

## On the Development of Stance-Marking Function of English Adverbs

### 1. Introduction

- Stubbs (1986):  
“Whenever speakers (or writers) say anything, they encode their point of view towards it... The expression of such speakers’ attitudes is pervasive in all uses of language. All sentences encode such a point of view, ... and the description of the markers of such points of view and their meanings should therefore be a central topic for linguistics.”
- With possible exception of the special genre where informational objectivity and speaker invisibility are intended at a maximal level, stance-marking is nearly ubiquitous and possibly inevitable in most instances of language use (Lee and Rhee 2012).
- One of the prominent functions of English adverbs is their stance-marking function, especially in the domain of illocutionary modification, i.e. intensifiers (Biber and Finegan (1988, 1989), Athanasiadou (2007), Traugott and Dasher (2002), Quirk et al. (1985), Nevalainen (1991), among others).  
  
(1) *actually, so, very, really, awful, dead, dreadfully, extremely, literally, most, precious, quite, real, terribly, totally, etc.*

#### [Research Objectives]

- This paper intends:
  - (i) to identify the lexical source categories of English intensifiers
  - (ii) to investigate the development of English intensifiers
  - (iii) to explore the cognitive forces involved in the development

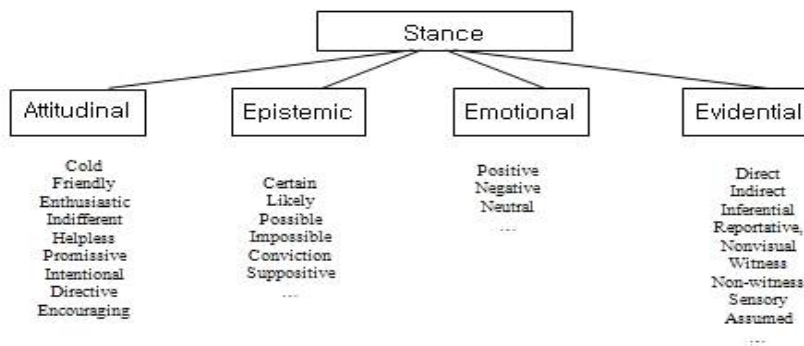
### 2. Preliminaries

#### 2.1 Stance-Marking

- “Stance” is not a monolithic concept (Englebretson 2007).
- problems of the term use: (i) no consensus (ii) various terms: ‘subjectivity’, ‘evaluation’, etc.  
“stance”: Biber et al. (1999), Dancygier & Sweetser (2005), etc.  
“addressee orientation”: Nuyts (2001)  
“point-of-view”: Smith (2002)
- Lexical coding of speaker attitude & beliefs (Traugott 2003 & Traugott & Dasher 2002)  
  
(2) A. illocutionary speech-act verbs: assertives (*observe, insist, state, claim, hypothesize...*), directives (*request, command, insist...*)  
B. Nouns/Adjectives of speaker’s evaluation: bloody (*This bloody car*), complete (*He is a complete idiot*)  
C. **Modal adverbs**: *obviously, possibly, probably, evidently, apparently*

- Rhee (2011: 405)

(3)



## 2.2 English Adverbs and Stance

- Stance adverbs, degree modifiers, and focus & scalar particles can be used to indicate the degree of strength (evidence, confidence, insistence).
- Powell (1992: 76): a whole class of ‘stance’ adverbs (*actually, generally, loosely, really, strictly*, etc.) show similar development (manner adv. > encoding the speaker’s normative judgment respecting degree or conditions of truth, and as advs of modality which may act preemptively to inform and to persuade a hearer of the nature and importance of the speaker’s evaluation).
- Similarly with degree modifiers: *very* (<‘truly’), *pretty, awfully, virtually*... (manner adv. > particles indicating the speaker’s assessment of the normative referentiality of the lexical item selected) (Traugott 1995a: 44)
- Diachronic development of stance adverbs may create polysemy and homonymy (Traugott 2010) (e.g. *fairly* ‘in a fair manner’ & ‘rather’)

## 3. Intensifiers

### 3.1 Terminology

- Degree modifiers: intensify upward/downward; index speaker’s perspective on entity; project scalarity to the entity; collocate with gradable entity (eg. *This is highly unlikely*.) (Athanasiadou 2007)

(4) a. Up vs. Down

- upwards (positive degree, amplifier): maximizers (*completely*), boosters (*very much*)...
- downwards (negative, downtoner): approximators (*almost*), compromisers (*more or less*), diminishers (*partly*), minimizers (*hardly*)...

b. Boundary vs. No Boundary

- boundary restriction (*completely*)
- w/o boundary (*very*) cf.  $\surd$  *completely full* vs. \**completely tired*

c. Degree vs. Quantification

- precise and definite measurement (*many tables*)
- non-precise and indefinite measurement in common (*much respect, much better*)

- Jaffe (2009): Evaluation; Reflecting speaker’s/author’s positionality; attributing position to others  
Evaluation: appraisal, assessment...  
Reflecting speaker’s/author’s positionality: appraisal modulation...

### 3.2 An Inventory

- Altenberg (1991): boosters form an open class; anything can be an intensifier (motivated by the desire to be expressive) e.g. *unbelievably dirty*, *absurdly easy*...
- Sources: Benzinger (1971), Quirk et al. (1985), Lenk (1998), Cheng & Warren (2001), Ito & Tagliamonte (2003), Athanasiadou (2007), Hoeksema & Napoli (2008), Mendez-Naya (2008), Nevalainen (2008), Simon-Vandenberg (2008), Tagliamonte (2008), Yaguchi et al. (2010), Wittouck (2011)
- Restrictions:
  - (i) modifying adverbials: ability to modify adjectives or adverbs
  - (ii) excluded: pure discourse markers, adjectives, interjections, periphrastic forms
- Intensifiers (66):
  - (5) *absolutely, actually, awful, awfully, bloody, categorically, completely, damn, darn, dead, deeply, dreadfully, emphatically, enthusiastically, entirely, exceedingly, excellently, extremely, fabulously, fairly, fantastically, freely, fucking, fully, genuinely, gloriously, hella, highly, honestly, immensely, incredibly, insanely, just, keenly, literally, madly, magnificently, marvelously, mightily, most, nearly, positively, precious, pretty, quite, rather, real, really, remarkably, sincerely, so, somewhat, splendidly, strongly, super, supremely, terribly, terrifically, too, totally, truly, unbelievably, unquestionably, utterly, very, wonderfully*

### 3.3 Categories

- 5 categories: markedness, completeness, incompleteness, emotion, taboo
- 19 subcategories: surpassing, insanity, dimension, ability, vividness, virtue, irrealis, entirety...

(6)

| CATEGORY       | SUBCATEGORY            | INTENSIFIER   |
|----------------|------------------------|---|
| MARKEDNESS     | SURPASSING             | <i>excellently, exceedingly</i>   |
|                | INSANITY               | <i>madly, insanely</i>  |
|                | DIMENSION              | <i>highly, utterly, most, deeply, extremely, supremely, immensely, rather, super</i>                |
|                | ABILITY                | <i>keenly, strongly, pretty, mightily</i>   |
|                | VIVIDNESS              | <i>gloriously, fairly, remarkably, splendidly</i>   |
|                | VIRTUE                 | <i>truly, precious, sincerely, just, honestly</i>   |
|                | IRREALIS               | <i>incredibly, wonderfully, unbelievably, fabulously, marvelously, magnificently, fantastically</i> |
| COMPLETENESS   | ENTIRETY               | <i>so, fully, entirely, absolutely, completely, totally</i>   |
|                | ABSENCE OF OBSTRUCTION | <i>quite, freely, positively, categorically, unquestionably</i>                                     |
|                | REALITY                | <i>very, really, genuinely, real, literally, actually</i>   |
|                | ATTAINMENT             | <i>too</i>  |
| INCOMPLETENESS | INDEFINITENESS         | <i>somewhat, nearly</i>   |
| EMOTION        | FEAR                   | <i>dreadfully, terribly, terrifically, awfully, awful</i>   |
|                | FERVOR                 | <i>emphatically, enthusiastically</i>   |
| TABOO          | BLOOD                  | <i>bloody</i>   |
|                | DEATH                  | <i>dead</i>   |
|                | CURSE                  | <i>damn, darn</i>   |
|                | HELL                   | <i>hella</i>  |
|                | SEX                    | <i>fucking</i>  |

## 4. Diachronic Emergence & Developmental Paths

### (7) Emergence of intensifiers

| -1000                           | -1100 | -1200 | -1300 | -1400   | -1500   | -1600  | -1700  | -1800   | -1900  | 1901-  |
|---------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|---|---|--|--|---|--|--|
| highly<br>keenly<br>so<br>fully |       |       | truly | utterly<br>most<br>deeply<br>strongly<br>gloriously<br>entirely<br>absolutely<br>quite<br>freely<br>very<br>too<br>somewhat | excellently<br>precious<br>incredibly<br>positively | exceedingly<br>extremely<br>supremely<br>pretty<br>mightily<br>fairly<br>sincerely<br>completely<br>really<br>emphatically<br>dead | immensely<br>rather<br>remarkably<br>splendidly<br>wonderfully<br>categorically<br>unquestionably<br>genuinely<br>real<br>nearly<br>dreadfully<br>terribly<br>bloody | just<br>literally<br>terrifically<br>enthusiastically<br>darn | madly<br>honestly<br>unbelievably<br>fabulously<br>marvelously<br>magnificently<br>actually<br>awfully<br>awful<br>damn<br>fucking | insanely<br>super<br>fantastically<br>totally<br>hella |

- Degree modifiers become bleached to the point of complete loss of original conceptual meaning.
- The surviving elements are used to express high degree of certainty, speaker commitment or downtone the force of the meaning.
- Bleaching may result in the loss of link to original source domains.

#### 4.1 Markedness

- Diverse source aspects are neutralized; markedness is highlighted.

##### 4.1.1 Surpassing: *excellently*, *exceedingly*

[*excellently*]

- 1384 excellent ‘excel’ > 1400 excellently ‘surpassing others’ > 1460 ‘unusual degree’ > 1677 ‘unusually good’

- (8) a. c1460 tr. Thomas à Kempis Imitation of Christ 145 Dispute not..why þis is so gretly peyned, & he is so excellently lifte up.  
b. 1677 Dryden State Innocence Pref. sig. b2v, Comedy is both excellently instructive, and extreamly pleasant.

- Semantic bleaching eliminates concrete reference point; highlights markedness

##### 4.1.2 Insanity: *madly*, *insanely*

[*madly*]

- 1225 ‘mad manner’ > 1756 ‘passionately’ > 1888 ‘extremely’

- (9) 1888 H. James Reverberator II. i. 16, I was not madly impatient to see you married.

- Semantic bleaching eliminates deviance from sanity; highlights markedness

##### 4.1.3 Dimension: *highly*, *utterly*, *most*, *deeply*, *extremely*, *supremely*, *immensely*, *rather*, *super*

[*highly*]

- 825 high ‘tall’ ‘thought’ > 900 highly ‘high position’ > 971 ‘greatly’ > 1000 ‘lofty’ > 1154 ‘nobly’ > 1225 ‘high rate’, ‘honorably’ > 1250 ‘proudly’ > 1275 ‘loudly’ > 1340 ‘supremely’ > 1375 ‘seriously’ > 1715 ‘elaborately’

- (10)a. 971 Blickl. Hom. 33 He wolde þæt his lof þe healicor weoxe.

- b. 1827 B. Disraeli Vivian Grey IV. vi. i. 6 It must be highly amusing.

- Dimensional axes (upward, downward, size, time, etc.) are neutralized through semantic bleaching; highlights unusual extent.

#### 4.1.4 Ability: *keenly, strongly, pretty, mightily*

[*pretty*]

- OE ‘cunning, skilful’ > **1565 ‘rather, fairly, very’**

(11) 1565 T. Cooper Thesaurus, Audaculus, a pretie hardie felow: vsed in derision.

- Mental/physical ability is bleached; empowering is highlighted.

#### 4.1.5 Vividness: *gloriously, strongly, pretty, mightily*

[*fairly*]

- 1400 fairly ‘beautifully’ ‘gently’ > **1599 ‘completely, really, actually’** > 1600 ‘becomingly’ > 1609 ‘courteously’ > 1632 ‘legitimately’ > 1661 ‘clearly’ > 1805 ‘tolerably, moderately’

(12) a1599 Spenser View State Ireland in J. Ware Two Hist. Ireland (1633) 9 All which they neverthelesse fairely overcame.

- Physical vividness (visibility, attractiveness, lucidity) neutralizes into mere markedness.

#### 4.1.6 Virtue: *truly, precious, sincerely, just, honestly*

[*truly*]

- 1000 ‘faithfully’ > **1275 ‘indeed’** > 1300 ‘confidently’ > 1303 ‘correctly’ > 1362 ‘honestly’ > 1375 ‘exactly’ > 1380 ‘really, actually’ > 1616 ‘rightfully’ ‘naturally’ > 1854 ‘purely’

(13) c1275 ( ▶ ?a1200) Laȝamon Brut (Calig.) (1978) l. 10338 Arður [etc.]..þene wude al bileien..treo uppen oðer treo-liche faste.

- Virtuous aspects (faithfulness, value, uprightness, honor, etc.) neutralizes into markedness.

#### 4.1.7 Irrealis: *incredibly, wonderfully, unbelievably, fabulously, marvelously, magnificently, fantastically*

[*marvelously*]

- 1330 marvellous ‘surprising’ > 1382 marvellously ‘wonderfully, extraordinarily’ > **1859 ‘extremely’**

(14) 1859 Dickens Tale of Two Cities ii. vi. 65 In the arrangements of the little household, Miss Pross took charge of the lower regions, and always acquitted herself marvellously.

- Irrealis, by virtue of deviance from reality, is itself marked. Cognitive and perceptual irrealis features are neutralized and only the markedness is highlighted.

## 4.2 Completeness

- Diverse aspects in the source are neutralized and completeness is highlighted.

#### 4.2.1 Entirety: *so, fully, entirely, absolutely, completely, totally*

[*absolutely*]

- 1400 absolute ‘not dependent’ > **1425 absolutely ‘entirely’ ‘whole-heartedly’** > 1443 ‘independently’ > 1450 ‘autonomously’ > 1538 ‘accurately’ > 1549 ‘despotically’ > 1550 ‘completely’ > 1565 ‘whatsoever’ > 1654 ‘fundamentally’ > 1712 ‘actually’ > 1825 ‘certainly’

(15)a. ?a1425 tr. Guy de Chauliac Grande Chirurgie (N.Y. Acad. Med.) f. 155v, De 3a. quarter [of the mone], fleobotomye is absolutely better [L. melior absolute; Paris alperbest].

b. 1996 D. Brimson & E. Brimson Everywhere we Go ii. 18 Everyone was singing and shouting and when we scored..it was total chaos, absolutely brilliant!

#### 4.2.2 Absence of Obstruction: *quite, freely, positively, categorically, unquestionably*

[*quite*]

- 1225 quit ‘no obligation, free’ > 1330 ‘completely, thoroughly’ > 1806 ‘somewhat, relatively’

(16)a. c1330 (1300) Guy of Warwick (Auch.) p. 604 (MED), His riȝt arme wiþ alle þe hond  
He strok of quite & clene.

b. 1993 Vanity Fair (N.Y.) Nov. 198/1, I quite understand why the girls fell for him.

- Absence of obstruction of various kinds is neutralized and completeness is highlighted.

#### 4.2.3 Reality: *very, really, genuinely, real, literally, actually*

[*very*]

- 1250 *very* ‘real, true’ > 1375 ‘truly, really’ > 1488 ‘exceedingly’ > 1567 Emphasis

(17)a. c1375 Cursor M. (Fairf.) 22973 Bot mani man þat wele can rede vnderstandis noȝt al verray  
quat þe vale of Iosaphat is to say.

b. 1488 (► c1478) Hary Actis & Deidis Schir William Wallace (Adv.) i. l. 86 Erle Patrik  
than till Berweik couth persew, Ressawide he was and trastyt werray trew.

c. 1567 T. Drant tr. Horace Pistles in tr. Horace Arte of Poetrie sig. Diiijv, He will see  
the..wyth the swallowe verye firste That cummes into that place.

- Matching the reality suggests completeness. Diverse aspects are neutralized and completeness survives and is highlighted.

#### 4.2.4 Attainment: *too*

[*too*]

- 875 to ‘to, motion directed toward and reaching’ > 888 too ‘also’ > 971 ‘overmuch’ > 1275  
‘regrettable extent’ > 1300 ‘in excess’ > 1340 ‘excessively, extremely’

(18)a. 1340 Ayenbite (1866) 95 The wel greate loue and to moche charite of god þe uader.

b. 1884 Princess Christian tr. Princess Alice Let. in tr. K. Sell Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse  
203 How too delightful your expeditions must have been.

#### 4.3 Incompleteness

- Incompleteness weakens the semantic force, which helps the emergence of downtoners.

##### 4.3.1 Indefiniteness: *somewhat, nearly*

[*nearly*]

- 1375 near ‘loosely related, not distant’ > 1540 nearly ‘carefully’ > 1554 ‘with close attention’ >  
1561 ‘close intimacy’ > 1562 ‘particularly’ > 1569 ‘close distance’ > 1587 ‘tightly’ > 1591 ‘frugally’  
> 1594 ‘similar’ > 1616 ‘close approximation’ > 1683 ‘almost’ > 1745 ‘by a long way’

(19)a. 1683 W. Salmon Doron Medicum i. 92 Made neerly stiff enough.

b. 1989 Austin (Texas) Amer.-Statesman 29 Apr. a11/1 Police are investigating nearly 300 reports  
since April 7 of contaminated baby food.

- Lack of definiteness (of entity or space) weakens the semantic force.

#### 4.4 Emotion

- Diverse affective aspects are neutralized and only the associated emotive value becomes highlighted.

##### 4.4.1 Fear: *dreadfully, terribly, terrifically, awfully, awful*

[*terribly*]

- 1400 terrible ‘causing terror’ > 1473 terribly ‘very painfully’ > 1500 ‘in a terrible manner’ > **(1668)** ‘very, excessively’ > 1906 ‘very poorly’

(20) 1668 A. Marvell Corr. cv, in Wks. (1875) II. 264 He is here a kind of decrepit young gentleman and terribly crest-falln.

- The notion of invoking fear/terror is neutralized. Only the emotive value toward a state-of-affairs is highlighted.

##### 4.4.2 Fervor: *emphatically, enthusiastically*

[*enthusiastically*]

- 1603 enthusiastic ‘possessed by a deity’ > 1614 enthusiastical ‘moved by irrational impulses’ > 1691 enthusiastically ‘under religious delusion’ > **1786** ‘with ardor’

(21)a. 1786 W. Gilpin in Mrs. Delany's Corr. 2nd Ser. III. 346 Plants, of which she is enthusiastically fond.

b. 1849 T. B. Macaulay Hist. Eng. I. 362 His scheme was enthusiastically applauded.

- Conative states induced by locutionary strategy or religious empowerment are neutralized and the associated fervor becomes highlighted.

#### 4.5 Taboo

- Taboo terms, by virtue of their unacceptability, adds force to the linguistic form.

##### 4.5.1 Blood: *bloody*

(22)a. 1676 G. Etherege Man of Mode i. i. 10 Not without he will promise to be bloody drunk.

b. 2006 Company Nov. 11/2 You can't deny David's a bloody good-looking lad.

##### 4.5.2 Death: *dead*

(23)a. ?1589 T. Nashe Almond for Parrat sig. 5v, Oh he is olde dogge at expounding, and deade sure at a Catechisme.

b. 1963 D. Lessing Man & Two Women 140 ‘That's right,’ said Charlie, ‘you're dead right.’

##### 4.5.3 Curse: *damn, darn*

(24)1882 in T. M. Healy Lett. & Leaders (1928) I. 150 T. P. quoted my answer as ‘I'm damn glad’.

##### 4.5.4 Hell: *hella*

(25)a. 1987 Toronto Star 11 Apr. m2/4 The horse went hella whoopin' down the trail, trailing 50 feet or more of the best Berkley Trilene Monofilament line.

b. 2001 Orange County (Santa Ana, Calif.) Reg. (Nexis) 28 Dec. 22 Come on! That's hella funny!

##### 4.5.5 Sex: *fucking*

(26) 1864 Suppressed Bk. about Slavery! 211 The Woman writhed under each stroke, and cried, ‘O Lord!’.. The Doctor..thus addressed her (the congregation must pardon me for repeating his words.) ‘Hush, you \*\*\*\*\* b—h, will you take the name of the Lord in Vain on the Sabbath day?’]

## 4.6 Summary

(27)

| Category               | Subcategory   | Intensifier  | Source Meaning                     | First Attestation |
|------------------------|---|--|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Markedness             | Surpassing  | <i>excellently</i><br><i>exceedingly</i>   | ‘excelling’<br>‘to pass the limit’ | 1460<br>1535      |
|                        | Insanity  | <i>madly</i><br><i>insanely</i>  | ‘demented’<br>‘out of mind’        | 1888<br>recently  |
|                        | Dimension   | <i>highly</i><br><i>utterly</i><br><i>most</i><br><i>deeply</i><br><i>extremely</i><br><i>supremely</i><br><i>immensely</i><br><i>rather</i><br><i>super</i> | ‘high’                             | 971               |
|                        |   |  | ‘farther out’                      | 1374              |
|                        |   |  | ‘greatest degree’                  | 1387              |
|                        |   |  | ‘depth’                            | 1400              |
|                        |   |  | ‘endmost’                          | 1554              |
|                        |   |  | ‘highest’                          | 1597              |
| Ability                | <i>keenly</i><br><i>strongly</i><br><i>pretty</i><br><i>mightily</i>  | ‘wise, clever’   | 1000                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘powerful’   | 1400                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘cunning, crafty’  | 1565                               |                   |
| Vividness              | <i>gloriously</i><br><i>fairly</i><br><i>remarkably</i><br><i>splendidly</i>  | ‘powerful’   | 1587                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘ostentatiously’   | 1393                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘attractive’   | 1599                               |                   |
| Virtue                 | <i>truly</i><br><i>precious</i><br><i>sincerely</i><br><i>just</i><br><i>honestly</i>   | ‘attract attention’  | 1614                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘brightly’   | 1651                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘faithful’   | 1275                               |                   |
| Irrealis               | <i>incredibly</i><br><i>wonderfully</i><br><i>unbelievably</i><br><i>fabulously</i><br><i>marvelously</i><br><i>magnificently</i><br><i>fantastically</i> | ‘high value’   | 1449                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘not perverted’  | 1577                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘righteous’  | 1726                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘honorable’  | 1898                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘beyond belief’  | 1500                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘surprising’   | 1617                               |                   |
| Completeness           | Entirety  | ‘not believable’   | 1839                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘of fable’   | 1845                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘surprising’   | 1859                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘immaterial thing’   | 1868                               |                   |
| Absence of obstruction | <i>quite</i><br><i>freely</i><br><i>positively</i><br><i>categorically</i><br><i>unquestionably</i>   | ‘visible, imagination’   | 1923                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘same, such’   | 888                                |                   |
|                        |   | ‘replete’  | 900                                |                   |
| Reality                | <i>so</i><br><i>fully</i><br><i>entirely</i><br><i>absolutely</i><br><i>completely</i><br><i>totally</i>  | ‘whole’  | 1400                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘completed’  | 1425                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘entirely’   | 1526                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘of whole’   | 1972                               |                   |
| Attainment             | <i>no obligation</i><br><i>no subjection</i><br><i>imposed by authority</i><br><i>no condition</i><br><i>beyond dispute</i>                               | ‘no obligation’  | 1330                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘no subjection’  | 1393                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘imposed by authority’   | 1443                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘no condition’   | 1603                               |                   |
| Incompleteness         | <i>very</i><br><i>really</i><br><i>genuinely</i><br><i>real</i><br><i>literally</i><br><i>actually</i>  | ‘beyond dispute’   | 1644                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘of truth’   | 1375                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘of things’  | 1561                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘natural, not foreign’   | 1640                               |                   |
| Indefiniteness         | <i>of materials</i><br><i>written, not figurative</i><br><i>of deeds</i>  | ‘of materials’   | 1645                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘written, not figurative’  | 1769                               |                   |
| Indefiniteness         | <i>to</i><br><i>somewhat</i><br><i>nearly</i>   | ‘to, motion reaching’  | 1340                               |                   |
|                        |   | ‘unspecified’  | 1384                               |                   |
| Indefiniteness         | <i>proximity</i>  | ‘proximity’  | 1683                               |                   |



|         |                |   |  |                                      |
|---------|----------------|---|--|--------------------------------------|
| Emotion | Fear           | <i>dreadfully</i><br><i>terribly</i><br><i>terrifically</i><br><i>awfully</i><br><i>awful</i> | ‘full of fear’<br>‘causing terror’<br>‘causing terror’<br>‘causing fear’<br>‘causing fear’ | 1616<br>1668<br>1777<br>1816<br>1818 |
|         | Fervor         | <i>emphatically</i><br><i>enthusiastically</i>  | ‘vigor in words’<br>‘religious delusion’   | 1587<br>1786                         |
| Taboo   | Blood          | <i>bloody</i>   | ‘of blood’   | 1676                                 |
|         | Death          | <i>dead</i>   | ‘dead’   | 1589                                 |
|         | Curse          | <i>damn</i>   | ‘condemned’  | 1882                                 |
|         |                | <i>darn</i>   | ‘condemned’  | 1789                                 |
|         | Hell           | <i>hella</i>  | ‘of hell’  | 1987                                 |
| Sex     | <i>fucking</i> | ‘copulate’  | 1864   |                                      |

## 5. Discussion

### 5.1 Grammaticalization

- Adverbial formation *per se* is not an instance of grammaticalization (thus, same with intensifier development) in the narrow sense (see, however, Heine et al. 1991, Heine et al. 1993, Nevalainen 2008).
- Intensifiers further developing into DMs may be instances of grammaticalization (Diewald 2011, Wischer 2000, Traugott 1995b; contra Waltireit 2006; see, Norde 2009, Frank-Job 2006 for ‘pragmaticalization’; Heine 2013, Heine et al. 2013 for ‘cooptation’ of theticals as an alternative)

### 5.2 Subjectification and Intersubjectification (Interactivity)

- One of the most interesting aspects associated with the development of the intensifier function is that of semantic change.
- These adverbs often originate from the forms whose semantic designations involved the referring function or description of tangible objects.
- This meaning became gradually bleached out through the increase of abstractness.

(28) a. *really*, originated from Latin *res* ‘matter, thing’, i.e. the first-order entity

‘actual’, ‘in fact’ > to the use with reference to the speaker’s opinion rather than a fact

b. *actually*, Latin *quietus* ‘at rest’ with reference to stopping movement (cf. English *quit*)  
termination > extremity and thus intensification

- The developmental path of these intensifiers is largely in support of Traugott’s (2010) cline of [non-subjective > subjective > intersubjective] and Athanasiadou’s (2007) [property > quantification > intensification > emphasis]
- Intensifier use is closely related to interactivity, and thus intersubjectivity.
- Subjectification is gradient. (concrete, lexical, objective > abstract, pragmatic, interpersonal, speaker-based)
- (Inter)subjectification involve the reanalysis as coded meanings of pragmatic meanings arising in the context of speaker-hearer negotiation of meaning (Traugott 2010).
- Subjectification: the development of meanings that express speaker attitude/viewpoint

### 5.3 On Form-Function Iconicity

- A notable aspect in the development is their movement toward form-function iconicity.
  - (29) a. *real* vs. *really*
  - b. *very* vs. *verily*
  - c. *precious* vs. *preciously*
  - d. *awful* vs. *awfully*
- It is often the case that the *-ly*-counterparts constitute older usage whereas the shorter ones (adjectival, in form) are innovations.
- This strongly suggests that the speakers have the conceptualization that the shorter forms are more appropriate for describing the essence of the modified, perhaps due to their formal resemblance to adjectives, as compared with the adverbs whose modification is relatively detached and thus less powerful.

### 5.4 Frequency, Novelty and Renewal

- Heine (2009): creativity as a driving force of language innovation
- *Very* is most common, but only among the older speakers. In contrast, *really* increases dramatically among the youngest generation (Ito & Tagliamonte 2003)
- Intensifiers are particularly susceptible to renewal (Stoffel 1901: 2, Quirk et al. 1985: 590, Peters 1994: 269, Hopper & Traugott 2003).
- Intensifiers afford “a picture of fevered invention and competition that would be hard to come by elsewhere, for in their nature they are unsettled“ (Bolinger 1972: 18).
- Lorenz (2002): new intensifiers as shibboleths
- Wittouck’s (2011) frequency, based on BNC and COCA

(30)

| Intensifier          | BNC Freq | BNC Ranking | COCA Freq | COCA Ranking |
|----------------------|----------|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>very</i>          | 79717    | 1           | 72371     | 1            |
| <i>so</i>            | 32144    | 2           | 37740     | 2            |
| <i>quite</i>         | 18700    | 3           | 8146      | 3            |
| <b><i>rather</i></b> | 8676     | 4           | 3903      | 9            |
| <i>really</i>        | 8175     | 5           | 8145      | 4            |
| <i>highly</i>        | 6545     | 6           | 5658      | 6            |
| <i>extremely</i>     | 5948     | 7           | 4742      | 8            |
| <i>fairly</i>        | 4661     | 8           | 2836      | 11           |
| <b><i>pretty</i></b> | 3925     | 9           | 7230      | 5            |
| <i>totally</i>       | 3318     | 10          | 2667      | 12           |
| <i>completely</i>    | 3303     | 11          | 2647      | 13           |
| <i>absolutely</i>    | 2994     | 12          | 2587      | 14           |
| <i>entirely</i>      | 2851     | 13          | 2019      | 15           |
| <i>somewhat</i>      | 2569     | 14          | 2952      | 10           |
| <b><i>real</i></b>   | 1687     | 15          | 4761      | 7            |
| <i>bloody</i>        | 1225     | 16          | 196       | 18           |
| <i>nearly</i>        | 730      | 17          | 1983      | 16           |
| <i>fucking</i>       | 434      | 18          | 165       | 19           |
| <i>damn</i>          | 277      | 19          | 466       | 17           |
| <i>darn</i>          | 18       | 20          | 94        | 20           |

## 5.5 Further Development

- further development into DMs: *indeed, actually...* (Traugott & Dasher 2002, Haselow 2012, Defour 2010)
- Athanasiadou (2007): elliptical answers

- (31) a. *And we missed that?* - Completely.  
b. *So things have changed.* - Not completely.  
c. *But I'd had a lot of experience.* - Perfectly.  
d. *We understand, don't we?* - Oh, absolutely.  
e. *Do you let them travel alone?* - Absolutely not.  
f. *He's in business, right?* - Totally.

## 5.6 Remaining Issues

- Big picture here > details need further research
- periphrastic forms are not addressed: *kind of, sort of, the hell, in the hell, the heck, the hell out of, in fact, a bit of, a piece of, a shred of, etc.*
- DM functions not closely investigated.
- Focus adverbs are not addressed:  
manner adv. > focus: OE *anlice* 'simply, especially' > *only*

- (32) Quirk et al. 1985, Nevalainen 1991: additives vs. restrictives (exclusives & particularizers)
- (a) additives: *again, also, either, equally, even, further, likewise, neither, nor, similarly, too, as well, in addition*
- (b) restrictives (exclusives): *alone, exactly, exclusively, just, merely, only, precisely, purely, simply, solely*
- (c) restrictives (particularizers): *chiefly, especially, largely, mainly, mostly, notably, particularly, primarily, principally, specifically, at least, in particular*

- Similar functions may be performed by adjectives (*perfect, complete, absolute, total...*) (Athanasiadou 2007, Ghesquière)

## 6. Summary and Conclusion

- Certain English adverbs carry the stance-marking function, especially in the domain of illocutionary modification (66 intensifiers: boosters and downtoners)
- Intensifiers mark the speaker's stance (attitudinal, epistemic and emotional).
- Their sources are from 5 categories and 19 subcategories.
- Degree modifiers become bleached and only the core categorial notions 'markedness', 'completeness', 'incompleteness', 'emotion', and 'taboo (avoidability)' are highlighted.
- These developments typically involve subjectification and intersubjectification (interactivity).
- There is a form-function iconicity between the *-ly*-suffixed form and its bare counterparts.
- Intensifiers are particularly susceptible to renewal because of the easy loss of the novelty value.
- Some intensifiers develop into DM markers.

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