Perspectives on fixedness: applied and theoretical

Hudson, Jean

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Jean Hudson

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In memory of Muriel

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Lund and Nottingham 1998
Jean Hudson

Contents

Corpora and dictionaries

Corpora

CANCODE, CIC
The Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English, which is part of the *Cambridge International Corpus.*

CANCODE is a five-million word corpus of naturally occurring British English speech, compiled at the University of Nottingham during the period 1994–1998, within a research project funded by Cambridge University Press. The general design principles for the compilation of CANCODE are described in McCarthy (forthcoming). The project is ongoing and statistics given in the present work reflect the size of the corpus at the time of investigation, hence the various word-counts cited.

I would like to express my gratitude to Cambridge University Press, copyright owner of CANCODE and the CIC, for permission to use these corpora for research purposes.

LLC
The London–Lund Corpus of Spoken English

The LLC consists of half a million words of spoken British English, compiled within the Survey of English Usage at University College London during the latter half of the 1970s, and is described in Svartvik (1990). Examples from LLC are identified by text, sub-text, and tone unit number, eg: [12.6.32]. The prosodic markings have been removed, with the exception of tone unit boundaries, which are represented by a 'dash' (-).

Dictionaries

BBI (1986) *BBI Cominatory Dictionary of English: A guide to word combinations*. Editors: M. Benson, E. Benson & R. Ilson. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

CIDE (1995) *Cambridge International Dictionary of English.* Editor-in-chief: P. Procter. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

COBUILD (1987) *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary*. Editor-in-chief: J. Sinclair. London: Collins.

LDOCE (1995) *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*. Third edition. London: Longman.

ODCIE 1 (1975) *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English. Volume 1: Verbs with prepositions & particles.* Editors: A.P. Cowie & R. Mackin. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (2nd edition published 1993, as *Oxford Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*.)

ODCIE 2 (1983) *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English*. *Volume 2: Phrase, clause & sentence idioms*. Editors: A.P. Cowie, R. Mackin & I.R. McCaig. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Republished 1993, as *Volume 2: English Idioms*.)

OED (1989) *Oxford English Dictionary*. Second edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Introduction

The subject of this book is **fixedness**, or the process whereby orthographic words[1] group together and congeal into **fixed expressions** that become units in their own right, despite the blank spaces that remain (for a while) between them. Some prototypical examples of fixed expressions are:

> *above board, after all, all right, as if, at all, at the same time, bark up the wrong tree, bow and arrow, by hand, by the way, comings and goings, fed up, food for thought, foot the bill, force of habit, give up* ('resign'), *hot dog, I mean, in case, in fact, in spite of, old hat, or something, red herring, rough and ready, sort of, take off* ('imitate'), *you know*

0.1 Discourse, conceptualization, and realization

This study began its existence in applied and descriptive linguistics, the aim being to set up a battery of criteria that could be applied to expressions functioning as adverbs in order to differentiate between those that are fixed and those that are not. What I had originally hoped to achieve was a catalogue of fixed adverbal expressions that would be useful in the teaching of English as a foreign language and in natural language processing.

The end of the story (as far as the present work is concerned) is the realization that fixedness in expressions is a more important participant in processes of language change than has been generally recognized. Grammaticalization scholars know that in the development of lexical material into grammatical, fixation occurs.[2] By giving the phenomenon of fixedness a central role in this book I hope to shed further light on the discourse and

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[1] An orthographic word is that which is conventionally surrounded by empty spaces in the written medium.

[2] For example: Lehmann (1995 [1982]); Hopper (1991); Traugott & Heine (1991). See also Chapter 10 on definitions of 'grammaticalization'.

conceptual processes involved in the development and use of fixed expressions, and on the role of this development in language change.

The book is divided into three distinct parts reflecting three very different perspectives on fixedness, which will be discussed individually and brought together in the final chapter (10). The model is briefly introduced below in order to set the framework for the book.

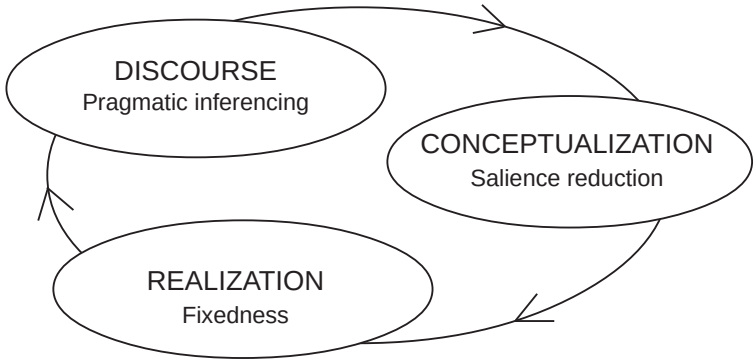

Figure 0.1 Levels of interaction in fixedness.

With this model I seek to show how ad hoc expressions take on new meanings through pragmatic inferencing in the **discourse**.[3] The development proceeds through semantic and phonetic reduction[4] to a stage at which the contribution of the parts of the expression to the whole is beyond **conceptualization**, and the expression becomes fixed in its **realization**. At this third stage expressions are completely invariable although they might still comprise more than one orthographic word.

Two of the processes described in the previous paragraph—pragmatic inferencing and fixation—are also frequently referred to in the literature on grammaticalization.[5] Using a case study of some fixed expressions in adverbal role (**complex adverbs**), I shall be suggesting (section 10.2) that a further feature of grammaticalization—ie, unidirectionality[6]—is also at work. In the

[3] Traugott (1982).

[4] See Brinton (1996:52–54).

[5] The one common denominator in definitions of grammaticalization is that the process involves the development of grammatical material from lexical. For further discussion, see section 10.1.2. see also Hopper & Traugott (1993) and Brinton (1996).

[6] See Hopper & Traugott (1993:94–129) on the hypothesis of unidirectionality.

development of fixed expressions, however, unidirectionality is not linear but cyclical. In Figure 0.1 there is an arrow from realization back to discourse, by which I mean that fixed expressions, *if* they develop further, may very well become involved in the same process again.

It is important to distinguish between the development of the component words in expressions and the development of expressions as a whole. It will be seen from the case study that in complex adverbs the component parts very often exhibit features that are characteristic of grammaticalization, while fixed expressions as units can be destined for lexicalization just as readily as for grammaticalization or pragmaticization.[7] In other words, the development of fixed expressions into single words is unidirectional, but the resulting word can be either lexical, grammatical or pragmatic. Some illustrations of this claim are required:

Fixed expression > lexical word

Some compounds are examples of fixed expressions that have developed into single lexical words, for example: *common-sense, cupboard, fishwife, lime-stone, loophole, railway*. In the course of their formation they can reasonably be assumed to have followed a unidirectional path from ad hoc expressions, through fixed expressions, to single words. (Etymologies from OED.)

Fixed expression > grammatical word

The development of the temporal connective *while* through the fixed expression *þa hwile þe* has become a textbook example of grammaticalization.[8]

Hopper & Traugott (1993:4) say: 'Quite often, what is grammaticalized is not a single content word but an entire construction that includes that word.' Words undergoing grammaticalization very often occur as component parts of fixed expressions (section 3.4). This is so often the case that it cannot be ignored, and in Chapter 10 I shall return to a discussion of the complex (but not arbitrary) relationship between grammaticalization and the evolution of fixed expressions.

Fixed expression > pragmatic word

Traugott (1995:10–12) demonstrates the development of *indeed* from an ad hoc expression (eg: *in vuel dede*) to a routinely used prepositional phrase as

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[7] For the moment, I am using these terms in a pre-theoretical, general sense to denote the formation of predominantly lexical, grammatical, or pragmatic material.

[8] Traugott (1982:254), for example.

clause internal adverbial (*in dede*), through a sentence adverbial to discourse marker (*indeed*). During this development there is also a shift of meaning from the propositional 'in action' to epistemic (modal) 'in actuality' (*ibid* p 11), and thence to full discourse marker function with meanings involving elaboration and clarification of discourse intent (*ibid* p 12).

In a recent paper Hopper (forthcoming) says that:

> A full account of grammaticalization [...] demands an account not only of canonical grammaticalization, but also of the incipient and dissipating ends. This means paying more attention to groups of words, rather than individual lexical items, especially in the earlier stages.
>
> (Hopper, forthcoming: MS p 5)

The linguistic features that correlate with fixed expressions and the parts that they comprise overlap to a great extent with grammaticalization phenomena. However, in the literature on grammaticalization I have not been able to find a clear account of the role of fixedness, the closest being the article cited above, which is concerned with particular discourse contexts in which incipient and dissipating grammaticalization are to be found.

Of greater concern for my purpose is the vagueness of description with regard to 'the parts and the whole' of fixed expressions in the same literature. Traugott (1995), Lehmann (1991) and Hopper (forthcoming), for example, relate the development of some fixed expressions to grammaticalization processes. Their accounts suggest, but (with the exception of Traugott 1995) they do not make explicitly clear, that it is the expression as a whole that is undergoing grammaticalization. My own conclusion, from the perspective of researching fixed expressions, is that while the motivating forces and the processes underlying the two paths of development (from lexical material to grammatical, and from expressions to single words) overlap to a great extent, the process whereby ad hoc expressions congeal and become fixed expressions is quite distinct from the process of grammaticalization. This is the topic of Chapter 10.

But the focus of this book is fixedness, and grammaticalization is not the only phenomenon related to the development of fixed expressions. The research reported is exploratory. Using an eclectic approach, a bridge is built between applied and theoretical aspects of the initial question. In order to retain this perspective I present the results of my research in chronological order, as an

unfolding narrative on the theme of fixedness, rather than positioning myself at one or the other side of the question.

The tripartite division of the book is also reflected in the chronological order of the narrative, beginning, so to say, at the end—at the level of realization. I begin by examining fixed expressions as a problem in applied linguistics, and carry out a case study in search of criteria for fixedness in one type of expression. The search takes us a step backwards in the model, to conceptual levels. I explore the nature and degree of the salience of the component elements of expressions, and the analyzability of some fixed expressions in adverb role. Finally, I discuss the possible beginnings and evolution of this kind of expression and suggest a model for the study of fixedness that accommodates the various perspectives from which the phenomenon is viewed.

0.2 Problems with fixed expressions in applied linguistics

0.2.1 English language teaching

Teachers and learners of English as a foreign language are perhaps not the first to appreciate the complexities of fixed expressions, but as a group they have surely devoted more time and effort than any others in their attempts to bring some order into the categorization and explication of this highly problematic feature of the English language.[9]

For a non-native speaker of English to achieve native-like fluency it is not sufficient to learn the meanings of the words of the language and to combine them according to the rule system described in grammars and textbooks. There is always the problem of idiomaticity, or 'sounding right',[10] which involves making choices beyond those offered by the lexicon and the grammar. This observation is an appropriate starting point for the discussion of fixedness.

It has been traditionally assumed that for the most part speakers do, in fact, construct and interpret utterances according to a principle of 'open choice',

[9] See, for example, Alexander (1978, 1983, 1984), Bressan (1979), Carter (1987), Carter & McCarthy (1988), Hussein (1990), Kennedy (1990), Nattinger & DeCarrico (1989), to mention but a few.

[10] For an insightful discussion on the 'puzzle of native-like selection' see Pawley & Syder (1983). See also Allerton (1984).

using the 'idiom principle' only exceptionally.[11] Concomitant with the development of large computerized corpora over the past decades is the growing realization that much of what we say in English is in the form of patterned or 'prefabricated' chunks that are frequently repeated and that often do not vary at all. However, while the corpus data tell us that speakers tend to produce utterances in chunks which may or may not be variable, what we cannot conclude from this observation alone is whether they *can* be varied or not. In other words, the frequent occurrence of a particular chunk of language does not necessarily indicate that it is a unit in the sense that it is fixed and invariable. Some chunks that are much more frequent than many (oft-cited and invariable) idioms such as *kick the bucket* are *thank you very much, last night, I think, as I say, and all that.*

In striving for native-like fluency the learner must learn to recognize whether an expression is **established** (conventional) or **ad hoc** (formed according to the open-choice principle). Secondly they must learn whether established expressions are **variable** or not, and if they are, to what extent. For the learner, the most difficult types to master are those expressions which are established and partially variable, and these are numerous.

Consider, for example, the paradigms for expressions of time with *last* and *ago* in Figure 0.2. Nouns denoting periods of time collocate differently according to the length of that period of time, with the middle span diverging from the general pattern in both cases. Interestingly, the odd ones out in both paradigms are the nouns denoting periods of natural time, that is, time that is measured in relation to the movement of the planets: *year, month, week, night, day*. Could this be related to the fact that these words are probably older and more frequently used? A full-scale investigation of the use of *last* and *ago* is beyond the scope of the study,[12] but there are clear indications of a pattern of relationships in the paradigms.

The persistent division of lexis and grammar in the study and teaching of English leaves the language teacher (and, of course, the learner) almost helpless when it comes to accounting for the all-pervasive patterning in English and the profusion of *almost* fixed expressions.

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[11] The terms 'open choice' and 'idiom principle' are borrowed from Sinclair (1991), who argues that most language processing takes place according to the idiom principle. In a recent investigation, Erman & Warren (forthcoming) use the idiom principle as a foundation for their analysis of prefabricated language.

[12] See, however, section 7.5 on expressions of 'natural time'. Bolinger (1976:3–4) also discusses this problem.

*last century		a century ago
*last decade		a decade ago
last year		a year ago
last month		a month ago
last week		a week ago
last night		*a night ago
*last day	yesterday	*a day ago
*last hour		an hour ago
*last minute		a minute ago
*last second		a second ago

Figure 0.2 Collocations of *last* and *ago* with expressions of time

0.2.2 Natural language processing

In recent years, technological development and increasing commercial demands for machine translation, speech recognition, and text-to-speech processing have given rise to something of a boom industry in natural language processing. One of the greatest problems encountered by computational linguists in these fields (on a par with phonemic segmentation in the latter two cases) is the problem of idiomaticity, and it is not by coincidence that (with rising commercial investment) linguists are now obliged to acknowledge, once and for all, that language is not a collection of building bricks (lexicon) that can be constructed (or deconstructed) according to a predefined set of rules (grammar).[13] Tagging, parsing, and sense disambiguation are important components of natural language processing, and in each of these a major stumbling block is idiomaticity—or fixedness.

[13] Langacker (1987:452) calls this 'the building-block metaphor'. See also Fillmore et al (1988).

0.3 Terms and definitions

In the literature on fixed expressions in English there are four criteria which recur frequently, either separately or in combination:

i) Unexpected syntactic constraints on the constituent parts
These are syntactic variability restrictions that would not normally be expected, for example:

- number *the other day*
  **the other days*
  (cf *the other boy – the other boys*)

- article *strike a light!*
  **strike the light*
  (cf *strike a match – strike the match*)

- word order *trials and tribulations*
  **tribulations and trials*
  (cf *sorrow and pain – pain and sorrow*)

ii) Unexpected collocational restrictions within the expression
A part of the expression cannot be substituted by an item from a related set as would normally be expected:

- *first of all* **second of all* (cf *first in line – second in line*)
- *above board* **below board* (cf *above standard – below standard*)
- *disaster area* **catastrophe area* (cf *major disaster – major catastrophe*)
- *how do you do* **how do they do* (cf *how do you do it? – how do they do it?*)

Similarly, modification is abnormally constrained:

- *for good* **for very good*
- *kick the bucket* **kick the plastic bucket*

iii) Anomalous syntax or usage
Not infrequently fixed expressions are simply impossible to analyze in terms of their constituent parts:

- *all of a sudden* (adjective *sudden* used as noun)
- *spick and span* (*spick* and *span* not current in the language)

iv) Figurative meaning

Most definitions of fixed expressions also include a condition to the effect that there is a semantic mis-match between the parts and the whole: *a red herring, a hot potato, to kick ass, not much cop, at the end of the day*. This mis-match is most commonly perceived as a result of the fact that the meaning of *red* and the meaning of *herring* do not add up to the meaning of *red herring* (for example).

It has been widely assumed that this fourth criterion (**figurative meaning**) correlates with the first and second (for which I use the umbrella term **variability criteria**).[14] Put in these terms the criteria sometimes conflict, so that an expression such as *(to) sow wild oats* would be considered fixed according to the figurative meaning criterion (iv) yet not according to the variability criteria (i–ii). In other words, the meanings of the parts do not add up to the meaning of the whole although the expression does permit considerable variation:

- ...they are merely getting used to seeing a young man *sowing* what young men like to call their *wild oats*.
- What? *Sow* a few *wild oats*?
- But the *wildest oats sown* by our hero...[15]

Conversely, an expression such as *all of a sudden* is not opaque in meaning, yet absolutely fixed according to the variability criteria.

My definition of **fixedness** is based on criteria i–ii (above). An expression that fails on either of the two variability criteria I consider to be fixed to some degree. In other words, I make a clear distinction between the variability criteria on the one hand, and the figurative meaning criterion on the other. The term **fixed expression** will be used to refer exclusively to expressions that are fixed according to variability criteria.

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[14] Quirk & Mulholland (1964), for example, use a similar set of variability constraints as criterial evidence for complex prepositions. Quirk (1968b) disusses the use of substitutions in syntactical research. Bugarski (1968) is a further application of this method.

[15] Examples from ODCIE 2.

I shall, however, be claiming in later pages that the frequently used variability criteria are but **symptoms of fixedness**, while figurative meaning is more closely related to underlying conceptual phenomena that I shall call **fixing forces**. There has been a tendency in applied linguistics to use the figurative meaning criterion in a simplistic way, as with the *red herring* example. Theoretical accounts recognize that the problem is one of general interpretability—that is, if there is some conventional or universal metaphor involved (*with all my heart, let off steam*, etc) then the parts of these idioms are interpretable and salient in relation to the whole.[16]

0.4 Aims

The overall aim of the study is to investigate fixed expressions from both applied and theoretical perspectives. The specific aims are:

i) To survey existing types and typologies of fixed expressions and to suggest a comprehensive schema for categorizing fixed expressions.

ii) To carry out a corpus-based case study of fixed expressions in the role of adverb in order to identify criteria for fixedness in these expressions, that is, criteria which distinguish them from ad hoc expressions.

iii) To explore the development of fixed expressions in adverb role and to discuss their evolution in a wider perspective on language change.

0.5 Outline

Applied linguists are, as it were, in the front line of battle with fixed expressions – teachers of English as a foreign language and computational linguists are obliged to accommodate for the full range of types in the language. In the absence of relevant linguistic theory, many attempts have been made to schematize the wealth of phrasal material, including specific studies of particular kinds of fixed expressions (irreversible binomials, phrasal verbs, etc). Theoretical interest has always focused on highly specific types of

[16] Gibbs (1994); see also Nunberg et al (1994), for example.

expressions (verb+complement idioms, for example, within a generative framework). Chapter 1 is a review of this previous work and it concludes that at the very least it is necessary to find a comprehensive framework within which fixed expressions can be categorized. A wordclass-based taxonomy is suggested.

Chapter 2 tests the viability of the suggested taxonomy against a stretch of naturally occurring spoken data and concludes that the framework is probably sufficiently comprehensive to accommodate most kinds of fixed expressions and that it is a relatively simple matter to place the expressions in appropriate categories. The exercise highlights the need for closer analysis of the nature of fixedness, in particular with regard to the all-pervasive yet little researched category of fixed expressions functioning as adverbs, including those with primarily discourse function, both of which will be referred to as **complex adverbs**.

Consequently, Chapter 3 accounts for the extraction of a sample of fixed expressions in the role of adverb from LLC. The sample is based on a concordance of the word *all*. The rationale behind this choice is explained in the chapter. A database of potential complex adverbs (circa 2,200 tokens) is established and these are categorized according to the scope of *all*.

Chapter 4 reports on and discusses the work of other scholars who have carried out experimental studies in psycholinguistics and demonstrated a relationship between **salience** (or relative interpretability) in idioms with degrees of syntactic and semantic **fixedness**. In the chapter I conclude, however, that salience is not only a matter of semantic interpretability, and that semantic interpretability is not a sufficient criterion for complex adverbs, which are to a large extent composed of grammatical and/or semantically bleached words (*of course, at the same time, by and large, last night, all right, at all, for good*, etc).

Chapters 5–7 discuss the linguistic phenomena that appear to cluster in complex adverbs and which, in combination, can be seen to bring the overall salience of many expressions below the level of interpretability. The correlation between non-salience and fixedness in complex adverbs is discussed in Chapter 8.

In Chapter 9 some possible avenues of research into the evolution of expressions in adverb role are discussed. Chapter 10 brings the perspectives on fixedness together and, finally, suggests a model of the relationship between the evolution of complex adverbs from ad hoc expressions, and the specific form of language change that is known as grammaticalization.

A short conclusion summarizes the extent to which the original aims of the study have been fulfilled.

PART I: REALIZATION

1 Types of fixed expression

In Chapters 1–3 I shall be concerned with fixedness at the level of realization, beginning with a review of previous work on fixed expressions, in particular the categorization of fixed expressions.

Earlier interest in phrasal fixedness in English was restricted almost exclusively to 'idiom'. An idiom is an expression that utilizes figurative language to a greater or lesser degree or, to use the COBUILD definition: 'a group of words which, when they are grouped together in a particular combination, have a different meaning from the one they would have if you took the meaning of all the individual words in the group'. This is a present-day definition of what used to be the concern of those working in the domain of style and rhetoric. It is now recognized, of course, that much of what we say and write in English is of a phraseological nature and it is more pertinent to speak of the broader concept of 'idiomaticity'.

The more recent literature abounds with suggested categories, which typically include some or all of the following types: *phrasal verbs, idioms, irreversible binomials, collocations, compounds, proverbs, quotations, clichés, discourse structuring devices, formulae, similes*, and *metaphors.*[1] An inherent shortcoming of these typologies is that the categories are neither discrete nor comprehensive. One need only examine a few pages of English, either spoken or written, to discover phrases, multiword units, fixed expressions or prefabricated patterns that do not fit into any of these categories or that could be placed in more than one of them. We proceed now to a discussion of these familiar typologies.

[1] For a general review of work on fixed expressions and idioms see, for example, Fernando & Flavell (1981).

1.1 The language classroom

In a 1989 paper, Nattinger and DeCarrico 'attempt to group *lexical phrases* in a way that will reflect the requirements of conversational language and at the same time be pedagogically useful'.[2] This is the perspective of the language classroom. As a starting point for a review of typologies, it is a useful perspective in that it encompasses the whole wealth of phrasal material in the language, demanding of linguistic research answers to important questions on the nature of fixedness itself.

Those concerned with the teaching of English as a foreign language are, as it were, in the front line when it comes to sorting out the many types of fixed expressionthat are encountered in English. Alexander's (1978) categorization has become a classic point of reference. He divides the field into five types of expression (Figure 1.1).

Alexander's concern is not with the type or degree of fixedness involved in different expressions, nor with linguistic structure, but with the various aspects of language and communicative behaviour that are related to different types of fixed expression, and which are the concern of disciplines such as pragmatics, lexicology, psychology, sociology, and second-language learning theory. The underlying rationale is the need for a coherent model of communication strategies that will strongly supplement the traditional role of grammar in second-language learning.

Alexander is critical of linguistic research for not taking the study of vocabulary seriously.[3] Since the appearance of his early (eg: 1978) work on fixed expressions, there has been an upsurge of interest in the field,[4] not least thanks to much improved research possibilities in computational corpus

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2 Nattinger & DeCarrico (1989:120): 'Lexical phrases are multi-word lexical phenomena that exist somewhere between the traditional poles of lexicon and syntax. They are similar to lexicon in being treated as units, yet most of them consist of more than one word, and many of them can at the same time be derived from the regular rules of syntax.'

3 'In their zeal to pin down the significant generalizations which can be made about linguistic facts, linguists working in the shadow of the ruling doctrines of modern linguistics have tended to inflate the role syntax plays in language structure […] and to underestimate the status of vocabulary.' (Alexander 1978:3).

4 Phraseological approaches to the study of vocabulary are very varied; see, for example, Aijmer (1996), Altenberg & Eeg-Olofsson (1990), Barkema (1996a,b), Carter (1987), Coulmas (1981), Cowie (1981, 1992, Kjellmer (1994), Lewis (1993), Moon (1994), Sinclair (1984, 1985, 1991).

linguistics, but the fact remains that linguistic research has yet to produce a fully comprehensive typology of fixed expressions.

Types of fixed expressions	**Examples**
1 Idioms 1.1 Phrasal Verbs 1.2 'Tournures' 1.3 Irreversible Binomials etc	*to turn in*, etc *to keep (the) tabs on s.o.*, etc *spick and span*, etc
2.1 *Proverbs* 2.2 Proverbial (metaphorical) Idioms etc	*a stitch in time saves nine*, etc *to pay the piper*, etc
3 *Discourse-structuring devices* 3.1 Greetings, introductions, 'formulae' 3.2 Connectives, 'gambits' etc	*How do you do*, etc *To begin with, Let's be realistic*, etc
4.1 *Catch phrases* 4.2 Clichés, slogans etc	*Who loves you baby*? *Chelsea rules O.K.*, etc *Drinka pinta milka day*, etc
5 *Quotations, Allusions* Aphorisms, Figures of Speech, Understatement, Irony, etc	*Kiss me Hardy, Shall I compare thee to a summer's day*, etc

Figure 1.1 Alexander's typology of fixed expressions (1978:8)

Nattinger & DeCarrico (1989:118) do attempt to integrate linguistic features and the concept of degrees of fixedness into their categorization of 'lexical phrases', together with features relating to discourse structure, pragmatics and cultural identity (Figure 1.2). The primary typological criteria for Nattinger & DeCarrico's categorization of fixed expressions are combinations of utterance length, degree of fixedness, and discourse or communicative function. The linguistic criteria are vaguely defined, however. Length of

utterance is described as: short, medium, long; a phrase / clause / sentence; or an entire text. Possible variability is defined in terms such as: 'relatively fixed', '(extremely) low variability', 'meaning not analyzable by the regular rules of syntax', 'amenable to the regular rules of syntax', 'highly variable with slots for parameters or arguments'.

Both Alexander and Nattinger & DeCarrico include 'phrasal verbs' and 'idioms'[5] in one of their categories, and Alexander also has 'irreversible binomials'. Note that these three types are the only fixed expressions in these two typologies that are identifiable in terms of either their syntactic structure alone (irreversible binomials), or in combination with opacity of meaning (idioms and phrasal verbs).

Type of lexical phrase	**Examples**
Polywords: short, fixed lexical phrases, whose meaning is not analyzable by the regular rules of syntax. They can substitute for single words, so are often treated like regular vocabulary in language lessons:	
idioms	*kick the bucket*
euphemisms	*powder room*
slang	*better half*
phrasal verbs	*put up, put up with*
Phrasal constraints: short, relatively fixed lexical phrases with slots that permit some variation, many being:	
non-canonical forms	*a year ago; by pure coincidence; down with the king*
greetings	*how do you do*
partings	*see you later*
exclamations	*you can't be serious!*
insults	*you creep*

[5] Nattinger & DeCarrico use 'idiom' in the sense of verb + complement combinations with opaque meaning (*kick the bucket, spill the beans*).

Deictic locutions: short to medium length lexical phrases of low variability, consisting of phrases, clauses or entire utterances. They are essentially monitoring devices, whose purpose is:	
(1) to direct the flow of conversation by marking attitudes, expectations, concessions, challenges, defenses, supports, retreats	*as far as I know; don't you think; if I were you; for that matter; frankly; I mean to say; further to my letter of...*
(2) to exercise social control	*hey; wait a minute; now look; see here, shut up, and then what?*
Sentence builders: lexical phrases up to sentence length, highly variable, containing slots for parameters or arguments. These provide a skeleton for the expression of the entire idea. They are often non-canonical and discontinuous, and are used in a wide variety of social contexts.	*not only X but also Y* *if I X, then I Y* *the ...er X, the ...er Y*
Situational utterances: lexical phrases which are usually complete sentences, amenable to the regular rules of syntax and highly dependent on the social context. They provide the framework for particular social interactions:	
greetings	*how are you today*
partings	*I'll see you next week*
politeness routines	*thanks very much for X*
questions	*could you tell me X*
social maintenance	*what's new* *cold enough for you*
Verbatim texts: lexical phrases that may consist of entire texts of different length with extremely low variability. Used for quotation, allusion, or frequently, as in the case of institutionalized chunks, direct use:	
memorized sequences	numbers, the alphabet, days of the week
aphorisms	*the public seldom forgives twice*
proverbs	*a rolling stone gathers no moss*
… and all of those chunks that a speaker has found efficient to store as units. Some of these may be general units, used by everyone in the speech community, while others may be more idiosyncratic […]	

Figure 1.2 Nattinger & DeCarrico's typology of fixed expressions (1989)

A more sophisticated approach to categorizing fixed expressions is suggested in Carter (1987:62–65) with three separate clines of fixedness, according to:

a) collocational restriction
b) syntactic structure
c) semantic opacity

Carter concludes (*ibid* p 64) that 'there are no unequivocally clear clines of fixity whatever the main categories involved. It is necessary to separate the clines but it is also clear that there are points of intersection and overlap between the clines which allow us to define the most fixed expressions as those which are "closed" in more than one category.' In focusing on the different types of fixedness involved, Carter highlights a major pedagogical (and theoretical) problem in the study of fixed expressions—that the generally accepted criteria for fixedness interact in a complex fashion and that it is necessary to distinguish between the phenomena involved if we are to better understand the nature and kind of this interaction.

Typologies of fixed expressions based on combinations of syntactic (variability) and semantic (collocability and opacity) criteria have also been developed by scholars of phraseology and lexicology, and it is to these we now turn.

1.2 Phraseology

A recurrent feature in the literature on phraseology is the general acceptance of a 'cline of fixedness' that accounts for fixed expressions of all types – from the most fixed to the least fixed. Much work in phraseology is carried out to inform lexicography, where one of the most difficult tasks is that of selection: what to include in a dictionary and what to leave out. This section examines, then, the choices made by the compilers of some specialized phrasal dictionaries, choices which reflect different underlying typologies of phrasal units.

Before the days of corpus-based research in phraseology and dictionary production, the *Oxford dictionary of current idiomatic English* (ODCIE 1 & 2) and the *BBI combinatory dictionary of English* (BBI) were probably the only dictionaries of phrasal units in English to be based on serious attempts to cate-

gorize the diverse types of phrasal material in English.[6] The principles on which the ODCIE and BBI are based reflect typologies that are characteristic of two important schools in phraseology: the first British and the second 'East European'. These are discussed separately, followed by a short summary of what has come to be recognized as the Firthian approach to the study of collocation.

1.2.1 The idiom–collocation cline

In ODCIE 2, Cowie et al[7] describe a cline of idiomaticity, from the most fixed to the least fixed in the language:

- **Pure idioms** such as *blow the gaff*, ie 'idioms in the strict sense' at the most fixed end. They are 'the end point of a process by which word-combinations first establish themselves through constant re-use, then undergo figurative extension and finally petrify or congeal'.

- **Figurative idioms** are slightly less opaque; they have 'figurative meanings (in terms of the whole combination in each case) but [they] also keep a current literal interpretation. Among such idioms are *catch fire* and *close ranks*'. Figurative idioms are 'idiomatic in the sense that variation is seldom found (though note *act the part* or *role*; *a close, narrow shave*) and pronoun substitution unlikely (though consider *Bill had a narrow shave and Fred an even narrower one*)'.

- In **restricted collocations** one of the elements is used in a figurative sense not found outside the collocation while the other is used in a familiar, literal sense, for example *jog one's/sb's memory*. 'Some members of this category allow a degree of variation (consider, for instance, *a cardinal error, sin, virtue, grace*), and in this respect 'restricted' collocations resemble 'open' ones.'

- At the least fixed end are **open collocations** the constituent elements of which are 'freely recombinable [and] each element is used in its literal sense'.[8]

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6 This is not an overview of available dictionaries. There are numerous 'idiom' dictionaries on the market that are based on arbitrary lexicographical collection and they are uninteresting in this context.

7 See ODCIE 2 (xii-xiii) for an account of the idiom-collocation cline. Terms used in this section are from the same work, unless otherwise stated. See also Mackin (1978) on collocation.

8 A summary of ODCIE 2 (xii-xiii).

The four types of idiomatic expression are defined both in terms of literal or figurative meaning and according to the degree of internal variation that is possible:

> A view of idiomaticity which does full justice to the rich diversity of word-combinations in English must recognize that the meaning of a combination may be related to those of its components in a variety of ways, and must take account also of the possibility of internal variation, or substitution of part for part.
>
> (ODCIE 2, p xii)

One problem with this typology, however, is the implication that the employment of figurative language and the phenomenon of immutability are always in parallel. Consider, for example, the following examples of invariable expressions the meaning of which is either entirely literal or only slightly figurative (3):

- A *black and white* [photo, film, cat, etc].
- I'll be *as quiet as a mouse*, I promise.
- A: Why do you keep doing that?
  B: I don't know, *force of habit*, I suppose.

Quite apart from clichés, conversational formulae, quotations, and stylistic and rhetorical devices, there are many, less obtrusive phrasal units (nominal compounds, irreversible binomials, complex prepositions, phrasal quantifiers, etc) with non-figurative meaning. In other words, this is not a borderline phenomenon.

In terms of a typology of idiomatic expressions, the idiom–collocation cline is useful to the extent that it captures a wide range of phrasal material, as it addresses both the question of figurative meaning and that of variability. Although opacity of meaning entails a certain degree of immutability, the opposite is not true. Consequently, in order to further categorize within the cline it must be first recognized, as Carter (1987) does, that there are (at least) two separate clines the extremes of which are: 'literal' *vs* 'figurative', and 'variable' *vs* 'invariable'.

1.2.2 Patterns of combinability

The compilation of the *BBI combinatory dictionary of English* reflects the so-called East European tradition in lexicography. The aim of the BBI is 'to provide learners with patterns of combinability in a more thorough and

systematic way than is possible in general dictionaries'. Two major types of patterns are described:

Lexical combinations are of two 'equal' components, in other words lexical items. Five types are distinguished:[9]

- **Free combinations**, the components of which (eg: verb + noun) individually combine with many other nouns or verbs.

- **Idioms**, or 'relatively frozen expressions whose meanings do not reflect the meanings of their component parts' ('to have an axe to grind', 'to be beside oneself', 'hammer and tongs'). Proverbs and sayings are a sub-group of idioms in this account, with two essential differences: they occasionally have literal or near literal meaning ('an apple a day keeps the doctor away') and they always convey folk wisdom or an alleged general truth. They are usually complete sentences and are more frozen than idioms, which are often parts of sentences.

- **Collocations**, or 'loosely fixed combinations', where synonym substitution is highly restricted ('commit/perpetrate murder'). More importantly, a collocation 'is used frequently; it springs readily to mind; it is psychologically salient; it is a 'fixed phrase' in English'. A collocation can never be an idiom, however, since the former implies choice while the latter, being a unit of meaning, excludes choice.

- **Transitional combinations**, that is, transitional between idiom and collocation. These are more frozen, ie less variable, than ordinary collocations but, unlike idioms, they bear a meaning 'close to that suggested by their component parts' ('to foot the bill' [sic!], 'the facts of life', 'for old times' sake').

- **Compounds** are completely frozen combinations of major (lexical) wordclasses. Two types are distinguished: 'nominal compounds', that are either noun + noun ('blood count', 'fire escape', 'gas mask') or adjective + noun ('alternating current', 'definite article', 'floppy disk'); and 'compound verbs' ('phrasal verbs'), consisting of a simple verb plus one or two adverbs or prepositions.

With reference to Chomsky's[10] 'close constructions', Benson et al also identify what they call *grammatical* collocability as distinct from lexical collocability.

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[9] A summary of Benson et al (1986:252-254).

[10] Chomsky (1965:101-103, 190-193).

The association between *decide* and *on* in *decide on the boat* ('choose the boat') is closer than in 'decide while on the boat'. Grammatical collocability refers, then, to 'the regular occurrence of forms in grammatically close constructions' (Benson et al, 1986:232–233). Elsewhere,[11] a grammatical collocation is also defined as a combination of a dominant word (noun, verb, adjective) followed by a grammatical word, while a lexical collocation is a combination of two 'equal' lexical components. It is difficult to understand the value of this distinction, in particular since Benson et al assign phrasal verbs to the 'compounds' category under the heading 'lexical combinability', despite the fact that they are not combinations of two major word classes.

The absolute distinction between 'idiom' and 'collocation' also serves to confuse the 'compounds' category: a common characteristic of many phrasal verbs and nominal compounds is that they carry opaque meaning in relation to their constituent parts.

In summary, however, the BBI typology also rests on a combination of criteria for opacity of meaning and degree of variability although the categorization differs from what is described above as the 'idiom-collocation cline' on two significant points: i) opacity of meaning and immutability are not considered to be concomitant features, and ii) nominal compounds and phrasal verbs are singled out by virtue of their grammatical structure.

1.2.3 Firthian and post-Firthian work

Whereas in the study of idiom the focus is essentially on the semantic non-correspondence between the constituent parts and the meaning of the whole, studies of collocation are concerned with the patterns of linguistic units that can or do occur and the ways in which the meanings of words are related to those of the company they keep. A collocation is most commonly described in terms of the constraints that hold on the constituent parts, that is, in terms of substitution or modification. Some linguists also include the criterion of syntactic immutability in their definitions, others do not.

J R Firth, although not the first to recognize 'collocation' as distinct from 'idiom', is a linguist whose name is closely associated with the concept. But it is in the work of researchers following on from Firth[12] that we can discern an attempt to categorize phrasal material more fully:

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[11] Benson (1985:61–62).

[12] See, for example, Bazell et al (1966).

> [Firth] tended to use the term somewhat generally for (restrictive) 'associability' and did not consider at all closely the relationship between collocation, colligation, idiom, compound, phrase, etc.
>
> (Mitchell 1971:36)

In this context, the work of T F Mitchell is most relevant. He distinguishes between 'roots' and 'words' in defining collocation. Collocations are co-occurring roots sharing productive syntagmatic relations. Colligations (a term closely associated with Mitchell) produce more general categories than collocations. Sub-groups of colligations involve both formal and functional word-class labels (eg: 'motive' verb + 'directional' particle).[13] Further, an idiom is not a collocation, it is a 'root'.

This account is very different to mainstream views on the nature of phrasal units, and it has also lost in prominence over the past decade or so. However, some of the concepts it defines have survived in later definitions of 'collocation' and it is therefore necessary to devote some space to these concepts. First, some explanatory examples:[14]

1a) The man *rushes from* the house.
1b) The man *rushed from* the house.

2a) He *put down* the book.
2b) He *PUT DOWN* the rebellion.

3a) The boy *tore down* the poster.
3b) The boy *tore down* the road.

According to Mitchell, there is only one collocation in 1) consisting of a combination of two roots: [√*rush* ~ √*from*]. The inflections *-es* and *-ed* are regular and grammatical and therefore not included as part of the collocation. It is a member of the colligation to which the subset ['motive' verb + 'directional' particle] belong.

Put down in 2a) is a similar kind of collocation. The *put down* of 2b), however, is an idiom as 'its parts are unproductive in relation to the whole in terms of the normal operational processes of substitution, transposition, expan-

[13] Mitchell (1971:53).

[14] Summarized from Mitchell (1971).

sion, etc' (*ibid* p 57). In other words, neither *put* nor *down* can be varied in the framework of what can be done to or with a rebellion. An idiom is in itself a root and cannot therefore be a collocation. The collocation in 2b) is the root of *put down* in relation to the root of *rebellion.*

Thus far the rules are clear and relatively uncontroversial. In 3), however, both types of *tore down* are considered collocations, a view which conflicts with generally accepted notions of phrasal typology. 3b) is not a root (or idiom) as there is no 'fixity of association' between [√*tear* ~ √*down*], the roots of *lope, amble, shamble, race, run*, etc may be substituted for [√*tear*], and the roots of *up, across, on to, into, along*, etc for [√*down*], cf *he ran down the road, he tore across the road,* etc (*ibid* p 53). Unfortunately there is no discussion of transformations such as particle separation:

4a) The boy *tore* the poster *down.*
4b) *The boy *tore* the road *down.*

There is also a 'fixity of association' that is not taken into account here, that is, the fact that with *tear* ('run quickly') the particle is obligatory:

5) How did they get *up/down/across/on to* the hill - did they *run/race/lope/amble* or did they **tear*?

Mitchell's account is similar in part to Benson et al's in that it first makes an 'either–or' distinction between idiom and collocation: idioms are roots; collocations are combinations of roots. There is no further categorization in his schema—colligations are general categories denoting syntagmatic relationships, while collocations are specific instances of colligations. As far as I am aware, there has been no attempt to systematically categorize collocations in this way. It is therefore difficult to assess the relative value of doing so. Also, as with Benson et al's categories, as a typology of fixed expressions there remains the question of whether a particular collocation (by whatever definition) is also a *fixed* expression.

1.3 Computational corpus linguistics

It has already been mentioned that the study of patterns in language has been greatly facilitated by the availability of computerized corpora, and it is no co-

incidence that some substantial research in phraseology has been done since these became available.

This chapter has so far referred to 'collocation' in its concrete sense, as a particular linguistic structure. In corpus linguistics it is more often used in the abstract sense of a general tendency for linguistic items to co-occur (not necessarily in immediate proximity): 'I didn't get that *job*, by the way. The *application* was in too late.' The words 'job' and 'application' collocate quite strongly, whether or not they are adjacent.

Much corpus work to date has in fact focused on reporting collocability and patterning, towards the ultimate goal of establishing the most frequent collocates of specific items, with information about the co-occurrence probabilities of words. The approach is open-ended; frequency and co-occurrence statistics are used to produce data for further research into the nature and types of recurrent multiword units. Some interesting works in this respect are Johansson & Hofland (1989), Altenberg & Eeg-Olofsson (1990), Kjellmer (1994), and Moon (1994).

Kjellmer's lists of recurrent collocations in the *Brown Corpus* were compiled along similar lines to those of Johansson & Hofland in their lists of collocations from the *Lancaster Oslo/Bergen Corpus* (LOB). In both, the initial criterion is frequency and the authors subsequently categorize collocations according to their internal grammatical structure. Thus Kjellmer's typology[15] produces types such as 'noun phrase', 'verb plus object', 'verb plus related structure word(s)', '*to* plus infinitive', 'co-ordinated element', and so on, while Johansson & Hofland categorize according to grammar tag combinations.[16] With only recurrent combinations included much valuable phrasal material is lost, the authors point out: 'e.g. adjective-noun combinations like *blue murder, accusing eyes*',[17] although as an argument against including single combinations we are reminded that even a complete listing 'would still miss discontinuous combinations like: *"sad and heavy task" and "broad Ayrshire dialect"* [...]. For these reasons, [the authors] decided just to list recurrent sequences acknowledging that many aspects of word combinations could only be revealed by a deeper and more delicate study.'[18] Further, it was clearly beyond the scope of both projects to take into account criteria of opacity and variability, or to

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15 Kjellmer (1994:xxiii-xxx).

16 Johansson & Hofland (1989:1-14).

17 *Ibid* p 12.

18 *Ibid* p 13. See also section 9.1 on the significance of frequency in recurrent expressions.

include considerations of polysemy. Notwithstanding, these two projects have supplied useful tools for further research in phraseology.

Moon (1994) is an extensive corpus investigation and taxonomy of fixed expressions. Expressions are categorized according to whether they are lexico-grammatically fixed, semantically fixed, or pragmatically fixed. This approach is reminiscent of (though not identical to) Carter's (1987) 'clines of fixedness' (section 1.1) in that it first defines criteria for fixedness and categorizes accordingly. The classification is based on the primary type of problem involved in interpreting or encoding each particular expression. These three 'macrocategories' are further sub-divided into familiar types (see Figure 1.3).

PROBLEMS OF LEXICOGRAMMAR anomalous collocations	1. ill-formed collocations 2. cranberry collocations 3. defective collocations 4. phraseological collocations
PROBLEMS OF PRAGMATICS formulae	5. simple formulae 6. sayings 7. proverbs (literal/metaphorical) 8. similes
PROBLEMS OF SEMANTICS metaphors	9. transparent metaphors 10. semi-transparent metaphors 11. opaque metaphors

Figure 1.3 Moon's typology of fixed expressions (Moon 1994:15)

Altenberg & Eeg-Olofsson's (1990) study of the London-Lund Corpus is a corpus-based taxonomic investigation of spoken English on a large scale. The results are not published in dictionary or list form but they constitute a basis for further lexicogrammatical and functional analysis. Altenberg (forthcoming) investigates 6692 tokens of recurrent three-word combinations, representing 470 different types.[19] Most interesting for the present study is the

[19] Although approximately 70% of the words in the corpus form part of a recurrent word combination, the material under study had been manually extracted to exclude those combinations of little or no phraseological interest, such as unintentional repetitions and fragments of larger structures.

fact that the investigation does address the question of *types* of recurrent word combinations although, again, the first consideration is recurrence.

Firstly, the word combinations were organised according to their structure, showing that 76% of them were clause constituents or combinations of clause constituents, 14% incomplete phrases, and 10% full clauses.[20] In the functional analysis it appeared that the majority of the independent full clauses were responses, such as *thank you very much*, *yes of course*, *oh I don't know*, and so on. The dependent full clauses were either comment clauses (*as it were, I should think*), indirect conditions (*if you like*), or apposition markers (*that is to say*). The multiple clause constituents were analysed according to a positional scheme inspired by Halliday (1985), which segregates the data along discourse functional lines.

Single clause constituents account for 20% of the total material, which is approximately a quarter of the total 'clause element' category. These consist typically of complete phrases most of which have adverbial function. Prepositional phrases, noun phrases and adverb phrases are well represented, while very few of the three-word combinations are verb phrases or adjective phrases. They are further categorised according to their function as 'vagueness tags', 'quantifying expressions', 'intensifiers', 'connectors', 'temporal expressions' and 'spatial expressions'.

Finally, incomplete phrases, such as *out of the, a sort of, a lot of, because of the*, etc are identified as 'slots' in collocational frameworks (Renouf & Sinclair, 1991), such as '*as* + Adv + *as*' for *as far as, as well as, as much as.* The 'slots' that are completely fused into multiword units are also concomitant with prepositions, conjunctions, premodifying quantifiers, etc.

Many interesting types are identified in this study and it is particularly useful as a starting point for further investigation of the relationships that hold between certain structures and their discourse functions. But, again, it must be remembered that these are types of recurrent word combinations and not necessarily of fixed expressions.

[20] Altenberg (forthcoming).

1.4 Theoretical approaches

Earlier theoretical approaches to the study of multiword units focus almost exclusively on idioms, which limits their contribution to an overall *typology* of fixed expressions.[21]

1.4.1 The stratificational model

Makkai (1972) remains the standard work on idiom theory, beginning with a two-way division into idioms of 'encoding' and idioms of 'decoding'. Encoding idioms are those which are not difficult to interpret but can present problems in production: to *long for* something, rather than **long after* ('längta efter') as in Swedish; an *amicable divorce*, rather than a *friendly* one. Idioms of decoding are the true idioms in the sense that their meanings are not equivalent to the sum of the parts and they cannot be construed without prior knowledge of their 'being' in the language.

Using a stratificational model, he proposes a further division of decoding idioms into 'lexemic' and 'sememic' areas of idiomaticity. Lexemic idioms include types such as 'phrasal verbs', 'tournures', 'irreversible binomials', and 'phrasal compounds', while most sememic idioms are institutionalized, culture-related idioms such as 'proverbs', 'greetings', 'understatements', and 'familiar quotations'. Interestingly, lexemic and sememic idioms correspond well with Altenberg's (forthcoming) 'single clause constituents' and 'full clauses', where the latter function almost exclusively at a cultural/pragmatic level. The distinction between the two types is clear enough when expressed in terms of clause structure, though not so in Makkai's terminology. Consequently it is difficult to understand the rationale behind this absolute distinction into two idiomaticity areas:

> ... the separation of idioms into two major classes of lexemic and sememic idiomaticity implies a fundamental difference in their properties which in terms of the account given by Makkai is not really proven. Even from the taxonomic point of view the distinction between lexemic and sememic idioms is an obscure one since sememic idioms could be classed as 'tournures' and classified accordingly.
>
> (Fernando & Flavell 1981:9)

[21] More recent contributions are Jackendoff (1995, 1997), and Nunberg et al (1994), though these, too, are mainly concerned with the transformational properties of verb + object/complement idioms.

1.4.2 'An anomaly in the Chomskyan paradigm'

This title alludes, of course, to Chafe's well-known 1968 paper in which he criticizes the attempts of scholars working in the Chomskyan paradigm to accommodate for idioms and idiomaticity within a framework of generative syntax. It is, today, largely uncontroversial to say that generative theories of language have failed to accommodate for this major phenomenon of language,[22] the general conclusion being merely to suggest that syntactically ill-formed expressions be entered as lexical items in the dictionary, with restrictions imposed on their permitted transformational properties.

1.4.3 Cognitive approaches and psycholinguistics

More interesting advances in the theoretical study of idiomaticity are emerging from cognitive and psycholinguistic approaches. As these do not specifically address the issue of taxonomy their discussion can be deferred for the moment. They are, however, crucial to the ultimate discussion of the nature of fixedness and I shall return to these in Part II (in particular Chapter 4).

1.5 Descriptive grammar

As a major descriptive grammar, Quirk et al (1985, subsequently Quirk et al) is not primarily concerned with fixed expressions. However, there are a number of phrasal types that are so pervasive in the language that they are given prominent treatment in this and many other grammar reference works. Furthermore, the same phrasal types can be found in many of the typologies already discussed. Two major categories of fixed expression can be discerned in Quirk et al, based on the distinction made between phrasal lexicalization and compounding.

1.5.1 Lexicalized phrases

Lexicalized phrases are units of meaning expressed by phrases that are more or less immutable. Quirk et al identify three major types: **phrasal verbs,**[23] **complex prepositions,** and **phrasal subordinators**. Despite their phrasal realization, these are analyzed as 'words':

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[22] For example, Weinreich (1969), Fraser (1970).

[23] For ease of exposition I use 'phrasal verb' to denote Quirk et al's 'phrasal', 'prepositional', and 'phrasal-prepositional' verbs.

> Since the verb has been considered a class of word (cf 2.35), it may seem a contradiction to speak of 'multi-word verbs'. The term 'word' is frequently used, however, not only for a morphologically defined word class, but also for *an item which acts as a single word lexically or syntactically* (cf 9.10ff on complex prepositions). It is this extended sense of 'verb' as a 'unit which behaves to some extent either lexically or syntactically as a single verb' that we use in labels such as 'prepositional verb'.
>
> (Quirk et al 1985: 16.2. Emphasis added.)

Phrasal verbs are treated extensively in grammars, dictionaries and English language teaching (ELT) materials and need little introduction here. Important to note in the context of the present work is the fact that they are identified as verb+particle combinations where the resultant meaning of the verb is in some way different from its regular meaning and also that there is a complex set of syntactic restrictions governing the many different types of phrasal verb.

The **complex preposition** is similarly defined as 'a sequence that is indivisible both in terms of syntax and in terms of meaning' (*in spite of, by dint of,* etc).[24]

The **complex subordinator** (*in order that, providing that, as far as, so that, in cas*e, etc) is singled out as a category alongside simple subordinators (*after, because, since, until, whenever, whereupon,* etc) because they 'function, to varying degrees, like a single conjunction'.[25]

Common to all three types of lexicalized phrase is that they exhibit varying degrees of morphological complexity and semantic unity. In other words, they are multiword units that function as single words. Further, they are categorized in terms of wordclass according to their function as verb, preposition or conjunction.

1.5.2 Compounds

A compound is a 'lexical unit consisting of more than one base [...] and functioning both grammatically and semantically as a single word'.[26] It is not conventional to treat compounds as a type of fixed expression. They are brought into this discussion because a great many compounds consist of lexical items (*bases*) that remain orthographically and semantically independent. That

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[24] Quirk et al (9.12).

[25] Quirk et al (14.11).

[26] Quirk et al (I.57).

is, they are orthographically distinct and the semantic integrity of the constituent units is usually intact (eg: *cleaning woman, sound change, washing machine, midnight blue, dance hall*). In the following, the term 'compound' is used to refer to those compounds that consist of combinations of orthographically separate words, unless otherwise stated.

While it is true that compounding produces units of meaning and reference, it is also the case that many of these are quite productive in terms of their capacity for substitution, part for part, of the constituent bases, for example:

- verb + object: *crime report* (cf *crime wave*, *school report*)
- subject + verb: *cleaning woman* (cf *cleaning squad*, *serving woman*)
- subject + object: *steam engine* (cf *steam iron*, *combustion engine*)
- subject + complement: *pine tree* (cf *apple tree*, *pine nut*)

1.5.3 Compounds and lexicalized phrases *qua* fixed expressions

In summary, what multiword compounds and lexicalized phrases have in common is the fact that both types are realized by more than one word (be it lexical or grammatical) while at the same time they function as units of meaning or reference. One distinguishing feature is the wordclass role that they assume: compounds are mainly nouns or adjectives, lexicalized phrases (of the type discussed so far) are prepositions, verbs or conjunctions.

Within a phraseological account, it is neither necessary nor desirable to distinguish between multiword compounds and lexicalized phrases. Both are more or less fixed expressions, and what I am more concerned with here is the nature and degree of their fixedness. Complex prepositions and subordinators (conjunctions) are identified using criteria for syntactic and semantic immutability; similarly, phrasal verbs are analyzed according to the syntactic behaviour of the particle as well as the resulting change in meaning of the expression that the particle addition brings about. Multiword compounds are distinguished from free collocations using (amongst other tests) variability criteria and also semantic criteria relating to the idiom status of the expression (*hot dog*, for example, has nothing to do with the canine species).[27]

1.5.4 Irreversible binomials

Since 1959, when Yakov Malkiel published his 'Studies in irreversible binomials', almost every work on fixed expressions has made reference to these

[27] See also Barkema (1996a, 1996b), on idiomaticity in the noun phrase.

'stereotyped coordinations where the conjoins are virtually in an irreversible order; eg: *odds and ends, bread and butter, law and order* [...]'.[28] Quirk et al, like most scholars, focus on the question of the ordering of elements in binomials. They account for several possibilities, including the principle of rhythm regularity, the semantic salience or cultural dominance of the first element, and phonological constraints.

Fenk-Oczlon describes empirical experiments and argues that the most successful rule for predicting word order in 'freezes' (irreversible binomials) is 'more frequent before less frequent', that is, the first word in a binomial is most likely to be a higher frequency word than the second.[29]

Because binomials are not infrequent in English, they must be included in any typology of fixed expressions that claims to be comprehensive. From this perspective it is not sufficient to limit the analysis to studying the constraints on co-ordination.

Frequently, the conjoined elements in binomials are not nominal at all: *to and fro, up and down, now and again, sooner or later, born and bred, here and there, rough and ready, tried and tested, come and go*. Also, taken as single items ('words') binomials can function in a range of wordclasses:

noun	'With my *bow and arrow*, I killed the sparrow.'
adjective	'He's quite a *rough and ready* sort of person.'
verb	'Don't think you can just *come and go* as you please.'
adverb	'I searched *high and low* for that book.'
expletive	'*Blood and sand*!'
preposition	'I've been running *up and down* the stairs all day long.'

To my knowledge, there is no earlier work on binomials that focuses on their function as units of meaning, though they are similar both to compounds and lexicalized phrases.

1.6 Summary and hypotheses

One purpose of this chapter has been to review the literature on different typologies of fixed expression, most of which has its origin in applied and

[28] Quirk et al (13.86).

[29] Fenk-Oczlon (1989:517).

descriptive fields of study. It has also served to highlight the complex nature of the phenomenon of fixedness and the theoretical and terminological difficulties arising from the multidimensional interaction of the different clines of fixedness-related phenomena that are perceivable in expressions.

Many types of fixed expression have been identified but an overall typology with more or less discrete categories is still lacking. Also, there remains an intuition that, since the phenomenon of fixedness and idiomaticity in English is so pervasive that it cannot be considered a negligible borderline phenomenon, then further research is called for. The following section summarizes the typology question, while the final section of this chapter discusses the problem of relevant criteria for fixedness *per se* in relation to previous work in the field. The two sections lead to some hypotheses upon which further chapters are based.

1.6.1 Typology criteria

The main conclusion to be drawn from previous work on fixed expressions is that typology criteria generally result in taxonomies with non-discrete, non-comprehensive categories, which is an undesirable state of affairs both from a pedagogical and from a theoretical point of view.

Structurally, fixed expressions are divisible into two major types. They are either **independent utterances** or **sub-clausal units**. This structural division correlates strongly with functional differences. The independent clause type function primarily as socio-cultural or interpersonal expressions of social identity, relationship structuring, or attitude marking,[30] as summarized in Figure 1.4. Though certainly not uninteresting, this type will not be further discussed. I am more concerned, in this book, with the analysis of sub-clausal expressions.

Attempts at describing sub-clausal types have focused largely on the type of fixedness involved, using combinations of variability, idiom, and anomality criteria. With some categories, part of their definition is in terms of the internal structure of the expressions (‘phrasal verbs’, ‘irreversible binomials’, etc).

[30] Altenberg (forthcoming), Nattinger & DeCarrico (1989), Carter (1987), for example.

MORAL MESSAGES Proverbs & aphorisms:	‘A stitch in time saves nine.’ ‘The road to hell is paved with good intentions.’
SOCIO-CULTURAL REFERENCE Catch phrases & slogans: Quotations & allusions:	‘Drinka pinta milka day.’ ‘Bin it!’ ‘No man is an island.’ ‘1984 and all that’
DISCOURSE STRUCTURING	‘Have you heard this one?’
ATTITUDE MARKING Politeness: Interjections:	‘Thank you.’ ‘How do you do.’ ‘Not on your life!’ ‘Fuck off!’

Figure 1.4 The independent clause type of fixed expressions

In the search for an overall typology of fixed expressions two issues remain to be addressed:

a) Existing categories of the sub-clausal type are neither comprehensive nor mutually exclusive.

b) Many fixed expressions cannot be accommodated in any of the categories that have hitherto been defined.

The basic schema for categorizing words in English is the wordclass system. Since fixed expressions are units of meaning or reference that are in many ways comparable to words, it follows that there might be some practical advantages to be gained from classifying fixed expressions in the same way. This is my **first hypothesis**. The **second hypothesis** is that most of the fixed expressions that do not easily fit into any of the categories hitherto defined will have the role of adverb (*in fact, all right, by the way, straight on, and so on*, and so on). These two hypotheses are tested in a pilot study and discussed in Chapter 3.

1.6.2 Fixedness criteria

In section 0.3 a clear distinction was made between variability criteria and the opacity criterion. Variability criteria are more overtly perceivable and readily definable. In theory, degrees of variability are measurable—now that there are few limitations on the size of corpus that might be used to investigate such phenomena. Given a few billion words of data it is possible to carry out sophisticated investigations of verb+particle constructions with a view to describing type and degree of possible variation for each combination. This is not true of the figurative meaning criterion, which is a function of conceptualization processes. What is opaque to one speaker is not necessarily so for another. (See section 4.2 for further discussion.) This leads to my **third hypothesis**: that immutability is a *symptom* of fixedness in expressions and that opacity is more closely related to underlying *causes* of fixedness. The reasoning behind this hypothesis is that if a component part of an expression is opaque in relation to the meaning of the whole expression there will be a tendency against using it productively in that expression. Thus *red* in *red herring* will not be substituted by any other colour since the significance of redness in the expression is entirely opaque. This will be discussed further in Chapter 4 in relation to psycholinguistic studies of the relationship between fixedness and the interpretability of idioms.

A **fourth hypothesis** is that semantic opacity is not the only phenomenon to cause fixedness to occur. Many fixed expressions do not have opaque components—*all over*, for example, in 'She was grinning *all over*'. In Part II, I discuss other fixing forces that operate at the conceptual level. Fixing forces are non-salient elements in expressions that reduce the interpretability of the parts of the expression in relation to the whole, causing difficulties in the productive use of the parts in that expression.

The adverb category of fixed expressions that emerges from the pilot study in Chapter 3 is hitherto unresearched as to criteria for fixedness. This is most probably a consequence of the fact that these expressions (*by and large, of course, at the same time, all at once, the other day, in fact* ...) do not lend themselves to analysis by established criteria. Since the expressions are not uniform in structure, variability criteria cannot be applied in a uniform way to all members of the category. The opacity criterion is equally difficult to apply as the adverb expressions are largely made up of grammatical and/or bleached lexical items. Chapter 3 describes a case study of adverb expressions with the word *all* in LLC, and the data elicited are used to discuss the validity of the fixing forces and their relation to fixedness at the realization level.

I have so far distinguished between **symptoms of fixedness** as they appear at the **realization** level (in constraints on the expected productivity of component parts of expressions) and **fixing forces** operating at the level of **conceptualization**. The third level of importance in the investigation of fixedness and fixed expressions is the level of **discourse**, where **pragmatic inferencing** seems to play an equally important role in the development of fixed expressions. This is the topic of the third part of the book (Chapters 9–10).

2 A wordclass-based typology of fixed expressions

My first hypothesis was that a wordclass-based taxonomy of fixed expressions would yield practical gains. The rationale behind this claim is as follows:

a) It is a 'problem-external' analysis. Category membership does not involve the complex notion of fixedness, the criteria for which lie elsewhere.
b) The categories are a part of a known linguistic system.
c) In theory, the system is comprehensive and consists of discrete categories.

This chapter examines the possibility of categorizing sub-clausal fixed expressions according to the wordclass roles they play in context.[1] They cannot be identified in wordclass terms by any formal, morphological criteria but it should be possible to identify them using functional criteria.[2]

The second hypothesis was that the typology would produce a large group of fixed expressions in the role of adverb. This category is hitherto undefined in taxonomies and unresearched as to criteria for fixedness,[3] the investigation of which is one of the aims of this study. In the sample of authentic data that I use to test the feasibility of the wordclass taxonomy we can also see the all-pervasiveness of fixed expressions in the role of adverb and thus the importance of the category in terms of the need for further research.

---

1 Healey (1961) makes a tentative suggestion in favour of such a classification, giving examples of a range of what the author defines as 'idioms' in various roles.

2 'A FORMAL classification takes account of how a unit is composed of smaller units or components, including, in the case of words, stems and affixes. Since English often lacks formal indicators of word class, we often identify words by their function rather than their form.' (Quirk et al, 1985:2.12n.)

3 The category has occasionally been recognized. See Smith (1925:5), for example (of which further mention is made in section 2.1.6).

The following narrative comes from the CANCODE corpus. The text was selected at random, being the first complete stretch of narrative of an appropriate length, that is, short enough to reproduce in its entirety, yet long enough to exhibit a sufficient number and variety of fixed expressions for the discussion of types.

The narrator (A) is a female bartender and the listeners are both male. All three are in their mid-forties and the conversation took place in a bar in Chorley, Lancashire, in 1995.

The highlighted expressions can best be described as 'uncontroversial examples of fixed expressions, condoned by lexicographers', that is, they are to be found in ELT dictionaries. In order to focus solely on the taxonomy, I abandon my own definition of 'fixed expression' (section 0.3) for the moment, and use as material for the categorization exercise those expressions that are marked for fixedness or idiomaticity by experienced lexicographers in a well-established, corpus-based learner dictionary (LDOCE).

Following the text, the sub-clausal expressions[4] are grouped according to the wordclass role that they assume in their context.

Keep an eye out for tramps!

A: there was an incident that I don't think I'll ever forget and it was when I'd just passed my **DRIVING TEST**

B: yeah how long ago was that

A: a-a-h

B: perhaps you can't

A: er ... fifteen sixteen years ago

B: aye

A: my youngest daughter was about five years old and I was taking her to the dentist and I was coming down Southport Road near the **POLICE STATION** and there was a line of traffic but I was **AT THE FRONT | YOU KNOW** and there was these

B: was this in the **DRIVING SCHOOL** car or your own

A: no it was in my own car

B: oh it was in your own car yeah yeah

[4] Sub-clausal in the sense that they are functioning within a clause structure.

A: and erm these two men they was tramps was coming along the road just as they **GOT UP TO** me the one nearest to the road dived into the road waving his arms about **YOU KNOW**

B: [laughs]

A: and er right **IN FRONT OF** the car and I braked and **OF COURSE** all I could see was his face and he just slid underneath **YOU SEE** and **OF COURSE** I was **A BIT** hysterical by this time I'd stopped but **IT SEEMED**

B: what you'd **RUN** him **OVER**

A: I'd **RUN** him **OVER** yeah hit him and er lucky for me the police had seen it all happen **YOU SEE**

C: were they driving behind you

A: no because the **POLICE STATION** was there and it's all glass and

B: oh my god it happened **IN FRONT OF** the **POLICE STATION**

A: **IN FRONT OF** the **POLICE STATION**

B: it's the best place to have an accident anyway

A: and **OF COURSE** the **POLICE OFFICER** came and I was **A BIT** shocked and he said get in the passenger seat and he drove me to the **POLICE STATION** | **YOU SEE** somebody **SENT FOR** for an ambulance and there was all activity **GOING ON** this man was **PROPPED UP** at the side of the wall he looked pretty **YOU KNOW** he wasn't bleeding **OR ANYTHING**

B: wasn't he

A: no no

B: how fast were you going then

A: I wasn't going very fast **YOU SEE** | **YOU KNOW** it was I'd **ONLY JUST** turned the corner **MORE OR LESS** here and there was **A BIT OF** a line of traffic and then

B: so it was **A BIT OF** a miracle he wasn't hurt wasn't it

A: apparently it was his party no it was his **PARTY-PIECE** because the police told me that he'd done it very often this 'cos it got him a bed for the night **YOU KNOW** it got him in hospital

C: [laughs]

A: and when he were getting **A BIT** | **FED UP** he'd already had them there that morning apparently saying the IRA had put a bomb under his bed but then he **PICKED ON** me and er it got him a bed for the night in hospital and that was his he did it regular

C: good grief

A: **YOU KNOW** but the thing to laugh

B: **IT'S A WONDER** he didn't break every bone in his body isn't it

A: it was **JUST AS WELL** the **POLICE WOMAN** | **RANG UP** I was there because I were very upset at the thought I'd hurt him **YOU KNOW** and she said oh he's only cuts and bruises they**'RE USED TO** him and you mustn't bother about this sort of thing but I was pretty upset **AT THE TIME**

B: yeah yeah

A: and but **A FEW** days later I was **PICKING** my daughter **UP** again from school and she had **ONE OR TWO** of her friends in the back I was taking them home **AS WELL** and er there was this big bus **OR SOMETHING** behind us **YOU KNOW** and her little friend said er

B: where was this on the same road

A: this was on Park Road and it were **COMING UP TO** the **TRAFFIC LIGHTS** | **YOU SEE** and er this little boy said erm Mandy's mummy there's a **GREAT BIG** bus and it's right at the back of us and Mandy said erm

B: don't tell me

A: oh Mummy doesn't worry about anything like that she only gets upset when she **RUNS OVER** people

B+C: [laugh]

B: how old were the kids

A: only about five or six **YOU KNOW**

B: ah it's lovely isn't it ... so **EVER SINCE** then you er **KEEP AN EYE OUT FOR** tramps do you

There are thirty-nine different expressions in the text that are marked for idiomaticity in LDOCE. The expressions are listed in Figure 2.1, grouped according to their wordclass role in the text. (Line numbers follow in parentheses.)

ADVERB 11 types, 16 tokens Subcategory: **DISCOURSE MARKER** 4 types, 16 tokens	*at the front* (16) *of course* (30, 31, 49) *a bit* (31, 49, 72) *it seemed* (32)[a)] *only just* (61) *a bit of* (62, 64) (cf 'quite', 'really') *more or less* (62) *it's a wonder* (80) (cf 'amazingly') *at the time* (85) *as well* (90) *just as well* (82) *you know* (16, 26, 52, 61, 67, 78, 83, 91, 109) *you see* (31, 37, 50, 61, 96) *or anything* (53) *or something* (91)
VERB 11 types, 13 tokens	*got up to* (24) *run ... over* (34, 36, 103) *going on* (51) *sent for* (51) *propped up* (52) *picked on* (73) *rang up* (82) *'re used to* (84) *picking up* (89) *coming up to* (96) *keep an eye out for* (111)
NOUN 7 types, 11 tokens	*driving test* (2) *police station* (15, 41, 43, 45, 50) *driving school* (18) *police officer* (49) *party-piece* (66) *police woman* (82) *traffic lights* (96)
ADJECTIVE 2 types, 2 tokens	*fed up* (72) *great big* (97)

PREPOSITION 2 types, 4 tokens	*in front of* (30, 43, 45) *ever since* (111)
QUANTIFIER 2 types, 2 tokens	*a few* (89) *one or two* (90)

Figure 2.1 Fixed expressions in the sample text

a) The interruption causes analysis difficulties here but it is likely that this is the same as the LDOCE entry for **it seems (that)**.

2.1 Classes of fixed expressions found in the sample text

2.1.1 Nouns

The nominal expressions in the text are all examples of conventional expressions that are compounds comprising at least one noun. Note, however, that fixed expressions in the role of noun do not necessarily have to be compounds. They can also be noun phrases such as *the cream of the crop.*[5]

2.1.2 Verbs

All but one of the fixed expressions in the role of verb are phrasal, prepositional, or phrasal-prepositional verbs (I shall use the term 'phrasal verb' to cover all these types). Phrasal verbs need no introduction here. They are VERB+PARTICLE constructions, recognized and classified in descriptive studies and dictionaries according to the nature and degree of their transformational deficiency and opacity. They also figure prominently in language teaching materials as they are problematic for learners. By virtue of their variability constraints, phrasal verbs are also fixed expressions in my analysis.

The expression *keep an eye out for* in the text is of a type often referred to in the literature as 'phrasal verb idiom'. As to their internal structure, phrasal verb idioms come in a variety of forms: *let off steam, keep at arm's length, have a go at, fall on stony ground*. I would also classify these as fixed expres-

[5] I shall not dwell upon the complex issue of compounding, as this work is mainly concerned with adverbal items. See, however, Bauer (1978) for an interesting discussion of lexicalization from both lexicalist and transformationalist viewpoints.

sions with verb role, together with other invariable verb combinations such as irreversible binomials (*pick and choose*).

2.1.3 Prepositions

There are two expressions in the role of preposition in the text one of which, *in front of*, is an institutionalized PNP sequence or 'complex preposition' (Quirk & Mulholland, 1964). As with phrasal verbs, the principal criterion for complex prepositions is immutability. Thus members of this category are also fixed expressions by my own criteria. The second, *ever since*, comprising a preposition preceded by a degree modifier, is also invariable and therefore qualifies as a fixed expression in the role of preposition.

2.1.4 Quantifiers

There are two expressions in quantifier role: *a few* and *one or two*. As a conventional expression meaning 'an indefinite, small number of', *one or two* is marked for idiomaticity in LDOCE. I would also analyze it as a fixed expression as it is invariable.

In the category of fixed expressions in quantifier role I would also include many of what Quirk et al (1985:5.25) call 'phrasal quantifiers', that is, nouns of quantity (*lot, plenty, deal, amount*, etc) followed by *of* and often preceded by the indefinite article and/or a quantifying adjective: *a lot of, plenty of, a great deal of, a large amount of*.

2.1.5 Adjectives

The two adjective expressions highlighted in LDOCE are also fixed expressions in my analysis: *fed up* and *great big*. The first, deriving from a now obsolete phrasal verb[6] can be described as one of a set of predicative adjectives found in very informal discourse contexts: *screwed up, pissed off, hacked off*, etc. The second is representative of a substantial set of adjectives with degree modifiers. These are commonly described as 'strong' or 'restricted' collocations in the phraseology literature, but have more recently been studied from a theoretical perspective. Paradis (1997), for example, discusses the constraints on the combinatorial potential of degree modifiers with adjectives, demonstrating how certain discourse contexts permit combinations that ought otherwise to be incompatible.

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[6] *Fed up* is historically related to the verb *feed* in the sense of 'having received too much'. (OED: 'surfeited, disgusted, bored').

2.1.6 Adverbs and discourse markers

It is generally agreed that the adverb class is 'the most nebulous and puzzling of traditional wordclasses'.[7] Not surprisingly, the fixed expressions in adverb role found in the text are a heterogeneous group both with regard to specific adverb role (modifier of adjective or adverb, different kinds of clause constituent) and internal structure (prepositional phrase, adjective phrase, adverb phrase, SV-structure, etc).

Fixed expressions in adverb role were noticed as long ago as 1925:

> *One of the largest class* of English idioms consists of terse adverbial phrases formed by the collocation of a preposition with a noun or adjective, phrases like 'at hand', 'at length', 'at leisure'; 'by chance', 'by fits', 'by far'; 'for once', 'for ever', 'for good', 'for instance'; 'in fact', 'in general', 'in truth'; 'of course', 'of late'; 'on hand', &tc.
>
> (Smith 1925:5. Emphasis added.)

One finds occasional reference to phrasal types in the role of adverb in present-day works,[8] but to my knowledge there has been no serious attempt to investigate or classify the forms and functions of these adverbs. This chapter serves the preliminary purpose of identifying the category, though some further comment is needed on the subject of discourse markers.

Schiffrin's important (1987) work has led to a general recognition of expressions such as *you see* and *you know* as discourse markers. However, it was difficult, even with such a small amount of data, to determine the word-class role of certain expressions on the cline between adverb and discourse marker, for example *or something*, *or anything*. Channell (1994) calls these expressions 'tags' that function as 'vague category identifiers':

> That is to say, the whole expression directs the hearer to access a set, of which the given item is a member whose characteristics will enable the hearer to identify the set.
>
> (Channell 1994:122)

---

[7] See Quirk et al (1985:7.46–50) on formal and functional criteria for adverbs.

[8] Weinreich (1969:165): 'One way of treating idioms in the dictionary woud be to identify them as single words of the appropriate major lexical category: *by heart* 'from memory' as an adverb'. Quirk et al (1985:9.5n): Some phrases consisting of preposition + noun have become fixed and function as closed-class adverbs (cf 74.46), eg: *of course* ['naturally'], *in fact* ['actually']. Sometimes the combination is spelled as a single word: *indeed, instead.*

This predominantly pragmatic function of the tags suggests that they are more like discourse markers than adverbs, and I have analyzed them thus.

But there remains a perhaps more important issue to resolve here, which is the status of the 'discourse marker' in relation to the grammatical system of the language. Quirk et al use the term 'comment clause' of *you see* and *you know*, indicating their status as adverbial clauses, while Schiffrin gives a purely functional and discourse-related analysis. There is a general tendency in the literature following on from Schiffrin to consider discourse markers as 'extra-grammatical'. Somewhere in between these two extreme viewpoints, Stenström (1995:290) points out that an understanding of the interplay between the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of discourse markers is crucial to an understanding of these expressions. On the same question, Traugott (1995) states:

> These items are all primarily pragmatic [...]. Without question they also fill a syntactic slot, and have highly constrained syntactic as well as intonational properties. They are therefore "part of the grammar of a language" (Fraser 1988:32) even though they are pragmatic in function.
>
> (Traugott 1995:7)

In the same paper Traugott traces the development of the discourse markers *indeed, in fact, besides* from clause internal adverbials, which are a common source of discourse markers. It is in the nature of clines that they have fuzziness clustering around the middle area, and the less we know about a particular cline the greater that area will be. Since this is the case with regard to the ADVERB—DISCOURSE MARKER cline I choose to analyze discourse markers as a specific sub-type of the adverb category. In doing so I also underline my agreement with Traugott's position regarding the grammaticality of discourse markers.

The sample text contained expressions in all the major wordclass roles except conjunction and pronoun. Quirk et al (1985:14.11) mention 'complex subordinators' that 'function to varying degrees like a single conjunction': *in order that, providing that, as far as, so that, in case*, etc. I have found no mention of fixed expressions as pronouns in the literature, but would consider the following types likely candidates: *my own, the rest, the same, one another*.

As regards the first hypothesis, I would say that this taxonomy is attractive in its simplicity. Further, it appears at a brief glance that there is a relationship between expressions in certain wordclass roles and their function in the

discourse—those in adverb roles, for example, are clearly more interpersonal than those in the role of noun. A closer study of this relationship, for example, would improve the pedagogical potential of the taxonomy as a basic framework for the teaching of expressions and their meaning and function in discourse.

It is also a relatively straightforward task to categorize expressions in this way. The one difficulty that I have encountered concerns the distinction between adverb and discourse marker, but this is a problem that is inherent in the wordclass system itself and not related to the fact that we are dealing with expressions rather than words. The categories are, otherwise, relatively discrete, certainly more so than in taxonomies based on variability constraints and degrees of opacity (Chapter 1).

The validity of the second hypothesis is also borne out by the pilot study—fixed expressions in adverb role are the most frequent type in the sample text. They also constitute a very under-researched category, members of which are frequently referred to in the literature but in an ad hoc manner. That is to say, prototypical members of the category (*of course, in fact, by and large*) often figure in studies in fields as far removed as descriptive linguistics and generative grammar, though the category *per se* is not recognized in any field of study. In terms of grammatical description, of course, the category does not 'exist'—traditionally, descriptive grammar operates at levels of word, phrase, clause, and sentence, none of which recognize such a heterogeneous group of structures in categorial terms. In an attempt to shed more light on the nature of this category, the rest of this book is devoted to the study of fixed expressions in adverb role.

This chapter has thus far been concerned with categorizing fixed expressions according to their wordclass role and it has assumed fixedness in the expressions discussed. We turn now to the more complex issue of defining criteria for fixedness in the adverb category. Firstly, Chapter 3 describes the sampling procedure and some observations that can be made at the realization level. It concludes that the variability criteria for fixedness are symptomatic criteria that say little about the underlying forces and processes leading to fixedness in expressions. The variability criteria are useful guidelines for the comparison of expressions of uniform grammatical structure (such as phrasal verbs, complex prepositions) but they are not applicable as criteria for fixedness in adverb expressions. Rather than discuss criteria for fixedness at the realization level I shall investigate these fixed adverb expressions at the conceptual level (Part II). Before proceeding, however, there are some terminological matters to discuss.

2.2 Terminological considerations

Firstly, it is necessary to establish a term for fixed expressions in adverb role. Indeed, if the wordclass taxonomy proves to be useful, as I am suggesting it is, there is a need for a set of terms for the different classes. I consider **complex [wordclass]** the most appropriate terminology, thus *complex noun, complex verb, complex adjective, complex adverb*, and so on, will be used to denote fixed expressions in the role of noun, verb, adjective, adverb, and so on.

The purpose of this chapter has been to demonstrate a wordclass analysis of recognized fixed expressions in a sample text and to broadly delineate a major category of fixed expressions that are often exemplified and commented upon in the literature yet little researched as a category—**complex adverbs**.

While it is clear that the most fixed expressions are unequivocally immutable, it is reasonable to assume that the majority will be slightly less constrained. In order to distinguish between ad hoc expressions and fixed expressions in adverb role it is therefore necessary to establish some criteria for fixedness in complex adverbs. But strictly controlled tests for variability can only be applied to expressions of uniform internal structure, which complex adverbs do not possess.

At this point I reiterate my third hypothesis—that immutability is a *symptom* of fixedness in expressions and that a clearer understanding of the phenomenon of fixedness is to be sought at the conceptual level. In the second part of this book I discuss some linguistic characteristics of complex adverbs in relation to their conceptualization. For the purpose of investigating these characteristics I have extracted some two thousand adverbal expressions from LLC, and the following chapter describes this case study.

3 Complex adverbs with *all* in LLC

This chapter reports on a case study of some potential complex adverbs taken from a corpus of spoken English. The aim is to investigate which fixedness-related features the expressions might have in common. The investigation rests on the following assumptions:

i) Fixedness criteria can be set up in terms of a single set of variability constraints only if the expressions under investigation are of similar internal structure.[1] Since complex adverbs do not have uniform structure, such a set of variability constraints cannot be used as criterial evidence of fixedness.

ii) Notwithstanding the first assumption, the identification of variability constraints can be used as a selective device whereby *potential* complex adverbs might be recognized.

The next section describes the compilation of a database of potential complex adverbs extracted from a concordance of the word *all* in LLC. This is followed by a brief section on the word *all* itself and an account of how the expressions in the database were organized according to the grammatical scope of the word *all* in the expressions. It transpires that there is a marked correlation between the grammatical scope of *all* in expressions, and the fixedness phenomenon. For example, when *all* occurs as an independent pronoun or when it has scope over an adjectival/adverbal element, the likelihood of the expression being fixed is much greater than is the case with *all* in nominal scope. The final section discusses the grammatical roles of *all*, in terms of its scope, and suggests that decategorialization[2] is related to fixedness in expressions.

---

1 See, for example, Quirk & Mulholland (1964) on complex prepositions.

2 Hopper (1991:32, 30–31) defines 'decategorialization' as '[the tendency] to lose or neutralize the morphological markers and syntactic privileges characteristic of the full categories Noun and Verb, and to assume attributes characteristic of secondary categories

3.1 A database of potential complex adverbs

For reasons both practical and theoretical, LLC was my chosen corpus.[3] There was a period of trial and error, alternating between manual retrieval of all the potential complex adverbs in individual texts and combing through concordances of individual words in the corpus. The latter procedure is preferable from the point of view of objectivity, but the concordances tended to be skewed. With a grammatical item as keyword the sampling was always biased towards a particular syntactic structure (prepositional phrases if the keyword was a preposition, for example). Lexical items are few in complex adverbs and concordances of these were either too small or biased towards a particular semantic domain (TIME, for example). As we saw in the previous chapter, complex adverbs are extremely varied as to structure and function, and it was important to reflect this heterogeneity in the resultant database.

One keyword that produced a sampling with maximum variation of grammatical structure and with no apparent semantic bias was *all*. This is also one of the most frequent words in the English language[4] and hence an interesting word to study in its own right. The database of potential complex adverbs is therefore based on a concordance of the 2,609 occurrences of the word *all* in LLC. The expressions with *all* represent almost the whole range of possible phrasal structures: prepositional phrase, adverb phrase, adjective phrase, non-finite verb phrase. Functionally they occur as adverbial clause constituent (adjunct, subjunct, conjunct, disjunct), modifier of adjective or adverb, and discourse marker.[5]

After discarding occurrences that could not be interpreted (false starts, interruptions, subaudible contexts) 63 potential complex adverbs in 803 tokens were identified. (Some types were later grouped together for analysis purposes (eg: *all*+time reference), giving 45 types. See Figures 8.1a–c.) One example of each type is shown in Figure 3.1.

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such as Adjective, Participal, Preposition, etc.' I also use 'decategoriality' to denote the result of this process (at whatever stage).

[3] Speech is considered by many to be more rich in fixed expressions and, at the time when this investigation was carried out, LLC was the largest corpus of spoken English available.

[4] Rank 39 in LOB, for example (Johansson & Hofland 1989).

[5] See section 2.1.6 on the inclusion of discourse markers in the adverb category.

NOM scope (Nominal scope)

sor Worth would be with Mr Miles [B] **all afternoon**# [B] so she only ha
lk home# [a] it used to take us# [a] **all day**# [a] during the summer mon
ow# [b] they`ll all say prayers# [b] **all day long**# [b] it was one of t
[C] I hadn`t spoken to Martin# [C] **all evening**# [C] m I`d spent the
a session with [A] Mary Patrick# [A] **all last night**# [A] and this is t
because I happen to have been there **all last year**# [A] I regard mysel
kfast# [B] and then they`re stuffing **all morning**# [B] and you you slav
e Friday evening# [a] and it went on **all night**# [a] all Saturday# [a] a
layer that`s simply grown in stature **all season**# [a] Curry gets the se
[A] the same day as the trains# [A] **all term**# [B] it is it it is# [B]
[A] and whether the climate in the **all the year round** will prove to
erence prove# [a] what has it proved **all week**# [a] or the meetings# [a]
[b] people killed in road accidents **all the time**# [a] yes# [c] yeah#
in the gospel story# [a] and we read **all the while**# [a] about Christ r
[B] and [a] what had you been doing **all that time** [B] I did some work
a of maintaining a coinage area **for all time** [a] oughtn`t at some stag
mean you know# [A] I`ve lived there **all this time**# [b] fine [A] after
b] espionage [A] James Bond# [A] **and all that bit**# [b] laughs yes old
was all the way with L B J# [A] **and all that business**# [b] sure [A]
w compared to the moulding# [B] **and all that kind of thing**# [B] and
to have provisional licences [a] **and all that sort of thing**## [b] no
y be a lot of other reasons# [A] **and all the rest of it**# [A] but I t
r should be in a [b] referendum# [b] **all other things being equal**#
[B] it`s not worth going **all that way**# [B] unless one can
was all the way with L B J# [A] **and all that business**# [b] sure [A]
uage [A] of the country# [A] then **by all means** use it# [b] yes# [b] I
ink I might have walked out too **from all accounts**# [B] squeamish# [C]
that was genuine applause# [b] **from all sides**# [b] because saeman# [b
`t attending debates# [f] **on all on all sides**# [f] all parties# [f] t
summer# [B] m which really# [B] w **in all honesty**# [B] wasn`t very help
[(d] giving# [d] what I can only **in all courtesy** call## [d] his illco
ntually [A] withdraws# [A] and in **in all modesty**# [A] makes a some 2 s
[a] than by# [a] a quotation# [a] **of all places**# [a] from the prayerbo
sources# [A] are sharply cut back **on all fronts**# [A] that they`ve got
few days ago# [a] says# [a] that **in all probability**# [a] the resulti
gramme now# [B] no I think that **with all respect** isn`t [B] quite [A]
[B] well yes but you see# [B] **with all due respect**# [A] the situati
he fullness of my strength# [a] **with all my heart**# [a] now and for ev

AD scope (Adjectival and adverbal scope)

awkward [A] questions# [A] on you# [A] **all at once**# [A] goodbye# [A] t
quite impressed by this# [D] and then **all of a sudden**# [D] sort of s
] they’re small droppings# [b] they’re **all very** uniform in size# [b] un
you were [B] yes of course# [(A] right **all along**# [A] and the rest of
] with the other day# [c] after it was **all over**# [c] he turned round to
had read the [k] papers# [s] chuckles **all round** [(k] and m some of dh
t my distinction# [A] its its [a] no **all right** m are you telling me
pot flies back# [a] starts the process **all over again**# [a] and repeats
er## [B] and sort of banana skins# [B] **all over the place**# [B] I have
[a] m m [B] but get a bit tired# [B] **all the same**# [A] m# [a] it was
bomb# [c] heed said well you know its **all very well#** [c] but m I get
is quite a good sign# [b] they’re not **all that** common# [a] and a kestr
had it all put [m] so clearly by James **all in one piece** so [m] to spe

IN scope (Independent *all*)

got so involved and are liking it **and all** [A] well# [A] yes# [A] well
judgment# [a] that was not **first of all**# [a] a self-judgment# [a] and
nd gentlemen## [a] applause [f] **when all is said and done**# [f] stat
e of the greatest [f] centralizers **of all**# [f] and the effect of that
nment and society# [a] who are **above all**# [a] trying to make permanent
loration today# [a] on what is **after all** a mild January day# [a] is br
] at Zurich# [a] they knew nothing **at all** about him# [a] and they had
hundred and seventyone murders [n] **in all**# [n] yet out of all that tot
s on a more macroscopic scale **that's all**# [A] 2 to 3 sylls [a] I'm not
od [B] I did quite a lot of work# [B] **all considered**# [a] because you

PRO scope (Pronominal scope)

[A] the the Cold Comfort Farm **and all that**# [C] oh no# [C] I wish I
other things [A] rolling the Rs **and all this**# [a] m here let let [A]

Figure 3.1 Potential complex adverbs from LLC, grouped according to the scope of *all*.[6]

The criterion for inclusion in this database was simply an intuitive recognition of variability constraints of any kind or degree. Borderline cases were included rather than excluded. The contents of the database do not represent any definitive statement on the boundary between the fixed and the non-fixed; it is merely a collection of data for further study. There is a peripheral area beyond prototypically fixed expressions where other analysts might have judged differently as to whether or not to include the expressions, but this is not detrimental to the study. My main objective in compiling the database was to acquire a reasonable amount of naturally occurring data for the study of fixedness in complex adverbs. As there was no existing model I began by looking at the word *all* itself.

3.2 A short story of *all*

A full account of the historical development of *all* is not, to my knowledge, available. Haspelmath (1995) discusses possible sources of *all*, using a comparative method of cross-linguistic investigation in Indo-European languages. A convincing argument is presented for the development of *all*

[6] The method of analysis according to scope is described in section 3.3.

from an adjective meaning 'whole'—'by way of a kind of metaphor by which a plural aggregate is treated conceptually like a single object'. Comparisons with universal quantifiers in other languages (ancient and modern) also confirm the unidirectional shift from concrete to abstract in the development of *all*.

3.2.1 *All* in the lexicon

The adjectival origins of *all* are also recorded in OED:

> **all** (o:l), a., sb., and adv. [...] Properly adj. but passing on one side into a sb., on the other into an adv. As an adj. it usually precedes, but sometimes follows its sb.

In modern learner dictionaries *all* is labelled determiner, predeterminer, pronoun or adverb; they usually have a short note on substantival *all* and comprehensive sections on *all-* in word formation. I include these accounts in the story of *all* as these dictionaries clearly reflect the current description of *all* in the context of second or foreign language teaching. Notably, when *all* is used to emphasize a preceding pronoun ('Do *they all* live together?') the analysis varies considerably between determiner and pronoun in these dictionaries. Further, *all* followed by a noun is a determiner according to most learner dictionaries, even in cases such as 'He was *all smiles*' (though COBUILD, for example, in line with its functional categorization, opts for adverb).

3.2.2 The grammar of *all*

In his *Essentials of English Grammar* (1933:184–186), Jespersen introduces *all* as 'the typical pronoun of totality' and treats it as such together with *both, every, each, no, none, neither*. Thus, in the following examples, Jespersen classifies *all* as a pronoun:

> *All* England is changed or changing.
> *All* the world knows that.
> *All* his friends...

Further, what is often analyzed as adverb in works both old and modern, he describes as '*all* in apposition to the subject':

> He is *all* skin and bones.
> It is *all* over.
> She was *all* attention.

Jespersen has an interesting note on the changing use of *all* with personal pronouns: 'Instead of the old *all we, all you* we now say *we all, you all* or *all of us, all of you...*'. COBUILD describes this 'modern' use of *all* as 'emphasizing wholeness of noun or pronoun reference', which in my own data from LLC is far more frequent with preceding pronouns rather than nouns. There is little mention of this emphatic or intensifying *all*, beyond the references cited here. I will return to this use of *all* in section 6.2.3.

Finally, Jespersen also mentions the 'special case' of *all* followed by nouns denoting periods of time. This is mentioned in several dictionaries and is also a special case in my own investigation (see section 7.5).

Turning to modern grammatical description, we find in Quirk et al (1985) a heterogeneous account. Where Jespersen has a single section devoted to the word, Quirk et al has over 60 references spread throughout the book. Apart from a short reference to adverbial *all*, the determiner/predeterminer analysis prevails, as is reflected in modern learner dictionaries.

A final comment on the description of *all* concerns Johansson & Hofland's (1989) frequency analysis of LOB, where we find the following statistics:

prequantifier	2657
adjective	1
adverb	289

This lack of consensus in modern descriptions is highly symptomatic of decategorialization.[7] Any analysis of *all* according to its strict grammatical status gives an abundance of generally fuzzy categories, evidence of which we find in the works accounted for above. It was therefore necessary to design a framework for the analysis of *all* which might facilitate closer study.

3.3 The scope of *all*

In order to gain a better understanding of the effects of decategorialization in the fixed expressions under study, it was first necessary to sub-categorize the database according to the grammatical role played by *all*. As I have pointed out in the previous section (3.2.2), this was no easy matter. I therefore decided to look at the grammatical roles of the constituents over which *all* has scope. Four

[7] See note 1 of this chapter.

distinct types emerged, according to whether *all* had scope over a nominal [NOM], pronominal [PRO], or adverbal [AD] element; the fourth, independent *all*, has no textual scope (but for ease of reference, I shall call this type IN scope).

3.3.1 Nominal scope (NOM)

The predominant type of *all* has nominal scope (34% of occurrences in the database). This is closest to adjectival *all*—it usually precedes the noun group that it modifies:

(1) he'd taken **all** the bullets out of their rifles [4.5.759]

(2) he left in a hurry - leaving **all** his cars coaches furniture just as it stood [12.6.629]

(3) I couldn't sit with my nose in a book **all** the time [4.5.264]

(4) the greatest kind of honour and delicacy and **all** the rest of it [4.6.1040]

(5) faith which cushions one against **all** adversities and problems [12.1.647]

(6) for coronations and state ceremonies of **all** kinds today the heralds wear mourning scarves [10.5.353]

The construction [*all of*+noun group][8] is included in this type:

(7) the keys are in their rest position - **all of** the strings have dampers on them [10.8.939]

Very occasionally (23 tokens), *all* follows the noun group:

(8) I think that the boys had **all** had an advantage in that they knew what an engine [looked like] [1.12.192]

(9) the Germans ours and the French and everybody - their brightest men were **all** in the railway section and [2.3 .405]

(10) the you know the Arab the sheikhs would **all** [...] withdraw their money if it was thought that [...] [2.8.64]

[8] The *all of* construction requires further study. Intuitively, I would say that it marks the quantifier role more clearly, with the focus on each individual exemplar rather than the group identified as a whole.

(11) Sweden Norway France and Italy **all** have quite active work going on in the marketing field [6.1.658]

(12) there's a million people at the moment **all** wanting another ten pound a week and we can't afford it [5.7.512]

Here, *all* appears to be emphasizing or intensifying the noun group rather than quantifying it. This becomes apparent if *all* is moved to pre-position in each case and compared to the original, thus in the first three:

(13) I think that **all** the boys had had an advantage in that they knew what an engine looked like

(14) the Germans ours and the French and everybody **all** their brightest men were in the railway section ...

(15) you know **all** the sheikhs would withdraw their money if it was thought that ...

Occasionally, moving to this position brings about a change in meaning:

(16) **all** Sweden Norway France and Italy have quite active work going on in the marketing field

All Sweden, Norway, France and Italy implies the whole of each of the countries listed, whereas the original meaning is each and every one of the countries. A further indication of the emphasizing function when all is post-posed is that it cannot be substituted by other quantifiers, as it can in pre-position. Compare (8) and (13) with (8a) and (13a):

(8a) *the boys had some [of them] had an advantage...

(13a) some of the boys had had an advantage...

3.3.2 Pronominal scope (PRO)

Pronominal scope accounts for 16% of the occurrences of *all* in LLC. Whereas with nominal scope, *all* usually precedes the noun group, here it almost always follows the pronoun it is modifying. Again, *all* seems to function as a quantifier when it is preposed, as an emphasizer when it is postposed. In pre-position *all of* is sometimes required (see below).

Emphasizer:

(17) and I'm sure we'll **all** agree it must cause the animal pain [5.6 .202]

(18) come up for the evening and and meet us **all** [4.1.956]

(19) he'd planted them **all** and went in his house [4.7.512]

(20) anyway the best of luck with it **all** [9.11.1082]

(21) they're **all** apparently dead against it [5.4.556]

Quantifier:

(22) the peasantry suffered - not **all of** them we must remember [12.2.291]

(23) I gather she's that much older than **all of** us [2.12 .63]

(24) these things **all of** which have got to be recorded [1.9.885]

(25) none of whom will speak to each other and **all of** whom want to cut each other's throats [5.5.684]

(26) I think Chaucer sees **all of** this in the pardoner [3.5.755]

As was the case of *all* with NOM scope, substitution with other quantifiers highlights the contrast between preposed *all* and emphasizing, postposed *all*.

The demonstrative pronouns behave differently with respect to *all* vs *all of*. Whereas *of* is obligatory before personal and *wh*-pronouns, this is not the case with the demonstratives:

(27) what was the outcome of **all** this [1.3.986]

(28) do they do **all** those - I didn't realise [2.7.1015]

(29) what's the latest now on **all** that [4.6.333]

(30) you were doing **all** these weren't you [6.1.939]

There are, in fact, only 2 occurrences of *all of* + demonstrative in LLC. Furthermore, *all these* and *all those* occur only a couple of times, while *all this* and *all that* are quite common (32 and 13 respectively). It would seem that the intensifying or emphasizing role of *all* is also in play with *all this* and *all that*,

and that there is also a vagueness of reference involved resulting in pragmatic overtones. (See also section 7.2.)

3.3.3 Independent *all* (IN)

The proportion of independent *all* is 24%. There are two types of independent *all*, which has no textual scope:

a) general *all:* if **all** went well, **all** considered, after **all**
b) *all* + relative construction: that's **all** I know

The most numerous type in this category is the general type:

(31) but you enjoyed it first of **all** [1.5.1284]

(32) when **all** is said and done statistics can be an awfully funny thing [5.4.743]

(33) man's greatest contribution of **all** I think is that he can ... [5.2.644]

(34) well you can't have them all after **all** [7.3.281]

(35) it's sort of happened you see that's **all** [1.10.1196]

(36) hope **all** is going well [9.3.747]

(37) well that wouldn't be too bad at **all** [2.5.219]

3.3.4 Adjectival and adverbal scope (AD)

All modifies an adverb or adjective (word or word group) in 18% of its occurrences:

(38) well is it working out **all** right [5.8.20]

(39) daren't go near it because I shall get **all** absorbed and interested [1.10.1122]

(40) oh he got **all** back to front rubbish to McLuhan [1.10.714]

(41) Carolyn got a seat **all** by herself in the front row [2.11.48]

(42) **all** of a sudden the cyclist put his hand out [12.4.201]

(43) quite a good sign they're not **all** that common [10.8.92]

3.3.5 Ambiguous scope (AMB)

In a number of cases (8%) it was impossible to ascertain whether *all* had scope over a preceding pronominal element or whether it was acting as a modifier of a following element, in which case it seemed equally capable of modifying a following verb.

(44) they're very artistic and yet they're **all** intermarried [5.2.989]

(45) well I'm probably too old for it to **all** mend [1.10.567]

(46) because I've got it **all** packed up and ready [8.4.770]

(47) and I thought well this was **all** piling up you know [1.3.1007]

(48) **they**'re **all** sort of interlinked [2.11.735]

Table 3.1 shows the relative frequency of *all* in LLC, according to scope. Tables 3.2 and 3.3 show the distribution of each scope type and number of tokens in potential complex adverbs in the database.

This proved to be a satisfactory categorization, not least because it was a relatively simple operation to perform. Only 178 occurrences could not be easily categorized, but in all of these the difficulties were caused by ambiguity on one and the same score, namely, where it is difficult to decide whether *all* modifies the preceding nominal element or a following adjective, adverb, or verb. The figures presented in Tables 3.1–3.3 will be commented upon in relevant sections below.

Table 3.1 The scope of *all* in LLC

Scope		Number of occurrences	Percentage of database
nominal	(NOM)	787	34 %
pronominal	(PRO)	376	16 %
independent	(IN)	547	24 %
adverbal	(AD)	411	18 %
ambiguous	(AMB)	178	8 %
TOTAL		2299	100 %

Table 3.2 Potential complex adverbs with *all* in LLC

Scope	Total *all*	*All* in complex adverbs		Tokens/type in complex adverbs
	Tokens	Types	Tokens	
nominal	787	38	183	5
pronominal	376	2	15	8
independent	547	10	404	40
adverbal	411	13	201	16
ambiguous	178	0	0	0
TOTAL	2299	63	803	13

Table 3.3 Percentage complex adverbs in each scope group

Scope		Complex adverbs (tokens)
nominal	(NOM)	23%
pronominal	(PRO)	4%
independent	(IN)	74%
adverbal	(AD)	49%
ambiguous	(AMB)	0%

3.4 The changing roles of *all*

This section discusses the observations that can be made concerning the word *all* in the light of what has been reported in the chapter thus far. The word *all* expresses a notion of 'totality' or 'wholeness', a useful notion which can be applied to nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, numerals, prepositions – in short, the whole range of wordclasses in English.

3.4.1 Decategorialization

In its earliest known use, *all* was an adjective, modifying nouns. It later went on to modify other wordclasses, presumably by reanalysis and analogy, to the extent that, in present-day English, *all* not only functions in a range of word-

class roles but does so to the extent that it is not always possible to assign it to a specific wordclass, as reported in preceding sections.

I am assuming here a close relationship between the older adjectival *all* and the types that I have analyzed as having NOM scope (when *all* modifies a noun or noun group). These will be discussed first. Secondly, we shall look at what OED describes as developments from adjectival *all*, that is, adverbal *all* (my AD scope) and 'substantival' *all* (my IN scope). The types that I have analyzed as PRO scope are also discussed in relation to the development of adverbal *all*.

3.4.2 *All* with NOM scope

Present-day reference works describe *all* with NOM scope (when *all* modifies a following noun or noun group) most commonly as 'determiner' or 'predeterminer', which are more like functional descriptions than wordclasses. In the data I have examined there is a trace of 'adjectiveness' in *all* when it occurs in expressions of time. That is, it can immediately precede a singular count noun, which is not otherwise possible with *all* ('I've been laid up with an exam paper *all* week'). In other words, expressions of *all*+TIME might possibly have survived from an earlier stage in the development of *all*. This is the 'special' case of *all* that Jespersen mentions (see above), and it is discussed further in section 7.5.

All with NOM scope is the most numerous type in LLC (34%) and it is highly productive, with very little patterning of types (see Figure 3.2).

```
 eight# [n] I wish to apply to all crimes of violence [n] against the p
] they'll all say prayers# [b] all day long# [b] it was one of these
is own room# [D] then Hess got all his books there# [D] which means tha
 [B] m which really# [B] w in all honesty# [B] wasn't very helpful#
 [B] the police have still got all my documents [B] that they found in
 the same [a] controls# [a] as all other great spenders# [a] and that P
need something [a] bigger# [a] all our furniture is bigger## [b] we don
he holidays comma# [c] so that all outstanding material# [c] was on my
 provisional licences [a] and all that sort of thing## [b] no# [a]
[ a] she didn`t want you to do all the buying# [a] or you to send the c
Spain# [b] laughs you stop in all the grottiest places# [b] n othe
b] politics# [b] but those are all the ifs of history# [b] they were tw
e proximity [b] with them# [b] all the time# [a] m# [a] yes# [b] but
e Houses of Parliament# [d] in all their spiky Gothic splendour# [d] th
 means# [e] when we leave# [e] all these consumer durables# [e] and the
one there to make [B] there is all this academic dishonesty# [B] these
 were moving on Saturday# [B] all this bloody stuff# [a] to whither or
rnment said# [A] we don`t want all those Yorkshire miners out [A] of wo
ve drawn the gun carriage# [b] all the way from Westminster# [b] Lady
re [a] m you haven't forgotten all your Chaucer I [a] take it [A] no# [
```

Figure 3.2 Typical sample of *all* with NOM scope, from LLC. (Expressions in bold face are included in the database of potential complex adverbs.)

As Figure 3.2 suggests, *all* is most clearly perceived as functioning as a modifier of a following noun or noun group. Further, in the database of potential complex adverbs there are but 183 tokens that include *all* with NOM scope, which is only 24% of the total number of tokens of this type of *all* in the database, indicating that this use of *all* is not frequently found in fixed expressions. In summary, the prototypical role of *all* is as a modifier of a following noun phrase and in this role it is also most productive. I return to this point in Chapter 6.

3.4.3 *All* with PRO scope and AD scope

> **all**
> […]
> C. adv **I**. General construction.
> **1.** *All* adj. is often separated from the sb. which it defines by an auxiliary vb. or clause and so appears to refer to the predicate; as 'Zion our mother is all wofull,' where *all*, originally an attribute or complement of *Zion*, comes to be viewed as qualifying *woful* = *altogether* woful.
> […]
> **2**. Whence, as true adv. modifying adj. or adv.: Wholly, completely, altogether, quite [...] All hopelessly our years of sorrow flow.
>
> OED

According to OED, adjectival *all* can also follow the nominal element that it modifies. The analysis according to scope shows that in present-day English there is a very strong tendency for that nominal element to be a pronoun in such cases. As I say in section 3.2.2, I interpret this *all* in post-position as an emphasizer, rather than a quantifier:

(49) are <u>you</u> **all** members of a research group [1.5.418]

(50) well you can't have <u>them</u> **all** after all [7.3.280]

It is this post-position that has given rise to adverbal *all*, according to OED. The ambiguity arising from *all* in this position seems to have resulted in reanalysis as either pronoun emphasizer or adverb. The ambiguity is further exemplified in the following (which I have analyzed as AMB scope):

(51) Dan said he thought it was **all** real [4.6.1004]

(52) it's **all** rock hard in the morning [4.3.414]

The example given in OED, however, does not have a preceding pronoun but a noun phrase, which construction occurs only 23 times in LLC, compared to 764 occurrences of *all* followed by a noun or noun phrase and 274 of *all* preceded by a pronoun. Two examples of a preceding noun phrase (where *all* has AMB scope) are:

(53) and our people were **all** ready and set to go [6.3.96]

(54) it was just kind of sponge **all** matted together with red jam [6.4.555]

The apparent preference for *all* to follow (and emphasize) a personal pronoun might be due to the fact that a preceding pronoun will be more open to emphasizing than a preceding noun phrase, since pronouns are short words, lacking in content and easily ellipted, and speakers may sometimes wish to give them more prominence. Whatever the underlying causes, for present-day speakers of English there is still some ambiguity between *all* preceded by some nominal element (almost always PRO scope) and *all* with AD scope.

Both these types of *all* have decategorialized in comparison to the earlier, adjective-like *all*. One of them (AD scope) has a strong propensity to occur in complex adverbs, the other (PRO scope) has taken on an emphasizing role within the paradigm of plural personal pronouns, which is suggestive of the cliticization phase of late grammaticalization (see section 10.1.2). Furthermore, *all* with PRO scope is rare in complex adverbs, occurring only in the *and all that* type (section 7.2.2) and never as emphasizer of a preceding pronoun. These different developments of *all* will be discussed and compared in Chapter 6, but before leaving this section I shall make one further comment on *all* with AD scope.

As Tables 3.2 and 3.3 show, just half of the tokens of *all* with AD scope occur in potential complex adverbs. However, of the c. 200 tokens that are not included in these figures approximately three-quarters are accounted for by *all right* functioning as complement (*Are you all right?*), which is also a fixed expression though not adverbal. If we include these in the calculations, the figure for *all* with AD scope in fixed expressions (as opposed to complex adverbs) comes to some 87%. Figure 3.3 is a sampling of *all* with AD scope in LLC.

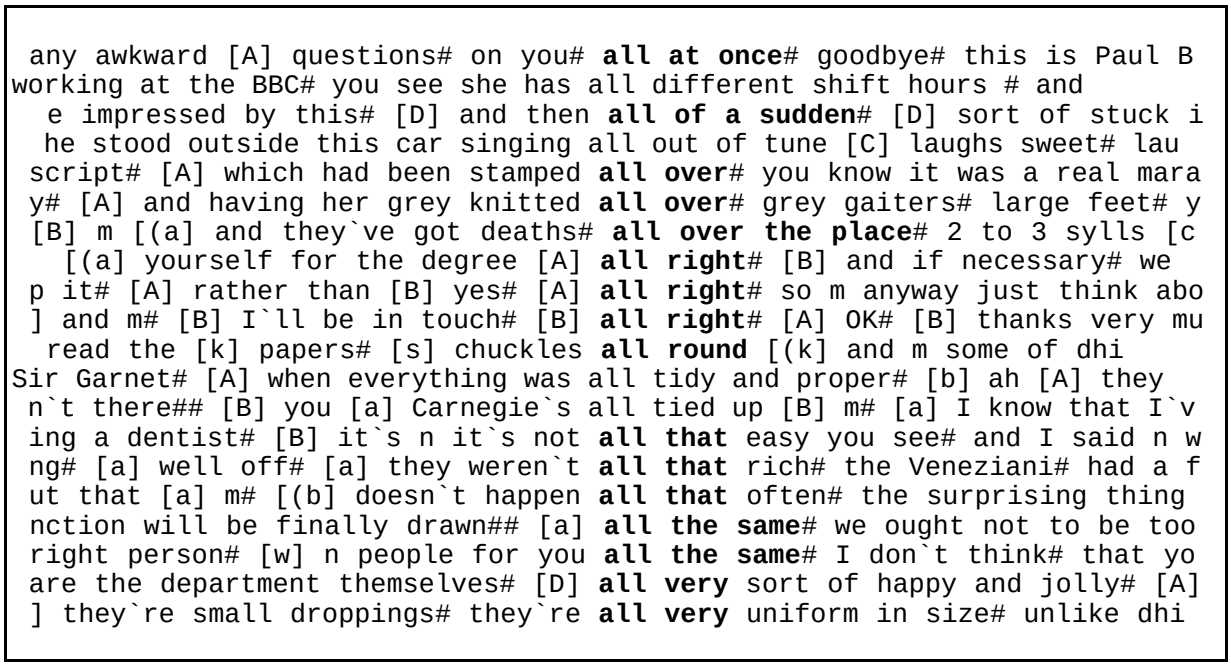


Figure 3.3 Typical sample of *all* with AD scope, from LLC. (Expressions in bold face are included in the database of potential complex adverbs.)

Figures 3.2 and 3.3 are representative of the database as a whole as far as the proportional correlation between the scope of *all* and fixedness is concerned. *All* with NOM scope is highly frequent and productive, while *all* with AD scope is relatively infrequent outside of fixed expressions.

3.4.4 *All* with IN scope

When *all* has no textual scope it functions as an independent pronoun. Of the 547 cases analyzed thus, 404 tokens are also complex adverbs. Of the remaining (143) non-fixed expressions, 95 are examples of *all* modified by a following a relative construction:

(55) **all** you can do with it is kind of nurse it [5.7.952]

Otherwise, *all* with IN scope in non-fixed expressions occurs only 48 times in the corpus:

(56) in the event that **all** breaks down [2.1.922]

Figure 3.4 gives an impressionistic view of the proportion of *all* with IN scope in fixed expressions, as compared to its occurrence in ad hoc expressions.

```
rtyfirst aren`t [B] very good at all really# [A] mhm# [B] and Professor
t wasn`t part of Lords ground at all# they took that in a little later#
no# [A] no# [A] I wouldn`t be at all surprised# I think you`re right the
A] and we wondered if it`d be at all possible# [A] for him to include He
g too much of a load# [A] that`s all# [C] oh I think he f I think he wo
 in [A] time# [B] ah# [A] that`s all# [B] I`m trying to review James St
[a] the the poet# [a] whom after all you knew pretty well# [b] yes# [b]
ell thought# [v] and he is after all a previous Defence Minister# that y
et Harrington# [B] because after all# he`s the man who`s got the Chirk f
me# [A] and give them supper and all# so she went round and# he had her
chairmen# [a] and presidents and all# they came over in a shipload# [a]
the greatest [f] centralizers of all# and the effect of that of course#
 found the most [a] difficult of all [B] is that so# [a] m it comes towa
d [B] I did quite a lot of work# all considered# [a] because you knew t
c] a party of about twentyone in all# are sitting# in four rows of chair
ed and seventyone murders [n] in all# yet out of all that total# only se
 [C] m [B] I`m I`m afraid that`s all I know# except I imagine it must be
A] to get your hopes up# [A] but all I would like to say is# that I am tr
hem# [a] seem to think# [a] that all they need to do# is say# social comp
ly of them both# [a] and to keep all at home# neat and clean# so nature#
```

Figure 3.4 Typical sample of *all* with IN scope, from LLC. (Expressions in bold face are included in the database of potential complex adverbs.)

Again, I conclude that the grammatical role of *all* is a significant feature of these expressions. The prototypical grammatical role of *all* is as a nominal quantifier. In other roles it is not as easy to interpret and manipulate—it is not 'behaving as it ought'. This notion of non-prototypical grammatical role as a salience reducing factor in complex adverbs is elaborated upon in Chapter 6.

3.5 Conceptualization and salience

In this chapter I have accounted for the extraction of some data from LLC with which to investigate fixed expressions in adverb role in order to better understand the fixedness phenomenon. The analysis shows that there is a correlation between the occurrence of *all* as a nominal quantifier and a frequent, productive use of the word. Conversely, independent *all* (IN scope) and *all* with AD scope are most likely to be found in a relatively small number of fixed expressions. However, prototypical NOM scope *all* is not the only kind to occur outside of fixed expressions. *All* with PRO scope is typically used to intensify plural personal pronouns outside of complex adverbs. These results can be summarized as follows:

i) Decategorialized *all* (AD, IN, and PRO scope) occurs in semantically and syntactically constrained contexts.

ii) With AD and IN scope, *all* is found in complex adverbs; with PRO scope *all* functions as a post-positioned emphasizer within a limited paradigm (plural personal pronouns).

Following on from ii), it would seem that decategoriality is related to fixedness, but in a rather complex way. In the complex adverbs we find semi-decategorialized types of *all*, where conventional wordclass-membership can still be assigned ('adverb' and 'pronoun'). The post-positioned intensifying *all* with PRO scope is beyond definition in these terms and, clearly, on the way to cliticization (see section 6.2.3). As I have indicated previously, these two types of development will be the topic of later chapters (Chapters 6 and 10). The main conclusion of the present chapter is that although the word *all* has decategorialized, its most frequent and productive role in present-day English remains adjective-like (NOM scope), and that the occurrence of adverbal and pronominal *all* (AD scope and IN scope, respectively) correlates strongly with fixedness in expressions.

The insights gained from this investigation of *all* suggest that a conceptual approach will reveal more about the nature of fixedness than traditional notions of semantic and syntactic variability constraints have done. Part II accounts for an investigation of the potential complex adverbs with *all* in LLC, from the point of view of the relative **salience** of their component parts.

The term 'salience' is often used as a technical term in linguistics to mean 'prominence', which definition we also find in OED ('The fact, quality, or condition of projecting beyond the general outline.'). In the following (unless otherwise stated), I use it to mean 'clarity' or 'transparency', which are pre-conditions for 'prominence'. Part II begins (Chapter 4) with an account of psycholinguistic experiments (reported in Gibbs, 1994) which demonstrate a close correlation between fixedness in idioms and the salience of their component parts. The following three chapters (Chapters 5–7) deal with specific aspects of expressions that can be more or less salient: the meanings of their component parts, the grammatical roles of their component parts, and the cohesive relations signalled within the expressions.

Salience is also related to prototypicality[9] and frequency. Consider, for example, *means* in the following:

a) She acquired her money by foul **means**.
b) Do come in, by all **means**.

In a) *means* is used in its prototypical sense of 'method'. Its contribution to the expression *by foul means* is perfectly clear and thus salient. This is not the case in b), where the contribution of *means* to the expression *by all means* is unclear, difficult to interpret and thus non-salient. This example is a clear-cut case of non-salient word meaning. More often, it is not immediately obvious which meaning should be considered the most prototypical. At the other end of the spectrum we have the word *time*, for example, which is such a complex polysemous word with many closely-related senses, that it is very often difficult to pinpoint a specific sense (section 5.1.1). A further kind of non-salient word meaning is exemplified by *way*, which can be used in a concrete sense ('path', 'road') or in an extended, metaphorical sense ('fashion', 'means'). Corpus investigation shows (section 5.2.2) that the latter, metaphorical sense is much more frequently used in present-day English, and I therefore call this the salient sense.

The notion of frequency as a test for prototypicality and salience originates in Haiman's (1994) work on routinization and automatization (elaborated upon in section 9.1). 'Automatization', says Haiman (*ibid* p 10), 'is the result of repetition'. In the case of grammatical roles, relative frequency in the corpus has been my only yardstick. We have seen in this chapter that in the case of *all* it has yielded interesting results, showing patterns of usage not hitherto recognized. Non-salient grammatical roles are best described as 'non-prototypical' roles, and it is in this sense that I use salience and non-salience with reference to grammatical roles (Chapter 6).

A third element that can be more or less salient in expressions is the cohesive relations that are signalled within them (Chapter 7). Criterial for cohesion in texts is that reference items must create salient (clear) ties with

[9] Geeraerts (1997:20) defines salience in terms of prototypicality: '...a prototype-theoretical conception [...] calls for a specific terminology to describe differences in structural weight within the semasiological structure of a lexical item (the fact that some members are recognized as more typical than others, or the fact that some senses occupy a more central position on the intensional level). These differences as such may be referred to by means of the concept *salience*: greater structural weight equals greater cognitive salience.'

their referents. Prototypicality and frequency do not enter into the analysis here, and cohesive ties must be evaluated individually in context.

Finally, for convenience, I use *non-salient* to denote ‘not the most salient’. It is clear that we are not dealing with an either/or phenomenon here, but with clines or gradients of salience, as will become more apparent in Part II.

PART II: CONCEPTUALIZATION

4 Salience and fixedness

The second part of the book is a further investigation of the potential complex adverbs with *all* and an attempt to identify common features that are directly related to fixedness in the expressions. As a preliminary to these further investigations the present chapter introduces the conceptual perspective that I adopt and takes a closer look at the relationship between semantic salience and fixedness in idioms.

4.1 A conceptual perspective

As discussed in Chapter 1, both generative and applied linguistics perspectives have been equally unsuccessful in accounting for idiomaticity. Applied approaches have depended upon the notion of computing the individual ('literal') meanings of the parts of expressions in order to determine whether or not the expression is opaque (ie an 'idiom'), interweaving this notion with variability criteria in determining whether or not an expression is fixed. Generative theory rests on the supremacy of grammar as a set of rules to be followed by speakers—but cannot work into the theory the great bulk of idiomatic language that speakers actually use. Of course, at the extreme ends of the scale of well-formedness, both of these schools of thought have assigned fixed expressions to the lexicon and the formulation of ad hoc, novel expressions to the grammar. But the fact remains that most of the English actually produced does not behave this way.

Viewed from a conceptual perspective, however, idiomaticity is not problematic:

> ... it is somewhat inaccurate to regard the composite structure as being constructed out of its components (though it is convenient to speak in these terms, as I commonly do). It is more appropriate to say that the component structures *motivate* aspects of the composite structure, and that the degree of motivation is variable (though typically quite substantial).
> […]
> The meaning of a complex expression is not its composite semantic structure alone, but includes as well the separately symbolized semantic structures of its components and the relation that each of these bears to the composite whole.
>
> (Langacker 1987:292)

The first part of this citation indicates that the component parts of an expression do not need to add up to the meaning of the composite whole—in fact they rarely do, even in ad hoc, novel expressions (since much of the meaning of any expression is dependent upon contextual, pragmatic and encyclopaedic considerations, which are not immediately embedded in the separate parts). It is sufficient that there is some conceptual correspondence between one or all of the parts of an expression and its composite whole. The second part of the citation claims that grammatical valence ('symbolized semantic structures') in an expression is as important as pure semantic values for the analyzability of an expression.

In cognitive-grammar terms, for example, **analyzability** is treated as 'the coactivation of the composite structure and its components' (Langacker 1987:462), where full correspondence between the meaning elements of the components and the composite structure is not even expected to occur. Speakers nevertheless recognize correspondences sufficiently well to interpret the composite structure and even fixed expressions can retain some measure of analyzability.

My concern here, however, is with the very practical descriptive problem of specifying the elements of meaning structures (semantic and symbolic) that contribute to the analyzability of expressions and, more particularly, of specifically identifying where and how they break down and render expressions unanalyzable. Again, we are looking at the great majority of expressions that fall between the extremes of being entirely fixed units, at one end of the cline, and ad hoc, novel expressions at the opposite end.

The inspiration for my investigation comes from a general cognitive/ conceptual approach, though I do not operate within any specific framework. I shall to some extent use traditional terminology in order to keep to my original intention of bridge-building between applied and theoretical perspectives. This is not problematic if it is kept in mind that while I agree with

Langacker in matters such as the impossibility of maintaining the distinction between grammar and lexicon or that between semantics and pragmatics (*ibid* p 449), I use the terms grammar, lexicon, semantics and pragmatics in the sense in which they are used in traditional descriptive grammar.

4.2 Salience and fixedness in idioms

The previous section was a statement in favour of a conceptual interpretation of idiomaticity. But cognitive theories have not (to my knowledge) been exploited in a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between our underlying conceptual interpretation of expressions and the variability constraints in expressions at the level of realization. However, some work has been done in this direction by cognitive psychologists interested in relating variability constraints to the unanalyzability of certain idioms.[1]

Gibbs (1994) reports on psycholinguistic experiments that demonstrate a strong correlation between reduced salience and fixedness in idioms. His main concern is to challenge the traditional argument that idioms are always non-compositional and to relate experimental findings showing how idioms can often be more or less interpreted, to other issues such as the relative productivity of many idioms and also to how idioms are processed. The focus here is on the question of noncompositionality and its relationship to fixedness (which is not to say that the question of how idioms—and indeed, all fixed expressions—are processed is uninteresting, but it is not within the scope of this book).

Experiments in which participants are asked to rate idioms according to the degree to which the individual words contribute to the overall interpretations of the idioms have demonstrated that people are generally consistent in their intuitions.

> When speakers judge that the idiom *let off steam* is analyzable, or decomposable, they are essentially finding some relationship between the components *let off* and *steam* with their figurative referents “release” and “anger.”
>
> (Gibbs 1994:279)

[1] My primary source here is Gibbs (1994). See also Nunberg et al (1994).

Idioms that are made up of such readily accessible metaphor are, as Gibbs reports, relatively easy to interpret in terms of their constituent parts.

> Recent research in psycholinguistics shows that the meanings of many idioms are motivated by people's conceptual knowledge, which includes metaphorical and metonymic schemes of thought. In this way, the study of idioms reveals significant aspects of how people ordinarily think.
>
> (Gibbs 1994:277-278)

Other idioms, such as *kick the bucket*, are not analyzable in the same way. Entirely uninterpretable idioms rely on a different kind of knowledge for their interpretation; they must be learned as units, and an understanding of their composition is only possible through knowledge of their origins.

One of the most interesting findings reported by Gibbs is that there is a direct relationship between the analyzability of idioms and the grammatical and lexical constraints at work within the phrases.

> The noncompositional view of idioms also supposedly explains why many idioms tend to be syntactically unproductive, or frozen. For example, one cannot syntactically transform the phrase *John kicked the bucket* into a passive construction (**The bucket was kicked by John*) without disrupting its nonliteral meaning. Linguists have proposed a variety of formal devices to predict the syntactic behavior of idioms [...] Syntactic devices [...] can account within a formal theory of grammar for some of the transformational deficiencies of idioms. But the traditional view of idiomaticity provides no explanation of how people come to acquire the rules for knowing which transformations apply or don't apply to which idioms. Speakers are not explicitly taught which idioms are syntactically productive and which are not. **Yet people somehow learn about the syntactic behavior of most idioms, including rare and novel phrases.**
>
> (Gibbs 1994:271-272. Bold emphasis added.)

How, then, *do* native speakers learn about the syntactic behaviour of idioms? How do we know which idioms can undergo which transformations? And, more pertinently, how can we explain this to second-language learners and computer programs? Further experiments confirm the hypothesis that idioms judged as analyzable by informants are also more syntactically productive than semantically uninterpretable idioms. 'The individual words in analyzable idioms can be changed without significantly altering the meanings of these phrases':

> For instance, some idioms, such as *button your lip*, can be changed (to, e.g., *fasten your lips*) without loss of meaning, but other idioms, such as *kick the bucket*, cannot (e.g., *punt the bucket*).
>
> (Gibbs 1994:282)

In the first part of this book, I deliberately upheld a strict distinction between variability criteria and the figurative meaning criterion in order to demonstrate that the idiom—collocation cline is a logical impossibility (see section 1.2.1). The extent to which figurative meanings are involved in an expression does not correlate with its degree of fixedness. The level of salience (or, rather, non-salience) does correlate with fixedness.

In order to elucidate the importance of this shift in perspective, let us take a closer look at the following two expressions:

(a) *let off steam* ('express anger')
(b) *kick the bucket* ('die')

Both of these expressions are 'idioms'. In the traditional perspective of works on fixed expressions in general (section 1.2.1), their idiom status has been defined in terms of the figurative vs literal status of the meanings of the component parts. In that perspective both expressions consist of entirely non-literal meanings. However, if we return to the question of fixedness it is clear that we need a more sophisticated analysis in order to understand how and why it is that the two expressions are very distant from each other on the cline of fixedness.

We do not interpret idioms according to the degree of figurativeness that is present in the idiom, but rather according to the extent to which the figurative meanings are analyzable (or salient) at the conceptual level. A widely accepted view of the processes involved in our interpretation of figurative meaning is that we draw on metaphorical mappings (universal or cultural).[2] In (a) we have an expression of an emotion which is familiar to all native speakers of English. Anger and heat are to us so closely related, conceptually, that we have no difficulty in interpreting the idiom *let off steam*. The meaning of 'kick the bucket' is not recoverable via metaphorical mappings. It is a knowledge-dependent reference to—who knows? (Some say it was the bucket that caught

[2] I do not take sides in the 'inherent vs cultural' debate here. For my purposes it is sufficient to recognize that native speakers of English share common metaphorical mappings, whether these be inherent or culturally acquired.

the blood of newly slaughtered pigs, but there are many variations on that theme in popular works on idiom.)

The degree of salience of an expression shifts in the diachronic perspective—at some point in time 'kick the bucket' must have been highly salient for certain users. It has preserved its meaning of 'die' despite being removed from its original context. An example of a salient, modern-day knowledge-bound idiom is *in the red* ('in debt'). There is still a generation of English speakers who can remember the days when banks used red ink to indicate an overdrawn account. One might suspect that the salience of this expression is already somewhat reduced for younger speakers, while at the same time they are quite aware of the meaning of the expression. Similarly, at a time when there was, for certain individuals at least, a natural context in which to interpret 'kick the bucket' the expression would have been readily interpretable by those members of society for whom it was a salient expression.

English has other euphemisms for dying that are more salient to native speakers of the language: 'pass away', 'go to the other shore' (DEATH AS A JOURNEY INTO THE DISTANCE). 'Kick the bucket' can be varied as to tense only, whereas the more salient idioms for 'die' are more freely variable:

> He quietly passed away.
> We were sad to hear of his passing away.
> And they went on together to that other shore ...
> *etc*

Let us now consider (b) *let off steam*. This type of phrase is problematic in traditional accounts – since the sum of the parts do not add up to the whole, it is an idiom (according to the most frequently cited definition). Syntactically, however, it is quite variable and also permits modification:

> He's always letting off steam.
> It's good to let off a bit of steam now and again.
> Quite a lot of steam was let off at the meeting yesterday.

In other words, it is not an entirely fixed expression. But it is impossible to place it on the *idiom—collocation* cline, which is widely referred to in descriptive accounts (section 1.2.1). It is not a *pure idiom* ('petrified', 'congealed', 'literal senses [...] do not survive alongside their figurative ones in normal everyday use and for some speakers they may indeed be unrelatable'); nor is it a *figurative idiom* ('idiomatic in the sense that variation is seldom found'), nor *restricted collocation* (part of the expression 'has a figurative

sense not found outside that limited context. The other element appears in a familiar, literal sense [eg] *jog one's memory* [...], *a blind alley'*). Remains only *open collocation* ('elements [...] freely recombinable', 'each element is used in a common literal sense').[3] Nothing along this cline accommodates for expressions like *let off steam*.

Many idioms, then, can have parts which are quite salient. With such idioms, since we can recognize the meanings of their component parts, we are also able to manipulate those parts according to the conventions of the language. We understand what they are and what can be done with them. Consequently, such idioms are less fixed than *kick the bucket*. Using the salience criterion for idiom we find a close correlation between the variability of an expression and the level of salience in that expression.

4.3 Salience and complex adverbs

The insights reported above are invaluable in that they demonstrate the fundamental difference between what it is that causes (some) expressions to become fixed (the uninterpretability of the expression as a result of reduced salience of component parts), and what the symptoms of this fixedness are (syntactic constraints, collocational restrictions, and anomalous usage). However, this account of the relationship between surface fixedness and underlying salience reduction has been restricted to idioms. Of the complex adverbs with *all* in LLC, few can be labelled idioms in the sense that they are semantically uninterpretable. Gibbs' experimental data is based for the most part on the interpretation of idioms of the V+NP type (*kick the bucket, blow the gaff, spill the beans*, etc), which are, both structurally and functionally, very different from complex adverbs. But he does mention other types of expression:

> At the same time, there exists a wide range of idioms that are extragrammatical, such as *by and large, all of a sudden*, and *take advantage of*, and resist a conceptual analysis.
>
> (Gibbs 1994:308)

Two of the three 'extragrammatical' idioms exemplified here are complex adverbs, one of them occurring in my own data (*all of a sudden*). Most of these expressions cannot be analyzed in semantic terms alone; they consist

[3] ODCIE 2.

almost entirely of individual words with little or no semantic content. But it is not enough to say of phrases that are so numerous and such a core part of our language that they are 'extragrammatical' and 'resist a conceptual analysis'. I believe that their analyzability can be explored in conceptual terms. For example, the grammatical roles of words in context can be more or less salient, as we saw in the case of *all* (Chapter 3).

In my investigation of fixedness in complex adverbs I have also observed that cohesive relations (Halliday & Hasan, 1976) can be more or less salient. Cohesion signals, such as reference items and ellipsis, do not always have a salient referent in the text or context, and when this is the case the cohesion signal is, in my data, always a component part of a complex adverb. My hypothesis, then, is that the underlying **fixing forces** in complex adverbs are non-salient **word meanings**, **grammatical roles**, and **cohesive relations**. The hypothesis is elaborated upon in the following, final, section of this chapter.

4.4 Salience of word meanings, grammatical roles, and cohesive relations

To interpret utterances we must be able to recognize (at least) the following:

1. The meanings of the words uttered
2. The grammatical roles of the words in the utterance
3. The textual and contextual references involved within and beyond the utterance

Words whose meanings are uninterpretable (1) are often found in fixed expressions—this is a well-established fact and has been the topic of the present chapter. Gibbs and others[4] have used informants' judgements in interpreting idioms and found that the less salient idioms are also the most fixed in terms of syntactic variability. We might assume, then, that **non-salient meaning** is a fixing force in expressions.

I have put forward the hypothesis that words deployed in **non-salient grammatical roles** (2) also have a very strong tendency to become parts of

[4] Gibbs et al (1989), for example.

fixed expressions. In the case study of *all* (Chapter 3) I used corpus data to demonstrate the correlation between salience reduction and fixedness.

The third point has not been discussed hitherto, neither in these pages nor (to my knowledge) in the literature, with direct regard to fixedness and the development of fixed expressions. It concerns the cohesive relations that bring coherence to any text or utterance, and in particular the relative salience of cohesion signals. Using Halliday & Hasan's (1976) model of cohesion in texts I have investigated the data and found cases of clear cohesion signals (demonstrative *that*, for example) that do not relate saliently to any other item in the text or context. They are examples of **non-salient cohesive relations** and (in my data) they occur only in fixed expressions. These three salience reducing phenomena appear to be the primary fixing forces in the complex adverbs that I have investigated.

Chapters 5–7 look at each of these salience-reducing phenomena in turn. Particular attention is given to cohesive relations, which have not yet been discussed in the book. In each chapter there is a focus on one or two prototypical examples (from the database of potential complex adverbs) of the type of salience reduction concerned, together with a summarial account of further occurrences of the same phenomenon in my data. In judging the relative salience of words or features it has not been possible to carry out elicitation tests, due to the amount of data involved. I have based my judgements on corpus evidence. For any word, if one of its senses or grammatical roles is many times more frequent than all others in LLC, then I have assumed that that is its most salient sense or role.

Cohesive relations are of a slightly different nature and their investigation could not be carried out in the same fashion. I have relied on my own judgement in the search for cohesive ties in the text, with some support from informal informant tests in the more in-depth analyses.

Chapter 8 summarizes the results of the analyses, and shows that the complex adverbs with clusters of salience-reducing features are also the most fixed of the expressions studied.

5 Non-salient meaning

In the previous chapter we looked at how researchers in psycholinguistics have shown that there is a correlation between interpretability and variability in idioms. Since complex adverbs consist of words that tend to be more grammatical than lexical, interpretability alone cannot be used as a yardstick for comparison with fixedness. However, there are some lexical items in the database of complex adverbs, and occasionally they exhibit non-salient meanings. As I have indicated earlier (section 3.5), I use the term 'non-salient meaning' to denote word meanings that are not prototypical and thus, presumably, not the first to be accessed in the interpretation of the word in isolation. The cases of non-salient meaning in the potential complex adverbs that I have investigated can be arranged into three sub-groups: cases of polysemy, metaphor, and meanings not current outside of fixed expressions.

5.1 Polysemy

The more complex the polysemy of a word, the more dependent we are on contextual clues for its sense disambiguation. Salience reduction in words that have many closely-related meanings is not necessarily a result of their being used in a specific, non-prototypical sense; it is just as likely to be caused by the general fuzziness as to which sense is intended. Two complex polysemous words recur frequently in the complex adverbs: *time* and *right*. There are also a number of prepositions.

5.1.1 *time*

TIME is a fundamental but highly abstract concept, as we can see from the following definition in OED:

> **Time** [...] I A space or extent of time. 1. A limited stretch or space of continued existence, as the interval between two successive events or acts, or the period through which an action, condition, or state continues;
>
> OED

Time is perhaps the one sphere of human existence where metaphor is most greatly utilized. We are obliged to refer to time in concrete or spatial terms in order to compensate for our inability to refer to such an abstract entity in any other way, as in the following (invented) examples. (The conceptualizations are from Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, with page references in parentheses.)

(1) I've got bags of **time** on my hands.
TIME IS A KIND OF [ABSTRACT] SUBSTANCE (66)

(2) What are you going to do with all that **time**?
TIME IS A RESOURCE (66)

(3) Old Father **Time**.
TIME IS A PERSON (33)

(4) That's a silly way to spend your **time**.
TIME IS MONEY (7)

Note, however, that the focal point of investigation in this section is the word *time*, and not the metaphor surrounding the expression of time. Moon (1986) reports on a corpus study[1] of *time*, which she was interested in for the following reasons:

i. [...] it is one of the commonest lexical words in English, with an average frequency of between one and two occurrences per thousand words. The only words that are commoner in the Birmingham corpora, other than closed-system grammatical words such as prepositions and determiners, are *said*, *think*, *well*, and *know*, of which the high frequency of *said* is a result of its function in fictional narrative, that of *think*, *well*, and *know* their discourse functions in speech. In the LOB and Brown corpora, time is the second commonest lexical word after *said*.

ii. [...] it occurs in a large number of idioms, with the second volume of THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF CURRENT IDIOMATIC ENGLISH, for example, listing over 100.

[1] Based on the (then) 7.3 million-word Birmingham corpus.

iii. [...] the polysemy of *time* is far from straightforward, and it may be argued that the fuzzy boundaries which exist between some senses are in part responsible for the large number of idiomatic strings that include *time*.

(Moon 1986:110–111)

The most interesting observation for the present discussion is the tendency for *time* to be attracted to fixed expressions, the most pervasive of which (in Moon's data) is *at the same time*, and in my data *all the time*.

The complex polysemy of the word *time* gives rise to a plethora of sense distinctions in dictionaries. However, there is general consensus on the core definition (DURATION), reflecting the OED definition cited above. Two further senses of *time* recur in all the dictionaries: FREQUENCY and OCCASION.

Of immediate concern here is the question: are some senses of the word *time* less salient than others, or is the word *time*, in itself, so abstract that its very use is an instance of salience reduction? Moon's (1986) study, referred to above, shows that the most common use of *time* is, in fact, in idioms or in 'some kind of idiomatic structure'—the DURATION use tends to be preceded by a qualifying adjective and to occur in prepositional phrases headed by *for* or *in*, while the OCCASION use collocates strongly with *first* (and similar modifiers) (*ibid* p 111–112). This kind of patterning is also evident in LLC:

DURATION:

(5) it's going to take **a long time** to clear up [9.2.781]

(6) she was for some time a patient - at the [...] sanatorium [12.4.778]

OCCASION:

(7) ...this was **the first time** I'd seen Malcolm [4.4.783]

(8) and when they tried to do it **a second time** it broke down [6.3.527]

There is one fixed expression with *all* and *time* in LLC (*all the time*) and it occurs 53 times.

all the time

Moon classifies *all the time* (followed by a relative clause) as 'the deictic use', which occurs 'typically in structures such as *by the time*... or *at the time*, where *time* is used to relate or link temporarily two events or to refer to a point in time in terms of what is happening then, and where the exact identity

of that point in time is either stated in the surrounding discourse or is clear from the situational context'. An example of the deictic use in LLC is:

(9) it's funny that there seem to be some boys who know that kind of thing they [...] can do it all **by the time** they're seven [1.12.323]

However, there are no examples of the deictic use of *all the time*[2] in LLC. Almost all of the many hundreds of occurrences of *all the time*, both in LLC and in other corpora that I have examined, are adjuncts:

(10) to find out that we've been chasing a shadow **all the time** [12.1.550]

(11) bottle after bottle . sort of pop pop pop **all the time** . and everybody got awfully drunk [1.13.803]

(12) so he's living on borrowed money **all the time** and you know he's getting deeper and deeper into debt [2.7.309]

The use of the definite article prompts the deictic reading, of course, and it is the absence of any coherent referent to a specific period or point in time that is the principal salience-reducing feature in the expression. In this respect, *all the time* might be more properly treated in the chapter on cohesive relations (Chapter 7). But there is also some salience reduction brought about by the sense of *time* in *all the time*, simply because it is in most cases unclear whether it is DURATION, OCCASION, or FREQUENCY. In many of the expressions there is a sense of something happening over a period of time (DURATION), but often it is a case of a particular event or happening (OCCASION) being repeated (FREQUENCY). I interpret this fuzziness of meaning as a salience reducing element in cases where a word has many related meanings and it is unclear in the context which of these meanings is intended.

all this/that time

The component parts of the expressions *all this time* and *all that time* are more salient than those of *all the time*.

(13) well I mean you know I've been living there **all this time** [1.10.430]

[2] For instance, 'All the time [that] I was waiting for them they were sitting around drinking coffee.'

(14) I've been sitting on the draft contract **all this time** because I didn't want to do anything [8.3.626]

(15) what had you been doing **all that time** [2.1.239]

The reference item (*this/that*) in these expressions is more salient than *the* in *all the time*, the referent being the period of time discussed by the interlocutors. It is also possible to rephrase the expression slightly (*all these weeks*, *all those months*), which is not possible with *all the time* as in (10)–(12). Further, there is no fuzziness of meaning in these expressions with *all this/that time*, where the sense of *time* is clearly DURATION.

5.1.2 *right*

There are almost 8,000 occurrences of *right* in 1.4 million words of the CANCODE corpus and just some 850 in a comparable sample of written data from the CIC corpus. The written tokens represent a wide distribution between the main senses: OPPOSITE OF LEFT, ACCEPTABLE or CORRECT, and the intensifying use of EXACTLY or TOTALLY, while in the spoken corpus *right* is used overwhelmingly as a discourse marker (on its own and in *all right*). The sense of OPPOSITE OF LEFT does not overlap with any of the other senses and, in the material I have studied, its meaning is always clear and unambiguous, and thus salient. In its discourse marking function, however, the various senses of *right* overlap considerably.

Traugott (1982) uses *right* to exemplify two 'well-known instances of grammaticalization in English' (p 248), namely:[3]

i) Markers of conversational routines deriving from content words
ii) Intensifiers deriving from content words: *right well*, *right sharp*

The discourse marking *right* in (16) is an example of a conversational routine deriving from a content word, but the meanings of ACCEPTABLE and CORRECT overlap.

(16) A: try to read it - as if you're not yourself - that's
B: as if it wasn't mine - all right
A: **right** - yes - read from there to the end
B: yes [3.1.269]

[3] For a more detailed synchronic perspective on *right*, see Stenström (1990).

Similarly, with intensifying *right* there is a sense of overlapping meanings. In (17) there is an underlying sense of EXACTLY and in (18) TOTALLY:

(17) but there he is - **right** behind him [10.3.40]
[EXACTLY]

(18) this strange acting of his - putting his hands **right** across his face
[TOTALLY] [10.3.597]

Traugott (*ibid* p 251) relates both of these to Gothic *raihts* ('straight') but in one 'the path of development is via moral "right" and "truth", rather than punctual and intensifying *right*'. And in both cases there is, in present-day English, a set of overlapping meanings that are so closely related as to make their precise interpretation difficult: discourse marking *right* often has an underlying sense related to ACCEPTABLE or CORRECT, with intensifying *right* there is a sense of EXACTLY or TOTALLY. To complicate matters even further, there is a sense relationship between these two sets of meanings. Discourse marking *right* can also convey intensification:

(19) A: that is not his job - he's
B: no
A: there to get them [...] to read French and German
B: exactly - exactly - **right** - well I'd wanted you to know... [1.2.1052]

The different senses of *right* interact and overlap to such an extent that it is difficult to determine what its 'prototypical' sense might be. As is the case with *time*, I interpret this as a case of non-salience due to complex polysemy, where the general overlap of senses makes it difficult to disambiguate most occurrences of the word.

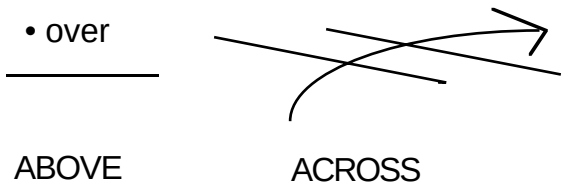
5.1.3 Prepositional meanings

An area of study that has benefited greatly from the development of cognitive theory is that of prepositional meanings. I shall address in some detail the preposition that was also the subject of one of the first such in-depth analyses: Brugman's (1983) study of *over*.[4]

[4] A full analysis of all the component parts of the complex adverbs in this study would require a similar analysis of all the prepositions in the database. I am using the case of *over* to demonstrate the method. Other prepositions are analyzed by, for example, Hawkins (1988). See also Lakoff (1987).

All + preposition

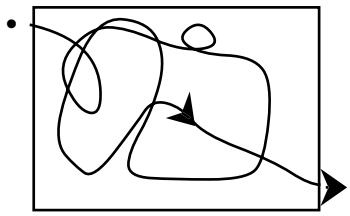
Brugman distinguishes between the prototypical sense of *over* and its prototypical function. The most central spatial sense embodies the senses of 'above' and 'across' (*ibid* p 59):



The prototypical function of *over* is prepositional (*ibid* p 1). Brugman presents a conceptual analysis of the many uses of *over* in terms of trajector/landmark configurations, beginning with prepositional meanings but also demonstrating that non-prepositional meanings are derived from one or other sense of the preposition. Here I shall focus on the meanings of *over* in the three complex adverbs with the word in my data: *all over, all over the place, all over again*.

To begin with, Brugman herself recognizes the special status of *over* when it is qualified by *all*, schematized, in her example (20, here):

(20) Bullwinkle walked **all over** the field.



> *All over*, which is somewhat idiomatic, is vastly preferred to mere *over* in expressing the configurations schematized as [above].
>
> (Brugman 1983:22).

This sense of *over* is still within the boundaries of prototypicality, in Brugman's analysis.[5] I agree with her judgement on '*somewhat* idiomatic' and would relate this to the fact that *all* has AD scope, which I have already identified as a salience-reducing feature (section 3.4.3) and thus contributory to fixedness. In other words, in her example (20) it is not the sense of *over* that is

[5] See Brugman (1983:8) for a list of variables arising in configurations described with *over*.

non-salient, but the scope of *all*. In (21), however, *over* does not have the prototypical role of preposition, so although it is still spatial in sense the non-salient grammatical roles of both *all* and *over* render the expression fixed:

(21) Arabella was grey - **all over** [...] I don't know if you know this Dylan Thomas story - about with the little boy sitting at dinner - undressing this lady - and having her grey knitted **all over** - grey gaiters ... [1.3.602, 606]

But there is more to be said here. Note that in (22) the grammatical roles of *all* and *over* are the same as in (21), but (22) permits the addition of a specifying noun phrase ('all over England', 'all over the world', etc) and is thus to a certain extent idiomatic but not entirely fixed:

(22) don't forget - the hundreds and hundreds of red cross nurses - **all over** - women who have retired [6.6.253]

There is a third fixing force at work in (21), which I refer to as 'non-recoverable ellipsis' (section 7.4). Although there is a sense of physical greyness (clothing, hair) in this description of Arabella, it is difficult to add an appropriate noun phrase paraphrase after *over*, making the *all over* of (21) more fixed. Examples (21) and (22) show the kind of comparison that can be made between salience reduction and fixedness in complex adverbs that are similarly constructed (see also Chapter 8).

So far we have only looked at *over* in the spatial sense. An example of an abstract sense extension is in (23), where not only do we have a non-prototypical sense but, again, both *all* and *over* have the same non-salient grammatical roles as in (21) and (22). It is also a fixed expression.

(23) when I'd written the booklet - and it was **all over** - I rang up - to the manager's secretary [1.3.176]

The second expression with *over* that I have categorized as fixed is *all over the place*:

(24) and then they think he's going to die - presumably - and they've got deaths - **all over the place** [6.8.416]

Although the grammatical role of *over* is prepositional (therefore salient) there is some reduction of salience brought about by the deliberately non-specific *the place* (which is non-specific despite the definite article). Such

'general nouns' (Halliday & Hasan 1976:274–277) have a text cohesive function and their referents are normally quite salient. This is not the case in (24), where it is difficult to conceptualize *the place*. In (25) the referent is more salient and can be replaced by something more specific ('my garden/living room/etc')—though not without a loss of negative emphasis (irritation, in this case). There are occasional substitutes for *place* (*show*, for example), and it is possible to insert certain expletive adjectives (*bloody*, etc), but these are from very small sets of possible alternatives which result in the same interpersonal element being retained. (See also section 7.3 on general nouns.)

(25) and it was bloody annoying - cos they came with this child - you know - who was running **all over the place** [2.7.66]

Finally, a brief mention of the third and final expression with *over* in the database, which is *all over again.*

(26) it was quite the wrong thing to say - because - then he now began **all over again** [2.8.847]

(27) the spot flies back - starts the process **all over again** - and repeats the same path [10.9.249]

The grammatical roles of *all* and *over* are again non-salient and, likewise, the sense of *over*. This is sufficient to render the expressions entirely fixed. To my British ear, *again* is needed to specify repetition and thus overtly signal the highly specialized sense of *over* that is intended. And at this point we leave *over*.

It is true of much of the data discussed in these pages that further investigation is needed, in some cases more than in others. Another preposition occurring with *all* in AD scope is *all along*, which is discussed in more detail with reference to non-salient cohesive relations (section 7.4.1) with cross-references to the subject matter of the present section.

Preposition + *all*

Five different prepositions in the database combine with *all* in IN scope: *above all, in all, after all, of all,* and *at all*.

(28) and I suppose there're really three things - you have to decide - somewhere to live - something to live on - and **above all** - something to do [5.5.269]

(29) in nineteen sixty - there were four hundred and seventy-one murders - **in all** [5.3.67]

(30) you have been very very close to me - in my - adult life - because you have **after all** - lived with my family - for nearly twenty years [6.4.31]

(31) man's greatest contribution **of all** - I think - is that he can combine metaphorical thinking [5.2.644]

(32) they knew nothing **at all** about him [12.2.1147]

(In addition to the six occurrences of *of all* as an intensifier of superlatives, the expression *first of all* occurs 43 times in LLC. This is discussed as a fixed expression in its own right in section 9.3.)

In section 3.3 we saw that three-quarters of the occurrences of *all* with IN scope in LLC are in fixed expressions and two-thirds of the remaining occurrences are in the fixed relative construction of the type: 'All he does is read'. From this I concluded that IN-scope is the least salient grammatical role of *all*, and thus a strong fixing force in expressions.

The prepositions involved in these expressions vary as to levels of salience. Clearly, the least salient is *at* in *at all*. The core sense of *at* is 'location', which, in conjunction with *all,* is impossible to conceptualize in respect of the intensifier *at all*. The expression *at all* is particularly interesting as an example of an expression undergoing change (and also by virtue of its being the most frequent complex adverb in the database). It is discussed in this perspective in section 9.2.4.

5.2 Metaphor

Properly a sub-section of the previous one on polysemy, metaphor is treated separately for convenience. The clearest cases of extended, or metaphorical, meanings in the database are: *heart, way, fronts, sides*.

5.2.1 *heart*

There is but one occurrence of *heart*:

(33) in the fullness of my strength - **with all my heart** - now and for ever [12.1.619]

Corpus evidence shows that we are more likely to speak of the physical organ when there is something wrong with it: *heart attack, heart condition, heart surgery, heart failure*, etc. More commonly we use the word *heart* in its extended or metaphorical senses: *a change of heart, my heart sank, my heart wasn't in it, a heart of stone, a heart-to-heart talk, a heart of gold, the heart of the matter,* and so on.

The notion of the heart as a source or container of strong emotion is highly salient to native speakers of English, and the expression *with all my heart* is a conventional way of emphasizing love or devotion. This expression is quite variable: 'He loved her with all that remained of his poor, shattered heart', 'from the bottom of my heart', 'with all my heart and soul'. I included *with all my heart* in the database as a potential complex adverb, presumably influenced by the presence of metaphorical meaning. However, it is not entirely fixed according to the variability criteria and, to native speakers of English, the word *heart* is used in an entirely salient sense. I conclude, therefore, that *with all my heart* is perhaps not a fixed expression.

5.2.2 *way*

The case of *way* is interesting. Most of the 730 occurrences in LLC are used in the 'fashion', 'means' or 'method' sense:

(34) I think the **way** that we used to do it for the drama catalogue [9.5.188]

It would appear that this sense has gained ground over—and is more salient than—both the concrete sense of 'road' or 'path' (35) and its extended temporal/sequential sense (36), both of which almost always occur in fixed expressions such as *all the way*:

(35) there's a bus you can get **all the way** [7.1.286]

(36) [...] has worked consistently **all the way** through the course [2.9.412]

The expression *all the way* occurs 24 times in LLC. In all but two cases it is used in the spatial or temporal/sequential sense and is, arguably, slightly variable—but only to the extent that it can be further qualified (37) or existing qualification can be omitted (38):

(37) it's the same number **all the way** [1.11.1009]
[cf: it's the same number **all the way** through the list]

(38) remembering it and reciting it - **all the way** from my home down to Wexham [12.6.221]
[cf: remembering it and reciting it - **all the way**]

In the remaining two occurrences of *all the way* there is no optional qualification:

(39) A: but it goes much further than Vietnam - it's general antimilitarism
B: and that was our rightwingers - who got us into that you see
A: yeah
B: it was **all the way** with LBJ - and all that business
A: sure [1.10.128]

(40) we don't want to see any NEB in Scotland - so - while we welcome his support - we don't go **all the way** with what he's saying [11.5.259]

Here, a sense of 'path' is discernible, but it is an abstract sense and also one of a specific path to a significant goal. In this respect it is the least salient meaning of *way* in the database and, used in this way, the expression is also the least variable since it does not even permit qualification (cf examples (35)–(38)).

5.2.3 *fronts, sides*

Inclusion into the database of potential complex adverbs was generous (section 3.1). The three expressions with *fronts* and *sides* are very borderline cases and do not warrant more than a short mention.

(41) resources - are sharply cut back **on all fronts** [3.2.542]

(42) what's been happening in the House of Commons - over the last few months - members aren't attending debates - **on all sides** - all parties - the standard seems to be going down [5.5.448]

The corpus has but 2 *fronts*, compared to 115 *front*. There are indications that the military sense is available in both singular and plural forms when the context is actually military, but not so when the same sense is extended beyond this context, as in (41). In the case of *sides* I would say that there is a slight salience reduction in the context of *all*, given that things, groups, arguments, etc, normally have just two sides. The variability constraints on these two expressions are also marginal and they remain, therefore borderline cases.

5.3 Meaning not current outside of fixed expressions

Meanings not current outside of fixed expressions are of two different kinds—they can be with or without an obvious historical precedent. In my data a typical example of the former is *while*, in its earlier meaning of 'time', which is still recognisable in the conjunction. An example of the latter is *means*, where the whole expression has undergone a meaning shift through pragmatic inferencing but the meaning of the word *means* itself in this context is not interpretable.

5.3.1 *while*

There are two occurrences of *all the while* in LLC:

(43) in the gospel story . and we read **all the while** about Christ rejecting the temptations [12.1.702]

(44) towards the gun carriage . **all the while** during this whole ceremony [10.5.954]

The development of *while* is widely cited in the literature on grammaticalization.[6] The earlier, nominal use was regularly found in adverbials such as 'all the whyle' but during the eighteenth century the concessive use as conjunction gradually took over. Nowadays, *while* is rarely used to mean 'time' except in some fixed expressions (*a while, a while ago, all the while)*. The examples cited from LLC suggest that *all the while* is now reserved for specific discourse contexts (formal, ceremonial).

5.3.2 *means*

The best example of a non-salient word meaning in my data is *means* in the following context:

(45) if she contacts you - invite her up - **by all means** - I mean invite her up the same night that she contacts you [4.1.971]

As an expression of willingness to agree to a situation *by all means* is a completely fixed expression. Any variation in the expression will produce the most common reading of *means*, which is 'method' or 'agency':

[6] For example, Traugott (1982:254).

(46) I'm just explaining how I acquired a sewing machine by foul **means** [1.3.97]

5.4 Non-salient meaning and fixedness in complex adverbs

We have seen in this chapter that although colourful, lexical items are infrequent in complex adverbs, by exploring the semantic meanings of prepositions and other highly polysemous words it is possible to correlate less salient meanings to some degree of fixedness in the expressions. The same applies to word meanings that are either metaphorical or simply anomalous. For the most part though the non-salient semantic meanings that we have observed occur in combination with other salience-reducing phenomena (perhaps the sole exception in the database is *means* in *by all means*) and cannot be considered criterial in identifying the underlying causes of fixedness in complex adverbs.

Using the case of *right* I have also commented on the relationship between grammaticalization and the development of fixed expressions, though this topic is deferred to Chapter 10 and a discussion of the evolution of fixed expressions as a specific kind of language change distinct from grammaticalization. In the next two chapters I shall expand upon the notion of non-salient grammatical roles and cohesive relations as more prominent fixing forces in complex adverbs.

6 Non-salient grammatical role

In this chapter I resume the discussion of *all*, with a particular focus on decategoriality. I discuss the three-way functional split between *all* in complex adverbs, *all* in ad hoc expressions, and *all* as an intensifying clitic. As we saw in Chapter 3, the prototypical role of *all* is that of nominal quantifier, which is related to its earlier role as adjective. We also saw that in other roles it occurs most frequently in fixed environments. These non-prototypical roles I refer to as 'non-salient roles'. Following the definition of salience in section 3.5, non-salient roles are those which are not immediately clear because they are not prototypical and therefore not expected.

The chapter begins with a section on decategoriality (6.1). Section 6.2 is a review of the grammatical roles played by *all* in different environments. In section 6.3 I compare and contrast the two paths of development towards fixation that are apparent from the study of *all*. The final section (6.4) summarizes the conclusions that can be drawn concerning the fixing force of non-salient grammatical roles.

6.1 Decategoriality and salience of roles

Decategorialization[1] is the term used of the process whereby words gradually lose the grammatical features which identify them as members of a major lexical category. Grammaticalization scholars have proposed a theory of unidirectionality, which states that minor categories have their origins in major categories (nouns and verbs) and that (in the most general terms) functional shifts will proceed along the following cline:

> content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix
>
> (Hopper & Traugott 1993:7)

[1] As defined in Chapter 3, note 1. See also Hopper & Thompson (1984) on categoriality.

The development of *while* from a full lexical noun (*þa hwile þe* 'at the time that') to concessive conjunction has become a textbook example of this cline of development.[2] Concomitant with a loss of grammatical features identifying it as a noun, *while* has 'gained an ability to link clauses and indicate temporal relationships in discourse in a way that was not possible for it as an ordinary noun' (*ibid* p 104).

Categoriality is thus by no means time stable. Modern speakers of English will undoubtedly agree that *while* is a conjunction. In other words, in present-day English this is its most salient role. There are remnants of its use as a noun but only in fixed expressions (cf section 5.3.1).

Whether *all* has origins as a full lexical item we do not know. Haspelmath (1995) traces it back to a concrete adjective meaning 'whole'; likewise OED begins with the adjective use.[3] A thorough investigation of the historical development of *all* is sadly lacking, but my synchronic analysis of the ways in which this frequent item is used has nevertheless been a useful tool in the investigation of fixedness. The analysis of *all* in LLC shows that it functions in a wide range of roles. The figures for scope types are repeated here for convenience (see section 3.3 for details):

SCOPE	% OCCURRENCES
Nominal (NOM)	34
Independent (IN)	24
Adverbal (AD)	18
Pronominal (PRO)	16
Ambiguous (AMB)	8

Without knowing more about the historical development of *all*, it is difficult to make any claims about the same, but the role of *all* that is closest to adjective (NOM scope) is also the most frequent and productive role in present-day English: *all the furniture*, *all institutions, all my documents, all those ingredients* (Chapter 3).

My primary concern has been to identify characteristics of fixedness in complex adverbs. Since decategorialization is generally considered to be a

[2] Traugott (1982:254), Hopper & Traugott (1993:84, 104), for example.

[3] See section 3.2. Some linguists also consider the adjective to be a major category; see, for example, Croft (1991).

defining characteristic of grammaticalization,[4] it would seem natural to assume that grammaticalized *all* plays an important fixing role in the complex adverbs. An interesting question, therefore, is why do we not find the most grammaticalized form of *all*, ie the emphasizing and intensifying clitic *y'all* (section 6.2.3) in complex adverbs? I return to this question in section 6.3.

6.2 The roles of *all* in different types of expression

In Chapter 3 I made some observations on *all* in different grammatical roles. In this section I turn the perspective around and look at the grammatical roles of *all* first in complex adverbs and then in non-fixed expressions. Finally, I shall focus on the development of *all* as a clitic, which is not found in the complex adverbs.

6.2.1 *All* in complex adverbs

The strongest correlation between scope and occurrence in complex adverbs is with independent *all*, where *all* (perhaps with the exception of *at all*) can be paraphrased with 'everything' or 'everybody': *first of all, after all, all considered, and all, when all is said and done, that's all, above all, at all, in all,* and the superlative intensifier *of all*. These expressions account for three-quarters of the 547 occurrences of independent *all* in LLC (Table 3.3). The figures might be considered skewed by the high frequency of *at all* (265 occurrences). Excluding *at all* would bring the total number of independent *all* down to only 282 of which 139 in complex adverbs. This still amounts to 49% of independent *all* in complex adverbs, however, with a high frequency of tokens per type, and I regard it a significant percentage. The remaining occurrences of independent *all* are accounted for in the following section. Notably, however, only 48 occurrences are in ad hoc expressions of the type:

(1) he gave a huge feast for **all** in the village [12.6.524]

(2) and to keep **all** at home neat and clean [12.2.877]

Of the occurrences of *all* with adverbal scope, half are to be found in complex adverbs. As with IN scope and *at all*, a large number of the AD scope occurrences are in a single expression (*all right*), of which there are 142. But in this

[4] Hopper (1991:30–31), Hopper & Traugott (1993:103–113), for example.

case I have excluded from the database a similar number of occurrences of *all right* as complement, which is also a fixed expression though not adverbal.

As we saw in Chapter 3, *all* in complex adverbs has predominantly AD scope and IN scope, where its roles are as adverb and pronoun respectively.

6.2.2 *All* in non-fixed expressions

Of the 2301 occurrences of *all* in the database, 1494 were not in fixed expressions. Table 6.1 shows their distribution according to scope.

Table 6.1 Distribution of non-fixed *all* in LLC

Scope	Total in LLC	Total non-fixed	% of non-fixed *all*	% of scope type
nominal	787	604	40	77
pronominal	376	361	24	96
independent	547	143	11	26
adverbal	411	210[5]	13	51
ambiguous	178	178	12	100
TOTAL	2299	1496	100	–

In round figures, three-quarters of the occurrences of *all* with NOM scope are in ad hoc expressions. When *all* has nominal scope in a potential complex adverb there is always evidence of other fixing forces (ie, non-salient meaning and/or cohesive relations): *all day* (section 7.5), *all the time* (5.1.1), *all the while* (5.3.1), *all the way* (5.2.2), *and all that kind of thing* (7.2.4), *by all means* (5.3.2), *with all my heart* (5.2.1).

All with ambiguous scope is interesting. This is a fuzzy category and thus one which provides clues about the contexts in which change might be taking place. None of the complex adverbs have *all* with ambiguous scope, of course; if an expression were clearly identifiable there would be no ambiguity. In all of the 178 cases that I have analyzed as ambiguous it is impossible to decide whether *all* modifies a preceding (pronominal or nominal) element or a

[5] Three-quarters of these are *all right* as subject or object complement, which is also fixed.

following non-nominal element (section 3.3.5). Sometimes the following element is even a verb or verb particle:

(3) well I'm probably too old for it to **all** mend [1.10.567]

(4) because I've got it **all** packed up and ready [8.4.770]

(5) Lisbon isn't much at all - cos it was **all** destroyed in the earthquake [2.13.655]

Independent scope, finally, is quite rare in non-fixed expressions (11% of non-fixed *all*). Where it does occur (143 occurrences), it is most often as an emphatic in relative constructions (95 occurrences):

(6) **all** she wanted was money and sex [12.4.937]

Thus the predominant scope of *all* in non-fixed expressions is nominal, which function I consider closest to an earlier one as adjective.

6.2.3 *All* as a clitic

As we saw in section 3.3.2, *all* quite often occurs in the role of pronoun emphasizer (PRO scope):

(7) well you can't have them **all** [7.3.280]

(8) the best of luck with it **all** [9.1.1082]

(9) he - used to come to church - and - meet us **all** [12.6.974]

While it is difficult to predict future developments in language change, it is compelling to interpret this use of all as an example of cliticization. The primary evidence of the potential for this shift is found in the frequent use of y'all in some dialects of English:

(10) **Y'all** don't know what dugouts are.
At least **y'all** are getting some rain.
You, **y'all** at work at TI?
Y'all weren't getting any of the string ... [CIC]

In 6 of the 12 occurrences of *y'all* in CIC *all* precedes the auxiliary, showing a tendency towards attachment to the pronoun as an intensifying clitic. Hopper &

Traugott mention this form of *y'all* but conclude that it is an isolated case of cliticization with no evidence of a paradigm emerging:

I	*I-all
you	you-all
he	*he-all
she	*she-all

(Hopper & Traugott 1993:150)

I would argue against this being an isolated case on the grounds that it is rare to find a noun phrase preceding *all* in this way, which one would otherwise expect given that *all* occurs most frequently with nominal scope (section 3.3.2). This suggests that we have the beginnings of a specific syntactic development with pronouns only. Further, Hopper & Traugott cite only singular pronoun forms as starred items, which one would expect to develop at the very latest stage of the paradigm development. With nominals, *all* denotes plurality of countable or conceptually divisible entities, and the combinations *we all, us all, they all, them all, it all, that all* are actually highly frequent. In these cases there is not (yet) the same evidence of incipient morphologization as there is with *y'all* (*all* interrupting the normal sequence of pronoun + auxiliary, for example: 'I don't know what *y'all* are paying in Dallas'), but note the following example from LLC (by a speaker of British English) where the auxiliary is similarly displaced:

(11) bindan rindan and windan - the three verbs - all are rhyming - and **they all are** doing - with something going round - bindan to wind - windan to wind - and rindan to rind [1.6.1.6.935]

There is also in the pronunciation of *y'all* an open invitation to phonological reduction between *you* and *all*, which might account for *you* being the first pronoun to participate in univerbation.[6] In summary, I concede that morphologization has not taken place here but, at the same time, I would say that there is quite strong evidence of an emergent affixation of plural pronouns with intensifying *all*.

A further example of *all* participating in affixation is the case of what OED refers to as '*all* in combinations', of which there are a few in LLC:

[6] Not ignoring, of course, the pragmatic overtones of familiarity that this form of address brings with it.

(12) it was an **all-embracing** term [11.5.595]

(13) you've watched the **all-in-wrestling** sometimes [4.5.512]

(14) this could be the **all important** round - and Cooper's eye patched up there [10.3.1081]

OED has a large variety of syntactic types prefixed by *all*, a construction that 'has existed from the earliest times and become, since *c* 1600, unlimited in number'. The oldest types seem to be combinations with adjectives, although occasional participle combinations are attested at an early date (now the most prolific type: *all-absorbing*, *all-knowing*, *all-enduring*). Unlike *all* as an emphasizer of personal pronouns, *all* as a prefix (or, in the earlier stages, as a pre-posed clitic) is not restricted to PRO scope – nor to any scope in particular. This is interesting, because it suggests that the grammatical role of *all* is not criterial for affixation to occur. As we see from OED, the host can be noun (*all-spice*, *all-male*), adjective (*all-coloured*, *all-powerful*), adverb (*all-convincingly*, *all-sufficiently*), as well as the participles cited above. Thus the origin of the clitic or affix seems to be *all* with scope over a range of grammatical elements, including nominals. In my study, AD scope and IN scope are characteristic of *all* in complex adverbs, while NOM scope is clearly the preferred type in non-fixed expressions. The following section (6.3) takes a closer look at the difference between affixation[7] and the fixation of phrasal expressions such as complex adverbs.

6.3 Different clines of fixation

6.3.1 A structural comparison

The historical development of the future *gonna* is generally considered a good example of grammaticalization (i). For comparison, I shall use the present-day discourse marker *in fact* as a good example of the cline of development from ad hoc expression > fixed expression > univerbation (ii).

i) *gonna*

The development of *gonna* has been sufficiently described in the literature (eg: Hopper & Traugott 1993:1–3), and I will not repeat it here. I want to focus on

[7] I use 'affixation' to denote the fusion of a clitic with its host.

the specific changes that have taken place on the parts and the whole of the syntagms involved in the course of change for this item. Schematically, these are as follows:

Stage:	Example:
1	She's **going** | **to** the restaurant.
2	She's **going** | **to** eat.
3	She's **going to** | eat.
4	It's **going to** | rain.
5	It's **gonna** | rain.

The preposition *to* was originally part of a prepositional phrase syntagm. Concomitant with the contextual reinterpretation of *going* (from purposive direction to intention) that occurred between stages 2 and 3, *to* was reanalyzed as belonging to the verb syntagm by the time stage 4 was reached. Crucial to the success of such reanalysis is the repetition by analogy of *going* + *to* INF, which is the paradigmatic development characteristic of the later stages of grammaticalization (see Chapter 10). In the course of this development, the host (*going*) becomes more grammatical (from full verb to auxiliary).

ii) *in fact*

Traugott (1995) traces the development of *in fact* from clause internal adverbial > sentence adverbial > discourse marker. Here, I focus on the initial stages of this development, from ad hoc expression > fixed expression > univerbation, which she describes as follows (schematically reproduced):

Stage:	**Example:**
1	For the whiche noble **facte**, the kynge created hym afterwarde duke of Norfolke. (OED,1543)
2	But it is evident **in fact** and experience that there is no such universal judge ... (Helsinki Corpus, 1671)
3	In whatever light you may consider it, this is **in fact** a solid benefit ... (OED, 1732)

The full lexical noun *fact* ('deed') came to be used formulaically in the prepositional phrase syntagm of stage 2 and, through contextual reinterpretation of the whole syntagm, took on a contrastive meaning. In present-day English this

complex adverb is beginning to undergo phonological reduction in informal speech, where the initial preposition is often ellipted as in:

Don’t know why I’m doing this - fact I don’t know why anyone’d want to ...

It is not difficult to imagine a later stage where the remaining *fact* is used similarly to *in fact* today.

6.3.2 Criterial differences

If the structural changes that take place in affixation and in the fixation of phrasal expressions are distinct, it follows that the conditions under which these changes occur are also likely to be different. As we have seen (section 6.2), the grammatical roles of *all* correlate strongly with the two types of fixation. *All* in complex adverbs tends to have AD or IN scope, while the clitic *all*, as a participant in affixation, can have origins in a variety of roles – including NOM scope, which in my study has a clear preference for non-fixed expressions.

A second distinguishing feature in the two types of fixation is that affixation requires the syntactic reanalysis of a specific word (the clitic) in relation to another (the host) alongside the general reinterpretation of syntagms, which is a semantic/pragmatic change common to both courses of development. And, finally, the outcome of fixation is, in the case of affixation, increased grammaticality. In complex adverbs, the unification process does not necessarily result in a more grammatical item.

There is more to be said concerning these two courses of fixation and unification but the discussion is deferred for the moment. It is resumed in Chapter 10, which looks at fixedness and language change.

6.4 Non-salient grammatical roles in complex adverbs

There are other instances of non-salient grammatical roles in my data, most notably the adverbal use of prepositions in *all over* and *all along*. Other examples are the nouns *sudden* and *while* in *all of a sudden* and *all the while*. *All* was my keyword in establishing a database of potential complex adverbs and thus it occurs in every expression in the database, which has provided sufficient material for the study of grammatical roles.

As a result of this investigation, I have suggested that non-prototypical roles are a fixing force in expressions. Since not all fixed expressions develop in the same way (section 6.3), it is necessary to qualify this claim with respect to the fixation process exemplified by complex adverbs. While I am suggesting that words used in non-prototypical roles are less salient with regard to their contribution to the expression as a whole, the occurrence of words in non-prototypical roles is not necessarily indicative of phrasal fixation (in contrast to affixation). However, it seems reasonable to assume the reverse. In other words, that non-prototypical grammatical roles in expressions formed through phrasal fixation are salience-reducing factors and thus criterial evidence of fixedness.

7 Non-salient cohesive relation

In the two preceding chapters we saw how word meanings and grammatical roles can be more or less salient. In this chapter I shall look at the relative salience of cohesive relations within the framework of cohesion study expounded by Halliday & Hasan (1976, in this chapter occasionally with page references only). The term ‘cohesion’ implies by default a bond between at least two elements, but with cohesion signals that occur in complex adverbs the bond, or tie, between them and their referents is not always salient. In this context, I am using ‘salient’ in its basic sense of ‘prominent’ (see section 3.5). Cases of non-salient reference are those where I have not been able to identify a referent for cohesion signals in the text. The first section introduces the relevant components of the theory, and is followed by analyses of the cohesion signals found in the complex adverbs of this study.

7.1 Cohesion signals and ties

> Cohesion is a semantic relation between an element in the text and some other element that is **crucial to the interpretation** of it.
>
> (Halliday & Hasan 1976:8. Emphasis added.)

Cohesion signals comprise a variety of linguistic features that would not normally ‘be likely to appear on the same page in a description of English grammar’ (p 28). Halliday & Hasan describe a continuum of cohesive elements, from specific lexical devices and general noun reference to grammatical (pronoun) reference and, finally, ellipsis. This cline of grammaticality reflects neither the degree of salience nor the strength of the cohesive bond; it is merely a description of the types of linguistic elements involved. In fact, it is crucial for cohesion that the cohesive tie between ‘the presupposing and the presupposed’ is salient:

> A sentence displaying any of these features is an invitation to a text. If the invitation is taken up – if there is in the environment another sentence containing the required key to the interpretation – the text comes into being.
>
> (Halliday & Hasan 1976:28)

Cohesion signals recur significantly in the complex adverbs, in particular **reference items**, **general nouns**, and **ellipsis**, to each of which a section of this chapter is devoted. Characteristically, in many of these fixed expressions there is no immediately salient (clear) tie between the cohesion signal in the expression and any other element in the text. In other words, the cohesive relation is not salient. I shall say a few words about each of the three specific types of cohesive relation mentioned here, based on Halliday & Hasan's (1976) account.

Reference items are not interpreted semantically in their own right; instead they make reference to something else for their interpretation (p 31). The item referred to is either present in the text (endophoric reference), in which case a distinction is made between anaphoric and cataphoric reference, or it is present in the situation (exophoric reference). Reference items are of three specific types (p 38–39): personal (pronouns), demonstrative (*this, that, these, those, here, there, now, then*, and *the*), and comparative (eg: *same, identical, similar, other, else,* etc, together with their adverb forms; and the comparative adjectives and their quantifiers – *better, more*, etc).

General nouns are the second type of cohesion signal in Halliday & Hasan's account that figure prominently in my data. Described as 'a small set of nouns having generalized reference within the major noun classes' general nouns function on the borderline between lexical and grammatical cohesion (p 275). Out of context, general nouns are by definition less specific in their reference than other nouns, but they are not as grammatical as the pronouns. Some examples of general nouns in cohesive function are (p 275):

[a] What shall I do with all this crockery? – Leave **the stuff** there; someone'll come and put it away.

[b] We all kept quiet. That seemed **the best move**.

[c] Can you tell me somewhere to stay in Geneva? I've never been to **the place**.

[d] Henry seems convinced there's money in dairy farming. I don't know what gave him **that idea**.

[e] Didn't everyone make it clear they expected the minister to resign? – They did. But it seems to have made no impression on **the man**.

As Halliday & Hasan point out, general nouns in cohesive function are usually accompanied by the reference item *the* (sometimes *that*) so that the whole noun phrase functions like an anaphoric reference item. Halliday & Hasan also comment on the added element of interpersonal meaning introduced by using the general noun form rather than a pronoun (*him*, for example, in [e] above):

> The expression of interpersonal meaning, of a particular attitude on the part of the speaker, is an important function of general nouns. Essentially the attitude conveyed is one of familiarity, as opposed to distance, in which the speaker assumes the right to represent the thing he is referring to as it impinges on him personally; hence the specific attitude may be either contemptuous or sympathetic, the two being closely related as forms of personal involvement [...].
>
> (Halliday & Hasan 1976:276)

In fact, many of the reference items in the complex adverbs have an element of interpersonal meaning, as we shall see in the following.

The third type of cohesion signal that I shall discuss is ellipsis. Halliday & Hasan describe ellipsis as 'substitution by zero', in which respect it is similar to reference (p 142). What is ellipted is unsaid but nevertheless understood, in the sense of 'goes without saying'. A distinction is also made between exophoric and endophoric types, as with reference. In both cases, exophoric cohesion is only interpretable if the situation is known (in analyzing the complex adverbs I have taken situational ties to be salient, even if they are not interpretable second-hand, as it were, in the reading of the text). Halliday & Hasan's account of ellipsis is mainly concerned with describing nominal, verbal, and clausal ellipsis, the details of which are not essential for my analysis. I am concerned only with the question of recoverability, that is whether it is possible to recover ellipted items, and not with what the structure of that item might be.

7.2 Reference

I begin this section with a further reminder of the importance of recoverability for text coherence:

> What is essential to every instance of reference whether endophoric (textual) or exophoric (situational) is that there is a presupposition that must be satisfied; the thing referred to has to be identifiable somehow.
>
> (Halliday & Hasan 1976:33)

There are contexts in which it is difficult to retrieve a referent for a particular referring item—in conversations with small children who have not yet learned to differentiate between their own deictic centre and that of an interlocutor, or listening to a tape recording of naturally occurring conversation, which abounds with incomprehensible exophoric reference that is perfectly clear to the speakers who were present at the time. Leaving aside these situation-dependent, ambiguous cases, which are understandable and expected consequences of the contexts in which they appear, my own study of reference items in corpora verifies the statement cited above. With one notable exception, however: referents for reference items that occur in complex adverbs can be—often are, in fact—very difficult to identify.

One of the most interesting reference items in my data is demonstrative *that,* and I shall devote a considerable amount of space to discussing the various expressions in which it occurs. To begin with, *that* occurs far more frequently than the related demonstratives *this, those,* and *these*. It also tends to occur in derogatory contexts, as we shall see in the following, presumably as a result of the reference to something distant rather than close (cf *this*), which suggests emotional distancing.

7.2.1 *that*

Examples (1)–(5) illustrate typical uses of demonstrative *that* in LLC. In each case there is a clear and straightforward relationship between *that* and its referent in the text. (Square brackets mark intervening stretches of text that do not disturb the cohesion indicated.)

(1) in winter it's ninety [...] percent even heather - and of course there's an abundance of **that** [10.8.587]

(2) I thought there were two external advisers [...] **that** would be Dell plus somebody wouldn't it [1.1.330]

(3) it's too late now to put him into an isolation hospital - I would have had to do **that** a few days ago [1.8.1056]

(4) I wish I had eight lifetimes - it would take me all **that** to keep up [1.10.1188]

(5) may I read your message [...] oh **that**'s a very sensible thing to say [1.8.379]

The cohesive ties between *that* and its referent in the above examples are all highly salient, and we have no difficulty in formulating a paraphrase for *that* in each case: (1) 'heather', (2) 'the two external advisers that A was thinking of', (3) 'put him into an isolation hospital', (4) 'eight lifetimes', (5) whatever the speaker was reading (situational). For convenience I shall call this Level 1 (ie the cohesive tie is most salient).

7.2.2 *and all that*

Consider now the *that* of (6) at the least salient end of the cline, which I shall call Level 3:

(6) Finding comedy through character is only part of what Robin Williams does. [...] Instantly Williams is off and running again, in the character of an unctuously anti-Semitic English headmaster: We're so happy to have you and all **that**, but Gawd, I'm sorry we don't have any of your food heah. What is it that you people actually eat? And will you be doing any of your rituals while you're heah?[1]

The expression *and all that* is a fixed expression with a strong element of interpersonal meaning.[2] Most of the dictionaries that I have consulted do not mention the pragmatic overtones of the expression, with the exception of ODCIE 2:

OED: 'and all the rest, et cetera'

LDOCE: 'and so on'; and all such things'

CIDE: 'and everything related to it'

COBUILD: 'to refer generally to everything else which is associated with what you have just mentioned'

ODCIE 2: 'and other similar things (esp when a full list would be tedious, when the speaker assumes that the listener knows what is implied, or when being diffident, dismissive or belittling); often derogatory'

At first glance it would seem that we have here one of a set of expressions with a variable final slot, at least in terms of substituting *this* for *that* and adding noun phrases such as *stuff, jazz, business, kind/sort of thing*, etc. However, variation produces different kinds and levels of interpersonal meaning in the

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1 Morgenstern, J. 'Stand up Robin Williams'. *The Guardian*. 5 January 1991.

2 *And* is not included in the present analysis, but see Sweetser (1990:86–112) on the conjunction of speech acts.

and all that group. I have already indicated that I shall be discussing three levels, where Level 1 is the highly salient type of referential *that* and Level 3 is the least salient use of the same (6). At Level 2 are the alternative reference items with *and all ...*, some of which I have just mentioned. As we shall see in the following, these three levels of salience in cohesive relations correlate with decreasing variability and increased fixedness in the expressions. In order to show this, it is necessary to focus on the reference items in isolation from the expressions in which they occur and to examine the cohesive ties that they form with their referents.

Firstly, let us return to the *that* of (6). It is anaphoric in that it somehow relates back to 'we're so happy to see you' but, unlike the *that*s of (1)–(5) it has no ready paraphrase. Using the definitions cited above would generate something like: *and all* 'other things associated with being happy to see you', which is not quite right. Although ODCIE indicates the pragmatic force of the whole expression the definition still fails to generate a fully adequate paraphrase for *that*. The only explanation seems to be that *that* refers not to what was said (we're so happy to see you') but to the speech act (GREETING), which would give the paraphrase: and all 'other things associated with GREETING'. In (6) *and all that* is an overt statement on the part of the speaker that he knows there are other things he ought to say but isn't going to, which produces the diffident, dismissive and belittling effect that we perceive.

A similar effect is produced in (7), where *that* can be paraphrased as 'other things associated with APOLOGIZING':

(7) One wonders where Viswanath celebrated his anniversary on Tuesday. Giving thanks up in the sublime Tirupati Hills, perhaps, at the temple of his god, Lord Venkateshwara. That is the shrine to which he made pilgrimage 11 years ago between the second and third Tests against England. He had scarcely contributed in the first two and his brother-in-law and captain, Gavaskar, warned him that another low score and, well, sorry **and all that**. Vishy and his wife, Kavitha, took to the hills to pray, and vow that for every run he made in his "last chance" test in Delhi he would present his Lord with the equivalent in milligrams of silver.[3]

When *and all that* is used in this way it is not variable; *that* cannot be substituted by *this*, *that kind of thing*, or any other alternative. I am also claiming

[3] Keating, F. 'Come hail or high snowdrift, the winged chariot gets through'. *The Guardian*. 14 February 1991.

that *that* in reference to a preceding speech act is less salient than when it is used in straightforward reference to a word, phrase or clause in the text or as a situational pointer. In other words, in this expression we have maximum fixedness correlating with minimum salience.

The cohesive tie between the *that* of *and all that* and its textual referent is sometimes more salient than in the two previous examples but not as salient as in examples (1)–(5). Examples (8) and (9) conform to most of the definitions of the expression in that they can easily be substituted by 'and so on', 'et cetera', 'and all such things'. In the choice of *and all that* the speakers are expressing the fact that it would, indeed, be tedious to describe the implications of what *that* refers back to. Here, then, the expressive or pragmatic element (that the speaker assumes that the listener knows what is implied) is not a negative or dismissive speaker attitude. The speaker can be seen to be doing the listener a favour by not being too long-winded or explanatory (in Gricean terms: obeying the maxim of quantity).[4] Indeed, most dictionaries add the label 'informal' to the phrase, which is a consequence of its being more frequent in situations where there is a great deal of shared knowledge - between friends and colleagues, for example.

(8) A: an excellent book [...] which says that - probably the creation - of the British Army in the First World War - was the greatest administrative achievement - of possibly - our entire history - and that it's primarily remarkable - as an administrative achievement
B: Kitchener
A: yes - and all **that** - but also not just Kitchener [2.3.99]

(9) now I know that from the point of view of undergraduates - this isn't so good - because em you can't go to the British Museum and . I mean if you did you'd spend a very great deal of time there and em getting a book . and there are other places which I regard as libraries which are only for sort of advanced study and all **that** [3.3.441]

Here, *that* can be paraphrased as 'other things associated with what was just mentioned', that is 'Kitchener' in (8) and 'advanced study' in (9), but there remains an interpersonal meaning in both expressions that is not present in the anaphoric *that* of (1)–(5), albeit familiarity rather than dismissiveness in that a list would be tedious in these cases. Finally, this usage permits a certain variation in the reference item (*that kind of thing*, for example) and the whole

[4] Grice (1975).

phrase can be substituted (*and so on, and all the rest*), in accordance with the dictionary definitions. On the scale of salience of cohesive relations that I am using, I place this use of *that* at Level 2.

7.2.3 *and all this*

The expression *and all this* occurs three times only in LLC, the clearest example of which is:

(10) A: he's got a very distinctive accent as well - being an Irishman hasn't he - with a not very distinctive - but a distinctive what's the word - regional - snatch - hasn't he
B: well it's just different and [...]
A: rolling the Rs **and all this** [1.7.111]

On the surface it would seem that we have here an alternative expression to *and all that.* However, *and all this* differs from the former in that it does not have the same pragmatic overtones as *and all that*. The most prominent distinction between *this* and *that* is that between 'near' and 'far'. As Halliday & Hasan point out, this notion of proximity can also be interpreted in terms of time:[5]

a. We went to the opera last night. That was our first outing for months.
b. We're going to the opera tonight. This'll be our first outing for months.

(Halliday & Hasan 1976:60)

Similarly, the inherent meaning of 'distance' in *that* has extended into the pragmatic domain and is often used to indicate emotional distance, something the speaker does not want to associate with, or a generally negative attitude. Consider, for example, the following:

(11) I can't stand **that** Tom Jones. He makes me cringe. [Invented]

(12) *I love **that** Tom Jones. He's got a fantastic voice. [Invented]

(13) getting across from **that** Horsham Road - to Milford - I think is too much [1.11.1219]

[5] See also McCarthy (1994) for a closer analysis of the text structuring functions of *that* and *this*.

There is a mis-match in the use of dismissive *that* (11) and the overtly expressed praise in (12), and in (13) the speaker is stressing the opinion that Horsham Road is definitely to be avoided.

The expression *and all this* is, in my view, more like an ad hoc expression than the complex adverb *and all that*.

7.2.4 *and all that* [NP]

Also in the *and all that* group are expressions such as *and all that business, and all that kind of thing*. Some examples from my data are:

(14) it was all the way with L B J **and all that business** [1.10.255]

(15) I mean nuclear disarmament **and all that kind of thing** [5.5.673]

(16) he does sound changes **and all that sort of thing** [1.6.910]

These expressions contain a reference item followed by a general noun. This combination of cohesion signals makes it difficult to deal with each type in a separate section. Here I shall only be concerned with the role of the reference item *that*, and defer the main discussion to the section on general nouns (7.4). As far as *that* is concerned, it is quite salient in these expressions as in each case it modifies a following head.

Summarizing the observations regarding the reference item *that* in the *and all that* group, I have suggested three levels of salience in the cohesive ties formed between the cohesion signal and its textual referent:

Level 1: There is an immediate paraphrase that is directly recoverable from the text (1)–(4)

Level 2: The cohesion signal can be paraphrased as 'everything associated with what is mentioned in the text' (8)–(9), (14)–(16)

Level 3: The cohesion signal can only be paraphrased as 'everything that is associated with the preceding speech act' (6)–(7)

Each of these levels of salience correlates with variability in the expression. At Level 1 there are no variability constraints, at Level 2 *that* is a component part of a set of expressions that are to a certain extent variable, while the *that* of

Level 3 was found only in the completely fixed expression *and all that*, as in examples (6)–(7).

Before we leave the reference item *that* I shall comment briefly on two further expressions not related to the *and all that* group: the negative intensifier *all that* and the discourse marker *that's all*.

7.2.5 The negative intensifier *all that*

In negative and interrogative contexts *that* can function as a degree modifier. In negative contexts it is usually modified by *all*, as the following examples from the database show:

(17) I wouldn't have thought it was **all that** difficult - to get a lecturer's job down here [8.2.700]

(18) perhaps rich is a bit too strong - well off - they weren't **all that** rich [12.2.1208]

(19) and apparently the man had said to her [...] couldn't possibly - have a woman really - being a dentist - it's not **all that** easy you see [1.13.45]

(20) things aren't **all that** good at the moment [8.1.424]

Although *all* is theoretically optional, *all that* does seem more idiomatic. There is a strong interpersonal element in the expression, where the referent of *that* is an assumed, desired, or agreed degree of the adjective modified by *that*. Also, *all* functions as an adverb, which is one of its less salient roles, and I have therefore analyzed the expression as a complex adverb.

7.2.6 The discourse marker *that's all*

In the database there are 19 occurrences of *that's all*, most of them in a discourse marking function. Some examples of these are:

(21) A: it's the first heart attack he's ever had - it's not very nice
B: it's usually the first - it's usually the first one - **that's all** - I mean it could happen again [1.9.304]

(22) Mrs Hogg's got a rented flat now - from the council - you know - just needs more money - **that's all** [1.8.307]

(23) and that he was a very nice chap - **that's all** [11.1.1258]

(24) it is and it isn't - it's on a more macroscopic scale **that's all** [2.9.818]

(25) I think it might be useful - for the staff at least - to have access to this book - if only to find out - where our students - get their bad ideas from - **that's all** thank you very much [Answer-phone message] [9.3.653]

That can be generally paraphrased here as 'what has just been said', and in terms of salience I would place this cohesive relation at Level 1 (see section 7.2.4). The fixing force in this expression is *all* in the role of universal pronoun (IN scope, section 6.2.1), which is uncommon in ad hoc expressions. The expression seems to be variable, but alternatives are by far outnumbered (as a group) by *that's all*:

(26) and I used to make their tea in the morning - tea in the afternoons - and coffee in the mornings - and wheel it round - on the trolley - and **that was about all** [5.9.755]

(27) A: I'm earning about two eight something just now - and I go up
B: halve it [...]
A: yeah - oh **is that all** [8.2.233]

(28) I know that if medicine will save him - he'll be safe - and **that's just all** - so of course one doesn't want to give this up [1.8.1097]

(29) em **will that be all** - you know - can I go [1.12.786]

A final comment is in order, namely, that while my investigation of *that* in fixed expressions has been restricted to potential complex adverbs in LLC, I have not found any occurrences of *that* outside of fixed expressions in LLC where the salience of the cohesive relation is other than Level 1.

7.3 General nouns

Below is a list of examples of general nouns from Halliday & Hasan (1976), to which I have added bold emphasis to those occurring in the database of potential complex adverbs; underlining indicates additions from my data that are not specifically mentioned in Halliday & Hasan:

people, person, man, woman, child, boy, girl	[human]
creature	[non-human animate]
thing, object	[inanimate concrete noun]
stuff	[inanimate concrete mass]

business, affair, matter, **bit**, **rest**, **thing**	[inanimate abstract]
move	[action]
place	[place]
question, idea	[fact]

(Halliday & Hasan 1976:274)

As we saw in section 7.2.4, some of the complex adverbs in the *and all that* group can be varied by the addition of general nouns: *and all that business, and all that kind/sort of thing*, etc. In addition, the general nouns in the complex adverbs occur with both of the determiners *that* and *the*, as the following examples show:

(30) espionage James Bond **and all that bit** [1.10.255]

(31) it was all the way with LBJ **and all that business** [1.10.129]

(32) you haven't got to have provisional licences **and all that sort of thing** [6.2.606]

(33) you know - to establish the standards - **and all that kind of thing** [1.1.556]

(34) if you're going to fight a first class war - with casualties - **and all the rest of it** - you can't fight it - with a divided country [6.7.846]

(35) the echo turned on and stereophonic **and all the rest** [5.1.75]

(The general noun *place* is found in *all over the place*; see section 5.1.3.)

The general nouns that recur in complex adverbs introduced by *and all that/the* all represent the class of 'inanimate abstract' in Halliday & Hasan's categorization. As a group they occur 32 times in LLC, the most frequent expression being *and all the rest of it* (22 occurrences).[6] The abstract nature of these nouns makes them the most general of this class of nouns, bordering almost on pronouns in function. They all relay a sense of 'something unimportant' (since it doesn't need to be specified), often with an overtly expressed negative attitude (*bit*, *business*, cf *stuff*, *baloney*, etc).

Expressions of the *and all that/the* type with general nouns are among those that Channell (1994) refers to as 'vague category identifiers', where—

[6] See section 8.3 and Figure 8.3b.

> ... the whole expression directs the hearer to access a set, of which the given item is a member whose characteristics will enable the hearer to identify the set.
>
> (Channell 1994:122)

Presented with sentences like the following, Channell's informants listed 'bracelets, rings, earrings, brooches, pendants, watches, chains, anklets, beads ...' as typical items being referred to by *things like that*.

> ... and when you think of necklaces and things like that, the possibilities are endless.
>
> (Channell 1994:148)

While tags such as *or something*, *and things like that*, *or something like that* resulted in respondents listing further items in the same semantic category, the tag *and that* gave what Channell refers to as 'pragmatically-established categories'. Thus, for the following sentence many informants interpreted 'car' as a member of 'the associational category *possessions of affluent persons*, rather than in the semantic category *vehicles*' (*ibid* p 128).

> They've got a car and that.
>
> (Channell 1994:128)

Channell's investigation focuses on the interpretation of whole expressions while my own analysis of reference items and general nouns is concerned with component parts of expressions and an investigation of the salience of their contribution to the meaning of the expression as a whole. But the above examples do reflect a similarity in our conclusions. In the first, the cohesive bond between *that* and its referent 'necklaces' is an example of Level 1 salience, while the same relationship in the second tends more towards Level 2. Unfortunately, the expression *and all that* was not included in Channell's study.

In summary, the reference items *the* and *that* are completely salient in the expressions with general nouns, but the fact that they occur in relation to general nouns rather than specific nouns reduces the salience again, though not so much as to bring it to Level 3 (examples (6)–(7)). Expressions of this type are interchangeable within the set that consists of a reference item plus a general noun, which, again, correlates with Level 2 salience. General nouns in expressions are particularly interesting to study from the point of view of pragmatic inferencing (connotative meaning). Those that occur in the complex

adverbs are of the most general abstract type (*thing*, *place*), in which respect they function almost as pronouns.

7.4 Ellipsis

Ellipsis is perhaps the most difficult of the cohesive relations to analyze, as it is not as easy to define and identify as, for example, the reference items *that* and *the*. Halliday & Hasan say the following:

> An elliptical item is one which, as it were, leaves specific structural slots to be filled from elsewhere. This is exactly the same as presupposition by substitution, except that in substitution an explicit 'counter' is used, *eg: one* or *do*, as a place-marker for what is presupposed, whereas in ellipsis nothing is inserted into the slot.
>
> (Halliday & Hasan 1976:143)

Where reference items are as likely – or even more likely – to be exophoric as endophoric, the presupposed element in ellipsis is predominantly to be found in the text (p 143). As Halliday & Hasan are concerned with text cohesion their descriptive framework thus excludes what Quirk et al refer to as situational (36) and structural (37) ellipsis (invented examples).[7] The first of these is context dependent for recovery, while the second can only be replaced by a specific (usually) grammatical item:

(36) [do you] want some coffee?

(37) we usually eat [at] around five

Quirk et al use the term 'textual' ellipsis of the text cohesive type of ellipsis that is the focus of Halliday & Hasan's account. Having defined ellipsis, it is also important to recognize it in texts:

> To distinguish ellipsis from other kinds of omission, it is important to emphasize the principle of VERBATIM RECOVERABILITY that applies to ellipsis; that is, the actual word(s) whose meaning is understood or implied must be recoverable.
>
> (Quirk et al 1985: 12.32)

[7] See Quirk et al 1985:12.45–52.

My primary concern is, again, to identify occurrences of ellipsis where the principle of verbatim recoverability is not satisfied. I consider such cases to be salience reducing elements.

7.4.1 Ellipted NPs in prepositional phrases

In section 5.1.3 I based my discussion of prepositional meanings on *over* and the complex adverb *all over*, following Brugman (1983) and assuming the salient role of *over* to be prepositional. In this section I look at *along* and the complex adverb *all along*, with specific reference to possible NPs as ellipted modifiers of *along* where none is overtly specified.

According to OED *along* derives from an OE adjective *long*, merged as *all long* in ME (hence the expression *all night long*). The adverb *along* is listed as the preposition with its object omitted.[8] There are 138 occurrences of *along* in LLC, almost two thirds of which are verb particles, and hence component parts of fixed expressions. Another fixed (prepositional) expression *along with* ('together with') accounts for a further five occurrences:

(38) he used to go to the school - next door to here - and pay - a penny a week - **along with** all the other village boys [12.6.21]

Of the remaining occurrences, 36 have overt objects, as in (39)–(40).

(39) as the glass coach proceeds **along** the mall [10.6.225]

(40) there are one or two little butts **along** that hillside opposite [10.8.160]

There are six occurrences of situational ellipsis (41), and a further fixed expression (42):

(41) you know you've just passed the best point - but with some stations - it comes right up - others it'll only go halfway **along** [1.7.771]

(42) he was invalided out of New Guinea with em - three kinds of jaundice - two kinds of malaria - extensive jungle sores - filthy climate and dengue fever - and a couple of other things **to be going along with** [1.10.204]

[8] Cf Colman (1991) on the development of so-called 'prepositional adverbs' from prepositions. It is not my purpose to argue the derivation of these items, however, but to recognize their most frequent – and therefore salient – functions in present-day English.

The two remaining occurrences of *along* are (43)–(44):

(43) A: I was just checking from this document - the only teacher
B: you see is presumably Cedric you see [...] well I put queries **all along** - because I didn't know [2.6.161]

(44) it's this sort of thing that makes an absolute fool of Mallet - doesn't it - because this is the line that you've been plugging - and now it turns out that you were right **all along** - and the rest of us have been mistaken [1.2.334]

In (43) the list referred to is the ellipted NP object for *along*, and together with *along* it forms a salient cohesive relation. The *all along* of (44) was included in my database of potential complex adverbs on the grounds of it being completely fixed and invariable. And, as we see, the principle of 'verbatim recovery' referred to above does not apply here. Nothing in the preceding text can be substituted for the ellipted element following *along*. This absence of a cohesive tie for the ellipted object of *along* is an example of what I call non-salient ellipsis.

The unrecoverability of an ellipted object for *along* is not the only salience reducing feature in the complex adverb *all along* in (44). The concrete, spatial meaning of 'through the whole length of' (OED) is extended to temporal activity or process and thus an example of non-salient meaning (cf *over*, section 5.1.3); also, *all* is in its non-salient role of adverb (section 6.2.1). Finally, of course, there is the fact that *along* is in adverb role. This might seem to be a form of circular reasoning, but prepositions in adverb role can have an ellipted yet recoverable object, as in (45):

(45) There's a lovely view from the top of this tree. Why don't you climb **up** [the tree] and see. [Invented]

The case of *all along* that I have analyzed here is an example of a complex adverb with many non-salient components, and the clustering of these non-salient meanings, grammatical roles and cohesive relations obscures the contribution of the component parts to the meaning of the whole.

7.4.2 *the same / the rest*

In Halliday & Hasan's account *the same* functions variably as a form of comparative reference[9] (46) or substitution[10] (47). The examples are from LLC, with the other end of the cohesive tie underlined:

(46) Mrs [...] lives in **the same** <u>flat</u> as Mr [...] [12.4.847]

(47) <u>if you put your hand down the back of the fridge - it's hot</u> [...] I don't know if **the same** is true of a freezer [4.3.256]

In the present context these distinctions are not important; I seek only to establish a cohesive tie of any kind for *the same*. In the expression *all the same* ((48)–(50)) this is clearly not possible:

(48) you know I couldn't have a better centre - I needn't wait till the very end of those - before I move - but **all the same** - it's an inconvenience for you [1.9.799]

(49) God is perfectly well able to distinguish - the wheat from the tares - and at the time of his own choice - the distinction will be finally drawn - **all the same** - we ought not to be too extrovert - in our interpretation of this parable [12.1.128]

(50) why do you praise this book so highly - not just because of its structure - I mean it might be well made - but it might not be very important - **all the same** [3.5.171]

In the section on general nouns (7.3) I added *rest* to the list from Halliday & Hasan (p 274). *Rest* is perhaps not a prototypical general noun, but in fixed expressions it appears to be functioning as such:

(51) I still - hate that sound he makes - when he sings down that thing with the echo turned on - and stereophonic **and all the rest** [5.1.75]

This sense of *rest* ('remainder') occurs 96 times in LLC, 73 of which are in the construction: *the rest of* [NP]. Of the remaining 23, an ellipted *of* [NP] can be found for 15, as in examples 52–54:

---

[9] Halliday & Hasan (1976:77–78).

[10] Halliday & Hasan (1976:105).

(52) Beaton says that there are fifteen authors - who are English literature - and **the rest** [of the authors who are English literature] are nowhere [3.6.790]

(53) even if I gave her - a few hundred pounds out of that - it would at once go - in payment of debts - and **the rest** [of the few hundred pounds] - on perhaps - somewhat extravagant living [12.4.1272]

(54) and also we've had a test - to see to what extent if any - the students who get the telephone call - do any better - in a sort of test - than **the rest** [of the students] [9.2.938]

Leaving aside two unanalyzable cases, there remain three where verbatim recovery of an ellipted *of* [NP] is not possible: (51) and (55)–(56):

(55) we therefore - carried out - what he had announced - but had never explained to the country - the policy - of increasing prices - rates - fares - tariffs in the postal service - **and the rest** [6.3.682]

(56) there are many people - who think that - to be a Christian is to lead a soft option in life - to have a faith - which cushions one - against all adversities - and problems - and helps one to feel cosy and comfortable - whereas the rest of humanity - has to suffer the blasts of economic warfare **and the rest** [12.1.651]

These fixed expressions – *and all the rest, and the rest* – seem to be interchangeable within the *and all that* [NP] group (section 7.2.4). The cohesion signal (ellipsis, in this case) can only be interpreted as 'things associated with what is mentioned in the text'; it cannot be recovered verbatim. I judge the salience of the cohesive tie to be at Level 2 in these expressions, which also corresponds to the middle degree of variation that is possible in the expressions.

7.5 Time reference

There is in the database of potential complex adverbs a very interesting set of expressions in which *all* is followed directly by a singular count noun, such as *day, night, evening, season, term*. There are some 80 tokens of this construction in LLC, sometimes with modifying adverbs, and they are all expressions of time duration. It would be a serious deficiency if no mention were made of this set of expressions in this book, but the problem has been in knowing how

(and in what context) to deal with them. They appear now in this chapter because their function is primarily one of reference.

These expressions display a certain regularity in their grammatical behaviour yet, at the same time, they show idiosyncratic collocational patterns, one of which was mentioned in the introductory chapter (with *ago*). In this short section I shall not attempt to correlate salience reduction with fixedness but merely comment on some features of their behaviour *qua* fixed expressions.

Figure 7.1 shows the time duration nouns available in English along a cline of increasing duration from left to right, showing how they collocate with *all* and *the whole*, that is, the two commonest options available for expressing completeness or totality of time duration.

the whole...	*all ...* *the whole ...*	*the whole ...*
SECOND MINUTE HOUR	MORNING DAY WEEK MONTH SEASON YEAR EVENING NIGHT WINTER AFTERNOON SUMMER TERM *etc*	DECADE CENTURY

Figure 7.1 Expressions of totality of time duration.

The unmarked norm for expressing totality of these nouns of time duration seems to be *the whole*, but it is significant that only the middle section along the scale permits *all.* Interestingly, the middle section consists of what might be called categories of natural time. Natural time observation is fundamental to human existence. Days, nights, mornings and evenings, months, seasons, and years can be directly perceived without measuring instruments since they are non-arbitrary measures of time defined according to the movements of the planets.[11] The division of the month into weeks might be considered more arbitrary, but it is a division based upon a combination of observable months and days. As such these must be considered more basic as categories of time

[11] *Term* is the odd one out, of course, though by tradition a school or academic term is based on the seasons. When a term of imprisonment, government, or similar is meant, the expression *all term* is not possible. *Month* is perhaps questionable; it does not sound like the most natural collocate of *all* yet ?*all month* does seem less anomalous than **all second*.

measurement in the history of mankind. We are still, however indirectly, dependent upon the seasons for nourishment, communication and reproduction. Seconds, minutes and hours, like decades and centuries are arbitrary, man-made categories, more difficult to perceive and measure, and less relevant to our survival. In investigating the expressions of time duration, an obvious assumption to make is that expressions of natural time have a longer history than those based on arbitrary computations. OED records the origin of *all year long*, for example, as derivative of the expression *all long* which subsequently merged into *along*. Consequently, we might assume that *all* in these expressions is a remnant of the earlier adjective. This interpretation of the data is consonant with the fact that it is only with expressions of natural time that *all* can modify singular count nouns.

———————

In summary, there is much scope for refinement in the method of analysis suggested in the present chapter. The theoretical framework that I have been using (for want of an existing model) is more appropriately employed in the investigation of cohesion where cohesion is expected. Also, judgements have been my own, albeit supplemented by discussions with colleagues and other interested parties. The recognition of cohesive ties lends itself to informant testing (unlike the recognition of prototypicality in grammatical roles, for example), which would improve the investigation considerably.

However, the primary aim of this work has been fulfilled insofar as the results presented indicate a general framework worthy of such further research. The final chapter of this second part of the book (Chapter 8) summarizes these results in the form of a catalogue of the complex adverbs investigated here and an attempt to compare the relative salience of their component parts with the degrees of variability within the expressions.

8 The fixing force of non-salient elements

In this second part of the book I have sought to show how the component elements of complex adverbs can be more or less salient. Not only the **meanings** of the words can be more or less salient in relation to the expression as a whole (Chapter 5), but also their **grammatical roles** (Chapter 6) and the **cohesive relations** between elements in expressions and other parts of the text (Chapter 7). To investigate these phenomena I have used as a primary source the database of potential complex adverbs that was the product of the case study of *all* (Chapter 3). The behaviour of component parts of the expressions was studied in LLC in order to ascertain their most salient meanings, roles, and cohesive relations in the corpus. In some cases I was also able to seek supporting evidence from the CANCODE corpus of spoken English. It remains now to focus on the question of whether and how non-salience correlates with degrees of immutability in the complex adverbs.

8.1 Quantifying fixedness and salience

The quantification of fixedness and salience is no easy task. Gibbs and other psycholinguists used informants' judgements in ranking idioms according to degrees of interpretability (section 4.2). The same idioms were then judged according to the variability constraints on the expressions. The two rankings were compared and it was found that the least salient expressions (*kick the bucket*) were also immutable and, conversely, the more salient idioms (*lay down the law*) were also to some extent variable (Gibbs 1994:280–284). This experimental method could not be adopted in my investigation, for two reasons. Firstly, the data in the idioms study were of a uniform structure (verb+complement) and could be placed along a cline of variability based on a standard comparison of transformational deficiency. The complex adverbs vary too widely in their internal structure for this to be possible – which is the

very problem that gave rise to the present investigation of fixedness-defining criteria in complex adverbs. Secondly, while informants can be asked to interpret 'meanings', it would be no easy task to elicit their interpretation of grammatical roles.

In the three preceding chapters I have presented some analyses of the salience-reducing elements of complex adverbs and, in some cases, I have used a small set of related expressions to show the correlation between reduced salience and fixedness (eg: *and all that*, section 7.2.2; *all over*, section 5.1.3). This method puts limitations on the sample size and structure, but it has provided some support for my initial hypothesis.

Another problem of analysis is encountered in the extent to which non-salient elements cluster in fixed expressions, making it difficult to pinpoint exactly which of them contributes most as a fixing force in the expression. Also, the quantification problem is not lessened by the fact that salience is not an either/or matter but one of degree. I have made liberal use of the term 'non-salient' as if this were some absolute state. It is not, of course. The term has been used for convenience in reference to what is often more accurately expressed as 'to some degree not salient'.

Notwithstanding these methodological limitations I shall attempt to convey an overall picture of the tendency to an inverse correlation of salience and fixedness that is discernible in the data examined. In this chapter, I shall take one occurrence of each of the potential complex adverbs in the database, in context, listing the non-salient elements that I could identify and making relevant comments on the variability constraints that seem to be in force in the expression. The expressions are roughly ordered at three levels, where Level 1 expressions are those which permit considerable variation, Level 2 only certain variation, and Level 3 no variation at all. Any substitution, variation, or modification of a component part of an expression that produces the result expected by that particular change, I interpret as a sign of variability.

Following the comments, Figures 8.1a–c show the number of non-salient elements identified in each of the expressions in their specific context, and section 8.5 brings together the conclusions that can be drawn from this exercise.

8.2 Variable expressions — Level 1

Level 1 expressions are the borderline cases in the database. They are interesting because they represent the fuzzy area between complex adverbs and

ad hoc expressions. Are they fixed or are they not? Borderline expressions might be newly developing composite units in the early stages of routinization through pragmatic inferencing—and these are the ones we would like to identify for further study and an improved understanding of the transition stages from ad hoc expression to fixed expression and possible univerbation. At this stage of our knowledge it is not possible to determine whether any of the following Level 1 expressions are of this kind. In the later stages of pragmatic inferencing, expressions can be identified (*and all that*), but this kind of change is notoriously difficult to discern in its early stages (see section 9.2.3 on *as I say*, for example).

The following expressions are those which, in their particular contexts, I deem to be the least fixed (and most salient) of the expressions in the database.

—

(1a) and that was genuine applause **from all sides** [10.2.201]

(1b) members aren't attending debates **on all sides** all parties [5.5.448]

Variation: Preposition variable; quantifier variable: *both*, *some*; noun variable in (1a): *directions*. Slightly non-salient meaning of *sides* (almost all of the 25 occurrences in LLC assume a norm of two sides).

(2a) which really **in all honesty** wasn't very helpful [3.6.1014]

(2b) Victor [...] upon a platform - giving - what I can only **in all courtesy** call - his ill-considered opinions [5.4.38]

(2c) he eventually withdraws - and **in all modesty** - makes a some confession of his virtues [3.5.1133]

Variation: Noun variable, but restricted to personal quality; preposition variable (*with*); *all* variable (*absolute*, *true*), though the result is not so idiomatic. Often sentence adverbial, ie expression of personal attitude. The only non-salient element is the abstract (non-spatial) meaning of *in*.

(3) and I have come to the conclusion - that **in all probability** - his disguise was seen through [12.4.1059]

Variation: Similar to (2), within the set denoting likelihood. Also sentence adverbial and expression of personal attitude. The only non-salient element is the abstract (non-spatial) meaning of *in*.

(4) resources are sharply cut back **on all fronts** [3.2.542]

Variation: Possibly singular, *on that front;* adjective modification possible, *on all conceivable fronts; all* variable, *on several fronts*. The only non-salient element is the metaphorical meaning of *fronts* ('front lines of battle').

(5) in the fullness of my strength **with all my heart** now and for ever [12.1.619]

Variation: Quite variable. One slightly non-salient element is metaphorical *heart* (CONTAINER OF STRONG EMOTION).

(6) well it's based on **first of all** well-known material [3.6.536]

Variation: Superlative freely variable, *least, most*, etc. Slightly non-salient meaning of *first*; non-salient grammatical role of *all* (IN scope).

(7) but it's interesting to have had it all put so clearly by James **all in one piece** so to speak [6.5.677]

Variation: *all* not obligatory; *piece* variable, eg: *go*. *All* was analyzed as AD scope, but is perhaps a borderline case of indeterminate scope when *all* is in mid position. If *all* has NOM scope the only non-salient element is the general noun *piece*. Possibly a complex adverb in the making?

(8) **that's all very well but** a lot of people do have to retire [5.5.259]

Variation: Modification and substitution of different elements possible, eg: *it's all very well for you but*. The potential complex adverb might be gaining ground as an established expression, however, functioning as a sentence adverbial or even discourse marker. The only non-salient element is *all* with AD scope (see *all very*, example (45)).

(9) it's sort of happened you see - **that's all** [1.10.1196]

Variation: Variable as to tense, *that was all*, question form possible, *is that all*; modification by relative clause, *that's all I know*. But note that *this* is not a possible substitute for *that*. Non-salient grammatical role of *all* (IN scope). *That* functions saliently as an anaphoric reference item but carries added

meaning of ‘distance’ extended to ‘something unimportant or negligible’. Appears to have a discourse marking function, worthy of further attention.

8.3 Expressions with stronger variability constraints — Level 2

The expressions at Level 2 are those from the middle range with regard to variability. In some cases it is particularly debatable whether expressions should have been classed as Level 1 or Level 2, but this is not a major problem for the discussion. The distinction is intuitive and serves mainly to show the general picture that arises from making it.

—

(10) I did quite a lot of work **all considered** [2.1.1245]

Variation: Verb slightly variable, eg: *all told*, but present participle not possible (**all considering*). Only general noun insertion possible, *all things considered*. Non-salient grammatical role of *all* (IN scope). Perhaps also unrecoverable ellipsis of auxiliary, eg: *all (having been) considered.*

(11) to Wimbledon and he didn’t like driving **all that way** through the rush hour [2.14.40]

Variation: Noun variable, *distance*. An expression of undesirable excess in *all* combined with *that* (dismissive), ie non-prototypical meaning (‘an undesirably long distance’).

(12) he’s in Bangor **of all places** [8.2.643]

Variation: Pre- and post-modification of *places* possible, eg: *of all (the most) unlikely places (to be)*, but modification is restricted to expressions synonymous with what the speaker feels to be ‘unlikely’ and ‘undesirable’. A case of non-salient cohesive relation is the general noun *place*.

(13) but the trouble is you have to hunt **all round** - you need a magnifying glass [4.5.1136]

Variation: Adverb *round* slightly variable, *over*; complementation possible, *round the place/room/*etc. Non-salient grammatical role of *all* (AD scope). Although *round* is most saliently an adverb, there seems to be some unrecoverable ellipsis of a place specifier in (13), which I have analyzed as a case of non-salient cohesive relation.

(14) and sort of banana skins **all over the place** [2.10.984]

Variation: Noun phrase slightly variable, eg: *the show, the room*. Non-salient grammatical role of *all* (AD scope); non-salient cohesive relation through general noun *place*; not most salient meaning of *over*.

(15) he went back to the school - but - as it was halfway through the term - he had to go as a supply teacher [...] unless you start at the beginning - you don't get a normal contract [...] and he hasn't been paid yet - that's **all that time** [2.7.278]

Variation: *that time* slightly variable, eg: *those months* (though not without loss of pragmatic force). An expression of undesirable excess in *all* combined with *that* (dismissive), ie non-salient meaning ('an undesirably long time'). See also *all that way*. The noun *time* is also polysemous, albeit in its more salient sense.

(16) well I mean you know I've lived there **all this time** [...] after all - I like my students is mainly I suppose [...] well it's a jolly nice place - the new university [1.10.430]

Variation: *this time* slightly variable, eg: *these years*. Similar to *all that time*, except *this* emphasizes closeness (familiarity) rather than distance (dismissiveness).

(17) I find this group's pretty dedicated - and they sort of work **all day** yes - and work **all evening** [1.5.113]

Variation: Noun variable but limited to expressions of natural time; modification possible in the form of emphasis, eg: *all day long*, but restricted collocability; some specifying modification possible, eg: *all last night, all day*

Saturday, but note, eg: **all last evening, *all month January*. Also, anomalous grammar (*all* + singular count noun). Salience reduction cannot be claimed in the *all day, all evening* types as they belong to a paradigmatic set of expressions. A difficult set to place on the fixedness/salience clines.

(18) whether an attack on the idea of maintaining a coinage area **for all time** oughtn't at some stage to have been initiated [6.7.1890]

Variation: *all* variable, eg: *a long time, the rest of time*. Non-salient meaning (complex polysemous *time*).

(19a) espionage James Bond **and all that bit** [1.10.255]

(19b) it was all the way with LBJ **and all that business** [1.10.129]

(19c) I mean nuclear disarmament **and all that kind of thing** [5.5.673]

(19d) he does sound changes **and all that sort of thing** [1.6.910]

Variation: Noun phrase variable (interchangeable, as in the above expressions, for example). Some non-salient meaning in *that* ('distancing'). Non-salient cohesive relation (general nouns).

(20a) you know it's always tiring at Christmas time - making decorations and **all this sort of nonsense** and things [1.7.10]

(20b) he's got a very distinctive accent as well - [...] a distinctive what's the word - regional - snatch - hasn't he - rolling the Rs **and all this** [1.7.111]

Variation: Similar to the group in (19). Similar also in terms of salience, but no distancing (dismissive) effect of *that* (*this* implies speaker involvement).

(21) he was very pleasant - and he kept saying oh will Bill be getting her and - **and all the rest of it** [8.3.787]

Variation: Possible variation of noun phrase with those in (19), though not without change in interpersonal meaning. *That* implies dismissiveness, while *the* denotes familiarity, especially together with general nouns. Two cases of non-salient cohesive relation: general noun *rest*; non-recoverable referent for *it*.

(22) I think I might have walked out too **from all accounts** [2.5.282]

Variation: *all accounts* can be varied slightly and qualified, as in *from his account of what happened*, but the result is more propositional and specific. Of 12 occurrences of *accounts* in LLC 6 represent the financial sense and 4 are third person singular forms of the phrasal verb *account for* ('explain'). Only twice is *accounts* used in the sense of 'things narrated', which suggests that this is a less salient meaning.

(23a) I don't think **with all due respect** that all that many people are muddled [2.8.561]

(23b) I think that **with all respect** isn't quite ... [2.8.990]

Variation: *with [all] [due] respect*; noun variable, but predominantly from a set denoting attitudes of deference, eg: *humility* (though *due* is not possible here). There are indications in LLC of non-salient meaning of *due* ('owing' in non-temporal sense) and *respect* ('esteem', rather than 'relation'), but further study is needed here. These expressions either function as softeners (as a politeness strategy) or they can be used ironically to convey the opposite of what is expressed. The shorter forms, of which *with respect* is shortest, might be an indication of reduction.

8.4 Invariable expressions — Level 3

The expressions in the Level 3 group do not permit any variation. This group includes four complex adverbs in the database that do not function as clause constituents or discourse markers, but as modifiers of adjectives or adverbs, and these will be discussed in a separate section.

8.4.1 Clause constituents and discourse markers

(24) sorry to put so many awkward questions on you **all at once** [9.3.560]

Non-salient grammatical role of *all* (AD scope); non-salient meaning of *once*, which is complex polysemous (cf *time*). *At once* is a complex adverb in its own right ('immediately'); with *all* the meaning is extended to 'suddenly', the combination of which creates further non-salience of meaning.

(25) **all of a sudden** the cyclist put out his hand and turned [12.4.201]

Non-salient grammatical role of *all* (AD scope); non-salient grammatical role of *sudden* (noun).

(26) and now it turns out that you were right **all along** [1.2.334]

Non-salient grammatical role of all (AD scope); non-salient grammatical role of *along* (adverb); non-salient meaning of *along* (temporal); unrecoverable ellipsis of NP.

(27) A: **all right** then
B: good bye [8.3.427]

Non-salient grammatical role of *all* (AD scope); non-salient meaning of *right* ('acceptable'), but even this meaning is bleached by the predominantly pragmatic function of this discourse marker as a topic closer.

(28) she comes in and she'll grin **all over** [4.3.1095]

Non-salient grammatical role of *all* (AD scope); non-salient grammatical role of *over* (adverb); non-recoverable ellipsis of NP (ie non-salient cohesive relation); non-salient meaning of *over*.

(29) then he now began **all over again** [2.8.847]

Same as *all over* with an additional non-salient element in the temporal use of *over*, signalled by *again* (obligatory in British English?).

(30) the distinction will be finally drawn - **all the same** - we ought not to be too extrovert [12.1.128]

Non-salient grammatical role of *all* (AD scope); non-salient cohesive tie with *same*. It is unclear whether this is a case of substitution, comparative reference, or (non-recoverable) ellipsis (see section 7.4.2), which serves only to underline the uninterpretability of the component parts of the expression. (Similarly with *all*, which could be interpreted as IN scope if the full expression were something like: *all being the same*.)

(31) and he was getting at me **all the time** criticizing me criticizing the practice [6.5.98]

Non-salient (implied) meaning of *all* ('undesirable excess'); non-salient reference of definite article (***the*** *time*); slightly non-salient meaning as in all uses of complex polysemous *time*.

(32) and we read **all the while** about Christ rejecting the temptations [12.1.702]

Non-salient meaning of *while* ('time'); non-salient grammar of *while* (noun).

(33) I think the answer should be in a referendum - **all other things being equal** [6.3.978]

Slight salience reduction in two elements signalling cohesion: general noun *things*; and *equal* requires an indication of the quantity or quality referred to, which is not present here, as it is in a) and b) for example:

(33a) it's necessary to inject an **equal volume** of gas [10.9.1192]

(33b) arrangements that would need to be if not permanent - at least - **equal in effect** [12.5.389]

Otherwise the component elements of this expression are salient.

(34) it was **all the way** with LBJ [1.10.128]

Non-salient meaning of *way*; the specification of the definite article is not recoverable.

(35) if she contacts you invite her up **by all means** [4.1.971]

Non-salient meaning of *means*.

(36) it'll cheer you up with spring coming along **and all** [7.2.757]

Non-salient grammatical role of *all* (IN scope); non-recoverable ellipsis after *all*. The latter could be claimed more often in the complex adverbs where *all* has IN scope, but it is more markedly the case here. *And all* functions as a

positive reinforcement of what has gone before, somewhat as an opposite to *and all that*.

(37) something to live on and **above all** something to do [5.5.269]

Non-salient grammatical role of *all* (IN scope); non-salient meaning of *above* (abstract, ie 'more importantly').

(38) why you're not free **after all** [7.1.1285]

Non-salient grammatical role of *all* (in scope). Also, non-recoverable ellipsis as the expression becomes salient when expanded considerably, eg: *after all [has been considered]*. It would be interesting to know more about the history of this expression, in particular since it is now quite frequent (55 occurrences in LLC), which is suggestive of ongoing change (see section 9.1).

(39) **when all is said and done** statistics can be awfully funny things [5.4.743]

The only non-salient element in this expression is the grammatical role of *all* (IN scope). The expression is closely synonymous with *after all* and, as it is the longest invariable expression in the database, it is possible that we have here an expression in the early stages of routinization. It is possible that expressions of this kind deserve more attention with respect to their ongoing development, especially in view of the fact that we can now isolate year by year usage in large corpora spanning over several decades.

(40) a party of about twenty-one **in all** [10.6.391]

Non-salient grammatical role of *all* (IN scope).

(41) isn't it an objection that - that Bunyans might raise - if we were to tell him later - well we're sorry about this - but you're not eligible - to have applied **and all that** [2.6.60]

Non-salient cohesive tie for *that*, which refers to 'everything that is associated with the preceding speech act' (in this case APOLOGIZING). This is the least salient type of referent for *that*. Also non-salient meaning of *that* ('distance' extended to 'dismissal').

8.4.2 Modifiers of adjectives and adverbs

Four of the complex adverbs in the database function not as clause constituents or discourse markers, but as modifiers of adjectives or adverbs: *all that, of all, at all, all very.* There are signs that these have passed the stage of univerbation[1] and, as units, they have a clearly grammatical function.

—

(42) she didn't have to queue **all that** long [2.7.973]

Here, *all* is in a non-salient grammatical role (AD scope), and *that* does not form a salient cohesive tie with any referent in the text or situation. The expression functions as a degree modifier, with *that* referring to some assumed norm (here, of what constitutes 'a long time' in terms of queuing). The latter is possibly indicative of an expression with the norm somehow specified, that is it might be a case of non-recoverable ellipsis.

The whole expression has a highly grammatical function as a negative degree modifier. In this respect it forms a paradigm with preceding negatives and might therefore be considered an instance of ongoing grammaticalization (see section 10.1.2).

(43) man's greatest contribution **of all** - I think - is that he can combine metaphorical thinking [...] and at the same time - being able to use logic language [5.2.644]

The grammatical role of *all* in this expression is also non-salient (IN scope). There is an ellipted element but this is always recoverable from the text—here: *of all [man's contributions]*. Otherwise the component elements of the expression are salient, though the expression as a whole forms a paradigm as an intensifier of preceding superlatives.

(44) there's no evidence **at all** - that she reproached her husband at the time [12.3.146]

At all is the most frequently occurring complex adverb in the database and is also one which warrants far more space than this study permits. I have analyzed *all* as having IN scope but it differs here from other cases of IN scope in that it does not make sense to paraphrase it with 'everything'. Simply, the

[1] They are short and phonologically reduced; *at all* is increasingly seen as *atall*.

component parts are not in any way salient. *At all* functions as a negative intensifier and I consider it to be a further case of grammaticalization. (But see also section 9.2.4 on the recent development of *at all* as a discourse marker.)

(45) we had a small presence - **all very** embarrassing - didn't do any good one way or the other [1.10.120]

Here, again, the grammatical role of *all* (AD scope) is non-salient. It might be debated that this is a case of *all* ('altogether') modifying the expression *very embarrassing*, especially since in many occurrences of this expression *all* occurs in middle position, as in (45a), but on intuitive grounds I would say that *all* is used to add weight to the bleached *very*.

(45a) and they're off - but **all very** reluctant [10.4.2]

—

Figures 8.1a–c represent an attempt to summarize the quantification of non-salient elements in the expressions. Figures in square brackets indicate the number of occurrences of the same verbatim expression in LLC, but note that this does not mean that the context is similar, nor does it imply that all occurrences would have the same ratings for non-salience of elements. The analyses in Chapters 5–7 show how there are clines in operation in the same expression in different contexts. Further, it must be remembered that salience is not an either/or phenomenon, and the ratings for non-salient elements carry different weights that my analysis cannot demonstrate. To partially combat this deficiency I have used different degrees of shading, where the lightest indicates what I consider to be a marginal case of the phenomenon in question and medium shading a clear case. The darkest shade indicates two instances of the same kind of salience reduction.

COMPLEX ADVERBS Level 1 variability	M	G	C
(1a) and that was genuine applause **from all sides** [1]			
(1b) members aren't attending debates **on all sides** all parties [1]			
(2a) which really **in all honesty** wasn't very helpful [1]			
(2b) what I can only **in all courtesy** call - his ill-considered opinions [1]			
(2c) and **in all modesty** - makes a some confession of his virtues [1]			
(3) the conclusion - that **in all probability** - his disguise was seen [3]			
(4) resources are sharply cut back **on all fronts** [1]			
(5) the fullness of my strength **with all my heart** now and for ever [1]			
(6) well it's based on **first of all** well-known material [43]			
(7) it all put so clearly by James **all in one piece** so to speak [1]			
(8) **that's all very well but** a lot of people do have to retire [2]			
(9) it's sort of happened you see - **that's all** [19]			

Figure 8.1a Non-salience of component parts of complex adverbs with Level 1 variability

Key: M = non-salient meaning
G = non-salient grammatical role
C = non-salient cohesion

COMPLEX ADVERBS Level 2 variability	M	G	C
(10) I did quite a lot of work **all considered** [1]			
(11) he didn't like driving **all that way** through the rush hour [2]			
(12) he's in Bangor **of all places** [3]			
(13) you have to hunt **all round** - you need a magnifying glass [3]			
(14) and sort of banana skins **all over the place** [8]			
(15) and he hasn't been paid yet - that's **all that time** [2]			
(16) I mean you know I've lived there **all this time** [3]			
(18) maintaining a coinage area **for all time** oughtn't at some [1]			
(19a) espionage James Bond **and all that bit** [1]			
(19b) it was all the way with LBJ **and all that business** [1]			
(19c) I mean nuclear disarmament **and all that kind of thing** [6]			
(19d) he does sound changes **and all that sort of thing** [2]			
(20a) making decorations and **all this sort of nonsense** [1]			
(20b) hasn't he - rolling the Rs **and all this** [3]			
(21) oh will Bill be getting her and - **and all the rest of it** [22]			
(22) I think I might have walked out too **from all accounts** [1]			
(23a) I don't think **with all due respect** that all that [2]			
(23b) I think that **with all respect** isn't quite well [1]			

Figure 8.1b Non-salience of component parts of complex adverbs with Level 2 variability.

Key: M = non-salient meaning
G = non-salient grammatical role
C = non-salient cohesion

(Note: Example (17), *all*+TIME expressions, excluded due to inconclusive result.)

COMPLEX ADVERBS Level 3 variability		M	G	C
(24)	sorry to put so many awkward questions on you **all at once** [2]			
(25)	**all of a sudden** the cyclist put out his hand and turned [2]			
(26)	and now it turns out that you were right **all along** [1]			
(27)	**all right** then [142]			
(28)	she comes in and she'll grin **all over** [6]			
(29)	then he now began **all over again** [2]			
(30)	will be finally drawn - **all the same** - we ought not to be too [6]			
(31)	and he was getting at me **all the time** criticizing me [53]			
(32)	and we read **all the while** about Christ rejecting the temptations [2]			
(33)	should be in a referendum - **all other things being equal** [1]			
(34)	it was **all the way** with LBJ [24]			
(35)	if she contacts you invite her up **by all means** [7]			
(36)	it'll cheer you up with spring coming along **and all** [5]			
(37)	something to live on and **above all** something to do [3]			
(38)	why you're not free **after all** [55]			
(39)	**when all is said and done** statistics can be awfully funny [1]			
(40)	a party of about twenty-one **in all** [5]			
(41)	but you're not eligible - to have applied **and all that** [12]			
(42)	she didn't have to queue **all that** long			
(43)	man's greatest contribution **of all** - I think - is that he can [6]			
(44)	there's no evidence **at all** - that she reproached her husband [266]			
(45)	we had a small presence - **all very** embarrassing - didn't [13]			

Figure 8.1c Non-salience of component parts of complex adverbs with Level 3 variability.

Key: M = non-salient meaning
G = non-salient grammatical role
C = non-salient cohesion

8.5 The inverse correlation of salience and fixedness

In the preceding three chapters the focus was on prototypical examples of the three main kinds of non-salient elements in complex adverbs. The above catalogue of expressions was presented in order to test the hypothesis that relates the occurrence of non-salient elements in all the expressions in the database to the degree of fixedness present in the same expressions. I have already stated that more research is needed in order to fully demonstrate the validity of the hypothesis, but some support is to be found at this stage.

8.5.1 The effects of non-salience on expressions

Firstly, while it cannot be claimed that the more fixed (ie less variable) expressions are also those which have more non-salient elements, it would seem that the reverse is true: all the expressions that have more than one non-salient element are also fixed to a certain degree, and those that have three or four non-salient elements are to be found in the group of invariable expressions (Level 3). The expressions in the database were selected on the basis of an intuitive recognition of some kind of variability constraint. Consequently, assuming that the hypothesis and the selection criteria were reasonably correct, most of the expressions should also exhibit certain elements of salience reduction of one kind or another. As I have been operating at the fixed end of the cline between ad hoc expressions and fixed expressions it is not surprising that many of the complex adverbs have consisted of non-salient elements. Negative evidence is difficult to provide, but I have searched in vain for counter-examples of ad hoc expressions with two or more non-salient elements of the kind investigated here. My general conclusion, then, is that the meanings, grammatical roles, and cohesive relations signalled in complex adverbs must be salient to a certain degree if the expression is to remain variable. If the component elements of these expressions fall below a certain level of salience with regard to their meanings, grammatical roles, or cohesive relations, the expression will be more or less immutable. In other words, if we cannot sufficiently perceive the contribution of an element to the composite whole, it is difficult to manipulate the parts according to the normal rules of the grammar.

8.5.2 Expressions with salient parts

Clusters of non-salient elements are characteristic of complex adverbs that are completely immutable and have reached the univerbation stage of their de-

velopment, whereas ad hoc expressions have more salient parts and are freely variable according to the conventions of the language. The more interesting cases, as always in linguistic research, are those that do not conform to either of these clear patterns of behaviour; I am referring here to expressions that are immutable yet whose component parts are not lacking in salience, as in (33), above, *all other things being equal*, and (39) *when all is said and done*. I interpret this phenomenon as indicative of expressions having reached the stage of routinization but not proceeded any further through the reduction phase that is characteristic of frequently used expressions. As these two expressions have only single occurrences in LLC (and are equally infrequent in the more recent CIC) we might assume that, for the time being, there is no indication of them proceeding further. This is not so in the case of (21), *and all the rest of it*, with a frequency of 22, which is much higher than that for any of the related *and all that*+NP expressions (*and all that kind of thing*, etc). When frequency of occurrence combines with a certain degree of non-salience and partial fixedness, as is the case with *and all the rest of it*, I would say that the expression is worthy of closer inspection. The same applies to expressions in the database that have only slight non-salience of elements and are also not particularly fixed, as in (6) *first of all*, (8) *that's all very well but*, and (9) *that's all*, with frequencies of 43, 2, and 19 respectively. It may be that these expressions are at an even earlier stage of development, but it is also possible that complex adverbs that function as overt expressions of interpersonal meaning follow a different course of change than, say, those which seem likely to become purely grammatical items, such as *at all, of all*, and *all that.*

Corpora of present-day English go back some thirty years, which makes it possible to carry out quite sophisticated studies of recent and ongoing change in the development of expressions. Thus far, unfortunately, the focus of studies of ongoing change has been on single lexical items rather than expressions, just as works on fixed expressions tend to look more at those that have reached univerbation. The third and final part of this book looks at the development of expressions at different stages, in particular where change can be observed as ongoing (Chapter 9), where I also discuss possible motivations for the development of fixed expressions. In Chapter 10, I propose a model of the relationship between the different perspectives on fixedness that have been discussed in these pages.

PART III: DISCOURSE

9 The evolution of complex adverbs

The second part of the book was concerned with the interpretability of the component elements of complex adverbs, in particular the salience of the meanings of component words, of their grammatical roles, and of the cohesive relations formed by the component parts. The focus now shifts to the meanings and roles of these expressions as units. In this chapter I look at possible motivating forces in the evolution of complex adverbs. The following, final chapter discusses the development of fixed expressions in a broader perspective of language change.

The processes of language change and the phenomena that cause language change are complex and our understanding of these will probably never be perfect.

> Rather than referring to "causes" or "explanations," we speak more cautiously of motivations or enabling factors, understanding always that we are referring to potential not absolute factors [...].
>
> (Hopper & Traugott 1993:63)

But Hopper & Traugott do—however cautiously—suggest that it is at the discourse level that the process of idiomatization begins. Important 'enabling factors' in their account are:

a) Speaker and hearer roles in the communication process
b) Maximization of economy versus maximization of informativeness

One way in which speakers achieve maximum economy is by repeating expressions they have heard before rather than creating new ones each time, while at

the same time there is an opposing desire to find novel ways of saying the same thing in the interest of maximum informativeness (*ibid* 63–65).

Hearers typically seek the most unambiguous interpretation, though in doing so they do not necessarily choose exactly the same interpretation as that which was intended to be communicated by the speaker. In particular:

> [...] differences in what is actually accessible in the communicative situation based on differences in age, social background, culture, attention or other factors may lead cumulatively over time to change.
>
> (Hopper & Traugott 1993:64)

Even assuming that speakers and hearers co-operate maximally, they must both make choices. In the decisions made by both speakers and hearers lies the potential for reinterpretation that is widely considered to be a crucial factor in language change. It is reasonable to assume that the development of fixed expressions from ad hoc expressions comes about through such reinterpretation as a result of pragmatic inferencing at the discourse level, that is in the communicative act itself.

Characteristic of complex adverbs is their highly pragmatic function. The overt expression of speaker attitude and interpersonal meaning in general is often conveyed through the use of adverbs and adverbials, in particular sentence adverbials (*unfortunately*, *in my opinion*) and discourse markers (*indeed*, *you know*), so it is no surprise to find that complex adverbs, too, function primarily in this way. Grammaticalization scholars have in recent years focused their attention on the development of discourse markers,[1] many of which are complex adverbs, but on the whole these are expressions that are already fully fixed. However:

> A full account of grammaticalization [...] demands an account not only of canonical grammaticalization, but also of the incipient and dissipating ends. This means paying more attention to groups of words, rather than individual lexical items, especially in the earlier stages.
>
> (Hopper, forthcoming: MS p 5)

Complex adverbs that have reached the univerbation stage are not difficult to identify. But what can we know and where can we seek to learn more about

[1] Erman (1987), Erman & Kotsinas (1993), Traugott (1995), Brinton (1996), for example.

how they reach this stage? What are the enabling processes for occasional, ad hoc adverbal expressions to set off on the road to univerbation and what motivating factors drive them further along that road? I shall devote the rest of this chapter to discussing these questions.

9.1 Frequency

The evolution of fixed expressions can, to a point, be likened to that of words:

> In the end result of automatization, of course, we can also recognize *double articulation*: the smallest meaningful signs are made up of still smaller units which are themselves meaningless. [...] Sounds now meaningless may have evolved originally from meaningful morphemes. [...] Automatization, it need hardly be emphasized, is the result of repetition.
>
> (Haiman 1994:9–10)

The first observable sign of an ad hoc expression becoming fixed is its frequent occurrence. At the risk of stating the obvious I would say, therefore, that a prerequisite for a systematic study of expressions at the early stages of fixedness is a large amount of (spoken) corpus data. Up and coming expressions are difficult to recognize intuitively but with present-day corpus investigation techniques it is possible to identify groups of words that might be in the early stages of automatization (see, for example, section 9.2.3, on the expression *as I say*).

The study of frequently occurring word groups in present-day English cannot, of course, replace diachronic investigation, neither can we predict which expressions will become fixed in time. What is to be gained by identifying potential candidates for fixation is that by virtue of 'being around at the time' we might better intuit the subtler nuances of meaning change that are communicated by these expressions in their changing roles. By piecing together the different kinds of evidence we gain a fuller picture of what is happening.

9.2 Register, context, and discourse function

Since expressions arise in answer to communicative needs it follows that they will reflect those needs. Speaker relationships, situational context and com-

municative goals are closely interrelated motivating forces in the development of fixed expressions. In practical terms, then, and continuing from the previous section, we should be looking to organizing corpus data according to register, context and discourse function in order to compare and contrast the kinds of expressions that occur, in order to facilitate further investigation.

9.2.1 Complex prepositions

Lehmann (1991) is an account of 'in vogue' grammatical expressions collected over a period of a few years from contemporary non-literary German. 'Since about 1975, there has been a new wave of complex prepositions', says Lehmann (*ibid* p 501), citing the following examples:

Phrase:	**Meaning:**	**Literal meaning:**
im Zuge	'by, during, in'	'in the train/procession (of)'
im Wege	'by (way/means of)'	'in the way (of)'
im Vorfeld	'on the eve (of), before'	'in the fore-field (of)'
im Anschluß	'following, after'	'in connection (with)'
im Gefolge	'in the sequel (of), after'	'in the suite (of)'
im Verfolg	'in the course of'	'in pursuance (of)'

Further, each of these complex prepositions was found in a specific context. The complement of *im Zuge* and *im Verfolg* is a verbal (normally action) noun, of *im Wege* a new technology, and of *im Gefolge* it is usually a trend-setting (scientific) activity, and so on. Hence:

> When a newly coined periphrastic expression is received by other members of the speech community, it will not be in isolation, but in the context in which it was originally coined. It will not then spread at once to all kinds of contexts which, given the rules of grammar, would admit it, but will initially be restricted to certain collocations [...].
>
> (Lehmann 1991:503)

A similar observation of my own is the rise of *at all* as a (quasi) politeness marker amongst young service providers in the UK (described in section 9.2.4). Synchronic observations are an invaluable complement to the study of historical corpora. Since we are experiencing these changes ourselves we are able to take note of the subtler nuances of their evolution, as Lehmann also observes. Systematic corpus investigations of the occurrence and frequency of

complex adverbs and ad hoc expressions in adverb role would no doubt give further insights.

9.2.2 Discourse marking

In an unpublished dissertation Finell (1996)[2] looks at the historical development of discourse markers that signal topic change, focusing in particular on private letters written in the Early Modern English period. Many of the items she discusses are – or have arisen from – complex adverbs (*by the way*, *anyway, however, because*, etc), which makes her study of prime interest for the present discussion. Some important observations are summarized below.

In well-structured informational texts, topic change is clearly signalled by the use of (for example) noun phrases and referential pronouns, while the creators of interactional discourse signal topic change overtly by means of discourse markers. The omission of discourse markers in the latter renders the text unclear and confusing, which is against the maxim of informativeness. Moreover, such omission is likely to convey negative interpersonal meanings since discourse markers simultaneously signal an attitude towards the addressee, the discourse, or the situation. Thus topic changing discourse markers have dual function: they give warning that a topic change is imminent and they also function to soften potentially impolite changes (*ibid* p 79).

In tracing the development of a number of discourse markers, Finell shows that many of them now have a quite specialized function in terms of topic change, for example: *anyway* has come to signal topic resumption or topic close, *however* topic close, *besides* signals that the reader is about to read something that is slightly more emphatic or dislocated from the rest of the sentence, *by the way* can function to introduce a new topic or to announce that what follows is parenthetical to the main topic, and so on.[3] In section 9.4.1 I shall look at *however* in more detail.

9.2.3 *as I say*

An example of a discourse marker clearly in the making is the complex adverb *as I say*.[4] In just 1.4 million words of the CANCODE corpus there are as many

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[2] See also Brinton (1966) on discourse markers in a historical perspective. Brinton, however, traces the development of discourse marking functions, rather than specific items (*ibid* p 278).

[3] Finell (1996); on *anyway* see pages 200–205, *however* 205–210, *besides* 172–176, *by the way* 186–193.

[4] I am grateful to Michael McCarthy (personal communication) for this example.

as 178 occurrences of the expression. As a means of reporting speech, one would expect a much higher frequency in the past tense, such as 'as I/she/he said', but this is not the case.

Finell notes that speech act verbs seem to function as markers of topic change:

> Examples of speech act verbs are *tell* and *ask*. It is possible that the speech act of telling or asking something on its own is sufficient to mark a change in the discourse topic. […] Another explanation might be that these verbs turn the attention to focus on the speaker/writer rather than on any other issue that has previously been dealt with.
>
> (Finell 1996:81)

As I say most commonly signals that the speaker is about to repeat an earlier statement in order to emphasize its importance:

(1) no overtime no bonuses. No bonuses no overtime which **as I say** puts my income down eighty ninety pound a week so therefore ... (CANCODE)

It also functions at the interpersonal level, as Finell (*ibid*) points out, not only as an expression of speaker opinion but also as a focusing device that emphasizes the fact that the speaker is signalling himself (in this case) as the topic of what follows. There is also a strong tendency for *as I say* to cluster with discourse markers in clause initial position:

(2) Well **as I say** I mean he's you know I mean my grandfather was er always there whenever we needed him. (CANCODE)

As I say is not a fixed expression in the sense that I have been using the term throughout this book. The application of variability criteria confirms that all its elements permit regular substitution and modification: *as I said, as you say, as I often say*, etc. The first sign of a shift from ad hoc expression to fixed expression (and possible univerbation) is to be observed in the relatively high frequency of the expression. Needless to say, closer investigation of a large number of examples helps us to see the symptoms of ongoing change and the motivating forces that are at work in the transition.

The CANCODE texts are categorized according to the relationships that hold between speakers in each text (although the relationships vary in multi-party conversations, there is usually a dominant one that participants will gravitate

towards for the sake of mutual inclusion).[5] It transpires that while *as I say* is used by all speakers, irrespective of their interpersonal relationships, it is markedly more frequent in interviews of the journalistic or research kind, where the party being interviewed is volunteering information that the interviewer is eliciting according to a more or less pre-planned agenda. This could be interpreted as a result of the specific discourse type (interviews, eliciting information) rather than speaker relationship, but the frequency of *as I say* does not seem particularly high in, say, job interviews, where the relationships between the speakers is a very different one.

These observations concerning *as I say* are tentative; more data must be examined for conclusive evidence of the environments in which the expression is gaining ground. My main point here has been to give some further indication of how we might investigate incipient fixation in expressions. In the following section I shall discuss a different kind of discourse marker in the making: *at all*.

9.2.4 *at all*

The expression *at all* is already a fixed expression, but it is an interesting example of ongoing change within a specific register and therefore worth some mention. In very recent years the interrogative use of *at all* has extended (in British English, at least) into the discourse marking domain. Note the difference between the grammatical intensifier, as in (3) and (4), and the discourse marker (5):

(3) because I'm not **at all** sure whether - such a representative body exists [11.4.263]

(4) have you tried this **at all** so far I mean - have you got round to anything [3.1.39]

(5) Have you got a cheque book **at all**? [Bank clerk to customer, 1997]

Observation and intuition tell me that at the moment *at all* as in (5) is used in service encounters, primarily by younger speakers aspiring to emphasize the fact that they are being polite, but there is often an undertone of quasi-deference. It seems to be part of a memorized script or formula, likely to be accompanied by gestures, intonation, and expressions of modality that signal

[5] Hudson, Carter & McCarthy (forthcoming) is a description of the categories and a discussion of the problem of how to categorize speech data.

all but politeness.[6] In a recent encounter of this kind an enquiry concerning my telephone number was phrased as (6), where something like (7) would have been more appropriate:

(6) Have you got a phone number at all?

(7) Could I have your phone number, please.

A brief investigation of LLC and CANCODE shows that there are no examples of this use of *at all* in the circa 30-year old, half-million word LLC and six in a similar sized sampling of CANCODE, which is predominantly post-1993 recordings. Of these, two are from business phone-calls ((8), (9); speaker ages unknown), one is a young person addressing a waitress in a restaurant (10), two are shop assistants addressing customers ((11), (12)) and one is a customer in a travel agency (13).

(8) Is Mr [...] available **at all** please?

(9) Erm can I help **at all**?

(10) Could we have some ice **at all**?

(11) Is there anything else **at all**?

(12) Help you **at all**?

(13) Is there any Birmingham now? **At all**?

Note that it is not only the service providers who use this expression, though in the first example, where the speaker is addressing a service provider, an added 'please' softens the request.

As I pointed out at the beginning of this section, this use of *at all* is not an example of incipient fixation but a case of a fixed expression undergoing a functional shift. As such, it constitutes evidence of ongoing change of a kind that is important to register and investigate.

[6] I am grateful to Anne Finell for lengthy discussions on this topic, in particular for the suggestion concerning memorized scripts.

9.3 Semantic domain

König & Traugott's (1988) paper on the conventionalizing of conversational implicature is a systematic account of semantic domain transfer in language change. Two expressions in the database of potential complex adverbs are taken up as examples in their paper: *all the same* and *all the time*. The first is a case of transference from 'concomitance' to 'concessivity', the second from 'temporal frequency' to 'modality'. Other instances of domain transfer identified by König & Traugott are:

since	temporal > causal
sooner than	temporal precedence > preference
will	volition > future
true, indeed	emphatic affirmation > concessive connective

A frequent expression with *all* in LLC is *first of all*. Expressions that are frequent yet non-fixed and with highly salient component elements are likely to be undergoing pragmatic inferencing and routinization, with possible fixation as a consequence, thus *first of all* is worthy of some further investigation.

There are 599 instances of *first* in LLC and 513 of these carry a sequential sense in relation to some kind of scale, either temporal or in order of importance or excellence. They can be substituted by *second, next, then,* or *last*.

(14) we'd met on the **first** day we were there [4.5.666]

(15) he's not a **first** class major poet [5.1.453]

(16) the **first** thing you get to when you get off the boat [2.8.315]

(17) could I halt you there and answer that point **first** [5.3.141]

(18) that was the **first** time I got to use a rifle [2.8.451]

The remaining 86 cannot be substituted, and they are all in a small number of fixed or partially fixed expressions (figures in italics indicate their frequency in LLC):

(19) and **first of all** - I thought he was directing it [4.4.1544] *50*

(20) and - whilst **at first** - I thought he was mistaken [4.6.198] *15*

(21) which is a foreign language virtually - **at first sight** at least [3.1.719] *3*

(22) and then you can say well I'll still do - what I intended to do - **in the first place** [5.10.240] *13*

(23) would it be better - later in the day - or can I come **first thing in the morning** [9.2.506] *5*

Some of these expressions show a tendency for the sequential, relational meaning of *first* to be used in more absolute terms, that is they do not contrast with *second*, *next*, *last*, etc. An apparent shift from the sequential domain in *first of all* is towards precedence ('most importantly'). While it is conceptually possible to substitute *second*, *last*, etc for *first*, this does not happen, and it is, again, in the recognition of such detail in the behaviour of expressions that we might perceive the beginnings of change.

9.4 Grammatical roles of expressions

In this final section I return to my earlier argument in favour of viewing expressions as single items and of categorizing them according to the grammatical roles in which they function. I shall re-evaluate some observations made by others, as summarized above, in this perspective.

9.4.1 The case of *however*

As a necessary point of reference, I shall present a schematic summary of Finell's (1996:205–210) account of the development of *however* (Figure 9.1; dates according to OED). Of the latest development, Finell says:

> All the examples in [this] category illustrate the speaker commenting on what is being talked about, and thus revealing his/her attitude to the topic. *However* in example [E8] is a marker of topic close. The speaker wants to leave an embarrassing situation as quickly as possible, and marks this through the use of *however*.'
>
> (Finell 1996:206–207)

Sense	Period	Function/meaning	OED citation
S1	14th century	Adverb 'in whatever manner', 'to whatever extent' PROPOSITIONAL	E1) **Hou-euer** antecrist glauer, he letteþ not god to do his wille. 'However Antichrist may flatter, he does not let God do his will.' (J. Wycliff: *English Works*, 1380)
S2	1591–1790 (now obsolete)	'in any case', 'at all events', 'at any rate' PROPOSITIONAL + TEXTUAL	E2) If hap'ly won, perhaps a haplesse gaine; If lost, why then a grieuous labour won: **How euer**: but a folly bought with wit, ... (Shakespeare, The two gentlemen of Verona, 1591) E3) A child that must have died **however**. (J. Fletcher (and F. Beaumont): *Bonduca* 1614)
S3	First date 1613 (most common use today)	Conjunct PROPOSITIONAL + TEXTUAL	E4) All the land knowes that: **How euer**, yet there is no great breach, ... (Shakespeare, *King Henry VIII*, 1613)
S4	1673, 1740 (now obsolete)	'in any way whatsoever, at all' PROPOSITIONAL	E5) And indeed all Laws **however** are but Probationers of time; (A. Marvell, *The Rehearsal transposed*, 1673)
S5	Examples from 1607 & 1871	Interrogative (and conjunctive) 'How in any circumstances or way whatever?' E6 PROPOSITIONAL + EXPRESSIVE E7 EXPRESSIVE	E6) I shal desire him to consider **how euer** it was possible to get from these Priests (...) a pertinent answer to any demaund touching their place and office; (R.C. tr. Estineene's *A World of Wonders* [1607]) E7) Dear God! **However** is it, such A man can think and know so much? [footnote with original text] (B. Taylor, *Goethe's Faust*, 1871)
S6	Earliest example from 1876	Marker of topic close EXPRESSIVE	E8) I have not yet written a word ... And I told the girls to leave it to me. **However**! - Thank you a thousand times. (G. Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, 1876)

Figure 9.1 The development of *however* (after Finell, 1996:205–210)

I agree entirely with this interpretation of the discourse function of *however* as a topic closer in present-day English. What I would like to comment on here is what Finell identifies as a problem for the hypothesis of unidirectionality in functional–semantic shift (Traugott 1982), seemingly exhibited in the fact that the propositional meaning in S4 (sense 4) has developed from an earlier, textual meaning, and in the suggested expressive element in (E6), which predates, or at least coincides with, the textual meanings of S2 and S3.

Essentially, I see these examples of *however* as two distinct types, with separate lines of development. They have a common core in the combination of the *wh*-adverb (or interrogative) *how* intensified by *ever*, as in S1 and S5. The modification of *wh*-words in this way is an example of paradigmatic development (*whatever, wherever, whenever, whoever, why ever*). In S1 and S5 the intensifying adverb is not entirely obligatory for an understanding of the text (as it is in S2, S3, S4, and S6) and there is an overtly expressed clause following *however* (examples (E1), (E6), and (E7) above). In other words, we have here a case of grammaticalization of intensifying *ever* affixed to *wh*-adverbs, whether they are used interrogatively (as in (E6) and (E7)) or thematically (as in (E1)).

According to OED, *however* in S3 is 'the relic of an original subordinate clause ... such as "however this may be"', which suggests a possible complex adverb as its origin. In fact, both S3 and the earlier S2 are saliently interpretable in this way ((24) and (25), respectively). In S6 there is also a possible ellipted clause, though in this case the reference item *this* is not recoverable from the text (26).

(24) All the land knowes that: **How euer** [this may be {that 'the land knowes that}], yet there is no great breach.

(25) A child that must have died **however** [this may be {that 'the child died'}].

(26) I have not yet written a word ... And I told the girls to leave it to me. **However** [this may be {that I am embarrassed about not having written, but I now intend to make amends}]! - Thank you a thousand times.

If these three cases of *however* (S3, S2, S6) originate in a complex adverb that has subsequently reduced to the simple *however*, then their functional–semantic development should not be viewed in the same way as that of the grammatically 'complete' *however* of S1 and S5. This point is discussed further in Chapter 10.

Let us now consider the consequences of viewing the two types of *however* as separate courses of development, beginning with the earliest attested *how + ever* as a conjunction. While S1 dates back to the 14th century (according to OED), S5 is attested in 1607 (E6) and 1871 (E7); I shall refer to these as S5a and S5b respectively. The ordering here is consistent with the hypothesis of unidirectionality in the development of functional–semantic meaning: S1 is propositional, S5a propositional and possibly expressive (*ibid* p 208), and S5b expressive. The second type, with an ellipted clause, goes from propositional/textual (S2, S3) to expressive (S6), which also is in accordance with the theory of unidirectionality. Thus the expressive element in S5a, even though it is evident as early as 1607, does not precede any later propositional meanings.

In my analysis, as in Finell's, S4 is the odd one out. It does not function as a conjunction (as S1 and S5); neither is it possible to interpret it as an ellipsis of *however this may be*. Unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of this study to investigate the matter further, but a clearer focus on this construction might reveal a course of phrasal development distinct from that of the complex adverb.

The case of *however* is an illustration of the importance of recognizing the syntagmatic development of expressions as something distinct from the paradigmatic development of affixation that is characteristic of grammaticalization (Chapter 10). In the case of the conjunction *however* (S1 and S5) the adverb *ever* has fully grammaticalized as an affix to *wh*-adverbs. As a conjunction *however* can participate freely in expressions, any of which might subsequently become routinized and undergo reduction, as seems to be the case in the development of the conjunct *however* (S3), which through further pragmatic inferencing has become a discourse marker (S6).

Ultimately, the kind of observation that facilitates the study of syntagmatic development in expressions is dependent upon a recognition of expressions as units and of the grammatical roles that these units play. This applies equally in the early stages of fixedness (with ad hoc expressions) and at the latest stages (univerbation), as the case of *however* shows.

9.4.2 Functional-semantic meaning and grammatical roles

Although she does not discuss the development of expressions, Fernando (1996) provides a functional–semantic categorization of idioms and idiomatic expressions based on Hallidayan notions of ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning (she calls the latter 'relational'). She describes ideational expressions as the subject matter of the discourse, while interpersonal expressions

'organize the flow of verbal exchanges and facilitate interaction' and relational expressions function to structure the text at phrase, clause, sentence and discourse levels.[7]

Fernando also suggests a correlation with form in the three groups: ideational idioms are phrasal verbs, noun phrases and 'semi-clauses'; interpersonal idioms have appropriate pronouns; and relational idioms are conjunctive expressions and prepositional phrases.[8] She illustrates these formal characteristics as follows:

Ideational expressions	**Interpersonal expressions**	**Relational expressions**
make up	(I wish you) Good morning	the more Y ... the more X
make off with	Happy Birthday (to you)	X ... no wonder Y
the emperor's new clothes	I'm afraid (that) ...	in order that
red herring	You're kidding/joking	at that time, at the same time as
blue film/joke, etc	Has the cat got your tongue?	in the small/wee hours
bury the hatchet	etc.	in a jiffy
spill the beans		round the clock
walk on air		etc.
to be down in the dumps		
etc.		

(Fernando 1996:187)

As a step towards homing in on more specific discourse functions, this functional–semantic categorization might fruitfully be applied to expressions identified in their early stages of development. However, I do not find the correlation with internal syntactic structure in expressions particularly helpful. While it is probably true that independent clause idioms are generally of the interpersonal type,[9] the majority of complex adverbs are also bearers of predominantly interpersonal meaning. Approximately half of the complex adverbs are prepositional phrases (*with all due respect, at all, in all honesty, by all means, above all*, etc), which would make them non-prototypical examples of interpersonal idioms in Fernando's schema. Rather, it seems to be the grammatical roles of expressions as a whole that correlate with the ideational,

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7 Fernando (1996:188).

8 On the form of relational idioms, Fernando (1996:187) says that they are 'conjunctive or sequencing idioms and ... expressions signalling the location in time of an event or of its duration, long or short'. The latter are, in fact, prepositional phrases, as I have indicated above.

9 See section 1.3 concerning Altenberg & Eeg-Olofsson's (1990) study.

interpersonal and textual functions of the same expressions. Fernando's observation that prepositional phrases tend to express textual ('relational') meanings is borne out if one takes into consideration complex prepositions only, that is expressions that function as prepositions (*in spite of*, etc), and not all prepositional phrases that are fixed expressions.

In this chapter I have looked at various approaches to the study of complex adverbs in various stages of fixation. Characteristic of complex adverbs in the early stages of their evolution is that they seem to be regularly variable, though they occur more frequently in one specific form (*as I say, first of all*), and their component elements are salient. Closer investigation of the specific discourse function, context, and register of any such expression in adverb role, including both semantic and syntactic considerations, will facilitate a clearer understanding of how complex adverbs come into being.

10 Fixedness and language change

In the introductory pages I described this book as an unfolding narrative on the theme of fixedness. At this stage of the narrative it should be clear that I do not consider phrasal fixation in English to be an arbitrary phenomenon. In exploring fixedness in complex adverbs and the underlying conceptualizations of their component parts I have found indications of regularity that cannot be ignored. In this chapter I present an interactional model of the relationship between discourse, conceptualization, and realization in fixed expressions (section 10.2). I also suggest a regular, unidirectional cline of development from ad hoc expression > fixed expression > univerbation, as distinct from the cline of grammaticalization (lexical word > grammatical word > clitic > affix).[1]

Many of the features and processes at work in the development of expressions are the same familiar features and processes of change that are attested in studies of grammaticalization: pragmatic inferencing, decategorialization, routinization, attrition, and so on. It is now time to take a closer look at grammaticalization – in particular the problem of definitions – and to explore the relationship between grammaticalization and the evolution of fixed expressions such as complex adverbs. Common denominators and differentiating characteristics between the two courses of development will be discussed in section 10.3. My research into fixed expressions shows that while these two clines of change are intimately related, they do not fit into a common explicatory framework. This is my fifth (and final) hypothesis.

[1] Hopper & Traugott (1993:7).

10.1 Terminology and definitions

In a recent paper, Paul Hopper says:

> A wider view of grammaticalization demands a modification of our perspective on grammar, one which sees structure in language as intrinsically unfixed and unstable, in other words as emergent (Hopper 1987, 1988). From this perspective there would be no neat distinction between lexicalization and grammaticalization, or any other aspect of change. It seems reasonable to suggest that the term "grammaticalization" itself is too narrow to accommodate these perspectives. We need perhaps to think in wider terms, and to adopt the sociologists' term "structuration" (Giddens, 1977, 1984), or John Haiman's "routinization" (Haiman, 1994).
>
> (Hopper, forthcoming: MS p 4–5)

It is clear that Hopper is more concerned with the limitations of the perspective than with the terminology and is appealing for an extension of the whole field of the study of grammaticalization. I share this view, also in respect of the need for a more appropriate terminology.

From the perspective of the present work, the first need is for an adequate term for the cline of change from ad hoc expression > fixed expression > univerbation. 'Lexicalization' (used by Hopper in the citation above) is often used in the literature to denote this process as one which is distinct from and in contrast to grammaticalization. Zirmunskij (1966), also cited by Lehmann (1995:6–7 [1982]), says that the unification of a group of words (as a result of the development of a new meaning in the expression as a whole) can follow one of two trends:

> (1) towards the **grammaticalization** (morphologization) of the word combination; that is to say, the group of words is transformed into a specific new analytical form of the word;
>
> (2) towards the **lexicalization** of the word combination; that is to say, the group of words is transformed into a more or less solid phraseological entity constituting a phraseological equivalent of the word in the semantic sense.
>
> (Zirmunskij 1966:83. Emphasis added.)

'Grammaticalized combinations', in this view, are expressions such as *I have written*, where one of the components undergoes 'a greater or lesser weakening of the lexical meaning of one of its components' (*ibid*) and where the

resulting expression or word is more grammatical than the originating expression. 'Lexicalized combinations' do not display such weakening; they are the equivalent of what is commonly referred to as compounds.[2] The following two sections discuss the terms lexicalization and grammaticalization.

10.1.1 Lexicalization

Taken at face value, Zirmunskij's definition of 'lexicalization' might be adequately used of the development of complex adverbs from ad hoc expressions in that it focuses on the transformation of a phraseological entity to single word status. In contrasting this process to grammaticalization Zirmunskij implies that there is no accompanying shift towards a more grammatical entity in the end state. However, both his definition and his exemplification (German: *Fussbrett, Fensterrahmen*)[3] are closely related to the notion of compounding, where the end state is a lexical item. As we have seen throughout Part II, complex adverbs can be predominantly lexical (*all the while*), grammatical (*of all*) or pragmatic (*all right*) in their end state. In this respect they do not qualify as prototypical examples of lexicalization.

There is a further problem in that complex adverbs can have component parts that have undergone some degree of weakening of lexical meaning (Chapter 5), which would also make them examples of grammaticalization in Zirmunskij's terminology. This prompts the question of a clearer definition of grammaticalization, which is the topic of the following section.

It remains to decide upon an appropriate term for the kind of phraseological unification that the development of complex adverbs exemplifies. In order to detract from any implications of lexicality or grammaticality in the end product I suggest **structuration** for this process of unification of ad hoc expressions, where the expressions generally retain the same conceptual word-class role during the fixation process.

10.1.2 Grammaticalization

Many definitions of grammaticalization begin with Meillet's well-known (1912) statement on the development of an autonomous word to a more grammatical status, a statement which numerous scholars have since expanded upon in various directions. A classic discussion of the problems involved in a clearer definition is Lehmann (1995 [1982]), while a recent (and more acces-

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[2] Leech (1981:226) calls these 'petrified' form; Lyons (1977:547) also refers to 'fossilization' as a specific kind of compounding.

[3] Zirmunskij (1966:88).

sible) discussion is to be found in an unpublished dissertation by Boyland (1996). In the following, I shall focus on those aspects of the definition that are important for a continued discussion of the evolution of complex adverbs in relation to grammaticalization theory, beginning with the aforementioned classification. Boyland classifies definitions of grammaticalization according to whether their perspective is: (i) initial-state and end-state, (ii) direction of change, or (iii) underlying processes.

In the first perspective, lexical material becomes grammatical (cf Meillet's early definition). A variant of this position, says Boyland (her section 2.2.1), is the 'end-state only criterion', where any change resulting in a grammatical form is a case of grammaticalization. This definition tallies with Zirmunskij's (above). It is problematic, not least in that it forces the analyst to make an either/or distinction as to what is 'grammatical'.

According to the 'directionality criterion', any change along the lexical > grammatical cline constitutes grammaticalization. Boyland cites Heine & Reh's (1984) standpoint, which says that since grammaticality is characterized by dependence on neighbouring morphemes and an increase in abstract meaning, any shift in this direction will by default entail semantic and/or phonetic attrition. Thus the latter become criterial features for grammaticalization. The problem with this definition is that while semantic and/or phonetic attrition might well be criterial for grammaticalization, the definition seems to assume that where there is attrition there is always grammaticalization.

The third perspective is on cognitive or linguistic processes underlying grammaticalization. Here, Boyland cites Haiman (1994) on ritualization, and Harris and Campbell (1995)[4] on reanalysis. Ritualization as a criterion for grammaticalization is problematic in the same way as the attrition criterion – while grammaticalization entails ritualization, the reverse is not true. On the subject of reanalysis, Hopper & Traugott (1993:32) say that: 'Unquestionably, reanalysis is the most important mechanism for grammaticalization, as for all change.' In their account, reanalysis involves 'fusion' or 'the merger of forms across word or morphological boundaries'. As a typical example of this they suggest compounding (*ibid* p 40). Further, they state that fusion involves 'changes in the assignment of boundaries (i.e., rebracketing)':

[4] Harris, A C & Campbell, L. (1995). *Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective*. Cambridge studies in linguistics; 74. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

> Reanalysis is the result of abduction. For example, given the reanalysis of a construction consisting of a head noun and a dependent noun [a] as a (complex) preposition and head noun [b]:
>
> [a] [[back] of the barn] >
> [b] [back of [the barn]]
>
> (Hopper & Traugott 1993:41)

It seems that Hopper & Traugott begin by referring to reananlysis as 'reinterpretation' in a more general sense, in which case it surely is characteristic of all language change. If they really do mean that rebracketing is a characteristic of reinterpretation, then it is difficult to understand how this applies to 'all change'. To differentiate between the two, I shall use 'reinterpretation' as the more general term, agreeing that this is probably the most important mechanism for all change, reserving 'reanalysis' for change involving rebracketing. Reinterpretation, then, is a semantic shift, while reanalysis also entails a shift in syntactic structure.

Lehmann (1995:13 [1982]) suggests that '[the agglutination process] is the most salient phase of the grammaticalization process', where agglutination[5] is a consequence of rebracketing. Possibly one of the most universally accepted cases of grammaticalization is the development of [[*going*] *to* NP] > [*going to/gonna*] Vinf] (see 6.3.1), which is an example of reanalysis and agglutination. It is counterintuitive to claim that this part of the process alone (often referred to as 'late grammaticalization') *is* grammaticalization but, following Lehmann, if it is a characteristic feature of grammaticalization then any process of change that does not carry the *potential* for agglutination is not grammaticalization. Potential agglutination entails the attraction between a semantically bleached host and a fully decategorialized clitic, where the clitic has (presumably) long since passed through the stage of semantic bleaching. It is impossible to identify this process in its early stages, of course, since the major forces at work (reinterpretation, reanalysis, routinization) are those which drive all language change, not specifically grammaticalization. For this reason, it is more appropriate to speak of specific processes, such as decategorialization and bleaching, in the earlier stages of change, unless there are other indications of incipient affixation (eg: cliticization).

Consequently, my definition of grammaticalization will be that which is nowadays often referred to in the literature as 'late grammaticalization', viz:

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[5] Lehmann uses 'agglutination' where I use 'affixation'. See also section 6.2.3, note 7.

> The process whereby words or morphemes become more grammatical in the sense that they gradually exhibit a potential for affixation through reanalysis.

Thus I consider the potential for affixation to be a criterial factor, alongside the generally accepted criterion of increased grammaticality. The definition also subsumes increased grammaticality in the host morpheme as a result of affixation.

Lehmann (1995:11 [1982]) is critical of such a narrow view of grammaticalization: 'Although the formation of grammatical morphemes is probably the focus of grammaticalization, it is by no means all of it.' Note, however, that I refer to the *potential* for affixation, and not merely the process of affixation. Grammaticalization (by my definition) can only be recognized in cases where there is evidence of this potential. Once this stage has been reached it is theoretically possible to trace the development of a word towards this stage, and I would then refer to the whole process as 'grammaticalization'. But, as I say above, in the absence of evidence of later stages being imminent, it is not possible to say whether processes such as decategorialization, attrition, reinterpretation and routinization are symptomatic of grammaticalization in particular or of change in general.

At this point we might re-evaluate Zirmunskij's statement (above) concerning the two paths of development, in the light of the above definitions. Firstly, he refers to the grammaticalization of expressions (point (1), cited in section 10.1). As far as I am aware, classical definitions of grammaticalization refer to the process as operating on *words* or *morphemes* (Meillet, 1912:131; Kurylowicz, 1965:52). In Zirmunskij's examples of grammaticalized expressions it is possible to identify a component part that is grammaticalizing – for example, in the case of *I have written* (cited above), the development of the full verb *have* to an auxiliary, which is also a case of reanalysis (ie grammaticalization, by my definition). His examples of lexicalization do not include the borderline phenomenon of expressions with adverb role (complex adverbs) which, as I suggest above, are more adequately referred to as structuration. In other words, with slight adjustments, Zirmunskij's classification is a pertinent one in that it differentiates between the phenomenon of grammaticalization and that of structuration (to use my own terminology).

The next section (10.2) summarizes my research on complex adverbs in a model relating the different perspectives on fixedness that have been the topic of this book. It is an interactional model of **structuration**. In section 10.3 I reframe the model as a cline of development and discuss its relationship to that of **grammaticalization**.

10.2 An interactional model of structuration

Following on from the previous section, I define structuration as 'the process whereby ad hoc expressions become fixed expressions and, eventually, single autonomous words'. The model that I am suggesting (Figure 0.1, reproduced here as Figure 10.1) is not so much chronological as relational. It shows how the evolution of fixed expressions has a discourse element, a conceptual element, and an element of realization. Each interacts with the other two, but the arrows indicate the unidirectionality of the processes involved. The model is circular to indicate that there is no beginning and no end. Pragmatic inferencing at the discourse level leads to reduced salience of the meanings of the component parts of an expression. Reduced salience results in some degree of fixedness at the realization level. And fixed expressions, *if* they develop further, may very well become involved in the same process again.

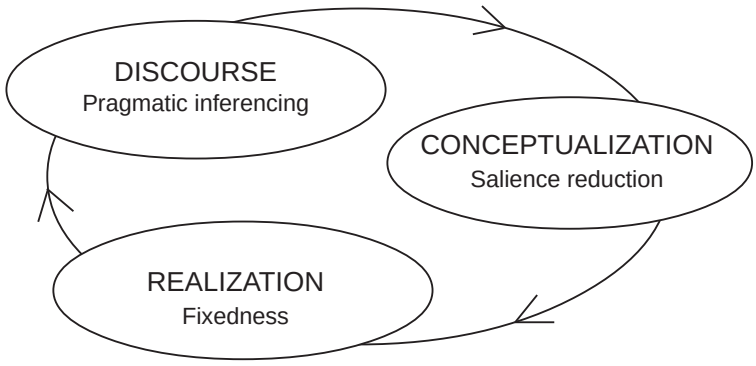

Figure 10.1 Levels of interaction in structuration.

Each of the three levels (realization, conceptualization, and discourse) has been the focus of a separate part of this book. Descriptive grammarians (and, of late, computational linguists) have attempted to understand and describe fixedness in terms of semantic and syntactic constraints, anomality, and pragmatic

function (see Chapter 1), but it is only in a conceptual perspective that it is possible to suggest any underlying factors common to all fixed expressions. In the case of complex adverbs I have found these to be non-salience of meaning, grammatical role, and text cohesive relations, but it is possible that the same set of features might apply to all fixed expressions. Further, not only is it possible to explore the notion of fixedness through these features, but it is also possible (in the case of expressions of similar grammatical structure) to correlate degrees of fixedness with degrees of salience reduction (Chapter 8). I have called these types of salience reduction **fixing forces** to reflect the unidirectionality of the relationship between conceptualization and realization. But fixed expressions do not originate in cognitive processes. They begin their life as novel, ad hoc expressions that prove useful in specific contexts or functions, and it is at the level of discourse where pragmatic inferencing comes into play. In this third part of the book I explore fixedness at the level of discourse, beginning (Chapter 9) with the question of how and where we might seek to better understand the discourse origins and evolution of fixed expressions. In this final chapter I bring together these variations on the theme of fixedness in the model outlined above.

In the course of the book, grammaticalization theory has been mentioned with increasing frequency, not least with regard to the discourse origins of fixed expressions, and it is clear that there are many points of overlap between the two processes. I have claimed that reduced salience of word meanings, grammatical roles, and cohesive relations correlate with fixedness in complex adverbs. Changing word meanings and grammatical roles are also well-documented participants in the grammaticalization process. Pragmatic inferencing, too, plays an important role both in the development of fixed expressions and in the early stages of grammaticalization. But I have indicated that grammaticalization is distinct from structuration. In the following section I shall compare the two clines of development.

10.3 Structuration and grammaticalization

In section 6.3 I discussed two separate clines of fixation: phrasal fixation and affixation. In the present chapter, I have suggested the term ‘structuration’ for the processes involved in phrasal fixation, reserving ‘grammaticalization’ for those leading to affixation. Both of these processes are dependent upon contextual reinterpretation (pragmatic inferencing) and the repetition of

syntagms (routinization), which presumably are common denominators in most (if not all) processes of language change.

10.3.1 Distinctive features

Firstly, as I discuss in section 6.3, structuration involves the reinterpretation of an existing syntagm (an ad hoc expression or phrase) and its gradual progress towards univerbation. As Lehmann (1995:151 [1982]) explains, univerbation is the traditional term for this 'welding of a syntagm into one word'. This process is distinct from affixation, which 'presupposes a paradigm in analogy to which it proceeds' (ibid p 151).[6] Most researchers of language change would agree that univerbation and affixation are different, of course. My reason for exaggerating this distinction is to stress the need for separate models of description and, not least, the need for a better understanding of the process of structuration in relation to grammaticalization.

Secondly, there is the question of reanalysis, which Hopper & Traugott (1993) describe as a process of 'abduction' or 'rebracketing'.[7] In section 6.3 this is demonstrated using the case of *going to* > *gonna*, where the preposition *to* ('She's going to the restaurant.') is realigned from the prepositional phrase syntagm to the verb syntagm. Together with the reinterpretation of *going* (from purposive direction to intention), this reanalysis has resulted in the future marker *gonna* ('It's gonna rain.'). Reanalysis can be described as a re-alignment in grammatical structure, as distinct from reinterpretation, which is one of the semantic/pragmatic processes underlying change in general.

Finally, affixation entails the development of a single autonomous, grammatical morpheme to clitic status and its subsequent affixation to a similarly autonomous host. Structuration can, in theory, affect any number of words in a syntagm, also without regard to their status as lexical or grammatical (by whatever definition of these terms). Consequently, as the potential for affixation is criterial for grammaticalization by my definition, the focus of grammaticalization is the individual word in relation to the syntagms of which

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6 The citation from Lehmann continues '...and affects a class of stems according to a structural pattern'. This does not happen in the case of *gonna*, where I see the paradigmatic component of the process as the repetition of *gonna* + infinitive.

7 Hopper & Traugott (1993:41). See also section 6.3.

it is a part, while the focus of structuration is the syntagm in relation to its component elements.[8]

Thus I conclude that structuration is too far removed in terms of criterial processes from grammaticalization to fit comfortably within the same explicatory framework. I would suggest that these two related processes be kept separate as far as the development of detailed theoretical models is concerned, while fully realizing that there is also good reason for bringing them together at a higher level. As Hopper points out:

> In fact, for Meillet, the story was not confined to grammatical forms, since he includes the shift from Old High German *hiu tagu* "on this day" to New High German *heute* "today" in his discussion of grammaticalization, a change which some would see as lexicalization (Meillet 1912).
>
> (Hopper, forthcoming: MS p 4)

Of the terms suggested by Hopper (*ibid*) for the broader perspective of change – which would, in my account, include 'lexicalization' – I have used 'structuration' as an alternative to the latter. The story of *heute* is one of structuration. Hopper's alternative suggestion, **routinization**, is more appropriate as an umbrella term, on the grounds that it embodies an implication of the repetition and entrenchment that is typical of both grammaticalization and structuration.

10.3.2 Routinization

As far as I can see as a result of my work on fixed expressions, structuration and grammaticalization alternate and interact to form continuous cycles of change. To begin with we can think of them as two separate clines of development (using my definitions):

Grammaticalization: lexical word > grammatical word > clitic > affix
Structuration: ad hoc expression > fixed expression > word

The interaction between grammaticalization and structuration is best shown by example. Figure 10.2 represents a possible version of the development of the word *however*, as discussed in section 9.4.1. The realignment of *ever* as an

[8] Brinton (1996:253) also acknowledges problems in the analysis of expressions such as epistemic parentheticals within the framework of grammaticalization. Their development is better viewed as a case of structuration.

intensifying clitic with *wh*-adverbs has produced the conjunction *however* which functions as a subordinator in adverbial clauses. According to OED, the sentence adverbial is 'the relic of an original subordinate clause ... such as "however this may be"', which I interpret as a fixed expression that has become reduced to the simple *however*.

Event	**Process**	**Result**
HOW + EVER > HOWEVER	Reanalysis of *ever* > intensifying clitic; paradigm = *whatever, whoever, whenever,* etc	Conjunction *however,* functioning as subordinator in adverbial clauses, eg: *However true that may be...* (Quirk et al, 14:120)
HOWEVER THIS MAY BE > fixed expression (according to OED)	Reinterpretation of a single adverbial clause in specific discourse contexts	Complex adverb with increased pragmatic meaning (interpersonal; speaker comment)
HOWEVER THIS MAY BE > HOWEVER	Ellipsis (attrition)	Conjunct (ie sentence adverbial) with discourse marking function

Figure 10.2 A hypothetical example of the interplay between structuration and grammaticalization

Thus, in present-day English, we have two functions of *however*, with (presumably) different histories. A similar story is the case of *in fact*, discussed in section 6.3.1, where an ad hoc expression with the word *fact* has reached univerbation and is now showing signs of reduction to the simple *fact*.

As I have already pointed out, it was not one of the original aims of my research to investigate the relationship between structuration and grammaticalization, and it is beyond the scope of this work to take the question any further. The problems remaining are summed up in the following citation from Paul Hopper's recent paper:

> Expanding the picture of the linguistic field to include, crucially, contextual information and questions of frequency brings into focus the complex ensemble of processes and relations involved in language change. It makes available a processual, emergent and

> dynamic representation of language change. Such an understanding of the 'whole' of linguistic activity works not by assuming an integrated "cognitive" totality in advance, but by piecing together bits of textual evidence from here and there to build a more integrated picture from below. Canonical approaches to grammaticalization operate with a partial picture of language that risks making language appear predictable and systematic through the exclusion of all but the most systematic and regular parts. By attending exclusively to canonical grammaticalization we naturally identify these more systematic and regular parts, when **a more global picture might present a more fragmentary and messier situation, albeit one that more faithfully reflects the reality**.'
>
> (Hopper, forthcoming: MS p 17–18. Emphasis added.)

In this book I have taken an eclectic approach in exploring the phenomenon of fixedness. It is fragmentary, and occasionally messy. Questions are posed but not always answered. Of one thing I am convinced, however, and that is the non-arbitrariness of phrasal fixedness and idiomaticity in English. In focusing on the development of fixed expressions and in suggesting a framework for the further exploration of underlying fixing forces in expressions, I hope to have made a small contribution to an understanding of the phenomena in a more global perspective.

Conclusion

It is customary in works of this kind to summarize its goals and achievements. My interest in fixed expressions was awakened several years ago when I attempted to compile a database of fixed multiword adverbial units to be used as an electronic lexicon in an automatic tagging program for the London–Lund Corpus. It was necessary to first set up a list of criteria for inclusion into the lexicon, which task was the genesis of this book. There was no established framework for exploring degrees of fixedness in complex adverbs and it was necessary to cast the net wide in the search for relevant and appropriate criteria. Four hypotheses were stated in Chapter 1 and a fifth in Chapter 10:

1) That there might be practical advantages to be gained from classifying fixed expressions as words, using the basic wordclass system of English: noun, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition, etc.

There are both applied and theoretical advantages of such a classification. Learners need to know not only the semantics, pragmatics and phonology of linguistic units, but also their grammatical roles. It is of lesser importance to distinguish fixed expressions according to their internal structure or composition. Natural language processing would also benefit from an exhaustive catalogue of fixed expressions, categorized according to their grammatical role, in the form of electronic dictionaries. On the theoretical side, it is important to look at the grammatical roles of ad hoc expressions if we are to better understand the processes whereby they congeal and become fixed expressions and words in their own right. The case of *however* (section 9.4.1) shows the need for a distinction to be made between the clause adverbial and sentence adverbial in exploring the historical development of the discourse marking function. The sentence adverbial probably originates in a complex adverb that has reduced to the same phonological form as the clause internal adverb *however*. The underlying expression (presumably something like *however this may be*) had the same grammatical role as the present-day

sentence adverbial. In other words, it is not a direct shift from the clause internal role.

2) That the main body of fixed expressions that have not previously been systematically researched as to fixedness criteria will be in the adverb class (*in fact, all right, by the way, straight on, and so on*, and so on).

The heterogeneity and complexity of the adverb class is also reflected in the internal composition of expressions in adverb role. With expressions in other wordclass roles there is usually an element of the expression that functions in the same role as that of the expression itself. The dominant method in earlier research on fixedness has been to compare variability constraints in the component parts of expressions. Expression classes such as phrasal verbs, complex prepositions, and nominal compounds have been identified by virtue of their internal structure, giving rise to the identification of large groups of expressions. Within that tradition the adverb group is not recognized since the internal structure of complex adverbs only rarely has an adverb at the core. Thus, while complex adverbs are often cited in the literature as 'important' or 'difficult' cases of idiomaticity, they have not been systematically researched.

3) That variability constraints on expressions are but symptoms of fixedness; and that a more accurate measure of idiomaticity lies in the conceptual constraints resulting from non-salient elements in expressions.

Recent psycholinguistic research supports this hypothesis as far as idioms of the verb+complement type are concerned. Since complex adverbs are not uniform in structure it is not possible to compare and contrast them in these terms. In the search for common denominators in complex adverbs I have therefore adopted this hypothesis as my starting point.

4) That word meanings in expressions are not the only elements that can be more or less salient; the relative salience of the grammatical roles of words and the cohesive ties that they form is also important for the interpretation of expressions.

Part II is an account of my own contribution to an understanding of the nature of fixedness. I have explored the conceptual constraints on the component parts of some 800 potential complex adverbs in their context of naturally occurring

speech. It transpires that not only the elements of meaning in an expression must retain a certain degree of salience in relation to the expression as a whole, but also their grammatical roles and cohesive relations. If the salience of any of these elements falls below a certain level the component parts cannot be freely manipulated and the expression becomes fixed.

5) That the evolution of fixed expressions is an important, non-arbitrary process of language change; that a cline of development can be described: ad hoc expression > fixed expression > word; and that this development alternates with grammaticalization.

While researching the conceptual constraints in elements of complex adverbs I gradually became aware of the recurrence of phenomena that are widely associated with the grammaticalization process (reanalysis, decategorialization, attrition, reduced syntactic freedom, increase in pragmatic strength). The book ends with this fifth hypothesis, which summarizes my view of the importance of a better understanding of fixed expressions not only in applied linguistics but also as a regular phenomenon in language change.

Finally…

My research began in an applied linguistics framework and it is appropriate that I conclude with a citation from Rosamund Moon, whose analysis of many thousands of fixed expressions has led her to similar conclusions regarding the importance of complex adverbs in particular:

> In the end it is the idioms such as *in the end* or even *such as* that are most important for lexicographers to deal with in constructing an accurate description of the language: these are the ones that are most vital to language competence or to an understanding of the working of language.
>
> (Moon 1986:115)

Fixed expressions in English are not marginal idiosyncrasies, to be relegated to footnotes and popular classroom exercises. They are all-pervasive and, furthermore, they provide evidence of an important process of language change. The phenomenon of fixedness is, ultimately, one which is worthy of further research in its own right.

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