An Interplay of Degrammaticalization, Lexicalization & Conversion

– a corpus-based analysis of the English nouns *must, must-have, has-been, have-been* and *wannabe*

Talania Johansen

Master's Thesis in English Linguistics

Department of Foreign Languages

University of Bergen

November 2018

II

Abstract in Norwegian

Innenfor lingvistikk er det noe uklart hvordan avgrammatikalisering, leksikalisering og konversjon skal defineres og differensieres. Dette igjen har ført til uenighet rundt hvordan ord og uttrykk som har mistet sin grammatiske mening og fått leksikalsk betydning skal klassifiseres. I denne masteroppgaven er hovedmålet å finne ut hvilken av de tre prosessene substantivene *must*, *must-have*, *has-been*, *have-been* og *wannabe* er et resultat av. Som følge av dette, forsøkes problemstillingene i [1–3] å besvares:

[1] Er det mulig å etablere en taksonomi for avgrammatikalisering, leksikalisering og konversjon som tydelig skiller dem som prosesser?

[2] Hvilke karakteristikker brukes som argument for at substantivene er resultater av avgrammatikalisering, leksikalisering eller konversjon?

[3] Bør substantivene *must, must-have, has-been, have-been* og *wannabe* bli ansett som eksempler på avgrammatikalisering, leksikalisering eller konversjon?

Teorier og synspunkter fra forskjellige lingvister anvendes i forhold til problemstilling [1]. Resultatet av dette arbeidet, samt data fra de digitale korpora COHA og COCA brukes deretter som grunnlag for en analyse og diskusjon rundt i hvilken grad substantivene 1) oppfører seg likt substantiv generelt i engelsk, 2) har oppstått gradvis eller plutselig, 3) opplevd fusjon, 4) utvidet sin semantiske betydning og 5) om de har en mening som er forutsigbar, for å finne svar på problemstillingene [2–3].

Funnene i denne masteroppgaven viser at det er mulig å skape en taksonomi for avgrammatikalisering, leksikalisering og konversjon, så fremt leksikalisering blir tydelig skilt ut fra de to andre fenomenene.

De peker også mot at substantivene *must, must-have* og *has-been* (inkludert mest sannsynligvis *have-been*) er tilfeller av leksikalisering fordi de har oppstått momentant som medlem av en ny ordklasse, opplevd fusjon og, i forhold til substantivet *has-been*, tilegnet seg en mening som ikke er sporbar i dens kilde. Selv om substantivet *wannabe* også utviser disse karakteristikkene har det i tillegg en betydning som er forutsigbar basert på kjennskap til strukturen den opprinner i. Derfor anses det å være et tilfelle av konversjon.

Acknowledgements

Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

A → Assumption

COHA → Corpus of Historical American English

COCA → Corpus of Contemporary American English

DO → Direct object

IO → Indirect object

NP → Noun phrase

OED → Oxford English Dictionary

PP → Prepositional phrase

RQ → Research question

SP → Subject predicative

SUB → Subject

1. Introduction

During ancient times, the idea that the earth was flat was considered axiomatic. This belief was first challenged by the Greek philosopher and mathematician Pythagoras in the 5th century B.C. who based on aesthetic ideals argued that the earth was spherical. It would take nearly two centuries, however, before actual physical evidence was presented that supported this claim (APS Physics 2006). Even though at first many researchers opposed the new cosmography, over time it acquired more support than the traditional view. This tendency among scientists to disagree is still prevalent in all fields of academia, including linguistics; very few, if any, topics of a scientific nature have remained unquestioned in some manner throughout history. An awareness of this fact will prove important in reading about the phenomena known as *degrammaticalization*, *lexicalization* and *conversion* treated in this thesis.

Nearly four decades ago, Lehmann published *Thoughts on Grammaticalization* (1982) in which he gives a detailed description of grammaticalization and distinguishes it from other processes of language change, such as renovation, innovation, reinforcement and degrammaticalization (van der Auwera 2002:19). All of these processes except the last one were illustrated by Lehmann, as he considered degrammaticalization to have "no cogent examples" (van der Auwera 2002:19; Lehmann 2015:21). In response to this statement, linguists began conducting research to investigate its verifiability. An important contribution was first made a decade later by Ramat with his article "Thoughts on Degrammaticalization" (1992). In an effort to disprove Lehmann, he presented several counterexamples to grammaticalization from different languages (Carlotta 2015:383). Ramat (1992:551) proposed, for instance, that the comparative Old English form *eldra* meaning 'older' degrammaticalized as it started being used as *elder* referring to the 'dean of the Presbyterian church'.

At present, many linguists agree on a basic understanding of what degrammaticalization entails; it is conceived of as a process whereby grammatical items or constructions acquire a (more) lexical behavior. There does, nonetheless, not exist a universally agreed upon definition of degrammaticalization (Norde 2010:1). This has caused some to suggest that degrammaticalization is inherently indefinable (Norde 2010:10). None of the proposed cases of degrammaticalization, furthermore, have been

left unchallenged by skeptics who have tried denouncing them as statistically inconsequential or exceptions (Norde 2010:1, 3). Some have even argued that advocates of degrammaticalization intentionally skew their analyses to suit their beliefs. Börjars (2003:133f in Norde 2010:3), for example, claims that "in some cases, the enthusiasm for challenging the unidirectionality hypothesis appears to have lead [sic] to an interpretation of data that is certainly open to criticism". In light of these facts it is apparent that degrammaticalization is a great source of controversy within linguistics. The primary reason for this is that it challenges the strongly held belief that grammaticalization is a unidirectional phenomenon.

Although it is evident that there are several issues related to degrammaticalization, lexicalization has proven even more taxing to define and delineate. Wischer (2000:358) blames this problem on it not having received extensive attention in academia in comparison to other fields of study. This in turn has caused linguists to operate with various definitions of lexicalization. In general terms, however, lexicalization is used to label items and constructions that emerge and get stored in the mental lexicon of individuals. The broadness of this understanding has led to a wide variety of instances of language change being identified as lexicalization without it being easy to draw parallels between many of them (Bakken 2006:106; Inchaurralde 2005). This includes cases typically associated with degrammaticalization and conversion, as will be explained in more detail in chapter 2,

Research on conversion can be traced back to earlier centuries though it did not become a proper topic of interest until in the last three decades. Bauer & Valera (2005:7) state that the exact reason for this is unknown, but that it might be related to "the contribution of Eastern European researchers who have joined the mainstream discussion". Conversion is typically defined as the phenomenon through which a word emerges that is identical to another word, stem or root in a given language yet belongs to a different word class. Linguists often operate with different names for conversion, with some preferring *conversion* and others *zero-derivation* or *implicit transposition*. Regardless of this fact, there is an overall unanimity surrounding many of its properties (Don 2005:2). There is, in other words, less disagreement surrounding conversion in comparison to degrammaticalization and lexicalization within linguistics.

In this thesis, the nouns *must, must-have*, *has-been*, *have-been* and *wannabe* that originate in the verbs *have, be, must* and *want* are investigated. The nouns are illustrated in [1–5] and their sources in [6–10]:

[1] Republicans have got to pass tax reform, and that is a <u>must</u>, or they're doomed.
(SPOK: PBS NEWSHOUR 6:00 PM EST 2017)

[2] They've even become a <u>must have</u> for celebrities.
(SPOK: CBS_NewsEve 2011)

[3] Now he is a <u>has-been</u>, holding on for a few last breaths of relevancy.
(NEWS: Cleveland.com 2016)

[4] The <u>Have-beens</u> are things that are past; the Shall-bes are things that are to come.
(Johnson 1758 in OED 2018 s.v. *have-been, n.*)

[5] The guy's prolly a <u>wannabe</u>.
(FIC: Truth be told)

[6] The Court held that a state's tax system <u>must</u> meet the internal consistency test in order to not violate the Commerce Clause.
(ACAD: The Tax Lawyer 2017)

[7] He <u>must have</u> a rapid defense mechanism in his own words and Twitter provides that.
(SPOK: FOX 2017)

[8] The area on Oracle Road near Las Lomitas Road <u>has been</u> the site of several pedestrian accidents.
(NEWS: Arizona Daily Star 2017)

[9] National monuments <u>have been</u> a staple of this country for over 100 years.
(NEWS: Colorado Springs Gazette 2017)

[10] If you <u>wanna be</u> my lover, you gotta get with my friends.
(Genius 2018)

The aim of examining the nouns will be to determine whether they are rightly classified as instances of degrammaticalization, lexicalization or conversion. In deciding this, data from the digital corpora the Corpus of Historical American English and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (henceforth COHA and COCA, respectively) will be analyzed. Based on the information that has been presented thus far regarding these processes, however, it is clear that views vary surrounding their definitions and

properties. This is particularly an issue in terms of lexicalization, as it is often treated as a synonym and hyponym of degrammaticalization, while a hypernym of conversion. For these reasons, it will be necessary to resolve the terminological confusion and taxonomic issues related to the phenomena through providing definitions and criteria to separate them. Consequently, the research questions[1] that this thesis will attempt to answer are:

[RQ1] Is it possible to establish a taxonomy for degrammaticalization, lexicalization and conversion that clearly separates them as processes?

[RQ2] Which characteristics are used to argue that the nouns are results of degrammaticalization, lexicalization or conversion?

[RQ3] Should the nouns *must, must-have, has-been, have-been* and *wannabe* be classified as instances of degrammaticalization, lexicalization or conversion?

In addition to this chapter, this thesis consists of five other chapters. In chapter 2, grammaticalization, degrammaticalization, lexicalization and conversion are first described separately. Afterwards, lexicalization is contrasted with degrammaticalization and conversion. Finally, some main characteristics of nouns, the nouns investigated and the assumptions that form the foundation of this thesis are presented. In chapter 3, the corpora, the principles used to collect data and the approaches taken to analyze it are introduced. Meanwhile, in chapter 4 an examination of the data of the nouns treated from COHA and COCA is carried out. The results of this analysis are then discussed in chapter 5. Ultimately, chapter 6 will provide answers to the research questions that have been posed in this chapter, and conclude with shortcomings of and ideas for future research based on this thesis.

---

[1] This term is abbreviated to *RQ*.

2. Linguistic Theory

The intention behind this chapter is to give a detailed overview of degrammaticalization, lexicalization and conversion and distinguish them as independent phenomena of linguistic change. In section 2.1 grammaticalization is described since it is intrinsic for the understanding of degrammaticalization and lexicalization. In addition, it plays an important role in regard to the nouns investigated in this thesis, as they have grammaticalized from verbs to auxiliary verbs before turning into nouns. This process is elaborated on in section 2.1.1. In section 2.2 degrammaticalization, including its three subtypes degrammation, deinflectionalization and debonding, are explained. In section 2.3 lexicalization is treated, while in section 2.4 conversion. Due to the fact that it is unclear whether the nouns examined should be categorized as products of degrammaticalization, lexicalization or conversion, section 2.5 has been devoted to highlighting the differences between the three phenomena. Following primarily Lehmann (2002), Norde (2002, 2009), Haspelmath (2004), and Brinton and Traugott (2005), this has been done through contrasting lexicalization with degrammaticalization in section 2.5.1, and conversion in section 2.5.2. As an understanding of nouns as a word class is fundamental to the analysis in chapter 4 and discussion in chapter 5, section 2.6 is used to describe the main characteristics of nouns relevant to this thesis. Meanwhile, section 2.7 consists of sub-sections 2.7.1–5 where each noun investigated and their origins are presented. Finally, in section 2.8 it is explained which theoretical assumptions are applied in this thesis.

2.1 Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization is an epiphenomenon with a polygenetic nature, i.e. it does not inspire linguistic change in itself, rather functioning as a collective term for sub-processes that result in a certain development across different languages (Diewald 2010:20–1; Joseph 2004:51; Traugott 2001:1). Interpreted broadly, grammaticalization is "any process that leads to the creation of grammar" (Narrog & Heine 2017:7). As this understanding is rather oversimplistic, it is more common to operate with a narrower definition such as:

Grammaticalization is the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions or grammatical items develop new grammatical functions.

(Traugott 2001:1)

The definitions of grammaticalization presented are like the majority of others that appear in studies on the topic based on the classical ones formulated by Meillet (1926 [1912]:131 in Norde 2009:5) "l'attribution du caractère grammaticale à un mot jadis autonome" (the attribution of grammatical character to a formerly autonomous word) and Kuryłowicz (1965:69) "grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a grammatical to a more grammatical status". It needs to be clarified that this does not mean that all grammatical items were once lexical (Lehmann 2004:159). Demonstratives, for instance, can emerge without having any lexical antecedents (Haspelmath 2004:25).

Grammaticalization involves a transformation on the three hierarchies of language relating to formal, functional and semantic features (Willis 2010:151). Formally, items can lose their independence as they become clitics before eventually turning into bound morphemes. Functionally, items stop representing lexical word classes, e.g. verbs and nouns, and acquire membership in more grammatical ones, e.g. prepositions and conjunctions. And semantically, items tend to develop a more abstract meaning than they originally had. The developments characteristic of each of these aspects are displayed in Figure 2.1 (Willis 2010:152).

The formal level:

free word/morpheme ⟶ clitic ⟶ affix

The functional level:
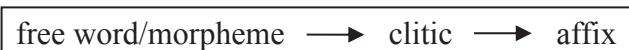
lexical ⟶ grammatical

The semantic level:

concrete ⟶ abstract

Figure 2.1 The effect of grammaticalization on the three hierarchies of language

Grammaticalization is believed to be set in motion by reanalysis due to pragmatic inferencing, i.e. the beliefs, inferences and assumptions an individual has regarding the

purpose of words and utterances (Hopper & Traugott 2003:50, 74–5). Reanalysis is a mechanism which entails that the interpretation an individual makes of a given structure diverges from the one intended by the speaker (Hopper & Traugott 2003:50). The noun *hamburger*, for example, was originally analyzed as [hamburg] and [er] meaning 'item (of food) from Hamburg'. Over time, however, it has been reinterpreted as consisting of [ham] and [burger]. This new understanding has become visible through analogy, as words such as *fishburger*, *chickenburger* and *lentilburger* have begun appearing (Hopper & Traugott 2003:50). Analogy is a mechanism that involves "the attraction of extant forms to already existing constructions" (Hopper & Traugott 2003:63–4). Essentially, changes caused by reanalysis are only made apparent through analogy in grammaticalization (Hopper & Traugott 2003:68).

In the early stages of grammaticalization research, linguists focused first and foremost on single items. Their scope has since expanded to include larger structures as well (Stathi et al. 2010:3). The construction *be going to*, for instance, used to signal actual motion, i.e. someone or something going somewhere to achieve some purpose [1]. In addition to this understanding, however, a new one has surfaced whereby it is interpreted as futurity [2] (Hopper & Traugott 2003:1):[2]

[1] Brooke's mom, Stephanie, <u>is going to</u> the airport to meet her.

(ABC 2017)

[2] If this <u>is going to</u> be a policy, can the citizens not have a voice in the decision making process?

(Colorado Springs Gazette 2017)

Due to the fact that grammaticalization can be the result of various mechanisms cooperating, it has been difficult to postulate what can be considered a genuine example of the process (Norde 2009:47). A variety of cases have been argued for, ranging from "subject control, clitics, reciprocal markers, pronouns and agreement markers, gender markers, auxiliaries, aspectual categories, intensifying adjectives and determiners, and pragmatic markers" (Stathi et al. 2010:1). There is, nevertheless, consensus that items that grammaticalize have a tendency to follow a similar path as they become less lexical and

---

[2] It could of course be argued that [1] reflects a sense of futurity as well because Stephanie intends to go to the airport, but has not done it yet. The only possible interpretation of [2], on the other hand, is that it signals futurity.

more grammatical. Hopper and Traugott (2003:7) have created the cline of grammaticality in Figure 2.2 to illustrate this pattern. It ties in with the first two changes pointed out by Willis (2010) in Figure 2.1.

content item $\longrightarrow$ grammatical item $\longrightarrow$ clitic $\longrightarrow$ inflectional affix ($\longleftarrow$ Ø)[3]
Figure 2.2 The cline of grammaticality

It has become customary to distinguish between *primary grammaticalization* and *secondary grammaticalization*. The former term refers to only the first step on the cline of grammaticality from content item to grammatical item and involves "the development in specific morphosyntactic contexts of constructions and lexical categories into functional categories". The latter expression is used in relation to the remaining stages and entails "the development of morphophonemic 'texture' associated with the categories in question" (Traugott 2002:26–7). The movement that the cline of grammaticality depicts is largely construed to be unidirectional. This means that it is believed items cannot reacquire greater lexical status (Joseph 2004:58). Items that have begun grammaticalizing, however, do not have to follow the entire path prescribed by the cline of grammaticality; they can stop transforming at any of the given nodes (Norde 2009:31–2; Hopper & Traugott 2003:130–1).

2.1.1 The auxiliation of verbs

Quirk et al. (1985:96) posit that, depending on the function they have in the verb phrase, verbs in English can be separated into three groups: lexical verbs (e.g., *eat*, *hug* and *jump*), auxiliary verbs (e.g., *be*, *have* and *do*) and modal auxiliary verbs (e.g., *should*, *will*, *may*). Linguists take various positions in their view of auxiliary verbs. In other words, there is no consensus regarding how they should be categorized or which verbs should be grouped together. In fact, some are even skeptical of whether they indeed exist (Heine 1993:4). Heine (1993:4) underscores this issue by stating that auxiliary verbs have been "associated with a morpheme or word class, a syntactic category, a functionally or semantically defined entity, or with any combination of these". Regardless of this debate,

---

[3] Even though Hopper and Traugott (2007) do not operate with the last stage, it has been included to underline that lexical items do not necessarily eventually become obsolete and can gain other grammatical functions (Norde 2009:108).

auxiliary verbs are believed to carry certain properties that distinguish them from other types of verbs. Krug (2011:2), for example, emphasizes that auxiliary verbs syntactically tend to take non-finite verbs as complements and semantically function as "grammatical markers of tense, aspect, and modality" (Lamiroy & Drobnjaković 2014:20). This can be illustrated by contrasting the primary verb *have* used as a main and an auxiliary verb. In [3] *have* is a main verb because it is the only verb in the clause and takes the noun phrase *a statutory harm* as a complement. Meanwhile, in [4] *have* is an auxiliary verb as it appears with the past participle of *smile* with which it forms the present perfect:

[3] Moreover, it is important to note that not all crimes have a statutory harm - for instance, inchoate crimes, such as attempts, prohibit certain types of conduct even if such conduct does not lead to any statutorily prohibited consequences.

(ACAD: Vanderbilt Law Review: 2017)

[4] But through it all, the couple have smiled and cracked jokes and never once complained.

(NEWS: Atlanta Journal Constitution 1995)

In addition to these attributes, Quirk et al. (1985) list several other features as well. They highlight that that the adverb *not* typically fuses with auxiliary verbs and becomes an enclitic particle (Quirk et al. 1985:122). It is therefore perfectly acceptable to produce a clause such as [5] where the auxiliary verb *will* has merged with the adverb *not* and turned into *won't*:

[5] Several former NFL players have said they won't allow their children to play football.

(NEWS: Chicago Sun-Times: 2017)

Auxiliary verbs furthermore undergo inversion with the subject[4] in closed interrogative clauses (Quirk et al. 1985:124).[5] Posed as a question, the clause in [6] where *trying to get guest speakers to class during the business week* is the subject would consequently transform into [7]:

[6] [SUBJ: Trying to get guest speakers to class during the business week] can be challenging.

---

[4] This term is abbreviated to *SUBJ* in examples.
[5] If there are two or more auxiliary verbs, only the first will be affected by inversion.

[7] <u>Can</u> [SUBJ: trying to get guest speakers to class during the business week] be challenging?

Lastly, auxiliary verbs can stand independently and function as operators in clauses where the meaning is directly linked to a previous clause and the main verb has been excluded due to ellipsis or proform substitution (Quirk et al. 1985:125). This is demonstrated in [8] which is a response to [9]:

[8] <u>Can</u> you appreciate her beauty?

[9] Yes, I <u>can</u> [appreciate her beauty].

Modal auxiliary verbs form a subcategory of auxiliary verbs and include *can, could, may, might, shall, should, will, would* and *must* (Quirk et al. 1985:135). The characteristic that is unique to modal auxiliary verbs is that they are used to indicate modality, i.e. they involve "the grammaticization of speakers' (subjective) attitudes and opinions" (Bybee et al. 1994:176 in Krug 2000:40). Linguists tend to operate with two types of modality: epistemic and deontic. The distinction between these lies in that epistemic modality "involve[s] the notions of possibility and necessity" as in [10], while deontic modality obligation, permission and advice as in [11] (Palmer 1986:51; Krug 2000:41):

[10] Nevertheless, the performance fee <u>might</u> be slightly underestimated.

[11] Maryland <u>must</u> refund an estimated $201.6 million in taxes as well as interest on those refunds dating as far back as the 2006 tax year.

In Old English the antecedents of the modal auxiliary verbs could, like main verbs, appear first in interrogative clauses and be negated through having the adverb *ne* placed before them. The modal auxiliary verbs, however, were different with respect to morphology. Many of them were preterit-presents due to them having their present tense forms created based on their past tense forms in the transition from Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic. Some of the verbs, furthermore, formed the negative by fusing with the adverb

ne. Instead of *ne wille* meaning 'not intend' being expressed as two separate words, therefore, they appeared as *nille* (Hopper & Traugott 2003:56). By Middle English several developments had taken place in the language that led to a division between main, auxiliary and modal auxiliary verbs. Certain verbs, for example, could only occur "in stylistically restricted contexts", while others, such as the past tense *would, might* and *must,* were used as present tense (Hopper & Traugott 2003:57). Hopper and Traugott (2003:57) propose several factors that they believe played part in the reanalysis of these verbs. Firstly, the antecedents to the modal auxiliary verbs were morphologically unique in comparison to main verbs. Secondly, they had a semantic meaning that was either of the epistemic or deontic variety. And thirdly, in the centuries they surfaced the relatively free word order in English was becoming more fixed as the case system that had dominated the language was slowly disappearing (Baker 2012:34–5).

Irrespective of this division of auxiliary verbs, they have in common that they originate from verbs that displayed a behavior similar to that of main verbs in Old English whose meanings were "relatively concrete and basic to human experience" that have undergone grammaticalization (Kuteva 2001:22). Meillet was the first to make this observation by providing examples from Greek. Benveniste later slightly separated the emergence of auxiliary verbs from grammaticalization per se by calling it *auxiliation* (Hopper & Traugott 2003:26). Auxiliation then, is the process whereby "lexical verb structures develop over time into auxiliary grammatical structures, with all its accompanying semantic, morphosyntactic, and phonological changes" (Kuteva 2001:2). As was pointed out in section 2.1, linguists now investigate both individual items and larger constructions in work on grammaticalization. This expansion in focus has proven especially useful in connection to research on auxiliation, because auxiliary verbs often derive from more than one word (Kuteva 2001:1).

2.2 Degrammaticalization

In the beginning stages of degrammaticalization studies, the phenomenon was considered the development through which a gram, i.e. a grammatical morpheme, became an empty morph through "loss of grammatical meaning or function". The German word *blume* denoting 'flower', for example, has a *-m* that was originally a derivational affix used to establish nouns from verbs of Proto-Germanic origin. Now it no longer has this function

in German and has merged with the stem (Norde 2009:110). In recent years, however, a different definition by Norde (2010:5) has slowly been gaining acceptance. She believes that "degrammaticalization is a change whereby a gram in a specific context gains in autonomy or substance on one or more linguistic levels (semantics, morphology, syntax, and phonology)". This essentially means that whereas an item moves to the right on the cline of grammaticality in grammaticalization, it does the opposite in degrammaticalization, as illustrated in Figure 2.3 (Norde 2009:108).

content item ⟵ grammatical item ⟵ clitic ⟵ inflectional affix (⟵ Ø)
Figure 2.3 The cline of degrammaticality[6]

Similar to practice in grammaticalization, it is also possible to distinguish between *primary degrammaticalization* and *secondary degrammaticalization* (Norde 2010:12). The former term describes the first stage on the cline of degrammaticality from grammatical item to content item. The latter expression, on the other hand, is employed in relation to the remaining stages. Unlike in grammaticalization, items that undergo degrammaticalization do not make more than one step to the left on the cline of degrammaticality (Norde 2010:17). Moreover, it is important to emphasize that not all cases where grams appear to be developing a (more) lexical status are rightly classified as degrammaticalization; only ones that involve the creation of entirely new forms are relevant. By contrast, the reintroduction of older items should not be associated with the process (Norde 2010:8). Norde (2009:59) suggests that an instance of this would be if the past tense suffix *-ed* in Present-Day English were to transform back into the verb *dōn* meaning 'to do', i.e. its antecedent (in its Proto-Germanic form), while following the exact same stages in the reverse. This is, however, highly unlikely to ever occur; it is simply far too difficult to replicate the exact same conditions and changes, as well as make them have the opposite effect in a given language. Brinton & Traugott (2005:77) underscore this point by stating that "there are virtually no examples of a spceific token of grammaticalization being reversed along a path identitcal to its initial development".

---

[6] The cline of grammaticality by Hopper and Traugott (2003) that was introduced in section 2.1 with Figure 2.1 has been reversed to demonstrate the change items undergo in degrammaticalization.

2.2.1 Categories of degrammaticalization

Items that have degrammaticalized can be separated into three main types: degrammation, deinflectionalization and debonding. These are based on three of the four levels of observation of language change postulated by Andersen (2005 in Norde 2010:15): content, content syntax, morphosyntax and expression.

Degrammation involves a change at the content level in that an item goes from having grammatical to lexical content (Norde 2010:19). It can be defined as "a composite change whereby a function word in a specific linguistic context is reanalysed as a member of a major word class, acquiring the morphosyntactic properties which are typical of that word class, and gaining in semantic substance" (Norde 2009:135). Degrammation is typically initiated by individuals reinterpreting items due to pragmatic inferencing causing reanalysis to occur. This means that items are understood to have a more lexical meaning than they actually do (Willis 2017:37; Norde 2009:235). Degrammation is, furthermore, the only form of primary degrammaticalization and the type least often encountered (Norde 2010:19). The reason for this is that for an item to degrammatisize it would need to be identical with a word belonging to a lexical word class, e.g. a noun or verb. It would also have to be located in a context that gives rise to the possibility of more than one interpretation (Norde 2009:135). An example of degrammation is observed in the Bulgarian indefinite pronoun *nešto* meaning 'something' which has become the noun *nešto* 'thing' (Norde 2009:143). Several factors are believed to have played part in this development. Firstly, the semantic content of the pronoun was occasionally rendered ambiguous. Secondly, *nešto* has the same shape as nominative singular neuter nouns in Bulgarian. And lastly, the Bulgarian case system was gradually disappearing. Today, the pronoun and noun coexist in the language and have properties typical of their respective word classes. The former, for instance, has a lower degree of flexibilization in terms of syntactic placement. Meanwhile, the latter can be inflected and appear with adjectives. The pronoun is shown in [12] and the noun in [13]:

[12] Predi   dve   godini   xorata   glasuvaxa
      Before   *two*   *years*   *people-the*   *voted3PL*

      sigurno   za   promjanata,   iskajki   <u>*nešto*</u>   po-dobro
      decisively   *for*   *change-the,*   *seekGER*   *something*   *better*
      'Two years ago people voted decisively for change, wanting something better'

[13] Vsjako   novo   <u>*nešto*</u>   e   dobre   zabraveno   staro
     Every   *new*   *thing*   *is*   *well*   *forgotten*   *old*
    'Every new thing is a well-forgotten old one'

<div align="right">(Norde 2009:144)</div>

Deinflectionalization entails a development at the content-syntactic level through either an item transforming from more to less grammatical or leaving its paradigm while its grammatical content is altered (Norde 2010:19). It can be defined as "a composite change whereby an inflectional affix in a specific linguistic context gains a new function, while shifting to a less bound morpheme type" and is one of the two sub-categories of secondary degrammaticalization (Norde 2009:152; Norde 2010:19). Similar to degrammation, this type of degrammaticalization is also seemingly governed by reanalysis (Norde 2009:234). The majority of the time this is a consequence of obsolescence, i.e. when morphosyntactic subsystems like case cease to exist (Willis 2017:38; Norde 2009:235). Due to the fact that items that undergo this process continue their existence as bound morphemes[7], they are challenging to locate (Norde 2009:152). An example of deinflectionalization is found in the Swedish *-er* suffix. In Old Swedish it was used to indicate masculine nouns and adjectives in nominative singular. By contrast, in Modern Swedish it is employed to derive nouns from adjectives typically of a derogatory nature (Norde 2009:179). It is assumed that the *-er* suffix degrammaticalized as a result of a reanalysis of the adjectival noun construction (Norde 2009:180). The suffix is illustrated as a case marker in [14][8] while a derivational affix in [15] and [16]:

[14] mykilhughæþœr   maðþœr   oc   girughœr
   proud-MASC.SG.NOM   *man-MASC.SG.NOM*   *and*   *avaricious*
   MASC.SG.NOM
    'a proud and avaricious man'

<div align="right">(Norde 2009:179)</div>

[15] en   fjäsk<u>er</u> (from the noun *fjäsk* 'fawning behaviour')
    'a   stupid one'

[16] en   slarv<u>er</u> (from the noun *slarv* 'mess')

---

[7] There is disagreement between linguists regarding which morphemes are more bound than others. As expanding on this topic lies beyond the scope of this thesis, no further attention will be devoted to the topic. For more information, the reader is advised to refer to Norde (2009).
[8] In Old Swedish the suffix *-er* seems to have appeared as *-ær*.

'a   messy-one'

Debonding involves a change at the morphosyntactic level. It can be defined as "a composite change whereby a bound morpheme [i.e. either an affix or a clitic,] in a specific linguistic context becomes a free morpheme". This means that what primarily separates deinflectionalization and debonding from one another is that in the former process morphemes remain bound, while in the latter process they do not (Norde 2009:186). According to Norde (2009:234) it is more difficult to determine which mechanisms are at work in debonding in comparison to degrammation and deinflectionalization. She claims that some cases appear to be driven by reanalysis and others analogy (Norde 2009:235–6). In addition to being the other sub-category of secondary degrammaticalization, debonding is also the type of degrammaticalization most commonly observed (Norde 2010:20; Norde 2009:186). An instance of debonding can be seen in the development of the split infinitive of the English infinitival marker *to* from the status of a clitic to that of a free morpheme (Norde 2009:190, 192). Even though it is possible to trace the use of the split infinitive to the 13th century, it only started to increasingly occur during the 19th century (Norde 2009:190–1). In Present-Day English, the infinitive particle *to* can be separated from the verb with adverbs like *not* [17] and *only* [18], but also phrases such as *honestly and accurately* [19] (Norde 2009:191):

[17] The challenge for us has been <u>to not lose</u> sight of the specific story, but suggest the
     elements of a larger story.

(The Verge 2017)

[18] Increasingly, they're going <u>to only allow</u> a certain number of coupons per person.

(Denver Post 2011)

[19] We just don't have the data to be able <u>to honestly and accurately predict</u> the
     outcome with any fidelity.

(Science News 2010)

2.3 Lexicalization

In general it is possible to distinguish between two types that definitions of lexicalization fall into: one broad and one narrow. Broad definitions are particularly popular among

linguists, as they allow for a less constricted view of the phenomenon. The following definitions fall under this category:

> [Lexicalization is] the adoption of a word into the lexicon of a language as a usual formation that is stored in the lexicon and can be recalled from there for use.
> (Bussmann 996:s.v. "lexicalization" in Brinton & Traugott 2005:20)

> [Lexicalization is] a process by which new linguistic entities, be it simple or complex words or just new senses, become conventionalized on the level of the lexicon.
> (Blank 2001:1603 in Brinton & Traugott 2005:21)

> Whenever a linguistic form falls outside the productive rules of grammar it becomes lexicalized.
> (Anttila 1989 [1972]:151 in Brinton & Traugott 2005:21)

In light of these definitions, it can be concluded that, in the broad sense, lexicalization is frequently equated to any process that involves new items emerging and being adopted into the lexicon (Bakken 2006:106; Brinton & Traugott 2005:89). Ramat (1992:557) has for this reason argued that the famous slogan created by Givón regarding grammaticalization "Today's morphology is yesterday's syntax" should be expanded to include "and today's grammar may become tomorrow's lexicon". This is problematic because it implies that the source of new words in a language is first and foremost lexicalization (Brinton & Traugott 2005:33). Grammaticalized items, loanwords, compounds, affixations, blends, backformations and clippings, for instance, would therefore all be classified as products of lexicalization. The broad sense of the process is also not satisfactory from a diachronic point of view, since it obscures developments items experience over time (Brinton & Traugott 2005:33).

In response to these issues, linguists such as Quirk et al. (1985), and Huddleston and Pullum (2002) have chosen to separate their treatment of lexicalization from other word formation processes in their research (Brinton & Traugott 2005:34). It has also become increasingly more common to implement a narrower definition of lexicalization. Based on the understanding Kastovsky (1982:164–5) has of lexicalization as "the integration of a word formation or syntactic construction into the lexicon with semantic and/or formal properties which are not completely derivable or predictable from the constituents or the pattern of formation" and the one Lipka (2002 [1990]:111) has of it as "the phenomenon that a complex lexeme once coined tends to become a single complete

16

lexical unit, a simple lexeme. Through this process it loses the character of a syntagma to a greater or lesser degree", Brinton and Traugott (2005:95) have constructed the subsequent definition:

> Lexicalization is the change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use a syntactic construction or word formation as a new contentful form with formal and semantic properties that are not completely derivable or predictable from the constituents of the construction or the word formation pattern. Over time there may be further loss of internal constituency and the item may become more lexical.
>
> (Brinton & Traugott 2005:96)

Following this understanding of the phenomenon, Brinton and Traugott (2005:98) have suggested that instances representing [20–24] can be considered lexicalization:

[20] fused syntactic phrases that have become idiomatic, e.g. *head-over-heels*. These can also be subject to morphological change at some point.

[21] fused compounds, meaning compounds where either one or more roots are obscured, e.g. *cobweb* that originates from the Old English (*atter*) *coppe* 'spider' and *web* 'web' (Brinton & Traugott 2005:50).

[22] phonogenesis, which involves a morpheme, typically an inflectional one, fusing with a word and becoming unrecognizable (Bergs & Brinton 2012:1585), e.g. the [i] in *handiwork* that derives from the Germanic prefix *ga-* in the Old English *handgeweorc* (Hopper 1994:33).

[23] phonologization, where phonetic differences become phonemic ones (Matthews 2007) e.g. *drink* and *drench*, that are not viewed as morphologically related anymore, but as independent words (Brinton 2012:140).

[24] affixes that contribute to the meaning of an item, but do not cause a change in word class, e.g. *super* meaning 'above' and 'beyond' in *superwoman*.

In addition, Wischer (2000:364–5) claims that "when a free collocation or an ordinary word formation is lexicalized, a specific semantic component is added, so that the new lexical meaning differs from the former compositional meaning".

It was explained in sections 2.1 and 2.2 that reanalysis and analogy are – to varying degrees – believed to be the main mechanisms of grammaticalization and degrammaticalization. According to Brinton and Traugott (2005:7) reanalysis is important to lexicalization as well, since items that lexicalize are interpreted by individuals to have a meaning that is more lexical than they actually do. There is,

however, more uncertainty regarding the role analogy plays in lexicalization. Norde (2009:46) agrees that there is a connection between reanalysis and the three processes, but adds that "analogy can be observed to be at work in both grammaticalization and degrammaticalization". This implies that, in her opinion, this mechanism is not vital to lexicalization. The apparent lack of mention of analogy made in literature on lexicalization further serves to strengthen this impression. As for why lexicalization occurs, the main reason seems to be economy (Diewald 2010:20). It was von der Gabelentz (1901) who first posited that changes in language are largely a consequence of *bequemlichkeitstrieb* which directly translates to 'indolence', but is known as *the principle of economy* (Norde 2009:90). In linguistics, economy is not an unproblematic concept because research has not yielded definite answers surrounding what is required of an individual when creating and interpreting items or structures (Hopper & Traugott 2003:72). It seems logical to argue that functional words rather than lexical ones are products of economy, as they typically demand less effort to be pronounced and are more easily accessible in the mental lexicon due to their frequency in speech (Norde 2009:91). Lehmann (2002:15) nevertheless explains that lexicalization "reduces the inner structure of a unit" and can hence be considered motivated by economy as well.

2.4 Conversion

Conversion has been argued to be an inflectional and a derivational process (Bauer 1988:36). Admittedly, opinions are divided regarding this point. Still, most researchers believe that conversion should be restricted to derivation. In their opinion, a lexeme whose inflectional paradigm has two or more forms that look identical should be understood to represent syncretism instead (Neef 2005:104). Conversion then, can be defined as the process whereby a new word is derived from another word, stem or root without undergoing any overt morphological transformation in a given language and is taken to belong to a different word class[9] (Plag 2003:107; Bauer & Valera 2005:8; Manova & Dressler 2005:97).

---

[9] The notion of word class has been criticized on various fronts. These constructs are not boxes with certain characteristics in which words can effortlessly be lumped together. In fact, they are to a certain extent quite fluid (Bauer & Valera 2005:9; Bauer 2005:25). This issue, however, is not one that will be scrutinized further in this thesis.

Essentially any item can undergo conversion regardless of word class membership status (Mela-Athanasopoulou 2009:273). As a result, there exists a wide variety of examples of the phenomenon, such as noun to verb conversion [25], verb to noun conversion [26] and adjective to verb conversion [27]:

[25] Noun to verb: Google > to google
bottle > to bottle
author > to author

(Oxford Living Dictionaries 2018a)

[26] Verb to noun: go > a go

(Plag 2003:12)

attack > an attack
like > a like

[27] Adjective to verb: slow > to slow
quiet > to quiet
round > to round

(Oxford Dictionaries 2018)

Accounting for how conversion occurs has led to another division between linguists. Some try to explain it based on the idea of coinage by claiming that conversion merely entails a relisting of items in the internal lexicon of an individual. Others again deem conversion the product of a morphological operation and have postulated a theory about the existence of a zero or empty morph (Don 2005:2; Bauer 1988:37). The reason for this lies in that word formation often has a tendency to involve the addition or subtraction of one or more affixes. Since it is considered fundamental in linguistics that every sign has to carry both a form and meaning, however, the zero morph has been contested (Kastovsky 2005:32). Kastovsky (2005:31) describes this conundrum while simultaneously implying his opinion on the matter by drawing a parallel to mathematics:

> Zero in mathematics is uncontested, and we could not do without it: after all, whether one has to pay 1, 10, 100 or 1,000 Euros for a desired object clearly makes a difference ... In linguistics, on the other hand, zero has been regarded as suspicious or even objectionable by many scholars, whereas others ... regard it as a useful technical device, no better and no worse than in mathematics.

There are other problems with the zero morph as well. Schönefeld (2005:137) claims, for

instance, that every converted form would require its own zero morph and that this would result in an unprecedented amount of them. This in turn would lead to issues of figuring out which item is the original from which others derive. Investigating the etymological roots of words and the semantic correlations between them can sometimes prove fruitful in trying to discover the source. Other times, it renders no clear answer to the question (Bauer & Valera 2005:11; Plag 2003:109).

2.5 Lexicalization in contrast to the other processes
2.5.1 Lexicalization and degrammaticalization

Over the last couple of years, the relationship between lexicalization and degrammaticalization has been a topic of debate. This is mainly the result of the fact that the former phenomenon rather than the latter phenomenon has been argued to be the reverse of grammaticalization, as the cline of grammaticality presented in section 2.1 portrays the lexicon and grammar as opposites. This idea can be traced back to Kuryłowicz (1965:69; italics in original) who claimed that "a reverse process [of grammaticalization] is the *lexicalization* of a morpheme". Lightfoot (2005:586 in Norde 2009:112) deems this reasoning logical, pointing out that "if a single continuum exists which has 'the lexical' at one end and 'the grammatical' at the other, one could readily interpret movement along the cline toward 'the grammatical' as grammaticalization, and toward 'the lexical' as lexicalization". The implication of this perspective is that degrammaticalization as an independent process is rendered unnecessary. Linguists who subscribe to this view often do so because they think it somehow removes the threat certain instances of language change pose to the belief that grammaticalization is a unidirectional process. Doing this serves no real purpose, however, as something that goes against the unidirectionality hypothesis will still maintain its status as a counterexample regardless of the name it is given.

In the early stages of degrammaticalization studies, the idea appeared that lexicalization was a hyponym of degrammaticalization (Wischer 2000:359). Ramat (1992) is a proponent of this perspective. He presents several suffixes that have divorced their previous word class status and acquired a nominal one, such as the suffix *-ism* used to create nouns indicating practice or action like *communism*, *ageism* and *criticism*. It can also appear as an independent noun [32]:

[32] It is important not to confuse communism, capitalism, or any other <u>ism</u> with the political system in which it is embedded.

<div align="right">(Atlantic Monthly 2004)</div>

This transformation leads Ramat (1992:550; capitalization in original) to conclude that "LEXICALIZATION IS... AN ASPECT OF DEGRAMMATICALIZATION ─ or more exactly: degrammaticalization processes may lead to new lexemes". van der Auwera (2002) seemingly agrees with him, but holds a more nuanced view. Unlike Ramat, van der Auwera (2002:21; Brinton & Traugott 2005:82) claims that lexicalization is solely synonymous with what he has labeled *wide degrammaticalization*, i.e. when a lexical form is created on the basis of a grammatical one. This can be illustrated by the upgrading of the conjunctions *and*, *if* and *but* to nouns in the phrase *no ifs, ands or buts* in [33]:

[33] We want to make sure that if you're living in this country undocumented and you have been a drug dealer or a gangbanger, you're gone, <u>no ifs, ands or buts</u>.

<div align="right">(CBS FACE THE NATION 2014)</div>

Any development that entails a weakening in the grammatical status of an item, on the other hand, he considers to be *narrow degrammaticalization*. The emergence of the English genitival *'s* from an inflectional affix to a clitic is an example of this (Norde 2009:160–1). van der Auwera (2002:20 in Brinton & Traugott 2005:82) also emphasizes that "degrammaticalization 'looks at it from one end' (the starting point), and lexicalization 'from the other' (the result)".

In more recent years, however, the growing consensus has been that lexicalization and degrammaticalization should be considered separate processes (Brinton & Traugott 2005:62–3). Linguists have in an effort to achieve this emphasized particularly two characteristics believed to distinguish them: bondedness and gradualness.

The bondedness-approach is advocated by Lehmann (2002 in Brinton & Traugott 2005:83–4) who claims that "lexicalization is the fusion and coalescence of two or more morphemes; it destroys the regular syntactic construction, eliminates its internal structure and leads to irregular internal relations", something which degrammaticalization does not.

The gradualness-approach, on the other hand, is represented by Norde (2002:48; 2009:113) and Haspelmath (2004). The idea behind this perspective is that lexicalized items surface suddenly, while degrammaticalized ones develop gradually from their given

starting position on the cline of degrammaticality (Brinton & Traugott 2005:85). Norde (2002 in Brinton & Traugott 2005:85) therefore rejects the conclusion made by Ramat that the derivational affix *-ism* is an instance of degrammaticalization and views it as one of lexicalization because "there is no evidence of gradualness in Ramat's examples... On the contrary, they are abrupt and may involve a straight jump from affix to content word".

2.5.2 Lexicalization and conversion

Brinton and Traugott (2005:44) admit that "conversion, especially conversion from minor to major (functional to lexical) class, is often treated as lexicalization since it involves the shift from less > more lexical". Due to the fact that they operate with the narrow definition of lexicalization presented in section 2.3, however, Brinton & Traugott (2005:96) consider lexicalization and conversion to be distinct. In separating the two processes, they claim that lexicalization results in items that have meanings that are unpredictable, while conversion in ones that have predictable meanings due to certain semantic restrictions imposed by their antecedent (Brinton and Traugott 2005: 96, 39). In the case of a noun becoming a verb, for example, the result will be controlled by the most "salient semantic and use-based characteristics of the parent noun, such as location, agent, instrument" (Brinton and Traugott 2005:39). Some cases of this can be seen in the verbs *to instagram, to email* and *to spice* which involve uploading a photograph on the app called instagram, sending an email and to put spice on something, respectively. Norde (2009:11) takes a slightly different position than Brinton and Traugott (2005) regarding the predictability of meaning in lexicalization compared to conversion. She believes that there are converted items that cannot be attributed this quality, drawing on the verb *to down* denoting 'to finish (a drink)' which has an idiomatic meaning.

2.6 Nouns

As a word class, nouns are usually divided into *proper nouns* that involve "somebody or something specific", e.g. *Matthew, Karen-Marie* and *Helsinki*, and *common nouns* that entail "anyone or anything that fits a certain description", e.g. *computer, almond milk* and *chocolate* (Dypedahl et al. 2006:44). These groups and their sub-categories are illustrated in Figure 2.4 which is based on Figure 5.3 by Quirk et al. (1985:247).

concrete: *cats, persimmon...*

count

abstract: *suggestion, claim...*

common

concrete: *ice, meat...*

non-count

abstract: *education, happiness...*

nouns

proper nouns: *Rebekka, Utsira...*
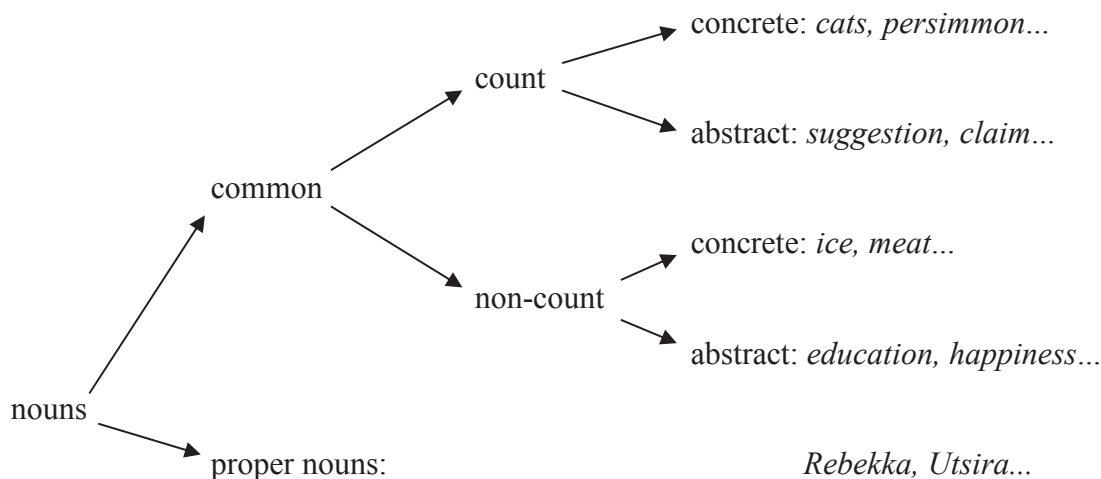
Figure 2.4 The most common groups of nouns

From Figure 2.4 it can be observed that common nouns are distinguished in terms of whether they are countable into *count* and *non-count nouns* (Quirk et al. 1985:246). Admittedly, there are certain nouns that can be interpreted as both, such as the noun *beauty*. It is presented as a count noun in [34] and a non-count noun in [35]:

[34] When compared to Vivienne's own nondescript appearance, Adelaide was <u>a beauty</u>, with dark hair, blue eyes and a rosebud mouth.
(FIC: Foxing the Geese 2017)

[35] I was very anxious to get it and to find the male, which in this genus is always of <u>extreme beauty</u>.
(MAG: Natural History 2015)

In addition to this aspect, common nouns can be further separated according to whether their meaning is concrete or abstract. Meanwhile, proper nouns do not tend to show such potential (Quirk et al. 1985:247).

Some of the prototypical characteristics of nouns in Present-Day English include that they function as either the subject [36], object (direct and indirect object) [37–38] or complement of a prepositional phrase [39] when the head of a noun phrase in a clause (Quirk et al. 1985:245):[10]

[36] [SUB: <u>The journalist</u>] went missing in early August, while conducting an interview with submarine builder Peter Madsen on the Nautilus, one of his homemade vessels.

---

[10] The functions are marked in the examples where subject, direct object, indirect object and prepositional phrase have been abbreviated to *SUBJ, DO, IO* and *PP*, respectively.

[37] I said, "I want [DO: <u>a dog.</u>]"

[38] I tried to give [IO: her] the benefit of the doubt.

[39] However, as of yet, no theorist has succeeded in producing a widely accepted justification for this feature [PP: of <u>the criminal law</u>.]

Although typically the head of a noun phrase, nouns can occur as a pre-modifier in a noun phrase (Dypedahl et al. 2006:43). This is demonstrated using the noun *office* which is the head of the noun phrase in [40] and a pre-modifier of the noun *address* in [41]:

[40] <u>The office</u> says it holds more than $8 billion in unclaimed property belonging to about 32.5 million individuals and organizations.

[41] Carlin's undated World War II card shows him as City Court judge and lists <u>his office address</u> as 52 Chambers Street.

Nouns are also often preceded by determiners. The most frequent ones are the indefinite articles *a/an* [42] that signal a new referent and only appear with singular nouns, as well as the definite article *the* that indicates a known referent and is found with singular [43] and plural nouns [44] (Dypedahl et al. 2006:59–60; Aarts 2011:60):

[42] If you are light as <u>a paper bag</u> or if you have straighter hair, you will get treated better.

[43] Since she already knew how to read and count, the teacher let her sit in the back of <u>the classroom</u> with a group of older boys, who ignored her, talking in low voices about girls and money.

[44] "I want to thank <u>the fans</u> from all of the cities that I played in," Raines said.

Two other traits typical of nouns is that they can follow possessive pronouns [45–46], and

be modified by adjectives in attributive position [47–48] and after linking verbs such as *be*, *prove* and *seem* [49–50] in predicative position (Aarts 2011:63):

[45] You know, when you propose to <u>your wife</u>, you take a knee out of respect.
<div align="right">(SPOK: CBS FACE THE NATION 10:30 AM EST 2017)</div>

[46] It galled me to admit such a thing, but Pharaoh himself would take pride in the impressive display of <u>his gift</u>.
<div align="right">(FIC: Counted with the stars 2017)</div>

[47] I was fortunate to have <u>a successful career</u> that spanned a number of different locations, but Tucson and the University of Arizona have become my home.
<div align="right">(NEWS: Arizona Daily Star 2017)</div>

[48] It's <u>a fantastic story</u> and it's hard in many respects to believe.
<div align="right">(SPOK: PBS_NewsHour 2011)</div>

[49] She'd be the first to admit she <u>was happy</u> to let the competent NET research team take over much of the grunt work.
<div align="right">(FIC: Poisonous 2017)</div>

[50] Rulebased argumentation logics with preferences have <u>proved useful</u> here.
<div align="right">(ACAD: Al Magazine 2017)</div>

Lastly, in Present-Day English nouns inflect in terms of number as singular or plural. Normally, plurality is signaled through the addition of the suffix *-(e)s* like with the noun *cookie* which is in the singular in [51] and plural in [52] (Huddleston & Pullum 2005:82; Dypedahl et al. 2006:48). Some nouns, however, do not form their plural in this manner. These have an irregular plural and include nouns that have experienced i-umlaut, such as the noun *woman* that is in the singular in [53] and plural in [54]*,* look identical in the singular and plural, like the noun *advice* that is in the singular in [55] and plural in [56]*,* and loanwords from languages like Latin and Greek, such as the noun *analysis* which is in the singular in [57] and plural in [58] (Dypedahl et al. 2006:49):

[51] Delores paused to take a bite of her <u>cookie</u>.
<div align="right">(FIC:Christmas caramel murder 2017)</div>

[52] At Monica's you can eat <u>cookies</u> over the sink!
<div align="right">(MAGS: People 2015)</div>

[53] A <u>woman</u> opened the door and told the officers that she was alone with her son and that no one else was present.
<div align="right">(ACAD: Washington Law Review 2017)</div>

[54] Second, as a wider variety of employment opportunities have become available to women, the most qualified women may no longer choose to become teachers.

(ACAD: American Economist 2017)

[55] No way! I never wanted to do an advice column.

(MAG: Jezebel 2017)

[56] The U.S. President is getting some advice from an unlikely source -- Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

(SPOK: CNN 2017)

[57] The analysis revealed that participation by certain stakeholders yielded particular results.

(ACAD: Public Administration Quarterly 2017)

[58] Using these analyses, we created a framework that other scholars in the community can apply when reviewing stakeholder comments in other regulatory processes.

(ACAD: Public Administration Quarterly 2017)

2.7 The nouns investigated

2.7.1 The noun *must*

In the Oxford English Dictionary[11], *must* as a noun is considered 'something highly recommended or not to be missed; an absolute essential for a particular purpose or end' (OED 2018 s.v. *must, n.³*).[12] This understanding is observed in [59] where the noun *must* forms the head of the noun phrase *a must*:

[59] This book is absolutely a must for patriotic Americans.

(Unknown Worlds 1943 in OED 2018 s.v. *must, n.³*)

Etymologically, the noun *must* originates from the modal auxiliary verb *must* that carries epistemic and deontic modality (Palmer 1986:57–8, 98). In the epistemic sense, the modal auxiliary verb *must* is used to express certainty as in [60]. In a deontic sense, on the other hand, it indicates obligation [61] and advice [62] (OED 2018 s.v. *must, v.¹*):

---

[11] This name is abbreviated to *OED* in examples and references.

[12] The noun *must* is used in additional senses as well. In relation to winemaking, for instance, it refers to 'the juice of freshly pressed grapes before or during fermentation into wine; a thick, pulpy mixture of crushed grapes prepared for or undergoing fermentation' (OED s.v. *must, n.¹*). During the data collection process, several of the results reflected this meaning. Since the noun in this context is irrelevant for the topic of this thesis, however, they were disregarded.

26

[60] Well, and this <u>must</u> be true because here's this next story.

<div align="right">(SPOK: THE VIEW 11:17 AM EST 2012)</div>

[61] The Court held that a state's tax system <u>must</u> meet the internal consistency test in order to not violate the Commerce Clause.

<div align="right">(ACAD: The Tax Lawyer 2017)</div>

[62] Here, you <u>must</u> eat something.

<div align="right">(FIC: Decorum 2017)</div>

The antecedent of the modal auxiliary verb *must* in Old English is the verb *mótan* used to signal 'to be allowed, may or obliged' (Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary 2010, s.v. *mótan*). The second meaning is exemplified in [63]:

[63] Ic him yfle   ne <u>mót.</u>
   I him be-harmful not may.
   'I may not be harmful to him.'

<div align="right">(The Holy Gospels 1842)</div>

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (s.v *must, n.³*), the noun *must* occurred for the first time in *Every Man in His Humor* (1598) by Ben Jonson. In the play, the line in [64] appears where it is the head of the noun phrase *your must*:

[64] "Do you say you must arrest sirha: away with him to the iayle, ile teach you a tricke for <u>your must</u>".

2.7.2 The noun *must-have*

Closely related to the noun *must* is the noun *must-have*, which in the Oxford English Dictionary (s.v. *must-have, n.*) is defined as 'something which is widely regarded or advertised as being essential or highly desirable to possess'. This meaning is illustrated in [65] where the noun *must-have* occurs in the plural and is the noun phrase *'must-haves'*:

[65] The list of '<u>must-haves</u>' becomes a long one..; the middle-class bride needs hats, coats, day dresses, [etc.].

<div align="right">(The Daily Chronicle 1910 in OED 2018 s.v. *must-have, n.*)</div>

The etymological roots of the noun *must-have* are found in the modal auxiliary verb *must*[13] and the main verb *have* meaning 'to possess' (OED 2018 s.v. *have, v.*). The main verb is shown in [66]:

[66] I <u>have</u> a friend who was probably among the last women in the world to be given marks for posture.

<div align="right">(MAG: Daily Beast 2017)</div>

In turn, the modal auxiliary verb *must* and the main verb *have* were formed based on the Old English verbs *mótan* and *habban*. Historically, the latter verb carried the same meaning as in Present-Day English, as observed in [67] (Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary s.v. mótan & s.v. *habban*):

[67] Hé ða word nel   on his heortan <u>habban</u> and healdan.
    He the word not-will on his heart   have   and hold.
    'He will not have and hold those words in his heart.'
  (The Blickling Homilies 55 in Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary s.v. *habban*)

The first citation made of *must-have* as a noun in the Oxford English Dictionary (2018 s.v. *must-have, n.*) comes from *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* (1839). In the periodical, the sentence in [68] surfaces where the noun *must-have* is in the plural functioning as the head of the noun phrase *the must haves*:

[68] "I trust..there is not one among you who will not class a practical knowledge of domestic economy among <u>the must haves</u> of American females".

2.7.3 The noun *has-been*

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2018 s.v. *has-been, n.*), the noun *has-been* is used to indicate 'a person or thing whose best days are over; *esp.* a person who was once famous, important, or successful, and is so no longer' and 'that which has happened; (an event of) the past; (in *plural*) old times'. Although not anymore, in the past it was also used in connection to 'a former or ancient custom'. The first meaning is illustrated in [69],

---

[13] Since this modal auxiliary verb has been commented on and demonstrated in section 2.7.1, this has not been repeated. This practice is continued throughout the rest of this chapter.

the second in [70] and the third in [71] where the noun *has-been* is the head of the noun phrases *a clapped-out old has-been*, *the has-been* and *an hes-beene*, respectively:

[69] He moved from being a promising newcomer to <u>a clapped-out old has-been</u>.
(Daily Telegraph 2004 in OED 2018 s.v. *has-been, n.*)

[70] The now, the present, is.. a link between <u>the has-been</u> and the not-yet that is always the same.
(TechnoLogics 2005 in OED 2018 s.v. *has-been, n.*)

[71] Although it [*sc.* Kirk-buriall] was long (yet louselie) held as indifferent in the doylde dayes, yet beeing now but vmwhile, and as <u>an hes-beene</u>, should neuer be more.
(The Blame of Kirk-Buriall 1606 in OED 2018 s.v. *has-been, n.*)

Etymologically, the noun *has-been* derives from the present tense third person singular form of the auxiliary verb *have* that creates the present perfect with the past participle of the main verb *be* that indicates 'to have or take place in the world of fact, to exist, occur, happen' (OED 2018 s.v. *have, v.* & s.v. *be, v.*). The auxiliary verb is shown in [72] and the main verb in [73]:

[72] Three days after a powerful earthquake hit Central Italy, the death toll <u>has</u> climbed higher to 281.
(SPOK: PBS NEWSHOUR 6:00 PM EST 2015)

[73] Patience <u>is</u> a virtue, but I report to a busy lady.
(FIC: Collar Robber 2016)

In Old English, the form *has* of the auxiliary verb *have* originates in the form *hafaþ/hæfþ* of the verb *habban* and the main verb *be* in the verb *beón* meaning 'to be, exist, become' (Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary s.v. *habban* & s.v. *béon*). The former verb is demonstrated in [74] and the latter verb in [75]:

[74] Ðín   ágen geleáfa ðé   <u>hæfþ</u> gehǽledne.
   Your own faith   thee has   healed.
   'Thine own faith hath saved thee.'
    (The Blickling Homilies in Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary s.v. *habban*)

[75] Ic ðæs folces   <u>beó</u> hyrde.
   I the peoples be pastor.

'I am the people's pastor.'
(The Holy Gospels 1842 in Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary s.v. *béon*)

The first registered attestation of *has-been* as a noun in the Oxford English Dictionary (2018 s.v. *has-been*) is from *The Blame of Kirk-Buriall* (1606) by William Birnie. In the book, the line in [76][14] occurs where the noun *has-been* functions as the head of the noun phrase *an hes-beene*:

[76] "Although it [*sc.* Kirk-buriall] was long (yet louselie) held as indifferent in the doylde dayes, yet beeing now but vmwhile, and as <u>an hes-beene</u>, should neuer be more."

2.7.4 The noun *have-been*

In the Oxford English Dictionary (2018 s.v. *have-been, n.*), the noun *have-been* has almost an identical meaning as the noun *has-been*; it denotes 'a person or thing whose best days are over; a has-been. Also: a person, thing, or event of the past'. The first meaning is exemplified in [77] and the second in [78] where the noun *have-been* functions as the head of the noun phrases *a have-been* and *the have-beens*, respectively:

[77] I am <u>a have-been</u>—a phantom—a mere *simulacrum*.
(Meridian 1892 in OED 2018 s.v. *have-been, n.*)

[78] A new house has no sense of <u>the have-beens.</u>
(Late lyrics and earlier with many other verses 1922 in OED 2018 s.v. *have-been, n.)*

The antecedents of the noun *have-been* are the present tense form of the auxiliary verb *have* that forms the present perfect with the past participle of the main verb *be* (OED 2018 s.v. *have, v.* & s.v. *be, v.*). The auxiliary verb is presented in [79]:

[79] We <u>have</u> had a community paramedic meet a patient while in the hospital and plan for service follow-up.
(ACAD: Journal of Health and Human Services Administration 2017)

---

[14] This example was also used in [71] in this section.

As with the noun *has-been*, the auxiliary verb *have* and main verb *be* derive from the Old English verbs *habban* and *beón* (Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary s.v. *habban* & s.v. *béon*). The former verb can be observed in [80]:

[80] Hé ða word nel   on his heortan <u>habban</u> and healdan.
    He the word not-will on his heart   have   and hold.
    'He will not have and hold those words in his heart.'
  (The Blickling Homilies 55 in Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary s.v. *habban*)

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2018 s.v. *have-been, n.*), the noun *have-been* appeared for the first time in *The Rape of Helen* (1737) by John Breval. In the mock-opera, the sentence in [81] surfaces where the noun *have-been* is in the plural and the head of the noun phrase *your Have-beens*:

[81] "Antiope, a Court Toast in her Decline, and a most envious Inspectress into Helen's Conduct, (for <u>your Have-beens</u> are generally meddling)".

2.7.5 The noun *wannabe*

The noun *wannabe* is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary (2018 s.v. *wannabe, n.*) as 'a person who tries to emulate someone else, esp. a celebrity, in appearance and behaviour; a person who wants to belong to and tries to fit in with a particular group of people'. This meaning is illustrated in [82] where the noun *wannabe* occurs in the plural as the head of the noun phrase *many Mary Berry wannabes*:

[82] The *Great British Bake Off* means <u>many Mary Berry wannabes</u> are whipping up Esterhazy Torte and macaroons before breakfast.
                               (The Daily Telegraph 2014 in OED 2018 s.v. *wannabe, n.*)

In contrast to the other nouns examined, the noun *wannabe* has a more complicated etymological background. It consists of the main verb *want* signifying 'to wish, to want, and related senses', the infinitive particle *to* and the main verb *be* (OED 2018 s.v. *want, v.* & s.v. *be, v.*). The former verb is shown in [83]:

[83] Are you saying that he <u>wants</u> courage?
                                    (Warrior 2008 in OED 2018 s.v. *want, v.*)

The morphological boundary between the main verb *want* and the infinitive particle *to* has undergone certain changes. In some contexts, the two words have fused and transformed into the verb *wanta* and, later, *wanna* (OED 2018 s.v. *wanta, v.* & s.v. *wanna, v.^{1}*). The first fused structure is seen in [84] and the second in [85]:

[84] Twas early, an' I didn't <u>wanta</u> go home, so I set down on a big rock.
<div align="right">(Harper's Magazine 1890 in OED 2018 s.v. *wanta, v.*)</div>

[85] Look, do you <u>wanna</u> be smart?
<div align="right">(What Makes Sammy Run? 1941 in OED 2018 s.v. *wanna, v.^{1}*)</div>

Krug (2011:117) takes a slightly different perspective regarding the classification of the main verb *want* and infinitive particle *to*. He considers it a quasi-modal auxiliary verb that has volitional modality, i.e. it expresses desire.[15] This means that it is currently in the process of undergoing auxiliation.

Originally, the main verb *want* did not exist in Old English (Krug 2011:119). The source of the Present-Day English main verb is actually the verb *uonte* from Early Middle English which is a borrowing from the early Scandinavian verb *vanta* meaning 'to be lacking' (OED 2018 s.v. *want, v.*).

The first citation registered of *wannabe* as a noun in the Oxford English Dictionary (2018 s.v. *wannabe, n.*) is from *The New York Magazine* (1976). In the magazine, the line in [86] appears where the noun *wannabe* is the head of the noun phrase *a Jimmy Cagney wannabe*:

[86] "At 38 she had 21 years of racket life behind her. Whereas Joe, that year, was still <u>a Jimmy Cagney wannabe</u>".

2.8 Thesis assumptions

Based on the information that has been presented in chapter 2, it should be made clear that assumptions[16] [1–5] function as the foundation for the remainder of this thesis:

[A1] The definition of degrammaticalization as "a change whereby a gram in a specific context gains in autonomy or substance on one or more linguistic levels

---

[15] Krug (2011:117) explains that volitional modality is rejected by some linguists, while others typically treat it as a sub-category of deontic modality.
[16] This term has been abbreviated to *A*.

(semantics, morphology, syntax, and phonology)" by Norde (2010:5) introduced in section 2.2 will be applied.

[A2] The narrow definition of lexicalization as "the change whereby in certain use a linguistic contexts speakers syntactic construction or word formation as a new contentful form with formal and semantic properties that are not completely derivable or predictable from the constituents of the construction or the word formation pattern. Over time there may be further loss of internal constituency and the item may become more lexical" by Brinton and Traugott (2005:96) given in section 2.3 will be employed, as it delineates the process more clearly than the broader ones do.

[A3] Regardless of the fact that some linguists understand lexicalization as a synonym or a hyponym of degrammaticalization, they are viewed as different phenomena and can be distinguished based on fusion and gradualness of development.

[A4] Since the narrow definition of lexicalization is applied in this thesis, conversion is not treated as a hyponym of the process. They can be separated using predictability of meaning as a criterion.

[A5] The verb *want* and the infinitive particle *to* are considered to combined function as a quasi-modal auxiliary verb following Krug (2011:117).

3. Method

The objectives in this chapter are to introduce the corpora and principles used in the data collection for this thesis, as well as the methods implemented to analyze and discuss the nouns investigated. In section 3.1 COHA and COCA are described. These corpora were selected as using them would make it possible to gain a diachronic and synchronic perspective of the nouns examined through tracing their development in American English. It was also hypothesized that they were more likely to appear in these corpora compared to in any of the others available. In section 3.2 the principles employed in the data collection are provided. Lastly, section 3.3 is devoted to explaining the methods used in analyzing the collected data.

3.1 The corpora

The two digital corpora employed in the data collection for this thesis are the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). COHA is considered to be "the largest structured corpus of historical English". It covers the time period 1810-2009 and contains beyond 400 million words from over 100 000 different texts. These texts are equally distributed among a multitude of genres, ranging from academic papers, magazines, fiction and newspapers (COHA 2018a). COCA is "the largest freely available corpus of English". It concerns the time period 1990-2017 and consists of over 560 million words from various sources. As in COHA, these texts are balanced by genre and represent academic papers, magazines, fiction, newspapers and spoken material (COCA 2018). Both corpora use tags which enables the search of words and phrases out of context.

3.2 The nouns in the corpora

The aim of the data collection was to collect 250 tokens in total of each noun investigated from COHA and COCA combined. Due to the fact that the time periods the corpora cover overlap, any instances in COHA attested after 1999 have not been included. Merely searching the nouns on their own, however, initially provided a list of results where they were used in non-relevant contexts, e.g. as auxiliary and main verbs. Consequently, it was deemed important to discover an approach to filter out such attestations. The solution

presented itself to be adding the indefinite article *a*, definite article *the*, possessive pronoun *your* and *ADJ*[17] before the nouns examined and writing them in their plural form in the search box in the corpora. Potential differences in spelling in the texts represented in COHA and COCA were also taken into consideration. Apart from the noun *must*, all the other nouns investigated were therefore looked for using various forms of spelling. The different tags employed during the data collection are shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Tags searched in COHA and COCA

Noun	Tags
must	*a must / the must* *your must* *ADJ+must* *musts*
must-have	*a must have / a must-have / a musthave / the must have / the must-have / the musthave* *your must have / your must-have / your musthave* *ADJ+must have / ADJ+must-have / ADJ+musthave* *must haves / must-haves / musthaves*
have-been	*a have been / a have-been / a havebeen / the have been / the have-been / the havebeen* *your have been / your have-been / your havebeen* *ADJ+have been / ADJ+have-been / ADJ+havebeen* *have beens / have-beens / havebeens*
has-been	*a has been / a has-been / a hasbeen / the has been / the has-been / the hasbeen* *your has been / your has-been / your hasbeen* *ADJ+has been / ADJ+has-been / ADJ+hasbeen* *has beens / has-beens / hasbeens*
wannabe	*a want to be / a wanna be / a wanna-be / a wannabe / the want to be / the wanna be / the wanna-be / the wannabe* *your want to be / your wanna be / your wanna-be / your wannabe* *ADJ+want to be / ADJ+ wanna be / ADJ+wanna-be / ADJ+wannabe* *want to bes / wanna bes / wanna-bes / wannabes*

---

[17] Since searching for the nouns preceded by a modifying adjective yielded extremely long lists of irrelevant tokens, a comma and a punctuation mark were added for each spelling variation as well to limit the results. Neither corpora successfully separated nouns and quantifiers from adjectives using the *ADJ* tag. Since distinguishing these words is not consequential in this thesis, they are treated as modifiers.

3.3 Approaches employed to analyze the collected data

Following the views of Norde (2002, 2009), Haspelmath (2004), and Brinton and Traugott (2005) presented in sections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2, the data collected of the nouns examined is primarily analyzed in terms of gradualness and predictability of meaning. First, it is investigated to what extent they illustrate traits traditionally associated with nouns in Present-Day English based on the characteristics by Aarts (2011), Dypedahl et al. (2006), Huddleston and Pullum (2005), and Quirk et al. (1985) given in section 2.6, i.e. their ability to occur following an article, the possessive pronoun *your*, a modifying noun, adjective or quantifier, in the plural, when functioning as the head of or a modifier in a noun phrase.

After examining the attestations in this manner, their year of origin is also studied to discover their temporal distribution in COHA. Since the number of words registered in the corpus varies each decade, the normalized frequency is calculated per 20 million words using the given formula:[18]

$$\frac{\text{Number of tokens attested x 20 000 000}}{\text{Number of words in the specific decade}}$$

The data collected from COHA is then contrasted with that from COCA to gain a synchronic perspective of the nouns investigated. Ultimately, the meanings of the nouns treated are compared to that of their source to determine whether they have a significance that is predictable or unpredictable.

---

[18] For the official list of words catalogued in COHA per decade see Appendix A.

4. Results

The purpose of this chapter is to present and analyze the collected data of the nouns examined from the corpora by investigating to what extent they historically and presently exhibit prototypical characteristics of nouns, whether they emerged instantly or gradually and the predictability of their meaning. The nouns treated are therefore examined by their 1) ability to appear preceded by an article, the possessive pronoun *your*, a modifying noun, adjective or quantifier and in the plural when functioning as either the head of or a pre-modifier[19] in a noun phrase[20], 2) temporal distribution and 3) their meaning in connection to their source. First, the results of each noun are given from COHA. In order to gain a perspective on the position the nouns investigated have in Present-Day English, a comparison is subsequently made with the findings in COCA. Lastly, the predictability of the meanings of the nouns examined are treated. Section 4.1 is devoted to *must*, while section 4.2 to *must-have*, section 4.3 to *has-been* 4.4 to *have-been* and section 4.5 to *wannabe*. The main findings are ultimately summarized in section 4.6. All examples that appear in this chapter have been obtained from COHA, COCA and the Oxford English Dictionary.

4.1 The noun *must*

The data collection resulted in 250 attestations of the noun *must* from COHA and COCA combined, i.e. 125 instances from each corpus, through random sampling. The number and distribution of the different cases are displayed in Table 4.1 for COHA.

Table 4.1 Tokens of the noun *must* in COHA

Type of token	Number of attestations
ART+must	97
your must	1
N/ADJ/Q+must	4
musts	23
Total	**125**

---

[19] No examples are shown of the nouns functioning as pre-modifiers in a noun phrase when following an article or the possessive pronoun *your*, as these findings carry little importance.
[20] This term is abbreviated to *NP* and will be used in examples, tables and figure in this chapter onwards.

In Table 4.1 it can be observed that of the 125 attestations of the noun *must* there were 97 instances of it preceded by an article, 1 token by the possessive pronoun *your*, 4 cases by a modifying noun, adjective or quantifier and 23 instances of its plural form.

Classifying the attestations of the noun *must* from COHA based on function, furthermore, gives the results in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Distribution of the noun *must* according to function in COHA

	Must as the head of an NP	*Must* as a modifier in an NP	Number of tokens in total
Total	120	5	125

From Table 4.2 it is clear that the noun *must* appears as the head of a noun phrase 120 times, while as a pre-modifier in 5 tokens. These numbers show that it was generally far more likely that it would historically appear with the former function rather than the latter function.

As the head of a noun phrase, the noun *must* can follow an article [1–4], a modifying adjective[21] [5–6] and appear in the plural [7–8]:

[1] Not surprisingly, the authors list agreement with one's department head as [NP: <u>a must</u>] for advancement.

(The Organization Scholar 1958)

[2] He again mentioned Andrew Bain Lord as [NP: <u>a must</u>] for the program.

(The Last Angry Man 1956)

[3] But we all agree that great food-and lots of it-is [NP: <u>the must</u>] on this day of days.

(MAG: Southern Living 2000)

[4] Transparency is [NP: <u>the must</u>.]

(New York Times 1998)

[5] Stay safe Helmets, wrist guards and knee and elbow pads "are [NP: an <u>absolute must</u>,]" says in-line skater Don Hinchey.

(Let's Get Physical: Exercise Together for Fitness and Fun 1998)

[6] Nearby Frenchman's Pass is [NP: a <u>definite must</u>] for bird watchers.

---

[21] Note that though there were 4 instances of the noun *must* preceded by a modifying noun, adjective or quantifier, these were all with the adjectives *absolute* and *definite*. For this reason, only 2 tokens are demonstrated.

[7] Arnold Newman' s "One Mind' s Eye," put out by the New York Graphic Society (it's in Boston) is wonderful, and Beaumont Newhall' s "The History of Photography" and "Photography: Essays and Images," (Museum of Modern Art) are [NP: <u>musts</u>].

[8] Business expansion and continued investment are [NP: "<u>musts.</u>"]

In addition, 9 instances of the noun *must* in its plural form functioning as the head of a noun phrase are unique in that they can be preceded by nouns, adjectives and quantifiers that modify them [9–14]:

[9] Angelo, once the tomb of the Emperor Hadrian, a private fortress of the popes during the middle ages and one of Rome's [NP: <u>many tourist "musts.</u>"]

[10] Florida Presbyterian has done away with [NP: such <u>college conventional musts</u>] as compulsory class attendance and grading.

[11] Vests are [NP: <u>absolute musts</u>] for all rafters while on the river, and helmets are required while approaching and running rapids.

[12] There aren't [NP: <u>any stuffy musts</u>] or must nots for us -- except that we must love each other.

[13] Joe wants the facade to be vaguely, though not specifically, French, and Carol lists [NP: <u>three musts</u>:] (1) an exercise room for yoga, (2) a bathroom "large enough for Esther Williams' aquacades," and (3) "the world's biggest closet."

[14] He also listed [NP: <u>three silver-month musts</u>,] upon which "maximum production at once" depends.

In light of these findings it would seem that the noun *must* in the plural could take modifiers in attributive position with this function in the past, as is a common trait among nouns in Present-Day English.

By comparison, it is more challenging to find the noun *must* as a pre-modifier in a noun phrase. It can, however, be seen following an article and the possessive pronoun *your*.

Figure 4.1 shows the diachronic distribution of the noun *must* per decade in COHA based on function.
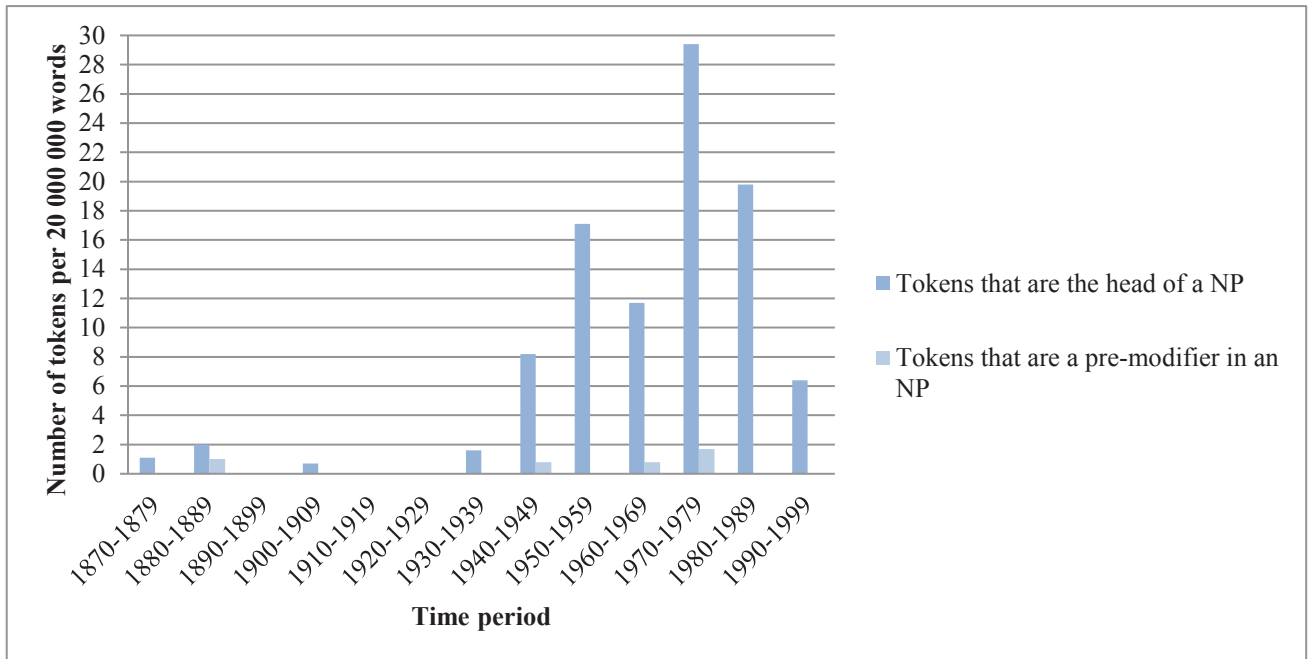
Figure 4.1 Temporal distribution of tokens of the noun *must* in COHA in terms of function

It is evident from Figure 4.1 that there are initially relatively few attestations of the noun *must* in COHA. It is the head of a noun phrase in 1.1 instances in the time period 1870-1879, 2 cases in the time period 1880-1889, 0.7 tokens in the time period 1900-1909 and 1.6 times in the time period 1930-1939. Meanwhile, it is a pre-modifier in a noun phrase in 1 instance in the time period 1880-1889. During the middle of the 20th century, however, a sudden rise in frequency of tokens can be witnessed; there are 8.2 attestations in the time period 1940-1949 and 17.1 cases in the time period 1950-1959 where the noun *must* is the head of a noun phrase. This growth seems to culminate with 29.4 instances in the time period 1970-1979 and slightly decrease in the two following decades. Even though there are fewer times where the noun *must* is a pre-modifier in a noun phrase, these also seem to occur at shorter intervals around the same time since there are 0.8 tokens in the time periods 1940-1949 and 1960-1969, and 1.7 instances in the time period

1970-1979. Overall, the temporal distribution of the attestations of the noun *must* thus gives the impression that it at first occurred rather sporadically before gradually becoming more frequent.

Examining the data of the noun *must* from COCA in terms of number and distribution of attestations comparing it to that of COHA yields the results in Figure 4.2.
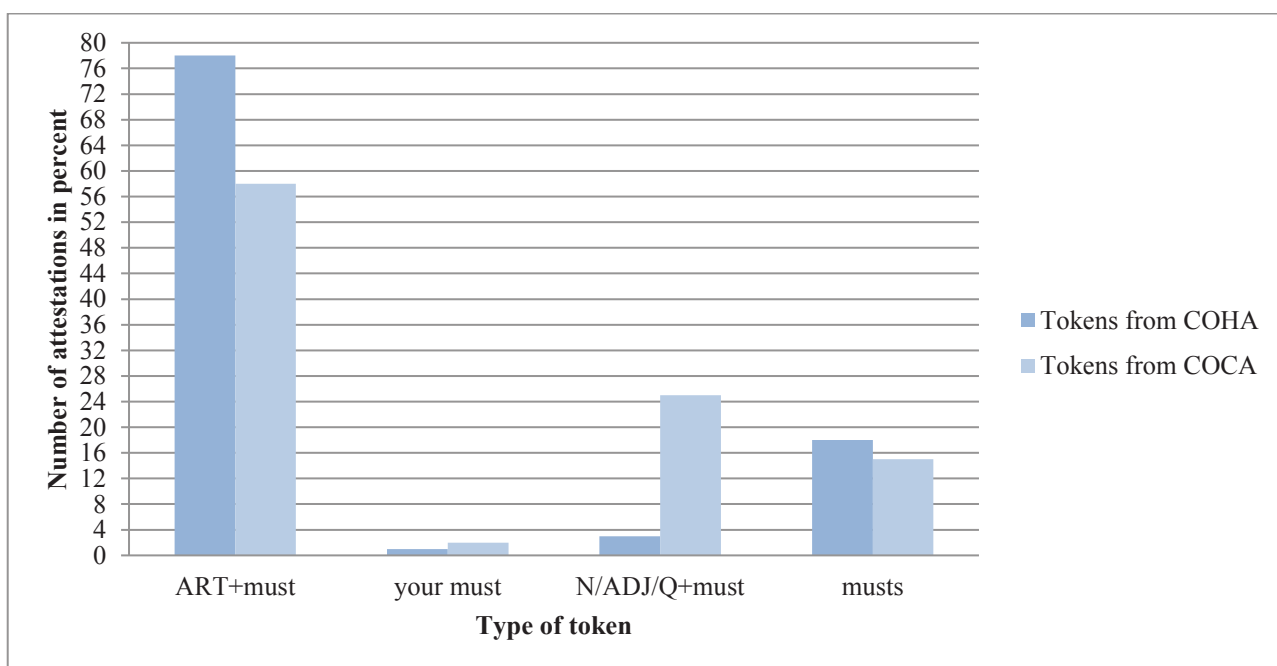
Figure 4.2 The number and distribution of instances of the noun *must* in the corpora

From Figure 4.2 it can be seen that the noun *must* appears preceded by an article in 78% of tokens in COHA while 58% in COCA, the possessive pronoun *your* in 1% of cases in COHA while 2% in COCA, a modifying noun, adjective or quantifier in 3% of attestations in COHA while 25% in COCA, and in the plural in 18% of instances in COHA while 15% in COCA.

As in COHA, in COCA the noun *must* can follow an article [15–18], a modifying adjective [19–20] and occur in its plural form [21–22] when the head of a noun phrase in Present-Day English:

[15] It's fine for sound effects in Tango-enabled games, but headphones are otherwise [NP: a must.]

(MAG: Engadget 2016)

[16] Even though participation is [NP: <u>a must</u>] for the students, there has been a progression of behaviors through the entire implementation of the research interventions.

(ACAD: Reading Improvement 2015)

[17] But we all agree that great food-and lots of it-is [NP: <u>the must</u>] on this day of days.

(MAG: Southern Living 2000)

[18] I think that's a little bit more controversial and it's not quite [NP: <u>the must</u>] that it is for young people.

(SPOK: CNN King 2000)

[19] Growers of miniature roses, for example, find a weekly washing down of their plants is [NP: an <u>absolute must</u>] in preventing spider mites.

(MAG: Horticulture 1991)

[20] There was no evidence for that KING In entering the election year, finding those weapons does not appear to be [NP: a <u>political must</u>.]

(SPOK: CNN_Politics 2003)

[21] If you think you may travel on any unpaved roads, gravel insurance (yes, this exists) and a GPS are [NP: <u>musts</u>.]

(NEWS: Pittsburgh Post-Gazette 2015)

[22] I prefer to use natural products on my skin, and flossing is among [NP: my <u>musts</u>.]

(MAG: Essence 2013)

In comparison to COHA where the noun *must* is modified by an adjective in the attributive position in 3% of the attestations, in COCA this category comprises 25% of the tokens. On the surface, this increase in ability to take pre-modifiers seemingly indicates that the noun *must* has developed its position as a member of its word class. Considering the fact that 94% of the instances in COCA were with the adjective *absolute*, makes the correctness of this observation questionable; if the noun *must* in fact has become more like a noun in this aspect it would be expected to co-occur with a wider variety of not only adjectives, but also nouns and quantifiers.

A parallel between COHA and COCA is that the noun *must* can be preceded by modifying nouns, adjectives and quantifiers [23–28] when it occurs in the plural as the head of a noun phrase:

[23] Without saying these words, he was teaching me the time value of money and the value of compound interest -- [NP: <u>two super retirement musts</u>]!

(NEWS: USA Today 2015)

[24] Either way, you'll get [NP: <u>all the road-trip musts</u>]: distinctive food, great scenery and stops, and the chance to get a true feel for the local scene.

(MAG: Money 2013)

[25] One of [NP: <u>the biggest 'musts'</u>] is that the glasses bear the European' CE' seal, since this means they adhere to European safety standards.

(MAG: News-Medical.net 2016)

[26] Along with [NP: <u>directorial musts</u>] like visual style, believable casting, and honest performances, our director selects directors "by the theme they pick and how they handle it."

(MAG: Entertainment Weekly 2002)

[27] Thatcher really had [NP: <u>only three musts</u>]: uphold the rule of law at home and abroad; keep government activities to a minimum, and so taxes low; and encourage individuals to do as much as they can, as well as they can.

(MAG: USA Today Magazine 2015)

[28] There are, he says, [NP: <u>four "musts"</u>] for consumer products: value, wellness, quality and convenience.

(NEWS: USA Today 2009)

These tokens comprise 7% in COHA while 8% in COCA. This difference is statistically insignificant. In other words, the noun *must* takes modifiers in attributive position in the plural as the head of a noun phrase in Present-Day English approximately to the same extent it did historically.

In regard to the times where the noun *must* functions as a pre-modifier in a noun phrase, there is also no real difference between COCA and COHA, i.e. it either appears following an article or the possessive pronoun *your*.

Finally, in terms of the predictability of the meaning of the noun *must*, it was stated in section 2.7.1 that it is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary (2018 s.v. *must, n.³*) as 'something highly recommended or not to be missed; an absolute essential for a particular purpose or end'. This understanding is exemplified in [29] where the noun *must* is a pre-modifier in its respective noun phrase:

[29] What is [NP: <u>the Must reality-competition TV show</u>] of the summer?

(MAG: Entertainment Weekly 2009)

The antecedent of the noun *must* is the modal auxiliary verb *must*, which can be

understood to have both epistemic and deontic modality. In the former sense, it expresses certainty [30]. In the latter sense, on the other hand, the modal auxiliary verb *must* signals obligation and advice [31–32] (OED 2018 s.v. *must, v.[1]*):

[30] If all these serious people think Trump is the greatest president God ever created, then it <u>must</u> be true!

(MAG: Salon 2017)

[31] Bankruptcy courts <u>must</u> decide in each motion that the estate is better served by the sale than by reorganization.

(ACAD: The American Bankruptcy Law Journal 2017)

[32] "In a good society all of its citizens <u>must</u> have personal liberty, basic well-being, racial and ethnic equality, the opportunity for a rewarding life."

(ACAD: American Economist 2017)

Against this background, it is difficult to claim that the meaning of the noun *must* is predictable as it is uncertain why it should denote precisely deontic advice and not any of the other senses of deontic or epistemic modality.

4.2 The noun *must-have*

The data collection resulted in 162 attestations of the noun *must-have* from the corpora combined; in COHA only 12 tokens were found, while in COCA 125 instances were gathered through random sampling. The number and distribution of the different cases are demonstrated in Table 4.3 for COHA.

Table 4.3 Tokens of the noun *must-have* in COHA

Type of token	Number of attestations
ART+must-have	6
your must-have	1
N/ADJ/Q+must-have	0
must-haves	5
Total	**12**

In Table 4.3 it shown that of the 12 attestations of the noun *must-have* from COHA there were 6 instances of it preceded by an article, 1 case by the possessive pronoun *your* and 5 tokens of its plural form.

Distinguishing the attestations of the noun *must-have* from COHA in terms of function, furthermore, yields the results in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Distribution of the noun *must-have* according to function in COHA

	Must-have as the head of an NP	*Must-have* as a pre-modifier in an NP	Number of tokens in total
Total	6	6	12

It is seen in Table 4.4 that the noun *must-have* appeared as the head of and a pre-modifier in a noun phrase 6 times each. This means that it did not occur more often in one function over the other in the past.

In COHA, there are instances of the noun *must-have* as the head of a noun phrase following an article [33] and in the plural [34–35]:

[33] Perhaps that's because companies view having an Internet presence as [NP: <u>a must have</u>] in an economy evolving more toward online commerce.

(Denver Post 1999)

[34] Chiefly we prepared by stripping ourselves bare of everything except [NP: "<u>must haves</u>."]

(Life in the Open Air, and Other Papers 1863)

[35] At Target, [NP: <u>the must-haves</u>] include Barbie, indoor grills, and tapes and CDs for stocking stuffers.

(DECK THE MALLS 1990)

Similar to the noun *must*, there are instances where the noun *must-have* is found in the plural functioning as the head of a noun phrase preceded by a noun or adjective that modifies it. These cases are displayed in [36–37]:

[36] TAYLOR'S [NP: MAKEUP MUST-HAVES.]

(Where does Cardinal Newman's cause stand? 1993)

[37] AMID THE HEAVY RAIN OF RETROSPECTIVE box sets both fine and feeble, these are [NP: <u>true must haves</u>] - collections that don't simply gather up loose ends in the name of posterity but that make definitive statements on the subjects' genius, vision and continued, even accelerating, influence.

(The Year in Records 1991)

The fact that these tokens exist suggests that the noun *must-have* historically had some ability to take modifiers in attributive position in its plural form.

As a pre-modifier in a noun phrase, the noun *must-have* is found following an article and the possessive pronoun *your*.

Figure 4.3 shows the diachronic distribution of the noun *must-have* per decade in COHA based on function.
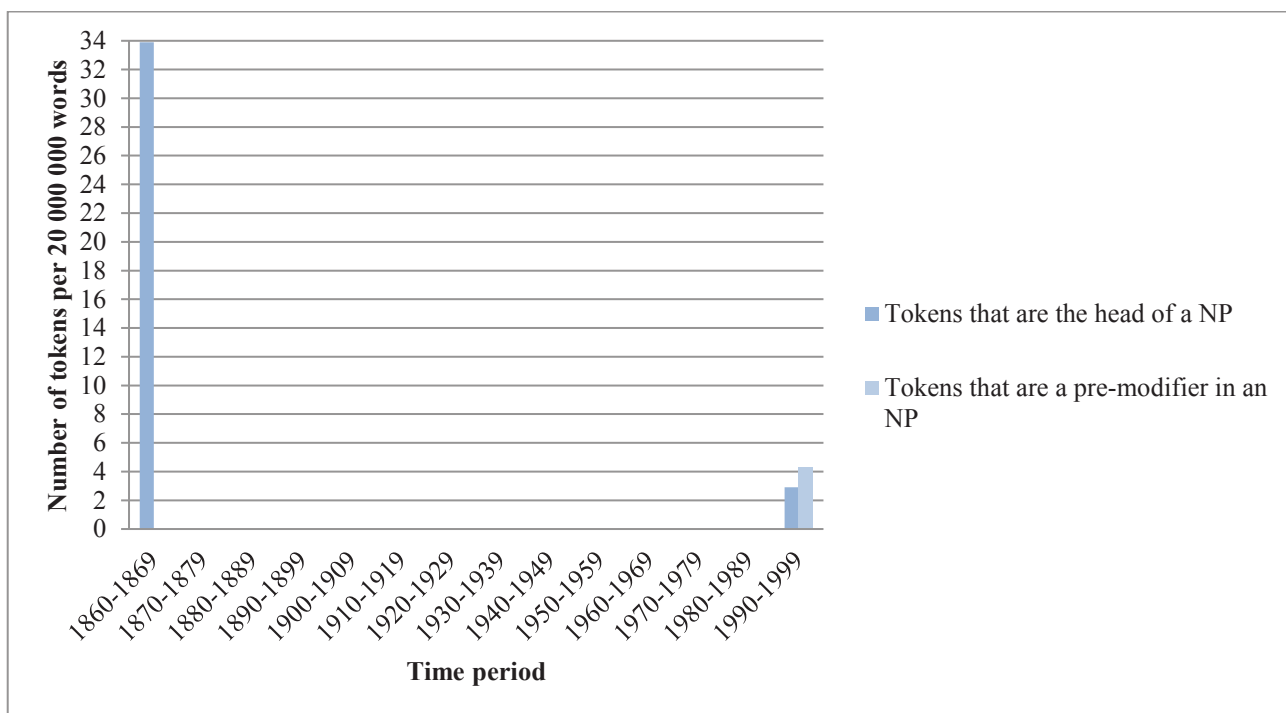
Figure 4.3 Temporal distribution of tokens of the noun *must-have* in COHA in terms of function

In Figure 4.3 it can be seen that the attestations of the noun *must-have* center themselves primarily around the beginning and end of the timeframe COHA covers. It would, however, appear most frequent around the middle of the 19th century, as 33.9[22] cases where the noun *must-have* is the head of a noun phrase are made in the time period 1860-1869. Afterwards, it ceases to occur until the remaining 2.9 tokens with this function emerge in the time period 1990-1999. By contrast, all of the 4.3 tokens of the noun *must-have* where it is a pre-modifier in a noun phrase surface in the time period 1990-1999. Although there were fewer attestations across most of the 20th century, the temporal distribution of the noun *must-have* shows that it emerged abruptly.

---

[22] Due to there being much less words registered in COHA during the time period 1860-1869, this number is quite high though only 2 instances of the noun *must-have* were attested.

Studying the data of the noun *must-have* from COCA in terms of number and distribution of tokens contrasting it to that of COHA gives the results in Figure 4.4.
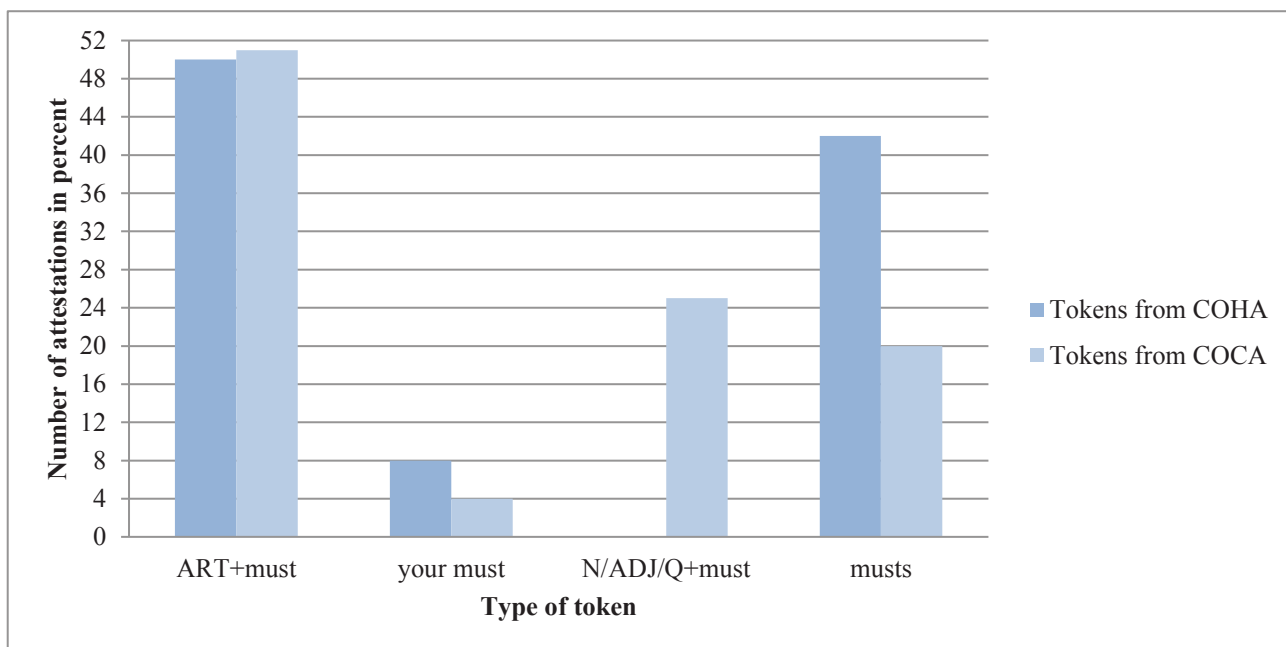
Figure 4.4 The number and distribution of instances of the noun *must-have* in the corpora

From Figure 4.4 it is observed that the noun *must-have* occurs preceded by an article in 50% of tokens in COHA while 51% in COCA, the possessive pronoun *your* in 8% of cases in COHA while 4% in COCA, a modifying noun, adjective or quantifier in 0% of attestations in COHA while 25% in COCA, and in the plural in 42% of instances in COHA while 20% in COCA.

Similar to in COHA, in COCA the noun *must-have* appears following an article [38–41] and in the plural [42–43] as the head of a noun phrase. In addition, however, it can be modified by preceding adjectives and quantifiers [44–46] in Present-Day English:

[38] Another major factor is the revolution in business school curricula over the past 25 years, as entrepreneurship has gone from a curiosity taught in a handful of schools to [NP: a must-have.

(Emily Barker 2002)

[39] Looking to create the "perfect" Christmas experience, many parents scramble to buy their children the elusive toy marketers have deemed [NP: "a must-have."]

(NEWS: Christian Science Monitor 2006)

[40] Well, I would say [NP: the must have] is one thats coming soon, and that would be

the new 30th anniversary edition of "Jaws."

<div align="right">(SPOK: CNN_Showbiz 2005)</div>

[41] Compared to traditional LTE, Wi-Fi has a lower cost of infrastructure, reduced latency, more throughput, can serve all endpoints respective of carrier affiliation, and is easier to deploy, making it [NP: the must have] for indoor coverage, whether it's for a home, office building or industrial plant.

<div align="right">(MAG: Fortune 2017)</div>

[42] TODAY digital lifestyle editor Mario Armstrong is here with [NP: must-haves] for every age.

<div align="right">(SPOK: NBC 2017)</div>

[43] The Pride and Prejudice package barely sells - the pheromones aren't exactly [NP: must haves.]

<div align="right">(FIC: Analog Science Fiction & Fact 2016)</div>

[44] 50s CRISP WHITE SLACKS ARE [NP: A VERSATILE MUST-HAVE.]

<div align="right">(MAG: Bazaar 2006)</div>

[45] [NP: The ultimate must-have] in outerwear- a crocodile coat-worn alone or with something sumptuous underneath, is the most sublime addition to any wardrobe.

<div align="right">(MAG: Bazaar 2005)</div>

[46] There will be no wedding cake -- [NP: another traditional must-have] many brides are skipping.

<div align="right">(NEWS: San Francisco Chronicle 2009)</div>

Compared to in COHA where there were no attestations of the noun *must-have* preceded by a modifying noun, adjective or quantifier, in COCA these instances constitute 13%. This means that the noun *must-have* can co-occur with such words in Present-Day English while it did not in the past.

As was discovered in COHA, when the noun *must-have* occurs in the plural as the head of a noun phrase it can follow a modifying noun and adjective, as well as a quantifier [47–52]:

[47] [NP: My wardrobe must-haves] are timeless with polished detail.

<div align="right">(MAG: Essence 2013)</div>

[48] Ideal for gift-giving, [NP: the Holiday Must-Haves] from Olay contain the perfect pairings for pampering the women on your list.

<div align="right">(MAG: USA Today Magazine 2012)</div>

[49] A search through various resources identified [NP: consistent "must haves"] for

mobile library websites:

<div align="right">(ACAD: Reference and User Services Quarterly 2012)</div>

[50] To learn more about this trio of footwear as well as [NP: <u>other Hi-Tec hiking must</u> <u>haves</u>], visit www.us.hi-tec.com.

<div align="right">(MAG: USA Today Magazine 2015)</div>

[51] So before you done that cap and gown, get ready for the real world with [NP: <u>five</u> <u>must haves</u>] at CNN.com/US.

<div align="right">(SPOK: CNN_LiveSun 2005)</div>

[52] Pack [NP: <u>all your makeup must-haves</u>] in this trendy pouch.

<div align="right">(MAG: Essence 2015)</div>

Comparing the numbers of tokens where the noun *must-have* is in the plural functioning as a head of a noun phrase in COHA and COCA shows that they constitute 17% in the former corpus while 15% in the latter corpus. This thus signals that it appears almost as frequently in Present-Day English as it did historically.

In terms of the noun *must-have* as a pre-modifier in a noun phrase, it is found in COCA as in COHA preceded by an article and the possessive pronoun *your*. By contrast to COHA, it can also follow a modifying adjective as in [53–54] where the nouns *toy* and *investments* are the heads of the respective noun phrases:

[53] The RIM Blackberry two-way e-mail pager is [NP: the <u>latest must-have executive</u> <u>toy</u>.]

<div align="right">(NEWS Denver Post 2000)</div>

[54] Cash, which guarantees a return of 0%, is one of [NP: the <u>new must-have</u> <u>investments</u>.]

<div align="right">(NEWS: USA Today 2012)</div>

Lastly, with respect to the predictability of the meaning of the noun *must-have* it was explained in section 2.7.2 that the Oxford English Dictionary (2018 s.v. *must-have, n.*) refers to it as 'something which is widely regarded or advertised as being essential or highly desirable to possess'. This understanding is illustrated in [55] where the noun *must-have* is a modifier in attributive position in its respective noun phrase:

[55] Since the release of "Sideways" in 2004, Pinot Noir has been [NP: <u>the must-have</u>

wine] across the United States.

<div align="right">(NEWS: San Francisco Chronicle 2006)</div>

The sources of the noun *must-have* are the modal auxiliary verb *must*[23] and the main verb *have* which signifies 'to possess' [56] (OED 2018 s.v. *have, v.*):

[56] "I love the fact that I <u>have</u> a unique perspective and I get a chance to do for other people what so many others have done for me," she says.

<div align="right">(MAG: Jezebel 2017)</div>

The noun *must-have* only really emerged after the noun *must* and their meanings are very similar. It seems that the former word largely inherited the significance of the latter word, but also extended it. Combined with the fact that modal auxiliary verb *must* carries both epistemic and deontic modality, this makes it difficult to claim that the noun *must-have* has a predictable meaning.

4.3 The noun *has-been*

The data collection resulted in 217 attestations of the noun *has-been*, i.e. 97 tokens from COHA and 120 instances from COCA, as this was all that could be found in the corpora. The number and distribution of the different cases are shown in Table 4.5 for COHA.

Table 4.5 Tokens of the noun *has-been* in COHA

Type of token	Number of attestations
ART+has-been	48
your has-been	0
N/ADJ/Q+has-been	20
has-beens	29
Total	97

It can be seen in Table 4.5 that of the 97 attestations of the noun *has-been* it was preceded by an article 48 times, a modifying noun, adjective or quantified in 20 instances and as a plural in 29 cases.

Classifying the tokens of the noun *has-been* from COHA in terms of function, furthermore, gives the results in Table 4.6.

---

[23] This modal auxiliary verb has already been commented on in the previous section and is therefore not repeated. The same practice is carried out in the remainder of this chapter.

Table 4.6 Distribution of the noun *has-been* according to function in COHA

	***Has-been* as the head of an NP**	***Has-been* as a pre-modifier in an NP**	**Number of tokens in total**
Total	89	8	97

In Table 4.6 it can be observed that the noun *has-been* is the head of a noun phrase in 89 instances, while a pre-modifier in a noun phrase in 8 cases. These numbers show that it historically would surface more frequently with the former function rather than the latter function.

As the head of a noun phrase, the noun *has-been* occurs following an article [57–60], modifying nouns, adjectives and quantifiers [61–63] and in its plural form [64–65]:

[57] But now, alas, he is nothing but [NP: a has-been,] if even that, and with fifteen or twenty feet as his working limit, and getting shyer of Moray eels each day.

(Town with the Funny Name 1948)

[58] [NP: A HAS-BEEN] is like a junkie who has lost his connection and spends his days and nights in aching limbo, longing for one more high.

(Spencer's Bag 1971)

[59] All that "good blood" had ever done for Craig was to leave him stranded on some uncertain level between [NP: the Has-been] and the Not-yet.

(In This Our Life 1941)

[60] The Manager went out and bet more Money, and the Coming Champion was Nervous for fear that he would kill [NP: the Has-Been] if he connected too strong on the Point of the Jaw.

(Fables in Slang 1899)

[61] Or would they merely show indifference at the appearance of [NP: another octogenarian has-been?]

(Like Old Times 1972)

[62] I suppose I shouldn't have wasted all that valuable cocktail time with [NP: a poor old has-been] like Mrs. Knox!

(The Great World and Timothy Colt 1956)

[63] Almost any movie-goer can tell you that Sinatra had become [NP: a virtual has been] by last year but that he completely revitalized his career recently by playing tough little Private Maggio in the motion picture From Here to Eternity.

(Good Housekeeping 1954)

[64] After he had gone back to railroading, and had been promoted a few times, he
   picked up a new hobby: training race horses, particularly [NP: <u>has-beens</u>.]
                                                        (Up Comes the M. & St. L. 1943)

[65] I hate [NP: <u>has-beens</u>,] failures.
                                                        (Easy Living 1949)

As the nouns *must* and *must-have*, the noun *has-been* can also appear preceded by
modifying nouns, adjectives and quantifiers [66–70] when in the plural functioning as the
head of a noun phrase:

[66] He keeps payroll costs low by casting [NP: <u>Hollywood has-beens</u>] and unknowns,
   and saves on distribution expenses by peddling the films himself, out of the back
   seat of a Cadillac.
                                                        (Wall Street Journal 1987)

[67] It was to go head to head with the NYAC' s big boat and CRASH-B [NP: (<u>Charles
   River All-Star Has Beens</u>,] an Olympic Eight)
                                                        (Boston Globe 1982)

[68] ... under the administration of his unmentionable predecessor all the many political
   denials of this contemptible banana republic reached critical mass, and we all, yes
   all,but you in particular, became [NP: <u>political has-beens</u>,] Jennifer.
                                                        (Whirligig 1988)

[69] It's a wet dream for [NP: <u>radical has-beens</u>.]
                                                        (Spoils of War: A Drama in Two Acts 1988)

[70] [NP: <u>Three Has-Beens</u>] still active on the Democratic scene are three men who
   have already been Secretary of the Treasury.
                                                        (Inventory 1928)

In light of these findings it would seem that the noun *has-been* when in the plural and the
head of a noun phrase can take pre-modifiers, as is a common characteristic for members
of this word class in Present-Day English.

   By contrast, the noun *has-been* is only discovered as a pre-modifier in a noun
phrase when following an article.

   Figure 4.5 demonstrates the diachronic distribution of the noun *has-been* per
decade in COHA based on function.
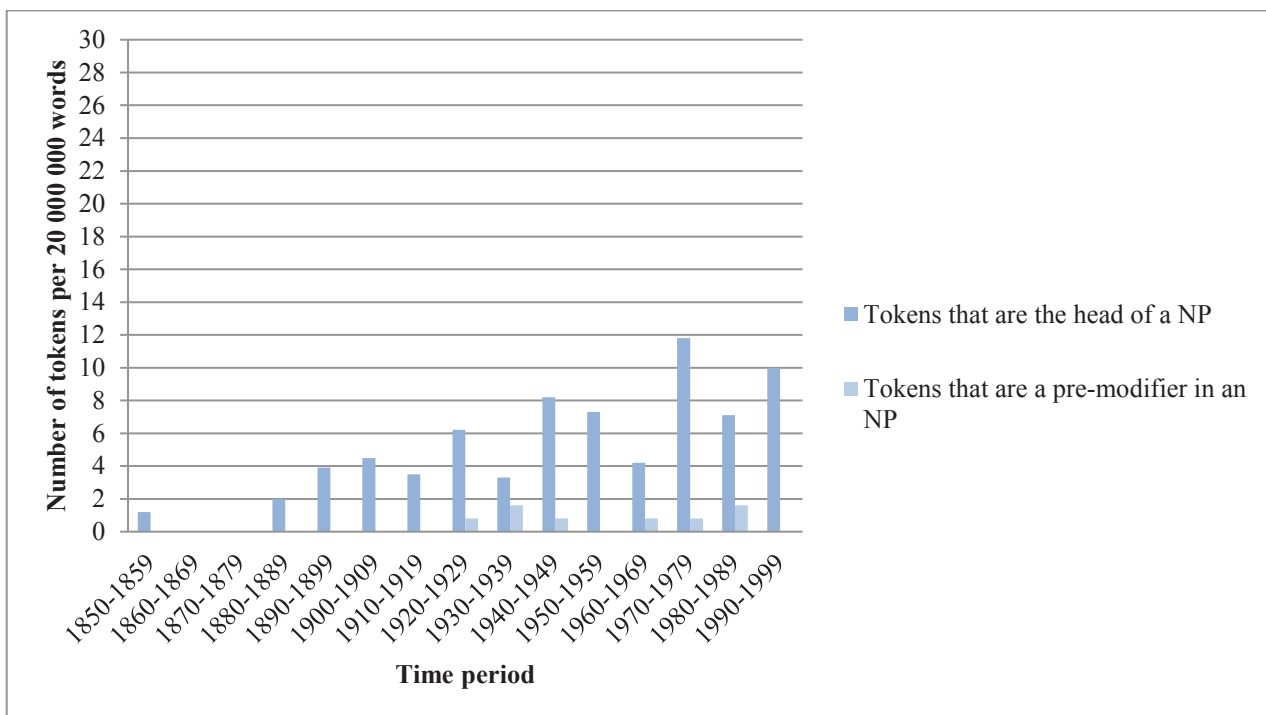
Figure 4.5 Temporal distribution of tokens of the noun *has-been* in COHA in terms of function

Figure 4.5 illustrates that, apart from 1.2 cases in the time period 1850-1859, instances of the noun *must-have* where it is the head of a noun phrase start appearing in the time period 1880-1889 onwards. This rise reaches its maximum with 11.8 tokens in the time period 1970-1979 and remains relatively stable until the beginning of the 21st century. The attestations where the noun *has-been* is a pre-modifier in a noun phrase, on the other hand, first begin surfacing with 0.8 instances in the time period 1920-1929. Except for in the time periods 1950-1959 and 1990-1999 where there are no cases, the remaining ones are distributed evenly across the rest of the century. The temporal distribution of the tokens of the noun *has-been* thus points to it emerging suddenly and slowly growing in frequency.

Investigating the data of the noun *has-been* from COCA in terms of number and distribution of attestations comparing it to that of COHA yields the results in Figure 4.6.
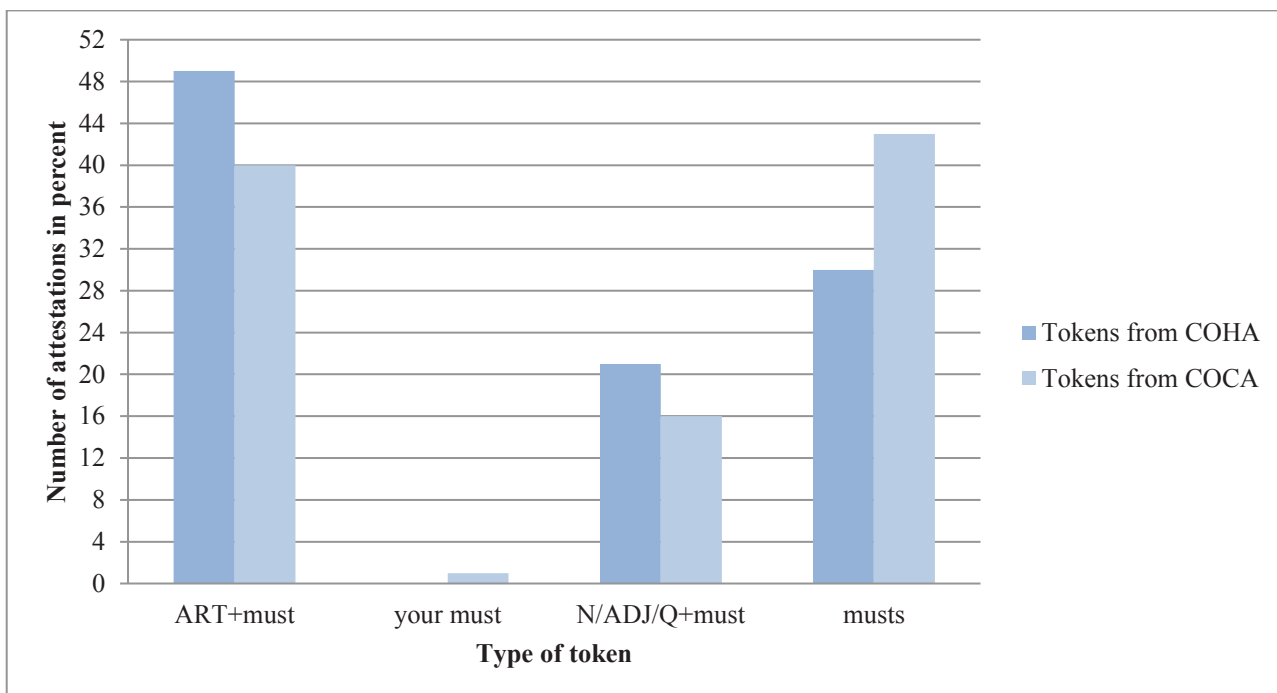
Figure 4.6 The number and distribution of instances of the noun *has-been* in the corpora

In Figure 4.6 it can be seen that the noun occurs preceded by an article in 49% of tokens in COHA while 40% in COCA, the possessive pronoun *your* in 0% of cases in COHA while 1% in COCA, a modifying noun, adjective or quantifier in 21% of attestations in COHA while 16% in COCA, and in the plural in 30% of instances in COHA while 43% in COCA.

As in COHA, when the noun *has-been* is the head of a noun phrase it cannot be found following the possessive pronoun *your*. It can appear, however, preceded by an article [71–72], a modifying adjective [73–74] and in its plural form [75–76] in Present-Day English:

[71] Now Bill is [NP: a has-been] and the historians are going to note his failed presidency.

(MAG: American Spectator 2008)

[72] Julia would become [NP: a has-been,] Julianne a nobody, Juliette yesterday's news.
(FIC: Run Catch Kiss 2000)

[73] Failure may make Sampras more human, but he does not want to end as [NP: a sympathetic has-been.]

(NEWS: New York Times 2002)

54

[74] There's a huge difference between being a happily employed and perked-up retiree of high standing and [NP: a <u>washed-out, lazy has-been</u>] who doesn't get his work done.

<div align="right">(MAG: Fortune 2007)</div>

[75] As a political outsider, Trump relied on an inner circle of political neophytes (Jared Kushner), cast-offs (Katrina Pierson), [NP: <u>has-beens</u>] (Newt Gingrich and Rudy Giuliani), and family members to run his improbable campaign, with additional help from a rotating cast of veteran political operatives, several of whom resigned in the course of their service.

<div align="right">(MAG: Vanity Fair 2016)</div>

[76] "I done told you I don't deal with no [NP: <u>has beens,</u>]" he told me.

<div align="right">(FIC: Feminist Studies 2005)</div>

Figure 4.6 showed that the noun *has-been* follows a modifying noun, adjective or quantifier in 21% of instances in COHA, while 16% of tokens in COCA. This suggests that it does not take pre-modifiers when the head of a noun phrase as often in Present-Day English as it did in the past.

Similar to in COHA, the noun *has-been* takes preceding nouns, adjectives and quantifiers as modifiers in COCA when in the plural and the head of a noun phrase [77–81]:

[77] Well, after last night's eye-glazing lectures by [NP: <u>party has-beens</u>], tonight's session promises the much more amusing, if not utterly hilarious lineup of Ted Kennedy, Howard Dean, Ron Reagan and Teresa Heinz Kerry.

<div align="right">(SPOK: CNN_Crossfire 2004)</div>

[78] Like lesser-order moths drawn to a fire, all the candidates -- from [NP: <u>TV has beens</u>] (Gary Coleman) and tawdry pretenders (pornographer Larry Flynt) to authentic politicians and the parade of merry pranksters on the ballot -- share in the reflected glare of attention.

<div align="right">(NEWS: San Francisco Chronicle 2003)</div>

[79] For example, the respondents reported that the greatest obstacles to interdisciplinary research included "dealing with [NP: <u>dogmatic recalcitrant has beens,</u>]" "old men," or "ancient uninterested faculty who hate everyone outside their field."

<div align="right">(ACAD: BioScience 2013)</div>

[80] Laugh at [NP: <u>these strung-out has-beens</u>] who can't help but degrade what's left of their image by talking about their bowel movements on camera.

<div align="right">(NEWS: Chicago Sun-Times 2006)</div>

[81] You get the young guys who aren't quite good enough to make it in the majors and
a few major-league has-beens that aren't tough enough to cut the mustard anymore.

(FIC: Kiss to the Bees 2000)

Compared to in COHA where this type comprises 9% of instances, in COCA it constitutes
13% of tokens. This means that the noun *has-been* has slightly developed its potential to
take nouns, adjectives and quantifiers as pre-modifiers when in the plural and the head of
a noun phrase in Present-Day English.

In COCA, as in COHA, the noun *has-been* can appear following an article when
a pre-modifier in a noun phrase. In this function, however, it also occurs preceded by a
modifying adjective as in [82–83] where the nouns *banker* and *car* are the head of the
respective noun phrases:

[82] Norman Wright, [NP: an "old has-been banker"] from Plainview, Texas, who is
visiting relatives in the area, supports the club's right to choose members.

(NEWS: USA Today 2003)

[83] She'd hear the unmistakable sound of [NP: the cranky used has-been car,] and she
would go to the window and welcome Alison back.

(FIC: The Odds 2009)

Generally, the noun *has-been* both historically and in Present-Day English rarely
functions as a pre-modifier in a noun phrase.

Finally, regarding the predictability of the meaning of the noun *has-been* it was
stated in section 2.7.3 that the Oxford English Dictionary (2018 s.v. *has-been, n.*) defines
it as 'a person or thing whose best days are over; ***esp.*** a person who was once famous,
important, or successful, and is so no longer', 'that which has happened; (an event of) the
past; (in *plural*) old times' and 'a former or ancient custom'. The first meaning is
demonstrated in [84], the second in [85] and the third in [86][24]:

[84] He was fifty-eight, a detective, a has-been on the front line.

(FIC: The Drop Zone 2016)

---

[24] Since this meaning is considered obsolete now it is difficult to find instances illustrating it. Examples
[71] and [76] from section 2.7.3 has therefore been repeated.

[85] I met old Bishop Slosher..and just for <u>has-beens</u> I took him to lunch with me.
(The Promoters 1904 in OED 2018 s.v. *has-been, n.)*

[86] Although it [*sc.* Kirk-buriall] was long (yet louselie) held as indifferent in the doylde dayes, yet beeing now but vmwhile, and as <u>an hes-beene</u>, should neuer be more.
(The Blame of Kirk-Buriall 1606 in OED 2018 s.v. *has-been, n.*)

Etymologically, the noun *has-been* derives from the third person singular form of the auxiliary verb *have* in the present tense and the past participle of the main verb *be* that indicates 'to have or take place in the world of fact, to exist, occur, happen' (OED 2018 s.v. *have, v.* & s.v. *be, v.*).. The auxiliary verb is shown in [87] and the main verb in [88]:

[87] Shakespeare may have said we must kill all the lawyers, in fact he did say that but Kansas <u>has</u> encountered a downside to that plan.
(SPOK: TUCKER CARLSON TONIGHT 7:00 PM EST)

[88] Hi, yeah. I'<u>m</u> a stay-at-home dad, a renter, and my wife <u>is</u> a teacher with a master's degree.
(SPOK: NPR_TalkNat 2009)

The auxiliary verb *have* is used to indicate perfect aspect through forming the past perfect, present perfect and future perfect which denote an action that has been completed before something else that occurred in the past [89], began in the past and continues in the present [90] and will be done in the future [91], respectively (Oxford Living Dictionaries 2018b):

[89] I also wished I <u>had eaten</u> some ginger before we took off; it's my favourite preventive for motion sickness.
(FIC: Smile and be a villain 2017)

[90] I <u>have eaten</u> the saganaki cheese, Glenn.
(FIC: Fantasy & Science Fiction 2017)

[91] I <u>will have eaten</u> risotto con zafferano at Armani/Ristorante, crunched on biscotti at Emporio Armani/Caff, and checked e-mail at the Armani/Business Center.
(MAG: Town and Country 2017)

Meanwhile, the main verb *be* can be used in a variety of functions and contexts and its semantic content is therefore quite bland. In addition to functioning as a main verb, for example, it can be an auxiliary verb [92] and a copula [93]:

[92] Oh, I <u>am</u> baking a big batch of biscuits, with honey and butter.

(SPOK: NPR_TalkNation 2006)

[93] My friend <u>is</u> a tyrant.

(**MAG**: Redbook 2011)

In light of these facts, it is challenging to argue in favor of the noun *has-been* having a predictable meaning since the only aspect that appears to have transferred from its source is the idea that an action has been completed.

4.4 The noun *have-been*

Compared to the other nouns investigated, the collection of data of the noun *have-been* proved particularly difficult. It resulted in no tokens in COHA and merely 1 instance in COCA. This case is presented in [94][25] where it is preceded by an article functioning as the head of a noun phrase:

[94] "I'll know the next time." when Billy got sick taught at [NP: <u>the have been</u>,] she was studying to get her Ph.D. at BU when she got pregnant;...

(FIC: Paris Review 2014)

In terms of the predictability of meaning of the noun *have-been*, it was stated in section 2.7.4 that it is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary (2018 s.v. *have-been, n.*) as 'a person or thing whose best days are over; a has-been. Also: a person, thing, or event of the past'. The first significance is demonstrated in [95][26] and the second in [96]:

[95] I am <u>a have-been</u>—a phantom—a mere *simulacrum*.

(Meridian 1892 in OED 2018 s.v. *have-been, n.*)

[96] <u>The Have-beens</u> are things that are past; the Shall-bes are things that are to come.

(The Idler 1758 in OED 2018 s.v. *have-been, n.*)

---

[25] Granted, this is not the best example of the noun *have-been* because the clause is not very well-formulated.

[26] Due to few viable sentences illustrating the noun *have-been* in COHA, COCA and the Oxford English Dictionary, this is a repetition of example [4] from chapter 1.

The sources of the noun *have-been* are the present tense form of the perfect auxiliary *have* used to create the present perfect tense with the past participle of the main verb *be*. The auxiliary verb is observed in [97]:

[97] I <u>have</u> known a few couples whose love came after marriage.

(FIC: A Bride's Agreement 2016)

In light of the relatedness between the nouns *has-been* and *have-been,* the same reason, i.e. that it derives from a source that primarily serves a grammatical function, can be used to reject the idea that its meaning is predictable.

4.5 The noun *wannabe*

The data collection resulted in 148 attestations of the noun *wannabe* from the corpora combined; in COHA 23 tokens was all that could be found, while in COCA 125 instances were obtained through random sampling. The number and distribution of the different tokens are shown in Table 4.7 for COHA.

Table 4.7 Tokens of the noun *wannabe* in COHA

Type of token	Number of attestations
ART+wannabe	7
your wannabe	0
N/ADJ/Q+wannabe	2
wannabes	14
Total	23

It can be seen in Table 4.7 that of the 23 attestations of the noun *wannabe* there were 7 cases of it preceded by an article, 2 instances by a modifying noun, adjective or quantifier and 14 tokens of its plural form.

Separating the tokens of the noun *wannabe* from COHA based on function, furthermore, gives the results in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8 Distribution of the noun *wannabe* according to function in COHA

	Wannabe as the head of an NP	*Wannabe* as a pre-modifier in an NP	Number of tokens in total
Total	15	8	23

From Table 4.8 it can be observed that the noun *wannabe* is the head of a noun phrase 15 times and a pre-modifier in a noun phrase in 8 cases. These numbers mean that it tended to be used with the former function rather than the latter function in the past.

As the head of a noun phrase, the noun *wannabe* appears following a modifying noun and adjective [98–99][27], and in the plural [100–101]:

[98] In the 11 minutes the foul-strapped senior All-America was off the floor, [NP: Georgetown's young wanna-be's] were out-scored 25-12.

(Sports Illustrated 1987)

[99] There's a fierce battle for your attention raging among the portals and [NP: portal wanna-bes,] which include AOL.com, AltaVista, Excite, Infoseek, Lycos, MSN.com, Netcenter and Snap.

(Web Sites for All Eyes 1998)

[100] But sometimes -- and this is what separates the webdicks from [NP: the wannabes] -- you find one that fights back.

(King of the Cyber Trifles 1997)

[101] Mr. Stewart said about a quarter of them are "wannabes" who do not own any animals yet, and most of the rest have fewer than 20 animals.

(New York Times 1998)

Similar to the nouns *must*, *must-have* and *has-been*, the noun *wannabe* is also attested preceded by modifying nouns, adjectives and quantifiers [102–107] when in the plural functioning as the head of a noun phrase:

[102] Go to amsa.org/premed for loads of premed offerings, including nationwide chapters for [NP: doctor wannabes], conferences, and internship and advocacy opportunities.

(Chicago Tribune 1995)

[103] [NP: These Heinlein wannabes] with their delusions of canonical stature make me sick.

(Plumage from Pegasus 1998)

[104] As we turn the page on the most enlightened century since the dawn of time, the answer is a resounding no. Jane Fonda is in great shape, but the rest of us, for the

---

[27] Technically, both these examples also show the noun *wannabe* in its plural form.

60

most part, are [NP: <u>fitness wannabes</u>].

<div align="right">(Denver Post 1999)</div>

[105] Jackson Hole: a hard-core hotbed, a mecca for [NP: <u>gonzo wannabes</u>]
everywhere.

<div align="right">(Jackson Hole is for Babies 1994)</div>

[106] My inner coach wants to bench [NP: <u>all these Michael Jordan wannabes</u>].

<div align="right">(Time Magazine 1998)</div>

[107] Don't wear you no gold when you workin,' he often advises the Unborns, [NP: <u>the
eight- and nine- and ten-year-old wannabes</u>] who trail after him, complimenting
his appearance and offering to do him favors, when he arrives here most
afternoons.

<div align="right">(The Laws of Our Fathers 1997)</div>

The fact that these tokens exist suggests that the noun *wannabe* had some ability to take

pre-modifiers in its plural form as the head of a noun phrase historically.

As a pre-modifier in a noun phrase, on the other hand, the noun *wannabe* can be

followed by an article and a modifying adjective as in [108] where the noun *artistes* is the

head of the noun phrase:

[108] This program allows [NP: <u>young wanna-be artistes</u>] to create their own comic
strips using the amiable characters at fictional Whistling Pines Junior High
School.

<div align="right">(MAG: Newsweek 1998)</div>

Figure 4.7 demonstrates the diachronic distribution of the noun *wannabe* per decade in

COHA in terms of function.
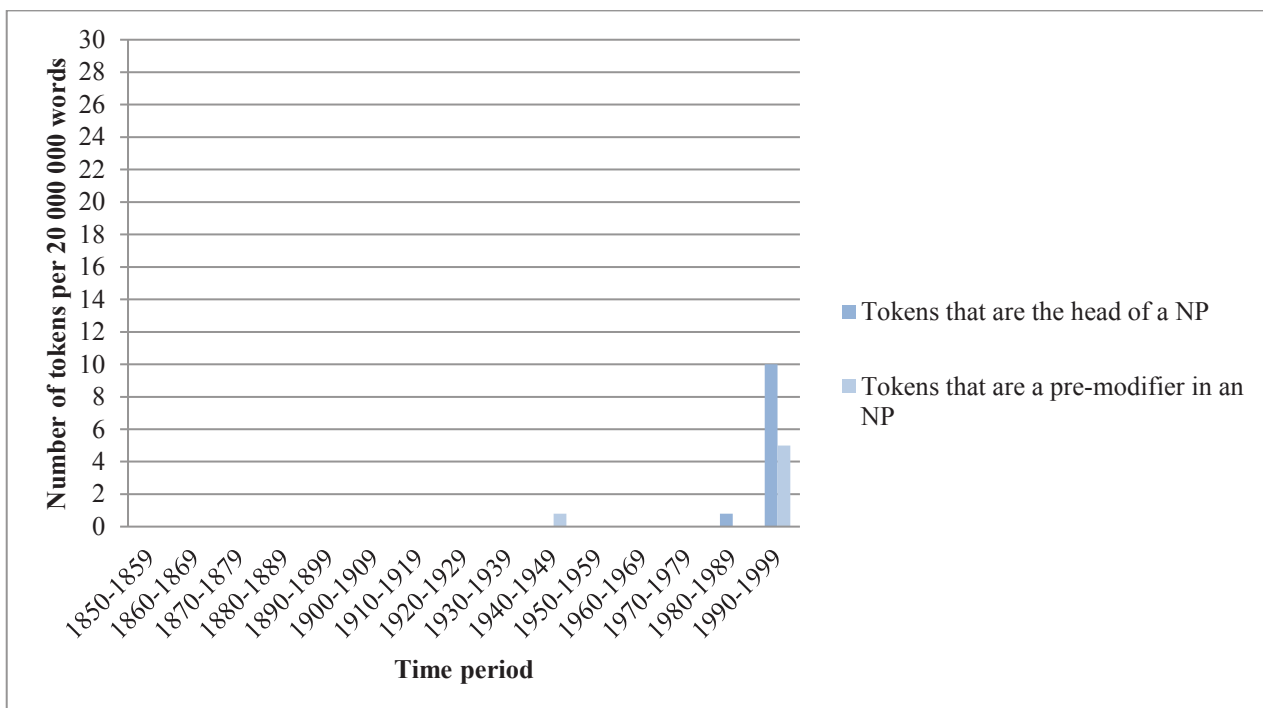
Figure 4.7 Temporal distribution of tokens of the noun *wannabe* in COHA in terms of
function

It is clear from Figure 4.7 that attestations of the noun *wannabe* are concentrated to around
the end of the 20th century. In fact, 10 tokens where it is the head of and 5 tokens where
it is a pre-modifier in a noun phrase occur during the time period 1990-1999. The first
registered appearance of the noun *wannabe*, however, was in the time period 1980-1989
with the former function while in the time period 1940-1949 with the latter function. The
temporal distribution of the noun *wannabe* therefore shows that it surfaced quite abruptly.

Examining the data of the noun *wannabe* from COCA with respect to the number
and distribution of attestations contrasting it to that of COHA yields the results in Figure
4.8.
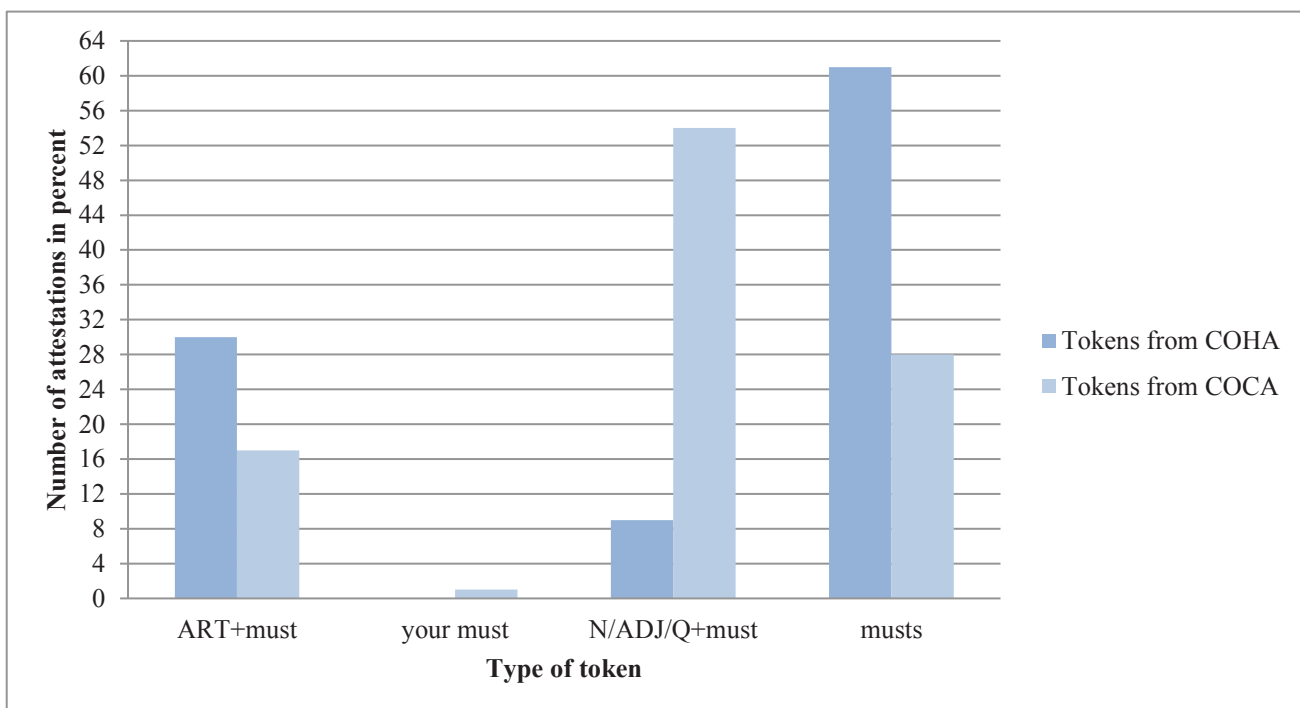
Figure 4.8 The number and distribution of instances of the noun *wannabe* in the corpora

It can be observed in Figure 4.8 that the noun *wannabe* is preceded by an article in 30% of tokens in COHA while 17% in COCA, the possessive pronoun *your* in 0% of cases in COHA while 1% in COCA, a modifying noun, adjective or quantifier in 9% of attestations in COHA while 54% in COCA, and in the plural in 61% of instances in COHA while 28% in COCA.

Similar to in COHA, as the head of a noun phrase the noun *wannabe* in COCA occurs following a modifying noun, adjective and quantifier [109–114], and in its plural form [115–116], In addition, however, it can be preceded by an article as in [117–120] in Present-Day English:

[109] I still think she falls in the category of [NP: a terrorist wannabe.]
                                                        (NEWS: Denver Post 2014)

[110] Schmit is no newcomer. No [NP: cosmic-cowboy wannabe.]
                                                        (MAG: RollingStone.com 2016)

[111] Susan Boyle wasnt just [NP: an unknown wannabe] when she walked onto that
       stage ten months ago.
                                                        (SPOK: CBS_Spokmorn 2010)

[112] So he was [NP: a real wannabe.]
(SPOK: THIS WEEK 10:49 AM EST 2017)

[113] And despite the scary brush with quality filmmaking, the show has once again landed squarely in Jones territory-only this time, instead of [NP: one earnestly hapless wannabe,] there are three of them.
(MAG: Entertainment Weekly 2003)

[114] [NP: Some unfortunate miner-49er wannabe] bought the farm here 155 years ago, and pretty soon the whole joint got blanketed with the death motif: Hell's Gate. Dante's View.
(NEWS: San Francisco Chronicle 2004)

[115] Sure, McCain (who won in 2000) and Mitt Romney (of neighboring Massachusetts) need strong showings, but all in all, expect N.H. to weed out [NP: the wanna-bes] and solidify the top tier.
(MAG: Newsweek 2007)

[116] C'm on in, [NP: wanna-bes!]
(FIC: Catwoman 2004)

[117] The Double Cab Tundra is a real truck, not [NP: a wanna-be.]
(MAG: Motor Boating 2004)

[118] Her mother had taught her, she was a queen, and a queen with a crooked crown was [NP: a wannabe].
(FIC: The Eternal Engagement 2011)

[119] Desire, in the Lacanian sense of a lack, is a function of language, produced in the gap between need and articulated demand ("in as much as the subject, in articulating the signifying chain, brings to light [NP: the want to be]").
(ACAD: STYLE 2000)

[120] Then [NP: the wannabe] became an actually-is and the playing field became level.
(MAG: New Statesman 2014)

In terms of instances where the noun *wannabe* is preceded by a modifying noun, adjective or quantifier functioning as the head of a noun phrase, a difference is apparent between the corpora. In COHA this type only constitutes 4% of attestations. In COCA, on the other hand, it comprises 20% of instances. This means that the noun *wannabe* takes pre-modifiers in this context more frequently in Present-Day English than it did historically.[28]

---

[28]The attestations in COHA were also quite recent.

Another correspondence between the corpora is that the noun *wannabe* is found following modifying nouns, adjectives and quantifiers in the plural when the head of a noun phrase [121–126]:

[121] Photograph FUN BY THE POOL Hilary Duff, far left, and her sister, Haylie, second from left, read scripts and hang with their friends at L.A.'s Oakwood Apartments, a complex populated by [NP: star wanna-bes] and their moms.
(MAG: Good Housekeeping 2000)

[122] Altogether, despite Logan's best efforts to ruin everything with his costume club for [NP: Scott Disick wannabes], it was more than enough.
(MAG: The Atlantic 2016)

[123] What [NP: other presidential wanna-bes] are at the convention?
(SPOK: NPR_ATCW 2002)

[124] And you see what happens when [NP: a few politically correct wannabes], malcontents get together and try and stifle free speech at a university where you're supposed to open your mind to learning, to be able to take in another viewpoint and not to be so ignorant.
(SPOK: The Five 5:00 PM EST 2015)

[125] That was the agreement we'd worked out, after the last "war," after [NP: all the wannabes] were taken care of, mostly by what the newspapers called "the Somerville mob."
(FIC: Killers 2016)

[126] Most years, there are [NP: several blockbuster wannabes] for the holidays.
(SPOK: All Things Considered 08:00 PM EST 2015)

Superficially, the raw numbers of tokens give the impression the noun *wannabe* takes modifiers in attributive position more often when it is in the plural and the head of a noun phrase in Present-Day English than in the past. After a closer examination of the data from both corpora, however, it turns out that this is incorrect since these tokens comprise 48% of cases in COHA while 21% in COCA.

As in COHA, the noun *wannabe* when a pre-modifier in a noun phrase appears preceded by an article and a modifying noun, adjective and quantifier as in [127–132] where the nouns *singer*, *adventurers*, *tornados*, *lawyer*, *vet* and *superstars* are the head of the respective noun phrases. It is also possible to find a case of it following the possessive pronoun *your*:

[127] She was telling him about her father-how he left her mother in June to move to Nashville with his new girlfriend, [NP: a thirty-year-old wannabe country singer.]

(FIC: The Kenyon Review 2007)

[128] What Hannon had was a hunch: beyond the walls of her Toronto high-rise, she sensed a world of [NP: female wannabe adventurers] eager for women's real-life travel information.

(MAG: Time 2001)

[129] Miles away, [NP: larger wannabe tornados] threatened and whirled but didn't quite take form.

(FIC: Pulse 2012)

[130] Dr. Pidcoe is [NP: a frustrated wannabe lawyer] who loves to testify in court - and talks about whatever he feels like on cross-examination, no matter what the question calls for.

(ACAD: ABA Journal 2009)

[131] He explained to me that the test was just to cover the Army's 6-for example let's say that ten or twenty years from now, you're [NP: some homeless wannabe John Rambo psycho war vet] and you can't find or hold a job,...

(MAG: Esquire 2005)

[132] So were [NP: 2,000 other wannabe superstars] who showed up here over the weekend to audition for the second season of American Idol, Fox's hit reality television show.

(NEWS: Houston Chronicle 2002)

In COHA the noun *wannabe* is preceded by a modifying noun, adjective or quantifier in 4% of tokens when a pre-modifier in a noun phrase. Meanwhile, in COCA this type amounts to 33% of attestations. This means that the noun *wannabe* overall has increased its potential to be used in this context in Present-Day English.

Lastly, in terms of the predictability of the meaning of the noun *wannabe* it was explained in section 2.7.5 that it is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary (2018 s.v. *wannabe, n.*) as 'a person who tries to emulate someone else, esp. a celebrity, in appearance and behaviour; a person who wants to belong to and tries to fit in with a particular group of people'. This significance is illustrated in [133]:

[133] She watched as he backed toward the end of the bar and, within moments, was distracted by a wannabe model in batik harem pants.

(FIC: Will you won't you want me? 2017)

66

The sources of the noun *wannabe* are the quasi-modal auxiliary verb *want to* indicating volitional modality and the main verb *be* (Krug 2011:117; OED 2018 s.v. *be, v.*). The quasi-modal auxiliary verb is illustrated in [134]:

[134] "When you're an investor, you're entrusting your money to someone and so one of the things you <u>want to</u> know is whether they're taking care of your money," says Nell Minow, a longtime authority on corporate governance.

(NEWS: New York Times 2017)

In contrast to the other nouns treated, the noun *wannabe* could be argued to have a predictable meaning because its significance is directly reflected in its source structure.

4.6 Summary

From the findings presented in this chapter it has become clear that none of the nouns investigated demonstrate to the extent expected the prototypical features of their word class examined in this thesis, i.e. the ability to appear preceded by an article, the possessive pronoun *your*, a modifying noun, adjective or quantifier and in the plural, as the head of and modifier in a noun phrase. Even though it was possible to obtain 125 tokens of the noun *must* in both COHA and COCA, for instance, it was never found following the possessive pronoun *your* when functioning as the head of a noun phrase. There is evidence that suggests, however, that the nouns treated are gradually acquiring and developing these characteristics. It was discovered in relation to the noun *must-have*, for example, that it is not attested in COHA modified by a noun, adjective or quantifier in attributive position while it is in COCA. In respect to the temporal distribution of the nouns investigated, the nouns *must* and *has-been* show signs of gradually increasing in frequency after first being registered. This tendency is not observed with the nouns *must-have* and *wannabe* that occur quite abruptly. Finally, since the nouns *must* and *must-have* derive from a source that carries more than one significance, while the nouns *has-been* and *have-been* from ones that primarily serve a grammatical function they are argued to have an unpredictable meaning. The significance of the noun *wannabe*, on the other hand, is directly traceable in its source and is therefore deemed to have a predictable meaning.

5. Discussion

The intention behind this chapter is to discuss whether the nouns investigated[29] in this thesis should be classified as cases of degrammaticalization, lexicalization or conversion by interpreting the results in chapter 4 based on theory from chapter 2. First, the way in which the nouns emerged, the fact that they have experienced fusion and, in the case of the noun *has-been*, an addition in semantic content, are factors used to argue that they are instances of lexicalization rather than degrammaticalization. Afterwards, the unpredictability of the meaning of the nouns *must, must-have* and *has-been* is used to reject the idea that they are products of conversion instead. Meanwhile, the predictability of the meaning of the noun *wannabe* is used to suggest it should be considered as such. Lexicalization is contrasted with degrammaticalization in section 5.1, while with conversion in section 5.2. The main points from this discussion are ultimately summarized in section 4.6. Except for one example from the Oxford English Dictionary, all the others in this chapter have been obtained from COCA.

5.1 Lexicalization versus degrammaticalization

In distinguishing between degrammaticalization and lexicalization, it was stated in section 2.5.2 that Norde (2002, 2009) and Haspelmath (2004) emphasize that items which degrammaticalize gradually develop from their source into their target, while ones that lexicalize abruptly undergo this transformation. As the nouns investigated would exemplify degrammation if categorized as results of degrammaticalization, this would have involved a change in status from grammatical item to content item on the cline of degrammaticality shown in Figure 5.1.

content item ⟵ grammatical item ⟵ clitic ⟵ inflectional affix (⟵ Ø)
Figure 5.1 The cline of degrammaticality[30]

In other words, this means that after their sources were reanalyzed they should have gone through at least one intermediate stage where they displayed signs of losing characteristics typical of their respective word class before becoming nouns. No such

---

[29] As there is little data of the noun *have-been*, it is not treated in this chapter. Due to its relatedness with the noun *has-been*, however, it is highly likely that they should be categorized in the same manner.
[30] For illustrative purposes, Figure 2.3 from section 2.2 has been reintroduced as Figure 5.1.

signs, however, have been observed in the data collected for this thesis or mentioned in the literature. In fact, the nouns examined appear to have transitioned instantaneously from their sources into nouns, as demonstrated in Figure 5.2.
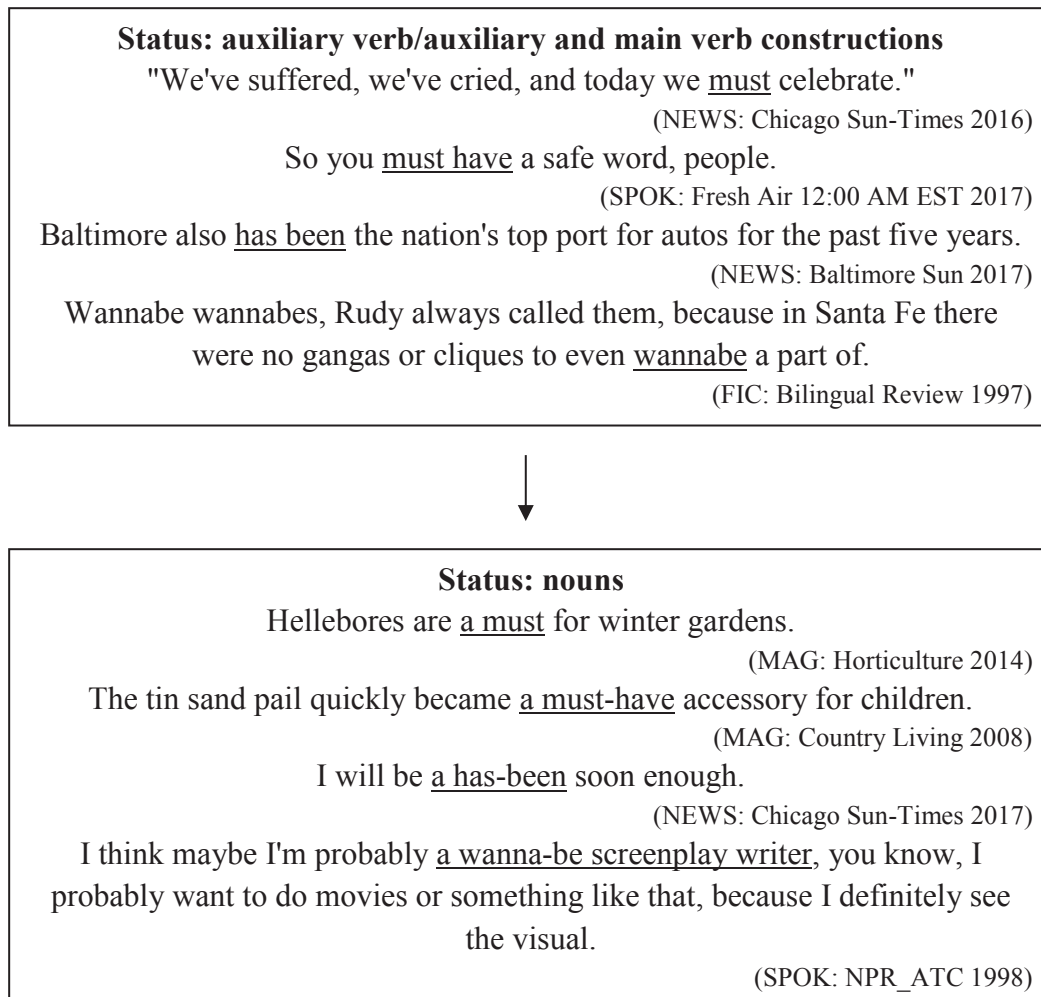

Status: auxiliary verb/auxiliary and main verb constructions

"We've suffered, we've cried, and today we <u>must</u> celebrate."

(NEWS: Chicago Sun-Times 2016)

So you <u>must have</u> a safe word, people.

(SPOK: Fresh Air 12:00 AM EST 2017)

Baltimore also <u>has been</u> the nation's top port for autos for the past five years.

(NEWS: Baltimore Sun 2017)

Wannabe wannabes, Rudy always called them, because in Santa Fe there were no gangas or cliques to even <u>wannabe</u> a part of.

(FIC: Bilingual Review 1997)

↓

Status: nouns

Hellebores are <u>a must</u> for winter gardens.

(MAG: Horticulture 2014)

The tin sand pail quickly became <u>a must-have</u> accessory for children.

(MAG: Country Living 2008)

I will be <u>a has-been</u> soon enough.

(NEWS: Chicago Sun-Times 2017)

I think maybe I'm probably <u>a wanna-be screenplay writer</u>, you know, I probably want to do movies or something like that, because I definitely see the visual.

(SPOK: NPR_ATC 1998)

Figure 5.2 The change from auxiliary/auxiliary and main verb constructions into nouns

As can be observed from Figure 5.2, the sources *must, must-have, has-been* and *wannabe* are reanalyzed and suddenly begin appearing as the nouns *must, must-have*, *has-been* and *wannabe*. Following Norde (2002, 2009) and Haspelmath (2004) it is therefore highly unlikely that the nouns are results of degrammaticalization. Brinton and Traugott (2005:97), on the other hand, take a different perspective and argue that "lexicalization is a gradual change in the sense that it is non-instantaneous and proceeds by very small intermediate, and sometimes indeterminate, steps". In the analysis of the collected data it was discovered that none of the nouns investigated exhibited all the prototypical

characteristics of nouns studied in this thesis to the degree they would be expected in Present-Day English. It was, for example, found that the noun *must* is significantly more often preceded by a modifying noun, adjective or quantifier when in the plural functioning as the head of a noun phrase in the present than historically; the noun *must-have* did not follow a modifying noun, adjective or quantifier in the past when in the singular, while now it does; and the nouns *has-been* and *wannabe* did not appear preceded by the possessive pronoun *your* except for one occasion each recently. Although the findings in this thesis support that the items which lexicalize appear abruptly in agreement with Norde (2002, 2009) and Haspelmath (2004), there is admittedly an aspect of gradualness in terms of how they settle into their new word class.

In section 2.5.1, it was also stated that Lehmann (2002) believes that items that degrammaticalize do not undergo fusion while ones that lexicalize do. It is evident that the nouns *must-have, has-been* and *wannabe* have been affected by fusion as tokens of them spelt as separate words [1–3], with hyphens [4–6] and as one word [7–9] were attested in the collected data:

[1] This is [NP: a <u>must have</u>] I would say.
                    (SPOK: CBS THE EARLY SHOW 8:00 AM EST2010)

[2] Naw, 1 don't want [NP: a <u>has been</u>].
                    (FIC: Feminist studies 2005)

[3] He's [NP: a <u>want to be</u> cop].
                    (SPOK: FOX ON THE RECORD 10:00 PM EST 2013)

[4] Whatever the reason, like Kamala Khan in the Spider-Man wave, he comes with the BAF torso so he's [NP: a <u>must-have</u>] to build Titus.
                    (MAG: Nerdist 2017)

[5] True story West's favorite post- "Batman" job was "Lookwell," a sitcom pilot penned by Conan O'Brien in which West played [NP: a <u>has-been</u> actor] who blunders into crime scenes.
                    (NEWS: St Louis Post_Dispatch 2014)

[6] AT always got labeled a Mick Jagger lookalike, [NP: a <u>wanna-be</u>], and I fucking hated it...
                    (MAG: Rolling Stone 2011)

[7] Whether you're rocking two-strand twists or a relaxed, smooth chignon, this alcohol free, nonsticky, nonflaky gel is [NP: a <u>musthave</u>].

[8] She'd been an entertainer- "Not [NP: a <u>hasbeen</u>], but a not-yet" - and was abused by "every man she was ever in relationship with," from her father onward.

(MAG: Christian Century 2008)

[9] You see one and chances are you're dealing with a native. Or [NP: a <u>wannabe</u>].

(FIC: Long way gone 2017)

This consequently strengthens the idea that the nouns *must-have*, *has-been* and *wannabe* are instances of lexicalization.

Finally, in section 2.3 Wischer (2000) argues that when items lexicalize "a specific semantic component is added". In contrast to the nouns *must*, *must-have* and *wannabe* with which it is difficult to point to a component of meaning untraceable in the sources, this is observed to have occurred in the case of the noun *has-been*. It was mentioned in sections 2.7.3 and 4.3 that it derives from the third person singular form of the auxiliary verb *have* in the present tense and the past participle of the main verb *be*, that combined form the present perfect. In Present-Day English, the auxiliary verb *have* serves the grammatical function of indicating the perfect aspect through forming the past perfect, present perfect and future perfect. Meanwhile, the main verb *be* is practically empty of semantic content, evident by the fact that it appears in a variety of functions. It can, for example, be used as a copula as in [10] where, as Bækken (2006:34) puts it, the verb "has very little, if any, lexical meaning, and functions basically as some sort of equals sign between the subject and the subject predicative[31]":

[10] "I am ugly," she tells her mother, who tries to assure Mary that [SUBJ: she] <u>is</u> [SP: beautiful].

(NEWS: Cleveland.com 2017)

By contrast, the noun *has-been* denotes 'a person or thing whose best days are over; *esp.* a person who was once famous, important, or successful, and is so no longer' and 'that which has happened; (an event of) the past; (in *plural*) old times' (OED 2018 s.v. *has-been, n.*). Essentially, only the idea of completeness of an action associated with the

---

[31] This term is abbreviated to *SP* in the example.

perfect aspect in the source has been carried over to the noun during reanalysis. This thus reinforces the impression that the noun *has-been* is a product of lexicalization.

5.2 Lexicalization versus conversion

In separating between lexicalization and conversion it was explained in section 2.5.2 that Brinton and Traugott (2005) believe that items that lexicalize have an unpredictable meaning, while ones that convert have a meaning which is predictable when interpreted in connection to their source. As pointed out in sections 4.1 and 4.2, respectively, the nouns *must* and *must-have* derive from the modal auxiliary verb *must* that has an epistemic and deontic modality. It expresses epistemic certainty as in [11] and deontic obligation in [12] and advice in [13]

[11] Don't you suppose it <u>must</u> be easy to fasten on a thing like that and make it what you want?

(FIC: Southwest Review 2005)

[12] You <u>must</u> stay here.

(FIC: Literary Review 2015)

[13] "I think you <u>must</u> stay up all night solving equations, eh, Hemi? "

(FIC: City of the dead :a seven wonders novel 2009)

It is unclear why the nouns *must* and *must-have* should specifically be used to signal advice and none of the other senses of their source. In sections 4.3 and 5.1, on the other hand, it was stated that the noun *has-been* has only adopted the perfect aspect present in its source; the noun has a much richer meaning. In other words, it is very unlikely that an individual encountering clauses such as [14–16] would be able to completely deduce the meanings of the nouns without any prior knowledge of them:

[14] "Good camouflage is <u>an absolute must</u>, because you will be on eye level with deer," says Borowiak.

(MAG: Field & Stream 2011)

[15] A social networking service (SNS), where you can share your lifestyle with others and communicate with each other in real time, is <u>a must-have personal item</u> in the 21st century.

(MAG: Huffington Post 2017)

[16] Even as Korean tech giant Samsung turns Sony into <u>a has-been</u>, Japan's erstwhile colony is also beating it in the pop culture sphere:
(NEWS: Christian Science Monitor 2012)

Due to the arguments presented, it seems that lexicalization is the most appropriate choice of classification for the nouns *must*, *must-have* and *has-been*.

In respect to the noun *wannabe*, it was posited in section 4.5 that its meaning is directly reflected in that of the quasi-modal auxiliary *want to* and the main verb *be*. This means that an individual exposed to a clause such as [17] would most probably understand the noun by drawing on their knowledge of its source:

[17] Born Blue has added a new word to my vocabulary - wigga - a white boy or girl who is <u>a black wannabe</u> - the opposite, I suppose, of an Oreo.
(NEWS: Houston Chronicle 2003)

Instead of lexicalization, therefore, it appears that conversion is the most suitable alternative of categorization for the noun *wannabe*.

It was mentioned in section 5.1 that the noun *wannabe* did not exhibit all the features typical of nouns in Present-Day English examined in this thesis to the degree it would be expected when it first emerged. It never appeared, for example, preceded by the possessive pronoun *your* and though it was modified by a noun, adjective or quantifier in attributive position it happened relatively rarely. The findings in this thesis thus open up the question whether a product of conversion is expected to instantaneously settle into its new word class or not. Within the literature pertaining to conversion, a distinction is often made between *full conversion* and *partial conversion*. The difference between these categories lies in that the former process involves an item "adopt[ing] all the formal characteristics, (inflection, etc.) of the part of speech it has been made into" while the latter process that it shows characteristics associated with both its source and target word class (Sweets 1891:39). For the reasons just mentioned, the noun *wannabe* cannot be an instance of full conversion. At the same time, since it is not displaying behavior traditionally associated with quasi-modal auxiliary or main verbs, e.g. the potential to indicate tense or mood and be inflected for person, it cannot be a case of partial conversion either. In turn, this means that there seems to be an aspect of conversion which is presently unexplored and deserving of further research.

5.3 Summary

In this chapter it has been argued that the nouns *must, must-have* and *has-been* should be classified as products of lexicalization, while the noun *wannabe* an instance of conversion. Even though the nouns investigated show signs of gradually settling into their new word class they instantly start appearing as nouns after being reanalyzed; there are no indications or mentions in the literature of their sources no longer displaying behavior characteristic of their word class before becoming nouns. Following Norde (2002, 2009) and Haspelmath (2004), this is a strong signal that the nouns examined are results of lexicalization rather than degrammaticalization. Aside from the noun *must,* furthermore, the nouns treated have experienced fusion. This is evident in that they can be spelled in a variety of ways, i.e. as separate words, with a hyphen and as one word. Lastly, the noun *has-been* has acquired a new meaning that cannot be found in its source. Based on the views of Lehmann (2002) and Wischer (2000) respectively, these are other arguments in favor of the nouns *must-have*, *has-been* and *wannabe* being cases of lexicalization. In terms of meaning, the nouns *must. must-have* and *has-been* were interpreted to have unpredictable meanings. According to Brinton and Traugott (2005), this further infers that the three former nouns are results of lexicalization. By contrast, the noun *wannabe* is considered to have a predictable meaning. It should therefore be viewed as an instance of conversion instead.

6. Conclusion

Linguists generally agree that when items start or continue to acquire grammatical characteristics, they are undergoing grammaticalization. Meanwhile, there is little consensus surrounding the treatment of items that appear to be developing a more lexical behavior; they are variably categorized as products of degrammaticalization, lexicalization or conversion. In this thesis, my aim was to discover which of these processes the nouns *must, must-have*, *has-been*, *have-been* and *wannabe* are results of. In order to find the answer it proved important to clearly delineate and establish criteria that could be used to differentiate degrammaticalization, lexicalization and conversion. As such, the research questions I asked were:

[RQ1] Is it possible to establish a taxonomy for degrammaticalization, lexicalization and conversion that clearly separates them as processes?

[RQ2] Which characteristics are used to argue that the nouns are results of degrammaticalization, lexicalization or conversion?

[RQ3] Should the nouns *must, must-have, has-been, have-been* and *wannabe* be classified as instances of degrammaticalization, lexicalization or conversion?

In addressing these research questions, I used literature published about the phenomena, as well as data I collected from COHA and COCA.

In regard to the first research question, I originally found it quite difficult to distinguish degrammaticalization, lexicalization and conversion since linguists often use the terms in different ways. The main issue was that lexicalization is often treated as a synonym and hyponym of degrammaticalization and a hypernym of conversion. By operating with narrow definitions of and, more importantly, emphasizing the differences between the three phenomena, however, I managed to create a taxonomy that somewhat satisfactorily separates them.

In respect to the second and third research questions, it initially seemed like it would be quite simple to determine which processes the nouns examined were instances of because the literature yielded clear criteria that could be used for this purpose. In working with the data collected of the nouns investigated, nonetheless, it became apparent that they all exhibit traits typical of items that have lexicalized to varying degrees; they

seem to have developed into nouns instantaneously from their sources and, where possible, undergone fusion. Meanwhile, only the noun *has-been* has obtained a new meaning not traceable in its source. Unlike the other nouns examined, however, I found that the noun *wannabe* had a predictable meaning, which is a feature typical of items that have converted. This led me to argue that the nouns *must, must-have* and *has-been* (including most likely the noun *have-been*) are results of lexicalization, while the noun *wannabe* a product of conversion.

6.1 Shortcomings

Admittedly, there are certain aspects to this thesis that if improved would have increased the validity and strength of my arguments. Both in chapter 1 and 2, it was stated that degrammaticalization, lexicalization and conversion, for instance, have not received extensive interest in academia until in more recent years. Still, the most pressing issue regarding this thesis relates to the statements I made about the nouns examined not having experienced any intermediate stages of development from their source before becoming nouns. These claims were mainly founded on there not being any mentions of such events in the literature, not specific observations I made in the collected data, since the tags I searched for were intended to capture the nouns and their behavior.

6.2 Further research

I proposed in section 5.2 that it might of interest to study whether items that undergo conversion gradually acquire the characteristics of their new word class, as findings in connection to the noun *wannabe* in this thesis suggest that they do. Since I chose to use the corpora COHA and COCA that represent American English in the data collection, another aspect that may be worth examining is the status of the nouns treated in other varieties of English. This can be extended to include Norwegian, in which it is not uncommon to encounter the nouns investigated as loan words, e.g. "Det er et skikkelig must å opp Fløyen når man bor i Bergen" and "Herlighet, hun der er en skikkelig wannabe", among the younger generations.

Appendix A: Table of Words per Decade in COHA

Decade	Number of words
1810-1819	1181205
1820-1829	6927173
1830-1839	13774588
1840-1849	16048393
1850-1859	16471649
1860-1869	17054872
1870-1879	18562265
1880-1889	20315965
1890-1899	20600843
1900-1909	22097593
1910-1919	22700638
1920-1929	25653746
1930-1939	24602615
1940-1949	24347955
1950-1959	24544831
1960-1969	23977232
1970-1979	23815191
1980-1989	25315978
1990-1999	27941535

References

Aarts, B. (2011) *Oxford modern English grammar*. New York: Oxford University Press.

APS NEWS (2006) *This month in physics history: June, ca.240 B.C. Eratosthenes measures the earth* [Internet]. Available from: <https://www.aps.org/publications/apsnews/200606/history.cfm> [Read: 31.08.2018].

Baker, P. S. (2012) *Introduction to Old English*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Bakken, K. (2006) Lexicalization. *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics.* pp.106–8.

Bauer, L. (1988) *Introducing linguistic morphology*. Washington D.C: Georgetown University Press.

Bauer, L. & Valera, S. (2005) Conversion or zero-derivation: an introduction. In: Bauer, L. & Valera, S. eds. *Approaches to conversion/zero-derivation.* Münster: Waxmann Publishing Co, pp.7–17.

Benitez-Burraco, A. (2017) Grammaticalization and language evolution: focusing the debate. *Language Sciences,* vol.63, September, pp.60–68.

Bergs, A. & Brinton, L. (2012) *English historical linguistics; an international handbook vol.2.* Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (2010) *Beón* [Internet]. Charles University in Prague. Available from: <http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/003713> [Read: 02.08.2018].

Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (2010) *Habban* [Internet]. Charles University in Prague. Available from: <http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/017802> [Read: 02.08.2018].

Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (2010) *Mótan* [Internet]. Charles University in Prague. Available from: <http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/023193> [Read: 03.08.2018].

Brinton, L. (2012) "The ghost of old morphology": Lexicalization or (de)grammaticalization? In: Davidse, K., Breban, T., Brems, L. & Mortelmans, T. eds. *Grammaticalization and language change: new reflections.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.135–166.

Brinton, L. & Traugott, E. C. (2005) *Lexicalization and language change.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bækken, B. (2006) *English grammar: an introduction for students of English as a foreign language.* Bergen: Fagbokforlaget Vigmostad & Bjørke AS.

Carlotta, V. (2015) On degrammaticalization: controversial points and possible explanations. *Folia linguistica*, vol.49, pp.381–419.

Corpus of Contemporary American English (2018) *Overview* [Internet]. Available from: <https://corpus.byu.edu/coca/> [Read: 01.08.2018].

Corpus of Historical American English (2018a) *Overview* [Internet]. Available from: <https://corpus.byu.edu/coha/ >. [Read: 01.08.2018].

Corpus of Historical American English (2018b) *Table of words per decade in COHA* [Internet]. Available from: <https://www.ngrams.info/COHAdecadeSize.txt>. [Read: 13.09.2018].

Davies, M. (2008–) *Corpus of Contemporary American English* [Internet]. Available from: <https://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>.

Davies, M. (2010–) *Corpus of Historical American English* [Internet]. Available from: <https://corpus.byu.edu/coha/>.

Diewald, G. (2010) On some problem areas in grammaticalization studies. In: Stathi, K., Gehweiler, E. & König, E. eds. *Grammaticalization: current views and issues.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.17–50.

Don, J. (2005) On conversion, relisting and zero-derivation. *SKASE Journal for Theoretical Linguistics*, vol.2, pp.2–16.

Dypedahl, M., Hasselgård, H. & Løken, B. (2006) *Introducing English grammar.* Bergen: Fagbokforlaget Vigmostad & Bjørke AS.

Genius (2018) *Wannabe - Spice Girls* [Internet]. Genius Media Group Inc. Available from: <https://genius.com/Spice-girls-wannabe-lyrics> [Read: 17.09.2018].

Haspelmath, M. (2004) On directionality in language change with particular reference to grammaticalization. In: Fischer, O., Norde, M. & Perridon, H. eds. *Up and down the cline - the nature of grammaticalization.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.17–44.

Heine, B. (1993) *Auxiliaries: cognitive forces and grammaticalization.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hopper, P. J. (1994) Phonogenesis. In: Pagliuca, W. eds. *Perspectives on grammaticalization.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.29–45.

Hopper, P. J. & Traugott, E. C. (2003) *Grammaticalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Huddleston, R. & Pullum, G. K. (2005) *A Student's introduction to English grammar.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Inchaurralde, C. (2005) Lexicalization. In: Strasny, P. ed. *Routledge Encyclopedia of Linguistics.* London: Taylor & Francis Books Inc.

Joseph, B. D. (2004) Rescuing traditional (historical) linguistics from grammaticalization theory. In: Fischer, O., Norde, M. & Perridon, H. eds. *Up and down the cline - the nature of grammaticalization.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.45–71.

Kastovsky, D. (2005) Conversion and/or zero: word-formation theory, historical linguistics, and typology. In: Bauer, L. & Valera, S. eds. *Approaches to conversion/zero-derivation.* Münster: Waxmann Publishing Co, pp.31–49.

Krug, M. G. (2000) *Emerging English modals: a corpus-based study of grammaticalization.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Krug, M. (2011) Auxiliaries and grammaticalization. In: Heine, B. & Narrog, H. eds. *The Oxford handbook of grammaticalization.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.1–17.

Kuryłowicz, J. (1965) The evolution of grammatical categories. *SAGE journals*, vol.13, issue 51, September, pp.55–71.

Kuteva, T. (2001) *Auxiliation: an enquiry into the nature of grammaticalization.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Lamiroy, B. & Drobnjaković, A. (2014) Auxiliaries and grammaticalization: a case study of Germanic and Slavonic languages. In: Rossari, C., Ricci, C. & Spiridon, A. eds. *Grammaticalization and pragmatics: facts, approaches, theoretical issues.* Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Company, pp.19–33.

Lehmann, C. (2002) New reflections on grammaticalization and lexicalization. In: Wischer, I. & Diewald, G. eds. *New reflections on grammaticalization.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.1–18.

Lehmann, C. (2004) Theory and method in grammaticalization. *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik*, vol.32, issue 2, pp.152–87.

Lehmann, C. (2015) *Thoughts on grammaticalization*. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Manova, S. & Dressler, W, U. (2005) The morphological technique of conversion in the inflecting-fusional type. In: Bauer, L. & Valera, S. eds. *Approaches to conversion/zero-derivation.* Münster: Waxmann Publishing Co, pp.67–101.

Matthews, P. H. (2007) Phonologization, in: *The consise Oxford dictionary of linguistics* [Internet]. Oxford University Press. Available from: <http://www.oxfordreference.com.pva.uib.no/view/10.1093/acref/97801992027 20.001.0001/acref-9780199202720-e-2544> [Read: 16.04.2018].

Mela-Athanasopoulou, E. (2009) Conversion: a typological and functional analysis of the morphophonological structure of zero-derivation in English word formation. *Selected papers on theoretical and applied linguistics*, vol.18, pp.273–280.

Narrog, H. & Heine, B. (2017) Grammaticalization. In: Ledgeway, A. & Roberts, I. eds. *The Cambridge handbook of historical syntax.* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, pp.7–27.

Neef, M. (2005) On some alleged constraints on conversion. In: Bauer, L. & Valera, S. eds. *Approaches to conversion/zero-derivation.* Münster: Waxmann Publishing Co, pp.103–30.

Norde, M. (2002) The final stages of grammaticalization: affixhood and beyond. In: Wischer, I. & Diewald, G. eds. *New reflections on grammaticalization.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.45–65.

Norde, M. (2009) *Degrammaticalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Norde, M. (2010) *Degrammaticalization: three common controversies* [academic article]. The Netherlands: University of Groningen.

Online Etymology Dictionary. (2018) *Will* [Internet]. Douglas Harper. Available from: <https://www.etymonline.com/word/will> [Read: 14.02.2018].

Oxford English Dictionary (2018) *Be, v.* [Internet]. Oxford University Press. Available from: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/16441?rskey=7Xctb8&result=4&isAdvanced =false#eid > [Read: 02.08.2018].

Oxford English Dictionary (2018) *Has-been, n.* [Internet]. Oxford University Press. Available from: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/84443?redirectedFrom=has-been#eid> [Read: 02.08.2018].

Oxford English Dictionary (2018) *Have, v.* [Internet]. Oxford University Press. Available from: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/84705?rskey=kCocs2&result=2#eid> [Read: 02.08.2018].

Oxford English Dictionary (2018) *Have-been, n.* [Internet]. Oxford University Press. Available from: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/425923?redirectedFrom=have-been#eid> [Read: 02.08.2018].

Oxford English Dictionary (2018) *Must, n.[1]* [Internet]. Oxford University Press. Available from:

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/124222?rskey=ZmYAsd&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eidO> [Read: 03.08.2018].

Oxford English Dictionary (2018) *Must, n.³* [Internet]. Oxford University Press. Available from: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/124225?rskey=ZmYAsd&result=3&isAdvanced=false#eid> [Read: 03.08.2018].

Oxford English Dictionary (2018) *Must, v.¹* [Internet]. Oxford University Press. Available from: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/124229?rskey=XK0Wix&result=7&isAdvanced=false#eid> [Read: 03.08.2018].

Oxford English Dictionary (2018) *Must-have, n.* [Internet]. Oxford University Press. Available from: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/225510#eid15311850> [Read: 04.08.2018].

Oxford English Dictionary (2018) *Wanna, v.¹* [Internet]. Oxford University Press. Available from: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/243393?redirectedFrom=wannabe#eid> [Read: 04.08.2018].

Oxford English Dictionary (2018) *Wannabe, n.* [Internet]. Oxford University Press. Available from: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/243393?redirectedFrom=wannabe#eid> [Read: 04.08.2018].

Oxford English Dictionary (2018) *Want, v.* [Internet]. Oxford University Press. Available from: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/225527#eid15316354> [Read: 04.08.2018].

Oxford English Dictionary (2018) *Wanta, v.* [Internet]. Oxford University Press. Available from: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/225529#eid15316907> [Read: 04.08.2018].

Oxford Dictionaries (2018) *When adjectives become verbs* [Internet]. Oxford University Press. Available from: <https://blog.oxforddictionaries.com/2013/11/14/whats-wrong-with-this-verb/> [Read: 03.04.2018].

Oxford Living Dictionaries (2018a) *Verbs from nouns* [Internet]. Oxford University Press. Available from: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/grammar/verbs-from-nouns> [Read: 03.04.2018].

Oxford Living Dictionaries (2018b) *Verb tenses* [Internet]. Oxford University Press. Available from: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/grammar/verb-tenses#perfect> [Read: 07.11.2018].

Palmer, F. R. (1986) *Mood and modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Plag, I. (2003) *Word-formation in English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. & Svartvik, J. (1985) *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. England: Longman Group Limited.

Ramat, P. (1992) Thoughts on degrammaticalization. *Linguistics*, 30 (3), pp.549–60.

Schönefeld, D. (2005) Zero-derivation - functional change - metonymy. In: Bauer, L. & Valera, S. eds. *Approaches to conversion/zero-derivation*. Münster: Waxmann Publishing Co, pp.131–57.

Stathi, K., Gehweiler, E. & König, E. (2010) Introduction. In: Stathi, K., Gehweiler, E. & König, E. eds. *Grammaticalization: current views and issues*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.1–13.

Sweets, H. (1891) *A new English grammar: logical and historical*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Traugott, E. C. (2001) Legitimate counterexamples to unidirectionality. Available from: <https://web.stanford.edu/~traugott/papers/Freiburg.Unidirect.pdf > [Read: 14.09.2017].

Traugott, E. C. (2002) From etymology to historical pragmatics. In: Minkova, D. & Stockwell, R. P. eds. *Studies in the history of the English language: a millemnial perspective.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp.19–49.

van der Auwera, J. (2002) More thoughts on degrammaticalization. In: Wischer, I. & Diewald, G. eds. *New reflections on grammaticalization.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.19–29.

Willis, D. (2010) Degrammaticalization and obsolescent morphology. In: Stathi, K.,Gehweiler, E. & König, E. eds. *Grammaticalization: current views and issues.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.151–77.

Willis, D. (2017) Degrammaticalization. In: Ledgeway, A. & Roberts, I. eds. *The Cambridge handbook of historical syntax.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.28–48.

Wischer, I. (2000) Grammaticalization versus lexicalization: *'Methinks'* there is some confusion. In: Fischer, O., Rosenbach, A. & Stein, D. eds. *Pathways of change: grammaticalization in English.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.355–70.