

EXEMPLIFICATION THEN AND NOW: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF ENGLISH EXEMPLIFYING MARKERS

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Abstract

Examples are discursive instruments intended to represent the more general unit to which they belong. A prototypical exemplifying construction has a twofold structure consisting of a *general element* (GE; the first unit, with a more general referent) and an *exemplifying element* (EE; the second, more specific unit whose referent is included within the referent of the GE; these are the ‘cases in point’). The use of an explicit link to indicate partial coreferentiality within these two units is compulsory. This paper focuses on those linking words/phrases which are used in English to convey such a relation, the so-called *exemplifying markers* (EMs). For a better understanding of these forms, a classification of such markers is proposed on the basis of semantic-pragmatic and syntactic criteria. With the aim of providing a more comprehensive approach to English EMs, some forms which were used in earlier stages of the language with an exemplifying function but which have now become obsolete are also discussed. Finally, the paper also draws attention to some forms which are not classified as EMs but which are on occasion found performing an exemplifying function.

Keywords: Exemplification, exemplifying markers, co-occurrence of markers, obsolete forms, emerging forms.

Resumen

Los ejemplos son instrumentos discursivos que representan una unidad más genérica a la cual hacen referencia. Una construcción ejemplificativa prototípica tiene una estructura doble que consiste en un *elemento genérico* (la primera unidad) y un *elemento ejemplificativo* (la segunda unidad, cuyo referente es más específico y se incluye en el referente del elemento genérico; estos son los ‘casos ilustrativos’). El empleo de un enlace explícito para indicar una relación de coreferencialidad parcial entre ambas unidades es obligatorio. Este artículo se centra en esas formas de las que el inglés se vale para establecer dicha relación, los llamados *marcadores de ejemplificación*. Se propone aquí una clasificación de estas formas en base a criterios semántico-pragmáticos y sintácticos. A fin de comprender mejor el paradigma ejemplificativo, se consideran también algunas formas que desempeñaban una función ejemplificativa en el pasado pero que han caído en desuso, así como otras que actualmente parecen ejercer en ciertos casos como marcadores de ejemplificación aunque dicho uso no aparece recogido en ninguna gramática.

Palabras clave: Ejemplificación, marcadores de ejemplificación, coocurrencia de marcadores, formas obsoletas, formas emergentes.

1. Introduction

Exemplification is a discourse strategy by which the meaning of a unit with a general referent (the *general element* or *GE*) is clarified by means of a second, more specific unit (the *exemplifying element* or *EE*). In an exemplifying construction, the referent of the GE includes the referent of the EE, which is an example of that general term. The importance of examples in communication lies in the fact that they have a deeper impact on the interlocutor than the general assertions that they carry, given their greater persuasive power (see Brosius and Bathelt 1994; Gibson and Zillmann 1994; Perry and Gonzenbach 1997; and Lischinsky 2008, among others). On similar lines, they also make a text more graspable, in that they “have the capacity of making abstractions comprehensible” (Zillmann and Brosius 2000: 15). In other words, examples constitute a more tangible, concrete point in the writer’s otherwise abstract discourse and hence render the text more accessible for the reader (see Hyland 2007).

In prototypical exemplifying constructions, the use of a link indicating the inclusion of the EE within the GE, which I will call the *exemplifying marker* or *EM*, is compulsory. According to Meyer (1992: 77), the inventory of present-day English EMs is as follows: *for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*, *like*, *say* and *such as*. To this list, Quirk et al. (1985: 1308) add *including* and *included*. A further item can be

included here, in that the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) assigns an exemplifying function to the form *as*. Example (1) below is a prototypical exemplifying construction, where the GE (*several so-called 'hyphenated disciplines'*) and the EE (*bio-linguistics, psycho-linguistics, and socio-linguistics*) are linked by means of the EM *for example*.

- (1) This interest in linguistic knowledge has resulted in the establishment of several so-called 'hyphenated disciplines', for example: bio-linguistics, psycho-linguistics, and socio-linguistics. (*OED*, s.v. *biolinguistics*, n.; 1974 *Eng. Jrnal*. 63 65/1)

This paper is concerned with English EMs over the course of time. To this end, current EMs will be described and classified (see section 2), but other obsolete forms which had an exemplifying function from the Old English (OE) period will also be identified (cf. section 3). Finally, some items which might be acquiring an exemplifying function at present will be considered briefly in section 4.

The main sources of information for this paper are the *OED* and the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*), although a wide range of present-day dictionaries have been also consulted in order to complement information from these two historical sources. The usefulness of the *OED* as a historical corpus is defended by Hoffmann (2004) and Partington (2015), among others, who note the wide range of sources from which its quotations are drawn, as well as their veracity. Given that the analysis proposed here is not of a quantitative nature, and that the *OED* covers the whole history of the English language, it is an optimal source of data for our purposes. Additionally, since this study aims to provide a thorough inventory of English EMs, the information from historical dictionaries will be supplemented not only by a number of corpus samples, but also by online examples, in that the Web is an invaluable source of real data for the study of linguistic change (cf. Hundt, Nesselhauf and Biewer 2007 and Gatto 2014, among many others).

2. Current EMs: A Classification

In this section, the list of present-day English (PDE) EMs is provided. In order to achieve a better understanding of these forms, a classification of EMs is here proposed on the basis of two main traits, namely the degree of emphasis which the EM conveys on the example which it introduces (cf. section 2.1) and the position of the EM in the exemplifying sequence (cf. section 2.2). These two classifications will account for the potential combinations of EMs in the same exemplifying sequence, as discussed in section 2.3.

2.1. Semantic Classification of EMs

2.1.1. Neutral EMs¹

The group of neutral markers is made up of forms which introduce the EE without putting any emphasis on the example chosen. These neutral EMs are *for example*, *for instance* and *e.g.*

The first occurrence of the EM *for example* found in the *OED* dates back to 1340-1370. In this early instance, *for example* occurs sentence-initially. For the sake of clarity, an approximate translation is provided for this and other examples with possibly obscure meanings in PDE.

- (2) **For ensample**, bi my sawe Soþ mow 3e fonge Of iubiter. (*OED*, s.v. *fang* v.1, 1d; 1340-1370 *Alex. & Dind.* 552)

‘For example, by my story you can learn the truth about Jupiter’.

In turn, the earliest unambiguous occurrences of both *for instance* and *e.g.* are rather late, especially in comparison with *for example*. These are (3) and (4) below, dating from 1657 and 1591 respectively, although the short form *e.g.* is first attested in 1682. No consensus regarding the correct punctuation in this abbreviated form exists. Thus, *eg*, *eg.* and less frequently, *ex.gr.* can also be found.

- (3) The proof of this I found, by looking on the Stars [...] **For instance**; There is a little Star, called Auriga [etc.]. (*OED*, s.v. *instance* n., 6.b, 1657 R. Ligon *True Hist. Barbados* 19)
- (4) A woman may passe where a flie cannot, **exempli gratia**, into the Popes bed chamber. (*OED*, s.v. *exempli gratia*, adv.; 1591 R. W. *Martine Mar-Sixtus* sig. B2v)

The *OED* proposes the expression *exempli causa* as a variant of *exempli gratia*. Examples with this marker are older than instances with *exempli gratia*, and its use is registered in the *OED* from 1569 until 1802. Even though this expression is not marked as obsolete in the *OED*, and indeed some examples can be found on the Internet, its use is scarce.

The differences between these markers, when it comes to *for example* and *for instance*, are very subtle. In fact, dictionaries tend to consider them as interchangeable and rarely make any distinction between the two forms: *for example* is usually defined as ‘for instance’ and *for instance* as ‘for example’. However, certain distinctions between the two EMs become evident in usage. Data from Biber et al. (1999) show that *for example* is used up to five times more often than *for instance*. This may be so simply because the noun *example* is also more common than the noun *instance*: in *Oxford Dictionaries Pro Online*, *example* appears among the top 1000 frequently used words, while *instance* does not.

Likewise, *The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2008) marks *for example* with an E (which stands for 'Essential', and thus indicating words that everyone needs to know in order to communicate effectively), whereas *for instance* is marked with an A (which stands for 'Advanced'). By extension, whereas *for example* might be considered as a basic and essential expression for any speaker of English, *for instance* is seen to reflect a more advanced level of proficiency.

Differences can also be found in terms of style. According to *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2009: 583), "*for instance* is slightly less formal than *for example* and is used more in spoken English". In turn, *e.g.* is regarded as a rather formal marker, and its use tends to be restricted to parenthetical references (*The Chicago Manual of Style* 1982: 383).

To conclude this review of neutral EMs, there is also one formula related to the noun *example* which is found only occasionally with an exemplifying function (for this reason it will be considered only in this section, and not included in the classifications provided in what follows). Let us consider (5) below:

- (5) **Par exemple**; if I want to make *une déclaration d'amour*, why of course I should wish to produce a *chef d'oeuvre* of eloquence. (*OED*, s.v. *par exemple* adv., 1801. B. Thompson tr. A. von Kotzebue *Lovers' Vows* iv. 64)

The phrase *par exemple* is attested in the *OED* from 1801 onwards, and although at present it is occasionally used as an EM, it is not fully naturalised. Note that example (5), as in most examples where this marker is used in the *OED*, contains other French words, thus indicating the strong connection between this expression and French. The socio-historical context of the times may help us explain the borrowing of this phrase when other similar devices were already available in the language. The borrowing of French or Latin words (among them, some of the current English EMs) in Middle English (ME) times was commonplace. After the Norman Conquest, English was greatly influenced by the Norman variety of French, "inevitable" when "two languages exist side by side for a long time and the relations between the people speaking them are as intimate as they were in England" (Baugh and Cable 1993: 163). However, although such intimate contact no longer existed in the Modern English (ModE) period, French still had an impact on English (especially on its lexis), though to a lesser extent. The reasons for this influence, however, were somewhat different. Many intellectuals pointed to the "insufficiency" of English, which was considered to be "rude" and 'barbarous', inexpressive and ineloquent, and it did not have the technical vocabulary required in specialised domains of language use" (Nevalainen 1999: 358). Hence, writers like Sir Thomas Elyot introduced many French terms to enrich their vocabulary, given that "French still had high prestige as a literary language" (Barber 1976: 42). Expressions like *par exemple*, then, were borrowed

in an attempt to sound more intellectual and erudite, and as such this EM is markedly formal.

2.1.2. Hypothetical EMs

The group of hypothetical EMs is represented by *say* (also occasionally *let's say*; cf. *OED*, s.v. *say*, v.1 and int., 17.b). *Say* is different from the other markers in that the example it introduces is, in many cases, a supposition, a hypothesis. That is, the EE introduced by *say* is given as a hypothetical illustration of the GE, although there is no guarantee that this is itself included in it. The earliest occurrences of *say* as EMs provided by the *OED* date back to 1736. Let us consider an instance of this marker:

- (6) Pleasure and Pain are to a certain Degree, **say** to a very high Degree, distributed amongst us without any apparent Regard to the Merit or Demerit of Characters. (*OED*, s.v. *say*, 1736, Bp. J. Butler *Analogy of Relig.* i. iii. 66)

In (6), *to a very high degree* is an example of *to a certain degree*. In this example, the EM comes before the EE, although according to the *OED* it frequently comes after it (cf. *OED*, s.v. *say*, v.1 and int.; 17.b).

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2.1.3. Comparative EMs

The group of comparative EMs consists of the forms *like*, *such as* and (by extension) *as*. Although I am aware of the controversy surrounding the use of the label *comparative* to denote this group of EMs (which will be explained later in this section), I will use the term because it is exactly the comparative origin of these markers which makes them alike. Let us consider such EMs individually.

The complex EM *such as* consists of two elements which have been part of the English language since Old English times. However, the exemplifying use of this phrase is not attested in the *OED* until the late 17th century (*OED*, s.v. *such* adj. and pron. II.9.d).

- (7) If their Characters were wholly perfect (**such as for Example**, the Character of a Saint or Martyr in a Play). (*OED*, s.v. *such* adj. and pron., II.9.d 1695. Dryden in tr. C. A. Du Fresnoy *De Arte Graphica* Pref. p. xvi)

Interestingly, this example shows one recurrent feature of EMs in their early occurrences, the fact that *such as* combines with another EM, in particular *for example* (for further information on these combinations, see section 2.3). In this case, the predicate *were wholly perfect* intervenes between the GE and the EE.

Even though neither Quirk et al. (1985) nor Meyer (1992) mention *as* in their list of PDE EMs, the *OED* assigns an exemplifying function to this form: 'Introducing instances exemplifying or illustrating a general designation: like and including,

such as, of the kind of; for instance, for example' (*OED*, s.v. *as* adv. and conj., B. II.19). The first occurrence of the exemplifying use of *as* attested in the *OED* is in fact very early, dating from the early 13th century:

- (8) *Pes patriarches, also abel and noe and abraham.* (*OED*, s.v. *as* adv. and conj., 19; a1225 (?OE) *MS Lamb.* in R. Morris *Old Eng. Homilies* (1868) 1st Ser. 81 (*MED*))

'These patriarchs, as Abel and Noah and Abraham'

In this example, the units in exemplification are short noun phrases: the GE is *Pes patriarches* and the EE *abel and noe and abraham*. However, the *OED* makes clear that the EM *as* is an elliptical variant of *such as*. The reasons which may condition the choice of *such as* over *as* are the following. On the one hand, *such as* is phonetically heavier than *as*, which is extremely short. On the other, *as* is a high-frequency word which can be used as a noun, an adverb or a conjunction (cf. *OED*, *as* n.1, n.2, adv. and conj.). In fact, Fry, Kress and Fountoukidis (2006) and Paquot (2007) classify this form as the 16th most frequent word in English for Academic Purposes. Taking into account the formal and semantic properties of these two items, *such as* may be preferred to *as* because it is more straightforwardly and unambiguously recognised as an EM.

The form *like* "is arguably the most versatile four-letter word in the English language" (Peters 2004: 323). As stated in the *OED*, it may function as a verb, noun, adjective, adverb, preposition and conjunction (cf. *OED*, s.v. *like* n.1; *like* adj., adv., prep., and conj., and n.2; *like* v.1; *like* v.2). Moreover, at present *like* is also acquiring a number of additional uses, as a quotative marker and a pragmatic marker (for more information on the different uses of *like* in PDE, see Meehan 1991; Romaine and Lange 1991; Dailey-O'Cain 2000; Iyeyi et al. 2005; D'Arcy 2006, 2007; and López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 2012, 2014, among others). The exemplifying use of this item develops in the Early Modern English (EModE) period, 1593 being the earliest attestation in the *OED*. In this early instance, there are two occurrences of *like* as an EM linking short noun phrases in both cases:

- (9) *Be thou Iohn, the many-tongued Linguist, like Andrewes, or the curious Intelligencer, like Bodley.* (*OED*, s.v. *like* adj., adv., conj., and prep., D.2.a, 1593. G. Harvey *Pierces Supererogation* Aunsw. Lett. sig. **3v)

The use of *like* as an EM is not devoid of controversy. During the 20th century, it acquired a stigmatised character which, for some, remains the case in PDE. The rise of the stigmatisation of *like* can be detected in different editions of *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. In its first edition (1926), Fowler gives 'such as' as one of the meanings which *like* could have. At the time, Fowler apparently saw nothing wrong with this exemplifying use of *like*. However, this attitude changed in

subsequent editions of the dictionary, when an editorial eyebrow was raised. Thus, Robert Burchfield, the editor of the third edition (1998), claims that the use of *like* with the meaning of ‘of the class of, for example’ is problematic as it could be potentially ambiguous: “for example, the title of Kingsley Amis’s novel *Take a Girl like You* (1960) could be taken to mean ‘a girl, for example, you’ or ‘a girl resembling you’. Had the title been ‘Take a Girl Such as You’, there would have been no such ambiguity” (Burchfield 1998: 459). Burchfield was probably influenced by a number of reactions against the use of exemplifying *like* that had been voiced in the second half of the 20th century. Two staunch opponents of this exemplifying use are Kilpatrick (1984) and Freeman (1990). According to Freeman (1990: 252), if we use *like* in the sentence *I know many ‘beauties’ like Elizabeth Taylor*, Elizabeth Taylor “would not [be included in the group], since *like* means similarly or similar to. This means the ‘beauties’ are similar to her, but she is not among them”. And he adds: “To include Ms. Taylor, say, ‘I know many ‘beauties’ *such as* Elizabeth Taylor” (see also Bernstein 1971). However, for other coetaneous authors such controversy does not exist. For instance, in 1966 Follett sees nothing wrong in using *like* to introduce examples, and he even notes a slight difference in meaning between *like* and *such as*, namely the degree of definiteness of the EE which they introduce: whereas with *such as* the EE is indefinite, with *like* it is definite. In any case, what most authors seem to agree on is that *like* should preferably be avoided in formal text-types due to its informal nature (see Carter et al. 2011).

Another trait shared by *like* and *such as* (and, by extension, by *as* too) which makes them different from other EMs is the fact that they frequently introduce an integrated EE (especially *like*). Thus, in (10) below, no pause is made between the GE, i.e. *a critic*, and the EE, i.e. *you*, a pause which is common with the other EMs.

- (10) A critic **like** you is one who fights the good fight, contending with stupidity.
 (OED, s.v. *like* *adj., adv., conj., and prep.*, D.2.b; 1886. R. L. Stevenson *Lett.* (1899) II. 41)

2.1.4. Focalising EMs²

This group of EMs comprises those forms which, without being as emphatic as particularisers such as *especially* or *particularly*, add a nuance of emphasis to the EE. In other words, by using focalising EMs, the example chosen is given certain relevance over any other element which might have been used to exemplify the GE. These EMs are *including* and *included*. The emphatic character of these two forms is evidenced in Meyer’s (1992) semantic classification of appositional types: for Meyer (1992), *including* (and by extension *included* too) is a marker of

particularisation, not one of exemplification. Thus, in (11), which is the earliest instance in the *OED* where *including* can be understood as an EM, the choice of *the cook* to exemplify the GE *four servants* is clearly made on purpose.

- (11) Four servants died, **including** the cook. (*OED*, s.v. *including*, prep., 1648 J. Lewis & T. Best Let. 4 Dec. in W. Foster *Eng. Factories in India 1646–50* (1914) 224)

As far as *included* is concerned, the use of this form as an EM is recorded for the first time in 1743, one century after the first occurrence of *including* (cf. (12) below). Here, the GE is *all the hands we could muster in both watches*, whereas the EE is *officers*. The EE is short and simple because the EM comes after it, that is, at the end of the exemplifying sequence. A longer unit with this marker could be potentially ambiguous as the reader/hearer only realises that it is a case of exemplification at the end of the sequence.

- (12) All the Hands we could muster in both Watches, Officers **included**, were but twelve. (*OED*, s.v. *muster* v.1, 5.a.; 1743 J. Bulkeley & J. Cummins *Voy. to South-seas* 16)

2.2. Classification of EMs According to their Position in the Exemplifying Sequence

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Given that an EM is the link between the GE and the EE, its expected position in the exemplifying sequence is between those two units, namely before the EE. That seems to be, indeed, the only possible position for markers like *e.g.* (cf. (4)), *such as* (cf. (7)), *as* (cf. (8)), *like* (cf. (10)) and *including* (cf. (11)). We will call this position P1. In turn, there is only one EM which necessarily follows the EE, namely *included*, as illustrated in example (12) above. This position will be called P3. The postposition of *included* is one of the reasons why it is less frequently used than *including*, which clearly delimits where the EE starts.

The EMs *for example*, *for instance* and *say* deserve special mention as they exhibit peculiar behaviour: their position in the exemplifying sequence is not fixed. They can be used not only in P1 (cf. (1) above) or P3, but also in the middle of the EE (i.e. in what we will call P2; cf. (13)). When an EM is used in P2, it usually isolates a part of the EE, which automatically becomes emphasised. Thus, in (13) below *hydrogen* is foregrounded and thus given added importance. *Say* also shows a high degree of mobility, although to a lesser extent.

- (13) Many of the fuels being developed today have little or no impact on the environment. Hydrogen, **for example**, burns completely clean. (Paquot 2007)

As claimed by Fernández-Bernárdez (1994-1995: 118-119), the position of EMs is conditioned by the type of EE which they introduce. Her research focuses on

the Spanish marker *por ejemplo*, but her comments can safely be applied to our markers *for example* and *for instance* (and less commonly to *say*).

- If the EE is a simple noun phrase, the EM can occur in either P1 (cf. (14a)) or P3 (cf. (14b)). However, depending on where exactly it appears in P2, the resulting construction may be ungrammatical (cf. (14c)), or may have a different meaning, as in (14d)), where the EE is *of 20/14* and does not refer back to *a specific number of basic boxes* but to *10,000 boxes*.

- (14) a. Orders are often given for the equivalent of a specific number of basic boxes, **for example**, 10,000 boxes of 20/14. (*OED*, s.v. *basic* adj. and n.1, a.1f, 1914 J. H. Jones *Tinplate Industry* 141)
- b. Orders are often given for the equivalent of a specific number of basic boxes, 10,000 boxes of 20/14, **for example**.
- c. *Orders are often given for the equivalent of a specific number of basic boxes, 10,000 **for example** boxes of 20/14.
- d. Orders are often given for the equivalent of a specific number of basic boxes, 10,000 boxes **for example** of 20/14.

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- If the EE is a list of noun phrases, that is, an enumeration, the EM can precede it (cf. (15a)) and (16a)), and can follow it when the list is closed (cf. (15b)) but not when it is open (cf. (16b)). Similarly, it can never appear between the different items listed (see (15c) and (16c)).

- (15) a. This interest in linguistic knowledge has resulted in the establishment of several so-called ‘hyphenated disciplines’, **for example**: bio-linguistics, psycho-linguistics, and socio-linguistics. (*OED*, s.v. *biolinguistics* n., 1974 *Eng. Jrm.* 63 65/1)

- b. This interest in linguistic knowledge has resulted in the establishment of several so-called ‘hyphenated disciplines’: bio-linguistics, psycho-linguistics, and socio-linguistics, **for example**.
- c. *This interest in linguistic knowledge has resulted in the establishment of several so-called ‘hyphenated disciplines’: bio-linguistics, **for example**, psycho-linguistics, and socio-linguistics.

- (16) a. In the class of combustibles which I call metalloids, I use only the initial letters. **For example** C = carbon, Cu = copper (cuprum), [etc.]. (*OED*, s.v. *c* n., initialisms, 1813 tr. J. J. Berzelius in *Ann. Philos.* 2 359)

- b. *In the class of combustibles which I call metalloids, I use only the initial letters. C = carbon, Cu = copper (cuprum), [etc.], **for example**.
- c. *In the class of combustibles which I call metalloids, I use only the initial letters. C = carbon, **for example**, Cu = copper (cuprum), [etc.].

- Finally, if the EE is a whole sentence, the EM can usually occur in any position, P1, P2 or P3:
 - (17) = (13) a. Many of the fuels being developed today have little or no impact on the environment. Hydrogen, **for example**, burns completely clean.
 - b. Many of the fuels being developed today have little or no impact on the environment. **For example**, hydrogen burns completely clean.
 - c. Many of the fuels being developed today have little or no impact on the environment. Hydrogen burns completely clean, **for example**.

2.3. Co-occurrence of Markers

Occasionally, EMs may be modified by an added component such as an adverb or a conjunction. When describing the historical development of some appositional markers, Pahta and Nevanlinna (2001: 23) use the term *reinforcement* to refer to such cases. More specifically, when that added element is another appositional marker, they talk of *pleonastic markers*.³ These authors explain the co-occurrence of markers in terms of two main motivations. On the one hand, a disambiguating function may encourage such combinations: “[i]t is a well-known fact that when a word or phrase begins to lose its effect it may be strengthened or reinforced by an additional component” (Pahta and Nevanlinna 2001: 23). In like manner, when a word or phrase is acquiring a new meaning or function, it may also need some kind of reinforcement. Pahta and Nevanlinna’s (2001) description here can be extrapolated to the origin of EMs. Thus, in many of their early occurrences EMs combined with other EMs, especially with *as*. This need to co-occur with other EMs may be due to the fact that the emerging marker is still not straightforwardly identified as such, and therefore needs to be reinforced by an already established and unambiguous EM; hence the use of *as*, a form which had been used as an EM since at least the 13th century, to reinforce emerging EMs.

Pahta and Nevanlinna give another possible explanation of these combinations. When a second marker or another reinforcing element is added, the distance between the anchor and the appositive is bigger, and this can be used by the speaker as a strategy “to prepare the addressee better for the expository part of the apposition or to stress the importance of the second unit” (Pahta and Nevanlinna 2001: 23).

In addition to these reasons, the clustering of markers may also be explained on the basis of the semantics of the EM added. Thus, EMs cannot combine at random: only certain markers can co-occur, and even in these combinations the markers come in a given order. This is no doubt related to the fact that some markers show a tighter bond with the GE to which they refer than to others: in general terms, neutral EMs have a more autonomous character and can therefore be separated

from their GEs, whereas focalising and comparative forms exhibit a stronger connection with their GEs. Figure 1 illustrates the potential combinations of EMs. The starting-point of the arrows indicates which marker comes first.

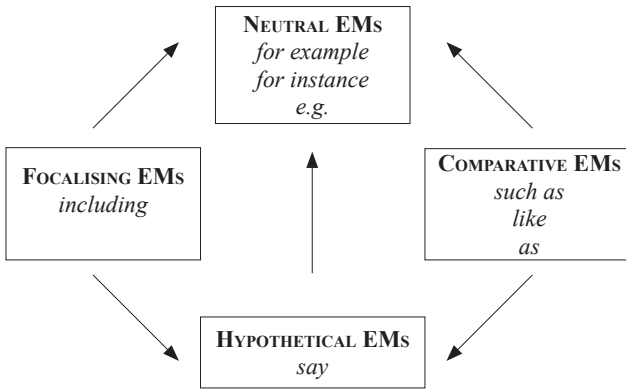


Figure 1. Potential combinations of EMs

As we can see, all the groups can combine with *for example*, *for instance* and *e.g.* In all such cases, these three forms follow the other EMs. The two most emphatic groups, focalising EMs and comparative EMs, never combine with each other. Note that *included* is not considered here, since as an EM it has not been found to occur with another EM. Two main reasons may explain this. On the one hand, *included* is rarely used as an EM, which means that combinations with this form may simply be difficult to find. On the other hand, given that it occupies P3 in the exemplifying sequence, this makes its combination with other EMs highly unlikely. In the sections that follow, the different combinations of EMs are examined in detail.

2.3.1. EM + *for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*

The formulas *for example*, *for instance* and *e.g.* are, from a semantic point of view, the most prototypical markers of exemplification in PDE: they are neutral markers which introduce the EE without adding any emphasis to it. As a consequence, when used after another EM they may cancel any potential connotation of emphasis conveyed by the preceding marker. Given that *for example* is the most neutral and unmarked EM, it is the one which most frequently combines with other EMs. Some of the possible combinations of an EM plus a neutral EM are illustrated in the following examples, taken from the *OED*, from the corpus *GloWbe* (which

contains real linguistic data taken from the Web), and from creditable web pages.

- (18) You will need to provide documents about you and the person who has died, **including, for example**, the full name, date of birth and passport number of the person who has died. (*GloWbE*, Great Britain, fco.gov.uk)
- (19) If someone you knew who had just lost a loved one sat down opposite you, in **say** a café **for instance**, you would not begin to mock their loss. (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-12775389>)

In the majority of examples, the EMs occur side by side, but they can also be separated by the EE. This is illustrated in (19), where the EM *say* occupies P1 and *for instance* P3. In fact, examples where the EE separates the two EMs are not infrequent, at least in previous stages of the language, especially when the EM which comes in second place is *for instance*. Additionally, the *OED* provides some peculiar combinations of EMs where the markers *for example* and *for instance* are inserted between the two items which constitute the complex marker *such as*.

- (20) Yet there are binary compounds which are not electrolysable, **such, for instance**, as pure water, and chloride of sulphur. (*OED*, s.v. *electrolysable/electrolyzable* adj., 1856. W. A. Miller *Elements Chem.* II. 1124)

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2.3.2. EM + say

In similar fashion, *say* may also follow other EMs. Considering the semantic content of the EM *say* discussed in section 2.1.2. above, the pleonastic use of this marker in an exemplifying construction might be a strategy used by the speaker/writer to add a connotation of hypothesis to the construction (cf. (21) below). *Say* cannot, however, follow *for example*, *for instance* or *e.g.*, probably because it is more marked than these EMs.

- (21) As for the reconstruction of Iraq, this surely needs to be undertaken chiefly by America and supported by a coalition of the willing, **including, say**, Spain, Italy and Australia, as well as Britain. (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/telegraph-view/3589366/UN-must-earn-its-role.html>)

2.3.3. Other Combinations

In all the examples considered, we note that the EMs combined are not linked by any conjunction. In fact, except for (19) where the two EMs are separated by intervening material, in the remaining examples the EMs are juxtaposed. The combination of two EMs other than those in Figure 1 above is not possible in PDE. Nevertheless, in some examples two EMs are linked by the coordinating conjunction *and*, as shown in (22) below. In all such cases, the combinations contain a marker of the comparative group (in particular *such as* or *like*) followed

by *including*. Some of these combinations may respond to a desire to avoid the potential ambiguity of the EM *like* mentioned in section 2.1.3. above: the speaker/writer may feel that, by using *like* or *such as*, the example given is not to be included in the GE, but used only as a point of reference with which the GE can be compared. As a consequence, s/he adds a second marker (i.e. *including*) to make the relation of inclusion clear.

- (21) There are large voids surrounded or nearly surrounded by thin dense regions which are sections of structures **like (and including)** the Great Wall. (The Smithsonian/NASA Astrophysics Data System. <<http://adsabs.harvard.edu/abs/1997AJ....114.2205G>>)

3. Obsolete EMs

The *OED* and the *MED* provide information on some expressions which were used as EMs in the past, but which do not exist with such a function in the present day. These expressions are *to bisne*, *as namely*, *for the purpose*, *(as) suppose* and several phrases containing the noun *example*. These formulas are considered individually in what follows.

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3.1. To bisne

In OE and ME, the obsolete noun *bysen* meant ‘example’ (*OED*, s.v. *bysen* n.I.1). Even though the *OED* does not make an explicit reference to the use of the expression *to bisne* as an EM, it provides some examples that make it clear that such an expression could be used with an exemplifying value in earlier times. Consider (23) below.

- (23) Paronomasia, id est denominatio on Lyden. Pis hiw byð gesett on myslicum andgite, swylce ic pis do **to bisne**: *amans* and *amens*. (*OED*, s.v. *paronomasia* n.; OE *Byrhtferð Enchiridion* (Ashm.) (1995) iii. iii. 166)
‘Paronomasia, i.e. denomination in Latin. This form is made with unlike meaning, as I this do to exemplify: *amans* and *amens*’.

In this example, *to bisne* is followed by colons and then by an example which illustrates a previous explanation. The structure and semantics of these instances suggest, therefore, that *to bisne* was probably one of the first EMs recorded in English.

3.2. As namely

The main function of *namely* in PDE is that of an appositional marker of equivalence meaning ‘that is to say’ (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1309), as illustrated in (24). However, this use of *namely* as a central marker of apposition was not its original

function in English. Rather, it was first used as a marker in another subtype of apposition, namely particularisation, with the meaning ‘particularly, especially, above all’ (*OED*, s.v. *namely* adv., 1.a), as in example (25) below (see López-Couso 2016 and Miura 2013, among others).

- (24) How can a solution be found to the current disease of contemporary society, **namely** the international economic crisis? (Quirk et al. 1985: 1307)
- (25) Sunnedei ah efri cristenne Mon **nomeliche** to chirche cume. (*OED*, s.v. *namely* adv., 1a. a1225. (OE). *MS Lamb.* in R. Morris *Old Eng. Homilies* (1868) 1st Ser. 139)
 ‘On Sunday every Christian man should *especially* come to church’.

However, *namely* also had another appositional use in the past. When combined with *as*, it was used as a synonym of *for example* (*OED*, s.v. *namely* adv., 3.b); that is, it was an EM. In the *OED* this exemplifying use is attested between 1565 and 1818. The last example given in the *OED* of *as namely* is (26) below. Here, *as namely* links two noun phrases and comes before the EE.

- (26) What part or portion can I claim In all the decencies of virtuous sorrow,
 Which other mourners use? **as namely**, This black attire, abstraction from
 society, Good thoughts, and frequent sighs, [etc.]. (*OED*, s.v. *namely* adv.,
 3.b. 1818. C. Lamb *John Woodvil* v, in *Wks.* I. 153)

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3.3. For the purpose

The idiomatic expression *for the purpose* has become obsolete as an EM in PDE, but it existed in previous stages of the language (cf. *OED*, s.v. *purpose* n., P2) with the meaning ‘for example, for instance’. The *OED* gives two examples of *for the purpose* from the 17th century where its function is clearly that of an EM. In (27), *for the purpose* is intonationally delimited by pauses, represented by brackets. It links two nominal elements (the GE *those* and the EE *Catherina Senensis*) and comes after the EE.

- (27) Those that [...] have entitled themselves to the veneration of posterity; or
 Catherina Senensis (**for the Purpose**) that was Sainted by Pius 2. (*OED*, s.v.
purpose n., P2. 1680 R. L’Estrange tr. Erasmus *20 Sel. Colloquies* ix. 159)

3.4. (As) suppose

The first reference to the exemplifying function of *suppose* in the *OED* dates from 1577, whereas its last occurrence dates from 1831. A variant of this EM is *as suppose*, as illustrated in (28), where *a word* is the GE and *head* is its EE. Once more, this example shows the recurrent combination of *as* with EMs in previous stages of the language. The semantics of this form makes it similar to present-day

English *say*, a marker which conveys a certain nuance of uncertainty about the EE.

- (28) Now draw a word (**as suppose** head) from its natural and proper signification to a civil use, and head will signifie a King. (*OED*, s.v. *suppose* v., 11.c.a.; 1658 S. Hudson *Vindic. Esence & Unity Church-Catholick Visible* (ed. 2) i. 7)

3.5. Formulas with the Noun Example

Along with the current EM *for example*, the noun *example* (in its different spellings) occurs in a wide variety of expressions which function as EMs at different points in the history of English. The *OED* and the *MED* list the following combinations: *example of grace*, *verbi gratia example* (*MED*, s.v. *example* 1.b), *ensample*, *ensample as thus* and *ensample why* (*MED*, s.v. *ensample* n.1.c), none of which is available in PDE. Examples (29) to (33) below illustrate the use of these EMs.

- (29) **Ensample**: zif a planete in þe biginnyngre haþ aspecte [etc.] (*MED*, s.v. *ensample* n., 1.c. (a1398) *Trev. *Barth.* (Add 27944) 109b/a)
‘For example: at the beginning if a planet has the aspect [etc.]’.
- (30) When the progressioun naturelle endithe in even nombre, by the half therof multiplie þe next totale ouerere nombre; **Example of grace**: 1. 2. 3. 4. Multiplie 5 by 2. (*MED*, s.v. *example* n., 1.b. c1450 *Art Number.* (Ashm 396) 45/35)
‘When the natural progression ends in an even number, multiply thereof the next total higher number by the half. For example: 1. 2. 3. 4. Multiply 5 by 2’.
- (31) **Verbi gratia Example**: we wille drawe out þe water of ydropic men. (*MED*, s.v. *example* n., 1.b. ?a1425 **Chauliac*(1) (NY 12) 1b/b)
‘For example: we will draw out the water of hydropic men’.
- (32) **Ensauple as thus** I wolde knowe the degre of the sunne. (*MED*, s.v. *ensample* n., 1.c. c1400 * Chaucer *Astr.* (Brussels 4869) 2.1.84a)
‘For example, I would know the degree of the sun’.
- (33) **Ensauple why**, se now thise wise clerkes, That erren aldermost ayeyn a lawe. (*MED*, s.v. *ensample* n., 1.c. a1425(c1385) Chaucer *TC* (Benson-Robinson) 1.1002)
‘For example, see now these wise clerks, that plough everything again downwards’.

Evidence from the *MED* and the *OED* indicates that all these formulas were used in the Middle Ages. Notably, all examples containing these formulas in the *MED* are dated between 1398 and 1450. In light of this we can assert that *example* was used in a variety of expressions which coexisted with *for example* during the Middle Ages before *for example* fully grammaticalised and became the dominant variant.

4. Is the Inventory of English EMs under Renovation?

To close this review of forms which had an exemplifying use at some point in the history of the English language, some items which might be developing such a function at present should be brought to the fore.

In section 2.1.1 above, the form *e.g.* was described in detail. As specified by Peters (2004: 265), this form should not be confused with *i.e.*, which is a marker of central apposition, in fact one of reformulation, and is synonymous with *that is* (cf. *OED*, s.v. *I n.1*, INITIALISMS). It is used to introduce an explanation or a paraphrase of a previous statement which the author feels is not clear enough. Nevertheless, in light of some real examples and despite some condemnation of its use as an EM, *i.e.* seems to be closer to exemplification than to reformulation in some recent examples. (34) is one such case, where *i.e.* is probably mistaken for *e.g.* Note that in this example the second part (*fitness, dieting, exercising, eating behaviour*) is not an exhaustive list of the first part (*certain topics that potentially encourage people say one thing and then do another*); therefore, the latter is not a paraphrase of the former, but a limited list of examples thereof.

- (34) Although consumers can be more candid and honest when they are doing it behind the computer, there are certain topics that potentially encourage people to say one thing and then do another (**i.e.** fitness, dieting, exercising, eating behavior). (*GloWbE*, Great Britain, dubstudios.com)

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On similar lines, *thus* might also occasionally be used as an EM. Let us consider (35) below. Here, what comes after *thus* seems to be an example of how *AIDs* is still monstrously distorted in political left-wing mythology. We see that *thus* behaves similarly to *for example* or *for instance* when introducing a sentential EE. In fact, given that examples of *thus* preceding *for example* or *for instance* in such cases are not uncommon (cf. (36)), this form might be acquiring some of the semantic traits of those EMs when the two forms do co-occur. However, examples like (32) above, in which this term is part of the obsolete EM *ensample as thus*, might also favour the use of the form as an EM.

- (35) And AIDS is still monstrously distorted in political left-wing mythology. **Thus**, in a group of ideologues, the mention of AIDS will at once inspire denouncements of the CIA who deliberately created the AIDS virus to weaken the Third World. (*OED*, s.v. *AIDS virus n.*; 1992 D. Lessing *Afr. Laughter* 336)
- (36) A related error involves the comparison of one family with only part of another family. **Thus, for example**, Indo-European is still sometimes compared directly with Semitic. (*OED*, s.v. *Indo-European*, adj. and n., draft additions 1983; 1987 M. Ruhlen *Guide World's Langs.* I. vii. 253)

5. Conclusions

This paper has offered a detailed analysis of the English EMs *including*, *included*, *for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*, *say* (with its variant *let's say*), *such as*, *like* and *as*. Using the *OED* and the *MED*, their earliest occurrences in the language have been traced. With some exceptions, the majority of these forms are recorded for the first time in the *OED* in the EModE period. *As* is the earliest marker recorded (early 13th century), whereas *included*, not attested in the *OED* until the mid-18th century, is the last of the forms analysed here to acquire an exemplifying function. The EM *par exemple* is also occasionally used in English, although it is not particularly productive. In previous stages of the language, other EMs were also available to introduce examples. Thus, the noun *example* could be used in a wide range of phrases, including *example of grace*, *verbi gratia example*, *ensample*, *ensample as thus* and *ensample why*. Other obsolete EMs include *to bisne*, *as namely*, *for the purpose* and *(as) suppose*.

In this paper, a classification of PDE EMs has been proposed on the basis of various parameters. From a semantic point of view, EMs have been classified in four groups taking into account the degree of emphasis added by the EM to the example which it introduces. From less to more emphatic, these groups are: neutral EMs (*for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*), hypothetical EMs (*say*), comparative EMs (*such as*, *as*, *like*) and focalising EMs (*including*, *included*). This latter group seems to be half way between exemplification and particularisation: such EMs emphasise the example which they introduce, but not to the same extent that particularisers do. Comparative EMs tend to introduce an integrated EE, whereas the remaining EMs occur in non-integrated constructions. If we look at the formal vs. informal character of the EMs, *e.g.* is clearly formal, whereas *for instance* and, especially, *like* are informal. The other EMs considered here are neither formal nor informal.

EMs can also be classified according to the position they occupy in relation to the EE. Thus, whereas some EMs can only appear in P1, that is, before the EE (*including*, *such as*, *like*, *e.g.*, *as*), others exclusively occur in P3, that is, after the EE (*included*). Other EMs are rather flexible as regards position: *for example*, *for instance* and, to a lesser extent *say*, can occur in P1, P3 or in P2, that is, in the middle of the EE, isolating and emphasising a part of it.

Finally, two EMs can sometimes co-occur in the same exemplifying sequence. In all the attested combinations of EMs, the most emphatic form comes first, and is followed by a more neutral form. The main reason for such arrangement has to do with the fact that by adding a second neutral marker, the connotation of emphasis conveyed by the first item may be cancelled. If the second EM is *say*, it adds a certain nuance of uncertainty to the EE. Moreover, those markers which are more

emphatic have a tighter bond with the GE, and they may introduce an integrated EE. As such, they have to occur side by side with the EE. In none of these combinations are the EMs linked by conjunctions, but some examples are also found where *such as* and *like* are coordinated with *including* (*such as and including, like and including*). The addition of *and including* in these sequences may be a strategy followed by the speaker/writer to make clear that *such as* and *like* do not have a comparative value in the examples at issue, but rather an exemplifying one. The use of *as* in combination with other EMs was especially noticeable in previous stages of the language, when it was probably used to reinforce emerging EMs which could be potentially ambiguous.

One of the major conclusions to be drawn from this paper is how fuzzy the boundaries between appositional types are: similar EMs may introduce different types of appositives, and the very same EM may be used in different appositional types at different points in time over the course of the history of the language. Thus, for example, *say* is a marker of exemplification when it occurs on its own, but a marker of equivalence in the phrase *that is to say*. On similar lines, *namely* is currently used as a marker of equivalence, but its origin was that of a marker of particularisation and for some time could also introduce examples when used in the sequence *as namely*. Finally, *including* and *included* are categorised as markers of exemplification by Quirk et al. (1985), but as particularisers by Meyer (1992).

This study has also pointed to the potential existence of some forms which might currently be in the process of acquiring an exemplifying function, namely *i.e.* and *thus*. Future research might usefully analyse these forms in further corpus samples.

Notes

¹ For more information on the neutral EMs *for example* and *for instance* in PDE, see Rodríguez-Abruñeiras (2017).

² For more information on the focalising EMs *including* and *included* in PDE, see Rodríguez-Abruñeiras (2017).

³ The label *pleonastic* is not used in this paper because none of the EMs that co-occur are considered to be redundant as they convey specific nuances of meaning to the sequence.

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