

# Exaggerating through 'end of scale' quantifiers

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## Contents

1. Introduction .....	4
2. Literature .....	6
2.1 Introduction .....	6
2.2 End of scale quantifiers, their use and bounds .....	6
2.3 Pragmatics for end of scale quantifiers .....	9
2.3.1 Gricean pragmatics.....	10
2.3.2 Relevance Theory.....	10
2.4 Non-literal uses of language.....	13
2.4.1 Exaggerating.....	13
2.4.2 Lying .....	14
2.4.3 Loose talk .....	14
2.5 Conclusion.....	15
3. Corpus analysis .....	17
3.1 Introduction .....	17
3.2 Methodology .....	17
3.3 Results .....	18
3.3.1 Overall frequencies .....	18
3.3.2 Results per quantifier .....	19
3.4 Conclusion.....	32
4. Implicatures and explicatures per category .....	34
4.1 Introduction .....	34
4.2 Categories.....	34
4.2.1 Strict interpretation.....	34
4.2.2 Pardonable exaggeration .....	34
4.2.3 Categorical (moral) use .....	35
4.2.4 Exaggeration.....	36
4.2.5 Not definable/not relevant .....	36
4.2.6 Intensification.....	37
4.3 Conclusion.....	38
5. Discussion .....	40
5.1 Introduction .....	40
5.2 Points of discussion.....	40
5.3 Limitations .....	41
6. Conclusion.....	43

References .....	44
Appendix 1: English end of scale quantifiers (COCA).....	45
Appendix 2: Dutch end of scale quantifiers (CGN).....	56

## 1. Introduction

In articles on universal (or generalised) quantifiers, especially where the issue of the upper bound of their meaning is concerned, the *not all*-implicature is often discussed. A *not all*-implicature conveys the meaning ‘less than 100%’ in statements containing quantifiers such as *some* or *most* (Ariel, 2004). That made me wonder about the bounds of the English quantifier *all* and of other quantifiers at the ends of pragmatic scales in general. Although *all* is the term for 100% or a complete set of referents, I do not think that in human language quantifiers expressing the maximum or minimum (like *every* or *nothing*) always convey 0% or 100%, even though it may be the semantic meaning of the words. People often exaggerate using these quantifiers, for example in phrases like ‘all the time’ or ‘nothing to do.’ As far as I know, this is not considered to be lying, even though Grice’s quality maxim is violated in the strict sense. Could it mean that these quantifiers are not expected to mean exactly 0% or 100% in all cases?

An analysis in some ways similar to this thesis, was done by Ariel on the meaning and bounds of *most* (Ariel, 2004). The upper bound for *most* has often been assigned to its pragmatics, but Ariel proposes the upper-bound to be part of the lexical meaning of the word (ibid.). How would this work for *all* and other ‘end of the scale’ quantifiers? It seems improbable that ‘not necessarily all’ could be part of the lexical meaning of *all*. Does this mean ‘less than all’ is part of the pragmatic meaning in certain ways of the use of *all*? How often is *all* actually used to express 100% and what is inferred when not? What does it mean for other quantifiers for 100% like *every* and *always*? And does it work the other way around for quantifiers expressing 0% like *none* or *nothing*? Example 1 shows how *all* is used in the strict way and in 2 it can be seen how difficult it can be to state what amount *all* expresses.

- 1) All humans need to breathe.
- 2) She was reading all day long.

In this thesis, I will conduct a corpus-based research to find out which kinds of implicatures or explicatures can be derived when quantifiers referring to the end of a pragmatic scale, representing either 0% or 100% (like *all* or *never*), are used for exaggeration in spoken language. Furthermore, I would like to find out firstly what the differences are between intended and literal meaning of these quantifiers in use, secondly if there are differences between the use of quantifiers for 0% and for 100%, how the use of end of scale quantifiers differs in Dutch and (American) English, and finally how often end of scale quantifiers are used in exaggerations, loose talk and lies. I expect end of scale quantifiers not to convey the meaning 0%/100% (or not only 0%/100%) in many cases. The communication of other messages could be done through exaggerating or talking loosely.

The thesis will be structured as follows. Chapter 2 gives an outline of the background literature relevant for the present research. First the term *end of scale quantifier* is introduced. After which I discuss some basic concepts treated in pragmatics, such as implicatures and explicatures, concentrating on the systems of Grice and Relevance theory. Following that, I discuss what is considered to be exaggerating, where it borders to lying, and in what ways it is comparable to loose talk (also known as ‘pragmatic slack’). The following examples show how end of scale quantifiers can be used for these purposes. 3 can be an example of exaggeration, where the speaker communicates he has never seen the referent cry and thinks he never or rarely cries. However, it is very improbable the referent has never cried in his life.

The statement in 4 would be a lie, if the speaker does have something to hide, but wants the hearer to think the opposite to be true. Typical examples of loose talk are about time – the speaker in 5 could have fallen asleep a quarter of an hour earlier or later than midnight, and the statement would still be true, because it is not necessary to be more precise.

3) He never cries.

4) I have nothing to hide.

5) I fell asleep at midnight.

Chapter 3 deals with the corpus analysis. The corpus analysis is carried out using the *Corpus of contemporary American English* (Davies, 2015) and the *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* (the Dutch spoken corpus, Taalunie, 2004). I will search for the quantifiers *all*, *nothing*, *always* and *never*, and their Dutch equivalents *alle*, *niets*, *altijd* and *nooit*. Following that, the contexts in which these quantifiers appear are examined. The cases are categorised into groups depending on how close their intended meaning is to 0% or 100% respectively and what is communicated using the quantifiers. The categorisation is inspired by the uses of *all* defined by Labov (1985) and is combined with ideas from Relevance theory, resulting in a system with three main uses: ‘strict interpretation,’ ‘loose interpretation’ and ‘not relevant.’ These categories and their sub-categories are explained in more detail in the second chapter. Throughout the analysis both English and Dutch examples are used, all obtained from the corpus searches, to make sure my conclusions are shared by at least two (but hopefully more) spoken languages.

Chapter 4 relates the results of the corpus analysis to the literature discussed in chapter 2, and tries to conclude what kinds of implicatures or explicatures can be derived from the uses of the end of scale quantifiers, what is conveyed through their use and in what ways exaggerations, loose talk and lying occur. I expect the kinds of implicatures and explicatures conveyed, can be linked to the categories of use. In the discussion chapter, also other results and findings about the use of end of scale quantifiers are discussed. Furthermore, the (sub-) questions of this research are answered there, and its limitations pointed out. Finally, the conclusion briefly sums up the main findings and gives some suggestions for further research.

## 2. Literature

### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, some background literature is presented on ‘end of scale’ quantifiers and on the semantics and pragmatics relevant for end of scale quantifiers. More specifically, section 2.2 introduces the term *end of scale quantifier*, and gives some definitions of similar concepts as well. After that is given some information on the use of these quantifiers, how they work as parts of pragmatic scales, which bounds the quantifiers have, and if these bounds are relevant at all. In section 2.3, several kinds of pragmatic meaning are discussed, including the ideas of Grice and Relevance theory on implicatures and explicatures. I try to apply these theories to the use of end of scale quantifiers. Continuing with non-literal use of language, 2.4 treats exaggeration, lying and loose talk. There I show how end of scale quantifiers can be used for those purposes. The findings are briefly discussed in the conclusion of this chapter.

### 2.2 End of scale quantifiers, their use and bounds

*End of scale quantifier* was not an existing term yet, but is used throughout this thesis to address all quantifiers with the literal meaning of either 0% or 100%. Examples of these are *all, always, everyone, everywhere, none, never, no one, nowhere*, etc. Formal logic makes a distinction between *universal* and *existential quantifiers*. The universal quantifiers are used to construct universal generalisations – *everyone, all, every, each, everything*, are commonly used examples. Existential quantifiers, for existential generalisations, are e.g. *someone, some, few, one, more or a number of. No one, nothing* and *no* are negations of an existential quantifier (Gamut, 1991). These quantifiers can be used as following:

- 1) All teachers are friendly.
- 2) Everyone admires someone.
- 3) No one is friendly. (Gamut, 1991: 70)

De Swart (1998) in *Introduction to natural language semantics*, explains the difference by saying that existential quantifiers mean ‘there is at least one’ and universal quantifiers apply for all referents of a set. This means that *all* in logic would always mean 100% (of a set). The negation of a universal quantifier would not be *nothing* (as for an existential quantifier), but *not all* – an amount lower than 100%.

**Nothing (0%)** \_\_\_\_\_ **one, some, few, more, (...)** \_\_\_\_\_ **All (100%)**  
*Negation of existential quantifier*                      *Existential quantifiers*                      *Universal quantifier*

Figure 1: *Quantifiers in Logic.*

In linguistic theory, several different terms are being used for quantifiers of the ends of pragmatic scales. Those at the 100% end are called *universal* (e.g. by Labov, 1985). Claridge (2011) categorises words as *all* and *every* as universal quantifiers; *everything, everywhere*, etc.; *nothing, anything* and *nobody* are classified as pronouns; and *always, never* and *ever* as adverbs. She describes these words as making absolute claims and to have a universal scope (Claridge, 2011). Considering the use of universal quantifiers, Labov (1985) makes a distinction between the ordinary use and use in formal settings. The ordinary use is more interesting for the current research, therefore I will concentrate on the theory from this part of his article (Labov, 1985). First, he makes a distinction between the strict and loose

interpretation of universal quantifiers. The strict interpretation means to designate 100% of the members of a set and applies for *all*, *each*, *ever*, etc. When the loose interpretation is used, the quantifier applies for all members of a set as a whole (but there might be exceptions). Because of that, the difference between the meanings ‘all’ and ‘not all’ should be neutralised in the loose interpretation. You cannot be sure of which is meant, but context helps to understand the speaker (ibid.). Still, there is a large grey area, especially when the quantifiers are used to describe subjective states, like in 4. Other are obviously false, see 5.

4) It never bothered me.

5) I’d never be still.

In the strict interpretation, these utterances would be false. Softening that, he calls them instances of pardonable exaggeration – constructing generalised implicit contexts within which 100% would be true, e.g. ‘apply to the set of all objects worth mentioning in this context.’ The example with *never* above, should then be interpreted as ‘I’d never be still for any time worth mentioning’ (Labov, 1985: 175). Other uses where the loose interpretation applies for *all*, are contexts where *all* is used with the meaning of *many* (this could be ‘normal’ exaggeration), and contexts where *all* is used as an intensifier. When the size of a set is known, the strict interpretation is more probable, and the loose interpretation applies when the strict one is not possible. Instances of intensification occur often with the adverbial use of *all*, as in the phrases ‘all over’ or ‘all kinds of...’ The same happens with quantifiers as approximants, as in ‘...and everything.’ This is shown in 6. There *all* intensifies the meaning of *tired*. Labov categorises the intensifier use as part of the loose interpretation spectrum (Labov, 1985).

6) He was all tired.

The last function Labov mentions, is the ‘moral use of universal quantifiers,’ which would refer to positions of society, like 7 (one of his examples). In this categorical use, *all* should apply to all possible members of a set (Labov, 1985: 18).

7) They need what all human beings need to want.

Furthermore, he says “*all* demands loose interpretation in many contexts and favors it in others” (Labov, 1985: 21). That would mean *all* should not be interpreted as the maximum in most of the cases.

I think these categories could be extended for the other quantifiers of the present research as well. The categories would be: strict interpretation (100%/0%), pardonable exaggeration (loose interpretation, the quantifier applies for all members of an implicit set), exaggeration (loose interpretation, less than 100%/more than 0%), and intensification (loose interpretation, conveys emphasis). ‘Categorical use’ will replace ‘moral use,’ and will cover generalisations with end of scale quantifiers (including moral use); the category would be a form of pardonable exaggeration. See the following overview:



1. Strict interpretation.
2. Loose interpretation.
  - a. Pardonable exaggeration.
    - i. Categorical (moral) use.
  - b. Exaggeration.
  - c. Intensification.

See the following examples and figures to understand well the categories. For the category of intensification there is no figure, because in cases of intensification the quantifiers emphasise what the speaker says, rather than express an amount. In the figures, the parts in bold are the conveyed amounts.

**0%** \_\_\_\_\_ **100%**

Figure 2: Strict interpretation of end of scale quantifiers.

0% \_\_\_\_\_ **[0% of set of referents \_\_\_\_ 100% of set of referents]** \_\_\_\_\_ 100%  
                                         \_\_\_\_\_ set of referents \_\_\_\_\_

Figure 3: Pardonable exaggeration with end of scale quantifiers.

0% \_\_\_\_\_ **more than 0%** \_\_\_\_\_ **less than 100%** \_\_\_\_\_ 100%

Figure 4: Exaggeration with end of scale quantifiers.

- 8) I have never been to Africa. (Strict interpretation)
- 9) All the cookies are gone. (Pardonable exaggeration)
- 10) They need what all human beings need to want. (Categorical use)
- 11) Everyone is ill. (Exaggeration)
- 12) There was dirt all over the floor. (Intensification)

Claridge (2011) repeats Labov's distinction between strict and loose interpretation, and adds that the loose interpretation is the more salient and conventional one. She describes universal quantifiers as words making absolute claims. As long as there is no restriction in the context where the quantifier is used, the utterance is supposed to be a form of hyperbole.

Consequently, she admits that these cases can also fall under the grey area between hyperbole and vagueness, or that it can be seen as contextual ellipsis where the set stays implicit (Claridge, 2011: 51).

The last part of this section treats the pragmatic bounds of end of scale quantifiers and pragmatic scales. Bounds are about the minimum and maximum amounts a quantifier can express; scales show how quantifiers follow each other in expressing amounts or intensity. The universal quantifiers in this research all have one clear bound, 0% or 100% respectively. We will see if other bounds could be attributed to them as well. Ariel (2010) examines the quantifier *most* and its bounds. Although *most* is not at the end of a scale, her findings are still relevant for this research. According to Ariel, in the views of Grice and Relevance theory on *most*, there is a pragmatic upper bound and a semantic 'compatibility with *all*.' She, however, argues for a semantic upper bound and pragmatic 'compatibility with *all*' (Ariel, 2010). If we would follow this for the end of scale quantifiers, we would get the semantic meaning 100%/0% and pragmatic 'less than 100%' or 'more than 0%'. Sanford investigates the bounds of quantifiers, but as many linguists do, he left out those on the ends of the scale, treating only

quantifiers between nearly 0% and nearly 100%. He claims that quantifiers denote more than proportion, they also determine the orientation (Sanford, 1996). This could apply for *all* or the other quantifiers here, making them a kind of intensifier in cases where *all* does not necessarily mean 100% or *none* not 0%. The intensifier function is also described by other linguists, in particular for *all*, as already pointed out above.

According to Horn (1984), a speaker makes the strongest claim possible within the bounds of what is truthful (due to the quantity principle), but also does not say more than is necessary (due to the principle of relation). From the quantity principle (or q-principle), q-implicatures can follow. Here hearers can assume that something is not the case, because otherwise the speaker would have said so. One kind of q-implicatures are scalar implicatures. Such implicatures consider words which are related, or have the same meaning but differ in degree or intensity. These words can be put into a scale (see examples 13 and 14). What is communicated is even to or lower on the scale (everything to the right of the quantifier in a scale) than what is said. Therefore, *some* could not mean *many* and *warm* water is not *hot* (Chapman, 2011: 92, Horn, 1984). That means *most* cannot be *all*, but *all* eventually could mean *most*. The question is whether this can work also the other way around for the negative quantifiers.

13) <all, most, many, some, none >

14) <boiling, hot, warm>

Coming back to Ariel, I would like to mention how she explains the use of *most* in situations where *all* would be more suitable and informative. *All* would make the speaker's statement very vulnerable, so it is safer to use *most* (Ariel, 2004). For *all* (and the other end of scale quantifiers) similar forces could apply, for example when the speaker wishes to make a strong statement, he could use *all* (or *none*) for 'almost 100%' (or 'almost 0%'). Some linguists, including Ariel in her article on *most*, question whether the inferences *all* and *not all* for quantifiers expressing a lower amount than 100%, are relevant at all. As Ariel mentions, according to the Neo-Griceans, the scalar implicature is relevant if a scalar predicate is used. The Relevance theorists in turn, claimed that the fact that *some* is true, is relevant enough. As her article concerns *most*, Ariel connects this to the fact that *all* is not expected for *most* and therefore not relevant (ibid.). Considering the case of end of scale quantifiers, it might not be relevant whether the amount communicated is exactly 0% or 100%. If the amount were not relevant, the quantifiers could be used to express an approximate very high or very low amount or indicate an orientation or intensity. More on relevance follows in 2.3.2 These cases can be probably analysed better in terms of implications, exaggerating and loose talk, which will be treated in the next sections.

### 2.3 Pragmatics for end of scale quantifiers

Referring to Grice (1989), Meibauer (2014) points out, that there are two types of meaning – one is the semantic, context-independent meaning (the literal, what is said), the second is the meaning arising from the context (what is implicated). Already Labov in 1985 noticed that the use of universal quantifiers often does not follow the rules of logic, but also that we do not always know whether they do or not (Labov, 1985). Universal quantifiers (just like end of scale quantifiers) seem to be used often with a meaning different from the literal, resulting in e.g. exaggerating or implicating. Therefore, I give some background information on

implicated and explicated meaning – in 2.3.1 based on the system by Grice, and in 2.3.2 based on Relevance theory.

### 2.3.1 Gricean pragmatics

The classical distinction of implicatures (following from Grice, 1989) is between the conventional and conversational ones, the latter being divided into generalised (GCI) and particularised (PCI) implicatures (see figure 6). The conventional implicatures are encoded in the grammar and therefore no inferencing is needed to understand the intended meaning. The conversational implicatures are considered to be pragmatic, and are more context dependent. GCI's are triggered when certain expressions are used, PCI's are implicatures drawn depending on the particular context and situation (Ariel, 2010). Some examples of the different kinds of implicatures (taken from Meibauer, 2014) are 15 and 16.

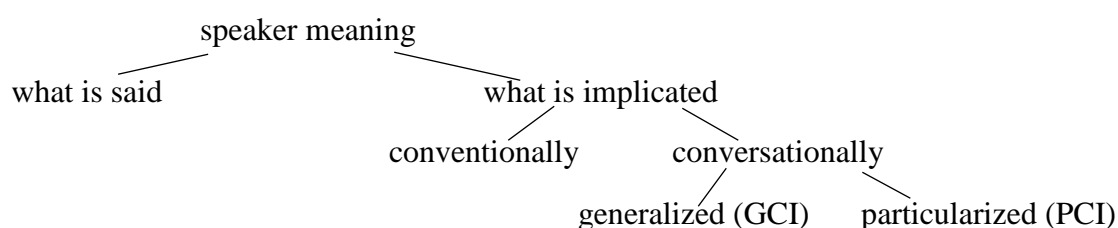


Figure 5: Speaker meaning – what is implicated (Grice 1989, table from Meibauer, 2014).

15) A: I stopped smoking.  
Conventional implicature: I have smoked.

16) A: What time is it?  
B: Some of the guests are already leaving.  
PCI: It must be late.  
GCI: Not all of the guests are already leaving. (Meibauer, 2014: 35)

The following examples show, how such implicatures could possibly be drawn from the use of end of scale quantifiers. These examples are based on similar cases from the corpus analysis. I use them in this section to show the connection between the theory of implicatures and the use of end of scale quantifiers. How such implicatures are derived, is explained in chapter 4. See 17 for a conventional implicature and 18 for the two types of conversational implicatures. Notice that the PCI is only one of the possibilities, as this kind of implicature is context dependent.

17) A: All blue cats are happy.  
Conventional implicature: Blue cats exist.

18) A: I can smell nothing compared to a dog.  
PCI: I did not smell the cat which is on the other side of the wall, and the dog is barking to.  
GCI: I can smell almost nothing compared to a dog.

### 2.3.2 Relevance Theory

Relevance theory is based on two principles: the cognitive principle and the communicative principle. The cognitive principle makes sure the speaker makes as little effort as possible to

communicate what he wants to communicate. The communicative principle makes a speaker say as much as is relevant for the hearer (Clark, 2013). One of the examples Clark (2013: 109) uses to explain this, is 19:

19) He's a human being.

The example is an answer to a question about what the speaker's flatmate is like. The fact that someone's flatmate is a human being is not relevant (it is expected he is a human), but because of the communicative principle the utterance must have a relevant purpose, so the hearer infers that e.g. the civilised manners of the flatmate are important for the speaker. With the cognitive principle in mind, the speaker does not explain all this, because it would take too much effort, and he expects the hearer to be able to figure it out on his own. Due to 'mutual manifestness' – taking into account what is supposed to be mutually known by hearers – it is possible for a speaker to produce an utterance which will be interpreted as it is intended by the speaker (Clark, 2013). For the end of scale quantifiers, it means that if a speaker uses *all* when it is mutually manifest that 100% is not possible, the hearers will interpret the utterance in the most relevant way (e.g. as exaggerating or intensification).

One of the types of context in which end of scale quantifiers might appear conveying more than an amount, are generalisations with *non-demonstrative inferences*. According to Clark (2013), these are evidence based inferences, where true premises lead to false conclusions. One of the examples he uses is 20. Someone could say this after being on holiday in Turkey and having experienced a taxi drive there only once or twice. A non-demonstrative inference with an end of scale quantifier is conveyed in 21 – a phrase people regularly say when they notice that some people around them are ill, although they know those few people are not literally everyone.

20) The taxi drivers in Turkey are so nice. Really friendly and helpful. (Clark, 2013: 132)

21) Everyone is ill.

'What is said' in Gricean theory, is in Relevance theory called an 'explicature,' the information which is explicitly communicated, which does not have to be the literal meaning of a statement, but still can be part of its conventional semantics. Some types of explicatures which are relevant for end of scale quantifiers are ambiguity, ellipsis and free enrichment (Clark, 2013). Words can have multiple meanings, be ambiguous, and the hearer is supposed to pick the most relevant meaning of a word or phrase. Examples used in Clark (2013) are e.g. *drink* and *throw up*. Maybe end of scale quantifiers are ambiguous as well, and can be used in a literal way, or in an exaggerated one. Where Clark (2013) talks about scales, the ambiguity of *some* is treated. In some contexts (22), *some* would mean 'some, but not all' and in others (23) 'some, possibly all.' If *some* is ambiguous and has these two meanings., in some cases it would be part of a scale (22), in other it would not (23). The hearer has to decide which meaning is relevant in the particular context.

22) Some elephants are mammals.

23) Some of your suggestions make sense.

Ellipsis means that some context has been left out. It occurs when it is not necessary to explicate all the context. The speaker is still understood, and needs to make less effort to

communicate his ideas (Clark, 2013). End of scale quantifiers can apply for an implicit set of referents which is not explicitly mentioned, which Claridge (2011) calls contextual ellipsis. Hearers are supposed to work out there is something left out but is still obvious from the context, or is part of their knowledge of the world (Clark, 2013). Within Relevance theory, it is assumed also free enrichment can take place if the context is not specific enough (Clark, 2013). The hearer inserts the extra relevant facts for himself. For end of scale quantifiers this maybe happens rather than ellipsis. One of the examples used by Clark is 24. In this example the hearer has to work out that there is a certain set of referents and that *everyone* is not 100% of the people in the world.

24) A: Everyone doesn't like chocolate.

Rough characterisation of the proposition expressed: It is not true that everyone in some group likes chocolate.

Or: It is true of everyone in some group that they do not like chocolate. (Clark, 2013: 180)

Implicatures in Relevance theory cannot be called conventionalised like in Gricean theory. Implicatures in Relevance theory are assumptions entailed from an utterance, but not explicitly communicated. A distinction which is made, is between weak and strong implicatures (Clark, 2013). How this works is shown on one of Clark's examples in 25. Example 26 shows how the system of Relevance theory would work for an end of scale quantifier.

25) Bev: I'm a vegetarian.

Strong implicature: Bev will not eat anything with meat in it.

Weak implicature: Bev has ethical objections to eating meat. (Clark, 2013)

26) He talks all the time.

Explicature: He talks a considerable part of the time.

Strong implicature: He talks more than me or other people in the group.

Weak implicature: What he says is boring.

Exaggerating through the use of end of scale quantifiers could mean less effort when saying things like 'all' rather than '6,154,987' or 'an extremely large amount' and still there is the intensifying component. Could the explicated meaning of an end of scale quantifier in some cases be different from 0%/100%; and could the implicature be 'this is important or significant'? If it worked like that, the explicatures and implicatures of 27 and 28 would be the following:

27) There is nothing in the fridge.

Explicature: There is not much in the fridge.

Implicature: We need to buy food.

28) She was snoring all night.

Explicature: She snored a considerable part of the night.

Implicature: She disturbed me in my sleep.

## 2.4 Non-literal uses of language

### 2.4.1 Exaggerating

The largest part of this section is based on *Hyperbole in English* by Claridge (2011). See the following citation for the basic terminology around hyperbole:

“Hyperbole is the traditional term taken originally from classical rhetoric and thus is associated with formal and persuasive speech, later with stylistics and literature. It is the term listed in dictionaries of rhetorical and literary terminology, while overstatement and even more so exaggeration are everyday terms with no clear affiliation to any domain or use.” (Claridge, 2011: 6)

In this thesis, I will use the term *exaggeration* as a general term and terms like *hyperbole*, *overstatement* and *understatement* only in more specific contexts. Referring to Gibbs, Claridge also mentions the difference between intentionality and consciousness of exaggerations: hyperbole would be intentional and conscious, while overstatement is unintended and unconscious. Although this distinction is quite logical, it would be too difficult using this theory to label specific exaggerations, as there is a large grey area, and in many cases, it would not be clear what exactly is intended (Claridge, 2011).

A special type of exaggeration was described by Pomerantz as ‘extreme case formulation’ (ECF), such expressions make strong claims and contain universal quantifiers like *everybody* (see 29) or *always*, but also other intensifying words such as *best* or *extremely* (Pomerantz, 1986). Occurrences of ECF’s with end of scale quantifiers should be easy to identify as a form of exaggeration.

29) You’d like him. Everybody who meets him likes him.

More on over- and understatements can be found in Meibauer (2014), where he classifies them as partial lies. Referring to Nemesi (2010), he explains their use as wanting to express something more than what is said – expectation, impression, mood or attitude. Some of his examples are: ‘I have tried to call you a thousand times!’ or ‘This fridge has nothing in it.’ In these kinds of expressions (end of scale) quantifiers seem to be quite common (Meibauer, 2014). Coming back to Claridge, I will point out some kinds of exaggeration she mentions with universal quantifiers. She claims that most hyperboles are single word items. Among the examples she gives, there are some universal quantifiers – *never*, *all* and *always*. Other examples of these one-word exaggerations are e.g. *constantly*, *freezing* or *kill*. In her work, these are called conventional hyperboles and are likely to be part of the mental lexicon (Claridge, 2011).

If we try to identify what types of implicatures are connected to different kinds of exaggeration, I propose to see the ECF and conventional hyperboles as conventionalised implicatures, as these contain specific words or forms, which are easily recognised as exaggeration (see 30). The other types, hyperbole and overstatements, are more dependent on the context of an utterance and therefore more likely to be seen as PCI’s (see 31). 31 contains the PCI that all the cats in the house of the speaker are meant, if the context is a situation when a person says 31 to someone living in the same house. It would be obvious the speaker means the cats living in their house.

30) Everybody who meets him likes him.

31) I fed all the cats.

### 2.4.2 Lying

Exaggerating can be close to lying. To give more background information on this topic, I refer to the theory from *Lying at the semantics-pragmatics interface* by Meibauer (2014). The following citation shows what we should expect of an analysis of lying as a linguistic concept:

“So while in general, we do not like lying very much, we accept it and find it very useful for practical purposes. (...) I will argue that this flexibility has not only to do with well-known moral issues (or hypocrisy, if you want), but has also to do with matters of how our language works.” (Meibauer, 2014: 2)

Lies and exaggerating seem to be similar in some ways. Hyperboles are not seen as lying, nevertheless as not saying the truth, and over- and understatement are seen as partial lies (Meibauer, 2014). Meibauer also talks about statements which can be used (too) generally and becoming lies. These statements often contain words like *always*, *never*, *nobody* and *everybody*, which makes them indicators of lies (ibid.). Figure 7 shows what it means to use end of scale quantifiers in lies.

0% **almost 0%** \_\_\_\_\_ **almost 100%** 100%

Figure 65: End of scale quantifiers in lies.

For lying, the intention to deceive is crucial. A situation when someone lies using an end of scale quantifier could be, when he wants someone else to sign a petition and to convince the other. He says everyone else already signed, although he knows it is not true 100% of the group signed it. The utterance could look like this:

32) Everyone signed the petition, so you should do so as well.

### 2.4.3 Loose talk

‘Loose talk’ are expressions which are not as specific as they could be, giving a range of possibilities which could be true. E.g. ‘at three o’clock’ in many cases means any moment between approximately 02:50 and 3:10 (Lauer, 2012). An example containing an end of scale quantifier is the phrase ‘all the way’ (taken from Lauer, 2012), which in some of the theories mentioned earlier (e.g. Labov, 1985) would be called intensification. Still, I think these theories could apply both at the same time – loose talk and loose interpretation should be quite close or maybe even the same.

Considering end of scale quantifiers, the interesting thing about loose talk is that the communicated content is weaker than the semantic content (for the loose talk part – Lauer, 2012), something that might apply also for the use of end of the scale quantifiers in exaggerations. The situations when loose talk is used are such when the speaker does not think it would do any harm to the conversation, and if it at the same time would not have any negative consequences for him or her to talk loosely (ibid.). In other words, people can speak loosely without problems (probably it is even easier than to be precise), if the exact information or measure is not relevant. This case is similar to the case of the irrelevance of all- and not all-implicatures discussed by Ariel (2004).

To finish this section, see example 33 and figure 8 for the use of end of scale quantifiers in loose talk. The sentence in 33 could be used loosely when someone thinks he probably knows all the classmates by name, but is not entirely sure about some of the names he has in mind, meaning that in the end he knows maybe only most and not 100% of them by name.

33) I know all of my classmates by name.

0% almost 0% \_\_\_\_\_ almost 100% \_\_\_\_\_ 100%

*Figure 76: End of scale quantifiers in loose talk.*

## 2.5 Conclusion

The previous sections of this chapter have explained what end of scale quantifiers are, and how they work, the explicated and implicated meanings, relevance, exaggeration, lying and loose talk. These concepts I would like to use in the analysis of the examples from the corpus search. The examples will firstly be divided into the categories defined by Labov (1985). But as from the Relevance theory it is clear that the exact meaning conveyed is not always relevant, I would like to add the category ‘not relevant/not definable.’ This category will include those cases where the amount communicated is either not relevant, or not definable and therefore probably not relevant. Intensification also does not express a concrete or definable amount and will fall under ‘not relevant/not definable.’ The final categorisation I will use is the following:

1. Strict interpretation.
2. Loose interpretation.
  - a. Pardonable exaggeration.
    - i. Categorical (moral) use.
  - b. Exaggeration.
3. Not relevant/not definable.
  - a. Intensification.

See 34-39 for some examples which are representative for the ways of use I expect to find throughout the corpus results of the next chapter.

34) I have never been to Africa. (Strict interpretation)

35) All the cookies are gone. (Pardonable exaggeration)

36) They need what all human beings need to want. (Categorical use)

37) Everyone is ill. (Exaggeration)

38) There is nothing special about those flowers. (Not relevant/not definable)

39) There was dirt all over the floor. (Intensification)

Chapter 3 uses the categorisation above to analyse the results of the corpus search. In chapter 4, I will look for the implicated and explicated meaning and try to identify the examples used in a non-strict interpretation as exaggeration, lying or loose talk. For exaggerating, it was suggested that ECF’s and conventional hyperboles entail conventional implicatures, and that hyperbole and overstatements could convey PCI’s. In loose talk the exact amounts should not be relevant and not important for the message communicated. Contrary to loose talk, for lies



with end of scale quantifiers the exact amounts should be relevant, but possibly communicated as not relevant (and therefore rounded off to 0% or 100%).

### 3. Corpus analysis

#### 3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, two corpus searches and their results are described. Unlike in usual corpus linguistics, the results in numbers and percentages are in this research less important than the examined examples. What I concentrate on here, are the individual contexts of a relatively small number of the quantifiers searched for in two corpora. Therefore, the conclusions are not based on how often certain uses of end of scale quantifiers occur, but on which uses can be found with each quantifier analysed here. The examples are analysed in order to find out what the intended meanings of the use of end of scale quantifiers are. More specifically, this considers the meanings (more than) 0% and (less than) 100%, and other additional implicatures like significance of a fact. The three main parts of this chapter are the methodology (3.2), the corpus analysis (3.3), and the conclusion (3.4). The analysis starts with the overall frequencies of the results and continues with analyses per equivalents from English and Dutch – *all/alle*, *niets/nothing*, *always/altijd*, and *never/nooit*. For each of those, I go through the examples of all the categories of use, defined in the previous chapter.

#### 3.2 Methodology

The searches were carried out in an English and in a Dutch spoken corpus: the spoken part of *The Corpus of contemporary American English* (Davies, 2015, further referred to as COCA) and in the *Corpus gesproken Nederlands* (Nederlandse Taalunie, 2004, further referred to as CGN). CGN is a nine-million-word corpus of spoken Dutch from 1998 till 2004. COCA is a large database of over 530 million words consisting of five parts, of which the spoken part contains 109.4 million words. The other registers are fiction, magazine, newspaper and academic. The transcribed materials date between 1990 and 2015, and a large part of them are transcripts of TV programmes. Both corpora used contain spoken language, however, in CGN also read aloud texts (not spontaneous language) are included. Fortunately, also the spoken part of COCA contains similar discourse, like weather forecasts. The contents of the two databases should be comparable and representative for spoken language in general.

The quantifiers searched for are *all*, *nothing*, *always* and *never*, and the Dutch *alle*, *niets*, *altijd* and *nooit*. The English and Dutch words are each other's translations according to the OED (2000). For each of the quantifiers, thirty examples were taken from the respective corpora. To avoid having too many tokens from the same discourse and speakers, always the twentieth next hit was used. A complete overview of the examples can be found in the appendices. Subsequently, the tokens were categorised into groups, depending on the way the quantifiers were used in the context. These are the categories distinguished in the previous chapter:

1. Strict interpretation.
2. Loose interpretation.
  - a. Pardonable exaggeration.
    - i. Categorical (moral) use.
  - b. Exaggeration.
3. Not relevant/not definable.
  - a. Intensification.

### 3.3 Results

#### 3.3.1 Overall frequencies

For English, the number of hits per million fluctuates between 308.7 (*nothing*), and 3,085 (*all*). In between these are *always* with 502.4 hits and *never* with 700.7 per million. The original result for *all* was 3,794.1 per million, but the number of hits for ‘all right’ was distracted. ‘All right’ is still a phrase containing the word *all*, but was eliminated because a too large part of the results would be for ‘all right.’ Even when the hits for ‘all right’ are left out from the results, the frequency of this quantifier is still significantly the largest among the searched quantifiers, also compared to the results for Dutch. This can be explained by the frequent use of *all* as intensification (in phrases) and not only as a general quantifier. More on the analysis of this and the other quantifiers follows in the next section. See table 1 for an overview of the numbers of hits for English and of the occurrences in the categories. The second and third column give numbers acquired from the corpus, the next columns show how many of the hits were classified in each category of this research.

English	hits	hits per mil.	Strict interpretation	Pardonable exaggeration	Categorical use	Exaggeration	Not relevant/not definable	Intensification
<b>all</b>	337,437	3085	4	9	5	2	3	7
<b>nothing</b>	33,756	308.7	5	10	2	6	3	4
<b>always</b>	54,957	502.4	7	6	8	1	10	0
<b>never</b>	76,652	700.7	13	0	2	3	5	7

Table 1: English end of scale quantifiers (COCA).

For Dutch, the proportions between the numbers of hits are different. Here, the most often found end of scale quantifier is *altijd*. The frequency of *altijd* is significant within these results, but also compared to the English ones. The frequencies for the negative quantifiers *niets* and *nooit* are similar to those in English. The results are showed in table 2 in the same way as was done for English.

Dutch	hits	hits per mil.	Strict interpretation	Pardonable exaggeration	Categorical use	Exaggeration	Not relevant/not definable	Intensification
<b>alle</b>	4,947	549.7	14	7	2	1	6	0
<b>niets</b>	2,269	252.1	11	7	0	6	5	1
<b>altijd</b>	11,575	1286.1	13	3	0	4	9	1
<b>nooit</b>	5,802	644.7	12	1	0	8	4	5

Table 2: Dutch end of scale quantifiers (CGN).

The numbers on their own do not tell much without more context. Table 3 shows the frequencies of the end of scale quantifiers in different registers in American English. These numbers originate from COCA as well. The table shows that the quantifiers are more frequent in spoken language and in fiction than in magazines, newspapers or in academic language. For *all*, also here the hits for ‘all right’ are excluded.

Hits/million	all	nothing	always	never
<b>Spoken</b>	3,264.32	308.58	502.39	700.71
<b>Fiction</b>	3,024.14	643.68	673.71	1,113.21
<b>Magazine</b>	2,266.66	242.10	446.91	591.76
<b>Newspaper</b>	1,929.53	22 0.51	368.95	554.77
<b>Academic</b>	1,929.30	124.00	238.13	254.63

Table 3: Hits for English end of scale quantifiers in various registers (COCA).

### 3.3.2 Results per quantifier

In the following subsections, I discuss the results for each of the end of scale quantifiers, treating always the English and Dutch equivalents at the same time and comparing them. The analysis is based on which quantifiers appear in which categories, and on examples of their use. All results from the corpus searches can be found in the appendixes, only the most representative and most interesting examples are discussed.

#### 3.3.2.1 All and alle

As mentioned above, *all* is the most frequent of the quantifiers in this research, and its most frequent use is as part of the phrase ‘all right.’ Even without examining the context, it can be stated that ‘all right’ has the function of intensification. The occurrences of the uses of *all* and *alle* are examined per category. The uses of the other quantifiers are further on described in the same way. See table 6 (Appendix 1) for all results and contexts for *all* and table 10 (Appendix 2) for *alle*.

#### Strict interpretation

For both languages, there were found examples of the strict interpretation of *all* and *alle*. For Dutch almost half of the hits for *alle* can be interpreted in a strict way, for English just a few. In the Dutch examples the group of referents is often described in detail, see 1. A briefer example is the English 2.

1) De diepe achtertuin was gemakkelijk toegankelijk voor bulldozers graafmachines en alle grondverzetapparatuur die Tristan wilde gebruiken.

TL: The deep backyard was easy to access for bulldozers, excavators and all the equipment for mowing the soil, which Tristan wanted to use.

2) You don't want to be with somebody to answers all thirty-six questions the same exact way.

In 3, the intended meaning is still not 100%, because of ‘zo een beetje’ (more or less), but the set referred to by saying ‘alle soorten alle genres’ (all kinds of genres) is a complete set. So in this sentence, ‘zo een beetje alle soorten alle genres’ means ‘almost all genres,’ and maybe even ‘almost all genres and possibly all.’

3) Maar uhm in de zesdes zuchten ze al minder maar daar heb ik ook wel uhm Tom Lanoye op gezet en zo een beetje alle soorten alle genres waar ze dan zelf kunnen uit kiezen.

TL: But uhm, in the sixth grades they already sigh less, but there I also gave them uhm Tom Lanoye on the list, and more or less all kinds of genres which they can choose from.

### **Pardonable exaggeration**

Contrary to the previous category, pardonable exaggeration (similar to the strict interpretation, but here the set of referents stays implicit) appears more often for *all* than for *alle*. For five of the instances in English, the quantifier is used as part of the phrase ‘first of all,’ meaning usually something like ‘first of all to be said/done here and now.’ ‘First of all’ could also be classified as ‘not definable’ – it is in most cases difficult to sum up all what belongs to the implicit set, as the phrase is probably used without consciously expressing 100%. In 4, *all* would be something like ‘all you will be doing.’

4) A: Okay. Tim and Linda Chatsworth's, New Jersey home. They've been there for a long time, twenty-six years. Let's peek inside their dining room. What should they do to that?

B: Yeah, shovel the driveway first of all, right?

C: And get rid of the car

A few of the *all*'s come in the form ‘that all’ or ‘all these’ and similar. In 5 the speaker refers to ‘all the ingredients’ she just mentioned.

5) A: A little bit of brown sugar. This just kind of balances the tomatoes and just everything together, the heat, some cumin and a little pinch of oregano.

B: Okay.

A: Get that all in there. We're going to give that a really good stir.

A representative Dutch example is 6, there ‘all the troops in the mentioned area between Eritrea and Ethiopia,’ are meant.

6) De VN-missie UNMEE waaraan elfhonderd Nederlandse mariniers deelnemen kan de bufferzone tussen Eritrea en Ethiopië binnentrekken. De twee landen hebben alle troepen nu teruggetrokken.

TL: The UN-mission UNMEE, in which eleven hundred Dutch soldiers take part, could enter the buffer zone between Eritrea and Ethiopia. Both two countries have withdrawn all their troops.

A phrase for the Dutch *alle* used as pardonable exaggeration, would be the saying in 7, where the speaker means ‘all the relevant people.’

7) Ja alle hens aan dek.

TL: Yes, all hands on deck.

These first two categories for *all/alle* were quite large compared to the others. They are also similar to each other, and difficult to distinguish from one another. The following categories will have just a few examples.

### **Categorical (moral) use**

Most of the English results in this category refer to all people, usually by using ‘we all,’ as can be seen in 8. Similar to that is the use of ‘all of us’ in 9. Similarly generalising is 10 (one of the only two Dutch examples).

8) All right. So we're going to count on that. May 2nd Floyd, do it. We all want to see it.

9) A: all of us recognize that this great religion in the hands of a few extremists has been distorted to justify violence towards innocent people that is never justified.

B: The face of terror is not the true faith of Islam. That's not what Islam is all about. Islam is peace.

10) Het was eerst alleen dat leeftjidsverschil maar toen we trouwden zag za dat het ons allebei ernst was. Dat willen alle moeders.

TL: At first it was only that age difference, but when we got married, she saw we both were serious about it. That's what all mothers want.

The last example (11) is about a more specific group, but still a generalisation:

11) A: My first kiss?

B: That—

C: Oh, boy.

D: I was about-- about thirteen. Around the corner, there was this boy that lived—

B: I must have been thirteen. He was good looking. All the girls wanted him. I got him.

It seems that the first examples with ‘we all’ are utterances where the speakers try to convince people, or say what others should do or think. The other examples are more about what people think in general about certain groups.

### **Exaggeration**

For the case of normal exaggeration (meaning rather *many* than *all*), I did not find many examples for these quantifiers. In the first example (12), the speaker talks about situations where it feels as if everything what could be fun, was over; which is quite a strong statement to make.

12) A: So if you're feeling in a funk because it's cold and yucky.

B: And you've gotten back from vacation or being with family and you sort of miss them.

C: Yeah. It's like all the fun stuff is over.

In the other English example (13), the speaker seems to say ‘Joy Bauer has 100% of the latest workouts and food,’ which probably would be more than possible. On the other hand, it is difficult to determine what exactly a set of ‘all workouts and food’ would consist of, and therefore this example could also be classified as not definable. Another option is to see it as intensification, if we consider ‘got it all’ to be a phrase similar to phrases like ‘all over’ or ‘all the way,’ which will follow in the intensification section.

13) The next segment coming up, the latest in workouts and food, Joy Bauer has got it all.

### Not relevant/not definable

This category contains occurrences of end of scale quantifiers, where it is not relevant whether 0% or 100% is the case, or where it cannot be defined how much 0% or 100% would be, or both. The results for *all* and *alle* in this category can be easily divided into the two groups, 'not relevant' and 'not definable.' The two English results would fall under not definable. In these, *all* is combined with an abstract noun (craze, buzz). See example 14 for 'all the buzz.'

14) A: All right. From Justin Bieber's latest mix with police—

B: To a monster wedding ahead for Lady Gaga.

A: Yeah. Access Hollywood's Billy Bush and Kit Hoover are here with the latest.

B: We love them.

A: Love them. Love.

B: We'll have them next with all the buzz.

Also in the Dutch examples which I would classify as not definable, *alle* comes with abstract referents (alle opzichten, alle leeftijden, alle waardering). One of the examples is 15:

15) Want een oplossing voor het probleem moet wel gevonden worden. En daar zal ik vanzelfsprekend in alle opzichten mijn medewerking aan verlenen.

TL: Because there must be found a solution for the problem. And of course I will assist in that to all intends and purposes.

Then there are two examples where it is not relevant to know for the hearer whether 100% is true or not. One of them is 16.

16) Op alle knoppekes drukken totdat dat er iets uit diejen TV komt. Op de afstandsbediening natuurlijk.

TL: And push all the buttons till something comes out of that TV. On the remote control, of course.

### Intensification

The last category is intensification. Here the exact amount is also not definable or relevant. In this category, only English examples were found. It seems that intensification is a typical use of the English *all*, where it is used in phrases like 'at all,' 'all over' and 'all the way.'

17) Then, of course, there's the inelegant art of flopping, trying to draw a foul by falling to the ground as though you've just been hit by a semi, even though nobody touched you at all.

18) And icy mix tomorrow with the second clipper basically through Virginia. Light snow from New York, all the way back into the Great Lakes. That's what's going on around the country.

19) It's the sprinkle for the taste. All right. It's the eggies all over again.

In two of the examples (see 20), *all* is used for intensification, but not used in a phrase. These sentences could be formulated in a different way, but in this form, more emphasis is conveyed.

20) He is obsessed with the CIA. So with respect to Ukraine he thinks that we led the coup in Ukraine. The Ukrainians in his view had nothing to do with it. It was all the CIA. Therefore

what you see him doing today first in Crimea and now with his proxies in eastern Ukraine that is him striking back against what he thinks is American-led imperialism.

### 3.3.2.2 *Nothing* and *niets*

The frequencies of *nothing* and *niets* per million are similar, but their occurrences within the categories are a little different when comparing the two languages. Contrary to the use of *all/alle*, *nothing* and *niets* are usually not combined with a noun or noun-phrase which determines the reference set. For *nothing* and *niets*, the intended reference set is in most cases deduced from the verb in the sentence. For these negative quantifiers, it turned out to be more difficult to decide to which categories the individual quantifiers belong. See table 7 (Appendix 1) for all results and contexts for *nothing* and table 11 (Appendix 2) for *niets*.

#### Strict interpretation

The first category, strict interpretation, is the most common for the examples of *niets*, but less so for *nothing*. Some examples (see 21) have the meaning 0% even without an explicated set of referents.

21) Want ik had opgeschreven op een papierke wat dat 'k moest meebrengen en 't zat in 't zakske van m'n hemd en 't is 't is in de wasmachine gekomen 'k kunnen er nu niets meer van van lezen.

TL: Because I had written on a piece of paper what I had to bring with me, and it was in the pocket of my shirt and it ended up in the washing machine, we can't read anything of of it anymore.

This is similar for examples with the phrase 'niets te maken hebben met' ('have nothing to do with'), which appears a few times, see 22:

22) Haar inwendige verdriet was echt maar had niets te maken met de koboldenvertoning.

TL: Her internal sadness had nothing to do with the view of the goblins.

Other phrases found for Dutch were 'niets aan doen' (23) and 'niets te zeggen hebben over' (24).

23) Het komt uit zijn hoofd en daar kan de dokter niets aan doen.

TL: It comes from his own head, so the doctor can't do anything about it.

24) Als je vanochtend de krant had gelezen had je 't bewijs gezien dat Lenin is omgekocht door Duitsland. Wat zeg je daarvan? Moka had blijkbaar niets over het onderwerp te zeggen want er kwam geen antwoord.

TL: If you had read the paper this morning, you would have seen the evidence that Lenin was bribed by Germany. What do you think about that? Apparently, Moka had nothing to say on this topic, because no answer came.

An English example where *nothing* is used in a phrase, is 25 with the expression 'nothing but dead ends,' meaning 'only dead ends,' but with more emphasis on 0%. From another point of view, this case could also be classified as intensification, as *nothing* is used here to convey a stronger statement.



25) Detectives trying to figure out who would want to kill mild-mannered Connie Hoagland were hitting nothing but dead ends until they got a call from the business partner of Connie's husband Larry.

Some of the English examples (like 26) are different, *nothing* is combined with *do*. This happens more often – with pardonable exaggeration and the not relevant category. In this example, there is an explicit set – the person talked about ‘does nothing to call for help or to fix this.’

26) And that's seven minutes that emergency medical personnel could've been there could have done something and could have reacted to this situation to save Mister Hayes' life. But instead, she does nothing, nothing to call for help or to fix this.

### **Pardonable exaggeration**

As already mentioned, a large part of the English hits for *nothing* are used as pardonable exaggeration, and some of them are combined with *do* (see 27).

27) There was an opportunity to take them out and he didn't want to do it for political reasons because he wants to pull out of Iraq and Afghanistan politically. That's what he wanted. So now, he's faced with going in wiping them out or doing nothing. But half-hearted measures in war, as the famous saying goes, are madness. So he either has to go and wipe them out or do nothing.

Most other examples from both English and Dutch in this category, express ‘nothing relevant in that situation.’ One of them is 28.

28) A: I don't know, because if I say anything you're going to use it against me.

B: Detective DePanici's response would become a major legal issue.

C: Nothing's being used against you at this point.

B: "Nothing's being used against you at this point, " he told her.

### **Categorical (moral) use**

There are only two examples of *nothing* in generalisations. Both are about policy and how certain things happen or should happen in general. However, the examples are similar to those for pardonable exaggeration, and it is difficult to draw a line between these two uses. The statement in 29 gives a general solution for several crimes, but still it is exaggeration to say these crimes will never happen again.

29) Well, the clip I just saw from the Senator that spoke, it's very plain and clear to see that a Kate's Law that deals with felons that have committed crimes, anything from rape to murder, committed any type of assault and if they are felons we should definitely make sure that they are either detained or sent out of the country so nothing like this happens again.

### **Exaggeration**

From the English hits, some are very close to pardonable exaggeration, other are clear exaggerations. This is comparable in English and Dutch. Example 30 and similar are here classified as exaggeration, but it is also possible to see the examples as pardonable exaggeration and suppose there is an implicit set of referents and *nothing* means ‘nothing relevant.’

30) These were justices of the U.S. Supreme Court saying to other justices, you are essentially usurping democracy. You're acting as legislators, not as judges. And you're a bunch of elitist from the edges of America. You all went to Yale and Harvard. You know nothing about America.

This is different for the next examples, in which *nothing* (31) and *niets* (32) could hardly refer to 0% of any set of referents. In 32, the phrase with *niets* is softened by *bijna* (almost), but still I would say that calling a million 'almost nothing' is exaggeration.

31) There's nothing that gets you crazier than a cup of Starbucks coffee. In the stock market, it's really just a monetary version of caffeine. People watch it. They go up, or they go down. They go up or go down. It's hilarious. You should probably say don't drink coffee.

32) A: Los daarvan 't was de op één na duurste reclame. B: Ja. A: Voolopig budget. Anders geformuleerd een budget van een miljoen is bijna niets.

TL: A: Apart from that, it was the second most expensive ad. B: Yes. A: The budget for now. In other words, a budget of a million is almost nothing.

The final example (33) in this category is *niets* in the Dutch phrase 'weinig of niets' (literally 'little or nothing') from which it is clear that the speaker does not mean 0% or cannot be sure if that was the case.

33) Hè waar we vorige jaren met de vijf klasgroepen samen zaten dus tussen één en vijf in de grote turnzaal waar we dus die massameeting hadden die die eigenlijk weinig of niets uithaalde van waar de meesten zelfs niet wisten waarover het ging vond ik het nu een vooruitgang dat het per klasschijf was.

TL: Right, where we sat with five classes together between one and five in the large gym, where we had that mass measurement, which actually did not make much difference, and where the most of us even didn't know what it was about, I think it is an improvement that it is done per grade now.

### **Not relevant/not definable**

In general, for the English and Dutch examples applies, that it would be at least difficult to define if *niets* is 0%, and even if it could be defined, it still would not change the given situation or the conveyed message, as can be seen in 34 and 35. 36 could also be classified as a generalisation, as the speaker is making a general statement. From the Dutch examples, the expressions in 35 and 36 are more or less lexicalised and 'niets aan de hand' (there was nothing wrong) in 37 is a common phrase.

34) If you single, there's nothing wrong with you. The last time I checked, there was nothing in the Constitution or at the White House said single people need not apply. I'm going to be a ready-to-go commander in chief, protect everybody, single people included.

35) Voor een kind dat opgroeide op de hete uitgestrekte Indiase laagvlakte bestond er niets merkwaardigers dan dit gebouw dat omgeven door hogere bergen tegen de helling van zijn eigen kleine berg opkroop.

TL: For a child which grew up on the hot and extensive Indian lowlands, there was nothing more remarkable than this building which was surrounded by higher mountains and creeping up against the slope of its own small mountain.

36) Iedereen dacht dat ie dat dit allang bijgelegd was maar niets blijkt minder waar te zijn.

TL: Everyone thought he had settled this already a long time ago, but it turned out that nothing was less true than that.

37) Hildebrand ontmaskerde hun taal en daarbij zag ik in één flits dat taal en werkelijkheid afstand en façade behoorlijk door elkaar liepen stug stroperig vloeiend alsof er niets aan de hand was.

TL: Hildebrand unmasked their language and besides I saw in one flash that language and reality, distance and facade, were totally intertwined, heavily flowing, as if there was nothing wrong.

### **Intensification**

In two examples, *nothing* is used to make the negation of an adjective stronger, see 38 for one of them.

38) A: Let me just say I have so much love and respect for Vice President Biden and millions of people do. And if you watch him even just recently on Stephen Colbert it was one of the best interviews I've ever seen of a public official.

B: There was nothing phony about that.

A: Nothing. He's authentic, he's likable, people identify with his story, with his loss. he's done more for the issue of fatherhood than probably any other public servant.

In the other occurrences like 39 or 40, *nothing* and *niets* are used instead of other expressions to say 'OCD is not the cause' or 'it is not going to be interesting.' In first place the speakers do not communicate the amount of 0%. Such examples could also be classified as pardonable exaggeration, as they refer to 0% of an implicit set.

39) A: So why couldn't he work? If he can go to yoga and sit in a warrior pose, stand in a warrior pose, why can't he go to work? What does OCD have to do with this?

B: OCD has nothing to do with it, and I can't ever imagine it being a successful defense for a murder.

40) Ik dacht 't gaat niets zijn.

TL: I expected it to be nothing interesting.

### **3.3.2.3 Always and altijd**

Surprisingly, there were twice as many hits per million for *altijd* than for *always*.

Explanations could be a larger number and frequency of synonyms for English, or maybe the occurrence of *altijd* in more or less fixed phrases plays a role. As far as the numbers are representative, the largest differences in use are the frequent strict interpretation for Dutch, and the categorical use for English. See table 8 (Appendix 1) for all results and contexts for *always* and table 12 (Appendix 2) for *altijd*.

### **Strict interpretation**

In this group, *always* and *altijd* appear with a more or less specified reference set. As was the case for *alle*, the set of referents is often quite detailed, also for English (see 41 and 42).

41) A: Sixth album came out, number one on iTunes. Do you guys still hold your breath a little bit when you release new music?

B: Oh, yeah. No, it's-- it's always that kind of thing like the top of the roller coaster, you know, we're like well it can't get off.

42) Fietsen of zwemmen of volleyballen doe ik dan altijd trouw iedere week.

TL: Cycling or swimming or playing volleyball is what I always faithfully do every week.

Some uses of *all* are subjective, the speaker intends to convey the meaning 100%, although someone else could think 100% is not true. It is also possible that the speaker only believes or is not sure whether 100% is the case, but wants to be nice (43) or convincing (44). Still, 100% is what the speaker communicates.

43) A: If someone does a three sixty and says how does this look?

B: Yeah.

C: Oh.

A: Then you don't say, you say that looks great.

B: What do you say?

C: That's smart.

D: He's a newlywed. He's got it all wrong.

B: Yeah.

D: No. It's always you look fantastic.

44) A: --I do not want a man touching my shoulders like that—

C: Right.

A: --or going in. Even when we take photographs, you know, we take picture, I always notice if a man goes low.

C: Right.

A: --he goes high, medium. And sometimes they go really kind of low in that—

C: Yeah.

B: Oh.

A: --that spot.

As appeared already with examples of other quantifiers, also here there is one with a softened meaning, this time through 'vrijwel' (nearly) in 45. The set referred to, is still complete.

45) Ik mocht ook 'ns een keer zo'n vergadering bijwonen en toen hoorde ik hoe men eigenlijk heel makkelijk spreekt over gebieden in dit land waar je investeert en dan is toch vrijwel altijd is dan cruciaal of men met een gebied te maken heeft waar laat ik 't maar zo zeggen uh sprake is van eenduidigheid.

TL: Once I was allowed to be at such a meeting, and there I heard how easily people speak about areas in this country in which they invest, and still it's nearly always crucial if you're dealing with an area where, so to say, there is clarity of the situation.

### **Pardonable exaggeration**

In most English and Dutch examples the reference set is just a little less specific than for the strict interpretation. One of these occurrences is 46, where the moments the speaker has a stool at SNL are restricted to the moments she actually comes there.

46) A: You-- you have been in movies and TV shows since then. Do you still get recognized for SNL when you work there?

B: Yeah, you know what, I live in Chicago. I get-- I never, ever do not get a seat at Al's-- you know, Al's Beef.

A: Yeah, right.

B: There's always a stool for me there.

In 47, the reference set is not mentioned by the speaker, but by someone else after the first speaker used *always*. In this way, the reference set is made explicit after all.

47) A: It all began shortly before midnight when Anita said Robert showed up at her house unexpectedly.

B: I would tell him not to come over, but he always came over anyway.

A: In spite of being separated, Robert had often come over for sex on Monday nights, when Anita's kids were with their father.

### **Categorical (moral) use**

Examples of the categorical use were only found for the English *always*. These denote what the speaker thinks or knows is always the case, although (like for the other end of scale quantifiers) it does not have to be true in 100% of the cases they refer to. See 48 as an example.

48) A: How have we missed these ads? How is it possible?

B: A lot of them are-- they air only in the international markets like the U.K. or France or Japan, and they just never air here. Some of them are small markets and they just-- the U.S. market is so big and we always complain about advertising sort of being repetitive. These are some real creative gems from overseas that we don't see.

### **Exaggeration**

There are a few examples of normal exaggeration through using *always* or *altijd*, most of these are from Dutch. In 49 the second speaker (unintentionally) contradicts the situations referred to by the first speaker, he expands the *altijd* of the first speaker with tearooms, apart from Magda's place mentioned first. Therefore, 100% at Magda's place cannot be true.

49) A: En en ne keer bij iemand anders hé. 't moet niet altijd bij uh Magda zijn hé.

B: Nee en of niet altijd op uh tearoom of iets ook hé?

TL: A: And and once at someone else's place, right. It mustn't always be at Magda's, right. B: No, and neither always in a tearoom or something like that, right?

The only English example is 50 about a woman who possibly often asks people to go out with her. However, to do this 100% of the time is impossible, especially if her true passion are the children which are mentioned by another speaker.

50) A: She's passionate about learning a lot of stuff and just being involved. She was always, like, calling you up, hey, do you want to go to the reading of that play? Do you want to go to the dance performance? Do you want to go to concert?

B: But her true passion was her four kids.

### **Not relevant/not definable**

Contrary to the other analysed quantifiers, this category is well represented by *always* and *altijd* – this is about a third of the total hits for both quantifiers. All the English examples are

similar to the categorical use, only these are not about people or groups in general, but about what a certain person in general does, likes, says or intends. The same applies for many Dutch examples. Some of these uses are shown in 51 and 52.

51) That's just-- I don't know it's something that's inside me and I've always loved going fast. I-- just because I'm injured I don't feel any different. I'm the same skier, the same person. that's why I'm able to continue winning is because I'm just not afraid.

52) Fin de uh 'k wil daar misschien op zeggen dat het havenbedrijf altijd gezegd heeft dat tweede dok moet er in tweeduizend en drie komen.

TL: Well, the uh maybe I want to react on that, the port company has always been saying the second dock must be built in two thousand and three.

Similar to those above, are the cases with the Dutch phrase 'nog altijd' (still), meaning that someone 'still always' does something, so there is more a connection between the fact something was already the case (for a considerable amount of time) and still is. One of the occurrences of this phrase is shown in 53. It is also possible to classify this phrase as intensification, where *altijd* intensifies the meaning of *nog*.

53) En die uhm Ingrid die doet nog altijd de baan alle dagen.

TL: And that uhm Ingrid, she still does that job every day.

The last example in this category (54) is slightly different from the others. Here, the more or less lexicalised phrase 'kan altijd nog' is used, expressing 'something could still be done in the future.' Also this example is close to generalisations and intensification (like the previous example).

54) Uh maar goed dat kunnen we altijd nog bekijken.

TL: Uh oh well, we can still have a look at it later.

### **Intensification**

If we do not count 'nog altijd' as intensification, then there remains only one example (55). The speaker wants to express how much he thinks the wish is good or interesting, not necessarily that this is good to wish other people all the time. This example could also be classified as the categorical use, the speaker expresses what he thinks is true in general.

55) Dat ge u ne goede vriendenkring hebt. Dat ge u bij mensen goed begrepen voelt. Of dat ge een goed lief ne partner vindt. Vriendschap. Liefde. Genegenheid. Dat contact eigenlijk is ook altijd interessant om iemand te wensen. Dat wens ik jullie dus ook toe.

TL: I wish you to have a pleasant circle of friends. To feel understood by other people. Or that you may find a nice partner. Friendship. Love. Affection. Such contact is actually also always interesting to wish for someone. So I wish it for you as well.

### **3.3.2.4 Never and nooit**

The most significant fact about the examples of these quantifiers is the large number of hits categorised as strict interpretation in both languages. Because of that, the other categories are less represented, especially pardonable exaggeration and categorical use. See table 9 (Appendix 1) for all results and contexts for *never* and table 13 (Appendix 2) for *nooit*.

## Strict interpretation

The examples for *nooit* have in most cases an extensive explicated context, similarly to the examples of strict interpretation for *alle*. In both English and Dutch cases, speakers express something never happened (56), could never happen (57), will never happen, or in general never happens (more frequent for Dutch, see 58). General facts about people, like with *always*, are often used as not relevant/not definable. Contrary to *always*, utterances with *never* are more black and white – as soon as the mentioned thing or event happened once, the statement with *never* would literally become false. However, for most examples it is not possible to decide whether the speaker is sure about 0%, or almost sure, or knows something happened only once or a few times. The last situation is close to the definition of loose talk.

56) A: So ESPN.com says that the NFL found that eleven of the twelve footballs used in the Patriots game were underinflated by about two pounds. Okay.

B: That's a lot. Yeah.

A: I don't know because I've never gripped a football.

57) A: Would you lie to protect your friend?

B: Never. If I felt he did it, I would turn him in.

58) 'T is zo uh als je zegt uh gebruiker onderzoeker dan is de gebruiker de man van de gebruikerscommissie is meer de klant en de onderzoeker de winkelier en uh al of niet uh wordt er een koop gesloten of wordt er iets uh verhandeld maar het is nooit zo dat die klant de baas wordt van de winkelier.

TL: It's like uh, if you say uh consumer-researcher, then the consumer is the person from the consumer committee, it's rather the customer, and the researcher is the shopkeeper, and uh they make a deal or do business or not, but it's never the case that the customer becomes the boss of the shopkeeper.

A frequent phrase is 'never forget,' used as shown in 59. This use of *never* is similar to those set out above about future events.

59) A: That sentiment is echoed by Vanessa's husband of two years, Travis McGraw. His father, Willie, will never forget his son's reaction.

B: He was very emotional about the way he was speaking, you know, he was just like breaking into tears.

'Never ever' is another phrase found, in 60 used as part of a question-answer-game. The question is, whether it happened or not, and a truthful answer must be 0% for *never*.

60) Never, ever have I been arrested? Never, ever have I joined the mile high club? Never, ever have I seen one of my Mortdecai's co-stars naked?

In 61, the 0% bound of *nooit* is loosened by *bijna* (almost) preceding *nooit* when talking about hardly ever using the sewing machine. In English, probably rather 'hardly' or 'hardly ever' would be used in such a context.

61) Nee want dat ding dat gebruik 'k bijna nooit.

TL: No, because I hardly ever use that thing.

### **Pardonable exaggeration**

In the only example of pardonable exaggeration through these quantifiers (62), speaker B expresses his doubts about A ever getting a better function as a referee. This is what B believes, but in the end, it does not have to be true.

62) A: Ik 't zelf nog niet meegemaakt dat iemand echt een gele kaart heeft gekregen.

B: Jij bent eigenlijk veel te goed voor deze wereld hé?

A: Och echt wel. Ja. Ik offer me gewoon op om te gaan fluiten.

B: Je komt nooit hogerop.

TL: A: I never experienced someone really got a yellow card. B: You are actually too good for the world, right? A: Oh, for sure. Yes. I just take one for the team to be referee. B: You'll never get a better spot.

### **Categorical (moral) use**

For the categorical use the only examples are for English and are similar to those for other quantifiers. The speaker in 63 makes a general statement about the moments when people are popular. The use of the quantifier here is comparable the uses of other quantifiers in generalisations.

63) A: This is Ted Kennedy in 1979.

B: And he was so popular and literally overnight it was like what are you doing here? so you have to be careful in these draft movements. You're never as popular as before you announce and you're never as popular of the day of your inauguration.

### **Exaggeration**

In some contexts, the speakers clearly exaggerate, in others it is only hard to imagine 0% to be true. I will start with an example of the latter. In 64 there is a discussion going on about if *never* is even possible. In the situation in 65, some people unsuccessfully try to open a bottle, what makes one of them make a remark about the other never wanting to drink (probably) alcohol. That is certainly possible, but given the context not very probable.

64) A: But I mean you're not with common folks.

B: What are you talking about?

A: You're always, you know, you had moral—

B: You're the only—

A: No, no, no.

B: You have never been with the common folk, never.

A: I am. I am.

B: I am a common folk.

A: No, no, no. You're royalty. You're show business royalty.

B: I'm from the Bronx. Where are you from? Indianapolis.

65) Maar Tom zegt dan Daan wil nooit drinken maar komt zelfs van mij geen vocht uit.

TL: But Tom says then, Daan never wants to drink, but even I can't get any liquid out of it.

One of the statements even more obviously exaggerated is 66. The referent would never let someone go from his arms. Such examples could also be classified as not relevant, as the communicated message is not only never to do something.



66) Als het Adelina is dacht ik neem ik haar in m'n armen en laat ik haar nooit meer los.

TL: If it's Adelina, I thought, I'll take her in my arms and will never let her go.

The last example (67) here is even more likely to border to not relevant or intensified, but still it is true that *never* cannot be possible here, the speaker is talking about a chocolate brand which has existed for some time already.

67) A: Hershey has owned the rights to make Cadbury in the U.S. for nearly thirty years, and has largely ignored specialty shops selling the British version. But after noticing those stores were taking an increasing bite of the company's seven-billion-dollar business, Hershey's sued to stop all imports into the U.S.

B: I actually really don't understand it, because with all that's happening today is it really that important to be banning chocolate?

C: Tastes like chocolate never tasted before. Just let me know when I'm going to get arrested for selling chocolate because I would--

### **Not relevant/not definable**

This category for *never* and *nooit* is very similar to the same one for *always* and *altijd*, the speakers make general statements about themselves or other persons. A representative example is 68.

68) Ja 'k ga misschien nog bellen maar ze belt zelf allee zelf neemt ze nooit nooit 't initiatief.

TL: Yes, maybe I'll call her later, but she never, never takes initiative.

### **Intensification**

As with the previous quantifiers, here *never* and *nooit* are used for emphasis within an utterance. Usually *nooit* could be replaced by *not*. The same applies for some examples in English. See 69 and 70 for both groups.

69) I thought that her life was absolutely perfect. You never saw her when she wasn't smiling or laughing.

70) Nou één zo'n klomp dat heeft ongeveer een volume van een liter dus dat kan nooit in zo'n wijfjeskikker.

TL: Well, one such clod has a volume of approximately a litre, so that would never fit in such a female frog.

In English, three of the examples contain the phrase 'never mind' (see 71). The speaker could say 'don't mind,' but such a statement would be weaker than with *never*, and it is probably easier to use an existing phrase.

71) But I'm wondering here with this about-face on cholesterol in terms of the warnings. I mean, how do we know what to believe now because something we've been told for a long time is now never mind.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

The aim of this chapter was to find out how end of scale quantifiers are used in spoken language. The fact that they are used relatively often in spoken language, is clear from the

numbers of search results per quantifier, but still there are some differences among the quantifiers and between the languages. This could be due to the number of alternative expressions available in these languages used interchangeably with the quantifiers examined here, and because of the presence of end of scale quantifiers in fixed phrases. As follows from Relevance theory, it is possible that speakers tend to use rather a phrase with an end of scale quantifier (even when 0% or 100% is not true) because the phrase takes less processing effort with the end of scale quantifier than the same phrase with a more exact quantifier or number appropriate for that situation.

The end of scale quantifiers turned out to be used in exaggerations (as expected), but also in more than in half of the occurrences with the meaning 0%/100% (of a set). Other explanations for exaggeration than synonyms or phrases also follow from the analysis. It became clear that in many contexts the quantifiers do not have to mean exactly 0%/100%. This happens because people use these terms for generalisations, situations about which they cannot be sure, and for more emphasis on their statement. On the other hand, also many of the statements in the examples were true. However, in almost all cases an explicit or implicit set of referents must be taken into account. In some cases, the intended meaning is 0% or 100%, although it realistically cannot be true.

All these things considered, most of the cases are not black or white, and therefore it is usually not possible to be sure about which statements are exaggerated and which are not. The same difficulties were there with the categorisation. Bounds are difficult to draw, and although it is not difficult to label an example to belong to a category, often more of the categories are applicable. In the analysis, I just chose the one I thought was the most relevant for each example.

## 4. Implicatures and explicatures per category

### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the connections between the theory in chapter 2 and the analysis of the corpus results in chapter 3. The aim is to find out which implicatures or explicatures can be assigned to end of scale quantifiers. This is done in the next section, per category from the system based on Labov (1985) and used in the previous chapter. I expect the kinds of implicatures or explicatures of end of scale quantifiers to be determined by their category of use.

### 4.2 Categories

#### 4.2.1 Strict interpretation

Many end of scale quantifiers were found for this category, especially for *alle*, *niets*, *never* and *nooit*. These have a set of referents which is explicitly mentioned together with the quantifier. For some of the quantifiers (often for *alle*, *never* and *nooit*) a detailed reference set is provided. For some other quantifiers (*always*, *altijd*) it was more difficult to decide whether the set referred to, is explicit enough to be classified as strict interpretation and not as pardonable exaggeration. Sometimes the speaker refers to a full set of referents, but the utterance does not have to apply for 0% or 100%, because it contains a word or phrase like ‘more or less’ or ‘almost.’ Although in the other cases the speaker intends to refer to 0%/100%, the statement does not have to be true. Especially for the negative quantifiers this is very black and white – as soon as something happens only once, the statement cannot be true anymore in the strict sense. Especially *never* and *nooit* are used in generalisations about which the speaker might not be sure. It is also possible that speakers talk loosely here, and although they know something happened a few times, it would in their opinion fall under 0%. With *always* and *altijd* and phrases like ‘have nothing to do with,’ there is another issue about 0%/100% being true – the statements can be subjective (‘You always look fantastic!’). There the speaker intends to say 100%, and we cannot know if he believes it himself. Probably such statements serve (also) other purposes than stating 0%/100%. This would result in particularised implicatures as defined by Grice (1989). In this category, there are no other implicatures found, as the speakers use explicatures to say what they refer to, and intend to communicate something being either 0% or 100%. If these utterances were not true or were not believed to be true by the speaker, I would propose to see them as exaggerations or lies. The statement is usually too specific to be interpreted as loose talk.

#### 4.2.2 Pardonable exaggeration

Overall, this use seems to be most common for the quantifiers *all/alle* and *nothing/niets*. This category is similar to the previous one, the quantifiers still denote a full or empty set of referents, only here the set stays implicit. As already mentioned, for *all/alle* and *always/altijd* it is hard to draw a line between the two categories. For *nothing/niets* the set was often simply ‘nothing relevant for that situation,’ similar to how Labov (1985) defined this category. For *all/alle* it is not always clear what the set of referents would consist of exactly, but for example in utterances with ‘all that’ or ‘all these,’ the hearer probably knows what is meant because of having more background information or visual clues. The same problem appears

with the phrase ‘not all,’ where the speaker sometimes does not even know himself which referents would be part of *all*.

I propose to call the missing context in examples such as ‘first of all’ or ‘all these’ and similar, ellipsis. In such cases the set of referents is not made explicit, because even without mentioning the set, the hearer should be able to imagine what is meant (Claridge, 2011, Clark, 2013). Those where a hearer himself has to work out extra relevant information about the referents mentioned in the context, would be free enrichment as explained by Clark (2013). Both ellipsis and free enrichment are discussed in chapter 2 under Relevance theory and are kinds of explicatures. This means, that although the referent sets are implicit here, the speaker communicates 0%/100% through an explicature. In a Gricean view, the fact that a speaker refers to ‘all relevant referents,’ would probably be a generalised conversational implicature (GCI) (as defined by Grice, 1989).

Exaggerating or lying through pardonable exaggeration could be quite easy, as the speaker is not specific about what he exactly refers to. Leaving something out – or ‘not saying the truth’ – is, according to Claridge (2011), a form of exaggeration. ‘Not saying the truth’ borders to lying, if this is done with the intention to deceive. Therefore, lying is a realistic possibility as well. Loose talk is more applicable here than in the previous category, because in each context it can be debatable what exactly falls under the set of relevant referents.

#### 4.2.3 Categorical (moral) use

This category was hardly relevant for the Dutch examples, but for English there were examples for each quantifier. Maybe this use is more frequent in more formal settings and public (written) discourse (see Labov on congressional hearings, 1985). The examples here turned out to be mostly generalisations, the only one which would qualify for being moralising is 1.

- 1) So it's really important to think of all of the people in their lives and how we all can have an impact.

Although the examples are usually not moralising (as the category was meant originally by Labov, 1985), most of those containing ‘we all’ are still meant to be convincing, the other are generalisations about groups of people or situations. If someone uses end of scale quantifiers to say what should happen, the intended meaning is 0% or 100%, although the speaker knows it could be impossible. If someone uses end of scale quantifiers to make a general statement, it is probable there are exceptions the speaker might not know about, or he knows there are (or might be) exceptions, but still thinks it is appropriate to say 0% or 100%. In the first case, a (particularised or weak) implicature could be communicated about the persons wishes or values. PCI's depend on a specific context (Grice, 1989), and here they would convey that the generalisation is meant as e.g. a wish of the speaker. In Relevance theory, this kind of extra meaning would be conveyed through a weak implicature (Clark, 2013). In the second case, if 0% or 100% cannot be true, the statements are exaggerations or loose talk, depending on the number of referents for which the statement would not apply, and whether the speaker knows about the exceptions or the possibility of their existence. If that is not the case, the speaker talks loosely. The latter kind of generalisations could also carry the same kind of implicatures as mentioned for the first group. In chapter 2, generalisations with non-demonstrative inferences were mentioned. For some examples in this category this kind of inferences is applicable – it would be the generalisations with *all* and *alle* about mothers, dads and

fishermen. The implicature here is to convey an opinion, although a non-demonstrative inference can lead to false conclusions (Clark, 2013), because realistically there could be not enough referents for which the generalisation would apply. The kind of implicature would be a PCI or weak implicature, like for the generalisations above.

Example 2 is a generalisation, but also a clear exaggeration. I would classify this use of *all* as an extreme case formulation (described by Pomerantz, 1986) with the GCI conveying the referents are only a limited group of girls, because in this context all other girls in the world are not relevant. In Relevance theory, the role of the GCI would be taken by an explicature.

2) All the girls wanted him.

To sum up, generalisations are often forms of exaggeration or loose talk. It seems harder to classify them as lies, because it is not only the amount which is communicated, but especially someone's opinion, about which a person usually would not have to lie in this way. On the other hand, a speaker can have the intention to deceive the hearer with his statement. Such cases would confirm Meibauer's (2014) claim that statements which are used (too) generally become lies.

#### 4.2.4 Exaggeration

In some of the utterances in this group, the speaker clearly exaggerates, either 0%/100% cannot be true, or because the speaker is contradicted by the context. For other statements, it is difficult to decide whether 0%/100% is really not possible, but it is probable that the statement is rather untrue. Sometimes it is also not easy to decide what the set of referents consists of exactly, so it is even more difficult to decide whether the statement is true or not. Therefore, these examples are close to the not relevant category. Close to not relevant or intensification are also the examples with 'never let someone go from your arms' or 'never tired.' Some examples mention an amount larger than 0 (twenty kilometres, a million), but this is still called *niets*.

The clear exaggerations can be classified as extreme case formulations about amounts, as the example above for categorical use, and convey the GCI (if the system of Grice is used) or explicature (if adhered to Relevance theory) 'not much,' or 'a lot.' The other could convey PCI's or strong implicatures about someone's opinion, similar to the cases of categorical use where rather wishes and values were communicated.

According to Meibauer (2014), exaggerations are partial lies which express expectations, moods, attitudes or other states. This could apply for the exaggerations in this category, but especially for those close to intensification. The communicated amounts of the exaggerations are too distant from 0%/100% to be classified as loose talk.

#### 4.2.5 Not definable/not relevant

Surprising is the number of hits for *always* and *altijd*. From the other quantifiers, there were only a few hits for each of them. This category was used differently among the quantifiers. For *all/alle* it was easy to make a distinction between the occurrences where the amount is not relevant and those where it is not definable. For *nothing/niets* it was not possible to define if 0% was the case or not. For both of these cases and the not definable ones for *all/alle*, the amount would not become relevant, even if it was possible to decide whether 0%/100% is the

case or not. Some of the examples of *nothing/niets* were used as generalisations for persons through phrases ('nothing wrong with you'). Some hits for *always/altijd* and *never/nooit* were also classified as generalisations for persons. The speaker does not generalise about a group, but about what a person always or never thinks or does. Usually it is not possible to decide whether someone does something 100% of the time or if he something never did, but even if the statements were not entirely true, what is said remains a general fact about the person. For all the occurrences applies the exact amount is not relevant (in the same way as it was not relevant for *most* in Ariel, 2004), and only for most of them applies it is not definable whether 0%/100% is true (and usually as well how what the set of referents would exactly consist of). Therefore, in some way, 'not definable' could be a subcategory of 'not relevant,' like intensification is.

The conveyed meaning communicated through the end of scale quantifiers seems to be 'this statement is in general/more or less true for this person/situation.' The hearer would probably not start thinking about the fact whether 0%/100% is (or could be) true. If it is mutually manifest that the minimum or maximum cannot be true, he will interpret the proposition in the most relevant way. That is how hearers usually perceive such explicatures, according to Relevance theory (Clark, 2013). This is conveyed through an explicature saying: the quantifiers have the meaning 'approximately 0%/100%' instead of 0%/100%. In Gricean pragmatics, the quantifiers in such statements would be perceived with another meaning of the ambiguous quantifier. The conventional implicature would take care of conveying the right meaning (Grice, 1989).

The way the quantifiers are used here, fits the description of loose talk (Lauer, 2012) – the exact amounts are not important and not easy to define. The speaker also would not do any harm or deceive the speaker when he uses the quantifiers in a loose way. These statements would probably not be recognised as lies, as long as the amount in reality is at least close to 0%/100%, because the exact amounts are not relevant.

#### **4.2.6 Intensification**

Intensification is defined as a subcategory of the previous, the end of scale quantifiers here strengthen the meaning of a word or phrase, while it is not definable or relevant if 0%/100% is true and what the set of referents exactly consists of. This use turned out to be more frequent for English than for Dutch, especially in phrases with *all*. The most frequent of these is 'all right,' others are 'at all,' 'all over' and 'all the way.' Some occurrences of 'never mind' were found and also classified as intensification. Overall, either the quantifier itself or a phrase containing the quantifier emphasises the meaning of another word or phrase. Often the quantifier (-phrase) could be replaced by another word like *very* or *not*, but this would weaken the statement.

In the same way as for the previous category, the explicature conveys another than the literal meaning of the quantifiers, the hearer should interpret them as elements saying something is important, significant, very much the case, or right the opposite, or similar meanings. By stating these facts, we identify other meanings of the ambiguous end of scale quantifiers. The conventional implicatures work here in the same way as for the normal 'not relevant' uses of end of scale quantifiers.

Cases of intensification can easily be identified as exaggerations or lies, but the exaggerating is (consciously) used for more emphasis of a statement in first place, so it depends on the perception by the hearer. The speaker does not communicate 0%/100%, so loose talk is not the case here, often the amounts would be not even close to 0%/100%. On the other hand, it is difficult to define the exact amounts, so it is debatable whether the amount conveyed still fits within the ‘range of possibilities which is created by talking loosely’ (Lauer, 2012).

### 4.3 Conclusion

As was hypostatised, there can be assigned types of implicatures and explicatures to the end of scale quantifiers per category. In most cases, terms from Grice’s theory can be used interchangeably with their counterparts from Relevance theory, for example PCI’s and weak implicatures, or GCI’s and explicature. For strict interpretation, the right amount is explicated and easy to perceive by the hearer. If the speaker is conveying an additional meaning with his statement, he communicates it through a PCI or weak implicature. The second group of categories, loose interpretation, is a little different, the right amount (which is not literally 0%/100%), is conveyed by a GCI or one of the kinds of explicature from Relevance theory. If the use of a quantifier from these categories conveys also an additional meaning (different from communicating an amount), this happens through PCI’s or weak implicatures (this applies especially for categorical use and exaggeration). The not relevant/not definable category, including intensification, is significantly different. The exact amount is not what is communicated. Instead, other meanings are conveyed. They should be recognised by the hearer as other meanings of the quantifiers, conveyed through explicatures. A quantifier used for intensification conveys emphasis instead of an amount, which is possibly due to ambiguity of the meaning of the quantifier. Gricean pragmatics would call this conventional implicature, in Relevance theory the explicature of ambiguity. Table 4 shows a scheme of the implicatures and explicatures which are conveyed by using the end of scale quantifiers in the different categories. The kinds of implicatures and explicatures in the second (Gricean pragmatics) and third (Relevance theory) column are those which always apply for the relevant category. There can also be additional ones (like PCI’s with the strict interpretation), these are not mentioned here, but can be found in the previous sections of this chapter. The last column of table 4 shows if the use of an end of scale quantifier in that category can be used for exaggeration, lying or loose talk.

Category	Gricean pragmatics	Relevance theory	Exaggeration/ Lying/Loose talk
Strict interpretation	What is said	Explicature	Exaggeration/Lying
Pardonable exaggeration	GCI	Explicature (ellipsis, free enrichment)	Exaggeration/Lying/Loose talk
Categorical use	PCI	Weak implicature	Exaggerating/Loose talk/(Lying)
Exaggeration	GCI/PCI	Explicature/Strong implicature	Exaggerating/Lying
Not relevant/ not definable	Conventional implicature	Explicature	Loose talk
Intensification	Conventional implicature	Explicature (ambiguity)	Loose talk/ (Exaggerating)/ (Lying)

Table 4: Implicatures and explicatures per category.

Both strict interpretation and pardonable exaggeration can be used for (or perceived as) lies. The other ways of use are not suitable for lying - 0%/100% is not the main message communicated and the interpretation of a proposition is debatable. Exaggerating is best possible for strict and loose interpretation, and loose talk on the other hand is mostly relevant for the not relevant/not definable category. Loose talk is not directly connected or the same as loose interpretation, as was hypostatized in chapter 2.



## 5. Discussion

### 5.1 Introduction

Except of the results about implicatures and explicatures connected to the categories of use of end of scale quantifiers, and about exaggerating, loose talk and lying, there are more findings worth mentioning. The sub-research-questions are answered here as well. In 5.2 these points are discussed, and after that in 5.3 the limitations of this research.

### 5.2 Points of discussion

As for a large part the research is based on a system of categories, I will start with the categorisation itself. Throughout the categorisation of the corpus results, all the hits could be categorised into at least one of the categories, so the scope of the categories is sufficient. However, often there were examples which could fall into more than one category, although usually only one of them was most relevant in each case. The category not definable/not relevant could be split up into two. Not all the ‘not relevant’ examples are ‘not definable,’ but for all ‘not definable’ examples the exact amount is not relevant either. Therefore, ‘not definable’ can be seen as a subcategory of ‘not relevant.’ Intensification is here classified as a sub-category of not relevant/not definable, because the amounts conveyed are both not relevant and not definable. If ‘not definable’ would become a sub-category of ‘not relevant,’ intensification would be part of ‘not definable.’

Continuing with the quantifiers themselves, from the numbers of hits for different registers, it is clear, that spoken language, together with fiction, have the most occurrences of end of scale quantifiers. It is therefore probable speakers tend to exaggerate more, or talk more loosely, in these registers. This fact is even more probable, if we take into account that the quantifiers which are used in formal language, are rarely used loosely (Labov, 1985).

Overall, end of scale quantifiers turned out to be popular in use with phrases and generalisations. To use a phrase is presumably easier than a statement like ‘a very large amount,’ ‘almost none,’ or an exact very high number. Hearers know the phrases and in general they would not interpret them literally. If existing phrases are commonly used, I suppose it is easier to produce them (they should be easily available in the mental lexicon) and perceive them as something that should be interpreted loosely. Similarly it could work with all kinds of generalisations – the hearer can easily work out that 0%/100% cannot be stated with certainty, and therefore the utterance should not be interpreted (too) strictly.

According to Claridge (2011), the loose interpretation for these quantifiers is the more salient one. This is likely to be true, if we take into account how many of the examples throughout all of the categories were used in phrases or as generalisations, exaggerations and intensifications. Of course, this does not have to be true for other registers which were not researched here. A related question is, which meaning is expected for the end of scale quantifiers? As mentioned before, for example, for *most* Ariel (2004) stated that *all* is not expected. Already in the second chapter it seemed end of scale quantifiers work differently than other quantifiers, and I think the same applies for this case. The meaning ‘not 0%/100%’ is expected for many instances of the use of these quantifiers. As mentioned above, their meaning is ambiguous, and therefore in many situations the conveyed meaning is different and does not include the meaning 0%/100%.

The first of the sub-questions of this research was, what the difference is between the literal and intended meaning of the end of scale quantifiers. The literal meaning is 0% or 100%. The intended meaning is ambiguous – speakers convey not only the amount, but also what they think is important or significant or what is in general true about people, groups, persons or situations. Secondly, I wanted to find out if there are some differences between the negative and positive quantifiers. For the negative quantifiers (outside of phrases) it is easier to decide in a black-and-white manner whether something is true or not. Although they can be used loosely, as soon as something happens once, a statement with a negative quantifier would (strictly seen) become false. The positive ones are used more often in phrases and maybe also a little more often in generalisations. Thirdly, there are some differences between the researched languages. The English end of scale quantifiers are used more often in generalisations and phrases – especially the phrases with *all* are very frequent. The Dutch quantifiers refer more often to a more detailed explicit set of referents, which could explain the high numbers for the strict interpretation of the Dutch quantifiers. The Dutch quantifiers were also more often combined with a word or phrase weakening the meaning of the quantifier. From this can be concluded, that speakers of (American) English seem to use the end of scale quantifiers more loosely than the Dutch. Finally, exaggeration and loose talk are present in almost all ways of use of end of scale quantifiers. Lies on the contrary cannot be easily distinguished, although some exaggerations can be called partial lies. At least it can be stated that in some categories of the quantifiers it would be easier to lie than in other.

### 5.3 Limitations

Before proceeding to the conclusion, I mention some of the limitations of my research, which could have influenced the results and the universality of the conclusions. First, only four different end of scale quantifiers were examined per language, whilst many more exist. Secondly, I examined only thirty instances per quantifier, and a set of this number of hits is not as representative as it could be for a complete image of the situation. Some remarks could also be made on the categorisation – some quantifiers would fit in multiple categories, but were categorised in what I thought was the best suiting category; this makes the research more or less subjective. Furthermore, I could have missed some of the context, common ground of the speakers or visual clues, and have misplaced some quantifiers. In some cases, it is difficult to decide how detailed the context must be to be able to state whether the set of referents is explicit or not.

Another issue is the languages researched – the literature (on which chapter two is based) is focused on English, and the corpus research was conducted only for (American) English and Dutch. Other languages are likely to work differently in various aspects, such as numbers and frequencies of synonyms per quantifier, or the usage of end of scale quantifiers in phrases. Synonyms are a factor which might influence how often a word is used. These decrease the frequency of the word. In COCA, it is easy to search for synonyms of a word and the frequencies of the synonyms. The results from a search for the synonyms of the end of scale quantifiers of this research, are shown in table 5. The numbers are the total numbers of hits in the spoken part of the corpus. Among the quantifiers there are clear differences – *all* is a general term and has many synonyms, of which the frequency together almost equals the frequency of *all*. *Nothing* seems to have also quite some equivalents, although the most frequent ones – *nobody* and *unknown* – are in many cases not interchangeable with *nothing*.

The synonyms for *always* are a lot less frequent than *always* itself. *Never* is the only quantifier here for which no synonyms were found.

<b>all</b>	415,316	<b>nothing</b>	33,821	<b>always</b>	55,064	<b>never</b>	76,826
very	270,272	nobody	15,519	forever	4,404		
everything	38,499	zero	3,383	constantly	2,883		
each	30,000	unknown	1,761	permanently	629		
completely	10,341	nil	69	continually	514		
totally	9,091	naught	37	continuously	284		
entirely	3,358	zilch	36	eternally	63		
altogether	1,223	nonentity	4				
entirety	219						
wholly	195						
<b>Total</b>	<b>778,514</b>		<b>54,630</b>		<b>63,841</b>		<b>76,826</b>

Table 5: Synonyms of the English end of scale quantifiers (COCA).

Not only different languages work differently and consist of different words with different synonyms. The last limitation to be mentioned is about the analysis being only on spoken language, while the use of end of scale quantifiers in written and more formal registers is probably different.

## 6. Conclusion

The main question of this research was, which implicatures and explicatures are derived when using end of scale quantifiers in exaggerations. Although there was only one category called ‘exaggeration,’ except for the strict interpretation, all categories treat quantifiers which convey (also) a meaning different from 0%/100%. When end of scale quantifiers are meant to be interpreted strictly or for a relevant set of referents, they convey the meaning 0%/100% within that group. In generalisations about (groups of) people, the speaker communicates his or her ideas, opinions, wishes or values. If the categorical use considers a limited group of referents, the hearer should infer that the generalisation does not exceed a limited set of referents. For the ‘normal’ exaggeration, also some examples can be found where the hearer has to infer the meaning ‘not much,’ or ‘a lot’ instead of 0%/100% – these examples are clearly exaggerated. Other, less obvious exaggerations can convey someone’s ideas or opinions. Similar to categorical use are generalisations about persons in the not relevant/not definable category, these convey the statement is generally true for a person or situation, and does not necessarily mean 0%/100%. The communicated meaning here is ‘this is true in general.’ In the last category, intensification, 0%/100% is also not the communicated content. These examples entail (similarly to the other ‘not relevant’ examples) information about what the speaker regards to be important, significant, very much the case, or right the opposite, or similar meanings. Concluding, end of scale quantifiers do not only have to mean 0% or 100%. The kinds of implicatures and explicatures they convey depend on the system used, but can be defined within each of them, so this is mainly a terminological issue. Which kinds of meaning, implicatures or explicatures apply for the categories of use is for both systems described in chapter 4 and shown in the schema of table 4.

Furthermore, by using end of scale quantifiers there can be communicated more than only the amount of 0%/100%. Positive and negative quantifiers are a little different in the consequences of their use, and in frequency of being present in phrases and generalisations. Moreover, the phrases and generalisations are more frequent for English than for Dutch. Finally, end of scale quantifiers can be well used in exaggerations, loose talk and lies.

Lastly, there are some suggestions to be made for further research. It would be interesting to look also at other words or phrases with the literal meaning 0%/100%, like *for sure*, *full*, *empty*, or the Dutch (and German) *sowieso*. Furthermore, I wonder how end of scale quantifiers were analysed if they were used ironically. In this research, I did not come across such statements, or at least did not recognise them as ironies. I also recommend to do similar research as was conducted here with materials of other registers.

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## Appendix 1: English end of scale quantifiers (COCA)

This appendix consists of four tables, each of them contains the results for the quantifiers *all*, *nothing*, *always* and *never*, respectively. In the column headed ‘category,’ the following abbreviations are used for the categories used throughout this thesis: S.I. (strict interpretation), P.E. (pardonable exaggeration), C.U. (categorical use), E. (exaggeration), N.R. (not relevant/not definable) and I. (intensification). The categories mentioned in brackets are categories which could also apply for the particular example.

Table 6: All

All	Context	Category	Notes
1	A: Yeah. It's going to be-- and this is-- this is the lab here at the-- at The Weather Channel. The weather experts inhabit this area. B: Wow. A: But here's what I like the best. Out of <u>all this technology</u> , look at this over here. They got a chalkboard.	P.E.	
2	A: When you saw the attacks in Paris, what did you think? B: I was angry. But it didn't surprise me <u>at all</u> .	I.	Phrase.
3	50 years later surviving Giants players admitted that they stole the catcher's signs and knew what pitches were coming. Even Ralph Branke (ph), the unfortunate Dodgers pitcher knew that it was happening. Then, of course, there's the inelegant art of flopping, trying to draw a foul by falling to the ground as though you've just been hit by a semi, even though nobody touched you <u>at all</u> .	I.	Phrase.
4	A: <u>First of all</u> , to survive the plane crash but then as a seven- year-old girl, shocked out of your mind, she said I tried to wake up my parents, -- B: Oh, no. C: Yeah. A: --is what she told the man. But they wouldn't wake up. Then she has the presence of mind to make her way through the woods, --	P.E.	Phrase.
5	And this was watched on YouTube. People want to kind of search and see this moment in the performance as well as, of course, <u>all the great Billy Joel songs</u> . You know, he's in residents at Madison Square Garden. He sold out. He's got lot of fans all over the world, so.	S.I.	
6	A: So if you're feeling in a funk because it's cold and yucky—B: And you've gotten back from vacation or being with family and you sort of miss them. A: Yeah. It's like <u>all the fun stuff</u> is over--	E.	Weakened by <i>like</i> .
7	A: A little bit of brown sugar. This just kind of balances the tomatoes and just everything together, the heat, some cumin and a little pinch of oregano. B: Okay. A: Get <u>that all</u> in there. We're going to give that a really good stir.	P.E.	
8	A: Yeah. All right. Well, here's an idea which may come in handy or not because you'll hear why in a minute. Because obviously during blizzards, there is usually a baby boom like nine months from now. B: Yeah. C: Right now. A: So like, right now. B: Right now. C: <u>That's all</u> happening. B: Oh. C: Good for you, people. A: People are having fun. All you people. C: --get back to work.	P.E.	
9	A: You need like a-- you basically need a spoon or a knife that goes in. B: Yeah. Dig in. C: Yes. D: Get in there. A: And like get-- takes a core sample. C: Yeah. True. B: Right. So you can get all the flavors. A: So that—C: Right. A: And then you pull it out—B: Right. A: --and there's <u>all seven layers</u> .	S.I.	
10	A: Anyway, when you guys were kids, were there certain things you hated to eat? B: Yeah. C: Yes. D: Yeah. A: Okay. And were there, you know, things that you used to hate that you now like? D: Yes. B: Yes. C: I like the way you're doing this. It's a-- it's a spontaneous question. We have got <u>all these things</u> here in front of us.	P.E.	
11	So, <u>first of all</u> , what's happening? Fourteen seasons of American Idol.	P.E.	
12	Lots of great sketches to choose from, Schweddy Balls being probably the frontrunner there, who knows. Celebrity Jeopardy, that was funny with Will and Alex-- as Alex Trebek. Right? So, who can forgot Molly Shannon, of course, as Mary Katherine Gallagher. <u>All the great sketches</u> . With Dana Carvey, Wayne and Garth. In all, there is twenty to choose from the '90s to vote.	S.I.	

13	The system that's going to bring-- be bringing some snow as you get into the Central Rockies. And icy mix through central Arizona, New Mexico and rain into Texas. And icy mix tomorrow with the second clipper basically through Virginia. Light snow from New York, <u>all the way</u> back into the Great Lakes. That's what's going on around the country.	I.	Phrase.
14	A: So I tweeted out a picture of one of these products that I recently got and some of the people said what is that? Others were a little racy. Not sure because—B: Yes. A: --it's motorized. But nevertheless this is <u>all the craze</u> from toothbrush to face cleanser to even something that makes your lips less dry.	N.R. (E.)	
15	A: Hello, handsome. You are so handsome. B: He is. All right. We have the-- <u>first of all</u> , he is stunning, this gentleman. C: He's a wild man. Good facial hair, too.	P.E.	Phrase.
16	It's the sprinkle for the taste. All right. It's <u>the eggies all over</u> again.	I.	Phrase.
17	Hey, so, I also asked some guys about the perceived snub. You know, there's a lot made on social media last week about David Oyelowo not getting an Oscar nod. David brushed that off and so did Oprah. Oprah said that she didn't consider it snub <u>at all</u> that the feel itself was very packed. The star, David Oyelowo, also telling me yesterday he is working on another fun with Lupita Nyong'o' where they discover a fourteen-year-old chess player in Central Africa.	I.	Phrase.
18	A: There he is in his pickup truck that literally wedged in. B: My gosh. A: By <u>all intents and purposes</u> , he shouldn't have survived this crash or certainly walked away with more than literally what he had, two Band-Aids on his forehead.	N.R.	
19	All right. So we're going to count on that. May 2nd Floyd, do it. <u>We all</u> want to see it.	C.U.	
20	You don't want to be with somebody to answers <u>all thirty-six questions</u> the same exact way.	S.I.	
21	A: We know that girls, Dove Hair did research, we know that— B: Yeah. A: -- girls are seven times more likely to embrace that part of themselves which builds their self-confidence leading them to be confident women. B: Mm-Hm. A: So it's really important to think of <u>all of the people</u> in their lives and how we all can have an impact.	C.U.	
22	He is obsessed with the CIA. So with respect to Ukraine he thinks that we led the coup in Ukraine. The Ukrainians in his view had nothing to do with it. It was <u>all the CIA</u> . Therefore what you see him doing today first in Crimea and now with his proxies in eastern Ukraine that is him striking back against what he thinks is American-led imperialism.	I.	
23	The president brings up the sins of Christianity at a moment when the -- the airwaves were full of the extremism of the Islamic world, and the perversions of that. The president to some extent missed an opportunity here, because what you -- what you want to talk about is how does a civilization with dark impulses, because all civilizations are like that -- <u>we're all fallen</u> , we're all sinful -- how do we overcome those? And I'm just not sure how many people are really on that high horse.	C.U.	
24	A: <u>all of us</u> recognize that this great religion in the hands of a few extremists has been distorted to justify violence towards innocent people that is never justified. B: The face of terror is not the true faith of Islam. That's not what Islam is all about. Islam is peace.	C.U.	
25	A: You have got a bill that you want to introduce called End Modern Slavery Initiative and it's something you were dealing with in the Middle East as well, but how bad of a problem is this? B: Well, <u>first of all</u> , Chuck, yes, they are enslaving people. And in Mosul, that's exactly what has happened. And that's why as we go into Mosul, we have got to understand there are a number of people there -- this is going to be urban warfare.	P.E.	
26	The next segment coming up, <u>the latest in workouts and food</u> , Joy Bauer has got <u>it all</u> .	E. (I.)	

27	A: My first kiss? B: That— C: Oh, boy. D: I was about-- about thirteen. Around the corner, there was this boy that lived— B: I must have been thirteen. He was good looking. <u>All the girls</u> wanted him. I got him.	C.U.	
28	A: Okay. Tim and Linda Chatsworth's, New Jersey home. They've been there for a long time, twenty-six years. Let's peek inside their dining room. What should they do to that? B: Yeah, shovel the driveway <u>first of all</u> , right? C: And get rid of the car.	P.E.	
29	A: Okay. Weekend, I, of course, read my Bible <u>all weekend long</u> . But Hoda was out doing exciting things. What were you doing buddy? B: Well, I-- it was-- it was Valentine's Day. So it was a fun little, I went with Joel and we ate at this <u>great, great restaurant</u> .	I.	
30	A: A: All right. From Justin Bieber's latest mix with police— B: To a monster wedding ahead for Lady Gaga. C: Yeah. Access Hollywood's Billy Bush and Kit Hoover are here with the latest. B: We love them. C: Love them. Love. B: We'll have them next with <u>all the buzz</u> .	N.R. (E.)	



Table 7: Nothing

<b>Nothing</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Notes</b>
1	A: Do you think you did anything wrong? B: No. No, I didn't do <u>nothing wrong</u> .	P.E.	
2	A: --when you're running, and like, and you're there, and you're- - you know, you're getting it in, and you're like, you're doing everything you can do to make yourself feel better—B: Yes. A: --about the world that you live in. B: It's a turn-on for guys. A: that's a turn-on. B: Yeah. A: Rather than seeing the hot chick who's wearing nothing, who looks like she is just out for a stroll, who stops, takes a call. There's <u>nothing sexy</u> about it, though.	I.	
3	A: Let's play it. B: Event. C: Please. D: T. C: One T. A: The category was event. And what are your guesses? I like that music. Nice. B: It's an event? A: Put the pressure on. Come on. E: Oh, my gosh. B: I-- I <u>have nothing</u> . Going back to hotel and motel on the bottom there's some of that.	P.E.	
4	A: <u>Don't do nothing</u> . Doing nothing gets very expensive. You have to file even if you can't pay because the penalty for not filing is five percent of what you owe per month up to twenty-five percent. That's ten to twenty times more than the penalty for filing and not paying.	P.E.	
5	Detectives trying to figure out who would want to kill mild-mannered Connie Hoagland were hitting <u>nothing but dead ends</u> until they got a call from the business partner of Connie's husband Larry.	S.I.	Phrase.
6	Any woman that's never tried a two-piece before, try it. Why not? You have <u>nothing to lose</u> .	N.R.	Phrase.
7	A: Let me just say I have so much love and respect for Vice President Biden and millions of people do. And if you watch him even just recently on Stephen Colbert it was one of the best interviews I've ever seen of a public official. B: There was nothing <u>phony</u> about that. A: <u>Nothing</u> . He's authentic, he's likable, people identify with his story, with his loss. he's done more for the issue of fatherhood than probably any other public servant.	I.	
8	The business world would hopes it replaces focus groups. You know, there's <u>nothing more unreliable than a person talking about themselves</u> . And, you know, we-- we can all pretend that we don't like something like a reality show but this-- this software might tell that, you know, what you're enjoying it a lot, you know, we'll pretend to like PBS but we really want to go, you know, go home and watch junk on TV.	N.R.	
9	And that's seven minutes that emergency medical personnel could've been there could have done something and could have reacted to this situation to save Mister Hayes' life. But instead, she does <u>nothing, nothing to call for help or to fix this</u> .	S.I.	
10	A: Aren't you glad Duck Duck Goose will never die. B: No. A: And the Lincoln Logs and Legos. B: Yes. It's still popular. And, you know what? <u>Nothing beats a deck of cards</u> . I'll tell you that.	E.	
11	A: I don't know, because if I say anything you're going to use it against me. B: Detective DePanics' response would become a major legal issue. C: Nothing's being used against you at this point. D: " <u>Nothing's being used against you</u> at this point, " he told her.	P.E.	
12	A: Were you scared that if someone could take Michele, someone could take those kids? B: Well, no, because we are safe here. You know, the accusation is that this crime took place in this house. And it didn't. You know, there's- - there's <u>nothing happened here</u> and we've always been safe here.	P.E.	
13	If you single, there's <u>nothing wrong</u> with you. The last time I checked, there was nothing in the Constitution or at the White House said single people need not apply. I'm going to be a ready-to-go commander in chief, protect everybody, single people included.	N.R.	

14	These were justices of the U.S. Supreme Court saying to other justices, you are essentially usurping democracy. You're acting as legislators, not as judges. And you're a bunch of elitist from the edges of America. You all went to Yale and Harvard. You <u>know nothing about America</u> .	E.	
15	From all the officers, they thought this was a suicide call, they were over there trying to console Donna and she <u>says nothing</u> to them. There was no right to remain silent at that time, you can take that as evidence of consciousness of guilt.	S.I.	
16	And the one reason I won't vote for any continuing resolution, period, I won't vote for any of them, it's not the way we should do business and <u>nothing gets fixed</u> . If you vote for a continuing resolution, you're voting for the status quo.	C.U.	
17	A: If he can go to yoga and sit in a warrior pose, stand in a warrior pose, why can't he go to work? What does OCD have to do with this? B: <u>OCD has nothing to do with it</u> , and I can't ever imagine it being a successful defense for a murder.	I.	
18	Again -- well, the answer is do something. If it has no impact, of course <u>do nothing</u> . Why would you do something and -- with the -- with people admitting that even if you do something, it won't make a difference?	P.E.	
19	Georges Wolinski was a big, louder than life cartoonist. One friend told CNN <u>nothing was secret for him</u> . After today's attack, his daughter posted in Instagram message which is a photo in home office attached, Papa is gone, she wrote	E.	
20	A: Donald Trump has a long record of clownishly pretending he'll run for president and people take him seriously, including all the people at this network, which drives me crazy. Donald Trump is a bane of humanity. But that said, that's not Sarah Palin's game. Sarah Palin has not done this over and over again. B: But she's <u>done nothing</u> to make -- taken any action to actually look like she's really seriously about doing this. And the press didn't cover that.	E.	
21	There was an opportunity to take them out and he didn't want to do it for political reasons because he wants to pull out of Iraq and Afghanistan politically. That's what he wanted. So now, he's faced with going in wiping them out or <u>doing nothing</u> . But half-hearted measures in war, as the famous saying goes, are madness. So he either has to go and wipe them out or do nothing.	P.E.	
22	The Iraqi plan -- the plan for Iraq first is on hold. The whole idea that ISIS is going to be defeated in Mosul is on hold. The Obama administration's <u>doing nothing</u> to give assurances to the members of the coalition that the Iraq first plan is going to work.	S.I.	
23	A: Google's advanced algorithms, because they have to go and log in everything. They used 150 pieces of metadata, and they found it was 200 million. Then they removed government documents and audiotapes. It's 129 million. that's pretty interesting. B: That's quite a few. Anything else going on today? C: Yes, it's good. D: That's very, very interesting. All right. Anything else <u>going on today</u> ? Nothing. C: <u>Nothing</u> .	E.	
24	Well, the clip I just saw from the Senator that spoke, it's very plain and clear to see that a Kate's Law that deals with felons that have committed crimes, anything from rape to murder, committed any type of assault and if they are felons we should definitely make sure that they are either detained or sent out of the country so <u>nothing like this</u> happens again.	C.U.	
25	A: I don't think. that she -- there was <u>nothing marked</u> classified and they would simply say. B: But that's -- OK, I just -- A: It's not classified. B: But Juan, can you like on -- A: And when I handle it. B: You have to read it. A: I didn't know it was classified. C: Juan, we have it here. B: Because it's a statement from the I.G.	S.I.	
26	There's <u>nothing that gets you crazier</u> than a cup of Starbucks coffee. In the stock market, it's really just a monetary version of caffeine. People watch it.	E.	

	They go up, or they go down. They go up or go down. It's hilarious. You should probably say don't drink coffee.		
27	These people look at what happened in '95 when there was a shutdown that the Republicans <u>got nothing out</u> of really and they see Republicans retaining the House the next year. They look at 2013 and they see a shutdown that didn't last and didn't achieve its goal of getting Obamacare defunded, but then they see a tremendous Republican victory in the next election and they say, look, these shutdowns are worth a fight and the Republicans don't lose anything.	P.E.	
28	I mean, speaking of Obamacare, just to give one example. In substantive terms, in the construction of that bill, the Republicans <u>were given nothing</u> . Now, you may say that the individual mandate was a Republican idea, was actually an idea that came out of a conservative think tank, but apart from Mitt Romney, was not embraced by the Republican Party in any broad way. And the things that the Republicans might have wanted in the bill that might have enticed, indeed almost forced some of them to vote for it -- tort reform, sale across state lines, and so on - were never included in the bill.	P.E.	
29	A: So there was - it was only three months of training before you were jumping out of an airplane with a machine gun? B: They did it right away. They kicked you - a night jump, too - and firing guns and blowing stuff up. C: You know, it's interesting because usually, on the few occasions I've talked to intelligence agents, they all sort of chuckle, and say, oh, no, no, no, it's <u>nothing like you see in the movies</u> .	N.R.	
30	A: I love the Jewish holidays. I mean, left to us atheists, <u>there'd be nothing</u> . B: That's true. A: We'd just be working all year long.	P.E.	

Table 8: Always

<b>Always</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Notes</b>
1	A: Sixth album came out, number one on iTunes. Do you guys still hold your breath a little bit <u>when you release new music</u> ? B: Oh, yeah. No, it's-- it's <u>always</u> that kind of thing like the top of the roller coaster, you know, we're like well it can't get off.	S.I.	
2	A: You-- you have been in movies and TV shows since then. Do you still get recognized for SNL when you work there? B: Yeah, you know what, I live in Chicago. I get-- I never, ever do not get a seat at Al's-- you know, Al's Beef. A: Yeah, right. B: <u>There's always a stool for me there.</u>	P.E.	
3	Clinton, this -- it does seem as if they are not going to -- you know, there <u>has always been this speculation</u> she going to try to split from Obama. She's not doing that, is she, David?	C.U.	
4	A: If someone does a three sixty and says how does this look? B: Yeah. C: Oh. A: Then you don't say, you say that looks great. B: What do you say? C: That's smart. D: He's a newlywed. He's got it all wrong. B: Yeah. D: No. <u>It's always you look fantastic.</u>	S.I. (I.)	
5	A: It may seem that on this day the Kennedys don't have a care in the world. Laughing and talking with their friends and may not even know they are being photographed. No sign of JFK's painful and chronic back problems. B: We're not seeing his back brace. JFK is just coming out of the ocean and you feel as if you are getting a glimpse of how they actually were. A: You may be surprised to see the images of the dignified first lady, <u>always so in control of her public image.</u>	S.I. (I.)	
6	A: --I do not want a man touching my shoulders like that—B: Right. A: --or going in. Even when we take photographs, you know, we take picture, I <u>always notice if a man goes low</u> — C: Right. A: --he goes high, medium. And sometimes they go really kind of low in that— C: Yeah. B: Oh. A: --that spot.	S.I.	
7	There's-- <u>any time he does an interview he always sings his name.</u>	S.I.	
8	A: --there has always been something to the parents-- B: Yeah. I'm good. A: --putting more in to stuff than the kids. B: Yeah. A: Pinewood Derby, the-- the Boy Scouts. The dads <u>always going nuts about their son.</u>	C.U.	
9	A: How have we missed these ads? How is it possible? B: A lot of them are-- they air only in the international markets like the U.K. or France or Japan, and they just never air here. Some of them are small markets and they just-- the U.S. Market is so big and we <u>always complain about advertising sort of being repetitive.</u> These are some real creative gems from overseas that we don't see.	C.U.	
10	Vergara has never suggested that she wished to have the embryos destroyed. She has always maintained that they be kept frozen, a fact of which Loeb and his counsel <u>have always been aware</u> , despite Loeb's statements to the contrary. " Loeb says he wants to bring his daughters to term, but he doesn't want to hold Sophia Vergara responsible financially or any kind of parental obligations.	N.R.	
11	A: Everybody moves on. B: People move on, Hoda. A: Isn't that weird? B: It happens. A: I <u>always say it's interesting.</u> I don't know if you-- if that's quick or not, but do you think two years after divorce to get remarried is a long time, enough time? I wonder, because it was even hard for me to start dating, for like, I mean, really dating for a year, because you feel- -	P.E.	
12	A: And the problem is the water there, you know— B: Yeah. A: --was rising so fast. I know we <u>always tell people turn around,</u> don't-- don't drown. But in this case, we've had water rises that were so fast--	C.U.	
13	A: He Instagrammed that picture and he said-- he wrote, " Greetings from the UK. " He didn't say why he was doing it. I wonder if that's-- that looks like it's a manipulation of a photo, as opposed to—B: Yeah, <u>he's always been known for being so, you know, just chiseled.</u>	N.R.	
14	You want people to dream big and put their fears aside and go out and do the <u>things they've always wanted to do.</u> Some of the things that people are writing are wonderful, be true to myself, line dance.	C.U.	

15	A: Entertainment Weekly radio host on SiriusXM Jessica Shaw is here with the dates to mark on your calendar. Jessica, <u>always great to see you</u> . B: Hello. C: Hi.	S.I. (I.)	
16	I always have called bill Clinton sort of an authentic phony. He really is good at that. And Hillary, if you look at it just as theater is a phony-phony. She's not as good at it so <u>always hurts her in comparison with Bill</u> .	N.R.	
17	Becky was always just an amazing person. I mean, even when she was small; always had a smile on her face. She <u>was always there for you</u> .	N.R. (I.)	
18	Well, this is something that will have to be part of an analysis of the whole incident, as we do in the United States when something happens like that in our country or when we disrupt a plot. We <u>always look to see if there are ways in which we might have done something differently</u> . And I'm sure that our French counterparts will be doing that as well, looking to see if there were things that they missed that might have prevented this from happening.	C.U.	
19	A: Best TV drama series is, again, a wide open race. House of Cards has a lot of fans. Good Wife is enormously popular. I'm going to go out in a very tenuously limb here and say The Affair is going to win the statue. B: Ooh. C: Wow. A: that it-- that every single award-- so <u>there's always that one wild-card surprise</u> that show that seems to be a little far afield for the Golden Globe that comes away with it. But this has a lot of buzz. It has a lot of audience, a lot of sort of cultural criticism. that it's going to win the-- the award.	P.E.	
20	A: Congressman, <u>it is always a pleasure to talk to you</u> . Thank you. B: Well, thank you very much, Bob, for having me.	S.I. (I.)	
21	A: And she turned my life around, you know, she-- she paid attention to me and she told me what books to read and what plays to see and she suggested I become an actor and walked me to acting school. She saw something in me that I never saw in myself. B: That you didn't see yourself. C: Wow. A: And, you know, I-- <u>I always did it</u> . You just need that one person to believe in you—B: It's just so great. A: --and you can do anything.	N.R.	
22	A: Did you <u>always intend to have brick-and-mortar stores</u> ? B: No. In our original business plan it was internet, internet, internet.	N.R.	
23	A: It all began shortly before midnight when Anita said Robert showed up at her house unexpectedly. B: I would tell him not to come over, but he <u>always came over</u> anyway. A: In spite of being separated, Robert had often come over for sex on Monday nights, when Anita's kids were with their father.	P.E.	
24	That's just-- I don't know it's something that's inside me and I've <u>always loved going fast</u> . I-- just because I'm injured I don't feel any different. I'm the same skier, the same person. that's why I'm able to continue winning is because I'm just not afraid.	N.R.	
25	A: they give to Wikipedia out of affection. it's that simple. B: Which means the main preoccupation at other websites, advertising, isn't even on the radar. C: If we were ad supported, we <u>would always be thinking about, well, gee, look at all these people reading about Elizabethan poetry</u> . There's nothing to sell them. Let's try to get them to read about hotels in Las Vegas, or something like this.	N.R.	
26	A: She's passionate about learning a lot of stuff and just being involved. She was <u>always, like, calling you up</u> , hey, do you want to go to the reading of that play? Do you want to go to the dance performance? Do you want to go to concert? B: But her true passion was her four kids.	E.	
27	A: Still, the jury does hear from Kevin Tubbs, who once again testifies that in the early morning hours of September 12th, he saw a woman who looked like Michele with a man at the end of the Harris driveway. But now, there's a new revelation. After years of not being able to definitively recognize either person—B: <u>I have always said that I can not be a hundred percent sure</u> .	N.R.	
28	A: Can you tell us, what is your feeling about these lone wolf attacks and is New York at greater threat than ever? B: I'm sorry to say we <u>have always been the number one terror target since this recent phenomenon</u> over the last couple of decades of terrorism as we know it today, al Qaeda and ISIS. New York has always been the number one terror target.	C.U.	

29	His-- his hugs. When he would hug you, he would go, mmm. He just <u>always loved that contact</u> . He loved it. And his daughter said that at his funeral and I had forgotten that. He was just-- just a-- a slice of cake, just a sweetheart.	N.R.	
30	She said, mom, there's these helicopter moms <u>that are always making sure their homework gets done</u> . She said I finally decided you're a submarine mom. And I said, well, what does that mean? That sounds tough and cool. She goes, no, mom. It means you lurk beneath the surface and come up unexpectedly.	C.U.	

Table 9: Never.

Never	Context	Category	Notes
1	A: So ESPN.com says that the NFL found that eleven of the twelve footballs used in the Patriots game were underinflated by about two pounds. Okay. B: That's a lot. Yeah. A: I don't know because <u>I've never gripped a football</u> .	S.I.	
2	Never, ever have I been arrested? <u>Never, ever have I joined the mile high club?</u> Never, ever have I seen one of my Mortdecai's co-stars naked?	S.I.	Phrase.
3	A: Love is good. B: Wow. A: Love is good. B: <u>I never heard you admit it</u> . That's fantastic. A: I know. I don't think I ever did until right now.	S.I.	
4	A: With many, many kids around the country out of school this week. It's time to throw a super sleepover party. B: Here to help you walk through the waking hours and to help your kids have the night they'll <u>never forget</u> is-- deputy editor of FamilyFun magazine.	S.I.	
5	A: Isn't that amazing? His movies make gazillions of dollars. B: Twelve billion dollars or something like that. A: This one is called Kingsman and we're going to talk about that. Last night, you guys were the Grammys. B: Yes. I actually <u>watched till about ten</u> . A: Well—B: I never do. A: It was a fascinating—B: And Frank did which is-- believe me-- he <u>never does</u> .	E.	
6	A: Do you guys <u>golf</u> ? B: I don't golf. A: <u>I've never</u> . C: I don't golf.	S.I.	
7	California's largest wildfire on record and one of its most destructive. Tonight, you'll hear from the people trapped in its path, forced to leave everything behind as they ran wildly for their lives to flee a fire that would destroy all that it touched, and to race <u>a clock that was never on their side</u> . And it all began in one of the most beautiful places on earth.	N.R.	
8	A: --Jacqueline and Jenna Maroney, you have this, this two great characters that are very similar in personality. Why do you think Tina sees those characters in you? B: Hm. C: See, I just never, I'm <u>never going to ask</u> . I don't want to know why.	S.I.	
9	No. I-- I have <u>never personally seen someone smash a glass</u> , it's someone else or rip someone's hair extension out or flip table. I have never personally seen and I have seen a lot.	S.I.	
10	A: And full disclosure, I've never seen Full House. B: Not even on-- on TV Land or Nickelodeon? A: I've seen-- I've seen chunks of it. My kids watch it. C: Yeah. A: They watched it on Nick at Night. B: It's on—C: Yeah. B: Yeah. D: I've never seen it, either. C: Yeah. B: <u>You've never seen?</u>	S.I.	
11	Plus, from the movie bringing a new generation of Eastwood fans to theaters, the return of the entertainment calendar after this. You <u>will never forget his face now</u> .	S.I. (I.)	
12	But Levi <u>was never able to stay away for long</u> . He and Cassie included Karl and the rest of the family in their wedding in 2003. The young couple soon had two daughters. But it may have been too much too fast. The marriage didn't last.	N.R.	
13	A: So what's this mean to you, personally? Did you have any expectations that the show would end up being such a big hit? B: <u>Television was never what I hoped to do in my life</u> .	N.R.	
14	<u>I've never played horseshoes</u> , but I want to learn.	S.I.	
15	A: It went very, very well. Mariska was thrilled to actually meet the-- the cat. What I love about this is that Taylor Swift takes her cats on tour with her. B: I'm so confused now. Which one was Mariska? <u>Never mind</u> . C: Never mind. They both got along.	I.	Phrase.
16	A: This is Ted Kennedy in 1979. B: And he was so popular and literally overnight it was like what are you doing here? so you have to be careful in these draft movements. You're never as popular as before you announce and <u>you're never as popular of the day of your inauguration</u> .	C.U.	
17	A: And Newell and Colleen, ten years ago, you wouldn't have thought this <u>was possible</u> . You could have never have gotten your arms around the fact that you	I.	

	would be sitting here with these three grandchildren. B: Yeah. Feel so blessed. C: Yeah. It is a blessing. It's a true blessing. I mean, we did not know and <u>never thought it would at this point</u> , but it's a true-- true joy to see these three kids with Matt and Whitney.		
18	A: Right. Let's first start with maybe your expressions and showing you how it would detect your expressions, Vinita. So-- so you can see that it's found your face. And, you know, it's tracking the future points on your face, your eyes, your eyebrows, your mouth. B: <u>My emotions are never minimal</u> . So I knew I would be an easy test case for this. A: Right. And then you can see how it's detecting your different facial expressions. So if you smile, for example, it detects that, if you do a brow furrow--	N.R.	
19	A: That sentiment is echoed by Vanessa's husband of two years, Travis McGraw. His father, Willie, will <u>never forget</u> his son's reaction. B: He was very emotional about the way he was speaking, you know, he was just like breaking into tears.	S.I. (I.)	
20	A: But I mean you're not with common folks. B: What are you talking about? A: You're always, you know, you had moral—B: You're the only—A: No, no, no. B: You have <u>never been with the common folk</u> , never. A: I am. I am. B: I am a common folk. A: No, no, no. You're royalty. You're show business royalty. B: I'm from the Bronx. Where are you from? Indianapolis.	E.	
21	A: Hershey has owned the rights to make Cadbury in the U.S. for nearly thirty years, and has largely ignored specialty shops selling the British version. But after noticing those stores were taking an increasing bite of the company's seven-billion-dollar business, Hershey's sued to stop all imports into the U.S. B: I actually really don't understand it, because with all that's happening today is it really that important to be banning chocolate? C: <u>Tastes like chocolate never tasted before</u> . Just let me know when I'm going to get arrested for selling chocolate because I would--	E. (I.)	
22	But I'm wondering here with this about-face on cholesterol in terms of the warnings. I mean, how do we know what to believe now because something we've been told for a long time is now <u>never mind</u> .	I.	Phrase.
23	Boan says Anita was so traumatized after the shooting, that <u>she should never have been subjected to an interrogation</u> in the first place.	I.	
24	A: The size of the equipment, the lifting of it, the various types of equipment they had, you know, it would have taken a number of people to-- to manhandle it and operate it. Yeah, never lie-- never know-- <u>never mind</u> the-- the-- the experience that will be required in the expertise. B: And while police don't yet know who done it, this is how they think they did it. With no forced entry, the thieves disabled an elevator on the third floor, they then lowered themselves down the shaft by rope.	I.	Phrase.
25	One couple Lee and Devu (ph) she had to marry a Jewish man. She fell in love with an Indian person. She told me <u>it will never come in the package you're expecting</u> .	C.U.	
26	A: This is McCormick Bird Sanctuary. B: If you ran into this unassuming couple on one of their nature walks—A: See that, Hank? C: Yeah. B: -- <u>you'd never know the power this man once held</u> .	N.R.	
27	Well, it's a concern. I <u>never used email for official business</u> when I was either -- well, when I was director of CIA email was still in its infancy. But as secretary of defense, I would use it for personal things but I never used email for business.	S.I.	
28	I thought that her life was absolutely perfect. You <u>never saw her when she wasn't smiling or laughing</u> .	I.	
29	As a kid in Puerto Rico, he <u>was never the team's best player</u> . But no one worked harder. His tough love, Cuban-born father made sure of that.	I.	
30	A: Would you <u>lie to protect your friend</u> ? B: <u>Never</u> . If I felt he did it, I would turn him in.	S.I.	



## Appendix 2: Dutch end of scale quantifiers (CGN)

This appendix consists of four tables, each of them contains the results for the quantifiers *alle*, *niets*, *altijd* and *nooit*, respectively. In the column headed ‘category,’ the following abbreviations are used for the categories used throughout this thesis: S.I. (strict interpretation), P.E. (pardonable exaggeration), C.U. (categorical use), E. (exaggeration), N.R. (not relevant/not definable) and I. (intensification). The categories mentioned in brackets are categories which could also apply for the particular example. In the notes column, there can be found information about interesting features of the use of the end of scale quantifier, or additional information about the context.

Table 10: *Alle*

<i>Alle</i>	Context	Category	Notes
1	De diepe achtertuin was gemakkelijk toegankelijk voor bulldozers graafmachines en <u>alle grondverzetapparatuur die Tristan wilde gebruiken</u> .  TL: The deep backyard was easy to access for bulldozers, excavators and <u>all the equipment for mowing the soil</u> , which Tristan wanted to use.	S.I.	
2	Het was eerst alleen dat leeftijdsverschil maar toen we trouwden zag ze dat het ons allebei ernst was. Dat willen <u>alle moeders</u> .  TL: At first it was only that age difference, but when we got married, she saw we both were serious about it. That’s what <u>all mothers</u> want.	C.U.	
3	Want een oplossing voor het probleem moet wel gevonden worden. En daar zal ik vanzelfsprekend in <u>alle opzichten</u> mijn medewerking aan verlenen.  TL: Because there must be found a solution for the problem. And of course I will assist in that to <u>all intends and purposes</u> .	N.R.	Phrase.
4	D'r waren opnieuw heel wat supporters opgedaagd van <u>alle leeftijden</u> .  TL: Again a lot of supporters showed up, of <u>all ages</u> .	N.R.	
5	Dus wij zijn er meesters in en zeker in ons land om dat water te beheersen <u>alle randen</u> uh te maken en uh onze natuur zo om te vormen dat het een gemaakt landschap is wat natuurlijk gewaardeerd moet worden en wat natuurlijk z'n uh specialiteiten en zijn kwaliteiten heeft maar waarmee ik maar wil zeggen dat dat iets is wat absoluut uh ik zou het bijna agrarisch willen zeggen geroerd moet worden.  TL: So we are experts in, and especially in our country, to control the water, to uh build <u>all the shores</u> , and uh to shape our nature into a manmade landscape, that is of course what should be appreciated, and what of course has its specialities and its qualities, but with this I only want to say, it should be affected.	P.E.	
6	Nou als je nou dat hele Nederlandse taalgebied uh als je dat nou eens onder een paraplu zou kunnen vangen. Ja. En uh echt echt <u>alle windstreken</u> zo dat je alle accenten een beetje bij mekaar kunt krijgen dan krijg je op een gegeven moment een idee hoe gemiddeld uh Algemeen uh Beschaafd Nederlands uh gesproken wordt.  TL: So, imagine you could catch the whole Dutch-speaking area under an umbrella. Yes. And uh, really, really <u>all the regions</u> , to get all the accents more or less together, then you would get an idea how Standard Dutch is spoken in average.	N.R.	

7	<p>Het LRT is nadat ook informatie uit België was verkregen het onderzoek gestart met het veredelen van <u>alle beschikbare informatie rond de persoon van Taartman</u>.</p> <p>TL: After there was received information also from Belgium, the investigation was started with the ennobling of <u>all the available information about the person of Taartman</u>.</p>	S.I.	
8	<p>'K weet echt niet wat ik moet vragen. <u>Alle cadeau 't is allemaal ook zo duur hè voor de kinderen?</u></p> <p>TL: I really don't know what I should ask for. <u>All presents</u>, and also all the things for children are very expensive, right?</p>	E.	
9	<p>Vanmorgen om zeven uur kregen <u>alle journalisten die belangstelling hadden voor dit rapport</u> en dat waren d'r nogal wat de gelegenheid om 't rapport op te halen lange rijen voor dit Rijksmuseum en vier zware boeken werden per journalist uitgereikt.</p> <p>TL: This morning at seven o'clock, <u>all journalists interested in the report</u>, and there were quite some of them, got the opportunity to pick up the report. There were long lines in front of the national museum, and per journalist four books were handed out.</p>	S.I.	
10	<p>Vandaar dat in eerste instantie <u>alle contact</u> zal verlopen via die advocaat.</p> <p>TL: Because of that, <u>all the contact</u> will go via the lawyer in first place.</p>	P.E.	
11	<p>Wie kan er nou zoal deelnemen aan zo'n kaderprogramma? In feite zijn dat onderzoekers uit <u>vrijwel alle sectoren fundamenteel technologisch uh sorry strategisch en en toegepast onderzoek</u>.</p> <p>TL: What kind of people can participate in such a framework programme? In fact, the researchers of <u>more or less all fields of fundamental technological, uh sorry, strategic and and applied research</u>.</p>	S.I.	Weakened by <i>vrijwel</i> .
12	<p>Voor een kind dat opgroeide op de hete uitgestrekte Indiase laagvlakte bestond er niets merkwaardigers dan dit gebouw dat omgeven door hogere bergen tegen de helling van zijn eigen kleine berg opkroop. Ik bevolkte <u>alle vertrekken ervan</u> met tovenaars en orakels.</p> <p>TL: For a child which grew up on the hot and extensive Indian lowlands, there was nothing more remarkable than this building, surrounded by higher mountains and creeping up against the slope of its own small mountain. I inhabited <u>all the rooms</u> with wizards and oracle.</p>	S.I.	
13	<p>Ja <u>alle hens</u> aan dek.</p> <p>TL: Yes, <u>all hands</u> on deck.</p>	P.E.	Phrase.
14	<p>Vond je <u>alle stukken hout</u> met rondjes d'ruit gezaagd in de schuur.</p> <p>TL: And then in the shed you found <u>all the pieces of wood</u> with circles cut out of them.</p>	N.R. (E.)	
15	<p>A: Nou dat is nooit anders geweest dus paling zat in Nederland en overal in Europa in Portugal in Spanje in Frankrijk. B: Maar dat zeggen toch altijd <u>alle vissers</u>? Toen ook van de haring zeiden ze joh d'r is genoeg.</p> <p>TL: A: Well, that's always been the same. So eels could be found in the Netherlands and everywhere in Europe, in Portugal, in Spain and in France. B: But that's what <u>all fishermen</u> always say, right? Also about the herring they said so, like sure there is enough.</p>	C.U.	

16	Op <u>alle knoppekes</u> drukken totdat dat er iets uit diejen TV komt. Op de afstandsbediening natuurlijk.  TL: And push <u>all the buttons</u> till something comes out of that TV. On the remote control, of course.	N.R. (E.)	
17	De met poppetjes en kometenstaarten doorweven tekst doorlopend over <u>alle drie de kaarten</u> was slechts moeizaam te ontcijferen.  TL: Running through the text full of figures and comet tails all over <u>all of the three maps</u> , it was difficult to decipher.	S.I.	
18	De VN-missie UNMEE waaraan elfhonderd Nederlandse mariniers deelnemen kan de bufferzone tussen Eritrea en Ethiopië binnentrekken. De twee landen hebben <u>alle troepen</u> nu teruggetrokken.  TL: The UN-mission UNMEE, in which eleven hundred Dutch soldiers take part, could enter the buffer zone between Eritrea and Ethiopia. Both of the two countries have withdrawn <u>all their troops</u> .	P.E.	
19	Duitsland heeft <u>alle grensovergangen met de Achterhoek en Twente</u> weer opengesteld.  TL: Germany has opened again <u>all the border crossing-points to the Achterhoek and Twente</u> .	S.I.	
20	Dat wil zeggen ik ik wil steeds een woord toch weer anders maken en dat kan niet want het heeft altijd een reden waarom dat woord er zo staat en dat merk je dan twee zinnen later. Zodat je uh op een vreselijke manier moet zien om tussen <u>alle klippen</u> door te zeilen die je zelf opwerpt.  TL: That means, I I always want to change the words, but I can't do that, because they are always there for a reason, but you find out not until you are two sentences further. Therefore, you have to struggle and sail through <u>all the cliffs</u> you raise yourself.	S.I.	Figurative use.
21	Uh ook van mijn kant <u>alle waardering</u> voor 't uh beantwoording van de minister van Justitie.  TL: Uh, I too want to show <u>all my appreciation</u> for the uh answer of the Minister of Justice.	N.R.	
22	Ja wat ze doen dat is even in een half uur <u>alle bureaus</u> langs en de prullenbakken leegmaken.  TL: Yes, the only thing they do is to go quickly around <u>all the desks</u> and empty the dustbins.	P.E.	
23	Ik stel voor de term reformistisch links te gebruiken voor <u>alle Amerikanen</u> die zich in het kader van de constitutionele democratie tussen negentienhonderd en negentien vierenzestig hebben ingezet voor de bescherming van de zwakken tegen de sterken.  TL: I propose to use the term reformist-left for <u>all the Americans</u> who did their best for the protection of the weak against the strong, in the scope of the constitutional democracy between nineteen-hundred and nineteen sixty-four.	S.I.	
24	A: En toen had ik twee uh rapporten geschreven. Één zoals dat in een echte vereniging gepresenteerd wordt. B: Mmm. Ja. A: Dus to the point en met <u>alle gegevens</u> en de onderbouwde toestand. B: Ja. A: En één zoals d'r misschien uh consumabel was voor uh het uh niveau van de leden dat daarbij zit.  TL: And then I had written two uh reports. One like those presented in real associations. B: Mmm. Yes. A: So, to the point and with <u>all the data</u> and the situation explained. B: Yes. A: And one which is more	P.E.	

	accessible and at the level of the members present.		
25	<p>Maar uhm in de zesdes zuchten ze al minder maar daar heb ik ook wel uhm Tom Lanoye op gezet en <u>zo een beetje alle soorten alle genres</u> waar ze dan zelf kunnen uit kiezen.</p> <p>TL: But uhm, in the sixth grades they already sigh less, but there I also gave them uhm Tom Lanoye on the list, and <u>more or less all kinds of genres</u> which they can choose from.</p>	S.I.	Weakened by <i>zo een beetje</i> . About Compulsary literature.
26	<p>Alhoewel ze eigenlijk wel voldoende financiële draagkracht hadden konden ze zich toch niet overgeven aan het genieten van <u>alle leuke dingen</u> waar ze al die jaren dat ze zo hard hadden gewerkt naar gesmacht hadden maar die eenmaal nu binnen bereik een onrust opriepen alsof de duivel in hoogsteigen persoon bezit van hen genomen had wellicht via het oorkussen.</p> <p>TL: Although they actually had enough financial strength, they weren't able to let themselves enjoy <u>all the fun stuff</u> for which they had worked hard all those years, and which they were longing for, but once it was within reach, it alarmed them, as if the devil had taken hold of them, possibly via their pillows.</p>	S.I.	
27	<p>Ja zeker want die kinder ja natuurlijk 'k bedoel die kinderen moeten bij <u>alle vakken</u> netjes werken en als ze een uh werkstuk pakken of een proefwerk maken voor aardrijkskunde geschiedenis enzovoort moeten ze ook in zo goed mogelijk verzorgd Nederlands.</p> <p>TL: Certainly, because those children, yes of course, those children have to work neatly during <u>all the subjects</u>, and if they write a paper or an exam for geography, history, etcetera, they have to use their best Dutch possible.</p>	S.I.	
28	<p>De federale regering heeft er zich uitdrukkelijk in het federale regeerakkoord toe verbonden om <u>alle transferten</u> weg te werken.</p> <p>TL: The federal government has committed itself through the federal coalition agreement to get rid of <u>all the transfers</u>.</p>	P.E.	
29	<p>Overdag comfortabel van 't leven genieten 's nachts heerlijk slapen in een echt bed. <u>Alle Night-And-Day-slaapbanken</u> zijn gegarandeerd echte zetels. Alle kussens zijn gemaakt van duurzaam Bultex.</p> <p>TL: Enjoy life during the day and sleep great in a real bed during the night. All Night-And-Day sofa beds are guaranteed thrones. All the pillows are made of sustainable Bultex.</p>	S.I.	
30	<p>Plotseling gaat het huis een nieuw tijdperk binnen. Links en rechts vinden voorbereidingen plaats. Meneer McKay en Callum brengen guirlandes mee en hangen ze in lussen over de trapleuningen. Op de trap en op <u>alle overlopen</u> hangt de sappige geur van dennen hulst en bessen.</p> <p>TL: Suddenly, the house enters a new era. Everywhere preparations are made. Misters McKay and Callum bring garlands and hang them in loops over the handrails. In the staircase and on <u>all the landings</u> there is the smell of pines, holly and berries.</p>	S.I.	

Table 11: Niets.

<i>Niets</i>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Notes</b>
1	<p>Hè waar we vorige jaren met de vijf klasgroepen samen zaten dus tussen één en vijf in de grote turnzaal waar we dus die massameeting hadden die die eigenlijk <u>weinig of niets uithaalde</u> van waar de meesten zelfs niet wisten waarover het ging vond ik het nu een vooruitgang dat het per klasschijf was.</p> <p>TL: Right, where we sat with five classes together between one and five in the large gym, where we had that mass measurement, which actually <u>did not make much difference</u>, and where the most of us even didn't know what it was about, I think it is an improvement that it is done per grade now.</p>	E.	Phrase. Weakened by <i>weinig of niets</i> .
2	<p>Haar inwendige verdriet was echt maar had <u>niets te maken</u> met de koboldenvertoning.</p> <p>TL: Her internal sadness <u>had nothing to do</u> with the view of the goblins.</p>	S.I.	
3	<p>A: Uh merkt u dat dat gevolgen heeft voor de mensen die 't getroffen heeft dus de de Enschedeër voor uzelf misschien ook wel? B: uh nou voor mezelf weet ik het niet zo goed. Kijk ik heb... ik ben <u>niets kwijt</u> of wat dan ook. Maar ik denk dat voor de mensen in Enschede denk ik dat ze nu dat Enschede binnen een twee drie maanden weer gewoon Enschede is.</p> <p>TL: A: Uh, did you notice it to have an impact on the people, so the inhabitants of Enschede, maybe also on yourself? B: Uh, well, for myself I don't know really. Look, I have... I <u>didn't lose anything</u> or so. But I think that for the people in Enschede I think that now Enschede will be Enchede again within two or three months.</p>	P.E.	
4	<p>Het komt uit zijn hoofd en daar kan de dokter <u>niets aan doen</u>.</p> <p>TL: It comes from his own head, so the doctor <u>can't do anything about it</u>.</p>	S.I.	
5	<p>En toen vroeg ie zo van wat vind je mooi bla bla bla. Ik denk nou daar komt 't hè maar 'k heb nog niet steeds <u>niets gehad</u>.</p> <p>TL: And then he asked like what do you like bla bla bla. I thought, well, now something will happen, but I still <u>haven't got anything</u>.</p>	S.I.	
6	<p>A: En Dries was hier dan ook. Die is fysica komen uitleggen aan ons Daphne B: Ho ho fysica komen uitleggen aan Daphne. Wat is 'm? A: En ze <u>kon er niets van</u>.</p> <p>TL: A: And Dries came as well. He came to explain physics to our Daphne. B: Ho ho, Explain physics to our Daphne. What happened? A: And she <u>didn't make anything of it</u>.</p>	E.	Phrase.
7	<p>Voor een kind dat opgroeide op de hete uitgestrekte Indiase laagvlakte bestond er <u>niets merkwaardigers</u> dan dit gebouw dat omgeven door hogere bergen tegen de helling van zijn eigen kleine berg opkroop.</p> <p>TL: For a child which grew up on the hot and extensive Indian lowlands, there was <u>nothing more remarkable</u> than this building which was surrounded by higher mountains and creeping up against the slope of its own small mountain.</p>	N.R.	

8	<p>Je moet aanvliegen met het landingsgestel ingetrokken en de kleppen zo ver mogelijk uit en dan ook nog met een redelijke snelheid wat met maar één motor behoorlijk moeilijk kan zijn. Bij lichte wind en golfjes land je tegen de wind in met zware wind en hoge golven land je parallel aan de golfkammen. Maar we wisten niet wat ons daarbeneden te wachten stond. We konden <u>niets zien</u>.</p> <p>TL: You have to fly down with the landing gear drawn in and the lids as open as possible, and also with quite a speed which can be quite difficult with only one motor. In case of a light breeze and small waves, you land against the wind, and in case of strong wind you land parallel to the waves. But we didn't know what was waiting for us there. We <u>couldn't see anything</u>.</p>	P.E.	
9	<p>A: Dat hij zelf al ernstig amendeert aan de extremen van de inkomensverdeling. B: Nee nee. Ik ik <u>amendeer niets</u> want uh ...</p> <p>TL: The fact he already seriously amends to the extremes of distribution of income. B: No, no. I I <u>don't amend anything</u>, because uh...</p>	S.I.	
10	<p>Want ik had opgeschreven op een papierke wat dat 'k moest meebrengen en 't zat in 't zakske van m'n hemd en 't is 't is in de wasmachine gekomen 'k kunnen er nu <u>niets meer van van lezen</u>.</p> <p>TL: Because I had written on a piece of paper what I had to bring with me, and it was in the pocket of my shirt and it ended up in the washing machine, we <u>can't read anything of of it anymore</u>.</p>	S.I.	
11	<p>En en maar d'r wordt gewoon <u>niets gevraagd</u> aan ons hè.</p> <p>TL: And and, but we <u>aren't ever asked about anything</u>.</p>	P.E.	
12	<p>'K dacht van ja want vorig jaar was 't ah ja hadden we zo <u>niets gedaan</u> en hij vond dat 'k weet niet hoe erg.</p> <p>TL: I thought, well we <u>did nothing</u> last year, and he thought it so terrible like I can't even imagine.</p>	P.E.	
13	<p>Nou als 't to-the-point is wel en natuurlijk iedereen maakt wel 'ns een fout maar uh d'r zijn de afgelopen uh weken uh soms een paar dingen bij mekaar opgeteld die absoluut <u>niets met mekaar te maken hebben</u> en die kennelijk meer ge gebaseerd waren uh op de wil om om 'ns even een beetje een krasje over de neus van de lijsttrekker van de PvdA te geven.</p> <p>TL: Well, it's right if it's to the point, and of course we all make mistakes, but uh in the past weeks sometimes there were things added up which <u>had nothing to do with each other</u>, and which were based on the wish to harm the reputation of the party leader of the PvdA a little.</p>	S.I.	Phrase?
14	<p>Maar da 's 't is <u>niets geweest</u>.</p> <p>TL: But it <u>turned out to be nothing</u>.</p>	P.E.	The message had no content.
15	<p>Misschien maar ja heeft ze misschien tot half vijf les soms dan heeft die vier d'r ook <u>niets mee te maken</u> hé.</p> <p>TL: Maybe she's got lessons only till half past four, sometimes that four <u>doesn't have anything to do with it</u>, right.</p>	S.I.	Phrase?
16	<p>Want ik <u>snap er niets van</u>.</p> <p>TL: Because I <u>understand nothing about all of it</u>.</p>	N.R.	Nothing from the explanation.
17	<p>Ik dacht 't <u>gaat niets zijn</u>.</p> <p>TL: I expected <u>it to be nothing interesting</u>.</p>	I.	
18	<p>De onthutsende conclusie daarvan we weten eigenlijk <u>niets van de manier</u> waarop BSE bij de mens de ziekte van Creutzfeldt-Jakob veroorzaakt.</p>	S.I. (E.?)	

	TL: The scary conclusion of it is, we actually know <u>nothing</u> about the way in which BSE causes the Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease to humans.		
19	<u>Niets heeft zo'n scheppingskracht als de liefde.</u> TL: <u>Nothing has such a creative power as love.</u>	E.	
20	'T is <u>niets aan te doen</u> zeker? TL: We can <u>do nothing about it</u> , right?	P.E.	
21	Iedereen dacht dat ie dat dit allang bijgelegd was maar <u>niets blijkt minder waar te zijn.</u> TL: Everyone thought he had settled this already a long time ago, but it turned out that <u>nothing was less true</u> than that.	N.R.	Phrase.
22	Hildebrand ontmaskerde hun taal en daarbij zag ik in één flits dat taal en werkelijkheid afstand en façade behoorlijk door elkaar liepen stug stroperig vloeiend alsof er <u>niets aan de hand was.</u> TL: Hildebrand unmasked their language and besides I saw in one flash that language and reality, distance and facade, were totally intertwined, heavily flowing, as if <u>there was nothing wrong.</u>	N.R.	Phrase.
23	A: U u denkt toch uh u bent toch akkoord dat iedereen nog altijd op z'n honger zit voor den ogenblik. B: Tuurlijk ja ja. A: Dat dat iedereen nog zich altijd de vraag stelt maar <u>was er dan niets</u> ... en mijn antwoord is dit proces moet zo vlug mogelijk georganiseerd worden. TL: A: You you think uh you agree to keep everyone hungry for the moment, right? B: Of course, yes, yes. A: And everyone wonders, <u>was there really nothing</u> ... And my answer is, this process must be organised as quickly as possible.	P.E.	
24	Ik kan n <u>niets anders</u> dan al mijn hoop op de minister stellen dat het tij zou gaan keren en op de Brusselse Vlamingen en dat Brussel dan uiteindelijk de hoofdstad zou worden maar niet alleen op papier maar ook in de werkelijkheid van onze Vlaamse Gemeenschap. TL: There is <u>nothing else</u> I can do than to hope for the minister, that the tide will turn, and for the Flemish of Brussels, and for Brussels to be finally the capital, but not only on paper, but also in the reality of our Flemish community.	N.R.	
25	A: Brugge is niet ver hé. B: En nu... dat is... nee nee nee. A: Hoeveel kilometer is dat? B: Uh <u>twintig</u> . Enfin ja <u>dat is niets</u> hè. A: Da's niet ver hé. TL: A: Bruges is not far away, right. B: Well... that is... no no no. A: How many kilometres is it? B: Uh, <u>twenty</u> . Well, yes, <u>that's nothing</u> , right. A: That's not far, right.	E.	
26	Het lichaam van Hannelore Kohl werd gevonden in hun woning in Ludwigshafen. Over de doodsoorzaak is nog <u>niets bekendgemaakt.</u> TL: The body of Hannelore Kohl was found in their house in Ludwigshafen. <u>Nothing</u> about the cause of death <u>was made public yet.</u>	S.I.	
27	A: Nou gezeurd niet maar gemopperd terecht op 't feit dat uh dat die zorg maar zo achteruitgaat. Dat er alsmaar wordt wordt ingeleverd. En er wordt aldoor maar niks aan gedaan. B: Nou ja dat is een beetje onzin dat er <u>niets aan gedaan wordt</u> . D'r is de afgelopen jaren is er natuurlijk uh stevig gediscussieerd over de toekomst van de ouderenzorg. TL: A: Well, not nagged, but grumbled rightly so about the fact uh that the health care is getting worse. That there must be turned in more and	S.I.	Phrase.

	more. And <u>nothing ever is done about it</u> . B: Well, it's nonsense that nothing is done about it. In the past years, there of course was a lot of discussion about the future of elderly care.		
28	<p>Als je vanochtend de krant had gelezen had je 't bewijs gezien dat Lenin is omgekocht door Duitsland. Wat zeg je daarvan? Moka had blijkbaar <u>niets over het onderwerp te zeggen</u> want er kwam geen antwoord.</p> <p>TL: If you had read the paper this morning, you would have seen the evidence that Lenin was bribed by Germany. What do you think about that? Apparently, Moka had <u>nothing to say on this topic</u>, because no answer came.</p>	S.I.	
29	<p>A: Los daarvan 't was de op één na duurste reclame. B: Ja. A: Voorlopig budget. Anders geformuleerd <u>een budget van een miljoen is bijna niets</u>.</p> <p>TL: A: Apart from that, it was the second most expensive ad. B: Yes. A: The budget for now. In other words, <u>a budget of a million is almost nothing</u>.</p>	E.	Weakened by <i>bijna</i> .
30	<p>A: Maar ja ge moet d'r gera allee voor trouwens nog zestigduizend frank hé een ticket. B: Goh jongen toch. Da's veel geld hé. A: Wacht wacht ho ho ho 't is mis. 'T is mis. Vijfendertigduizend vijfendertig maar daar was <u>bijna niets vliegen</u> hè. B: Vijfendertig. Mm-hu. Maar da's gewoon omdat 'k uh een dagje vroeger wilde terugkeren hé mmm.</p> <p>TL: But well, you have to pay sixty thousand frank for it by the way. B: Oh boy. That's a lot of money, right? A: Wait wait, that's wrong. That's wrong. Thirty-five thousand, thirty-five thousand, but <u>there was almost no flying there</u>, right. B: Thirty-five. Mm-hu. But that's just because I wanted to come back one day earlier, right, mmm.</p>	E.	Weakened by <i>bijna</i> .



Table 12: *Altijd*.

<i>Altijd</i>	Context	Category	Notes
1	Allee 'k wil 'k wil ze <u>nog altijd iets meegeven</u> nog altijd een meerwaarde waar we 't al.  TL: Well, still I want I want to <u>tell to them still</u> about a surplus value about which we al.	N.R.	Phrase; also intensification.
2	Uh vooral familie <u>stel ik altijd zo lang mogelijk uit</u> .  TL: Uh, especially family members <u>I always try to postpone as long as possible</u> .	S.I.	About meeting family in law.
3	Eva <u>schaamde zich altijd voor het litteken</u> .  TL: Eva has <u>always been ashamed of the scar</u> .	N.R.	
4	Fin de uh 'k wil daar misschien op zeggen dat het havenbedrijf <u>altijd gezegd heeft</u> dat tweede dok moet er in tweeduizend en drie komen.  TL: Well, the uh maybe I want to react on that, the port company <u>has always been saying</u> the second dock must be built in two thousand and three.	N.R.	
5	Uh maar goed dat <u>kunnen we altijd nog bekijken</u> .  TL: Uh oh well, <u>we can still have a look at it later</u> .	N.R.	
6	Jawel dat denk ik wel want ze zijn toch ook niet <u>met kerst gaan ze altijd weg</u> en nu zijn ze ook thuisgebleven.  TL: Certainly, I think so, because they also didn't go <u>during Christmas, and they always go somewhere</u> , and now they stayed home as well.	S.I.	
7	Ik ben <u>altijd een klein beetje voor de underdog geweest</u> .  TL: I have <u>always been a little bit of an underdog</u> .	N.R.	Weakened by <i>een klein beetje</i> .
8	Altijd zegt mijn vader 'm in beeld ziet dan <u>zegt ie toch zo jammer dat ze die jongen kapot geschopt hebben</u> .altijd.  TL: My dad always says, when he sees him on screen, <u>he always says, still such a pity they have kicked him in bits</u> .	S.I.	
9	Ja dat komt gewoon omdat ik nou vandaag die gids heb binnengekregen en als je dat dan ziet dan word je d'r ook weer helemaal gek van want ze hebben ook <u>hele mooie plaatjes altijd bijzitten</u> .  TL: Yes, that's just because today I got that magazine, and when you see it, you get totally crazy about it, as there are <u>also always beautiful pictures in it</u> .	S.I.	
10	A: En en ne keer bij iemand anders hé. 't <u>moet niet altijd bij uh Magda zijn</u> hé. B: Nee en of niet altijd op uh tearoom of iets ook hé?  TL: A: And and once at someone else's place, right. It <u>mustn't always be at Magda's</u> , right. B: No, and neither always in a tearoom or something like that, right?	E.	

11	Ik mocht ook 'ns een keer zo'n vergadering bijwonen en toen hoorde ik hoe men eigenlijk heel makkelijk spreekt over gebieden in dit land waar je investeert en dan is toch <u>vrijwel altijd is dan cruciaal of men met een gebied te maken heeft waar laat ik 't maar zo zeggen uh sprake is van eenduidigheid.</u>  TL: Once I was allowed to be at such a meeting, and there I heard how easily people speak about areas in this country in which they invest, and still it's <u>nearly always crucial if you're dealing with an area where, so to say, there is clarity of the situation.</u>	S.I.	Weakened by <i>vrijwel</i> .
12	En <u>altijd als den Evert zijn broodje in zijne mond stak</u> hij ook hè.  TL: And <u>always when Evert brought his bun to his mouth</u> , he did so as well, right.	S.I.	About imitating.
13	D'r waren toen ook <u>altijd wel schandaaltjes en zo.</u>  TL: Already then <u>there always were little scandals and the like.</u>	E.	About gay priests.
14	En die uhm Ingrid die <u>doet nog altijd de baan alle dagen.</u>  TL: And that uhm Ingrid, she <u>still does that job every day.</u>	N.R.	Phrase.
15	Fietsen of zwemmen of volleyballen doe ik dan <u>altijd trouw iedere week.</u>  TL: Cycling or swimming or playing volleyball is what I <u>always faithfully do every week.</u>	S.I. (I.)	Phrase.
16	Als wij uit eten gaan en we rekenen af dan <u>denk ik altijd van oh daar kan 'k een he ja kan 'k een hele week van eten of uh ...</u>  TL: When we go out for dinner and we pay the bill, <u>I always think like, oh I could eat for that money for a whole week, or uh...</u>	S.I.	
17	Maar dan had 'k ik altijd schrik want die <u>spraken u altijd zo aan.</u>  TL: But I was always scared, because they <u>always addressed you like that.</u>	S.I.	About visiting an elderly home.
18	Joepje <u>verraadt altijd alles.</u>  TL: Joepje <u>betrays always everything.</u>	E.	
19	A: Dan zat ie altijd naar naar 't plafond te kijken zo zat ie altijd met zo'n baard helemaal en die <u>zat altijd naar 't plafond te kijken.</u> B: Zat ie zo les te geven?  TL: A: He just sat there and stared to the ceiling, he sat there always like that with a beard and <u>always starrng to the ceiling.</u> B: Did he teach like that?	E.	About a chemistry teacher.
20	Ze heet eigenlijk Christrien Christina dus uh ik zeg altijd ik <u>zeg altijd Chris.</u>  TL: Her actual name is Christien, Christina, so uh I always say, <u>I always say Chris.</u>	S.I.	
21	Mijnen dans met zuster Bea <u>weet ik nog altijd niet of dat ik dat uh beter niet gedaan had zo.</u>  TL: My dance with sister Bea, <u>I still don't know</u> whether it wouldn't have been better if I hadn't done it like that.	N.R.	Phrase.
22	A: Dat heb jij veel uh pasta gekookt? B: Ja i <u>doe 'k altijd zo veel joh.</u>  TL: A: You did cook a lot of pasta? B: Yes, <u>I always make a lot.</u>	S.I.	Phrase.

23	<p>Dat ge u ne goede vriendenkring hebt. Dat ge u bij mensen goed begrepen voelt. Of dat ge een goed lief ne partner vindt. Vriendschap. Liefde. Genegenheid. Dat contact eigenlijk is ook <u>altijd interessant om iemand te wensen</u>. Dat wens ik jullie dus ook toe.</p> <p>TL: I wish you to have a pleasant circle of friends. To feel understood by other people. Or that you may find a nice partner. Friendship. Love. Affection. Such contact is actually also <u>always interesting to wish for someone</u>. So I wish it for you as well.</p>	I.	Phrase.
24	<p>A: Moest ik toestemming vragen voor de verlenging van een half uur want anders konden we helemaal niet al onze nummers spelen. B: Mm-hu. A: Dus ja. B: Ja. A: Nee daar <u>gaat toch altijd een hoop tijd uh in ...</u> 'k bedoel en de aankondiging en en je speelt ook wat langer uh als 't goed is.</p> <p>TL: A: I had to ask permission for an extra half an hour, because otherwise we couldn't play all our numbers at all. B: Mm-hu. A: So, well. B: Yes. A: No, <u>you always need a lot of time for that</u>, uh for... I mean also the announcement and and you always play longer if everything goes right.</p>	S.I.	
25	<p>A: Nu wanneer we dan gaan kijken dus op uh ja laat ik zeggen België wereldvlak wat denk je dan over de ligging? We zitten nu Lier Antwerpen Mechelen in dat gebied. Yannick? B: Laag. A: <u>Nog altijd laaggelegen</u> hè.</p> <p>TL: A: If we now look at, let's say, the surface of Belgium, what do you think about the situation? We are now on the level of Lier-Antwerp-Mechelen, in that area. Yannick? B: Low. A: <u>Still low</u>, right.</p>	N.R.	Phrase.
26	<p>Nee maar als ge daarmee remt hè dat is nu niks dat dat zo'n korte remmen zijn maar ik <u>rem altijd langs achter</u> hè.</p> <p>TL: No, but if you brake with this, right, that's nothing, that are short brakes, but <u>I brake always with the back ones</u>, right.</p>	S.I.	About cycling.
27	<p>Hé dus ik heb bijvoorbeeld uh een tijd lang in 't onderwijs gewerkt. En dan kwam ik op een nieuwe school en dan ging ik 't hoofd van de school <u>altijd een hand geven</u>. Nou de eerste dag maar ook de tweede en de derde dag.</p> <p>TL: So I, for example, worked a long time as a teacher. And once I came to a new school and the headmaster <u>always shook my hand</u>. And well, he did so the first day, but also the second and the third day.</p>	P.E. (I.)	Phrase.
28	<p>A: Maar moet je niet werken dan? B: Ik heb nou vrij. A: Oh? B: Da 's m <u>donderdag 's middags altijd</u>.</p> <p>TL: A: Don't you have to work? B: I'm free now. A: Oh? B: I <u>always am on Thursday afternoons</u>.</p>	S.I.	
29	<p>Mijne man houdt meer van de natuur en zo van de zon. Hij <u>moet de zon altijd hebben</u>.</p> <p>TL: My husband likes especially nature and sun. He <u>always needs the sun</u>.</p>	P.E.	
30	<p>Hij vindt dat ie altijd is achtergesteld in 't leven en dat vond ik juist niet want ik vond hem <u>altijd voorgetrokken in het leven</u>...</p> <p>TL: He always thinks he's discriminated in life, but I thought right the opposite, because I thought he was <u>always privileged in life</u>...</p>	N.R.	

Table 13: *Nooit*.

<i>Nooit</i>	Context	Category	Notes
1	Hij zal 't <u>nooit hebben</u> . TL: He'll <u>never get it</u> .	N.R.	A teacher about a naughty child.
2	Die zal ook <u>nooit een slecht woord ...</u> TL: He would <u>never say a bad word...</u>	S.I.	About women which get turned down by him.
3	Ja 'k ga misschien nog bellen maar ze belt zelf allee zelf <u>neemt ze nooit nooit 't initiatief</u> . TL: Yes, maybe I'll call her later, but <u>she never, never takes initiative</u> .	N.R. (E.)	About inviting each other.
4	Als het Adelina is dacht ik neem ik haar in m'n armen en <u>laat ik haar nooit meer los</u> . TL: If it's Adelina, I thought, I'll take her in my arms and <u>will never let her go</u> .	E.	
5	Nee <u>poes hield m'n moeder nooit van</u> . TL: No, <u>my mother never liked cats</u> .	I.	
6	En dacht hij ik ben <u>nooit meer geworden zoals vroeger</u> . TL: And he thought, I have <u>never been the same again as in the past</u> .	I.	
7	U bent <u>nooit mee geweest?</u> TL: You <u>never came along?</u>	S.I.	About going to sports matches.
8	Oom Cor tante Stien en de meisjes <u>praten er ook nooit over</u> . TL: Uncle Cor, aunt Stien and the girls <u>also never speak about it</u> .	S.I.	About world war II.
9	A: Uh toen had 'k toen ik moest 'k 's ochtends vroeg weg met de boot en toen ik I 'k weet niet precies wat ik gegeten had maar ik voelde me gelijk heel misselijk en dat heb ik gewoon nooit alsof 'k moest overgeven. B: Oh ja. A: En <u>dat heb 'k gewoon echt nooit</u> . TL: A: Uh back then I had I had to take the boat early in the morning, and then, I don't know anymore what I had eaten exactly, but I felt very sick right away, and I never do, like if I had to throw up. B: Oh yes. A: And <u>I really never have this</u> .	I.	
10	Maar <u>daar mochten we nooit spelen</u> . TL: But <u>we were never allowed to play there</u> .	S.I.	About playing in the attic.
11	Misschien zou hij rustig een baan kunnen zoeken die hem beviel zonder daarbij te hoeven denken dat die <u>hem nooit zoveel zou opbrengen</u> als Eva met haar praktijk zou verdienen. TL: Maybe he could just look for a job he likes without thinking about the fact it <u>would never bring in</u> as much as Eva would earn with her surgery.	I.	
12	A: Want uh ze schenen daar uh in in De Heeg weer zulke mooie dingen neergezet te hebben. Hebben ze me verteld. B: Oh ja ik weet 't ook niet. A: Nee. Nee da <u>daar kom je nooit hè</u> want je moet daar al iemand hebben wonen wil je daar uh ja kom je daar want dan dan... TL: A: Because uh they seem to uh have placed nice things again in The Hague. I have been told so. B: Oh well, I don't know either. A: No. No, <u>you never go there</u> , right, because you need to have there someone, if you want to go there, because then, then...	E.	
13	Altijd maar werken en <u>nooit vermoeid</u> .	E. (N.R.)	About a hard

	TL: Always work and <u>never get tired</u> .		working mother.
14	Maar ik vind 't ook een beetje van huis uit dat je 't moet meegeven hé. Want als ze dat thuis nooit gezien hebben dan <u>gaan ze 't uit zichzelf ook nooit doen</u> hè.  TL: Well, I think it should be taught already at home, right. Because if they have never seen it happen at home, <u>they'll never start doing it themselves</u> .	E.	About preparations for travelling.
15	Nou we hebben dus tien collega's en ik denk toch als je ze alle tien behandeld had dan denk 'k toch dat je weer veel nieuwe dingen hoort die je anders dus <u>nooit zal horen</u> hè?  TL: So we have ten colleagues, and I think, if you had treated them all, you would hear many new things which you <u>would never hear otherwise</u> .	S.I.	
16	En ja elke keer dan zie je allemaal mensen die je <u>nooit meer ziet</u> .  TL: And every time you meet people which you'll <u>never see again</u> .	S.I. (E.)	About meeting people during travelling.
17	Ja die heeft dan nou al vijf jaar verkering en die woont samen dus dat interesseert haar niet zoveel meer maar die ouders <u>hebben haar nooit echt gemogen</u> vooral die vader niet.  TL: Well, she has had a relationship for five years now and they live together, so she does not care that much anymore, but those parents <u>never really liked her</u> , especially that father.	N.R.	
18	Maar als je ze vraagt om 't uh op te schrijven het vak Engels dan struikelen ze daar enorm want dat hebben ze <u>nog nooit hoeven te doen thuis</u> .  TL: But if you ask them to uh write it down, the subject of English, then they have great troubles there, because they <u>never had to do it at home before</u> .	N.R.	About Dutch speaking children of immigrants.
19	Maar Tom zegt dan Daan <u>wil nooit drinken</u> maar komt zelfs van mij geen vocht uit.  TL: But Tom says then, Daan <u>never wants to drink</u> , but even I can't get any liquid out of it.	E.	About not being able to open a bottle.
20	Nou één zo'n klomp dat heeft ongeveer een volume van een liter dus dat <u>kan nooit in zo'n wijfeskikker</u> .  TL: Well, one such clod has a volume of approximately a litre, so that <u>would never fit in such female frog</u> .	I.	About frog eggs.
21	A: Want ik weet gewoon dat ie dat wij elkaar leuk vinden. B: Ja maar dat had je ook met die in de Spring. A: Dat klopt maar die heb ik nooit meer gezien. Dus daar heb ik <u>nooit bevestiging van gehad</u> .  TL: A; Because I just know he, that we like each other. B: Yes, but you felt the same with that one in the Spring. A: That's true, but I've never seen him again. So I <u>never got a confirmation there</u> .	S.I.	
22	Nee want dat ding <u>dat gebruik 'k bijna nooit</u> .  TL: No, because I <u>hardly ever use that thing</u> .	S.I.	Weakened by <i>bijna</i> ; about a sewing machine.
23	A: Als ik iets wil zien of als ik iets nodig heb voor school dan neem ik dat wel op. Maar om nu te zeggen kijk dat is nu het programma waarvoor ik absoluut wil thuis blijven. Neen. B: Uh <u>mij lukt dat nooit</u> .  TL: A: If I want to watch something or if I need something for school, I record it. But I wouldn't say, look for this programme I absolutely want	E.	About never watching the recordings.

	to stay at home. No. B: Uh, <u>I never manage to do so.</u>		
24	A: Ik 't zelf nog niet meegemaakt dat iemand echt een gele kaart heeft gekregen. B: Jij bent eigenlijk veel te goed voor deze wereld hé? A: Och echt wel. Ja. Ik offer me gewoon op om te gaan fluiten. B: Je <u>komt nooit hogerop.</u>  TL: A: I never experienced someone really got a yellow card. B: You are actually too good for the world, right? A: Oh, for sure. Yes. I just take one for the team to be referee. B: You'll <u>never get a better spot.</u>	P.E.	
25	A: Ja bij ons heet 't alleen niet borrelen. B: Ja wat dan? A: Vind dat zo'n dom woord. B: Waar borrelen jullie? A: Ja maar wij doe <u>hebben 't verder ook nooit over</u> maar ik.  TL: A: Yes, only at ours it's never called having drinks. B: Right, what is it then? A: I think it's such a stupid phrase. B: Where do you usually have drinks? A: Yes, but we <u>just never talk about it</u> , but I.	E.	
26	"T is zo uh als je zegt uh gebruiker onderzoeker dan is de gebruiker de man van de gebruikerscommissie is meer de klant en de onderzoeker de winkelier en uh al of niet uh wordt er een koop gesloten of wordt er iets uh verhandeld maar het is <u>nooit zo dat die klant de baas wordt van de winkelier.</u>  TL: It's like uh, if you say uh consumer-researcher, then the consumer is the person from the consumer committee, it's rather the customer, and the researcher is the shopkeeper, and uh they make a deal or do business or not, but it's <u>never the case that the customer becomes the boss of the shopkeeper.</u>	S.I.	
27	Maar ik ben <u>nooit in zo'n VIP-tent</u> geweest. Ik heb mij moeten tevredenstellen met een simpel pintje dat 'k zelf moest betalen.  TL: But I've <u>never been to such a VIP-tent.</u> I had to be content with a simple pint which I had to pay for myself.	S.I.	
28	A: Hé want maar ja die moeder naait altijd kleding voor Lia hé dus altijd wat mooi bij 'r past. B: Mmm ja. A: Altijd een beetje verdoezeld zeg maar en de leukste stofjes en dan denk 'k ja <u>dat kun jij zo nooit kopen</u> en Lia zegt ook altijd nee dat kun je ook niet kopen.  TL: Well, that mother always sews clothes for Lia, right, so it's always what suits her well. B: Mmm yes. A: Always, let's say, a bit covered, and the prettiest fabric. And then I think, <u>you could never buy something like that</u> , and Lia says the same – no, you can't just buy it.	S.I.	
29	A: En en wa wanneer je ze ook tegenkomt altijd zitten die vrouwtjes gewoon in hun hok. Strootjes te roken en met elkaar te ouwehoeren. B: Mm-hu. A: Zijn 't alleen vrouwen eigenlijk? B: Ik heb ze <u>nog nooit zien werken.</u>  TL: And anytime you see them, those women always sit in their room, smoking and chatting. B: Mm-hu. A: Are there only women? B: I've <u>never seen them working.</u>	E.	
30	A: Later hoorden we want <u>hij was er nooit meer</u> hij was uh met z'n vriend op de scooter en uh die jongen ... Ja ze reden geloof 'k door rood 'k weet 't niet. Of of een uh auto reed door rood kan ook heel goed hoor. B: Mm-hu. A: Die reden door met hoge snelheid en die knalden zo tegen die auto op. Die ene vloog naar voren en die uh ja kwam neer was op slag dood.  TL: Later we heard, because <u>he was never there anymore</u> , that he had	S.I.	

	been with his friend on a scooter, and uh that boy... Yes, I guess they drove on despite the red lights, but I don't know. Or, or the car drove on despite the red, that's also possible. B: Mm-hu. A: They rode with high speed, and they hit the car like that. The one of them flew forward, and the other one, well he fell down and died instantly.		
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