appears to be some similarity with regard to the types of constituents modified by each of these items. Of most significance seems to be the semantic field of destruction, since frequent collocates of emphasizer *utter* include *ruyne*, *vndoyng*, and *destruccioun*, and collocates typical of the ME maximizer *utterly* include *maimed*, *for-soke*, *destroyed* and *de-stroyen*. Added to these semantic and syntactic similarities, the respective attestation dates of these two items (in particular the fact that the emphasizer adjective began to gain ground from 1400, approximately fifty years prior to the propagation of the maximizer function of *utterly*) is conducive to the theory that the rise of the maximizer function of *utterly* may have been influenced by the emphasizer use of its source adjective *utter*.

After the ME period, the versatility of *utterly* decreases dramatically: according to the figures in table 10.1, the manner adverb use has become obsolete by the EModE period and the emphasizer one, though present in the LModE and PDE data after no occurrence in the EModE corpora, never accounts for any more than 1% of the use of *utterly* in either of these periods. From EModE onwards, the maximizer function constitutes the predominant application of this adverb by far, representing 96% of the EModE cases and 98% in both LModE and PDE. In order to examine the propagation of this most prominent use more thoroughly, table 10.2, overleaf, shows the constituent types modified by maximizer *utterly* throughout its history.

	ADJ/ADJP	V/VP	ADV/ADVP	P/PP	N/NP	OTHER	TOTAL
ME	26 (28%)	54 (59%)	-	2 (2%)	1 (1%)	9 (10%)	92 (100%)
EModE	26 (22%)	79 (67%)	-	7 (6%)	-	6 (5%)	118 (100%)
LModE	479 (71%)	162 (24%)	5 (1%)	16 (2%)	4 (1%)	4 (1%)	671 (100%)
PDE	233 (73%)	72 (23%)	2 (1%)	10 (3%)	-	2 (1%)	319 (100%)

Table 10.2: The constituent types modified by maximizer *utterly* (ME-PDE)

As the figures show, the majority of the examples of ME maximizer *utterly* (59%) modify verbal constituents, a propensity that continues (and strengthens) through to EModE, where 67% of all the cases of maximizer *utterly* are used to modify constituents of this type. However, by the LModE period, occurrence with adjectival constituents, which has been steadily on the rise since the ME period, takes over as the most frequent constituent type and continues to be so in PDE (constituting 71% and 73% in these respective periods). Although *utterly* is also used consistently throughout its history to denote the maximum degree of prepositional constituents, this use never amounts to more than 6% of its functional load. Whilst it interesting to observe that many of these prepositional constituents are metaphorical locatives (i.e. 'yn the hands of God', 'from that you were', 'in the dark' and 'beyond control' from ME-PDE, respectively) and thus perhaps bear some connection to the initial spatial meaning of *utterly*, the low frequencies mean that no conclusive patterns may be discerned. As a result of this, no further consideration will be given to the instances of this type of collocation. Even less significant are the collocations with adverbial and nominal elements, since these are only found in selected periods and with a frequency of 1%. In light of this, combinations with these constituent types will not be focused on either, with the attention of the subsequent aspect of the analysis centring on the most typical contexts of use, viz. with verbal and adjectival elements.

Overall, the data for maximizer *utterly* can be divided into the same two distinct 'subtypes' that were noted for other maximizers (see chapters 4-9). On the one hand, it is evidenced in the context of constituents such as that in (33), which only accept modification by the maximizer variety of degree modifier by nature of their inherent association with 'completeness'. In other cases, it is observed in contexts such as (34), as a modifier of constituents that have the potential to be modified by a range of degree modifiers since they can occupy various positions of a scale of degree (cf. e.g. '*slightly/very* different' as alternatives for (34)).

(33)   *…my former letter…may be immediately, upon receipte of this, toren in pieces and*
       utterlye <u>destroyed</u> *in the sight of the said Doctor…*
       (CEECS: Letter XVII. 1582. Archbishop Grindall to Dr. Matthew Hutton.)

(34)   *…the experience of Peter shows you how* **utterly** <u>different</u> *a man is before he gets a*
       Pentecostal baptism and after he gets it.
       (CLMETEV: Booth, C. M. 1880. *Papers of Aggressive Christianity*.)

Examination of the collocates of ME maximizer *utterly* reveals that they are all of the former type exemplified in (33). Take, for instance the verbs *ceessiden* and *destroyed* (example (31)) mentioned above. It is not possible for something to '*partially/slightly* cease' or for something to be '*partially/slightly* destroyed', since both of these verbs inherently denote completion or 'the upper extreme' on the degree scale. This propensity continues into EModE with typical constituents including verbs such as *destroy*, *overthrow* and *refuse(d)*, and adjectives such as *dead*, *false* and *forbidden*. The LModE period witnesses an extension to the variety of collocates that accept modification by varying degree, e.g. *change(d)*, *contradict*, *different*, *forgetful*, *unusual* and *upset*, but this accounts for only 6% of all the adjectival and verbal collocates (i.e. the most typical types) at this time. By PDE, this has increased slightly to 11%, but the original use with constituents that already inherently denote 'completeness' (and thus only accept modification by maximum degree) remains by far the predominant use.

    As regards further specifics of the nature of the collocates, the analysis reveals that the majority of the adjectival and verbal collocates of *utterly* from both ME (62% and 65%, respectively) and EModE (88% and 77%, respectively) are inherently negative or contain a negative affix. Some examples of the former include *ashamed*, *malycyous* and *voide* from ME and *lost*, *vnprofitable* and *vnworthy* from EModE, and among instances of the latter are *faille*, *destroye* and *refused* in ME and *marre*, *neglectyd* and *spoil'd* in EModE. This trend continues to dominate in LModE and PDE, as illustrated in examples (35)-(36) overleaf, in which *utterly* respectively modifies the semantically negative adjective *worthless* and the semantically negative verb *abandoned*. However, among the adjectival variety, the corpus search of these latter two periods also reveals a quite considerable influx of inherently positive items, e.g. *fabulous*, *magical*, *wonderful*, *happy* and *delicious*, the latter two of which are exemplified in (37) and (38), overleaf. This change is much less apparent with

verbal collocates, which seem to strongly retain their preference for inherent negativity, e.g. *failed*, *refused*, *reject*, *ruined* and *destroy*, as well as example (36),below.

(35)   *The argument, adopted from Solanus, concerning the formula of the procession of the*
          *Holy Ghost, is **utterly worthless**, as it is a mere quotation in the words of the Gospel*
          of St. John…
          (CLMETEV: Gibbon, E. 1776. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.)

(36)   *…Jewish children with no particular religious affiliation [are] being placed in non*
          *Jewish homes and schools, **utterly** <u>abandoned</u> as far as their religious education is*
          concerned…
          (BNC: 1985-1993, Turner, B. 1990. *…And the Policeman Smiled*.)

(37)   *The dear boy is very passionate, and his love for me making life now **utterly happy**, at*
          the same time fills me with a sense of great responsibility.
          (BNC: 1985-1993, *Edward Thomas: A Portrait*)

(38)   *They were **utterly delicious**, quite unlike anything either of them had ever tasted*
          before…
          (BNC: 1985-1993, *In Sunshine or in Shadow*)

        It is difficult to ascertain why *utterly* should display this propensity for negative collocates. Commonly, such tendencies are deemed to be the result of the principle of *persistence* (Hopper 1991), whereby traces of the original lexical meaning of an item adhere to it, thus constraining its grammatical distribution. A clear example of this from the domain of degree modifiers is present-day *terribly* (cf. Lorenz 2002). Although it is possible for this to be used to modify collocates with positive connotations, e.g. 'good', as in (39), below, it combines most frequently with negative elements, e.g. '*terribly sorry/upset/sad*' (cf. Méndez-Naya 2003: 375). This tendency is assumed to be due to constraints resulting from the original negative semantics of its earlier manner adverb sense, viz. 'in a terrible manner, so as to excite terror or dread, dreadfully' (cf. OED *s.v. terribly* adv.).

(39)   *What must make it even more frustrating for Rickman is that he is so **terribly** <u>good</u> at*
          playing these villains.
          (FLOB A, A17.30-A17.31. *Villain with a Voice of Honey*)

In the case of *utterly*, however, its earlier manner adverb use does not convey such negative meaning, thus the reason for this preference for collocates with negative connotations does not seem to lie in its original lexical meaning. Noting Mustanoja's (1960: 326) statement that the maximizer use of *utterly* was 'under a strong influence' of the French adverb *outre(e)ment* ('excessively', 'completely'), Méndez-Naya (forth.) proposes that the explanation may lie in this French influence. In consultation with sources on Middle French (Godefroy 1881 and Martin 2010) she details how some of the senses of the French counterpart carry 'a clear implication of an undesirable excess' (Méndez-Naya: forth.), citing, for instance, the gloss 'excessivement, extraordinairement, violement, absolument, tout á fait' from Godefroy 1881 (s.v. *outreement*), and suggests that it may be due to the analogical influence of this use in French that English *utterly* developed its propensity for application in negative contexts. Supporting her hypothesis is the finding that 80% of the earliest instances of *utterly* in her ME data are from texts of a legal nature, since it is well documented that French was the language of the law at that time and indeed up until the 17[th] century (cf. Baugh & Cable 2002: 135-6). She also argues that the fact that writers in the Middle English period were generally fluent in French further strengthens the likelihood that English *utterly* was influenced by its French equivalent.

The reason why the extension of the functional range of *utterly*, enabling it to be used to modify semantically positive as well as negative collocates, is only observable in the context of adjectival constituents can perhaps be explained by the changes observed in its functional load over time. As evidenced in table 10.2, above, the overall frequency of the use of *utterly* with verbal collocates, which has been on the decrease since the ME period, is quite considerably lower in LModE and PDE than its use with adjectival collocates. Consequently, it may be the case that the combinations with verbal collocates in these later periods are relatively entrenched combinations that have thus evaded the innovations leading to the extension that is exhibited by the much more widespread combination with adjectival collocates. In other words, the contrasting frequencies of the two combinations seem to have been a significant contributing factor in this change. The fact that the use of degree modifiers is 'subject to fashion' (Peters 1994: 271) and that 'a speaker's desire to be original or to enhance the novelty of his or her expressions requires versatility and color in order to hold the audience's interest' (Tagliamonte & Roberts 2005: 281; cf. also Ito and Tagliamonte 2003: 257) perhaps explains the speaker innovations behind this increasing trend: the novel use of an existing maximizer in a new context, i.e. as a modifier of an

atypical collocate, has a striking effect, thus heightening the application of the maximum degree.

4. Summary

Based on the analysis presented in section 3.1, the emergence of the adverbial *utterly* was attributed to the ME period. More specifically, its initial function (which was found from c1230, but more regularly from the late 1300s) was confirmed as that of a manner adverb, with the meaning of 'outwardly'/'publically' (i.e. in an 'outward'/'public' manner) and it was proposed that it arose via adverbialization from the 'outer' sense of the related adjective *utter*.

Regarding the subsequent development of *utterly* from the ME period through to the present-day, the conclusions of the analyses presented in section 3.2 are summarized in figure 10.1, below.
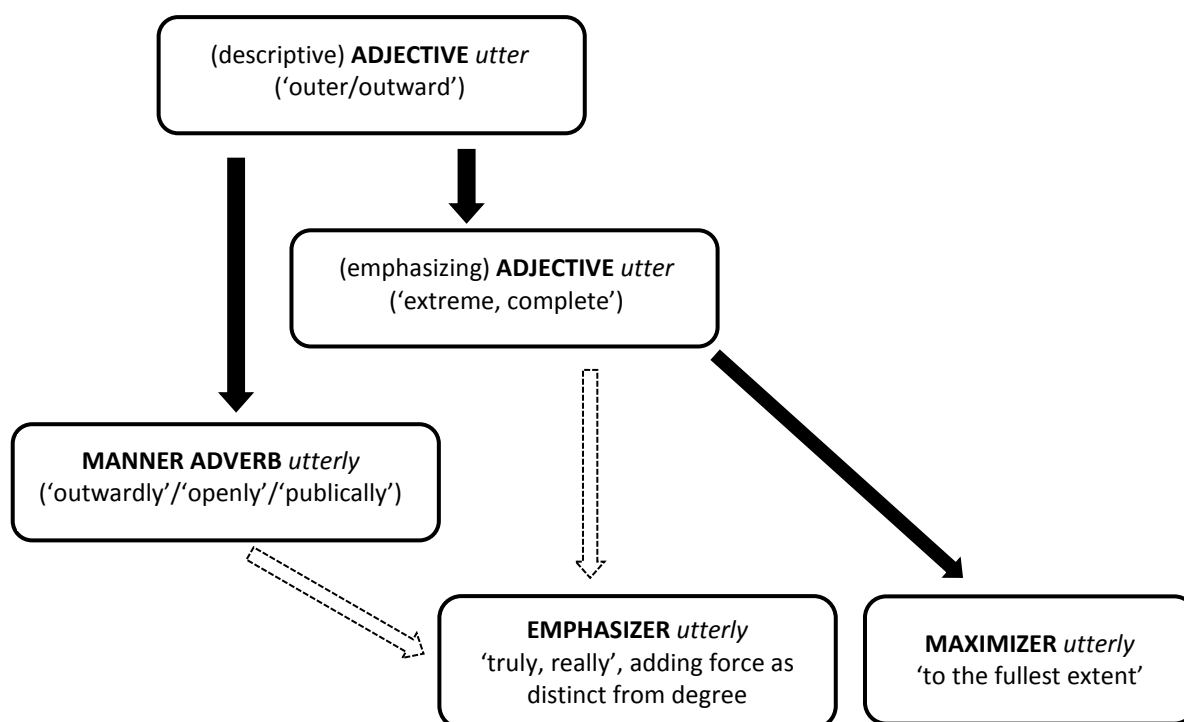

Figure 10.1 Diagram of the development of *utterly*

According to the data, both the emphasizer and the maximizer functions of *utterly* were properly established in the late fifteenth century, though there were, in each case, a few examples of earlier usage from the late 1300s. Significant to the emergence of both of these modifying functions appeared to be an emphasizer use of the source adjective *utter*,

which was evidenced from the 1400s and proposed to have stemmed from the original spatial sense.

Given the lack of previous diachronic research into *utterly* and the noted shortcomings of the previous studies (see section 1 and 2), this account is undoubtedly a valuable contribution. For one it considers the emergence of this form from its adjectival source and also provides an insight into the relations between its various functions, two issues that are entirely neglected by the previous research. Furthermore, the conclusions of the present research add clarity to certain ambiguous aspects of claims in the work of Partington (1993) regarding the initial modifier use of *utterly*. Partington's own use of the terms *intensification* and *emphasis* seems to differ slightly from their respective definitions in Quirk et al. 1985, which he details as his point of reference. This makes it difficult to determine whether his claim is that the initial modifier function of *utterly* was a maximizer or an emphasizer, and in particular relation to the latter, whether he acknowledges an emphasizer function at all in his data. In this respect, the present research puts forward a more transparent account of the development of *utterly*, clearly taking into account both its maximizer and its emphasizer modifying functions.

The detailed analysis of its most prominent maximizer function revealed it to be predominantly used as a modifier of verbal and adjectival elements throughout its history. More specifically, the former type were shown to have dominated in ME and EModE, with the latter type having taken over as the most common collocate type in LModE and continuing to constitute the majority in PDE. In line with the findings of Greenbaum 1970, Vermeire 1979, Louw 1993 and Paradis 1997, the PDE data demonstrates that maximizer *utterly* shows an overwhelming preference for collocates that are semantically negative or contain a negative affix. Moreover, in also considering data from previous stages of the language, the present research evidences that this tendency is one that has been displayed consistently by this maximizer throughout its history. This latter finding coincides with that of Méndez-Naya (forth.), who argues that this propensity is due to the analogical influence of the French adverb *outre(e)ment*, which had 'negative flavour'. Her hypothesis seems convincing, particularly since the present research did not uncover any evidence of negative association during the previous history of English *utterly* which may otherwise account for this trait.

Finally, in keeping with the findings of previous chapters, the analysis uncovered two 'sub-types' of maximizer *utterly*. In the ME and EModE periods, it was only ever employed in the context of constituents that inherently denote 'completeness' and thus

only accept modification by maximum degree. Although this continues to represent the typical use of this maximizer in both the LModE and PDE data, these latter periods do witness an increasing extension to constituents that permit modification by various types of degree modifier. Citing Paradis (1997: 81), Méndez-Naya (forth.) suggests that this change might indicate that '*utterly* may be on the way to losing some of its maximizer bias and becoming more booster-like'. Whilst this is a possibility, the fact that the present research demonstrates that such an extension in functional range occurs right across the maximizer class (cf. chapters 4-9 on the findings in relation to all of the other maximizers investigated in the present study), suggests, as has been pointed at in previous chapters, that the issue is widespread and thus may actually be more of a terminological one. In this respect, as with the accounts in the previous chapters, the development of *utterly* again brings into question the precise nature of the maximizer category, challenging the validity of its current descriptions in the literature (cf. e.g. Allerton 1987 and Paradis 1997, amongst others, as well as standard grammars such as Quirk et al. 1985 and Huddleston & Pullum 2002) and suggesting the need for a more fine-grained description.

CHAPTER 11: Conclusions

The focus of this study has been the diachronic investigation of the previously underinvestigated maximizer sub-class of degree modifier. More specifically, the aims, as set out in chapter one, were as follows:

    1. to elucidate the grammaticalization and subsequent development of the maximizers *absolutely*, *completely*, *entirely*, *perfectly*, *quite*, *totally* and *utterly*

    2. to investigate the diachronic characteristics of the English maximizer sub-group of degree modifier as a whole.

Following a brief summary of the seven detailed case studies (chapters 4-10) that address the first of these aims, the present chapter compares the main findings of the analyses in order to draw conclusions in accordance with the secondary aim. In doing so, it also considers how the development of maximizers relates to the existing portrayal of the pathways of adverbial change presented in chapter 2, as well as to current models of degree modifier classification.

       The first of the case studies (**chapter 4**), examined the development of *absolutely*. Emerging as a manner adverb in ME, it was argued that the development of this adverb was a case of native adverbialization, though possible romance influence was also acknowledged. The maximizer function was shown to have developed in the early stages of EModE from a 'more abstract' variant of the manner adverb and to have been employed initially (until LModE) in this capacity only as a modifier of constituents that inherently denote 'completeness'. During later EModE, this particular maximizer use was argued to have been the source of a new emphasizer function. It was proposed that the emergence of the latter was likely due to a perceived redundancy of maximizer *absolutely* in the context of inherently 'complete' collocates. Finally, the rise of an epistemic/modal adverb function and of a response particle use was documented to have taken place in LModE, with both having been proposed to have stemmed from the earlier emphasizer function.

       Chapter 5 documented the history of *completely*, which, similar to *absolutely*, was argued to have arisen via native adverbialization, though not until the mid EModE period. Evidence of the maximizer function was uncovered fairly simultaneously, but the analysis suggested that this likely emerged via the extension of the manner adverb to contexts with constituents that can be graded for degree. Due to the close proximity of the initial attestations of these two functions (and thus the somewhat rapid development of the

maximizer one from the initial manner one), it was suggested, along the lines of Traugott 2008, that analogy with similar adverbs that were recruited to the maximizer class at an earlier stage (e.g. *absolutely*) likely played a part in this stage of the development of *completely*. Once again akin to *absolutely*, the initial maximizer use of *completely* was shown to have been in the context of constituents that only permit modification by maximum degree, with an extension to ones that accept modification by varying degree evident in LModE. This latter period also saw the rise of an emphasizer function from the initial maximizer use, though the analysis indicated that this never really propagated.

The development of *entirely* was the focus of **chapter 6**. Unlike the subjects of the previous two chapters, it was concluded that this adverb was likely a calque from French and/or Latin that was first used in the English language as a manner adverb in the ME period. Two senses were identified in the data, viz. 'heartily, sincerely, earnestly' and 'without exception/reservation' and these were shown to be the respective precursors to the two modifying uses found in the data, viz. emphasizer and maximizer, the former of which emerged in ME and the latter in EModE. As with *absolutely* and *completely*, the analysis in this chapter revealed that *entirely* was first employed solely as a maximizer of elements that inherently denote 'completeness' and thus only accept degree modification by maximizers, but there was evidence of extension to constituents that can accept modification by varying degree from LModE onwards. This latter period also bore witness to the rise of a focussing function, which seemingly stemmed from the more recent of the two above-noted contexts of maximizer use. Most recently, the PDE data revealed a response particle use of *entirely*, though the frequency of this was considerably lower than the equivalent function of *absolutely* that was documented in chapter 4. In spite of somewhat tentative links to both the emphasizer and the maximizer uses, it was proposed, in light of the very limited evidence available, that its emergence may have been due, at least in part, to speakers having drawn analogies with other members of the maximizer class that developed much more widely attested response particle functions at an earlier stage (namely *absolutely* and *quite*, detailed in chapters 4 and 8, respectively).

In **chapter 7** the emergence of *perfectly* was also documented as a case of native adverbialization (cf. *absolutely* and *completely*). Alongside two manner senses (the rather specialised 'in a religiously/spiritually perfect manner' and the more general 'in a manner that is flawless/perfect/faultless'), the ME data also contained instances of the maximizer use, but the analysis concluded that the manner function was prior, with the rise of the degree modifier use having stemmed from this (specifically its more common specialised sense) fairly soon after its emergence. The quantitative analysis showed the maximizer

function of *perfectly* to have dominated each of the four historical datasets and most significantly so in LModE and PDE. As with the items investigated in the previous chapters, the maximizer function of *perfectly* was found to have been employed primarily as a modifier of constituents that inherently denote 'completeness' in its early application, but the EModE period witnessed an influx of cases in which the constituents permit modification by varying degree and this latter type of use was observed to have gained ground increasingly in LModE and PDE. Finally, the examination of the EModE data also revealed the rise of an additional emphasizer function via the application of manner adverb *perfectly* in contexts of 'mental' and 'emotional' verbs that cannot be graded for degree. Whilst this function of *perfectly*, which is not mentioned in any of the previous literature, was slightly more frequent across time than the equivalent function of *completely* documented in chapter 5, its distribution was still relatively low in comparison to its overwhelmingly dominant maximizer use (particularly in LModE and PDE).

Similar to the case of *perfectly*, the analysis of the adverb *quite* (in **chapter 8**) revealed evidence of both a manner function and a maximizer one in the initial period of use (ME). The former, much more infrequent use was proposed to reflect French and/or Latin origin, and the much more dominant latter use was argued to be the result of a process of native adverbialization (from ME *quite* adj.). The same two-way distinction that was noted with regard to the maximizer function of the adverbs in the previous chapters was once again observed in this case, with the initial use of maximizer *quite* (i.e. in ME and EModE) characterised by constituents that inherently denote 'completeness' and an extension of its scope to constituents that accept modification by various types of degree modifier noted from LModE onwards. Other developments shown to have taken place in the LModE period are the emergence of a scalar degree modifying use and of an emphasizer use. Each of these was shown to have developed from the previously established maximizer one, the latter from the initial type and the former from the more recent type evidenced from LModE. Most recently, *quite* was shown to have developed a response particle use which was first evidenced in the data in LModE and much more numerously so in PDE. It was suggested that its most likely source is the emphasizer use, but that the development was, in all probability, influenced by similarly behaving items with which language users could have perceived a connection , e.g. *absolutely*, *indeed*.

Chapter 9 investigated the development of *totally*, one of the more recent additions to the English adverb class among those examined, that was attributed to native adverbialization in EModE (cf. *completely*). Unlike the other suffixed adverbs, a maximizer

function, rather than a manner one, was revealed to have been the initial function of *totally*. Moreover, in further contrast to the other adverbs investigated, *totally* continued to be used solely in its capacity as a maximizer throughout EModE and LModE and it is not until PDE that evidence of an additional response particle use was found. In line with the findings of the previous chapters, however, the investigation of this adverb did provide further evidence of the emerging pattern whereby the maximizer is established in the context of constituents that inherently denote 'completeness' and employed solely in this capacity in the initial period of use before extending to collocates that permit modification by varying degree at a later stage (in this case from LModE onwards).

The last of the case studies, presented in **chapter 10**, examined the development of *utterly*. Resulting from another case of native adverbialization, the analysis in this chapter dated the emergence of *utterly* to the ME period and indicated that its initial function was that of a manner adverb. Emphasizer and maximizer functions of *utterly* were also identified in the ME data. Significant to the emergence of both these modifying functions appeared to be an emphasizer use of the source adjective *utter*, though the evidence of this was more substantial in the case of the maximizer, the emphasizer also displaying potential links to the earlier manner adverb use. In keeping with the findings of the previous chapters, the analysis of *utterly* uncovered the same two 'sub-types' of maximizer use that was identified for the other six items. Furthermore, as with the other six adverbs, maximizer *utterly* was initially (in ME and EModE) employed only as a modifier of inherently 'complete' constituents. Whilst this use was also shown to dominate in the LModE and PDE data, it was noted that these latter periods did witness an increasing extension to constituents that permit modification by various types of degree modifier.

Turning now to consider the maximizer sub-class as a whole, the classifications of degree modifiers (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985, Allerton 1987, Paradis 1997) and descriptions of maximizers available in the literature (cf. e.g. Bolinger 1972, Klein 1998) detail the synchronic function of this group and thus explain, in a very broad sense, the similarity shared by the seven items in this study. The discussion that follows, however, makes use of the detailed historical collocational evidence and consideration of the additional functions available to these items both prior to and alongside their maximizer uses. In this way, it is able to offer a more detailed insight, particularly adding a diachronic perspective.

Beginning with the origins of the seven items, it is noticeable that, as the first three of the adverbs to develop into maximizers (in ME), *perfectly*, *quite* and *utterly* have fairly distinct sources: the first deriving from the adjective *perfect*, used to denote 'supreme moral or spiritual excellence or virtue', 'free from any imperfection of defect' or 'having all

the essential characteristics'; the second going back to the adjective *quite*, which had the meaning 'excused, exempt, free, freed; free from obligation'; and the third originating in the spatial adjective *utter* (i.e. 'farther out than another, relatively far out, outward' and 'going to the utmost point'). The remaining four (viz. *absolutely*, *completely*, *entirely* and *totally*) that began to be employed as maximizers in comparatively more recent times (i.e. EModE) appear to follow *perfectly* and, to some extent, *quite*, in that they originate in similar contexts to these (cf. e.g. the link to 'freedom', particularly from 'imperfection' that can be observed with the adjectival source of *absolutely* and the association of the adjectival source of *completely* with the meaning 'not lacking in any part' or 'without defect, perfect in nature'; see chapters 4 and 5, respectively[109]). In this respect, though the analyses do not reveal a common source type across the entire group of maximizers under investigation, there is an observable tendency, particularly among the more recent additions. In the sense that the EModE period appears to be a period of change with regard to the source of maximizers, this observation somewhat echoes those of Peters (1992), who also notes differing tendencies concerning the source of English boosters over time: following an initial trend (i.e. in OE and ME) for boosters from '(more) concrete' 'local/dimensional' or 'quantitative' sources (Peters 1992: 537-538), he observes an increasing shift towards recruiting boosters from '(more) abstract' 'qualitative' domains from EModE onwards. However, whilst the change in relation to boosters is in the direction of an increased variety of sources from EModE onwards (see Peters 1992: 539ff for further details of these), the present study suggests a movement towards uniformity in the case of the maximizers, thus highlighting a difference between the diachronic recruitment of these two types of degree modifier. This contrast is perhaps due to the difference in the nature of the degree that these two types of degree modifier are employed to denote. Unlike boosters, which serve only to indicate 'a degree value lying above a certain average' (Peters 1992: 544), maximizers have a much stricter limitation of reference and thus must be recruited from a more restricted set of adverbs that are appropriate for specifically denoting the highest possible degree.

Comparing the collocational behaviour of each of the maximizers across time, one notable difference highlighted by the analyses is that the early three (*perfectly*, *quite* and *utterly*) are the only ones found to modify prepositional constituents in their initial period

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[109] In the cases of *entirely* and *totally* (see chapters 6 and 9, respectively), the sources appear to relate to the more recent and more general sense of the source adjective *perfect*, viz. 'having all the essential characteristics'. Moreover, unlike the other six adverbs under study, with *entirely*, the starting point of the development in English is not an adjective, but rather a manner adverb (see chapter 6).

of use. In the other four cases, the adverbs are used to modify only adjectives, verbs, and in some cases (*absolutely* and *entirely*) adverbs, in their early application as maximizers, with the extension to other constituent types not evident until the subsequent LModE period. Although combinations with prepositional elements only account for small proportions of the use of *perfectly* and *utterly* in ME, chapter 8 showed them to represent the majority of the cases of *quite* at this time. Since it was argued that this behaviour of maximizer *quite* may reflect French influence, this may explain why such combinations with prepositional elements are only somewhat marginal with the other ME maximizers and are never particularly common with any of the more recent recruits. Furthermore, the fact that the modification of adjectival, verbal and adverbial elements is generally assumed to be the typical domain of English degree modifiers (cf. e.g. Quirk et al. 1985, Allerton 1987, Huddleston & Pullum 2002, Méndez-Naya 2008 and discussion in chapter 2) could also explain why it is that this application to prepositional constituents never really propagates with any of the other maximizers in more recent use, and why it is that this use even decreases rather dramatically with *quite* as it becomes more established as an English maximizer.

Further comparison of the diachronic collocational behaviour of the maximizers reveals that whereas the early three (*perfectly*, *quite* and *utterly*) tend to occur frequently as modifiers of verbal collocates in their early application (i.e. ME and EModE)[110], the majority of the newer recruits, whilst not displaying such distinct propensities[111], are used more often with adjectival elements in their initial period of use (EModE). By LModE, this latter type of collocate are most typical of the majority of the maximizers, accounting for between 66% and 81% of the modified constituents of *absolutely*, *perfectly*, *quite*, *totally* and *utterly*. Nevertheless, both *completely* and *entirely* are still most frequently used to modify verbal collocates. A comparison of the data for PDE evidences that adjectival elements represent the principal type of modified constituent across the board, though the frequency for *completely* and *entirely* remains comparatively lower (46% and 52%, respectively, as compared to 68-84%), with verbal constituents still featuring rather frequently as collocates of these two maximizers (43% and 28%, respectively). These findings are perhaps indicative of a change in the characteristic collocates of maximizers

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[110] In EModE, verbal constituents are the most frequent collocate type of all three of these maximizers and this is also the case for *perfectly* and *utterly* in ME. With *quite*, however, verbal constituents are actually the second most common type, with prepositional elements occurring most frequently (cf. above discussion of such combinations).

[111] As discussed at various points in previous chapters, it must be noted that this deduction may be, at least in part, by determined by the low frequency of (maximizer) examples retrieved from the EModE data for the majority of the adverbs.

over time, yet the analyses do not appear to provide any suggestion as to why *completely* and *entirely* seem to be more resistant to this change that the other five maximizers. Nonetheless, the recent figures do suggest that these two are increasingly being used in line with the other members, thus seemingly evidencing another movement towards a more uniform application of the degree modifiers within this group.

Focusing further on the combinations with adjectival and verbal elements, the analyses also reveal an overall pattern of maximizers being applied predominately to constituents that are semantically negative (or at least contain a negative affix) in their early use (i.e. up to LModE). From LModE onwards, the findings across the case studies demonstrate increasing extension to semantically positive and neutral items, though the above noted bias remains evident. The one exception to this is *perfectly*, which displays more of a tendency towards semantically positive collocates throughout its history. As mentioned in chapter 10, such propensities for certain degree modifiers to be employed predominately as modifiers of collocates of a particular semantic prosody has often been attributed to the semantics of the source of the adverb seemingly continuing to constrain its use as a degree modifier (cf. e.g. Hopper 1991, Lorenz 2002 and Méndez-Naya 2003, discussed in chapter 10). In the case of *perfectly*, this hypothesis is verified since the fact that this degree modifier tends not to be applied to semantically negative items can be related to the positive semantics of its source, viz. 'characterised by supreme moral or spiritual excellence or virtue' and 'free from any imperfection or defect', the idea being that a lingering association with this original source leads language users to find combinations with negative constituents somewhat incongruous[112]. However, given that none of the selected maximizers appear to have semantically negative sources (cf. details of the source adjectives in chapters 4-10), the present findings in relation to the other six appear to refute this assumption.

In addition to the manner adverb and maximizer functions accounted for by the typical cline of degree modifier development presented in chapter 2, all seven of the adverbs analysed were demonstrated to have developed at least one other use. Moreover, *absolutely*, *entirely* and *quite* were shown to have particularly eventful histories, each embodying five functions in total throughout the periods under investigation (ME-PDE).

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[112] It is generally assumed that this effect would decrease as the degree modifier becomes more established and thus more associated with a 'functional' role as opposed to its initial (more) lexical one (see, in this connection, Bolinger's (1972: 22-23) discussion of grammaticized vs. ungrammaticized intensifiers, and, in a similar vein, Vermeire 1979: 44ff).

Whilst these findings do not suggest the need for any modification to the representation of the way in which the items under investigation develop maximizer functions (this part of their development does correspond to the cline), they do highlight that items that are recruited to the maximizer class may be particularly prone to being adopted for additional purposes. Perhaps most notably in this respect, it was observed that four of the seven adverbs developed response particle functions. Although the majority of these were argued to stem, at least in part, from previous emphasizer uses (see chapters 4, 6 and 8 on *absolutely*, *entirely* and *quite*, respectively), the fact that this development was noted in so many of the cases suggests that there may be a tendency for these items to be recruited from the maximizer class of degree modifiers. The question, however, remains as to why it should be the case that those four have been selected to function as response particles, whilst this use is not observed among the data for *completely*, *perfectly* and *utterly*.

Finally, an observation that has recurrently arisen in chapters 4-10 is that all seven of the maximizers in the study display two 'types' of use. With the exception of the somewhat marginal implicit treatment of this by Paradis (1997) in her discussion of what she terms 'contextual modulation' (see chapter 2), this observation is not mentioned in any of the existing literature on maximizers. Nevertheless, it seems to be an important one because of the implications it has for the way in which the use of these seven items actually corresponds to the definitions of maximizers in the literature (cf. e.g. Quirk et al. 1985, Paradis 1997, and Huddleston & Pullum 2002, amongst others).

According to sources such as those noted above, a maximizer is a degree modifier which *denotes* or *specifies* maximum degree (see chapter 2). More specifically, the degree modifier models put forward by Allerton (1987) and Paradis (1997) specify that the function of the maximizer reflects and constrains its typical application to certain collocate types (i.e. Allerton's 'absolute' and 'telic' varieties and Paradis' 'extreme' and 'limit' varieties; cf. chapter 2). Paradis, for instance, explains the collocational behaviour of degree modifiers by means of her 'semantic harmony' hypothesis (see chapter 2), which, in the case of maximizers, states that they are recognised by their propensity to occur with collocates of an 'extreme' or 'limit' nature.

When initially employed as maximizers, each of the seven items under investigation were found, in accordance with the above-mentioned models in the literature, in the context of such collocates that inherently denote 'completeness' and thus only accept modification by maximum degree. However, contrary to the models, all seven displayed extension in subsequent use to scalar collocates that are not associated with such 'intrinsic completeness' and are actually able to accept modification by various types of degree

modifier (both scalar as well as totality types). Although Paradis (1997) does acknowledge that maximizers are sometimes used in the context of scalar items, she puts this down to contextual modulation, arguing that it is a less prototypical use. The findings of the present study, however, indicate that this use is actually rather frequent, particularly in the more recent application of the selected maximizers (i.e. from LModE onwards).

This realisation has various theoretical implications. In the first instance, the fact that so many of the cases in the data do not correspond to the depiction of maximizers in the models in the literature, suggests that the definition of this particular type of degree modifier requires re-examination.   With this in mind, closer examination of the two 'types' of use evidenced across the case studies indicates that, in cases where the items studied are employed as modifiers of constituents that can potentially apply to varying degree (e.g. present day *changed, different*, *flexible*), it is clear that the above definition is appropriate, since they are used specifically to *denote* maximum degree *as opposed to any other degree* (cf. e.g. *completely* different as opposed to *very* different or *slightly* different). However, in cases where the notion of 'completeness' is inherent to the items modified (e.g. *abandon*, *abolished*, *finished*), it is argued that the definition is actually inappropriate because the *denotation* or *specification* of 'completeness' (and thus maximum degree) stems from the constituent itself, therefore the adverb is not strictly employed in this capacity. In other words, contrary to the models presented by Allerton (1987) and Paradis (1997), the data analysis suggests that it is actually only the application of the adverbs in the former type of context that logically satisfies the current definitions of maximizers in the literature. Furthermore, it also raises another, related question as to how the other 'type' of use identified in the analyses should be dealt with, that is, whether it ought to be accounted for in a revised definition of the maximizer sub-class or whether it should actually be conceived of as an application distinct from that which *denotes* maximum degree. In this respect, once it is acknowledged that the notion of maximum degree is already implicit in the collocates that inherently denote 'completeness', and thus that the adverbs are not required in order to specify maximum degree, it seems that rather than serving to *denote* this, they may actually be employed to emphasize the fact. This opens up the possibility of some overlap with the category of emphasizers, bringing into question the distinction between these two modifying functions.

Despite the general consensus in the literature being that degree modification and emphasis are separate functions (cf. e.g. Quirk et al. (1985), who clearly distinguish between them under the distinct headings of *intensifiers* (i.e. degree modifiers) and

emphasizers), it is frequently observed that the difference between them is often very slight (see e.g. Quirk et al. 1985: 583). In fact, in some sources, the line between them is somewhat blurred,[113] with Bolinger (1972), for instance, referring to degree modifiers on numerous occasions as a 'means of emphasis' and Partington (1993: 181) similarly referring to the maximizer sense of *utterly* as 'emphatic'. In this respect, both these scholars potentially conflate these two types of modification, at least in terms of Quirk et al.'s (1985) definitions. Ultimately, the divergence on this issue, which is also reflected in the data in the present study, seems to point towards a somewhat fuzzy area between the two functions, bringing in the question the nature of the distinctions between them as currently described in the literature. Whilst this is not something to which this thesis claims to have a solution, the conclusions that it has presented and the questions that it has put forward on the basis of the analyses, clearly identify this as an issue worthy of further consideration, with a view to clarifying the distinctions and possibly improving on the existing descriptions.

One final thing to note is the contribution the present research makes to general discussions of language change. First of all, with regard to the developmental pathways of the individual adverbs outlined in the seven case studies, movement along these was shown to depend on local semantic and syntactic properties. This supports the notion that reanalysis in language change is the result of semantic and syntactic shifts in specific contexts (Traugott 1995; 15). However, in some cases where no (or limited) evidence of local reanalysis was found, it was proposed that certain developments were propelled by analogy as language users drew comparisons between members of the maximizer class. Whilst also highlighting the importance of this process itself in the development of the selected maximizers, this finding enables the present research to contribute to the debate on whether it is reanalysis or analogy that is the driving force of grammaticalization processes (cf. Harris & Campbell 1995, Newmeyer 1998, Haspelmath 1998, Fischer 2007, 2008), suggesting that it is actually a combination of both these processes that is significant in the development of this sub-group of degree modifier.

Finally, although the development of the maximizer function of each of the selected adverbs was shown to adhere to the linear developmental cline of grammaticalization presented in chapter 2, it was observed that all seven items developed at least one additional function outside of this cline. This, again, has various implications for more general theorising in diachronic linguistics. In one respect, the development of a response particle function, for instance, which was noted in the cases of *absolutely*,

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[113] This perhaps relates to the possibility, highlighted by Paradis (1997), for prototypically non-gradable constituents to be conceptualised as gradable in certain contexts (cf. chapter 2, section 2.4).

entirely, *quite* and *totally*, is of particular import in offering support for the tendency noted by Traugott & Dasher (2002) for adverbs to develop from clause-internal to clause-external constituents. Another issue, however, concerns the observation that, in many cases, the development of a more recent function stems from more than one earlier use (cf. e.g. the developments of *entirely* and *utterly*) and/or proceeds simultaneous to other developments involving that element (cf. e.g. the developments of *absolutely*, *completely*, *entirely*, *perfectly* and *quite*). In this respect, the present research supports the notion that many processes of linguistic change can benefit from conceptualization as a series of parallel or 'interlocking' developments (cf. Vandewinkel & Davidse 2008), as opposed to the linear development of more traditional viewpoints.

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