

# CONTENTS

<b>Preface</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1 Preamble	1
2 What are phasal adverbs?	2
3 Why are phasal adverbs of interest to linguistics?	4
4 A note on particles	7
5 Structure of this book	8
<b>2 Particles at the Lexical-Semantics / Pragmatics Interface: A Conceptual Framework</b>	<b>9</b>
1 Frame semantics	9
1.1 Summary	12
2 Semantics <i>vs</i> pragmatics	12
2.1 Content-level uses <i>vs</i> context-level uses of phasal adverbs	14
2.2 Instructional semantics	17
2.3 Summary	26
3 Types of (allegedly) pragmatic meaning	26
3.1 Conversational implicature	27
3.2 Conventional implicature	29
3.3 Presupposition	32
3.4 Summary	33
4 The problem of polyfunctionality in semantic / pragmatic description	33
4.1 Homonymy, monosemy, polysemy	34
4.2 Constraints on polysemy	36
4.3 The notion of "basic sense"	39
4.4 Summary	40
5 The problem of paradigmaticity in lexical semantics	40
5.1 Semantic fields and paradigmatic relations between lexical items	41
5.2 Summary	46
6 A Peircean approach to meaning	46
6.1 Summary	51
7 General summary	51
<b>3 A Framework for Describing the Diachronic Evolution of Phasal Adverbs</b>	<b>53</b>
1 Introduction	53
2 Diachronic prototype semantics	53
3 The evolution of phasal adverbs: grammaticalization or not?	54
3.1 Parameters of grammaticalization	55
3.2 Pragmaticalization	58
3.3 The role of reinterpretation / reanalysis	60
3.4 Summary	64

4	Tracing semasiological changes	64
4.1	Transition	65
4.2	Actuation	69
4.3	Motivation	72
4.4	Summary	77
5	The notion of “persistence” in semasiological change	77
6	A Peircean approach to meaning change	79
6.1	Summary	82
7	General summary	82
<b>4</b>	<b>General Properties of Phasal Adverbs Across Languages</b>	<b>85</b>
1	Introduction	85
2	The aspectuality of phasal adverbs	85
2.1	The linguistic expression of time: tense, aspect, <i>Aktionsart</i>	86
2.2	The linguistic expression of time: adverbials	89
2.3	Interaction of phasal adverbs with aspect and <i>Aktionsart</i>	91
2.4	Perspectivity	94
2.5	Summary	99
3	The paradigmaticity of phasal adverbs	100
3.1	Two competing hypotheses about the interrelations of phasal adverbs	100
3.1.1	The duality hypothesis	100
3.1.2	The three-scenarios hypothesis	109
3.2	Summary	112
4	The presuppositionality of phasal adverbs	113
4.1	Presuppositions concerning preceding phases of the SoA	113
4.2	“Presuppositions” concerning subsequent phases of the SoA	116
4.3	“Presuppositions” concerning earliness or lateness of the change of state	119
4.4	Summary	121
5	General summary	122
<b>5</b>	<b>Data and Methodology</b>	<b>123</b>
1	Empirical basis of the investigation	123
2	Corpora used	125
2.1	Problems with the data	126
3	Tests	128
3.1	Tests for content-level vs context-level function	129
3.2	Problems with the use of tests in semantic / pragmatic description	130
4	Summary	131
<b>6</b>	<b>Content-Level Uses of the French Phasal Adverbs</b>	<b>133</b>
1	Introduction	133
2	Etymology of the French phasal adverbs	134
3	Temporal and closely related uses of <i>déjà</i> , <i>encore</i> , <i>toujours</i> , and <i>enfin</i>	135
3.1	<i>Déjà</i>	135
3.2	<i>Toujours</i>	136
3.2.1	Distributive use	137
3.3	<i>Enfin</i>	139
3.4	Summary	142
4	Phasal uses of the four adverbs	142
4.1	<i>Déjà</i>	142

4.2	<i>Encore</i>	144
4.3	<i>Toujours</i>	148
4.4	<i>Enfin</i>	150
4.5	Summary	151
5	Iterative and related uses of <i>déjà</i> and <i>encore</i>	152
5.1	<i>Déjà</i>	152
5.2	<i>Encore</i>	155
5.2.1	Additive <i>encore</i>	156
5.3	Habitual <i>toujours</i>	158
5.4	Summary	159
6	<i>Déjà</i> , <i>encore</i> , and <i>toujours</i> as phrasal adjuncts	160
6.1	Focus-particle uses of <i>déjà</i> and <i>encore</i>	160
6.1.1	<i>Déjà</i> and <i>encore</i> as temporal focus particles	161
6.1.2	<i>Encore</i> as an additive focus particle	162
6.2	<i>Encore</i> and <i>toujours</i> as degree adverbs	164
6.3	Summary	168
7	General summary	168
<b>7</b>	<b>Context-Level Uses of the French Phasal Adverbs</b>	<b>171</b>
1	Introduction	171
2	“Modal” uses	171
2.1	“Scalar” use	172
2.1.1	<i>Déjà</i>	173
2.1.2	<i>Encore</i>	175
2.1.3	<i>Toujours</i>	178
2.2	“Categorizing” use	179
2.3	Non-temporal focus-particle use	183
2.4	A note on <i>enfin</i> / <i> finalement</i>	185
2.5	Summary	186
3	Connective uses	187
3.1	<i>Déjà</i>	187
3.2	<i>Encore</i>	192
3.3	<i>Toujours</i>	199
3.4	<i>Enfin</i>	203
3.4.1	Collocations with <i>enfin</i>	209
3.5	Summary	212
4	Interactional uses	213
4.1	Summary	216
5	General summary	217
<b>8</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>221</b>
1	Introduction	221
2	Summary of results	221
3	Retrospects and prospects	224
	<b>References</b>	<b>229</b>
	Data sources	241
	<b>Index</b>	<b>243</b>