

The Grammaticalization of Only and Just

by

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ABSTRACT

Grammaticalization theory provides a framework for analyzing language change. This thesis uses the concepts relevant to grammaticalization theory in an examination of ‘only’ and ‘just’ to determine how changes in their usage conform to the theory. After an introduction providing a sampling of the myriad ways ‘only’ and ‘just’ are used in Modern English, I provide an overview of grammaticalization theory in Chapter 2. Included in this chapter are a history of the major concepts of grammaticalization theory, an explanation of the commonly-accepted parameters and tools used to test and demonstrate grammaticalization, and a brief discussion of current arguments against grammaticalization theory. Chapter 3 presents my analysis of ‘only’ and ‘just’. I show that ‘only’ has grammaticalized from an adjective to a more grammatical adjective, from an adjective to an adverb, and from an adjective to a complementizer. I then show that ‘just’ has grammaticalized from an adjective to a more grammatical adjective and from an adjective to an adverb. Although some proponents of grammaticalization theory question the grammaticalization pathways leading from adjective to adverb and from adjective to complementizer, I argue that in the cases of ‘only’ and ‘just’ these pathways do indeed exist. I use the Oxford English Dictionary and corpora to support and demonstrate the validity of my argument.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 It's only just about *only* and *just*

Only and *just* are very high on the list of the 5000 most common words in the English language--101st and 66th respectively (COCA 2014). The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) (online 2015) lists *only* as an adjective, adverb, conjunction (complementizer), preposition, and noun. *Just* is listed as an adjective, adverb, noun, and verb. These are indeed versatile, well-employed little words.

It is a simple matter to list quite a variety of syntactic and semantic ways *only* and *just* are commonly used in Modern English. *Only* and *just* are sometimes synonyms as in: *Mary ate only the apples* and *Mary ate just the apples*. They sometimes have very different meanings as in: *Mary just ate only the apples*. Both *only* and *just* are often focus adverbs used to draw attention to an element in a sentence: *only* apples (and not oranges), *just* Mary (and not Bob).

Just often has a temporal aspect as in: *Mary just (now) ate the apples*. *Only*, however, does not appear to have a temporal aspect. The sentence *Mary only ate the apples* does not give a sense of when Mary did the eating. However, when the two words are used together as in *Mary only just ate the apples* the immediacy of the actions is even more strongly focused. Conversely, however, *Mary just only ate the apples* does not have the same meaning at all and in fact does not make sense unless *now* is added: *Mary just now only ate the apples*. Yet, in spite of the addition of *now* the

sentence seems non-standard and is clearly contrived just for the sake of making a point. One could go on and on with examples of the various ways *only* and *just* are used in Modern English. How does any of this matter? I've only just begun to delve into the subject.

1.2 The etymologies of *only* and *just*

According to the OED (online 2015) both *only* and *just* were initially used in English as adjectives. The first written records of *only* are from Old English some time before 1200 as in (1).

(1) *He is min anlica sunu.*

'He is my only son.'

OE, *West Saxon Gospels: Luke*, (Corpus Cambr.) ix. 38.

(OED online 2015)

The first written records for *just* are from at least 200 years later, as in (2).

(2) *It is iust to me for to feele this thing for alle 3ou, for that I haue 3ou in herte.*

'It is just to me to feel this thing for you all, for I have you in heart.'

c1384 *Bible* (Wycliffite, E.V.) (Douce 369(2)) (1850) Philipp. i.7.

(OED online 2015)

From these beginnings as an adjective, as delineated in the OED (online 2015), the usage of *only* expanded to include adverb, conjunction (complementizer), preposition, and noun. Likewise, the adjective usage of *just* grew to include adverb,

noun, and verb. However, for the purposes of this thesis, analysis of *only* is confined to adjective, adverb, and conjunction (complementizer), while analysis of *just* is confined to adjective and adverb. Support for this decision is presented in Chapter 3.

1.3 Thesis

The aim of this thesis is twofold: 1) to present an overview of the theory of grammaticalization, and 2) to present an examination of the grammaticalization of *only* and *just*.

Grammaticalization is a theoretical process whereby open-class lexical words such as nouns and verbs transform, or grammaticalize, into closed-class more grammatical parts of speech such as adjectives, adverbs, adpositions, demonstratives, negation markers, etc. (Heine & Kuteva 2007). In Chapter 2 of this thesis I present an overview of the history of grammaticalization theory, define and describe some parameters and tools used for examining grammaticalization, and touch briefly on some of the challenges to grammaticalization theory.

In Chapter 3 I present my analysis of the grammaticalization of *only* and *just*. I show how *only* as an adjective grammaticalized to adverb ONLY and complementizer (conjunction) ONLY, as well as to an even more grammaticalized form of adjective ONLY. I then present how *just* as an adjective grammaticalized to adverb JUST and a more grammaticalized form of adjective JUST. Heine and Kuteva (2007) believe it is unclear whether adjectives grammaticalize to adverbs. I argue that in at least the cases

of adjective ONLY and adjective JUST, adverbs can and do grammaticalize from adjectives.

Also according to Heine and Kuteva (2007), the only grammaticalization pathways that result in complementizers are those arising from demonstratives or adpositions. In Chapter 3 I argue that *only* has grammaticalized from adjective to complementizer. I show that a sentence such as *Only the eggs upset Mary's stomach* demonstrates that the word *only* has already grammaticalized from an adjective (the *only* eggs) to an adverb (*only* the eggs). From either point *only* can grammaticalize even further to the position of complementizer in a sentence such as *Mary tried to eat breakfast, only the eggs upset her stomach*.

The final section of Chapter 3 touches on the special case of combining *only* and *just* into the adverb phrase ONLY JUST. Although I have not found phrases to be addressed in the theory of grammaticalization, the fact that the grammaticalized adverbs ONLY and JUST are often combined is a point too interesting to ignore.

Chapter 2

GRAMMATICALIZATION THEORY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of grammaticalization. *Grammaticalization* has been defined as “the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions” (Hopper and Traugott, 1993, p. xv). *Lexical items* are words which carry lexical meaning: nouns, verbs, adjectives, most adverbs, and prepositions. These can also be referred to as *content words*. Words which serve grammatical functions are determiners, auxiliaries, coordinators, complementizers, and some adverbs. These words are referred to as *grammatical* because “they do not contribute much to the meaning of a sentence” but they do “determine the syntax of it” (van Gelderen, 2010, p. 12). With these two distinctions in mind, *grammaticalization*, therefore, refers to the process of a lexical word transforming into a grammatical word. However, as this chapter will show, the process of grammaticalization is neither simple nor speedy. It is also not consistent nor without controversy.

Section 2.2 of this chapter covers the history of grammaticalization as a linguistic concept. Section 2.3 outlines the parameters of grammaticalization as well as the concepts of layering and unidirectionality. Section 2.4 covers the grammaticalization concept of a *cline*. Section 2.5 briefly addresses several challenges

to the theory of grammaticalization. Section 2.6 provides examples of possible pathways of grammaticalization.

2.2 The history of grammaticalization theory

Grammar can be thought of as “the rules to form and understand language” (van Gelderen 2010, p. 224). One example of the theories of the origin of grammar was proposed by Wilhelm von Humbolt. In *Grammaticalization* (1993), Hopper and Traugott, present an outline of Humbolt’s theory of the evolution of grammar through four stages. In 1822 Humbolt proposed that in its initial stage language was limited to naming concrete objects. In the second stage of language evolution, word order became fixed. Between this stage and the third stage, some words became less concrete in their meanings and took on more functional or grammatical meanings. During the third stage, Humbolt proposed that the functional words could become affixed or agglutinated to the concrete words. Finally, in the fourth stage words could be agglutinated into a single unit, having both stems and affixes. Some of these words would maintain their concrete meanings and some would now be function words which “would continue their lives as purely formal indicators of grammatical relationships” (Hopper & Traugott 1993, p. 19).

Although this and various other theories of the development of grammar existed throughout the nineteenth century, the term *grammaticalization* wasn’t used until 1912. In *L’évolution des Formes Grammaticales* (1912) Antoine Meillet coined *grammaticalization* to refer to the process whereby grammatical morphemes derive

from lexical forms. A translation from French of his definition of grammaticalization is “the attribution of grammatical nature to a formerly autonomous word” (Smith, 2011 p. 367). Even though the concept of grammaticalization now had a name for itself, for most of the 1900s “linguistics was strongly synchronic in its approaches and assumptions, which meant that historical factors, including grammaticalization, were of secondary interest” and changes in language “came to be seen as sets of rule adjustments, beginning with one stage and ending with another, but with little interest in the gradual process that must have been involved in between” (Hopper & Traugott 1993, p. 25).

A resurgence of interest in grammaticalization is often traced to a 1971 paper by Talmy Givón in which he proclaimed that “today’s morphology is yesterday’s syntax” (Givón 1971, p. 413). Additional writings by Givón and other books such as Christian Lehman’s 1982 *Thoughts on Grammaticalization: A Programmatic Sketch*; Bernd Heine and Mechthild Reh’s 1984 *Grammaticalization and Reanalysis in African Languages*; Bernd Heine, Ulrik Claudi, and Friederike Hunnemeyer’s 1991 *Grammaticalization: A Conceptual Framework*; and a 1991 collection of papers entitled *Approaches to Grammaticalization* edited by Elizabeth Traugott and Bernd Heine were instrumental in propelling grammaticalization to “a significant place as a topic in its own right in the research of a number of linguists” (Hopper & Traugott 1993, p. 30).

2.3 Some parameters of grammaticalization

There are numerous parameters that are linked to grammaticalization. A search through the linguistic literature of the past few decades shows that linguists define, describe, and label these parameters in widely varying manners. Some linguists include elements that others discount, while many of the definitions used overlap from one element to another and from one linguist to another. In light of this wide variation, for the purposes of this study, I begin my discussion with four parameters linked to grammaticalization as outlined by Heine and Narrog (2010). These parameters are *extension*, *desemanticization*, *deategorialization*, and *erosion*. I then include a more general description that has been posited by Heine and Kuteva (2007) as their way to include alternative approaches to grammaticalization. I next address the issues of layering and unidirectionality as additional key aspects of grammaticalization. Finally, I present the grammaticalization tool called a *cline*.

2.3.1 Extension

Extension is “the rise of new grammatical meaning when linguistic expressions are extended to new contexts” (Heine and Narrog 2010, p. 405). This parameter is complex and involves three components. The first component is sociolinguistic. This refers to grammaticalization initiating when one speaker (or a small group of speakers) begins using a new linguistic form and this innovative form spreads to more, perhaps all, of the speech community. The second component is text-pragmatic and involves expanding contexts, that is, a linguistic element will begin to be used in a new or wider

variety of contexts with an ever-widening paradigm range. The final component is semantic in nature and refers to the movement from an existing meaning to another meaning which is derived from or supported by the expanded context.

2.3.2 Desemanticization

Desemanticization, often called semantic bleaching, refers to a generalization of meaning or even an actual loss of meaning. This process is a direct consequence of expansion. An example of desemanticization as presented by Heine and Narrog (2010) is the process whereby words which refer to body parts such as *head, back, face, etc.*, are grammaticalized over time and reinterpreted as adpositions of location such as *behind, on top of, in front of, etc.* The original lexical meanings of the words in reference to specific body parts have been bleached out. The resulting words are far more grammatical.

2.3.3 Decategorialization

Decategorialization is the “loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms” (Heine and Narrog 2010, p. 405). This process results in a significant number of possible changes:

- a) Loss of ability to be inflected.
- b) Loss of the ability to take on derivational morphology.
- c) Loss of ability to take modifiers.
- d) Loss of independence as an autonomous form, increasing dependence on some other constituent.

- e) Loss of syntactic freedom, e.g., of the ability to be moved around in the sentence in ways that are characteristic of the non-grammaticalized source item.
- f) Loss of ability to be referred to anaphorically.
- g) Loss of members belonging to the same grammatical paradigm.

(Heine and Narrog 2010, p. 407)

Heine and Narrog (2010) state that as a result of these changes nouns tend to lose distinctions like case, gender, and number, etc., and verbs tend to lose the option of inflection for tense, aspect, negation, etc. The result of decategorialization is that the element which has grammaticalized has changed from an open-class or lexical item to a closed-class or grammatical item.

2.3.4 Erosion

Erosion means that a grammaticalized item has lost some of its phonetic substance. According to Heine and Narrog (2010) erosion can include morphological as well as phonetic reduction but it is commonly limited to one or more of the following phenomena:

- a) Loss of phonetic segments, including loss of full syllables.
- b) Loss of suprasegmental properties, such as stress, tone, or intonation.
- c) Loss of phonetic autonomy and adaptation to adjacent phonetic units.
- d) Phonetic simplification.

(Heine & Narrog 2010, p. 408)

Although phonetic erosion is the most common, the examples Heine and Narrog (2010) provide are the phrases *by the side of* grammaticalizing to *beside* and

by cause of grammaticalizing to *because (of)*. By the authors' own admission, both of these changes appear to involve morphological as well as phonetic erosion.

2.3.5 Other approaches

After outlining their own slightly earlier version of Heine and Narrog's (2010) parameters, Heine and Kuteva (2007) acknowledge that a variety of other approaches have been proposed to describe the parameters of grammaticalization. The authors state that some of these approaches variously highlight the pragmatic, the semantic, or the syntactic aspects of grammaticalization. With their four parameters and these variations in mind, the authors provide the following more general description of the grammaticalization process:

- (a) from concrete meanings to more abstract ones,
- (b) from fairly independent, referential meanings to less referential, schematic grammatical functions having to do with relations within the phrase, the clause, or among clauses,
- (c) from open-class to closed-class items,
- (d) from grammatical forms that may have internal morphological structure to invariable forms, and
- (e) from longer grammatical forms to shorter ones.

(Heine and Kuteva 2007, p. 45)

I believe the four specific parameters along with the general description provide a more thorough, useful portrayal of grammaticalization than either of them alone. However, the phenomena of layering and unidirectionality as well as the concept of the cline are still needed to best show grammaticalization and how it functions.

2.3.6 Layering

As the name implies, layering describes the overlapping that can occur in grammaticalization. Hopper (1991) says layering shows that “within a broad functional domain, new layers are continually emerging. As this happens, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers” (Traugott & Heine 1991, p. 22). An example of layering is found in English tenses. The typical past tense formation whereby an apical suffix [t] or [d] is added to a word as in *notice/noticed* and *walk/walked* co-exists with a much older formation using vowel alternations as in *drive/drove* and *take/took* (Hopper 1991). Aitchison (2001) provides a particularly picturesque description of layering:

“Language, then, builds up layer after layer of usage. It behaves like an enthusiastic gardener who keeps taking cuttings from existing plants in order to propagate new ones, but who keeps all the specimens, both old and new, side by side in the greenhouse. Occasionally, old plants die, but only after a longish period during which they survived alongside newer cuttings.”

(Aitchison 2001, p. 114)

2.3.7 Unidirectionality

A final key concept in the theory of grammaticalization is that of unidirectionality. Generally, linguists agree that grammaticalization is a unidirectional phenomena. According to Aitchison, “as streams always flow downhill, not uphill, so language squeezes words together, it does not normally pull them apart” (2001, p. 114). Although Aitchison, Heine, Hopper, Traugott, and other linguists acknowledge the existence of a few counterexamples to the unidirectionality hypothesis, they stress that

these exceptions are the minority. The consensus is that even though it “can be violated in the presence of alternative cognitive principles, the unidirectionality principle turns out to be statistically significant and can serve as a basis on both the linguistic evolution and language structure” (Heine 1997, p. 153). As we will see in the next section, unidirectionality is best illustrated with the concept of the cline.

2.4 Clines

As lexical words evolve to become grammatical words, the transformation typically follows a “natural pathway” (Hopper & Traugott 1993, p. 6). Some words that follow this pathway become ever more grammatical and can evolve and reduce to clitics and finally inflectional affixes. The pathway such words follow is called a *cline*. A significant characteristic of these grammaticalization pathways, or clines, is that the routes they follow are “not abrupt”, but involve “a series of gradual changes that tend to be similar in type across languages (Cowie 1995, p. 181).

Hopper and Traugott (1993) illustrate a grammaticalization cline as follows:

content item	>	grammatical word	>	clitic	>	inflectional affix
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Figure 2.1 Grammaticalization Cline (Hopper and Traugott 1993, p. 7)

Traugott (2002) refers to the first portion of the cline (content item > grammatical word) as primary grammaticalization, and the second portion (clitic > inflectional affix) as secondary grammaticalization. According to Hopper and Traugott (1993),

linguists might not agree on what can be placed on the cline, how the sections of the cline are labeled, or even how to define the cline in any particular instance, but they state that the items’ “relative positions on the cline are less subject to dispute” (Hopper & Traugott 1993, p. 7).

In *Language Change* (2001, p. 114-115), Jean Aitchison uses the English word *will* as an example of a cline of grammaticalization. She outlines the pathway in three general steps.

- 1) In Old English *willan* was a lexical word meaning *to want*
- 2) By Middle English it had become an auxiliary verb which signaled intention:

I wyl nauther grete nor grone. (14th century)

‘I will neither cry nor groan.’

- 3) In Modern English *will* is often shortened to *'ll* and can express simple future as in:

Ask Paul, he *'ll* go.

Applying Aitchison’s example to Hopper and Traugott’s (1993) description of a cline gives us the grammaticalization cline in Figure 2.2. Aitchison is not clear as to whether *'ll* is a clitic or an inflectional affix so I include it here as both.

content item	>	grammatical word	>	clitic	>	inflectional affix
willan	>	wyl/will	>	'll	or	'll

Figure 2.2 Grammaticalization Cline of *willan*

The discussion of clines and their usefulness as tools to illustrate the potential pathways of grammaticalization will be taken up again in Section 2.6 as well as in Chapter 3.

2.5 Challenges to grammaticalization theory

As I have documented throughout this chapter, grammaticalization has been a legitimate area of linguistic study for more than a century with its conceptual roots going back even further. However, as with most areas of theoretical study, a wide variety of opinions and some outright disagreements abound.

Some linguists have “acknowledged that the traditional characterizations of grammaticalization have a limited range of applicability and a need has been felt for a more comprehensive definition of the term” (López-Couso & Seoane 2008, p. 1). In their book on historical syntax, Harris and Campbell (1995) claim that “grammaticalization cases can be explained adequately by the other mechanisms of syntactic change...and...therefore attribute to grammaticalization no special status” in their treatment of the subject (Harris & Campbell 1995, p. 20). Boye and Harder (2012) argue that the distinction between lexical and grammatical expressions is unclear and wonder if such a distinction can and should be maintained. The theory of unidirectionality has been called into question by Joseph (2001), Campbell (2000), and others, while Joseph casts doubt on all of grammaticalization as a process of language change and refers to it as “an unnecessary elaboration” (Joseph 2001, p. 184). Newmeyer has concluded that “*there is no such thing as grammaticalization*, at least in

so far as it might be regarded as a distinct grammatical phenomenon requiring a distinct set of principles for its explanation” (Newmeyer 2001, p. 188).

In spite of these disagreements, for the purposes of this study, I rely on the research of Aitchison, Heine, Hopper, Traugott and the like. I subscribe to the assessment that

“[t]he process of grammaticalization begins at some point where available linguistic resources are judged to lack effectiveness for certain purposes. New resources are then introduced.... This is the received view of grammaticalization, and it seems to me the proper view, as well.”

(Geurts, 2000, p. 788)

We now turn to some potential pathways of grammaticalization.

2.6 Grammaticalization pathways

In *The Genesis of Grammar* (2007) Heine and Kuteva devote a chapter to what they see as the most common pathways of grammaticalization. (See Figure 2.3) They assert that their findings are based on data collected from more than 500 languages throughout the world. The authors divide the categories of words into five layers which represent degrees of grammaticalization. That is, purely lexical or content words—nouns—are in the first layer. The second layer consists of verbs. The third layer is adjectives and adverbs. The fourth layer contains demonstratives, adpositions, aspect, and negation. Finally, the fifth layer contains “a bewildering variety of grammatical categories in the languages of the world that in some way or other belong to this layer” (Heine & Kuteva 2007, p. 93). Some examples of elements in this fifth layer are

case markers, subordinators, complementizers, pronouns, agreement markers, and passive constructions. The authors describe more than 30 pathways whereby words or morphemes grammaticalize from one layer to another.

The diagram (Figure 2.3) below shows the pathways described in the book.

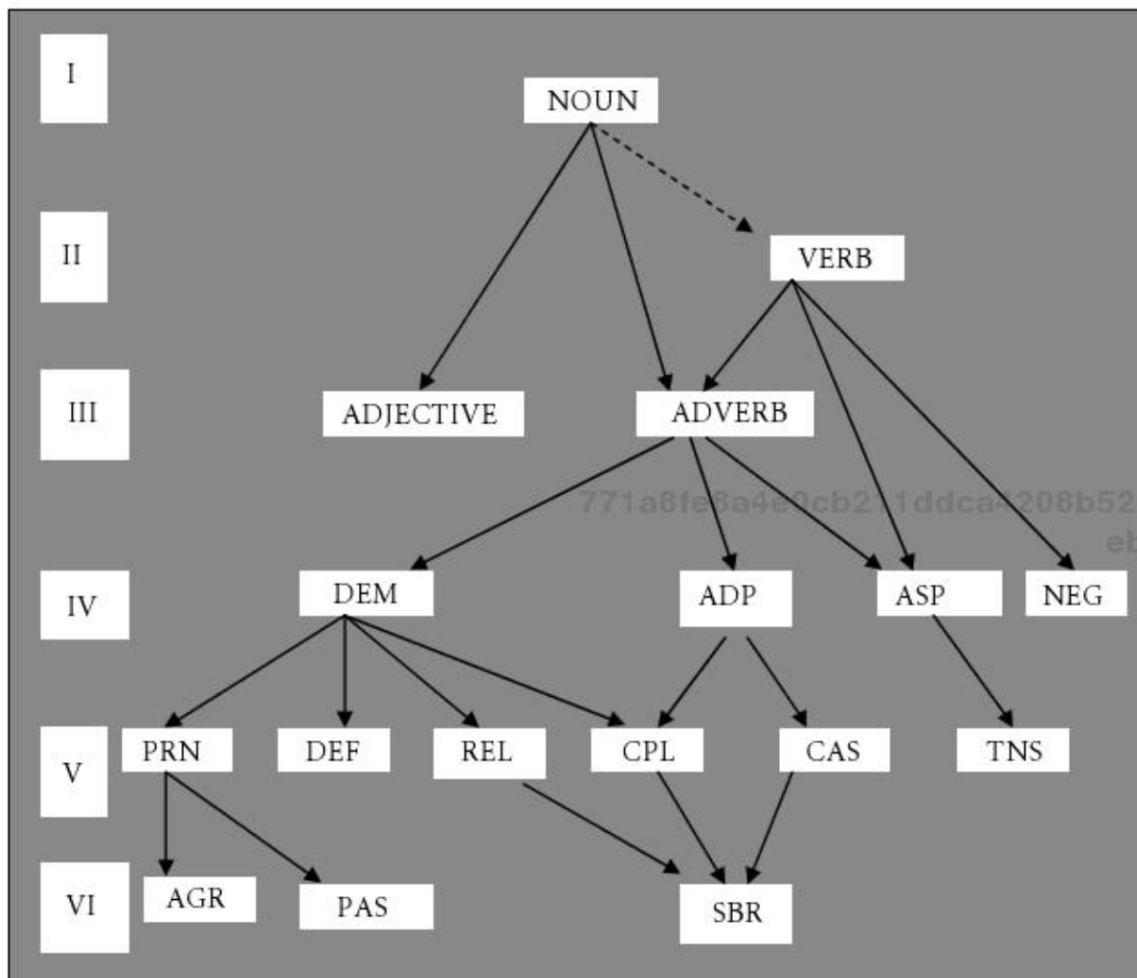


Figure 2.3 Layers of Grammatical Development (Heine & Kuteva 2007, p. 111)

Abbreviations: I, II, etc. = layers; AGR = agreement marker; ADP = adposition; ASP = (verbal) aspect; CAS = case marker; CPL = complementizer; DEF = marker of definiteness (“definite article”); DEM = demonstrative; NEG = negation marker; PASS = passive; PRN = pronoun; REL = relative clause marker; SBR = subordinating marker of adverbial clauses; TNS = tense marker.

Of particular interest to me in light of the research presented in the next chapter is the implication that adjectives do not grammaticalize to adverbs. According to Heine and Kuteva “[a]djectives may give rise to adverbs....However, the overall evidence is not entirely conclusive and we have therefore decided not to postulate such a pathway, which is in need of further investigation” (Heine & Kuteva 2007, p. 83). I argue that adjectives do indeed grammaticalize to adverbs. In Chapter 3 I present the data to support my argument. Heine and Kuteva (2007) also do not include adjectives as source elements for grammaticalization to complementizers. In Chapter 3 I present evidence to show that in at least the case of adjective ONLY an adjective can grammaticalize to a complementizer. I also show the grammaticalization of adjective ONLY, adverb ONLY, adjective JUST, and adverb JUST.

Chapter 3

THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF ONLY AND JUST

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1 I began a discussion of *only* and *just* and the complex nature of their uses in Modern English. In Chapter 2 I presented an overview of the theory of grammaticalization. In this chapter I present my analysis of how *only* and *just* have grammaticalized. I use the meanings of *only* and *just* as defined in the 2015 online version of the Oxford English Dictionary (OED).

The OED (online 2015) lists *only* as a noun as well as an adjective, adverb, and complementizer (conjunction). However, the definitions and examples given for noun ONLY appear to me to be more in the category of adjective ONLY and will therefore not be considered in this examination. Also, a section in the definition of adverb ONLY lists it as a preposition. Here the examples given are phrases such as *only for* and *only that* and are not included in this study. I limit my analysis of *only* to adjective ONLY, adverb ONLY, and complementizer (conjunction) ONLY. Likewise, although the OED (online 2015) lists *just* as a noun and a verb these definitions will not be included in this study. The first instance of noun JUST appears to me to be a variation of adjective JUST. The second instance of noun JUST is an obsolete term referring to a “deep and wide vessel with a long narrow neck and handles used for holding wine or beer” (OED online 2015). The etymology given shows a relationship to 11th century British sources referring to “right” or “just” measures of drink (OED online 2015), however

the information is too scant for inclusion here. The OED (online 2015) etymology shows verb JUST being derived from adjective JUST, however no substantive supporting evidence is provided. The rest of the entry for verb JUST refers to a comparison with *adjust* and will therefore not be considered. I limit my analysis of *just* to adjective JUST and adverb JUST.

The definitions from the OED (online 2015) of adjective ONLY, adverb ONLY, complementizer (conjunction) ONLY, adjective JUST, and adverb JUST are all compared to one or more of the parameters of grammaticalization—extension, desemanticization, decategorialization, and erosion—as well as the concepts of clines and layering as described in Chapter 2. I also use the more general description of grammaticalization from Section 2.3.5 to further support my arguments related to the grammaticalization of *only* and *just*.

In conjunction with definitions and examples of usage taken from the OED (online 2015), I provide supporting material gleaned from corpora. Though finding perfect supporting examples in a corpus is often challenging and sometimes impossible, I adhere to three main reasons for corpora research as spelled out by Mair (2011). First, using corpora makes a search for data convenient, systematic, and efficient. Second, corpora contain “authentic language data in their original syntactic and discourse contexts” (Mair 2001, p. 242). Third, corpora research can help illustrate frequency and its effects in a usage-based model. Additionally, while it is possible and often necessary to contrive example sentences for some points made in this chapter, I use corpus data

whenever feasible. Corpus data are invaluable because “they are authentic records of performance systematically extracted from a known database and suitable for qualitative-discourse analytical interpretation within a relevant theoretical framework...” (Mair 2001, p. 249). In other words, for the purposes of my research, data from a corpus can be viewed as relevant, supportive, and sufficient even if it is not always plentiful.

Section 3.2 of this chapter deals with the grammaticalization of *only*. I show how the grammaticalization of adjective ONLY can be seen through extension, decategorialization, erosion, and movement from an open-class to a closed-class item. I then illustrate my argument that adverb ONLY grammaticalized from adjective ONLY. The grammaticalization of adverb ONLY is shown through extension, erosion, movement from concrete meanings to abstract meanings, and movement to a closed-class category. Finally, I show the further grammaticalization of adjective ONLY to complementizer (conjunction) ONLY. According to Heine and Kuteva (2007), complementizers grammaticalize from nouns, verbs, demonstratives, or interrogatives. The authors do not include adjectives or adverbs in their list of the originations of possible pathways for grammaticalization resulting in complementizers. I argue that adjective ONLY grammaticalized to complementizer (conjunction) ONLY. I support this argument using the OED and corpora.

Section 3.3 of this chapter deals with the grammaticalization of *just*. I show how the grammaticalization of adjective JUST can be seen through extension and ultimate

decline into rare or obsolete uses. This decline is shown to have occurred simultaneously with the extension of adverb JUST and a marked increase in its usage. The juxtaposition of the decline of adjective JUST and the rise of adverb JUST appears to lend credence to my argument that adverbs can and do grammaticalize from adjectives. The grammaticalization of adverb JUST can be seen through extension, decategorialization, erosion, movement from concrete to abstract meanings, and movement from an open-class to a closed-class item. In Section 3.4 I touch on the grammaticalized form of the adverb phrase ONLY JUST. When the two grammaticalized forms are used in conjunction with each other several unique scenarios result.

3.2 The grammaticalization of *only*

According to the OED (online 2015), *only* has been employed as an adjective from early Old English to the current time. There are no written records of the English language prior to Old English which means it is impossible to say how *only* (or any other word) was used before that time. Therefore, for this research, the entries in the OED (online 2015) are the earliest possible for examination.

3.2.1 Adjective ONLY

Table 3.1 shows a timeline of adjective ONLY from its first use in early Old English until the current time. The grammaticalization parameter of extension relative to adjective ONLY can be seen in the marked increase of meaning over the course of time. Although the three main senses of meaning for adjective ONLY originated in

early Old English and Old English, many nuances of meaning were added from the 1400s onward. While it is not possible to prove the sociolinguistic aspect of extension since there are no spoken records from that time, there is significant evidence of the text-pragmatic aspect of extension by virtue of the increasing number of written examples as enumerated in the OED (online 2015). The semantic nature of extension is also evident by the virtual blossoming of meanings from 1400 onward.

Table 3.1 Adjective ONLY Timeline

eOE - 1200	1200 - 1400	1400 - 1600	1600 - 1800	1800 - 2000+
OE I. In attributive and predicative use.				
OE 1. Without companions or companionship, alone; solitary; lonely.				
OE II. In attributive use.				
OE 2.a. Alone of its, his/her kind; of a kind of which there exist no more; sole, lone.				
		c1475 2.b. any only—: any one— (<i>obs.</i>); one only—(<i>arch.</i>); an only—(<i>rare</i>); one single—, one—and no more, one—and no other.		
		1483 2.c. With reference to a familial relationship, preceded by <i>an</i> or (without article) with a plural: solitary, single; having no siblings.		
eOE 3.a. Unique in quality, character, rank; peerless, pre-eminent, unparalleled, best.				
		1581 3.b. In the superlative, with emphatic force. (<i>colloquial & regional</i>)		
		a1400 4. Designating a thing about which (by itself and with no other thing) something is stated or asserted; (of a thing) acting alone; mere, sole.		
		a1400 4.a. Modifying a noun simply. (<i>obsolete</i>)		
		a1449 - 1877 4.b. Placed between a demonstrative determiner, a possessive adjective, or a noun in the genitive, and the noun which they modify, or before a noun followed by an <i>of</i> -phrase, with reference to the noun so modified. (<i>obsolete</i>)		

Another of the parameters of grammaticalization that can be seen in the OED (online 2015) entry for adjective ONLY is decategorialization, specifically the aspect regarding “loss of the ability to take on derivational morphology” (Heine and Narrog 2010, p. 407). In Sense 3.b. on Table 3.1 we see that one definition of adjective ONLY is “In the superlative, with emphatic force (now *colloquial & regional*)” (OED online 2015). An example of this usage is:

(1) *He was..accounted..the onliest person to be consulted about the affairs.*

A. Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* II. 486, 1691 (OED online 2015)

Here adjective ONLY takes on the derivational morphology of an added *-est* to form a superlative. This ability declines until in the 1900s where the OED (online 2015) lists this usage as colloquial and regional.

A second aspect indicating that adjective ONLY has undergone decategorialization is its inability to take modifiers (Heine & Narrog 2010). Most adjectives can be modified with an adverb like *very*, as in *a very hungry caterpillar* or *a very fat caterpillar*. Adjective ONLY, however, apparently cannot be modified. Whereas *the only caterpillar* and *the only hungry, fat caterpillar* are acceptable, *the very only caterpillar* and *the very only hungry, fat caterpillar* are not. Adjectives which cannot be modified are considered closed-class.

A third aspect of decategorialization that applies to adjective ONLY is “loss of independence as an autonomous form, increasing dependence on some other constituent” (Heine and Narrog 2010, p. 407). This is best illustrated by the evidence

that adjective ONLY has lost its ability to be a predicative adjective. In Old English adjective ONLY was both attributive and predicative. In (2) we see an example of predicative usage.

(2) *Aneli and pouer am I.*

‘Only and poor am I.’

Psalter (Vesp.) xxiv. 17, a1400 in C. Horstmann *Yorkshire Writers*

(1896) (OED online 2015)

It is unclear from the OED (online 2015) entry precisely when the predicative use became obsolete. Currently, adjective ONLY cannot be predicative, only attributive. An attributive adjective premodifies the head of a noun phrase (Quirk, et. al. 1985). This is illustrated in (3) where *Son* is the head of the noun phrase and is modified by *only*.

(3) *An only Son, Sir, might expect more indulgence.*

O. Goldsmith, *Good Natur'd Man* I. 15, 1768 (OED online 2015)

Therefore, the more independent and autonomous form of a predicative adjective has been lost and adjective ONLY is limited to the more circumscribed roll of an attributive adjective.

The grammaticalization parameter of erosion can be shown in adjective ONLY through the loss of a phonetic segment—in this case [l]. Examples of this erosion appears to be most prevalent in the written dialog found in fiction as shown in (4).

- (4) *Ma, they comes a time when the on'y way a fella can keep his decency is by takin' a sock at a cop.*

Tom Joad in *The Grapes of Wrath*, J. Steinbeck, 1939 (COHA)

While it is entirely possible this type of erosion will never be codified in standard written English, it is certainly evident in colloquial spoken English. The significance of this example of erosion is corroborated by Heine and Kuteva (2007) with the example of *because* grammaticalizing to *coz*. Their example shows a loss of phonetic segments, however the authors concede that the eroded form “does not occur in all varieties of English” (Heine & Kuteva 2007, p. 43). It is not possible to say with certainty how the eroded form of adjective ONLY will be used in the future.

A final element of supporting evidence to show the grammaticalization of adjective ONLY is from Heine and Kuteva’s (2007) more general description of grammaticalization. The characteristic here is the movement from an open-class to a closed-class item where a closed-class item is one belonging to a group of words which does not easily admit new members (Quirk, et. al. 1985). This is best illustrated once again by the evidence that adjective ONLY has lost its ability to be predicative. According to Cinque (2010) adjectives that directly modify nouns—adnominal adjectives—are functional, or closed-class, elements, while adjectives that can be

predicative are open-class. Furthermore, according to Cinque (2010) adnominal adjectives typically adhere to a rigid ordering system which is additional evidence of their status as functional or grammatical elements. For example, in (5) we see that adjective ONLY cannot move to any other location in the adjective phrase unless additional punctuation is added to show that the meaning has changed. On the other hand, *green* and *tall* can trade places as in (5) d.

- (5) a. the only tall green tree
 b. *the tall only green tree (the tall only-green tree)
 c. *the tall green only tree (the tall green-only tree)
 d. the only green tall tree *ungrammatical

Thus, loss of predicative usage and a rigid attributive order demonstrate grammaticalization for adjective ONLY.

3.2.2 Adverb ONLY

We now turn to the grammaticalization of adverb ONLY by first addressing the assertions of Heine and Kuteva (2007). The authors state that “(a)djectives may give rise to adverbs...(h)owever, the overall evidence is not entirely conclusive.” In their book they “decided not to postulate such a pathway, which is in need of further investigation” (Heine & Kuteva 2007, p. 83). While the evidence presented in this study showing adjective ONLY grammaticalizing to adverb ONLY (as well as adjective JUST to adverb JUST in section 3.3) cannot be considered conclusive, I believe it does

show further evidence in support of the grammaticalization pathway

Adjective > Adverb.

According to Heine and Kuteva (2007) there are a limited number of instances where grammaticalization patterns can be shown to lead from adjectives to more minor functional categories. When this does occur, the initial adjectives are decategorialized and cannot be inflected for gender, number, and/or case. Since the available written record, the OED (online 2015), shows that adjective ONLY was never able to be inflected, it appears impossible to know for certain if it grammaticalized in that manner. However, it can be stated that adjective ONLY currently cannot be inflected so this step may have occurred sometime in the past.

The first piece of evidence that adjective ONLY grammaticalized to adverb ONLY is in its etymology as found in the OED (online 2015). According to the etymology, adverb ONLY is derived from adjective ONLY. Table 3.2 provides a timeline of adverb ONLY. Only one sense of adverb ONLY originated in Old English and by 1600 that sense was obsolete (OED online 2015). The remaining seven senses of definition with their various sub-senses all arose after 1200 with many entering the lexicon only after 1600. Table 3.1 shows that all three senses of adjective ONLY originated in early Old English or Old English. Therefore, based on these timelines, it can be said that adjective ONLY is of earlier derivation than adverb ONLY and that the written record points to adverb ONLY arising (grammaticalizing) from adjective ONLY.

Table 3.2 Adverb ONLY Timeline

eOE - 1200	1200 - 1400	1400 - 1600	1600 - 1800	1800 - 2000+
OE 1. Singularly, uniquely; pre-eminently; special.				
	2. Solely, merely, exclusively; with no one or nothing more besides; as a single or solitary thing or fact; no more than. Also, with a verb or verb phrase: no more than, simply, merely.			
	<i>a</i> 1325 2.a. Preceding the word or phrase which it limits.			
	<i>a</i> 1350 2.b.(a) Following the word or phrase which it limits.			
		<i>a</i> 1575 2.b.(b) Placed between a numeral and a noun.		
		1483 2.c. Placed away from the word or phrase it limits, especially preceding the main verb.		
	<i>a</i> 1325 3. In correlative constructions using not only : usually with contrast expressed by <i>but</i> , <i>but also</i> , <i>also</i> , etc, occasionally implied.			
	<i>a</i> 1375 4. By itself, alone; without anything else.			
	5. Emphasizing contrary nature of a consequence.			
			1621 5.a. Followed by a dependent infinitive clause: with no other consequence or result.	
			1621 5.b. In a main clause: inevitable although contrary to intention or desire.	
			1676 6. With a word or phrase expressing time; only just : in the immediate past.	
			1782 7. As much as, just.	
				1975 8. <i>S. African colloq.</i> As intensifier: really, certainly

As with adjective ONLY, adverb ONLY shows its own grammaticalization by way of the parameters of extension and erosion. In exemplifying extension, Table 3.2 shows a large increase in the variety of ways adverb ONLY is used in Modern English. It can mean exclusively (sense 2), alone (sense 4), or just (sense 7). Adverb ONLY as a focusing or limiting adverb can precede (sense 2.a), follow (sense 2.b), or be placed away from the word or phrase it limits (sense 2.c). Adverb ONLY can also be used in conjunction with adverb JUST (sense 6) to focus more immediacy to the temporal aspect of adverb JUST. (This feature of adverb JUST and use of adverb ONLY will be addressed more fully in Section 3.4.) The extension of adverb ONLY has allowed English speakers to progress from an Old English sentence such as the one in (6) to the possibility of a sentence like (7).

(6) *Eliezer..brogt him a wife...He lured hire on-like and wel.*

‘Eliezer brought him a wife...He loved her only and well.’

Genesis & Exodus (1968) I. 1443, c1250 (OED online 2015)

(7) I wanted to like Mary, only she only just only ate only the only ripe apples.

Granted, (7) is a bit of a stretch but the construction is possible and grammatical.

Erosion in adverb ONLY is once again best exemplified in written spoken language. The example in (8) is from a bit of dialog in a work of fiction.

(8) *I was on’y kidding, mister. Honest I was.*

F. Gruber, *The Laughing Fox* 1940 (COHA)

As with adjective ONLY eroding to *on'y* in (4) this usage is colloquial and no doubt regional. However, it is a valid, understandable, phonetically reduced form of adverb ONLY. Whether this eroded form will gain, maintain, or lose ground in its prevalence in Modern English is uncertain.

Another aspect of grammaticalization, namely the rise of abstract meanings from a more concrete one, is clearly evident in the progression of usage of adverb ONLY. In the first sense of the definition of adverb ONLY (the sense that is now obsolete) the OED (online 2015) provides example (9) where adverb ONLY means *in a special way* and specifically modifies *embrace*.

(9) *That renown'd good man, That did so only' embrace his Country.*

B. Jonson, *Catiline* v. i. 172, 1611 (OED online 2015)

This meaning is very specific and concrete. It tells how the man embraced his country.

The meaning of adverb ONLY in (10) is quite different and much more abstract.

(10) *Victims perceive these messages as being associated with a trusted brand, while in reality they are only the work of con artists.*

Hong, Jason, *The State of Phishing Attacks*, Vol. 55 Issue 1, p. 74-81,

Jan. 2012. (COCA)

In (10) adverb ONLY can be interpreted in a variety of ways, does not modify any specific word, and could be removed altogether from the sentence without much loss of

meaning. In this instance adverb ONLY appears to function as an attitude diminisher (Quirk, et. al. 1985, p. 598) which implies that the force of the “messages” is less because of the con artists’ work. This meaning is more abstract than the meaning in (9).

One final proof that adverb ONLY is a grammaticalized form is its membership in a subgroup of adverbs which is comprised of closed-class items. Although many adverbs are considered open-class, according to Quirk, et. al. (1985), adverb ONLY belongs to a closed-class of simple adverbs. Other adverbs in this group are *just* and *well*, as well as many adverbs denoting position and direction such as *back*, *down*, *near*, *out*, and *under* (Quirk, et. al. 1985, p. 438). Adverb ONLY belongs to an even more closed-class group of focus adverbs, namely that of exclusive restrictive subjuncts. Some other members of this group are *alone*, *exactly*, *exclusively*, *just*, *merely*, *precisely*, *purely*, *simply*, and *solely* (Quirk, et. al. 1985, p. 604). This is indeed an exclusive, small, closed group of adverbs.

3.2.3 Complementizer ONLY

The OED (online 2015) includes a definition of conjunction ONLY as a subcategory in the entry for adverb ONLY. It is my belief that this instance of *only* is better classified as complementizer ONLY in accordance with the definition of a complementizer as a word which may be used to “join two clauses where one clause is

subordinate to the other” (van Gelderen 2010, p. 22). A clear example of this is (11) which is taken from the OED’s examples for conjunction ONLY.

(11) *Many a man would have become wise, only he thought he was so already.*

C. H. Spurgeon, *Sermons* XXIII. 179, 1877 (OED online 2015)

Therefore, for the duration of this paper this sense of *only* will be referred to as complementizer ONLY.

Of the various grammaticalization pathways that result in a complementizer, Heine and Kuteva (2007) list the source elements as either nouns, verbs, demonstratives, or interrogatives. The authors do not include adjectives or adverbs. It is my contention that the emergence of complementizer ONLY shows that in at least this one instance a complementizer grammaticalized from an adjective.

Table 3.3 shows that the first written records of *only* as a complementizer are from circa 1384. As was shown in Table 3.2 this is relatively the same time frame as the earliest written records of adverb ONLY. Although from this evidence it is not possible to know with certainty whether complementizer ONLY grammaticalized from adjective ONLY or from adverb ONLY, it seems most likely that complementizer ONLY and adverb ONLY both grammaticalized from adjective ONLY beginning in the early 1300s.

Table 3.3 Complementizer ONLY Timeline

eOE - 1200	1200 - 1400	1400 - 1600	1600 - 1800	1800 - 2000+
	c1384 1. The only thing to be added being; with this restriction, drawback, or exception; but (adversative); on the other hand, on the contrary.			
			a1766 Were it not that, but that.	

This coinciding occurrence of *only* in use as three different parts of speech at the same point in time provides an excellent example of the phenomenon of grammaticalization layering. The following three examples from the OED (online 2015) are all from the 1400s.

(12) Complementizer ONLY:

Britheren, 3e ben clepid in to fredom; oneli 3eue 3e not fredom in to occasioun of fleisch.

‘Bretheren, ye (have) been called to freedom; only use ye not freedom in occasion of (the) flesh.’

Bible (Wycliffite, L.V.), 1850 Gal. Ch. 5 v. 13, a1435 (OED online 2015)

(13) Adverb ONLY:

On thi God wonly set thin herte.

‘On thy God only set thine heart.’

Visio Philiberti (Brogyntyn) in J.O. Halliwell Early Eng. Misc. (1855)

25 a1475 (OED online 2015)

(14) Adjective ONLY:

I that am an only sone to my fader and moder...

‘I that am an only son to my father and mother...’

Caxton tr. J. de Voragine *Golden Legende* 77/3, 1483 (OED online 2015)

These examples give a snapshot of the history of layering in the grammaticalization of *only*. As *only* grammaticalized from an adjective to other forms, many layers of meaning emerged and overlapped. Some became obsolete (See Tables 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3), but many including the meanings illustrated in (12), (13), and (14) survive to current times.

A grammaticalization cline or combination of clines provides a simple graphic illustration of the process.

Adjective ONLY	>	More grammatical adjective ONLY		
		Adverb ONLY	>	More grammatical adverb ONLY
		Complementizer ONLY		

Figure 3.1 Grammaticalization Cline of *only*

3.3 The grammaticalization of *just*

Whereas *only* was a member of the Old English lexicon, *just* entered the English language in the 1300s. According to the OED (online 2015), *just* arrived from French as an adjective with two major variations, or senses, of meaning. As illustrated in Table 3.4, the first major sense of *just* refers to the justness of a thing while the second major sense of *just* refers to the justness of a person or of God or gods.

3.3.1 Adjective JUST

Both of the primary senses of adjective JUST came to English from French at apparently the same time. As can be seen in Table 3.4, each sense gained a significant number of sub-meanings after 1400.

Table 3.4 Adjective JUST Timeline

1200 - 1400	1400 - 1600	1600 - 1800	1800 - 2000+
I. Of a thing.			
c1384 1.a. That conforms to a required or agreed standard; right in amount, proportion, aesthetic quality; appropriate, correct.			
	c1450 1.b. Adapted to something; appropriate; suitable.		
	c1400 2.a. A calculated result, amount: precisely measured (<i>rare</i>).		
	c1405 2.b. (a) Precise instrument (<i>obsolete</i>); (b) Even (<i>rare</i>).		
	a1413 3. Based on adequate grounds; well-founded; justifiable.		
	c1425 4.a. A copy, translation: that conforms to an original (<i>rare</i>).		
	1490 4.b. Of reason, truth, or reality; right; true; factually correct.		
	?1435 5.a. Constituted by law; lawful, rightful (<i>obsolete</i>).		
	c1450 5.b. Consonant with principles, deserved, merited.		
	c1440 6. Clothing, armor fitting too closely, tight (<i>obsolete</i>).		
	1536 7.a. That matches up exactly; exact correspondence.		
	1551 7.b. Equal; level.		
		1664 7.c. <i>Music</i> . Acoustically pure.	
	?1537 8. That is truly or in all respects the thing specified (<i>rare</i>).		
			1884 9. Seldom (<i>rare</i>).
II. Of a person, or of God or a god.			
c1384 10. Morally right; in accordance with principles, righteous (<i>archaic</i>).			
c1384 11.a. Honest and impartial in dealing with people; administering justice fairly.			
	1509 11.b. Honors obligations.		
	c1405 12. Accurate and careful in doing something (<i>rare</i>).		
	c1540 13. That has legitimate right to something; lawful, rightful.		
II. Of a person, or of God or a god.			
c1384 10. Does what is morally right; in accordance with principles, righteous.			

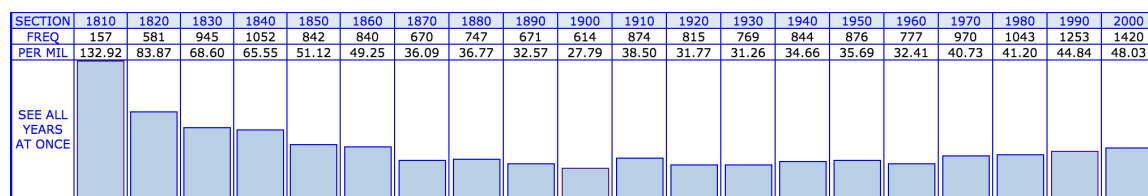
The most pronounced evidence of the grammaticalization of adjective JUST can be seen in this example of extension. As with adjective ONLY, it is impossible to know precisely how sociolinguistics affected this expansion since we have no spoken record from the time period to examine. However, it is again logical to assume that groups of speakers were expanding upon and disseminating the various nuances of meaning for adjective JUST as they arose throughout the decades. The text-pragmatic and semantic elements involved in extension can be seen in the fact that the first sense of adjective JUST, which began with one basic meaning, mushroomed to include eight additional meanings with several more sub-meanings beyond that. The initial definition of adjective JUST as applied to *things* meant something conformed to a standard, was right, appropriate, correct. Through extension adjective JUST grammaticalized to include time and place, calculated results, instrumentation, justifiability, accurate copies, fair judgment, legal grounds, morality, and even clothing. Clearly, new grammatical meanings were developing and extending throughout the language. The second sense of adjective JUST which pertains to the justness of a person, God, or gods, also expanded in meaning but to a lesser extent.

As the discussion of the grammaticalization of *just* moves from adjective JUST to adverb JUST an item of significance should be noted. Although the senses of adjective JUST extended and expanded to encompass a wide range of meanings, nearly half of those meanings and sub-meanings are now archaic, rare, or obsolete as shown in Table 3.4. The extension of adjective JUST was collapsing while, as I show in the

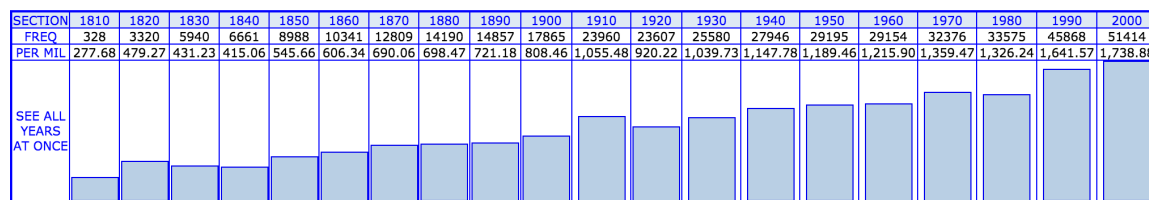
following sections, the extension of adverb JUST was growing. Corpora data nicely illustrates this decline and increase. Unfortunately, I don't have access to corpora for the years 1200 to 1800. However, this shift continues to current times. Table 3.5 shows the usage of adjective JUST compared to adverb JUST from 1810 to 2000.

Table 3.5 Adjective JUST Compared to Adverb JUST

Adjective JUST - frequency of usage from 1810 - 2000 (COHA)



Adverb JUST - frequency of usage from 1810 - 2000 (COHA)



3.3.2 Adverb JUST

The final grammaticalization pathway for consideration here is the grammaticalization of adverb JUST. Of the grammaticalized words analyzed in this study, adverb JUST began the process the most recently, as shown in Table 3.6. The grammaticalization of adverb JUST can be seen in relation to the parameters of extension, decategorialization, erosion, movement from concrete meaning to more abstract ones, and movement from open-class to closed-class.

Table 3.6 Adverb JUST Timeline

1400 - 1600	1600 - 1800	1800 - 2000+
1417 1.a. Exact manner; correspond exactly; precisely; accurately; punctually.		
<i>a</i> 1486 1.b. So as to fit exactly; in a close-fitting way; closely, tightly.		
2. As a modifier: exactly, precisely; actually; very closely. <i>c</i> 1440 2.a. Of place or position; 1551 2.b. Of degree and comparison; 1565 2.c. Of manner, reason, purpose; 1568 2.d. Of amount, number, quantity; ?1571 2.e. Of time.		
	2.f. Of state, identity, or similarity, or of opposition or antithesis. 1593 2.f.(a) Modifying prepositional phrases, nouns, pronouns, and adjectives; <i>a</i> 1616 2.f.(b) Modifying noun phrases with the; 1665 2.f.(c) Modifying pronouns, adverbs introducing subject, object clause; <i>a</i> 1631 2.g. Negative contexts preceding sense 2.	
3. Indicating a point in time. <i>a</i> 1500 3.a.(a) Exactly at or after this or that moment; 1860 3.a.(b) Very nearly (<i>rare</i>); 1605 3.b. Exactly before this or that moment; very recently.		
1529 4. In replies and expressions of assent.		
	5. Limiting the extent, degree: only as much as; barely, by a little. 1600 5.a. Place and time; 1603 5.b. Number or quantity; 1627 5.c. Intensify <i>may, might</i> .	
	6. Place the focus on word, phrase. 6.a. No less than; absolutely; actually, positively, really. 1668 6.a.(a) Modifying noun phrases; 1675 6.a.(b) Modifying adverbial clauses, phrases; 1687 6.a.(c) Modifying adjectives, verbs; 1858 6.a.(d) In correlative constructions using <i>not just</i> .	
	1675 6.b. <i>Colloquial</i> . Emphasize action.	
	1682 6.c. Used to weaken force of the action.	
		1838 6.d. <i>Colloquial</i> . Certainly.

According to the OED (online 2015), the etymology of adverb JUST is from adjective JUST. The first written record of its usage is from 1417 (OED online 2015). This appears to be not long after adjective JUST entered the language, but was apparently long enough for adverb JUST to have grammaticalized from adjective JUST and not merely entered English at the same time.

The first grammaticalization parameter that is evident in Table 3.6 is extension. According to the OED (online 2015), the earliest uses of adverb JUST from the 1400s had three main meanings as shown in 1.a., 1.b., and 2.a. in Table 3.6. Of these senses, the first two are now obsolete. The third sense, that of a modifier meaning exactly or precisely, has in the meantime extended to include nuances of degree and comparison, of manner, of amount, of time, and of state and identity. Table 3.6 shows that in the 1500s a strong temporal aspect was added and in the early 1600s a limiting aspect which can modify prepositional phrases, adverbs, nouns, pronouns, verbs, and adjectives. The late 1600s saw a rise in the focusing aspect of adverb JUST which can be used to modify noun phrases, adverbial clauses or phrases, and adjectives or verbs. Adverb JUST has undergone extension to a remarkable degree with very few of its senses becoming obsolete.

Erosion is the second of the main parameters of grammaticalization that can be illustrated by adverb JUST. In colloquial or regional speech *just* often loses the final phonetic element, the [t], and is reduced to *jes* or *jus*.

- (15) *Some of us...tried to learn to build a boat the same way we taught ourselves to garden and build our own houses-by reading a book or two and then jes' doin' it.*

John Vivian, "Build a 4-power still-water canoe", *Mother Earth News*, Issue 163, p. 54., 1997 (COCA)

- (16) *It forces some bipartisanship on the Hill. Otherwise we would have the Democrats jus ramming stuff through.*

Bret Baier, Fox News, Feb. 12, 2010 (COCA)

As with the previous examples of *on'y* and *coz*, it is not possible to know how *jes* and *jus* will or won't be used in the future. Both eroded versions of *just* are, however, quite common in colloquial and regional speech. Perhaps they will become more prevalent in written English as well.

In the 1500s adverb JUST gained a temporal aspect to its meaning. This is shown in 3.a. of Table 3.6. where adverb JUST began to be used to indicate a point in time, often referring to a precise moment in time or immediately before or after a precise moment. This addition appears to be evidence of adverb JUST grammaticalizing by moving from a concrete meaning to a more abstract one. Perhaps a more accurate way to describe this element of the grammaticalization of adverb JUST

is to say that the addition of temporal aspect to a word that did not previously have such an aspect introduced the element of temporality to phrases or sentences which include temporal adverb JUST. For example, (17) illustrates adjective JUST in a concrete instance (a.), a sentence without *just* (b.), and the same sentence with adverb JUST (c.).

- (17) a. Mary is just.
b. Mary ate the apples.
c. Mary just ate the apples.

Both a. and b. are quite concrete—Mary is something and Mary ate something. In sentence c. the element of time has been added. The resulting sentence is more abstract as well as ambiguous. Did Mary eat the apples just now? Just then? Just when? Or is it that she merely ate the apples and not the oranges as well and that *just* has nothing to do with time?

The feature of grammaticalization involving movement from an open class to a more closed class is best observed in the change from adjective to adverb in *just*. Adjective JUST is both predicative and attributive as in *The just law is just*. With these features and its concrete meaning, adjective JUST can be considered an open-class item. Unlike adjective ONLY, adjective JUST has not lost its ability to be predicative so that element of grammaticalization was not used as evidence for the grammaticalization of adjective JUST in Section 3.3.1. However, as adjective JUST grammaticalized to adverb JUST, its membership in an open-class category was lost. Adverb JUST is a closed-class simple adverb (Quirk, et. al. 1985, p. 438). It is also a

focusing, intensifying time subjunct as seen previously (Quirk, et. al. 1985). These characteristics make adverb JUST a very grammaticalized, closed-class item.

As with adjective ONLY and adverb ONLY, layering is evident in the grammaticalization process of adjective JUST and adverb JUST.

Adjective JUST:

(18) *It shou'd be rais'd to the just height of the Windows.*

E. Chambers tr. S. Le Clerc 1723, *Treat. Archit.* I. 105

(OED online 2015)

Adverb JUST:

(19) *We are Butted and Bounded just where we were in Queen Elizabeth's time.*

D. Defoe 1725, *Complete English Tradesman* I. xxii 382

(OED online 2015)

To these examples I add (20) which illustrates the special case of adverb phrase ONLY JUST which will be addressed in Section 3.4.

Adverb phrase ONLY JUST:

(20) *I have..hinted only just enough to give a superficial Insight to Matters at that Time.*

Morgan, J., 1728, *Complete History Algiers* I. 65 (OED online 2015)

All of these uses of *just* were evident in the 1720s as shown here. In subsequent years additional senses arose while some became obsolete, but the layering of items continues to current usage.

Once again a grammaticalization cline or combination of clines provides a simple graphic illustration of the process.

Adjective JUST	>	More grammatical adjective JUST		
		Adverb JUST	>	More grammatical adverb JUST

Figure 3.2 Grammaticalization Cline of *just*

3.4 The special case of adverb phrase ONLY JUST

In the course of this study, I became intrigued by adverb phrase ONLY JUST. Although not specifically exemplifying grammaticalization in any way that I can determine, I include this section as a point of interest.

As shown in Section 3.3, adverb JUST has a multi-faceted temporal aspect attached to several senses of its meaning. Adverb ONLY, on the other hand, usually adds focus to other words or phrases that explicitly express time: *only seconds ago*, *only days away*. When adverb ONLY is added to adverb JUST, the temporal aspect of adverb JUST is focused more closely on the action in the immediate past.

(22) *Jamie Dimon had only just arrived at the hearing room when the protests began.*

Paul Solman, PBS News Hour, June 13, 2012 (COCA)

A second meaning of adverb phrase ONLY JUST is as a modifier expressing number or quantity as in (23).

(23) *Fifty-four ounces..out of only just a billy-full.*

Bell's Life in Sydney, 16 Nov., 1861, 2/5 (OED online 2015)

The year 1728 provides the earliest example I could find in the OED (online 2015) of adverb phrase ONLY JUST without a temporal aspect as in (20) from Section 2.2. The earliest example I could find of adverb phrase ONLY JUST with a temporal aspect is from 1768. It is impossible to know whether adverb phrase ONLY JUST entered the English lexicon precisely during 1728 or during an earlier year. However, as Table 3.7 shows, by 1810 adverb phrase ONLY JUST had a measurable presence in the language that has continued to this day. Table 3.8 shows the distribution and usage of adverb phrase ONLY JUST since 1990.

Table 3.7 Usage of Adverb Phrase ONLY JUST — 1810-2000 (COHA)

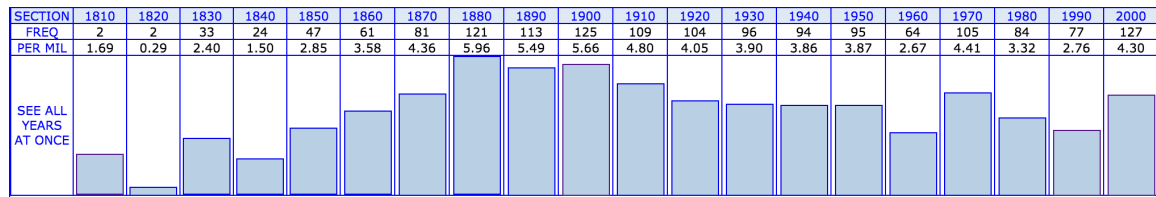
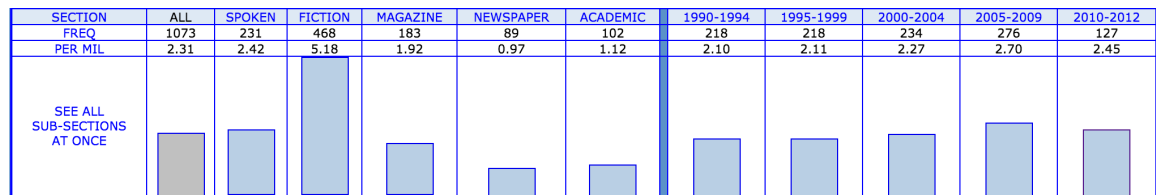


Table 3.8 Distribution of Adverb Phrase ONLY JUST — 1990-2012 (COCA)



Since both *only* and *just* have been shown to have grammaticalized, I presume that adverb phrase ONLY JUST can be shown to have elements of grammaticalization as well. The proof of that theory, however, is beyond the scope of this research and will be left for further study at a later date.

Chapter 4

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I presented an analysis of the grammaticalization of *only* and *just*. This analysis was divided into two major parts: 1) a review of grammaticalization theory as outlined and argued in current linguistic literature, and 2) a comprehensive examination of *only* and *just* in relation to the framework of grammaticalization theory as described in part one.

In Chapter 2 I gave an overview of current thinking regarding the theory of grammaticalization. In Section 2.2 I presented a brief history of the concept of grammaticalization from the time the term was coined in 1912 by French linguist Antoine Meillet up to current concepts, definitions, and elements. In Section 2.3 I presented a description of various parameters of grammaticalization, primarily those put forth by Heine and Narrog (2010). These parameters are extension, desemanticization, decategorialization, and erosion. I also included elements of a more general description of grammaticalization proposed by Heine and Kuteva (2007) which include more of the pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic aspects of grammaticalization. These elements are movement from concrete meanings to more abstract meanings; movement from independent, referential meanings to less referential, schematic grammatical functions; movement from open-class to closed-class categories; movement from grammatical forms with internal morphological structure to invariable forms; and movement from longer to shorter grammatical forms. I then defined and

described layering and unidirectionality and presented their relationships to the theory of grammaticalization.

In Section 2.4 I presented the concept of the grammaticalization cline and gave examples of how it is used as a tool to graphically represent grammaticalization.

Section 2.5 contains a summary of some of the current challenges to the theory of grammaticalization. Finally, in Section 2.6 I presented various possible grammaticalization pathways as outlined by Heine and Kuteva (2007). I made special note of the fact that the authors do not include adjectives as being source elements for grammaticalization to either adverbs or complementizers and argued that the evidence presented in Chapter 3 would show otherwise.

Chapter 3 contained my analysis of the grammaticalization of *only* and *just* as they are defined by the OED (online 2015). I used the entries in the OED (online 2015) as well as data from corpora to support my analysis. I applied the parameters and tools of grammaticalization to *only* as an adjective, adverb, and complementizer and to *just* as an adjective and adverb. I first demonstrated that: 1) adjective ONLY became a more grammaticalized form by way of extension, decategorialization, erosion, and movement from an open-class to a closed-class item; 2) adjective ONLY grammaticalized to adverb ONLY through extension; 3) adverb ONLY became a more grammaticalized form through extension, erosion, rise of abstract meanings from more concrete ones, and movement from an open-class to a closed-class item; and 4) complementizer ONLY grammaticalized from adjective ONLY by way of extension and is illustrated through

layering. I next showed that: 1) adjective JUST became a more grammaticalized form through extension; 2) adjective JUST grammaticalized to adverb JUST through extension; and 3) adverb JUST became a more grammaticalized form by way of extension, decategorialization, erosion, movement from concrete meaning to more abstract one, and movement from an open-class to a closed-class item. These grammaticalization pathways were illustrated with clines of grammaticalization. In Section 3.4 I included the special case of adverb phrase ONLY JUST as an interesting adjunct to my main thesis and as a potential topic for further study.

This thesis is by no means an exhaustive study of the grammaticalization of *only* and *just*. Many questions arose during the course of my research for this paper which were beyond the scope of what could be contained here. Some potential questions for further research are: 1) What are the implications of the synonymy between adverb ONLY and adverb JUST that first appeared in the 1500s? How and why did this happen? 2) Along with the questions raised regarding adverb phrase ONLY JUST, what can be determined from prepositional phrase ONLY FOR, compound conjunction ONLY THAT, or clause introducers JUST WHO, JUST WHAT, JUST HOW, etc.? 3) Are there any indications that adverb JUST could grammaticalize to a complementizer? and 4) How could syntactic trees be incorporated in this analysis to more fully illustrate the process?

What began for me as a finicky prescriptive grammar question of where I thought *only* could and should be used in a sentence (i.e. *Mary ate only the apples*

versus *Mary only ate the apples*) developed into the much more descriptive analysis of the grammaticalization of *only* and *just* I have presented in this thesis. I am learning in my linguistics studies that the realm of linguistics is not confined to the fussy grammar rules I so heartily embraced in my years as a prescriptive grammar-bound English literature major. Fortunately, describing elements of English grammar is far more interesting and rewarding than prescribing them.

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