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Semantic stability within English idiomatic expressions

By

Margarita Yagudaeva

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Department of English

University of Sussex

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to address a gap in historical semantics concerning idiomatic expressions by testing the hypothesis that an idiom can change its meaning over time while retaining its initial form. The linguistic literature so far has been focused on semantic change in words, on diachronic patterns according to which a lexeme changes, and on grammatical constructions that have gone through grammaticalization or lexicalization processes. This thesis presents a study of idiomatic expressions, where idiom is defined as a fixed multi-word expression with non-compositional meaning.

A historical corpus of English within a period of 140 years has been designed that allows for the same idiom to be traced back and its usage contexts to be compared. Using diachronic methods similar to the ones used for the study of single words (e.g. frequency of co-occurrence, semantic fields, synonymous substitution), I have analysed 28 idioms in terms of semantic change. The findings show that idiomatic expressions are able to acquire additional meanings over time. I identified common patterns in the development of idiom meaning, and one of the common trajectories appears to be from a specific, narrow meaning towards more generalized, broader meaning and vice versa, often in relation with metaphorical and/or metonymical changes. The results indicate that the less opaque and fixed an idiom is, the more open it is to additional meanings. Further research would benefit from a wider time span and a bigger sample to incorporate more types of idiomatic expressions.
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List of Abbreviations:

PhUs – Phraseological Units
OED – The Oxford English Dictionary
CCID – The Collins COBUILD Idioms Dictionary
MOP – A Manual of Phraseology, Containing Idiomatic Phrases and Elegant
Expressions of Famous Authors
ISG – The Indian Students Guide to the Use of English Idioms
DPF – The Dictionary of Phrase and Fable
SCDI – The Students Constant Companion, a Dictionary of Phrases, Idiom &
Proverbs
TCC – The Turn of the Century Corpus
1. Chapter 1 - Introduction

This thesis reports the findings of my research into the semantic stability of English idiomatic expressions and attempts to identify the semantic processes that take place over time. The hypothesis of the present study is that English idioms can change their meaning over time without changes in form. In the first two chapters I provide an overview of the literature on phraseology and historical semantics. In Chapter 3 I examine methods for meaning identification available in both subfields and describe the sources that were used for data collection. In Chapter 4, dedicated to case studies of specific idioms, I illustrate the methods used and analyse the evolution of the initial meaning of each idiom. In Chapters 5 and 6 I draw parallels with types of changes established for single lexemes and suggest the extension of results to the other types of idiomatic expressions. In Chapter 7 I discuss limitations and recommendations for future research.

1.1. Hypothesis and research questions

Language is a constantly evolving structure, and a branch of linguistics, diachronic semantics, examines how the elements of language change their meaning over time (Eckardt et al. 2003). The majority of work in this field has so far focused on individual words that have changed their meaning over time. Less focus has been given to the study of idioms and whether they, like individual words, can take on new meanings, though some scholars suggest that this does occur (see for example Felbaum 2006, Kwasniak 2006). They argue that the change is more likely to proceed from a specific to a more generalized meaning, or that there is a minor change in phrasal structure which impacts the meaning. Neither of these two studies considers English idioms, as their focus is on selected German words and phrases and their place and development within idiomatic expressions in the German language. To my knowledge, there are no previous studies discussing semantic change in English idioms that manifests itself without any accompanying change in form. To fill this gap, the main research question this current study intends to answer is: Can English idioms change their meaning over time? The following three sub-questions have been formulated to answer the main question:

1a. Can English idioms change their meaning over time without any accompanying changes in form?
1b. Are the types of semantic change in English idioms the same ones that are found in words?

1c. Is there a preference towards any specific type of semantic change?

The next sections provide a theoretical overview of idiomatic expressions and give the definition of an idiom I adhere to.

1.1.1. Defining an idiom

From the very beginning it must be stated that the term *idiom* itself poses many problems as it can refer to numerous aspects and characteristics of language. Various researchers offer heterogeneous interpretations of the term, placing in this category as little as a single morpheme and as a much as a sub-set of a language (if not the whole language itself). In the following sections I discuss the evolution of the notion ‘idiom’ in its narrower use as a fixed expression.

According to Linda and Roger Flavell (2000: 6), idioms are ‘anomalies of language, mavericks of the linguistic world. The word *idiom* comes from the Greek *idios*, ‘one's own, peculiar, strange’. Idioms therefore break the normal rules.’ They seem to follow a terminology suggested much earlier by Smith (1925), who asserted that idioms emerge from a natural tendency of the human mind to violate rational rules for the sake of entertainment. Smith argued that the cases in which the meaning of a phrase is different from the meaning of the individual words are examples of ‘logical anomalies’ (1925: 169).

Such a basic definition of idioms as ‘the use of familiar words in an unfamiliar sense’ (Ball 1987: 117), meaning that the element words of an idiom do not make the total sum of the meaning of the expression, appears to prevail for many years. Only recently linguists have started distinguishing idiomatic expressions from other set expressions and even assigning them to a separate linguistic discipline, *phraseology* in the Eastern European tradition and *figurative language* in Western linguistics. Figurative language is one of the many overarching terms for idiomatic expressions, that is usually found across a number of different domains of enquiry, including psycholinguistics, discourse analysis, phraseology, historical linguistics, corpus linguistics, grammar, first language acquisition, second language acquisition, clinical linguistics, computational linguistics, and others (see Wray 2000).

Teachers may use the term phraseology, and what they generally imagine is a list of ‘useful phrases’ for their students to learn. The very term ‘phraseology’ is derived from the base term
‘phrase’ which refers primarily to grammatical structures.

The term ‘Phraseology’ was suggested by Russian linguists, or more generally, Eastern Europeans and is mostly used in Europe (cf. Amosova 1963, Kunin 1967, Zhukov 1978). In America and in the UK other terms like Figurative language, Formulaic language, Idiomaticity etc. are preferred. Consequently, the terminology used with regard to units of phraseology varies across different approaches and includes such terms as phraseological units (PhUs), formulaic sequences, set-expressions, fixed expressions, idiomatic expressions and idioms, among others. In this thesis I chiefly use the terms idiom and idiomatic expression, sometimes referring to them with the term ‘fixed or set expression’ when the discussion concerns formal characteristics.

The widely accepted view that idioms are words or phrases which have distinct meanings separate from the actual words composing them remains predominant, with different scholars highlighting different properties. Thus, Langlotz describes idioms as belonging to the ‘colourful linguistic spectrum of expressions’ (2006: 2) and identifies a number of different parameters for defining idioms (Table 1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semiotic dimension</th>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GRAMMATICAL STATUS</td>
<td>Degree of conventionalization or familiarity</td>
<td>institutionalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORM</td>
<td>Formal complexity of construction: multi-word unit</td>
<td>compositeness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lexicogrammatical behaviour: restricted syntactic, morphosyntactic and lexical variability</td>
<td>frozenness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEANING</td>
<td>Meaning cannot be derived from constituent words but is extended/figurative</td>
<td>non-compositionality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Langlotz (2006: 3)

Similarly, Pinnavaia characterizes idioms as ‘sophisticated features of the language that are idiomatic or figurative’ (2010: 26). As Lacie exemplifies, a chip on the shoulder does not mean there is any ‘chip’ on the shoulder, rather its idiomatic meaning is entirely different, i.e. ‘feeling angry because of being treated unfairly’ (Lacie 2008: 287).

The Oxford English Dictionary \(\textit{OED}\) defines an ‘idiom’ as ‘a group of words established by usage having a meaning not deducible from those of the individual words… a form of expression natural to a language, person or group of people’. Meanings of idioms depend on situation, culture, and society by virtue of being deeply rooted in the social and cultural context (Wray 2000: 464, Langlotz 2006: 3). Additionally, as Everaert et al. (1995: 104)
argue, idioms have been presented as ‘dead’ metaphors, that is, idioms were once metaphoric but have lost their metaphoricity (see Palmer 1986, Cruse 1986). There is also a suggestion that idioms are in fact motivated by conceptual metaphors (cognitive approach) (cf. Gibbs and O’Brien 1990, Gibbs 1992).

Nonetheless, lexicographers tend to adhere to the common definition of idiom: ‘a sequence of words which has a different meaning as a group from the meaning it would have if you understand each word separately’ (Longman Idioms Dictionary 1998, Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary 2020). As for fixedness, or ‘frozenness’ in Langlotz’ system, idioms are usually referred to as fixed expressions, and, therefore, cannot be broken up into their elements (Cowie et al. 1975: viii).

Generally speaking, based on the above definitions, idioms are non-literal, or figurative, expressions that are fixed in terms of their lexical composition. They are often restricted in their syntactic variability, and they are complex units of more than a single word. In addition, these types of frozen expressions are sometimes called ‘pure idioms’ or ‘idioms proper’ (Moon 1998, Grant and Bauer 2004). For the purpose of the present study, I focus on idiomatic expressions that fall under this common definition and thus are mainly pure idioms. In the following sections I discuss various approaches in phraseology that either support the views mentioned above or deviate from them and discuss properties that make up pure idioms.

1.1.2. Classical tradition

Phraseology, the science of phrases, emerged around the 1930s within the field of lexicology in Eastern Europe and has become an independent research area over the last few decades. The fundamental unit of phraseology is a phraseme. Phrasemes are preformulated multiword units of the language that are comparatively stable in form and have fixed meaning (Mel'čuk 1995). Early theories classifying phraseological units have been put forward within the Soviet Union by Vinogradov and Amosova among others (Burger et al. 2007). Vinogradov’s classification, for example, distinguishes between frozen idioms, motivated idioms and restricted collocations (Wulf 2008). Frozen idioms (or pure idioms) are those whose meanings cannot be decoded via the parts that make up the idiom. Here, the meaning of the idiomatic expression appears to be unmotivated synchronically. Motivated idioms (or figurative idioms) feature an image that can be easily understood, because it is based on a metaphorical image. Restricted collocations in Vinogradov’s typology are multi-word
expressions where the meaning is a composite of the individual meanings of the words that make up the expression, but the meaning of one of the composite items is bound, which means that its meaning is restricted to a specific sub-sense when the element occurs in a particular collocation. A further classification that has been developed in Eastern European Linguistics is that of A.V. Kunin (1996). Semantically, Kunin defines an idiom as a word or phrase that has a culturally recognized meaning that is different from the actual denotations of its constituents (Kunin, 1996: 136). The latter definition correlates with the standard view in phraseology on proper idioms as non-compositional units.

Classifications of idiomatic expressions are usually based on syntactic or on semantic criteria, i.e. focussing either on (relative) formal fixedness or on the (non-) compositionality of meaning. Collectively, the main classifications suggested by Eastern European linguists can be represented as shown in Table 2 (PhUs stands for phraseological units):

Table 2 - Classification of PhUs developed in Eastern European Linguistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of set-expressions</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Possible corresponding term in Western Linguistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phraseological fusions</td>
<td>semantically indivisible phraseological unit the meaning of which is not a composite of the meanings of its components</td>
<td><em>To cry for the moon</em> – to demand something unreal</td>
<td>Pure/opaque idiom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phraseological unities</td>
<td>semantically indivisible phraseological unit the meaning of which is a composite of the meanings of its components</td>
<td><em>To fall into a rage</em> – to get angry</td>
<td>Transparent idiom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phraseological combinations</td>
<td>construction or expression in which one of the components has a restricted meaning when occurring in this particular combination</td>
<td><em>To make an attempt</em> – to try</td>
<td>Restricted collocation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phraseological expressions</td>
<td>stable by form and usage semantically indivisible construction, which components are words with free meanings</td>
<td><em>Still waters run deep</em></td>
<td>Proverbs, sayings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Russian classification of idiomatic expressions has gained momentum over the years (cf. Kunin 1996, Cowie 1998, Burger et al 2007). As can be seen, there are many kinds of set phrases put under the realm of phraseology. In the Western countries linguists have also proposed various lists of fixed expressions which in a way correlate with the described categorizations but sometimes have been studied from a different angle. In the following section I give an account of existing approaches and of what is included into the category of formulaic language in the Western tradition, leading up to the definition I have adopted in this
1.1.3. Western Tradition

Human languages, as systems of communication used by particular groups of people in a community, have the capacity to transmit messages with both literal and figurative meanings. The literal meaning of a phrase or expression is a direct message based on the meaning of the elements that form the expression. In contrast, a figurative expression of a language is a way to give sentences some special effects or to give some imaginative description. Such expressions include metaphors, proverbs, similes and idioms. All items of this type are considered to be multi-word expressions, i.e. phrases. By analogy with Lexicon, the term Phrasicon has been suggested to describe the mental storage of such phrases. Strassler (1982: 19) for example, claiming that items of the phrasicon act in a different way from lexical items, includes such phrases as idioms (e.g. fly off the handle), proverbs (e.g. a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush), sayings (e.g. take the bull by the horns), similes (e.g. as bold as brass), phrasal verbs (e.g. to give in), binominals (e.g. spick and span), and conventionalized discourse formulae (e.g. good morning). Diverging from the basic claim that phraseological expressions consist of more than one orthographic word, Jackendoff (1997: 134) even considers compound words like blackbird to be idioms, based on the semantic argument that the meaning of the compound is not a composite of the meanings of its individual elements.

In order to establish which of the relatively fixed expressions discussed in phraseological research should be considered as being idiomatic and which should not, the approach proposed by Fernando appears to be adequate. Fernando (1996: 30-31) points out that the notions of ‘idiom’ and ‘idiomaticity’, while closely related, are not identical. The basis of both is the habitual and therefore predictable co-occurrence of specific words, but with idioms signifying a narrower range of word combinations than idiomaticity. All idioms show idiomaticity but not all word combinations showing idiomaticity are idioms. Fernando (1996) gives as examples common occurrences like rosy cheeks, sallow complexion, black coffee, or catch a bus, which she calls habitual collocations and not idioms, for they are relatively unrestricted in their adjectival and nominal variants: rosy/plump cheeks, rosy dawn, and a sallow skin are all possible. I am in agreement with Fernando's (1996) standpoint, namely that such recurrent co-occurrences show idiomaticity, but they are not idioms. In other words, they are not semantically opaque, they combine with other terms, and they can have equivalent translations. Moreover, they are compositional, and this is generally believed to be a sign of
collocations or metaphors, not idioms.

Additionally, proverbs also can be put alongside idioms, since they can display similar characteristics, namely, they are linguistic utterances whose form varies little, but whose semantic value as a whole is different from the semantic value of the units that compose them. However, they differ in that proverbs are expressions that usually bring a moralizing or judgmental content, as a rule or knowledge that passed through generations as part of an oral tradition. Idioms do not reveal this moralizing imprint, but in a concise and sometimes quixotic way contribute to explain or clarify a situation of everyday life, needing to be inserted in a context to be truly understood (Bartsch 2004). Whereas a proverb is a semantically transparent construction whose components are words with free meanings, idioms can be described as lexical phrases that have hidden meaning that may have nothing to do with the composition elements of the expression (Ball 1987) or “frozen patterns of language which allow little or no variation in form and...often carry meanings which cannot be deduced from their individual components” (Baker 1992: 63).

According to Sinclair (1997), multiword units can be classified into idioms, proverbs, clichés, technical terms, jargon expressions and phrasal verbs. Palmer (1986) states that phrasal verbs are also common types of idioms in English. This type of idiom is formed by combining verbs and adverbs such as put down, make up. They are also formulated by using adverbs and prepositions such as be on with, put up with. Removing a single adverb, verb or preposition changes the meaning of the phrase. However, Palmer (1986) admits that not all phrasal verbs can be considered idiomatic. Moreover, if they are idiomatic, they vary in their degree of idiomaticity (cf. make up a story and make up one’s face) (1986: 80). All these expressions can exemplify idiomaticity, but not all of them are idioms; and while recurrent co-occurrence produces idiomatic expressions, only those expressions which become conventionally fixed in a specific order and lexical form, or have only a restricted set of variants, acquire the status of idioms and are recorded in idiom dictionaries (Fernando 1996: 30-33).

1.1.4. Collocational continuum

The conventionality in fixedness has led some linguists to put collocations, another type of set-expressions, along with idioms. The term collocation in its linguistic sense was first used in the 1950s by Firth, a British linguist, who famously wrote that we ‘shall know a word by the company it keeps’ and that ‘[c]ollocations of a given word are statements of the habitual or customary places of that word in collocational order but not in any other
contextual or grammatical order’ (Firth 1957: 181). Forty years later, Cowie et al. (1990) have argued that collocation is the co-occurrence of two or more lexical items as realizations of structural elements within a given syntactic pattern. Sinclair added that collocation is ‘[t]he more-frequent-than-average co-occurrence of two lexical items within five words of text’ (Sinclair et al. 2004).

The number of possible lexical combinations in any language is unlimited, and words that make up a free combination can be easily replaced with other words. The constraints are only semantic ones, i.e. we can read the newspaper, a novel, a book, a magazine, and we drink tea, water, beer. Combinations such as *read water and *drink newspapers are not acceptable, because the verb to read requires a noun with the semantic properties of a written text, and the verb to drink requires a noun with the semantic properties of something liquid. We can assume that free combinations have the potential for being ad-hoc formations. Collocations on the other hand are by definition conventionalized combinations. Benson et al. (1986: 253) state that collocations take up a position between idioms and free combinations. Although collocations are conventionalized and sometimes semantically opaque like idioms (at least from the standpoint of non-native speakers), they are not as fixed and ‘frozen’ as idioms.

There is no clear-cut separation between idioms and collocations, rather they are set along the continuum. The table below shows the collocations continuum with the opaque fixed idioms at the one end and free combinations at the other:

**Table 3 - Collocational Continuum**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical composites e.g. Verb+ noun</th>
<th>Restricted collocations</th>
<th>Figurative Idioms</th>
<th>Pure Idioms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blow a trumpet</td>
<td>Blow a fuse</td>
<td>Blow your own trumpet</td>
<td>Blow the gaff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammatical composites e.g. Preposition + noun</td>
<td>Under the table</td>
<td>Under attack</td>
<td>Under the microscope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Under the weather</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Howarth (1998: 29)

With the aid of varied criteria linguists have tried to divide collocations into several subtypes, for example, grammatical and lexical collocations (Benson et al. 1986); significant and casual, upward and downward (Sinclair, 1991); reciprocal and non-reciprocal, right and left predictive (Kjellmer, 1984); and finally, restricted and open collocations (Cowie et al. 1990). However, the boundaries within the collocations themselves appear to be fuzzy. This can explain why some linguists put them in the same category as idioms. For instance, Grant (2005) defines idioms as subsets of collocations while others such as Cowie et al. (1990) put
them under types of restricted collocations. I am in agreement with Benson et al.’s view in that collocations are not pure idioms, strictly speaking, and that is why I have excluded them from my analysis.

As has been widely agreed (see sections 1.1.1.-1.1.3), idioms are fixed expressions or phraseological fusions in terms of their syntax or surface structure, whereas from a semantic point of view, idioms can be subdivided according to the degree of transparency of the meaning of the phrase. The following section now zooms in on the characteristic features of idioms.

1.2. Characteristics of idioms

Many linguists have examined idiomatic expressions, targeting various properties expressions may have. As for pure idioms, the characteristic features assigned to them by scholars, especially within the widely adopted structural approach, seem to coincide, as the following overview intends to show.

Moon (1998: 8) claims that the term idiom can be restricted to a ‘particular kind of unit: one that is fixed and semantically opaque or metaphorical, or, traditionally, ‘not the sum of its parts’, for example, kick the bucket or spill the beans. Such units are sometimes called pure idioms.’ (About the disagreement over the latter idiom, see the Table 6 - Case Study of Spill the Beans p. 23). However, Moon’s focus is on other types of fixed expressions rather than on pure idioms, and in her monograph she investigates frozen collocations, grammatically ill-formed collocations, proverbs, routine formulae, sayings, and similes. She proposes that ‘fixed expression also subsumes idioms’ (Moon 1998: 1) and suggests a cover term referring to ‘fixed expressions including idioms’ (FEIs). Moon's statement proves first of all how difficult it is to narrow down the referent of the term idiom, and, secondly, to identify its individual features.

Baker (1992) distinguishes five basic features of idioms. First, idioms do not allow change in the order of words, the idiom like it is raining cats and dogs cannot be changed to it is raining dogs and cats. The second feature is that pure idioms do not allow the removal of words for instance, spill the beans to *spill beans. Idioms also do not allow additions of more characters or elements to the expression, for example, changing the idiom from bury the hatchet to bury a hatchet. There is no changing of the grammatical structure of the idiom such as the music was faced for face the music.
While Baker identifies features of idioms based on their structure, Fernando (1996) suggests several characteristics to distinguish idioms from literal expressions, with some of them corresponding to Baker’s set of properties, namely, compositeness, institutionalization, semantic opacity and deficiency. Compositeness relates to idioms being multi-word expressions, institutionalization refers to the idioms with institutionalized patterns, that is, fixed structure and unchangeable meaning; semantic opacity is whereby idioms are not literal expressions and their meaning is not related to the literal meaning of the phrase. And finally, transformational deficiency is a property of idioms that do not accept active and passive form transformation, i.e. *the bucket was kicked would not be recognised as the idiom to kick the bucket.

In her discussion of structural fixedness of idioms, Gläser (1998) notes further essential features and some properties that may or may not be regarded as decisive in different set-expressions. Among substantial features she names syntactic and semantic stability, lexicalization, and idiomaticity (where meaning cannot be deduced from the meaning of its constituents), and reproducibility. She also adds features such as carrying connotations and having expressive, emphatic or intensifying functions (1998: 127), which corresponds with the properties other lexemes may exhibit too. Even at the morphological level, a parallel can be drawn, as morphemes constituting a lexeme cannot be rearranged within the limits of one word, as constituents of a pure idiom cannot be repositioned without a change in meaning. For example, as a permutation test would show, components of an idiom, like man and boy, cannot be interchanged without losing the idiomatic meaning (Gläser 1988: 269). In addition to Gläser's argument concerning structural stability, Kavka (2003: 3) proposes lexical stability as a further criterion and claims that idioms proper are the kind of multiword expressions in which the elements of the idiom can’t be varied lexically.

Following Barkema’s (1996) account of properties assigned to set-expressions, Pycroft (2006) has created a table summarizing properties of what she calls ‘formulaic sequences’:

Table 4 – Properties of Formulaic Sequences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Property</th>
<th>“Open” Extreme</th>
<th>Mid-point</th>
<th>“Upper” Extreme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collocability</td>
<td>Free</td>
<td>Collocationally Limited</td>
<td>Collocationally Closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixedness</td>
<td>Fully Flexible</td>
<td>Semi-Flexible</td>
<td>Inflexible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compositionality</td>
<td>Fully Compositional</td>
<td>Pseudo-Compositional</td>
<td>Non-decompositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiarity</td>
<td>Free Expressions</td>
<td>Restricted Expressions</td>
<td>Lexicalized Expressions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Pycroft (2006: 32)
The literature review shows that other aspects of idiomatic expressions, besides their structure, have been gaining more interest. In the current research I question the semantic stability of idioms, proposing that they are capable of meaning change.

Despite the longstanding controversies surrounding the nature and the composition of idioms, several principal features have become prominent, forming the criteria by which their holistic nature can be assessed. According to Nunberg et al. (1994) there are three essential semantic characteristics of idioms, namely conventionality, opacity/transparency, and compositionality. As idiomatic expressions are not necessarily compositional or non-compositional, they consider conventionality as the essential feature of all idioms. Another widely accepted core criterion defining the formal side of a pure or prototypical idiom is that it must be made up of two or more words (Mel'cuk 1995, Kövesces and Szabo 1996, Burger 2010). Furthermore, the meaning of an idiom is different from the composite meanings of its constituents (Sinclair 1991, Fernando 1996, Timofeeva 2012). Lastly, the form of an idiom is relatively fixed (Gläser 1998, Moon 1998, Burger 2010). In my study I have used these characteristics for the sample selection.

1.2.1. Non-compositionality vs Compositionality

In the previous sections I have looked at the definitions of idioms existing in the field. With varying degree, many of them are based on the analysability of idioms through their structure rather than meaning. In the following sections I give an account of two major views on the semantic criterion of (non-)compositionality. According to the non-compositionality approach, every idiom is a single semantic unit characterized by structural stability with opaque meaning, i.e. not determined by the meaning of its constituents (see e.g. Langlotz 2006: 2). Moon (1998:11) maintains that the non-compositionality of an expression must be considered a characteristic feature of idioms, as the meaning arising from a word-by-word interpretation of the phrase does not create its unitary meaning. Typical cases in point are metaphorical idioms. Lexicalized strings which are grammatically ill-formed or which contain elements unique to the combination may also be considered non-compositional. Cases in which an expression can be decoded compositionally, but has a special discoursal function (proverbs, similes, and sayings; see Moon 1998) are described as featuring pragmatic non-compositionality. This type of non-compositionality is not considered in the present study.

In contrast to Moon and Langlotz, Everaert (2010) concludes that compositionality is not a reliable distinguishing tool between idiomatic and non-idiomatic expressions and instead
suggests conventionalization as a core criterion. Furthermore, recent studies in cognitive linguistics have also shown that idioms are not necessarily non-compositional. Moon (1998:11) also points out (con-)compositionality as essentially idiolectal and synchronic, which means that the compositionality of an idiom depends on the perception of a specific speaker at a specific point in time. She claims that some idioms such as *spill the beans* and *rock the boat* are partly compositional in relation to both their syntactic structure and their figurative meaning. This shows that even though the concept of non-compositionality serves a clear purpose, it remains problematic. The compositional model theory is based on the assumption that for the sense of an idiom to emerge the semantic contribution of all its components is needed. Contrarily, the non-compositional approach postulates that each person has a lexicon in which all of the idioms are stored and when there is a need, they are retrieved in a ‘long words’ form, and each of them has a certain meaning.

The combination of the compositional and non-compositional approaches gives us a third option, which draws on both syntactic and lexical parts stored in the mental lexicon. Gibbs and Nayak (1989: 104) propose the lexical decomposition hypothesis theory, which postulates that idiomatic expressions vary in the degree of compositionality (see also Nunberg et al. 1994). They claim that speakers try to assign idiomatic meanings to the constituents of the string and then combine them to create the figurative meaning of the expression. Accordingly, they subdivide idioms into three types:

1. Normally decomposable – each constituent has an idiomatic referent (e.g. *spill the beans*: *spill* = reveal, *the beans* = secret)
2. Abnormally decomposable – one of the constituents is indirectly associated with its referent (e.g. *carry a torch for someone*, where *torch* is a metaphor for warm feelings)
3. Non-decomposable – the phrase is comprehended as a whole (e.g. *kick the bucket*)

Consequently, compositionality theory does not contradict the non-compositional approach but establishes that idiomatic expressions vary in the degree they are fused and at the level idiom parts contribute to the overall meaning, with some idioms fitting the standard definition. Indeed, when an idiom is normally decomposable, each constituent has a meaning. Subsequently, these parts can be modified as any component of a literal expression (Voort and Vonk 1995: 285). Even an idiom proper can allow some tense inflections and/or external grammatical modifications, like in the case of *kick the bucket*, widely recognized as pure idiom, which can be modified to *kicked the bucket*. However, in this case, such modifications apply to the expression as a unit, rather than to a certain part of it (Voort and Vonk 1995: 233)
and they are still processed faster than literal phrases due to their familiarity with the expression.

1.2.2. **Opacity vs Transparency**

The idea of compositionality or non-compositionality can be correlated with the notions of transparency and/or opacity of meaning of idiomatic expressions. Using opacity/transparency as the basis, Seidl and McMordie (1978) propose the following classification:

1) transparent idioms, whose figurative reading is close to the literal meaning (e.g. *to see the light* – ‘to understand’)
2) semi-transparent idioms with metaphorical meaning commonly understood (e.g. *break the ice* – ‘relieve the tension’)
3) semi-opaque idioms: these idioms are made up of two parts, a literal component and one with a figurative meaning (e.g. *to know the ropes* – ‘to know how a particular job should be done)
4) opaque idioms: here, the meaning cannot be found in the literal meanings of the constituents (e.g. *to burn one’s boat* – ‘to make retreat impossible’).

Titone and Connine (1999: 1663) argue in a similar way, as do Cassiari and Glucksberg (1991, and Glucksberg 1993), who classify idioms as opaque (e.g. *kick the bucket*), transparent (e.g. *spill the beans*), or quasi-metaphorical (e.g. *don’t give up the ship*).

Following the lexical decomposition theory by Gibbs and Nayak (1989: 104) discussed above, it becomes plausible that the spectrum of idiomaticity correlates in a way with the degree of compositionality. The correlation may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinds of idioms according to:</th>
<th>1. Spectrum of idiomaticity</th>
<th>2. Degree of compositionality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Opaque</td>
<td>Non-decomposable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Quasi-metaphorical</td>
<td>Abnormally decomposable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>Transparent</td>
<td>Normally decomposable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that both approaches present idioms as being distributed along a continuum, meaning there is no clear-cut boundary between the proposed categories. Palmer (1986) takes this one step up and states that there aren’t any distinctive characteristics that idioms must have.
Similar to Barkema’s (1996) multidimensional model, Glucksberg (2001) distinguishes four kinds of idioms: non-compositional, compositional opaque, compositional transparent and quasi-metaphorical idioms. He puts idioms like *by and large* at the one end of the continuum and explains that ‘such idioms are syntactically non-analysable and semantically non-compositional’, i.e. ‘semantically opaque’ (2001: 72); whereas, at the other end of the continuum there are ‘transparent idioms’ (e.g. *skating on thin ice*), ‘that are fully analysable syntactically and fully compositional semantically’ (2001: 73). He assumes that the meaning of an idiom is conveyed by the lexical meaning of its elements, which contribute to the syntactic and semantic flexibility of the idiom, but the degree to which it is affected depends on the class of the idiom.

The diversity of views concerning possible classifications of idiomatic expressions can be clearly observed in the way different scholars refer to one and the same idiom. The following table represents different definitions that have been assigned to the idiom *spill the beans*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/s’ names</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moon (1998: 5; 8)</td>
<td>Semi-transparent; partly compositional in relation to both syntactic structure and metaphoricality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowie (1998: 5)</td>
<td>semantically opaque and in general structurally fixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glucksberg (2001: 74)</td>
<td>Compositional and transparent at the same time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pycroft (2006: 14)</td>
<td>Also has a compositional reading, although it has a non-literal meaning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note how definitions range from pure and opaque to fully transparent idiom. Two possible explanations can be provided here. Firstly, *spill the beans* may be classified as an opaque idiom due to the fact that the idiom is not motivated by a conceptual metaphor still accessible to the contemporary speaker, and the etymology of the phrase is uncertain. In this case the idiomatic meaning of the expression needs to be memorized when first encountered. A reason
to consider *spill the beans* as transparent (see Keysar and Bly’s 1999) is that speakers tend to allocate idiomatic meanings to idiom components after they have learned what their meaning is, especially when the idiomatic meanings can be mapped onto the constituent parts of the phrase, as in *spill* => ‘reveal’, *the beans* => ‘secret’. In addition, Glucksberg (2001) notes that:

The idiom *spill the beans* has become so conventional that the *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* lists, as one of the senses of the word *spill*, ‘To disclose (something previously unknown); divulge’ (1992: 1735 quoted in Glucksberg 2001: 114).

However, he admits that the meaning of the idiom might have been originally opaque, and if a speaker is unfamiliar with its idiomatic meaning they would not be able to deduce it. This admission is in line with my understanding of the discussed idiom.

1.3. **Defining idioms - conclusion**

Idioms appear to blur the lines between different linguistic categories, to be at a crossroads between one type of fixed expressions (i.e. collocations) and another (i.e. proverbs) by exhibiting features pertaining to more than one kind of construction. As Schenk (1995) has stated, idioms are quite interesting from the point of view of theoretical linguistics since they are both exceptional and regular. They often seem to elude grammar and rules, but when looked at closely, there are features which hold them together as a category in itself (1995, in Everaert et al. 1995: 1). The idiom recognition process is a complex one, and it is hard to distinguish between compositional, semi-compositional and non-compositional idioms. Only the semi-compositional or non-compositional idioms are considered to have an idiomatic nature, but it is hard to establish boundaries between them (Kavka 2003).

Consequently, the idiomatic continuum appears to be the most efficient way of defining an idiom, with relatively fixed expressions positioned on the one end of the continuum and pure idioms on the other. In the remainder of this study, pure idioms are thus defined as syntactically frozen multiword expressions with opaque meaning.

The definitions and theories of non-compositionality given above suggest that if pure idioms are retrieved from our mental lexicon or phrasicon in a similar way as words, it is plausible to assume that pure idioms are also capable of meaning change. Although there is an apparent lack of substantial research on the proposed hypothesis in English linguistics, individual case
studies of idioms that changed their meaning have been found in other languages. Compare, for example, works on Estonian idioms (Õim and Õim 2010), German idioms (Hümmer and Stathi 2006), and Russian idioms (Voznesenskaya 2012). In addition, since the underlying principles of meaning change in words as in idioms can be found universally across languages, like metaphor and metonymy, the mentioned works in other languages can also serve as a confirming factor that English idioms may undergo such changes. In the following Chapter 2 I discuss the main trends within lexical meaning variations, and polysemy, as an indicator of meaning change taking place within a word or lexeme.
2. Semantic Change and Idioms

2.1. Semantics of a lexeme

The hypothesis of this research is that English idioms can change meaning over time without changing their form. By meaning I understand its figurative or idiomatic denotation, that is, for example, the phrase *spill the beans*, as an idiom, currently denotes ‘reveal the secret’, which synchronically is not connected to the literal meanings of the lexical components. I do not consider its literal meaning, which, in this case, may mean ‘to scatter beans from a container’. I hypothesize that an idiom can undergo a semantic development as an idiomatic unit without any alterations in its form. In other words, the denotive meaning of the idiom, as well as its possible connotative readings, are taken into account for my investigation of possible semantic changes, and not its literal meaning.

Diagram 1 represents a model of semantic change of an idiom that I devised to specify the change. My focus is solely on the shift from one established figurative meaning of an idiom to the next, not from its literal meaning to a figurative one (see 2.1.2. for the definition of the term).

Diagram 1 – Model of semantic change in idiomatic expressions

![Diagram 1](image)

2.1.1. Connotation vs denotation

Denotation is usually regarded as the basic meaning of a word, relatively stable across speakers. The denotive meaning mostly corresponds with how a lexeme is defined in a monolingual dictionary. It is regularly referred to as the literal or context-independent meaning. The denotive meaning is also considered as the central meaning of a word and sometimes referred to as its referential or cognitive meaning. Linguistic expressions may have a fixed denotation, although most of them change with time.
In contrast, connotation is used to refer to the socio-cultural, stylistic, and/or personal associations (ideological, emotional etc.) of a lexeme. These are typically related to the interpreter's class, age, gender, and ethnicity, which are sometimes also referred to as a social meaning of a word. Lexemes are more polysemous - i.e. more open to interpretation - in their connotations than in their denotations. Connotative meanings of lexemes can become conventionalized through frequent use and acquire a denotative status, which is then recorded in the dictionary as an additional meaning. As Barthes (1974: 9) notes, ‘denotation is ultimately no more than the last of the connotations’. An example is the word *vicious*, derived from the word *vice*; which originally meant ‘extremely wicked’. However, with continuous use it is now being used to imply ‘fierce’ as in the sentence *Brown mice are vicious animals*, or in the collocation *vicious circle*. Most people will recognize the discernible connotative value of words. For instance, there is a positive connotation when a person is *assertive*, but a negative connotation when the person is *pushy*. In this paper I intentionally have not deeply gone into theories of lexical meaning, as there is still much debate over what meaning is. To establish which meaning of an idiom is to be considered as denotative, I concur with the generally accepted working hypothesis that the meaning is the sense of a lexeme found in a dictionary, in our case in a dictionary of idioms.

### 2.1.2. Semantic similarities between words and idioms

As has been discussed in Chapter 1, idioms may be regarded as complex lexemes. This is important for the current research, as I apply methods of meaning change used for words to idioms in focus. The notion of a phrasicon (Gläser 1998: 124) referring to a mental deposit of linguistic expressions, as well as the argument that idioms are lexicalized (Gläser 1998: 125), that idioms can be coded in the mental lexicon similarly to words (Dobrovol’skij 1997: 10), the idiom list hypothesis wherein idiomatic expressions are stored and retrieved in the same way as lexical units but are stored separately from the lexicon (Gibbs 1994: 92, Schweigert and Moates 1988: 282) have all contributed to the idea that idioms can act like words.

In addition, idiomatic expressions can also have connotations as words do. For example, Gläser (1998: 128) indicates that connotations of PhUs are compatible with those of lexemes and distinguishes stylistic and register connotations as well as expressive ones. Howarth proposes that all idioms emerge as a literal phrases (1996: 22) which then
gradually become specialized through repeated associations with the same idiomatic meaning until they function as a single lexemes. This view is in line with that of Strassler (1982: 179), who deduces that an idiom can be entered as a lexeme on its own right in the lexicon, in a similar way to individual lexemes (Keysar and Bly 1995: 90; cf. also Wray 2002: 9). In addition, Cruse (1991) notes that idioms, although lexically complex, exhibit a remarkable constitutional cohesion which is usually found within individual lexemes. Moreover, López (2015) describes the process of a word string becoming an idiom as *phraseologization*, by analogy with lexicalization, the process that ‘is concerned with phrases turning into (poly)lexical units’ (López 2015: 164).

According to Murphy, ‘a linguistic form … represents a lexeme if that form is conventionally associated with a non-compositional meaning’ (2010: 6), and she concludes that the term lexeme includes idioms alongside simple words. Therefore, idioms are structurally different from other classes of lexical items in a way, but from the perspective of language processing they are stored similarly to lexical items and thus may exhibit similar behaviour in terms of semantic change. To follow the notion of idiomatic continuum (see section 1.1.), I suggest that pure idioms are more likely to behave like single lexemes, and the majority of idiomatic expressions in my sample can be located closer to the end of the spectrum where pure idioms reside. In the following sections I discuss issues of semantic change at the lexical level as well as at the phraseological level.

2.2. Meaning change at lexical level

Semantic change, sometimes also called semantic shift, semantic progression, or semantic drift, deals with changes in the meaning(s) associated with a given word. In other words, it is the evolution of the lexeme’s meaning within the course of time. Historical semantics traces back these meaning changes and distinguishes the patterns according to which such changes occur. As Muehleisen (2010: 32) explains, diachronic analysis can help to explain vagueness and lexical ambiguity and to some extent the current synchronic meaning of a lexeme via identification the historical processes a word has undergone.

According to Geeraerts (1985: 140), the reasons for semantic changes are based in three conditions which are not mutually exclusive. These are 1) the necessity of informational
density, 2) structural stability and 3) conceptual adaptability. He suggests that these factors also explain the levels of polysemy in language with the intent that multiple meanings of words increase the density and thus flexibility of semantic categories. Polysemy may also be an explanation of the historical change in word meanings, as the system becomes overloaded in terms of processing, and meanings begin to be removed or changed to make the lexical system more efficient (Nerlich 2003: 10).

Semantic change is not, however, a quick process, rather gradual process that may involve a number of transformations/sub-processes (McMahon 1994: 5-6). One of these processes included the presence of multiple, simultaneous meanings of words, until one variant falls into disuse and is ultimately replaced by the more recent version. As Durkin states ‘[a] situation where a word has only meaning ‘A’ is not typically followed by a situation where it has only meaning ‘B’, but by an intermediate period in which it has both meanings ‘A’ and ‘B’’ (2009: 225). Therefore, a model of semantic change can be represented as the follows: A > A~ B > B.

The intermediate stage where a lexeme has two or more meanings results in polysemy. Polysemy, thus, can be regarded as an indicator of meaning change taking place within a word or lexeme. In other words, synchronically polysemy is seen as a precursor of diachronic meaning change. I propose that this is true not only for single words but for idioms as well.

2.2.1. Main trends of semantic change

Change in word meaning does not appear to be random but rather subject to specific trends. Firstly, there can be changes in ‘positiveness’, which include amelioration, and pejoration. Amelioration is the rising in status of the word after semantic change (Aitchison 2012: 172). This involves a previously negative connotation for a lexeme achieving a more positive meaning. For example, the word brave used to mean ‘barbarian’, but now means ‘courageous’. The opposite process is that of pejoration, where a term acquires negative connotations over time (Gramley and Patzold 2002: 41). For example, the word knave, initially meaning ‘boy’, now has a negative connotation as a ‘bad boy’ (Algeo and Pyles 2009: 213).

Likewise, changes in specificity, such as widening and narrowing, are frequently observed (cf. Blank 1999, Habib 2014). Widening, which can also be referred to as
generalization or extension, is a process whereby the meaning of the lexical item widens. The term *office*, for instance, originally meant ‘a service’ but its meaning has been widened to mean a ‘place where people work’. The word *salary*, derived from Latin word *salarium* denoting ‘the allotment of salt to soldiers’, meant ‘soldier’s wages’ and it changed to currently mean ‘wages generally’, not only for soldiers.

In contrast, narrowing or specialization is a process where a lexeme becomes more specialized in meaning. An example is the term *actor*, which originally meant ‘someone who does something’ but the meaning has changed into ‘one who has a role in a dramatic production’. In a similar way, the word *meat* originally meant ‘food’ but was narrowed down to denote ‘the flesh of animal consumed as food’ (Heim & Kratzer 1998). A further process that has been identified as a common trend in meaning change is that of semantic bleaching wherein the initial or original meaning of a lexeme is eroded, usually accompanied by frequent usage. For instance, the word *very* originally meant ‘true’ while *terrible* meant ‘able to cause terror’. Both words are used now most frequently used as generalized intensifiers.

In addition to the above-mentioned trends, there are changes within language or society that make other terms obsolete or open to adaptation (Hock and Joseph 2009: 229). Thus, for instance, whenever there is a technological change the word that is associated with that change also alters. An example is the word *compute* and its derivations such as *computer, computation*. This verb used to mean ‘to count, to reckon, to calculate’ from the Latin verb *computare* (‘to count’). However, the term *computer* has now been given a new meaning due to the development in computer sciences. The term is currently used to describe things such as ‘computer virus’, ‘computer ethics’, and ‘computer graphics’ among others. Computers deal with complex computation, music, symbols, graphic and text which is far away meaning from the original ‘to count’. In other words, technological advancement has promoted semantic change, and original meaning has been supplanted by the new associations of ‘computing’ (Kasai et al. 2010).

### 2.2.2. Motivation of semantic change

Various scholars have paid attention to different aspects of meaning variation/change concerning common trends in meaning change, as has been described above, while others have tried to explain why or on what grounds that variation has occurred. They
propose that changes are not arbitrary but can be predicted and/or motivated depending on the underlying conceptual mechanisms, such as metaphor or metonymy. Metaphor is a process of ‘mapping of the logic of one domain (usually, but not always, a concrete one), also called source domain, onto another (usually more abstract), also known as target, domain” (Taylor 1989: 138, cf. Lakoff and Jonson 1980, on the conceptual metaphor). A related concept is that of metonymy, where an expression referring to a whole entity is replaced by an expression referring only to one distinctive part of the whole (see e.g. Fromkin and Rodman 1998). For instance, the following expressions are considered to be metonymical: *drink the whole bottle*, *give me a hand*, *live by the sword* among others (Benczes & de Mendoza 2011).

Interestingly, some cognitive linguists use the terms *analogy* and/or *conceptual blending* to indicate similar processes. Thus, internal forces that result in changes in semantics are referred to as ‘analogy’. Analogy is a perception of similarity between some concrete object and some abstract concept; therefore, a transfer of the meaning is due to similarity among concepts. If the person is head of a section, for instance, it is associated with the literal head of the body (Hoc & Nguyen-Xuan 1990). The relationship between the two is the figurative sense where ‘head of the body’ equals to ‘leader’. Both ways of treating such a relationship between entities are grounded on a certain resemblance between the two notions that are compared. Cognitive linguists have added that conceptual metaphors can be based on experience, either perceptual, cultural, or biological, which ‘is often referred to as the experiential basis or motivation of metaphor’ (Kövecses 2002: 69). Cognitive linguistics treats motivation, as a relationship between conceptual systems and linguistic systems, as a central phenomenon. It follows that motivation is neither predictable nor arbitrary, ‘The relationship between A and B is motivated just in case there is an independently existing link, L, such that A-L-B ‘fit together’. L makes sense of the relationship between A and B’ (Lakoff 1987: 448). Centrality is a key because using and remembering motivated knowledge is easier compared to arbitrary knowledge. Lakoff (1987) asserts that polysemous words and idioms are motivated because their meanings make use of and are consistent with existing patterns. Not all words and idioms are motivated but many of them are, and there is a link that is established between form and meaning. Such idiomatic expressions are considered fully or semi-compositional. Most idioms in my sample are pure idioms. However, motivation – in the sense of semantic compositionality – appear to play a role of semantic change in idioms as well.
2.3. Semantic change in English idioms

The literature review has shown that the majority of works in Phraseology are dedicated to idiom modifications through their syntax or structure. And even works questioning the semantic stability of English idioms concentrate mainly on the possible changes in idiom structure, rather than in their meaning. Consider, for example, the paper by Pycroft (2006) on set expressions, ‘formulaic sequences’ in her terms, where she discusses lexical insertion and substitution as possible changes taking place within idiomatic expressions.

In a similar way, Fernando (2000), discussing functions of idioms, analyses possible idiom transformations and distinguishes four main types, permutation, deletion, substitution and addition, and concludes that these are made to meet the communicative needs of the speaker. López (2015) focuses on the process she calls ‘phraseologization’. She combines methods from cognitive diachronic linguistics that describe such processes of semantic change as grammaticalization, with Phraseology as a synchronic study. However, her study is mainly about how a multiword expression becomes an idiom, i.e. ‘phraseologizes’. She exemplifies the process on the Spanish idiom *al peu de la lletra* and gives a very useful visualization that can be later used to identify the stages at which an idiom has undergone alterations in meaning.

Table 7 – Phraseologization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages (phraseology)</th>
<th>1. Free Word combination</th>
<th>2. Restricted Word combination</th>
<th>3. Phraseological Unit with figurative meaning</th>
<th>4. Frozen Phraseological Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stages (diachronic linguistics)</td>
<td>Initial stage</td>
<td>Bridging context</td>
<td>Switch context</td>
<td>Conventionalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form</td>
<td><em>al peu de</em></td>
<td>[s.th.important] <em>al peu de</em> [a legal document]</td>
<td>Complir [les instruccions] <em>al peu de la letra</em></td>
<td>Complir les instruccions <em>al peu de la letra</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phraseological meaning</td>
<td><em>Ø</em></td>
<td>At the end of the document</td>
<td>Exactly</td>
<td>Exactly Literally Textually</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Adapted from López 2015)

As highlighted above, diachronic semantics has been largely focused on the change in meaning of words or phrases, rather than specifically examining change in idioms. Part of the difficulty in evaluating whether idioms change their meaning, as Phillip (2001: 16) indicates, is that idioms are not flexible in their lexical constitution. Therefore,
changing an element in an idiom changes the understood meaning, which in many cases renders the phrase no longer an idiom. More attention has been given to the phenomenon in other languages, though, and this is discussed in the following section.

2.3.1. Semantic change within idioms in other languages

A. Õim and K. Õim (2010) conclude their analysis of the Estonian idiom läheb nagu lepase reega (‘goes as on an alder sleigh’) with the claim that this idiom changed its meaning from ‘go badly’ to ‘go well’ after going through a period of having multiple meanings. Hüümer & Stathi (2006), who analysed German idioms in context, state that they found an idiom that acquired additional meaning not given in the dictionary, which proves that sometimes the definition given in an idiom dictionary is not sufficient. That is, there are, in fact, cases where an idiom has taken on a new meaning in the course of time. Although in different ways, both studies consider the polysemous stage of an idiom, namely, the Estonian idiom has been examined starting from its initial meaning and going through the polysemy period, while the German idioms examined were investigated at their current polysemous stage. The idea of idiomatic expressions acquiring additional meanings has been also investigated by other German linguists (Felbaum 2006; Kwasniak 2006). They argue that the change is more likely to proceed from a specific to a more generalized application of an idiom, or that there is a minor change in phrasal structure which impacts on the meaning. For other comprehensive studies related to semantic change of German idioms see e.g. Dräger (2011), Filatkina (2018) and Komenda-Earle (2015).

Whilst numerous authors have alluded to the fact that English idioms can be seen as having multiple meanings (cf. Peters, analysing the Australian-English idiom gone to Gowings, in Skandera 2007: 241) there is a dearth of material which has systematically analysed how this occurs. Work in other languages has, however, considered the polysemous nature of idioms. In the Russian language, for instance, with its longer tradition in Phraseology, there have been several recent studies, e.g. Dobrovol’skii (2007) and Baranov & Dobrovol’skii (2008), both examining paradigmatic semantic relations in idioms, Voznesenskaya (2012), elaborating the list of criteria for meaning differentiation in polysemous idioms in Russian, and Fedosova (2007), looking at the polysemy of Russian idioms from a cognitive perspective. Filatkina (2018) puts Construction Grammar (CG) approaches through the diachronic lens and discusses semantic and syntactic changes in German idiomatic expressions.
Thus, according to ‘historically oriented CG’, the change within a ‘construction’ happens in three stages: first pragmatic innovation, then semantic change, and then the syntactic reanalysis (Filatkina 2018: 196). In this manner, it becomes obvious that the CG’s main postulate of form-and-meaning-pairing is not always present throughout the development of a lexeme, or construction in CG’s terms. However, it should be noted that the present study does not attempt to investigate the relationship between the form and meaning. On the contrary, it mainly focuses on the semantic development of an idiomatic expression, i.e. on the first two stages: pragmatic innovation and semantic change. Put differently, the current research examines novel contexts of idioms that later on get conventionalised for the idiom to be considered polysemous and/or to have acquired an additional meaning of the idiom.

Since the studies discussed above have investigated the semantic relations within phraseology in other languages and as less attention paid to the phenomena in English, in my research I implement their techniques to English idiomatic expressions. In addition, to be able to examine processes of semantic change taking place within English idioms, I consider approaches and methods used in the field of Diachronic Semantics designed for exploring semantic relations in lexemes.

2.4. Sense relations: synonymy, homonymy, polysemy

Semantic relationships are the existing associations between the meanings of words, phrases or sentences. For the word level, Pexman et al. (2002) distinguish the following semantic relationships: synonymy, antonymy, homonymy, polysemy and metonymy. As is discussed further on, idioms can have similar semantic relations, which again sets them at the same level with words.

Synonymy is the relationship between two or more words that have a similar or nearly the same meaning and belong to the same part of speech but are spelled and pronounced differently. For example, the following pairings are considered to be synonymous (Pexman & Lupker 1999): to cease ≈ to stop, big ≈ large, couch ≈ sofa, and the like. Although synonymous words are said to share all or almost all of their semantic properties, there may be different meanings of the word used depending on the context. For example, in the sentence They used/employed effective approaches to solve the problem (Tyler 2012), the words use and employ can be used interchangeably.
However, in the sentence they used a jimmy bar to open the window only use conveys the intended meaning. This suggests there are no absolute synonyms where the pair of words has the same meaning in all contexts in which they occur.

Synonymous sense relations can be also found at the phraseological level. For instance, Dobrovol’skij (2007) provides examples of some synonymous English idioms such as: to have cold feet, to have one’s heart in one’s mouth, and shaking in his shoes, all expressing the idea of ‘being scared or afraid’. However, he later points out that although these idioms reflect the meaning of fear, they have different meanings in different contexts. Therefore, he uses the term ‘near or quasi-synonyms’ (Dobrovol’skij 2007: 140). Similarly, Nayak and Gibbs (1990), examining the contextual appropriateness of idioms, give the following relatively synonymous idioms as examples: blow your stack, lose your cool, flip your lid, get hot under the collar, and hit the roof, all expressing the idea of ‘getting angry’. It could be fairly noticed that the given examples vary in the degree of anger they describe or that they fit only certain situations or contexts. Thus, as has been stated by the majority of lexicologists, there is no such thing as full or absolute synonymy at the lexical level. In the same way there are no such synonyms at the phraseological level.

As asserted by Voznesenskaya (2012), distinct sub-senses can be also attested by different semantic valences. The most widespread kind is the change of taxonomic class of actants, when subject, object, addressee positions are occupied by either animate or inanimate nouns (Voznesenskaya 2012: 110). In such a way, plenty of idioms from the ‘Death’ taxon have two meanings – ‘to die’ and ‘to cease to exist’, with animate or inanimate object respectively. When a taxonomic object is changed it can also indicate the emergence of a new meaning (in the case studies in Chapter 4, I refer to such objects as references). Thus, many idioms with the negative meaning of ‘destruction’, ‘demolition’, ‘deterioration’ depending on object valence filling, in the same way ‘element’ or ‘factor of fear’ can be reflected in a number of senses in above examples.

The opposite phenomenon, antonymy, is the semantic relationship between two words within the same grammatical category but with opposite meanings. Fromkin and Rodman (1998) point out that the antonymous pair can share all semantic features but one. For example, the word woman is an antonym of girl. The two have equal features such as that they are both animate, human, and female; the crucial difference is that girl
is ‘young’ while woman is ‘adult’, that is, the word girl does not have the adultness as its feature and vice versa (Fromkin and Rodman 1998). Additionally, Godby (2002) states that antonyms may be morphologically unrelated or related; for example, morphologically unrelated antonyms include such pairings as bad/good, stop/go, over/under, high/low. These are pairs where one word form is not a derivation of the other. Morphologically related elements include friendly/unfriendly, likely/unlikely, good/not good. In this case, one element is derived from the other by means of a privative affix or a negator. With respect to idioms, the presence of semantic relations like synonymy and antonymy at the phraseological level can serve to reflect the similarity of idioms and words, but this can also be employed as a differentiating factor between multiple senses of polysemous idioms (Voznesenskaya 2012). However, Baranov and Dobrovol’skij (2008) notice that antonymous relations at the idiomatic level are quite rare, as are synonymous ones.

The sense relation of synonymy refers to two or more lexical items that can convey one meaning. In contrast, the sense relation of polysemy refers to one lexical item that can convey two or more meanings. Polysemy is also contrasted with monosemy, which means that a word conveys only one meaning (Crystal 1985). In English and other languages, there are only few words that are considered truly monosemous. As a result, many studies have focused on the aspect of polysemy, and in most cases monosemous words are mentioned only in contrast to polysemous ones instead of being investigated in their own right.

With regard to polysemy, one much-discussed difficulty is that of differentiating it from homonymy. Homonymous words are words that share pronunciation and/or spelling and belong to the same grammar category but have different meanings. The similarity in form is purely accidental, as they are unrelated etymologically. Examples of such words include: to lie which means ‘to rest’, ‘be’, ‘remain’, ‘be situated in a particular place’ and to lie meaning ‘not to tell the truth’; another word is bank which means ‘the ground near a river’ and bank meaning ‘financial institution’. Homonyms normally entered into a dictionary with superscript numbers such as lie1, lie2 (Heim & Kratzer 1998). According to Dobrovol’skij, polysemy in idioms can be understood as ‘semantic derivation rather than of a random set of meanings’ (2007: 143).

Of the sense relations mentioned so far, polysemy is the one most relevant to the present
study, as it is assumed that changes in meaning occur via a stage in which a lexical item is polysemous (see section 2.3.1. for the examples of such manifestation in idioms in other languages). Therefore, the following sections elaborate on the concept of polysemy to provide the theoretical basis for the analysis of gradual meaning change in Chapter 4.

2.4.1. Polysemy at the lexical level

As mentioned above, polysemy is a semantic relationship between the multiple related meanings of a word (Fromkin and Rodman 1998, Richards et al. 1992; Jackson and Ze Amvela 2002: 58). For example, the word *plain* has three meanings: ‘clear’, ‘obvious’, and ‘unadorned’; *nice* can mean: ‘kind’, ‘friendly’, and ‘pleasant’. These different readings are context-dependent. According to Pethö (2001: 3), ‘polysemy is the phenomenon when a single word has two or more meanings, no matter how meaning is defined’, where, ‘word’ is an ‘element of the lexicon’. Pethö contrasts polysemy with homonymy, in which two words share one form but have different meanings (Figure 1).

**Figure #1**

![Polysemy and Homonymy Diagram]

Source: Pethö (2001: 3)

Lyons (1977: 550) considers polysemy and homonymy as two types of lexical ambiguity and presents two methods of distinguishing the two terms. The first step is to establish the etymological information of the lexical item under study. However, the history of the language does not always dictate the current state, hence this condition is considered not satisfactory or decisive. The English word *pupil*1 for ‘student’ and *pupil*2 for ‘iris of the eye’ are not always related by native speakers but they are derived from the same Latin root, *pullilu/pupilla*. The term *ear*1 ‘organ of the body’ and *ear*2 ‘spike of corn’ go back to different etymons. However, in contemporary dictionaries, the two lexemes are given as one entry with two meanings, and their relation is explained by means of metaphor (Hino et al. 2012).
Another way of establishing polysemy is the search for the core meaning. This approach is based on the meaning category as defined by Allerton (1979), where polysemy occurs only if the different senses of a lexeme share a core meaning. If two lexemes do not share a core meaning, they are categorized as homonymous (Foraker & Murphy 2012). Accordingly, the lexeme *paper* is considered as polysemous, as its exponents ‘newspaper’, ‘document’ and ‘academic lecture’ share a core meaning. In the data analysed in this research, I show idioms which exhibit such characteristics (see Chapter 4).

The meaning chain introduced by Taylor (1995) is used to describe the family resemblance of terms (Lakoff, 2012). For instance, if a lexical item has different meanings such as: A, B, C, D …, where A is related to B because they share attributes or properties. At the same time, the meaning B is a further extension of meaning of C among other chain relationships (Lakoff 2012). This forms a ‘meaning chain’ that can be represented as: A – B – C – D … (Taylor 1995: 22).

Evans (2005), in a case study of the word *time*, points out that semantic memory instantiation enables the lexeme *time* to form a category of different sense. This is what is referred to as principled polysemy approach. Evans uses the term *sense* instead of or interchangeably with the term *lexical concept* (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2002). The main idea of this theory of Principled Polysemy is to have an approach that will account for the meaning associated with words as not being static but dynamic, where meaning can be changing over time. From this perspective, polysemy is viewed as a concept that is dynamic and mutable in nature. In the same vein, Eckardt et al. (2003) explain the emergence of polysemy via a new usage adopted in the course of time.

To sum up, understanding the contextual basis for the use of polysemous words is important for determining the intended meaning (Rothwell 2001: 352). These variable meanings may potentially have evolved due to the change in meaning over time and in that case, a diachronic approach can be used. It seems reasonable to treat a lexeme as polysemous if the senses it has are related, however, I consider the etymological approach in identifying meaning origin as the most reliable tool for polysemy-homonymy differentiation. As there is not much data on the exact origins and/or phraseologization process, i.e. when an expression becomes conventionalized and frozen to bear the new idiomatic meaning, it appears nearly impossible to distinguish
homonymous idioms from polysemous ones. Despite this potential complication, it seems unlikely for a multi-word expression to have an exact counterpart that would enter a language from different sources or the that same expressions could be traced back to two different origins. Therefore, I treat idioms with multiple meanings as polysemous, unless proven otherwise.

2.4.2. Polysemy in idioms

Various studies have been conducted on the polysemy of idioms in different languages, such as Baranov & Dobrovol’skii (2008), Hümer & Stathi (2006), and Voznesenskaya (2012). There are also studies considering, in one way or another, the polysemous nature of English idioms. However, in contrast to the focus of my study, these mostly investigate polysemy in terms of the difference between the literal and the figurative meaning of an idiom. According to Pinnavaia, idioms can have two meanings, one literal (i.e. the vehicle) and one figurative (i.e. the tenor) (2010: 26). This difference between literal and figurative meaning can create difficulties in understanding. For example, the expression pull your socks up can either be understood literally, or figuratively as ‘to encourage someone to put in more effort’. Similarly, Cacciari and Glucksberg (1995: 43) highlight that more than one meaning can be assigned to an idiom only if one of the meaning is literal and one is idiomatic, which is supported also by Butler (1998) and Crystal (2006). The question of whether there can be more than one figurative meaning is, however, less explored. My data analysis shows that this is a possibility (see Chapter 4).

Whilst numerous authors have alluded to the fact that idioms can be seen as having multiple meanings (Cacciari & Glucksberg 1997: 44, Mueller et al. 1987: 63, Gibbs et al. 1989: 577, Cacciari & Papagno 2012: 369), there is a dearth in material which has systematically analysed how polysemous idioms manifest. All these studies clearly reveal that the phenomenon of polysemy is very strong in English lexemes but there is lack of sufficient studies that fully address the concept of polysemy in English idioms. One ground-breaking study in this field has been conducted by Moon (1998), who dedicates a section of her book to polysemy of fixed expressions. My view is, in line with that of Moon, that polysemous idioms are the ones that have more than one idiomatic reading, in addition to the literal counterpart. However, Moon’s study is fairly broad as it includes many types of fixed expressions, like frozen collocations, grammatically ill-formed collocations, proverbs, routine formulae, sayings, similes and
idioms. She reports that approximately 5% of the items in her sample are polysemous. The wide range of expressions Moon investigates suggests that the calculation for idioms only may be different. Similarly, Klappenbach (1968: 183, cited in Moon 1998: 187) reports 8-9% of polysemous fixed expressions for Russian.

My calculations of idioms given with several meanings in the Collins COBUILD Idioms Dictionary suggest that there are 10-15% of polysemous idioms in the English language, and the number could potentially be larger, as many idioms definitions include the alternative ‘or’. That is, many entries in the CCID include not specified numbered definitions, but definitions that provide potential variation.

Studies that deal with the existence of polysemous characteristics in English lexemes can be directed towards the fact that, as every idiom is composed of lexical units, the nature of these polysemous lexemes can result in creating polysemy in English idioms. One of the studies has been conducted by Langlotz (2006: 181), who defines polysemous idioms as an ‘expression that has two conventional meanings based on the figurative construction’. He also cites Burger (1998a: 72), who has called this phenomenon in idioms as ‘sekundare Metaphorisierung’, or ‘secondary metaphorisation’ that reflects potential for creating the shifts in meaning due to the lexicalized meaning variants (Langlotz 2006: 181). And as Matthews (2007: 184) mentions, in an idiom words are syntactically related to form a single lexical unit. Therefore, meanings and behaviour of idioms can be similar to the lexemes that constitute those idioms or as lexemes on their own merit. Thus, current research is aimed to investigate the behaviour of idiomatic expressions with regard to their variation in meaning.

2.4.3. Modelling and determining polysemous meanings

The complex task of determining the number of separate meanings of a simple lexeme or an idiom becomes even more challenging if the notions of ambiguity, and vagueness are included (Fasold & Connor-Linton 2006: 148). The meaning of a linguistic form is considered ambiguous if it has several possible semantic or syntactic interpretations, while the meaning of an item that does not have a precise interpretation is considered vague (Tuggy 1993: 274). Following Murphy (2010), only ambiguous items can be polysemous (see Figure 2).
Murphy's scheme is designed to capture properties of lexemes, but it should be possible to retrace the same properties in the idiomatic level. To capture potential types of variation in idioms, including polysemy, Langlotz (2006) proposes the following schema (Figure 3).
In his discussion, he focuses on the possible modifications of an idiom in a concrete context, emphasizing that the absence of a motivating conceptual basis restricts an idiom’s potential for systematic variation. Essentially, Langlotz connects semantic change with variation in form, however, he does mention polysemous idioms in the sense used in this study: “… such as come a cropper, which have a lexically invariant form but two conventional meanings (‘fall’ and ‘fail’)” (2006: p.181). For the detailed analysis of idiom come a cropper, see Chapter 4 sections 4.4. – 4.4.6. Nonetheless, Langlotz’s approach is a valuable basis for my analysis, as it highlights different types of variation influencing the meaning of idioms.

The corpus-based study on polysemy in German idioms by Hümmer & Stathi (2006) also contains valuable methodological pointers concerning the retrieval of polysemous idioms, like identifying the context-specific meanings of verb phrase idioms and defining a set of parameters for their systematic description. They also discuss polysemy as compared to vagueness and ambiguity in idioms and provide criteria for the operationalisation of this distinction. Their data-driven approach begins with a sub-corpus of occurrences of an idiom in the DWDS-corpus (Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache - ‘digital dictionary of the German Language’). The authors then identify potential senses with the help of dictionary definitions and the assignment of different paraphrases to each usage. Finally, they identify contextual properties, such as meaning triggers, which characterize a prototypical set member (Hümmer & Stathi 2006: 2). Meaning triggers are ‘lexical items whose presence in the context triggers one sense of the idiom’ (Hümmer & Stathi 2006: 14). These triggers can also be synonyms or antonyms defining the idiom in a number of different ‘meanings’ based on the same lexical field.

Another interesting approach is described by Voznesenskaya (2012) in her work ‘The criteria of meaning differentiation in polysemous idioms of the Russian language’. She devises conceptual, syntagmatic, and paradigmatic criteria to assist in distinguishing multiple meanings in Russian idioms. Conceptual meanings of idioms are based on differentiation between actual meanings and inner form, defined by its phraseological nature, which is the result of secondary nomination. Syntagmatic distinctions are based on syntactic distinctions and paradigmatic semantic relations for each of the meanings of an idiom within the semantic field. This approach is related to Frame Semantics, which distinguishes between different frames of an idiom’s actual meaning and
different frames of the inner form of an idiom, which are assigned to conceptual criteria. For example, it is possible that the 1st reading has an inner form based on only one of the profiled features, while the 2nd meaning is obtained as a result of rethinking of the whole frame. Thus, the Russian idiom *otdat’ kontsy* - 'give the ends away' - has two meanings. The first one means ‘unmooring, casting away of a watercraft’, and its inner form is based on metonymic reinterpretation, where denoting the specific act in the process of unmooring – unbinding of ropes – becomes the denotation of the whole situation. The second meaning, ‘to die’, can be regarded as motivated by the second sense, with the inner form based on the image of a watercraft casting away.

Consequently, different meanings of an idiom, in addition to having different denotative situations (casting away of a watercraft and death), differ by distinct inner forms underlying these meanings (Voznesenskaya 2012: 108). As Voznesenskaya further argues, the following features can indicate change in an idiom’s meaning, such as presence/absence of valence (obligatory / optionality / banning), filling in various valence positions in each of the meanings; distinct (grammatical, lexical, semantic, thematic) words characteristics, that realize the valence. These are the major types of valence differences, applicable to polysemous idioms (Voznesenskaya 2012).

In contrast to Voznesenskaya’s methods, Murphy (2010) applies Frame Semantics to study polysemy in lexemes. To illustrate, she uses the example of *crawl* defined according to the context, provided by Fillmore and Atkins (2000):

**Figure #4**
This framework follows a systematic identification of meanings of the word *crawl* in different contexts and connecting and deriving meanings from one another; thus, there can be variations in understanding the meanings of any word or phrase (Murphy 2010: 103). Therefore, a frame semantic approach also can be very effective in discriminating the different meanings and uses of a lexeme, and potentially of an idiom.

The following chapters describe the methodology I developed to investigate semantic change in idiomatic expressions.
3. Chapter 3 - Data sources and methods

3.1. Present-day English dictionary: The Collins COBUILD Idioms Dictionary

In the following sections I explain how I selected the sample of idioms, and the rationale, and limitations of selecting the data in my study. There is no unified English idioms dictionary that would trace idiom’s semantic development. Therefore, I have analysed idioms in the recent idiom dictionary published, i.e. Collins COBUILD Idioms Dictionary (2012), (here and throughout the CCID). I have then compared the selected sample with English idioms dictionaries published at the beginning of the 20th century. Thus, the time span of the dictionary stage has covered about 140 years. I have also consulted the Oxford English Dictionary Online (OED) because it provides etymological and historical information on many of the set-phrases under discussion.

The CCID contains more than 4160 contemporary fixed expressions recognized as idioms. The idiom entries are organized in the following way. Idioms are listed alphabetically under a headword, i.e. a word in the idiom that never varies, and it is usually a content word, like a noun, a verb, or an adjective. Headwords in turn are given in an alphabetical order. An idiom is always followed by a definition and by one or more example sentences. Example sentences in the CCID have been gathered from ‘the Collins Corpus, a corpus of 4.5 billion words of contemporary English speech and writing’ (CCID: v.), which means that the meanings of idioms are based on the current usage. The editors of the CCID have used the Collins Corpus to attest meanings of idioms and to illustrate idioms with examples. The Collins Corpus’s electronic version has been developed since late 1980s, thus enabling the up-to-date information for the dictionary. Each letter in the CCID contains different number of idioms and of idioms given with two or more meanings divided into numbered sections. For instance idiom draw a blank presented as having four different meanings:

(1) **Idiom: ✪ draw a blank –**

**Definition 1:** If you are trying to find someone or something and you draw a blank, you cannot find them.

**Example:** I searched among the bottles and drew a blank.

**Definition 2:** If you are trying to find out about something and you draw a blank, you fail to
find out about it.

**Example:** We asked if they’d been in. We drew a blank.

**Definition 3:** If you draw a blank, you are unable to remember something or to answer a question you are asked.

**Examples:** Asked what her son’s first words were, Deirdre drew a blank.

*Why do we recognise a face, but sometimes draw a blank when it comes to the name?*

**Definition 4:** In a sporting contest, if a team or competitor draws a blank, they do not score any goals or points, or win any races. [mainly BRITISH, JOURNALISM]

The definitions are written in a simple way to ease understanding of the meaning, that is the definitions are given in full sentences, using as basic language as possible (CCID 2012: xi). The dictionary editors have also noted that alongside the meaning of idiom, definitions provide context in which a particular idiom is used (CCID 2012: xi). For example, in (1) above, it is stated that the fourth meaning of idiom draw a blank is typically used in the context of sporting contests, as well as it is used to describe a team or competitor. Consequently, the definition of idiom represented in the *CCID*, can be sufficient to provide secondary data for the preliminary analysis of meaning change.

Occasionally, a meaning of an idiom that is ‘slightly’ different from the main definition, and has not been classified as ‘completely different’, is given in the follow-on paragraphs after the dot (●) (CCID 2012: xi). Like in the following entry:

(2) **Idiom:** ✪ **Change hands**

**Definition:** If something changes hands, one person or organization gets it from another, usually by buying it.

**Example:** The property has changed hands several times recently.

**Note:** When something is sold for a particular amount of money, you say that amount of money changes hands.

**Example:** Record sums of money changed hands at Christie’s in New York, where a portrait by Vincent Van Gogh has sold for more than eighty million dollars.

In a similar way, ‘pragmatic information’, which informs on the speaker’s intention, is given after the dot (I present it as ‘Note’) in the follow-on paragraph (CCID 2012: xii), like in the entry (3):
(3) **Idiom**: All-singing, all-dancing [mainly BRITISH] –

**Definition**: If you describe something as *all-singing, all dancing*, you mean that it is very modern and advanced, with a lot of additional features.

**Examples**: He showed us their new all-singing, all dancing website. The previous venue has now been replaced by a lavish all-singing, all dancing stadium, due to open in April.

**Note**: This expression is often used humorously to show that you think the features are not necessary.

The *CCID* includes idioms from different English varieties, and if an idiom is mostly used in one of them, it has a comment next to it, i.e. [AMERICAN], [mainly BRITISH], etc. If an idiom varies geographically, that is, has more than one structure/form, each for certain English variety, the less common one is given below the main headword (*CCID* 2012: x-xi), as in the example below:

(4) **Idiom**: Sugar the pill [BRITISH] or Sugar-coat the pill [AMERICAN]

In addition to information on geographical variation, idioms are marked with the type of style an idiom is used at, such as, FORMAL or INFORMAL, VERY RUDE or LITERARY. As for the usage, idioms in the *CCID* may have a comment on whether it is OLD-FASHIONED, or most frequently used, which in turn is marked by a frequency star (✮). However, many idioms do not have such an indication. Thus, for example, there are only 135 idioms that are marked as old-fashioned out of 4163 entries. At the same time, many of entries in the dictionary contain explanatory information about idiom’s etymology and previous usage, which is usually provided after definition and example sentences. I explain the layout of entries in more details in the next section, where I discuss the criteria I have used to select the sample and criteria by which some idioms have been preliminary excluded.

3.2. **Sample selection criteria in the Collins COBUILD Idioms Dictionary**

In order to answer the main research question of whether an English idiom is susceptible to meaning variation, I needed a representative sample, i.e. a number of idioms that would
represent different types of idioms (for types of idioms refer to Chapter 2), such a range of idioms that could allow future generalisations with regards to other idioms. However, the total number of entries in the CCID (4163) is way beyond the limits of the current research project. Therefore, to select a feasible sample for my study, I have devised the following procedures. I have counted both the overall number of entries as well as the quantity of polysemous idioms. Although the percentage of polysemous idioms in the dictionary varies from letter to letter, in total I have calculated around 8% of polysemous idioms (339 out of 4163). To narrow the number down, I have selected idioms using two criteria.

Firstly, I have collected idioms that CCID lists as having multiple meanings. The rationale for choosing polysemous idioms is that polysemy, (as discussed in Section 2.4.2), can be regarded as a transitional stage from one meaning to another, in other words, as an indicator of meaning change taking place within a word or lexeme. Thus, currently polysemous idioms are likely to be the most representative cases of meaning change. Idioms that have an indication of being used in another variety of English, other than British, have been excluded, as I mainly focus on British English idioms.

Secondly, in addition to polysemous idioms, I have analysed etymological notes throughout the dictionary, as information about origin and first usage of the phrase can indicate where original meanings have been lost and replaced by others. The combination of these two data sets allows me to see both change resulting in polysemy and change resulting in loss of a particular sense and replacement with another.

In total I have calculated 339 polysemous idioms, whose entries in the CCID have been divided into numbered sub-entries and 1288 idioms that have an etymological note in the entry, which gives me a sample of 1627 idioms in total. To reduce the sample and to avoid sample selection bias, i.e. to have a sample properly randomized, I have selected polysemous idioms that are marked as most frequent ones. As a result, I have gathered 141 frequent polysemous idioms, which I name Group 1. The second group, (Group 2) idioms, whose description contains information that in one way or another might imply meaning change, I have scaled down to 35 idioms, which I explain next. Of these, 5 have numbered sub-entries indicating polysemy, four of which have been also found in Group 1. Therefore, I excluded these four from 141, thus having left 137 frequent polysemous idioms in Group 1.

The main criterion I have used for decreasing the number of 1288 idioms from Group 2 to 35
is focusing on etymological notes where the explanation refers to the previous usage, or where the past tense indicator has been found (e.g. was used, originally meant). I have excluded entries where the etymological note merely explains how the idiomatic meaning of an idiom originated. For example, the idiom the acid test is defined as ‘if you call something the acid test, it will prove how effective or useful something is’ and the etymological note saying: ‘nitric acid can be used to test whether a metal is pure gold because it damages most metals but does not affect gold’, does not provide any information on previous usage, but its etymology.

I also excluded idioms whose etymological notes explain the historical origin of an idiom, or refer to mythological or historical event in the past, but do not have an indication of meaning change, as in (5):

(5)  
**Idiom:** An Achilles heel –

**Definition:** someone’s Achilles heel is the thing that causes problems for them, especially because it gives other people a chance to attack or criticize them.

**Etymological note:** this expression comes from the Greek myth in which the baby Achilles is dipped in the river Styx to protect him from being killed by an arrow. Because his mother held his heel to do this, his heel was not protected and he was killed by a poisonous arrow in it.

Thus, in order to reduce the sample size of Group 2, I have focused on idioms whose etymological notes have an indication of a possible and/or clear meaning change, for example with the presence of such indicators as ‘this expression originally meant/ referred’, ‘was (originally) used’, ‘it used to mean’, and the like. Compare, for instance, an idiom with etymological note that clearly states there was a meaning change in (6):

(6)  
**Idiom:** ✽ no love lost or little love lost –

**Definition:** If there is no love lost between two people or groups, or little love lost between them, they do not like each other at all.

**Etymological note:** Originally this expression had the opposite meaning to its present one. It used to mean that the two people liked each other a lot.
Again, as with the frequent polysemous idioms’ group, idioms that are mostly used in American English and other varieties have been excluded. Entries with etymological notes containing hedging expressions, such as ‘might be used’, ‘may come from’, and ‘probably comes from’ have been also omitted. For example in (7) etymological note tells us about the probability of the origin of this idiom, but does not clearly state there was a change:

(7) **Idiom:** ✬ put something on hold –

**Definition:** If you *put something on hold*, you decide not to do it or deal with it until a later time.

**Etymological note:** This expression is probably from the term used in the past when someone making a telephone call waited for the operator to connect them.

As the focus of current research is on idioms that did not change in form, but in meaning only, I have also omitted idioms whose etymological notes although indicate there was a change, but make further complement that the original expression had a different form. For instance, the idiom *hand in glove* in (8):

(8) **Idiom:** hand in glove –

**Definition:** If one person or organization is working *hand in glove* with another person or organization, they are working very closely together.

**Etymological note:** The original form of the expression was ‘hand and glove’. It was used to say that there was a strong connection or similarity between two things.

Consequently, my total sample consists of 172 idioms, 137 idioms in frequent polysemous group (Group 1) and 35 in etymological group (Group 2). I analyse this sample in two main steps: historical dictionaries and historical corpora, described in turn below. All idioms of interest and their *CCID* definitions, along with any etymological notes, have been recorded in Appendix 1 for Group 1 and Appendix 2 for Group 2. In the following sections I also explicate how the total sample of 172 idioms having gone through the dictionary stage, has been reduced to an even smaller, but nonetheless representative sample. This final sample of 28 idioms I have then analysed in historical corpora stage (see Sections 3.5.1-3.6.3).
3.3. Historical idiom dictionaries

In the current and the subsequent sections, I provide a brief overview of idiom lexicography at the time, describe the sources for data collection at the historical dictionaries stage, and discuss the methods I applied to searching my sample in idiom dictionaries of the period under discussion.

3.3.1. Sources for idiom dictionaries database

At the dictionary stage of my research I have compared printed sources from one century with printed sources from another. Firstly, I have analysed both polysemous idioms and idioms with etymological notes in CCID (see Section 3.2). I have then addressed a number of historical English Idioms dictionaries see the Table 8 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dictionary</th>
<th>Year of publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. A Manual of Phraseology, Containing Idiomatic Phrases and Elegant Expressions of Famous Authors (MOP)</td>
<td>1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Indian Students Guide to the Use of English Idioms (ISG)</td>
<td>1883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Dictionary of Phrase and Fable (DPF)</td>
<td>1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The Students Constant Companion, a Dictionary of Phrases, Idioms &amp; Proverbs (SCDI)</td>
<td>1908</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rationale for choosing these particular idiom dictionaries, shown in Table 8, is firstly that these dictionaries were published at the time period of interest. Secondly, I have chosen dictionaries that had been reprinted in several editions, thus proving the validity of those dictionaries, i.e. the users of the dictionary found it useful, it had been popular at the time and printing more of that dictionary was required. Additionally, the fact that none of the dictionaries had the same list of idioms, showed that they were not copies of each other. Since the previously published idiom dictionaries vary significantly in size, the additional criterion for choosing the dictionary has been the presence of more than ten idioms from my sample in that dictionary. Finally, the dictionary must have definitions of idioms in English.

Dictionaries 1, 2, and 4, although aimed at Indian students, have English definitions after each idiom, as well as in many cases example sentences afterwards. On the other hand, English to English idiom dictionaries begin to be published in the UK only after 1930-s, which is far beyond the time limit of current research. However, the DPF had had several editions at the
required period of time. Having explored few of them, I have decided to focus on the 1904 edition of *DPF* in order to have the very beginning of the 20th century represented not only by the dictionary by Indian author; and also, because the *DPF*s of 20-30 time span have proved to contain exactly the same list of entries and definitions. As a result, I have four idiom dictionaries covering about 25 years around the beginning of the 20th century.

As for the *OED online*, which I have consulted alongside the four old dictionaries discussed above, although very informative, many entries in the *OED* cannot be used. As they have not been updated yet, and it is sometimes impossible to get an entire history of meaning development of a phrase up to present days. For example, for idiom *beg the question*, the latest quotation that given is dated back to 1870. And it is stated on the entry of *BEG, v.* under which *beg the question* is found, that this entry has not been fully updated and that this entry was first published in 1887. Additionally, some idioms from the sample I have not found in *OED*, hence, I have mainly focused on four sources for meaning attestation of that period.

### 3.3.2. Overview of historical idiom dictionaries

The dictionaries used are limited to the past century because little exists in the way of idiom lexicography in earlier periods. Prior to the 20th century idiom dictionaries were often bilingual or trilingual, that is, idioms were translated into Latin, German or French, and no English definitions were given. For example, English idiom dictionaries that also have definitions in English mostly started to appear in the second half and closer to the end of the 19th century. Seemingly, the majority of them had been aimed at language learners, and many at Indian languages speakers. Compare, for example, dictionaries I have listed in Table 9, where I have indicated the titles, the year of publication, and a brief outline why these idiom dictionaries could not serve the purpose of the current research.

**Table 9 - Summary of English idiom dictionaries published prior to the 20th c. in the ascending order**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of the dictionary and author</th>
<th>Year of publication</th>
<th>Reasons for exclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>The idioms of the French language, compared with those of the English, in a series of polite and instructive conversations</em>, by Charles Praval, Dublin: printed for W. and H. Whitestone, №29, Capel-Street</td>
<td>1568</td>
<td>Even if there are idioms, you cannot identify them easily, because they are given in the dialogs, within the text. So it is difficult to understand which one was considered an idiom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>A dictionary English, German and French, containing not only the English words in their alphabetical order, together with their several significations; but also their proper accent, phrases, figurative speeches, idioms, &amp; proverbs, Taken from the best new ENGLISH DICTIONARIES. M. Christian Ludwig, Leipzig, Ben Thomas S/Fritschen</td>
<td>1706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A dictionary of English and Latin idioms, by William Walker, B.D., London</td>
<td>1712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Exercises to the rules of construction of French-Speech. Consisting of passages extracted out of the best French authors, with a reference to the grammar-Rules, to be turned back into French, By Lewis Chambaud, London</td>
<td>1750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The analysis of the French and English languages: with their roots and idioms. In two volumes. By James Elphinston, London</td>
<td>1756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>A COMPLETE ENGLISH GRAMMAR On a NEW PLAN. For the USE of FOREIGNERS, AND Such Natives as would acquire a Scientifical Knowledge of their own Tongue. In TWO PARTS. By CHARLES WISEMAN, N.P. LONDON: Printed for W. Nicol, in St. Paul’s Church-Yard</td>
<td>1764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>An Alphabetical Collection of familiar English idioms, with their different applications, in the French language, for the use of schools, by Peter Magnant, Author of the French Scholar’s Assistant, London</td>
<td>1767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>A dictionary of the idioms of the French and English languages, Goujon</td>
<td>1812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>The elements of English conversation, with new, familiar and easy dialogues, each preceded by a suitable vocabulary, in French, English, and Italian, designed particularly for the use in schools, by John Perrin. A new edition, carefully revised and enlarged with a choice of English idioms, by Chambaud. Naples, in the printing-office of the Council of State</td>
<td>1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The English and the French languages compared in their grammatical constructions, in two parts. Part the first; being an introduction to the syntax of both Languages, by WM. DUVERGER. The seventh edition. London: printed by George Larrance, Dorset Street, Salisbury Square</td>
<td>1816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Ready guide to French composition, or the French grammar by examples; giving models, as leading strings, throughout accidence and syntax; and presenting a comparative view of the English and French idioms, in their principal differences, by Mons. Le Page, London: Effingham Wilson, publisher, Royal Exchange, printed by J. Wertheimer and Co., Finsbury Circus, m.dccc.xlix</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>No separate section of idioms, and everything is given either from English to French or vice versa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. English and French, French and English Idioms. A key to all the modern idioms and idiomatic phrases of the French and English languages. Prosper Belin, London: Longmans, Green, And co.</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>(Very small), half of the book is French phrases with English translation; the other half is English to French translations. Preface is in French. Apparently, highlighted only one word in a phrase, possibly meaning that that one word is idiomatic in a phrase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. The easy interpreter, being an alphabetically arranged collection of English idioms, expressions, phrases, &amp;c. By Sorabji Bomanji Pestonji Master, of the Bombay proprietary school. Bombay: Printed at the “Indian Spectator” Press</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Published before the required period. Plus the number of idioms from my sample found is less than ten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Book of Phrases, A book of phrases and idioms of the English language; designed for Indian students. 2nd edition. Revised and improved. BHOWANIPORE, Printed by Barada Kanta Vidyaratna, at the oriental press, No21, Strand Road</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Idioms from my sample have not been found.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Anglicisms, No. 1, being A Collection of some of the most difficult Idioms in the English Language, alphabetically arranged, for the purpose of assisting Foreigners in the Study of the Language. J. Ralph, London: C. Goodwin Norton. Anglicisms, No. 2.</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>No. 1. Idioms are thought to be not only idioms as we know them today, but as in general, peculiarities of language, collocations, no definitions given. No. 2. Same as above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>English idioms and how to use them. With an appendix explaining common allusions to persons and incidents mentioned in the Bible. A book for Indian students. By W. McMordie, M.A., New edition: revised and enlarged. Bombay: SUNDERRAO PANDURANG, Kalkadevi Road; Calcutta: Calcutta School Book Society; and other booksellers.</td>
<td>1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>The students handbook of English words and idioms, with conversion of sentences and parsing. By Dwarka Prasad.</td>
<td>1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Beginners’ Dictionary of English words, phrases, and idioms done into Bengali, by Behimadhav Ganguli, Calcutta: A. K. Roy &amp; Co.</td>
<td>1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>The students practical dictionary of Idioms, Phrases and Terms with explanations in English and Roman Urdu. Allahabad: Ram Nalain Ral</td>
<td>1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>English idioms and how to use them. With an appendix explaining common allusions to persons and incidents mentioned in the bible. A book for Indian students. By W. McMordie, M.A., Bombay: Gopal Narayan &amp; CO., Kalbadevi Road; Calcutta: Joseph Chandra Banerji, Canning Library; and other booksellers.</td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>STUDENTS DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH WORDS, COMPOUND WORDS, PHRASES AND IDIOMS DONE INTO BENGALI WITH ENGLISH MEANINGS. By Ashu Tosh Dev, 22/2 Jhamapuker Lane, Calcutta.</td>
<td>1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>A readable dictionary of phrases, idioms and colloquialisms, giving the origin, derivation, or source of popular words, phrases, idioms, and slang, by BABU LAL SUD, B.A., M.R.A.S., barrister-at-law. Published by the author Kapurthala State, India. T. Whittingham &amp; CO., LTD., Printers, 10/12, Little Trinity Lane, London, E.C.</td>
<td>1914</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It becomes apparent that closer to the end of the 19th century English idiom dictionaries gain their popularity in India and get published in abundance. Nevertheless, I have aimed at
finding an idiom dictionary that has been published in the English speaking as a first language country, particularly in the UK. Therefore, I have done a thorough research into the idioms dictionaries published in the UK at the period.

Bearing in mind that not all authors prefer to use the term ‘idiom’, I have investigated various possibilities, like, ‘dictionary of phrases’, ‘dictionary of quotations’, dictionary of speech formulae’, and akin. I have discovered dictionaries that were published in the UK but many were produced after 1920s, and some had focused on providing translations to or from other languages. For instance, I have found a dictionary published in 1910 in Edinburgh, titled *Dictionary of Foreign Phrases and Classical Quotations, Comprising 14,000 idioms, proverbs, maxims mottoes, technical words and terms, and press allusions from the works of the great writers in Latin, French, Italian, Greek, German, Spanish, Portuguese*. And, although, it is stated to be ‘with English translations and equivalents’, the dictionary essentially lists the famous foreign phrases in the languages above that followed by a literal translation into English, without English idiomatic equivalents.

Another example of English to English idiom dictionary I have found is *A Desk-Book of English Idioms and Idiomatic Phrases*, by Frank H. Vizetelly and Leander J. de Bekker. It has been excluded from the research because firstly it was written by American authors, not British. Secondly, it was published in 1923, New York. At the required period of time, in the UK, dictionaries that contained idioms among other entries do not get published as much. A famous exception was, and is, *The Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* by Brewer (henceforth *DPF*), which had been published in 1870 and has been reproduced many times ever since. Consequently, the choice of idiom dictionaries has been limited to the four dictionaries I have worked with (Table 8) and described in the following sub-sections.

### 3.3.3. The search procedure and the layout of historical idiom dictionaries

In the following sub-sections I give a brief outline of four historical idioms dictionaries I have used in current research, and illustrate the research for my sample with examples from each dictionary respectively.
3.3.3.1. *A Manual of Phraseology, Containing Idiomatic Phrases and Elegant Expressions of Famous Authors*

*A Manual of Phraseology* (*MOP*) was published in 1878 in Madras by Highland and Co. No name of the author has been given, and the author is called ‘the Compiler’ in the preface. The Compiler says at the preface that it is the first attempt of that kind, that there was no English idioms dictionary in India beforehand. The Manual is aimed at the general public and ‘particularly to the Native Officials that are panting for work of this sort’ (p. ii). Compared to the current dictionaries’ preface, in this manual no description of layout is given, however, it is clear from the following pages that idioms are listed in the alphabetical order. It is not entirely evident which component of an idiom served as a headword, as was the case with the other three historical dictionaries of interest.

Therefore, when conducting the research on my sample, I have looked for each content word contained in an idiom. For instance, for the idiom *a lame duck* I searched for words *lame* under letter L, and *duck* under letter D. In cases where the idiom was found via one word, I have additionally looked for the second component in another letter, because occasionally I have found idioms given more than one time under different letters. In the case of the idiom *a lame duck*, it has been written twice in *MOP*, first time with an indefinite article, and another time without:

(9) a. **Idiom**: *A lame duck* – A defaulter; a bankrupt.
   b. **Idiom**: *Lame duck* – A defaulter; one that is not regular in payment.

Although the first definition ‘a defaulter’ coincides in both entries, the additional meaning, provided after semicolon, albeit belonging to the same semantic field, is different from the second entry. Hence, the search via all components of an idiom has proved to be fruitful. The representation of meanings is different from entry to entry. In some cases the choice of representing meanings using semicolon or numbering meanings, seemingly depends on the degree of difference between senses; however not in all cases. As well as providing example sentence is present or absent in various entries. For example, the idiom *run riot* in (10) is given with two numbered definitions and with example sentence only for the first meaning:

(10) **Idiom**: *Run riot* –
Definition 1: To go to the utmost excess without restrain.
Example: ‘I have run into all kinds of dissipation and riot.’ R.Burns

Definition 2: To act in a very disorderly way.

Although the compiler claims they consulted many established British and American authors (*MOP* 1878: ii), it appears that example sentences have been added in less than a half of the entries, or for one of the meanings only. It is also not particularly obvious why the author has given some definitions via numbering meanings as in (10), and others using semicolon, as in (11):

(11) Idiom: To go to the wall –
Definition: To be hard pressed or driven; to be the weaker party.

As a result, I have only found 13 idioms in *MOP* out of 172 idioms in my total sample. Cases like (9) above, although found as different entries, I have considered as one idiom and have analysed them accordingly.

### 3.3.3.2. The Indian Students Guide to the Use of English Idioms

*The Indian Students Guide to the Use of English Idioms* (hereafter *ISG*) was published in 1883, Calcutta, by Bholanauth Paul. It is the second edition of the guide. The book consists of three parts dedicated to the ‘three great stumbling blocks in the path of an Indian student’ (p. ii), namely, The Articles, Prepositions, and Words, Phrases, and Proverbs being the biggest chapter of the book. Part I describes the rules for the use of articles with extracts from literature for illustration. Part II mainly focuses on collocations of nouns, adjectives, and verbs with the prepositions they usually collocate with; which is then defined and followed by examples from English literature, as shown in (12) for example.

(12) Entry: Abandoned by =
Definition: Forsaken by; renounced by.
Example: Then he (Savage) was taken up by Lord Tyrconnel, but abandoned by him after a violent quarrel. – Leslie Stephen.

The entries are given in alphabetical order, in both Part II and Part III. Since some idioms in
my sample contain prepositions, I also have conducted the search through the prepositional phrases in Part II. I have not found any expressions from my sample in Part II. Part III lays out words and phrases in the alphabetical order with the headword given first, and the rest of the phrase after the comma, like in (13):

(13) \textbf{Entry}: Aback, stand =

\textbf{Definition}: Do not come forward, but remain in a standing posture behind.
\textbf{Example}: “Stand aback, my masters,” he added, addressing the gentlemen of his chamber, “for this concerneth no ears but mine.” – Scott.

Both dictionaries, \textit{MOP} and \textit{ISG}, are written in English, and although they have been aimed at Indian students, there is no translation into Indian languages. The representation of meaning in \textit{ISG} is different to \textit{MOP}, in that it does not number additional meanings of a phrase, but rather lists them via semicolon or through the alternative ‘or’, as for example in (14. a.) below.

(14) a. \textbf{Entry}: Heels, at one’s =

\textbf{Definition}: Closely attending or following one; in close pursuit of one.

As for the example sentences, the \textit{ISG}’s author yields at least one for each entry, in many cases two or more, listed with letters as in (14.b.):

(14) b. \textbf{Examples}: (a) There was an easy self-possessed disdain about him, which utterly abashed the young monk, and abashed too, the whole crowd of rascals \textit{at his heels}. – C. Kingsley.

(b) He was the terror of all the farmyards in the country into which be made fearful inroads, and sometimes he would make his sudden appearance in the garrison at daybreak, with the whole neighbourhood \textit{at his heels}. – Irving.

Similarly to the search in \textit{MOP}, I have searched for each of the content words in the idioms, to be certain none were missed. As a result, I have found 27 idioms from my sample in \textit{ISG}, 10 of which overlap with idioms found in \textit{MOP}. The scope of \textit{ISG} appears to be similar to that of the \textit{Dictionary of Phrase and Fable} by Brewer, in the sense that \textit{ISG}’s Part III provides definition for some single words too. I discuss the \textit{Dictionary of Phrase and Fable}, its layout,
and the sample investigation in the next section.

3.3.3.3. Dictionary of Phrase and Fable

*Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (henceforth *DPF*) has a long-standing history of publication, starting from the first dictionary published in 1870 and the most recent one in its 19th edition in 2012 (Brewer’s Dictionary of Phrase & Fable 2012: i). However, the exploration into the older editions of *DPF* between 1870 and 1953 has shown that there had been numerous publications of *DPF* during the above-mentioned period, some of which appeared to be the duplications of previous editions, reprinted by different publishers. The 1953 dictionary had become the publication after which the editions started to be officially numbered. Hence, any *DPF* edition published between 1870 and 1953 does not have valid information on which edition it was.

For the purposes of current research I have chosen the 1904’s edition, which was based on the revised and updated edition of *DPF* in 1896, published shortly before the author died. The Reverend E. Cobham Brewer was the compiler of the first few dictionaries, and later on the dictionaries have had various editors and began to be called ‘Brewer’s Dictionary of Phrase and Fable’. The content and layout of entries had essentially been reproduced for more than a century. Only in 1995 the Brewer’s Dictionary has undergone some substantial changes in terms of its content.

The full title of the *DPF* in 1904 is *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, Giving the Derivation, Source, or Source of Common Phrases, Allusions, and Words that have a Tale to Tell*. Therefore, strictly speaking it is not an idiom dictionary, as it is known today, but a reference work comprising idioms and proverbs with their explanation, i.e. ‘Phrase’, and single words and multi-word expressions referring to historical events and figures, literature and mythology, and many more, that is, ‘Fable’. However, as I have noted before, there was no English to English idiom dictionary published around the beginning of the 20th century in the UK, hence, the *DPF* has appeared to be the most useful resource for the aims of the current research.

The entries of *DPF* are arranged alphabetically. Sometimes several phrases are listed under one main word, which is in alphabetical order. As for example in (15), where the idiom *come a cropper* is found under the word *Cropper* as an example phrase in the past tense:
(15) **Main entry:** Cropper.

**Sub-entry:** He came a cropper. – He fell head over heels.

**Following sub-entry:** To get a cropper. – To get a bad fall. ‘Neck and crop’ means altogether, and to ‘come a cropper’ is to come to the ground neck and crop.

One of the major purposes of the *DPF* has been to explain why certain expression means what it means. Therefore, almost all entries contain the explanation of origin of the phrase or word, in few cases followed by an example sentence. As with the *MOP* described in section 3.3.3.1, I have searched for each content word in an idiom and have found duplications of the same idiom but followed with distinct definition and/or explanation. For instance, the search for idiom *rough and ready*, via ‘rough’ and ‘ready’ respectively, although have resulted in two entries, as in (16.a) and (16.b) below, does not really provide the meaning of the idiom, rather its origin:

(16)  

a. **Entry: Rough and Ready.** – Said to be derived from Colonel Rough, who was in the battle of Waterloo. The story says that the Duke of Wellington used to say “Rough and ready, colonel,” and the family adopted the words as their motto.

b. **Entry: Rough and Ready.** – So General Zachary Taylor, twelfth president of the United States, was called. (1786 – 1853.)

Occasionally, the same idiom that is given twice as different entries has reference to the first entry for a detailed explanation, as in (17.a) and (17.b) for the idiom *up the spout*:

(17)  

a. **Main entry:** Spout.

**Sub-entry:** Up the spout. – At the pawnbroker’s. In allusion to the “spout” up which brokers send the articles ticketed. When redeemed they returned down the spout – *i.e.* from the store-room to the shop.

b. **Entry: Up the spout.** – In pawn. (See Spout.)

In addition to the explanation as to ‘why’, the entry in many cases contains a word/phrase etymology; in terms of what language it has come from into English; or the original expression in other language the phrase was borrowed from. For example the entry for the idiom *carry the day* in (18) has the definition of idiom as well as the original phrase in Latin:
Entry: Carry the Day (To). –
Definition: To win the contest; to carry off the honours of the day.
Note: In Latin victoriam reportāre.

In contrast to MOP and ISG, Brewer has not numbered additional meanings of an idiom, but rather put them either with semicolon, as in (18), or as two separate entries, as in (17) and (16) above. In total, the investigation of my sample in DPF has yielded 42 idioms out of 172; seven of which overlap with idioms found in MOP and ISG (more on the results of overlapping entries refer to Chapter 4). To provide visual representation of overlapping idioms I have collated idioms that have been found in two or more historical dictionaries of idioms into the Table 1, Appendix 3. Idioms that have been only found in one of the four historical idiom dictionaries, I have gathered into the Table 1, Appendix 4.

3.3.3.4. The Students Constant Companion, a Dictionary of Phrases, Idioms & Proverbs

The Students Constant Companion, a Dictionary of Phrases, Idioms & Proverbs (hereafter SCDI), third edition, was published in 1908, Calcutta, by Subal Chandra Mitra. The SCDI is aimed at Indian students who learn English and is said to contain ‘a moderately exhaustive collection of the phrases, idioms and proverbs’ (p. vi). The layout of the dictionary is organized in the following way. The entries are arranged alphabetically. Firstly, the English phrase is followed by its equivalent or translation in Bengali. Then follow English definition and example sentences, which in some cases have been taken from literature, in others examples have been apparently made up.

When an idiom has several definitions, the author provides Bengali version first, and then the English meaning. Additional definitions are hence given via semicolon, or as new sentences, and not numbered. For the purposes of current research, Bengali translations have been omitted when I collected idiom definitions. In many cases the compiler has illustrated the meaning by more than one sentence, which are numbered.

The following entry for the idiom fall flat in (19) can fully demonstrate the dictionary design (the punctuation of SCDI is followed here).

Entry: Fall flat. – (Bengali translation or equivalent) Come prostrate to the
ground: e.g. His foot slipped, and he fell flat on the stairs. (Bengali translation or equivalent) Produce no response or result; fail of the intended effect: e.g. His speech fell flat. (Bengali translation or equivalent) Prove insipid; fail to arouse interest or cause amusement: e.g. (1) The jokes of his friend fell flat on him. (2) The lofty and spirit-stirring eloquence, which had made Pitt Supereme in the House of Commons, often fell flat on the House of Lords. – Macaulay. (3) Her remark fell flat – every one knows the effect of the reproduction of a worn-out jest – and had a sobering effect upon the little company. – J. Payn.

As with all three above described dictionaries, I have looked for each keyword in idiom and have found entries that either have same idiom for both entries with distinct meanings, as in (20.a-b), or idioms that slightly differ in structure, and thus have been considered as different expressions, as in (21.a-b) below.

(20)  

a. **Entry: Flash in the pan.** – Burst or break forth with a flood of flame and light in the pan, without being attended by any explosion: e.g. (1) The powder flashed in the pan. – Webster. (2) His musket had flashed in the pan. – Southey. End in smoke; come to nothing: e.g. (1) It was highly fortunate that the conspiracy had flash in the pan. (2) So far as England was concerned generally, the rebellion had flashed in the pan. – Froude.

(20)  

b. **Entry: (A) flash in the pan.** – The flashing of the priming in the pan of a flint lock musket. [Hence] Sudden, spasmodic effort that accomplishes nothing.

In the (21), the sought-for idiom has been draw the line, and I have searched for a keyword draw under letter D (21.a) and a keyword line under letter L (21.b). Although both entries slightly vary in structure, I have considered them as one entry, and included both phrases into the preliminary comparative analysis of my sample (refer to Section 3.6).

(21)  

a. **Entry: Draw the line.** – [Colloquial] – Fix a limit; impose a restriction beyond which it would be impolitic to go: e.g. On the principle of “doing at Turkey as the Turkeys do” we should even have ridden donkeys on the sand if I had not put a firm veto on it, saying, “We must draw the line somewhere.” – English Magazine.

(21)  

b. **Entry: Draw a line between.** – Define the limit so as to show clearly the difference between; draw a distinction between: e.g. Nobody thought of drawing a line between those who ought to be allowed to sit in the House of Commons and those who ought to be shut out. – Macaulay.

The SCDI’s author has also marked certain entries for the register of usage, that is, whether
the phrase is used in slang or colloquial speech, or it can be applied in its literal and/or figurative sense. For example for the phrase *sow/plant the seeds of something*, in *SCDI* we find the following entry:

(22) **Entry:** *Sow the seeds of* [Literally] – Scatter the seed of. Hence, [figuratively] Lay the basis of: e.g. (1) One of the main objects of the Indian National Congress is to *sow the seeds of* union between the different races of India. (1) It *sows the seeds of* disease and premature death. – Smiles.

In the overall exploration into *SCDI* I have collected 64 idioms, 42 of which have been found in one or more other dictionaries (See Appendices 3 & 4). The overview of the number of idioms found in each dictionary and the number of idioms that coincide I provide at the end of the section 3.4.

In the next section I outline the procedure I have followed in searching for my sample in the selected historical idioms dictionaries and illustrate the process with the case study of an idiom *see the light*. I as well discuss the final sample that I have included into the corpora stage (refer to Section 3.5).

### 3.4. Sample research procedure in current and historical idiom dictionaries

It is inevitable that the variety and number of idioms included will be different across dictionaries. Therefore, I have used several dictionaries of the same time period, namely around the beginning of the 20th century, to find as many idioms from the sample as possible. The recorded definitions have been compared between two periods, the beginning of the 20th and the 21st centuries, in addition to the data gathered from the *OED* where needed. The following is an outlined description of data collection procedure with the idiom *see the light*.

As a starting point, I recorded the *CCID* entry on *see the light* into the comparison table (see Table 3 below, row 1). The rationale for incorporating all the data into one table is to visually evaluate possible divergences in definitions from different periods. Then, I searched for the idiom in the dictionaries listed in Table 1, and if found, the definitions and example sentences for that idiom from each of the dictionaries, have been cataloged into the comparison table. Lastly, I have consulted the *OED* online, and added relevant data into the table. In each entry from *OED*, I have indicated whether the entry has been updated or not, and which year the
entry was first published, as stated on the website. In cases where *OED* provides many quotations, I have included in the table the first and the last one, as well as the one, if there is such, from the required period. Following the conventions of the *OED*, each quotation is preceded by a year it was found in.

### Table 10 - *See the light* in current and historical dictionaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dictionary</th>
<th>Idiom (form/entry, found under)</th>
<th>Definition (meaning 1)</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Definition (meaning 2)</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. CCID (2012)</td>
<td>✪ See the light</td>
<td>1. If someone <em>sees the light</em>, they realize or understand something, often something that makes them change wrong or unpleasant behaviour or opinions.</td>
<td>(1) Eventually he had seen the light and broken off the relationship.</td>
<td>2. If someone <em>sees the light</em>, they start believing in a religion.</td>
<td>(1) Pray for them that they may see the light.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. MOP (1878)</td>
<td>Not given (N/G)</td>
<td>N/G</td>
<td>N/G</td>
<td>N/G</td>
<td>N/G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ISG (1883)</td>
<td>See the light</td>
<td>Be born; come into existence; hence, be published.</td>
<td>(1) He will find, for example, that at Berlin a new work of George Elliot appears almost on the same day on which it first sees the light in London. – <em>The Cornhill Magazine</em>. (2) In November Byron printed for private circulation the first issue of his Juvenile poems. Mr. Beecher having called his attention to one which he thought objectionable, the impression was destroyed; and the author set to work upon another, which at once weeded and amplified saw the light in January, 1807. – J. Nichol.</td>
<td>(1) The meanings are separated by semicolon, and examples are given together. Therefore, I have put them in one column.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. DPF (1904)</td>
<td>N/G</td>
<td>N/G</td>
<td>N/G</td>
<td>N/G</td>
<td>N/G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. SCDI (1908)</td>
<td>See the light</td>
<td>Be brought to light; be revealed or disclosed; come out to the public.</td>
<td>(1) The whole affair is mystery, and will, perhaps, never see the light. (2) He gave several hours to the composition of a novel, which however, has not yet seen the light. – Smiles.</td>
<td>(1) The meanings are separated by semicolon, and examples are given together.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. OED [This entry has not yet been fully updated (first published 1903).]</td>
<td>Under <em>Light</em>, n. 1 c. to see the light</td>
<td>To come into the world; to be brought forth or published. Now also, to reach a full understanding or realization; to be converted (esp. to Christianity).</td>
<td>(1) 1687 W. Petty <em>Polit. Arithm.</em> (1690) Ded., Had not the Doctrins offended France, they had long since seen the light. (2) 1903 N.Y. <em>Evening Post</em> 10 Sept. It is altogether likely that they, too, will see the light before another week has passed. (3) 1966 ‘L. Lane’ <em>ABZ of Scouse</em> 94 See ther light, to plead guilty or to reform.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this manner, the cross-comparison of the data on *see the light* has been made, regarding its
definitions in different periods and examples provided for illustration. The preliminary interpretations have been then attested in the corpora approach, which I describe in the section 3.6, and the findings I discuss in the analysis chapter later on.

Group 1 contains 35 idioms with etymological notes indicating there has been some change in it. I have detected only 17 idioms in one or more historical idiom dictionaries. From the Group 2, containing 137 frequent polysemous idioms, I have discovered 58 idioms, in one or more historical dictionaries, which equals 75 in total, including 17 from the etymological Group 1. The number of idioms found in each dictionary is the following: MOP – 13 idioms, ISG – 27 idioms, DPF – 42 idioms, and SCDI – 64. Out of 75 idioms 31 idioms have been only found in one of the dictionaries. Whereas 44 overlap in two or more historical idiom dictionaries (see Table 1, Appendix 3), and these I have analysed similarly to see the light in Table 10 above. Carrying out the comparative analysis of definitions of 44 overlapping idioms within two periods, I have encountered several problematic cases for the current research. As a result, I have rejected 16 idioms as I discuss in the next section.

3.5. Problematic cases and sample final reduction procedure

During the dictionary stage I have recorded all entries related to my sample from historical idiom dictionaries. From the 172 idioms in both groups, I have collected idioms discovered in two or more idiom dictionaries (Table 1, Appendix 3). Although the total number of these idioms is 44, not all of them turned out to be analysable and/or relevant for the current research. For example, the idiom rough and ready, in (16) above, was found in two dictionaries, DPF and SCDI. However, the close inspection of the entry in DPF has shown that the dictionary does not provide the definition of the idiom, rather the allusion to the historical figure, cf. (23a-b):

(23)

a. **Entry: Rough and Ready**. – Said to be derived from Colonel Rough, who was in the battle of Waterloo. The story says that the Duke of Wellington used to say “Rough and ready, colonel,” and the family adopted the words as their motto.

b. **Entry: Rough and Ready**. – So General Zachary Taylor, twelfth president of the United States, was called. (1786 – 1853.)

Consequently, the idiom has been transferred to the group of 31 idioms (out of 75) that have been identified in one dictionary only, and therefore excluded from the final sample that has
been taken to the corpora stage. The lexicographical data on remaining 44 idioms have been analysed and cases like *rough and ready* above became part of the 16 problematic cases.

Another case where the idiom has to be rejected from the current research is idioms whose meaning change is not traceable within the time period under discussion. In other words, after having conducted the comparative analysis of idioms’ definitions between two periods, I have identified cases where the meaning given century ago does not differ from the meaning given in the current dictionary, although the etymological note indicates a possible meaning change. For instance, the idiom *behind the scene* in the *CCID* has an etymological note that states ‘…it was originally used to refer to those events in a play that took place off-stage’. And the entry defines the idiom as ‘if someone does something *behind the scenes*, they do it in private or secretly, rather than publicly’. *MOP* (1878) provides the same, although shorter, definition of ‘In secret’.

And in *SCDI* (1908) the definition is identical ‘in secret’. Therefore, despite the fact that *CCID* (2012) claims the idiom previously had another meaning, the meaning change is not attestable within the one hundred years’ time span.

Some cases, such as in Table 11 below, have an indication of previous usage and different referent, and is currently assigned to the journalistic term, but have not changed their meaning within the period of time under discussion.

**Table 11 - Exclusion of idiom carry the day**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dictionary</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CCID (2012)</td>
<td>✪ Carry the day [JOURNALISM] - If a person or their opinion <em>carries the day</em> in a competition or argument, they win it. This expression was originally used to say which army had won a battle.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ISG (1883) | Carry the day - Win the victory; come off victorious. The country could not be divided, and the majority *carried the day*. – Froude.  
(b) When such discussions arise, money generally *carries the day* – and should do so. – A. Trollope. The cardinals were divided; but the Spanish party were the strongest, and when the votes were taken *carried the day*. – Froude. |
| DPF (1904) | Carry the Day (To). – To win the contest; to carry off the honours of the day. In Latin, *victoriam reportāre*. |
| SCDI (1908)| Carry the day. – Come out victorious; win a contest or dispute: e.g. (1) It was the English archers that *carried the day* in that battle. (2) Notwithstanding the weakness of their case, the defection of their leader and the ability of their opponent, the very nearly *carried the day*. – Macaulay. |

The definitions of *carry the day* in historical idiom dictionaries, although slightly differing in
wordings, still carry the same meaning. One of them even contains a specified context of argument ‘win a contest or dispute’. It could be argued that the idiom undergoes the semantic change in the sense that it starts being referred to any competition in general, and not only to an army winning the battle. However, the definitions given hundred years ago contain both usages, and can be considered wide enough to include not only war related sphere, but also apply to competition in general.

In a similar fashion, cases such as in Table 12, were excluded from the final sample, as the meaning has not changed. Even though the current form of the idiom is insignificantly different from the form in historical dictionaries, I have regarded them as the same expression.

**Table 12 - Exclusion of idiom at your fingertips**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CCID (2012)</th>
<th>JSG (1883)</th>
<th>DPF (1904)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>✪ At your fingertips – (1)</td>
<td>Ends, to have at one’s fingers’ - To be thoroughly familiar with; to be off-hand with.</td>
<td>Fingers’ Ends. – I have it at my fingers’ ends. – I am quite familiar with it and can do it readily. It is a Latin proverb (Scīre tanquam un’gues)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you have something <strong>at your fingertips</strong>, it is easily available for you to reach.</td>
<td>(a) If he could not be correctly said to have his tongue at his fingers’ ends, he might certainly be said to have it anywhere but in his face. – Dickens. (b) In Geography and History he had all the world at his fingers’ ends. – De Foe.</td>
<td>(2) If you have facts or information <strong>at your fingertips</strong>, you know them thoroughly and can refer to them quickly. E.g. She has figures about the performance of her business <strong>at her fingertips</strong>. E.g. I need to have all the answers <strong>at my fingertips</strong> in case I’m questioned about the matter.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that this idiom initially had been taken into consideration because it is provided with numbered sub-senses, implying that **at your fingertips** is polysemous, hence, likely to be undergoing semantic change. Nevertheless, in this case, I would argue that the meaning in both numbered sub-senses is sufficiently similar to be paraphrased as one general meaning. And such a specification of senses, i.e. the division into ‘something’ being at reach and ‘facts/information’ being easily available, should not be considered as two separate
meanings of the phrase. Perhaps with time, if the second sub-sense starts being statistically frequently used with ‘facts and information’ as its collocates, and if in this case, it is only used to mean both ‘thorough knowledge and its availability’, then probably it could be concluded that previous dictionaries compilers did not specify the idiom definition that rigorously, which current dictionary does.

Other types of cases that I have not included into the corpora stage analysis, have been related to the difference in structure between different periods, e.g. the added negation, or disappeared adjective of positive value, as in the idiom _stand the chance_, and the difference in function and form and/or structure of an idiom, the idiom _at home_, in Table 13 and 14 respectively. The idiom _stand a chance_ I have distinguished in three historical idiom dictionaries out of four. The idiom _at home_ I have identified in all four historical idiom dictionaries.

**Table 13 - Exclusion of idiom _stand a chance_**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dictionary (Year)</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| CCID (2012)       | **Stand a chance** –
|                   | (1) If someone or something _stands a chance_, it is possible that they will succeed. E.g. Nathan realised that their marriage hadn’t stood a chance.
                   | E.g. I obviously did _stand a chance_, because before too long Geoff asked me to dance and we spent the rest of the evening together.
                   | (2) If someone or something does not _stand a chance_, they are certain to be killed, destroyed or defeated. E.g. The car exploded. She _didn’t stand a chance_. |
| MOP (1878)        | I _stand a fair chance_. – I am in a favourable position. ‘You see that if to know one’s errors were a probability of mending them, I _stand a fair chance_.’ R. Burns. |
| ISG (1883)        | **Stand a chance of** - Be likely to.
                   | Somebody told my mother that if I survived to the age of fifteen I might turn out to possess a more than average amount intellect; but that otherwise I _stood a chance of_ dying an idiot. – Leigh Hunt. |
| SCDI (1908)       | **Stand a good chance**. – Have a reasonable expectation or great likelihood:
                   | e.g. There are only a few applicants for the post, of whom your friend seems to be the best, and he therefore _stands a good chance of_ obtaining the job. |

In the case of _stand a chance_ I have observed two semantic characteristics that might have influenced the differences in connotation between two periods. First of all, current dictionary’s compilers have divided the definition in two numbered sub-senses, the first one relating to ‘possible success’, and the second sub-sense referring to ‘possibility of being defeated’. However, the second definition states: ‘if someone/something DOES NOT stand a chance’ (my emphasis).

It is possible to conclude that the second meaning is always negative, as it is always accompanied by the negation. With the first meaning, however, both variants are possible,
which makes it possible for the idiom to have both, positive and negative connotations. The comparative analysis of the definitions gathered from historical dictionaries, has shown that more than a century ago, the idiom, if used in its canonical form (stand a chance), did in fact have the current meaning, of ‘possible to succeed’ (ISG 1883). And the forms the idiom is given in at the other two dictionaries (MOP 1878 and SCDI 1908) contain adjectives with positive evaluative connotations, namely, ‘fair chance’ and ‘good chance’, both denoting ‘possible success’.

Therefore, with regards to the first meaning in CCID and its counterparts in historical definitions, the meaning has not changed. Whereas the second meaning the CCID lists separately as a different meaning, is in fact the result of the change in form that affected the meaning. Thus, the idiom has been excluded from the further investigation in the corpora stage.

As for the idiom at home, in Table 14 below, in DPF I have detected an interesting deviation in meaning, which had been caused by the different function of the phrase. According to the DPF, the idiom at home is used as a noun, which is also indicated by an indefinite article (an) attached to it. And in this case the idiom does not mean ‘to feel at ease/comfortable’, rather it denotes ‘an invitation sent to lady’s friends to come over for a reception’. Hence, the reception itself has been called ‘at home’ too. The SCDI’s separate entry for the idiom functioning as a noun supports that definition, and in this case, an at home is another idiom.

As for the current two sub-senses, it appears that CCID editors have divided the general meaning presented in historical dictionaries, into two specific meanings, one that collocates with the verb ‘to feel’, meaning ‘feeling comfortable’, and the second one that collocates with the verb ‘to look’. The latter definition then means ‘to look as if you are comfortable’. However, definitions found in historical dictionaries can mean both, and therefore, this idiom was regarded as the one that has not undergone a semantic change within my period and thus excluded.
Table 14 - Exclusion of idiom at home

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CCID (2012)</th>
<th>At home –</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) If you feel at home in a particular place or situation, you feel relaxed, comfortable, and happy. E.g. The girls seem to be quite at home here and I’m sure they will settle in very well after all the excitement dies down. E.g. Melanie is equally at home singing classical music, jazz or performing in musical theatre.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) If someone or something looks at home somewhere, they look as if it is natural and appropriate for them to be there. E.g. The 16-year-old’s huge shoulder and arm muscles would look more at home on a male hammer thrower. E.g. Le Moulin’s painted chairs are typically French, but would look quite at home in an English country kitchen.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| MOP (1878) | To be at home. – To be easy or self-possessed. ‘He was not sufficiently at home to give play to his, &c.’ W. Irving. |

| ISG (1883) | Home, at - At one’s own place of abode; at a place where one appears to be at ease as at home. |
|           | Skettles junior was at home for the holidays. – Dickens. |
|           | (b) Never was an Englishman more at home than when he took his ease in his inn. – Macaulay. |
|           | He had the power of making himself poetically everywhere at home. – J. Nichol. |

| DPF (1904) | At Home (An). – A notification sent to friends that the lady who sends it will be at home on the day and at the hour specified, and will be glad to see the persons mentioned in the card of invitation. These “At homes” are generally held in an afternoon before dinner. Light refreshments are provided, and generally some popular games are introduced, occasionally music and dancing. – Not at Home. – Not disengaged, or prepared for the reception of visitors; not in the house. |

| SCDI (1908) | Be at home to. – Be prepared to receive (visitors) at one’s house: e.g. “Sir Charles Basett!” trumpeted a servant at the door, and then waited, prudently, to know whether this young lady, whom he had caught blushing so red with one gentleman, would be at home to another. – Reade. |
|             | – At home. – At one’s own house or lodging: e.g. (1) He is not at home now. (2) He stayed at home and worked. – Helps. In one’s own town or country: e.g. (1) I was at home during the holidays. (2) At home there was nothing but confusion, abroad there was nothing but disaster. – Buckle. (3) His letters to his mother at home had become of late very rare and short. – Thackeray. (4) At home too, there is prophesying enough, vague hope enough, which for the most part goes wide of the mark. – Carlyle. In a place where one feels himself comfortable and easy as at home. E.g. (1) I am quite at home here. At ease; comfortable: (1) He was quite at home with his new neighbours. (2) At the second visit, this third rat made himself one of the family, and became so perfectly at home, that he resolved to bring his companions, to de Latude. – Chambers. |
|             | – (An) At-home. – A reception or entertainment given in the afternoon or evening: e.g. (1) Sir Charles Allen gave an at-home day before yesterday. (2) Mr. Yates the manager was going to give an entertainment he called his at-homes, and this took but a small orchestra. – Reade. |
|             | At home in. – Perfectly conversant or familiar with (some subject): e.g. (1) He is at home in this sort of writing. (2) It was a pleasure to converse with him on topics in which he was thoroughly at home. – Palgrave. |

The comparative analysis of the definitions of the idiom at home has shown that around a century ago there were two expressions, one which survives today, and means ‘to feel or to look at ease/comfortable’, and another idiom, which seemingly has died out, perhaps due to the cultural changes in the way people invite their friends to visit.
In this manner I have analysed the 44 idioms found in two or more historical dictionaries, and as a result I have 16 idioms excluded from the initial sample of 44 idioms (Table 1, Appendix 5). Thus the final sample that I have then taken into the historical corpora stage investigation consists of 28 idioms (see Table 2, Appendix 6). The idioms in the final sample seem to have potential meaning variation within two time periods and have the same form attested in both periods, which meet the major criteria to prove the hypothesis – meaning change preserving idiom’s canonical form (same form, different meanings in two different periods). I have categorized the final sample into two groups according to the syntactic role the idiom takes in the text, and this categorization I discuss in the next section.

3.5.1. Final sample to go to corpus analysis

In the previous sections I have described the procedures by which I have selected initial set of idioms, gathered data from historical idiom dictionaries and have come up with the final sample of 28 idioms (see Table 2, Appendix 6) that I then have analysed in the historical corpora stage (refer to Section 3.6.3 below). In this section I describe these 28 idioms and the division of them into two differently searched groups as well as idioms’ features that influenced the coding for the corpus search.

Firstly, the corpus search software, which I discuss in the sections below, requires different coding for search, depending on the form of idioms. For example, if the expression contains words that inflect, like in the idiom at a low ebb, it is possible to use this expression in a different form, at its lowest ebb (CCID 2012), and therefore, the corpus search is to be conducted in a way that would allow both forms to be taken into consideration, at a/ its/ their low/ lowest ebb. Idioms that contain a verb, which can take different forms depending on the tense it is used in, for instance, the idiom break your heart, was searched for including all the forms of the irregular verb break, break/ breaks/ broke/ broken/ breaking. In addition, the possessive pronoun in this idiom can be changed too according to the context it is used in, break your/ his/ her/ their/ someone’s heart.

Some idioms contain indefinite pronoun, for example, knock something into a cocked hat. In this case, pretty much anything that could function as a noun phrase could be put instead of the indefinite pronoun, i.e. the idiom contains an open slot. Consequently, the coding of idiom in corpus search should take into account that and the open slot I have replaced with a wild cart [*], which stands for any word in the corpus search. Same as with the above idiom in a
low ebb, where the indefinite article can to be substituted with possessive pronouns, its/ their, I have used the wild cart to have comprised all possibilities. In a similar way I have coded idioms, like take somewhere by storm, where somewhere I have substituted with a wild cart to mean any word. It is in the tradition of CCID to put personal pronoun (e.g. your) instead of indefinite pronoun (e.g. someone’s, one’s) like other dictionaries do. For example, the idiom put your foot down in CCID is given with your, whereas in SCDI it is used with one’s, put down one’s foot. Hence, these idioms contain the so-called open slot too, which I have searched for using the same coding as described above.

In cases where the idiom is preceded with an indefinite article, like in a hue and cry, I have omitted the indefinite article, as it appears the idiom can be used with the definite article too, and in the case of this idiom definiteness or indefiniteness of the article depends on the preceding context, hence, I have searched for hue and cry only, and the differences in the usage of articles I have examined at the corpus data analysis (Chapter 4). The idiom a lame duck was searched in the same manner, as in one of the historical dictionaries, in MOP, it is given twice, with and without indefinite article, in two different entries (see (9) above). In the DPF I have found the idiom with indefinite article, a lame duck, whereas in SCDI it is provided without it, lame duck. Thus, I have input the idiom without any article in the corpus search, enabling the extracted data to contain all variations.

As the result of the analysis of 28 idioms in the final set, their function in the sentence and their structure, I have subdivided the final sample into two major sub-groups: verbal and nominal idioms. This division has appeared to be helpful for the corpus data analysis (refer to Chapter 4). Verbal idioms are the idioms that contain a verb and function as a predicate in the sentence, in order words, such an idiom, if paraphrased, could be potentially substituted with a verb or a verb phrase with a similar meaning. For example, the idiom bite the dust, which has two senses according to the CCID, ‘to fail or stop existing’ and ‘to die’, could possibly be paraphrased by means of another verb or verb phrase, like in the examples (24a-b) and (25a-b):

(24)  a) Quite a few restaurants have bitten the dust recently.
     b) Quite a few restaurants have stopped existing recently.

(25)  a) A Wild West showman nearly bit the dust when he blew himself up making bullets in his garden shed.
     b) A Wild West showman nearly died when he blew himself up making bullets in his garden
The nominal idioms are the idioms that can behave in the sentence as nouns or noun phrases generally do. This group then consists of idioms that can be substituted with a noun, adjective, and/or adverb, thus such idioms’ functions could be nominal, adjectival, and/or adverbial. This further functional specification is discussed in the analysis chapter (Chapter 4); for the time being this group is named ‘nominal’ to encompass all of them. For instance, the idiom *touch and go*, although consisting of two verbs and conjunction, has in fact the function of an adjective in a sentence. In *CCID*, Table 15, this idiom is given with two senses that could be roughly paraphrase to mean ‘uncertain’ and ‘risky’:

**Table 15 - Touch and go in CCID**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idiom entry: Touch and go</th>
<th>Two senses:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) If it is <em>touch and go</em> whether something will happen, you cannot be certain whether it will happen or not. If it is <em>touch and go</em>, you are in a very dangerous situation, where people might die.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Example sentences:        | (1) *It was touch and go whether she should really go through with the court case.*  
|                           | *Nancy nearly lost control of the boat. For a few moments it was touch and go.* |
| Possible paraphrase:      | (1) *It was uncertain whether she should really go through with the court case.*  
|                           | *Nancy nearly lost control of the boat. For a few moments it was risky.* |

The function of an idiom in the sentence, as is the case with other lexemes, can be identified by its position within the sentence. Consequently, identifying the function of the idiom in the sentence can assist in its meaning clarification (refer to section 4.2 for meaning identification methods adapted from Gries 2006). I have partially followed criteria for meaning distinction in Gries’s work on ‘many senses of run’ (2006) implemented his and other existing methods in Chapter 4. The next sections describe historical English language corpora used in the current research and illustrate the corpus search for each group, verbal and nominal.

### 3.6. Historical English language corpora

In the previous sections I have described the process of selection of the data set, the historical idiom dictionaries analysis, a general picture of most of the idioms definitions recorded at two periods, and the final number of idioms that I have subdivided into two groups according to idioms function in the text. In the following sections I discuss historical corpora of the English language, software that enable the corpus search for idioms, and the
coding that is required for idioms that inflect and for idioms that have constituents that do not.

To trace meaning variation of the selected set of idioms I have had to investigate idiom’s usage and meaning development in a wider context, synchronically and diachronically. For the current period, the example sentences in the CCID have appeared to be substantial to support the meaning of each idiom. For the past usage, the turn of the 20th century in my case, I have used three historical English corpora, namely, the British Parliament (Hansard) Corpus at Brigham Young University (BYU) interface available online (henceforth the Hansard Corpus), the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, version 3.1 (hereafter the CLMET), and the Corpus of English Novels (CEN) (see sections 3.6.1 and 3.6.2 respectively). I have grouped them into two sub-corpora roughly based on the genre, i.e. scripted speech corpus (Hansard) and literary corpus (CLMET3.1+CEN).

Various historical corpora of the English language exist, for example, the Penn Parsed Corpus of Historical English (the Helsinki Corpus) or A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers (the ARCHER corpus). However, for the purposes of current research I needed a corpus of English that would meet the following criteria.

The corpus has to cover the period between 1870s and 1910s, the idiom from my data set should be found in such a corpus at least three times, in other words, the corpus had to be very large, since idioms are not that frequent items of language as for example indefinite article or the verb to be. Additional, but not obligatory conditions were the availability of use and software that allows search for multi-word expressions.

The majority of diachronic corpora consist of around one or two million of words, which appears to be too small to find enough examples of idioms usage. For instance, the above mentioned Helsinki Corpus covers three periods in English: Old, Middle, and Early Modern English, which firstly does not include the required period, Early Modern English period in Helsinki corpus is from 1550 to 1710. Secondly, it contains around 1.5 million words only. The ARCHER corpus also covers Early Modern English period, however in this case it spans from 1650 to 1990, which includes the required period. Nevertheless, the size of this corpus is not big enough either. The ARCHER contains 1.7 million words of data. Whereas the Hansard corpus and CLMET+CEN together encompass more than 1.6 billion words and both cover the turn of the 20th century too. In addition, both corpora are available online and allow searching for word strings. Consequently, these corpora have met my criteria and I have used
them in the current research. In the next sections I describe each corpus in greater detail, and the search procedures in each corpora, including the software.

### 3.6.1. Hansard sub-corpus and the procedure for sample search

The British Parliament (Hansard) corpus has been created as part of the SAMUELS project (Semantic Annotation and Mark-Up for Enhancing Lexical Searches) in 2014-2016 (for more information on the project refer to the website: [http://www.hansard-corpus.org/](http://www.hansard-corpus.org/)). The Hansard covers the period of around two centuries, from 1803 up to 2005, and contains 7.6 million speeches, which comprises 1.6 billion words. It is available online at the BYU interface, which allows searching for many different features. For example, the search of a lexeme can be limited by decade, house, party in power, or even by speaker. The search for frequencies of a lexeme that could indicate an increase or decrease in usage is also available. In addition, the interface is designed to enable the search for collocates and words in context, that is, concordance lines can be re-sorted to see the patterns in which lexemes occur. The investigation by decade(s), the frequencies, and most importantly for collocates and contexts are the most pivotal features of this corpus that I have employed in the current research.

As I have mentioned in the section 3.5.1 above, I have divided the final data set into two groups, nominal and verbal idioms. While inputting idioms in the corpus I have noticed that coding of idioms has been influenced by additional feature, the type of idiom, completely opaque and frozen or loosely fixed and semi-transparent. In other words, the fact whether an idiom has constituents that can inflect or other words can be inserted in it, or the idiom is completely fixed and does not allow insertions and does not inflect, has required different coding. For example, the nominal idiom *hue and cry* appears to be so fixed that the input of idiom into the search bar in Hansard corpus has been as it is, *hue and cry*, without further coding being needed. In the Hansard corpus interface another option for searching of word strings that can have other words appearing in between is Collocates. Collocates, or words occurring nearby a word, can be searched within up to nine words to the left and/or to the right, i.e. the length in words that one part of the construction can be from another. The procedure of retrieving collocates of a required lexeme is as follows: one part of construction, usually the first content word, is inserted into the Word(s) bar, and the second part of the word string is input in the Collocates bar. The number of words that can occur between is set up, and then you click ‘search’.
I have searched for idiom *hue and cry* using the collocates tool, to attest my evaluation of the fixedness of the idiom. The maximum length window of nine words, either side, was used and the results I have collected have been the same with the first survey, in Word(s) tool. I should also mention that the simple search, in the Word(s) bar, allows for searching of maximum five words (the so-called n-gram). Therefore, if I wanted to input “hue * and * * cry” to check whether there could be two words inserted between ‘and’ and ‘cry’, and one between ‘hue’ and ‘and’, I would not get any results, as such a search is yet unavailable. Thus, regarding idioms that are less fixed, and have more than two constituents, the inquiry via Collocates tool has proven to be more effective than a simple search.

In the case with verbal idioms like *go to the wall* for example, the analysis of dictionaries data has shown that the word ‘go’ can be post-modified, that is, a word can be inserted after it:

(26) *That gentleman wanted a large sum of money instantly, - something under two thousand pounds, - had no natural friends who could provide it, but must go utterly to the wall without it.*

(Trollope, A., ISG 1883)

Therefore, I have input this idiom in two variants of coding into the corpus search bar: ‘[go] to the wall’ and ‘[go] * to the wall’. Putting a word in square brackets allows searching for all forms of the verb ‘go’, and thus the tokens have been: *go to the wall, goes to the wall, going to the wall, went to the wall, and gone to the wall*. The reason for why I have included the idiom in two variations, with and without possible insertions, is that the search with a wildcard for any word (*) yields examples of idiom with a word inserted only, and does not provide tokens with canonical form of the idiom. In other words, the coding for the idiom with any word inserted after ‘go’ has produced the following variations of the idiom: *going back to the wall, going rapidly to the wall, going up to the wall, went to the wall, went straight to the wall, went up to the wall*, and the list continues up to twelve variations, and none of them are tokens of the dictionary form of the idiom, hence, I have searched for both (on numerical results of corpus investigation see the section 3.6.3 below).

The Hansard corpus allows searching per decades, and when results appear in the right hand window in context, each sentence has a year allocated to it. In the current research I have focused on three decades at the turn of the 20th century. Since the first historical idiom dictionary I have worked with was published in 1878, and the last one in 1908, the three decades I have examined are 1878-1888, 1889-1898, and 1899-1908. In the Hansard output I
have chosen decades 1870s, 1880s, 1890s, and 1900s, and further have gathered example sentences that appeared from 1878 up to 1908. Thus, for example, for the idiom *hue and cry* the results have been the following. From 1800s to 2000s, which is the time span of the Hansard corpus, the total number of tokens yielded from the search is 251.

Then, I have clicked on the required decades, four in total, and have received 26 example sentences with the idiom *hue and cry* in them. And finally, I have chosen tokens from the exact years, beginning with 1878, and the amount of sentences I have collected for further investigation is 20. The tokens are the concordance lines with the key word in context (KWIC), in my case with the idiom *hue and cry* highlighted with bold fond and under-script. The KWIC usually has around twelve words on the left and twelve words on the right. In the current research I have decided to look first at the immediate context, which in the case of the Hansard corpus is the length of concordance line. Whereby the immediate context is not sufficient for meaning distinction, I have analysed a wider context of the idiom, i.e. I have included the sentence before and the sentence after the main sentence with the idiom in it. The Hansard corpus interface also allows searching for wider context, which is achieved by clicking for more context bar in the results window. I have then collected all tokens of wider context for each idiom into the separate Excel spreadsheet (see Table 1, Appendix 6 for the spreadsheet for *hue and cry* for example).

The entire context, i.e. the preceding and following example sentences around each of the 20 idioms found in the Hansard corpus, was added to the tokens gathered from the literary corpus (24 hits for *hue and cry*), which I discuss in the next section. Consequently, I have compiled a corpus of texts containing idioms from my data set, covering the period from 1878 to 1908 (44 hits in total for *hue and cry*). I have then analysed the data using the methods for meaning distinction (refer to sections 4-4.2 below).

3.6.2. Literary sub-corpus and the procedure for sample search

The Hansard corpus, described above, was used to cover the scripted speech genre. To include the written language into the investigation I have addressed two historical literary corpora, Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, version 3.1 (hereafter the CLMET), and the Corpus of English Novels (CEN) (available from [https://perswww.kuleuven.be/~u0044428/clmet3_1.htm](https://perswww.kuleuven.be/~u0044428/clmet3_1.htm)). I have combined these two corpora
into one, and throughout the thesis I refer to it as the Literary corpus, or Literary sub-corpus if I discuss all corpora I have used as one. The CLMET covers the period from 1710 up to 1920 and contains roughly 35 million words. The corpus is subdivided into three 70-year periods, namely, 1710-1780, 1780-1850, and 1850-1920. The latter group of texts contains more than 12.5 million words. To have a bigger corpus for the literary genre I have included the CEN. The CEN consists of novels written between 1881 and 1922, which is the required period. The total number of words in CEN amounts roughly up to 26.2 million words, which combined with the third sub-period in CLMET, creates a corpus of about 39 million words. In the Hansard corpus, although it contains around 1.6 billion words, if calculated by decade, the number of words will be substantially smaller, rough calculation for four decades of interest yields about 208 million words. Thus, the Hansard corpus and the Literary corpus together make up approximately a 247 million corpus in size, which I have used in the current research.

The Literary corpus (CLMET+CEN) is available in plain texts, which could be searched using various programmes. To analyse the texts I have used the software AntConc. AntConc is a freely available toolkit for concordancing and text analysis of a corpus (http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software.html). AntConc allows for analysis of a corpus in various ways. In the Word List bar, for example, it is possible to calculate the total number of words in the uploaded texts. The Literary corpus size is thus more than 39.6 million words. The results of the generated Word List can also show the most frequent word in corpus, indicated by a number next to the word, as well as the least frequent. The most relevant tool in the software is a concordance tool. It permits searching for a lexeme in context. By lexeme here I mean either a word or a phrase.

The Window Size bar at the bottom right corner shows the number of characters that appear in the context to the right and to the left of the KWIC. For instance, the window size of 50 will provide immediate context of about 6 to 10 words to either side of the searched word. Hence, to have equal to Hansard’s wider context size, I have set up the window size at 250 characters.

Firstly, I have uploaded text files into the programme. Text files in CLMET and CEN have a publication year in the title. I have chosen files to cover the time span of the research only. Having the necessary texts in the software, I have then searched for my data set using the following coding. Similarly to the Hansard corpus interface, in the case of idiom hue and cry,
I have it input at idiom’s canonical form, i.e. as it is not allowing permutations. The number of tokens the search yielded is 31 occurrences of *hue and cry* in the Literary corpus, which after deletion of duplicates and titles was 24. Consequently, the total number of contexts for the idiom, i.e. tokens, including the outcome of the Hansard search, which I have gathered in the spreadsheet, is 44. I then coded each token with the date it appeared in and have grouped them according to the three periods, 1878-1888, 1889-1898, and 1899-1908 (for the outline of analysis see section 4.3).

Verbal idioms, and/or idioms that have constituents that inflect, I have coded as the following. The idiom *go to the wall* has the irregular verb ‘go’, which in AntConc is to be searched for using Regex tool. Regex stands for Regular Expression, which is a sequence of characters that describes a search pattern. In this case, the verb ‘go’ I have input via Regex tool, in round brackets in sequence with vertical bar separating each form: ‘(go|goes|going|gone|went) to the wall’. This inquiry yielded 24 concordance hits. I have combined the tokens from the Literary corpus with the results from Hansard and the total quantity of contexts I have stored in the spreadsheet for the idiom *go to the wall* (for numerical results refer to section 3.6.3). It should be noted that many idioms have their literal counterparts, in other words, some occurrences might not be an idiom, but a string of words with literal meaning, for example, *go to the wall* might mean ‘physical pedestrian movement towards the wall’. Therefore, at the later stage of analysis I have excluded occurrences of phrases with literal meaning from the discussion. In this manner, I have searched for and collected tokens for each idiom in the final data set, have gathered them in the individual spreadsheets, and have then analysed contexts adapting methods from Gries’ work (2006) discussed in Section 4.2.

The combined Hansard and Literary corpora in one I rename then into the corpus of English language of the turn of the 20th century, which I have employed in current investigation. I will refer to this corpus throughout the thesis as the Turn of the Century Corpus (henceforth *TCC*), implying the turn of the 20th century, three decades in particular, 1878-1888, 1889-1898, and 1899-1908. In the next section I discuss numerical results for each corpus and each idiom data body.

3.6.3. Numerical results from historical corpora search

In general, the Hansard corpus is substantially bigger than the Literary corpus. And the number of hits found in each of the sub-corpora supports this. However, the quantity of found
idioms in both sub-corpora is spread unevenly. In the following section I describe the numerical findings and compare the distribution of idioms from my data set across the two sub-corpora of TCC.

In the sections 3.6.1 and 3.6.2 above, I have discussed the sample search procedure in the sub-corpora, the Hansard corpus, and the Literary corpus. As a result of the search I have gathered more than three thousand instances of usage for the 28 idioms from the data set. The distribution across the two corpora is the following, around 40% found in the Literary sub-corpus, and around 60 per cent in Hansard. I have collected all the instances and calculated the percentage for each sub-corpora presented in the Table 9 below. The column ‘Idiom’ shows the 28 idioms from the data set. The columns ‘Hansard’ and ‘Literary’ exhibit number of instances of usage found in each sub-corpus respectively to each idiom and the percentage from total number. And the total number of idioms hits found in TCC is represented in the final column in the ascending order.

Table 16 - The numerical results for corpus search

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idiom</th>
<th>Hansard</th>
<th>Literary</th>
<th>Total №/100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Up the spout</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 – 100%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Chop and change</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 – 100%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Come a cropper</td>
<td>3 – 60%</td>
<td>2 – 40%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bite the dust</td>
<td>2 – 22%</td>
<td>7 – 78%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Knock something into a cocked hat</td>
<td>11 – 92%</td>
<td>1 – 8%</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. A lame duck</td>
<td>12 – 75%</td>
<td>4 – 25%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. A flash in the pan</td>
<td>12 – 71%</td>
<td>5 – 29%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. A dark horse</td>
<td>9 – 53%</td>
<td>8 – 47%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Touch and go</td>
<td>1 – 6%</td>
<td>16 – 94%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Draw a blank</td>
<td>13 – 68.5%</td>
<td>6 – 31.5%</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Rule the roost</td>
<td>16 – 80%</td>
<td>4 – 20%</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Flotsam and jetsam</td>
<td>14 – 58%</td>
<td>10 – 42%</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Take somewhere by storm</td>
<td>22 – 71%</td>
<td>9 – 29%</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. A hue and cry</td>
<td>20 – 45.5%</td>
<td>24 – 54.5%</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. At a low ebb</td>
<td>24 – 45%</td>
<td>29 – 55%</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. A clean bill of health</td>
<td>62 – 95%</td>
<td>3 – 5%</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Beg the question</td>
<td>83 – 93%</td>
<td>6 – 7%</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Below/ under par</td>
<td>100 – 94%</td>
<td>6 – 6%</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Make your/a mark</td>
<td>51 – 44%</td>
<td>66 – 56%</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. The upper hand</td>
<td>87 – 65%</td>
<td>47 – 35%</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Be brought to book</td>
<td>162 – 99%</td>
<td>1 – 1%</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Go to the wall</td>
<td>154 – 87%</td>
<td>24 – 13%</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. In black and white</td>
<td>185 – 81%</td>
<td>42 – 19%</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. At your heels</td>
<td>34 – 12%</td>
<td>241 – 88%</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Flesh and blood</td>
<td>148 – 46%</td>
<td>174 – 54%</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Break your heart</td>
<td>69 – 18%</td>
<td>304 – 82%</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. See the light</td>
<td>287 – 72%</td>
<td>112 – 28%</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Put your foot down</td>
<td>433 – 93%</td>
<td>31 – 7%</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus, the number of tokens per million, idioms from my data set found in *TCC*, is approximately 13, that is, the total number of hits (3201) divided by the number of words in *TCC* (247 million). The total number of tokens is 3201, but that does not mean that there are that many sentences to be examined. In the final analysis I have included sentence before and sentence after the sentence with the idiom in it. Since, in many cases one sentence, that is, the immediate context, has not been distinctive enough, I have analysed the surrounding texts, i.e. a wider context of usage.

Further observation shows that some idioms appear very seldom, as is the case with idioms *up the spout* and *chop and change*, with zero hits in Hansard and only a couple in the Literary sub-corpora. On the other hand, there are examples of usage of some idioms that I have found in abundance compare, for example, idioms *break your heart*, *see the light*, and *put your foot down*. Partially it is due to the fact that these idioms contain words with very vague or multiple meanings, which in turn results in some of the examples being used literally, not as an idiom. I discuss the distinction between idiomatic usage and literal usage of these word co-occurrences in the Sections 4.4 – 4.7 of Analysis chapter.

The uneven distribution across the two sub-corpora is fairly predictable based on the idiom in question. For example, only one token of idiom *be brought to book*, (№ 21 in the Table 16 above), was found in the Literary corpus, and 162 instances in Hansard, which constitutes almost 99% of corpus data for this idiom. The idiom is defined in *CCID* as the following:

(27) **Entry:** Be brought to book

**Definition:** If someone is brought to book, they are punished officially for something wrong that they have done.

**Example:** No-one has yet been brought to book for a crime which outraged Italy.

Etymological note: Originally, if someone was brought to book, they were ordered to prove that something they had said or done agreed with a written rule or agreement.

Since Hansard is the corpus of Parliamentary speeches, it seems to be more likely that the idiom with the meaning related to official punishment would appear more often in it, than for example, in the Literary corpus, which consists of novels only. On the contrary, the idiom *break your heart* (№26 in the Table 16 above), with its first meaning currently referring to emotional sphere, namely, ‘end of relationship breaking someone’s heart’, and the second
meaning referring to ‘fact or situation making someone sad’ is found at about 82% in the Literary sub-corpus, as opposed to approximately 18% collected from Hansard. Idioms, whose previous meaning referred to mostly numerical and money related sphere, for example, below/under par (№18 in Table 16), tend to be found in Hansard more often than in Literary genre.

The difference in distribution across different genres can thus be used in ascribing idioms to a certain semantic field and/or certain meanings of an idiom could potentially emerge due to the usage in the different genre. I will discuss such a potential in the case studies of idioms in the next chapter, alongside the analysis of my data set in the corpus and the methodology I have employed in the current research.
4. Chapter 4. - Analysis chapter

In the preceding Chapter 3, I have described the sources for the data set to undergo the investigation, including the data set selection criteria and the lexicographical and corpus sources. I have illustrated the search of the selected idioms in historical idiom dictionaries for the printed part of the research, the dictionary data analysis, and the historical English language corpora of that period of time for the usage-based part of the research, i.e. the corpora data analysis. In this chapter I outline the analysis I have carried out with the final data set, in both stages. I describe findings of the research, identify and demonstrate meaning development of idioms in six case studies, using the combination of methods I discuss in the Section 4.2 below.

4.1. Outline of the analysis

To trace any meaning variation of idioms over time, I have analysed the data set in two procedures, lexicographical and corpus analysis. In the lexicographical stage, I have first identified the current sense(s) an idiom has. To do so I have selected the data set and the definitions with examples from the relatively recent idioms dictionary, CCID (2012), which are based on the actual usage of these idioms, i.e. example sentences have been collected from the corpus of Present-Day English (refer to Sections 3 – 3.2). I have then addressed four historical idioms dictionaries and gathered information on my sample from them. The data from both periods have been compared and any meaning discrepancies have been identified.

Since historical idioms dictionaries represent three decades at the turn of the 20th century, I have assigned a sense(s) of each idiom to the relevant decade, where possible. With the comparison of the meanings of an idiom in hand, I have then used the historical English language corpora to find idioms from the final set in the actual context of real language usage. The corpora are of two genres, prescribed Parliamentary speeches and the literary corpus of English novels published at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The combination of two genres has allowed me to cover both spoken and written language uses. The corpus data, i.e., example sentences segregated from the historical corpora (TCC) were then examined using the mixture of two methodological approaches, Hümmer & Stathi’s (2006) investigation of German polysemous idioms and Gries’s (2006) case study of multiple meanings of the verb to run. I discuss these methods in more detail in the next section.
4.2. Criteria for idiom meaning identification in the current research

Semantic change and multiplicity of meanings have received fairly significant interest in Linguistics. The meaning variation in lexemes, i.e. words and constructions, has been examined and identified across different disciplines, such as word’s change in Lexicology, or Historical Semantics, and grammaticalization in Construction Grammar, or Cognitive Linguistics (see Chapter 2). Although being an impetus for the transition from Generative Grammar to Cognitive usage-based approaches, idioms are not the only point of interest. In Cognitive or Construction Grammar frameworks, the majority of language items can be regarded as constructions. Under these terms, constructional change has only started being fully investigated (cf. Traugott & Trousdale 2013).

Therefore, I have applied methods designed by Hümmer & Stathi (2006) with a combination of methods from diachronic semantics discussed above (refer to Chapter 2). In short, the meaning identification process has consisted of the following: the collection of current definitions, the comparison with previously recorded definitions, paraphrasing the found senses, and assigning the paraphrases to the idioms in context. Paraphrases have been useful to employ substitutional tests in meaning distinction.

It appears that there cannot be a particular set of criteria as each case is individual specifically because idioms can be of different types and spread along the continuum. However, the contextual triggers and the frequency of co-occurrence have proven to be the most common and applicable methods for idiom meaning identification and differentiation, alongside with the use of synonymous relations within the same context. I illustrate the methodology in the following sections on specific case studies of idioms.

4.3. The specification of case studies

As discussed in the Methodology Chapter, the final sample that I have analysed in both historical dictionaries and corpus searches, is 28 idioms (see the tables 17 and 18 below). Based on the properties each idiom exhibits in context, I have divided 28 idioms into two main groups. Group A – verbal idioms – contains 14 idioms that have a verb in them, that is, the idiom denotes an action. (Table 17 below). Group B – nominal idioms - also consists of 14 idioms, and these are the idioms that do not contain verbs as one of their constituents, i.e. they are used in a nominal or adjectival function. The reason for dividing my sample into 2
groups based on their function, is that verbal idioms may behave differently in the text, compared with nominal idioms. This is demonstrated in the case studies in the following sections.

Table 17 - Verbal idioms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idiom</th>
<th>Hansard</th>
<th>Literary</th>
<th>Total number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Chop and change</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 – 100%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Come a cropper</td>
<td>3 – 60%</td>
<td>2 – 40%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bite the dust</td>
<td>2 – 22%</td>
<td>7 – 78%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Knock something into a cocked hat</td>
<td>11 – 92%</td>
<td>1 – 8%</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Draw a blank</td>
<td>13 – 68.5%</td>
<td>6 – 31.5%</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Rule the roost</td>
<td>16 – 80%</td>
<td>4 – 20%</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Take somewhere by storm</td>
<td>22 – 67%</td>
<td>11 – 33%</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Beg the question</td>
<td>83 – 93%</td>
<td>6 – 7%</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Make your/a mark</td>
<td>51 – 44%</td>
<td>66 – 56%</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Be brought to book</td>
<td>162 – 99%</td>
<td>1 – 1%</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Go to the wall</td>
<td>199 – 89%</td>
<td>24 – 11%</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Break your heart</td>
<td>69 – 18%</td>
<td>304 – 82%</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. See the light</td>
<td>287 – 72%</td>
<td>112 – 28%</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Put your foot down</td>
<td>433 – 77%</td>
<td>141 – 23%</td>
<td>574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total 14</strong></td>
<td>1351 – 66%</td>
<td>688 – 34%</td>
<td>2039 – 100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18 - Nominal idioms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idiom</th>
<th>Hansard</th>
<th>Literary</th>
<th>Total number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Up the spout</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 – 100%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A lame duck</td>
<td>12 – 75%</td>
<td>4 – 25%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. A flash in the pan</td>
<td>12 – 71%</td>
<td>5 – 29%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. A dark horse</td>
<td>9 – 53%</td>
<td>8 – 47%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Touch and go</td>
<td>1 – 6%</td>
<td>16 – 94%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Flotsam and jetsam</td>
<td>14 – 58%</td>
<td>10 – 42%</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. A hue and cry</td>
<td>20 – 45.5%</td>
<td>24 – 54.5%</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. At a low ebb</td>
<td>24 – 45%</td>
<td>29 – 55%</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. A clean bill of health</td>
<td>62 – 95%</td>
<td>3 – 5%</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Below/under par</td>
<td>100 – 94%</td>
<td>6 – 6%</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. The upper hand</td>
<td>87 – 65%</td>
<td>47 – 35%</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. In black and white</td>
<td>185 – 81%</td>
<td>42 – 19%</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. At your heels</td>
<td>34 – 12%</td>
<td>241 – 88%</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Flesh and blood</td>
<td>148 – 46%</td>
<td>174 – 54%</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total 14</strong></td>
<td>708 – 54%</td>
<td>611 – 46%</td>
<td>1319 – 100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each table represents the number of tokens extracted from both sub-corpora, Hansard and Literary, and the overall number at the last column. I have also calculated the percentage of appearance of each idiom in either sub-corpora, to illustrate the genre distribution across the two. In the chapter 4.9. I discuss the relevance of such a distribution towards the meaning of idioms under discussion.
Each idiom has then been investigated in both kinds of data, historical dictionaries definitions and the usage in TCC (Turn of the Century Corpus I created). Thus, I have grouped definitions gathered from historical idiom dictionaries for each idiom according to the three decades, 1878-1888, 1889-1898, 1899-1908, that is the time span of the current research. Consequently, an idiom’s meanings from dictionaries were then attested in the corpus of the period. For example, for the idiom *come a cropper* the historical idiom dictionaries provided only one meaning (see the section case study 1 below), but the current dictionary *CCID* (2012) listed two. Hence, the data collected from the corpus were used to identify whether there was only one usage or both. In some cases, as I demonstrate in the following sections, the corpus search has provided additional senses, which were not recorded by lexicographers of the time.

In the following sections I describe the analysis procedure and the results, demonstrating it in 6 case studies in detail. First, I have selected idioms from both Group A and Group B, that have the smallest number of appearances. However, to have an equal representation in both sub-corpora, I have only chosen an idiom that is found in Hansard and in the Literary sub-corpora. Therefore, for the thorough analysis description of the verbal idiom, I have omitted idiom *chop and change*, as it has been only discovered in one of the sub-corpora. The next idiom in the verbal group that is represented in both sub-corpora, is *come a cropper*, with 3 tokens in Hansard, and 2 tokens in Literary. Hence, *come a cropper* becomes the first smallest idiom in size in the verbal group.

Same process has been applied to idioms in the nominal group, that is, the smallest idiom *up the spout* is omitted due to uneven distribution, zero tokens in Hansard, and only 2 in the Literary sub-corpus. Subsequently, the next idiom, *a lame duck*, which has 12 tokens in Hansard and 4 tokens in Literary, was picked for the first case study for the nominal idioms group.

The second pair for the analysis is, on the other hand, the idioms with the biggest number of tokens, such as, *put your foot down* in Group A, with 574 examples from the TCC, and the idiom *flesh and blood*, Group B, with 322 tokens in total. And the third pair of idioms is the idioms that are of average number. In the case of verbal group, the average number I have calculated as the following. The total number of tokens, 2039, divided by 14, the number of idioms in the group, equals 145. Since the closest to this size idiom in the list, *be brought to book*, is mainly represented in the Hansard sub-corpora (162 examples), with only 1 token in
Literary one, I have decided to include into the representable case studies the idiom that precedes it, i.e. *make your/a mark* (117 tokens), with its almost even distribution across two sub-corpora, 51 and 66 examples respectively. Similarly, for the nominal group, I have taken the total number of instances, 1319, and divided by the number of idioms, 14. As a result, the 3rd choice for that pair is the idiom *below/under par*, which is closest to the average number 94, with its 106 tokens.

Therefore, I have used 3 nominal idioms to be paired with 3 verbal ones. Verbal idioms are idioms that contain the verb which can be modified depending on the tense the expression it is used in. Accordingly, the 6 specific case studies in full detail to follow are *come a cropper, put your foot down, make your mark*, and *a lame duck, flesh and blood, below/under par*. To sum up, the 3 case studies from verbal group A are:

- Case study 1 – *come a cropper*, first idiom in size that is represented in both sub-corpora;
- Case study 5 – *put your foot down*, the biggest in size; and the one in the middle;
- Case study 3 – *make your/a mark*.

The next 3 case studies that follow, from the nominal group B are:

- Case study 2 - *a lame duck*, first idiom in size;
- Case study 6 - *flesh and blood* is the largest in size; and the calculated average idiom for the:
- Case study 4 - *below/under par*.

In the next sections I describe each case study in full detail and provide results of the analysis.

4.4. Case study 1 – *Come a cropper*

In this section I exemplify the research procedures and methods I have used in my study of meaning change in English idioms; the first case study is the analysis of the idiom *come a cropper*. I have selected this idiom due to *CCID* claiming it is polysemous, and as such, it is given with two numbered definitions and example sentences to illustrate each one accordingly. Consequently, this idiom constitutes Group 1 – idioms chosen based on their multiplicity of senses; polysemous group (see Appendix 1, Table 1). The following description is taken from the *CCID* and it represents the starting point for my analysis.
Idiom: come a cropper [BRITISH, INFORMAL]

Definition 1. If someone comes a cropper, they suffer a sudden and embarrassing failure.

Example sentences:
E.g. Ferguson came a cropper when the economy collapsed.
E.g. Scott must concentrate on learning his new trade. He will come a cropper if he thinks he knows it all before he starts.
E.g. Banks dabbling in industry can easily come a cropper.

Definition 2. If you come a cropper, you accidentally fall and hurt yourself. Example sentences:
E.g. She came a cropper on the last fence.
E.g. I came a cropper on a patch of ice just outside my house.

Additional note:
‘Cropper’ may come from the expression ‘to fall neck and crop’, meaning to fall heavily. A bird’s ‘crop’ is a pouch in its throat where it keeps food before digesting it.

The CCID provides two senses for this idiom, as well as some additional information related to its possible origin. Preliminary review shows that the two meanings are quite similar, in terms of that both refer to a failure. However, after closer examination it becomes evident that each sense has its own peculiarity and can be regarded as two different meanings.

The dictionary compilers state that the way they phrase the definition indicates in what context each sense is usually used. Hence the first difference observed is that in the case of the meaning 1, ‘someone suffers an embarrassing failure’, it is commonly referred to someone else, whereas in the second definition, ‘you accidentally fall and hurt yourself’, the implication is directed at the speaker. In the first case, it is supported by three instances of actual usage, which have been taken from the Collins COBUILD corpus of English, where a speaker talks about someone else coming a cropper. Although in the second case one of the examples is referring to a third person, comparing the definitions and examples collectively yields more substantial differences.
Thus, definition 1 involves a negative attitude expressed by the speaker, that is, the event referred to is embarrassing, while the second definition lacks such evaluation. The main sense yet seems to be similar, with one but important difference. Sense 1 is about abstract fall, i.e. failure, sense 2 is more of a physical nature, that is, falling.

Additionally, even though the definition for sense 1 does not involve any monetary implications, the three instances given do provide such an assumption. Compare, for example, the use of words such as ‘economy’, ‘trade’, ‘banks’, and ‘industry’ in sentences illustrating sense 1 with phrases like ‘last fence’ and ‘patch of ice’ given in the second case.

Consequently, the two senses are different in terms of the context they are used in and of notions of abstractness and physicality.

To answer the main research question, can idioms change their meaning over time, I then addressed older idiom dictionaries to see if there were any variations in senses compared with the current ones. I have used four dictionaries published between 1878 and 1908, where I have recorded definitions for my sample (refer to Chapter 3, ‘old dictionaries section’ for the description of dictionaries and the searching procedure), a time span of about 100-140 years, more than a century. As I demonstrate in the following chapters, this period has turned out to be of sufficient length to observe the change in meaning, with some cases requiring further research into the more distant past.

**4.4.1. Come a cropper - historical idioms dictionaries search**

In the historical dictionaries of idioms, mentioned above, I have found the idiom *come a cropper* only twice, namely, in the *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable (DPF)* (1904) and in *Student Companion Dictionary of Idioms (SCDI)* (1908) (for the details refer to Chapter 3.3.3.3 and 3.3.3.4). In *DPF* it appears under the headword *Cropper*, followed by the idiom embedded in a sentence, and then by definition of that sentence. Brewer also has listed derivative expression (see below), and provided some sort of explanatory note.

**Headword:** Cropper

**Entry 1:** He came a cropper.

**Definition:** He fell head over heels.

**Entry 2:** To get a cropper.
Definition: To get a bad fall.

Explanatory note: “Neck and crop” means altogether, and to “come a cropper” is to come to the ground neck and crop.

In *SCDI* (1908) we find the following entry with two example sentences:

Entry: *Come a cropper*. Definition: Have a fall.

Examples: (1) The path was so slippery that many a poor way came a cropper.
(2) When the rejection of the measure had practically decided the fate of the ministry, “Punch” completed its allegory by another cartoon. In which the horse and its rider lay thrown and prone on the other side of the hedge, with the legend, ‘Come a cropper’.

– J. M’Carthy.

Evidently, in both dictionaries of the time, the idiom is defined as a physical fall, which correlates with sense 2 in the current dictionary. Note that the second example in *SCDI* illustrates how the image of a rider and his horse ‘lay thrown’ is used to refer, however jokingly, to an abstract failure, ‘the fate of the ministry’ after ‘the rejection of the measure’. This metaphorical use can serve as an example of how the idiom has developed an additional meaning. Which in turn becomes commonly used over time and then can lead to sense 1 in *CCID*. As part of the meaning identification procedure, I have created a list of senses found in all dictionaries (Table 19), and then compared them with senses extracted from the corpora examples.

Table 19 – Initial list of senses of *come a cropper*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Come a cropper</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>1904</th>
<th>1908</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senses</td>
<td>1) suffer sudden, embarrassing failure</td>
<td>3) to get a bad fall</td>
<td>4) falling badly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) accidentally fall and hurt yourself</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distinctions</td>
<td>1) abstract failure, includes derogatory evaluation</td>
<td>3) physical fall</td>
<td>4) physical fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) physical fall, also sudden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Presumably, the idiom from referring to a physical event has developed an abstract meaning via metaphorical use. Furthermore, if the choice of example sentences for the 1st sense in *CCID* is not accidental, then it is also possible to suggest that the idiom is acquiring an additional specification of meaning, as it appears to be applied to situations involving monetary loss, which is not yet reflected in the definition. If that be the case, then potentially
we will witness further subdivision of senses in future. In the next part of analysis, I have examined instances of use gathered from the corpus and I have checked them with regards to the identified senses, and if the sense from the Table 19 did not fit, then I have attempted allocating another meaning that would suit the context. As for the criteria for meaning identification, I have employed some methods used by Hümer and Stathi (2006) that appeared applicable to every individual case (refer to section 2.3.1).

4.4.2. Come a cropper – lexicographical data results

From the two periods, the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries and that of the 19th and 20th centuries, the lexicographical sources provided the following chronological sense development of *come a cropper*.

1900-s – a physical fall → 2000-s – 1. A physical fall, and 2. An abstract failure

The above timeline is preliminary and based only on idiom dictionaries of both periods. That is, if the current dictionary is corpus based, the historical idiom dictionaries supposedly were not. Hence, the suggested meaning shift was further investigated in the corpus of English of that time, *the TCC* (see Section 3.6.). In the next section I discuss the idiom *come a cropper* analysed in the *TCC*.

4.4.3. Come a cropper – corpus search

From the comparison of definitions in Present-Day English with historical dictionaries of idioms, it follows that the meaning of *come a cropper* has acquired additional sense, i.e. from physical ‘fall’ to both physical and abstract ‘failures’. However, the historical dictionaries in question were written more than a century ago, and it is unclear whether and how the data were collected, or the definitions were based purely on authors’ intuition and/or personal knowledge of language. Considering that at the time there was no corpora of English per se, definitions in historical dictionaries appear to be rather introspective, whereas the *CCID* definitions are attested in the massive corpus of Present-Day English and have been devised by a group of linguists (see section 3.1). Therefore, I have decided to attest the historical definitions in the real usage of that period. For the current research, I have combined two types of collections of texts and speeches, which resulted in the *TCC* (refer to section 3.6.2 for description of the corpus). I have extracted the idiom *come a cropper* from my corpus and analysed each sentence it is used in with regards to the idiom’s context and possible meaning.
For the detailed description of the corpus research procedure, the input coding for each idiom in my sample, refer to sections 3.6.1 and 3.6.2. In this section I present the outcome of such search and the analysis of *come a cropper*. Thus, the idiom’s corpus results are the following. I have found only five instances of use in TCC, three in the Hansard sub-corpus and two in the Literary sub-corpus (Table 20).

**Table 20 – *come a cropper* in TCC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>L. 1893</td>
<td>... a nineteenth century gentleman, to do this game of Ridley Court, and paddle round the Row? Not you! You’re clever, and you’re crafty, and you’ve a way with you. But you’ll <em>come a cropper</em> at this as sure as I shall paint two big pictures—if you’ll stand to your word.” “We need not discuss my position here. I am in my proper place—in my…</td>
<td>1893 the trespasser.txt 86 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>L. 1906</td>
<td>…with the idea that it was for you, and paid you the compliment of losing her head. I came on her here when she had ridden her horse half to death and they had both <em>come a cropper</em>. Confound women’s hysterics! I could do nothing with her. When I left her for a moment she ran away and hid herself. She is concealed somewhere on the place or has limped…</td>
<td>1906 the shuttle.txt 215 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>H. 1890</td>
<td>… in calling on us to pay the very large sum which the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes to hand over to them. The deficiency still existing amounted practically to the Horse Duty which was proposed and abandoned. Why the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not proceed with his Horse Duty when he <em>came a cropper</em> over his Van and Wheel Tax I never could understand, because I do not think there was any objection to that tax such as was legitimately taken to the other. That tax was dropped, however, and £540,000 was needed to make up the deficiency. …</td>
<td>HANS: C – 1890 Buxton (C)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>H. 1901</td>
<td>, such as the Land Alienation Act in the Punjab, and a like Act in Bombay, and so make borrowing more difficult. Where would the Government be but for the money-lender? They are sawing off the branch on which they roost at its junction with the trunk, and will <em>come a heavy cropper</em> as the work of their own hand. Why should they not establish agricultural banks by which the curse of India may be abolished? The noble Lord and his colleagues have reduced India to the condition of a country so rack-rented that only the money-lender last year stood between them and…</td>
<td>HANS: C – 1901 Cainw (C)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>H. 1908</td>
<td>…extraordinarily persistent on that point, which he would have thought anyone in his position would have desired to forget. In a public career which had been distinguished by almost uniform success, in the opinion of the man in the street, there were two matters on which the right hon. Gentleman had <em>come croppers</em>. One was the question of Ceylon pearls and the other Chinese labour. But the right hon. Gentleman would return to them. The right hon. Gentleman said that his right hon. friend the President of the Board of Trade had used some sarcastic language on the subject; but that language seemed…</td>
<td>HANS: C – 1908 (C)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 20 indications such as L. stands for the Literary sub-corpus, and H. for the Hansard sub-corpus, which is followed by the year of publication. Even though I have found only five examples of idiom in use, the contexts appear to be sufficient for identification of senses in each case.
4.4.4. Analysis of corpus data – *come a cropper*

Although the dictionaries of two periods (20th and 21st centuries) define *come a cropper* as roughly two senses, ‘fall of physical nature’ (the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries), and currently two meanings, one ‘of physical nature’, and another of ‘abstract failure’, the TCC findings suggest that *come a cropper* was already used in both senses at the time. Thus, example (1) from Table 20 above refers to an abstract failure. I have underlined the linguistic means that aid in inferring the meaning.

(1) ... a nineteenth century gentleman, to *do this game* of Ridley Court, and *paddle round* the Row? Not you! You’re *clever* and you’re *crafty*, and you’ve a way with you. But you’ll *come a cropper* at this as sure as I shall paint two big pictures—if you’ll stand to your word.” “We need not discuss my position here. I am in my proper place—in my…

The context contains the following features that assist with meaning identification. The speaker describes another person as ‘clever’ and ‘crafty’, implying some sort of cunningness, because the adjectives are preceded by exclamation ‘Not you!’ and followed by yet another synonymous expression ‘you’ve a way with you’. It is then contrasted with that person *coming a cropper* with the use of coordinating conjunction ‘but’, which is then intensified by the degree of confidence of the speaker through comparative construction ‘as sure as I’. To be able to say what situation exactly the characters discuss, we would need a wider context. However, for the current research, the immediate context with a sentence before and after proves to be sufficient to infer the meaning of the idiom. That is, constructions like ‘to do this game’, ‘my position here’, and ‘in my proper place’, combined with the person’s craftiness indicate that *come a cropper* is used in its abstract sense, i.e. ‘failure’. As I mentioned before, this sense has not been recorded in historical dictionaries, however, example (2) from Table 20 is a precise illustration for the recorded current definitions.

(2) …with the idea that it was for you, and paid you the compliment of losing her head. I came on her here when she had *ridden her horse half to death* and they had both *come a cropper*. Confound women’s hysterics! I could do nothing with her. When I left her for a moment she ran away and hid herself. She is concealed somewhere on the place or has *liimped*…
In this case, the author provides the direct explanation of event preceding the ‘fall’, e.g. the verbal phrase indicating the physical action - ‘ridden her horse’ and the degree of severity of the consequent fall via modifier ‘half to death’, which is completed by ‘they had both come a cropper’. It is further supported by the use of the verb ‘limped’ evidencing the physical effect of the fall. Both examples are from the same period, 1893 and 1906, with the initial meaning coming second. This finding contradicts the only definition found in historical dictionaries, and corresponds to the two senses given in the Present-Day dictionary. The next three examples from the Hansard sub-corpus make evident that both meanings have been in use at the period. Furthermore, one of them, example (4), exemplifies how sense 2, ‘physical fall’, has been used in sense 1, ‘abstract failure’.

Thus, in examples (3) and (5) from Table 20 above, the idiom is used in its abstract sense. Although the context does not necessarily imply the ‘embarrassing’ nature of failures under discussion, it does hint to the derisory tone with which someone’s failure is described. Note that in example (3) I have given a shorter version of the extract to highlight the important parts that assist in meaning distinction.

(3) …The deficiency still existing’ amounted practically to the Horse Duty which was proposed and abandoned. Why the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not proceed with his Horse Duty when he came a cropper over his Van and Wheel Tax I never could understand, because I do not think there was any objection to that tax such as was legitimately taken to the other. …

(5) … extraordinarily persistent on that point, which he would have thought anyone in his position would have desired to forget. In a public career which had been distinguished by almost uniform success, in the opinion of the man in the street, there were two matters on which the right hon. Gentleman had come croppers. One was the question of Ceylon pearls and the other Chinese labour. But the right hon. Gentleman would return to them. The right hon. Gentleman said that his right hon. friend the President of the Board of Trade had used some sarcastic language on the subject; but that language seemed…

Interestingly, in the later example, the speaker modifies come a cropper into plural, come croppers, presumably to intensify that the ‘Gentleman’ had failed twice, on both ‘matters’. It seems that in both cases the speakers implied the degree of spectacular with which their
opponents failed, and in the 5th example, the failure is opposed to a ‘uniform success’. The negative attitude of both speakers is also expressed with rhetorical question ‘why … I never could understand’ in example (3), and with the adjective phrase ‘extraordinarily persistent’ and noun phrase ‘sarcastic language’ in example (5).

The use of *cropper* in plural and an insertion of a modifier in front of it, as is the case with the example (4), implies that even though the idiom is very close to the end of the spectrum of being pure idiom, i.e. rather opaque in meaning and fixed in structure, it allows some modifications of the noun.

(4) … Where would the Government be but for the money-lender? They are sawing off the branch on which they roost at its junction with the trunk, and will *come a heavy cropper* as the work of their own hand. **Why should they not** establish agricultural banks by which the curse of India may be abolished?...

This example is particularly interesting as here the idiom meaning ‘physical fall’ is used alongside the literal expression ‘sawing off the branch…at its junction’ and applied to a collective noun ‘government’ and their action, which is a word play where the speaker plays around both of its meanings, but the result is that of an abstract nature.

The analysis of the corpus data suggests that despite not being recorded in the historical dictionaries, the idiom *come a cropper* had both meanings even hundred years ago. Hence, to say when the change occurred, additional research is required. The *OED* for example, defines this idiom as the following:

**Headword:** cropper, n.3

**Definition:** A heavy fall; usually in phr. *To come (fall, get) a cropper*: often fig.

**Examples:** Dated quotations:
1858 R. S. SURTEES *Ask Mamma* liii. 244 [He] rode at an impracticable fence, and got a cropper for his pains.
1874 Hotten’s *Slang Dict.* (rev. ed.) 133 *Cropper*, ‘to go a cropper’, or ‘to come a cropper’, *i.e.*, to fail badly.
1875 TROLLOPE *Way we live Now* I. xxxviii. 241 He would ‘be coming a cropper rather’, were he to marry Melmotte’s daughter for her money, and then find that she had got none.
1877 H. A. Leveson *Sport Many Lands* 464 My horse put his foot in a hole and came down a cropper.

1951 T. Rattigan *Who is Sylvia?* 1. 230 We bachelors welcome competition from married men. We so much enjoy watching them come the inevitable cropper.

1963 *Times* 30 Jan. 1/7 I came a cropper, dearie, all black and blue I was.

The example sentences, alongside the definition, may be interpreted as firstly, the idiom emerged not long ago before the period under discussion, and secondly, that it was rather flexible at the beginning and it soon lost all its variants to eventually fossilise into what we have now. The first quotation illustrates the use of *cropper* with the verb *get*, which makes it slightly different expression for my research, as the hypothesis is that an idiom changed its meaning not form. Or at least it is plausible to say that the idiom was flexible at the beginning, that is, it had interchangeable verbs with the same meaning ‘to fall badly’ and over time the use with ‘come’ becomes more common and the idiom gets fixed in that form. Consequently, having several verbs collocating with *cropper* may be the case of *cropper* alone being an idiomatic unit, which however becomes a multiword expression with time. The next quotation, that of 1874, is from the dictionary of slang, and provides the definition for two variants *to go/to come a cropper*, indicating that the variations of the idiom get reduced to just two. The rest of examples contain the verb ‘to come’ only.

With regards to its meaning, the *OED* defines the word *cropper* as ‘a heavy fall’, which corresponds with the physical sense of our idiom with added verb, ‘to fall badly’, and adds ‘often fig.’ without any further specifications. The later fact could be leading to the second meaning of *come a cropper*, i.e. ‘abstract failure’. Based on senses used in example sentences in *OED*, the picture of meaning development could be represented as follows. The first ever quotation, 1858, physical fall, 1874, as mentioned above, is a dictionary entry, again physical sense, 1875 – figurative meaning, 1877 – physical. Then there is a gap of more than 70 years, with the next one recorded in 1951 to possibly refer to an abstract failure, and the final one, 1963, to mean the physical fall. It should be mentioned, however, that this entry in *OED* was first published in 1893, and that the previous version (*OED2*) was amended in 1989. Therefore, in this case, the *OED* entry can be used mainly as guidance.

Returning to the corpus data, the BYU interface allows observing the numerical development of an idiom over the period of more than 200 years, that is, the frequency of tokens per million in each decade (see section 3.6 for more details). Thus, the chart below consists of the
number of times come a cropper was used in a decade. I have included only those decades that show the presence of the idiom in it.

Table 21 – Come a cropper BYU chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of tokens</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency per ml.</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of occurrences in the Hansard corpus is said to be 55, however, after closer inspection, it becomes evident that the actual quantity is 81 tokens. This can be observed when you look for the context for each occurrence and calculate the number of tokens in each decade. Although in the OED the first record of come a cropper is from 1858, in Parliament speeches it appears only in 1890, and already in its abstract sense (see above). The chart shows that the idiom has been growing in numbers of use till the end of the 20th century, and then it has been declining.

4.4.5. Come a cropper – comparison of lexicographical and corpus data

The following graph 1 illustrates the semantic shift the idiom come a cropper has undergone over the discussed period of about 140 years. The analysis of historical lexicographical data and historical corpus data in combination allowed to trace the stages of the idiom’s meaning development. Each instantiation was examined and contexts were cross-compared and are presented in Graph 1 below. In the next section I conclude the findings of the analysis of the idiom.
Graph 1 - Visualisation of the sense development of *come a cropper*

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4.4.6. *Come a cropper* - conclusion

To sum up, the idiom emerges around 1850s, as a physical notion, which very soon becomes used figuratively, gets fixed in form, and retains both meanings. Consequently, *come a cropper* has changed its meaning, from physical to abstract, that is, acquired an additional sense, and presumably we might be witnessing further development of its sense, in that it might get more specialized to refer to a failure related to monetary loss.

The case study of *come a cropper* is representative of the analysis that I have carried out on my sample. It is the smallest in size, only five occurrences in the corpus, and is rather explicit. However, most idioms in my sample have not turned out to be like that. In many cases, there has not been a clear-cut difference in senses, and not always straightforward contexts idioms were found in. In the next section I have discussed the case study of the idiom *a lame duck* which has had more tokens and less uncomplicated meanings distinction.

4.5. Case study 2 - *a lame duck*

4.5.1. Storyline of the idiom *a lame duck*

The idiom *lame duck* seems to have developed its meaning through time and to have gone through various sense alterations. That is, it started as an expression referring to ‘monetary loss’ as ‘a defaulter’. To then go through the next change in meaning from ‘loss of ability to continue stock holding’ to ‘political figure without any power’. Eventually it split into the idiom referring to animate and inanimate objects that are in either ‘weak position’
and/or ‘need support’, i.e., to a more general usage. Thus, the meaning has kept one theme in common throughout the time, something about loss and further consequences, but has been shaped diversely depending on the context.

Historically, the idiom *lame duck* appears as a set expression around the second half of the 18th century, according to the *OED*. The first usage is stated to be related to stock markets, in particular the slang meaning of ‘a defaulter’ or ‘someone who cannot meet his financial engagements’. This meaning later develops into something defining a ‘person’ or ‘thing’ that is ‘disabled’ in more general sense, rather than stock market slang only.

Presumably, around the second half of the 19th century in the USA, the idiom *lame duck* starts being applied to a politician with a status but no power. Or governmental office that have their term still going, but no real power left due to the election system in the US. In other words, a president, for example, has not been re-elected, but is still in the office to hand over the affairs to the new president, who is about to start his term some time soon. Hence, the former stays a president only nominally, and does not have any actual power anymore. This politician or his office is then called a *lame duck*.

The *OED* lists each sense separately, in different entries, the ‘defaulter’ one under the *duck*, noun, and the second - under *lame* as adjective. However, closer inspection shows that the first entry was first published in 1897 with the latest quotation from 1929. Whereas the second entry was published slightly after in 1901 with the latest quotation dating from 1973, and already includes the previous sense among all other senses the idiom may have.

In the second entry, which has all the meanings, the sense from the first entry is given first, with some additional variations. It is listed under (a) and redirects to the previous entry (see *duck*, n. 9), where you find the following: a disabled person or thing: spec. (*Stock Market slang*): one who cannot meet his financial engagements; a defaulter. Then the American sense (referring to a politician) goes under (b). It is also said to have sense (c) ‘a ship that is damaged, especially the one left without a means of propulsion’. And sense (d) ‘an industry, commercial firm, etc., that cannot survive without financial help, especially by means of a government subsidy’. *OED* compilers go on to mention the idiom also being used as a transitive verb (*rare*) ‘to help a disabled person’; and to *lame-duck it*: ‘to travel with difficulty’. Given that neither entry in the *OED* has not been updated, the information provided there does not seem to be substantial for the current research. Therefore, I describe a
comparative analysis of senses from the current idiom dictionary with the senses from OED.

In the current idiom dictionary the CCID, the idiom *a lame duck* is also defined as polysemous, but the meanings are separated into two only: one that correlates with the meaning developed in the USA (sense (b) in *OED*): ‘a politician or government with little real power’, and it is given first. The second one could be correlated with sense (d) in *OED*: ‘industry/firm in need of financial help’, and ‘helping a disabled person’. However, the CCID defines the second sense in more general terms, which makes it not restricted to two ‘entities in need’ only (see section 3 below for detailed definitions).

Thus, the following is the storyline with preliminary time posts of idiom development:

1. 1760s – a stock market slang 1. – ‘someone unable to pay’ and 2. – ‘bankrupt’
2. 1860s – a sense related to politics 3. – ‘politician/government with little power’
3. 1860s – 1973 – senses: 3., relating to political power; 4. a nautical term – a damaged ship; 5. a business term – industry or firm in financial need; and 6. a sense referring to a disabled person who is in need of help.
4. 2012 – senses: 3. and more general sense 7. ‘someone or something in need of support’

These time posts are represented in Table 22.

**Table 22 – Timeline of *lame duck* – *OED***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periods of time</th>
<th>1760s</th>
<th>1860s</th>
<th>1860s – 1973</th>
<th>2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recorded senses, numbered</strong></td>
<td>a stock market slang 1. – ‘someone unable to pay’</td>
<td>a sense related to politics 3. – ‘politician/government with little power’</td>
<td>senses: 3., relating to political power;</td>
<td>senses: 3., relating to political power;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7 senses in total</strong></td>
<td>2. – ‘bankrupt’</td>
<td>4. a nautical term – a damaged ship;</td>
<td></td>
<td>more general sense 7. ‘someone or something in need of support’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. a business term – industry or firm in financial need;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6. a sense referring to a disabled person who is in need of help</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above timeline illustrates the major recorded and known points of development of the
idiom *lame duck*. In the current research I have focused on the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries, which in the case of this idiom appears to be the period where the majority of described senses has potentially been in use. In the following sections I outline the methodology for meaning identification of idiom *lame duck* for the stated period of about 140 years, from 1878 up to the current day.

4.5.2. **Brief outline of methods applied in the case study *lame duck***

The methodology for meaning identification and development consists of several steps. First, the current definition(s) is to be compared with historical idiom dictionaries’ definitions. Secondly, the analysed senses from lexicographical data are then allocated to tokens in historical corpora. Thirdly, the additional contexts in the corpus data, if any, are distinguished. And finally, the list of aggregated senses are analysed according to the sense development. In addition, external sources, such as *OED*, for example, are then addressed if required, to trace the meaning development that goes beyond the research period, to cover any missing points in the history of the idiom.

4.5.2.1. **Current definitions of *lame duck***

The CCID provides two definitions for the idiom *lame duck*:

**Entry: lame duck**

**Definition 1:** If a politician or a government is a *lame duck*, they have little real power, for example because their period of office is coming to an end.

**Examples:** E.g. *The government is headed by a president who looks like a lame duck.*
E.g. *The last thing people needed was to feel that the government was a lame duck.*

**Definition 2:** If someone or something is a *lame duck*, they are in a very weak position and in need of support.

**Examples:** E.g. *The company has completed its transformation from the lame duck of the motor industry into a quality car maker.* E.g. *Moira considers all single people lame ducks.*

In addition, the CCID adds the following notes indicating the change in form that turns the
idiom functioning as a noun into the hyphenated noun phrase that can be used as a modifier of another noun. It is numbered in the dictionary to indicate that (1) refers to definition (1) ‘political sense’, and (2) to definition (2), ‘general sense’:

Notes on other form:

(1) • You can also use lame-duck before a noun. E.g. He’s already seen widely as a lame-duck Prime Minister. E.g. He would have found himself leading a lame-duck administration to near-certain defeat.

(2) • You can also use lame-duck before a noun. E.g. It is not right to use taxpayers’ money to support lame-duck industries.

Each usage in the notes on other form section is numbered respectively to each sense.

The CCID goes on adding the connotational usage of the idiom, that is, it is mainly used in negative contexts:

Context note: •This expression is usually used to criticize someone or something.

And gives the explanation for the emergence of the idiom with potential etymology:

Etymology: The image here is of a duck that has been shot and wounded, and so cannot move properly and is likely to die.

In the following Table 23 I identify potential meaning distinctions within current definitions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idiom (2012)</th>
<th>Sense 1</th>
<th>Sense 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lame duck</td>
<td>Politician/government have little power</td>
<td>Someone/something in weak position and needs support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning distinctions</td>
<td>Animate subject + no power (+ politics)</td>
<td>Animate or inanimate subject + being weak (+ general)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects examples</td>
<td>President, government; prime minister, administration</td>
<td>People, company; industries</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5.2.2. Historical idiom dictionaries data on lame duck

I have found the idiom a lame duck in three out of four historical dictionaries, and all of the entries have been provided without any alterations, apart from the absence of an indefinite article preceding it in the SCDI (1908):
**Entry:** *Lame duck.* – [Slang]

**Definition:** A defaulter at the stock or exchange; a bankrupt.

In the *ISG* (1878) two entries are given, one with and another without indefinite article *a*:

- **Entry 1:** *A lame duck.*
  
  **Definition:** A defaulter; a bankrupt.

- **Entry 2:** *Lame duck.* –
  
  **Definition:** A defaulter; one that is not regular in payment.

Both definitions contain the main sense, that is, ‘a defaulter’, but the second sense given after the semi-colon, differs in the degree of money loss, with the first one defining full bankruptcy, and the second one defining someone who is not yet bankrupt, but irregular in payments.

Additionally, entry 1 in the *ISG* (1878), almost fully coincides with the entry in the *SCDI* (1908), with the *SCDI* specifying ‘defaulter’ to be at the ‘stock’ or ‘exchange’. Same contextual specification is given in the *DPF* (1904):

- **Entry:** – Duck. – *A lame duck.*
  
  **Definition:** – A stock-jobber who will not, or cannot, pay his losses.
  
  **E.g.:** *He has to “waddle out of the alley like a lame duck.”*

Thus, it can be concluded that at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the meaning of the idiom *lame duck* in historical idiom dictionaries appeared to have two related but different senses. That is, the sense one that refers to ‘a defaulter’, in the context of stock exchange, and the sense two of ‘a bankrupt’, as a result of ‘person’s inability to pay’. When compared with current definitions, the following summary of idiom senses is presented in the Table 24.

**Table 24 – Senses of lame duck from lexicographical sources of both periods**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Points in time</th>
<th>1878 - 1908</th>
<th>2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numbered</td>
<td>1. Person unable to pay, defaulter</td>
<td>3. Politician or government with no power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senses</td>
<td>2. Bankrupt</td>
<td>4. Thing or person in need of support</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consequently, I have identified four senses of idiom *lame duck*, represented in Table 24
above, and the distinctions between them appear to be money related to different degrees in the past, and currently referring to a politician and a thing or person in need. This conclusion is also partially supported by the contexts *lame duck* appears in in the *CCID* examples, as well as by the contexts of examples collected from historical idiom dictionaries (see above).

Thus, the meaning of monetary loss develops through the loss of ability to continue stock holding to total bankrupt. It is unclear though how the sense of a political figure without any power emerges. The data suggests that it is the sense of a defaulter that undergoes generalization and can be applied to anything or anyone, apart from politically related thing or person. To identify the source of seemingly unrelated sense, of political figure, not found in historical British idiom dictionaries, I have addressed the *TCC*, The Turn of the Century Corpus (see section 3.6). As well as I have attested each sense in the corpus data to follow the above mentioned possibility of sense development.

### 4.5.3. Review of data on *lame duck* from the Hansard sub-corpus

The *CCID* examples are based on the Present-day English corpus, whereas the historical idiom dictionaries have either quotations from literary sources or have been made up by compilers themselves. To validate the definitions of idioms given in the past, I have created a corpus of English language used at the period of discussion, that is the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

I have collected data from the *TCC* that contains the idiom *lame duck* and the number of tokens is the following: 12 tokens from the Hansard sub-corpus and 4 from the Literary sub-corpus. Repetitions, if any, and unrelated results such as a mere appearance of idiom components within the collocational window have been excluded. Therefore I allocate the identified four senses, ‘person unable to pay’, ‘bankrupt’, ‘political figure without power’, and ‘thing or person in need’ to each of the 16 tokens found in the *TCC*.

In the Hansard sub-corpus meaning allocation has yielded distinct senses, as the majority of the contexts appear to be totally different from those in the idiom dictionaries. Thus, some contexts, therefore meanings, turn out to be related to ‘faulty ships’, and/or ‘military men unfit to war’, with only one example referring to somewhat politically related sense, but does not totally coincides with the sense of ‘a political figure without real power’. For instance, 9 out of 12 tokens imply various degrees of faultiness of water vessels, like in the examples (6)
and (7) below (number 1 and 8 in Appendix 12):

(6) … to spend money on the repair of small ships of a low rate of speed when there is some difficulty in properly manning the vessels we have? When the noble Lord explained the new programme of Naval construction, he gave us to understand that some 30 vessels would be removed, but these lame ducks are still kept on the active list—or most of them: I am sure it would be far better for the Service to sell these old small vessels, and if small vessels are required for Foreign stations, to employ those of the newer type: I shall not move the… (HANS:C-1891 Abercromby (C))

(7) … we know that it has been to a large extent elsewhere: The " Powerful " and the " Terrible " were completed, and the " Powerful " was put into commission: Some hon: Members and a portion of the press are accustomed to speak of the " Powerful " as the lame duck: " I am afraid that it is the same with a ship as with a woman—one damage her reputation and she will never recover it: The " Powerful's " reputation has been damaged not by any accident to her boilers, not by anything remotely connected with her water-tube… (HANS:C-1900 Goschen (C))

In each case I have underlined linguistic means indicating the sense of the idiom. Since the majority of instances, 9 out of 12, appear to exhibit similar contextual triggers, I have assigned additional sense to these tokens. The sense of ‘a small and/or old ship/vessel that is faulty in some way’ was numbered as sense 5. This sense is not listed in idiom dictionaries of the time.

It could be argued that this particular usage could be correlated with the sense 2 in the current idiom dictionary, ‘someone or something in a very weak position and in need of support’. I assert that, first, it is rather specific, i.e., nautical term. Secondly, the current meaning centralizes on the subject’s weakness and as a result the need to be supported. Whereas, previous meaning focuses on weakness but in a more technical way, that is, faultiness of the subject, a water vessel specifically. And as a result the subject should be taken out of use, with the strong implication that you cannot rely on it. Compare, for instance, the use of the following words in example (6): like ‘removed’, ‘better to sell’ with ‘damaged reputation’ and ‘never recover’ in example (7).
In a similar way, the remaining 3 tokens from the Hansard sub-corpus have been analysed. In examples (8) and (9) (number 6 and 7 in Appendix 12) the object of *lame duck* is animate, in contrast to sense 5 discussed above, and is about ‘unfit men for military service’:

(8) … time in the hospital there they had to be returned to this country: The writer said—It is perfectly true that the average Reservist is a better developed man than his comrade with the colours, but it is unfortunately true that both Reservists and Militiamen contain a very large number of *lame ducks,* *hopelessly incapable of going to the front:* This is not the case to any appreciable extent with the colours men, who are obviously under such continual observation as to render it very unlikely that any obviously unfit men could be drafted for foreign service: But the percentage of others…(HANS:C-1900 Arnold_F (C))

(9) … of others who are being landed here, and sent to the station hospital with the immediate result of being marked for redrafting to England, is far greater than would have been the case had an efficient system of inspection been adopted on your side: I am inclined to connect the number of *lame ducks* with the deficient personnel of the R:A:M:C: From the object lessons one is seeing here it is quite evident that the examinations at home have been conducted either by men who do not understand military requirements, or by men who were so pressed for time that they had to run through the…(HANS:C-1900 Arnold_F (C))

However, the 3rd token from the last 3, example (10) (number 10 in Appendix 12), has no connection with the military context. Although the meaning in this case does have a reference to a political office, the sense of *lame duck* relates to ‘people in authority that are “unfit” for their job’. And does not refer to ‘a political figure without real power’, like in sense 3 in Table 24 above.

(10) … see where the terrible delay which the noble Lord referred to is to arise: The noble Lord brought in the Inland Revenue: I can not speak for that Department, but I can speak for the Board of Agriculture, and I can honestly say that I do not believe there is a *lame duck* in the whole of that office:
They are all men who know their business and desire to transact it conscientiously and efficiently and with celerity, and I do not think there is any legitimate ground for the noble Lord's fears on this head: I therefore hope he will leave the… (HANS:L-1907 Carington (C))

Given the differences in contexts and the objects the idiom is applied to, I have distinguished the 7th sense in example (10): ‘unfit/deficient person in Office/Department’. Consequently, the corpus data from Hansard has resulted in three additional senses: sense 5 for ‘faulty ships’, sense 6 for ‘unfit men for military service’, and sense 7 for ‘deficient worker in Office’. The preliminary list of senses identified in historical idiom dictionaries and the TCC appears to be the following.

Table 25 – *Lame duck* - Senses gathered from both dictionaries and corpus data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Points in time sources of data</th>
<th>1878 – 1908 idioms dictionaries</th>
<th>2012 idioms dictionary</th>
<th>1878 – 1908 corpus data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numbered senses</td>
<td>1. Person unable to pay, defaulter</td>
<td>3. Politician or government with no power</td>
<td>5. Small/old ships/vessels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Bankrupt</td>
<td>4. Thing or person in need of support</td>
<td>6. Unfit men for war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7. Deficient person in Office</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted however that due to the small number of tokens for the sense 7, it is possible that the speaker used the idiom in the sense that was applied to ‘unfit men for war’. Therefore, I have consulted the *OED* to answer the question of whether to consider the last one as a separate sense. Interestingly, the *OED* does not provide a sense related to ‘men unfit for war’, which could be due to the fact that entries have not been updated for some time (see section 4.5.1. for detailed overview of OED entries). Subsequently, I have not found the sense of ‘a person unfit for Office’ in the *OED*. In the next section I discuss data collected from the Literary sub-corpus and summarize the findings from all sources.

4.5.4. Review of data on *lame duck* from the Literary sub-corpus

In the Literary sub-corpus I have found four instances of usage of *lame duck*. It turns out that all four are from the same source, the novel “The Man of Property” by John Galsworthy; coded as CLMET3_1_3_303_1906 .txt. in the corpus. Substituting the idiom in each token with either of the distinguished senses has produced the following results. Since the sense Galsworthy used in his novel does not contradict much the corpus data, I decided to
take this source into account as a valid source as well.

(11) … young man’s uncle by marriage. After that she’d been always running after him; and when she took a thing into her head there was no stopping her. She was continually taking up with ‘lame ducks’ of one sort or another. This fellow had no money, but she must needs become engaged to him - a harumscarum, unpractical chap, who would get himself into no end of difficulties. She had come…

This particular example (11) contains synonymous expressions the author used to strengthen the negative meaning of lame duck: ‘a harumscarum’, and ‘unpractical chap’. And expressions like ‘this fellow had no money’ and ‘get himself into no end of difficulties’ help to identify the meaning the author had input in the idiom. Thus, the sense in this case appears to be number 4 – ‘thing or person in a weak position and in need of support’, - with additional nuance of meaning that can be correlated with sense number 1, ‘a person unable to pay’. That is the combination of senses 4 and 1. Given that other instances too support the author’s intention to negatively describe the characters, I suggest that in general the image behind lame duck in Galsworthy’s view can be defined as ‘a looser’, ‘a poor and/or deficient person’. Compare examples (12), (13), and (14) below:

(12) … was coming. ‘’I'm going with you,’ she said. ‘’Nonsense, my dear; I go straight into the City. I can't have you racketting about!’ ‘'I must see old Mrs. Smeerch.'’ ‘'Oh, your precious 'lame ducks!'” grumbled out old Jolyon. He did not believe her excuse, but ceased his opposition. There was no doing anything with that pertinacity of hers. At Victoria he put her into the carriage which had…

(13) … petty selfishnesses. ‘’Now, don't you go tiring yourself, my darling,’ he said, and took a cab on into the city. June went first to a back-street in Paddington, where Mrs. Smeerch, her ‘lame duck,’ lived - an aged person, connected with the charring interest; but after half an hour spent in hearing her habitually lamentable recital, and dragooning her into temporary comfort, she went on to Stanhope Gate. The…
in the institution of a campaign against Death, much of her own trouble. Old Jolyon watched the new intimacy with relief and disapproval; for this additional proof that her life was to be passed amongst ‘lame ducks’ worried him. Would she never make a friendship or take an interest…

Evidently, to define the meaning of *lame duck* in this source it is necessary to consider wider context of the novel and at least to account for all four examples at once. For instance, while examples (11) and (13) have follow up descriptions that assist in meaning definition, examples (12) and (14) do not have such an obvious reference. However, the lexemes with negative meanings: ‘lamentable, ‘disapproval’, ‘worried’, used to show the contemptuous and pejorative attitude towards the denominator, amount to the sense of ‘poor and deficient person’. In addition, linguistic means such as the statement ‘fellow had no money’, and the noun phrases, ‘scarumharum’, ‘unpractical chap’, ‘an aged person’, allow to conclude that in the Literary sub-corpus data the idiom *lame duck* exhibits some features of the sense 1, monetary sense, and already moves toward its current more general meaning, ‘a person in weak position and in need of support’.

4.5.5. Analysis of case study *lame duck*

The analysis of case study of idiom *lame duck* has shown that the idiom has had various senses throughout time, which answers the main research question whether English idioms can change their meaning over time. The current research period is about 140 years, starting from 1878 and up to Present-day English. In the sections 4.5.2.1. and 4.5.2.2. I have discussed the recorded points in time where each sense of the idiom can be traceable. Both lexicographical and corpus data have been used to identify these meanings.

The examination of each meaning in actual language usage has allowed to conclude that most of the senses the idiom exhibits along the timeline can be correlated. For example, it is evident that the current meaning 2, ‘thing or person in need of support’, has developed from one of the initial senses, ‘a defaulter’. Thus the logical evolution appears to be from the focus on ‘person’s actions that led to bankrupt’ towards the result of that person being ‘moneless’ and hence ‘in need’. In the following visualization I represent the evolution of meanings the
idiom *lame duck* has gone through.

**Graph 2 – Visualization of *lame duck* meaning evolution**

In Graph 2 I have indicated the potential directions of senses development with arrows. The darker the arrow the more plausible the trajectory of sense development. The question marks along the thinner curvy arrows exemplify the degree of (un)certainty. The further research into the actual usage, whenever a larger corpus becomes available, will show if these approximations are correct. In the next section I summarize the findings and analysis of the case study of *lame duck*.

**4.5.6. Case study *lame duck* - conclusion**

The case study of *lame duck* has shown that oftentimes lexicographical data turns out to be outdated, compared with actual usage of the time. Thus, the analysis of corpus data of the period under discussion has provided evidence for additional meanings that had not been identified by lexicographers and partially had been recorded in the *OED* in the aftermath.

It is also plausible to conclude that this particular idiom has been developing its politics
related sense independently in the USA, around the first quarter of the 20th century. Perhaps due to the media influence and politico-economical relationships between the two this usage has been borrowed into and/or mixed with the meaning developing in the UK later on. This additional meaning has become quite popular and commonly used, hence it is recorded as the first definition in the CCID. Thus, the initial ‘monetary loss’ sense developed into the resultative sense referring to the doer of the action who becomes ‘weak and in need of support’. Such a trajectory represents the meaning evolution through the metonymic relations. At the same time, the individual sense related to politics continues to denote the same thing, probably because it is relatively new in terms of semantic change processes of idiomatic expressions.

4.6. Case study 3 - make your mark

4.6.1. Current definitions of make your mark

In this section I provide the detailed description of historical idiom dictionaries and corpus search findings and analysis of the idiom make your/a mark. This idiom has been selected from Group 1 – polysemous idioms, as the CCID (2012) lists the idiom with two meanings, and it constitutes the verbal group of the final sample. The CCID defines it as the following:

**Idiom: make your/a mark** [marked with a star symbol in the dictionary to indicate it is commonly used]

**Definition 1.** If you make your/a mark, you do something which causes you to become noticed or famous.

E.g. *Today we look at the new generation of Japanese directors making their mark in world cinema.* (Possible paraphrase – ‘becoming famous’)

E.g. *She’s only been with the company for three months but she’s certainly made her mark.* (Possible paraphrase – ‘became noticed’)

E.g. *He was new to politics and had not yet made a mark.* (Possible paraphrase – ‘hadn’t done anything noticeable’, ‘hadn’t been noticed’, ‘was unknown’)

**Definition 2.** If something makes its mark or makes a mark it starts to be noticed or to have an effect.

E.g. *The film has already made its mark in terms of awards.* (Possible paraphrase – ‘has been noticed’)

E.g. *If cricket ever made a mark in the United States, it would be guys like Bevan who would sell it.* (Possible paraphrase – ‘has had an effect’, ‘has become influential’, ‘has left some trace’, ‘became noticed’?)

The main distinction made by dictionary compilers is that the idiom is used in two different contexts, one applied to animate subject, ‘you’ do and ‘you’ become noticed, and another used with inanimate objects, ‘something’ does, ‘something’ becomes noticed. Additional slight differences appear in definition after alternating ‘or’, ‘become noticed or famous’ for the sense 1, and ‘starts to be noticed or to have an effect’ for the sense 2. Provided the difference in agents, the ‘fame’ and ‘effect’ seem to be an extension of ‘becoming noticed’ or ‘becoming being noticed’. To attest the senses development, I have addressed the historical idiom dictionaries (see Chapter 3 for the overview) and conducted a search in the corpus of English language (*TCC*). In the next section I describe the historical dictionaries search and results for the idiom *make your/a mark*.

### 4.6.2. *Make your mark* - historical idioms dictionaries search

I have found the idiom *make your/a mark* in three idiom historical dictionaries out of four (see section 3.3.2. for the overview of historical dictionaries), namely, in the *ISG* (1878), the *DPF* (1904), and in the *SCDI* (1908). In the *ISG* this idiom is given twice, with the first expression containing a specification ‘in literature’:

**Entry 1:** Make a mark in literature.
**Definition:** Cut a figure or distinguish one’s self in literature.
E.g. *He had made a mark in literature, and it was to literature rather than to public affairs that his ambition turned.* – J. Morley. (became famous?, became noticed?)

**Entry 2:** Mark, make one’s.
**Definition:** Distinguish or signalise one’s self.
E.g. *His ambition was to make his mark as a poet.* – Theodore Martin. (to distinguish, to become noticed/noticeable/influential?)

Evidently, both of the definitions refer to an animate subject, i.e. the agent is someone who ‘distinguishes one’s self” either in literature or in general. In the *DPF*, Brewer does not
distinguish the usage of idiom into two contexts, and the general sense coincides with the
definition in the ISG:

**Entry:** *To make one’s mark.*
**Definition:** To distinguish oneself.
E.g. *He has written his name (or made his mark) on the page of history.* (left his trace
(=had an effect?), left a mark?, =became famous??)

In the SCDI, two entries are found, one with an indefinite article, and another with a
possessive pronoun, and one of the examples appears to be the same quotation the ISG
compilers used to illustrate to ‘literature’ specification:

**Entry 1:** *Make a mark.*
**Definition:** Gain distinguished pre-eminence.
E.g. *Vidyasagar soon made a mark at college and left it with laurels.* (distinguished
himself, became noticed?, noticeable?)
E.g. *He had made a mark in literature.* – Morley. (became a noticeable figure in
literature, left a mark, influenced?)

**Entry 2:** *Make one’s mark.*
**Definition:** Do some noteworthy thing that brings honour or distinction.
E.g. *At college Vidyasagar soon began to make his mark.*
E.g. *He was too young to be admitted as an equal amongst men who had made their
mark in the world.* – Smiles.

Although there are two separate entries, both entries refer to some kind of achievement, being
distinguished, which correlates with sense 1 in the current idiom dictionary, the CCID (2012).
It is clear from the historical idiom dictionaries that the idiom has been defined with regards
to an animate subject only, as there is always an agent *making a mark* in something. In the
following table I have collected all senses from more than a century ago and the current idiom
dictionaries.
Table 2 – Initial list of senses of make your/a mark

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Make your/a mark</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>1883</th>
<th>1904</th>
<th>1908</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) do smth and become noticed + fame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) smth becomes noticed + effect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distinctions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) animate subject, a person (+ fame)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) inanimate object, a thing (+effect)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Distinctions     |      |      |      |      |
| 3) and 4) only animate agent |      |      |      |      |
| 3) in literature |      |      |      |      |
| 4) in general |      |      |      |      |
| Senses           |      |      |      |      |
| 1) someone does something and becomes noticed or famous |      |      |      |      |
| 2) something starts to be noticed or have an effect |      |      |      |      |
| 3) to distinguish oneself in literature |      |      |      |      |
| 4) distinguish or signalise oneself |      |      |      |      |
| 5) to distinguish oneself |      |      |      |      |
| 6) gain distinguished preeminence |      |      |      |      |
| 7) do something noteworthy and get distinction |      |      |      |      |

Apparently, all the entries in the historical idiom dictionaries of the period coincide with sense 1 in the current dictionary, even though in two out of three dictionaries, it is given in two separate entries. These entries seem to present synonymous definitions of the same idiom, apart from sense 3 in the ISG (1883), which is specific to a particular context, and the subdivision into two based on the use of a middle constituent. In other words, what in the current dictionary is given with the slash, the possessive pronoun interchanging with an indefinite article, in historical dictionaries have been divided into two expressions.

4.6.3. Make your/a mark - results of the lexicographical data analysis

As a result of examination of the lexicographical data the following three senses were attested in the historical corpus search. The senses in Table 27 are given in the order of the research analysis, i.e. in the ascending order.

Table 27 – Make your mark - list of senses for corpus attestation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Make your/a mark</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>19th/20th century</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senses and distinctions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) a person distinguishes oneself (+fame)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3) a person distinguishes oneself in literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) a thing becomes being noticed (+effect)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1) a person distinguishes oneself in general (+fame)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the next stage of the analysis, I examine the data gathered from the historical English language corpora, the TCC, and discuss the corpus search procedure and findings in the following section.
4.6.4. *Make your mark* - corpus search

From the comparison of definitions in Present-Day English with historical idiom dictionaries, it follows that the meaning of *make your/a mark* has acquired additional sense. That is, it has been split into two senses, one referring to an animate and the second to inanimate agent, someone and something. To investigate the meaning development, I have collated data from the TCC (see section 3.6) and I analyse the results as follows.

In the BYU interface, the idiom is put into the collocation search, with ‘make’ in squared brackets [make], which allows the verb to be found in all forms, and ‘mark’ with asterisk at the end of it, mark*, indicating that all forms of the noun ‘mark’ will be searched for as well. I have set up the collocational window of five words to each side, to gather a wide enough context for meaning differentiation. Hence, the output yields all possible variations of the words ‘make’ plus ‘mark’ in any order. This search allows for extraction of passivized forms, i.e., ‘the mark was made’, as well as instances where either constituent is accompanied with an adjectival phrase, for example, ‘make a white mark’.

Therefore, if an idiom is not entirely frozen, as is the case with *make your/a mark*, and allows such modifications, the required data will be collected too. In this way, the search in the Hansard sub-corpus has resulted in 123 tokens. I have then gone through all the examples and have excluded those that appeared to be either not the idiom under discussion, or a similar word string but used literally. For instance, nine tokens happen to be used as a different expression, meaning ‘to sign something’ with ‘a mark’ when a person signing is illiterate:

(15) …, he thought, 160 owners in the four parishes: He was not quite sure, but he believed that the Petition was signed by 600 persons: It was a Petition from the inhabitants, and every person whose name appeared upon it was a resident occupier; some of them could only made their mark: So anxious were the inhabitants to oppose the Bill, that in some instances nearly the whole of the resident occupiers had signed the Petition: In one parish— that of Churchill— 122 out of 145 had signed the Petition; and in another parish 73 out of 85: … - (HANS:C - 1888 Llewellyn (C))

I have underlined the words and phrases in (15) that support the sense ‘to sign’. In the Literary sub-corpus, I have also found nine cases where the expression used is not the idiom referring to ‘an achievement’ or ‘distinction’, but to the mere act of signing a paper, as in (16):
... write not badly, you understand. But this evening I do not feel that my hand is well enough." So, with the sticky, thick ink of the Weissen Ross'l, Sebastian wrote the letter, and Barlasch, forgetting his scholarly acquirements, took the pen and made a mark beneath his own name written at the foot of it. Then he went out, and left Sebastian to pay for the beer.

CHAPTER XXVI. ON THE BRIDGE. They that are above Have ends in everything. A lame man was standing on … - (1903 Barlasch of the guard.txt)

Subsequently, after the initial analysis of data gathered from the Hansard sub-corpus, the remaining number of tokens that I analyse according to the meaning change aim is 60. Although the Hansard sub-corpus is bigger than the Literary sub-corpus, the idiom make your mark appears to be more common in it, perhaps due to the literary context the idiom can be applied to.

For the Literary sub-corpus, a similar collocation search bar is available. However, AntConc, the software for data extraction, is designed in a different way. Therefore, I have searched for idiom in two ways, one is listing all forms of the verb in brackets and divided by slash, and for the article/pronoun slot I have put each one of them into a separate search: (make|makes|making|made) a/the/your/his/her/their/its mark. In addition, to get possible modifications, I have put the idiom in the collocation search.

Although many of the tokens overlap, any one of the searches would not be sufficient, as I demonstrate in the next section. Consequently, the Literary sub-corpus search has yielded 169 examples for both inputs. After preliminary analysis, I have excluded overlaps, repetitions, literal usages, and tokens where the idiom constituents just appear to be nearby, like in the examples below.

Example for literal usage in the Literary sub-corpus:

...back to us all this time, occupying himself in taking the books out, one by one, and turning them upside-down. An easel, with a black board on it, stood near him: and, every time that he turned a book upside-down, he made a mark on the board with a piece of chalk. "And as to the 'Pig-Tale' - which you have so kindly promised to give us - " the Professor went on,
thoughtfully rubbing his chin. ``I think that had better come at the… - (CLMET3_1_3_226_1889.txt)

(18) Example for constituents of idiom appearing nearby, thus getting into the search results:

…! NOT. And he declined? LUD. He did, on the prosaic ground that it might rain, and the ancient Greeks did not carry umbrellas! If, as is confidently expected, Ernest Dummkopf is elected to succeed the dethroned one, make any words, he will make a mess of it. [Exit LUDWIG with LISA. OLGA. He’s sure to be elected. His entire company has promised to plump for him on the understanding that all the places about the Court are filled by members of his troupe, according to… - (CLMET3_1_3_327_1896.txt)

As a result of the netting analysis, the final number of tokens found in the Literary sub-corpus is 63, which is almost the same as the results from the Hansard sub-corpus, 60. In total, for the meaning differentiation analysis I have collected 123 instances of make your/a mark uses, which I analyze in the following section.

4.6.4.1. Make your mark - analysis of corpus data

The analysis of 123 tokens gathered from the TCC partially contradicts the definitions of the dictionaries at the time and coincides with the current definitions. Historical idiom dictionaries only list senses referring to an animate subject, whereas the TCC findings suggest that already then the idiom started being used in both its meanings, indicating animate and inanimate agents. For instance, the following two examples from the Hansard sub-corpus imply that the example (19) is used to refer to a person, and (20) to a thing, or rather several things:

(19) …a poor substitute for argument: The comparison he drew between Samson and the Irish Party here suggested to me to say that if the weapon employed by Samson on a certain memorable occasion would not be called now-a-days a weapon of procedure, yet he did good execution with it, and finally Samson made his mark upon a certain House, the inhabitants of which had exercised too
"much pressure within the law " upon him: Under the influence of the gentle discipline which the hon: and gallant Member says should be applied to us—which was nothing less than the Coer-1243 cion gag—… (HANS:C - 1887 Sexton (C))

(20) …, he spoke of him as Jupiter coming down from the clouds: As a matter of fact, the right hon: Gentleman the Leader of the House has displayed, in the most remarkable manner, qualities of tact, patience, and firmness; and it is because those qualities are beginning to make their mark upon the House, that such burning indignation has been called forth from the hon: Member for Cork, who is generally so placid and calm of speech: Let me observe that the whole of the hon: Member's speech consisted of imputations, for which, I venture to say,… - (HANS:C - 1887 Chaplin (C))

In the examples (19) and (20) I have underlined the contextual clues that indicate that the idiom is used with an animate agent and inanimate agent respectively; ‘he’ and ‘qualities’. Note how the object of the idiom in both examples is the same, ‘upon a certain House’ and ‘upon the House’. These two examples can actually serve as an illustration of how the meaning from ‘a person’ began to refer to that person’s qualities, as in the case above, and potentially through this stage, eventually changes towards an inanimate entity. The next two examples refer to linguistically a thing, but semantically may refer to a group of people, making the subject an animate entity:

(21) … tremendously wide and stringent Bill: The nearest approach to it was the Coercion Bill passed in the year 1833 by the Government of Lord Grey: It was, he thought, much to be regretted that, whenever a Liberal Government came into power with large Liberal majorities—324 ties, that it made its first mark by introducing a very strong Bill for the coercion of the Irish people: He had lately been reading the life of a distinguished relative of his own—the late Lord Campbell—and he found that the first duty he had to discharge, when he was Attorney General and … (HANS:C – 1881 Campbell (Li))

(22) … Commission and the Treasury under the censure of the House: Long before the House had the advantage of the presence of the noble Lord at its Councils, there were cases where Companies played not only a most conspicuous, but a most honourable and important part in the conduct of colonization, and made their
mark in history: [ Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The South Sea Company, for instance: ] Oh, that was before the noble Lord's time; and I do not want to go beyond that— it was before my time also: But let the noble Lord, whose historical … (HANS:C – 1881 (Li))

Thus, ‘government’ in (21) is followed by a possessive pronoun ‘its’ indicating inanimacy. ‘Companies’ in (22) is in plural, hence the possessive pronoun ‘their’ cannot be used in identification of animacy, despite the fact that later in the extract one of the companies is named, that is, used in singular, ‘The South Sea Company’. Potentially, wider context could reveal whether the speaker intended to use ‘Company’ as an institution or a group of people.

The next token (23) exemplifies an already happened shift towards the inanimate subject, which has not been reflected in historical idiom dictionaries:

(23) the steam engine, which has done so much for these countries and for the progress of the world at large, were eliminated by James Watt, because it was that University which enabled him to carry out the great work on which he was engaged, and to perfect the invention which has made so conspicuous a mark on the development of the present century: We know how largely science enters into every part of our modern system, and I, therefore, trust that the Government may be enabled to supplement the grant they are giving at the present moment to the Scottish Universities: The … (HANS:C - 1889 (C))

In the example (23), the agent of the action is ‘invention’, inanimate object, ‘which’; it is already ‘something’, even though created by a person. That is, the link is still observable, but the subject is no longer an animate entity. In the following example (24), the correlation is even less obvious, with subject of the sentence ‘someone/something makes the mark’ being abstract notion, ‘restriction’:

(24) …of the miseries inflicted by excessive drinking on human character and on human society: Whether alcohol is or is not injurious to bodily health, whether excessive drinking is or is not at the root of half the woes of our social life, whether a restriction of licensed houses would or would not make a deep
mark on the social habits of our people I do not ask, and it is not the question to-
day: The question to-day is a political one: The House of Commons has agreed
that the principle of control over 1340 drinking houses must be conceded, and
the only question is … - (HANS:C- 1891 Morley (C))

Interestingly, the majority of cases where the subjects of the sentence containing the idiom,
i.e., S – V (idiom) – O, are either used in the negative context, and/or have a negative particle
within the sentence; a case in point is example (24) above, ‘would not make’ and ‘miseries’.
Compare the following examples (25) and (26), where the subjects are inanimate,
‘depression’ and ’the Bill’, and the context is negative:

(25) …Wilson Fox— all of whose Reports showed that he was a man of great
ability and deserving of the greatest credit— thus concluded his observations:
— I have had the opportunity of reporting to the Royal Commission on counties
widely dissimilar in character, and in which the agricultural depression has
made its mark in varying 943 degrees, namely, the counties of Northumberland,
Cumberland, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire: And
having hart this varied experience, I say, after an exhaustive inquiry in Suffolk,
and with no desire to paint the picture blacker than it is, that … - (HANS:C –
1895 (Li))

(26) …connected with the administration of the Army think for a moment
that because we soldiers support this Bill we are satisfied with it as a great
measure of military reform: We regard it as a makeshift only forced upon the
Government by the unsatisfactory condition in which the Army stands: It will
not make a big mark in military history: In criticising the Government we have
not forgotten the promise of increased pay of the Army: I recognise fully the
value of the proposals in the Bill: I attach the greatest value to the proposal to
transfer from one battalion to another, and I recognise … (HANS:C - 1898
Kenyon _S (C))

On the other hand, the majority of cases where the subject is animate appear to be used in the
positive context, implying achievements, distinctness, and fame. The following are three
examples from the TCC that have a person as an agent and the themes are related to success
of that person.
(27) …see the positions young women in those important educational institutions hold: I will also ask them to look at the Profession of Medicine, and ask them to recall the fact that women are making their mark in this important Profession, in which, they will, in my opinion, continue to make their mark, thus showing that they are well qualified for the discharge not only of duties of this character, but of duties of an equally responsible kind in other vocations: Now, we are always told when a reform is sought that there is no demand for it on the part of … - (HANS:C – 1883 Mason (Li))

(28) …Nor is this all: We also know that His Royal Highness, though he might have found, in very delicate health, an excuse for shrinking from work and public life, was one who was bent upon making a mark for himself; and he would, I am sure, have made a great and notable mark upon the position and history of this country: But though there are various topics which suggest themselves at such a moment as this with regard to the Prince whom we have lost, I feel sure that the one great feeling which dominates all others in the mind of … - (HANS:C – 1884 Northcote (Li))

(29) …g of its occasional heaviness in the mouth of Hawes, the large-boned swaggering personage who played the Prince. An actress with sufficient force of feeling, and an artistic sense subtle enough to suggest to her the necessary modulations, could have made a great mark in it. But the first words, almost, revealed Isabel Bretherton's limitations, and before two minutes were over Kendal was conscious of a complete collapse of that sympathetic relation between him and the actress which the first scene ha… - (1884 miss bretherton. Ttx)

However, presence of the negative particle within the idiomatic expression is not always an indicator of the negative usage, hence, not necessarily referring to the inanimate subject. Thus, although in example (29) above the idiom is used in a positive construction, and with an adjective ‘great’, the entire context suggests that first, the subject is animate, ‘actress’, and second, that the author implies the actress has not actually succeeded. This is supported by the following linguistics means: the use of past modal verb phrase ‘could have’, by the next sentence starting with a contrastive ‘but’, and by the contextual trigger ‘limitations’.
Therefore, concluding that all the instances with inanimate subject only appear in the negative context may be premature.

Nevertheless, the distribution of animate in mostly positive contexts versus inanimate subjects in mainly negative contexts allows to presume that this is how the idiom has been developing its additional sense, from the change in use towards the change in meaning.

4.6.4.2. Make your mark - meaning differentiation in the corpus data

The analysis has shown that the majority of cases in which the idiom appears are with various prepositions, with more than a half of them with prepositions of place and/or direction, i.e. ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘upon’, and ‘at’. Thus, out of the total number of tokens, the idiom make your/a mark followed by the prepositions of place, literally and figuratively used, appear in approximately 65% of all cases. For instance, the most common preposition ‘in’, is found in 45 cases out of 123. The division into ‘someone’ versus ‘something’ followed by the preposition ‘in’ amounts to 35 compared with only 10 in inanimate usage. The next two examples (30) and (31) illustrate the animate sense and inanimate meaning respectively.

(30) … : I will only ask those who take an interest in education to look at Girton and Newnham, and see the positions young women in those important educational institutions hold: I will also ask them to look at the Profession of Medicine, and ask them to recall the fact that women are making their mark in this important Profession, in which, they will, in my opinion, continue to make their mark, thus showing that they are well qualified for the discharge not only of duties of this character, but of duties of an equally responsible kind in other vocations: Now, … - (HANS:C – 1883 Mason (Li))

(31) … endowment of the new college— £ 32,000— anybody who had attempted to work out in detail the allowance to the various faculties and the salaries to professors must admit that that was a mean and beggarly sum on which to endeavour to get the college 830 run satisfactorily: The college would make its mark mainly, if at all, in economics and in physical science: In physical science it would have to enter into very vigorous competition with the new English Universities: The professor of physics would be under continual temptation to go to Liverpool, Manchester, or somewhere else where the Chair
Based on sentence structure, it is also plausible to estimate which context is referring to sense 1, ‘a person’, or sense 2, ‘a thing’. Thus, in the Hansard sub-corpus the number of tokens referring to animate agent is 42 out of 60, and in the Literary sub-corpus it amounts to 40 out of 63, 82 out of 123 in the TCC. That is, the inanimate usage totals up to 35% roughly, with 65% left of the meaning identified in historical idiom dictionaries of that period. One third against two thirds seems to be statistically sufficient to regard the ‘something’ as an agent sense to be gaining its prominence already at the time.

To sum up, the idiom *make your mark* has acquired additional meaning referring to a thing, rather than a person, which is reflected in the current, 2012, idiom dictionary. Evidently, this acquisition has started to be happening at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, but has only become spread enough to be recorded in idiom dictionaries approximately hundred years later, at the turn of the 20th and the 21st centuries.

**4.6.4.3. Visual representation of make your mark sense development**

The Graph 3 represents the idiom *make your mark* analysed in both data sets of both periods. The arrows in the graph indicate the direction each sense took, the darker the arrow, the clearer appears to be the route of semantic shift. The sense of *make your mark*’s literal counterpart is also included in the graph as sense 0 to illustrate the process of phraseologization, i.e. the sense that the expression had before becoming an idiom.
Due to the multiplicity of meanings of the word ‘mark’, such as, ‘sign’, ‘point’, ‘target’, ‘standard’, ‘goal’, ‘impression’, ‘symbol’, ‘omen’, etc., and the vagueness of the word ‘make’, the development of a simple cooccurrence through the collocation stage, and into the idiom as we know it today, appears to be the following. At first, the expression to make a mark was used in relation to ‘marking something to make it noticeable’, as in ‘to make a mark’ on the wall, on goods to specify which ones are to be paid attention to.

The next stage is when something is marked it stands out, hence the meaning ‘to signalise one’s self’ recorded in the ISG (1883) along the meaning ‘to distinguish oneself’ and ‘distinguish oneself in literature’.

The second stage is then followed by the ‘effect of standing out’. That is, someone standing
out ‘gets noticed’ by others, which may result in others being affected by what they see, hence, the ‘influence’, ‘trace’, or ‘effect’ making the mark leaves on those who noticed. In other words, the action or presence of a person creates an effect and influences other people, communities, fields of study, places, minds, and/or history.

And finally, the act of making a mark becomes applicable to an inanimate thing too. Therefore, now it is not only a human or society that gets distinguished and thus affects others, but also a thing that can act in similar way. Thus we observe a meaning change of the idiom make your/a mark via generalization or widening process.

4.7. Case study 4 - below/under par new

4.7.1. Storyline of idiom below/under par

Similar process of semantic change has been found in the case study of idiom below/under par. That is, the meaning of the idiom gets widened and incorporates both animate and inanimate entities. However, there is a difference between, for instance, make your mark and below par in the amount of time the latter idiom has apparently taken to undergo the semantic change. In the case of make your mark the changes have been noticed already at the historical dictionaries stage (see section 4.6. – 4.6.3.). Whereas in the case of below par, the idioms dictionaries of the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries provide a unified definition, i.e. related to a ‘set price’. The lexicographical findings have been supported by the analysis of the data from the TCC.

4.7.2. Current definitions of below/under par

The CCID (2012) lists the idiom below/under par with two definitions:

**Idiom:** Below/under par

**Definition 1:** If someone or something is below par or under par, they are not of as high a standard or level as they should be.

**Example:** E.g. The recession has left sales a little below par in the past two or three years. E.g. Bad teachers could face pay freezes if they work is under par.

**Structural note:** You can also say that someone or something is not up to par with the same meaning.
E.g. The explosion raised concerns that safety standards were not up to par.

You can also use below-par before a noun.

E.g. The other time I saw her was on stage at a below-par Brighton concert last year.

**Definition 2:** If you feel *below par* or *under par*, you feel tired or slightly ill.

**Example:** E.g. Women who feel below par are unlikely to perform at their best.

E.g. After the birth of her baby she felt generally under par.

**Structural note:** You can also say that you are not up to par with the same meaning.

E.g. I’m still not quite up to par after my cold.

Consequently, the current state of the idiom reflected in the *CCID*, that is, being polysemous, indicates that the idiom is undergoing the changes now. Presumably the discrepancy in the time required for meaning generalization between *make your mark* for instance and *below/under par* lies in the fact that the latter contains rather specific words that are comparatively narrow in meaning and have a technical reference. For instance, *par* in full stands for ‘par for exchange’, an economic term denoting ‘the recognized value of currency between countries’ (*OED*). On the other hand, *make your mark* consists of very vague and polysemous components such as the verb ‘make’ and a noun ‘mark’.

Finally, the idiom *below/under par* is fixed and hence does not allow many alterations that may affect the conventionalized meaning. Whereas in the case of *make your/a mark* the expression contains a possessive pronoun and/or an indefinite article. Each of which can be substituted by content words depending on the context, valence in Voznesenskaya’s terms (2012).

### 4.7.3.  *Below/under par* - historical idioms dictionaries search

The idiom *below/under par* has been found in three out of four historical idiom dictionaries. Interestingly, in all three the idiom entry either contained the *below* or none. The word *under* does not appear at the idiom dictionaries of the period. For example, in the *ISG* (1883), the idiom is found under the entry *par, below*:

**Entry:** *Par, below*

**Definition:** At a discount
Examples: He represented to the Emperor the low condition of his treasury; that he was forced to take up money at a great discount; that exchequer bills would not circulate under nine per cent. *below par.* – Swift.

At the *DPF* (1904), the idiom is given under the entry containing only the prepositional phrase *par (at)* and instead of example sentences from the actual language use, the author provides further explanation with apparently his own examples. He also suggests the etymological note alluding to the language of origin:

**Entry: par (At)**

**Definition:** Stock at par means that it is to be bought at the price it represents.

**Examples:** Thus, £100 stock in the 2,5 per cent. quoted at par would mean that it would require £100 to invest in this stock; if quoted at £105, it would be £5 above par; if at £95, it would be £5 below par. (Latin, *par*, equal.)

And finally, in the *SCDI* (1908) the idiom is followed up by a reference to another entry in the dictionary with an antonymous meaning to clarify the sense of the discussed idiom:

**Entry: Below par**

**Definition:** At a price lower than the nominal or original value.

**Examples:** e.g. Stocks are now selling *below par.*

**Cross-reference:** [cf. *Above par.*]

In the next section the comparison of lexicographical data analysis from both periods is presented in a unified manner. The order of idiom dictionaries’ entries is not in chronological order, but in the order of the conducted research. In other words, the senses are compared with each other starting with the current definition(s).

4.7.4. **Below/under par - comparison of lexicographical data from both periods**

The Table 28 below illustrates the definitions of this idiom in the current and historical idiom dictionaries, which show that at least hundred years ago this idiom was used mainly in the sense of ‘being lower than the set price’.
Table 28 - Definitions of *below/under par*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idiom</th>
<th>CCID 2012</th>
<th>ISG 1883</th>
<th>DPF 1904</th>
<th>SCDI 1908</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Below par</em> or <em>Under par</em></td>
<td>(1) If someone or something is <em>below par</em> or <em>under par</em>, they are not of as high a standard or level as they should be. (2) If you feel <em>below par</em> or <em>under par</em>, you feel tired or slightly ill.</td>
<td>At a discount.</td>
<td>Stock at par means that it is to be bought at the price it represents. Thus, £100 stock in the 2.5 per cent. quoted at par would mean that it would require £100 to invest in this stock; if quoted at £105, it would be £5 above par; if at £95, it would be £5 below par. (Latin, <em>par</em>, equal.)</td>
<td>At a price lower than the nominal or original value: e.g. Stocks are now selling <em>below par</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The historical idiom dictionaries seem to define the idiom only with regards to its monetary or quantitative value. Whereas, currently, it is being split into two, one being of ‘low value’, and the second one, referring to a ‘person feeling unwell’. Thus, the senses for corpus attestation are the following two: ‘below standard/value’, and ‘feeling tired/ill’. In the next section I discuss the results of corpus search findings for the idiom *below/under par*.

4.7.5. *Below/under par* - corpus search

The idiom appears in the Hansard sub-corpus 100 times, whereas in the Literary sub-corpus it is found only six times, which constitutes 94 and 6 per cent respectively. After the examination of all the tokens, in the Literary sub-corpus one has been omitted due to being a duplicate. In the Hansard sub-corpus I have eliminated 12 tokens as they appear to be either literal expressions and/or the words ‘below’ and ‘par’ occurring within the same context window but not being a part of one expression. As a result, the number of example sentences taken to the corpus analysis are 88 in Hansard and 5 in the Literary sub-corpus; totalling to 93.

4.7.6. *Below/under par* - corpus data analysis

The comparison of definitions in current and historical dictionaries already demonstrates the difference in meanings between two periods. At the turn of the 20th century, the meaning of *below/under par* concerns mainly the price being lower than original. However, in the current dictionary, the idiom is given as polysemous. The first definition represents the widening of previous meaning, that is, from specific, money related topic, to
more general, now including animate and inanimate subjects, i.e. ‘someone’ and ‘something’, hence, referring also to ‘standard’ or ‘level’, rather than ‘price’ only. It appears that the second sense has developed from the first meaning. The general, all-inclusive sense gets narrowed to animate subject only, which then implies ‘someone being ‘below standard health wise’, i.e. ‘tired’ or ‘slightly ill’. These two current senses are in use at one period of time, which might be an indication of meaning change happening at the moment. However, the corpus data analysis has shown that this shift in meaning was happening back then already.

I have conducted corpus search using both variants, below par, and under par. In the Literary sub-corpus only below par is found, while in Hansard both variants appear. Interestingly, all five instances of usage of below par in the Literary sub-corpus are used in the currently second sense, i.e. ‘tired’ or ‘ill’. Compare for instance examples (32) and (33) below:

(32)  …you.’  ‘It has been a troublesome illness, I'm afraid.’ Nancy hesitated, detecting a peculiarity of look and tone which caused her uneasiness. 'I had a sort of low fever--was altogether out of sorts--"below par," the doctor said. Are you all well?' Settling herself comfortably, as if for a long chat, Beatrice sketched with some humour the course of recent events in De Crespigny Park. 'I'm out of … (1894 in the year of jubilee .txt 89 1)

(33)  …> But, it will be asked, how do these Out-of-Works conduct themselves when you get them into the Factory? Upon this point I have a very satisfactory report to render. Many, no doubt, are below par, under-fed, and suffering from ill health, or the consequence of their intemperance. Many also are old men, who have been crowded out of the labour market by their younger generation. But, without making… (CLMET3_1_3_217_1890 .txt 239 1)

However, this sense is not recorded in the historical dictionaries of that period (see Table 28 above). Conversely in Hansard, majority of tokens are ‘money’ related, referring to ‘stock prices’ for instance. Thus in examples (34) and (35) below, the first one is referring to ‘a certain amount of money’ and the second one to ‘stock, both meaning the same – ‘value’:

(34)  …who is reopening this question: I do not know whether it will be a surprise to the noble Lord to hear that if you add 4 per cent, whenever the
tithe has been above par since the Commutation Act, and if you deduct 4 per cent, whenever it has been below par, you find that the tithe owner has for every £ 100 of tithe received £ 220: From that it does not seem that the tithe owner has lost: On the contrary, I believe the tithe owner has benefited enormously by the Commutation Act: The gross produce of… (HANS:C-1890 ---- (C))

(35) …advance is granted: Whatever is the price of the Stock, that would have some influence on the number of years' purchase the landlord would take: § ; MR: CHANCE Then am I to understand that where the Stock is perceptibly below par you are really requiring the tenant to pay somewhat more than 4 per cent?: Is that so? § MR: GOSCHEN If we were to give the landlord Stock very much above par he would have to take so much less… (HANS:C-1891 Chance (C))

In both cases above, as well as in the majority of instances in the Hansard sub-corpus, the speakers also use the antonymous expression above par within the same context. This prevailing meaning correlates with the meaning found in the historical idiom dictionaries. It is also may be considered as part of the very broad current first sense, since there is a very few tokens where below par is used to refer to abstract inanimate subjects, for example, ‘someone’s observations’, in (36) below:

(36) …OSBORNE MORGAN I pointed out the great importance of Zanzibar: § * SIR R: TEMPLE I am not saying that the right hon: Gentleman did not do so, but I say that on that point the right hon: Gentleman's observations were below par in that part of his description, however just it may have been in other respects: When it is said that we have-not obtained a quid pro quo for the cession of Heligoland, I contend that we have got an island worth to us ten thousand Heligolands:

(HANS:C-1890 Temple (C))

However, the small percentage of tokens found in Hansard, that is, seven examples out of 88, were used in the abstract sense, i.e. ‘something (other than ‘stock/price’) being below standard’ – ‘poor’. As in example (36) above with ‘observations’, and example (37) below with ‘education’:
(37) …the southern parts of England the subscriptions are much more adequate than they are in Lancashire; and therefore in Lancashire, where the population is dense, where the inhabitants are rich, you are going to give them 5s: 9d:, and in the poor agricultural districts, where the education is thoroughly below "par," to use a moderate expression, they are only to receive 3s: 3d: because the test which the Education Department has taken is not the cost of education, but the income: I have thought of an explanation for this distinction, and the only one I can find is… (HANS:C-1897 Vernon_H (C))

Therefore, according to the corpus data of the turn of the 20th century, the abstract sense, that is one of ‘being poor’, whether it is ‘education’ or ‘health’, can already be found in use. In the next section I provide the visualised graph of the meaning development of below/under par.

4.7.7. Comparison of lexicographical data with corpus data analysis

Graph 4 illustrates via which stages the idiom below/under par has gone through. The starting point of comparison was the historical idiom dictionaries findings, i.e., definitions recorded about 140 years ago. The lexicographical data is then compared with the analysed corpus data of the same period. The bottom line is the representation of below/under par’s current definitions.
4.7.8. Case study 4 - below/under par – conclusion

To sum up, the idiom *below/under par* has followed the path from an expression referring to a specific stock related term to an idiom with multiple meanings referring to several abstract notions. The semantic shift in this case has happened via metaphorical extension. In other words, the idiom *below/under par* has changed through the metaphor, transfer of meanings, to the extended sense that is now applied to more referents than before.

4.8. Case study 5 – put your foot down

4.8.1. Storyline of idiom put your foot down

The idiom *put your foot down* has undergone several changes within its timeline. Since its establishment as an idiomatic unit around the beginning of the 19th century, it has developed multiple senses. The analysis of data on the idiom has shown that at a certain period there was similar expression in use that later on becomes obsolete. The expression *set your foot upon* has been used interchangeably for a few decades in the 19th century and it
appears that the survived expression *put your foot down* has acquired meanings belonging to the former idiom and retained them alongside its initial senses. In order to examine the processes the idiom has gone through I analyse its current and previous definitions and allocate them to the examples extracted from the *TCC*.

### 4.8.2. *Put your foot down* – lexicographical data analysis

The *CCID* defines the idiom *put your foot down* as having the following two senses.

**Idiom: 🔴 Put your foot down**

**Definition 1:** If you *put your foot down*, you tell someone forcefully that they must do something or that they must not do something.

**Examples:**
- E.g. Annabel went through a phase of saying: ‘I can do my homework and watch TV.’ Naturally I put my foot down.
- E.g. He had planned to go skiing on his own, but his wife put her foot down.

**Definition 2:** If you *put your foot down* when you are driving, you start to drive faster.

[BRITISH, INFORMAL]

**Example:** Finding a clear stretch of the motorway, he put his foot down.

Thus the current senses of the idiom exhibit two substantially different meanings: 1 - ‘to tell someone to do or not do something’ and 2 - ‘to accelerate’. The historical idiom dictionaries provide slightly differing definitions although somewhat related to the current sense 1.

The *DPF* (1904) adds a contextual clue but without example sentences:

**Entry:** To put your foot down on [a matter] **Definition:** Peremptorily to forbid it.

The *SCDI* (1908) lists deviating meanings divided by a semi-colon and provides only one example that is not wide enough to decide which of the senses is implied here:

**Entry:** Put down one’s foot

**Definition:** Make a determined stand; resist further encroachments

**Example:** I asked him for a loan, and then he *put his foot* and would give me nothing. –
The dictionaries of both stages then suggest the following senses the idiom can be referred to.

**Table 29 - Senses of *put your foot down* from lexicographical sources of both periods**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Points in time</th>
<th>1878 - 1908</th>
<th>2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numbered senses</td>
<td>1. Peremptorily to forbid it</td>
<td>4. Tell someone they must do or not do something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Make a determined stand</td>
<td>5. To accelerate when driving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Resist further encroachments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Evidently sense 5 has emerged with the development of the automobile industry and thus is regarded as an absolutely new meaning the idiom acquired. Sense 2, ‘make a determined stand’ on the other hand appears to be general enough to be substitutional with other 3 senses. However, the corpus data analysis has shown that each sense can be considered an autonomous one. Moreover, I have identified additional sub-senses in the TCC.

**4.8.3. *Put your foot down* in the TCC**

The number of tokens with the idiom *put your foot down* gathered from the TCC has turned out to be the largest, namely 464 example sentences with 433 tokens found in Hansard sub-corpus and only 33 in the Literary sub-corpus. The following table represents the frequency chart extracted from the Hansard sub-corpus.

**Table 30 - *Put your foot down* frequency analysis chart**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per million</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>37,100,705</td>
<td>60,023,651</td>
<td>51,159,886</td>
<td>64,672,301</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interface of the Hansard corpus allows seeing the development of an idiom through time. At least for two centuries the timeline of idiom can be traced by the frequency of tokens, recorded in each decade. In the case of idiom *put your foot down*, the corpus shows there is only one token in 1800s, for example, with 101 usages in 2000s. However, the examination of the first few decades has revealed that the idiom in its current form, only appears in 1840s; that is, in the first three decades the search has yielded sentences which contain words *put* and *foot*, but that wasn’t the idiom under analysis. The OED entry for the idiom *put your foot*
down also indicates that the first time it was recorded was as late as 1833, which goes in line with the findings from the TCC.

Assumptions based on frequency reveal the increase or decrease in use of the idiom. Thus, given that the first three decades have been excluded, the number of times the idiom was used in parliament speeches ranges from 8 tokens in 1840, to a peak of 184 instances in 1880. This decade is exactly at the beginning of the researched period and the increased frequency (more than 20 times) supports the findings that the idiom has been undergoing some change during the said period. This is also reflected in the meaning fluctuations across the years, and in many cases in ambiguity or even vagueness of the idiom. For example, in the tokens (38) and (39) the idiom is used to create an effect of motion and indecisiveness of the person referred to:

(38) ...§ MR: T: D: SULLIVAN, continuing, said, they were told that the Prime Minister had put his foot down; but a well-known American writer had said that no man could go through the world with his foot down: The Prime Minister had put his foot down before now, and had also had to take it up again: There was quite as much honour sometimes in taking a foot up as there was in putting it down; and he thought the present was an occasion when the Prime Minister might very properly, if he had... (HANS:C-1881 Sullivan (Li))

(39) ... his foot down before now, and had also had to take it up again: There was quite as much honour sometimes in taking a foot up as there was in putting it down; and he thought the present was an occasion when the Prime Minister might very properly, if he had put his foot down, take it up again: It was all very well to speak of smoothing the passage of this Bill; but surely the great object was not to smooth the measure in Parliament, but rather to smooth it for Ireland: The proposal was a reasonable one: It would... (HANS:C-1881 Sullivan (Li))

These examples are also the case of the idiom being vague enough to distinguish a particular sense. Thus, in (38) and (39) the meaning of the idiom can be paraphrased as ‘use his power’, ‘enforce his will’, versus ‘retract’ (take it up again). On the other hand, the reading such as ‘decided’ and ‘then changed his mind’ is also possible. In the Literary sub-corpus the ambiguous examples are also found. Compare (40) and (41) for instance.
… been hearing of it on all sides. She _can't_ throw it over!" Margaret shrugged her shoulders. "I believe she will." The older lady's face showed a sudden cloud of indignation. "William _must_ really put his foot down," she said, in a low, decided voice. "It is, of course, most important—just now—" She said no more, but Margaret French looked up, and they exchanged glances. "Let's hope," said…

… there was no harm in it. The lad was not a Geoffrey Cliffe, and it was no doubt Kitty's mad love of excitement which impelled her to these defiances of convention. But Ashe should put his foot down; there was no knowing with a creature so wild and so lovely where these things might end. And after the scandal of last year— As to that scandal, Lord Grosville, as a…

I underlined the expressions within the texts that can lead to the meaning identification. However, it seems that without a wider context the meaning is not as clear cut. That is all four senses described in Table 29 can be applied in (40) and (41).

Further analysis of corpus data has shown that there can be not only ambiguous usages but also cases where none of the recorded senses in idiom dictionaries would perfectly fit. For example, in (42) as with many other tokens, the paraphrase that seems to be the most appropriate is not sense 3 ‘to make a determined stand’, but rather ‘to insist’. Unless the phrase ‘and state their determination to retain it’ is used as a synonymous expression:

§ LORD WAVENEY thought attention should be called to the subject of the 794 abandonment of Candahar at every step and every stage: Heedless of Russia, China, or any other Power, they should remain at Candahar, put down their foot, and state their determination to retain it, and not depart from the policy of Clive, Cornwallis, and Wellesley: The policy of making other people do our work in Afghanistan was a mistake, as was also that of making that country a buttress between ourselves and: …

In the course of analysis I have also identified a sub-sense to sense 4 ‘tell someone they must or must not do something’, that is, the sense that has an additional characteristic to it is that of ‘authority’:
… be found, owing to the hostility of the landowners in the neighbourhood— for they knew that a single landlord would be often the owner of a whole district— some provision should be made for complying with the requirements of the people in this respect? A great absentee landlord, who absolutely put his foot down and refused such facilities, practically controlled a whole parish, and could refuse all reasonable facilities for the education of the children or convenience of the public in his locality: He trusted that the right hon: Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland would see his way to having some of… (HANS:C-1884 Gray (Li))

The (43) and similar contexts, like in (44) have allowed to come up with a sub-sense ‘to exert your authority’:

…animated by this kind of sentiment, they might give up all idea of opposing any Vote, however objectionable it might be: He agreed with the hon: Member for Northampton (Mr: Labouchere) that, as long as they had the power of criticizing the Votes, the House of Commons should put its foot down absolutely, and reduce the Votes by lump sums: They might depend upon it that the officials would then be more careful in preparing the Estimates next year, and would give plenty of details: Further than that, care would be taken that the Estimates were not submitted at… (HANS:C-1883 Churchill (Li))

Some speakers at the time used the idiom with caution, like in the cases where the utterer would add the meta-language as in the following examples:

… General was worth more than the two Gentlemen put together: And I wish to render this tribute to the Attorney General, because I think that of all the Members of this House he has pursued, with regard to this question, the most intelligible and most conscientious course; he has always put his foot down, so to speak, in reference to this question; and I have no doubt that if its principle had been accepted by the Government, it would have cost the Prime Minister the services of one of his most valuable adherents: In this matter the Prime Minister knew with… (HANS:C-1884 Raikes (Li))
… brilliant, amusing, and clever speech—entered upon a criticism of the details of the measure; but I noticed that the noble Lord never attempted to do that which he can do very well when he likes, and that is, to use a common expression, that he did not put his foot down on this occasion with regard to the principle of the measure: § LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S:) The hon: Gentleman does me an injustice when he says that I did not put my foot down upon the… (HANS:C-1886 Whitbread (Li))

In this way I have examined all the instances and have listed the senses of the idiom found in the historical idiom dictionaries and in the corpus data in the Table 31.

For the sake of clarity, all senses and sub-senses have been given a cardinal number in order from the current meaning to the earliest recorded in idioms dictionaries under investigation. I have put the second current meaning related to speeding up a car at the end of the list, since it emerges later in the 20th century with the growing use of automobiles, which was not the case for the period under investigation (1878-1908).

**Table 31 - Put your foot down senses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sense</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sense 1</td>
<td>Tell someone they must do or not do something (insist in some contexts?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense 2</td>
<td>Use your authority to stop something happening (wasn’t in the dictionary, found in corpus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense 3</td>
<td>Peremptorily forbid something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense 4</td>
<td>Not allow something (wasn’t in the dictionary, found in corpus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense 5</td>
<td>Make a determined stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense 6</td>
<td>Resist further encroachments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense 7</td>
<td>Oppose something (with? Against? Different word order?) (wasn’t in the dictionary, found in corpus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense 8</td>
<td>Suppress, quash (usually with ‘upon/on’ afterwards)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense 9</td>
<td>Refuse to do, reject something (wasn’t in the dictionary, found in corpus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense 10</td>
<td>Put an end to something (wasn’t in the dictionary, found in corpus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense 11</td>
<td>Start driving faster, accelerate in driving</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In total, in the TCC, I have found all 10 senses, apart from sense 11 referring to driving. Therefore, in the following corpus analysis I discuss the first 10 senses, and I briefly review the 11th sense after the main discussion.

The findings show that the idiom’s meaning changed its focus of agents, i.e., developed from a sense ‘they want to assert their own opinion’ to ‘they want other people follow their
opinion’. Under the influence of the idiom to set (or put) one’s foot upon meaning ‘to suppress, quash’ which appears in language around 1868, the idiom put your foot down has acquired additional meanings. In other words, there happened a merger of two idioms into one, with occasionally left preposition ‘on/upon’ at the period. For example in (47) and (48) the idiom put your foot down is followed by a preposition on or upon and sometimes with the word ‘down’ omitted (48):

(47) …, if carried out to its logical conclusion, would be to place the Government of the country in the hands of a minority of the people: But even Mr: Disraeli did not regard the proposal from such a strong standpoint as the right hon: Gentleman the present Prime Minister, who very firmly put down his foot upon it: He denounced the proposal, and all kindred ones, as the schemes of coteries, and not the politics of nations; and he pointed out that, if adopted, it would lead to discomfiture and confusion: Well, Mr: Lowe's proposal was negatived by… (HANS:C-1884 (Li))

(48) … Committee also refuse to insert the word "six," then the hon: Gentleman may move that the word "eight" be inserted: § MR: HEALY said, he hoped that the hon: Gentleman (Mr: Hibbert) would not put his foot upon the suggestion, but that he would at least promise to give some consideration to the matter: He (Mr: Healy) did not think the Ballot Act Continuance Bill had the smallest chance of passing this year; but the hon: Gentleman had now, nevertheless, an excellent opportunity… (HANS:C-1882 Healy (Li))

In addition, the presence of the following phrases co-occurring with the idiom can be considered as a certain sense identification. For instance, in the senses related to authority and determination of someone’s position, the adverbs such as ‘firmly’, ‘absolutely’, ‘in that astonishing way’, ‘very strongly’ are found in abundance. In cases where the meaning appears to be more general and is close to the sense ‘to make a determined stand’, the sentences following the idiom and preceded by conjunction ‘and’ are used to specify in what particular context the speaker have utilized the idiom. Compare for example (49) and (50) where the idiom is followed by an additional clarification starting with ‘and’ and a verb exemplifying the meaning:

(49) … carried out certainly two important reforms: He advised that smoking
opium should not be allowed on the premises where it was sold, and that the
clause which levied a fine in the Bombay licence where the minimum quantity
was not sold should be repealed: And this Government only the other day has
**put** down its **foot** at last in Burmah, **and declared** that the use of opium should
be abolished in both Lower and Upper Burmah, except to licensed smokers, and
that there should be no new licences to the Burmese: The Government have thus
said that the trade is immoral in Burmah,… (HANS:C-1893(Li))

(50) … that they are not treated in the matter of pensions as other classes are
and this is a great grievance with them: I understand there has been some little
difficulty with the Treasury about the matter; but that I am sure the First Lord of
the Admiralty would speedily overcome if once he **put** his **foot** down **and said**
that justice must be done: I hope the various points I have raised will receive the
attention of the Admiralty: § (7:35:) MR: R: W: DUFF (Banffshire) Sir, I
think… (HANS:C-1892 Price (C))

In the instances where a meaning is supposed to be related to not the ‘declaration point’ of
some sorts, but to the sense correlated with that of *set your foot upon*, we find tokens wherein
the idiom is followed by a conjunction and another specifying or intensifying verb, like in
(51) and (52):

(51) … his part of the country who, after working for a short time, went away
and were not seen again for 12 months: § MR:DILLWYN said, he should like to
have some assurance from the Government that they would one day **put** down
their **foot and stop all further expenditure** on the South Kensington
establishment: The expenditure was going on unceasingly from year to year, and
it was impossible to see where it would end: He remembered that 25 years ago,
when he first entered that House, they were asked for £ … (HANS:C-1881
Dillwyn (Li))

(52) … these tales of distress told to the world, that they described an
exceptional state of things; they were the normal condition of many parts of the
country, where a sum spent as proposed would be spent for the best purpose:
Therefore he hoped the Chief Secretary for Ireland would not " **put** his **foot**
down "and refuse the proposition", but that he would reconsider it between now and when the Bill was finally disposed of, whether he could not permit Ireland to have £ 60,000 out of her own money spent in this way: … (HANS:C-1880 (Li))

Given the frequent co-occurrences of certain expressions found in the majority of cases near the idiom, and in many cases overlapping synonymous senses, the evolution of the meaning of to put your foot down can be rendered to set along a kind of a meaning continuum.

- 1. tell s.o. they must do or not do smth. (new meaning) (insist?)
- 1a. exert your authority
- 2. imperatively forbid smth.
- 2a. not allow
- 6. put an end to smth.
- 6a. refuse to do smth./ reject smth. (+ against)
- 5. + upon/on: quash, suppress (obsolete)
- 3. make a determined stand (older dictionary, turn of century)
- 4. resist further encroachments
- 4a. oppose (+against)

I marked related senses with the number and a letter afterwards. These senses, or sub-senses amount to ten. That is at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries the idiom exhibited all meanings. And the 11th sense, ‘to accelerate’, is acquired during the 20th century up to this day. Thus the current idioms dictionary records the remaining senses of the idiom combined in one – ‘tell someone forcefully that they must do or must not do something’ plus the new one ‘to speed up’.

4.8.4. Put your foot down – visualisation of meaning development

It is evident that the idiom put your foot down was ambiguous at some point. In many cases it was hard to allocate one sense to a token and several senses were applicable. Apparently, the idiom went through the stage where it was ambiguous synchronically, and diachronically it manifests itself as rather vague.
4.8.5. **Put your foot down - conclusion**

As has been illustrated, idioms can have multiple meanings, and some of them are given in the dictionary. However, the idiom *put your foot down* is peculiar because its meaning is often fairly vague when it occurs on its own. We can see this because in many cases we find the idiom followed by an explanatory phrase, like this: *put his foot down and XY*. This shows that the meaning of this particular idiom is highly dependent on context, more so than for example the idiom *kick the bucket*. The comparative analysis of both periods has shown that the meaning of the idiom has been developing from the sense ‘focused on a person using the phrase’, via the sense applied to ‘both the speaker and the external circumstances’, to finally be referred and directed to ‘someone else’. Similar direction of meaning development, that is, from focus on a speaker to focus on a listener, has been identified in idiom *make your/a mark* (see section 4.6.5.) In addition, with the emergence of cars, the meaning of the idiom has developed in another direction, to mean ‘to speed up while driving’. It would be very interesting to witness any other potential developments of the idiom’s meaning related to ‘the speed’ in the future.
4.9. Case study 6 - Flesh and blood

The idiom flesh and blood is the largest in the nominal group, that is the total number of tokens gathered from the TCC is 322. The comparative analysis of the current definitions with those found in historical idioms dictionaries and the corpus data has shown the following meaning development that I describe in the next sections.

4.9.1. Brief outline of methods – flesh and blood

The methodology for meaning identification in each time period under discussion consists of the following steps. First, I compare the current definitions with the definitions found in historical idiom dictionaries. Secondly, the identified senses from lexicographical data are then assigned to tokens in the TCC by agglomerating certain frequent collocations of each sense. If cases that do not fit the list of senses gathered from idiom dictionaries are discovered, I distinguish additional contexts and possibly extra meanings. I then analyse the list of aggregated senses in terms of the sense development of the idiom. In the following section I discuss current definitions of flesh and blood and identify meaning distinctions between each of them.

4.9.2. Current definitions of flesh and blood

The CCID provides three definitions for idiom flesh and blood:

Idiom: Flesh and blood

Definition 1: If someone is your own flesh and blood, they are a member of your family.

Examples: E.g. The kid, after all, was his own flesh and blood. He deserved a second chance. E.g. You can’t just let your own flesh and blood go to prison if there’s any way you can help.

Definition 2: If you say that someone is flesh and blood, you mean that they have human feelings and weaknesses, and that they are not perfect.

Examples: E.g. I’m flesh and blood like everyone else and I, too, can be damaged. E.g. We priests are mere flesh and blood. In fact we’re even weaker than others.

Definition 3: If you describe someone as a flesh and blood person, you mean that they are real and actually exist.
Example: His absence ever since her second birthday made her think of him as a picture rather than a flesh and blood father.

Thus, three senses (paraphrases) can be distinguished based on the CCID definitions: sense 1 – ‘a family member’, sense 2 – ‘just human, with imperfections’, and sense 3 – ‘real person’. However, each sense appears to have its own collocation or a specific position in relation to a noun. That is, in the case of sense 1 the presence of an adjectival phrase ‘someone’s own’ before the idiom usually indicates that the reference is to ‘a relative’. In the second sense, the possessive pronoun and adjective ‘own’ are absent and that serves as an indicator that the meaning is about the ‘person themselves and not their relative’. In the third sense, the position of idiom in front of the noun turns it into attributive and leads to the sense 3, ‘someone’s being real’. The CCID explains that the definitions are designed to provide the usual context an idiom is used in, which is very evident in the case of flesh and blood.

However, the CCID subdivides the meaning of flesh and blood into three separate definitions, thus implying the idiom is polysemous and each sense is distinct enough for the idiom not to be considered vague in meaning. In other words, each paraphrase is not substitutable in all cases. The multiplicity of meanings of the idiom suggests that flesh and blood is at the process of semantic change at the present stage. I have compared the two periods of flesh and blood definitions to examine whether the change has started happening recently or it has been going on for a long time. In addition, I have reviewed the aggregated senses in the TCC. In the next section I describe the findings from historical idioms dictionaries.

4.9.3. Historical idioms dictionaries data on flesh and blood

I have illustrated the observed differences between current meanings in the Table 32 below. Note that in some cases the order of numbered senses will change, after the historical senses have been identified and added, to reflect the timeline of meaning development.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idiom (2012)</th>
<th>Sense 1</th>
<th>Sense 2</th>
<th>Sense 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flesh and blood</td>
<td>Someone is a member of your family</td>
<td>Someone has human feelings and weaknesses</td>
<td>Someone is real and actually exist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I have found each of the three current senses of *flesh and blood* in historical idiom dictionaries too. All four dictionaries have entries on *flesh and blood*, although different sources include distinct meanings.

Table 33 – Definitions of *flesh and blood* from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Entries</th>
<th>Definitions</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Corresponding sense number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1878 <em>(MOP)</em></td>
<td><em>Flesh and blood</em></td>
<td>Man in his physical personality</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>Sense ? (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883 <em>(ISG)</em></td>
<td><em>Flesh and blood</em></td>
<td>Human nature; one’s offspring</td>
<td>(a) <em>Flesh and blood</em> could bear no longer. – <em>Thackeray.</em></td>
<td>Sense 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) I will be <em>flesh and blood</em>. – <em>Shakespeare.</em></td>
<td>Sense 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(c) It was a dagger in the haughty father’s heart, to see how the <em>flesh and blood</em> he could not disown clung to this obscure stranger, and he sitting by. – <em>Dickens.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904 <em>(DPF)</em></td>
<td>Blood. – <em>My own flesh and blood</em></td>
<td>My own children, brothers, sisters, or other near kindred.</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>Sense 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908 <em>(SCDI)</em></td>
<td><em>Flesh and blood</em></td>
<td>(1) The entire body; man in his physical personality</td>
<td>(1a) they were put to such tyrannies as <em>flesh and blood</em> could not bear. (1b) What indeed was to be expected from a body of public servants exposed to temptation such that, as Clive once said, <em>flesh and blood</em> could not bear it? – <em>Macaulay</em> (2) Mark his cruel treatment of his own <em>flesh and blood</em>. – <em>Dickens.</em></td>
<td>Sense ? (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examination of the historical idioms dictionaries’ definitions of *flesh and blood* has demonstrated that two senses were recorded. The meaning of ‘a relative’ is present in all dictionaries but one, the *MOP*, which has a sense that is not present among current meanings, ‘a physical body, man’. I number this meaning as sense 1 because it goes first in the time span of the present research. I number the rest of the senses consecutively. Therefore the order of senses for further analysis is the following: sense 1 – ‘a physical body’, sense 2 – ‘human nature’, sense 3 – ‘a family member’, and sense 4 – ‘actual/real person’.
The Brewer's dictionary (1904) lists only the ‘family’ sense. The other two dictionaries include two senses out of four, ‘a physical representation’ sense 1 and ‘a family member’ sense 3 in SCDI (1908); and ‘human nature’ that corresponds to the current sense 2, with ‘a relative’ in ISG (1883). The latter coincides with the current meaning 1. It appears that the idiom *flesh and blood* has been undergoing the same semantic change found in the 21st century with the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries period. The only distinction noticed is that sense 1, ‘a physical body’, recorded in the historical idiom dictionaries is absent from the Present-Day data. Potentially, it is this meaning that has turned into its metonymic ‘relative’ – from almost literal expression denoting a physical body in general to ‘an actual presence of a person in that body’. To attest the time span of meaning development and to find the ways through which the meaning evolved, I have addressed the TCC (see section 3.6.), which I discuss in the following section.

### 4.9.4. Review of data on *flesh and blood* from the TCC

The total number of tokens gathered from the TCC is 309 after the removal of duplicates. The corpus data examination has demonstrated that at the period under discussion the idiom *flesh and blood* was used in all senses but one that is recorded as a sense 3 in the CCID, ‘someone is real and actually exists’. For the other senses the corpus data provides enough supporting evidence for each of the remaining three. It is evident from, for instance, that one of the frequent co-occurring words for the sense ‘relative’ is the adjective *own* preceding the idiom. Compare for example (53) and (54):

(53) …you - to take credit for the thing you could not help.' 'My dear,' returned the Doctor, solemnly, 'we might have adopted.' 'Never!' cried madame. 'Never, Doctor, with my consent. If the child were my own flesh and blood, I would not say no. But to take another person's indiscretion on my shoulders, my dear friend, I have too much sense.' 'Precisely,' replied the Doctor. 'We both had. And I am… (1887 the merry men .txt 31 1)

(54) … carried would make impossible that for which they voted the other day: If they got rid of the sugar duty it would be impossible to grant a preference to the Colonies, who would say, " You are depriving us of the preference which you promised us: You are robbing your own flesh and blood: " He certainly hoped hon: Members opposite would pause and think a little
before they supported this clause: Those who supported the Sugar Convention a few years ago would now find out the result of the revolver practice recommended by Lord Lansdowne: We had fired our revolver, with the… (HANS:C-1907 Cox (C))

Interestingly, the distribution of senses across sub-corpora turned out uneven. Thus, in Hansard sub-corpus the majority of senses have been identified as referring to the meaning of ‘someone is also a human, like us’, (55):

(55) … received the smallest consideration, the smallest attention from the Government of India or the Government in this country? How many memorials had been presented to the Secretary of State, how many telegrams had he received from India? What action had the right hon: Gentleman taken? The people of India were flesh and blood like ourselves, and when they found themselves treated in this way their feelings were very much the same as ours would be if we were placed in a similar position: The educated classes openly and avowedly were drifting to the opinion that constitutional agitation was becoming useless, and asked why… (HANS:C-1907 Cotton (C))

Cases have also been found that are related to the sense ‘a physical body’:

(56) … matter, not because for a short time he had been connected with the War Department, but because for twenty-five years he had been a very close student of the question of recruiting and had endeavoured to make himself acquainted with the problem not only as it appeared on paper, but also in flesh and blood: He both agreed and disagreed with the hon: and gallant Member: He did not agree that there was a failure to obtain the number of recruits required; but he did agree that the system under which they were obtained and the method by which they were applied were capable of… (HANS:C-1906 Arnold_F (C))

However, it could be argued that such cases indicate one of the current senses, namely ‘someone is real and actually exist’ as in example (57):

(57) … five batteries if there are no men to serve the guns, or if those so-called men are puny boys, who would never be accepted in any other Army?
Now, Sir, if the Government intend to have the additional 25,083 men, which they now ask for the Army, in flesh and blood, and not only on the Returns of the War Office in paper and ink, they will have to adopt a different attitude to the great question of recruiting: This, I may point out, is a national question, entirely remote from all consideration of Porty Government: No… (HANS:C-1898 Russell (C))

The cases like (56) and (57) can be recognized by the presence of the preposition in preceding the idiom. In addition, the Hansard data has demonstrated potentially metaphorical usage of the idiom, wherein the sense of ‘a family member’ is used with regards to the ‘other people(s)/countries like ours’:

(58) … by itself if it involve a charge on the rates it might be no evil: But grant that the lunatic, the diseased, and all the other classes have no disqualification from becoming citizens of this country--; are we to believe that they are better than our own citizens, our own flesh and blood, for the purpose of getting rid of whom we are charging our rates? I do not think it will bear argument: It is quite true that the number of areas where this evil MR: GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis… (HANS:C-1905 Balfour (C))

(59) … idea of Ireland; but, as the hon: and learned Member for North Louth reminds me, even that idea has not been carried out: It was not a larder, it was not rations of beef or bales of bacon that you wanted from Ireland for South Africa, but the Irish flesh and blood which this policy has been draining Ireland of for the last half-century, and of which you will continue to drain Ireland if the present policy is continued: Archbishop Whateley was also a preacher of this new philosophy, and his way of settling the Irish question was put in this light-- … (HANS:C-1900 O_Connor (C))

And there are examples that correspond to the sense ‘someone has human feelings and weaknesses’:

(60) … but to see it come in large measure: Look back at the history of the well-to-do class: See what their views of temperance and intemperance were three or four generations ago--; the disgusting want of self-control which the
lax social morality of the time permitted and even encouraged: We are all flesh and blood; we are all influenced by the same motives and dragged down by similar temptations; and my belief is that when you do get in all classes of the community the same kind of public opinion which happily now prevails among the richer class of the community in this country you will… (HANS:C- 1904 Balfour (C)).

The analysis of the actual usage of the idiom flesh and blood at the turn of the two centuries has indicated that the idiom has been used in all senses found in idioms dictionaries covering more than 140 years. However, the Hansard sub-corpus data examination has suggested that at the time the idiomatic expression flesh and blood has been also loosely used to refer to other objects not recorded in dictionaries, probably due to the idiom bearing its literal meaning fresh at that period. Hence, the process of phraseologization and the subsequent developmental processes can be observed through the investigation of corpus-based data.

4.9.5. Visual representation of semantic development of flesh and blood

Graph 6 – visualisation of flesh and blood meaning evolution
4.9.6. *Flesh and blood* – conclusion

The findings of the case study *flesh and blood* suggest that the idiom is relatively new, in terms of idiomatic expressions becoming opaque in meaning and losing the meanings of its constituents. Thus, the earliest recorded quotation of the figurative meaning of the expression in use according to the *OED* dates only to the beginning of the 19th century, whilst its literal counterpart as a word combination has been found as far as up to the 14th century. The idiom components create rather visible allusion to the actual parts of human body which in turn allows for various applications of the idiom. The idiom *flesh and blood* first developed its meaning via metonymical relations, that is ‘the parts of a body’ started being associated with ‘the body as a whole’. Later via metaphorical process the ‘body as a whole’ implying a human being transfers its focus onto the ‘metaphysical level of a person’, that is ‘of a human nature’. And the latter subsequently develops an additional sense referring to ‘weaknesses and imperfections of a human being’.

In the next chapter, I discuss results from the analysis of other idioms from the sample. In addition, the striking case of meaning change is given, which did not make to the final sample because of the longer time span. That is, the case study of idiom *no love lost* is illustrated according to its sense development, alongside the remaining idioms analysed in a similar way as the above detailed six case studies. At the end of the chapter I elaborate on common tendencies of semantic change within English idiomatic expressions.
5. **Chapter 5 - discussion of results**

The methods I have used for idiom meaning identification have proven to be adequate for the purposes of current study, such as discerning the meanings recorded at two points in time and attesting the meanings in a corpus based on the frequency of co-occurring lexemes. When existing senses did not appear to fit the meaning of the sentence, finding a paraphrase for an idiom in context and testing the suitability of each in actual use have aided in the verification of a particular sense.

The time span of the current study is about 140 years, which was sufficient for most of the idioms under investigation. However, lexicographical information suggested that some cases required research beyond the specified period. Such was the remarkable case of a complete meaning change, not the acquisition of additional ones, the case study of the idiom *no love lost*.

5.1. **There is no love lost between them**

In this section I briefly outline the case study of the idiom *no love lost* to demonstrate how modern idiom dictionary compilers established the initial meaning of the idiom and indicate this in the idiom entry, which appears to be an intriguing topic for further research. The timeline of the idiom development can be represented as follows.

1. **The 21st century or the 2010s:**

   **Entry:** *no love lost* or *little love lost*

   **Definition** - If there is no or little love lost between two people or groups, they do not like each other at all.

   **Example** – *There was no love lost between the country’s two most powerful politicians.*

   **Etymological note:** Originally this expression had the opposite meaning to its present one. It used to mean that the two people liked each other a lot. (*CCID* 2012)

2. **1910s period or the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries:**

   Only one historical idiom dictionary out of four (*DFP* 1904) provides the idiom with the
definition coinciding with the current one, which is followed by an explanation of the meaning:

**Entry: there is no love lost between**

**Definition:** Because the persons referred to have no love for each other. What does not exist cannot be lost.

Interestingly, the Brewer’s dictionary of the later publication, that of 1934, provides the same definition, but this time specifying that there was a previous usage:

**Entry: There is no love lost between so and so.**

**Definition:** Because the persons referred to have no love for each other; what does not exist cannot be lost.

**Etymological note:** Formerly the phrase was used in exactly the opposite sense – it was *all* love between them, and none of it went a-missing. In the old ballad *The Babes in the Wood* we have –

No love between these two was lost  
Each was to other kind.

However, 1934 is 26 years later than the last year of the current research (1908). Since at both stages the idiom was recorded as having one sense, it happens to be untraceable within the period under discussion and thus has been omitted from the corpus investigation. The *OED* was then addressed in order to identify when the older meaning, that of ‘they love each other’, disappears:

**Entry:** there’s no love lost between them (also us, etc.)

**Definition 1.:** In a positive sense: ‘their (our, etc.) affection is mutual’.

**Definition 2.:** In a negative sense: ‘they (we, etc.) have no love for each other’.

The research has shown that according to the *OED*, the positive sense first appears in 1600
and dies out around the 1830s. The last usage of the idiom in its positive sense is found in 1839. It is now regarded as an obsolete meaning. In its negative sense it is first found c1630 and is still in use. Therefore, we observe that the idiom changed its meaning, going through polysemous stage between the 1630s and 1830s. It seems that the idiom no love lost has taken longer spell to undergo this drastic change in its semantics, which has not been noticed in majority of idioms under discussion. Hence, for future research it is advisable to look at the longer time span if possible, to potentially discover other remarkable cases of semantic change in idioms.

5.2. Main trends and commonalities in the semantic change of English idioms

It has been observed during this research that the idiomatic expressions that yielded the most results from the corpus search are from Group 1 – Verbal idioms. That is, out of 3348 tokens total, more than half is represented by Group 1. An important parallel can be drawn between the openness of an idiomatic expression to semantic variability and its fixedness. Thus, the six idioms with the most tokens, i.e. more than 100 examples each, i.e. make your mark, be brought to book, go to the wall, break your heart, see the light, and to put your foot down, have turned out to be the most polysemous or vague in meaning. Compare with five idioms from Group 2 – Nominal idioms, below/under par, the upper hand, in black and white, at your heels, and flesh and blood that also exhibited multiple senses and/or sub-senses. The majority of the more frequent idioms appeared in one way or another not to be entirely frozen. The ability to allow modifications seems to be closely correlated with the meanings of an idiom’s constituents (see Chapter 4).

It has been problematic to distinguish which of the components most affected the diversity in sub-senses. For instance, in cases where all the components are polysemous themselves, like in the idiom on the spot, all constituents seem to play a role. The idiom was found in three out of four historical idiom dictionaries, but the interrelation of senses presented made it near to impossible to distinguish what sense, if at all separate, was used in each context. Table 34 below illustrates the closeness of definitions in both periods as well as the probable equal effect the parts of idiom have on its meaning.
Table 34 - Definitions of idiom on the spot from both periods

| CCID (2012) | **On the spot** –
| (1) If an action is done on the spot, it is done immediately. • You can also use on-the-spot before a noun. | (2) Someone who is on the spot is in the place where something is actually happening. • You can use on-the-spot before a noun to say that something actually happens in the place that you are talking about. |
| MOP (1878) | Upon the spot. – Immediately. ‘It was determined upon the spot.’ Swift. |
| ISG (1883) | Spot, on or upon the = Without delay; without stirring from the place; forthwith; then and there. (a) The ghost of honest Preston…made its sudden appearance in the midst of a roaring club to the discomfiture of sundry trainband captains, and the conversion of an infidel attorney, who became a zealous Christian on the spot. – Irving. (b) If he was not (as yet Doctor), I am sure he ought to have been; and with the reader’s concurrence, will therefore create him a doctor on the spot. – De Quincey. Nicholas overjoyed at his success, shook his uncle’s hands warmly, and could almost have worshipped Squeers upon the spot. – Dickens. |
| SCDI (1908) | On (or Upon) the spot. – Immediately; before moving; without changing place: e.g. (1) Laying violent hands on him, they slew him on the spot. – Prescott. (2) It was determined upon the spot. – Swift. (3) They found on the spot appointed several powerful chiefs to all of whom Waverley was formally presented. – Scott. |

It can be seen that either meaningful constituent, both the preposition ‘on’ and the noun phrase ‘the spot’, have contributed to the overall meaning and its nuances of the idiom on the spot.

Similar manifestations of the influence of the idiom components with regards to prepositions have been observed in idioms such as go to the wall, below/under par, at your heels, and in black in white. That is, the spatial characteristics carried by the preposition have an effect on the sense of the idiom. Concerning verbal idioms containing verbs that are polysemous, vague, and/or even have homonymous counterparts, it has turned out to be near to impossible in some cases to assign a specific sense to a token from corpus. For examples, idioms like make your mark, see the light, go to the wall or put your foot down all contain highly polysemous lexemes: make, see, go, and put respectively. Therefore, the idioms go to the wall and see the light have been established to express a meaning change continuum (see section 4.8.3.).

5.3. Frequency of usage as an indicator of semantic change

The analysis of frequency with which an idiom is found in a corpus can serve as an indicator of potential meaning change. For instance, the idiom go to the wall yielded the
following numerical results from the corpus data that can support the evolution of its meaning from ‘to be passed by’, ‘to be put out the way’, into ‘to be pushed to extremes’, then ‘to be unsuccessful’, to be finally divided into two current senses: 1 – ‘person or company lose money, business fails’, and 2 – ‘you are ready to suffer in support of someone’ (CCID 2012).

Judging by the frequency numbers across two centuries, the idiom emerged around the beginning of the 19th century, then the frequency increased around the time period under discussion, and continued to have similar numbers, up until the 1970s. Since 1970s its usage again grew significantly, reaching 1.02 words per million in the 1890s, and its maximum of 2.17 in the 1980s.

For the period under research, below is Table 35 with the frequency numbers per decade, including the last row with the highest number of tokens per million words in the 1980s, to compare and potentially explain when exactly the change happened.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1980</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency (of tokens)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per million</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>2.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>37,100,705</td>
<td>60,023,651</td>
<td>51,159,886</td>
<td>64,672,301</td>
<td>183,732,627</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The corpus size has increased by approximately five times over the century. The frequency of the idiom has increased by around 12 (12,4375). (398\32) = therefore, the frequency of the idiom usage has increased by more than double compared to the corpus size.

Within the four decades of my period, there is a striking difference between the size of the corpus and the number of tokens. Following the natural growing size of a corpus, it appears that only the size has been growing, and that affected the frequency of usage. However, the comparison of two decades, 1880s and 1890s, proves the opposite. The frequency of occurrence of the idiom has doubled, while the size of the corpus stayed almost the same, and even decreased by circa 9 million words. This is when I suppose the change started happening.

Looking at the numbers for the decade before my period, it is obvious that the number has doubled. In the table below there is the first decade it emerged in with numbers, the decade before my period (1860), the decade in my period with the highest number (1890), and the decade at the end of the 20th century, where the frequency hit the highest number.
Judging by frequency only, it is possible to say that the idiom *go to the wall* has gone through two stages of change: the first time at the end of the 19th century, the second time at the end of the 21st century.

To sum up, the idiom has doubled in usage the decade before the period under investigation, then it increased during the period, and then the number went down during the following few decades, and the number of usage was relatively even after 1910s and around the middle of the 20th century, to finally significantly increase over the last quarter of the 20th century (for the entire timeline of the idiom usage frequency see the Appendix 6, Table 1). Consequently, the frequency of occurrences can serve as additional method in meaning development where it is observable.

### 5.4. Common tendencies in semantic change in English idioms

The analysis of both data sets, lexicographical and corpus data, has shown that the majority of idiomatic expressions have undergone a semantic change via extension of meaning. In total, 26 idioms out of 28 from my sample extended their meaning, and only 2 went through specification of meaning (*flesh and blood* and *to see the light*). In the case of the idiom *see the light*, another idiomatic expression with a similar form affected the meaning change, namely the idiom *see the light of day*. In a similar way the idiom *set your foot upon* affected the idiom *put your foot down* (see sections 4.8. – 4.8.5.). For a detailed description of the meaning development of the idiom *flesh and blood* see sections 4.9. – 4.9.6.

According to the *CCID*, the idiom *see the light* has two meanings: 1) ‘someone realizes or understands something, often something that makes them change wrong or unpleasant behaviour or opinions’; and 2) ‘someone starts believing in a religion’. The *CCID* also lists the idiom *to see the light of day* as having two senses right after the idiom *to see the light*: 1) ‘something is produced or made available to people, often after difficulties’ and 2) ‘a baby is born’. In contrast, the *OED* defines the idiom *to see the light* as previously meaning 'be born, published, etc.', and now meaning 'realize something, and turn to religion'. The *OED* does not at all list *to see the light of day* as another expression. This case seems to present a dispute.
over which lexicographical source is more reputable and reliable.

In some cases, the change happened due to the scope being extended from a specific term to a general application. For example, five idioms from the sample expanded their range of referents: *take somewhere by storm*, *below/under par* (see sections 4.7. – 4.7.8.), *chop and change*, *draw a blank*, and *a dark horse*. *Take somewhere by storm* has the placeholder ‘somewhere’ which allows for any noun to be inserted. In other words, the idiom has an open valency slot for the object. The idiom was initially used as a war term and now can be applied to any ‘place’, or ‘event’. Thus, the meaning has changed from the more specific ‘conquering’ or ‘winning’ to a more general notion of ‘being successful’.

The idioms *below/under par*, *chop and change*, and *draw a blank* come from clearly money-related contexts and later refer to more general and abstract notions. *A dark horse* comes from horse racing and was used only to refer to a previously unknown horse. The number of referents increased and so expanded the meaning of the idiom. The idiom *a dark horse* has also changed from taking only inanimate subjects to taking both animate and inanimate ones. That is, it can be applied now to ‘a person that surprised others with previously unknown abilities’. Similarly, the idioms *a clean bill of health* and *up the spout*, extended their meaning from referring to inanimate subject to both (cf. section 3.5.).

The opposite direction, from animate referent to inanimate and/or both, was noticed in idioms like *knock something into a cocked hat*, *rule the roost*, *at your heels*, and *break your heart* (see section 3.6.3.). For instance, the idiom *break your heart* extended its meaning from ‘someone’ ‘breaking your heart’ to ‘something’ ‘upsetting you’, like ‘news’ or an ‘event’. Another observed direction in semantic change of idioms progresses from concrete to abstract senses, as is the case with the idiom *come a cropper* (refer to sections 4.4. – 4.4.6.). The following diagram illustrates the meaning development of the idiom. It also points out that the focus of the present study has been on the development of idiomatic meaning and not on a shift from literal to idiomatic sense.

Diagram 2 – Model of semantic change in *come a cropper*
Another interesting tendency was noticed in some idioms meaning development. For example, it is plausible to suggest that sense 1 of idiom *flesh and blood*, ‘a man in his physical personality’, found in older dictionaries, has transferred to sense 6, ‘living person’. If that is the case, it could be showing a similar tendency as the idioms *put your foot down* and *make your mark* do. That is, one of the senses of the mentioned idioms, including the correlation between the 1st and 6th senses of *flesh and blood*, has changed its focus from ‘inwards’ to ‘outwards’. Put differently, the sense develops through the change of the topic or focus of that sense. Thus, for the idiom *flesh and blood* the focus of the meaning has changed from first, just stating that ‘someone is present in flesh’, to then second, referring to an impact of such a presence: ‘someone is a living person’.

The idiom *put your foot down* had its emphasis shifted from a person referring to themselves protecting their interests (the agent), sense 6 in Table 31, ‘resist further encroachments’, to a person to whom the action is applied to (the patient), sense 1, ‘tell someone they must do something’. So if in the past the idiom focused on the speaker, currently it focuses on the listener. Likewise, at some stage the idiom *make your mark* underwent the change of focus in meaning. That is, from referring to the action of ‘marking something’ to the effect of that action, that of ‘being noticed’, and as a result, to currently mean ‘to become famous’. Here we also observe the change from ‘an action’ to ‘its effect’.

### 5.5. Summary of findings

All in all, the criteria for sample selection used in the current research have proven to be valid. I have observed changes in the semantics of 27 idioms from my sample apart from one – *a flash in the pan*. The idiom *a flash in the pan* did not change within the period of 140 years. That is, the idioms from both groups (1. polysemous; and 2. etymological), all exhibited characteristics of semantic change in one way or another. Although at times recording only previous senses, the lexicographical data from the turn of the 19th and 20th
centuries was supported by the historical corpus search. The extracted data from the *TCC* provided sufficient contextual information for meaning attestation.

The current research has demonstrated that English idioms can change semantically over time, while staying syntactically unaltered. Idiomatic expressions of various compositionality do undergo semantic changes in a similar way to a single word lexeme. The final sample of idioms examined with both historical lexicographical and corpus methods was 28, which consisted of idioms spread along the idiomatic continuum. It has been also shown that in some cases the sense development did not portray the clear-cut sense division and that the notion of meaning continuum could be a useful measure for describing the history of semantic change of English idioms. The 16 idioms out of the initial sample of 44 that were excluded from the corpus search can be a good starting point for future research (see section 3.5.). In the following (Chapter 6), I draw conclusions concerning the conducted research and suggest potential directions in the study of semantic stability of English idiomatic expressions.
6. Chapter 6 - Conclusion

An idiom is a set expression whose meaning is not the sum of the meanings of its parts. There are no clear-cut boundaries distinguishing types of idioms, hence, idiomatic expressions are to be set along an idiomatic continuum. Pure idioms or idioms proper can be located at the one end of the continuum and restricted collocations at the other (Chapter 1). In the current study, I have mostly examined pure idioms and quasi-metaphorical idioms. My choice for the data set has also been supported by the choice of the lexicographers at Collins COBUILD (Chapter 3).

Semantic change has been observed in an idiom’s meaning, not in the literal counterpart (Chapter 2). Thus, the comparison was done between an initial sense of an idiom, found around 140 years ago, and its current sense, recorded at the beginning of the 21st century. The changes in an idioms’ meaning have been then attested in the historical corpus of English, gathered for the purposes of the present research (Chapter 3). I have found sufficient evidence to conclude that English idioms can alter their meaning while retaining their syntactic form.

The main hypothesis of the current research is that English idioms can change their meaning over time. The following three research questions have been formulated to support the hypothesis:

1. Can English idiom change its meaning over time without changes in form?
2. Are the types of semantic change in idioms the same as those in words?
3. Is there a preference for any specific type?

In my thesis I have shown that the English idioms can in fact change their meaning (Chapter 4). The majority of my sample preserved their canonical form whilst exhibiting semantic instability of various kinds (Chapters 4 and 5). In other words, I attested some meaning variation in the idiomatic expressions that kept the form throughout the period of investigation. Indeed, there were idioms that changed the form and that resulted in the change of meaning. Therefore, the answer to question 1 is positive. These results can serve as a potential argument towards the Construction Grammar framework idea of ‘form-and-meaning pairing’.

The current research has demonstrated that idiomatic expressions, pure or proper idioms in particular, can behave in a similar way to single-word lexemes in terms of semantic
change processes. The analysed polysemous idioms and idioms with potential etymologically different meanings appear to answer the question whether idioms can undergo sense alterations and can likewise do that via the same semantic relations as metaphor or metonymy, which answers the 2nd question of the research (Chapters 1 and 2). The findings suggest that the more fixed an idiom is the less it is open to semantic shift. In addition, in less fossilized idiomatic expressions, especially with a polysemous verb as one of the main constituents, the possibility to become influenced by one or many of the senses of the verb increases with time. In general, verbal idioms exhibit more variations permitted within the idiom structure, because the majority of verbal idioms can inflect like a verbal phrase depending on the tense it is used in (Chapters 4 and 5).

Nominal idioms, on the other hand, exemplify the potential for meaning change if one of the constituents is a preposition or a highly polysemous noun phrase. If an idiom contains an open valency slot, as is the case with the idiom *at your heels* or *in black and white*, a change in the choice of possible arguments that fill the valency slot can lead to the acquisition of additional meanings. For instance, in the idiom *at your heels*, the element ‘your’ can be replaced by another noun phrase that would differentiate it from its initial sense. In the case of *in black and white*, it has been observed that the object to which this attributive phrase is applied can as well affect the additional sense. In addition, I should note that in the majority of the examined idioms the change has been observed within the contextual surroundings and not in the form of the idiom (Chapters 4 and 5).

The idioms from both verbal and nominal groups that contain an open valency slot appear to be more flexible in terms of application to distinct contexts. For example, the idioms *take somewhere by storm* and *knock something into a cocked hat*, both have an open object valency, i.e., words ‘somewhere’ and ‘something’ can be replaced with content words from different semantic field and thus imply something else. Idioms containing possessive pronouns also exhibit a high probability of semantic change; for instance, idioms such as, *break your heart, make your mark*, and *put your foot down* (Chapters 4 and 5). Having an open slot in idiomatic expressions is one of the reasons for semantic change. However, idioms without such a possibility have also exhibited some sense development, and the longer the time span the more achievable is the change. The perfect example of the idiom that changed its meaning without changes in form is that of the idiom *no love lost* (section 5.1.) among others.
The answer to the second question, about the similarity of types of semantic change between words and idioms, is positive too. The majority of cases extended their meanings, and some got specified. This tendency is established at the lexical level as well, widening and narrowing of meaning. I have also identified metaphorical extension in almost one third of examples. Fewer cases were found where the change happened via metonymy. And here lies the answer to the third question – the preference to a specific type of semantic change has been recognized as extension of meaning.

Only about 10% of all idiomatic expressions found in the CCID are defined as polysemous (Chapter 3). The percentage is strikingly different in comparison to words, which are believed to be polysemous in about 90%, if not in 99% of cases. In this sense, idioms do not seem to belong to the same class as single lexemes. However, upon further consideration it becomes apparent that idioms are not used as widely and/or frequently as words, hence they are less susceptible to change as a consequence of usage. Apart from some rare exceptions, idiomatic expressions fulfil a rather specific function in communication and therefore synchronically seldomly convey multiple meanings. In other words, the rarer the usage, the fewer are the chances to change. The exploration of idiom meaning development on the basis of historical idiom dictionaries and a corpus analysis has proven to be a suitable methodology. Therefore, I propose to conduct further research using the discussed methods on a bigger sample and across a longer time span. In the final Chapter 7 of the thesis I discuss the limitations and suggestions for future research.
7. Chapter 7. - Possible limitations and further research

The objective of the study was to trace meaning development of idiomatic expressions. The current research has focused on a period of around 140 years. The time span has been conditioned by the existence of the English to English idioms dictionaries published in the past, at the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries. The lexicographical data has been a sufficient source of initial data collection and the corpus-based approach has proven its validity in meaning identification and acquisition. Thus, idioms investigated in this study, have been shown to have exhibited various semantic shifts. However, to trace meaning evolution of some older idiomatic expressions turned out to be unattainable due to the lack of lexicographical data for earlier periods. This could potentially be an additional obstacle for any future research.

In addition, the current research has indicated that some idiomatic expressions change relatively faster than others. Hence, the longer period of time where possible should be applied in the future research on the semantic change within English idioms. Alongside with the different types of idiomatic expressions that appear to change in a distinct manner, it is also advisable to apply the described methods for examined idioms to a wider scope of idiomatic expressions. Thus this research can be seen as contributing to such linguistic fields such as Construction Grammar, Diachronic Linguistics, and Phraseology in particular. Notably, the idea of semantic change within a multi-word expression whose form remains intact over time, could be an interesting, if not challenging, point for consideration for the frameworks mentioned above.
Bibliography


## Appendix 1

### Table 1 - Group 1 – frequent polysemous idioms from CCID

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idiom / entry (2012)</th>
<th>Meaning(s) / definition(s)</th>
<th>Example sentence(s)</th>
<th>Etymological note / additional information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. An accident waiting to happen</td>
<td>(1) If you describe a situation or activity as an accident waiting to happen, you mean that they are likely to be a cause of danger in the future. (2) If you describe a person as an accident waiting to happen, you mean that they are likely to cause trouble or have bad problems.</td>
<td>(1) E.g. A lot of the city’s buildings are accidents waiting to happen. The sudden explosion of real bullet on stage during the play was an accident waiting to happen. (2) E.g. He was getting a reputation for being wild – an accident waiting to happen.</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Up the ante</td>
<td>(1) In an argument or contest, you increase the demands that you are making or the risks that you are taking. (2) If you’re gambling or investing money in something, you increase the amount of money you are offering.</td>
<td>(1) E.g. The secretary of state last night upped the ante by refusing to accept the election results. E.g. Whenever they reached their goal, they upped the ante, setting increasingly complex challenges for themselves. (2) E.g. Its network television upped the ante by paying an estimated 52 million a year for an overall deal.</td>
<td>• You can also say that you raise the ante. (1) E.g. These judges have raised the ante by challenging the authority of the Chief Justice. (2) E.g. My defeat came when I was unable to persuade my backer to raise the ante.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Keep up appearances</td>
<td>(1) If you keep up appearances, you pretend that a situation is good and as it should be, even though it is not. (2) If you keep up appearances, you try to behave and dress in a way that people expect of you, even if you can no longer afford it.</td>
<td>(1) E.g. I was determined to keep up appearances by pretending nothing was wrong. E.g. The marriage was failing, but we tried to keep up appearances for the sake of the children. (2) E.g. His parents’ obsession with keeping up appearances haunted his childhood.</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. A basket case</td>
<td>(1) If a country or organization is a basket case, its economy or finances are in a very bad state. (2) If a person is a basket case, they are crazy. [INFORMAL]</td>
<td>(1) E.g. The popular image about this region a few years ago was that it was a basket case. E.g. In the seventies, the Post Office was regarded as a basket case, doomed to decline by the competition from phone, fax and modem. (2) E.g. Mary comes to work in tears every day – I tell you, she’s turning into a basket case.</td>
<td>This expression was originally used to describe someone, especially a soldier, who had lost all four limbs. It may have come about because some of these people had to be carried around in baskets.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 5. Give someone the benefit of the doubt | (1) If you give someone the benefit of the doubt, you decide to believe that what they are saying is honest, even though it is possible that they are not telling the truth.  
(2) If you give someone the benefit of the doubt, you decide to believe that what they are doing is right, even though it is possible that they are doing something wrong. |
| (1) E.g. As to whether she deliberately lied or got the facts wrong, I suppose we could give her the benefit of the doubt.  
(2) E.g. I am basically a trusting person. I make it a practice to give everyone the benefit of the doubt. |
| 6. A good bet or A safe bet | (1) If something is a good bet or a safe bet, it is a sensible or useful thing to do or use.  
(2) If something is a good bet or a safe bet, it is very likely to happen. |
| (1) E.g. If you’re after something smart to wear to a friend’s wedding, a dark suit has to be a good bet.  
E.g. When you’re unfamiliar with your guests’ likes and dislikes, chicken is a safe bet for the main course.  
(2) E.g. With these players, Leeds United look a good bet to reach the final for the first time since 1978.  
E.g. They won’t enjoy reading this book; it’s a safe bet that few will read more than 100 pages. |
| (1) • You can also say that something would be a better bet or a safer bet, meaning that it would be more sensible or useful than another possibility.  
E.g. I was going to buy an apartment but I’m now thinking a house might be a better bet.  
E.g. Basing a drama series on a book is a far safer bet than commissioning a brand new one.  
(2) • You can also say that something is someone’s best bet or safest bet, meaning that it is the most sensible or useful thing to do.  
E.g. If you really want to keep your home safe from robbery, your best bet is still to buy a dog. |
| 7. A clean bill of health | (1) If someone is given or gets a clean bill of health, they are told that they are completely fit and healthy.  
(2) If something is given or gets it, it is examined and then judged to be in a satisfactory condition. |
| (1) E.g. He had a full medical late last year and was given a clean bill of health.  
E.g. Great Britain coach Mal Reilly, delighted to receive a clean bill of health for his 19-man squad, names his side today.  
(2) E.g. Fourteen seaside resorts failed to meet the environmental and safety standards, while 43 were given a clean bill of health.  
E.g. At the end of that intensive study, the chemical industry got an environmental clean bill of A bill of health was a certificate which was given to a ship’s master to present at the next port the ship arrived at. It stated whether or not there was an infectious disease aboard the ship or in the port it was departing from. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8. In black and white</th>
<th>9. Blood is shed or Blood is spilled [LITERARY]</th>
<th>10. Get the boot [INFORMAL]</th>
<th>11. Put the boot in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(1)</strong> If someone judges or shows a complex, issue or situation <em>in black and white</em>, they judge or show it as if it is obvious what is morally right and wrong.</td>
<td><strong>(1)</strong> If <em>blood is shed</em> or <em>blood is spilled</em>, people are killed in fighting.</td>
<td><strong>(1)</strong> If someone <em>gets the boot</em>, they loose their job.</td>
<td><strong>(1)</strong> If someone <em>puts the boot in</em>, they say very critical or unkind things about someone or something.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(2)</strong> If you say that something is <em>in black and white</em>, you mean that you have written proof of it.</td>
<td><strong>(2)</strong> If <em>blood is shed</em> or <em>blood is spilled</em> when change happens, suffering or trouble is caused.</td>
<td><strong>(2)</strong> If someone <em>gets the boot</em>, their partner ends their relationship, often in a sudden or unkind way.</td>
<td><strong>(2)</strong> If someone <em>puts the boot in</em>, they attack another person by kicking them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(1)</strong> E.g. Nowadays, people do not see these things purely in black and white. E.g. She is still a champion of oversimplification, seeing issues in black and white.</td>
<td><strong>(1)</strong> E.g. So much blood has been shed in this conflict. E.g. Angry words have passed between both sides, but so far no blood had been spilt.</td>
<td><strong>(1)</strong> E.g. The chief reason he got the boot was because the Chancellor didn’t trust him any more.</td>
<td><strong>(2)</strong> E.g. Mr Carman uses his outstanding ability with language to put the boot in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(1)</strong> E.g. People think this is a very straightforward black and white issue and it just isn’t. E.g. This case is not as black and white as the media have said.</td>
<td><strong>(2)</strong> E.g. A good deal of political blood was spilled over the deficit reduction package.</td>
<td><strong>(2)</strong> E.g. Sean got the boot from his girlfriend.</td>
<td><strong>(2)</strong> E.g. Policemen who are tempted to put the boot in occasionally will have to be more careful in future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• These expressions are usually used to criticize people who judge or show complex subjects and situations in a very, simple way.</td>
<td></td>
<td>• You can also say that you give someone the boot. E.g. Davis was given the boot after just nine days of filming and replaced by Jonathan Kaplan.</td>
<td>• You can also say that someone puts the boot into someone or something. E.g. There’s no one quite like an unpublished novelist for putting the boot into established reputations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(1)</strong> You can also talk about a black and white situation, issue or judgment. E.g. People think this is a very straightforward black and white issue and it just isn’t. E.g. This case is not as black and white as the media have said.</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(2)</strong> You can also say that you give someone the boot. E.g. Lovers who have been given the boot understand this song very well.</td>
<td>• The verb stick is sometimes used instead of put. E.g. Instead of sticking the boot into those in poverty, the Prime Minister should give everyone an equal share of the cake.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 12. Out of bounds | (1) If a place is out of bounds, you are not allowed to go there.  
(2) If a subject is out of bounds, you are not allowed to discuss it. | (1) E.g. The area has been out of bounds to foreigners for more than a month. E.g. I’ll make it clear that the kitchen is out of bounds.  
(2) E.g. The private lives of public figures should be out of bounds to the press and public. E.g. ‘We’ll put the subjects out of bounds.’ - ‘You can’t do that. You promised me when I was twelve that I could always talk to you about anything.’ |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 13. Bread and butter | (1) If something is your bread and butter, it is your most important or only source of income.  
(2) The bread and butter of a situation or activity is its most basic or important aspects. | (1) E.g. ‘Who’s your audience?’ – ‘We play maybe a hundred colleges a year. That is our bread and butter.  
(2) E.g. It’s the bread and butter of police work, checking if anybody had seen anything suspicious.  
(1) •Your bread-and-butter business is the part of your business which produces the main part of your income. E.g. It’s not exactly thrilling but it’s good bread-and-butter work all the same.  
(2) •You can also talk about bread-and-butter issues or aspects of something. E.g. On major bread-and-butter issues, there’s little difference between the candidates. |
| 14. Give me a break [INFORMAL] | (1) You use give me a break after someone has said or done something to show that you think that they are being very annoying or ridiculous, [mainly AMERICAN].  
(2) You use give me a break to tell someone to stop criticizing or annoying you and leave you alone. | (1) E.g. The news item ended with comments from ‘South Australian feminists’ who were ‘satisfied’ by the finding. Give me a break! Why can’t they quote mothers, teachers, nurses, or dancers?  
(2) E.g. Anxious families on the estate begged youngsters, ‘Give us a break’, after dozens of cars were wrecked by the gangs. |
| 15. In the same breath | (1) If someone says something and then in the same breath they say something else, they are saying two things which are very different or which cannot both be true.  
(2) If something or someone is spoken about in the same breath as something or someone else, they are spoken about together, as if they are similar or | (1) E.g. For politicians to demand firm immigration controls and argue against racism in the same breath is a deep contradiction.  
E.g. Some of his old friends say he has left them behind for the rich and famous, but in the same breath that they know he would visit them in hospital.  
(2) E.g. His contemporaries spoke of him in the same breath as Leonardo and Michelangelo. E.g. Don’t mention him in the same breath as me! |
| 16. **Nip something in the bud** | **1.** If you nip a bad situation or bad behaviour in the bud, you stop it at an early stage.  
**2.** If you nip something good in the bud, you stop it before it can develop.  
| **1.** E.g. It is important to recognize jealousy as soon as possible and to nip it in the bud before it gets out of hand.  
**2.** E.g. The higher prices would fuel inflation and nip the consumer recovery in the bud.  
| This expression may refer to extremely cold weather damaging a plant and stopping it flowering. Alternatively, it may refer to a gardener pruning a plant in bud to prevent it flowering.  
| **17. Cannon fodder** | **1.** You call soldiers in a war cannon fodder when they are considered unimportant and are sent to fight in the most dangerous areas, where they are likely to be killed.  
**2.** You call people cannon fodder when they are made to do difficult, unpleasant, or dangerous tasks that their bosses do not want to do.  
| **1.** E.g. The 55- to 65-year-olds were sent to the front as cannon fodder. E.g. If you’re a squaddie, you’re regarded as cannon fodder.  
**2.** E.g. The average member of parliament would change parties without hesitation, and is treated by his party leaders as cannon fodder.  
| Fodder is cheap food such as hay or straw that is used to feed animals.  
| **18. With a capital A/B/C, etc.** | **1.** You say with a capital A/B/C, etc. to mean that something has a particular quality to a great extent.  
**2.** You say with a capital A/B/C, etc. to mean that a particular idea or concept is being understood in only the strictest sense.  
| **1.** E.g. You mark my words, that man’s Trouble with a capital ‘T’.  
**2.** E.g. The British tend to see things in terms of principles with a capital P. E.g. This is art with a capital A.  
| This sense is often used slightly disapprovingly, to suggest that someone is taking something too seriously.  
| **19. Stand a chance** | **1.** If someone or something stands a chance, it is possible that they will succeed.  
**2.** If someone or something does not stand a chance, they are certain to be killed, destroyed or defeated.  
| **1.** E.g. Nathan realised that their marriage hadn’t stood a chance. E.g. I obviously did stand a chance, because before too long Geoff asked me to dance and we spent the rest of the evening together.  
**2.** E.g. The car exploded. She didn’t stand a chance.  
|
| 20. A blank cheque | (1) If you give someone a blank cheque to do something, you give them complete authority to do what they think is best in a difficult situation.  
(2) If you describe an amount of money as a blank cheque, you mean it is unlimited. | (1) E.g. De Klerk had, in a sense, been given a blank cheque to negotiate the new South Africa.  
E.g. The president was effectively given a blank check to commit the nation to war.  
(2) E.g. We are not prepared to write a blank cheque for companies that have run into trouble through poor management. | • This expression is used mainly in talking about politics. This expression is sometimes used literally to mean that someone gives another person a cheque without an amount of money written on it. |
| 21. Second childhood | (1) An adult’s second childhood is a period of time when they have fun and do things that children typically enjoy.  
(2) An elderly person’s second childhood is when their mind has become weak and they can no longer care for themselves. | (1) E.g. My father was a model railway man. My mother passes this off as his second childhood.  
(2) E.g. We were shocked by his rapid descent into a second childhood. | |
| 22. Send a chill down your spine or Send chills down your spine | (1) If something sends a chill down your spine or sends chills down your spine, it frightens you.  
(2) If something sends a chill down your spine or sends chills down your spine, it makes you feel very excited or emotional. | (1) E.g. Even after two weeks, the story of the girl still sent a chill down my spine.  
E.g. The sound these animals make sends chills down your spine.  
(2) E.g. It is one of the things I have a real passion for and just talking about it sends a chill down my spine.  
E.g. The crowd was cheering so loudly, it sent chills down my spine. | • This expression is often varied. For instance, you can used up instead of down, or you say get chills down your spine.  
E.g. These events should send chills up the spines of most investors.  
E.g. I walk past the building and still get chills down my spine.  
(2) • This expression is often varied. For instance, you can used up instead of down, or you say get chills down your spine.  
E.g. ‘That’s a song I’ve loved for 30 years – it sends chills up my spine,’ says Geyer. |
| 23. Be for the chop [BRITISH, INFORMAL] | (1) If someone is for the chop, they are about to lose their job.  
(2) If something is for the chop, it is not going to be allowed to continue or remain. | (1) E.g. There are rumours that he’s for the chop.  
(2) E.g. He won’t say which programmes are for the chop. | • You can also say that someone faces the chop with the same meaning.  
He must play by next week or face the chop for the Challenge Cup final.  
• You can also say that someone gets the chop, meaning they lose their job.  
E.g. He had hardly settled into his new job when he got the chop due to cutbacks. |
| 24. Like clockwork | (1) If something goes or runs like clockwork, it works very well and happens in exactly the way it is expected to. (2) If someone does something like clockwork, they do it regularly, always at the same time. | (1) E.g. The journey there went like clockwork – flying out on Friday from Gatwick it took seven hours door-to-door. E.g. He soon had the household running like clockwork. (2) E.g. They would arrive like clockwork just before dawn. E.g. Every day at 3:00, like clockwork, he comes in here for a cup of coffee. |
| | • You can also say that someone is trying to avoid the chop when they are trying not to lose their job. E.g. They are turning up to work earlier, and leaving later, in a bid to avoid the chop. |
| | • You can say that something gets the chop, meaning it is not allowed to continue or remain. E.g. Some of the scenes that got the chop in America will be put back in for the Australian release. |
| | • The chop is also used in other structures and expressions with a similar meaning. E.g. Weekly broadcasts are now threatened with the chop. E.g. These are loss-making factories that deserve the chop. |
### 25. Come out of the closet

| 1 | If someone comes out of the closet, they tell people for the first time that they are gay. |
| 2 | If someone comes out of the closet, they talk openly about a belief or habit which they have kept secret until now. |
| 3 | When a subject comes out of the closet, it becomes widely known or openly discussed for the first time. |

| 1 | E.g. She felt that if she came out of the closet as a lesbian, she would be discriminated against. |
| 2 | E.g. I suppose it's time I came out of the closet and admitted I'm a Labour supporter. |
| 3 | E.g. 'Prostate cancer came out of the closet,' he adds, 'and men started to join self-help groups to talk openly about prostate problems.' |

| 1 | People usually talk about homosexuals coming out, rather than coming out of the closet. E.g. I came out when I was still in my teens. Closet is also used in other structures with a similar or opposite meaning. For example, when you talk about someone being forced back into the closet, you mean that they are being forced again to hide the fact that they are gay. E.g. The HIV Aids crisis threatened to push us all back into the closet. |
| 2 | You can also use closet before a noun in order to describe a person who hides the fact that they are gay. E.g. He was exposed as a closet homosexual. ‘Out of the closet’ was a slogan used by the Cay Liberation Front in the United States in the late 1960s. |
| 3 | You can also use closet before a noun in order to describe a person who hides their beliefs, feelings, or habits. E.g. I'm really a closet greenie who likes to live close to nature. |
| | You can also say that you bring something out of the closet. E.g. The subject needs to be brought out of the closet and dealt with honestly. |

### 26. Come a cropper

| 1 | If someone comes a cropper, they suffer a sudden and embarrassing failure. |
| 2 | If you come a cropper, you accidentally fall and hurt yourself. |

| 1 | E.g. Ferguson came a cropper when the economy collapsed. E.g. Scott must concentrate on learning his new trade. He will come a cropper if he thinks he knows it all before he starts. E.g. Banks dabbling in industry can easily come a cropper. |
| 2 | E.g. She came a cropper on the last fence. E.g. I came a cropper on a patch of ice just outside my house. |

| 1 | ‘Cropper’ may come from the expression ‘to fall neck and crop’, meaning to fall heavily. A bird’s ‘crop’ is a pouch in its throat where it keeps food before digesting it. |
| 27. Call it a day | (1) If you call it a day, you decide to stop doing something you have been doing that day.  
(2) If someone calls it a day, they retire from their job.  
| (1) E.g. I searched for hours but I had to call it a day when darkness fell.  
(2) E.g. It's no secret I want his job when he calls it a day.  
E.g. He's finally decided to call it a day and retire as manager. | (1) • In the evening, people sometimes say that they are going to call it a night.  
E.g. Tomorrow is going to be busy, so let's call it a night. |
| 28. A demolition job | (1) If you do a demolition job on someone or something, you criticize them strongly and effectively.  
(2) If you do a demolition job on an opponent, you defeat them completely.  
| (1) E.g. His speech was a sustained demolition job on the prime minister's strategy.  
(2) E.g. Byram drove home his second goal to make it 3-1 and Scott Young completed the demolition job. | |
| 29. Within striking distance | (1) If someone or something is within striking distance of a place, they are very close to it.  
(2) If someone or something is within striking distance of an amount, level, or goal, they are very close to achieving it.  
| (1) E.g. The cinema is within striking distance of ample car parking and gleaming new sops and restaurants.  
E.g. Ironbridge is well signposted from the motorway and within easy striking distance of both Birmingham and Manchester.  
(2) E.g. We seem to be within striking distance of achieving 100 per cent of our objectives. | (1) • You can also say that someone or something is in striking distance of a place.  
E.g. I spent the bank holiday weekend in west London in order to be in striking distance of the festival.  
(2) • You can also say that someone or something is in striking distance of an amount, level, or goal.  
E.g. He is in striking distance of victory in the first round vote. |
| 30. Down and out | (1) If someone is down and out, they have nowhere to live, usually have no job, and have no real hope of improving their situation.  
(2) In a competition or contest, if someone is down and out, they have been beaten, or they are losing and have no hope of winning.  
| (1) E.g. Having been down and out himself, Vern Barry has insights into others who are down and out, and he's helped many move on to permanent jobs.  
E.g. I know what it is to be down and out. One time back in the thirties, I was working in New York and I didn't have enough to rent a room.  
(2) E.g. I am sending you clippings from which you will see that Ted appears to be down and out as candidate for governor.  
E.g. Leicester had looked down and out when they trailed 12-3 with only 12 minutes left. | (1) • You can call a person in this situation a down-and-out.  
E.g. In the glow of the side lights, he looked unshaven, shabby, a down-and-out.  
(2) • You can say that someone is down but not out when they are losing but still have some hope of winning.  
E.g. Rangers manager Walter Smith last night declared his side down but not out of the European Cup after their defeat by AEK in Athens.  
E.g. The Democrats are down, but not out.  
If boxers are down and out, they have been knocked down and have failed to get up before |
<table>
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<th></th>
<th>31. Down the drain [BRITISH, AMERICAN] or Down the tubes [BRITISH, AMERICAN] or Down the pan [BRITISH]</th>
<th>32. Downhill all the way or All downhill from here</th>
<th>33. Go downhill</th>
<th>34. Out of the top drawer or From the top drawer [mainly BRITISH]</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) If something is going down the drain, down the tubes or down the pan, it is getting worse or being destroyed and it is unlikely to recover. (2) If money, work, or time has gone down the drain, down the tubes or down the pan, it has been lost or wasted.</td>
<td>(1) If a situation is downhill all the way or all downhill from here it continues to get worse until it ends. (2) If a task is downhill all the way or all downhill from here, the most difficult part has been done and it is easier from that point.</td>
<td>(1) If something goes downhill, it becomes worse or less successful. (2) If someone goes downhill, they become more ill.</td>
<td>(1) If someone or something is out of/from the top drawer, they are of very high quality. (2) If someone is out of/from the top drawer, they come from a very high social class.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(1) E.g. They were aware that their public image was rapidly going down the drain. E.g. People don’t like to see marriages going down the tubes. (2) E.g. Over the years, the government has poured billions of dollars down the drain propping up its national airlines and other firms. E.g. You have ruined everything – my perfect plans, my great organization. All those years of work are down the drain.</td>
<td>(1) E.g. She came home, but it was downhill all the way. Cancer, I think. E.g. Now that I’m 50, it’s all downhill from here. (2) E.g. I had thought that once we reached halfway we would feel that it was downhill all the way now, but it didn’t seem to work like that. E.g. With this game out of the way, it’s all downhill from here because the remaining matches will be easy.</td>
<td>(1) E.g. Since I started to work longer hours things have gone downhill. E.g. We were amazed at the speed with which the weather was going downhill. (2) E.g. In February 1825 Maria became ill, was sent home, rapidly went downhill and died aged 11.</td>
<td>(1) E.g. The player I am looking for will be right out of the top drawer. E.g. Castleford produced a performance right out of the top drawer to thrash Wigan 33-2. (2) E.g. His companion came from right out of the top drawer of the Irish landed gentry.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(1) • Words such as plughole and toilet are sometimes used instead of drain. E.g. Neil admitted recently that long working hours mean his mean his personal life has gone down the toilet. (2) • Words such as plughole and toilet are sometimes used instead of drain. E.g. Millions of dollars have gone down the plughole.</td>
<td>(1) • You can also say that something is all downhill from there. E.g. The opening of the movie is great. Sadly, it’s all downhill from there.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) • Downhill can be used in many structures connected with becoming worse or less successful. E.g. For the movie business, it was all downhill from there. E.g. His career was heading downhill fast.</td>
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<td>(1) • You can also use top-drawer on its own to describe someone or something is of a very high quality. E.g. The Grange Hotel may be top drawer, but it’s not pretentious. E.g. The dramatization is superbly played a top-drawer cast.</td>
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### 35. A dream ticket
[mainly BRITISH, JOURNALISM]

1. If two people, for example politicians, are a dream ticket, they are expected to work well together and have a great deal of success.
2. If an opportunity or a situation is a dream ticket, it is perfect.

E.g. The move raised the prospect of a ‘dream ticket’ of Tony Blair as leader and John Prescott as his deputy. E.g. It should have been Hollywood’s dream ticket: husband and wife Tome Cruise and Nicole Kidman starring together in a romantic blockbuster movie.

In the United States, a ticket is a list of candidates that a political party has nominated for election. A ‘dream ticket’ is a pair of candidates that seem to be perfectly matched and who will attract a lot of support.

### 36. A back-seat driver

1. If you call a passenger in a car a back-seat driver, you mean that they keep telling the driver what to do.
2. If you call someone, especially a politician, a back-seat driver, you mean that they are trying to influence or control a situation that should be controlled by someone else.

E.g. My mother is a terrible back-seat driver, especially when my sister is at the wheel. E.g. They accused the former prime minister of being a backseat driver.

This expression is used to show disapproval.

### 37. A lame duck

1. If a politician or a government is a lame duck, they have little real power, for example because their period of office is coming to an end.
2. If someone or something is a lame duck, they are in a very weak position and in need of support.

E.g. The government is headed by a president who looks like a lame duck. E.g. The last thing people needed was to feel that the government was a lame duck. E.g. The company has completed its transformation from the lame duck of the motor industry into a quality car maker. E.g. Moira considers all single people lame ducks.

1. You can also use lame-duck before a noun. E.g. He’s already seen widely as a lame-duck Prime Minister. E.g. He would have found himself leading a lame-duck administration to near-certain defeat.
2. You can also use lame-duck before a noun. E.g. It is not right to use taxpayers’ money to support lame-duck industries.

This expression is usually used to criticize someone or something. The image here is of a duck that has been shot and wounded, and so cannot move properly and is likely to die.
### 38. Take it easy [INFORMAL]

1. If you *take it easy*, you rest and do not do anything that needs a lot of energy.
2. You can say *take it easy* as a way of saying ‘goodbye’. [mainly AMERICAN]

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<td>E.g. <em>Take it easy, Bob. Work can wait.</em> E.g. <em>The seven astronauts aboard the space shuttle Columbia are taking it easy today, following six full days of medical research.</em></td>
<td>E.g. <em>Take it easy, Don’t do anything I wouldn’t do.</em></td>
</tr>
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### 39. At a low ebb

1. If something is at a *low ebb*, it is failing and at a low level.
2. If someone is at a *low ebb*, they are depressed.

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<tr>
<td>E.g. <em>Confidence in the whole project was at a low ebb. E.g. By now, the company’s finances were at a low ebb.</em></td>
<td>E.g. <em>When I have been at a low ebb I have found the friendship and love of my fellow churchgoers to be a great comfort.</em></td>
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### 40. The end of the road or The end of the line

1. You use *the end of the road* or *the end of the line* to describe a point in a situation after which someone or something can no longer continue or survive.
2. If you talk about *the end of the road* or *the end of the line*, you mean what will eventually happen as a result of someone’s actions.

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<td>E.g. <em>The administration realises now that they’ve come to the end of the road of their policy. E.g. Failure to beat Poland at Wembley in the next match will almost certainly spell the end of the line for the England manager.</em></td>
<td>E.g. <em>I see bloodshed at the end of the road, he said, and I see disaster for my country.</em></td>
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### 41. Go off the deep end

1. If someone *goes off the deep end*, they start to behave in a crazy or very extreme way [AMERICAN].
2. If someone *goes off the deep end*, they become very angry [BRITISH].

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<td>E.g. <em>Ray gives a chilling performance as the seemingly nice cop who goes off the deep end and starts terrorizing a couple.</em></td>
<td>E.g. <em>My dad went off the deep end when he found out what I’d done.</em></td>
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### 42. In the public eye

1. If someone is *in the public eye*, they are famous and many people see them or read about what they say or do in newspapers, on

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E.g. <em>I’m conscious of being in the public eye and there are certain things I don’t do because of that.</em> E.g. <em>No stunt is too outrageous, no pose too shocking so long as it keeps</em></td>
<td>E.g. <em>As wife of the Prime</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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| the Internet, etc. (2) If a subject or situation is in the public eye, many people are aware of it and are discussing it. | her in the public eye. (2) E.g. We need campaigners to keep the situation in the public eye. E.g. Since then the issue has remained in the public eye with the President calling on republicans to supply information about the missing people. | Minister, she is never out of the public eye. |

| 43. At face value | (1) If you take what someone says at face value, you accept it and believe it without thinking about it very much. (2) If you take someone at face value, you accept the impression that they give of themselves, even though this may be false. | The face value of a coin or banknote is the amount that is printed on it, although it may in fact be worth more or less than that amount, for example because it is very old. |

| 44. Tempt fate | (1) If someone tempts fate, they take unnecessary risks or do something that may bring them bad luck. (2) If you tempt fate, you talk too confidently about something which may be wrong. | • You can also say that so tempts providence. E.g. I used to take the most appalling risks because it was in my nature to push everything to the extreme. I was tempting providence all the time. (2) • You can also say that so tempts providence. E.g. I'm 36 and I'd hate tempt providence and say I'm going to get pregnant. |

| 45. Sweep someone off their feet | (1) If someone sweeps you off your feet, you fall in love with them very quickly and strongly. (2) If something sweeps you off your feet, you immediately like it very much. | E.g. By the end of the date he said he was going to marry me. I was swept off my feet. E.g. He is a good fifteen years older than Felicity. He swept her off her feet, though. (2) E.g. When she first saw a photograph of a romantic-looking house dating back to 1770, she was swept off her feet by its charm. E.g. Ten British chefs plan to cook a feast they hope will sweep the French off their feet. |
### 46. Lead the field

| 1. If a person, company or organization *leads the field* in an activity, they are the best or most successful at it. |
| 2. If you *lead the field* in a competition, you are in the best position and are likely to win. |

(1) E.g. *The Americans continue to lead the field when it comes to child actors.*

(2) E.g. *US and European cyclists usually lead the field. This could be due to their hi-tech equipment.* E.g. Torrance led the field after two rounds of the Kronenbourg Open.

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### 47. At your fingertips

| 1. If you have something at your fingertips, it is easily available for you to reach. |
| 2. If you have facts or information at your fingertips, you know them thoroughly and can refer to them quickly. |

(1) E.g. *All basic controls are at your fingertips for straightforward, no fuss operation.*

(2) E.g. *She has figures about the performance of her business at her fingertips.* E.g. *I need to have all the answers at my fingertips in case I’m questioned about the matter.*

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### 48. Fly the flag

| 1. If you *fly the flag* for your country or a group to which you belong, you represent it or do something to support it. |
| 2. If you *fly the flag* for something, you support and praise it. |

(1) E.g. *I would love to fly the flag for Britain and win the Eurovision Song Contest.*

(2) E.g. *Wragg was left to fly the flag for state education.*

(1) • Verbs such as carry, show or wave are sometimes used instead of *fly.* E.g. *The Kuwaiti team said they were only in Pecking to show the flag.* E.g. *He believed in the sacred power of great music: he felt that he was carrying the flag of high culture.*

(2) • Verbs such as carry, show or wave are sometimes used instead of *fly.* E.g. *I think it’s important that we wave the flag for the arts.* [Next idiom – Keep the flag flying – *If you keep the flag flying, you do something to show your support for a group to which you belong, or to show your support for something that you agree with.*]

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### 49. A flash in the pan

| 1. If an achievement or success is a *flash in the pan*, it is unlikely to be repeated or to last. |
| 2. If someone who has had success is a *flash in the pan*, their success is unlikely to be repeated. |

(1) E.g. *In the days following Beckon’s victory, the British establishment has gone out of its way to try and dismiss the result as a flash in the pan.*

(2) E.g. *Hopefully now I’ll be taken seriously, I’m not a flash in the pan.*

(1) • You can use *flash-in-the-pan* before a noun. E.g. *Hers is no flash-in-the-pan talent, but a major and mature new voice.* This expression has its origins in the way that an old-fashioned gun worked. Pulling the trigger produced a spark which...
| 50. Fall flat | (1) If an event or an attempt to do something falls flat, it is completely unsuccessful.  
(2) If a joke falls flat, nobody thinks it is funny. | (1) E.g. If the efforts fall flat and the economic situation does not change, this city can expect another riot 25 years from now. E.g. She was badly disappointed when the evening fell flat.  
(2) E.g. He then started trying to tell jokes to the assembled when the evening fell flat. | set light to a small amount of gunpowder held in the ‘pan’. This in turn lit the rest of the gunpowder. However, if it failed to do so there was just a ‘flash in the pan’ and the gun did not fire properly. ‘Hang fire’ has a similar origin. |
| 51. Flesh and blood | (1) If so is your own flesh and blood, they are a member of your family.  
(2) If you say that someone is flesh and blood, you mean that they have human feelings and weaknesses, and that they are not perfect.  
(3) If you describe someone as a flesh and blood person, you mean that they are real and actually exist. | (1) E.g. The kid, after all, was his own flesh and blood. He deserved a second chance. E.g. You can’t just let your own flesh and blood go to prison if there’s any way you can help.  
(2) E.g. I’m flesh and blood like everyone else and I, too, can be damaged. E.g. We priests are mere flesh and blood. In fact we’re often even weaker than others.  
(3) E.g. His absence ever since her second birthday made her think of him as a picture rather than a flesh and blood father. |  |
| 52. In full flow [BRITISH] or In full flood | (1) If an activity, or the person who is performing the activity, is in full flow or in full flood, the activity has started and is being done with a lot of energy and enthusiasm.  
(2) If someone is in full flow or in full flood, they are talking quickly and for a long time. | (1) E.g. When she’s in full flow, she often works right through the night. E.g. To hear the drum and bass of the Barrett brothers in full flow is a real treat for long-time fans. E.g. A campaign of public accusation is now in full flood.  
(2) E.g. A male voice was in full flow in the lounge. E.g. Vicki was in full flood on the subject of her last boyfriend, a fellow lawyer she’d met at a charity ball. |  |
| 53. Put your foot down | (1) If you put your foot down, you tell someone forcefully that they must do something or that | (1) E.g. Annabel went through a phase of saying: ‘I can do my homework and watch TV.’ Naturally I put my foot down. E.g. He had planned to go skiing |  |
| 54. In the frame [BRITISH] | (1) If you are in the frame for a job or a successful activity, you are very likely to be chosen for it. (2) If someone is in the frame for a crime or a bad action, people think that they are responsible for it. | (1) E.g. Steve has done well. He’s back in the frame and I will have a good look at him in training this week. (2) E.g. The fact is, there’s only ever been one guy in the frame for this killing, and that’s the husband. | The ‘frame’ referred to here is probably one of the frames, or images, in a reel of film. |
| 55. Give or take | (1) You use give or take to show that a number, especially a large number, is approximate. (2) Give or take is also used to mean ‘apart from’. | (1) E.g. The structure is thought to be around two thousand years old, give or take a decade or so. E.g. It takes about five hours to get there, give or take. (2) E.g. We’re in Manchester, not Sydney, though on a sunny day the two cities do have a similar feel to them, give or take the odd beach, bridge, harbour and opera house. | • You often use this expression humorously to suggest that two things are actually very different. |
| 56. Have a go at someone [mainly BRITISH, INFORMAL] | (1) If you have a go at someone, you criticize them strongly, often without good reason. (2) If you have a go at someone, you attack them physically. | (1) E.g. I was angry because I figured she was just having a go at me for the sake of it. E.g. I’ve had a long day, I’m exhausted and fed up and you have a go at me as soon as I walk in the door. (2) E.g. The police had to stop the crowd from having a go at him. | |
| 57. Good as new | (1) If something is as good as new, it is in the same perfect condition it was when it was new. (2) If a person who has been ill is as good as new, they have recovered completely. | (1) E.g. You can use a damp cloth to get your keyboard looking as good as new. (2) E.g. I’d worked myself into near exhaustion, but after a week’s vacation I was as good as new. E.g. He’ll lose a few kilos, but he’ll finish up as good as new. | • You can also talk about a good-as- new thing. E.g. These upmarket second-hand shops deal in good-as- new clothes with prestige labels. |
| 58. Have had it [INFORMAL] | (1) If you say that someone has had it, you mean they are in very serious trouble or have no hope of succeeding.  
(2) If you say that you have had it, you mean that you are very tired from doing something and do not want to continue doing it.  
(3) If you say that you have had it with someone or something, you mean that you are very angry with them and do not want to have anything more to do with them. | (1) E.g. Unless she loses some weight, she’s had it. E.g. He wants actors who can speak Welsh. Obviously I’ve had it.  
(2) E.g. I’ve had it. Let’s call it a day.  
(3) E.g. I’ve had it with that kind of treatment of Americans. | • You can also say that you have had it up to here with someone or something with the same meaning. E.g. One parent, justifying her choice of school, said: ’I’ve had it up to here with state school’. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 59. Grind to a halt | (1) If a process or an activity grinds to a halt, it gradually becomes slower or less active until it stops.  
(2) If a vehicle grinds to a halt, it stops slowly and noisily.  
(3) If a country grinds to a halt, all transport in it stops so people are unable to do things they usually do. | (1) E.g. The peace process has ground to a halt.  
(2) E.g. The tanks ground to a halt after a hundred yards because the fuel had run out.  
(3) E.g. The whole country grinds to a halt after an hour’s show. | |
| 60. The upper hand | (1) If someone has the upper hand, they have the most power and control in a situation.  
(2) If a feeling or emotion gets the upper hand, you are not able to hide it or control it. | (1) E.g. Most people who knew the couple agreed that Franzen had the upper hand in the relationship. E.g. Diplomats believe it is still far from clear which side is gaining the upper hand in the economic debate.  
(2) E.g. Dan was breathing in short, sharp bursts as the tension and his exasperation gained the upper hand. | |
| 61. On your hands | (1) If you have a problem or task on your hands, you have to deal with it.  
(2) If you have a person on your hands, you are responsible for caring for them or dealing with them. | (1) E.g. Both teams will have a battle on their hands to stay in the Premier Division.  
E.g. They need to accept that they have a very serious problem on their hands.  
(2) E.g. I’ve got tired players on my hands and we are only five weeks into season.  
E.g. I suddenly had six children on my hands and a whole afternoon to entertain them. | (1) •This expression is generally used to refer to bad or difficult situations. However, it is sometimes used to refer to good situations, for example when you say that someone has a hit or a success on their hands.  
E.g. The record company realized they had a major hit on their hands.  
E.g. Now, three years on, the Barrys have a success story on their hands with a business that employs eight people.  
(2) •You use this expression when the responsibility is likely to be difficult for you.  
[compare with off your hands] |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 62. Sit on your hands | (1) If you sit on your hands, you do not do something that you ought to be doing.  
(2) If you sit on your hands, you wait for the best time to take action rather than doing something too quickly. [AMERICAN] | (1) E.g. The troops there are beginning to feel quite embarrassed about sitting on their hands while refugees stream through the lines with tales of horror.  
E.g. The pace of development in Formula One is so fast that if you sit on your hands you quickly regret it.  
(2) E.g. Force yourself to read the draft in its entirety. Sit on your hands. Give the draft a chance before you begin reworking it. |  |
| 63. Go over someone’s head | (1) If you go over the head of someone in authority, you communicate directly with someone in a higher position to try to get what you want.  
(2) If something that someone says or writes goes over your head, you do not understand it because it is too difficult for you. | (1) E.g. Don’t break office protocol by going over your boss’s head.  
E.g. He was reprimanded for trying to go over the heads of senior officers.  
(2) E.g. A lot of what he writes goes over my head.  
• You can also say that something is over your head.  
E.g. Most of the article was over my head.  
[compare with talk over someone’s head] |  |
| 64. Go to your head | (1) If something successful that someone does goes to their head, they start to think that they are better or more intelligent than other people.  
(2) If alcohol goes to your head, it makes you slightly drunk and perhaps affects your judgment. | (1) E.g. Ford is definitely not a man to let a little success go to his head. He knows he still has a lot to learn. E.g. I think Jenny’s promotion went to her head.  
(2) E.g. He was not accustomed to strong liquor and it went to his head. |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 65. Break your heart | (1) If you break someone’s heart, you make them very unhappy by ending a relationship with them or making it clear that you do not love them.  
(2) If a fact or a situation breaks your heart, it makes you very sad. | (1) E.g. She left him after that year and broke his heart.  
(2) E.g. It broke my heart to see this woman suffer the way she did.  
• You can also say that someone has a broken heart when they feel very sad because a relationship has ended. E.g. If you’re a poet, you get some good poetry out of a broken heart.  
• You can also say that someone is heartbroken or is broken-hearted. E.g. Mary was broken-hearted when he left her.  
• You can also say that someone is heartbroken or is broken-hearted if they are very upset about something. E.g. He looked heartbroken that Momma hadn’t gotten more excited over his announcement. E.g. Little Craig Malcolmson is broken-hearted by the theft of his treasured toy. |
| 66. At your heels | (1) If a person or animal is at your heels, they are following close behind you, for example because they are chasing you.  
(2) If a person or organization is at your heels in a competitive situation, they are threatening you because they are almost as good as you. [JOURNALISM] | (1) E.g. She strode through the restaurant with Cavendish following close at her heels. E.g. Children ran along the narrow path towards them, a small dog yapping at their heels.  
(2) E.g. With the world’s finest golfers at his heels, Norman produced an almost flawless 64.  
• People often say that a person or organization is snapping at someone’s heels. E.g. They may dominate the market for microprocessors but scores of firms are snapping at their heels. |
| 67. Hard on your heels or Hot on your heels | (1) In a competitive situation, if someone is hard on your heels or hot on your heels, they are doing nearly as well as you, and it is possible that they will beat you.  
(2) If someone is hard on your heels or hot on your heels, they are close behind you, for example because they are chasing you. | (1) E.g. Great Britain’s Dave Hall and Jessica Smith were hot on their heels until a bad last race left them out of the running for first. E.g. The next generation of British athletes is pressing hard on the heels of today’s champions.  
(2) E.g. But the police were hard on their heels and within two weeks, gang leaders McAvoy and Robinson were behind bars. E.g. The two play jewel thieves who have retired to the Bahamas while Harrelson is the FBI agent hot on their heels. | (1) E.g. You can also say that someone is close on your heels.  
E.g. Dorlan finished second with the Italian close on his heels.  
(2) E.g. You can also say that someone is close on your heels.  
E.g. Our pilot followed close on the heels of the departing inspector.  
[Idiom above hard/hot on the heels of something – If one event follows hard/hot on the heels of another, one happens very quickly or immediately after another. E.g. The news comes hard on the heels of the appointment of their new chief executive. E.g. The visit follows hot on the heels of their season at the Edinburgh International Festival. You can also say that one thing happens close on the heels of another. E.g. The meeting comes close on the heels of Chatterjee’s offer to resign if the members were not happy with him. It is also frequent] |
| 68. Dizzy [BRITISH] or Dizzying heights | (1) You use dizzy heights or dizzying heights to talk about a very high level of success.  
(2) You use dizzy heights or dizzying heights to talk about a very high amount or level of something. | (1) E.g. She had first known such dizzy heights in the 1960’s when she became one of the top exponents of black American music. E.g. She was a poor girl propelled to the dizzying heights of fame by a group of powerful agents.  
(2) E.g. The Dow Jones has scaled the dizzy heights to reach 10,000. E.g. The cost of oil imports reached dizzying heights before falling back and rising again in 1990. | (1) E.g. This expression is sometimes used ironically to say that someone has not achieved very much at all. E.g. After three and a half year, I had reached the dizzy heights of assistant account handler.  
(2) E.g. This expression is sometimes used ironically to say that something is not at a very high level. E.g. The meat content of the pie can soar to the dizzy heights of 25 per cent. |
69. **Raise hell**

(1) If someone raises hell with another, they cause trouble by behaving badly in public, for example by getting drunk and breaking things.

(2) If someone raises hell about a situation, they complain very angrily about it.

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70. **To the hilt or Up to the hilt**

(1) If you do something to the hilt or up to the hilt, you do it to the greatest possible extent.

(2) If you borrow money to the hilt or up to the hilt, you borrow as much as possible.

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71. **A hit list**

(1) If someone has a hit list of people or things, they are intending to deal with them or get rid of them.

(2) If a terrorist or criminal organization has a hit list, they have a list of people they intend to kill.

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72. **At home**

(1) If you feel at home in a particular place or situation, you feel relaxed, comfortable, and happy.

(2) If someone or something looks at home somewhere, they look as if it is natural and appropriate for them to be there.
### 73. On (your) home ground

| (1) If you are on home ground or on your home ground, you are in a familiar area, for example where you work or live. | (1) E.g. It was on home ground in Montreal that she excelled by beating Katerina Maleeva. E.g. Students benefit by experiencing interviews with prospective employers on their own home ground. | (1) The nouns turf and patch are sometimes used instead of ground. E.g. This time he’s on home turf so he has the advantage over his opponent. |
| (2) If someone is on home ground or on their home ground, they feel confident and secure because they are doing something that is very familiar to them. | (2) E.g. This piece sees the composer on home ground, with passionate string melodies. | (2) The nouns turf and patch are sometimes used instead of ground. E.g. He may refer to remain on his home turf as a negotiator. |

### 74. On the hoof

| (1) If you do something on the hoof, you do it as a quick reaction to something that has happened, rather than planning it carefully. | (1) E.g. They claimed that policy was being made on the hoof. E.g. In that situation, you have to make decisions on the hoof. | To do something ‘on the hoof’ literally means to do it while on horseback without stopping to get off. |
| (2) If you do something on the hoof, you do it while standing or moving around doing other things. | (2) E.g. Young detectives got used to eating on the hoof and became uneasy if they spent more than ten minutes on a meal. E.g. These youngsters like to play their favourite music on the hoof. |  |

### 75. A dark horse

| (1) If you describe someone as a dark horse, you mean that you have just discovered something about them, especially a skill or an achievement, that they had not told you about. (2) A dark horse is someone who wins a contest, race, etc. when they were not expected to. | (1) E.g. I didn’t know Clare could sing like that. She’s a dark horse. E.g. What a lot of friends from the past you have – you really are a dark horse, Robert! (2) E.g. Czech Karel Novacek, the dark horse of the international tennis circuit, beat his opponent 7-5, 6-2, 6-4. | (2) You can also use dark horse before a noun. E.g. William Randolph Hearst had briefly been a dark horse candidate for President in 1908. This expression may refer to a horse which people do not know very much about, so that it is difficult to predict how well it will do in a race. |

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*BRITISH*
### 76. The icing on the cake (British, American) or The frosting on the cake (American)

1. If you describe something as *the icing on the cake*, you mean that it is an extra good thing that makes a good situation or activity even better. 
2. You can use *the icing on the cake* to refer to something which is only a minor part of the main thing you are talking about.

**Example**

- To ride for one’s country is the ultimate experience. To be in a winning team is the icing on the cake. 
- If it works out that he or she becomes a friend after you have enjoyed a good professional relationship, that is frosting on the cake.

### 77. Be fighting for your life

1. If someone is fighting for their life, they are seriously ill or injured and are in danger of dying. 
2. If an organization or country is fighting for its life, it is in danger of failing or being defeated.

**Example**

- A boy aged 15 was fighting for his life last night but two younger children were said to be out of danger. 
- An ancient Scottish university institution is fighting for its life.

### 78. See the light

1. If someone sees *the light*, they realize or understand something, often something that makes them change wrong or unpleasant behaviour or opinions. 
2. If someone sees *the light*, they start believing in a religion.

**Example**

- Sir Nicholas will be fighting for his political life when he appears before the inquiry in a fortnight.
- What we are seeing is a country fighting for its moral life.
| 79. See the light of day | (1) If something sees the light of day, it is produced or made available to people, often after difficulties.  
(2) If a baby sees the light of day they are born. | (1) E.g. This book might never have seen the light of day without the enthusiasm and support of my editor.  
E.g. Few 35-minute films ever saw the light of day, even in those days.  
(2) E.g. Tens of millions of new souls are seeing the light of day in Africa each year. | (1) • You can also say that something sees the light.  
E.g. All this may change with the news that Christopher Isherwood’s diaries are now at last to see the light. E.g. His plan first saw the light at a meeting of the West European Union. |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 80. Off limits | (1) If an area is off limits, you are not allowed to go there.  
(2) If something is off limits, you are not allowed to have it or to do it. | (1) E.g. The area was kept off limits to foreign journalists until early this year.  
E.g. The ideal is to have one room that’s off limits for the kids.  
(2) E.g. Of course, smoking was off limits everywhere. E.g. Many of the biggest trees in those forests would soon be off limits to the timber industry. |  |
| 81. Cross the line | (1) If someone crosses the line, they start behaving in an unacceptable or offensive way.  
(2) If someone or something crosses the line, they go from one situation or activity to another more extreme one. | (1) E.g. The show’s pretty outrageous, but I don’t think it crosses the line.  
E.g. There was no reason to bring our families into in that’s crossing the line.  
(2) E.g. They could easily cross the line from civil disobedience to violence. E.g. Congress and the public were not informed about the decision to cross the line from defense to preparation for war. | The ‘line’ in this expression may refer to boxing matches in the past, when a line was drawn on the ground which neither boxer could cross. ‘Draw the line’ may be based on a similar idea. |
| 82. Down the line | (1) If something happens down the line, it happens at a later stage of a situation or activity.  
(2) If you talk about something happening a particular amount of time down the line, you are talking about it happening after that amount of time. | (1) E.g. Whether that will happen further down the line we cannot say.  
(2) E.g. About five to six months down the line I got a call from Steve saying he had something for me to work on.  
E.g. Two years down the line things have changed. | (1) • You can talk about something happening a long way down the line when it happens at a much latter date.  
E.g. He thought that military action was still a long way down the line.  
[Compare with all the way down line] [Compare with along the line]  
(2) [Compare with down the road] |
### 83. Draw the line

1. If someone knows where to draw the line, they know at what point an activity or situation stops being reasonable and starts to be unacceptable.

2. If you draw the line at a particular activity, you would not do it, because you disapprove of it or because it is so extreme.

E.g. It is difficult for charities to know where to draw the line between acceptable and unacceptable sources of finance. E.g. Where do you draw the line about who press can and can’t investigate? E.g. I’ll do almost anything – although I think I’d draw the line at running naked across the stage! E.g. I have to draw the line somewhere. I refuse to go in for spiritualism.

There are several theories about the origin of this expression. It may come from early versions of tennis, in which the court had no fixed size; players agreed their own limits and drew lines accordingly. Alternatively, it may be connected with the 16th century practice of using a plough to cut a line across a field to indicate a boundary between two plots of land. A third possibility is that it refers to boxing matches in the past, when a line was drawn in the ring which neither boxer could cross. ‘Cross the line’ may be based on similar idea.

### 84. In the firing line or In the line of fire

1. If you are in the firing line or in the line of fire, you are in a position where you are likely to be criticized or attacked.

2. If someone is in the firing line or in the line of fire, they are in the way of people who are firing guns, and therefore likely to be shot.

E.g. Her views sometimes put her in the firing line of women’s right groups. E.g. Since he is in charge of reforming the commission, he was one of those in the line of fire yesterday. E.g. Any hostages in the firing line would have been sacrificed. E.g. They forced the men to walk ahead of soldiers, putting them first in the line of fire from the rebels.

(1) • You can also say that someone is out of the firing line or out of the line of fire if they are likely to be criticized or attacked. E.g. He wanted to get his client out of the firing line before applying for any court orders. (2) • You can also say that someone is out of the firing line or out of the line of fire if they are likely to be shot. E.g. To get him out of the firing line, she asked the General to appoint Santiago to his staff.

### 85. In the front line or On the front line

1. If you are in/on the front line, you are doing the most important and basic work of an organization, often working directly with people.

2. If you are in/on the front line, you are in a position where you are likely to be criticized or attacked.

E.g. Local authorities are in the front line of providing help. E.g. Workers on the front line in hospitals, trains and planes are tired of being abused by members of the public. (2) E.g. I’m not happy about putting you in the front line when there’s someone out there killing people. E.g. She’s working in the poorest areas of the city, and she’s really on the front line there.

The image here is of soldiers in the front line during a battle.
| 86. On someone’s lips | (1) If a subject is on people’s lips, a lot of people are talking about it and are interested in it. (2) If a question or comment is on your lips, you want to ask or say it or you are in the process of asking or saying it. | (1) E.g. *The question on most people’s lips was not whether there would be war but when it would break out.* E.g. *A new word was on the lips of foreign companies and governments: privatisation.* (2) E.g. *The question had been on my lips the whole time. ‘What has happened to her?’* E.g. *He stopped in the dressing room beside their bedroom, his apology already on his lips.* |
| 87. On the loose [INFORMAL] | (1) If a dangerous person or animal is on the loose, they are free because they have escaped from somewhere. (2) If someone is on the loose, they are not being controlled or looked after by anyone and they are free to behave however they want. | (1) E.g. *This is the guy who cut loose live on breakfast radio during an outdoor concert at a Brisbane university.* (2) E.g. *We got through to lunch and in the afternoon were able to cut loose.* |
| 88. Lose it [INFORMAL] | (1) If someone loses it, they become extremely angry or upset. (2) If someone loses it, they become unable to do something they are usually able to do. | (1) E.g. *I completely lost it. I was shouting and swearing.* (2) E.g. *He walked on stage, looked out into the audience and just lost it. He forgot the words and started to make up completely different ones.* |
| 89. Make your mark or Make a mark | (1) If you make your/a mark, you do something which causes you to become noticed or famous. (2) If something makes its mark or makes a mark it starts to be noticed or to have an effect. | (1) E.g. *Today we look at the new generation of Japanese directors making their mark in world cinema. E.g. She’s only been with the company for three months but she’s certainly made her mark.* E.g. *He was new to politics and had not yet made a mark.* (2) E.g. *The film has already made its mark in terms of awards.* E.g. *If cricket ever made a mark in the United States, it would be guys like Bevan who would sell it.* |
| 90. No mean **[INFORMAL]** | 1. You can use no mean before a word describing what someone does to show that someone does something well.  
2. You can use no mean before words like ‘achievement’ or ‘task’ to show that someone has done something difficult and deserves to be admired for it. | 1. E.g. She was no mean performer on a variety of other instruments. E.g. Moreover, Ramsay was no mean thinker himself.  
2. E.g. To destroy 121 enemy aircraft is no mean record. E.g. Repton reached the final, and since around 1,500 schools entered the competition, that was no mean achievement. |
| 91. Out of your mind **[INFORMAL]** | 1. If you say that someone is out of their mind, you mean that they are crazy or stupid.  
2. If you are out of your mind with worry, grief, fear, etc., you are extremely worried, sad, afraid, etc. | 1. E.g. You spent five hundred pounds on a jacket! Are you out of your mind? E.g. It’s far too much work for me. I must have been out of my mind when I agreed to it.  
2. E.g. She’s out of her mind with worry, her husband left the hotel this morning and hasn’t been seen since. E.g. I was out of my mind with fear – I didn’t know what to do. |
| 92. Give something a miss | 1. If you give something a miss, you decide not to do it or not to go to it.  
2. If you give something a miss, you decide not to use it or buy it. | 1. E.g. Do you mind if I give the party a miss? E.g. You might suggest they give breakfast a miss, because this is a very shocking exhibition.  
2. E.g. Any metal rod will do, but give gold a miss – it’s too soft. E.g. I want to invest, but I think I’ll property a miss on this occasion. |
### 93. Slip through the net [BRITISH]

1. If someone or something *slips through the net*, they are not helped or noticed by the people or system that should protect or deal with them.

2. If someone who is behaving illegally *slips through the net*, they avoid being noticed and caught by the system that is meant to catch them.

3. If illegal goods *slip through the net*, they are not found by the system which is meant to discover them.

- E.g. Somehow, these children have managed to slip through the net of health service providers.
- E.g. Faulty tests may mean infected animals are slipping through the net.
- E.g. Despite being the female lead in the most successful film of 1989, Kensit seemed to slip through the net of casting directors.
- E.g. Police admit that under the new system, the killer would probably still have slipped through the net.
- E.g. A shipment of 44 kilos of cocaine slipped through the customs net at Gatwick.

- You can also say fall through the net with the same meaning.
  - E.g. Doctors are concerned that patients will fall through the net under the new system.

### 94. Out of order

1. A machine or device that is *out of order* is broken and does not work.

2. If you say that someone or their behaviour is *out of order*, you mean that their behaviour is unacceptable or unfair. [INFORMAL, BRITISH]

- E.g. Their phone’s out of order.
- E.g. Inside, the lift was out of order so she took the stairs.
- E.g. You don’t think the paper’s a bit out of order in publishing it?
- E.g. Hey, sorry, I was a bit out of order yesterday.

### 95. Below par or Under par

1. If someone or something is *below par* or *under par*, they are not of as high a standard or level as they should be.

2. If you feel *below par* or *under par*, you feel tired or slightly ill.

- E.g. The recession has left sales a little below par in the past two or three years.
- E.g. Bad teachers could face pay freezes if their work is under par.
- E.g. Women who feel below par are unlikely to perform at their best.
- E.g. After the birth of her baby she felt generally under par.

- You can also say that someone or something is *not up to par* with the same meaning.

- You can also use below-par before a noun.
  - E.g. The other time I saw her was on stage at a below-par Brighton concert last year.

### 96. Go to pieces

1. If someone *goes to pieces*, they are so upset that they cannot control their emotions or deal with the things that they have to do.

2. If

- E.g. She’s a strong woman, but she nearly went to pieces when Arnie died.
- E.g. Every time he’s faced with a problem he goes to pieces.
- E.g. My work is all going to pieces.
- E.g. She was one point

- You can also say fall to pieces with the same meaning.

- You can also say that someone falls to pieces.
  - E.g. He says he would have fallen to pieces without his faith.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>97. Take the piss</strong> [BRITISH, INFORMAL, VERY RUDE]</th>
<th><strong>98. Make a pitch</strong></th>
<th><strong>99. All over the place</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (1) If someone takes *the piss* out of another person or thing, they tease them or make jokes about them in an unpleasant way.  
(2) If someone takes *the piss*, they say or do something unreasonable. | (1) If you make a *pitch* for something, you tell people how good that thing is and try to persuade them to support it or buy it.  
(2) If you make a *pitch* for something, you try to get it. | (1) If something is happening or exists *all over the place*, it is happening or it exists in many different places.  
(2) If things are *all over the place*, they are spread over a very large area, usually in a disorganized way.  
(3) If you say that someone is *all over the place*, you mean that they are confused or disorganized, and unable to think clearly or act sensibly. [mainly BRITISH, INFORMAL] |
| (1) E.g. Men will hit each other if one thinks the other is taking the piss out of his car.  
(2) E.g. For them to do what they’ve done, I think they’re taking the piss, really. E.g. You want me to have the kids on Friday night? You’re taking the piss. | (1) E.g. The president used his remarks to make a pitch for further space exploration. E.g. The ability to persuade and convince is vital when you are making a pitch to a new client.  
(2) E.g. So far he hasn’t made a pitch for the job. E.g. When we first opened the restaurant, we made a pitch for young, stylish customers. | (1) E.g. Businesses are closing down all over the place. E.g. There are picket lines all over the place.  
(2) E.g. There were clothes lying all over the place.  
(3) E.g. She only had two weeks to prepare and she was all over the place trying not to collapse. E.g. When I played in the Scottish tournament I was all over the place. |

*Piss* is a slang word for urine.
| 100. Fall into place | (1) If you have been trying to understand something, and then everything falls into place, you suddenly understand it.  
(2) If things fall into place, events happen to produce the situation you want. |
| 101. Reach boiling point | (1) If an emotion, especially anger, reaches boiling point, it becomes so strong that it cannot be controlled.  
(2) If a situation reaches boiling point, it becomes very dangerous or extreme and cannot be controlled. |
| 102. Score points | (1) If someone scores points off you, they make themselves seem better or more intelligent than you in a discussion or argument.  
(2) If you score points, you do something that impresses someone or makes them like you. |
| 103. At a price | (1) If something can be obtained at a price, it is available but you have to pay for it, often a lot of money.  
(2) If you get something you want at a price, you get it but you have to accept something unpleasant as well. |
| 104. Go public | (1) If you go public, you make something known to a lot of people, especially through the TV, newspapers, etc.  
(2) If a company goes public, it stops being privately owned, and people can buy shares in it. | (1) E.g. Railtrack and the government went public with their plans for the west coast main line. E.g. Several ministers went public to deny the claims.  
(2) E.g. On May 14, Rambus, a microchip maker, went public. |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 105. Beg the question | (1) If something begs the question, it makes people want to ask that question.  
(2) If someone’s statement begs the question, they can only make that statement if a particular thing is true, although it may not be. [FORMAL] | This is a rough translation of the Latin expression ‘petitio principii’, a technical term used in logic to describe a situation in which the truth of smth is assumed before it has been proved. |
| 106. A question mark | (1) If there is a question mark over something, people do not know if it will continue to exist or what it will be like.  
(2) If there is a question mark over something, people are not sure if its quality is good. | (1) E.g. There is a question mark over the future of old people’s care as a result of the government cuts.  
(2) E.g. There is a question mark over the vehicle’s long-term reliability.  
(1) • You can also say that there is a question mark hanging over something. E.g. There is a question mark hanging over the England manager’s job.  
• Question mark is used in many other structures with a similar meaning. E.g. There’s going to be a question mark about future US aid.  
(2) • You can also say that there is a question mark hanging over something. E.g. I am very pleased they have been acquitted. However it leaves a big question mark hanging over the original trial.  
• Question mark is used in many other structures with a similar meaning. E.g. There will be a question mark on his record that might stop him being promoted in the future. |
| 107. Go off the rails [mainly BRITISH] | (1) If someone goes off the rails, they start to behave in a way that is wild or unacceptable, doing things that upset other people or are dangerous.  
(2) If something goes off the rails, it starts to go wrong. | (1) E.g. He went off the rails in his teens and was a worry to his parents. E.g. The tabloids are full of stories of young stars going off the rails.  
(2) E.g. By spring, the project seemed to be going off the rails. E.g. Clearly something has gone off the rails in the process of government. |
| 108. For the record | (1) If you say that what you are going to say next is for the record, you mean that you are saying it publicly and officially and you want it to be written down and remembered.  
(2) If you give some information for the record, you give it in case people might find it useful at a later time, although it is not a very important part of what you are talking about. | (1) E.g. We’re willing to state for the record that it has enormous value.  
(2) E.g. For the record, most Moscow girls leave school at about 18. E.g. Perhaps you’d like to tell me what you were doing on Monday. Just for the record. |
| 109. Run riot | (1) If someone runs riot, they behave badly, sometimes violently, and in a way that is not controlled.  
(2) If something such as imagination or speculation runs riot, it expresses itself or spreads in an uncontrolled way. | (1) E.g. My older sister Mandy had run riot so my parents were far stricter with me. E.g. In these neighbourhoods, gangs are allowed to run riot, terrorising the innocent while the police stay safely away.  
(2) E.g. My imagination ran riot, visualizing late nights and weekend parties. E.g. We have no proof and when there is no proof, rumour runs riot. |
| 110. Let rip [INFORMAL] | (1) If you let rip, you stop controlling yourself and suddenly do something with great energy or emotion.  
(2) If you let rip, you suddenly express strong opinions and feelings about a subject that you previously didn’t allow yourself to talk about. | (1) E.g. She throws her head back and lets rip with the loudest scream imaginable.  
(2) E.g. Every now and then in a relationship it’s good to just let rip and say exactly how you feel. E.g. When he quit the Commons he let rip, claiming Parliament was ‘a club for fat, tired, unfit old men’.  
(1) * You can also say that someone lets it rip with the same meaning. E.g. Halfway through the song she lets it rip and you really feel the power of that voice. E.g. All of them know exactly when to let it rip and when to tread softly. |
### 111. Hit rock bottom or Reach rock bottom

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<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>If something hits rock bottom or reaches rock bottom, it reaches an extremely low level where it cannot go any lower.</td>
<td>(1) E.g. The UK motor industry had one of its worst days yesterday as new car sales hit rock bottom. E.g. This is a good time to buy a house. Prices have reached rock-bottom in most areas.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>If someone hits rock bottom or reaches rock bottom, they reach the point where they are so unhappy and without hope that they could not feel worse.</td>
<td>(2) E.g. When my girlfriend left me, I hit rock bottom. E.g. Sometimes you have to reach rock bottom before you can start to recover.</td>
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**Example 1**

The UK motor industry had one of its worst days yesterday as new car sales hit rock bottom.

**Example 2**

This is a good time to buy a house. Prices have reached rock-bottom in most areas.

**Explanation**

- You can also say that something is at rock bottom.
  - E.g. Morale within the company was at rock bottom.
- People often talk about rock-bottom prices, meaning extremely low prices.
  - E.g. He has been buying property at rock-bottom prices.
- You can also say that someone is at rock bottom.
  - E.g. She was at rock bottom. Her marriage was breaking up and so was she.

This expression comes from mining, and refers to the layer of rock that is reached once the supply of minerals being taken from the mine has been used up.

### 112. [INFORMAL] Go through the roof or Hit the roof

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<td>(1)</td>
<td>If the level of something goes through the roof or hits the roof, it increases by a lot very rapidly.</td>
<td>(1) E.g. Interest rates were going through the roof. E.g. In 1990, wool prices hit the roof.</td>
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<td>(2)</td>
<td>If someone goes through the roof or hits the roof, they suddenly become very angry, and usually show their anger by shouting at someone.</td>
<td>(2) E.g. When I told my mother she went through the roof. E.g. She took one look at my hair and hit the roof.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Example 1**

Interest rates were going through the roof.

**Example 2**

In 1990, wool prices hit the roof.

**Explanation**

- Compare with go through the ceiling
- Compare with hit the ceiling

This expression seems to refer to the dominant cock in a chicken coop. However, ‘rule the roost’ may have developed from the earlier expression ‘rule the roast’, which refers to the head of the household who carves and serves the meat.

### 113. Rule the roost

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<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>If someone rules the roost, they are the most powerful and important person in a group.</td>
<td>(1) E.g. In Germany, scientists will be found at the top of many manufacturing companies; in Britain, accountants rule the roost. E.g. Unfortunately he’s a weak manager who lets the players rule the roost when he’s meant to be in charge.</td>
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<td>(2)</td>
<td>If something rules the roost, it is more powerful or popular than the things that it is being compared to.</td>
<td>(2) E.g. Today, the cartels still rule the roost and the authorities seem as impotent as ever.</td>
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</table>

**Example 1**

In Germany, scientists will be found at the top of many manufacturing companies.

**Example 2**

Unfortunately he’s a weak manager who lets the players rule the roost when he’s meant to be in charge.

**Explanation**

This expression seems to refer to the dominant cock in a chicken coop. However, ‘rule the roost’ may have developed from the earlier expression ‘rule the roast’, which refers to the head of the household who carves and serves the meat.

### 114. Rough and ready

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<td>(1)</td>
<td>If something is rough and ready, it is simple and basic, or it is not exact, because it has been made or done quickly.</td>
<td>(1) E.g. We stayed the night at the town’s only hostel, a rough-and-ready bar with rooms attached. E.g. I can only provide rough and ready sales predictions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>If someone is</td>
<td>(2) E.g. At first, the rough and</td>
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</table>
### 115. On the scene

1. If someone is **on the scene**, they are at a place where something is happening.
2. If someone is **on the scene**, they are involved in a situation.

#### Example:
- E.g. By a piece of luck it was one of my own officers who was first on the scene. E.g. The lifeboat is due on the scene about now.
- E.g. Before Alice had arrived on the scene we would go out regularly for the day or the weekend. E.g. Aunt Christina appeared on the scene then and looked after lan and me.

### 116. Set the scene

1. If you **set the scene**, you briefly tell people what they need to know about a subject, so that they can understand what is going to happen next.
2. If something sets the scene for an event, it creates the conditions in which that event is likely to happen. [JOURNALISM]

#### Example:
- E.g. I was writing an article and wanted to set the scene by a few details about how widespread the custom was. E.g. To visualize this period of his career it is first necessary to set the scene and describe the events leading up to World War 2.
- E.g. Some members feared that Germany might raise its interest rates. That could have set the scene for a confrontation with the US, which is concerned that increases could cut demand for its exports. E.g. The first hour’s cricket set the scene for a superbly entertaining day as England and South Africa played some of the best cricket ever seen.

### 117. Take a back seat

1. If you **take a back seat**, you allow other people to have all the power, importance, or responsibility.
2. If one thing takes a back seat to another, people give the first thing less attention because it is less important or interesting than the other thing.

#### Example:
- E.g. I was happy to take a back seat and give someone else the opportunity to manage the project. E.g. I always used to take a back seat and let people get on with it.
- E.g. It is true that in the Apollo programme science took a back seat to technology and engineering. E.g. As the novel progresses, the war takes a back seat to the growing romance between Harvey and Martha.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>118. Sow the seeds of something or Plant the seeds of something</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) If something or someone sows or plants the seeds of a future problem, they start the process which causes that problem to develop.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2) You can also sow or plant the seeds of something good or something that you want to happen.</td>
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<td>(1) E.g. An incident then occurred that was to sow the seeds of the invasion’s eventual failure. E.g. It was this racist policy that planted the seeds of today’s crisis in Africa.</td>
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<td>(2) E.g. With this overall strategy, they hope to sow the seeds of economic recovery. E.g. Ministers had spent five years planting the seeds of reform. E.g. I had planted the seeds of doubt in their mind.</td>
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<th>119. A shadow on your former self</th>
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<tr>
<td>(1) If someone or something is a shadow of their former self, they are very much less powerful or impressive than they used to be. [FORMAL]</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2) If someone is a shadow of their former self, they are very much thinner than they used to be.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1) E.g. Our ninety-year-old dad was but a shadow of his former self. E.g. But the side which played such thrilling football last season now looks a shadow of its former self.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2) E.g. I couldn’t believe how much weight she’d lost – she’s a shadow of her former self.</td>
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<th>120. A long shot</th>
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<td>(1) If you describe a way of solving a problem as a long shot, you mean that there is little chance that it will succeed, but you think it is worth trying.</td>
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<td>(2) You can also say that something is a long shot when it is very unlikely to happen.</td>
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<td>(1) E.g. You could try to find her. It’s a long shot but you could start with the phone book.</td>
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<td>(2) E.g. It seemed such a long shot, me walking over the hills, and seeing you at the end of it.</td>
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<td>(2) [compare with by a long shot]</td>
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<tr>
<th>121. Knock someone for six [BRITISH, INFORMAL]</th>
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<tr>
<td>(1) If something knocks you for six, it shocks or upsets you so much that you have difficulty recovering.</td>
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<td>(2) If an illness knocks you for six, it causes you to be very ill and weak for a long time.</td>
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<td>(3) If someone knocks you for six, they impress you to a very great degree.</td>
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<td>(1) E.g. The emotional impact of losing a parent can knock you for six.</td>
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<td>(2) E.g. I picked up a virus that knocked me for six. I lost a stone in weight in two weeks.</td>
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<td>(3) E.g. One day Gary walked in with his sister, Leah, and I was absolutely knocked for six. I’d never seen such a beautiful woman.</td>
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<td>In cricket, six runs are scored when batsman hits the ball so that it lands outside the playing area without bouncing. When this happens, you can say the bowler has been hit for six.</td>
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<tr>
<th>122. Wipe the slate clean</th>
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<td>(1) If you wipe the slate clean, you get rid of an existing system so that you can replace it with a new one.</td>
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<td>(1) E.g. The chief executive said: ‘What we have done is wipe the slate clean and start again with this complete rethink’. E.g. There’s a strong desire to wipe the slate clean and call for early elections.</td>
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<td>(1) You can also say that you are starting something with a clean slate. E.g. The new chief executive has clearly decided to start with a clean slate as he takes on</td>
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<td>125. Make a clean sweep</td>
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<td>126. On tap</td>
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<td>127. Make up for lost time</td>
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<td>128. The tip of the iceberg or The tip of an iceberg</td>
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<td>129. Over the top</td>
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<td>130. Touch and go</td>
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<tr>
<td>131. Come up trumps or Turn up trumps [BRITISH]</td>
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</table>
If people or organizations come up trumps or turn up trumps, they unexpectedly help you with your problems. E.g. He came up trumps, and invited me to stay at his home for as long as I needed to. E.g. The dear old National Health Service turned up trumps. From being barely able to sit still in February, she progressed to five days in Rome in October.

### 132. Try it on
**[BRITISH, INFORMAL]**

1. If someone tries it on, they try to start sexual activity with another person.
2. If someone tries it on, they try to get something or do something, often in a dishonest way.
3. If someone, especially a child, tries it on, they behave badly, to see how badly they can behave before someone stops them.

E.g. He was horrible. He tried it on. I was on my own with him.

E.g. They were just trying it on – applying a little pressure in the hope that they would squeeze something out of me.

E.g. The kids were trying it on with her.

### 133. Go to the wall
**[BRITISH]**

1. If a person or company goes to the wall, they lose all their money and their business fails.
2. If you are willing to go to the wall for a person or a principle, you support them so strongly that you are prepared to suffer for them.

E.g. Over the last year, two football clubs have gone to the wall. E.g. A total of 1,776 companies went to the wall in the three months to March.

E.g. Above all, he prizes loyalty. He’ll go to the wall for someone or something he believes in. E.g. This man will go the wall for you if you’re on his side.

One explanation for this expression is that it refers to someone who is trapped with their back to a wall and no way of escape. Another explanation is that it refers to medieval chapels in which healthy people used to stand, but which had seats around the walls for sick people. A third explanation is that it refers to someone standing in front of a wall before being executed by a firing squad.
### 134. Test the water or Test of waters

| (1) If you test the water or test the waters, you try to find out people's opinions about an idea or plan into practice. | (1) E.g. I was a bit skeptical and decided to test the water before committing the complete management team. E.g. It's hard to make a comment until we test the water at the party conference. | (2) If you test the water or test the waters, you try something in order to see if you like it or it is suitable. | (2) E.g. This placement period in a company can provide an excellent opportunity to test the waters without long-term commitment. E.g. Test the water. Rent a motor caravan for a few days and see how you like it before buying one of your own. |

### 135. Can't have it both ways

| (1) If you say that someone can't have it both ways, you mean that if they benefit from one good thing, there is another good thing they will not be able to benefit from. | (1) E.g. Countries cannot have it both ways: the cost of a cleaner environment may sometimes be fewer jobs in dirty industries. | (2) If you say that someone can't have it both ways, you mean that one thing they say or do shows that they are not sincere about another thing. | (2) E.g. Where's that patriotism when you've been sending all your money abroad? You can't have it both ways. |

| • You can also say that someone tries to have it both ways or wants to have it both ways. E.g. If you go into the big leagues, you've got to play by the rules of the game, but she's trying to have it both ways. |
| • People sometimes say that someone has it both ways to say that they are successful in benefiting from two things. E.g. You can have it both ways. If you want company, hang around the pool area, and if you have had enough, head into the forest. |

### 136. Fall by the wayside

| (1) If someone falls by the wayside, they fail in something they are doing and give up trying to succeed in it. | (1) E.g. Players either perform well and deal with the pressure, or fall by the wayside. E.g. Only about half of this group will graduate. The rest will fall by the wayside. | (2) If something falls by the wayside, it fails or is forgotten about. | (2) E.g. His marriage had fallen by the wayside some years earlier. E.g. Other proposals fell by the wayside. E.g. Parties change over the years as games and dancing fall by the wayside. |

| • You can also say that someone falls by the way. E.g. Various team members have fallen by the way over the years. |
| • You can also say that something falls by the way. E.g. Bullick said a number of other businesses had fallen by the way for similar reasons. |

This expression comes from the story of the sower told by Jesus in the
The seed which falls by the wayside and is eaten by birds represents the people who listen to what Jesus says, but are soon tempted by Satan and disregard what they have heard. (Mark 4:4)

137. 

The worse for wear

(1) If someone is the worse for wear, they are tired or injured.
(2) If someone is the worse for wear, they are drunk. [INFORMAL]

E.g. In the fourth round both fighters suffered cuts over the eyes, and the champion was beginning to look the worse for wear.
(2) E.g. He turned up at one important function two hours late and noticeably the worse for wear.

Appendix 2

Table 2 - 35 idioms from etymological Group 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idiom / entry (2012)</th>
<th>Meaning(s) / definition(s)</th>
<th>Example sentence(s)</th>
<th>Etymological note / additional information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Draw a blank</td>
<td>(1) If you are trying to find someone or something and you draw a blank, you cannot find them. (2) If you are trying to find out about something and you draw a blank, you fail to find out about it. (3) If you draw a blank, you are unable to remember something or to answer a question you are asked. (4) In a sporting contest, if a team or competitor draws a blank, they do not score any goals or points, or win any races. [mainly BRITISH, JOURNALISM]</td>
<td>(1) E.g. I searched among the bottles and drew a blank. (2) E.g. We asked if they’d been in. We drew a blank. (3) E.g. Asked what her son’s first words were, Deirdre drew a blank. E.g. Why do we recognize a face, but sometimes draw a blank when it comes to the name? (4) E.g. Goal-shy Raith drew a blank at home yet again. E.g. He now leads Pat Eddery, who drew a blank in the title race.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Across the board</td>
<td>If a policy or development applies across the board, it applies equally to all the people or areas of business connected with it.</td>
<td>E.g. It seems that across the board all shops have cut back on staff. E.g. This proposal will reduce funding across the board for community development grants, student loans and summer schools.</td>
<td>• You can also talk about an across-the-board policy or development. E.g. There is an across-the-board increase in the amount of meat eaten by children. This was originally an</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
3. **Go by the board** [BRITISH] or **Go by the boards** [AMERICAN]

   If a plan or activity goes by the board or goes by the boards, it is abandoned and forgotten because it is no longer possible to carry it out.

   E.g. Although you may have managed to persuade him, while he was at school, to do some revision before examinations, you may find that all your efforts go by the board when he is at university. E.g. I think we probably all forget that President Lincoln suspended habeas corpus. There were a lot of civil rights went by the boards.

   "To go by the board' originally meant to fall or be thrown over the side of a ship".

4. **Be brought to book** [BRITISH]

   If someone is brought to book, they are punished officially for something wrong that they have done.

   E.g. No-one has yet been brought to book for a crime which outraged Italy.

   Originally, if someone was brought to book, they were ordered to prove that something they had said or done agreed with a written rule or agreement.

5. **Die with your boots on**

   If you say that someone died with their boots on, you mean that they died while they were still actively involved in their work.

   E.g. Unlike many businesspeople who die with their boots on, he has very sensibly left the entire running of the company to his son.

   This expression was originally used to refer to a soldier who died in battle.

6. **Carry the can** [BRITISH]

   If you carry the can, you are blamed for something bad that has happened even though you are not the only person responsible for it.

   E.g. It annoys ma that I was the only one who carried the can for that defeat. E.g. Members of the Government clearly decided to let Lowe carry the can.

   This was originally a military expression referring to the man chosen to fetch a container of beer for a group of soldiers.

7. **Chop and change** [BRITISH]

   If someone chops and changes, they keep changing their plans, often when it is not necessary.

   E.g. After chopping and changing for the first year, they have settled down to a stable system of management. E.g. All this chopping and changing serves no useful purpose.

   This expression was originally used to refer to people buying and selling goods. To ‘chop’ meant to trade or barter, and ‘change’ came from ‘exchange’.

8. **Carry the day** [JOURNALISM]

   If a person or their opinion carries the day in a competition or argument, they win it.

   E.g. For the time being, those in favour of the measures seem to have carried the day. E.g. Many here expect this radical plan to carry the day when the vote finally comes.

   This expression was originally used to say which army had won a battle.

9. **Bite the dust**

   (1) If something bites the dust, it fails or stops existing.
   (2) If someone bites the dust, they die.

   E.g. With the news that milk chocolate can help cut cholesterol, yet another healthy eating fad bites the dust. E.g. Quite a few restaurants have bitten the dust recently.

   (2) This expression is used to refer to someone’s death in a humorous way. In stories about the Wild West, cowboys were said to ‘bite the dust’ when they were shot and fell off
| 10. A movable feast | If an event is a movable feast, it can happen at different times or in different places. | E.g. Held about 29 May, the festival was a movable feast. E.g. Working parents wish to spend time with their children after they get home, so bedtime has become a movable feast. | This expression originally referred to religious holidays that are always celebrated at about the same time of year, but not always on exactly the same day. |
| Flotsam and jetsam | Flotsam and jetsam is used to refer to small or unimportant items that are found together, usually in an untidy way. | E.g. We found cornflake packets, bottles, and all the flotsam and jetsam of the kitchen. | The phrase ‘flotsam and jetsam’ was originally used to describe things that were washed onto the shore from the sea, for instance after a shipwreck. |
| 12. A feeding frenzy | A feeding frenzy is a situation in which a lot of people become very excited about an event and try to get as much information about it or get as much advantage from it as they can, often in an unpleasant way. | E.g. What the couple hadn’t expected in their relationship was the feeding frenzy of publicity that has followed their every move. E.g. The discovery caused a feeding frenzy among biologists, whose eyes lit up with visions of the Nobel Prize to be had for claiming and naming new species. | This expression was first used to describe the behaviour of groups of sharks when there is blood in the water but not enough food for them all. In this situation the sharks will attack anything that they see, even each other. |
| 13. Make the grade | If you make the grade, you succeed at something, usually by reaching a particular standard. | E.g. As a child, she wanted to be a dancer but failed to make a grade. E.g. Top public schools have failed to make the grade in a recently published league table of academic results. | In American English, a ‘grade’ is a slope. This expression was originally used in connection with United States railways to refer to a train which succeeded in climbing a steep section of track. |
| 14. A gravy train | If you describe something as a gravy train, you mean it is an easy way of earning a lot of money over a long period. | E.g. Software companies realize that the gravy train can’t go on for much longer as the recession causes prices to fall. E.g. The boardroom gravy train continued to roll happily along yesterday, with news of payoffs to three executives totaling nearly 1.4 million pounds. | • You usually use this expression in a disapproving way. In the United States, ‘gravy’ was slang for money or profit. Railway workers invented this expression in the early 1920s to describe a regular journey which provided good pay for little work. |
| 15. Win hands down | (1) If you win a contest hands down, you win it easily. (2) When you are comparing things, you can say that the thing which is clearly best wins hands down. | (1) E.g. We have been beaten in some games which we should have won hands down. (2) E.g. The New Winter Palace Hotel wins hands down for both comfort and location. | (1) • You can also say that you beat someone else hands down. E.g. When he said he would beat me hands down, I didn’t expect him to run like that. (2) • You can also say that one thing beats another hands down E.g. I had always enjoyed |
driving through the New Forest, but two-wheeled travel beats the car hands down.

- You can also talk about a hands-down winner. [JOURNALISM] E.g. In any bar debate about the best Canadian folk song of all time, the hands-down winner is always Tyson’s Summer Wages.
- Hands down is used in other structures where you are saying that something is clearly the best.
  E.g. We are hands-down, flat-out the leaders of the world in this.
  E.g. ‘The greatest thing ever invented has to be the Thermos flask,’ I said. ‘Easy. Hands down.’
  This expression was originally used in horse racing to describe jockeys who won their races very easily and could cross the winning line with their hands lowered and the reins loose.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>16. Knock something into a cocked hat [mainly BRITISH, OLD-FASHIONED]</th>
<th>If one thing knocks another into a cocked hat, the first thing is much better or more successful than the second.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E.g. I am writing a novel which is going to knock Proust into a cocked hat. E.g. I bet his IQ would knock Kane’s into a cocked hat.</td>
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<td>One explanation for this expression is that it refers to the cocked hats of the 18th century, which were made by folding the edge of a round hat into three corners or points. According to this explanation, the expression originally meant to change something completely. Alternatively, the expression may refer to an American game of skittles where only three pins were set up, in the triangular shape of a cocked hat.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>17. Down the hatch [INFORMAL]</th>
<th>If food or drink goes down the hatch, someone eats or drinks it.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E.g. A record £4.4 billion worth of chocolate and sweets went down the hatch last year. E.g. she raised the shell to her lips, closed her eyes and down the hatch went the oyster.</td>
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<td>• People sometimes say down the hatch! just before drinking the alcoholic drink. E.g. Here’s a glass for you. Down the hatch! In the 18th century, this</td>
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<tr>
<td>Expression</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<td><strong>215</strong></td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>18. A hue and cry</th>
<th>If there is a hue and cry about something, there is a loud protest about it or opposition to it.</th>
<th>E.g. There probably will be a hue and cry about my suggestion of more power to the police. E.g. Our officers prepare, take a test, and accept the results without any hue and cry.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19. Hit the jackpot</td>
<td>(1) If you hit the jackpot with something, you have great success and earn a lot of money from it. (2) You can say that someone hits the jackpot when they succeed in getting or finding something which they have been searching for.</td>
<td>(1) E.g. The National Theatre hit the jackpot with its first musical, Guys And Dolls. E.g. The three actors hit the jackpot when they opened their restaurant in New York. (2) E.g. I went through all the people called Lasalles in the Sydney phone book until I hit the jackpot.</td>
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<tr>
<td>20. Lay it on the line</td>
<td>If someone lays it on the line, they say what needs to be said truthfully and directly.</td>
<td>E.g. He laid it on the line and said without treatment I had only three months to live. You can also say that someone lays everything on the line. E.g. Mr. Dambar had planned to march straight over to the trailer and lay everything on the line. • Originally, ‘lay on the line’ may have been connected with gambling. It meant to lay a bet on the sideline in the game of craps, or on the counter of a betting window at a racecourse.</td>
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<tr>
<td>21. No love lost or Little love lost</td>
<td>If there is no love lost between two people or groups, or little love lost between them, they do not like each other at all.</td>
<td>E.g. There was no love lost between the country’s two most powerful politicians. Originally this expression had the opposite meaning to its present one. It used to mean that the two people liked each other a lot.</td>
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<tr>
<td>22. Blow your mind [INFORMAL]</td>
<td>If something blows your mind, you find it extremely exciting or impressive.</td>
<td>E.g. I saw her show in Manchester and it just blew my mind. E.g. Oxford really blew his mind. He loved the feeling of the peace, he loved the people. • You can also say that something is mind-blowing. E.g. Falling in love like that is a mind-blowing experience. E.g. There are over a thousand of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
23. **A monkey on your back**  
*JOURNALISM*

If you have a *monkey on your back*, you have a problem, often an emotional problem, that makes your life difficult for a long period.

E.g. They haven’t beaten United in three years and it’s a monkey on their backs that they are desperate to shake off.

- You can also say that you *get the monkey off your back*, meaning that you manage to end the problem. E.g. I’m just delighted to win and get the monkey off our back with a home victory at last.

‘To have a monkey on your back’ originally meant to be angry. Later it came to be used to say that someone was addicted to drugs; it is still used in this way today.

24. **The opium of the people**  
*The opium of the masses*

The *opium of the people* or *the opium of the masses* is something that makes a lot of people feel happy.

E.g. He saw religion as the opium of the people. E.g. I see the reality show as the new opium of the masses.

This phrase was used by Karl Marx to describe religion.

25. **Take someone for a ride**  
*INFORMAL*

If someone *takes you for a ride*, they deceive or cheat you.

E.g. You’ve been taken for a ride. Why did you give him five thousand francs? E.g. Why do I have this sneaking suspicion that he is taking us all for a ride?

This expression comes from American gangsters’ slang. When gangsters ‘took someone for a ride’, they took them away in a car in order to kidnap them or kill them.

26. **Rough and tumble**

You use *rough and tumble* to mean a situation in which there is a lot of arguing or competition and people do not worry about upsetting or harming others.

E.g. Whoever expected leaders in the rough and tumble of electoral politics to be nice or fail?

- You can use *rough-and-tumble* before a noun. E.g. He started his political career in the rough-and-tumble world of student politics.

- You usually use this expression when you think that this is normal or acceptable behaviour. Originally, a rough and tumble was a boxing match in which there were no rules or restrictions.
27. **Behind the scenes**

If someone does something **behind the scenes**, they do it in private or secretly, rather than publicly.

*E.g.* Both countries have been working **behind the scenes** to try to free the hostages. *E.g.* the debate has been going on **behind the scenes** for months.

* • You can also use **behind-the-scenes** before a noun.  
  *E.g.* The debate was postponed for a third time after another day of intensive **behind-the-scenes** negotiations. This refers to the scenes or scenery used on the stage in the theatre, and was originally used to refer to those events in a play that took place off-stage.

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28. **Not up to scratch**

If something or someone is **not up to scratch**, they are not good enough.

*E.g.* If the service isn’t **up to scratch**, the customer gets his money back.  
*E.g.* Athletes have no one to blame but themselves if their performances are not up to scratch. *E.g.* Parents were complaining that one of the teachers wasn’t up to scratch.

* • You can say that someone or something does not come up to scratch.  
  *E.g.* The Home Secretary wants better methods for dealing with police officers who do not come up to scratch.  
  *E.g.* We had to work hard on the apartment to bring it up to scratch.  
  In the past, boxers started a fight with their left feet on a line drawn on the ground, known as the scratch.  
  When a boxer was knocked down, they were allowed thirty seconds’ rest before coming ‘**up to scratch**’ once more. A boxer who was not at the line in time lost the fight.

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29. **Up the spout**

*BRITISH, INFORMAL*

(1) If something is **up the spout**, it is completely ruined.  
(2) If a woman is **up the spout**, she is pregnant. *RUDE*

*E.g.* The money’s disappeared, so has he, and the whole scheme’s up the spout.  
*E.g.* The economy’s up the spout.  
(2) *E.g.* Her daughter is up the spout again.

* • You can say that you bring someone or something up to scratch.  
  *E.g.* We had to work hard on the apartment to bring it up to scratch.  
  In the past, boxers started a fight with their left feet on a line drawn on the ground, known as the scratch.  
  When a boxer was knocked down, they were allowed thirty seconds’ rest before coming ‘**up to scratch**’ once more. A boxer who was not at the line in time lost the fight.

Originally, this expression was used to refer to items which had been pawned (= given to someone in return for a loan of money). The ‘spout’ was the lift in which an item was taken from the pawnbroker’s shop to the storeroom above.

(2) • This is usually used when the pregnancy is a problem rather than a good thing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>30. The standard bearer</th>
<th>The standard bearer of a group of people or a belief is a person who represents them.</th>
<th>E.g. He saw himself as the standard bearer of the right of the party. E.g. She’s become very much the standard bearer for traditional, family values.</th>
<th>A standard is a flag with badges or symbols on it, which represent a person or organization. In the past, a standard bearer was the person who led an army into battle carrying a standard.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31. Take somewhere by storm</td>
<td>If someone or something takes a place or a group of people by storm, they are extremely successful or popular in that place or with those people.</td>
<td>E.g. When she arrived there in 1862 she had already taken London by storm. E.g. In 1991 many firms expected these computers to take the industry by storm. E.g. It’s nearly 12 months since the film took America by storm.</td>
<td>This expression originally meant to capture something such as a fort or a military position by means of a sudden, violent attack.</td>
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<tr>
<td>32. It’s all systems go</td>
<td>You say it’s all systems go to mean that people are very busy with a particular project.</td>
<td>E.g. Work started on the indoor arena at the beginning of the year and it’s now all systems go for a full programme of events over the winter. E.g. The Commonwealth has released its funds and it’s all systems go.</td>
<td>This expression became popular as a result of its use during the launch of spacecraft in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. It indicated that the spacecraft was functioning correctly and was ready to take off.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Keep tabs on someone /something</td>
<td>If you keep tabs on someone or something, you make sure that you know what they are doing or what is happening to them, often in order to control them.</td>
<td>E.g. We know that somebody was keeping tabs on her. E.g. It’s their job to keep tabs on the financial situation.</td>
<td>Originally, this was an American expression which uses an American sense of ‘tab’, meaning an account or bill, which can be used to keep a record of what someone spends.</td>
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<tr>
<td>34. On the warpath</td>
<td>If someone is on the warpath, they are very angry and getting ready for an argument or fight.</td>
<td>E.g. Nolan was on the warpath after reading a bad review of his restaurant. E.g. The message is that consumers are on the warpath – and governments should beware.</td>
<td>Native Americans were said to be ‘on the warpath’ when they were on an expedition to attack their enemies. The warpath was the path or route that they took.</td>
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<tr>
<td>35. Keep a weather eye on something/someone [mainly BRITISH]</td>
<td>If you keep a weather eye on something or someone, you watch them carefully so that you are ready to take action if there are problems.</td>
<td>E.g. Keep a weather eye on your symptoms and stay alert to any changes which occur. E.g. Amy moved away from a neighbourhood where she’d kept a weather eye on old lady.</td>
<td>• Other prepositions are sometimes used instead of on, for example out and for. E.g. The police were there, keeping a weather eye out for trouble of any sort. This expression was originally used by sailors, who had to keep a constant watch on the weather and wind direction.</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Appendix 3

Table 1 - Idioms that were found in two or more historical idiom dictionaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idiom – 2012 - (CCID)</th>
<th>1878 - (MOP)</th>
<th>1883 – (JSG)</th>
<th>1904 – (DPF)</th>
<th>1908 – (SCDI)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. A hue and cry – If there is a hue and cry about something, there is a loud protest about it or opposition to it. E.g. There probably will be a hue and cry about my suggestion of more power to the police. E.g. Our officers prepare, take a test, and accept the results without any hue and cry. Until the 19th century, 'hue and cry' was the legal name for the cries of someone who had been robbed and who was calling for others to help. It was an offence for anyone to refuse to join the chase, once they heard the cry. 'Hue' comes from the Old French 'huer', meaning 'to shout.'</td>
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<tr>
<td>– To raise a hue and cry. – To noise abroad; to cry aloud. 'To raise a hue and cry after a robber.' Webster: 'I raised a hue and cry of hersy against me.' R. Burns.</td>
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<tr>
<td>– Hue and cry = Aloud out-cry with which felons are pursued; the pursuit of a felon with loud outcries or clamour to give alarm. (a) Every man was bound to hold himself in readiness, duly armed, for the king's service, or the hue and cry which pursued the felon. – Green. (b) When I made a little mistake on Shooter's Hill, and stopped an ancient grazer whose pouches were better lined than his brain-pan, the bonny bay nag carried me sheer off in spite of the whole hue and cry. – Scott.</td>
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<td>– Hue and cry. – A phrase used in English law to describe a body of persons joining in pursuit of a felon or suspected thief. (French, huer, verb huée, verb huer, to hoot or shout after; Anglo-Saxon, hui, hol)</td>
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<tr>
<td>– Hue and cry. – A loud outcry with which felons were ancienly pursued, and which all who heard it were obliged to take up and join in the pursuit till the malefactor was taken; in later usage, a written proclamation issued on the escape of a felon from prison requiring all persons to aid in retaking him: e.g. Six gentlemen upon the road, Thus seeing Gilphin fly, With post boy scampering in the rear, They raised the hew and cry: – &quot;Stop thief! Stop thief! – a highwayman.&quot; – Cowper.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Behind the scenes – If someone does something behind the scenes, they do it in private or secretly, rather than publicly. You can also use behind-the-scenes before a noun. This refers to the scenes or scenery used on the stage in the theatre, and was originally used to refer to those events in a play that took place off-stage.</td>
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<tr>
<td>– Behind the scene. – In secret.</td>
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<tr>
<td>– Behind the scenes. – Same as Behind the curtain.</td>
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<tr>
<td>– Behind the curtain. – In secret: e.g. (1) Everything in this connection must be done behind the curtain. (2) In one word, things between Sir William and me, must be behind the curtain. – Goldsmith. [In theatrical performances, the audience cannot see what goes on in secret behind the curtain. Hence the expression is used in respect of anything that is done in secret].</td>
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<td>3. In black and white – (1) If someone judges or shows a complex,</td>
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<tr>
<td>– I must have it in black and white. – I must have it in plain writing.</td>
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<tr>
<td>– Black and white, in = In writing or print. No quarter is to be given to the English. Look – Black is White. (See Swear.) - I must have it in black and white, i.e. in plain Black and white. – See In black and white. In black and white.</td>
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<td>Issue or situation in black and white, they judge or show it as if it is obvious what is morally right and wrong. You can also talk about a black and white situation, issue or judgment. These expressions are usually used to criticize people who judge or show complex subjects and situations in a very simple way. (2) If you say that something is in black and white, you mean that you have written proof of it.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Here it is in black and white. Here's the proclamation of His Majesty the Emperor and King. – Thackeray.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Writing; the paper being white and the ink black.</td>
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<tr>
<td>In writing or print; e.g. (1) I have found it all out: here is his name in black and white. – J. Payn. (2) There they are in black and white, and they must be answered. – Kaye.</td>
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<tr>
<th>4. ✪ Stand a chance – (1) If someone or something stands a chance, it is possible that they will succeed. (2) If someone or something does not stand a chance, they are certain to be killed, destroyed or defeated.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>– I stand a fair chance. – I am in a favorable position. You see that if to know one's errors were a probability of mending them, I stand a fair chance. – R. Burns.</td>
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<td>– Stand a chance of = Be likely to. Somebody told my mother that if I survived to the age of fifteen I might turn out to possess a more than average amount intellect; but that otherwise I stood a chance of dying an idiot. – Leigh Hunt.</td>
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<tr>
<td>– Stand a good chance. – Have a reasonable expectation or great likelihood: e.g. There are only a few applicants for the post, of whom your friend seems to be the best, and he therefore stands a good chance of obtaining the job.</td>
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<tr>
<th>5. ✪ A lame duck – (1) If a politician or a government is a lame duck, they have little real power, for example because their period of office is coming to an end. You can also use lame-duck before a noun. (2) If someone or something is a lame duck, they are in a very weak position and in need of support. This expression is usually used to criticize someone or something. The image here is of a duck that has been shot and wounded, and so cannot move properly and is likely to die.</th>
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<tr>
<td>A lame duck. – A defaulter; a bankrupt. Lame duck. – A defaulter (Неплащеньщик); one that is not regular in payment.</td>
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<tr>
<td>– Duck. – A lame duck. – A stock-jobber who will not, or cannot, pay his losses. He has to “waddle out of the alley like a lame duck.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– Lame duck. – [Slang] – A defaulter at the stock or exchange; a bankrupt.</td>
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</table>
### 6. *Flesh and blood*  
(1) If someone is your own flesh and blood, they are a member of your family.  
(2) If you say that someone is flesh and blood, you mean that they have human feelings and weaknesses, and that they are not perfect.  
(3) If you describe someone as a flesh and blood person, you mean that they are real and actually exist.

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### 7. *The upper hand*  
(1) If someone has the upper hand, they have the most power and control in a situation.  
(2) If a feeling or emotion gets the upper hand, you are not able to hide it or control it.

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### 8. *Break your heart*  
(1) If you break someone’s heart, you make them very unhappy by ending a relationship with them or making it clear that you do not love them.  
• You can also say that someone has a broken heart when they feel very sad because a relationship has ended.  
• You can also say that someone is heartbroken or is broken-hearted.
(2) If a fact or a situation breaks your heart, it makes you very sad. You can also say that someone is heartbroken or is broken-hearted if they are very upset about something.

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<tr>
<th>Heart-breaking.</th>
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<tr>
<td>— Over-powering heart with deep affliction.</td>
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<tr>
<td>— Broken-hearted.</td>
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<tr>
<td>— Penitent.</td>
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Loose ringlets worn over the shoulders were called heart-breakers. At another time a curl worn over the temples was called an Accroche-cœur, crève cœur.

| War and it broke his heart. — M. Arnold. |

9. At your heels —
(1) If a person or animal is at your heels, they are following close behind you, for example because they are chasing you.
(2) If a person or organization is at your heels in a competitive situation, they are threatening you because they are almost as good as you.

People often say that a person or organization is snapping a someone’s heels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Went at one’s heel.</th>
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<tr>
<td>— Followed one closely. ‘Away went post boy at his heel.’ W. Cowper.</td>
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<tr>
<td>— To be at the heels.</td>
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<tr>
<td>— To pursue closely; to attend closely.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heels, at one’s</th>
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<tr>
<td>— Closely attending or following one; in close pursuit of one.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(a) There was an easy self-possessed disdain about him, which utterly abashed the young monk, and abashed, too, the whole crowd of rascals at his heels. — C. Kingsley.</td>
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<tr>
<td>He was the terror of all the farmyards in the country into which he made fearful inroads, and sometimes he would make his sudden appearance in the garrison at daybreak, with the whole neighbourhood at his heels. — Kingsley.</td>
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9. At home —
(1) If you feel at home in a particular place or situation, you feel relaxed, comfortable, and happy.
(2) If someone or something looks at home somewhere, they look as if it is natural and appropriate for them to be there.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To be at home.</th>
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<tr>
<td>— To be easy or self-possessed. ‘He was not sufficiently at home to give play to his, &amp;c.’ W. Irving.</td>
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<tr>
<td>— Home, at = At one’s own place of abode; at a place where one appears to be at ease as at home.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(a) Skettes junior was at home for the holidays. — Dickens.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(b) Never was an Englishman more at home than when he took his ease in his inn. — Macaulay.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(c) He had the power of making himself poetically everywhere at home. — J. Nichol.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>At Home (An).</th>
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<tr>
<td>— A notification sent to friends that the lady who sends it will be at home on the day and at the hour specified, and will be glad to see the persons mentioned in the card of invitation. These “At homes” are generally held in an afternoon before dinner. Light refreshments are provided, and generally some popular games are introduced, occasionally music and dancing.</td>
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<tr>
<td>— Not at Home.</td>
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<td>— Not disengaged, or prepared for the reception of visitors; not in the house.</td>
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<th>Be at home to.</th>
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<td>— Be prepared to receive (visitors) at one’s house: e.g. “Sir Charles Basett!” trumpeted a servant at the door, and then waited, prudently, to know whether this young lady, whom he had caught blushing so red with one gentleman, would be at home to another. — Reade.</td>
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<tr>
<td>— At home.</td>
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<tr>
<td>— At one’s own house or lodging: e.g. (1) He is not at home now. (2) He stayed at home and worked. — Helps.</td>
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| — At one’s own town or country: e.g. (1) I was at home during the holidays. (2) At home there was nothing but
confusion, abroad there was nothing but disaster. – Buckle.

(3) His letters to his mother at home had become of late very rare and short. – Thackeray. (4) At home too, there is prophesying enough, vague hope enough, which for the most part goes wide of the mark. – Carlyle.

In a place where one feels himself comfortable and easy as at home. E.g. (1) I am quite at home here. At ease; comfortable: - (1) He was quite at home with his new neighbours. (2) At the second visit, this third rat made himself one of the family, and became so perfectly at home, that he resolved to bring his companions, to de Latude. – Chambers.

– (An) At- home. – A reception or entertainment given in the afternoon or evening: e.g. (1) Sir Charles Allen gave an at-home day before yesterday. (2) Mr. Yates the manager was going to give an entertainment he called his at-homes, and this took but a small orchestra. – Reade.

– At home in. – Perfectly conversant or familiar with (some subject): e.g. (1) He is at home in this sort of writing. (2) It was a pleasure to converse with him on topics in which he was thoroughly
11. Run riot –
(1) If someone runs riot, they behave badly, sometimes violently, and in a way that is not controlled.
(2) If something such as imagination or speculation runs riot, it expresses itself or spreads in an uncontrolled way. In hunting, if the hounds run riot, they follow the scents of other animals rather than the one they are supposed to be chasing.

12. On the spot –
(1) If an action is done on the spot, it is done immediately.
• You can also use on-the-spot before a noun.
(2) Someone who is on the spot is in the place where something is actually happening.
• You can use on-the-spot before a noun to say that something actually happens in the place that you are talking about.

13. Go to the wall [BRITISH] –
(1) If a person or
company goes to the wall, they lose all their money and their business fails.

If you are willing to go to the wall for a person or a principle, you support them so strongly that you are prepared to suffer for them.

One explanation for this expression is that it refers to someone who is trapped with their back to a wall and no way of escape. Another explanation is that it refers to medieval chapels in which healthy people used to stand, but which had seats around the walls for sick people. A third explanation is that it refers to someone standing in front of a wall before being executed by a firing squad.

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<th>14. Carry the day</th>
<th>15. Take somewhere by storm</th>
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<td>14. Carry the day [JOURNALISM] -- Carry the day &lt;br&gt; = Win the victory; come off victorious. &lt;br&gt; (a) The country could not be divided, and the majority carried the day. -- Froude. &lt;br&gt; (b) When such discussions arise, money generally carries the day -- and should do so. -- A. Trollope. &lt;br&gt; (c) The cardinals were divided; but the Spanish party were the strongest, and when the votes were taken carried the day. -- Theodore Martin. &lt;br&gt; -- Carry the Day (To). -- To win the contest; to carry off the honours of the day. In Latin, victoriam reportâre. &lt;br&gt; -- Carry the day. -- Come out victorious; win a contest or dispute: e.g. (1) It was the English archers that carried the day in that battle. &lt;br&gt; (2) Notwithstanding the weakness of their case, the defection of their leader and the ability of their opponent, the very nearly carried the day. -- Macaulay.</td>
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<td>15. Take somewhere by storm -- Take one by storm &lt;br&gt; = (Fig.) Take a sudden and forcible possession of one; hence, charm or delight one’s heart in spite of one’s self. &lt;br&gt; (a) Kean would have take the public by storm, whether they had been prepared for him or not. -- Leigh Hunt. &lt;br&gt; (b) Miss -- took his &lt;br&gt; -- Take by storm. -- Capture (a fortified place) by making a violent assault, as by scaling the walls, forcing the gates, and the like: e.g. The defenders were at the same time charged in front and the place taken by storm. -- Scott.</td>
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such as a fort or a military position by means of a sudden violent attack.

16. Keep up appearances
- (1) If you keep up appearances, you pretend that a situation is good and as it should be, even though it is not. E.g. I was determined to keep up appearances by pretending nothing was wrong. E.g. The marriage was failing, but we tried to keep up appearances for the sake of the children.
- (2) If you keep up appearances, you try to behave and dress in a way that people expect of you, even if you can no longer afford it. E.g. His parents’ obsession with keeping up appearances haunted his childhood.

17. Nip something in the bud
- (1) If you nip a bad situation or bad behaviour in the bud, you stop it at an early stage. E.g. It is important to recognize jealousy as soon as possible and to nip it in the bud before it gets out of hand.
- (2) If you nip something good in the bud, you stop it before it can develop. E.g. The higher prices would fuel inflation and nip the consumer recovery in the bud.

This expression may refer to extremely cold weather damaging a plant and stopping it flowering.

heart, he said, by storm, and forcibly ejected for a while his love for any other woman breathing. – Warren.

- Appearances, keep up – Conceal the real state of things by putting on an outward show.
  (a) Captain Cuttle kept up appearances, nevertheless, tolerably well. – Dickens.
  (b) He was tolerably afraid of being left alone with their uncle or nephew; appearing to consider that his only chance of safety, as to keeping up appearances, was in their being always three together. – Dickens.

- Keep up appearances. – Preserve the outward aspect of things in the same state as before; maintain a showy exterior: e.g. (1) To delude his creditors, he has to keep up appearances, which tell more seriously on his present embarrassed situation. (2) It had now become necessary for him to keep up appearances in another way, or he must relinquish the pretence of adhering to the treaty. – Froude.
  (3) Men who have been well trained and educated are often run away with by extravagances, by keeping up appearances. – Smiles.

- Nip in the bud = Destroy prematurely; kill when just coming to growth.
  (a) But I nipped the abominable system of extortion in the very bud, by refusing to take the first step. – De Quincey.
  (b) Richard Swiveller was utterly aghast at this unexpected alteration of circumstances, which seemed to nip his prospects in the bud. – Dickens.


- Nip (or Check) in the bud. – Cut off at the very commencement of growth; destroy prematurely: e.g. (1) All the noble projects were nipped in the bud by the sudden death of the king. (2) These threatened the complete overthrow of the project in which he bore so conspicuous a part, and seemed to nip his prospects in the bud. – Dickens. (3) Guessing his intentions, she had resolved to check them in the bud. –
Alternatively, it may refer to a gardener pruning a plant in bud to prevent it flowering.

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<th>18. Bite the dust –</th>
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<th>--</th>
<th>Dickens.</th>
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<tr>
<td>(1) If something <em>bites the dust</em>, it fails or stops existing.</td>
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<td>Dust, <em>bite the dust</em>, as “Their enemies shall bite the dust,” <em>i.e.</em> be slain in battle.</td>
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<td>(2) If someone <em>bites the dust</em>, they die.</td>
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<td>This expression is used to refer to someone’s death in a humorous way.</td>
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<td>- Bite the dust (or ground). – Fall into the agonies of death: e.g. (1) He then made his enemy <em>bite the dust</em>. (2) I saw the hoary traitor Grin in the pangs of death, and <em>bite the ground</em>. – Addison.</td>
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<th>19. At a low ebb –</th>
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<tr>
<td>(1) If something is <em>at a low ebb</em>, it is failing and at a low level.</td>
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<td>Ebb, <em>at a low ebb</em>, <em>i.e.</em> in a low or empty state; in a state of great decline.</td>
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<td>• You can also say that something is at its <em>lowest ebb</em>.</td>
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<td>(a) The fortnnes of the Wordsworth family were <em>at a low ebb</em> in 1787. – Myers.</td>
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<td>(2) If someone is <em>at a low ebb</em>, they are depressed. • You can also say that someone is at their <em>lowest ebb</em>.</td>
<td>(b) Often, it seems, his purse was <em>at the very lowest ebb</em>. – Leslie Stephen.</td>
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<td>The ebb tide is one of the regular periods, usually two per day, when the sea gradually falls to a lower level, as the tide moves away from the land.</td>
<td>(c) In England, as we have seen, literature has reached its <em>lowest ebb</em>. – Green.</td>
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<th>20. At your fingertips –</th>
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<tr>
<td>(1) If you have something at your <em>fingertips</em>, it is easily available for you to reach. E.g. All basic controls are at your fingertips for straightforward, no fuss operation.</td>
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<td>Ends, to have at <em>one’s fingertips</em> = To be thoroughly familiar with; to be off-hand with.</td>
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<td>(2) If you have facts or information at your <em>fingertips</em>, you know them thoroughly and can refer to them quickly. E.g. She has figures about the performance of her business at her fingertips. E.g. I need to have all the answers at my</td>
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<td>Fingers’ Ends.</td>
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<td>- <em>Fingers’ Ends.</em> – “I have it at my fingers’ ends.” – I am quite familiar with it and can do it readily. It is a Latin proverb (<em>Scīre tanquam un’gues dig’îtosq.</em>), where the allusion is to the statuary, who knows every item of his subject by the touch. (See Unguem.)</td>
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<td>“Costard: Go to; thou hast it ad dunghill, at the fingers’ ends, as they say.”</td>
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fingertips in case I'm questioned about the matter.

21. ✪ See the light
(1) If someone *sees the light*, they realize or understand something, often something that makes them change wrong or unpleasant behaviour or opinions.
(2) If someone *sees the light*, they start believing in a religion.

22. ✪ Draw the line
(1) If someone *knows where to draw the line*, they know at what point an activity or situation stops being reasonable and starts to be unacceptable. E.g. It is difficult for charities to know where to draw the line between acceptable and unacceptable sources of finance. E.g. Where do you draw the line about who the press can and can’t investigate?
(2) If you *draw the line* at a particular activity, you would not do it, because you disapprove of it or because it is so extreme. E.g. I’ll do almost anything —
although I think I'd draw the line at running naked across the stage! E.g. I have to draw the line somewhere. I refuse to go in for spiritualism. There are several theories about the origin of this expression. It may come from early versions of tennis, in which the court had no fixed size; players agreed their own limits and drew lines accordingly. Alternatively, it may be connected with the 16th century practice of using a plough to cut a line across a field to indicate a boundary between two plots of land. A third possibility is that it refers to boxing matches in the past, when a line was drawn in the ring which neither boxer could cross. 'Cross the line' may be based on similar ideas.

### 23. Make your/a mark

(1) If you make your/a mark, you do something which causes you to become noticed or famous. (2) If something makes its mark or makes a mark it starts to be noticed or to have an effect.

- Make a mark in literature = Cut a figure or distinguish one's self in literature. He had made a mark in literature, and it was to literature rather than to public affairs that his ambition turned. – J. Morley.
- Mark, make one's = Distinguish or signalise one's self. His ambition was to make his mark as a poet. – Theodore Martin.
- To make one's mark. – To distinguish oneself. He has written his name (or made his mark) on the page of history. – Morley.
- Make a mark. – Gain distinguished pre-eminence: e.g. (1) Vidyasagar soon made a mark at college and left it with laurels. (2) He had made a mark in literature. – Morley.
- Make one's mark. – Do some noteworthy thing that brings honour or distinction: e.g. (1) At college Vidyasar soon began to make his mark. (2) He was too young to be admitted as an equal amongst men who had made their mark in the world. – Smiles.

### 24. Below/under par

(1) If someone or something is below par or under

- Par, below = At a discount. He represented to the Emperor the low
- Par (At). – Stock at par means that it is to be bought at the price it
- Below par. – At a price lower than the nominal or original value:
par, they are not of as high a standard or level as they should be.  
• You can also say that someone or something is not up to par with the same meaning.  
• You can also use below-par before a noun. (2) If you feel below par or under par, you feel tired or slightly ill.  
• You can also say that you are not up to par with the same meaning.

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<th>25. O Beg the question –</th>
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<tr>
<td>(1) If something \textit{begs the question}, it makes people want to ask that question.</td>
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<td>(2) If someone’s statement \textit{begs the question}, they can only make that statement if a particular thing is true, although it may not be. [FORMAL] This is a rough translation of the Latin Expression ‘\textit{petitio principii}, a technical term used in logic to describe a situation in which the truth of something is assumed before it has been proved.</td>
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<td>\textit{Question, beg the question.} \textit{To} \textit{take for granted which is the very thing to be proved: e.g.} (1) It seems indeed very strange that a logician of his stamp should go to \textit{beg the question.} (2) To \textit{beg the question} is not to settle it. \textit{– Macaulay.}</td>
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<th>26. O Rule the roost –</th>
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<td>(1) If someone \textit{rules the roost}, they are the most powerful and important person in a group.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2) If something \textit{rules the roost}, it is more powerful or popular than the things that it is being compared to. This expression seems to refer to the dominant cock in a chicken coop. However, \textit{rule the roost} may have developed from the earlier expression \textit{rule the roost}, which refers to the head of the household who carves and serves the</td>
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meat.

...roost, and that the reference is to a cock, who decides which hen is to roost nearest to him; but the subjoined quotation favours the idea of "council."

"John, Duke of Burgoyne, ruled the roost, and governed both King Charles...and his whole realme." – Hall: Union (1548).

27. ✪ Sow/plant the seeds of something –
(1) If something or someone sows or plants the seeds of a future problem, they start the process which causes that problem to develop. E.g. An incident then occurred that was to sow the seeds of the invasion’s eventual failure. E.g. It was this racist policy that planted the seeds of today’s crisis in Africa.

(2) You can also sow or plant the seeds of something good or something that you want to happen. E.g. With this overall strategy, they hope to sow the seeds of economic recovery. E.g. Ministers had spent five years planting the seeds of reform. E.g. I had planted the seeds of doubt in their minds.

28. ✪ Be brought to book
[BRITISH]
- If someone is brought to book, they are punished officially for something wrong that they have done. Originally, if someone was brought to book, they were ordered to prove that something they had said or done agreed with a written rule or agreement.

...Sow the seeds of [Literally] – Scatter the seed of. Hence, [figuratively] Lay the basis of: e.g. (1) One of the main objects of the Indian National Congress is to sow the seeds of union between the different races of India. (1) It sows the seeds of disease and premature death. – Smiles.
29. Chop and change [BRITISH] - If someone *chops and changes*, they keep changing their plans, often when it is not necessary. This expression was originally used to refer to people buying and selling goods. To ‘chop’ meant to trade or barter, and ‘change’ came from ‘exchange’.

30. Flotsam and jetsam - *Flotsam and jetsam* is used to refer to small or unimportant items that are found together, usually in an untidy way. The phrase ‘flotsam and jetsam’ was originally used to describe things that were washed onto the shore from the sea, for instance after a shipwreck.

31. Knock something into a cocked hat - *Knock something into a cocked hat* [mainly BRITISH, OLD-FASHIONED] - If one thing knocks another into a...
cocked hat, the first thing is much better or more successful than the second. One explanation for this expression is that it refers to the cocked hats of the 18th century, which were made by folding the edge of a round hat into three corners of points. According to this explanation, the expression originally meant to change something completely. Alternatively, the expression may refer to an American game of skittles where only three pins were set up, in the triangular shape of a cocked hat.

32. ✽ Not up to scratch - If something or someone is not up to scratch, they are not good enough. E.g. If the service isn’t up to scratch, the customer gets his money back. E.g. Athletes have no one to blame but themselves if their performances are not up to scratch. E.g. Parents were complaining that one of the teachers wasn’t up to scratch. • You can say that someone or something does not come up to scratch. E.g. The Home Secretary wants better methods for dealing with police officers who do not come up to scratch. You can also say that you bring someone or something up to scratch. E.g. We had to work hard on the apartment to bring it up to scratch. In the past, boxers started a fight with their left feet on a

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<td>recognition; hors de combat. A cocked-hat, folded into a chapeau bras, is crushed out of all shape.</td>
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line drawn on the ground, known as the scratch. When a boxer was knocked down, they were allowed thirty seconds’ rest before coming ‘up to scratch’ once more. A boxer who was not at the line in time lost the fight.

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<tr>
<th>33. Up the spout [BRITISH, INFORMAL]</th>
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<tr>
<td>(1) If something is up the spout, it is completely ruined. (2) If a woman is up the spout, she is pregnant. [RUDE]</td>
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<td>This is usually used when the pregnancy is a problem rather than a good thing. Originally, this expression was used to refer to items which had been pawned (= given to someone in return for a loan of money). The ‘spout’ was the lift in which an item was taken from the pawnbroker’s shop to the storeroom above.</td>
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<tr>
<th>34. Keep a weather eye on something/someone [mainly BRITISH] - If you keep a weather eye on something or someone, you watch them carefully so that you are ready to take action if there are problems. E.g. Keep a weather eye on your symptoms and stay alert to any changes which occur. E.g. Amy moved away from a neighbourhood where she’d kept a weather eye on an old lady. Other prepositions are sometimes used instead of on, for example out and for. E.g. The police were there, keeping a weather eye out of</th>
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<tr>
<td>-- Weather eye. See Keep one’s weather eye open. Keep one’s weather eye open. Be on one’s guard; have one’s wits in readiness.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weather eye. I have my weather-eye open. I have my wits about me; I know what I am after. The weather-eye is towards the wind to forecast the weather.</td>
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for trouble of any sort. This expression was originally used by sailors, who had to keep a constant watch on the weather and wind direction.

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<tr>
<th>35. ♦ A clean bill of health</th>
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<td>(1) If someone is given or gets a clean bill of health, they are told that they are completely fit and healthy.</td>
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<td>(2) If something is given or gets it, it is examined and then judged to be in a satisfactory condition. A bill of health was a certificate which was given to a ship’s master to present at the next port the ship arrived at. It stated whether or not there was an infectious disease aboard the ship or in the port it was departing from.</td>
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<tr>
<th>36. ♦ Bread and butter</th>
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<tr>
<td>(1) If something is your bread and butter, it is your most important or only source of income. E.g. ‘Who’s your audience?’ – ‘We play maybe a hundred colleges a year. That is our bread and butter.’ E.g. I think I’m more controlled at work. I have to be; it’s my bread and butter. Your bread-and-butter business is the part of your business which produces the main part of your income. E.g. It is not exactly thrilling but it’s good bread-and-butter work all the same.</td>
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| (2) The bread and butter of a situation or activity is its most basic or important aspects. E.g. It’s the

| Bill of Health. – A clean bill of health. – A document, duly signed by the proper authorities, to certify that when the ship set sail no infectious disorder existed in the place. A foul bill of health is a document to show that the place was suffering from some infection when the ship set sail. If a captain cannot show a clean bill, he is supposed to have a foul one. |

| Bill of health. A certificate from the proper authorities as to the state of health of a ship’s company at the time of her leaving port. [If there be no infectious disease at the port when the ship leaves it, the authorities give the captain a clean bill of health; if not, a foul bill of health is given.] |

| Clean bill of health. – See under Bill of health. |

| Bread. – Don’t quarrel with your bread and butter. – Don’t foolishly give up the pursuit by which you earn your living. |

| Bread and butter. – That which sustains life; means of living: e.g. Former pride was too strong for present prudence, and the question of bread and butter was thrown to the winds in revolt at the shape of the plotter in which it was offered. – Mrs. Linton. |
bread and butter of police work, checking if anybody had seen anything suspicious. • You can also talk about bread-and-butter issues or aspects of something. E.g. On major bread-and-butter issues, there’s little difference between the candidates.

### 37. A flash in the pan

1. If an achievement or success is a *flash in the pan*, it is unlikely to be repeated or to last. 2. If someone who has had success is a *flash in the pan*, their success is unlikely to be repeated. • You can use *flash-in-the-pan* before a noun.

This expression has its origins in the way that an old-fashioned gun worked. Pulling the trigger produced a spark which set light to a small amount of gunpowder held in the ‘pan’. This in turn lit the rest of the gunpowder. However, if it failed to do so there was just a ‘flash in the pan’ and the gun did not fire properly. ‘Hang fire’ has a similar origin.

### 38. Fall flat

1. If an event or an attempt to do something *falls flat*, it is completely unsuccessful. E.g. If the efforts fall flat and the economic situation does not change, this city can expect another riot 25 years from now. E.g. She was badly disappointed when the evening fell flat.
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<th>39. ✪ Put your foot down</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>--</em> If you put your foot down, you tell someone forcefully that they must do something or that they must not do something. (2) If you put your foot down when you are driving, you start to drive faster. [BRITISH, INFORMAL]</td>
<td><em>--</em> To put down your foot on [a matter]. -- Peremptorily to forbid it.</td>
<td><em>--</em> Put down one’s foot. -- Make a determined stand; resist further encroachments; e.g. He yielded to my entreaties till I asked him for a loan, and then he put down his foot and would give me nothing. -- McMordie.</td>
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<th>40. ✪ A dark horse</th>
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<tr>
<td><em>--</em> If you describe someone as a dark horse, you mean that you have just discovered something about them, especially a skill or an achievement, that they had not told you about. (2) A dark horse is someone who wins a contest, race, etc. when they were not expected to. • You can also use dark horse before a</td>
<td>A dark horse. -- A horse whose merits as a racer are not known to the general public.</td>
<td>(A) dark horse. -- [Racing phrase] -- A racing horse whose capabilities are not known; a candidate of whom it is not known till the last moment that he is a candidate; e.g. I was dipped pretty deep, and duns after me, and the Derby my only chance, so I put the pot on; but a dark horse won. -- Reade.</td>
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noun. This expression may refer to a horse which people do not know very much about, so that it is difficult to predict how well it will do in a race.

41. **Rough and ready** –
(1) If something is *rough and ready*, it is simple and basic, or it is not exact, because it has been made or done quickly.
(2) If someone is *rough and ready*, they are not polite or very educated.

42. **Touch and go** –
(1) If it is *touch and go* whether something will happen, you cannot be certain whether it will happen or not.
(2) If it is *touch and go*, you are in a very dangerous situation, where people might die.

43. **Draw a blank** –
(1) If you are trying to find someone or something and you draw a blank, you cannot find them.
(2) If you are trying to find out about something and you draw a blank, you fail
to find out about it. (3) If you draw a blank, you are unable to remember something or to answer a question you are asked. (4) In a sporting contest, if a team or competitor draws a blank, they do not score any goals or points, or win any races. [mainly BRITISH, JOURNALISM]

Originally, to draw a blank meant to be given a losing ticket in a lottery.

44. O Come a cropper [BRITISH, INFORMAL] – (1) If someone comes a cropper, they suffer a sudden and embarrassing failure. (2) If you come a cropper, you accidentally fall and hurt yourself. ‘Cropper’ may come from the expression ‘to fall neck and crop’, meaning to fall heavily. A bird’s ‘crop’ is a pouch in its throat where it keeps food before digesting it.

− Cropper. – He came a cropper. – He fell head over heels. To get a cropper. – To get a bad fall. ‘Neck and crop” means altogether, and to “come a cropper” is to come to the ground neck and crop.

− Come a cropper. – Have a fall: e.g. (1) The path was so slippery that many a poor way-‘arer came a cropper. (2) When the rejection of the measure had practically decided the fate of the ministry, “Punch” completed its allegory by another cartoon. In which the horse and its rider lay thrown and prone on the other side of the hedge, with the legend, ‘Come a cropper’ – J. M’Carthy.
Appendix 4

Table 2 – Idioms found in only one of four historical idiom dictionaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2012 (CCID)</th>
<th>1883 (ISG)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Go downhill</strong> – (1) If something <em>goes downhill</em>, it becomes worse or less successful. <em>Downhill</em> can be used in many structures connected with becoming worse or less successful. (2) If someone <em>goes downhill</em>, they become more ill.</td>
<td>– <em>Downhill</em>, <em>go</em> = Make a descent; go in a downward or sloping path. In journeys, as in life, it is a great deal easier to <em>go downhill</em> than up. – <em>Dickens.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2. On your hands</strong> – (1) If you have a problem or task on your hands, you have to deal with it. <em>This expression is generally used to refer to bad or difficult situations. However, it is sometimes used to refer to good situations, for example when you say that someone has a hit or a success on their hands.</em> (2) If you have a person on your hands, you are responsible for caring for them or dealing with them. <em>You use this expression when the responsibility is likely to be difficult for you.</em> [compare with <em>off your hands</em>]</td>
<td>– <em>Hands</em>, have on or upon one’s = Be fully engaged in or occupied by; have one’s hands immersed in or full of. (a) Between Ireland, and Wales, and Scotland, and his dominions in France, and his three mutinous sons, he had many troubles <em>on his hands</em>. – <em>Froude.</em> (b) Upon their hands there was a good deal of blood. – <em>Kinglake.</em> (c) Indeed “Mr. Tutor,” as my lady called Esmond, <em>had now business enough on his hands.</em> – <em>Thackeray.</em></td>
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<td><strong>3. No love lost or little love lost</strong> - If there is <em>no love lost</em> between two people or groups, or <em>little love lost</em> between them, they do not like each other at all. Originally this expression had the opposite meaning to its present one. It used to mean that the two people liked each other a lot.</td>
<td>– <em>Love</em>. – <em>There is no love lost</em>. – <em>Because the persons referred to have no love for each other. What does not exist cannot be lost.</em></td>
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<td><strong>4. Out of bounds</strong> – (1) If a place is <em>out of bounds</em>, you are not allowed to go there. *You can use <em>out of bounds</em> before a noun. (2) If a subject is <em>out of bounds</em>, you are not allowed to discuss it.</td>
<td>– <em>To break out of bounds</em>. – <em>To go beyond the prescribed limits.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>5. A blank cheque</strong> – (1) If you give someone a <em>blank cheque</em> to do something, you give them complete authority to do what they think is best in a difficult situation. <em>This expression is used mainly in talking about politics.</em> (2) If you describe an amount of money as a <em>blank cheque</em>, you mean it is unlimited. <em>This expression is sometimes used I literally to mean that someone gives another person a cheque without an amount of money written on it.</em></td>
<td>– <em>Blank cheque</em>. A cheque duly signed, but without specifying any sum of money; the amount to be filled in by the payee.</td>
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<td><strong>6. Cross the line</strong> – (1) If someone <em>crosses the line</em>, they start behaving in an unacceptable or offensive way. (2) If someone or something crosses the line, they go from one situation or activity to another more extreme one. The ‘line’ in this expression may refer to boxing matches in the past, when a line was drawn on the ground which neither boxer could cross. ‘Draw the line’ may be based on a similar idea.</td>
<td>– <em>Crossing the Line</em>. – <em>i.e. the equator.</em></td>
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<td><strong>7. On the loose</strong> – (1) If a dangerous person or animal is <em>on the loose</em>, they are free because they have escaped from somewhere. (2) If someone is <em>on the loose</em>, they are not being controlled or looked after by anyone and they are free to behave however they want.</td>
<td>– <em>On the Loose</em>. – <em>Dissolute (which is dis- solutus).</em> “Living on the loose” is leading a dissolute life, or out on the spree.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>8. Reach boiling point</strong> – (1) If an emotion, especially anger, <em>reaches boiling point</em>, it becomes so strong that it cannot be controlled. <em>You can also say that an emotion is close to boiling point.</em> (2) If a situation <em>reaches boiling point</em>, it becomes very dangerous or extreme and cannot be controlled.</td>
<td>– <em>Boiling-point</em>. – <em>He was at boiling-point. Very angry indeed. Properly the point of heat at which water, under ordinary conditions, boils. (212 Fahrenheit, 100 Centigrade, 80 Réaumur.)</em></td>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>Expression</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Set the scene – (1) If you set the scene, you briefly tell people what they need to know about a subject, so that they can understand what is going to happen next. • You can also use the noun scene-setting. (2) If something sets the scene for an event, it creates the conditions in which that event is likely to happen. [JOURNALISM]</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Take a back seat – (1) If you take a back seat, you allow other people to have all the power, importance, or responsibility. (2) If one thing takes a back seat to another, people give the first thing less attention because it is less important or interesting than the other thing.</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Go by the board [BRITISH] or go by the boards [AMERICAN] - If a plan or activity goes by the board or goes by the boards, it is abandoned and forgotten because it is no longer possible to carry it out. “To go by the board” originally meant to fall or be thrown over the side of a ship.</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Die with your boots on - If you say that someone died with their boots on, you mean that they died while they were still actively involved in their work. This expression was originally used to refer to a soldier who died in battle.</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>Rough and tumble - You use rough and tumble to mean a situation in which there is a lot of arguing or competition and people do not worry about upsetting or harming others. • You can use rough-and-tumble before a noun. • You usually use this expression when you think that this is normal or acceptable behaviour. Originally, a rough and tumble was a boxing match in which there were no rules or restrictions.</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>Give someone the benefit of the doubt – (1) If you give someone the benefit of the doubt, you decide to believe that what they are saying is honest, even though it is possible that they are not telling the truth. (2) If you give someone the benefit of the doubt, you decide to believe that what they are doing is right, even though it is possible that they are doing something wrong.</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Blood is shed/spilled [LITERARY] – (1) If blood is shed or blood is spilled, people are killed in fighting. (2) If blood is shed or blood is spilled when change happens, suffering or trouble is caused.</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>In the same breath – (1) If someone says something and then in the same breath they say something else, they are saying two things which are very different or which cannot both be true. (2) If something or someone is spoken about in the same breath as something or someone else, they are spoken about together, as if they are similar or of similar value.</td>
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</table>
17. **Like clockwork** – (1) If something goes or runs *like clockwork*, it works very well and happens in exactly the way it is expected to. (2) If someone does something *like clockwork*, they do it regularly, always at the same time. •You can also say that someone does something, or that something happens, **regular as clockwork**.

18. **Within striking distance** [same meaning with above *within spitting distance*, also polysemous, but not frequent]– (1) If someone or something is within striking distance of a place, they are very close to it. (2) If someone or something is within striking distance of an amount, level, or goal, they are very close to achieving it.

19. **Take it easy** [INFORMAL] – (1) If you take it easy, you rest and do not do anything that needs a lot of energy. • In British English, you can also tell someone to take things easy. (2) You can say take it easy as a way of saying ‘goodbye’. [mainly AMERICAN]

20. **Tempt fate** – (1) If someone *tempts fate*, they take unnecessary risks or do something that may bring them bad luck. • You can also say that so *tempts providence*. (2) If you *tempt fate*, you talk too confidently about something which may be wrong. • You can also say that so *tempts providence*.

21. **Hard on your heels** / **hot on your heels** – (1) In a competitive situation, if someone is *hard on your heels* or *hot on your heels*, they are doing nearly as well as you, and it is possible that they will beat you. • You can also say that someone is *close on your heels*. (2) If someone is *hard on your heels* or *hot on your heels*, they are close behind you, for example because they are chasing you. • You can also say that someone is *close on your heels*. [idiom above *hard/hot on the heels of something* – If one event follows *hard/hot on the heels of* another, one happens very quickly or immediately after another. • You can also say that one thing happens *close on the heels of* another. It is also frequent]

22. **Dizzy** [BRITISH]/**dizzying heights** – (1) You use *dizzy heights* or *dizzying heights* to talk about a very high level of success. • This expression is sometimes used ironically to say that someone has not achieved very much at all. (2) You use *dizzy heights* or *dizzying heights* to talk about a very high amount or level of something. • This expression is sometimes used ironically to say that something is not at a very high level.

23. **To the hilt** / **up to the hilt** – (1) If you do *something to the hilt* or *up to the hilt*, you do it to the greatest possible extent. (2) If you borrow money to *the hilt* or *up to the hilt*, you borrow as much as possible. The hilt of a sword or knife is its handle. The image here is of a knife or sword being pushed in all the way to the handle.

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*– Go like clockwork. – Go along smoothly and without hitch: e.g. The new manager made each excellent arrangement that the business began henceforth to **go like clockwork**.

*– Within speaking distance. – At such a distance as enables one to speak to another and make himself heard: e.g. When we came **within speaking distance**, I told him to wait a little more till the other boat came up.

*– Take it easy. – Be quite unconcerned. Be in no hurry.

*– Tempt fate. – Provoke fate i.e. court danger: e.g. They exclaimed against this obstinacy in **tempting fate** by continuing on into a boundless sea. – Irving.

*– On (or Upon) one’s heels (or the heels of). – Close behind one; immediately after: e.g. Bread, I believe, has always been considered first, but the circus come **close upon its heels**. – English Magazine.

*– Dizzy height. – A very lofty height, to look up to which, or to look down from which, is enough to make a person dizzy: e.g. Nervous persons should not get up the **dizzy height** of the Ochterlony Monument in the Maidan.

*– Up to the hilt. – To the full; completely; thoroughly: e.g. The farm is mortgaged **up to the hilt**.
24. **Out of your mind** – (1) If you say that someone is out of their mind, you mean that they are crazy or stupid. *You can also say that someone is going out of their mind.* (2) If you are out of your mind with worry, grief, fear, etc., you are extremely worried, sad, afraid, etc. *You can also say that someone is going out of their mind* with worry, grief, fear, etc. You can also say that someone is bored, scared, worried, etc. out of their mind, meaning extremely bored, scared, worried, etc.

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25. **Out of order** – (1) A machine or device that is out of order is broken and does not work. (2) If you say that someone or their behaviour is out of order, you mean that their behaviour is unacceptable or unfair.  
[INFORMAL, BRITISH]

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26. **Go to pieces** – (1) If someone goes to pieces, they are so upset that they cannot control their emotions or deal with the things that they have to do.  *You can also say that someone falls to pieces.* (2) If something such as your work or a relationship goes to pieces, it becomes very bad.

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27. **Make a clean sweep** – (1) If someone makes a clean sweep of something, they win something very easily, or win a series of things. *A clean sweep is used in many other structures with a similar meaning.* (2) If someone who has just taken up a position of authority in an organization makes a clean sweep, they make a lot of very big changes, for example getting rid of employees, in order to make the organization more efficient. *A clean sweep is used in many other structures with a similar meaning.*  
[compare with a new broom]

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28. **On tap** – (1) If something is on tap, it is easily available. (2) If an event or activity is on tap, it has been arranged to happen very soon.  
[AMERICAN] If drink such as beer is available on tap, it is kept in a barrel fitted with a tap, so it can be used as required.

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29. **Come/turn up trumps** [BRITISH] – (1) If someone or something comes up trumps or turns up trumps, they are successful, often when this is not expected. (2) If people or organizations come/turn up trumps, they unexpectedly help you with your problems.  
In card games such as whist and bridge, one of the four suits is chosen as trumps for each hand. Cards of that suit then rank higher than cards of the other three suits. The reference here is to a player drawing a trump from the pack.

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24. **Go out of one’s mind** – Be disordered in intellect; go mad; become insane: e.g.  
(1) It seems he has gone out of his mind altogether.  
(2) It became known one day in the autumn of 1788, that the king had gone out of his mind. – Morley.  
**Out of mind.** – Beyond the reach of memory; e.g. The practice has been in vogue time out of mind.  
**Out of one’s mind (or senses, or wits).** – Deranged in senses; insane: e.g. (1) The poor man is quite out of his mind. (2) He was actually out of his mind when he composed the pieces for which he has been so widely admired. – Morley. (3) She was out of her mind. – Thackeray. (4) She cries and screams as if she were out of her senses. – McMordie. (5) The sudden exultation with which he slapped me on the knee, and leaned back in his chair, with his eyebrows lifted up, made me think him further out of his wits than ever. – Dickens. [cf. In one’s senses.]

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25. **Out of order.** – Not in a sound, normal, or proper condition; disordered: e.g. (1) He is out of order. – Webster. (2) The watch never went well from the beginning, and was always getting out of order. – Thackeray. (3) Any of the faculties when out of order produces suitable defects. – Locke.

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26. **Go to pieces.** – Be reduced to small fragment; be dismembered; break up entirely: e.g. (1) The glass tumbler dropped from his hands on the stone floor and went to pieces. (2) Two fine vessels had gone to pieces on the rocks of Ceuta. – Macaulay.

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27. **Make a clean sweep of.** – Extirpate or destroy entirely: e.g. (1) The cruel secretary of War to William III. was firmly determined to make a clean sweep of the whole clan of MacDonalds.  
(2) Evidence was not sifted too curiously when the object was to make a clean sweep of a nest of vipers. – Froude.

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28. **On tap.** – (a) Ready to be drawn; as, ale on tap. (b) Broached or furnished with a tap: as, a barrel on tap.

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29. **Turn up trumps [Colloquial]** – Turn out to be successful, fortunate, or happy; e.g. (1) When he turned up trumps I let things be. – Kingsley. (2) There are plenty of instances, in the experience of every one, of short courtships and speedy marriages which have turned up trumps  
I beg your pardon – which have turned out well after all. – Collins.
| 30. | **Try it on** [BRITISH, INFORMAL] – (1) If someone *tries it on*, they try to start sexual activity with another person. (2) If someone *tries it on*, they try to get something or do something, often in a dishonest way. (3) If someone, especially a child, *tries it on*, they behave badly, to see how badly they can behave before someone stops them. | — *Try it on.* – [Colloquial] – Attempt a thing; make an experiment. ["It" is here impersonal]: e.g. (1) Come, come,... no jokes, old boy; no *trying it on* me. You want to trot me out, but it’s no go. – Thackeray. (2) In several other rooms the poor little fellows *tried it on.* – Hughes. — *Try it on with.* – [Colloquial] – Make an experiment upon. ["It" is here impersonal]: e.g. Well, then. He is *trying it on with* Miss Rayne. – Florence Marryat. — *Try on or upon.* – Experiment upon: e.g. Come, *try upon* yourselves what you have seen me. – Shakespeare. Put on for trial, as a garment: e.g. In the conduct of the show-room and the *trying-on* room she has all her own way. – Besant. [Colloquial] – Attempt; undertake: e.g. In the factory, there was a number of strong fellows at work, and after reckoning 'em up, it was clear to me that it wouldn’t do to *try it on* there. They were too many for us. We must get our man out of doors. – Trollope. |
| 31. | **The worse for wear** – (1) If someone is the *worse for wear*, they are tired or injured. (2) If someone is the *worse for wear*, they are drunk, [INFORMAL] | — *(The)* *worse for wear.* – Worn out by long use or by old age: e.g. (1) Your clothes are the *worse for wear.* (2) Such a battered old fellow, as I am, has a right to look the *worse for wear.* – Thackeray. |
## Appendix 5

### Table 1 – 16 rejected idioms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idiom - 2012 – (CCID)</th>
<th>1878 - (MOP)</th>
<th>1883 – (ISG)</th>
<th>1904 – (DPF)</th>
<th>1908 – (SCDI)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. ✪ Rough and ready</strong> – (1) If something is <em>rough and ready</em>, it is simple and basic, or it is not exact, because it has been made or done quickly. (2) If someone is <em>rough and ready</em>, they are not polite or very educated.</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>Rough and Ready. – Said to be derived from Colonel Rough, who was in the battle of Waterloo. The story says that the Duke of Wellington used to say “Rough and ready, colonel,” and the family adopted the words as their motto. B. – Rough and Ready. – So General Zachary Taylor, twelfth president of the United States, was called. (1786 – 1853.)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2. ✪ Behind the scenes</strong> – If someone does something <em>behind the scenes</em>, they do it in private or secretly, rather than publicly. You can also use <em>behind the scenes</em> before a noun. This refers to the scenes or scenery used on the stage in the theatre, and was originally used to refer to those events in a play that took place off-stage.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>– Behind the scenes. – In secret.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>3. ✪ Carry the day</strong> [JOURNALISM] - If a person or their opinion <em>carries the day</em> in a competition or argument, they win it. E.g. For the time being, those in favour of the measures seem to have carried the</td>
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day. E.g. Many here expect this radical plan to carry the day when the vote finally comes. This expression was originally used to say which army had won a battle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4. At your fingertips –</th>
<th>5. Stand a chance –</th>
<th>6. At home –</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) If you have something at your fingertips, it is easily available for you to reach. E.g. All basic controls are at your fingertips for straightforward, no fuss operation. (2) If you have facts or information of your fingertips, you know them thoroughly and can refer to them quickly. E.g. She has figures about the performance of her business at her fingertips. E.g. I need to have all the answers at my fingertips in case I’m questioned about the matter.</td>
<td>(1) If someone or something stands a chance, it is possible that they will succeed. (2) If someone or something does not stand a chance, they are certain to be killed, destroyed or defeated.</td>
<td>(1) If you feel at home in a particular place or situation, you feel relaxed, comfortable, and happy. (2) If someone or something looks at home somewhere, they look as if it is natural and</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ends, to have at one’s fingers’ = To be thoroughly familiar with; to be off-hand with. (a) If he could not be correctly said to have his tongue at his fingers’ ends, he might certainly be said to have it anywhere but in his face. – Dickens. (b) In Geography and History he had all the world at his fingers’ ends. – De Foe.</td>
<td>I stand a fair chance. I am in a favorable position. ‘You see that if to know one’s errors were a probability of mending them, I stand a fair chance.’ R. Burns.</td>
<td>To be at home. – To be easy or self-possessed. ‘He was not sufficiently at home to give play to his, &amp;c.’ W. Irving.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fingers’ Ends. – I have it at my fingers’ ends. – I am quite familiar with it and can do it readily. It is a Latin proverb (Scire tanquam un’gues dig’îtosq.), where the allusion is to the subject by the touch. (See Unguem.) “Costard: Go to; thou hast it ad dunghill, at the fingers’ ends, as they say.</td>
<td>Stand a chance of = Be likely to. Somebody told my mother that if I survived to the age of fifteen I might turn out to possess a more than average amount intellect; but that otherwise I stood a chance of dying an idiot. – Leigh Hunt.</td>
<td>Home, at = At one’s own place of abode; at a place where one appears to be at ease as at home. (1)Skettles junior was at home for the holidays. – At Home (An). A notification sent to friends that the lady who sends it will be at home on the day and at the hour specified, and</td>
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appropriate for them to be there.

| Dickens. | will be glad to see the persons mentioned in the card of invitation. These “At homes” are generally held in an afternoon before dinner. Light refreshments are provided, and generally some popular games are introduced, occasionally music and dancing. |
| (2) Never was an Englishman more at home than when he took his ease in his inn. – Macaulay. |
| (3) He had the power of making himself poetically everywhere at home. – J. Nichol. | B. – Not at Home. – Not disengaged, or prepared for the reception of visitors; not in the house. |
| – At home. – At one’s own house or lodging: e.g. (1) He is not at home now. (2) He stayed at home and worked. – Helps. In one’s own town or country: e.g. (1) I was at home during the holidays. (2) At home there was nothing but confusion, abroad there was nothing but disaster. – Buckle. (3) His letters to his mother at home had become of late very rare and short. – Thackeray. (4) At home too, there is prophesying enough, vague hope enough, which for the most part goes wide of the mark. – Carlyle. |
| In a place where one feels himself comfortable and easy as at home. E.g. (1) I am quite at home here. At ease; comfortable: - (1) He was quite at home with his new neighbours. (2) At the second visit, this third rat made himself one of the family, and became so perfectly at home, that he resolved to bring his companions, to de Latude. – Chambers. |
| – (An) At-home. – A reception or entertainment given in the afternoon or evening: e.g. (1) Sir Charles Allen gave an at-home day before yesterday. (2) Mr. Yates the manager was going to give an entertainment he called his at-homes, and this took but a |
small orchestra. – Reade.
– At home in. – Perfectly conversant or familiar with (some subject): e.g. (1) He is at home in this sort of writing. (2) It was a pleasure to converse with him on topics in which he was thoroughly at home. – Palgrave.

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<tr>
<th>7. ✪ On the spot – (1) If an action is done on the spot, it is done immediately. •You can also use on-the-spot before a noun. ✪ (2) Someone who is on the spot is in the place where something is actually happening. •You can use on-the-spot before a noun to say that something actually happens in the place that you are talking about.</th>
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<td>– Upon the spot. – immediately. ‘It was determined upon the spot.’ Swift.</td>
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<td>– Spot, on or upon the = Without delay; without stirring from the place; forthwith; then and there. (a) The ghost of honest Preston...mad e its sudden appearance in the midst of a roaring club to the discomfiture of sundry trainband captains, and the conversion of an infidel attorney, who became a zealous Christian on the spot. – Irving. (b) If he was not (as yet Doctor), I am sure he ought to have been; and with the reader’s concurrence, will therefore create him a doctor on the spot. – De Quincey. (c) Nicholas overjoyed at his success, shook his uncle’s hands warmly, and could almost have worshipped Squeers upon the spot. – Dickens.</td>
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<tr>
<td>– On (or Upon) the spot. – Immediately; before moving; without changing place: e.g. (1) Laying violent hands on him, they slew him on the spot. – Prescott. (2) It was determined upon the spot. – Swift. (3) They found on the spot appointed several powerful chiefs to all of whom Waverley was formally presented. – Scott.</td>
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<tr>
<th>8. ✪ Keep up appearances – (1) If you keep up appearances, you pretend that a situation is good and as it should be, even though it is not. E.g. I was determined to keep up appearances by pretending nothing was wrong. E.g. The marriage</th>
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<tr>
<td>– Appearances, keep up – Conceal the real state of things by putting on an outward show. (a) Captain Cuttle kept up appearances, nevertheless, tolerably well. –</td>
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<td>– Keep up appearances. – Preserve the outward aspect of things in the same state as before; maintain a showy exterior: e.g. (1) To delude his creditors, he has</td>
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was failing, but we tried to keep up appearances for the sake of the children. (2) If you keep up appearances, you try to behave and dress in a way that people expect of you, even if you can no longer afford it.

E.g. His parents' obsession with keeping up appearances haunted his childhood.

Dickens.
(b) He was tolerably afraid of being left alone with their uncle or nephew; appearing to consider that his only chance of safety, as to keeping up appearances, was in their being always three together. - Dickens.

to keep up appearances, which tell more seriously on his present embarrassed situation. (2) It had now become necessary for him to keep up appearances in another way, or he must relinquish the pretence of adhering to the treaty. – Froude. (3) Men who have been well trained and educated are often run away with by extravagances, by keeping up appearances. – Smiles.

9. Run riot – (1) If someone runs riot, they behave badly, sometimes violently, and in a way that is not controlled. (2) If something such as imagination or speculation runs riot, it expresses itself or spreads in an uncontrolled way.

In hunting, if the hounds run riot, they follow the scents of other animals rather than the one they are supposed to be chasing.

- Run riot. – (1.) To go to the utmost excess without restraint. 'I have run into all kinds of dissipation and riot.' R.Burns.
- (a) They have left the mob to run riot at its will. – C. Kingsley.
- (b) Satire ran riot in ridicule of the unbounded and effeminate luxury of Carlton House. – C. Knight.

Riot. – To run a very disorderly way.

- Riot. – To run riot. – To act in a very disorderly way. Riot means debauchery or wild merriment. “See, Riot her luxurious bowl prepares.” – Tableau of Cebes.
- Run Riot (To). – To run wild. A hunting term, meaning to run at a whole herd.

Run riot. – Go to excess; run wild; act in a very disorderly way: e.g. (1) The day was bright and lovely, and I found my eyes running riot the same as they had done during my first ride on British soil. – Burroughs. (2) Any man who lets his fancy run riot in a waking dream, may experience the existence at one moment, and the non-existence at the next, of phenomena which suggest no connexion of cause and effect. – Huxley.

10. Nip something in the bud – (1) If you nip a bad situation or bad behaviour in the bud, you stop it at an early stage. E.g. It is important to recognize jealousy as soon as possible and to nip it in the bud before it gets out of hand. (2) If you nip something good in the bud, you stop it before it can develop. E.g. The higher prices would fuel inflation and nip the consumer recovery in the bud.

This expression may refer to extremely cold weather damaging a plant and stopping it flowering.
Alternatively, it may refer to

- Nip in the bud = Destroy prematurely; kill when just coming to growth. (a) But I nipped the abominable system of extortion in the very bud, by refusing to take the first step. – De Quincey.
- (b) Richard Swiveller was utterly aghast at this unexpected alteration of circumstances, which seemed to nip his prospects in the bud. – Dickens.


Nip or Check in the bud. – Cut off at the very commencement of growth; destroy prematurely: e.g. (1) All the noble projects were nipped in the bud by the sudden death of the king. (2) These threatened the complete overthrow of the project in which he bore so conspicuous a part, and seemed to nip his prospects in the bud. – Dickens. (3) Guessing his intentions, she had
a gardener pruning a plant in bud to prevent it flowering.

11. **Draw the line** – (1) If someone knows where to draw the line, they know at what point an activity or situation stops being reasonable and starts to be unacceptable. E.g. It is difficult for charities to know where to draw the line between acceptable and unacceptable sources of finance. E.g. Where do you draw the line about who the press can and can’t investigate?

(2) If you draw the line at a particular activity, you would not do it, because you disapprove of it or because it is so extreme. E.g. I’ll do almost anything – although I think I’d draw the line at running naked across the stage!

12. **Sow/plant the seeds of something** – (1) If something or someone sows or plants the seeds of a future problem, they start the process which causes that problem to develop. E.g. An incident then occurred that was to sow the seeds of the invasion’s eventual failure. E.g. It was this racist policy that
planted the seeds of today’s crisis in Africa. (2) You can also sow or plant the seeds of something good or something that you want to happen. E.g. With this overall strategy, they hope to sow the seeds of economic recovery. E.g. Ministers had spent five years planting the seeds of reform. E.g. I had planted the seeds of doubt in their minds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>13. Not up to scratch</th>
<th>14. Keep a weather eye on something/someone</th>
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<tr>
<td>If something or someone is not up to scratch, they are not good enough. E.g. if the service isn’t up to scratch, the customer gets his money back. E.g. Athletes have no one to blame but themselves if their performances are not up to scratch. E.g. Parents were complaining that one of the teachers wasn’t up to scratch. You can say that someone or something does not come up to scratch. E.g. The Home Secretary wants better methods for dealing with police officers who do not come up to scratch. You can also say that you bring someone or something up to scratch. E.g. We had to work hard on the apartment to bring it up to scratch. In the past, boxers started a fight with their left feet on a line drawn on the ground, known as the scratch. When a boxer was knocked down, they were allowed thirty seconds’ rest before coming ‘up to scratch’ once more. A boxer who was not at the line in time lost the fight.</td>
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the seeds of rebellion, insulting the Government and defying the laws of the country? - The Quarterly Review.

premature death. – Smiles.

– Coming up to the scratch. – up to the mark; about to do what we want him to do. In prize-fighting a line is scratched on the ground, and the toe of the fighter must come up to the scratch.

– Come to the scratch. – (In prize-fighting) to step up to the scratch or mark made in the ring to be toed by the combatants in beginning a contest. [Hence Colloquially] – Face or meet an antagonist or difficulty bravely; act firmly or decisively: e.g. (1) Finally…I consented to come up to the scratch, and Monday night I had the hardihood to present myself in the music-room of the Adelphi. – Reade. (2) Had it not been for a little incident about to be detailed, it is doubtful if Mr. B. would ever have come to the scratch at all. – Haggard.

– Weather eye. – See Keep one’s weather eye open.

– Weather-eye. – I have my weather-eye open. – I have my wits about me; I know what I am after. The weather-eye is towards the wind to forecast the weather.
E.g. Amy moved away from a neighbourhood where she’d kept a weather eye on an old lady.

* Other prepositions are sometimes used instead of *on*, for example *out* and *for*.
E.g. The police were there, keeping a weather eye out of for trouble of any sort.

This expression was originally used by sailors, who had to keep a constant watch on the weather and wind direction.

| 15. **Bread and butter** – (1) If something is your *bread and butter*, it is your most important or only source of income. E.g. 'Who’s your audience?’ – ‘We play maybe a hundred colleges a year. That is our bread and butter.’ E.g. I think I’m more controlled at work. I have to be; it’s my bread and butter.

* Your *bread-and-butter* business is the part of your business which produces the main part of your income. E.g. It is not exactly thrilling but it’s good bread-and-butter work all the same.

(2) The *bread and butter* of a situation or activity is its most basic or important aspects. E.g. It’s the bread and butter of police work, checking if anybody had seen anything suspicious.

* You can also talk about *bread-and-butter* issues or aspects of something. E.g. On major bread-and-butter issues, there’s little difference between the candidates. |

| 16. **Fall flat** – (1) If an event or an attempt to do something *falls flat*, it is completely unsuccessful.
E.g. If the efforts fall flat and the economic situation does not change, this city can expect another riot 25 years from now. E.g. She was badly disappointed when the evening fell flat.

(2) If a joke *falls flat*, nobody thinks it is funny. E.g. He then started trying to tell jokes to the assembled gathering. |
| These too fell flat. |  |  | him. (2) The lofty and spirit-stirring eloquence, which had made Pitt Supereme in the House of commons, often fell flat on the House of Lords. – Macaulay. (3) Her remark fell flat – every one knows the effect of the reproduction of a worn-out jest – and had a sobering effect upon the little company. – J. Payn. |
## Appendix 6

### Table 2 - final 28 idioms to go to corpora search

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idiom</th>
<th>1878 - (MOP)</th>
<th>1883 – (ISG)</th>
<th>1904 – (DPF)</th>
<th>1908 – (SCDI)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. A hue and cry</td>
<td>– To raise a hue and cry, – To noise abroad; to cry aloud. ‘To raise a hue and cry after a robber.’ Webster. ‘I raised a hue and cry of heresy against me.’ R. Burns.</td>
<td>– Hue and cry = Aloud out-cry with which felons are pursued; the pursuit of a felon with loud out-cries or clamour to give alarm. (a) Every man was bound to hold himself in readiness, duly armed, for the king’s service, or the hue and cry which pursued the felon. – Green. (b) When I made a little mistake on Shooter’s Hill, and stopped an ancient grazier whose pouches were better lined than his brain-pan, the bonny bay nag carried me sheer off in spite of the whole hue and cry. – Scott.</td>
<td>– Hue and Cry. – A phrase used in English law to describe a body of persons joining in pursuit of a felon or suspected thief. (French, huée, verb huer, to hoot or shout after; Anglo-Saxon, hui, hol)</td>
<td>– Hue and cry. – A loud outcry with which felons were ancienly pursued, and which all who heard it were obliged to take up and join in the pursuit till the malefactor was taken; in later usage, a written proclamation issued on the escape of a felon from prison requiring all persons to aid in retaking him; e.g. Six gentlemen upon the road, Thus seeing Gilphin fly, With post boy scampering in the rear, They raised the hew and cry: “Stop thief! Stop thief! – a highwayman.” – Cowper.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. In black and white</td>
<td>– I must have it in black and white. – I must have it in plain writing.</td>
<td>– Black and white, in = In writing or print. No quarter is to be given to the English. Look here it is in black and white. Here’s the proclamation of His Majesty the Emperor and King. – Thackeray.</td>
<td>– Black is White. (See Swear.) - I must have it in black and white, i.e. in plain writing; the paper being white and the ink black.</td>
<td>– Black and white. – See In black and white. – In black and white. – In writing or print; e.g. (1) I have found it all out: here is his name in black and white. – J. Payn. (2) There they are in black and white, and they must be answered. – Kaye.</td>
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*Table 2 continued*
proof of it. E.g. You know, we’ve seen it. It’s written right here in black and white. E.g. We have a strict, clear rule in black and white, that this sort of behaviour will not be tolerated.

| 3. • A lame duck – | — A lame duck. — A defaulter; a bankrupt. Lame duck. — A defaulter; one that is not regular in payment. | — Duck. — A lame duck. — A stock-jobber who will not, or cannot, pay his losses. He has to “waddle out of the alley like a lame duck.” — Lame duck. — [Slang] — A defaulter at the stock or exchange; a bankrupt. |
| (1) If a politician or a government is a lame duck, they have little real power, for example because their period of office is coming to an end. E.g. The government is headed by a president who looks like a lame duck. E.g. The last thing people needed was to feel that the government was a lame duck. • You can also use lame-duck before a noun. E.g. He’s already seen widely as a lame-duck Prime Minister. E.g. He would have found himself leading a lame-duck administration to near-certain defeat. |
| (2) If someone or something is a lame duck, they are in a very weak position and in need of support. E.g. The company has completed its transformation from the lame duck of the motor industry into a quality car maker. E.g. Moira considers all single people lame ducks. • You can also use lame-duck before a noun. E.g. It is not right to use taxpayers’ money to support lame-duck industries. • This expression is usually used to criticize someone or something. |
| The image here is of a duck that has been shot and wounded, and so cannot move properly and is likely to die. |

4. • Flesh and — Flesh and — Flesh and blood — Blood. — My own — Flesh and
blood — (1) If someone is your own flesh and blood, they are a member of your family. E.g. The kid, after all, was his own flesh and blood. He deserved a second chance. E.g. You can’t just let your own flesh and blood go to prison if there’s any way you can help.

(2) If you say that someone is flesh and blood, you mean that they have human feelings and weaknesses, and that they are not perfect. E.g. I’m flesh and blood like everyone else and I, too, can be damaged. E.g. We priests are mere flesh and blood. In fact we’re even weaker than others.

(3) If you describe someone as a flesh and blood person, you mean that they are real and actually exist. E.g. His absence ever since her second birthday made her think of him as a picture rather than a flesh and blood father.

to have the upper hand — (1) If someone has the upper hand, they have the most power and control in a situation. E.g. Most people who knew the couple agreed that Franzen had the upper hand in the relationship. E.g. Diplomats believe it is still far from clear which side is gaining the upper hand in the economic debate.

(2) If a feeling or emotion gets the upper hand, you are not able to hide it or control it. E.g. Dan was breathing in short, sharp bursts as the tension and his exasperation gained the upper hand.

break the heart — To break the heart. — To waste

— Break the —

— To break one’s heart. — To waste —

— Break one’s heart. —

— Upper hand. — To get the upper hand. — To obtain the majesty.

— Hand, have the upper = Have the advantage or superiority over; prevail. (a) Luther’s translation of the Bible fixed the standard of the German language, and ruled that High-Dutch should have the upper-hand over Low. — Freeman. (b) “In this nation”, said he, “we shall not be forgiven for having the upper hand of them – I only thank God we have, or they would try to humble us to the dust.” — Southey.

— Upper hand. —

— to have the upper hand. — To have the superiority.

— Hand, have the upper. —

— Human nature; one’s offspring. (a) Flesh and blood could bear no longer. — Thackeray. (b) I will be flesh and blood. — Shakespeare. (c) It was a dagger in the haughty father’s heart, to see how the flesh and blood he could not disown clung to this obscure stranger, and he sitting by. — Dickens.

— My own children, brothers, sisters, or other near kindred.

— flesh and blood. —

— blood. —

— The entire body; man in his physical personality: e.g. (1) they were put to such tyrannies as flesh and blood could not bear. (2) What indeed was to be expected from a body of public servants exposed to temptation such that, as Clive once said, flesh and blood could not bear it? — Macaulay. Blood relations: e.g. Mark his cruel treatment of his own flesh and blood. — Dickens.
(1) If you break someone’s heart, you make them very unhappy by ending a relationship with them or making it clear that you do not love them. E.g. She left him later that year and broke his heart.

• You can also say that someone has a broken heart when they feel very sad because a relationship has ended. E.g. If you’re a poet, you get some good poetry out of a broken heart.

• You can also say that someone is heartbroken or is broken-hearted. E.g. Mary was broken-hearted when he left her.

(2) If a fact or a situation breaks your heart, it makes you very sad. E.g. It broke my heart to see this woman suffer the way she did.

• You can also say that someone is heartbroken or is broken-hearted if they are very upset about something. E.g. He looked heartbroken that Momma hadn’t gotten more excited over his announcement. E.g. Little Craig Malcolmson is broke-hearted by the theft of his treasured toy.

7. At your heels

(1) If a person or animal is at your heels, they are following close behind you, for example because they are chasing you. E.g. She strode through the restaurant with Cavendish following close at her heels. E.g. Children ran along the narrow path towards them, a small dog yapping at their heels.

(2) If a person or organization is at your heels in a competitive situation, they are threatening you because they are almost as good as you. [JOURNALISM] E.g. With the world’s heart. – To afflict grievously.

This news breaks the heart. – This news overpower s the heart with deep affliction. ‘He in the end came to a sentence of transportation; the news of which breaks the mother’s heart.’ Fielding’s Works.

Heart-breaking. – Over-powering heart with deep affliction. – Broken-hearted. – Penitent.

away or die of disappointment. “Broken-hearted,” hopelessly distressed. In French, “Cela me fend la cœur.” The heart is the organ of life.

Heart-breaker (A). A flirt. Also a particular kind of curl. Called in French Accroche-cœur. At one time loose ringlets worn over the shoulders were called heart-breakers. At another time a curl worn over the temples was called an Accroche-cœur, crève cœur.

Overwhelm one with grief: e.g. (1) the news came upon him like a thunderbolt and broke his heart. (2) My parting from you almost broke my heart. – Macaulay. Cause one’s death from grief or disappointment: e.g. He entered into the Crimean war and it broke his heart. – M. Arnold.

– Went at one’s heel.

– Followed one closely.
‘Away went post boy at his heel.’ W. Cowper.

– To be at the heels. – To pursue closely; to attend closely.

– Heels, at one’s = Closely attending or following one; in close pursuit of one.

(a) There was an easy self-possessed disdain about him, which utterly abashed the young monk, and abashed, too, the whole crowd of rascals at his heels. – C. Kingsley.

(b) He was the terror of all the farmyards in the country into which he made fearful inroads, and sometimes he would make his

– At one’s heels. – Closely following one:

e.g. (1) When he came, some fifty men were at his heels. (2) The agents of the Elector were however at his heels. – Smiles.
finest golfers at his heels, Norman produced an almost flawless 64. People often say that a person or organization is snapping at someone’s heels. E.g. They may dominate the market for microprocessors but scores of firms are snapping at their heels.

8. Go to the wall
[BRITISH] – (1) If a person or company goes to the wall, they lose all their money and their business fails. E.g. Over the last year, two football clubs have gone to the wall. E.g. A total of 1,776 companies went to the wall in the three months to March. (2) If you are willing to go to the wall for a person or a principle, you support them so strongly that you are prepared to suffer for them. E.g. Above all, he prizes loyalty. He’ll go to the wall for someone or something he believes in. E.g. This man will go to the wall for you if you’re on his side. One explanation for this expression is that it refers to someone who is trapped with their back to a wall and no way of escape. Another explanation is that it refers to medieval chapels in which healthy people used to stand, but which had seats around the walls for sick people. A third explanation is that it refers to someone standing in front of a wall before being executed by a firing squad.

9. Take somewhere by storm – If someone or something takes a place or a group of people by storm, they are extremely successful or popular in that place or with those people. E.g. --
When she arrived there in 1862 she had already taken London by storm. E.g. In 1991 many firms expected these computers to take the industry by storm. E.g. It is nearly 12 months since the film took America by storm. This expression originally meant to capture something such as a fort or a military position by means of a sudden, violent attack.

10. **Bite the dust** –
(1) If something bites the dust, it fails or stops existing. E.g. With the news that milk chocolate can help cut cholesterol, yet another healthy eating fad bites the dust. E.g. Quite a few restaurants have bitten the dust recently.
(2) If someone bites the dust, they die. E.g. A Wild West showman nearly bit the dust when he blew himself up making bullets in his garden shed.

• This expression is used to refer to someone’s death in a humorous way. In stories about the Wild West, cowboys were said to ‘bite the dust’ when they were shot and fell off their horses.

11. **At a low ebb** –
(1) If something is at a low ebb, it is failing and at a low level. E.g. Confidence in the whole project was at a low ebb. E.g. By now, the company’s finances were at a low ebb.
• You can also say that something is at its lowest ebb. E.g. Their reputation was at its lowest ebb.
(2) If someone is at a low ebb, they are depressed. E.g. When I have been at a low ebb I have found the friendship and love of

<table>
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<tr>
<th>10. Bite the dust</th>
<th>11. At a low ebb</th>
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| **take the public by storm,** whether they had been prepared for him or not. – Leigh Hunt. (b) Miss – took his heart, he said, by storm, and forcibly ejected for a while his love for any other woman breathing. – Warren. | **Ebb, at a low** = In a low or empty state; in a state of great decline.
(a) The fortunés of the Wordsworth family were at a low ebb in 1787. – Myers. (b) Often, it seems, his purse was at the very lowest ebb. – Leslie Stephen. (c) In England, as we have seen, literature has reached its lowest ebb. – Green. |
| charged in front and the place taken by storm. – Scott. | – Fall to a low ebb. – Be reduced to a very low degree. [The phrase is frequently used of one’s purse, one’s credit, one’s fortune, all of which are said to have fallen to a low ebb. It also occurs in connection with one’s courage, one’s spirit, &c. – Barret.] |
my fellow churchgoers to be a great comfort.

You can also say that someone is at their lowest ebb. E.g. I was mentally at my lowest ebb.

The ebb tide is one of the regular periods, usually two per day, when the sea gradually falls to a lower level, as the tide moves away from the land.

12. ✪ See the light –
(1) If someone sees the light, they realize or understand something, often something that makes them change wrong or unpleasant behaviour or opinions.
E.g. Eventually he had seen the light and broken off the relationship.
(2) If someone sees the light, they start believing in a religion. E.g. Pray for them that they may see the light.

12.b? ✪ See the light of day – (1) If something sees the light of day, it is produced or made available to people, often after difficulties.
E.g. This book might never have seen the light of day without the enthusiasm and support of my editor.
E.g. Few 35-minute films ever saw the light of day, even in those days.
You can also say that something sees the light. E.g. All this may change with the news that Christopher Isherwood’s diaries are now at last to see the light.
E.g. His plan first saw the light at a meeting of the West European Union.

See the light = Be born; come into existence; hence, be published.
(a) He will find, for example, that at Berlin a new work of George Elliot appears almost on the same day on which it first sees the light in London.
– The Cornhill Magazine.
(b) In November Byron printed for private circulation the first issue of his Juvenile poems. Mr.

See the light.
– Be brought to light; be revealed or disclosed; come out to the public: e.g.
(1) The whole affair is mystery, and will, perhaps, never see the light. (2) He gave several hours to the composition of a novel, which however, has not yet seen the light. – Smiles.

Beecher having called his attention to one which he thought objectionable, the impression was destroyed; and the author set to work upon another, which at once weeded and amplified saw the light in January, 1807.
– J. Nichol.
(2) If a baby sees the light of day they are born. E.g. Tens of millions of new souls are seeing the light of day in Africa each year.

13. ✪ Make your/a mark –
(1) If you make your/a mark, you do something which causes you to become noticed or famous. E.g. Today we look at the new generation of Japanese directors making their mark in world cinema. E.g. She's only been with the company for three months but she's certainly made her mark. E.g. He was new to politics and had not yet made a mark.

(2) If something makes its mark or makes a mark it starts to be noticed or to have an effect. E.g. The film has already made its mark in terms of awards. E.g. If cricket ever made a mark in the United States, it would be guys like Bevan who would sell it.

14. ✪ Below/under par –
(1) If someone or something is below par or under par, they are not of as high a standard or level as they should be. E.g. The recession has left sales a little below par in the past two or three years. E.g. Bad teachers could face pay freezes if they work is under par.

• You can also say that someone or something is not up to par with the same meaning. E.g. The explosion raised concerns that safety standards were not up to par.

• You can also use below-par before a noun. E.g. The other time I saw her was on stage at a below-par Brighton concert last year.

= Par, below = At a discount. He represented to the Emperor the low condition of his treasury; that he was forced to take up money at a great discount; that exchequer bills would not circulate under nine per cent. below par. – Swift.

= Par (At). – Stock at par means that it is to be bought at the price it represents. Thus, £100 stock in the 2.5 per cent. quoted at par would mean that it would require £100 to invest in this stock; if quoted at £105, it would be £5 above par; if at £95, it would be £5 below par. (Latin, par, equal.)

= Make a mark in literature = Cut a figure or distinguish one's self in literature. He had made a mark in literature, and it was to literature rather than to public affairs that his ambition turned. – J. Morley. – Mark, make one's = Distinguish or signalise one's self. His ambition was to make his mark as a poet. – Theodore Martin.

= To make one's mark. – To distinguish oneself. He has written his name (or made his mark) on the page of history. – Morley.

= Make one's mark. – Do some noteworthy thing that brings honour or distinction: e.g. (1) Vidyasagar soon made a mark at college and left it with laurels. (2) He had made a mark in literature. – Morley.

= Make a mark. – Gain distinguished pre-eminence: e.g. (1) Vidyasagar soon made a mark at college and left it with laurels. (2) He had made a mark in literature. – Morley.

= Below par. – At a price lower than the nominal or original value: e.g. Stocks are now selling below par. [cf. Above par.]
(2) If you feel below par or under par, you feel tired or slightly ill. E.g. After the birth of her baby she felt generally under par. *You can also say that you are not up to par with the same meaning. E.g. I'm still not quite up to par after my cold.

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<th>15. <strong>Beg the question</strong></th>
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| *(1)* If something *begs the question*, it makes people want to ask that question. E.g. Hopewell’s success *begs the question*, why aren’t more companies doing the same? E.g. When pushed to explain, words- for once- failed the England manager, begging the obvious question: Does he really know? *(2)* If someone’s statement *begs the question*, they can only make that statement if a particular thing is true, although it may not be. [FORMAL] E.g. His position on global warming is begging the question that humans are responsible. This is a rough translation of the Latin expression ‘petitio princip’ii’, a technical term used in logic to describe a situation in which the truth of something is assumed before it has been proved.

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<th>16. <strong>Rule the roost</strong></th>
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| *(1)* If someone *rules the roost*, they are the most powerful and important person in a group. E.g. In Germany, scientists will be found at the top of many manufacturing companies; in Britain, accountants rule the roost. E.g. *Rule the roost = Be at the head of affairs; govern. It has already been hinted that in the domestic establishment of William the Testy “the grey mare was the better horse;” in other words, that his wife “ruled the roost,” and in* | *(2)* He cruised
Unfortunately he's a weak manager who lets the players rule the roost when he's meant to be in charge.

(2) If something rules the roost, it is more powerful or popular than the things that it is being compared to. E.g. Today, the cartels still rule the roost and the authorities seem as impotent as ever.

This expression seems to refer to the dominant cock in a chicken coop. However, 'rule the roost' may have developed from the earlier expression 'rule the roast', which refers to the head of the household who carves and serves the meat.

17. **Be brought to book** [BRITISH] – If someone is brought to book, they are punished officially for something wrong that they have done. E.g. No-one has yet been brought to book for a crime which outraged Italy. Originally, if someone was brought to book, they were ordered to prove that something they had said or done agreed with a written rule or agreement.

18. **Chop and change** [BRITISH] - If someone chops and changes, they keep changing their plans, often when it is not necessary. E.g. After chopping and changing for the first year, they have settled down to a stable system of management. E.g. All this chopping and changing serves no useful purpose. This expression was originally used to refer to people buying and

crowe out aloude.” - Jewell.  
— Roast. — To rule the roast. - To have the chief direction; to be paramount. ~ It is usually thought that “roast” in this phrase means roost, and that the reference is to a cock, who decides which hen is to roost nearest to him; but the subjoined quotation favours the idea of “council.” “John, Duke of Burgoyne, ruled the rost, and governed both King Charles...and his whole realme.” — Hall: Union (1548).

around in the rivers and inlets and sounds of North Carolina for a while, ruling the roost. — English Magazine.  
(3) The new-made duke that rules the roast. – Shakespeare.
selling goods. To ‘chop’ meant to trade or barter, and ‘change’ came from ‘exchange’.

19. Flotsam and jetsam

Flotsam and jetsam is used to refer to small or unimportant items that are found together, usually in an untidy way. E.g. We found cornflake packets, bottles, and all the flotsam and jetsam of the kitchen.

The phrase ‘flotsam and jetsam’ was originally used to describe things that were washed onto the shore from the sea, for instance after a shipwreck.

20. Knock something into a cocked hat

[mainly BRITISH, OLD-FASHIONED] – If one thing knocks another into a cocked hat, the first thing is much better or more successful than the second. E.g. I am writing a novel which is going to knock Proust into a cocked hat. E.g. I bet his IQ would knock Kane’s into a cocked hat.

One explanation for this expression is that it refers to the cocked hats of the 18th century, which were made by folding the edge of a round hat into three corners or points. According to this explanation, the expression originally meant to change something completely.

Alternatively, the expression may refer to an American game of

Knock something into a cocked hat

Thoroughly beaten; altered beyond recognition; hors de combat. A cocked-hat, folded into a chapeau bras, is crushed out of all shape.

Knocked into a Cocked Hat

– Flotsam and Jetson.
– Waifs found in the sea or on the shore. “Flotsam,” goods found floating on the sea after a wreck. “Jetson,” or Jetsam, things thrown out of a ship to lighten it. (Anglo-Saxon, flotan, to float; French, jeter, to throw out.) (See Ligan.)
– Ligan. – Goods thrown overboard, but tied to a cork or buoy in order to be found again. (Latin ligāre, to tie or bind.)
– Flotsam. – the débris of a wreck which floats on the surface of the sea, and is often washed ashore. (Latin flotare, to float.)
– Jetson or jetsam. – goods thrown overboard in a storm to lighten the vessel. (Latin jacēre, to cast forth, through the French jeter.)

Knock into a cocked hat [Slang]. – Lick out of shape; give a profound beating.

– Flotsam and jetsam. – Goods thrown overboard to lighten a vessel, some of which float on the sea and the rest sink under water: e.g. But even Germans, like Herr von Hartmann, who set such store by a thorough knowledge of modern languages – which means to them French and English in the first place – would not be long in perceiving how much they had lost in throwing overboard, as so much flotsam and jetsam, the only intelligent clue to the understanding of the long and difficult words of English and of French and her sister tongues of Latin descent. – Journal of Education.
21. **Up the spout**

[BRITISH, INFORMAL]

− (1) If something is *up the spout*, it is completely ruined. E.g. The money’s disappeared, so as he, and the whole scheme’s up the spout. E.g. The economy’s up the spout.

− (2) If a woman is *up the spout*, she is pregnant. [RUDE] E.g. Her daughter is up the spout again.

• This is usually used when the pregnancy is a problem rather than a good thing.

*Originally, this expression was used to refer to items which had been pawned (= given to someone in return for a loan of money). The ‘spout’ was the lift in which an item was taken from the pawnbroker’s shop to the storeroom above.*

22. **A clean bill of health**

− (1) If someone is given or gets a *clean bill of health*, they are told that they are completely fit and healthy. E.g. He had a full medical late last year and was given a clean bill of health. E.g. Great Britain coach Mal Reilly, delighted to receive a clean bill of health for his 19-man squad, names his side today.

− (2) If something is given or gets it, it is examined and then judged to be in a satisfactory condition. E.g. Fourteen seaside resorts failed to meet the environmental and safety standards, while 43 were given a clean bill of health. E.g. At the end of that intensive study, the chemical industry for an
environmental clean bill of health. A bill of health was a certificate which was given to a ship’s master to present at the next port the ship arrived at. It stated whether or not there was an infectious disease aboard the ship or in the port it was departing from.

| 23. ✪ A flash in the pan | -- | -- | -- Flash. – A mere flash in the pan. – All sound and fury, signifying nothing; like the attempt to discharge a gun that ends with a flash in the lock-pan, the gun itself “hanging fire.” – Flash in the pan. – Burst or break forth with a flood of flame and light in the pan, without being attended by any explosion: e.g. (1) The powder flashed in the pan. – Webster. (2) His musket had flashed in the pan. – Southey. End in smoke; come to nothing: e.g. (1) It was highly fortunate that the conspiracy had flashed in the pan. (2) So far as England was concerned generally, the rebellion had flashed in the pan. – Froude. C. – (A) flash in the pan. | – Flash. – A mere flash in the pan. – All sound and fury, signifying nothing; like the attempt to discharge a gun that ends with a flash in the lock-pan, the gun itself “hanging fire.” – Flash in the pan. – Burst or break forth with a flood of flame and light in the pan, without being attended by any explosion: e.g. (1) The powder flashed in the pan. – Webster. (2) His musket had flashed in the pan. – Southey. End in smoke; come to nothing: e.g. (1) It was highly fortunate that the conspiracy had flashed in the pan. (2) So far as England was concerned generally, the rebellion had flashed in the pan. – Froude. C. – (A) flash in the pan. – The flashing of the priming in the pan of a flint lock musket. [Hence] Sudden, spasmodic effort that accomplishes nothing. [See above] |
| -- | -- | -- To put down your foot on [a matter]. – Peremptorily to forbid it. | – To put down your foot on [a matter]. – Peremptorily to forbid it. |
| -- | -- | -- Put down one’s foot. – Make a determined stand; resist further encroachments: e.g. He yielded to my entreaties till I asked him for alow, and then he put down his foot and would give me nothing. – McMordie. | -- Put down one’s foot. – Make a determined stand; resist further encroachments: e.g. He yielded to my entreaties till I asked him for alow, and then he put down his foot and would give me nothing. – McMordie. |

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| 24. ✪ Put your foot down | -- | -- | -- To put down your foot on [a matter]. – Peremptorily to forbid it. | -- To put down your foot on [a matter]. – Peremptorily to forbid it. |
| -- | -- | -- Put down one’s foot. – Make a determined stand; resist further encroachments: e.g. He yielded to my entreaties till I asked him for alow, and then he put down his foot and would give me nothing. – McMordie. | -- Put down one’s foot. – Make a determined stand; resist further encroachments: e.g. He yielded to my entreaties till I asked him for alow, and then he put down his foot and would give me nothing. – McMordie. |

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*This expression has its origins in the way that an old-fashioned gun worked. Pulling the trigger produced a spark which set light to a small amount of gunpowder held in the ‘pan’. This in turn lit the rest of the gunpowder. However, if it failed to do so there was just a ‘flash in the pan’ and the gun did not fire properly. ‘Hang fire’ has a similar origin.*

*You can use flash-in-the-pan before a noun. E.g. Hers is no flash-in-the-pan talent, but a major and mature new voice.*

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*Put your foot down – (1) If you put your foot down, you tell someone forcefully that they must do something or that they must not do something. E.g. Annabel went through a phase of saying: ‘I can do my homework and watch TV.’ Naturally*
I put my foot down. E.g. He had planned to go skiing on his own, but his wife put her foot down. 

(2) If you put your foot down when you are driving, you start to drive faster. [BRITISH, INFORMAL] E.g. Finding a clear stretch of the motorway, he put his foot down.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>25. <strong>A dark horse</strong> –</th>
<th>26. <strong>Touch and go</strong> –</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) If you describe someone as a <em>dark horse</em>, you mean that you have just discovered something about them, especially a skill or an achievement, that they had not told you about. E.g. I didn’t know Claire could sing like that. She’s a dark horse. E.g. What a lot of friends from the past you have – you really are a dark horse, Robert!</td>
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<td>(2) A <em>dark horse</em> is someone who wins a contest, race, etc. when they were not expected to. E.g. Czech Karel Novacek, the dark horse of the international tennis circuit, beat his opponent 7-5, 6-2, 6-4. <em>You can also use dark horse before a noun. E.g. William Randolph Hearst had briefly been a dark horse candidate for President in 1908. This expression may refer to a horse which people do not know very much about, so that it is difficult to predict how well it will do in a race.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>– <em>A dark horse.</em> – A horse whose merits as a racer are not known to the general public.</td>
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<tr>
<td>– <em>Touch and Go (To).</em> – A very narrow escape; a very brief encounter. A metaphor derived from driving when the wheel of one vehicle touches that of another passing vehicle without doing mischief. It was a touch, but</td>
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<tr>
<td>– <em>Touch and go.</em> – (A) <em>dark horse.</em> – [Racing phrase] – A racing horse whose capabilities are not known; a candidate of whom it is not known till the last moment that he is a candidate: e.g. I was dipped pretty deep, and duns after me, and the Derby my only chance, so I put the pot on; but a dark horse won. – Reade.</td>
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<td>– Touch bottom lightly and without damage, as a vessel in motion. [Hence, figuratively] A narrow escape. [Colloquial]: e.g. “It was touch and go, doctor, was it?” inquired the</td>
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still touch and go.
(2) If it is **touch and go**, you are in a very dangerous situation, where people might die. E.g. Nancy nearly lost control of the boat. For a few moments it was touch and go.

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<tr>
<th>27. <strong>Draw a blank</strong> – (1) If you are trying to find someone or something and you draw a blank, you cannot find them. E.g. I searched among the bottles and drew a blank. (2) If you are trying to find out about something and you draw a blank, you fail to find out about it. E.g. We asked if they’d been in. We drew a blank. (3) If you draw a blank, you are unable to remember something or to answer a question you are asked. E.g. Asked what her son’s first words were, Deirdre drew a blank. E.g. Why do we recognise a face, but sometimes draw a blank when it comes to the name? (4) In a sporting contest, if a team or competitor <strong>draws a blank</strong>, they do not score any goals or points, or win any races. [mainly BRITISH, JOURNALISM] E.g. Goal-shy Raith drew a blank at home yet again. E.g. He now leads Pat Eddery, who drew a blank in the title race. Originally, to draw a blank meant to be given a losing ticket in a lottery.</th>
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<tr>
<td>28. <strong>Come a cropper</strong> [BRITISH, INFORMAL] – (1) If someone <strong>comes a cropper</strong>, they suffer a sudden and embarrassing failure. E.g. Ferguson came a ---</td>
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cropper when the economy collapsed. E.g. Scott must concentrate on learning his new trade. He will come a cropper if he thinks he knows it all before he starts. E.g. Banks dabbling in industry can easily come a cropper.  

(2) If you *come a cropper*, you accidentally fall and hurt yourself. E.g. She came a cropper on the last fence. E.g. I came a cropper on a patch of ice just outside my house.  

‘Cropper’ may come from the expression ‘to fall neck and crop’, meaning to fall heavily. A bird’s ‘crop’ is a pouch in its throat where it keeps food before digesting it.

to come to the ground neck and crop.

do the fate of the ministry, “Punch” completed its allegory by another cartoon. In which the horse and its rider lay thrown and prone on the other side of the hedge, with the legend, ‘Come a cropper’ – J. M’Carthy.
Appendix 7, Table 1

Table 1 - Timeline of *go to the wall* in Hansard Corpus

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<tr>
<th>Decade, 19th C.</th>
<th>1810</th>
<th>1820</th>
<th>1830</th>
<th>1840</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1860</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1890</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per million</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>1.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>7,134,422</td>
<td>11,613,680</td>
<td>28,065,927</td>
<td>30,373,687</td>
<td>32,992,161</td>
<td>34,218,136</td>
<td>37,100,705</td>
<td>60,023,651</td>
<td>51,159,886</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>274</td>
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<td>Per million</td>
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<td>64,672,301</td>
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<td>71,690,983</td>
<td>95,190,137</td>
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<td>152,041,765</td>
<td>163,341,175</td>
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<td>Per million</td>
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<tr>
<td>Size</td>
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<td>88,449,672</td>
<td>9,672</td>
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### Table 1—Put your foot down by year groups in both sub-corpora

#### Put your foot down - Literary sub-corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year group 1878-1888</th>
<th>CLMET3_1_3_195</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. curious man - manner page : 217 ner to me - partly mysterious , partly familiar - as if we had some secret in common ; - almost as if she had some hold over me . Here was my folly . I should have put my foot down now , and firmly , and I should have ended the whole affair . But I was weak in my good-nature and absurd in my quasi-parental indulgence , and so things drifted ; and perhaps</td>
<td>1885.txt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mrs. James arrived and , as usual , in the evening took the entire management of everything . Finding that she and Carrie were making some preparations for table-turning, I thought it time really to put my foot down . I have always had the greatest contempt for such nonsense , and put an end to it years ago when Carrie , at our old house , used to have séances every night with poor Carrie . But I was weak in my good-nature and absurd in my quasi-parental indulgence , and so things drifted ; and perhaps</td>
<td>1888-9.txt 311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. the disappointment we felt on reading the question , to which the answer was so inappropr</td>
<td>1888-9.txt 311</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Hansard sub-corpus 1878-1888

| 1 | HANS: C- 1878 Charte ris (C) | he learnt at Berlin, as the Crimean War might have been stopped, so also the late war might have been; and I myself have always held the same opinion: But how stopped? Not by the policy of hon: Gentlemen opposite, but by a totally different one: By England putting her foot down firmly, and declaring that, even if the other Parties to the Tripartite Treaty were not willing to do their duty, and to honour the bond to which they had attached their signatures, she had undertaken to defend Turkey, and was prepared to do so if a 1002 |
| 2 | HANS: C- 1878 Charte ris (C) | opinion, to inquire who is Lord Napier and Ettrick? He has been Ambassador at St: Petersburg and Constantinople, and Governor of Madras; and his view is this— that the only way of meeting the covert, systematic, traditional approaches of Russia is by drawing a permanent line and then putting down your foot: Not only that, but the noble Lord approved the line which the Government had laid down, and which he believed was a guarantee for the effective defence of India: He would also go further and draw a similar line to the North of our Indian Empire: [ |
| 3 | HANS: C- 1878 Charte ris (C) | Government have only done, with a bold hand, what the late Government never had the courage to do: The late Government did not go forward in the matter, because they say they were not supported by public opinion; but, Sir, it is those who go boldly forward and put down their foot who make public opinion: Is the Government then to be frightened by these hobgoblins of responsibilities, or is the country to be bribed out of the Convention? It is said that we are to 1009 have the income tax, the malt tax— I am not sure that |
| 4 | HANS: C- 1879 Baxter (C) | Frontier by one man: No doubt, largo fortunes have been amassed, both in South Africa and elsewhere, by these wars; and as long as the British taxpayer pays the whole bill, you will have men in the Colonies who will get up wars: Now is our time to put down our foot firmly; and unless we do so, we shall have a succession of fresh wars as our Frontiers extend: I say, with the utmost sincerity, that I believe we have a very dismal and gloomy prospect before us: India is on the verge of bankruptcy: We |
| 5 | HANS: C- 1879 --- (C) | should be glad to offer some reply to arguments which have fallen from hon: Gentlemen opposite: And, first, let me congratulate hon: Gentlemen upon the more courageous tone of their speeches: The noble Lord the Member for King's Lynn (Lord Claud Hamilton), at all events, has put his foot down, upon this question; and since he was so loudly cheered by hon: Members upon that side of the House, we may fairly conclude that the Motion of my hon: Friend (Mr: Trevelyan) will henceforth have their uncompromising opposition: Last year, they seemed to be skirmishing |
6  HANS:  C- 1879  
Mure  (C)  
State for War whether 467 there was not a time when, there was an inclination on the part of 
Her Majesty's Government to give up flogging altogether? But that their decision not to yield to 
this inclination was due to the determined attitude of some of their supporters, who had "put 
their foot down," not in the interests of the Army— not entirely in the interests of discipline— 
but because the exigencies of Party required it: Having had some experience in this matter he 
could foresee—and was quite ready to admit—the great difficulties that would arise in

7  HANS:  C- 1879  
Shaw  (C)  
The Quarterly Review: With such a concurrence of opinion outside, and such a concurrence of 
opinion in, the House— for during the discussion on the Bill of the hon: Member for 
Roscommon that has been shown— ; there is an opportunity of settling this question, if only 
the Government will put down their foot and say, " We are determined to carry it: "You will not 
lose a vote if you do: Take the senior Member for Belfast (Mr: J: P: Corry): Do you think he 
would go into violent opposition if you carried it— or the hon:

8  HANS:  C- 1879  
Fitzmaurice  (C)  
he desired to speak with every respect— an eminent Cambridge mathematician: The tyranny 
which they had succeeded in shaking off in Cambridge had been transferred to the Training 
Colleges by a very eminent Cambridge mathematical man, Mr: Sharpe; but he hoped his noble 
Friend the Vice President of the Council would put his foot down, and would not allow 1644 
himself to be bullied by any of those Cambridge mathematical men: It was an intolerable tyranny 
that a person, however learned in other subjects, should be debarred from becoming a teacher 
of elementary subjects merely because he did not happen to be thoroughly

9  HANS:  L- 1879  
Hardy  (C)  
mills shall be open from 6 a.m: to 6 p.m: for six days out of the seven; and here I must mention 
that the evidence shows that the mills are open, on the average, 320 days in the year, more or 
less: Now, of course, we could not put our foot down upon those Natives who do not observe 
the Christian Sunday; sowe allow them, as long as they work only six days in the week, to choose 
their own day of rest: The other main provisions of the Bill are that females shall not work for 
more than

10  HANS:  L- 1879  
Lord_Leverston  (C)  
States: I believe there is a bright spot there owing to a good harvest, while we have had a 
sucception of bad harvests in this country: I trust that improvement may grow: At all events, I 
am perfectly sure that the Prime Minister has done good service this evening in putting his foot 
down so distinctly and so decidedly on the proposals of the noble Lord, and in showing that Her 
Majesty's Government does not intend to hold out any fallacious hopes in dealing with matters 
which must be dealt with in a different manner: Therefore, I agree with the noble Earl

11  HANS:  C- 1880  
Holmes  (C)  
Hallam, the historian, said that that custom established substantially that six, not seven, years 
constituted the natural life of a House of Commons; and he added that " an irregularity in that 
respect might lead to consequences which most men might deplore: " It was for them now to 
put their foot down firmly, and say that no Parliament should sit for seven years again: They were 
at the present time adding another precedent to the solitary case of the Parliament of 1859; and 
it would hereafter be said that both Liberal and Conservative Governments, when they had 
power at their

12  HANS:  C- 1880  
McCarthy  (C)  
not be allowed a hearing on the subject, and must be bluntly told that no arguments 
which might be brought forward in its favour could change the settled opinion of the 
House: English interests were to be the only thing considered, and statesmen were told in 
the current phrase that they must put their foot down and tell the miserable Irish Party 
that it should never have the concession it demanded: Had he been in the House at the 
time he should not have been much impressed by such language, knowing the value of 
what Mill called the eternal political non possumus:He was well aware that all

13  HANS:  C- 1880  
Newdegate  (Li)  
were bound to ascertain from his 386 own mouth, either by a Committee or at the Table, what 
was his real meaning; and whatever might be his reasons, whether he had any or none, for 
having refused to take the Oath, let the House, if he persisted, put its foot on this mischief while 
it was small: If they were not satisfied with the explanation of the Member as to his reasons for 
refusing duly to take the Oath of Allegiance, then let the House declare his seat vacant, let a new 
Writ be issued for Northampton, and let

14  HANS:  C- 1880  
-----  (Li)  
did postpone those clauses, he really intended to proceed with them; and he hoped the right 
hon: Gentleman would couple that assurance with another— namely, that he was open to 
reasonable suggestions with reference to them : He found some difficulty, sometimes, in 
discovering whether the Government intended to put its feet down, and carry through what it 
designed, or whether it was really open to fair argument on the part of those who might be 
particularly interested; and he would only add that, after a little consultation amongst some of 
the Irish Members on the matter, they were particularly

15  HANS:  C- 1880  
-----  (Li)  
that, after a little consultation amongst some of the Irish Members on the matter, they were 
particularly anxious that these clauses should be improved: § MR : W: E: FORSTER, remarked, 
that he was asked whether the Government had put its feet down? They would certainly do what 
they could to carry these clauses; but they were not going to risk the Bill for the sake of them: He
would give his hon: Friends and the Committee, as far as he could, any opportunity of discussing them; and he

16 HANS: C- 1880 very
-----
(Li)
these tales of distress told to the world, that they described an exceptional state of things; they were the normal condition of many parts of the country, where a sum spent as proposed would be spent for the best purpose: Therefore he hoped the Chief Secretary for Ireland would not "put his foot down" and refuse the proposi- 1584 tion, but that he would reconsider it between now and when the Bill was finally disposed of, whether he could not permit Ireland to have £ 60,000 out of her own money spent in this way:

17 HANS: C- 1881 Fowler (Li)
every other Business on one side, and to proceed with the Bill de die in diem: Again and again the House did sit through the night, and once they sat for 41 hours at a stretch, so that there should be no delay: He asked the Government now 438 to put their foot down upon the Bill: The House of Commons should do one of two things— it should either turn out the Government, or pass the Bill: He felt that this question was being trifled with now: There had been trifling this evening— repeating second reading speeches— and

18 HANS: C- 1881 Whitworth (Li)
a magistrate in Drogheda, told him that if this man were sent to the disturbed districts there would be bloodshed: At the same time, he blamed the Chief Secretary for Ireland for being too lenient: It was his great fault that he was too lenient, and that he had not put his foot firmly enough down: Every man who made a seditious speech ought to be arrested: Members of the Land League posed as the friends of Ireland: He held that there were no greater enemies of Ireland than the Gentlemen he saw opposite: Nothing was wanted so much as English capital

19 HANS: C- 1881 Dillwyn (Li)
his part of the country who, after working for a short time, went away and were not seen again for 12 months: § MR:DILLWYN said, he should like to have some assurance from the Government that they would one day put down their foot and stop all further expenditure on the South Kensington establishment: Then expenditure was going on unceasingly from year to year, and it was impossible to see where it would end: He remembered that 25 years ago, when he first entered that House, they were asked for £

20 HANS: C- 1881 Colling's (Li)
moment, the right hon: Gentleman had redeemed that promise in a manner almost unprecedented on any previous occasion: The Bill came out of Committee, after having undergone an opposition of a most unusual character, almost precisely as it went in: He trusted that the Prime Minister would on this occasion put down his foot with more than his customary strength and determination: Hon: Members below the Gangway, on that (the Liberal) side of the House, asked this of the right hon: Gentleman, because hitherto they had supported the Government staunchly, and had avoided interfering with the progress of the

21 HANS: C- 1881 Moore (Li)
number of ladies: The Local Government Board were perfectly aware of what was intended from the outset, and gave no sign of interfering with the plans of the Guardians: They waited, in fact, until great expense had been incurred, and then they came down with their obstructive policy and put their foot upon the introduction of these ladies to take care of the school: They put forward the reason that the proposed arrangement would interfere with the religious liberty of the Protestant children in the school: As a matter of fact during three years there was only one Protestant child in the whole

22 HANS: C- 1881 Percy (Li)
Members who had had the least experience in that House: When those who sat beside him were met by clamour and disturbance when they addressed the House, and when they were clearly within their legal rights, then they ought to move the adjournment in order, as far as possible, to put their foot upon this sort of interruptions: That was the intention of his hon: Friend, and not any desire to force an answer: He hoped that Motions for Adjournment would not often become necessary; but he hoped they would always be made until hon: Members opposite were prepared to treat them

23 HANS: C- 1881 Camp bell (Li)
§ SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had observed that some difficulty was likely to be created by the Amendments from all parts of the House, and he thought they ought to be exceedingly grateful to the right hon: Gentleman the Prime Minister for the firm manner in which he had put his foot down: If the right hon: Gentleman were capable of being charmed by any Irish Member it would be the hon: and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr: C: Russell); but he (Sir George Campbell) was afraid that on this subject the hon: and learned Gentleman must consider that

24 HANS: C- 1881 Shaw (Li)
in lending the whole amount, the Government would have perfect security in nine cases out of ten, for they would not only have the fee-simple on the property, but the security of the mortgage: But the people of Ireland were choosers in the matter, and the State seemed to have put down its foot, and he feared they could not get the two distinguished Financiers on the two sides to yield more: He did not think it was a matter of great importance, because he hoped the operation of the present Bill and the operations of the Act of 1870 would be very
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Page</th>
<th>Lines</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>25</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 McCarthy (Li) and therefore he urged the Government to accept the Amendment—although he would rather see it pushed further still, leaving the Court a discretionary power to advance the whole amount: The hon: Member for Cork County (Mr: Shaw) said it was no use discussing this question because the Government had put its foot down; but he was not greatly alarmed by that announcement, for they had had some experience of that performance with this and other Governments: They had seen statesmen put their foot down quickly, and as quickly take it up; and, furthermore, a Government which put its</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 McCarthy (Li) hon: Member for Cork County (Mr: Shaw) said it was no use discussing this question because the Government had put its foot down; but he was not greatly alarmed by that announcement, for they had had some experience of that performance with this and other Governments: They had seen statesmen put their foot down quickly, and as quickly take it up; and, furthermore, a Government which put its foot down and kept it down would naturally not make very much progress with any measure it undertook: But he would credit the Government with being willing to take its foot up if</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 McCarthy (Li) had put its foot down; but he was not greatly alarmed by that announcement, for they had had some experience of that performance with this and other Governments: They had seen statesmen put their foot down quickly, and as quickly take it up; and, furthermore, a Government which put its foot down and kept it down would naturally not make very much progress with any measure it undertook: But he would credit the Government with being willing to take its foot up if, by so doing, the progress of this Bill would be pro-311 moted: Therefore, he urged</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 Churc hill (Li) if we were not to adhere in its main outline to the Bill we have proposed, and of this main outline this is, undoubtedly, an important feature: § LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL was extremely sorry that Her Majesty's Government had put down their foot upon this proposal: Last night he had supported the Government upon a different question, and he thought they might have dealt more leniently with the Amendment now submitted to them: They were, he thought, with great respect, making a mistake in the matter, the nature</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 Macfarlane (Li) advantage to all parties concerned: § MR: MACFARLANE said, he was not sure that there was very much utility in continuing the discussion: The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) said the Prime Minister had put his foot down upon this proposition: It might be said 414 that he had ground it under his heel, and not merely set down his foot upon it: The right hon: Gentleman refused the proposal with great energy, and he (Mr: Macfarlane) regretted extremely that the Prime Minister should</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 ---- (Li) with a favourable result—he did not ask for a definite pledge with regard to its acceptance—as far as it rested with himself he should not press the Amendment to a division: But if the Prime Minister had—to use an expression more than once adopted during these discussions—put his foot down, then he failed entirely to see what he had to gain by not pressing the Amendment: Before he sat down he must say that he utterly and entirely repudiated the suggestion made by the right hon: Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr: Goschen), and the suggestion which</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 McCo an (Li) they had hoped, when the limit of 35 years was fixed, that that term would be extended, or, failing that, that a lower rate of interest than ¾ per cent would be charged, if the whole of the purchase money were not granted: But when the Government put their foot down and adhered to 35 years, they were not carrying the concession in this Bill very much beyond the Bill of 1870, 446 which was practically a non-success: The main inducement to the Irish tenants to avail themselves of these purchase provisions would be the hope of purchasing at a</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 Sulli va n (Li) The hon: Member is not confining himself to the Question before the Committee, which is whether 35 years shall remain in the clause? § MR: T: D: SULLIVAN, continuing, said, they were told that the Prime Minister had put his foot down; but a well-known American writer had said that no man could go through the world with his foot down: The Prime Minister had put his foot down before now, and had also had to take it up again: There was quite as much honour sometimes in taking a</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 Sulliva n (Li) § MR: T: D: SULLIVAN, continuing, said, they were told that the Prime Minister had put his foot down; but a well-known American writer had said that no man could go through the world with his foot down: The Prime Minister had put his foot down before now, and had also had to take it up again: There was quite as much honour sometimes in taking a foot up as there was in putting it down; and he thought the present was an occasion when the Prime Minister might very properly, if he had</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 Sulliva n (Li) his foot down before now, and had also had to take it up again: There was quite as much honour sometimes in taking a foot up as there was in putting it down; and he thought the present was an occasion when the Prime Minister might very properly, if he had put his foot down, take it up again: It was all very well to speak of smoothing the passage of this Bill; but surely the great object was not to smooth the measure in Parliament, but rather to smooth it for Ireland: The</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 Donne II (Li)</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 Donne II (Li)</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 Northcote (Li)</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 Magniac (Li)</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 Sullivan (Li)</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 Sullivan (Li)</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>HANS: C-1881 O'Connor (Li)</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>HANS: L-1881 Adair (Li)</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>HANS: C-1882 Lowther (Li)</td>
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<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>HANS: C-1882 McCarthy (Li)</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>HANS: C-1882 McCarthy (Li)</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>HANS: C-1882 Healy (Li)</td>
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<td>HANS: C-1882 Healy (Li)</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>HANS: C-1882 Healy (Li)</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>HANS: C-1882 Smith (Li)</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>HANS: C-1882 ----- (Li)</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>HANS: C-1882 Heneage (Li)</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>HANS: C-1882 Onslow (Li)</td>
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the affairs of Egypt: It seemed to him, however, as if France had bamboozled the Government of this country, for France appeared to be the paramount Power in Egypt, and all

| 54 | HANS: C-1882 Balfour (Li) | principle that had hitherto guided their legislation in that House: It was one of a class of Bills which, before this Government came into Office, they had never seen, but of which they had seen too many specimens already; and he thought it was now fully time the House should put its foot down and say that of exceptional legislation they had had enough and should have no more: In conclusion, he said that the discontent which the Bill must cause would be greatly augmented by the knowledge that many of the people whose debts were about to be paid actually had property with |

| 55 | HANS: C-1882 Cross (Li) | alone: We have, then, suffered all the consequences of the delay which has taken place; but, by independent action long ago, we might have put a stop to the whole proceedings, without the loss of a single life or of 1811 any treasure: If we had simply put our foot down months ago, we might, I say, have stopped all this: The result of the want of firmness of the Government, of their want of decision, of their vacillation, of their weakness, is that we are now left in a perfect state of isolation to |

| 56 | HANS: C-1882 Onslow (Li) | consent to Turkish troops being sent at all? After the preparations that we have been making, and after the considerable time taken by the Turkish Government to fall in with the demands of the Conference, I wish to ask the Government whether now, even at the eleventh hour, they will put their foot down and do what is necessary to restore law and order in Egypt by their own power alone? Mr. GLADSTONE: My hon: Friend is aware that the British Government, in conjunction with that of France, has 1826 moved the |

| 57 | HANS: C-1882 Stanhope (Li) | be contributed by India, that was a much more difficult question: The proposition of the Government appeared to him to be one of the shabbiest ever brought forward in that House, considering the quarter from which it proceeded: Indeed, he was not surprised to hear that the Indian Government had put down its foot and declared that proposal to be entirely inadmissible: He might here observe that the proposal made by the late Government in 1878 was urged upon them by the Government of India, which desired the Home Government to adopt it: But the present proposal was to charge upon India the |

| 58 | HANS: C-1882 Lewis (Li) | ) The proof was clear: How many people had taken advantage of it? The whole system of land legislation in Ireland, in- 640 cluding this very question of the Court valuers, showed that the Government had not even touched the fringe of the Land Question, and because they had not put their foot down and showed anything like a programme which they intended to carry out: Did they not, as a Party professing to be Liberal supporters of the Government, appeal to the Government that they should insist on the dismissal of these Court valuers at the end of three months, simply |

| 59 | HANS: C-1883 ---- (Li) | consulted there and then in open Court with the attorneys by whom he was employed, and asked if it was worth while to proceed further: It was decided at once not to go on with the rest, as it was found impossible to obtain justice: He thought that the House should put its foot down upon these sort of proceedings at the first opportunity, by refusing to vote further sums of money for such a body: Before, however, moving the reduction of the Vote, he would wait until some answer had been made by the Government; but unless he received satisfactory |

| 60 | HANS: C-1883 Goschen (Li) | administrative, would be gone if they sacrificed for that purpose any local activity which might be called into force: He hoped the House would vote for the Amendment of the hon: Member for South Northumberland, who brought together the reform of local government and the reform of local taxation, and who put down his foot, as he hoped the House would, against simply giving relief, as it had been given in the past, in a manner which afforded little relief to those who desired such relief, but which struck at the basis of those principles of local self-government which he maintained ought |

| 61 | HANS: C-1883 Warton (Li) | rash investments: The provisions of the Bill had not been thoroughly considered or digested, and he hoped the House would not pass it: § MR: WARTON: said, he was delighted that the President of the Board of Trade had put his foot down upon the insane scheme of those self-constituted humbugs called Chambers of Commerce: This Bill was nothing but another of those wretched measures which emanated from those wretched Bodies; and he hoped the hon: Member for Gloucester (Mr: Monk), the President of those Bodies, would not only |

<p>| 62 | HANS: C-1883 Dillwyn (Li) | with works of art which would not be worthy of them: § MR: DILLWYN, in moving to reduce the Vote by £ 1,068, said, it appeared to him to be high time for the House of Commons to put its foot down pretty 1038 firmly in order to prevent the continual enormous increase of our Expenditure, especially with regard to the Civil Service Estimates: There had been a large increase in the amount of the Estimates for the Army and Navy; but while hon: Members knew that there had been exceptional |</p>
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<td>63</td>
<td>HANS: C- 1883 Dillwyn (LI) But the whole Vote showed an increase of £ 1,068, as compared with last year’s Vote, and this he looked upon with some jealousy, because he did not think it was required by the necessities of the Public Service, and because he thought it the duty of Parliament to put its foot down, wherever possible, in order to prevent any needless expenditure of public money: He would, without going at length into details, show by reference to some few items why the Committee ought to make the reduction he proposed, or perhaps it would be more correct to say</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>HANS: C- 1883 Churchill (LI) animated by this kind of sentiment, they might give up all idea of opposing any Vote, however objectionable it might be: He agreed with the hon: Member for Northampton (Mr: Labouchere) that, as long as they had the power of criticizing the Votes, the House of Commons should put its foot down absolutely, and reduce the Votes by lump sums: They might depend upon it that the officials would then be more careful in preparing the Estimates next year, and would give plenty of details: Further than that, care would be taken that the Estimates were not submitted at</td>
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<td>HANS: C- 1883 O'Connor (LI) migration, and such a scheme was now before them on the Books of the House in the Motion they were now debating: The Motion simply dealt with migration, and the plan the hon: and learned Gentleman had proposed was his own, to which he had definitely pledged himself: The Government put their foot down against it, and, by so doing, showed themselves opposed to migration in any form: Let them take the attitude of the Government as demonstrated in the speech of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and was it not evident that the only plan they had to</td>
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<td>66</td>
<td>HANS: C- 1883 ---- (LI) not say that it might not be well to re-introduce it on Report; but, at the present stage, it was clearly out of place: § MR: ILLINGWORTH said, he should have been glad if the Attorney General had put down his foot a little more firmly with regard to the absurd Amendment of the hon: Member opposite: Why should places of worship be made the object of the exceptional legislation which the hon: Member intended? The object of the hon: Member in including churches in his Amendment was very clear, his</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>HANS: C- 1883 Churchill (LI) § LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he supported the Motion for Adjournment; and he was extremely glad that the hon: Member for King’s County (Mr: Molloy) had, by the Motion he had made, afforded the Opposition an opportunity of putting its foot down at once against the tyrannical proceedings of the present Government: It was a long time since they had had an opportunity of endeavouring to resist the manner in which the Government arranged the Business of the House, and for that reason he was inclined to support the Adjournment: He</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td>HANS: C- 1883 Warton (LI) he was afraid, they would not stick to their text: Probably they felt that they must carry something or other this Session, now that they had thrown over so much cargo to lighten the sinking ship: But, if they did not intend to favour these fractional measures, let them put their foot down plainly and straightforwardly: Let them show that they were guided bya principle; and then, if they only kept their supporters a little more in hand, they might be able to prevent a repetition of these pitiable spectacles of a number of sensible men, animated by a</td>
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<td>69</td>
<td>HANS: C- 1883 Buxton (LI) should be subjected to a life-long exclusion, he was sure there would be a great difficulty in getting a conviction, and therefore he should vote against the Attorney General’s proposal: § MR: FRANCIS BUXTON congratulated the Attorney General on putting his foot down and determining to carry the clause as it stood: He should certainly vote with the hon: and learned Gentleman in the matter: § MR: STUART-WORTLEY said, he was anxious to help the Government when he could;</td>
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<td>70</td>
<td>HANS: C- 1883 Broadhurst (LI) people in the constituencies: That would be the view taken of the endeavour of the hon: and learned Gentleman to put down and prohibit the use of any place for election purposes where intoxicating liquors were sold: No one was surprised that the right hon: and learned Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven should put his foot down for the maintenance of the old tap-room Caucuses; because, when they were abolished, he would probably find very considerable difficulty in carrying on some of those electoral arrangements of which he had, no doubt, had a large experience:</td>
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<td>71</td>
<td>HANS: C- 1883 Anderson (LI) most selfish body of men in existence was a Government: Hon: Members were expected to make every kind of sacrifice of their time and convenience on any day of the week, in order to help the Government to carry their Bills; but the moment the Government got their Bills carried, they put their foot down, and would not allow any private Member to carry any Bill whatever: However good the Bill might be, however thoroughly Liberal it might be, however much it might have been approved by the House at former stages, however much desired by the country, still they would</td>
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<td>72</td>
<td>HANS: C- 1884 Ryland (LI) expressed the greatest regret that he should have done anything, through accident or inadvertence, approaching a breach of the Privileges of this House: The noble Lord has performed a public duty in calling attention to the subject:; and I think we should, to as great an extent as possible, put our foot down, in reference to Private Bill legislation, upon everything which bear seven a shadow</td>
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| 73 | HANS: C-1884 Gray (Li) | be found, owing to the hostility of the landowners in the neighbourhood— for they knew that a single landlord would be often the owner of a whole district— some provision should be made for complying with the requirements of the people in this respect? A great absentee landlord, who absolutely put his foot down and refused such facilities, practically controlled a whole parish, and could refuse all reasonable facilities for the education of the children or convenience of the public in his locality: He trusted that the right hon: Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland would see his way to having some of
| 74 | HANS: C-1884 ----- (Li) | , if carried out to its logical conclusion, would be to place the Government of the country in the hands of a minority of the people: But even Mr: Disraeli did not regard the proposal from such a strong standpoint as the right hon: Gentleman the present Prime Minister, who very firmly put down his foot upon it: He denounced the proposal, and all kindred ones, as the schemes of coterie, and not the politics of nations; and he pointed out that, if adopted, it would lead to discomfiture and confusion: Well, Mr: Lowe's proposal was negativated by
| 76 | HANS: C-1884 Lord_ B (Li) | England: He was certain the Government possessed the power to stop the importation of cattle from abroad; but they were so half-hearted in this matter, as they were in all others which affected the interests of their country, that they dare not move further in the right direction, and, putting their foot down, stamp out the disease: The course adopted by his hon: Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire would, he 252 felt assured, meet with the approval of the whole agricultural interest in this country: MR: J: LOWTHER
| 76 | HANS: C-1884 King_Harman (Li) | meetings; and, in spite of that, Her Majesty's Government, in order to gain a Party vote, allowed these meetings to be held, and Ireland was kept in a state of turmoil, and her soil drenched in blood, because the right hon: Gentleman did not choose to put his foot down firmly and repress them: The story was no new one; and he feared that as long as the Government opposite remained in power the same state of circumstances 526 would prevail: Her Majesty's Government had deliberately tramped upon the loyal men of Ireland, and thrown cold water
| 77 | HANS: C-1884 Wiggin (Li) | reflected the 1238 greatest credit upon the gentlemen who had succeeded in doing it: He had no doubt that the water system of the Metropolis might require alteration in some respects; but, at the same time, let them give credit where credit was due, and he hoped the House would put its foot down firmly in opposition to all schemes of confiscation like this: § SIR THOMAS CHAMBERS said, he only rose to answer a question which had been put by his right hon: Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr: Goschen)
| 78 | HANS: C-1884 Fowler (Li) | of the Crown divided between them £ 15,000, the counsel's fees, in addition, being £ 19,000: Now, he contended that that was a state of things which the right hon: Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant could not sanction, and which he ought to put his foot down upon with strong determination: Such a state of things was utterly unknown in this country, for last year the entire expenses of the administration of justice in England had been £ 270,000 for a population of 20,000,000, while in Ireland, with a population of 5,000,000, the
| 79 | HANS: C-1884 O_Connor (Li) | Friend the Member for Monaghan (Mr: Healy) in congratulating the right hon: Gentleman the Chief Secretary on the versatility of his abilities: The arguments which were brought forward by the right hon: Gentleman in favour of the Return were of a most flimsy and trivial character: Why had not the Government put their foot down, and declared that, if it rested with them, every occupier of a house in Ireland as well as in England should have a vote? He was surprised at the Conservative Party taking up this position: Had the right hon: and learned Gentleman the Member for the University
| 80 | HANS: C-1884 Colling s (Li) | fact that elementary education was now supplied out of the rates and taxes might be a reason for closing primary schools of the character He was speaking of but it was no reason why the poor people should not have the benefit of their property in some other way: He trusted the Government would put its foot on this irresponsible legislation: § MR: CAUSTON said, he was very well acquainted with the parish of Cam, which he had visited at least once a-year for the last 20 years, and therefore knew something of the
| 81 | HANS: C-1884 Cross (Li) | irreconcilables come into Parliament that we may hear their arguments: " But if their object in coming was to make Parliamentary government ridiculous, if their avowed object was to bring about a separation from this country, then those who were determined to maintain the integrity of the Empire could not too soon put down their foot and say— " We do not want separation, and therefore we do not want to hear your arguments: " The right hon: Member for Bradford (Mr: Forster) had said that the only remedy for the state of things in Ireland was to give the minority a fair
HANS: C- 1884 Labouchere (Li) : They had met there now to discuss in a friendly and amicable way a little local question about the franchise, and immediately the Government came forward to ask for £ 1,500,000 for North Africa, and nearly £ 1,000,000 for South Africa: It was really time that they ought to put their foot down and protest against all this expenditure, in South Africa especially: At one moment the Government were going to war with the Boers; at another they were going to war with the Zulus: At one time they were taking up the cause of some friend of the right hon:

HANS: C- 1884 Fowler (Li) 4,000,000, and would probably amount to a good many millions more: But hon: Members opposite should be the last persons to cry out against the Egyptian Expenditure; for they had—and certainly nobody more eloquently than the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex— all along called upon the Government to put down its foot firmly, and proceed to decisive measures: [Cheers from the Opposition: ] He had anticipated those cheers: And if the Government were to proceed to measures of annexation, protection, or something more, the present Expenditure would be a mere bagatelle compared with what the country

HANS: C- 1884 Warton (Li) Members of the Government: The hon: and learned Gentleman stands far above many of his Colleagues, and is much more far-sighted: He has always been consistent on the question: We find that the present day is a day when people must not vote as they like when the Prime Minister has put his foot down; and I am going to make an appeal to some of those 110 Members who ought now to vote for the proposal of the hon: Member for Stoke: The appeal I make is this: I want to-night to see a free expression of the opinion of the House:

HANS: C- 1884 Raikes (Li) General was worth more than the two Gentlemen put together: And I wish to render this tribute to the Attorney General, because I think that of all the Members of this House he has pursued, with regard to this question, the most intelligible and most conscientious course; he has always put his foot down, so to speak, in reference to this question; and have no doubt that if its principle had been accepted by the Government, it would have cost the Prime Minister the services of one of his most valuable adherents: In this matter the Prime Minister knew with

HANS: C- 1884 Bourke (Li) the Natives in many parts of the river: The Consul was trusted and looked up to by all the French and German houses, and disputes were settled by him in a satisfactory manner: It was, therefore, the duty of the Government, before they entered into the Conference, to put their foot down and say that the Niger should not be treated in the same way as the Congo, unless all the rivers were made perfectly free: § LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, the remarks of his right hon: Friend who had

HANS: C- 1884 Dawnay (Li) thought his life well given, if his death could serve to win, as he 480 thought it had served to win, public attention to this question: It would indeed, be matter for the very deepest satisfaction, if they could only believe that the Government did seriously intend now to put their foot down, and had made up their minds at last to stand atbay, and to show to these Boers that there was a limit even to the humiliation to which we would allow ourselves to be subjected, and a limit to the outrages which we would permit to be inflicted

HANS: C- 1884 ---- (Li) that the right hon: Gentleman (Mr: Gladstone) used some rather ominous expression in regard to that Act in reference to Clerkenwell: Then, again, it must be in the recollection of most hon: Members of the present Parliament that the year before the Irish Land Act was introduced the Prime Minister put down his foot in the most positive way and declared that the Irish Land Question was settled, and that the agrarian question would never again be reopened: Yet the year after that most positive statement the right hon: Gentleman came down with a measure dealing with that very subject: This, and

HANS: L-1884 ---- (Li) men, and put the country in such a position that it was free from external aggression— instead of doing all this, they said— " Oh, we shall go out in a few months; we are only waiting the first opportunity to leave the country: " If they had put their foot down, and said— " We are going to stop here, however long it takes, until Egypt is in a position to walk alone, " no subsequent troubles would have come to that country: But Her Majesty's Government displayed, either an ignorance of what was going

HANS: C- 1886 Sanderson (Li) nefarious organization, which has destroyed the life and the liberty of our native country? Is it impossible to do so? I venture to say— and hon: Members below the Gangway know perfectly well—that if the Government would put its foot down— if the right hon: Gentleman would himself put his foot down— which he never has done without allowing a little streak of daylight to be seen beneath it— if he would, put his foot firmly down, not only would he be backed up by the Protestants and Orangemen of Ulster, but by those very farmers and tenants whose
speech was made

92 HANS: C- 1886 Chanc e (Li) arrangements which are now being carried out in this Office on some future day, when we come to consider the matter we shall find that vested rights have been created, and that the power of doing anything has slipped out of the hands of the Committee: I do ask the Committee to put its foot down on this occasion, and to show that it is stronger than single official: There was no possible necessity for this re-organization, unless it was to deprive a number of lower clerks of the rights for which they bargained and entered the Service, and to provide a number

93 HANS: C- 1886 Suther land (C) fallen: it will be satisfactory to those who entertain fears in that regard to learn that one Member of the Commission, at least, whose practical experience and sound views will be likely to exercise considerable influence on his Colleagues, does not hesitate to let it be known that he intends to put his foot down at an early stage of the proceedings, and to stifle any attempt to discuss the question of tampering with the Currency system under which this country has reached unrivalled prosperity and economical development: The Member of the Commission referred to is of opinion that, as far as this country

94 HANS: L-1886 ----- (Li) not see why the small tenant on the West Coast of Scotland had more claim on the public purse than the small tenant in any other part of Scotland who might be suffering from agricultural distress, or, indeed, than the small tradesmen, who were now suffering great distress: Mr: Trevelyan put his foot down on that at once, and said he would be no party to the advance of public money for agricultural speculation of that kind; and it was surmised at the time that Mr: Trevelyan had in his mind, when he made that speech, other proposals which were likely to

95 HANS: C- 1887 Bruce (C) Statesman: He maintained that every one of the right hon: Gentleman’s measures for Ireland had failed; and not only so, but they had increased the disorder in Ireland: He had been the most cruel executioner Ireland ever had: In his opinion, what was wanted in Ireland was the putting down of the foot on absentee landlords and rack-renting landlords: He did not think the right hon: Gentleman would succeed in destroying the Union and in endangering the Empire: If he did succeed he (Lord Henry Bruce) would not envy the shattered reputation which the right hon: Gentleman would leave behind

96 HANS: C- 1887 (C) the area to which the Land Act has been applied, no stronger case can be made than on this question of grazing land: § MR: COX (Clare, E:) It seems that the right hon: Gentleman has put down his foot on this Amendment: I have heard of the case cited by my hon: Friend; but there is another very important case — namely, that of " O’Brien v: Bright, " of which the right hon: and learned Gentleman will probably have heard: This case the Judges decided

97 HANS: C- 1887 Balfou r (C) great inter- national contract winch some of you desire will remain inviolate a moment longer than suits the convenience of hon: Members opposite? Of course the screw will be put on then as now: The people of Ireland from one end to the other would know that however firmly you have appeared to put your foot down, the smallest touch will shake you from 1185 your balance;and with that conviction deeply rooted in their mind, do not sup-pose that any arrangement that you may enter into — fence it round with all the securities you like — can possibly cause you to pause for more

98 HANS: C- 1887 Fowler (C) unknown, and would not be tolerated by this country: I think it is a system of procedure which the Eng- 1186 ish authorities in the present Government, the men who are animated with what my noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington) described as British spirit and feeling, ought to put their foot upon: Those English authorities ought to tell the authorities in Dublin that they will not allow Dublin Castle to interfere in the matter as they have done and that there must be as fair a trial given to these men in Ireland as would have been given to English prisoners at the

99 HANS: C- 1887 Deasy (C) quarter of an hour longer than the House generally desired, if the Opposition joined with the Government in enforcing the clôture: I have no doubt that every Englishman, whether belonging to the Government or the Opposition, and however much in sympathy with a certain section of Members, would put his foot down to prevent the degradation of the House by frivolous discussion and obstruction: If Radical Members in this House once thought that the Irish Party were introducing Motions and carrying on a discussion for obstructive purposes, they would not, I am sure, have the least hesitation in coalescing with

10 0 HANS: C- 1887 Kilcou rsie (C) which they were associated; but they had left that country with very different feelings: One of them remained, however, in evidence, a standing rebuke to right hon: Gentlemen opposite: He had read in the leading Sunday journal— Let the truth be brought home to Irishmen that England has put her foot down and the agitation for Home Rule will die away: Put herfoot down on what? On the necks of the Irish people? He could imagine nothing more calculated than that, read from an Irish pulpit, to arouse the passions of the Irish people: A more insulting
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<th>feelings: One of them remained, however, in evidence, a standing rebuke to right hon: Gentlemen opposite: He had read in the leading Sunday journal— Let the truth be brought home to Irishmen that England has put her foot down and the agitation for Home Rule will die away: <strong>Put her foot down on what?</strong> On the necks of the Irish people? He could imagine nothing more calculated than that, read from an Irish pulpit, to arouse the passions of the Irish people: A more insulting and impudent paragraph he had never read: The fact that the Coercion Bill</th>
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<td>10-1</td>
<td>HANS: C-1887 Churcilli (C)</td>
<td>short extracts from his speech: They are as follows: — Through good repute and evil repute the Liberal Party have stood by this— that they must introduce local reform at the same time as they introduce local relief: And he concluded in these words— I hope the House will put its foot down against simply giving relief, as it had been given in thepast, in a manner which afforded little relief to those who desired such relief, but which struck at the basis of those principles of local self-government which he maintained ought to be upheld: “ — (</td>
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<td>10-2</td>
<td>HANS: C-1887 Churcilli (C)</td>
<td>but which struck at the basis of those principles of local self-government which he maintained ought to be upheld: &quot; — (3 Hansard, [278] 511–12:) In the right hon: Gentleman ‘s words, I must express an earnest hope that the House of Commons will put down its foot against granting in aid of local rates this further sum of £ 330,000, given exactly upon the same basis, and in the same manner, as former Grants in Aid of local rates were given, and given, too, without any intimation from the right hon: Gentlemen</td>
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<td>10-3</td>
<td>HANS: C-1887 Churcilli (C)</td>
<td>that they have to do with a Government which has a tight hold on the public purse: Now, however, we shall have a whole group of Motions of all sorts which contain demands on the public purse: I say, therefore, that unless the Government leads the way, and puts its foot down, it is useless to lay the duty and the responsibility of economy and retrenchment in expenditure on Parliament: I shall be told that retrenchment is impossible— that there is no great retrenchment possible — and that the increase in the Army and Navy expenditure is one which the</td>
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<td>10-4</td>
<td>HANS: C-1887 Mundella (C)</td>
<td>may shut your eyes to the fact; but the time is coming when we must recognize the fact that we are face to face with a difficulty which is not confined to our own shores: Some day or other we shall experience a rude awakening from our determined attitude and our determination to put our foot on the liberties of the Irish people: It was towards the closeof the last century, in the course of one of the greatest speeches he ever delivered in this House, that Mr: Burke, in speaking of conciliation with America, referred to the success of the English government</td>
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<td>10-5</td>
<td>HANS: C-1887 Mundella (C)</td>
<td>§ MR: BRADLAUGH Five shillings per 1,000 feet is the price set down in their statement: § MR: KIMBER Less discount— the actual price is, I believe, 4s: 9d: per 1,000 feet: I would also put this to the House, that the whole of the capital authorized by the Bills actually to be raised without the payment of any premium to the shareholders: The whole of the new capital is to be put up to auction, and if a premium is paid that premium will not go</td>
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<td>10-6</td>
<td>HANS: C-1887 Kimber (C)</td>
<td>pro-821 fessed their adhesion: But if the right hon: Gentleman had been in the House during the speech made by the hon: Member for Cork (Mr: Parnell), about an hour ago, he would have known that the hon: Member distinctly, and in the name of his Party, put his foot down, and declared his intention, not merely of resisting the BankruptcyClauses which we propose, but any form of bankruptcy whatever, or anything that would place the landlord on the same footing as the other creditors: It was because he made that declaration, as I understood it</td>
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<td>10-7</td>
<td>HANS: C-1887 Balfour (C)</td>
<td>is obvious that so long as people can get guarantees, either for a long time or a short time, or forever, they will not put their money into Indian railways without a guarantee: If we are to give a proper and a fair chance to private enterprise, we must put our foot down and say that, for the present, we will give no more guarantees and undertake no more State railways; and if, after having given a complete trial to the system, it is discovered that private enterprise is not sufficient, then I suppose ultimately we shall have to</td>
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<td>10-8</td>
<td>HANS: C-1887 Templ (C)</td>
<td>year he had expressed very much the same opinion as that they had heard from him to-night; but he had not followed it out: The right hon: Gentleman had said he hoped the money would go to the county cess: He (Colonel Nolan) trusted the right hon: Gentleman would now put his foot down, and say that the money must go to the county cess: He would much sooner trust the right hon: Gentleman than he would the great majority of the Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench on this question, and he would urge the Chancellor of the Exchequer to see that the</td>
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<td>10-9</td>
<td>HANS: C-1888 Nolan (C)</td>
<td>had no particular affection for the term bankruptcy, or for the particular clauses embodied in the Bill, and that they were ready to accept more simple machinery and more direct procedure? The hon: Member for the City of Cork (Mr: Parnell), however, as the Chief Secretary said, put his foot down and insisted that relief should be given only in respect of one form of indebtedness: The Government last Session invited any hon: Member who was anxious to bring forward 1317 any proposal with regard to arrears generally to do so, and promised to give any such Amendment favourable consideration:</td>
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two sets of persons bargaining in an auction room one against the other for some particular article, those two sets of persons, though paid practically by the 1933 same parties, happened to come into collision: That was a favourable opportunity waited for so long by the Tory Party in order to put their foot down on meetings in Trafalgar Square: The question was dealt with, and dealt with in a way that was not satisfactory, at any rate to some: Some of them challenged what was done on that occasion; but the present Chief Commissioner of Police was appointed as a man.

if the Bill which he had introduced to provide for a more complete system of registration were passed, there would be less need for public meeting in the open air, the people would be able to decide all questions at the ballot-box: But, he asked the House to hesitate before they put their foot down upon the right of meeting in Trafalgar Square, which meant, practically, the right of meeting in all the open spaces of London except those specially exempted in the Parks Regulation Act: § MR: BURDETT-COUTTS (Westminster)

, which was at present, from the debates in the House, evidently one on which varied opinions existed: Could there be anything more unfortunate for the Government of the day to do than, after the events which had taken place in connection with Trafalgar Square in November last, to positively put down their foot and say that there was, in their opinion, really no right of public meeting at all, and that any public meeting— of course he meant in open spaces— in the Metropolis was exercised entirely subject to their supervision and free will? He (Mr: Stuart) secure open spaces for the public, and it was on that ground, and that ground alone, that they entertained the proposal made to them: They were pressed on every side, and the greatest pressure was brought to bear upon them, to contribute a much larger sum; but they put their foot down, and said there was no precedent whatever for contributing more than£ 1,000 per acre: That is the sole position which the Metropolitan Board have taken in relation to the Bill, and they have, to their astonishment, found themselves posted as being the promoters of it.

158 Chairman was to be paid, why not the County Councillors? Undoubtedly the effect of this Amendment would be greatly to burden the rates, and further greatly to increase corruption and jobbery: He trusted the Government did not intend that this point should be reserved, and he hoped they would put down their foot against it in order that a settlement of the question might beat once arrived at: § MR: JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) said, that he had no difficulty in understanding the position the right hon: Gentleman who Councillor who came from another part of the county, and who might represent a very different interest indeed from that of the main body: He could not imagine a proposition which would be more distasteful to the main body of the ratepayers than this: He was only too glad that the Government put down their foot firmly against this proposal: They had been plainly and honestly toldin the course of the debate that this was but the beginning of what hon: Members opposite hoped to come about in the end: Hon: Members had shown that this was clearly the thin end of the wedge,

, that the result of their adoption of a policy of restriction was that the importation of spirits was reduced in that district 75 per cent in the last four years, and where it was possible the men to hesitate before they put their foot down upon the right of meeting in Trafalgar Square, which meant, practically, the right of meeting in all the open spaces of London except those specially exempted in the Parks Regulation Act: § MR: BURDETT-COUTTS (Westminster)
1889-1898

literary sub-corpus

| 12 | HANS: C-1888 Labourchere (C) | it in conjunction with this transaction: The great supporters of the Tory Party were the parsons and the pot-house keepers: The Tories were always afraid of doing anything against them when either the parsons alone, or the pot-house keepers alone, put down their foot: When these sections of the community put down their foot, right hon: Gentlemen opposite did not do anything— they were afraid to move, knowing perfectly well that if they did, they would lose their elections: It was all very well to talk of the policy and statesmanship of right hon: Gentlemen on the Front Ministerial Bench, |
| 12 | HANS: C-1888 (C) | Mr: Stansfeld, that Sub-section (1) was not necessary at all, and that ample protection would be given under Sub-section (2): § MR: JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said, that before the Government put their foot down finally, he hoped they would take into full consideration the argument just now urged: This Amendment was not proposed from the point of view of desiring an alteration in the existing law, but from the point of view of desiring that the existing administration should not be more centralized |
| 12 | HANS: C-1888 Biggar (C) | and finally lost: He would ask whether or not the outlay was entirely finished; and, if so, whether this would be accepted as a caution in time to come to refrain from listening to private speculators and swindling promoters of schemes? Let the hon: Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury put his foot down firmly for all time to come— to lend no ear to any schemes unless bona fide security could be shown: § THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr: JACKSON) (Leeds, N:) said, hon: |
| 12 | HANS: C-1888 Jackson (C) | ) said, hon: Members might be under the impression that this was a sum about to be lent; but he might just say that he quite agreed with the hon: Member as to the necessity for security, for he was afraid these must be looked upon as bad debts: As to putting his foot down and refusing loans for any such purpose, he thought hon: Members were aware that he held in very high esteem the desire to limit the obligations of the Treasury in this direction, and he could promise, as far as possible, to keep a firm hand on the public |
| 12 | HANS: L-1888 (C) | on land were to be continued: The Representative of Hamburg said that the Slave Trade would not be suppressed by operations confined to the sea: The Representative of another important town said that the object was to re-establish the East African Company, and to let all people know that when Germany had put her foot down she would not withdraw: These sentiments were not explained away no rextenuated as the debate proceeded: The Foreign Minister suggested that there should be a gendarmerie of 800 or 900 men under 30 European officers, with a reserve at Zanzibar: What would be our position supposing this gendarmerie |

1. the point is it never varies. Now, " he concluded , aggressively , " what have you got to set against that , my friend ? " </p> <p> We all looked at TAMMAS . HENDRY kicked the pail towards him , and he put his foot on it . Thus we knew that HEHDRY had returned to his ancient allegiance , and that the stranger would be crushed . Then TAMMAS began - </p> <p> " Man , man , there 's no nae doubt at 1891 the great taboo.txt 59 1 |
| CLMET3_1_3_333_1890.txt 315 1 |
| 2. cook it in my flame, that Tu-Kila-Kila the great may eat of it." Felix drew back with a face all aglow with horror and disgust. "Don't touch that body!" he cried, authoritatively, putting his foot down firm. "Leave it alone at once. I refuse to allow you." Then he turned to M. Peyron, "The King of the Birds and I," he said, with calm resolve, "we two will 1892 the doing of raffles haw.txt 70 2 |
| 3. point. It might lead to a serious quarrel. I beg that you will not go." "I am not to be put off for ever," snarled the old man, who had been drinking heavily. "I'll put my foot down now, once and for ever." He tucked at his sleeve to free himself from his son's grasp. "At least you shall not go without Laura knowing. I will call her down, 1893 novel notes.txt 79 2 |
| 4. wouldn't do it there were plenty of others who would. She knew it and went. "They had been in the habit of reading to him—good books with an elevating tendency. But now he put his foot down upon that sort of thing. He said he didn't want Sunday-school rubbish at his time of life. What he liked was something spicy. And he made them read him French 1893 novel notes.txt 79 2 |
| CLMET3_1_3_249_1895.txt 258 1 |
| 5. , if he obtained Smith's concurrence, would like to add those of Hume to Smith himself, to John Home, to Robertson, and other friends, which have now for the most part been lost. But Smith put his foot on this proposal decisively, on the ground apparently that it was most improper for a man's friends to publish anything he had written which he had himself given no express direction or |
6. this, that he was the village laughing-stock, a butt of ridicule at the store and tavern. Now, two years before this, Jerry Todd had for the first and only time in his married life "put his foot down." Mrs. Todd had insisted on making him a suit of clothes much against his wishes. When finished she put them on him almost by main force, though his plaintive appeals would have

7. ; 'I told you what would happen, and as to Mr Hopgood, I suspected him from the first. Besides, he is only a banker’s clerk. ' '</p> <p>Put your foot down at once.' Miss Hannah suited the action to the word, and put down, with emphasis, on the hearthrug a very large, plate-shaped foot case in a black felt shoe. '</p> <p>

8. of respect able routine. But for his foolish habit of living from hand to mouth, now in this business, now in that, indulging his taste for variety, Mrs. Clover would never, he felt sure, have "put her foot down" in that astonishing way. The best thing he could do was to show himself in a new light. Thanks to his good nature, his practicality, and the multitude of his acquaintances, all

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or, if he did, he was too much afraid of his Radical supporters to say what it was: In the face of a crisis such as this, this was trifling—trifling with Parliament, trifling with the people; and he hoped that the House of Commons would at last put down its foot and mark its sense and condemnation of this never-ending weakness and irresolution which had brought us to the present terrible state of things: Whatever might be thought of the original policy of the Government in the Soudan, nothing could excuse, nothing could condone, nothing, as far as

would now recognize that a case had been made out at least for the adjournment of the debate, so that he and the Government might take time to consider the advisability of placing one Irish Member, at any rate, upon the Committee: Sooner or later, it behaved the House to put its foot upon this loose way of transacting Business: The Irish Members represented alarge body of opinion in that House—a body of opinion that was bound to grow and increase—and the Government must, sooner or later, face the fact that the representation the Irish Members desired in

not claim some exceptional treatment: This was only the thin end of the wedge, and he impressed it upon the right hon: Gentleman, who understood Parliamentary tactics better than he (Mr: Biggar) did, that if he wished to get through his Bill in a reasonable time, he must put his foot down upon such Amendments as this: § MR: MULHOLLAND said, he rose to move, as an Amendment, after the word “ Act, ” in page 1, line 13, to insert the words— Except

it would have applied with equal fairness to the South as well as to the North of Ireland: He understood that at the conference between the Members of the two Front Benches the subject of grouping was one that was discussed, and that the right hon: Baronet (Sir Charles W: Dilke) put his foot down very strongly against the proposition to group boroughs in England: Ashe (Mr: Ewart) had said, the disfranchising provisions of the Bill might not work any injustice in England; but they certainly would work the grossest injustice in Ireland: He spoke without any hope of success

made by him (Mr: Macartney) was made by the hon: Gentleman: At all events, their constituents would never make such a mistake: The hon: Member had said that he was rejoiced that the right hon: Baronet (Sir Charles W: Dilke), who was conducting the Bill, had put his foot down resolutely against any alteration of the Bill: Now, when the hon: Member put his own foot down resolutely yesterday, and declared that he would not allow any Member to be taken from Tyrone, he (Mr: Macartney) presumed the hon: Gentleman possessed an intimate knowledge of the

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adopted at all, Gentlemen representing the North of Ireland had made out a very strong case for its application to that part of the United Kingdom: What he wanted to know was, and his only reason for rising was to ask the Government, whether they were or were not going to put their foot down on grouping, because in this Bill the Committee found, notwithstanding the chronic smile of the right hon: Gentleman the Postmaster General (Mr: Shaw Lefevre), that the Government were not only maintaining but extending the system, in spite of what had fallen from the right hon: Baronet

the Prime Minister say that this was a National policy; he only hoped and trusted that the Prime Minister’s idea of a National policy, as 954 regarded Russia and India, was the same as his (Mr: Onslow’s) own: He trusted that the Government of this country would put its foot down at the present time as firmly as possible, because it was of paramount importance to the interests of England and of India that they should do so: He trusted also that when the time came for a settlement of these grave questions, Her Majesty’s Government would, as

by His Excellency in the case of Mr: O’Brien: Whenever a gentleman representing the opposite political views to those of Mr: O’Brien had been nominated, the Lord Lieutenant had never hesitated for a moment about assenting to the appointment; but the moment a gentleman like Mr: O’Brien was named, His Excellency put down his foot and refused to allow the appointment to be made: He (Mr: Deasy) did not think that such a power was rightly exercised by persons like Earl Spencer, and he maintained that the ratepayers should be permitted to have a voice in the management of these establishments for the
merged in it it would only have 93,000: In connection with this idea of finding means to give Mid
Lothian an additional Member it was proposed to throw the St: Andrews Burghs into the Eastern
division of the county— ; 1627 a county having 101,000 or 102,000 inhabitants: He hoped the
Committee would put its foot down on this attempt to create an inequality as between groups of
burghshigher than 15,000 and single burghs, the House having already resolved that the
line should be drawn at 15,000; § MR: C: S: PARKER said

but it was necessary that they should do that, and under the circumstances he did not see that the
Government could do anything but revert to their original proposal: § MR: ILLINGWORTH said,
he was glad that the Government had put their foot down, and had reverted to their original
scheme: It was impossibletobestellesthisquestion on arithmetical lines: The secret of the hardness of
the measure as affecting large constituencies, including many besides Westminster, was to be
found in the tender dealing of the House with small constituencies

Russia upon Merv as an accomplished fact: She had, indeed, gone a great deal further than Merv,
and it was no use saying that she was to stay her advance where she was at the present time:
The question was where we should draw the line; and unless we put down our foot firmly and
said that no further advance would be tolerated, thiscountry would quickly lose the affection,
not only of the people of India, but of the people of Afghanistan: It had been stated that Penjdeh
and the territory where Russia had established herself was not Afghan territory

: It might not be a serious charge in itself, but taken in the aggregate those charges came to a
serious amount, and even this charge might prove to be a much greater one than the House
thought: He thought the House was justified in taking the opportunity presented to it of putting
its foot down upon those charges: The matter evidently had not been sufficiently thoughtout,
and was one which ought to have received much greater attention from Her Majesty's
Government: § COLONEL NOLAN said, that he must apologize to

their policy: We do not know whether they are going to evacuate the Soudan or not: They do
not know who are going to hold the Soudan; they leave themselves open as to that; it may be
the Italians, the Turks, or the Chinese: Only one point they put their foot down on, and that is
that Egypt shall not hold the Soudan: I confess I thought that when they swept all the, rest
away they might sweep that away also; for there is the portion of the Soudan which the Earl of
Dufferin thought should remain under Egypt,
in an alliance between England and France on Egyptian affairs, and it was at his desire that the
Joint Note was addressed to Egypt by those two Powers: That Note meant that England and
France were trustees for the arrangement between the European Powers and the Khedive,
and that M: Gambetta would put his foot down and maintain that arrangement: But M: Gambetta
went out of Officeand was suc-

were fast coming to, if this kind of legislation was about to pass, was a state of things where
every citizen would only be able to live and move and have his being by the favour of the
Secretary of State, or of some municipal authority: He hoped their Lordships would put their foot
down on this kind of legislation, and that the Bill would comeout of the Committee very different
to what it was now: THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, this was, no doubt, a very important Bill: Having
out: Then a Conference was held;

We must all feel that when drink is a curse to Europeans it must be a still greater curse to these
Natives: I do hope that as regards the Cape Colonies Her Majesty's Government will use their
influence with the Cape Legislature to put a stop to drunkenness, and that they will put their
foot down in the matter in regard to all our Crown Colonies: Thereis no doubt that an
impression became prevalent among the Natives in many parts that everything was not done to
promote their well-being: I wish to call attention to the resignation of Lieutenant Haynes: Of
course, my

brilliant, amusing, and clever speech— entered upon a criticism of the details of the measure;
but I noticed that the noble Lord never attempted to do that which he can do very well when
he likes , and that is, to use a common expression, that he did not put his foot down on this
occasion with regard to the principle of the measure: § LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL
(Paddington, S: ) The hon: Gentleman does me an injustice when he says that I did not put my foot down upon the
26 HANS: C- 1886 Churchill (Li)  
that he did not put his foot down on this occasion with regard to the principle of the measure: § LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S:) The hon: Gentleman does me an injustice when he says that I did not put my foot down upon the Bill: § MR: WHITBREAD I did not say that he had refrained from putting his foot down upon the Bill: But I will put it in another form: I am sure I do not want

27 HANS: C- 1886 Whitbread (Li)  
; LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S:) The hon: Gentleman does me an injustice when he says that I did not put my foot down upon the Bill: § MR: WHITBREAD I did not say that he had refrained from putting his foot down upon the Bill: But I will put it in another form: I am sure I do not want to misrepresent the noble Lord: The noble Lord criticized the scheme now before the House for what was in it and what was not in it with very great freedom;

28 HANS: C- 1886 Fergusson (Li)  
for hon: Members to run away with an idea, as the hon: Member for Walthamstow (Mr: Buxton) and the hon: Member for Bethnal Green (Mr: Howell) have, who talked about inclosures going on all over the country, and maintained that the House of Commons is called upon to put down its foot upon them— it is easy for hon: Members to express thatview: But the House has provided the means of looking closely into the circumstances of this case, and I am sure that no Committee ever approached the business they had in hand with greater care than the Members

29 HANS: C- 1886 Bryce (Li)  
like a man who does not see— who, at any rate, does not realize— the dominant facts of the situation: Those who desire a strong, repressive Government for Ireland talk as if, in order to succeed in ruling and pacifying Ireland, England and Scotland need only to put their foot down; and we have had this very day in the newspapers avigorius and trenchant expression of that view from the Leader of the Tory Party: He says what Ireland wants is a Government that will govern Consistently and resolutely for 20 years— a Government that does not flinch,

30 HANS: C- 1886 Bryce (Li)  
quarter: Now, I admit that England and Scotland can govern Ireland in that way: We in Great Britain are 30,000,000 of people; we have got the men; we have got the ships and the arms ; and we have got the money too; and if Great Britain chooses to put her foot down, she can crush Ireland under an iron heel: But letme ask this question— Is this what the British people wish or mean to do? If our Government were a despotism, Sir, or such an oligarchy as ruled before the Reform Act of 1832, I

31 HANS: C- 1886 Saunderson (Li)  
authority of the law, and crush the coercive authority of this nefarious organization, which has destroyed the life and the liberty of our native country? Is it impossible to do so? I venture to say— and hon: Members below the Gangway know perfectly well— that if the Government would put its foot down— if the right hon: Gentleman would himself put his foot down--; which he never has done without allowing a little streak of daylight to be seen beneath it— if he would, put his foot firmly down, not only would he be backed up by the Protestants and

32 HANS: C- 1890 Nolan (C)  
Member for Newcastle: It must be allowed that the Front Opposition Bench has up to now given the Government much assistance in the conduct of business, and now the first time the Government are asked to make some little allowance for circumstances in the interest of fair discussion, the right hon: Gentleman puts down his foot and positively declares he will have a Vote: The Committee isperfectly familiar with the practice of postponing contested Votes and taking 1578 other Votes, and in another week or fortnight we can resume this discussion in cooler, calmer minds, and decide the matter on itsmerits:

33 HANS: C- 1890 Stanhope (C)  
Because the right hon: Gentleman has shown us that it is perfectly possible to admit of free education without damage to voluntary schools: I must say it seems to me that, if on no other account, the speech of the right hon: Gentleman the Member for Birmingham is memorable because he has put down his foot so strongly on that subject, saying that while he strongly supportsthe principle of free education, he supports it conditionally on being able to continue in this country the existence of voluntary schools: Now, in the second place, I want to know what right the right hon:

34 HANS: C- 1890 Caine (C)  
say? The Morning Advertiser says— The trade in both its departments are prepared to give an unanimous support to legislation which, however defective in regard of their interests, proposes to give them a certain measure of protection: They have the assurance that the Government have, at all events, put their foot down against plunder, and asserted the principle that the suppression of alience through no misconduct on the part of its holder shall be effected by payment for its extinction: Once this principle is established by Parliament it can not be revoked off-hand when Sir Wilfrid Lawson and his friends chance
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will receive the attention of the Admiralty: § (7:35:) MR: R: W: DUFF (Banffshire) Sir, I think

45 HANS: C- 1892 Chaplin (C) , not only by the Judges of the land, but by nearly every responsible statesman in this country: I would ask the House of Commons whether, with these warnings and these examples which we have before us, the time has not arrived when men of all shades of political opinion should put their foot down and resist all attempts whatever to renew these iniquitous proposals: I would fain believe, after what has fallen from the right hon: Gentleman to-night, these proposals will never receive the sanction and the weight of his great authority and name; and if by anything that I could say

46 HANS: C- 1892 Havelock (C) and it was not until 742 the present Postmaster General (Sir James Ferguson) took up the subject a few months ago that any substantial advance was made: It is not necessary for me to press the importance of this subject on the Secretary for War, but I think he ought to put his foot down, and, as in the case of the Post Office, make it a sine qua non with all railway companies which come to us for licences that they should find employment for a certain number of men from the Reserve: If that were done we should be able in

47 HANS: C- 1892 Kennaway (C) have been sent to gaol: On the other hand, when others were brought before the Magistrates charged with assaulting the police, they were only bound over to keep the peace, or light fines were inflicted, except in the case of the man Mason in August last, when the Magistrate put his foot down, and sent the man to prison for seven days: What was the result? The Magistrate's windows were broken that night, and the consequence has been that no more of the assailants have been sent to prison: If the evidence before me is to be relied on

48 HANS: L-1892 Brodrick (C) : In the last 17 years which have elapsed since the appointment of the Noxious Gases Commission, science has done a great deal in the direction of mitigating evils of this class, and one hopeful sign which we had which, even then, was that whenever the Legislature, acting judiciously, had put its foot down firmly and said " this thing should not be, " it always happened that science found some way out of the difficulty which enabled the wishes of the legislature to be carried out without any serious injury to manufacture, and with enormous benefit to the rest of the population:

49 HANS: C- 1893 Byles (Li) the declarations which were being made that the legislation to be passed by Parliament would be resisted by force of arms: He should have thought that the Tory Party, which had been so loud in its condemnation of disloyalty when shown by other inhabitants of Ireland, would have been the first to put its foot down upon such threats: He should have imagined that a Party which called itself Unionist and Constitutional, and which prided itself upon being loyal, but which showed its loyalty by threatening disobedience, its Unionism by drilling in secret at midnight, and its Constitutionalism by storing 394 Orange Lodges

50 HANS: C- 1893 Goschen (Li) I am quite sure, so far as a Chancellor of the Exchequer's personal convenience is concerned, that the struggle to secure a large portion of the surplus is a much more severe one than the struggle to resist the imposition of taxation: I was delighted to hear the right hon: Gentleman put his foot down very strongly with regard to the increase of Expenditure: He said truly that this is not a Party question: Sometimes the charge of increasing Expenditure has been flung about needlessly from one Party to another: But I entirely agree with him, and, speaking as an ex-chancellor

51 HANS: C- 1893 Goschen (Li) plans which led to an increased Expenditure: Of course, as the right hon: Gentleman pointed out, the House of Commons and the country must not be surprised with having increased Estimates if such movements continue: Then let me take the question of the Post Office, where the right hon: Gentleman put down his foot very strongly: But I wish, as late Chancellor of the Exchequer, he had put some restraint upon his Colleague, the present Chief Commissioner of Works: While the only economists, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Prime Minister, were frequently not in the House on

52 HANS: C- 1893 ---- (Li) carried out certainly two important reforms: He advised that smoking opium should not be allowed on the premises where it was sold, and that the clause which levied a fine in the Bombay licence where the minimum quantity was not sold should be repealed: And this Government only the other day has put down its foot at last in Burmah, and declared that the use of opium should be abolished in both Lower and Upper Burmah, except to licensed smokers, and that there should be no new licences to the Burmese: The Government have thus said that the trade is immoral in Burmah,

53 HANS: C- 1893 ---- (Li) necessary? There must be somebody on the spot for the purpose: What could be more appropriate, then, than to have as a Member of the Irish Cabinet a Minister who would lend assistance to that Cabinet when proposals were made which were within the Home Rule Charter, but who would put his foot down as soon as the Irish Government attempted to go beyond that Charter? § MR: LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, the hon: and learned Gentleman who had just sat down had uttered three sensible words: [ " Oh
bear the burden, and not throw it upon posterity: There is another point I should like to
call attention to— namely, the labours of this Committee: Gentlemen have complained of
the enormous burden this Committee is to those who serve upon it: But so it will be unless
they put their foot down at once, and say they will not deal with special exceptional
cases that require special exceptional legislation, and that they will not allow promoters to waste
the time of the Committee by discussing general legislation with which this House has
already dealt, or by discussing matters that could be

their purpose they were very much hampered in their work: He hoped, therefore, that the right
hon: Gentleman would give the Committee a more satisfactory assurance than that the
Stationery Office would be consulted: He was quite sure that if only the Minister for Agriculture
and the Secretary to the Treasury put their feet down no more would be heard of the matter: §

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and the Secretary to the Treasury put their feet down no more would be heard of the matter: §

gentlemen would have been pocketing their 10 or 20 guineas a day, and it was quite possible
the proceedings of the Commission would have been going on practically until the end of this
Parliament: Whatever else might be said of Mr: Justice Mathew, he considered he did the
proper thing when he put his foot down and plainly told the two hon: and learned Gentlemen
that that was not a Court of Law: He did not intend to enter at length into the questions now
before the House, and certainly he did not intend to reply to the string of disquisitions the last
speaker had presented

made between the Railway Companies and the traders with regard to the new rates, he would
put, his foot down, and deal with the question: That promise had not been fulfilled, and he (Mr:
Weir) would warn the right hon: Gentleman that unless he stiffened his back, put his foot down firmly, and dealt with the Railway Companies energetically on this matter, there would be some
difficulty in getting Railway Bills through this House: He (Mr: Weir) had no desire to press his
opinion to a Division; but he thought

he could not allow the Bill to pass without a protest against the policy of the President of the
Board of Trade: The right hon: Gentleman promised before Easter that, if some satisfactory
arrangements were not made between the Railway Companies and the traders with regard to
the new rates, he would put, his foot down, and deal with the question: That promise had not
been fulfilled, and he (Mr: Weir) would warn the right hon: Gentleman that unless he stiffened his back, put his foot down firmly, and dealt with the Railway Companies energetically
on this matter, there

rather than useful: Everything for which we have asked with regard to the agricultural interest
has been refused: Early in the Session we asked the Government whether it would not be
possible to give some further relief from local taxation; 1411 but the Chancellor of the
Exchequer and the Prime Minister absolutely put their feet down upon any proposals of that
kind: The Chancellor of the Exchequer is aware that I have always been a great advocate of
currency reform in the interest of the agricultural portion of the community: I entertain that

the abolition of the regimental system, and he agreed as to the desirability of attaching young
medical officers to a regiment in the early part of their service as recommended by the
Camperdown Commission: He also held with the hon: Member for Preston that the time that had
come for the War Office to put down its foot, and say that no further concessions should be
made to the Medical Department: It was a most costly Department; the cost of the non-
effective branch was more than 75 per cent: of the cost of the effective branch, and the
eventual result would be that the non-effective

whatever might be their excellences in other respects, were surely inferior to the Government
in judging of the proper construction of legislative proposals: He was afraid it was, to a certain
extent, too characteristic of this Government to give way: They were getting too much in the
way of first putting down their foot and then lifting it up again: He would remind them that
Government which ran 1495 away was not unlikely to be a fugitive Government: It was not the
mind of the Government, but it was the will that caused him alarm: He was not afraid for their
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years? Am I expected to

73 HANS: C-1895 Courtenay (Li)

national mind: They must have some different instructions given to them, and his right hon: Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to recognise that, although no argument would convince him, a confirmed Monometallist: They must have some liberty, some encouragement to keep their minds open, not to put down their foot too strongly, but to keep themselves in constant communication with those at home: He should only say one word in conclusion: He could assure his right hon: Friend that he was jealous of any action which would give any advantage to any person or set of persons who attempted

74 HANS: C-1895 ----- (Li)
decree: And he went on to say: — He would not hear of those arrears being allowed by landlords to hang over tenants and then have them slap decrees: In equity the thing should be put down: He had seen arrears kept over tenants since the famine: He had put his foot down on this thing in another county: Then the remark was made that since the Arrears Act it was very hard on the landlord, but the Judge replied: — It is not hard on the landlords; it is ten thousand times harder on the tenants: The tenants

75 HANS: C-1895 Saunderson (Li)

month after month and day after day they had been told to hold their hand, for if they did so, they would get the land at prairie value: If the House only showed that it was determined not to go a step beyond what was fair and just — that it would put its foot down on any attempt at injustice to any class, the Irish tenants would soon avail themselves of the advantages of the Acts: As far as he was concerned, he should give the Bill fair consideration; but if it remained unaltered, if it retained a principle which he looked

76 HANS: C-1895 ----- (Li)

introduced on account of the views of the 31 Welsh Members, who, he supposed, attended that meeting: Now here was an amendment which had been discussed by those hon: Gentleman and unanimously approved by them: No sooner was it proposed, after very inadequate discussion, than the Home Secretary put his foot down, and said: " The Bill will be wrecked if it carried: " For himself, and he was speaking on behalf of a good many others, he should view the wrecking of this Bill with no alarm, and, so far from considering that this property

77 HANS: C-1895 Rasch (Li)

: He thought the most foolish and effete step the late Unionist Government ever took was that of reducing the Royal Artillery, and taking their horses to form a military train: He was glad to see that the Royal Artillery were to be increased: He also congratulated the right hon: Gentleman upon putting his foot down on the absurd frequent movement of troops from one and of the country to the other, which seemed to him a stupid practice that was only carried out to justify the existence of clerks in the Quartermaster-General's department: The Chancellor of the Exchequer the other day, in the

78 HANS: C-1895 Hicks, Beach (Li)

that, though in some more 1724 favoured districts, the making of light railways might be promoted by the legislation now proposed, yet, where they were most wanted, and where agriculture was most depressed, this Bill would not secure their construction: He was very sorry that the Government had put their foot down against any policy of assistance by the State: He entirely differed from the view expressed by an hon: Member: That the assistance given to the construction of railways in Ireland was to save thousands of people from starvation: The assistance was not given for that reason at all: In

79 HANS: C-1895 ----- (C)

Times said that representations from the Chambers of Commerce of Manchester and London had caused a postponement of the date when the code would come into use: The Chambers of Commerce on the Continent and the United States were waking up to the necessity of opposition, and it only required the Government to put its foot down to stop the perpetration of this folly: What merchants wanted was expressed in the communication to the late Postmaster General from the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, in which they asked that " the codes we had constructed for our own use, and with which we were familiar, should

80 HANS: L-1895 ----- (C)

Salisbury by the Conservative Election Agency: He would ask what moral was to be drawn from this state of things: The moral 1686 that he would draw from them was this — that if he were the Prime Minister, if he were Lord Salisbury, with his enormous backing, he should put his foot down upon these proposals, and would take his stand upon freedom of contract, upon security of property, and upon the rights of individual freedom: It was upon that basis that the commercial prosperity of this country was born and reared and rested, and their Lordships might be assured

81 HANS: C-1896 ----- (C)
to have contagious diseases, and what it was to pay for them: Since the year 1878, however, he had not had to pay anything for pleuro-pneumonia, nor had he had to pay anything for losses through other diseases for many years past: He trusted the Minister for Agriculture would put his foot down and insist on the passing of this Measure: He denied there was any Protection involved in the Bill, except from disease, but maintained that its adoption would be to the benefit of the whole country: The consumer would get better and healthier meat — and he was persuaded
be unjust, and all I will say about it is that it is, practically speaking, the recommendation of another Committee: ["No, no!""] If it is not so, it is intended to be so and can be made so: I understand the Government have put their foot down against any variation of the Arbitration Clause, and have insisted on taking the Lands 29 Clauses Act absolutely: That is the position the Government take, and it is a position directly in conflict with the recommendation of the Committee over which Mr: Plunket presided: They are, therefore

over again complaint, was made that men got into the House as capitalists, and when they joined to the power that large capital had in that House the right of directorships, and voted on questions such as these, then he said they had reached a stage when the House ought to put down its foot: ["Hear, hear!""] The hon: Member for Salford had raised a point as to a shareholder not being disabled from voting: There was a great distinction between the two, for whereas a shareholder merely got his dividends, a director got his fees:

opposed the Bill: Last year the Minister of Agriculture was Mr: Herbert Gardner, now Lord Burghclere, and although in Essex they never considered Mr: Gardner a prophet as far as agricultural matters went, or that he had a wide acquaintance of the Department over which he presided, yet he always put his foot down over this question, and took a strong negative position in spite of the remarks and votes of his friends on the same side: The supporters of the Bill were asked why they tried to keep lean cattle off rich pastures: Hon: Members opposite could buy as many lean kine

thus, by a retrograde step, the consideration of private Bills was being brought back to the floor of the House: To show there was no very great accord on this subject, they had Members representing the various sections of the Irish Party differing upon it: He hoped the House would put its foot down and reject these clauses, by way of emphasising its intention not to allow private Bill legislation to be mixed up with political matters of this kind: § MR: JOHN DILLON (Mayo, E:) said that when

first served on the Committee, it, was agreed by the Lord Chancellor and everyone connected with it that, by passive agreement between the two Houses, no Amendment should be moved in a Bill except Amendments showing the Bill had not been fairly and honestly done: If the Government did not put their foot down in the House of Commons and say they would bring their majority to bear, and declare that no Amendments should be moved on a Bill except Amendments impugning the accuracy of the consolidation, the whole system would fail to the ground: With regard to the labour bestowed on the

which had been growing and increasing so much: Perhaps the rate might be delightful in theory, but there were two obstacles in the way: One was the Nonconformist conscience, which would not tolerate paying the rates for the maintenance of denominational schools, and also the Ratepayers’ Association which had put its foot down so firmly to resist any further charges upon the rates: Therefore, if additional aid was to be given to redress the inequality which at present existed they could only fall back upon an additional grant from the State: He quite admitted the hardship of the poor Board Schools,

affairs of Turkey, and thousands of Armenian, lives would have been saved: This was an international question of the gravest importance, and one which was bound to expand and questions such as these, then he said they had reached a position directly in conflict with the recommendation of the Committee over which Mr: Plunket presided: They are, therefore

to read a speech of the Commander-in-Chief in which he actually gave as a reason why more money should be spent on the Army that we had already spent so much on the Navy: There was a sort of competition between the naval and military authorities and if the House of Commons did not put its foot down, the people would be eaten out of house and home:["Hear, hear!""] The proposal was to increase the infantry and artillery: He would have thought it more desirable to increase the artillery than the infantry, and if it had been proposed to

he could not now discuss, but he confessed to a very strong feeling against the introduction of a controversial and political matter like the franchise into a private Bill: It certainly was as far back as he could remember, and had continued until quite lately, the practice of the House to put its foot down firmly on any attempt to open up political issues on a private Bill: This had been the rule always applied, and he should have almost thought the Rules of Order had declared against great subjects of controversy being imported into private Bill discussions: But that was a matter he
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| 91   | HANS: C-1897 Souttar (C) | It would do more harm than good to the agricultural labourer: § MR: ROBINSON SOUTTAR (Dumfriesshire) said he had also a similar Amendment on the Paper, but after the very strong way in which the Home Secretary had put his foot down, it was not, perhaps, wise that he should spend more than a minute in discussing the question, but he should like to spend that minute in grumbling on behalf of his constituents: He represented farm labourers, and he was not at all afraid, as the
| 92   | HANS: C-1897 _____ (C) | Weal of a large part of Scotland, and in these circumstances he thought the Government should take a stronger line than they had taken, and affirm by statutory enactment that such Board, finding themselves in a position to declare that land was required, should have the power to put down its foot and say to a recalcitrant proprietor that he must concede to what was for the public weal in regard to this matter of land: He approved the purposes of the Bill and of the constitution of the Board it was proposed to set up, but he would beseech the Government
| 93   | HANS: C-1897 _____ (C) | To criticise such action was when the action was proposed to be taken: 124 He founded what he said upon a decision of his predecessor: The hon: Member for Preston called attention to the action of the Board of Trade, and said that the President of the Board of Trade ought to put his foot down and insist upon securing for the Department a larger amount of the time of the House: The then Chairman ruled that the hon: Member could only call attention to the administrative acts of a Minister, and that it was not in order in refer to what a Minister had done
| 94   | HANS: C-1898 Duncombe (C) | Attempted in this case was to try a man for perjury in having sworn that he was not guilty of the accusation, and denying the circumstances of the story told against him: It was, said the judge, a perfectly novel experiment, and one in which it was his duty to put his foot down as firmly as he could: One of my objections to this Bill is that you are driving another nail into the coffin of our laws against perjury: We have laws against perjury— whether desirable or not, I am not prepared nor disposed to argue—but if we
| 95   | HANS: C-1898 Stewart (C) | Perfectly certain that if they do the animosity which exists between English and Scottish fishermen would disappear in a great measure: English trawlers come up from the South and break up our spawning beds and destroy our oyster fisheries, very valuable a few years ago, and I think it is time to put our foot down and see what can be done: We have had a very fair speech from the Lord Advocate, and I thank him for what he has done, and I hope he will continue his good work: So long as they do not confine their energies to the Moray Firth
| 96   | HANS: C-1898 Maclean (C) | To exact taxation from these tribesmen: These men have nothing left in the world but their courage, their arms, and their independence, and you propose to take away from them everything they have left: That is the proposal of the military party in India: But the noble Lord has put his foot down wisely and firmly: He has decided that the terms given to these tribesmen shall be generous, and that every effort shall be made to wipe out the jealousy and animosity that is spread among them owing to the Durand Agreement, which has done so much mischief, and I
| 97   | HANS: C-1898 Beresford (C) | We do? Go to war? I say, No: The last thing we ought to do is to go to war, if we can possibly avoid it: But a policy of accepting other people's assurances is much more likely to involve us in war than a policy of putting our foot down and saying, what do you mean and why do you mean it, and what are you going to do? The episode of the withdrawal of our squadron from Port Arthur is one of the most humiliating things that ever happened to this Empire: It was bad for the
| 98   | HANS: C-1898 Schnann (C) | Of the present Government contrasts very badly with the energetic conduct of Lord Rosebery: He once said, and it is well known as a fact, that we were within an ace of war with France: I belong to the Peace Party myself, but there are times when you have to put your foot down and keep it down: I know it is a maxim that when your right cheek is struck you are to turn your left cheek to the smiter: So far as I am concerned, if my right cheek is struck, I shall always turn my left cheek to the
| 99   | HANS: C-1898 Blake (C) | To the country in the fact of its over-taxation, and I think that result demands and necessitates the proposition of a remedy: The right honourable Gentleman has suggested that we should reconsider our view as to the Commission: He has told us that exemptions and abatements are absolutely impossible: He has put his foot down: He has said, there shall be no exemption, nor shall there be any 1010 abatement which shall involve an alteration of the system of taxation: If there is to be a remedial Measure, it must be by lowering the proposed condition of taxation, but still making
| 100  | HANS: C-1898 _____ (C) | Magistrates to these ships who are not fitted for sea life at all, and they ought not to be sent to the ships: My contention is that no boys ought, to be sent to the ships at all except they are fit for sea life: I hope the Home Secretary will put his foot down and assert that as a principle for the guidance of magistrates, and do his best to work out the system which was recommended by Colonel Inglis and all the witnesses before the Committee: I ask that some attention should
10.  

1899-1908

Literary sub-corpus

| 1. took to Noel. I can't think why. Dick and Oswald walked round the garden and told each | 1901 the woudbeg ods. txt |
| other what they thought of the new society. 'I'm not sure we oughtn't to have put our foot | 1901 the woudbeg ods. txt |
| down at the beginning,' Dick said. 'I don't see much in it, anyhow.' 'It pleases the girls,' | 1902 five children and it. txt |
| Oswald said, for he is a kind brother. 'But we're not going to stand | 1903 lady rose's daughter. t 180 |
| 2. dialogue now took place: Oswald--'Right you are. I always said it was piffling rot.' Dick--'So | 1904 tommy an co. txt |
| did I.' Oswald--'Let's call a council. But don't forget we've jolly well got to put our foot down.' | 1905 the marriage william ashe. txt |
| Dick assented, and the dialogue concluded with apples. The council, when called, was in but | 201 2 |
| low spirits. This made Oswald's and Dick's task easier. When people are sunk in gloomy | |
| 3. , 'it seems almost a shame keeping of them indoors this lovely day; but they are that | 1905 the marriage william ashe. txt |
| audacious, they'll be walking in with their heads knocked off some of these days, if I don't put | 201 2 |
| my foot down. You make them a cake for tea to-morrow, dear. And we'll have Baby along of us | |
| soon as we've got a bit forrard with our work. Then they can | |
| 4. for a character,' said Lady Henry. 'Oh, I admit there are possibilities--on her side. That silly | 1906 the story of th amulet. txt |
| goose, Evelyn Crowborough, would have taken her in, but I had a few words with Crowborough, | 216 1 |
| and he put his foot down. He told his wife he didn't want an intriguing foreigner to live with | |
| them. No; for the present we are chained to each other. I can't get rid of her, | |
| 5. on a message without feeling I was interfering with the housework." 'What are you driving at?" | 1906 the incomplet amorist. txt |
| demanded Tommy. 'Why, I don't have half enough to do as it is. I can do all--' Peter put | 213 1 |
| his foot down. "When I say a thing, I mean a thing. The sooner you understand that, the | |
| better. How dare you argue with me! Fiddle-de-dee!" For two pins Peter would have | |
| employed | |
| 6. been hearing of it on all sides. She _can't_ throw it over!" Margaret shrugged her | 1906 the story of th amulet. txt |
| shoulders. 'I believe she will." The older lady's face showed a sudden cloud of indignation. | 216 1 |
| 'William must really put his foot down," she said, in a low, decided voice. 'It is, of course, | |
| most important--just now--" She said no more, but Margaret French looked up, and they | |
| exchanged glances. 'Let's hope," said | |
| 7. there was no harm in it. The lad was not a Geoffrey Cliffe, and it was no doubt Kitty's mad love | 1906 the incomplet amorist. txt |
| of excitement which impelled her to these defiances of convention. But Ashe should put his foot | 213 1 |
| down; there was no knowing with a creature so wild and so lo | |
| 8. of the five or six thoroughly tip-top games that grown-up people are so unjust to--and old | |
| Nurse, though a brick in many respects, was quite enough of a standard grown-up to put her | |
| foot down on the tobogganing long before any of the performers had had half enough of it. | |
| The tea-tray was taken away, and the baffled party entered the sitting-room, in exactly the | |
| 9. out to the hall to see what had won the 4.30 race. He was dog-tired, he said, and that was | 1906 the incomplet amorist. txt |
| a fact; had been drivin' about with his wife to shows all the afternoon. Had put his foot | 213 1 |
| down at last. A fellow must live his own life. At this moment, glancing out of the bay window | |
| - for he loved this seat whence he could see everybody pass - his eye unfortunately, | |
| 10. thinking was this: if he 's not going to live there .... " Seeing both surprise and suspicion in | 1906 the incomplet amorist. txt |
| James ' eye , he quickly went on: " I do n't want to know anything ; I suppose Irene 's put her | 213 1 |
| foot down - it 's not material to me. But I 'm thinking of a house in the country myself , not too | |
| far from London, and if it suited me I do n't say | |
| 11. . There's just time. And I'll keep the money, and when Aunt comes back I'll tell her | 1906 the incomplet amorist. txt |
| everything. She'll understand." "Do you think so?" said the Inward Monitor. "Any way," said | 213 1 |
| Betty, putting her foot down on the Inward Monitor, 'I'm going to do it. If it's only for Paula's | |
| sake. We'll take rooms, and I'll go to a Studio, and work hard; | |
12. protesting against the tyranny of Lady Niton in obliging him to go to church. "She never enters a place of worship herself, but she insists that her young men friends shall go. Mr. Bobbie is putting his foot down!" "Miss Mallory, let me get you some fish," said Forbes, turning to her with a flushed and determined countenance. "I have now vindicated the rights of man, and am ready to attend—"

Hansard 1899-1908

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<td>HANS: C-1899 Hanbury (C)</td>
<td>the bottom of this matter: But, after all, we must recollect another fact, and it is this: that the Civil Service is a great deal too much inclined to attempt to put pressure upon Members of Parliament: That is a very bad system, upon which we ought to put our foot: It is bad enough when it is brought to bear upon the House as a whole, but what would happen with a Select Committee of the House? You would have the resentment of these Civil servants focussed and concentrated upon the unfortunate Members of that Committee, and I do</td>
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<td>HANS: C-1899 Campbell_B (C)</td>
<td>asserting the rights of this country: What had we seen before? In incident after incident we have seen valiant words spoken, followed by feeble action: We had seen claims gallantly put forward and promptly withdrawn: We had seen protests stoutly made, followed by meek acquiescence; the foot boldly put down and immediately lifted up again; a bold assertion of the rights of the country, followed by the concession of the very rights that had been claimed: Those concessions might have been in many cases wise and prudent: I do not dispute that for a moment— in fact, I</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>HANS: C-1899 Balfour (C)</td>
<td>I have seen the results which that policy has produced: The right hon: Gentleman talks as if we could have prevented the war between Greece and Turkey, by doing previously what has been done now, and he quotes an anonymous competent observer in Crete to the effect that England only had to put down her foot and the whole Cretan question might have been settled three years ago without any foreign complications whatever: Sir, the Correspondent of The Times is, I believe, the particular authority quoted: I have no doubt he is an excellent authority as to matters within his own observation,</td>
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<td>HANS: C-1899 Brodrick (C)</td>
<td>: Ta-ilen-wan is at present a treaty port: When I come to the question of railways I come to a thorny subject: My brief tenure of office at the Foreign Office has been greatly enlivened by letters from gentlemen who are seeking concessions in China, and who have urged the Government to put down their foot, and to insist upon concessions being given: Now I thinkthat this is a question which should have the consideration of the House: The Government desire by every means in their power to facilitate the granting of concessions to British subjects, but it is perfectly obvious that the very well in regard to officers on board ship: There is one other point which I wish to mention with regard to the large number of foreigners brought into our ships, and here again the President of the Board of Trade could do a great deal for the seafaring community if he would put his foot down to alter this state of affairs: A large number of vessels when they arrive at Hamburg, Rotterdam, or Antwerp, although their crews have only been at sea- a few weeks during their passage from the United Kingdom, discharge those crews at the ports mentioned, and ship</td>
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<td>HANS: C-1899 Wilson (C)</td>
<td>years there is no conceivable reason why a hundred amiable enthusiasts on the other side of the House should not ballot for a Bill next Session raising the age from 12 to 13 years: It is, however, necessary for us who represent agricultural interests to draw the line somewhere, and to put our foot down: There may be a majority against us, but, ofcourse, we can not help it: It is useless to try to keep out the Atlantic with a mop: In fact, I am rather like Athanasius against the world, but I make my protest on</td>
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<td>HANS: C-1899 Burns (C)</td>
<td>long they mismanaged the public duty that Parliament entrusted them with fears and years ago: &quot;I believe that the best thing in the interests of these two companies— I ought really, Sir, to receive a substantial solatium for making these excellent suggestions— is for the House of Commons to put its foot down and say— &quot; We have stood your blundering and plundering toolong; you must know what you are going to do, and must be certain of it, the public must be satisfied as to your capacity to discharge your obligations, and Parliament will then devise means by</td>
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<td>HANS: C-1899 Atherley_J (C)</td>
<td>may be a motive which is stronger even than religious fanaticism, and that is, vengeance for the outrage which has been inflicted upon their chosen leader and religious chief: Is that a justification? Are we not strong enough; are we not sufficiently great and powerful as a nation, having put down our foot, to withstand a fanatical force? Is it not an indication of weakness to</td>
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the fanatical followers of the Mahdi that we have to destroy two or three of their religious chiefs in order to prevent the necessity of having to cross swords with them a second time? Now,

9 HANS: C- 1899 Beresford (C) Syndicate, and what will become of all that English capital which has been invested there: Moreover, what will become of that country which is not designated the Yang-tze region, which has no boundary, and about which no agreement has come to with Russia? I hope the Government will put their foot down on this question if on nothing else: We gave over to Russia the Newchwang Railway, I suppose, for the sake of peace: Why should not Russia give in to us about the railway to Pekin if the railway goes to Pekin? Russia must dominate the whole of

10 HANS: C- 1899 Beresford (C) of peace: Why should not Russia give in to us about the railway to Pekin? if the railway goes to Pekin? Russia must dominate the whole of China, and that would become a more serious question than anything else for this country: My own opinion is that if our Government would put their foot down over this question they would find that Russia would not make the railway: I believe that it is a very clever bit of diplomacy: I do not think they ever intended to make the railway, but that they imagined we would object to it, and that they would

11 HANS: C- 1899 MacNeill (C) well be found: The person who opposed Catholic emancipation was not one of his own colleagues; it was the same person who lost this country America—King George III: The idea of trying to draw a parallel between 1899 and 1801 is simply absurd: If the right hon: Gentleman would put down his foot as Mr: Pitt ought to have done he could carry this question instantly: The matter is not even in so good a position as on the 28th August, 1889: The First Lord gave a definite promise to do his best to introduce a Catholic University Bill: A few

12 HANS: L-1899 ----- (C) ; and if one asks for a clear statement of policy, one is told that one is crying out for war: At the outset, I repudiate this misinterpretation of language: I thoroughly agree with the noble Earl who opened the Debate that it is only when we act firmly, and put our foot down, that the South African Republic have given way: I donot desire to go one step further than I feel warranted in going by the language of the High Commissioner in his telegram of the 4th of May, and in the Despatches which have just recently been laid on

13 HANS: C- 1900 Tully (C) grand juries, imagined they had nothing more to do except to incur the inconvenience of coming to the meetings of the councils for their cheques: We could not find our way to agree to that arrangement, and we were not going to put up with high rates and bad roads: We put down our foot, and the contractors howled when we insisted that there should be good roads: Under one of the provisions of the Act I was, fortunately, able to secure five miles of road for direct labour: The ratepayers thought we were going to rob them, but the result

14 HANS: C- 1900 MacNeill (C) be removed another year, rather than run the risk of losing the Bill: § MR: SWIFT MACNEILL said the Members of the House of Lords were overwhelmingly in favour of the Bill, and surely the right hon: Gentleman ought to put his foot down and have the courage to put in this section, which wassupported in another place by two Cabinet Ministers, one of whom had declared that it was an infringement of the privileges of this House: The right hon: Gentleman was wrong in saying that the Lords were against this

15 HANS: C- 1900 Arnold _F (C) a moment what the education, enterprise, and self-respect of men of a certain class of life would enable them to do: They did not in the least grasp what the special knowledge of seamanship and so on of the class of men to whom I have referred could do, and they put down a very heavy foot upon this volun- 1287 teering experiment: I agreed withthem and thought they were right in that case, but they have never yet allowed an experiment to be tried on a sane and reasonable footing: I have over and over again asked that at least a chance

16 HANS: C- 1900 Cameron (C) to avail themselves of this new method of getting underground wires, are establishing exchanges right and left, and are applying to the Government to connect them by underground wires: That certainly could not have been contemplated in the original agreement, and I trust the right hon: Gentleman will at all events put his foot down on it, and will prevent what is manifestly as much anabuse even of technical legal rights as I hold that the conferring of these technical legal rights was an abuse of the whole spirit of legislation: § *

17 HANS: C- 1900 ----- (C) are allowed to slip through the net: When it is a question of controlling the Foreign Office, the Treasury makes no question at all: It passes the proposals from that quarter without a word, but when it is a question of stopping a few pounds in other Departments, the Treasury puts its foot down and stops the whole thing: I have shown, and Ihave endeavoured to do it very briefly, what are the powers claimed by the Treasury: I have shown in the case of one important official what he knows to be facts in relation to the exercise of these

18 HANS: C- 1900 Wilson (C) seamen on board our ships carrying stores and war material: One of the items on their programme at the General Election was to prevent alien immigration into this country; and that is one of the planks of their platform still: Surely, then, they ought, of all Governments, to put their foot down and say that every vessel carrying Government property shall be manned by British subjects or by foreigners who have been long resident in this country: Perhaps the right
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<td>HANS: C-1900 Boulnois (C)</td>
<td>and on the London County Council: I recollect that in a debate which took place here on one occasion last session the right hon: Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton, who was in favour of the admission of women to these borough councils, said he should go no further; he should put his foot down and make no further concessions; he would never admit them to the franchise or the House of Commons; but I predicted, when both he and the right hon: Gentleman the Member for East Fife, the late Home Secretary, were in favour of this proposal, although absolutely</td>
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<td>HANS: C-1900 Fowler (C)</td>
<td>Judges and others for three or four years, and they have sent the Bill down to this House: I do not mean to say that the measure is perfect, but upon many points connected with it there is a general assent among the commercial and legal public: If the Government would put their foot down they can carry that Bill through the House during the remainder of this session: [ Mr: GIBSON BOWLES dissented: ] My hon: friend the Member for King's Lynn shakes his head, but I think even his opposition might be overcome by a strong Government: Then there is</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>HANS: C-1900----- (C)</td>
<td>the only one in the world which has not got such a head-dress: Why does not the hon: Gentleman take an example from the Navy? The Navy cap is very much like the cap worn by the German soldier, and there is nothing smarter: Let the hon: Gentleman take courage and put his foot down and override all these questions of taste, smartness, and fashion: I do not know anything more ridiculous than a Guardsman walking about London with a little tin pot perched on one ear: You can not lie down comfortably in it, and when a man stands up he</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>HANS: C-1900 Gedge (C)</td>
<td>Bill, and its introduction was due to the fact that we have no Prime Minister— Lord Salisbury, as a Foreign Minister, was beyond all praise, but his duties and anxieties as Foreign Secretary precluded him from paying attention to the sentimental nonsense of his colleagues, or he would have put his foot down on such a Bill as this: Although at one time he had hoped that he would be able to vote for the Second Reading, and that Clause 1 would be struck out in Committee, he felt now that he could not do so, having regard to the imminent</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>HANS: C-1900----- (C)</td>
<td>That was far more important than the speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland in that House: The Memorandum pointed out that it would be most unjust and unreasonably to expect that the fifty-two years instalments would be reduced: The thing was dealt with in an argumentative fashion, and the Treasury put down its foot and announced in a solemn form in a Memorandum that they would not reduce the fifty-two years instalments: The Treasury gave reasons, which he need not again read out, why it would be unjust and inexpedient to consent to this reduction: The position of the right hon: Gentleman</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>HANS: L-1900 Carning ton (C)</td>
<td>Council? What shall we hear from noble Lords who supported this action of Mr: Chamberlain? Shall we hear that they have changed their mind with the Secretary of State, and that they agree with this unconditional capitulation? I have but one word more to say: I hope the House will put its foot down on the doctrine which has been assiduously preached in some places, that Australian nationalism and federation is a Tory discovery, and that the friendship and support of the colonies are of Tory creation: This has been preached in the country by people who ought to know better, and</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>HANS: C-1901 Fitzmaurice (C)</td>
<td>Board appa- 1414 rently by some of these unfortunate motives had failed to administer the Act properly, and had used the powers given to them to put a construction upon the Act which had been questioned before the law: As a matter of general principle, he rejoiced when a court of law put its foot down against the most gigantic attempt ever made to set up administrative law, a law conceived in the secret rooms of a Government Department, to over-ride the law of the land: There were clauses and schedules in the Irish Local Government Bill which undoubtedly did arm the Board with gigantic</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>HANS: C-1901 Rasch (C)</td>
<td>been produced and which was not given: There was any amount of evidence which would have been revealed if the case had not been withdrawn, and probably it would have sent some people to Maidstone Gaol if it had come to the surface: I think it is high time that the House put its foot down on this sort of proceeding: Bribery has increased, and is increasing, and should be abated in many constituencies: We all know what happens: It does not matter what colour a man wears before an election: A man goes down— God knows where he comes from—</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>HANS: C-1901 Rasch (C)</td>
<td>sovereigns and papers the place with £ S notes, and when the election is over everybody knows perfectly that the amount stated in the official return only represents one-half of what the candidate has spent: I think some attempt ought to be made to bell the cat: The House ought to put its foot down and make an example of this place: § MR: JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) I am very glad that his motion has been brought forward: This is not a matter in which the House can delegate to the</td>
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28 HANS: C-1901 Herber t_J (C) , in the military service as in anything else, naturally wishes to do that which is easiest for himself, and it would be a pity if the great constitutional force of the Militia were in any way harmed by the new attractions of other forces: I hope the Secretary of State will put his foot down upon there being competition in the way of mounted men between the Volunteer forces and the Yeomanry: It would be very difficult in some parts of the country for the two forces to exist; they would only compete with each other, and the efficiency of both would be destroyed

29 HANS: C-1901 Bayley (C) : He thought it would cost more in small wars and collections than the sum was worth: and it would cause also a great deal of bad feeling: He thought the Government might consider some better way of raising that sum: He gave both the Government and the Colonial Secretary credit for putting their foot down in Ashanti in a determined manner: § MR: LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) said that if all hon: Members on that side of the House were convinced 439 that these wars were entered upon for legitimate British interests they

30 HANS: C-1901 Sheehan (C) from all blame: He was free to admit that they were often incompetent, and selected without due reference to their qualifications, but, if this was so, why did the Local Government Board, which possessed a veto in the matter, sanction their appointment, and why did it not put down its foot and insist on the appointment of properly qualified engineers? Looked at from any point of view, he submitted that the Local Government Board was primarily responsible for the erection of badly-constructed houses, and that before the bar of public opinion they would be held guilty of gross neglect in

31 HANS: C-1901 Wilson (C) and the incidence of the tax upon the particular industry to which he had referred was a matter of very great importance: § MR: JOHN WILSON (Durham, Mid) said he was sorry that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had put his foot down so firmly in regard to the postponement of this clause: Hethought it would have been better if he had waited to see if sufficient reason could be assigned to influence his mind upon this question: When at first deputations waited upon 1273 him for the purpose of asking him

32 HANS: C-1902 Redmond (C) hon: friends would take his advice, they would not prolong the discussion; but a limit must be put to this way of legislating for Ireland: Even at the risk of depriving some sections of the people of the benefits of such a Bill as this, they must in the near future put down their foot and say they would not be parties to Irish legislation being brought forward and pushed through in this way: HAVING made that protest, he asked his hon: friends not to raise matters of discussion on this Bill, for the sake of the poor people who would be in some

33 HANS: C-1902 Elliot (C) if necessary, but he did not think it ought to do so: But those who made it their Party strategy to defeat measures, not by argument but by tactics to cause delay, ought to remember that there was an inherent power which, if the majority chose to exercise it and put its foot down, must sweep away those tactics, and this would have to be done if the House of Commons was to remain a legislative as well as a debating Assembly: This Bill might be complicated in the working out, but in the way it had been laid before the House

34 HANS: C-1902 ---- (C) conclusion, and to that end would support the Government and Lord Kitchener, but I think we are entitled to know what the Government are going to do: Are they going to communicate with Lord Kitchener, or simply back him up through thick and thin; or are they merely going to put their foot down and decline to have any more discussion on the great constitutional question raised tonight: It is with great deference that I appeal to the First Lord of the Treasury and those on that Bench to make some concession to the very general feeling entertained on this side of the House,

35 HANS: C-1902 Whitel ey (C) I was down at Bury during the election very recently, and I had the honour of addressing there a number of meetings, and I can assure the 117 right hon: Gentleman that the feeling is very strong there in regard to this imposition: The electors have shown that it is necessary to put their foot down upon these proposals for reviving the corn duties, and they have declared that in their judgment the great necessities of life should be sacred from taxation now and henceforth: I know the Conservative Party very well in this House, and am fully convinced that there are many hon: Members

36 HANS: C-1902 ---- (C) good and bad promoters of tramway schemes, and good and bad local authorities: Our object is that justice should be done between these parties, and I do not think that justice is done when one of the parties is judge in its own case: Where a local authority is enabled to put its foot down on a scheme and veto it, the promoters of that schemenever get a chance of bringing their scheme before the public, or of obtaining the assent of this House to it, or of getting conditions inserted such as Parliament would approve: I was certainly somewhat astonished at

37 HANS: C-1902 Weir (C) were moving in the matter, not on their own initiative, but on the initiative of Sweden: This country had all along been too timid to take the initiative for fear of offending France or Germany: He remembered, the good old times when the head of the Foreign Office used to put his foot down and say, "This state of things must be altered:" They were rapidly losing the material for their best seamen, viz the line fishermen; foreign trawlers must be cleared out of our
firths and bays: They are now permitted to come in and devastate our fishing

38 HANS: C-1902 Weir (C) to be so restored and repaired that when Scotsmen, after long years of exile, returned to their native land, they would find the building in a satisfactory condition: There was doubtless a difficulty in getting money from the Treasury, but the right hon: Gentleman in charge of this vote should put his foot down and demand the necessary 884 funds: When English palaces, such as Hampton Court Palace, were concerned, money could be obtained easily enough, and if the Scottish Members were organised and stood shoulder to shoulder he believed money would be forthcoming for Scotland: He was glad to

39 HANS: C-1902 Verno n_H (C) less mischievous than that proposed in the Bill, the Committee would have made some progress: Hon: Members opposite, instead of observing a silence which did not give consent, ought to state frankly what they thought would be improvements in the Bill, and not leave it to the Government merely to put their foot down and say, "We will have the Bill as it is, it is for you to take it or leave it": Hon Members, however held their tongues, and said nothing of their opinions on the matter: A Bill of such national importance could not be

40 HANS: C-1902 ----- (C) § SIR W: HART DYKE (Kent, Dartford) expressed the opinion that the Committee were devoting a great deal of time to a matter not worth discussion: All were agreed as to what was to be secured, and that was, and once for all for Parliament to put its foot down upon a very evil system: He was very much opposed to burdening the Clause with these words, but he hoped the First Lord of the Treasury would go further than he had done in his speech, and would give them an assurance that words should be introduced, either

41 HANS: L-1902 ----- (C) dealt with afterwards: I speak only of the present situation: Lord Welby spoke of the Crimean war: At the time of the Crimean war the Government were blamed for having too long carried on negotiations, and it was contended that if they had at the first shown a firm front and put their foot down there would have been no war: That may or may not be true: On the present occasion the Government spoke firmly, and it is now said that if they had not spoken so firmly, but had prolonged the negotiations, there would have been no war: That

42 HANS: C-1903 Crooks (C) London, desirous of entering Parliament, wishes to meet with an affectionate and wealthy lady, view matrimony: Genuine: Highest credentials: The highest credentials seemed to be that the applicant had the moral courage to advertise for someone who would find him the money to enter Parliament: The House should put its foot down on that sort of thing by leaving an absolutely free choice to the constituencies in the selection of their representatives: It might be suggested that men would go into the House of Commons simply to make a living out of it But was there not in the present House more than

43 HANS: C-1903 Camp bell_B (C) asked for South Africa, and proportionately the charge in this country was reduced: § SIR H: CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs) desired to say a word in strong support of the Amendment: It was necessary that the House of Commons should put its foot down on such an occasion as a protest against the rate at which military expenditure was growing: The right 1397 hon: Gentleman no doubt could advance very plausible reasons for this great expenditure; but the country saw, and it ought to be the duty of the House of Commons to

44 HANS: C-1903 Colom b (C) the whole question, and the country must be left in no doubt as to the determination of Parliament in this respect: § *SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth) submitted that this was not the time for the House of Commons to put its foot § MR: CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid) said this provision applied only to that part of the premises where liquor was consumed: Therefore the alterations could only be ordered in that part of the premises where liquor was consumed

45 HANS: C-1903 ----- (C) The people were more or less in a state of starvation, and what was needed was a law giving the power of taking land compulsorily for the benefit of the people: The House would admit that landlords' rights could only be exercised to a certain extent: In this case the bailiff put down his foot, and said: " The land is mine, and I will not sell it": Whilst that action was allowed in Scotland, in the case of Ireland the Government came down with a scheme providing millions and millions of money: The right hon: Gentleman ought to induce

46 HANS: C-1903 Waso n (C) themselves willing to accept the opinion of Scotland through those Members: § MR: CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland) considered that time would have been saved if the discussion had not been directed to matters upon which the Government had already put down their foot: It was difficult to say where the objections to the Bill began and where they ended: The right hon: Gentleman in charge of the Bill said he was willing to give favourable consideration to any Amendments urged upon him with the object of improving it: He hoped the right

47 HANS: C-1903 Verno n_H (C) £ 30,000,000, and therefore in all these directions I see no hope of relief, but rather calls for further expenditure: Then there is Rhodesia: It is and always has been insolvent, and depends on grants-in-aid from the Chartered Company: I am glad to see that Lord Cromer has put his foot down heavily on that wild cat scheme, the Cape to Cairo railway, and I hope we have heard the last of it: But seeing that you ask the nation to pay £ 30,000,000 more in taxation than it paid
four years ago, we call upon you to justify

48 HANS: C-1903 Brien (C)
opinion of the people of Ireland, and of 100 out of 103 Irish representatives: Therefore in
proposing this Amendment his hon: friend spoke in the interests, not only of the people of
Ireland, but also of the vast mass of the British taxpayers: If the right hon: Gentleman would
only put down his foot upon this question and say that he recognised that they ought not to
fetter the tenants any more than they fettered the landlords, and if he would recognise that
this wretched minimum price was only really demanded by one very small section of the Irish
landlords, who did not love

49 HANS: L-1903 Chartelis (C)
Instead of blindly following the Front Bench, whether their measures be sound in principle or
not, you should take your stand according to your rightful position in this constitutional State
and say, "No! Principles before Party: 600 We have had enough of Government without
principles: We intend to put our foot down and pass no measure which is not sound in principle, and,
above all, we will not pass a measure which for the first time in our legislation limits the
trade of a trading nation, and the hours of free adult labour: " I believe that to be

50 HANS: C-1904 McArt (C)
its industries being taken away in detail by aggressive taxation on the part of foreign competitors
or by such a restriction of the area of competition that free trade had no room to operate: Our
trade, he believed , was 1417 suffering from both these causes: The country wanted the power to
put its foot down and to say, " We are unfairly treated: " Everybody was a consumer, but the
consumer was not everybody: He was not prepared to vote for the Amendment, for the
Government had no desire to return to protection, and they disavowed their intention of taxing food

51 HANS: C-1904 Shaw (C)
, whatever its many virtues, could not be described as a strong Government: How long,
however, were the British people going to stand this? He wished his right hon: friend— he said
it from his heart, and with all respect for him— had had the courage to put his foot down to
Lord Milner: Let him assure his right hon: friend, if it was not too late — to do it, that if he would
only resist the malign influences which were behind this measure— influences which were
inimical to the working classes and to every class in this

52 HANS: C-1904 Cullinan (C)
! The hon: Member must not attack the Judges: § MR: CULLINAN said he simply wished to point
out that the Receivers of the Court were doing everything they possibly could to defeat the Bill,
and until the right hon: Gentleman put his foot down on such conduct the measure would not
work satisfactorily: If farmers, under the thumb of rack-renting landlords, found that thousands of
their neighbours were more fortunately placed, because they had been able to purchase their
holdings at fair and reasonable prices, the right hon: Gentleman must not

53 HANS: C-1904 Fowler (C)
at the beginning of the year with the intention of presenting Supplementary Estimates to fill up
the gaps: They were to be regarded as a dose of medicine to be taken in the early weeks of the
session before the Appropriation Bill could be passed: They were all agreed that the Cabinet
should put down its foot with regard to those Estimates, but the tendency of all departments
and the strong influence they were able to exercise, enabled them to continue this disastrous
procedure which caused the House to lose control over the expenditure of the year: He was not
blaming the Government just now,

54 HANS: C-1904 Taylor (C)
they received, the House had no exact knowledge: They had handled the Transvaal loan of £
30,000,000 in 1903, which had already been discussed in the House: He understood that the
Crown Agents wanted to have the floating of that loan, but that the late Chancellor of the
Exchequer put down his foot and would not allow it; but all the same, in their accounts for
1903, they did operate this loan in some connection, and he 935 desired to ask whether they
received any commission on that loan of £30,000,000, and more particularly whether they
charged the

55 HANS: C-1904 Fowler (C)
sure that those increases should be regarded as necessary: We have been told to-night that the
next seven years are by no means to be cheeseparing times: In fact, the right hon: Gentleman
goes on an ascending scale: that we will have our taxation increased year after year: We must
put our foot down and say, " Thus far, and no farther: " Sir Robert Peel said that there were risks
which must be undertaken: We are in danger of a growing expenditure in all Departments of
the State: The regularly increasing expenditure has become epidemic: It is not confined

56 HANS: C-1904 Ashton (C)
to the fact that Mr: Gladstone was in office that the expenditure only rose by £500,000 a year,
and it was because he was absent from the Government after that time that the expenditure
had risen: He thought they were now in want of another man like Mr: Gladstone who would put
his foot down and check expenditure: The right hon: Gentleman the Member for WestBristol did
his best, but after a time he was overpowered by his extravagant colleagues, and he had to
resign his position: He wished to say a few words about the deficit of the past year,

57 HANS: C-1904 Hicks (C)
House and by the country: I do not quite see why we should wait for the general election to try it
in another instance: I fancy there are negotiations now going on with certain foreign countries
with regard to commercial treaties, and if the right hon: Gentlemen on that Bench will only put
Beach (C) their foot down in this matter and will deal with those negotiations on such a principle 687 they will have no warmer supporter in this House than myself. There is one thing I should say, however, that you must dissociate this matter from the question of colonial preference: In my belief

58 HANS: C-1904 Hamilton (C) assuredly bring disaster and ruin upon our great political Party, will be a continuance of the dilatory tactics of the last six months, and, therefore, I do implore them— I hope I will not give any offence to my old friends — to screw up their courage and to put their foot down, and even go further than the President of the Board of Trade, and repudiate protection in all its aspects: § SIR: JAMES KITSON (Yorkshire, W.R.) Colne Valley, said he had been for

59 HANS: C-1904 Vincent (C) 1,600,000 and with another item of precisely similar character at another time: Both these proposals ought to be reviewed at the same time, and accepted or refused together: The truth was that the Naval Works Bill had become a grave financial scandal, and a grave danger: This Committee could not put its foot down too soon on this particular point, and say that the whole financial expenditure of the year must be discussed in one budget: At the present moment the budget represented only a proportion of the expenditure, and he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer when making his financial statement would

60 HANS: C-1904 Ellis (C) , and they ought to have had representing the Government somebody who had been au courant with the current of temperance reform in this country: In his opinion the First Lord of the Treasury committed a solecism and an offence against the House by coming in late during the discussion on Wednesday last and putting his foot down upon a common agreement which had almost been arrived at on both sides of the House: When this interference took place, the debate had been conducted with terse argumentative speeches which manifested a real desire to get at the root of the matter, and that was the state of

61 HANS: C-1904 Ellis (C) arrived at on both sides of the House: When this interference took place, the debate had been conducted with terse argumentative speeches which manifested a real desire to get at the root of the matter, and that was the state of things last Wednesday when 531 the Prime Minister hurried in and put his foot down upon the whole thing: The flourishing of these sixty-five pages of, Amendments by the Prime Minister was a little unworthy of him, because hon: Members knew that these Amendments vanished like snow when the governing principles had been disposed of and many of the Amendments were duplicates: But

62 HANS: C-1904 Colombo (C) fuller explanation as to that: The right hon: Gentleman said generally that he contemplated a reduction in the colonial garrisons, but he did not mention the garrison artillery: He heard with the greatest satisfaction the declaration of his right hon: friend, that he intended to put his foot down firmly against putting the cost of submarine, or what was called aquatic business, on the Army Estimates, and applying soldiers to work they were not qualified, by any means, to do: He thought every sensible man would cordially support his right hon: friend in that direction: They had it acknowledged clearly

63 HANS: C-1904 Broadhurst (C) by the Solicitor-General, But he would like to point out to the hon: and learned Gentleman that it was not unknown that magistrates who were practically the owners of public-houses were to be found at times sitting on the bench when licensing cases were under consideration, and he was glad the Solicitor-General had put his foot down upon that practice: With regard to his observations as to temperance men going on the bench with their minds already made up against a licence, he would like to point out that there was no similarity between the two cases, as the temperance reformers had no direct interest in

64 HANS: L-1904 ----- (C) and although I think it doubtful whether the reduction of the Volunteers and the division into classes is a wise step, I am quite ready to admit that the Government may be right on these points: I am particularly thankful to the noble Lord and the Secretary of State for War for having put their foot down absolutely upon the possibility of conscription, although I am sorry to find that there is still a noble Lord in this House who advocates compulsory service: However, we have had it on the authority of the Secretary of State for War himself and of the Under-Secretary that in their

65 HANS: C-1905 Fitzmaurice (C) to France, according to whether the Royalist or Republican movement was triumphant: After the lamentable assassination of the Emperor of Russia an attempt was made to induce us to alter our alien laws, and so also in regard to movements in Greece and Turkey, but Lord Granville put his foot down and said there should be no alteration at all: § MR: A: J: BALFOUR said the noble Lord had made a most uncalled-for attack upon the Attorney-General and himself which he should have thought the long Parliamentary experience of
to the instructions and solemn pledges of this country, for effecting a permanent interference in Tibet, the clearer we are on that score: I give the Secretary for India full credit for refusing to ratify the arrangement made at Lhasa, but it would have been better still if the Government had put down their foot earlier: Knowing the objective of the Indian authorities, and being strongly opposed to it, they yet suffered themselves to be goaded into proceedings which brought damage to the prestige of the country and involved the massacre of unarmed men: The officer in civil charge of the enterprise.

get rid of this wretched, rotten, sickening policy of conciliation, which meant bribing one's enemies at the expense of one's friends: That appeal unfortunately fell on deaf ears: Matters had changed now: they left it to the leaders of their Party, they appealed to them to put their foot down on this trickery and treachery towards Unionists in Ireland, and togive them a straightforward, resolute Government, which would be impartial to all sections of the community: The men who were responsible for the present state of affairs were guilty of much disservice to the Unionist Party.

Water supply good: This great Act, which he believed would put a stop to all this, had been used in such a way as practically to continue these applications, and he was a little ashamed that the Parliamentary Secretary, in view of his pledges to the House, had not put his foot down more strongly and stated that these things should not be 1246 done, and that the school should be struck off the grant list if they were done: The point he was making was that the Department had not done what it ought to have done: He thought they had.

, a Field-Marshal on full pay drawing £ 5,000 a year and a member of the Defence Committee, covertly attacked the Government and the War Office at a 678 meeting with the Lord Mayor in the chair, and committed a breach of every rule of military discipline, the Government ought to put their foot down: If the Army was to be reformed it must be done by a determination to stand no nonsense from these generals: Greatly as he admired Lord Roberts, he did not accept him as a great administrator: He had been some three years Commander-in-Chief and had done nothing to.

did take part in putting the scheme into shape: I will notice at this moment, lest I should forget it afterwards, the question which was asked by, I think, the noble Lord on the Back Benches: He asked why it was that the Chief Secretary did not at once put his foot down when the first notice of the scheme of the Irish Reform Association appeared in the newspapers: I think the answer is a two-fold one: In the first place, the first statement was much shorter, and was couched in much more general and indefinite terms than the second statement.

schools: He said— How about your schools: I understand the Liberal Party are threatening them? The clergyman replied— You are mistaken: I have been in communication with the Minister for Education, and you do not know, but I know, his courage and his toleration: He puts down his foot and says`Thus far and no further,’ and all the Dissenters in the world would not make him go further: His clerical friend adjured him to read the speeches of the Minister for Education before he came to canvass for votes: They were now told that the mandate.

to pass under Chinese control created some thing like consternation in this country, and the consternation would, I think, have been even more general and more marked if we could really have brought ourselves to believe that the rumour was 26 entirely true: I rejoice that His Majesty's Government have put their foot down with regard to this most important question, and I hope they will keep their foot down, and that we may look before long for some reply from the Chinese Government less evasive and more definite than that with which they characteristically attempted to put off His Majesty's Government at.

back of his mind the idea that the county was coming forward at the bidding of the Lord-Lieutenant to find the money which perhaps a parsimonious War Office would not give: This provision in his opinion, was of an entirely redundant character, and he sincerely hoped that the right hon: Gentleman would put down his foot once and for all and say that the service of the States should be maintained by the State: § MR: HALDANE said the associations, which would, he trusted, form a real element in the social life.

leading on to the full policy of Home Rule: I have not quoted the exact words which were used, but that is practically their substance: We know what has happened to these expectations; we do not know what would have happened if the hon: Gentleman and his friends had not summarily put down their foot upon the abortive legislative efforts of the Secretary for Ireland: Why, we should be now discussing, not only the English and the Scottish Land Bills, the subject of the Irish evicted tenants, Transvaal loans, and the other thirty-six measures we have to deal with, but
75  HANS: C- 1907
    -----  (C)
holdings in their inception and prevent the small holder being able to make his holding pay: The Amendment merely asked that the price to be paid by agree- 1142 ment should be referred to and passed by the Board of Agriculture in London, and that that Board should be allowed when necessary to put its foot down and say: "No, this transaction is out of the ordinary run, and must be stopped: It is so bad that small holdings will not pay at this price." The Amendment simply asked that they should give an impartial public body the opportunity of stopping any

76  HANS: C- 1907
    Hemm erde (C)
which went on from day to day in the form of subscriptions, etc: This indirect bribery led to direct bribery by encouraging everyone to believe that his vote had some money value, and he wished to protest as one who had seen something of this bribery and had done his best to put his foot down: He 322 earnestly asked the House whether they would be justified in allowing an election to take place in which the sole question would be who was responsible for the petition and who had stopped the bribery that had gone on for years: It would not be a fair election

77  HANS: C- 1907
    -----  (C)
but substantial, towards the positive solution of the problem which I have endeavoured to describe to the House: There is another positive contribution which I think might have been made, which we began to make, but which for some reason wholly unknown to me the present Government has also- 870 put their foot down upon: I do not think the suggestion was objected to by any Colony, and it was very enthusiastically welcomed by many Colonies, that there should be some kind of permanent staff in this country which should have no executive and no diplomatic authority, but whose business it should

78  HANS: C- 1907
    -----  (C)
the work for the Conferences as they meet at each four-yearly period: That suggestion was in an advanced state when we left office, but Lord Elgin or someone in the Cabinet, I presume, for some reason wholly unknown to me and not explained to the House in any Paper, has put his foot down upon it and expressed dissent from it, and that very modestly very excellent contribution towards a positive solution of the problem has been deferred sine die by the executive action of the Government: Putting this aside, in what direction can we turn for a contribution to the positive

79  HANS: C- 1907
    Weir (C)
He quite agreed, but they should see that they had the strength of limb with which to creep: Financially 619 there was no strength in the Bill even to creep: What could be done with £65,000 for the whole of Scotland? He hoped that the Secretary for Scotland would put his foot down and keep it down until the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stump-up sufficient money for Scotland's needs: They could always get money for England: The other day the Secretary for War in the jauntest, lightest, and sprightliest manner said he would give £150,000 more

80  HANS: C- 1907
    Balfour (C)
Gentleman: He understood that the right hon: Gentleman had declared it as part of his policy to prevent any hostel being added to a training college— to prevent a denominational hostel being added 69 to an undenominational college or an undenominational hostel to a denominational college: The right hon: Gentleman had absolutely put his foot down on that as a fundamental part of his policy, and he understood that to be in direct contradiction of his immediate predecessor, the Chief Secretary for Ireland: The right hon: Gentleman had made that a question of policy, and in that he thought he was profoundly wrong:

81  HANS: L-1907
    Caring ton (C)
his hands and had to pay £20,000 or £30,000: No doubt this Scottish custom is a very pleasant one for one side, and when I was chairman of the Welsh Commission several of the Welsh farmers urged that the Scottish system should be introduced into Wales: I resolutely put my foot down, and so did the other members of the Commission, against this innovation: It is a somewhat complicated arrangement, and I believe the sheep of the greatest value is a ewe with its lambs: In some agreements a ewe and a lamb are counted as one animal;

82  HANS: L-1907
    Barry (C)
which has got about in Ireland, and it is a thing which has been encouraged during late years by Governments and Parties giving way and bending too much before the popular Press and before popular bogies, popular clamour: If, when Mr: John Morley was in office in 1894, he had put his foot down, I believe the whole evicted tenant question would have disappeared by now, and you would have heard no more about it: But he did not do so; and the result has been that of late years a sort of idea has grown up throughout the country that a

83  HANS: L-1907
    Cranborne (C)
  wrote to say that, after all, the grants had only been suspended because there were difficulties between the manager and the local education authority; that they appeared to be complicated, and as their solution would take considerable time the grants would be paid meanwhile: And so Mr: Birrell, having put his foot down firmly, simply took it up again: That was in 1906: We come now to this year: At the beginning of the year the managers became, if I may use such a phrase, dead sick of this subject, and they said they could not hold themselves

84  HANS: L-1907
    -----  (C)
: These people knew when the Swansea local authority would adjourn for the summer recess; they ran matters up to the adjournment and now pose as if the delay was due to the local education authority: The local authority had been evaded and put off time after time, and at last they put their foot down and said that unless they got an assurance that the school would be rebuilt within a certain time they would withdraw the grant: The school has really to be rebuilt,
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instance, for a long time there was no playground, and the managers argued, if I remember rightly, with some obstinacy against the idea of providing one at all: That is a point on which the Board of Education, though willing to do all they could, were obliged to put their foot down: Then the cloakroom and lavatory accommodation was for a considerable time inadequate, and it was not until something like four years after the attention of the managers had originally been called to that fact that plans were submitted and a change made: The question, as I have said

| 94 | HANS: L-1908 Crewe Miles (C) | to terms, as we always wish to do, if possible, when discussing the details of a Bill in Committee: I recollect a case when my noble friend the President of the Board of Agriculture accepted some Amendments from us, and when the same difficulty was raised in another place he put his foot down and said that having accepted the Amendments it was his intention to see that they were retained: I am sorry a little more courage has not been shown in this matter: § EARL BEAUCHAMP Your Lordships made the following |