

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>page</i> xii
<i>List of tables</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiv
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xvi
1 Introduction: comment clauses, parentheticals, and pragmatic markers	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Sentence adverbial	2
1.3 Disjunct adverbial	4
1.4 Comment clause	4
1.5 Parenthetical	7
1.5.1 Definition of a parenthetical	7
1.5.2 Types of parentheticals	9
1.5.3 Syntactic derivation of parentheticals	10
1.5.4 Distinguishing a parenthetical from a main cause	12
1.6 Pragmatic marker	14
1.6.1 Functional characteristics of pragmatic markers	17
1.6.2 Comment clauses as parentheticals/pragmatic markers	18
1.7 Overview of the book	19
1.7.1 Approach	19
1.7.2 Sources of data	19
1.7.3 Outline of the book	21
2 Semantic and syntactic development of pragmatic markers	24
2.1 Introduction	24
2.2 Semantic development	24
2.3 Syntactic development	27
	vii

viii Contents

2.3.1	Adverb/preposition > conjunction > pragmatic marker	27
2.3.2	Clause-internal adverb > sentential adverb > pragmatic marker	31
2.3.3	Matrix clause > parenthetical disjunct > pragmatic marker	35
2.4	Conclusion	47
3	Processes of change	49
3.1	Introduction	49
3.2	Grammaticalization	49
3.2.1	Definition of grammaticalization	49
3.2.2	Pragmatic markers and grammaticalization	52
3.2.3	Studies of pragmatic markers as grammaticalized forms	55
3.3	Pragmaticalization	61
3.4	Lexicalization	63
3.4.1	Definition of lexicalization	63
3.4.2	Lexicalization and grammaticalization compared	65
3.4.3	Studies of pragmatic markers as lexicalized forms	66
3.5	Idiomatization	69
3.6	Subjectification and intersubjectification	70
3.7	Conclusion	71
4	Comment clauses with <i>say</i>	73
4.1	Introduction	73
4.2	( <i>I</i> ) <i>say</i> in Present-day English	74
4.3	Comparison to <i>like</i> and <i>what</i> in Present-day English	80
4.4	Historical development of ( <i>I</i> ) <i>say</i>	82
4.4.1	Dating of forms	82
4.4.2	The evolution of ( <i>I</i> ) <i>say</i>	88
4.5	<i>I daresay</i>	93
4.5.1	<i>I daresay</i> in Present-day English	93
4.5.2	The development of <i>I daresay</i>	95
4.6	( <i>As</i> ) <i>you say</i>	97
4.6.1	( <i>As</i> ) <i>you say</i> in Present-day English corpora	99
4.6.2	The development of ( <i>as</i> ) <i>you say</i>	100
4.7	<i>That is (to say)</i>	104
4.7.1	<i>That is (to say)</i> in Present-day English	104
4.7.2	The development of <i>that is (to say)</i>	105
4.8	Conclusion	109

5	<i>I mean</i>	111
5.1	Introduction	111
5.2	<i>I mean</i> in Present-day English	112
5.2.1	The frequency of <i>I mean</i>	112
5.2.2	The meaning of <i>I mean</i>	112
5.2.3	The form and distribution of <i>I mean</i>	118
5.3	Semantic–pragmatic functions of <i>I mean</i> from a diachronic perspective	118
5.3.1	Full meanings	119
5.3.2	Metalinguistic/metacommunicative meanings	120
5.3.3	Other meanings	123
5.4	Syntactic development	124
5.5	Semantic development	127
5.6	Accounting for the development of <i>I mean</i>	130
5.7	Conclusion	131
6	Comment clauses with <i>see</i>	133
6.1	Introduction	133
6.2	<i>You see, as/so you see, and see</i> in Present-day English	133
6.2.1	<i>You see</i>	133
6.2.2	<i>As/so you see</i>	136
6.2.3	<i>See</i>	139
6.3	History of <i>as/so you see</i> and <i>you see</i>	141
6.3.1	Old English	142
6.3.2	Middle English	142
6.3.3	Early Modern English	145
6.3.4	Later developments	148
6.4	History of <i>see</i>	148
6.5	Accounting for the development	154
6.5.1	Comparison with ‘you see’ in Swedish	158
6.5.2	Grammaticalization	159
6.6	Conclusion	160
7	<i>If you will</i> and <i>as it were</i>	162
7.1	Introduction	162
7.2	<i>If you will</i> and <i>as it were</i> in Present-day English	162
7.2.1	Present-day English <i>if you will</i>	163
7.2.2	Present-day English <i>as it were</i>	166
7.3	The rise of <i>if you will</i>	168
7.4	The rise of <i>as it were</i>	171
7.5	Foreign influence	175
7.6	Accounting for the development of <i>if you will</i> and <i>as it were</i>	177

x Contents

7.6.1	The development of <i>if you will</i>	177
7.6.2	The development of <i>as it were</i>	180
7.7	Conclusion	182
8	Comment clauses with <i>look</i>	184
8.1	Introduction	184
8.2	<i>Look</i> and its variants in Present-day English	184
8.2.1	The meaning of pragmatic <i>look</i> -forms	185
8.2.2	Morphosyntactic origins of <i>look</i> -forms	187
8.3	The dating of <i>look</i> -forms	188
8.3.1	Matrix <i>look</i>	188
8.3.2	Parenthetical <i>look you/ye/thee/thou &gt; lookee</i>	191
8.3.3	Parenthetical <i>look</i> ( <i>{here, now}</i> )	194
8.3.4	Unverbated <i>lookit</i>	195
8.4	The development of <i>look</i> -forms	196
8.4.1	<i>Look (you)</i>	196
8.4.2	<i>Lookit</i>	197
8.5	Comparison to other sensory verbs	199
8.6	The grammaticalization of <i>look</i> -forms	200
8.7	Conclusion	202
9	<i>What's more</i> and <i>what else</i>	203
9.1	Introduction	203
9.2	<i>What's more</i> in Present-day English	203
9.2.1	The meaning of <i>what's more</i>	205
9.2.2	The synchronic development of <i>what's more</i>	205
9.3	The history of <i>what's more</i> and related constructions	206
9.3.1	<i>What's more</i>	206
9.3.2	<i>Which is more</i>	208
9.3.3	<i>What was more</i>	209
9.4	Accounting for the development of the <i>what's more</i> construction	209
9.5	<i>What else</i>	211
9.5.1	<i>What else</i> in Present-day English	211
9.5.2	The history of <i>what else</i>	215
9.5.3	Historical relation of the <i>what else</i> forms	216
9.6	Conclusion	218
10	Epistemic/evidential parentheticals – <i>I gather</i> and <i>I find</i>	219
10.1	Introduction	219
10.2	Epistemic/evidential parentheticals	220
10.3	<i>I gather</i>	224
10.3.1	Frequency of <i>I gather</i> in Present-day English	224

	Contents	xi
10.3.2	Meaning/function of <i>I gather</i> in Present-day English	225
10.3.3	Rise of <i>I gather</i>	228
10.4	<i>I find</i>	230
10.4.1	Frequency of <i>I find</i> in Present-day English	231
10.4.2	Meaning/function of <i>I find</i> in Present-day English	232
10.4.3	Rise of <i>I find</i>	235
10.5	Grammaticalization	237
10.6	Conclusion	238
11	Concluding remarks	240
11.1	Introduction	240
11.2	Background of the study	240
11.2.1	Parenthetical pragmatic markers	240
11.2.2	Pragmatic markers and grammaticalization	241
11.2.3	Syntactic development of pragmatic markers	245
11.3	Results of case studies	249
11.3.1	Shortcomings of the matrix clause hypothesis	249
11.3.2	Other syntactic sources for comment clauses	251
11.4	Directions for future research	253
	<i>References</i>	257
	<i>Author index</i>	275
	<i>Subject index</i>	278