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a constructional approach”

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Declaration of Authenticity

I confirm to have conceived and written this Diploma Thesis in English all by myself. Quotations from other authors are all clearly marked and acknowledged in the bibliographical references, either in the footnotes or within the text. Any ideas borrowed and/or passages paraphrased from the works of other authors are truthfully acknowledged and identified in the footnotes.

Signature

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Table of Contents

LIST OF TABLES	I
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND FOUNDATIONS.....	4
2.1. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON INTENSIFIERS AND THE PHENOMENON OF INTENSIFICATION	4
2.2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON GRAMMATICALIZATION.....	8
2.3. ALTERNATIVE MODEL: GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTIONALIZATION AND CONSTRUCTIONAL CHANGE.....	16
2.3.1. Schematicity, Productivity and Compositionality.....	18
2.3.2. Grammatical Constructionalization vs. Constructional Changes.....	21
3. EMPIRICAL STUDY	21
3.1. HYPOTHESES	22
3.2. DATA	23
3.3. METHODOLOGY.....	26
3.3.1. Collostructional Analysis.....	26
3.3.2. Variability-based Neighbor Clustering (VNC)	35
4. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF RESULTS.....	38
4.1. THE INTENSIFIER <i>DAMN</i>	38
4.1.1. Expansion of Syntactic Range.....	39
4.1.2. Expansion of Collocational Range.....	42
4.1.3. Discussion of Results	58
4.2. THE INTENSIFIER <i>FUCKING</i>	62
4.2.1. Expansion of Syntactic Range.....	63
4.2.2. Expansion of Collocational Range.....	65
4.2.3. Discussion of Results	79
5. DISCUSSION	84
6. CONCLUSION	92
7. REFERENCES	94

List of Tables

Table 1	Lehmann's Grammaticalization as reduction model (based on Lehmann 1995: 164 referred to in Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 101)	10
Table 2	Occurrences of <i>damn</i> in the COHA (1810-2000)	11
Table 3	Occurrences of <i>fuck</i> in the COHA (1930-2000).....	12
Table 4	Input for a Collexeme Analysis of <i>shall</i> and <i>consider</i> (Hilpert 2008: 37).....	28
Table 5	Top 10 verbs with <i>will</i> and <i>be going to</i> (Hilpert 2008: 39).....	29
Table 6	Top 15 distinctive collexemes of <i>will</i> and <i>be going to</i> (Hilpert 2008: 41).....	30
Table 7	Top 10 verbs with <i>shall</i> over three periods of time (Hilpert 2008: 43).....	31
Table 8	Top 15 distinctive collexemes of <i>shall</i> over three periods of time (Hilpert 2008: 44).....	32
Table 9	Calculations of a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis of <i>fucking</i> as an intensifier without syntactic right hand collocate restriction	33
Table 10	Per million word frequency of <i>damn</i> as an intensifier over different periods of time	36
Table 11	VNC periods for <i>damn</i> as intensifier without syntactic right hand collocate restriction.....	37
Table 12	VNC periods for <i>fucking</i> as intensifier without syntactic right hand collocate restriction.....	37
Table 13	VNC periods for <i>damn</i> as intensifier with first right hand noun collocates.....	37
Table 14	VNC periods for <i>fucking</i> as intensifier with first right hand noun collocates.....	38
Table 15	VNC periods for <i>damn</i> as intensifier with first right hand predicative adjective collocates (not being a noun pre-modifier)	38
Table 16	VNC periods for <i>fucking</i> as intensifier with first right hand predicative adjective collocates (not being a noun pre-modifier)	38
Table 17	Raw frequencies for <i>damn</i> as intensifier without syntactic right hand collocate restrictions	39
Table 18	Collostructional Strength of non-restricted syntactic right hand collocates of <i>damn</i> as intensifier	40
Table 19	Raw frequencies for <i>damn</i> as intensifier with top right hand noun collocates.....	43
Table 20	Collostructional Strength of top right hand noun collocates of <i>damn</i> as intensifier.....	44
Table 21	Collostructional Strength of most repelled right hand noun collocates of <i>damn</i> as intensifier.....	46
Table 22	Total amount of noun collexemes of the intensifier <i>damn</i> with positive Collostructional Strength values	48
Table 23	Raw frequencies for <i>damn</i> as intensifier with top right hand predicative adjective collocates	50
Table 24.a	Collostructional Strength of top right hand predicative adjective collocates of <i>damn</i> as intensifier.....	51
Table 24.b	Collostructional Strength of top right hand predicative adjective collocates of <i>damn</i> as intensifier.....	52

Table 25.a	Collostructional Strength of most repelled right hand predicative adjective collocates of <i>damn</i> as intensifier	54
Table 25.b	Collostructional Strength of most repelled right hand predicative adjective collocates of <i>damn</i> as intensifier.....	54
Table 26	Total amount of predicative adjective collexemes of the intensifier <i>damn</i> with positive Collostructional Strength values.....	58
Table 27	Raw frequencies for <i>fucking</i> as intensifier without syntactic right hand collocate restrictions	63
Table 28	Collostructional Strength of non-restricted syntactic right hand collocates of <i>fucking</i> as intensifier.....	64
Table 29	Raw frequencies for <i>fucking</i> as intensifier with top right hand noun collocates...	66
Table 30	Collostructional Strength of top right hand noun collocates of <i>fucking</i> as intensifier.....	67
Table 31	Collostructional Strength of most repelled right hand noun collocates of <i>fucking</i> as intensifier.....	69
Table 32	Total amount of noun collexemes of the intensifier <i>fucking</i> with positive Collostructional Strength values	72
Table 33	Raw frequencies for <i>fucking</i> as intensifier with top right hand predicative adjective collocates.....	73
Table 34	Collostructional Strength of top right hand predicative adjective collocates of <i>fucking</i> as intensifier.....	74
Table 35	Collostructional Strength of most repelled right hand predicative adjective collocates of <i>damn</i> as intensifier	76
Table 36	Total amount of predicative adjective collexemes of the intensifier <i>fucking</i> with positive Collostructional Strength values.....	79

1. Introduction

In today's society, it seems to become of ever increasing importance to gain other speakers' attention and make other communicators believe in what a person says. While there are of course numerous means to achieve exactly that, one particular, almost unavoidable, strategy is the phenomenon of intensification. Partington (1993: 178) describes the phenomenon of intensification as "a direct indication of a speaker's desire to use and exploit the expression of hyperbole. In other words, s/he tells the listener that what is being said is sincerely vouched for."

As can be realized in nowadays' everyday language, there are numerous ways of achieving intensification. There has been a considerable amount of studies dealing with the phenomenon of intensification (Stoffel 1902, Bolinger 1972, Quirk *et al.* 1985, Partington 1993, Tagliamonte and Ito 2003, Mendez-Naya 2003, Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005, Macaulay 2006, Gonzalez-Diaz 2007, Ohashi 2006, 2007, Paradis 2008, Calle-Martin 2014). While some of these studies function as a general depiction of intensifier use, several deal with comparing particular intensifiers with others and aim at examining which intensifiers are most frequently used in a certain time period in the development of the English language. When analyzing these comparative studies, it can be concluded that many studies reveal different results of which intensifier being of particular popularity at a given time depending on the time period, different factors, such as context, age, gender or communication partners. This implies that intensification patterns vary substantially and rapidly, and are not easily predictable. Thus, most studies examining intensifier use, adapt approaches towards the change of intensifiers from a diachronic point of view. In the majority of these studies, this approach towards language change is one or another model of Grammaticalization. While most studies at research focus on popular intensifiers, such as *so*, *very*, *too*, *totally*, *extremely* or *completely*, one particular group of intensifiers which is nowadays encountered in almost every informal conversation has not been researched extensively yet. This group of intensifiers, so-called taboo intensifiers, appear to have just come into emergence a few centuries or even decades ago as "the actual mechanisms used to intensify are subject to rapid change over time" (Partington 1993: 180). Lorenz (2002: 143) approves of what Bolinger (1982: 18) describes as intensifiers being a field of "fevered invention and competition" by claiming that "the more 'novel' or 'unusual' a linguistic item in a given function, the more expressive it will be perceived to be".

This fact and the concomitant of a modern society where the main credo seemingly often is “*citius, altius, fortius*” (Müller 2008: 1) – the Latin version of the Olympic Games’ motto *faster, higher, stronger* first stated by Henri Didon – have led to a drastic upsurge for the use of taboo intensifiers recently. However, these taboo intensifiers, as already implied by their name, have not yet been extensively studied scientifically. Although there have been a few studies dealing with taboo intensification in more detail (Napoli and Hoeksema 2008, 2009, Wittouck 2011, Palacios Martínez and Núñez Pertejo 2012), these do not take a diachronic stance on language change, but mostly present data synchronically.

Therefore, this thesis presents an innovative contribution towards the phenomenon of intensification as it focuses on one of the most popular group of intensifiers, taboo intensifiers, being approached from a language change point of view. The main aim of this thesis is to show in which ways two of the most popular taboo intensifiers, *damn* and *fucking*, have come into existence and how they have gradually changed over time. Therefore, a diachronic corpus approach will be applied. Hence, this thesis will adapt a stance on language change, which Traugott and Trousdale (2013) developed out of various Grammaticalization approaches and defined as Grammatical Constructionalization and Constructional Change. It merges features of the two major approaches to Grammaticalization, Grammaticalization as Reduction and Grammaticalization as Expansion to provide a more holistic stance on Grammaticalization. In their attempt to define the English language applying a constructionist approach towards language, the main focus of language change lies on the collocational expansion of a given construction as the given collocational behavior serves as the main instrument of analyzing processes within Traugott and Trousdale’s (2013) approach. Collocational patterns are examined by using a method defined as Collostructional Analysis, originally developed by Stefanowitsch and Gries (2003, 2005) and Gries and Stefanowitsch (2004a, 2004b). Kemmer and Hilpert (2005) and Hilpert (2006) then extended this method and adapted it in order to apply it to historical corpus data.

In Section 2, the underlying theoretical foundations for this thesis are provided. Thus, Section 2.1 elaborates on the topic of intensification by introducing various functions that intensifiers are able to perform in the English language. Section 2.2 then displays current approaches towards Grammaticalization and adverts to difficulties of examining the Grammaticalization process of taboo intensifiers. In Section 2.3, an alternative approach towards Grammaticalization, defined by Traugott and Trousdale (2013) as Grammatical Constructionalization and Constructional Change is introduced.

Section then outlines the empirical analysis which was set up for this thesis. Section 3.1 introduces the underlying motivations and the proposed hypotheses for this study. In Section 3.2, the used corpus and the data set are presented. The methods which eventually produce results to test the proposed hypotheses are introduced in Section 3.3.

After having introduced the empirical study, Section 4 describes the results yielded by the research. In order to make the results easily accessible, this section is subdivided into two sections, each dealing with one intensifier at a time. Thus, Section 4.1 evaluates the results for the intensifier *damn*, whereas Section 4.2 elaborates on the intensifier *fucking*.

Finally, Section 5 presents a discussion where the proposed hypotheses are revisited and limitations of the study are elaborated. The main findings and conclusions of this work are then summarized in Section 6.

2. Theoretical Background and Foundations

This section provides the underlying theoretical foundations for this thesis. Section 2.1 elaborates on the intensification phenomenon in general by introducing different intensifier functions in the English language. This is necessary to be able to analyze which intensifier functions both intensifiers at hand are able to perform. Current discussion on approaches towards Grammaticalization are displayed in Section 2.2. As analyzing taboo intensifiers based on Grammaticalization may lead to difficulties, Section 2.3 introduces an alternative approach towards Grammaticalization, defined by Traugott and Trousdale (2013) as Grammatical Constructionalization and Constructional Change.

2.1. Previous Research on Intensifiers and the Phenomenon of Intensification

As mentioned in the introduction, this thesis aims at analyzing two particular taboo intensifiers, *fucking* and *damn*. Both taboo intensifiers are unique as they function in a wide range of ways and show an extensive repertoire of collocates nowadays. In order to understand in which functions taboo intensifiers can occur, four approaches to intensifiers are outlined shortly in the following.

To begin with, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 589) describe intensifiers as indicating “a point on an abstractly conceived intensity scale; and the point indicated may be relatively low or relatively high”. Therefore, intensifiers cannot merely function as Amplifying Modifiers as often conceived in the vernacular, but serve other functions on a given intensity scale, such as functioning as a Moderator, as well. Over the last century, we have encountered various approaches towards defining elements which achieve modification of other elements within the English language. One of the first researchers to stress a semantic difference between Intensives and Down-toners was Stoffel (1901). In his work on Adjectival Modifiers, Stoffel (1901: 129) defines Intensive Adverbs as expressing a high or very high degree of the modified adjective, while Down-toning Adverbs express just “a moderate, slight, or just perceptible degree of a quality” of the modified adjective.

In 1972, Bolinger published a more sophisticated view on what he denotes as Degree Words. In his approach, the scale of degree words is of utmost importance. Thus, Bolinger (1972: 17) postulates a categorization of four the following different categories which he already names intensifiers:

- [illegible]

Quirk *et al.* (1985: 445) provide a similar categorization, in which they generally divide intensifiers occurring in constructions with gradable adjectives into Amplifiers and Downtoners. While amplifiers are described as “scal[ing] upwards from an assumed norm, *eg* [sic] ‘a very funny film’, as compared with ‘a funny film’” [original emphasis], downtoners “have a generally lowering effect, usually scaling downwards from an assumed norm, *eg* [sic] ‘It was *almost* dark’, as compared with ‘It was dark’” [original emphasis] (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 445). In a more detailed subcategorization, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 589-590) differentiate between:

- Amplifiers:
- Maximizers (e.g. *completely*)
 - Boosters (e.g. *very much*)
- Downtoners:
- Approximators (e.g. *almost*)
 - Compromisers (e.g. *more or less*)
 - Diminishers (e.g. *partly*)
 - Minimizers (e.g. *hardly*)

Although Quirk *et al.* (1985: 590-602) draw this distinction particularly when describing the intensification of verbs, this assumption can generally be applied to the intensification of adjectives as well. Considering Amplifiers, they postulate that Maximizers can indicate the upper end of the scale of a modified element, while Boosters indicate a high degree on this scale, but not the upper extreme itself (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 590-591). Downtoners – subdivided into Approximators, Compromisers, Diminishers and Minimizers – indicate a lowering effect on the validity of the modified element (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 597). Approximators indicate an approximation towards the modified element without entirely reaching the entire force of the modified element. Compromisers, in contrast, have a stronger lowering effect than approximators and challenge the appropriateness of the modified element. Diminishers scale

near the lower end “and roughly mean ‘to a small extent’ [while Minimizers] are negative maximizers” (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 597).

Paradis (2008: 321) established a slightly different model of intensifiers, referring to them as Degree Modifiers. While the motivation of the categorizations postulated in Stoffel (1901), Bolinger (1972) and Quirk *et al.* (1985) seems to be a possible measurement of one and the same element on a particular scale, Paradis’ main differentiation is the modified element’s boundedness. Paradis basically differentiates between totality modifiers and scalar modifiers. In more detail:

- Totality modifiers: - Maximizers (e.g. *absolutely* or *completely*)
 - Approximators (e.g. *almost* or *nearly*)
- Scalar modifiers: - Boosters (e.g. *extremely* or *highly*)
 - Moderators (e.g. *fairly* or *pretty*)
 - Diminishers (e.g. *a bit* or *a little*)

Paradis (2008: 321) further outlines that “Totality modifiers are associated with a definite BOUNDARY and [S]calar modifiers are UNBOUNDED, indicating a range of SCALE”. Maximizers, on the one hand, correlate with elements to form a perfect match of a boundary, e.g. *completely full*. Approximators, on the other hand, imply that an utterance – despite approximating a potential maximum – does not reach the upper end of the boundary entirely, e.g. *almost full*. Scalar modifiers are further subdivided into Boosters, Moderators and Diminishers. Boosters and Diminishers are to be understood in the same way as defined in Bolinger (1972) and Quirk *et al.* (1985), Moderators, although named differently, are equal to Bolinger’s (1972) category of compromisers.

Considering these four approaches towards the categorization of intensifiers, it already becomes evident that the two taboo intensifiers at hand, *damn* and *fucking*, function slightly differently from most other intensifiers and thus should be considered as a unique phenomenon. Most of the aforementioned intensifiers are restricted to one or another particular role. While *completely* can usually only function as a Maximizer, *a bit* almost always occurs in a Diminisher role and *extremely* almost exclusively appears as a Booster. A closer look at utterances in which *damn* and *fucking* might occur in intensifying functions reveals that both intensifiers under analysis are not as restricted as most other intensifiers, as will be illustrated in examples extracted from the Corpus of Historical American English

(COHA). First, *damn* and *fucking* can mostly be found functioning as Boosters in combination with gradable predicative adjectives, as in:

(1) I knew it' cause yer so damn ugly. (Davies 2010)

(2) That's fucking stupid. (Davies 2010)

Furthermore, both intensifiers are able to operate as Maximizers in combination with non-gradable predicative adjectives, as in:

(3) Even the sick ones are [...] damn alive, he thought. (Davies 2010)

(4) Otto is fucking dead! (Davies 2010)

Apart from that, the intensifiers *damn* and *fucking* might occur in combination with other intensifiers, what Napoli and Hoeksema (2009: 632) label “licensing of taboo terms by intensifiers”. Combined with other intensifiers, both taboo intensifiers – given that in (5) *damn* could easily be substituted by *fucking* and still make sense – can therefore possibly function as Diminishers (Paradis 2008) or Minimizers (Quirk *et al.* 1985), as in:

(5) They stood quiet, but they weren't liking what they smelled one damn bit. (Davies 2010)

Moreover, in combination with other intensifiers, both taboo intensifiers – again given that in (6) *damn* could be substituted by *fucking* and still be a correct sentence – can operate as Approximators, as in:

(6) [I]t had cost damn nearly as much as gold as well. (Davies 2010)

Damn and *fucking* can also occur in correlation with other intensifiers functioning as what Paradis (2008) identifies as Moderators, as in:

(7) I think that's pretty damn good. (Davies 2010)

In the above examples, the taboo intensifiers *damn* and *fucking* are predominantly modifying predicative adjectives. Most intensifiers do indeed prefer one particular word class to collocate with, as Partington (1993: 179) outlines: “a number of intensifiers are restricted to one or other of these roles; for example *very* only premodifies attributive and predicative adjectives and adverbs, while *very much* and *dearly* are found almost exclusively with verbs” [original emphasis]. Nevertheless, *damn* and *fucking* are unique as the diachronic COHA

reveals that they can also be found in constructions where they intensify attributive adjectives, predicative adjectives, adverbs, nouns and even verbs. This, however, will be explored in more detail in Sections 4.1.1 and 4.2.1. At this stage, the most important insight concerning the taboo intensifiers *damn* and *fucking* is that both are unique with regard to their function as unprecedented multifaceted intensifiers. They occur in a wide range of possible utterances which facilitate an enormous quantity of collocates, as collocational behavior will be the major instrument of analyzing diachronic changes of both intensifiers throughout this thesis.

2.2. Previous Research on Grammaticalization

As mentioned in the introduction, this thesis applies a Grammaticalization approach developed by Traugott and Trousdale (2013) which is termed Grammatical Constructionalization and Constructional Change. This approach merges features of both major approaches towards Grammaticalization, Grammaticalization as Reduction and Grammaticalization as Expansion. In order to understand why Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) approach is the most useful one for analyzing the constructions at hand, both models Grammaticalization as Reduction and Grammaticalization as Expansion will be outlined shortly. Both will then be tested to analyze the two taboo intensifiers at hand and it will be shown that neither suffices, which justifies an alternative approach.

Although the fundamental idea of the concept called Grammaticalization or Grammaticization (hereafter referred to as Grammaticalization) appears to be older, Antoine Meillet is held accountable for introducing the term Grammaticalization (Lehmann 2015: 1). Hopper (1991: 17) translates Meillet's (1912) original French definition as "the attribution of a grammatical character to a previously autonomous word". Over the last decades, there has been extensive research on Grammaticalization. From a diachronic perspective, which this thesis takes a stand on at a later stage, Lehmann (1985: 1) describes Grammaticalization as "a process which turns lexemes into grammatical formative VNCs and makes grammatical formatives still more grammatical" (Kurylowicz 1965:52 referred to in Lehmann 1985: 1).

Currently, there are two major research approaches towards Grammaticalization, although Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 32) advert to the risk of polarizing all research on Grammaticalization into two opposing approaches. One approach to Grammaticalization is referred to as "Grammaticalization as Reduction and Increased Dependency" and has been first developed by Lehmann (1985) (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 32, 100). In his article, Lehmann (1985) develops a model of Grammaticalization which is applicable to diachronic

data. In addition to his six initial synchronic parameters (Integrity, Paradigmaticity, Paradigmatic Variability, Structural Scope, Bondedness, Syntagmatic Variability), he defines six diachronic processes at the center of Grammaticalization. These are Attrition, Condensation, Paradigmaticization, Coalescence, Obligatorification and Fixation. Attrition is understood as a “process detracting from the integrity of a sign [...], the gradual loss of semantic phonological substance” (Lehmann 1985: 4). There are two forms of Attrition, which are Semantic Attrition (Desementicization) and Phonological Attrition (Erosion). The second process in Lehmann’s model is Paradigmaticization and is referred to as “the tendency for grammaticized forms to be arranged into paradigms” (Hopper 1991: 20). Lehmann’s Obligatorification is defined as the process where the whole category representing this paradigm is becoming progressively obligatory in the language. Condensation can be interpreted as the shrinking of the grammaticalized sign’s scope. In other words, “[t]he more a sign is grammaticalized, the less complex become the constituents with which it can combine” (Lehmann 1985: 4). Coalescence is an increase in bondedness. Thus, a grammaticalized sign only becomes meaningful when it occurs in the company of other elements. Lastly, Fixation is described as the loss of syntagmatic variability, defined as follows: “The grammatical sign tends to occupy a fixed syntactic, then a morphological position and becomes a slot filler” (Lehmann 1985: 5). Lehmann’s diachronic Grammaticalization model was later only marginally adapted by Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 101) as outlined in Table 1, which includes both the six synchronic parameters and six diachronic processes of Grammaticalization:

TABLE 3.2. Correlation of grammaticality parameters (based on Lehmann 1995: 164)			
Parameter	Weakly grammaticalized	Process	Strongly grammaticalized
(a) Integrity	Bundle of semantic features; possibly polysyllabic	Attrition	Few semantic features; few segments or monosegmental
(b) Paradigmaticity	Item participates loosely in semantic field	Paradigmatization	Small, tightly integrated paradigm
(c) Paradigmatic variability	Free choice of items acc. to communicative intentions	Obligatorification	Choice systematically constrained; use largely obligatory
(d) Structural scope	Item relates to constituent of arbitrary complexity	Condensation	Item modifies word or stem
(e) Bondedness	Item is independently juxtaposed	Coalescence	Item is affix or phonological feature of carrier
(f) Syntagmatic variability	Item can be shifted around freely	Fixation	Item occupies fixed slot

Table 1 Lehmann's Grammaticalization as reduction model (based on Lehmann 1995: 164 referred to in Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 101)

This model of Grammaticalization providing a diachronic point of view (Lehmann 1985) is now attempted to be applied to the example of the taboo intensifiers *damn* and *fucking*. It can be clearly observed that both introduced forms of Attrition, Desemanticization and Erosion, appear to have happened with both examples. The process of Desemanticization, or Semantic Bleaching as it is referred to in Hopper and Traugott (1994: 19-20) or Roberts (2010: 66) is explained by using data from *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) and additional COHA data. It is shown in the OED data that the intensifier *damn* has undergone a process of Semantic Bleaching:

- (8) 1385: It is no maysterye for a lord To dampne a man with-oute answere. (OED 2017: s.v. *damn*, v.)
- (9) 1635: A Councell, in which Image-worshippe was damned. (OED 2017: s.v. *damn*, v.)
- (10) 1819: I would not damn myself more than my stars Have done already. (Davies 2010)
- (11) 1823: He, in particular, has, almost while I held his hand in mine, sought to damn my reputation, secretly. (Davies 2010)

(12) 1970: The woods were full of all kinds of nuts who were proud of some damn thing or other, and they all had guns. (Davies 2010)

(13) 2001: Blige, then hung out close to the fireplace and had a damn good time for the left side of thirty minutes. (Davies 2010)

The word *damn* was initially used as a verb meaning *to condemn*. In examples (12) and (13), however, *damn* is neither functioning as verb anymore nor does it resemble any semantic properties of the verb *to condemn*, which is a clear instance of Semantic Bleaching.

Additionally, this argument of Semantic Bleaching shall be underlined by analyzing a frequency chart compiled with the help of COHA data in Table 2:

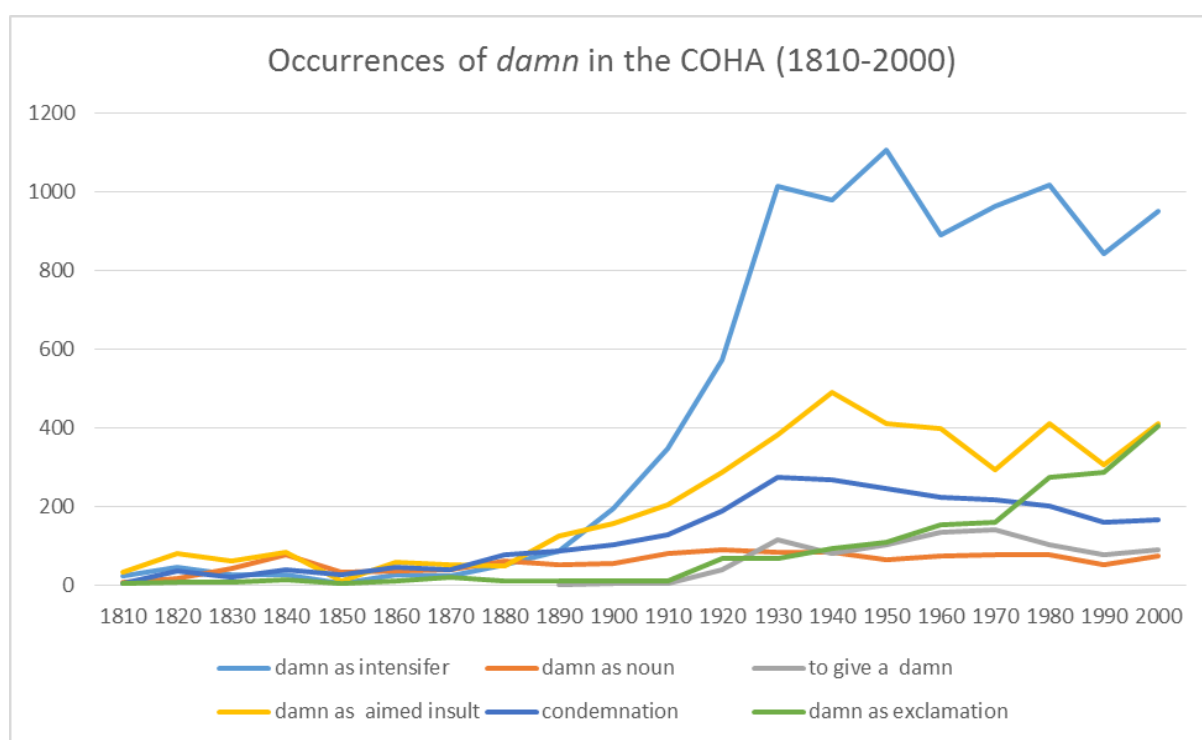


Table 2 Occurrences of *damn* in the COHA (1810-2000)

While *damn* has been and still is used in a wide range of different contexts, it can be clearly observed that since 1900 the most prominent use of *damn* has been as an intensifier. On the other hand, the original use of *damn* as an expression of condemnation has even slightly decreased over the last decades. In this sense, the argument that *damn* has lost some of its original semantic content of condemnation and has undergone Semantic Bleaching can be further supported. Nowadays, *damn* most frequently does not contain any semantic property of its original meaning of condemnation anymore, but most often merely serves as an

intensifier. Roberts (2010: 66) strongly supports this claim that grammaticalized items lose their descriptive content or their argument structure over time.

This process of Semantic Bleaching is akin to what can be observed at a closer look of the word *fucking*:

(14) 1680: Generally both Sexes fuck, and that so promiscuously as Incest is accounted no sin. (OED 2017: s.v. *fuck*, v.)

(15) 1809: Mr Taylor was fucking him behind (OED 2017: s.v. *fuck*, v.)

(16) 1967: Is she fuckin ' other people? (Davies 2010)

(17) 1995: The writing's on the fuckin ' bathroom wall. (Davies 2010)

(18) 2009: And it wasn't because I was a fucking beautiful woman (Davies 2010)

The word *fuck* initially was used as a verb meaning *to copulate*. Similar to what has been observed when analyzing the process of Semantic bleaching of *damn*, it is shown that while in examples (14), (15) and (16) forms of the word *fuck* resemble the meaning of copulation, in examples (17) and (18), *fuck* does not resemble any semantic properties of the verb *to copulate*. Therefore, *fuck* has been shown to have undergone a process of Semantic Bleaching.

Again, this argument of Semantic Bleaching is additionally supported by a frequency chart compiled with the help of COHA data in Table 3:

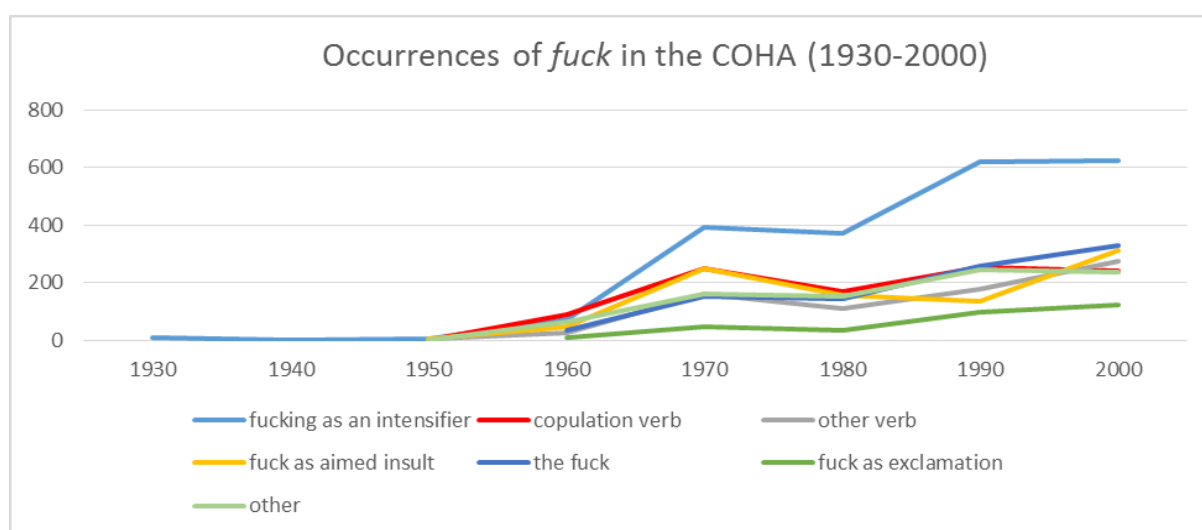


Table 3 Occurrences of *fuck* in the COHA (1930-2000)

Although this process of semantic bleaching cannot be identified as clearly as in the aforementioned example, there are still arguments which support this claim. Considering this chart, it might seem that *fucking* started out to appear as an intensifier and only afterwards developed into *fuck*, a verb of copulation. This, however, does not reflect the original historical development due to the reason that *fuck* has been and still is a rather strict taboo word and therefore has not appeared in the data gathered in the COHA for a rather long time. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED 2017: s.v. *fuck*, v.) reveals that, while early forms of *fuck* might already have appeared in 1513, the first definite use of this word is dated back in 1528 and initially implied having sexual intercourse. While the semantic range of *fuck* has increased drastically over the next centuries, the intensifying function of *fucking* has first been dated only in 1864 (OED 2017: s.v. *fucking*, adj. and adv.). Although this development is not entirely reflected in Table 3, it shows similar developments to Table 2. While there is a general increasing tendency in most of the categories, it needs to be outlined that, apart from functioning as a verb for copulation, all other categories do not carry the initial semantic meaning of copulation. Furthermore, the most considerable increase has occurred in the intensification segment of this chart, which leads to the fundamental assumption that similar to *damn*, also *fuck* has been semantically bleached over the last decades from a copulation verb to many different syntactic categories not containing any of their initial semantic meaning.

Considering Erosion, which Lehmann (1985: 4) also calls Phonological Attrition, the corpus data supports the claim that the intensifier *damn* stems from a form which has initially been represented as *damned*, then developed into *damn'd*, and in a further step evolved into the form *damn* which is the most prominent form today. Considering *fucking*, it can be observed that this intensifier nowadays often appears in the form of *fuckin'* or even *fuckin*. Although it is obvious that corpus data have to be taken with a grain of salt when it comes to phonology and pronunciation, these developments indicate that a general process of Erosion or Phonological Attrition with both intensifiers has indeed occurred.

Nevertheless, it can already be concluded from Table 3 that – in this particular case of taboo intensification – Lehmann's (1985) Grammaticalization model might lead to some problems. Due to the taboo status of the intensifier *fucking*, the COHA data does not entirely reflect the process of Semantic Bleaching as shown in the OED data. Thus, Lehmann's (1985) Grammaticalization model does not seem to be the perfect means of analyzing the Grammaticalization of the two taboo intensifiers at hand. Hopper (1991: 21) defines the

encountered problem as the lack of Grammaticalization being advanced enough by describing Lehmann's (1985) Grammaticalization model as "characteristic of grammaticalization which has already attained a fairly advanced stage and is unambiguously recognizable as such". Hopper (1991: 21) further elaborates his statement by saying that if not grammaticalized advanced enough, an element cannot have yet reached a stage of being obligatory or fixed. Considering the fact, that taboo intensification is a rather young phenomenon, this problem of unfulfilled advancement is inevitable.

As an alternative to Lehmann's (1985) Grammaticalization model, Hopper (1991) proposes different principles or parameters of Grammaticalization. This movement, initiated by Hopper's (1991) new model, is nowadays often referred to as Grammaticalization as Expansion and represents the second major approach to Grammaticalization. In his approach, Hopper (1991: 22) defines five principles of Grammaticalization, which are Layering, Divergence, Specialization, Persistence and De-categorialization. Layering is defined as the continual emergence of new layers within a broad functional domain. According to Hopper (1991: 22-23), "[a]s this happens, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers ... [V]ery often more than one technique is available in a language to serve similar or even identical functions" (Hopper 1991: 22-23). Considering intensification, it can definitely be said that intensification occurs via a wide range of techniques nowadays. While the data provided by the COHA definitely show an affection for older layers, such as *so*, *too*, *really*, *indeed*, *totally*, *very* or *extremely*, a newer layer including more intense language such as *damn* or *fucking* has been on the rise recently. Nevertheless, it cannot definitely be claimed that this new layer of taboo intensification has replaced the older layers, but today both rather coexist besides each respective layer. Divergence refers to the "fact that when a lexical form undergoes grammaticization, for example to an auxiliary, clitic or affix, the original form may remain as an autonomous lexical element and undergo the same changes as any other lexical items" (Hopper 1991: 24). Although taboo intensification is neither a form of an auxiliary, nor a clitic, or an affix, it can be argued that while they function perfectly as intensifiers, their other functions, such as exclamation, insult, frustration, copulation or condemnation, still remain in coexistence as shown in Tables 2 and 3. According to Hopper (1991: 25), "Specialization refers to the narrowing of choices that characterizes an emergent grammatical construction. It corresponds quite closely to Lehmann's 'obligatorification' [but] more closely matches the process involved". Therefore, Specialization allows for a more liberal continuum of

Obligatoriness compared to Lehmann's totalitarian view of finite Obligatoriness. Persistence is defined as relating "the meaning and function of a grammatical form to its history as a lexical morpheme. [...] [D]uring intermediate stages it may be expected that a form will be polysemous, and that one or more of its meanings will reflect a dominant earlier meaning" (Hopper 1991: 28). It can be said that at a point where *damn* and *fucking* first occurred in intensifying functions, both have not been entirely re-semanticized in all aspects but that an innovative meaning of intensification has been added to an already existing polysemous form of insult, exclamation, frustration, copulation or condemnation (Hopper 1991: 29-30). The fifth and last principle, De-categorialization, marks a "way of characterizing the functional-semantic shift which forms undergo as they move toward grammaticization [sic]" (Hopper 1991: 30). He further identifies grammaticalized elements to undergo a "loss of discourse autonomy[, in which] verbs [...] may assume less central functions" (Hopper 1991: 30). This can also be observed in the historical development of *damn*:

Reconsidering examples (8) to (13), it can be observed that *damn* loses its prime categoriality of being a verb and its ability to predicate. While in examples (8) to (11) *damn* functions as a verb and thus is of utmost importance for the sentences to make sense, this is not reflected in the examples (12) and (13) where *damn* inherits a mere discourse function as an intensifier. This mere discourse function of intensification can also be identified in a hypothetical process of removing *damn* from the examples, where (12) and (13) would still perfectly make sense, while this could not be said of examples (8) to (11). Furthermore, it can be noticed that in (12) and (13), while still remaining in the same form as in (10) and (11), *damn* does not have any properties of the verb *to condemn*. It is exactly that process of losing discourse autonomy which is underlined in Traugott (1982 referred to in Hopper 1991: 31), which is emphasized as a feature of utmost importance in a Grammaticalization process. What has been exemplified in the historical development of *damn*, can also be observed in the development of *fucking* reconsidering examples (14) – (18). Again, it can be noticed that in (17) and (18) *fuckin(g)* does not inherit any properties of the verb *to copulate* as in (14) to (16), which also appears to be an example of Hopper's (1991) de-categorialization.

As outlined in this section, there are currently two major approaches to Grammaticalization which – despite sharing some similarities – are oriented towards two oppositional directions of Grammaticalization, namely reduction and expansion. In the next section, an alternative approach towards Grammaticalization, which comprises elements of both major Grammaticalization approaches, is introduced.

2.3. Alternative Model: Grammatical Constructionalization and Constructional Change

As outlined in Section 2.2, there are currently two rather contrastive major approaches towards Grammaticalization, Grammaticalization as Expansion and Grammaticalization as reduction and increased dependency. In addition to these discrepancies, Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 33) identify one further major difference of these two models in the perception of the respective linguist's view of grammar. They argue that restrictive accounts of grammar, for example, do not accept pragmatic or discourse markers as being part of the grammar at all, while other accounts of grammar do not include information structure as being characteristic of grammar. Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 33), in their approach to language change, however, apply a Construction Grammar-based model which is justified by the fact that a usage-based approach of Construction Grammar includes all aspects of language as being characteristic of grammar. Other linguists might not approve of taboo intensification being an important contribution to the so-called Core Grammar. Therefore, this thesis, similar to Traugott and Trousdale (2013), applies a Construction Grammar approach which integrates taboo intensification into grammar. Goldberg (1995: 6) approves that "[t]heorists working within [Construction Grammar] theory share an interest in characterizing the *entire* class of structures that make up language, not only the structures that are defined to be part of 'core grammar'" [original emphasis]. Another justification for a Construction Grammar approach is a fairly recent trend of Grammaticalization theorists agreeing on the shortcoming of defining Grammaticalization merely as a process dealing with a single lexical item (Heine 2003; Traugott 2003 referred to in Bybee 2003: 602). It is of utmost importance to embed this Grammaticalization process in the context of a whole particular construction and it is therefore argued that "a construction with particular lexical items in it becomes grammatic[al]ized, instead of saying that [merely] a lexical item becomes grammatic[al]ized" (Bybee 2003: 602). Bisang and Biemer (2004: 7) approve that "grammaticalization has to do with changes in functional range and *must* be described in terms of construction [...] and [they] take place in constructions" [emphasis added]. Another reason for choosing Construction Grammar as the fundamental basis of this thesis is that a non-restrictive view of Grammaticalization is consistent with both Grammaticalization as expansion as well as reduction intertwined (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 33). This consistency will be elaborated on in more detail in this section, following the description of the central processes in Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) model.

A constructional approach to language change, which is proposed and applied in Traugott by Trousdale (2013) and also in this thesis, basically suggests that “language is conceptualized as being made up of form-meaning pairings or constructions organized in a network” (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 1). This general perception of language is also reflected in Himmelmann (2004: 31), Hilpert (2008: 14), Langacker (2005: 104) and Goldberg (2006: 5). The latter claims that “any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions known to exist” (Goldberg 2006: 5). In terms of Construction Grammar, language change is thus defined as either

[c]hanges that affect features of an existing construction, e.g. semantics (*will*- ‘intend’ > future), morphophonology (*will* > ‘ll), collocational constraints (expansion of the way-construction to include verbs denoting actions accompanying creation of a path, e.g. *whistle one’s way home*), etc. These changes do not necessarily lead to a new construction. We call them Constructional Changes. (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 1)

or as “[t]he creation of a form_{new}-meaning_{new} pairing”, a process which is then called Constructionalization (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 1).

As there is, however, a vast number of different Construction Grammar approaches which are covered in various overviews such as Langacker (2005), Goldberg (2013: 15-16) tries to identify four principles which are shared by all Construction Grammar approaches and a further fifth principle which is shared by most of them:

1. **Grammatical constructions:** Phrasal constructions, like traditional lexical items are learned pairings of form and function [...].
2. **Surface structure:** Grammar does not involve any transformational or derivational component. Semantics is associated directly with surface form [...].
3. **A network of constructions:** Phrasal constructions, words, and partially filled words (aka morphemes) are related in a network in which nodes are related by inheritance links [...].
4. **Crosslinguistic variability and generalization:** Languages are acknowledged to vary in wide-ranging ways. The crosslinguistic generalizations that do exist are explained by domain-general cognitive processes or by the functions of the constructions involved [...]. (Goldberg 2013: 15-16)

Another underlying principle of most different constructional grammar approaches is the aforementioned evaluation of grammar being a holistic framework without different levels of autonomous grammar or core and non-core features (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 3). All levels, “semantics, morphosyntax, phonology, and pragmatics work together in a construction” (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 3).

Based on these five principles, Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 8) established their own representation of constructions, which is defined as “[F] ↔ [M]”, where F is short for form and M is short for meaning. According to Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 8), “[t]he double-headed arrow, adopted from Booij (2010), specifies the link between form and meaning, and the external brackets denote that the form-meaning pairing is a conventionalized unit”. While the inner brackets for both form and meaning visualize that a single form does not always necessarily have just one particular meaning, the outer bracket sets the scene for one particular form-meaning pairing construction.

2.3.1. Schematicity, Productivity and Compositionality

Of the various Construction Grammar approaches, Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 13) extract three factors being at the center of discussion: Schematicity, Productivity and Compositionality.

Schematicity is defined as being “a property of categorization which crucially involves abstraction. A schema is a taxonomic generalization of categories, whether linguistic or not” (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 13). Furthermore, schemas are “abstract, semantically general groups of constructions [...] which are (unconsciously) perceived by language-users to be closely related to each other in the constructional network” (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 14). Schemas and their subschemas are said to be the subparts for linguists to pick out for discussion and analysis. In the case of this thesis, schemas and subschemas can now be explained as the category *intensifier* being a more abstract and inclusive schema than *adverbial intensifier modifying a predicative adjective*, which then again is more abstract than *adverbial taboo intensifier modifying a predicative adjective*. A similar process as Schematicity has been postulated in Section 2 above, where different schemas and subschemas of intensifiers have been shown. Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 14) further elaborate that “[l]inguistic schemas are instantiated by subschemas’ and, at the lower levels, of micro-constructions: specific type-members of more abstract schemas” (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 14). In this sense, *damn* and *fucking* respectively are micro-constructions of the subschema *adverbial taboo intensifier modifying a predicative adjective*, which is a subschema of *adverbial intensifier modifying a predicative adjective*, which then again is a subschema of the schema *intensifier*. An example of a rather frequently occurring micro-construction within the COHA which is now considered is illustrated as $[[fucking\ NOUN_a] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ animate\ nouns]]$. Compared to the micro-construction $[[fucking\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ nouns]]$, it can be said that the second construction is more schematic than

the first. While the first construction only specifies animate nouns, which is only a particular subschema of nouns, the second construction generalizes over all nouns (Traugott 2013: 15). In comparison with the micro-construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ NOUN}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of nouns}]]$, the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ is even more schematic as it generalizes over more syntactic categories than just nouns, namely attributive adjectives, predicative adjectives, nouns, adverbs or verbs.

In the linguistic processes of Grammatical Constructionalization and Constructional Change, Productivity is to be understood as gradient (Trousedale 2014: 566). Furthermore, it is argued that most work on Productivity is interrelated with frequency, as frequency is the main instrument of measuring Productivity. Traugott and Trousedale (2013) as well as Bybee (2003) differentiate between type frequency and token frequency. While type frequency, or construction frequency, is supposed to represent the “number of different expressions a particular pattern has”, token frequency, or construct frequency, constitutes “the number of times the same unit occurs in text” (Traugott and Trousedale 2013: 18). They (Traugott and Trousedale 2013: 18) further exemplify that “[t]he definite article *the* in English has a construction type-frequency of one, but it is the most token-frequent construct in the contemporary language” [original emphasis]. Hilpert (2008: 15) approves of this differentiation of constructions and constructs and marks this distinction as a foundation for all Construction Grammar approaches. Therefore, Bybee and McClelland (2005: 287) argue that constructions come into existence and are promoted due to an increase in their token frequency, or construct frequency, over time. Many theorists working on Grammaticalization (Lorenz 2002: 144; Bybee 2003: 605; Tagliamonte and Ito 2003; Bybee and McClelland 2005: 387; Goldberg 2005: 5; Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005; Macaulay 2006: 277) would agree that token frequency is a major aspect in the Grammaticalization process. Regarding construction frequency, or type frequency, Himmelmann (2004) makes a major contribution with the introduction of the phenomenon of host-class expansion. Himmelmann (2004: 31) understands Grammaticalization as not only one item itself being grammaticalized but as the entire syntagmatic context it appears in, the construction, being at the center of Grammaticalization. He further states that “[f]rom a construction-based point of view [,] grammaticization [sic] is essentially a process of context-expansion” (Himmelmann 2004: 32). This process of host-class expansion is largely congruent with Traugott and Trousedale’s (2013) notion of Productivity. A groundbreaking approach to measuring Productivity or host-

class expansion is Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis (Hilpert 2008). This approach will be outlined in Section 3.3.1, as it provides the main analysis criteria for the corpus-investigation in this thesis and therefore needs to be described in much more detail, which is considered not meaningful within the present section.

The third factor in Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) model of language change is Compositionality. It is defined as the scale to which a transparency between form and meaning is given (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 19). In more detail, "[f]rom a constructional point of view, Compositionality is best thought of in terms of match or mismatch between aspects of form and aspects of meaning" (Francis and Michaelis referred to in Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 19). They further outline that "[i]f a construct is semantically compositional, then as long as the speaker has produced a conventional sequence syntactically, and the hearer understands the meaning of each individual item, the hearer will be able to decode the meaning of the whole". If there is a mismatch between the individual elements' meanings and the meaning as a whole, a construct is no longer compositional. Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 19) concede though that although language comprises Compositionality as a major fact of conveying meaning, language meaning cannot be entirely compositional. Considering the example mentioned, a learner or user of English has to learn that the construct of *pulling someone's leg* is not only carrying a compositional literal meaning, but also a non-compositional meaning of *teasing someone* (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 19).

Taking these three involved factors of Schematicity, Productivity and Compositionality, Trousdale (2008, 2010) argues that in Grammatical Constructionalization, Schematicity and Productivity increase while Compositionality might even decrease. This alternative approach towards Grammaticalization can be justified as intertwining Grammaticalization as reduction as well as Grammaticalization as expansion given that:

GE [(grammaticalization as expansion)] approaches to grammaticalization are consistent with grammatical constructionalization conceptualized as the development of procedural function together with increase in Productivity, collocational range, and Schematicity. GR [(grammaticalization as reduction)] approaches to grammaticalization are consistent with grammatical constructionalization conceptualized in Compositionality. (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 113)

Therefore, Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) model, as already mentioned earlier, merges both major Grammaticalization approaches. Grammaticalization as Expansion is justified as being representative in Traugott and Trousdale's (2013: 113) approach when it comes to an increase in Productivity, Collocational Range and Schematicity. Traugott and Trousdale's model

Grammatical Constructionalization is dependent on expanded Productivity and Schematicity as well as expanded Collocational Range. Apart from that, Traugott and Trousdale's (2013: 113) model also represents aspects of Grammaticalization as Reduction as it additionally depends on a decrease or a reduction in Compositionality.

2.3.2. Grammatical Constructionalization vs. Constructional Changes

In their model, Traugott and Trousdale (2013) stress a distinction between Grammatical Constructionalization and Constructional Change as being of major importance. Grammatical Constructionalization is defined as:

the creation of form_{new}-meaning_{new} (combinations of signs). It forms new type nodes, which have new syntax or morphology and new coded meaning, in the linguistic network of a population of speakers. It is accompanied by changes in degree of Schematicity, Productivity, and Compositionality. The constructionalization of schemas always results from a succession of micro-steps and is therefore gradual. (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 22)

Constructional Changes, on the other hand, are defined as “change[s] affecting one internal dimension of a construction. It does not involve the creation of a new node” (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 26). Therefore, “[f]ormal changes alone, and meaning changes alone cannot constitute constructionalization” (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 26), but are interpreted as Constructional Changes. Grammatical Constructionalization cannot occur until morphosyntactic changes appear as well as semantic ones (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 27). Hence, the relation between Grammatical Constructionalization and Constructional Changes is postulated as Grammatical Constructionalization being preceded and/or followed by Constructional Changes. Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 27) conclude the relation of Constructional Changes to Constructionalization by stating:

Constructional changes that can be hypothesized by the analyst to precede and enable or ‘feed’ constructionalization typically involve expansion of pragmatics, semanticization of that pragmatics, mismatch between form and meaning, and some small distributional changes. [...] In turn, constructionalization may feed further constructional changes. [These] typically involve expansion of collocations, and may also involve morphological and phonological reduction. (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 27)

3. Empirical study

As already outlined in the introduction, the corpus-based examination of the two taboo intensifiers *damn* and *fucking* are at main focus of this thesis. In Section 2, it is argued that

there are two main approaches towards Grammaticalization; however, the best model to for a corpus-based investigation of the two intensifiers at hand is Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) Grammatical Constructionalization and Constructional Change as it comprises key elements of both approaches, Grammaticalization as Expansion and Grammaticalization as Reduction. Thus, it provides a more holistic view on Grammaticalization than what is accomplished by the individual, separate approaches. This section now outlines the analytical tools for the present empirical study. Section 3.1 introduces the underlying hypotheses which represent the initial motivation for this thesis. Section 3.2 then presents the process of gathering data and describes the sources of data used in this study in more detail. Finally, Section 3.3 outlines the methods used in this study for investigating taboo intensification constructions.

3.1. Hypotheses

As outlined in Section 2.3.1, in Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) approach towards Grammatical Constructionalization, there are three levels which are affected when it comes to Grammaticalization: Schematicity, Productivity and Compositionality (Trousdale 2008, 2010). Considering taboo intensification, it is thus hypothesized that:

- H_1 : Within the framework of Grammatical Constructionalization, the Schematicity of the taboo intensifier constructions $[[damn\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective,\ predicative\ adjective,\ noun,\ adverb\ or\ verb]]$ and $[[fucking\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective,\ predicative\ adjective,\ noun,\ adverb\ or\ verb]]$ increases.
- H_2 : Within the framework of Grammatical Constructionalization, the Productivity of taboo intensifier constructions increases on two different levels:
 - H_{2a} : Both taboo intensifiers *damn* and *fucking* initially started to occur in constructions where they are modifying nouns and are thus syntactically interpreted functioning as adjectives, represented as the micro-constructions $[[damn\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ and $[[fucking\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$. However, as a consequence of their Grammaticalization process, both expand their syntactic range as they begin to occur in constructions where they are not only modifying nouns but also other syntactic categories and thus themselves appear in the syntactic adverb slot as well.

- *H_{2b}*: As a consequence of their advancing Grammaticalization process, both taboo intensifier constructions $[[\textit{damn} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ and $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ constantly expand their collocational range which is defined as a main instrument for measuring advanced Grammaticalization in a considerable amount of studies (Partington 1993: 183; Himmelmann 2003; Tagliamonte and Ito 2003: 268; Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005: 285; Hilpert 2008; Calle-Martin 2014: 413).
- *H_{2bI}*: Regarding the micro-construction $[[\textit{damn/fucking} \text{ NOUN}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of noun}]]$, both intensifiers *damn* and *fucking* illustrate a development in which the initial preference for animate noun collocates decreases over time and the construction opens up for inanimate noun collocates as well.
- *H_{2bII}*: Considering the micro-construction $[[\textit{damn/fucking} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{pred}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$, both intensifiers *damn* and *fucking*, initially having been taboo terms themselves and therefore negatively connoted, exemplify a development in which they predominantly collocate with negatively connoted predicative adjectives at first and only then start to collocate with neutral and positively connoted adjectives as well.
- *H₃*: Within the framework of Grammatical Constructionalization, the Compositionality of taboo intensifier constructions $[[\textit{damn} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ and $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ decreases.

3.2. Data

As mentioned earlier at several stages, this thesis aims at investigating taboo intensification in a diachronic context. Therefore, it is obvious that a diachronic corpus is used in order to carry out the research at hand. The corpus which has been decided on is the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) (Davies 2010). COHA claims to be the largest structured corpus

of historical English and consists of more than 400 million words from 1810 until 2009 (Davies 2010). The corpus is divided into 20 subcategories consisting of different decades, which are the 1810s, 1820s, 1830s, etc. until the 2000s. Furthermore, the corpus is said to be continuous, meaning that the language is sampled every single year within the given time frame, and balanced by genre decade by decade, which implies that “[f]or example, there are [approximately] 2 million words *each year* from the 1880s-2000s” [emphasis added] (Davies 2010). The COHA allows to search for absolute number of occurrences as well as per million word counts for search items. Another reason for choosing the COHA is the fact that it is a tagged corpus, so that a search guided by syntactic categories is possible. Nevertheless, it shall be noted that even a tagged corpus is not flawless and cannot always be trusted implicitly as can be seen in:

(19) " Well, " he grinned, when Lynd, he, and one of the officers sat down inside, " this is damn bad luck. [...]" (Davies 2010)

While the search generating (19) is intended to produce constructions of the form $[[\textit{damn/fucking ADJ}_{\text{pred}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of a predicative adjective}]]$, and therefore eliminating constructions where *damn* modifies an adjective which is followed by a noun, this is not given for (19) itself as *luck* is obviously a noun.

Another problem arose in the search process for constructions where *damn* or *fucking* modify an attributive adjective. As there is a vast number of compound nouns originally deriving from an adjective-noun constellation, such as *full moon*, the search for the aforementioned micro-construction $[[\textit{damn/fucking ADJ}_{\text{attr}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective}]]$ often generates examples such as:

(20) it's the fucking Supreme Court. (Davies 2010)

(21) [...] when his mother had put him in that damned military school. (Davies 2010)

From a mere syntactic point of view, it could be argued that both generated examples perfectly illustrate the micro-construction $[[\textit{damn/fucking ADJ}_{\text{attr}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective}]]$. Nevertheless, on a closer examination, it becomes obvious that both are not representations of this construction, but rather represent the micro-construction $[[\textit{damn/fucking NOUN}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of noun}]]$, as both *Supreme Court* and *military school* are compound nouns originating from an adjective plus noun constellation. In addition,

in (19), it can be argued that *bad luck* should be categorized as a compound noun which then would again be an example of the noun intensifying construction.

Therefore, despite being generated by the tagged COHA, the data for six different search strings had to be thoroughly examined and improper results had to be eliminated by hand. The six different search strings are exemplified as:

1. ‘damn* *’ generating the first right hand collocates of the lemma *damn*
2. ‘fuckin* *’ generating mostly the first right hand collocates of the three forms *fuckin*, *fuckin’* and *fucking* of the lemma *fuck*
3. ‘damn* NOUN’ generating the first right hand noun collocates of the lemma *damn*
4. ‘fuckin* NOUN’ generating mostly the first right hand noun collocates of the forms *fuckin*, *fuckin’* and *fucking* of the lemma *fuck*
5. ‘damn* ADJ -NOUN’ generating the first right hand predicative adjective collocates of the lemma *damn* which are not in a pre-modifying noun position
6. ‘fuckin* ADJ -NOUN’ generating mostly the first right hand predicative adjective collocates of the forms *fuckin*, *fuckin’* and *fucking* of the lemma *fuck*

While some searches, mostly constructions containing *fucking*, produced a manageable number of results, others, mostly constructions containing *damn*, generated a massive number of results. The searches causing these problems are identified to be ‘damn* *’, ‘damn* ADJ - NOUN’, and ‘damn* NOUN’. Thus, some restrictions had to be made in order to make the results manageable for the present research. For these three searches, only the first 1,000 generated results have been used in the analysis, as – due to the scope of this thesis – it is not possible to consider more examples. Furthermore, in the case of ‘damn* ADJ -NOUN’ and ‘damn* NOUN’ this exclusion only concerns items which occur mostly only once – or occasionally twice – and could then not be highly distinctive of a given time period anyway. Therefore, this restriction is strongly believed not to influence the validity of the arguments put forward in this thesis at all.

Another problem which is automatically encountered when working with diachronic corpora is outlined in Hilpert (2008: 29), who argues that diachronic corpora are usually not only smaller than synchronic corpora, but are also only based on written data, since transcribing spontaneous speech and using these instances for research is a fairly recent phenomenon.

Especially, when it comes to utterances occupying such a strong taboo status as both intensifiers at hand, this lack of accessibility has to be considered when making general claims about results shown. Therefore, Hilpert (2008: 29) concludes that the applicability of diachronic corpora is restricted. Nevertheless, he does not deny the fact that diachronic corpora can be of utmost importance in order to study language change from a diachronic perspective and be fertile data sources.

3.3. Methodology

As mentioned in the introduction, the present study differs from previous research on intensification and especially on taboo intensification on more than just one level. First, this study's focus is solely on taboo intensification which allows for a more sophisticated account on the Grammaticalization of taboo intensifiers and the processes leading to language change. Secondly, the Grammaticalization of taboo intensification is tackled with a Grammatical Constructionalization and Constructional Change approach embedded in a general constructionist approach to language (Traugott and Trousdale 2013). Thirdly, the results of this study are not merely based on raw frequency numbers produced by a corpus itself (which has been at the center of most corpus studies done in this research field, such as Tagliamonte and Ito 2003, Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005, Wittouck 2011 or Palacios Martínez and Núñez Pertejo 2012), but on a more sophisticated method called Collostructional Analysis. This latter method will be outlined in more detail in Section 3.3.1. In order to enable one particular method of Collostructional Analysis, Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis, different time periods have to be provided, which is achieved by a method called Variability-based Neighbor Clustering (Gries and Hilpert 2012). This method will be explained further in Section 3.3.2.

3.3.1. Collostructional Analysis

Because raw frequency numbers occasionally obscure actual results, Hilpert (2006) identifies considering raw frequency numbers only as the main problem in collocational analyses. For example, Section 4.1.2.1 introduces an examination collocates of the micro-construction *[[damn NOUN] ↔ [intensification of noun]]* and shows how raw frequency numbers can occasionally obscure preferential patterns. In the second period of this analysis, a raw frequency analysis postulates the noun *thing* as being the second most occurring noun collocate of the micro-construction *[[damn NOUN] ↔ [intensification of noun]]* with 20 occurrences. This would indicate that there is a preference of the construction at hand to

correlate with the noun *thing*. When submitting these raw frequencies now to Hilpert's (2008) Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis, however, it is revealed that the micro-construction $[[damn\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ is actually not attracted to the noun collocate *thing* at all. On the contrary, it even shows that in the given time period, the construction at hand even repels the noun collocate *thing* at a relatively high rate. To sum up, Hilpert (2006, 2008) shows that raw frequency results should be taken with a grain of salt and introduces different methods to work with corpus data in order to facilitate results that are more detailed.

Thus, Hilpert (2008) defines three different methods of an alternative model, Collostructional Analysis, which has originally been developed out of Stefanowitsch and Gries' (2003) ideas: Collexeme Analysis, Distinctive Collexeme Analysis, and Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis. While the first two methods have been outlined in works by Stefanowitsch and Gries (2003, 2005) and Gries and Stefanowitsch (2004a, 2004b), the latter is based on Kemmer and Hilpert (2005) and Hilpert (2006). Basically, Stefanowitsch and Gries (2003: 214) identify the main problem of raw frequency corpus-based studies as not considering the grammatical structures in which search items and their collocates appear. On the contrary, it is supposed that "sufficiently high raw frequencies of the collocates will sort out relevant results from accidental ones" (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003: 214). Considering raw frequency counts, they criticize the fact that overall frequencies of a given element in the corpus are not taken into account which results in the most frequent collocates of a given element typically being function words and of little use (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003: 216). They further claim that for a Construction Grammar approach including every single aspect of language as part of grammar, the aforementioned differentiation is too simplistic. These shortcomings have then resulted in a model, called Collostructional Analysis, which is more sensitive to specific constructions found at various levels of the linguistic structure. More importantly, Collostructional Analysis is more sensitive to overall frequencies of a given element in the corpus and thus yields more reliable results of a lexeme being attracted to a given construction or repelled by a given construction (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003: 214). Stefanowitsch and Gries (2003: 215) then describe the constituents of a Collostructional Analysis as follows:

Lexemes that are then attracted to a particular construction are referred to as *collexemes* of this construction; conversely, a construction associated with a particular lexeme may be referred to as *collostruct*; the combination of a collexeme and a collostruct will be referred to as a *collostruction*. (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003: 215)

Returning to the three methods of Collostructional Analysis, Collexeme Analysis investigates the synchronic collocational preferences of a given construction (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003) which is not of major importance for the present study apart from its originating function for the other two methods. Nevertheless, it shall be shortly explained how results of a Collostructional Analysis are calculated. A Collexeme Analysis “determines the lexical items that are attracted to a given construction” (Hilpert 2008: 34). In order to eventually come up with a particular collostructional strength value which determines whether an item is attracted or repelled by the construction, different input numbers have to be considered. Hilpert (2008: 35-36), for example, examines the collostructional strength between the two words *shall* and *consider*. To calculate the collostructional strength value between those two words, the overall corpus frequency of *shall consider* is needed, as well as the overall corpus frequency of *shall* and the overall corpus frequency of *consider*. Additionally, the overall corpus frequency of infinitival verb forms needs to be determined. In the case of examining the attraction between *shall* and *consider*, the following input file is compiled:

Table 2.4 Input for a collexeme analysis of *shall* and *consider*

	<i>consider</i>	other verbs	TOTAL
<i>shall</i>	225	15,847	16,072
elsewhere	7,432	3,403,078	3,410,510
TOTAL	7,657	3,418,925	3,426,582

Table 4 Input for a Collexeme Analysis of *shall* and *consider* (Hilpert 2008: 37)

“To calculate collostructional strength, the four inner fields of table [4] are submitted to the Fisher-Yates Exact test, which indeed measures a significant attraction ($p = 6.36E-101$)” (Hilpert 2008: 36). Stefanowitsch and Gries (2005: 7) use a log-transformed p-value for measuring collostructional strength, which has several advantages. To begin with, it is defined as a difficult measure “since the most interesting values are only located in the small range of 0.05 to 0 (and many linguists are unfamiliar with the scientific format employed for representing such small numbers)” (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2005: 7). Furthermore, the p-value as such is not able to represent direction – in that case, repulsion or attraction – but only strength of the relation (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2005: 7). To be more precise, they “use the base-ten logarithm of the p-value as a measure of association strength [...] and change the sign of the resulting value to a plus when the observed frequency is higher than the expected one” (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2005: 7). This results in a value ranging from $-\infty$ (repulsion) over 0 (no relation) to ∞ (attraction) (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2005: 7).

Having introduced how collocational strength values are calculated, Distinctive Collexeme Analysis, in contrast to Collexeme Analysis, examines the synchronic collocational preferences of two or more contrasting constructions (Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004: 100). A typical example of Distinctive Collexeme Analysis can be found in Hilpert's (2008: 39-40) *Germanic Future Constructions* in which he contrasts the two English future constructions *will* and *going to* in their collocational preferences. In his study, Hilpert (2008) shows that a usual corpus search for collocates of both future constructions yields the following results in Table 5 for the ten most frequent verbs in each construction based on the British National Corpus (BNC):

WILL		BE GOING TO	
VERB	TOKENS	VERB	TOKENS
be	41,947	be	4,756
have	5,906	do	1,907
take	4,150	get	1,403
make	3,182	have	983
do	3,039	take	647
go	2,821	say	643
come	2,732	make	631
give	2,543	go	616
continue	2,477	happen	552
find	2,465	tell	434

Table 5 Top 10 verbs with *will* and *be going to* (Hilpert 2008: 39)

Considering raw frequency numbers, both future constructions prefer general, semantically light verbs which are highly frequent. Distinctive Collexeme Analysis enables a method to abstract away from collocates which are common to both constructions under examination and it only stresses distinctive collocates for each particular construction (Hilpert 2006: 244). This leads to the results listed in Table 6:

WILL	COLLSTRENGTH	BE GOING TO	COLLSTRENGTH
continue	83.57	do	Inf
be	74.17	get	Inf
provide	61.39	say	195.36
include	56.35	happen	135.34
remain	44.76	ask	87.20
receive	42.50	die	78.72
become	41.15	put	74.96
depend	39.41	tell	58.85
enable	37.72	marry	53.99
require	36.58	press	49.41
know	32.67	let	42.95
ensure	30.26	talk	41.04
tend	26.79	kill	39.39
appear	26.74	sleep	32.35
mean	25.42	live	31.17

Table 6 Top 15 distinctive collexemes of *will* and *be going to* (Hilpert 2008: 41)

In Hilpert's (2008) Distinctive Collexeme Analysis on the comparison of *will* and *going to* future, he observes that the *will* future construction is mainly attractive for verbs instantiating non-agentive verbs, such as *remain*, *depend*, *become* or *know*. The *going to* future construction, on the other hand, is especially attractive for highly transitive verbs that are agentive, such as *do*, *say*, *put* or *kill* (Hilpert 2008: 40). Although this method will not be applied in the present study as such, it is of major importance as it serves as the foundation for the third method of Collostructional Analysis.

The third method of Collostructional Analysis, Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis, has initially been developed in Kemmer and Hilpert (2005 referred to in Hilpert 2008: 41) and Hilpert (2006). It is at the center of this study when it comes to analyzing the Productivity of taboo intensifier constructions. As already mentioned, it is rather similar to Distinctive Collexeme Analysis. The difference between both is that the first one contrasts the collocational behavior of two different constructions, while the latter tracks the favored collocational patterns of an individual construction over different time periods, establishing it as the perfect tool for analyzing language change from a diachronic point of view (Hilpert 2008: 41). Identical to a Distinctive Collexeme Analysis applied on synchronic corpus data, a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis abstracts away from collocates common to each period and thus emphasizes those which are more frequent than expected, evaluating the total frequency of a particular collexeme across all different given periods. Therefore, an item is

evaluated as carrying Collostructional Strength when it occurs frequently in one period while occurring, if at all, only scarcely in others (Hilpert 2008: 41). Similar to the comparison of *will* and *going to* future constructions, Hilpert (2008: 43-44) shows that a mere raw-frequency list of collocates obscures actual processes which are more exceptional than what is shown in first place (see Table 7).

1500–1570		1570–1640		1640–1710	
VERB	TOKENS	VERB	TOKENS	VERB	TOKENS
be	349	be	372	be	234
have	136	have	151	have	79
see	62	find	80	find	34
come	55	see	66	make	26
find	50	do	65	see	23
make	44	come	62	do	23
do	39	take	52	give	22
take	36	make	45	think	21
go	35	hear	43	forfeit	20
know	31	know	38	take	19

Table 7 Top 10 verbs with *shall* over three periods of time (Hilpert 2008: 43)

A Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis, however, reveals the distinctive collexemes for each given period as illustrated in Table 8:

1500–1570			1570–1640			1640–1710		
VERB	N	COLLSTR	VERB	N	COLLSTR	VERB	N	COLLSTR
fortune	9	3.80	incur	13	3.38	add	14	5.52
wage	8	3.38	assemble	7	2.68	direct	8	5.46
divide	8	2.60	feed	7	2.68	discover	5	3.41
appear	24	2.07	hear	43	2.56	examine	7	3.39
perceive	11	1.92	offend	12	2.17	stay	6	2.81
understand	26	1.81	fall	14	2.04	refer	4	2.73
beg	7	1.75	contain	7	1.97	stand	11	2.65
require	9	1.66	enjoy	5	1.92	endeavor	7	2.60
say	28	1.61	imagine	5	1.92	extend	15	2.58
attain	5	1.50	do	65	1.79	be	234	2.50
sow	5	1.50	want	15	1.74	seem	11	2.46
show	18	1.43	keep	23	1.70	begin	6	2.42
abide	6	1.43	observe	10	1.64	lead	5	2.25
walk	6	1.43	redeem	4	1.53	export	4	2.11
behold	3	1.27	thirst	4	1.53	administer	4	2.11

Table 8 Top 15 distinctive collexemes of *shall* over three periods of time (Hilpert 2008: 44)

Using this method, Hilpert (2008: 44) shows a “decline of verbs that encode perception and cognition”. Furthermore, an increase in stative verbs can be observed over the three periods.

Although the method of Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis offers considerable advantages in analyzing collocational patterns of constructions, its limitations have to be kept in mind. In comparison to the first two methods introduced in Collostructional Analysis, Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis does not relate the number of occurring collexemes to their total number of occurrences in the corpus. Nevertheless, it takes the following aspects into account: the overall number of input occurrences in the whole calculation, the number of input occurrences within each time period and the number of input occurrences for each lexical item. This is briefly illustrated in Table 9, using data of the present study as an example:

	Raw Frequency			Expected Frequency			Collostructional Strength		
Coll_Word	1	2	3	exp_1	exp_2	exp_3	pbin_1	pbin_2	pbin_3
VERB	1	39	127	6.7724	60.9518	99.2758	-2.0963	-3.7243	5.3212
pre_NOUN	8	44	50	4.1365	37.2281	60.6355	1.2534	1.0025	-1.6735
ADJ	7	68	147	9.0029	81.0258	131.9714	-0.4966	-1.4076	1.6444
ADV	3	9	7	0.7705	6.9346	11.2948	1.4007	0.6472	-1.4052
NOUN	66	605	915	64.3177	578.8597	942.8225	0.3638	1.0417	-1.0895

Table 9 Calculations of a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis of *fucking* as an intensifier without syntactic right hand collocate restriction

In short, Table 9 represents the Collostructional Strength values for non-restricted right hand collocates of *fucking* as an intensifier for three different periods, represented as 1, 2 and 3. Period 3, for example, shows a high raw frequency occurrence of 915 right hand noun collocates. Clearly, despite being the highest with regard to raw numbers, this representation might not necessarily result in a correct representation of what is indeed happening, which is a repulsion for right hand noun collocates. The crucial point here, however, is that a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis for Table 9 takes all raw frequency numbers into account in order to calculate Collostructional Strength values of particular items. To be more precise, considering that across all three periods out of a total number of 2102 items, 1586 items entered are nouns. As the number of total items entered for period 3 is 1249, period 3 is expected to contain 942.82 nouns. A lower raw frequency count than expected finally results in a negative Collostructional Strength value, which displays a repulsion for nouns in period 3. A higher frequency count than expected would, on the other hand, then result in a positive Collostructional Strength value, meaning attraction. Thus, taking all entered numbers and values into account, nouns are – despite 915 hits – actually repelled by period 3. Therefore, although not taking the overall occurrence of a collexeme in the whole corpus into account, a Distinctive Diachronic Collexeme Analysis still represents at least a significantly more sophisticated representation of language than a raw frequency account.

Additionally, Hilpert (2006: 250) admits that the “treatment of several periods of time as a unified corpus [is] an idealization”, as particular words increase their frequency over time, while others might cease to be used at all (Hilpert 2008: 44). To counteract this idealization, it would basically be possible to calculate the Collostructional Strength of every single collocation for each given period and then come up with a highly accurate value for each collocation. However, considering the fact that this would have to be done for every single collocation in every single period, this workload could not be justified although a highly

accurate list of Collostructional Strengths might be achieved. Thus, this problem, at least in the course of this study, is unfortunately inevitable.

Another limitation of a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis revealed in Stefanowitsch (2006: 258) is the interpretation of historical periods as psychological categories. He argues that the suggested analysis in Hilpert (2006) creates time periods which cut across with the lifetime of an individual speaker. Hilpert (2008: 45) admits that this argument proves to be true for his own given time periods. A speaker could never identify distinctive collexemes of his own time, as it is impossible for him/her to anticipate collexemes which might appear two hundred years later. Therefore, distinctive collexemes of a given construction could only be determined retrospectively, which implies that collexemes of a given period cannot be interpreted “as mental representations of the collocational profile of [a given construction] in the respective period” (Hilpert 2008: 45). Furthermore, Stefanowitsch (2006: 260) claims that historical periods do not represent natural categories. In contrast, given that researchers are carefully defining and operationalizing given construction, Distinctive Collexeme Analysis operationalized in synchronic data resembles linguistic system units that could not be allocated differently (Stefanowitsch 2006: 260). Other natural categories can also be found outside the linguistic system, such as channel (spoken vs. written) or dialect (British vs. American English) as Wulff *et al.* illustrate (2007). However, to divide data into different time periods, researchers have to create what Stefanowitsch (2006: 260) defines as arbitrary lines between these time periods, often dictated by the corpus itself. In Hilpert’s (2006) initial application of Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis, Stefanowitsch (2006: 260) criticizes the large categories containing more than hundred years of time. Thus, the obvious solution to this problem is suggested in keeping time periods as small as possible while still ensuring that each time period contains sufficient data to produce meaningful results (Stefanowitsch 2006: 261). Although he further claims that Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis categorizes every collexeme as being distinctive for only one period and thus can only offer a fragmented overall picture, it is shown in Section 4 that this might not necessarily be true for every single collexeme. Furthermore, a method of dividing the given diachronic data into time periods which are not arbitrarily chosen in order to avoid the aforementioned problematic categorization of time periods is shown in Section 3.3.2.

In summary, although Hilpert’s (2006) Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis undoubtedly has its limitations, its aforementioned advantages prevail in order to understand how taboo intensifier constructions change both their syntactic and collocational preferences

over time. Hilpert's (2006) Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis is used in this thesis with the help of a script provided by Gries (2014). Calculations have been done by using the open source software tool and programming language R (RStudio Team: 2015).

3.3.2. Variability-based Neighbor Clustering (VNC)

To counteract the limitations of a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis as proposed in Stefanowitsch (2006), this thesis attempts to avoid arbitrary time periods as well as those strictly dictated by the corpus itself. As already mentioned, the COHA covers a time span of approximately two hundred years. In order to avoid the given division into ten-year time spans, eventually most probably resulting in impractical results as it would firstly be strictly dictated by the corpus and secondly result in twenty different tables for each single search string, a hierarchical clustering method called Variability-based Neighbor Clustering (VNC) (Gries and Hilpert 2012) is applied to the given dataset. This method is outlined in more detail below.

Gries and Hilpert (2012: 136) state that “hierarchical clustering approaches determine which [...] observations are most similar to one another and suggest groupings on the basis of mutual similarity”. VNC (Gries and Hilpert 2012: 135) represents “a method that can discern different sequential periods in a bottom-up fashion, on the basis of structures in the actual data”. Furthermore, Gries and Hilpert (2012: 137) argue that their method is an objective clustering instrument that is data-driven and is specific to the particular phenomenon under analysis. The clustering algorithm used in VNC operates exclusively according to the variability between two immediate temporal neighbors. While Gries and Hilpert (2012) introduce two different methods of VNC, only the first one is of major importance for this thesis. This method measures differences of standard deviation values, which are calculated using the program RStudio (2015). Simply put, the larger the standard deviation between two time periods, the more different they are. For the calculation of the standard deviation values between time periods, Gries and Hilpert (2012: 139) suggest considering normalized frequencies (per million words). The example of *damn* as a taboo intensifier will be considered to exemplify how VNC works. Every single time period in the COHA is represented by a per million word count calculated by dividing the respective value in the yellow column by the value in the green column multiplied by 1,000,000, as is shown in Table 10:

Year	TOTAL damnINT	TOTAL All	Per mio. word count
1810	23	1,181,022	19.47
1820	46	6,927,005	6.64
1830	27	13,773,987	1.96
1840	28	16,046,854	1.74
1850	7	16,493,826	0.42
1860	29	17,125,102	1.69
1870	26	18,610,160	1.40
1880	53	20,872,855	2.54
1890	88	21,183,383	4.15
1900	196	22,541,232	8.70
1910	347	22,655,252	15.32
1920	574	25,632,411	22.39
1930	1014	24,413,247	41.53
1940	979	24,144,478	40.55
1950	1106	24,398,180	45.33
1960	891	23,927,982	37.24
1970	962	23,769,305	40.47
1980	1018	25,178,952	40.43
1990	841	27,877,340	30.17
2000	949	29,479,451	32.19

Table 10 Per million word frequency of *damn* as an intensifier over different periods of time

Gries and Hilpert (2012: 139) then calculate the standard deviation values between each consecutive pair of per million word count values. For example, the calculation of the per million word values of the 1970s (40.47) and the 1980s (40.43) result in a standard deviation of 0.03. This is the smallest standard deviation between two per million word values between all given time periods. Consequently, these two categories are merged into a single time period. The second iteration of the same algorithm exposes the standard deviation of the 1830s and the 1840s as the next smallest value (0.16). Therefore, these two time periods are merged into a single time period. Considering manageability of calculations in RStudio (2015) and Stefanowitsch's (2006) argued limitations of a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis in Section 3.3.1, this process is repeated until there are as many time periods as necessary and calculable. This amount has been decided to be a given frame of at least three different periods, which is the minimum to justify a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis (two periods could only result in a Distinctive Collexeme Analysis), and to a maximum of six periods, which is the maximum to still make a visualization of the results meaningful with calculable standard deviations.

The VNC method resulted in minor problems, which shall be outlined shortly. Considering the constructions $[[damn\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ and $[[damn\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of noun}]]$, the VNC twice postulated the time period of 1810s as an own time period according to the calculation of standard deviations. Nevertheless, the data within this time period is very limited. The easiest solution would probably be to just integrate the period 1810s into the next time period. This, however, is not possible as the difference in standard deviations between the 1810s and the respective next period is too large to justify the other differentiations and the calculation would end up in one big time period covering all given time periods from 1810s – 2000s. As there is no obvious solution to solve the problem with the small data sat in the 1810s without losing meaningful other time periods, this problem remains and the time period 1810s within the two mentioned constructions must be taken with some reservation.

As taboo intensifiers, especially in earlier time periods, however, are not that common in the COHA, these normalized frequencies cannot always be categorized in per million words values. If the total number of occurrences demands more fine-grained normalized frequency values than what per million words values can offer, standard deviation values are calculated in per 100,000 words values. By using VNC (Gries and Hilpert 2012) according to the six different searches in Section 3.2, the following time periods have been identified for investigating taboo intensifiers in this thesis:

1	2	3	4	5	6
1810s	1820s-1910s	1920s	1930s-1950s	1960s-1980s	1990s-2000s

Table 11 VNC periods for *damn* as intensifier without syntactic right hand collocate restriction

1	2	3
1930s-1960s	1970s-1980s	1990s-2000s

Table 12 VNC periods for *fucking* as intensifier without syntactic right hand collocate restriction

1	2	3	4
1810s	1820s-1900s	1910s-1920s	1930s-2000s

Table 13 VNC periods for *damn* as intensifier with first right hand noun collocates

1	2	3
1930s-1950s	1960s	1970s-2000s

Table 14 VNC periods for *fucking* as intensifier with first right hand noun collocates

1	2	3	4	5
1820s-1920s	1930-1950s	1960s	1970s-1980s	1990s-2000s

Table 15 VNC periods for *damn* as intensifier with first right hand predicative adjective collocates (not being a noun pre-modifier)

1	2	3
1960s	1970s-1980s	1990s-2000s

Table 16 VNC periods for *fucking* as intensifier with first right hand predicative adjective collocates (not being a noun pre-modifier)

4. Presentation and Analysis of Results

After formulating the fundamental hypotheses which motivated this study as well as defining both the dataset and the methodology used to examine these, the empirical part of this study comes into focus. In this section, first the results will be shown and at a later stage an analysis of these results will be provided. To provide a clearer structure for the presentation and analysis of these results, this section is divided into two main sections, each dealing with one intensifier at a time. Each section will first provide results yielded by a raw frequency list in the COHA, followed by a Distinctive Diachronic Collexeme Analysis (Hilpert 2008). These results are generally divided into two subsections, syntactic range of the intensifier and collocational range of the intensifier, whereas the latter is again subdivided into collocational noun range and collocational predicative adjective range. Following the presentation of the yielded results, an analysis of the processes involved in Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) model of Grammatical Constructionalization and Constructional Change represented in the hypotheses, is provided for each intensifier.

4.1. The Intensifier *damn*

As can be observed in Table 2 in Section 2.2, *damn* appears to have boomed as an intensifier since the beginning of the 20th century. In a more sophisticated analysis than what Table 2 can offer, this section now presents a conducted Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis to further investigate the processes involved in Grammatical Constructionalization and Constructional Change (Traugott and Trousdale: 2013) and consequently test the hypotheses

introduced in Section 3.1. Section 4.1.1 analyzes the intensifier *damn*'s expansion of its syntactic range, while section 4.1.2 presents its expansion of collocational range. Section 4.1.2 is subdivided into Section 4.1.2.1, considering the collocational noun range, and Section 4.1.2.2, analyzing the collocational predicative adjective range.

4.1.1. Expansion of Syntactic Range

The first question addressed is the examination of the general first right hand collocates with which *damn* as an intensifier has collocated over the last two hundred years. The analysis of *damn* as an intensifier also includes its forms *damned* and *damn'd*. A raw frequency analysis, where N represents the raw frequency count of an item, yields the results in Table 17:

1810s		1820s-1910s		1920s	
Syntactic Category	N	Syntactic Category	N	Syntactic Category	N
NOUN	11	NOUN	505	NOUN	310
ADJ _{attr}	8	ADJ _{attr}	169	ADJ _{attr}	101
ADJ _{pred}	4	ADJ _{pred}	104	ADJ _{pred}	100
		ADV	34	ADV	57
		VERB	16	VERB	6

1930s-1950s		1960s-1980s		1990s-2000s	
Syntactic Category	N	Syntactic Category	N	Syntactic Category	N
NOUN	1526	NOUN	1323	NOUN	917
ADJ _{pred}	617	ADJ _{pred}	730	ADJ _{pred}	473
ADJ _{attr}	491	ADV	419	ADV	223
ADV	380	ADJ _{attr}	392	ADJ _{attr}	175
VERB	15	VERB	7	VERB	2

Table 17 Raw frequencies for *damn* as intensifier without syntactic right hand collocate restrictions

At the center of this section is the superordinate construction which has become [[*damn* ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] ↔ [intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb]] and its different micro-constructions [[*damn* ADJ_{attr}] ↔ [intensification of attributive adjective]], [[*damn* ADJ_{pred}] ↔ [intensification of predicative adjective]], [[*damn* NOUN] ↔ [intensification of noun]], [[*damn* ADV] ↔ [intensification of adverb]] and [[*damn* VERB] ↔ [intensification of verb]]. An analysis of these raw frequency results would lead to the conclusion that although some minor shifts might occur, all six periods show that the intensifier *damn* is mostly attracted to right hand noun collocates. Therefore, in all six periods *damn* preferably functions as an adjective modifying a noun within a noun phrase. As already mentioned earlier in this thesis, however, this conclusion

presents a different and simplified view from what a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis represents:

1810s		1820s-1910s		1920s	
Syntactic Category	CollStr	Syntactic Category	CollStr	Syntactic Category	CollStr
ADJ _{attr}	1.66	VERB	5.84	ADJ _{attr}	1.45
VERB	-0.05	NOUN	5.24	VERB	1.17
NOUN	-0.29	ADJ _{attr}	5.04	NOUN	0.96
ADJ _{pred}	-0.38	ADJ _{pred}	-11.04	ADV	-1.25
ADV	-1.22	ADV	-14.96	ADJ _{pred}	-2.28

1930s-1950s		1960s-1980s		1990s-2000s	
Syntactic Category	CollStr	Syntactic Category	CollStr	Syntactic Category	CollStr
ADJ _{attr}	2.44	ADV	5.10	ADJ _{pred}	4.64
ADV	0.57	ADJ _{pred}	5.07	NOUN	0.53
VERB	-0.27	ADJ _{attr}	-1.33	ADV	0.42
NOUN	-0.30	VERB	-2.00	VERB	-2.50
ADJ _{pred}	-2.41	NOUN	-4.39	ADJ _{attr}	-9.75

Table 18 Collostructional Strength of non-restricted syntactic right hand collocates of *damn* as intensifier

As can be observed in Table 18, the premature hypothetical conclusion that right hand noun collocates have always been most attractive for *damn* as an intensifier in all six periods is not very well founded. Table 18 clearly reveals that the actual processes and changes are far more complicated than what could be extracted from a mere raw frequency analysis. Although it is questionable whether the first period, 1810s, with a total raw number of merely 23 hits is highly meaningful, it shall be treated as such since a VNC analysis established it as a meaningful period.

Now the question remains what can be extracted from the Collostructional Strength values. To begin with, it can be observed that in the 1810s the only syntactic category which *damn* as an intensifier shows attraction towards is an attributive adjective. In a micro-construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{attr}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective]]$, *damn* syntactically functions as an adverb which is modifying an adjective pre-modifying a noun. All other categories show a negative Collostructional Strength and thus repel *damn* as an intensifier, even if this value or repulsion is predominantly rather low. The distinction between attributive adjective (ADJ_{attr}) and predicative adjective (ADJ_{pred}) is of utmost importance as the data in Table 18 supports the argument that the intensifier *damn* initially occurred in a micro-construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{attr}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective]]$ in which the modified adjective is then followed by a noun. This construction functions as a pioneer and only gradually enables the

intensifier *damn* in a further step to then also occur in a micro-construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ predicative\ adjective]]$ in which the modified adjective is not followed by a noun any longer.

Regarding the 1820s to 1910s, it is shown that this attraction towards attributive adjectives has increased. Furthermore, the Collostructional Strength of both nouns and verbs increase drastically indicating increased attraction for correlating with *damn* as an intensifier. Similar to what has been shown in the first period in correlation with attributive adjectives, a micro-construction $[[damn\ VERB] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ verb]]$ classifies *damn* syntactically as an adverb. However, in a micro-construction where *damn* is in left hand neighboring position of a noun, $[[damn\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$, it functions as an adjective. Particularly striking is the massive repulsion which *damn* as an intensifier shows for both predicative adjectives and adverbs, meaning that these are indeed highly unlikely, although the micro-constructions $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ predicative\ adjective]]$ and $[[damn\ ADV] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ adverb]]$ are occurring to some extent (100 or 57 times respectively).

Considering the period of the 1920s, some minor shifts in the positive Collostructional Strength values can be observed. All three frontrunner categories of the previous period seem to grow less attractive for *damn* as an intensifier. The major shifts, however, appear to happen in the two other syntactic categories, predicative adjectives and adverbs. While still carrying negative Collostructional Strength, both values have increased drastically during this period.

The period from the 1930s to the 1950s reveals minor shifts in all categories apart from one being of major importance, the Collostructional Strength of adverbs collocating with *damn* as an intensifier. For the first time in the given data set, the micro-construction $[[damn\ ADV] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ adverb]]$ shows a positive Collostructional Strength value, resulting in an increased attraction for the intensifier *damn*. Again, the aforementioned construction syntactically classifies *damn* as an adverb modifying another adverb.

The most prominent shift of Collostructional Strength values is observed in the period of the 1960s to 1980s, where it seems that values are completely reshuffled. While the three syntactic categories noun, attributive adjective and verb all show negative Collostructional Strength values and are thus repelled by *damn* as intensifier, both adverbs and predicative adjectives have become highly attractive collexemes for the intensifier *damn*. Both micro-constructions, $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ predicative\ adjective]]$ and $[[damn\ ADV] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ adverb]]$, syntactically classify the intensifier *damn* as an adverb.

The sixth and last period, the 1990s to 2000s, eventually partly reveals what has become apparent in the development over the five preceding periods. The syntactic category predicative adjective becomes the most attractive collexeme of the intensifier *damn*, while the initial frontrunner, attributive adjective, has become the most repelled one. Apart from the first period, for which the meaningfulness has already been questioned earlier, verbs also show to have gradually lost their attraction for *damn* as an intensifier. While the Collostructional Strength value for adverbs decreased drastically as well, the most interesting shift in the last period appears to have happened with the micro-construction $[[damn\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$. Although it seems that the Collostructional Strength of nouns in the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective,\ predicative\ adjective,\ noun,\ adverb\ or\ verb]]$ has been decreasing since the 1920s, the last period reveals a surprisingly different development. After having reached an anticlimax in the 1960s-1980s, the Collostructional Strength of the micro-construction $[[damn\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ eventually proves to be positive again, resulting in the attraction for the intensifier *damn*.

In conclusion, it can be said that the intensifier *damn* expanded its syntactic range drastically. While formerly solely functioning as an intensifier for attributive adjectives, and thus syntactically as an adverb, *damn* starts to occur in the syntactic predicative adjective slot as well. Although eventually turning out to function predominantly again as an adverb, it proves true to function nowadays as both simultaneously, a predicative adjective and an adverb at a positive Collostructional Strength value.

4.1.2. Expansion of Collocational Range

As alluded to before, the expansion of the collocational range of a grammaticalized construction has been identified as a major indication for measuring advanced Grammaticalization in a considerable amount of studies (Partington 1993; Himmelmann 2003; Tagliamonte and Ito 2003; Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005; Hilpert 2008; Calle-Martin 2014). This section now illustrates an analysis of the collocational range of the intensifier *damn* on two different levels, the collocational range of intensified nouns and the collocational range of intensified predicative adjectives. Apart from the top 25 distinctive collexemes of each respective period, this section will also consider the top 15 repelled collexemes of each period which show negative Collostructional Strength values.

4.1.2.1. Collocational Noun Range of *damn* as an Intensifier

At the core of this section is the construction $[[damn\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ and its micro-constructions $[[damn\ NOUN_a] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ animate\ noun]]$ and $[[damn\ NOUN_i] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ inanimate\ noun]]$. Regarding the expansion of the collocational range of the intensifier *damn*, the first question addresses first right hand noun collocates and their properties. It has been hypothesized that the intensifier *damn* illustrates a development where the initial preference for animate noun collocates, $[[damn\ NOUN_a] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ animate\ noun]]$, vanishes and the construction then allows for a more open collocational preference of both animate and inanimate nouns.

A raw frequency analysis of the top 15 right hand noun collocates of the intensifier *damn* yields the results listed in Table 19:

1810s		1820s-1900s		1910s-1920s		1930s-2000s	
NOUN	N	NOUN	N	NOUN	N	NOUN	N
scoundrel	3	fool	57	fool	175	thing	1190
Fiend	1	thing	20	thing	59	fool	601
Affair	1	soul	14	sight	41	sight	112
Face	1	sight	14	business	18	business	80
word	1	villain	13	Yankee	16	place	71
monkey	1	shame	13	lie	15	Yankee	65
coat	1	Lie	13	dog	13	bit	65
villain	1	iteration	12	nonsense	11	shame	60
spirit	1	rascal	9	scoundrel	9	lie	57
thing	1	rebel	9	woman	9	country	50
deed	1	nigger	9	shame	8	soul	39
		spirit	8	nuisance	8	right	38
		goo	8	luck	7	dog	35
		business	8	war	7	nuisance	35
		Yankee	8	skunk	6	world	35

Table 19 Raw frequencies for *damn* as intensifier with top right hand noun collocates

As Hilpert (2008) has shown multiple times, this representation clearly deviates from what a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis in Table 20 shows:

1810s		1820s-1900s		1910s-1920s		1930s-2000s	
NOUN	Coll.Str.	NOUN	Coll.Str.	NOUN	Coll.Str.	NOUN	Coll.Str.
scoundrel	4.31	iteration	12.17	fool	17.00	thing	32.50
monkey	2.20	villain	10.55	sight	6.40	place	2.82
affair	2.20	goo	9.38	skunk	4.43	cold	2.63
deed	2.20	rascal	6.69	luck	4.08	day	2.21
coat	2.07	Spirit	6.41	beast	2.90	right	1.73
fiend	2.07	spot	4.86	cheek	2.90	life	1.70
face	1.57	rebel	4.84	whistling	2.90	car	1.61
spirit	1.57	Indian	4.69	dog	2.77	house	1.60
villain	1.38	rascals	4.69	nonsense	2.38	time	1.47
word	1.13	soul	4.64	king	2.33	phone	1.44
		thief	4.61	scoundrel	2.16	stuff	1.44
		coward	4.23	rot	1.97	government	1.27
		nigger	3.41	trick	1.97	bird	1.24
		shame	2.55	show	1.97	country	1.23
		lie	2.36	Jew	1.96	kid	1.18
		argument	2.35	boche	1.93	world	1.12
		carcass	2.35	buzzard	1.93	chicken	1.10
		condition	2.35	climate	1.93	bit	1.09
		cuss	2.35	cowboy	1.93	door	1.04
		heathen	2.35	engineer	1.93	machine	1.02
		rogue	2.35	falsehood	1.93	story	1.02
		sachem	2.35	ingrate	1.93	book	0.96
		snob	2.35	Maverick	1.93	doctor	0.93
		villainy	2.35	officer	1.93	gun	0.93
		brain	2.28	poltroon	1.93	song	0.93
		scoundrel	2.25	rattler	1.93		
				Roman	1.93		
				sailor	1.93		
				sea	1.93		
				snooper	1.93		
				thick-head	1.93		

Table 20 Collostructional Strength of top right hand noun collocates of *damn* as intensifier

Although it has been planned initially to show only the top 25 distinctive colllexemes of each period under analysis, this chart has to be extended due to the reason that the period of the 1910s to the 1920s provides too many colllexemes with the same Collostructional Strength value. Colllexemes sharing the same Collostructional Strength value are thus ordered alphabetically, which would have made a simple cut at the 25th colllexeme insufficient, and has led to the extended list in Table 20. Boxes shaded in light green represent animate nouns, while boxes shaded in light yellow are representative of inanimate nouns. The distinction between which colllexeme being animate and which being inanimate is based on Zaenen *et al.*

(2004). The grey box, *life*, represents a borderline case, which cannot be classified undoubtedly with the categorization of Zaenen *et al.* (2004).

Although the input is rather low in frequency, it can be observed that the construction $[[damn \text{ NOUN}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of noun}]]$ slightly favors animate nouns in the 1810s. To begin with, the two most distinctive collexemes of the 1810s are clearly animate nouns. Although it might be argued whether *monkey* can be categorized as an animate noun, according to Zaenen *et al.* (2004) *monkey* qualifies as an animate noun. Overall, five out of ten distinctive collexemes of the 1810s are animate nouns, the remaining ones being inanimate nouns, which could lead to arguments for the preference of animate over inanimate nouns as not being sufficient. In his original applications of collostructional analysis, Hilpert (2006, 2008) does not introduce a method on how to proceed in this particular case. As a consequence thereof, it was decided that adding the overall Collostructional Strength of both animate and inanimate nouns is the most reasonable way to provide a comparable measurement instrument. The sum of the Collostructional Strength values for animate nouns adds up to a total value of 11.53, while the sum for inanimate nouns is 9.17. The top 15 nouns repelled by *damn*, shown in Table 21, are only taken into consideration in the three following periods, as there are not enough items entered in the 1810s for this analysis to be meaningful. Therefore, it can be confirmed that the construction $[[damn \text{ NOUN}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of noun}]]$ shows a preference towards animate nouns, such as *scoundrel*, *monkey*, *fiend*, *spirit* or *villain*, in the first period.

1810s		1820s-1900s		1910s-1920s		1930s-2000s	
NOUN	Coll.Str.	NOUN	Coll.Str.	NOUN	Coll.Str.	NOUN	Coll.Str.
fool	-0.77	thing	-17.46	thing	-14.57	fool	-12.38
thing	-0.60	place	-1.46	time	-1.79	iteration	-10.51
sight	-0.15	right	-1.21	cold	-1.54	villain	-7.47
business	-0.10	word	-1.09	place	-1.49	scoundrel	-6.47
Yankee	-0.08	town	-1.03	bit	-1.43	goo	-6.01
lie	-0.08	war	-1.03	day	-1.29	sight	-5.79
place	-0.07	cold	-0.94	country	-1.26	skunk	-4.43
bit	-0.07	house	-0.88	bird	-1.19	spirit	-4.21
shame	-0.07	dog	-0.82	world	-1.14	spot	-3.83
dog	-0.05	day	-0.78	kid	-1.14	coward	-3.61
country	-0.05	nuisance	-0.71	minute	-1.14	luck	-3.61
soul	-0.05	money	-0.66	book	-1.02	thief	-3.51
right	-0.04	door	-0.63	life	-0.99	nonsense	-3.33
nuisance	-0.04	life	-0.60	car	-0.94	lie	-3.28
nonsense	-0.04	car	-0.57	fault	-0.89	rascal	-3.23

Table 21 Collostructional Strength of most repelled right hand noun collocates of *damn* as intensifier

In the 1820s to 1900s, again more than 25 colllexemes have been considered: Due to the fact that the 25th colllexeme, *brain*, again illustrates a case which cannot be classified undoubtedly, it is neglected and a 26th item, *scoundrel*, has been added. Although the top colllexeme of the 1820s to 1900s, *iteration*, and the third in the list, *goo*, are characterized as inanimate nouns, the second period again illustrates a slight preference for animate nouns. Out of 25 noun colllexemes, 15 qualify as animate nouns which are opposed to ten inanimate nouns. Repeating the process of adding up Collostructional Strength, it shows that the overall Collostructional Strength value of animate nouns (68.69) considerably exceeds the overall Collostructional Strength value of inanimate nouns (43.07). Apart from the 25 top distinctive colllexemes of each period, also the 15 top repelled colllexemes will be investigated in the three latter periods. The construction $[[damn\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ shows a strong repulsion of inanimate nouns in the 1820s to 1900s. Thirteen of the 15 top repelled colllexemes are inanimate nouns, while only one noun is animate and another one is neglected. Similar to the first period under analysis, the construction $[[damn\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ can be confirmed to show a clear preference for animate nouns, such as *villain*, *rascal*, *spirit*, *rebel* or *Indian*, over inanimate nouns in the 1820s to 1900s.

The largest amount of top colllexemes in the list carrying positive Collostructional Strength can be found in the third period of the 1910s to the 1920s, as sixteen colllexemes share the

same Collostructional Strength value. The most distinctive collexeme of this period is the animate noun *fool* with a Collostructional Strength value of 17.00. Six out of the top ten distinctive collexemes of the third period are inanimate nouns, which might lead to the perhaps premature conclusion of a shift in the collocational behavior of *damn* as an intensifier. Counteracting this premature conclusion is the main reason for including more collexemes in this analysis than what Hilpert (2008) usually suggests. As a consequence, it can be observed that a clear preference for animate nouns is given regarding noun collocates in the period of the 1910 to 1920s. 19 animate nouns are opposed to twelve inanimate nouns which represents a clear preference for the former. Furthermore, the Collostructional Strength values for animate nouns totaled account for 51.31, while those of inanimate nouns results in merely 37.69. Shifting the focus towards the most repelled collexemes of the third period, this preference for animate nouns becomes even more evident. Out of the 15 most repelled collexemes, twelve are categorized as inanimate nouns, opposed to two animate and one neglected noun. Similar to what has been shown for the two previous periods, a clear preference for animate noun collocates for the intensifier *damn* in the period of the 1910s to the 1920s can be confirmed.

In the fourth and last period, the 1930s to 2000s, a major shift away from what has been illustrated in the three previous periods can be identified. While the first three periods all represent the construction $[[damn\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ preferring animate nouns over inanimate nouns, the fourth provides a totally different account. As both *life* and *government* are neglected due to mentioned reasons, all top ten distinctive right hand noun collexemes of the intensifier *damn* are inanimate nouns. The collexeme *thing* represents the highest collocational strength value of all noun collexemes of *damn* at 32.50. Out of the top 25 right hand noun collexemes of the intensifier *damn*, 19 are inanimate nouns, such as *thing*, *place*, *cold*, *day* or *right*. Only four collexemes can be categorized as animate nouns, *bird*, *kid*, *chicken* and *doctor*. Adding up the collocational strength values leads to a result of a Collostructional Strength value of 60.06 for inanimate right hand noun collexemes of the intensifier *damn* compared to a value of merely 4.45 for animate right hand noun collexemes. Another major difference to the three previous periods is shown in the top 15 most repelled collexemes in the period of the 1930s to 2000s. Considering the most repelled collexemes, animate nouns being repelled by the construction $[[damn\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ has been the exception over the three previous periods. In the period of the 1930s to 2000s, however, eight out of the top 15 repelled right hand noun collexemes are categorized

as animate which confirms the preference for inanimate noun collocates of the intensifier *damn*.

Concluding the development of the collocational noun range of the intensifier *damn*, it can be said that there has been a major shift in the preferred right hand noun collexemes of the construction $[[damn\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$. While there has been a clear preference for animate nouns as first right hand collocates initially, the construction at hand has opened up for inanimate nouns as well. The most drastic shift in the development of noun preferences has happened in the period of the 1930s to the 2000s where the construction departs from its preferential behavior of animate nouns and shifts towards a preference for inanimate nouns. Nevertheless, this shift should not be identified as a restriction or reduction of collocational range in the last period, as the analysis of the top repelled collexemes represents a fairly balanced amount of inanimate and animate nouns. Furthermore, the negative Collostructional Strength value of the most repelled single collexeme of each period illustrates a decrease, which can also be interpreted as the construction $[[damn\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ having become more open towards innovative right hand collocates. This claim is also confirmed by an analysis of the total amount of collexemes with positive Collostructional Strength values in each period, which has continuously increased since the first period as can be seen in Table 22:

Period	Noun collexemes with positive Coll.Str.
1810s	10
1820s-1900s	115
1910s-1920s	140
1930s-2000s	423

Table 22 Total amount of noun collexemes of the intensifier *damn* with positive Collostructional Strength values

Before concluding this section, the focus shall shortly be shifted towards another statement by Stefanowitsch (2006: 261) referred to in Section 3.3.1, in which the author claims that a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis can categorize a collexeme as being distinctive for only one period, not more. Quite to the contrary, however, it turns out that more than one collexeme appears in more than one period, such as *villain* or *spirit* both appearing in the 1810s and the 1820s to 1900s. One collexeme, *scoundrel*, even qualifies as distinctive for three periods, the 1810s, the 1820s to the 1900s and the 1910s to the 1920s. Therefore, the method of Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis again proves to be an appropriate instrument for measuring language change.

4.1.2.2. Collocational Predicative Adjective Range of *damn* as an Intensifier

The second question concerned with the expansion of the collocational range of the intensifier *damn* addresses first right hand predicative adjective collocates which are not followed by a noun. Therefore, the analysis of the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ predicative\ adjective]]$ excludes examples where an attributive adjective is part of a pre-modified noun phrase. For instance, while example (22) below is included in the analysis, example (23) does not qualify for this analysis.

(22) [T]hat's pretty damn clever. (Davies 2010)

(23) Except Hugh Walpole, who does a damn good job. (Davies 2010)

At the center of this section are the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ predicative\ adjective]]$ and its micro-constructions $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred-neg}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ negative\ predicative\ adjective]]$, $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred-neut}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ neutral\ predicative\ adjective]]$ and $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred-pos}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ positive\ predicative\ adjective]]$. In Section 3.1, it has been hypothesized that in the construction at hand the intensifier *damn* illustrates a development where the initial preference for negatively connoted predicative adjectives, $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred-neg}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ negative\ predicative\ adjective]]$, decreases and the construction opens up for neutral and positively connoted adjectives as well.

To begin with, a raw frequency list analyzing the top 15 right hand predicative adjective collocates of the intensifier *damn* yields following results in Table 23:

1820s-1920s		1930s-1950s		1960s		1970s-1980s		1990s-2000s	
ADJ	N	ADJ	N	ADJ	N	ADJ	N	ADJ	N
good	21	good	77	good	22	good	65	good	62
quick	14	glad	31	sure	15	sure	38	sure	35
funny	10	sure	22	right	6	hard	20	hard	18
glad	9	tired	19	glad	5	lucky	16	glad	10
tired	6	quick	14	tired	5	glad	11	close	10
hot	4	bad	14	hard	5	fine	10	lucky	9
smart	4	lucky	11	smart	4	right	9	hot	9
sad	3	right	9	silly	4	funny	9	funny	8
queer	3	nice	9	quick	3	bad	9	expensive	8
careful	3	funny	8	nice	3	important	9	important	7
sorry	3	smart	8	funny	3	tired	8	tired	6
bad	3	important	8	clever	3	smart	8	right	5
deficient	2	careful	7	big	3	close	7	happy	5
mouldy	2	silly	7	bad	2	clever	6	sorry	4
selfish	2	hard	7	busy	2	big	6	nice	4

Table 23 Raw frequencies for *damn* as intensifier with top right hand predicative adjective collocates

In order to analyze whether similar frequencies in Table 23, such as *good*, *glad*, *sure* or *hard* perhaps represent semantic stasis or only minor semantic changes, the provided data is submitted to a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis. These results are provided in Tables 24.a and 24.b:

1820s-1920s		1930s-1950s		1960s	
ADJ	Coll.Str.	ADJ	Coll.Str.	ADJ	Coll.Str.
quick	5.80	glad	2.10	stuffy	2.13
funny	2.53	lonely	1.83	silly	1.68
sad	2.45	decent	1.83	right	1.40
deficient	2.02	secretive	1.48	sure	1.24
mouldy	2.02	awkward	1.42	annoyed	1.07
selfish	2.02	attractive	1.42	consistent	1.07
true	1.57	tired	1.10	democratic	1.07
humiliating	1.57	careful	1.07	evasive	1.07
amusing	1.57	silly	1.07	forgiving	1.07
queer	1.07	easy	1.07	frank	1.07
bourgeois	1.01	nice	1.06	hurt	1.07
broad-minded	1.01	bad	1.06	impressive	1.07
civilized	1.01	fake	1.00	red	1.07
colloquial	1.01	intelligent	1.00	big	0.88
convenient	1.01	anxious	1.00	dull	0.83
cordial	1.01	awful	0.99	ineffectual	0.78
full	1.01	black	0.99	friendly	0.78
moldy	1.01	conventional	0.99	concerned	0.78
careful	0.89	healthy	0.99	drunk	0.78
hot	0.84	respectable	0.99	interested	0.78
grateful	0.74	sloppy	0.99	strange	0.78
dull	0.74	superior	0.99		
		unscientific	0.99		
		stupid	0.99		

Table 24.a Collostructional Strength of top right hand predicative adjective collocates of *damn* as intensifier

1970s-1980s		1990s-2000s	
ADJ	Coll.Str.	ADJ	Coll.Str.
fine	2.16	expensive	2.13
lucky	1.68	late	1.89
hard	1.61	depressing	1.87
sure	1.47	close	1.68
cute	1.38	hot	1.38
complicated	1.26	hard	1.37
disgusting	1.18	sure	1.37
jeopardized	1.18	inconvenient	1.36
moral	1.18	cool	1.36
puny	1.18	far	1.36
smug	1.18	cheerful	1.25
strong	1.18	emotional	1.25
surprised	1.18	risky	1.25
urgent	1.18	sensitive	1.25
clear	0.95	skippy	1.25
rich	0.78	old	1.04
big	0.78	bright	0.85
important	0.76	cold	0.85
proud	0.74	eager	0.85
heavy	0.74	difficult	0.82
difficult	0.74	lazy	0.66
		happy	0.65

Table 24.b Collostructional Strength of top right hand predicative adjective collocates of *damn* as intensifier

Initially, it was planned to analyze only the top 20 distinctive colllexemes of each period. However, as outlined in Section 4.1.2.1, some periods show more than twenty colllexemes due to the reason of various colllexemes showing the same Collostructional Strength. In Tables 24.a and 24.b, as well as table 25.a and 25.b, boxes shaded in light blue represent adjective colllexemes which are categorized as positively connoted, while red-shaded boxes show negatively connoted adjective colllexemes. Again, grey boxes are indicative of borderline cases which can be both positively or negatively connoted. Regarding the colllexeme *rich* for example, it highly depends on the context in which the colllexeme appears. Examples (24) and (25) below will exemplify the mentioned problem:

(24) People will really like you better if you aren't so damned rich. (Davies 2010)

(25) I forget how young you are! In my day no one your age ever got so damned rich.
Not by themselves. (Davies 2010)

These examples clearly illustrate that *rich* is an ambiguous adjective. In example (24), it seems that being *rich* is a burden. Once being relieved of this burden, things will be easier for the person spoken to. Therefore, the adjective *rich* in (24) is rather negatively connoted. However, example (25) conveys a different meaning of the adjective *rich*. In this context, the person spoken to is admired for having become extremely wealthy at a fairly young age. Thus, the adjective *rich* in (25) is positively connoted.

As before, colorless boxes are representative of neutral adjectives which are neither positively nor negatively connoted. It has to be stressed that the distinction between collexemes being positively, negatively connoted or neutral is based on subjective interpretation of the utterances provided by the COHA. Hence, it must be emphasized that these distinctions could therefore also be interpreted differently to what is shown in this thesis.

The first period, the 1820s to 1920s, shows the most distinctive collexeme for any period regarding the construction $[[\textit{damn ADJ}_{\text{pred}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$, *quick*, which is categorized as a neutral adjective. It is followed by the collexeme *funny*, which in this thesis is categorized as a positively connoted adjective due to a closer analysis of the occurrences of *funny* appearing in the current construction. Although it thus might seem that the construction $[[\textit{damn ADJ}_{\text{pred}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$ shows a slight repulsion for negatively connoted adjectives in the first period, this proves to be wrong. The four subsequent adjectives in the list, *sad*, *deficient*, *mouldy* and *selfish*, are categorized as negatively connoted. Overall, the first period seems to offer a rather balanced preference scheme, including nine negatively connoted, eight positively connoted and five neutral adjectives. As in Section 4.1.2.1, Collostructional Strength values also in this section will be added up in order to provide another instrument of measuring collocational preferences. This provides a clearer illustration of preferential behavior of the construction at hand. Negatively connoted adjectives add up to a Collostructional Strength value of 13.89 while positively connoted and neutral adjectives lack behind at values of 10.32 and 9.66, respectively. The third measurement in this analysis is again provided by investigating the top fifteen predicative adjectives repelled by the intensifier *damn*, as illustrated in Tables 25.a and 25.b:

1820s-1920s		1930s-1950s		1960s	
ADJ	Coll.Str.	ADJ	Coll.Str.	ADJ	Coll.Str.
sure	-3.09	hard	-2.62	lucky	-1.49
hard	-1.47	sure	-2.61	important	-0.98
close	-0.99	close	-1.34	hot	-0.82
nice	-0.81	funny	-1.01	expensive	-0.55
fine	-0.81	difficult	-1.01	happy	-0.55
right	-0.72	cute	-1.01	long	-0.55
expensive	-0.63	proud	-1.01	careful	-0.51
long	-0.63	late	-0.84	pretty	-0.43
easy	-0.58	clear	-0.84	stupid	-0.43
lucky	-0.58	inconvenient	-0.67	dumb	-0.35
important	-0.55	sad	-0.67	glad	-0.31
good	-0.55	sorry	-0.65	bad	-0.31
dumb	-0.40	big	-0.62	lazy	-0.27
mad	-0.40	fine	-0.57	dangerous	-0.27
busy	-0.40	clever	-0.57	pleased	-0.27
				obvious	-0.27
				awkward	-0.27
				fine	-0.27

Table 25.a Collostructional Strength of most repelled right hand predicative adjective collocates of *damn* as intensifier

1970s-1980s		1990s-2000s	
ADJ	Coll.Str.	ADJ	Coll.Str.
quick	-2.50	quick	-2.94
silly	-1.68	silly	-1.53
glad	-1.25	smart	-1.45
hot	-1.19	bad	-1.37
careful	-0.94	queer	-1.30
easy	-0.94	stupid	-1.30
nice	-0.92	glad	-1.21
awkward	-0.91	tired	-1.13
tired	-0.79	big	-1.01
ugly	-0.78	dull	-0.94
decent	-0.78	attractive	-0.83
old	-0.65	decent	-0.71
odd	-0.65	lonely	-0.71
little	-0.65	right	-0.60
good-looking	-0.65	foolish	-0.59

Table 25.b Collostructional Strength of most repelled right hand predicative adjective collocates of *damn* as intensifier

Considering the top 15 most repelled collexemes of the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred}]] \leftrightarrow$ [intensification of predicative adjective], it can be observed that in the first period most

repelled predicative adjectives are positively connoted adjectives, while also the most repelled adjective in the 1820s to 1920s, *sure*, is a positively connoted adjective. Furthermore, out of 15 repelled predicative adjectives, six are positively connoted. These are opposed to four negatively connoted and three neutral adjectives, with two collexemes having been neglected. In terms of totaled Collostructional Strength values, positively connoted adjectives add up to a value of -6.38, negatively connoted adjectives to a value of -2.91 and neutral adjectives to -2.33. Thus, it can be concluded that the construction $[[\textit{damn ADJ}_{\text{pred}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$ shows a preference for negatively connoted adjectives over positively connoted and neutral adjectives in the 1820s to 1920s.

The second period, the 1930s to 1950s, again comprises more than the initially planned 20 collexemes. Here too, we find a collexeme which is not negatively connoted, *glad*, at the top of the list with a Collostructional Strength value of 2.10. Considering only the first ten items, as shown in Hilpert (2008), would result in an even preference distribution of positively and negatively connoted nouns. The analysis of more items on the list, however, enables a more detailed analysis of collocational patterns. In the 1930s to 1950s, considering the top 25 collexemes provides us with eleven negatively connoted adjectives opposed to eight positively connoted, three neutral and two neglected adjectives. This illustrates a first evidence of the construction $[[\textit{damn ADJ}_{\text{pred}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$ still leaning towards a preference for negatively connoted adjectives in the 1930s to 1950s. The second evidence for this claim is provided by the added Collostructional Strength values of each respective adjective category. Negatively connoted adjectives add up to a total Collostructional Strength of 12.43 opposed to 10.45 for positively connoted and 3.46 for neutral adjectives. Considering the top fifteen most repelled predicative adjectives of the current construction in the 1930s to 1950s, it can be said that only two neutral collexemes are repelled while one collexeme is neglected. The twelve collexemes left are equally shared between positively and negatively connoted adjectives. Observing the negative overall Collostructional Strength values, however, illustrates a fractionally stronger repulsion for positively connoted adjectives (-6.60) than for negatively connoted ones (-6.46). The overall Collostructional Strength value of repelled neutral adjectives adds up to -1.96. Regarding the second period, it can thus be argued that the construction $[[\textit{damn ADJ}_{\text{pred}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$ still illustrates a preference for negatively connoted adjectives, such as *lonely*, *awkward*, *tired* or *silly*, over positively connoted and neutral ones. This preference seems to have decreased compared to the first period.

In the third period, the intensifier *damn* shows a clear preference for negatively connoted predicative adjectives over both positively connoted and neutral ones. Both top distinctive collexemes of the 1960s, *stuffy* and *silly*, are categorized as negatively connoted adjectives. Considering all 21 shown top distinctive collexemes of the 1960s, it shall be noted that ten adjectives are negatively connoted, opposed to seven positively connoted and four neutral adjectives. In terms of totaled Collostructional Strength values, negatively connoted adjectives (10.97) outweigh both positively connoted (7.07) and neutral (4.40) ones. An analysis of the most repelled predicative adjectives of each respective time period reveals similar results. Out of the top 18 repelled adjectives of *damn* in the 1960s, eight are categorized as positively connoted adjectives, seven are negatively connoted and three are neutral. Totaled negative Collostructional Strength values result in an overall repulsion of positively connoted adjectives at -4.81; negatively connoted adjectives are repelled at a Collostructional Strength value of -2.46 and neutral adjectives at -1.64. Again, these findings confirm that the construction $[[\textit{damn ADJ}_{pred}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjectives}]]$ shows a preference for negatively connoted adjectives, such as *stuffy*, *silly* or *annoyed*.

The construction $[[\textit{damn ADJ}_{pred}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjectives}]]$ happens to undergo a change of its collocational behavior in the fourth period, the 1970s to 1980s. While there has been a continuous preference for negatively connoted collexemes of the construction over the first three periods, positively connoted adjectives seem to flourish in the fourth period. The two most distinctive collexemes, *fine* and *lucky*, are positively connoted adjectives. Out of the top 21 distinctive collexemes in the 1970s-1980s, there are eight each positively and negatively connoted adjectives, respectively. These are opposed to three neutral adjectives. Adding up the overall values, however, shows that in the 1970s to 1980s the Collostructional Strength value of positively connoted adjectives (9.30) is slightly higher than that of negatively connoted ones (9.06). The overall Collostructional Strength value of neutral adjective amounts to 3.14. Considering the most repelled predicative adjective collexemes of the current construction in the fourth period, this finding is also confirmed. The most repelled collexeme is a neutral adjective, *quick*, followed by a negatively connoted one, *silly*. Of the top 15 repelled collexemes, negatively and positively connoted adjectives are each represented by five adjectives as opposed to four neutral adjectives and one being neglected. Regarding negative Collostructional Strength values, this has been the most balanced distribution so far. Adding these Collostructional Strength values up again confirms this balanced distribution. However, it can be said that negatively connoted adjectives are repelled

at a slightly higher value (-4.80) than positively connoted ones (-4.54). The highest negative Collostructional Strength value of the most repelled collexemes, however, is represented by neutral adjectives (-4.98). Although these differences appear to be minor, it can be argued that the collocational preference pattern of the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred}]\leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ predicative\ adjective]]$ has shifted in the 1970s to 1980s. The former attraction for negatively connoted adjectives makes way for a preference for positively connoted adjectives, such as *glad*, *careful* and *nice*. In contrast to negatively connoted adjectives, positively connoted adjectives show both a higher positive collostructional value, resembling higher attractiveness, and a lower negative collostructional value, resembling lower repulsion. Neutral adjectives show both the highest repulsion and the lowest attraction for the construction at hand.

In the fifth and last period, the 1990s to 2000s, this shift of the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred}]\leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ predicative\ adjective]]$ preferring positively connoted adjectives cannot be confirmed at first. The top three distinctive collexemes of the 1990s to 2000s are negatively connoted adjectives, *expensive*, *late* and *depressing*. Those are followed by two neutral adjectives, *close* and *hot*, and another negatively connoted one. Only then, a positively connoted adjective, *sure*, can be found on seventh place. Considering the top 22 collexemes, however, it can be observed that eight collexemes are negatively connoted adjectives, eight are positively connoted and six are neutral. In comparison to the distinctive collexemes of previous periods, the 1990s to 2000s provide a rather balanced distribution of all three adjective categories. In totaled Collostructional Strength values, however, a preference for negatively connoted adjectives (11.35) over positively connoted (7.44) and neutral (6.70) adjectives is noticeable. This may lead to the conclusion that the current construction illustrates a preference for negatively connoted adjectives, contrary to the development of the fourth period. Regarding the most repelled predicative adjective collexemes of *damn* as an intensifier, however, offers a different view. Although the most repelled item of the fifth period, *quick*, is categorized as a neutral adjective, most repelled items are categorized as negatively connoted adjectives. Out of 15 repelled collexemes, eight are negatively connoted adjectives, opposed to four positively connoted and three neutral adjectives. In totaled negative Collostructional Strength values, this means that negatively connoted adjectives (-8.86) illustrate the strongest repulsion from the intensifier *damn*, followed by neutral (-4.56) and positively connoted adjectives (-4.19). Recapitulating the 1990s to 2000s, no clear preference patterns can be extracted. While it seems that negatively connoted adjectives are

the most attractive adjective collexemes for the intensifier *damn*, they are also the most repelled ones by far. Therefore, it can be inferred that in the fifth period the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$ seems to be open to all three categories of adjectives to a somewhat balanced degree.

Concluding the development of the collocational predicative adjective range of the intensifier *damn*, it can be summarized that collocational preferences within the construction have shifted. While there has been an observable preference for negatively connoted adjective collexemes over the first three periods under analysis, the fourth period exposes this preference as fading, as shown in the data outlined in this section. Although the construction at hand has not indeed shown a repulsion as obvious as in Section 4.1.2.1, the repulsion for neutral and especially positively connoted nouns in the three initial periods is remarkable. The major shift in the development of adjectival preferences has happened over the last two periods, the 1970s to 1980s and 1990s to 2000s. Again, this shift should not be interpreted as a restriction or reduction of collocational range, but as the construction opening up for all kinds of predicative adjective collexemes, as is shown in Table 26. This development, however, is not as clear as in Section 4.1.2.1. As illustrated in Table 26 and despite showing a peak in the 1930s to 1950s and an anticlimax in the 1960s, the total number of collexemes with positive Collostructional Strength values has overall increased during the time covered. In total, it can be observed that the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$ has opened up for positively connoted and neutral adjectives to a further extent.

Period	Noun collexemes with positive Coll.Str.
1820s-1920s	52
1930s-1950s	92
1960s	47
1970s-1980s	81
1990s-2000s	86

Table 26 Total amount of predicative adjective collexemes of the intensifier *damn* with positive Collostructional Strength values

4.1.3. Discussion of Results

Sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 provide a fine-grained analysis of the collocational and syntactic expansion of the intensifier *damn*. In this section, the yielded results of the Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis will now be applied to the model of Grammatical Constructionalization according to Traugott and Trousdale (2013).

In Section 2.3.1, Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) model of Grammatical Constructionalization is defined as relying on the following three different processes which will subsequently be analyzed one by one:

- increased Schematicity of a construction
- increased Productivity of a construction
- decreased Compositionality of a construction (optional)

Considering the increased Schematicity of the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective,\ predicative\ adjective,\ noun,\ adverb\ or\ verb]]$, three arguments of major importance arise. A Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis investigating the expansion of the syntactic range of the intensifier *damn* reveals that *damn* as an intensifier initially only collocates with attributive adjectives. Over the decades covered in the COHA, however, the construction has unfolded as being not averse to collocating with other syntactic categories as well. What initially began as a construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{attr}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective]]$, as time passed, has become a construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective,\ predicative\ adjective,\ noun,\ adverb\ or\ verb]]$. Similar to what has been outlined in Section 2.3.1, the second construction is more schematic than the first. Analyzing the increased collocational noun range in Section 4.1.2.1, leads to a similar conclusion. A construction preferring animate nouns, $[[damn\ NOUN_a] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ animate\ noun]]$, has become a micro-construction of a construction which basically collocates with all kinds of nouns, $[[damn\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$. Again, the second construction is more schematic than the initial construction. Completing the analysis of increased Schematicity, the collocational predicative adjective range of the intensifier *damn*, outlined in Section 4.1.2.2, shall now be considered. It is shown that a construction which has initially been attracted to negatively connoted adjectives, $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred-neg}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ negative\ predicative\ adjective]]$, has opened up for positively connoted and neutral adjectives as well, $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ predicative\ adjective]]$. Regarding expanded collocational predicative adjective range, it can again be said that the second construction is more schematic than the first. Considering all three introduced processes, it can clearly be confirmed, that the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective,\ predicative\ adjective,\ noun,\ adverb\ or\ verb]]$ has increased its Schematicity.

The second mechanism involved in Grammatical Constructionalization is Productivity, which is best understood as a gradient phenomenon representing both construct frequency and construction frequency (Trousdale 2014: 566). Bybee and McClelland (2005: 387) also approve that “new constructions come into being and spread by gradually increasing their frequency of use over time”. Therefore, most work on Productivity is concerned with frequencies (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 18). For example, Himmelmann’s (2004) host-class expansion is identified as a hallmark of increased Productivity considering construction frequency. Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 18) even consider Hilpert’s (2008) Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis as the appropriate method of measuring increased Productivity. It is claimed that shifting collocational patterns

indicate developments in constructional meaning—as the construction changes semantically, it comes to be used with different collocates. Newly incoming collocates not only show that some change is underway; their lexical meanings further indicate how the construction changes semantically. (Hilpert 2012: 366-367)

As already presented in Table 2, the intensifier *damn* has increased its construct frequency over the last two hundred years. The yielded results of a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis for the intensifier *damn* are now used to prove whether the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective,\ predicative\ adjective,\ noun,\ adverb\ or\ verb]]$ has increased its Productivity. Considering the expanded syntactic range of the intensifier *damn* in Section 4.1.1, it can be observed that the initial preference for attributive adjectives, $[[damn\ ADJ_{attr}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective]]$, has vanished. The construction’s collocational range, however, has expanded and in the last period has become $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ predicative\ adjective,\ noun\ or\ adverb]]$. Despite indicating a weak repulsion for attributive adjectives and verbs, forms of the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{attr}/VERB] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective\ or\ verb]]$ are still present. With regard to the collocational noun preferences of the intensifier *damn*, shown in Section 4.1.2.1, a similar development can be traced. While the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{attr}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective]]$ has initially predominantly occurred with animate nouns, $[[damn\ NOUN_a] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ animate\ noun]]$, the construction has extended its collocational range to inanimate nouns as well $[[damn\ NOUN_a/NOUN_i] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ inanimate\ nouns]]$. Concluding the analysis of the increased Productivity of the intensifier *damn*, the collocational predicative adjective preferences of the intensifier *damn*, illustrated in Section 4.1.2.2, shall be revisited. At first, the intensifier *damn* has shown a collocational preference for negatively connoted predicative

adjectives, $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred-neg}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of negative predicative adjective}]]$. However, it can be observed that the intensifier *damn* departs from this collocational preference to open up for positively connoted and neutral adjectives to a further extent in order to form the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred-neg}/ADJ_{pred-neut}/ADJ_{pred-pos}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of negative, neutral or positive predicative adjective}]]$ (in this case used to make it easier visualizable; usually referred to as $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$). Considering these three involved processes, it can be confirmed that the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ has also increased its Productivity.

Despite being not strictly necessary but optional, the third and last mechanism introduced in Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) Grammatical Constructionalization model, is the decrease in Compositionality. In Section 2.3.1, Compositionality is defined as a scale to which the transparency between form and meaning is given (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 19). Francis and Michaelis (referred to in Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 19) further explain that "[i]f a construct is semantically compositional, then as long as the speaker has produced a conventional sequence syntactically, and the hearer understands the meaning of each individual item, the hearer will be able to decode the meaning of the whole." (Francis and Michaelis referred to in Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 19) Relating to the intensifier *damn* in general, Section 2.2 has revealed that forms of *damn* have initially been used as verbs of condemnation. Only then, *damn* has begun to occur as intensifier in different syntactic slots, mostly in the form of the past participle, *damned*. This syntactic shift already illustrates a decrease in Compositionality as a participle form of the verb *damn* has begun to occur as modifier of different syntactic categories. Considering the transparency between form and meaning (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 19), it can be argued that forms of *damn* are less compositional in a modifier slot than in a verb slot. Revisiting the results yielded by the Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis, it can be confirmed that the intensifier *damn* has decreased its Compositionality with regard to its syntactic expansion. Considering that *damned*, as ancestor of the intensifier *damn*, initially has been used predominantly as means of intensification of attributive adjectives, it can be said that usually only the syntactic category noun can be condemned. However, as the intensifier *damn* today preferentially also collocates with predicative adjectives and adverbs, resembling syntactic categories which usually cannot be condemned, a mismatch between aspects of form and meaning is given. Therefore, the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of}$

attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb]] has decreased in Compositionality. Referring to the increased collocational noun range of the intensifier *damn*, it is shown in Section 4.1.2.1 that the construction $[[damn\ NOUN_a] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of animate noun}]]$ has extended its collocational range to inanimate nouns to become the micro-construction of the enabled construction $[[damn\ NOUN_a/NOUN_i] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of inanimate nouns}]]$ ((in this case used to make it easier visualizable; usually referred to as $[[damn\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of NOUN}]]$). Focusing on the initial verb form of *damn*, the OED (2017: s.v. *damn*, v.) defines *damn* as “[t]o pronounce adverse judgement on, affirm to be guilty; to give judicial sentence”. This definition implies that the recipient of the condemnation has to be an animate noun. The construction opening up for inanimate nouns to be the recipient of condemnation, again, represents a mismatch between aspects of form and meaning and thus illustrates a decrease in Compositionality. A decrease in Compositionality can also be observed when analyzing the extended collocational predicative adjective range of the intensifier *damn*. It is shown that forms of *damn* have initially been used as expressions of condemnation or something being judicially sentenced and therefore have been negatively connoted. Similar to Partington’s (1993: 183) ‘“terribly’ group of words’, it is assumed that as a consequence of the negative connotation of *damn*, it should preferably collocate with negatively connoted predicative adjectives. In Section 4.1.2.2, it is shown that the intensifier *damn* initially has preferably collocated with negatively connoted predicative adjectives $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred-neg}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of negative predicative adjective}]]$. An extension of its collocational predicative adjective range to additionally collocate with positively connoted and neutral adjectives, $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred-neg}/ADJ_{pred-neut}/ADJ_{pred-pos}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$ (in this case used to make it easier visualizable; usually referred to as $[[damn\ ADJ_{pred}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$), results in what Partington (1993: 183) identifies as increased Delexicalisation. The result is a mismatch between aspects of form and the initial meaning – which can also be interpreted as the emergence of a new meaning – and an associated decrease of Compositionality. Again, considering these three aspects, a decrease in Compositionality of the construction $[[damn\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ can be confirmed.

4.2. The Intensifier *fucking*

As already illustrated in table 3, *fucking* as an intensifier has increased drastically over the last fifty years. According to the COHA, the intensifier *fucking* is still on the rise. Similar to

Section 4.1, this section presents a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis to investigate the processes included in Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) model of Grammatical Constructionalization. These are then used to test the hypotheses introduced in Section 3.1 regarding the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$. Section 4.2.1 deals with the expansion of the syntactic range, Section 4.2.2 analyzes the expansion of the collocational range of the intensifier *fucking*. The latter section is again subdivided into two subsections, one treating the collocational noun range and the other covering the collocational predicative adjective range.

4.2.1. Expansion of Syntactic Range

The first question to be addressed is the expansion of the first right hand collocates of the intensifier *fucking* over the last seventy years. At the center of this section is the superordinate construction which has become $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ and its different micro-constructions $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{attr}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective}]]$, $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$, $[[\textit{fucking} \text{NOUN}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of noun}]]$, $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADV}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of adverb}]]$ and $[[\textit{fucking} \text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of verb}]]$. The analysis of the intensifier *fucking* additionally includes both forms *fuckin'* and *fuckin*. A raw frequency analysis where N illustrates the raw frequency amount of the respective item, yields the results displayed in Table 27:

1930s-1960s		1970s-1980s		1990s-2000s	
Syntactic Category	N	Syntactic Category	N	Syntactic Category	N
NOUN	66	NOUN	605	NOUN	915
ADJ _{attr}	8	ADJ _{pred}	68	ADJ _{pred}	147
ADJ _{pred}	7	ADJ _{attr}	44	VERB	127
ADV	3	VERB	39	ADJ _{attr}	50
VERB	1	ADV	9	ADV	7

Table 27 Raw frequencies for *fucking* as intensifier without syntactic right hand collocate restrictions

An analysis of merely these raw frequencies results in the preliminary conclusion that amongst some minor shifts, the intensifier *fucking* has ever been and still is preferring right hand noun collocates. Therefore, all three periods illustrate that the intensifier *fucking* functions as an attributive adjective modifying a noun within a noun phrase. This raw frequency results largely overlap with what is observed in Section 4.1.1. However, Section 4.1.1 shows that merely depending on raw frequency lists can only result in a simplified analysis. Therefore, a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis has been conducted:

1930s-1960s		1970s-1980s		1990s-2000s	
Syntactic Category	Coll.Str.	Syntactic Category	Coll.Str.	Syntactic Category	Coll.Str.
ADV	1.40	NOUN	1.04	VERB	5.32
ADJ _{attr}	1.25	ADJ _{attr}	1.00	ADJ _{pred}	1.64
NOUN	0.36	ADV	0.65	NOUN	-1.09
ADJ _{pred}	-0.50	ADJ _{pred}	-1.41	ADV	-1.41
VERB	-2.10	VERB	-3.72	ADJ _{attr}	-1.67

Table 28 Collostructional Strength of non-restricted syntactic right hand collocates of *fucking* as intensifier

As observed in Table 28, the hypothetic preliminary conclusion mentioned proves not to be true. Considering the first period, the 1930s to 1960s, it can be observed that the preferred right hand collocate of the intensifier *fucking* are adverbs at a Collostructional Strength value of 1.40. Other categories showing attraction for the intensifier *fucking* are attributive adjectives (1.25) and nouns (0.36). Both predicative adjectives (-0.50) and verbs (-2.10) appear to be repelled in the 1930s to 1960s. In both micro-constructions $[[fucking\ ADV] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ adverbs]]$ and $[[fucking\ ADJ_{attr}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective]]$, *fucking* syntactically functions as an adverb. In a micro-construction $[[fucking\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$, the intensifier *fucking* syntactically functions as an adjective.

Considering the second period under analysis, the 1970s to 1980s, it can be observed that the preferential pattern of *fucking* as an intensifier shows only minor shifts. While the same three categories remain on top of the intensifier's preferential behavior, nouns and adverbs interchange their positions in the ranking. Nouns become the most attractive collexemes for the intensifier *fucking* at a Collostructional Strength value of 1.04. Both categories, attributive adjectives (1.00) and adverbs (0.65), appear to be still attractive for the intensifier *fucking*. The repulsion for both predicative adjectives (-1.41) and verbs (-3.72) has increased. Again, it is confirmed that the intensifier *fucking* syntactically functions as both an adjective and an adverb.

The third period, the 1990s to 2000s, reveals major shifts in the collocational preferences of the intensifier *fucking* without syntactic right hand collocate restrictions. All three categories which have been preferred by the intensifier *fucking* over the last two periods, adverbs (-1.41), nouns (-1.09) and attributive adjectives (-1.67), appear to be repelled in this period. The two remaining categories, on the other hand, verbs (5.32) and predicative adjectives (1.64), have become attractive for the intensifier *fucking*. While the intensifier *fucking* previously has syntactically functioned as both an adjective and an adverb, it predominantly functions as an adverb in this last period.

In conclusion, unlike in Section 4.1.1 for the intensifier *damn*, an obvious and straightforward syntactic expansion of the intensifier *fucking* cannot be entirely confirmed. While the positive Collostructional Strength values indicate that the syntactic range of *fucking* has even been restricted, there are, however, hints which lead to the assumption that this does not prove to be true. Considering the relatively low negative Collostructional Strength value of nouns (-1.01), it may be assumed that the construction $[[fucking\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective,\ predicative\ adjective,\ noun,\ adverb\ or\ verb]]$ does not entirely discard collocating with nouns. As the construction $[[fucking\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ classifies *fucking* as an adjective, it may be assumed that the intensifier *fucking* does not entirely rule out functioning as both an adjective and an adverb despite resembling a slight repulsion in Collostructional Strength values.

4.2.2. Expansion of Collocational Range

Similar to Section 4.1.2, this section will now focus on the expansion of the collocational range of *fucking* which has been identified as an important factor for indicating successful Grammaticalization or Grammatical Constructionalization (Traugott and Trousdale 2013). Hence, this section too will offer two perspectives on expanded collocational range of the intensifier *fucking*, namely intensified noun collocates and intensified predicative adjective collocates.

4.2.2.1. Collocational Noun Range of *fucking* as an Intensifier

Regarding the expansion of the collocational range of the intensifier *fucking*, the first question to be addressed is in which ways right hand noun collocates of the intensifier at hand have changed over time. At the center of this section is the construction $[[fucking\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ and its micro-constructions $[[fucking\ NOUN_a] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ animate\ noun]]$ and $[[fucking\ NOUN_i] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ inanimate\ noun]]$. Similar to Section 4.1.2.1 for *damn*, it has been hypothesized that the intensifier *fucking* illustrates a development where the initial preference for animate noun collocates, $[[fucking\ NOUN_a] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ animate\ nouns]]$, vanishes to allow for the construction to collocate with inanimate nouns as well. Regarding the analysis of collocational noun patterns of the intensifier *fucking*, it needs to be mentioned that a VNC resulted in a choice between either two or three time periods. Both options are justifiable due to the standard deviation values between two distinct categories. Since choosing merely two time periods would result in a collexeme showing a collostructional strength value for either one or the other category – while showing exactly the same negative collostructional strength value for the respective

other category and resulting in invalid negative Collostructional Strength values – this option has been discarded and it was decided to provide three time periods.

A frequency list of the most attractive collexemes for the construction *[[fucking NOUN] ↔ [intensification of noun]]* yields the results listed in Table 29:

1930s-1950s		1960s		1970s-2000s	
NOUN	N	NOUN	N	NOUN	N
country	2	thing	5	thing	57
job	2	officer	4	car	28
hotel	2	business	3	time	24
war	1	nut	2	door	19
son	1	world	2	way	19
cunt	1	hero	2	money	17
thing	1	self	2	shit	17
sun	1	soul	2	guy	16
tooth	1	storm	2	place	16
bolt	1	truth	2	day	15
bread	1	battle	2	bitch	14
calamity	1	murderer	2	bastard	13
championship	1	sleep	2	head	13
climate	1	cunt	1	asshole	13
officer	1	time	1	mind	12

Table 29 Raw frequencies for *fucking* as intensifier with top right hand noun collocates

A Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis, however, deviates from these results, as is depicted in Table 30. Although it has been planned initially to show 25 distinctive collexemes for each period, this again is not possible since the first period does not yield more than 15 collexemes with positive Collostructional Strength values and the second period results in too many collexemes showing the same Collostructional Strength value.

1930s-1950s		1960s		1970s-2000s	
NOUN	N	NOUN	N	NOUN	N
hotel	3.35	officer	4.17	car	0.7
country	2.33	battle	2.19	door	0.47
job	2.33	murderer	2.19	way	0.47
bolt	2.06	sleep	2.19	money	0.42
bread	2.06	self	1.91	shit	0.42
calamity	2.06	soul	1.91	guy	0.4
championship	2.06	storm	1.91	place	0.4
climate	2.06	truth	1.91	bitch	0.35
sun	1.76	business	1.68	asshole	0.32
tooth	1.76	blackboard	1.33	year	0.3
son	1.37	bugger	1.33	hand	0.27
officer	1.29	catholic	1.33	life	0.27
war	1	club	1.33	eye	0.25
cunt	1	cousteau	1.33	idiot	0.25
thing	0.37	deck	1.33	time	0.23
		emplacement	1.33	deal	0.22
		fruit	1.33	dog	0.22
		helene	1.33	game	0.22
		information	1.33	gun	0.22
		japanese	1.33	heart	0.22
		loot	1.33	ass	0.2
		mine	1.33	liar	0.2
		mortarman	1.33	scene	0.2
		myth	1.33	animal	0.17
		negrita	1.33	book	0.17
		outrage	1.33	bullshit	0.17
		paraphernalia	1.33	face	0.17
		persimmon	1.33	house	0.17
		position	1.33	monster	0.17
		prisoner	1.33	mother	0.17
		property	1.33	piece	0.17
		recruit	1.33	doctor	0.15
		relative	1.33	idea	0.15
		schooner	1.33	kid	0.15
		station	1.33	phone	0.15
		vegetable	1.33	pig	0.15
		wedlock	1.33		

Table 30 Collostructional Strength of top right hand noun collocates of *fucking* as intensifier

In the first period, the 1930s to 1950s, it can be observed that the construction [[*fucking* NOUN] ↔ [intensification of noun]] preferably collocates with inanimate right hand noun collocates. Out of 15 attractive collexemes, only three are categorized as animate nouns, the other twelve being inanimate nouns. Furthermore, those three animate nouns are found at the

bottom end of the list showing attractive nouns for the intensifier *fucking*. Considering the totaled Collostructional Strength values of both categories, the number for animate nouns (3.66) is far lower than for inanimate nouns (23.20). Regarding these positive Collostructional Strength values, it could be concluded that the 1930s to 1950s appear to show attraction towards right hand inanimate noun collocates. However, considering Table 31, which illustrates the most repelled right hand noun collocates of each period reveals a different outcome. Again, a limitation to 15 collexemes is not possible due to the constantly recurring reason of too many collexemes sharing the same Collostructional Strength value.

1930s-1950s		1960s		1970s-2000s	
NOUN	N	NOUN	N	NOUN	N
car	-0.11	car	-0.58	officer	-5.51
time	-0.1	door	-0.4	battle	-2.05
door	-0.07	way	-0.4	murderer	-2.05
way	-0.07	money	-0.36	sleep	-2.05
money	-0.06	shit	-0.36	hotel	-1.76
shit	-0.06	guy	-0.33	self	-1.76
guy	-0.06	place	-0.33	soul	-1.76
place	-0.06	bitch	-0.29	storm	-1.76
day	-0.06	asshole	-0.27	truth	-1.76
bitch	-0.05	year	-0.25	business	-1.49
bastard	-0.05	war	-0.25	bolt	-1.25
head	-0.05	country	-0.25	bread	-1.25
asshole	-0.05	job	-0.25	calamity	-1.25
mind	-0.05	hand	-0.23	championship	-1.25
year	-0.05	life	-0.23	climate	-1.25
business	-0.05			blackboard	-1.25
nut	-0.05			bugger	-1.25
				catholic	-1.25
				club	-1.25
				cousteau	-1.25
				deck	-1.25
				emplacement	-1.25
				fruit	-1.25
				helene	-1.25
				information	-1.25
				japanese	-1.25
				loot	-1.25
				mine	-1.25
				mortarman	-1.25
				myth	-1.25
				negrita	-1.25
				outrage	-1.25
				paraphernalia	-1.25
				persimmon	-1.25
				position	-1.25
				prisoner	-1.25
				property	-1.25
				recruit	-1.25
				relative	-1.25
				schooner	-1.25
				station	-1.25
				vegetable	-1.25
				wedlock	-1.25

Table 31 Collostructional Strength of most repelled right hand noun collocates of *fucking* as intensifier

Although the most distinctive noun collexemes of the intensifier *fucking* in the 1930s-1950s illustrate a clear preference for inanimate nouns, this is not reflected in the most repelled noun collexemes of the same period. Out of 17 examples, 13 repelled nouns are categorized as inanimate nouns, opposed to merely four animate nouns. Adding up the respective overall negative Collostructional Strength values, these results, though both relatively low in numbers, resemble a clear repulsion for inanimate nouns (-0.84) over animate nouns (-0.21). Despite a certain peculiarity when it comes to negative Collostructional Strength values, it can be concluded that in the first period, the 1930s to 1950s, the construction $[[fucking\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ shows a slight preference for right hand inanimate noun collocates.

The second period, the 1960s, reveals that the most distinctive collexeme is an animate noun, *officer*. Out of the first six most attractive collexemes, four are animate nouns. However, examining all 37 collexemes in Table 30, it appears that the second period shows a slight preference for inanimate nouns. Only 13 out of the 37 most favored right hand noun collocates are categorized as animate nouns opposed to twenty-four inanimate nouns. Considering the totaled Collostructional Strength values, inanimate nouns (35.15) appear to be overall more attractive for the intensifier *fucking* than animate nouns (22.15). Similar to the first period, however, this claim cannot be entirely substantiated considering the most repelled right hand noun collocates of the respective period. The top five most repelled right hand noun collocates of the intensifier *fucking* in the 1960s are categorized as inanimate nouns, including *car*, *door*, *way*, *money* and *shit*. Out of the 15 most repelled collexemes, twelve are inanimate nouns opposed to three animate nouns. Totaled negative Collostructional Strength values indicate a repulsion for inanimate nouns (-3.89) over animate nouns (-0.89). Despite the same peculiarity in the most repelled collexemes of the intensifier *fucking*, it is again revealed that the construction $[[fucking\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ shows a slight preference for right hand inanimate noun collocates in the 1960s.

The top five most distinctive right hand noun collexemes of the intensifier *fucking* in the last period, the 1970s to 2000s, are inanimate nouns, *car*, *door*, *way*, *money* and *shit*. All of these are also amongst the most repelled noun collexemes of the first two periods. Out of all 36 collexemes shown, 24 inanimate nouns are opposed to twelve animate nouns indicating that inanimate nouns are more attractive for the intensifier *fucking* than animate nouns. In totaled Collostructional Strength values, this is confirmed as the attraction for inanimate nouns (6.63) exceeds the attraction for animate nouns (2.70). Although this claim cannot be entirely confirmed in the most repelled right hand noun collexemes of the intensifier *fucking*, they

display a clearer tendency towards repelling animate nouns than the preceding two periods. As displayed in Table 31, the most repelled collexeme of the intensifier *fucking* in the 1970s to 2000s is an animate noun, *officer*. It shows the overall highest repulsion value of right hand noun collocates of the intensifier *fucking* at -5.51. Out of the top six most repelled noun collocates, three each are animate nouns and inanimate nouns, respectively. Considering all shown repelled right hand noun collocates, however, results in 13 animate nouns opposing 30 inanimate nouns; this repulsion for inanimate nouns is confirmed considering its totaled Collostructional Strength values which result in -22.83 for animate nouns and -40.87 in inanimate nouns. According to the top right hand noun collexemes, the construction $[[fucking\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ shows a preference for inanimate nouns over animate nouns in the 1970s to 2000s – despite the peculiarity regarding the most repelled right hand noun collocates. This preference can be interpreted as more straightforward than in the first two periods regarding the rising repulsion for animate nouns: The rising repulsion is justified by relating the repulsion for animate nouns to the respective repulsion for inanimate nouns in each period. The first period shows a repulsion for inanimate nouns at a Collostructional Strength value of -0.84 opposed by -0.21 for animate nouns, resulting in the repulsion for inanimate nouns being exactly 4.00 times as strong as for animate nouns. The second period presents inanimate nouns at a repulsion value of -3.89 opposed by -0.89 for animate nouns, resulting in the repulsion for inanimate nouns being 4.37 as strong as for animate nouns. The last period displays a change of repulsion pattern as the repulsion value for inanimate nouns at -40.87 opposed by the repulsion value for animate nouns at -22.33 results in the repulsion for inanimate nouns being only 1.83 as strong as for animate nouns. It is shown that the gap between the repulsion of inanimate and animate nouns has narrowed in the last period.

To conclude the development of the collocational noun range of *fucking*, it needs to be conceded that the initial hypothesis, introduced in Section 3.1, cannot be confirmed entirely. In contrast to the construction $[[damn\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$, it appears that the construction $[[fucking\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ has indeed not been attracted to animate nouns initially, which is shown in the first period. Furthermore, in all three displayed periods, the intensifier *fucking* seems to be more attracted to inanimate nouns than animate nouns. Nevertheless, the third period illustrates a clear shift towards even more repulsion for animate nouns than the second period. This is also resembled in Table 30 when relating the Collostructional Strength values for animate nouns directly to those of inanimate nouns and in

Table 31 illustrating an increased negative Collostructional Strength value for animate nouns. Therefore, it can only be partially confirmed that the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ NOUN}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of noun}]]$ has expanded its collocational noun range from initially preferring animate nouns to open up for inanimate nouns as well. However, Table 32 reveals that the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ NOUN}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of noun}]]$ has overall become more open towards innovative right hand noun collocates:

Period	Noun collexemes with positive Coll.Str.
1930s-1950s	15
1960s	77
1970s-1980s	942

Table 32 Total amount of noun collexemes of the intensifier *fucking* with positive Collostructional Strength values

4.2.2.2. Collocational Predicative Adjective Range of *fucking* as an Intensifier

The second question regarding the expansion of the collocational range of the intensifier *fucking* focuses on first right hand predicative adjective collocates which are not followed by a noun. At the center of this section is the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{pred}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$ and its micro-constructions $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{pred-neg}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of negative predicative adjective}]]$, $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{pred-neut}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of neutral predicative adjective}]]$ and $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{pred-pos}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of positive predicative adjective}]]$.

As already shown with regard to the collocational adjective range of the intensifier *damn* in Section 4.1.2.2, the analysis of the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{pred}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$ excludes examples where an attributive adjective is part of a pre-modified noun phrase. Considering these premises, it has been hypothesized that in the construction at hand, the intensifier *fucking* displays a development from an initial attraction towards negatively connoted predicative adjectives, $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{pred-neg}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of negative predicative adjective}]]$, which then vanishes, with the construction opening up for neutral and positively connoted predicative adjectives as well.

To begin with, a raw frequency analysis of the top right hand adjective collocates of the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{pred}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$ yields the results in Table 33:

1960s		1970s-1980s		1990s-2000s	
ADJ	N	ADJ	N	ADJ	N
awful	2	crazy	9	stupid	8
great	2	tired	4	great	6
ridiculous	1	grand	3	dead	6
unavailable	1	beautiful	3	good	5
		good	3	hot	5
		guilty	2	beautiful	3
		careful	2	insane	3
		awful	1	nervous	3
		great	1	serious	3
		right	1	weird	3
		alone	1	crazy	2
		anxious	1	tired	2
		authentic	1	dumb	2
		bald	1	hard	2
		broad	1	hilarious	2

Table 33 Raw frequencies for *fucking* as intensifier with top right hand predicative adjective collocates

A Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis, however, again leads to the problems of too many collexemes with the same Collostructional Strength value and too few items showing a positive Collostructional Strength value. Hence, in Table 34 either fewer or more than the initially planned top 20 distinctive collexemes of each period are shown:

1960s		1970s-1980s		1990s-2000s	
ADJ	Coll.Str.	ADJ	Coll.Str.	ADJ	Coll.Str.
awful	2.42	crazy	3.26	dead	1.02
great	1.68	tired	1.16	hot	0.85
ridiculous	1.59	guilty	1.05	stupid	0.8
unavailable	1.59	careful	0.67	insane	0.51
		beautiful	0.6	nervous	0.51
		alone	0.53	serious	0.51
		anxious	0.53	weird	0.51
		authentic	0.53	blind	0.34
		bald	0.53	brilliant	0.34
		broad	0.53	decent	0.34
		charming	0.53	early	0.34
		clever	0.53	furious	0.34
		condescending	0.53	huge	0.34
		crude	0.53	loud	0.34
		deaf	0.53	naïve	0.34
		drunk	0.53	outrageous	0.34
		fair	0.53	paranoid	0.34
		fantastic	0.53	pissed	0.34
		illegal	0.53	sick	0.34
		imperial	0.53	sorry	0.34
		important	0.53		
		indestructible	0.53		
		likely	0.53		
		nice	0.53		
		obvious	0.53		
		offensive	0.53		
		petrified	0.53		
		philosophical	0.53		
		queer	0.53		
		quiet	0.53		
		sad	0.53		
		screwy	0.53		
		soft	0.53		
		unsure	0.53		
		useless	0.53		
		white	0.53		

Table 34 Collostructional Strength of top right hand predicative adjective collocates of *fucking* as intensifier

As the first period yields only four predicative adjectives carrying positive Collostructional Strength values, the results of this particular period should be taken with some caution. Out of these four items, three are categorized as negatively connoted adjectives, *awful*, *ridiculous* and *unavailable*, opposed to one positively connoted adjective, *great*, and no neutral

adjective. Totaled Collostructional Strength values result in a higher attraction for negatively connoted adjectives (5.60) than for positively connoted (1.68) and neutral adjectives (0.00). Considering the most repelled right hand predicative adjective collexemes of each period, illustrated in Table 35, the first period shows a higher repulsion for negatively connoted adjective collocates over positively connoted and neutral adjectives. Out of 17 collexemes repelled by the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$, eight adjectives are negatively connoted while six are positively connoted and three are neutral. Totaled negative Collostructional Strength values result in -0.48 for negatively connoted adjectives opposed to -0.27 for positively connoted and -0.10 for neutral adjectives. Although this confirms the claim that in the first period the intensifier *fucking* repels right hand negatively connoted adjective collocates, the difference between those categories is shown to be very small. Considering both the most distinctive and the most repelled adjective collocates of the 1960s, however, a clear preference for the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$ to collocate with negatively connoted adjectives can be confirmed.

1960s		1970s-1980s		1990s-2000s	
ADJ	Coll.Str.	ADJ	Coll.Str.	ADJ	Coll.Str.
crazy	-0.12	dead	-0.92	crazy	-2.97
stupid	-0.10	hot	-0.77	tired	-1.04
good	-0.09	stupid	-0.7	awful	-0.99
dead	-0.07	great	-0.7	guilty	-0.98
beautiful	-0.07	insane	-0.46	careful	-0.61
tired	-0.07	nervous	-0.46	beautiful	-0.52
hot	-0.06	serious	-0.46	ridiculous	-0.49
insane	-0.03	weird	-0.46	unavailable	-0.49
nervous	-0.03	blind	-0.31	alone	-0.49
serious	-0.03	brilliant	-0.31	anxious	-0.49
weird	-0.03	decent	-0.31	authentic	-0.49
dumb	-0.03	early	-0.31	bald	-0.49
hard	-0.03	furious	-0.31	broad	-0.49
hilarious	-0.03	huge	-0.31	charming	-0.49
old	-0.03	loud	-0.31	clever	-0.49
careful	-0.03	naïve	-0.31	condescending	-0.49
		outrageous	-0.31	crude	-0.49
		paranoid	-0.31	deaf	-0.49
		pissed	-0.31	drunk	-0.49
		sick	-0.31	fair	-0.49
		sorry	-0.31	fantastic	-0.49
		awful	-0.18	illegal	-0.49
				imperial	-0.49
				important	-0.49
				indestructible	-0.49
				likely	-0.49
				nice	-0.49
				obvious	-0.49
				offensive	-0.49
				petrified	-0.49
				philosophical	-0.49
				queer	-0.49
				quiet	-0.49
				sad	-0.49
				screwy	-0.49
				soft	-0.49
				unsure	-0.49
				useless	-0.49
				white	-0.49

Table 35 Collostructional Strength of most repelled right hand predicative adjective collocates of *damn* as intensifier

The second period, the 1970s to 1980s displays a major shift compared to the first period. While in the first period the construction $[[fucking\ ADJ_{pred}]] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ predicative$

adjectives]] has revealed a clear preference for negatively connoted adjectives, the second period offers a more balanced collocational pattern. Still, the most distinctive collexeme of the 1970s to 1980s – and at a Collostructional Strength value of 3.26 also the most distinctive predicative adjective collexeme of the intensifier *fucking* overall – is *crazy*, which can clearly be categorized as negatively connoted adjective based on the data provided by the COHA. It is followed by two other negatively connoted adjectives, *tired* and *guilty*. Out of 36 distinctive collexemes, 19 are negatively connoted, opposed to eight each positively connoted and neutral adjectives. One collexeme, *important*, is neglected due to its ambiguity. In totaled Collostructional Strength values, this results in a clear preference for negatively connoted adjectives (13.95) over positively connoted (4.45) and neutral adjectives (4.24). Considering the most repelled predicative adjective collexemes of the construction [[*fucking* ADJ_{pred}] ↔ [intensification of predicative adjective]], this observation is again challenged. The most repelled adjective collexeme of the intensifier *fucking* in the 1970s to 1980s is a negatively connoted adjective, *dead* (-0.92). Out of 22 adjective collexemes, 14 are categorized as being negatively connoted, opposed to four each positively connoted and neutral adjectives. Totaled negative Collostructional Strength values confirm this claim as negatively connoted adjectives (-5.66) are repelled to a higher extent than both positively connoted (-2.09) and neutral adjectives (-1.39). Although the most repelled adjective collocates of the intensifier *fucking* challenge the claim in parts, it still can be concluded that the construction [[*fucking* ADJ_{pred}] ↔ [intensification of predicative adjective]] adheres to the preference for negatively connoted adjective collocates in the 1970s to 1980s.

In the third period, the 1990s to 2000s, the construction [[*fucking* ADJ_{pred}] ↔ [intensification of predicative adjective]] again shows a preference for negatively connoted adjectives. The most distinctive collexeme of the third period is *dead*, which is categorized as a negatively connoted adjective. Out of 20 distinctive predicative adjective collexemes, 13 are negatively connoted while four are positively connoted and three are neutral. Totaled Collostructional Strength values confirm this claim as the preference for negatively connoted adjectives (6.07) is higher than for positively connoted (2.04) and neutral adjectives (1.02). Again, the most repelled right hand predicative adjective collocates of the intensifier *fucking* cause a contradiction. Out of 39 repelled adjective collexemes, 22 are negatively connoted, nine are positively connoted and eight are neutral. The four most repelled adjectives are all negatively connoted adjectives, *crazy*, *tired*, *awful* and *guilty*. Totaled negative Collostructional Strength values imply a repulsion for negatively connoted adjectives (-14.80); positively connoted

adjectives are repelled at a value of -4.56, neutral adjectives at -3.92. Considering the most distinctive collexemes of the 1990s to 2000s, it can be concluded that the intensifier *fucking* is still mostly attracted to negatively connoted adjectives. However, when relating total Collostructional Strength values of negatively and positively connoted adjectives to each other, it can be observed that the gap between both has decreased. This claim is also confirmed with regard to the most repelled adjectives of the 1990s to 2000s, where the negative Collostructional Strength value gap between negatively and positively connoted predicative adjectives widens.

In conclusion, it can be observed that the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$, overall shows a preference for negatively connoted adjectives in all three periods. The analysis of the most repelled predicative adjective collocates of each respective period has resulted in minor difficulties. In each period, it seems that the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$ clearly prefers negatively connoted adjective collocates, while it also repels exactly the same group of adjectives. Nevertheless, it is generally shown that the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$ has expanded its collocational predicative adjective range in the analysis of both distinctive and repelled collexemes in each period. While the construction at hand adheres to its preference for negatively connoted adjectives over all three periods, the gap between negatively connoted and positively connoted predicative adjectives narrows continuously. This can be justified by relating Collostructional Strength values for negatively connoted adjectives directly to the values of positively connoted adjectives and neutral adjectives. The first period presents the preference for negatively connoted adjectives being 3.33 times as strong as the preference for positively connoted adjectives. In the second period, the preference for negatively connoted adjectives is displayed as being 3.13 times as strong as the preference for positively connoted adjectives. The last period reveals that the preference for negatively connoted adjectives is only 2.98 times as strong as the preference for positively connoted adjectives. Relating Collostructional Strength values of negatively connoted adjectives to both positively connoted and neutral adjectives added together, shows an even stronger argument supporting this claim. While the first period displays the preference for negatively connoted adjectives being again 3.33 times as strong as for positively connoted and neutral adjectives, this preference decreases to being only 1.61 times as strong in the second period. In the third period, the preference for negatively connoted

adjectives is shown to be 1.98 times as strong as for positively connoted and neutral adjectives.

This process of opening up for collocating predicative adjectives is also reflected by the results displayed in Table 36. Clearly, the amount of predicative adjective collocates of the intensifier *fucking* with positive Collostructional Strength values continuously increases over the three periods under analysis. Therefore, it can be concluded that the construction $[[fucking\ ADJ_{pred}] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ predicative\ adjective]]$ has opened up for innovative right hand predicative adjective collocates.

Period	Noun collexemes with positive Coll.Str.
1960s	4
1970s-1980s	50
1990s-2000s	85

Table 36 Total amount of predicative adjective collexemes of the intensifier *fucking* with positive Collostructional Strength values

4.2.3. Discussion of Results

Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, respectively, provide a detailed evaluation of the collocational and syntactic expansion of the intensifier *fucking*. As done before in Section 4.1.3 in analyzing the intensifier *damn*, these results obtained from a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis are now applied to the model of Grammatical Constructionalization (Traugott and Trousdale 2013). Sections 2.3.1 and 4.1.3 have already identified the three main process involved in Grammatical Constructionalization:

- increased Schematicity of a construction
- increased Productivity of a construction
- decreased Compositionality of a construction (optional)

As outlined in Section 4.1.3 when analyzing the intensifier *damn*, these three processes are now analyzed one by one based on the results yielded by the Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis.

As to an increased Schematicity of the construction $[[fucking\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective,\ predicative\ adjective,\ noun,\ adverb\ or\ verb]]$, three arguments are defined as being of major importance in Section 4.1.3. Considering the syntactic range, it has been hypothesized that the intensifier

fucking expanded its range. However, the results indicate that this claim is questionable to a certain extent. It is shown that between the first and the second period, the intensifier *fucking* has slightly expanded its syntactic range. However, this trend cannot be confirmed in the third period, where it appears that the syntactic range of the intensifier *fucking*, according to Collostructional Strength values, even decreases. Nevertheless, there are hints which could be assumed to be indicative of a syntactic expansion. The intensifier *fucking* preferably collocates with verbs and predicative adjectives and therefore syntactically functions mainly as an adverb itself. And yet, the construction's repulsion for collocating with nouns and thus syntactically function as an adjective is only minor (-1.01). Thus, it can be argued that the intensifier *fucking* does not entirely exclude noun collocates associated with syntactically functioning as an adjective. Nevertheless, this issue remains questionable. Considering the collocational noun range of the intensifier *fucking*, it cannot entirely be confirmed either that the construction $[[fucking\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB]] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective,\ predicative\ adjective,\ noun,\ adverb\ or\ verb]]$ has expanded its Schematicity. Since the construction $[[fucking\ NOUN]] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ has not been explicitly attracted to animate nouns initially, the increased collocational noun range is not as straightforward as shown in the analysis of the intensifier *damn*. Nevertheless, the last period covered displays the highest repulsion for animate nouns combined with the most balanced distinctive attractive collexeme distribution. Therefore, the initial claim of the construction expanding its range from $[[fucking\ NOUN_a]] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ animate\ noun]]$ to $[[fucking\ NOUN]] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$ can be argued for but is not confirmed entirely. To complete the analysis of increased Schematicity, the collocational predicative adjective range of the intensifier *fucking* shall now be considered. Section 4.2.2.2 reveals that the construction $[[fucking\ ADJ_{pred}]] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ predicative\ adjective]]$ illustrates a preference for negatively connoted predicative adjectives in all three periods. Therefore, the initial claim that the intensifier *fucking* in the construction $[[fucking\ ADJ_{pred-neg}]] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ predicative\ negative\ adjective]]$ preferably collocates with negatively connoted adjectives and becomes the construction $[[fucking\ ADJ_{pred}]] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ predicative\ adjective]]$ collocating with all kinds of predicative adjectives, again cannot be entirely confirmed. Nevertheless, relating Collostructional Strength values of negatively, neutrally and positively connoted predicative adjectives directly to each other, it can be shown that the construction $[[fucking\ ADJ_{pred}]] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ predicative\ adjective]]$, though still preferring negatively connoted adjectives, has become more open towards both neutral and positively connoted adjectives over time. Considering all three processes involved, it can

unfortunately only be partially confirmed that the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}]] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]$ has increased its Schematicity.

The second process involved in Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) model of Grammatical Constructionalization is an increase in Productivity. As discussed before in Section 4.1.3, both construct frequency and construction frequency are at the center of increased Productivity. Again, the results yielded by a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis are used to investigate whether the Productivity of the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}]] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]$ has indeed increased. Table 3 has already revealed that the intensifier *fucking* has drastically increased its construct frequency over the last seven decades. The results yielded in Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 are now used to confirm increased construction frequency of the intensifier *fucking* as well. The discussion of increased Schematicity in the preceding paragraph has revealed that the analysis of the expansion of the syntactic range of the intensifier *fucking* bears minor problems in interpreting results. Although the syntactic expansion of the intensifier *fucking* cannot be undoubtedly confirmed, there is evidence which supports the claim that the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}]] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]$ has still expanded its syntactic range. The main argument supporting this claim has already been defined as the extent to which the intensifier *fucking* appears to be repelling nouns, which is resembled by a minor value (-1.01). Therefore, based on a very low repulsion for nouns the Productivity of the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}]] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]$, it can be argued that the Productivity while not indeed increasing, at least does not decrease. Considering the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{NOUN}]] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of noun}]$, it is shown that the construction has never been explicitly attracted to animate nouns. Nevertheless, the collocational noun patterns of the intensifier *fucking* reveal that, out of the three evaluated periods, the last period repels animate nouns at the highest rate and displays the most balanced attractive distinctive collexeme distribution. Thus, it can be deduced that the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}]] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]$ has, although not resembling the initial hypothesis, become more open towards innovative right hand noun collocates. The third aspect of evaluating a possible increase in Productivity is the collocational predicative adjective range of the intensifier *fucking*. Section

4.2.2.2 outlines that the construction $[[\textit{fucking ADJ}_{pred}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$ adheres to a consistent preference for negatively connoted adjective collocates. However, as shown in section 4.2.2.2, relating Collostructional Strength values of negatively, neutrally and positively connoted predicative adjectives directly to each other, leads to the conclusion that this preference for negatively connoted predicative adjectives is slowly fading. Additionally, it can be said that the repulsion for negatively connoted adjectives has continuously increased. Therefore, the construction $[[\textit{fucking ADJ}_{pred}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of predicative adjective}]]$ displays the highest attraction towards neutral adjectives in the second period and the third period illustrates the highest attraction for positively connoted adjectives. These factors, combined with the fact that both collocate groups, nouns and predicative adjectives, display a massive increase in the total amount of collocates having a positive Collostructional Strength value, confirm that the construction $[[\textit{fucking ADJ}_{attr}/\textit{ADJ}_{pred}/\textit{NOUN}/\textit{ADV}/\textit{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ has increased its Productivity.

The third and last process involved in Traugott and Trousdale's model of Grammatical Constructionalization is the potential decrease in Compositionality, which has already been described in Section 2.3.1 and 4.1.3. Most probably due to its strict taboo status for a long time, any forms of *fuck*, and especially the form *fucking*, appear relatively late in the COHA. Therefore, additional data extracted from the OED for earlier stages of the item *fuck* are used to help to illustrate a process of decreased Compositionality. Section 2.2 has already revealed that *fucking* has undergone a process of semantic bleaching. According to the OED (2017: s.v. *fuck*, v.), the stem of the word, *fuck*, has first been used as an expression for having sexual intercourse in 1513. In the subsequent years, the word *fuck* has drastically expanded its syntactic and semantic range, which is also displayed in Table 3. Again according to the OED (2017: s.v. *fucking*, *adj.* and *adv.*), the form *fucking* has first been used as a participle syntactically functioning as an adjective in (26) below, uttered in 1528.

(26) *fucking* Abbott. (OED 2017: s.v. *fucking*, *adj.* and *adv.*)

Despite this syntactic shift, this is not yet defined as a decrease in Compositionality as the form *fucking* is a participle form of the verb *to fuck*. According to the OED, the first use of *fucking* merely as an intensifier appeared in 1864 in (27).

(27) 'Hush, you ***** b – h[.] (OED 2017: s.v. *fucking*, *adj.* and *adv.*)

Although this partially licensed utterance most probably resembles *Hush you fucking bitch*, it cannot be proven that this is indeed the case. Chronologically, (28) in 1922 is followed by (29) in 1939.

(28) I'll wring the neck of any bugger says a word against my fucking king. (OED 2017: s.v. *fucking*, *adj.* and *adv.*)

(29) I'll give Dent the whole fucking works. (OED 2017: s.v. *fucking*, *adj.* and *adv.*)

These examples clearly illustrate a decrease in Compositionality. Considering that the form *fucking* initially has been used as a participle form of the verb *fuck* and has thus functioned as an adjective, it is initially presented in the OED that the construction collocates with animate nouns which are capable of fornication, such as *Abbott*. When used as an intensifier, the OED data reveals that *fucking*, while initially collocating with animate nouns capable of fornication, only then is enabled to collocate with inanimate nouns which are not even capable of fornicating. Considering that the intensifier *fucking* – which has developed out of a verb of fornication – collocates with nouns which are not even capable of fornication, it can clearly be proven that the construction $[[fucking\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective,\ predicative\ adjective,\ noun,\ adverb\ or\ verb]]$'s Compositionality has decreased. The results yielded by a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis reveal that the construction $[[fucking\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ nouns]]$ nowadays prefers inanimate noun collocates to animate noun collocates. Unfortunately, the shift witnessed in the OED data is not entirely reflected in the COHA data. One possible reason for that might be the fact that forms of the verb *to fuck*, including the intensifier *fucking*, are still widely considered as taboo words. Thus, the intensifier *fucking* might indeed be an item which has already undergone more extensive semantic and syntactic change than what can be extracted from the COHA data. When comparing both intensifiers of this study, it almost seems that, according to the data extracted from the COHA, *fucking* only appeared in the data at a relatively late stage of its Grammatical Constructionalization process. This claim can also be observed in the collocational preference patterns of the construction $[[fucking\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ noun]]$, as the COHA data already displays the construction as preferring inanimate noun collocates already in its supposed initial stages. Nevertheless, the repulsion for animate nouns has considerably grown during the last period and the construction $[[fucking\ NOUN] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ nouns]]$ has become even more open to collocating with inanimate nouns not capable of fornicating. This, again, proves a decrease in Compositionality.

The second aspect which is confirmed in both the OED and the COHA data, is concerned with the intensifier's syntactic collocates. Considering the transparency between form and meaning (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 19), the intensifier's original form, *to fuck*, has shifted from a verb slot to a modifier slot. Functioning as a participle or later as an intensifier, the form *fucking* already illustrates a decrease in Compositionality. Additionally, it is shown that the intensifier *fucking*, besides adverbs, initially preferred attributive adjectives and nouns, syntactic categories which at least have a chance of being able to fornicate. The later preference for verbs and predicative adjectives, syntactic categories which could not even be able to fornicate, again confirms the argument for decreased Compositionality.

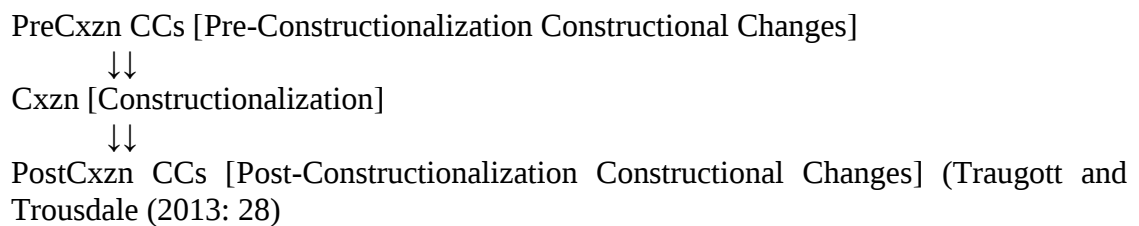
The last aspect of analyzing decreased Compositionality is concerned with the increased collocational predicative adjective range of the intensifier *fucking*. As already mentioned before, the intensifier *fucking* seems to have suffered from a very strong taboo status, although the COHA data indicates it has been used at an all-time high rate recently. Due to its taboo status and its concomitant negative connotation, it is assumed that the intensifier *fucking* predominantly collocates with negatively connoted predicative adjectives, as discussed in Section 4.1.3 when analyzing the intensifier *damn*. In Section 4.2.2.2, it is outlined that the intensifier *fucking* shows increasing evidence of opening up for neutral and positively connoted predicative adjectives, despite its remaining preference for negatively connoted adjectives. This shifting preference pattern from initially strictly preferring negatively connoted adjectives towards being more open for neutral and positively connoted adjectives again confirms the tendency of decreasing Compositionality of the construction $[[fucking\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective,\ predicative\ adjective,\ noun,\ adverb\ or\ verb]]$. Therefore, it can be concluded that the construction $[[fucking\ ADJ_{attr}/ADJ_{pred}/NOUN/ADV/VERB] \leftrightarrow [intensification\ of\ attributive\ adjective,\ predicative\ adjective,\ noun,\ adverb\ or\ verb]]$ has definitely decreased its Compositionality.

5. Discussion

After having presented and briefly discussed the results for the intensifiers *damn* and *fucking* in each respective subsection, it is time to revisit the proposed model of Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) model again and to classify particular changes. As outlined in Section 2.3.2., Traugott and Trousdale (2013) differentiate between Grammatical

Constructionalization and both Pre-Constructionalization and Post-Constructionalization Constructional Changes.

To shortly revise, Constructionalization has been defined as the creation of a new form-meaning pairing, the creation of “*new type nodes, which have new syntax or morphology and new coded meaning*” (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 22). Constructional Changes are “*change[s] affecting one internal dimension of a construction*” (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 26) and either be Pre-Constructionalization or Post-Constructionalization Constructional Changes. Pre-Constructionalization Constructional Changes involve amongst others mismatch between form and meaning and some small distributional changes, while Post-Constructionalization Constructional Changes involve expansion of collocations or morphological and phonological reduction (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 26-27). In a further step, according to Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 28) the succession of changes is summarized as follows:



Given these preconditions, the findings of the conducted empirical study shall be revisited. To begin with, it has to be remarked that comparing both intensifier constructions at hand causes some minor difficulties. While it seems that the construction $[[\textit{damn} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ is rather straightforward in terms of the three processes involved in Grammatical Constructionalization, the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ at first does not appear to be equally easy. Therefore, each taboo intensifier construction shall be dealt with one at a time.

Considering the construction $[[\textit{damn} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$, it can be said that the construction resembles a full representation of the model:

PreCxzn CCs [Pre-Constructionalization Constructional Changes]

↓↓

Cxzn [Constructionalization]

↓↓

PostCxzn CCs [Post-Constructionalization Constructional Changes]” (Traugott and Trousdale (2013: 28)

It appears that the mismatch between aspects of form and meaning and small distributional changes introduced in Section 4.1.3 can be categorized as Pre-Constructionalization Constructional Changes. On the one hand, there is the distribution extension of *damn* to nouns with different semantic context, which is also reflected in Traugott and Trousdale’s (2013: 26-27) analysis of *a lot of*. This distribution extension to nouns with different semantic context has been outlined in Section 4.1.2.2 and 4.1.3 in more detail and can be summarized as an extension from animate nouns to inanimate nouns as well. This results in a mismatch between form and meaning as *damn*, in the OED (2017: s.v. *damn*, v.) sense of “pronounc[ing] adverse judgement on, affirm to be guilty; to give judicial sentence”, has not been able to collocate with inanimate nouns.

This Pre-Constructionalization Constructional Change only becomes an instance of Grammatical Constructionalization when morphosyntactic changes appear as well as semantic changes (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 27). These morphosyntactic changes are found when the intensifier *damn* also begins to occur in different syntactic slots as shown in Section 4.1.1. Supplementing these morphosyntactic changes, the three major processes being representative of the construction $[[damn \text{ ADJ}_{attr}/\text{ADJ}_{pred}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}]] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]$ undergoing a Grammatical Constructionalization as outlined in the hypotheses established in Section 3.1 shall be shortly elaborated on. It is confirmed that the construction $[[damn \text{ ADJ}_{attr}/\text{ADJ}_{pred}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}]] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]$ increased its Schematicity; thus, H_1 proves to be true. The intensifier *damn* also confirms H_2 to be true, as the intensifier *damn* expands its syntactic range from functioning as an adjective to functioning as both an adjective and an adverb (H_{2a}), and it also expands its collocational range (H_{2b}). Considering H_{2b} , the intensifier *damn* proves to increase its collocational noun range from animate to both animate and inanimate nouns (H_{2bI}) and its collocational predicative adjective range from negatively connoted adjectives to negative, neutral and positively connoted adjectives (H_{2bII}). While both Schematicity and Productivity of the intensifier *damn* are shown to have increased, the results support the claim that its Compositionality has decreased (H_3). Therefore, it can be argued

that the construction $[[\textit{damn} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$, has been shown to resemble an instance of Grammatical Constructionalization.

Post-Constructionalization Constructional Changes have been defined amongst others as further expansion of collocations or phonological reduction (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 27). It has been shown that the construction $[[\textit{damn} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ has increased its collocational range massively in the COHA data. In addition, the phonological reduction from the initial form *damned* to the forms *damn'd* and *damn* has been addressed in Section 2.2. Therefore, it can be concluded that the construction $[[\textit{damn} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ perfectly resembles Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) model of Grammatical Constructionalization including both Pre-Constructionalization Constructional Changes and Post-Constructionalization Constructional Changes.

Shifting the focus now to the intensifier *fucking*, it has to be repeated that the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ does not appear to represent a straightforward process of Grammatical Constructionalization such as is the case with the *damn*-construction. Although the data gathered in the OED makes a strong case for doing so, the problems posed for analyzing Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) model shall shortly be elaborated on. As shown in Section 4.2, the intensifier *fucking* appears relatively late in the COHA data. Considering what the OED mentions as the first use of the intensifier *fucking* back in 1864, it took approximately another 70 years for the intensifier *fucking* to finally appear in the COHA data for the first time. The reason for appearing only so late in the COHA data is assumed to be its strong taboo status, which it still partially has in today's language and today's society. Therefore, it is further assumed that the intensifier *fucking* only appears in the COHA data at a relatively late stage of its own historical development. Thus, the intensifier *fucking* might have been already grammaticalized to a certain extent prior to the first appearance in the COHA data. As a consequence, it is assumed that the COHA data does not entirely reflect what has indeed been happening to the intensifier *fucking* considering its collocational and syntactic range which is a clear limitation of this study. Nevertheless, this study has attempted to resolve this difficulty by implementing supplementary data extracted from the OED. This data, however, despite being enormously useful, do not entirely make up for the data gap in

the COHA as they only present individual occurrences. Although these individual occurrences are extremely helpful in drawing inferences supplemented by the COHA data, these inferences cannot be treated as completely safe conclusions. Nevertheless, the combination of the OED data and the COHA data shall be used to illustrate the changes involved in the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$.

Given the previously introduced model that Grammatical Constructionalization is preceded by Pre-Constructionalization Constructional Changes and enables further Post-Constructionalization Constructional Changes, the findings for the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ of the OED data and the COHA data combined shall be revisited and classified.

Similar to what has been shown in the *damn*-construction, the mismatch between aspects of form and meaning and small distributional changes introduced in Section 4.2.3 can be classified as Pre-Constructionalization Constructional Changes. Again, there is a distribution extension of *fucking* to nouns with different semantic context. A fine-grained analysis of this distribution extension has been presented in detail in Sections 4.2.2.2 and 4.1.3 and can be summarized as an extension from animate to inanimate nouns. The result is a mismatch between form and meaning as the intensifier *fucking* initially only collocated with animate noun collocates which are capable of fornication and not with inanimate nouns which are not capable of fornication.

This Pre-Constructionalization Constructional Change can only be classified as an instance of Grammatical Constructionalization when morphosyntactic changes appear as well as semantic changes (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 27). Again, these morphosyntactic changes are found when the intensifier *fucking* begins to occur in different syntactic slots as shown in Section 4.2.1 and discussed in Section 4.2.3 considering both the OED data and the COHA data. These morphosyntactic changes are complemented by the three major processes being representative of the construction $[[\textit{damn} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ which shall be shortly elaborated on based on the hypotheses introduced in Section 3.1. Considering the premises outlined in Section 4.2.3 and the previous section, combined with both the COHA data and the supplementary OED data, it can only be partially confirmed that the

construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}]] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ has increased its Schematicity (H_1). The data in Section 4.2.2, could prove that the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}]] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ has – though not entirely reflecting the hypothesized processes –, in general, increased its Productivity (H_2). Considering the hypothesized processes involved in increasing Productivity, it needs to be mentioned that a syntactic expansion as hypothesized (H_{2a}) remains to a certain extent questionable; rather, the intensifier *fucking* has changed its syntactic function without repelling its older syntactic functions decisively. Considering the expansion of the collocational noun range of the intensifier *fucking*, an expansion from animate noun collocates to both animate and inanimate noun collocates (H_{2bI}) cannot be entirely confirmed. The construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{NOUN}]] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of noun}]]$ has never been explicitly attracted to animate nouns, but the construction is assumed to become even more attracted towards inanimate nouns. With regard to the expansion of the collocational predicative adjective range, a shift from preferring negatively connoted adjectives to opening up for both neutral and positively connoted adjectives (H_{2bII}) cannot be entirely confirmed either. Although the intensifier *fucking* in the COHA data is still presented as being mostly attracted towards negatively connoted adjectives, this attraction is shown to be decreasing, with neutral and positively connoted adjectives having become more attractive for the intensifier *fucking*. Eventually, the Compositionality of the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}]] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ proves to have drastically decreased (H_3). Therefore, it can be concluded that the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}]] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ – despite not entirely following the hypothesized processes and the process of increased Schematicity remaining questionable – mainly resembles what Traugott and Trousdale (2013) define as Constructional Grammaticalization.

Post-Constructionalization Constructional Changes can again be interpreted, as shown in this section and in Section 2.3.2, as expansion of collocations or phonological reduction for example. Section 4.2.2 has shown that the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}]] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]]$ has increased its collocational range drastically in the COHA data. The phonological reduction from *fucking* to *fuckin'* and *fuckin* has already been

elaborated on shortly in Section 2.2. Therefore, it can be concluded that the construction $[[\textit{fucking} \text{ ADJ}_{\text{attr}}/\text{ADJ}_{\text{pred}}/\text{NOUN}/\text{ADV}/\text{VERB}]] \leftrightarrow [\text{intensification of attributive adjective, predicative adjective, noun, adverb or verb}]$ resembles – despite not being as straightforward and clear as the *damn*-construction due to the COHA data – Traugott and Trousdale’s (2013) model of Grammatical Constructionalization, including both Pre-Constructionalization Constructional Changes and Post-Constructionalization Constructional Changes.

Finally, the limitations of the present study shall also be elaborated on briefly. The biggest limitation of the present study, which has been outlined in detail above, is the lack of a sufficient amount of COHA data for the intensifier *fucking*. The intensifier *fucking* seems to appear significantly later in the COHA data than it was shown to have been actually used in the OED data. The reason for that is hypothesized to be the strong taboo status which is still to a certain extent present in today’s language. As a consequence, it is assumed that the COHA data cannot account for all changes the intensifier *fucking* has indeed experienced and might have already been grammaticalized to a certain extent prior to the first appearance in the COHA data. Nevertheless, as outlined before, this study has attempted to resolve this difficulty by supplementing the given COHA data with additional data extracted from the OED. These data have proven to be enormously useful, but unfortunately cannot entirely make up for the COHA data gap as only individual occurrences are presented. It has also been adverted to the risk of treating the inferences established with the help of the OED data as completely safe conclusion. Nevertheless, it shall once more be underlined that the supplementary OED data have proven to be enormously useful in drawing inferences

Another limitation concerning the relatively late appearance of the intensifier *fucking* in the COHA data appears to be the classification into different time periods using Gries and Hilpert’s (2012) VNC method. While VNC has been introduced as a method allowing for meaningful periodization of a given time span, it becomes more difficult to execute the VNC method for a relatively short time span. Again, considering that the intensifier *fucking* in the COHA data first occurs in the 1930s, only a short overall time period is covered. With regards to the collocational predicative adjective range of the intensifier *fucking*, for example, it is questionable whether a general time span of the 1960s to 2000s should be actually divided into three subcategories. It is questionable to some extent whether a subdivision of this overall time span into 1960s, 1970s-1980s and 1990s-2000s indeed facilitates decent lasting time periods which can display language change. On the other hand, a division into merely two subcategories, as shown in Section 4.2.2.1, does not enable a Diachronic Distinctive

Collexeme Analysis, but only a Distinctive Collexeme Analysis of two time periods. Therefore, the established hypotheses in this paper encourage further diachronic research on taboo intensifiers – especially the intensifier *fucking* – using different historic corpora where taboo items have not been treated as being subject to censorship for a rather long time.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to offer a sophisticated investigation of an under-researched group of intensifiers, so-called taboo intensifiers, by thoroughly examining syntactic and collocational patterns of the two taboo intensifiers *damn* and *fucking*. Embedded in a Construction Grammar approach towards language, it is revealed that both intensifiers resemble to a certain extent processes of a particular model of Grammaticalization, which is Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) model of Grammatical Constructionalization and Constructional Change. Within Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) approach, the two main processes responsible for both intensifiers' advanced Grammaticalization are found to be both syntactic and collocational expansion, which both intensifiers at hand have experienced.

The intensifier *damn* is confirmed to have increased its syntactic range from formerly merely functioning as an adjective to nowadays functioning as both an adjective and adverb. Its expanded collocational range is displayed as discarding its former preferential pattern for animate noun and negatively connoted predicative adjective collocates, in order to be available for innovative right hand collocates such as inanimate nouns and neutral or positively connoted adjectives, as well.

Apart from the expansion of its syntactic range, which is shown to be more of a change than an expansion, very similar conclusions can be drawn from the results of the intensifier *fucking*. Its increased collocational range is – despite not being as clearly evident as the results of the intensifier *damn* – presented as becoming more open towards innovative right hand noun collocates, such as inanimate nouns and neutral or positively connoted predicative adjectives, after having been preferentially attracted to inanimate nouns and negatively connoted adjectives.

These conclusions are confirmed by results yielded by Kemmer and Hilpert's (2005) and Hilpert's (2006) method of Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis, allowing for a more sophisticated examination of historical corpus data than what a raw frequency analysis can offer. Considering the limitations of this thesis, an analysis of diachronic corpus data using this method still proved to be fruitful. While this thesis makes a major contribution to the study of taboo intensifiers, it could also serve as a starting point for other researchers to examine taboo intensifiers in more detail. Furthermore, it could also encourage further research to reconsider the Grammaticalization of other intensifiers which have been mainly

examined by analyzing raw frequency lists, as a Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis may reveal that analyses of mere raw frequency lists can often be misleading. Eventually, it might also prove to be fruitful to compare the results of this study – which is limited to historical American English – with results yielded by other corpora representing a different dataset and/or a different variety of the English language.

7. References

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Abstract

This diploma thesis takes a constructionist approach to the two English taboo intensifiers *damn* and *fucking*. I explore the syntactic range as well as the collocational adjective and collocational noun range of these two intensifiers from the perspective of Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) approach towards Grammaticalization, which is Constructionalization and Constructional Change, in the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) (Davies 2010). From this perspective, the diachronic development of the two intensifiers at focus involves three particular processes: increased Schematicity, increased Productivity and decreased Compositionality, the latter being optional. Thus, both intensifiers under examination display a loss of their original syntactic slots to open up for other syntactic slots, and an increase in collocates from originally negatively connoted adjectives to negatively connoted, positively connoted and neutral adjectives as well as from originally animate nouns to animate and inanimate nouns. These hypotheses are tested by using Hilpert's (2008) Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis and are calculated by a script provided by Gries (2014) in RStudio (RStudio Team 2015). This thesis reveals that both intensifiers *damn* and *fucking* resemble Traugott and Trousdale's process of Constructionalization and Constructional Change to a sufficient, but varying extent.

Keywords: Taboo Intensifiers, Grammaticalization, Constructionalization, Construction Grammar, Diachronic Distinctive Collexeme Analysis, COHA

Zusammenfassung der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit

Diese Diplomarbeit thematisiert die beiden englischen Tabu-Attribute *damn* und *fucking* von einem Konstruktionsgrammatikstandpunkt. Untersucht wird sowohl der syntaktische Rahmen als auch der adjektive und nominale Kollokationsrahmen der beiden Attribute aus der Perspektive von Traugott und Trousdale (2013) Grammatikalisierungsmodell, *Constructionalization and Constructional Change*, anhand des Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) (Davies 2010). Von deren Standpunkt aus beinhaltet der Grammatikalisierungsprozess drei grundlegende Prozesse: Anstieg der Schematizität, Anstieg der Produktivität und Rückgang der Kompositionalität, wobei Letzterer optional ist. Daher repräsentieren beide erforschten Attribute eine Veränderung ihrer syntaktischen Slots, sodass sich beide neben ihrer ursprünglichen syntaktischen Funktion auch in neuen syntaktischen Funktionen wiederfinden. Ebenso ist ein Anstieg der Produktivität beider Attribute erkennbar, sodass sie neben ihrer ursprünglichen Präferenz für negativ konnotierte Adjektive nun auch mit positiv konnotierten und neutralen Adjektiven kollokieren, und dass sie neben ihrer ursprünglichen Präferenz für unlebendige Nomen nun auch mit lebendigen Nomen kollokieren. Jene Hypothesen werden mit Hilfe einer Methode von Hilpert (2008), Diachrone Distinktive Kollexem-Analyse, und einem Skript von Gries (2014) im Statistikprogramm RStudio (RStudio Team 2015) überprüft. Diese Diplomarbeit zeigt, dass beide Attribute, *damn* und *fucking*, Traugott und Trousdale Grammatikalisierungsmodell in einem beträchtlichen, wenn auch unterschiedlichen, Ausmaß widerspiegeln.