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Reciprocal Pronouns *each other* and *one another*

Reciproční zájmena *each other* a *one another*

Bakalářská práce

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"Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně, že jsem řádně citovala všechny použité prameny a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu."

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Souhlasím se zapůjčením bakalářské práce ke studijním účelům. I have no objections to the BA thesis being borrowed and used for study purposes.

Ráda bych poděkovala PhDr. Gabriele Brůhové, PhD. za odborné vedení, ochotné poskytnutí cenných rad a připomínek, vytrvalou podporu a za všechen čas, který nad mou prací strávila.

Abstract

The subject of this thesis are English reciprocal pronouns *each other* and *one another.* There are many approaches to the issue of reciprocity in English (such as generative, typological or transformational) nonetheless; this study attempts to approach the issue from the general perspective.

The thesis is a corpus based study and the primary corpus chosen for this analysis is the British National Corpus, from which 100 examples were extracted (i.e. 50 examples on the pronoun *each other* and 50 instances on the pronoun *one another*).

The main goal of this thesis was to map the immediate environment of the pronouns – in depth analysis was especially paid to the issue of the pronouns' antecedents, which concerns the number of participants in the reciprocal action (meaning whether they refer to two participants, to a group of three and more or whether they pertain to an unspecified group – i.e. when making a general statement). Further, the pronouns' preference to animate or inanimate entities was discussed, the pronouns' verbal collocates, their syntactic functions within clauses and finally their stylistic distribution.

Key words: reciprocal pronouns, number of participants in the reciprocal action

Abstrakt

Tato studie se zabývá analýzou anglických recipročních zájmen *each other* a *one another*. Jelikož existuje mnoho přístupů k problematice reciprocity (jako například generativní, typologický či transformační), je třeba podotknout, že tato studie k problému přistupuje z hlediska obecného.

Tato bakalářská práce je založena na získání 100 příkladů z Britského národního korpusu, přičemž 50 příkladů odkazuje na zájmeno *each other* a zbylých 50 příkladů na zájmeno *one another*.

Hlavním cílem této studie bylo zmapování podmínek, ve kterých se reciproční zájmena vyskytují – největší pozornost byla věnována počtu účastníkům v reciproční události, ke kterým zájmena odkazují (tj. zda zájmeno odkazuje ke dvěma účastníkům, ke třem a více či případně k nespecifické skupině, která se především užívá v obecných výpovědích). Dále bylo zkoumáno, zda zájmena upřednostňují životné subjekty před neživotnými, jejich nejčastější slovesné kolokáty a v jakých funkčních stylech se reciproční zájmena vyskytují nejčastěji.

Klíčová slova: reciproční zájmena, počet účastníků v reciproční události

Abbreviations

BNC	*British National Corpus*
OE	*Old English*
ME	*Middle English*
EModE	*Early Modern English*
ModE	*Modern English*
PDE	*Present Day English*
Od	*Direct object*
Oprep	*Prepositional object*
Exx	*Example*
CGEL	*A Comprehensive Grammar of English Language*

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1 Introduction

The subject of this study are the English reciprocal pronouns *each other* and *one another*. Throughout history of English language the linguists have not been able to come to an agreement as to how the pronouns differ or whether they differ at all. The pronouns' discrepancy has always regarded the number of participants in the reciprocal action and the pronouns' interchangeability (i.e. whether they are fully interchangeable or whether they exhibit certain subtle variations). Previously, the assumption was that the pronoun *each other* refers to only two participants in the action and *one another* to more. However, this thesis is confident that such differentiation is now considered as anachronism and that the current linguists conclude that the most essential difference between the pronouns lies in their stylistic variation, i.e. the pronoun *each other* is more frequent in informal style and *one another* in formal style. Such conviction also represents the working hypothesis of this study (i.e. that the reference to the number of participants is merely a relic of the past and that in the present the main variation lies in their stylistic distribution).

The theoretical part of the thesis briefly addresses pronouns in general and it also introduces the issue of reciprocity (the reason for the brief introduction is that the in-depth analysis regards other approaches to the issue, such as transformational, generative or even typological, which are not relevant to this study). Nevertheless, the prevalent part is dedicated to the reciprocal pronouns (their characteristic features, differences, similarities the pronouns share with reflexive pronouns and their syntactic function within phrases) and their development throughout history of English language. However, the most essential part of the theoretical background is dedicated to the various approaches of linguists to the issue of the number of participants in the reciprocal action, which have always represented the source of most disagreements among linguists.

The analysis is a corpus based study (where the default source of the data is British National Corpus) which focuses in greater detail on the number of participants involved in the action, on the pronouns' most frequent verbal collocates, on their stylistic variation and finally on their syntactic function within phrases. The analysis is carried out on the basis of 100 examples, i.e. 50 on the pronoun *each other* and 50 on the pronoun *one another*.

2 Theoretical background

2.1 General introduction to pronouns

To define pronouns in general has been a slightly problematic issue for linguists because pronouns, as a word class, constitute from sets of words (personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, indefinite pronouns etc.) which refer to other sets of words and thus their function varies. Usually, pronouns are defined as words that stand for nouns; however Bhat (2008:1) claims that: "most linguists find this definition to be unsatisfactory." The reason why linguists find this definition inadequate is that personal pronouns do not stand for any nouns as such, whereas in some languages pronouns (especially demonstrative and interrogative pronouns) do not possess only the nominal forms but also adjectival or adverbial forms; in some cases there are also the verbal forms registered. However, most of grammarians try to avoid such forms of pronouns in order for the pronouns to fit within the above mentioned definition; and so they categorize these problematic pronouns into the corresponding word-class (such as adjectives, adverbs, verbs) or they invent new terms to distinguish and acknowledge for this diversity. Bhat (2008:2) illustrates this instant with Quirk et al., who "use the term pro-form instead of pro-noun to account for this diversity." Other attempts to define pronouns have been made, however without any success; and so grammarians thus settled for this "traditional" definition of pronouns. (Bhat, 2008:1-2)

Pronouns constitute a closed category of words (the number of pronouns cannot increase) with a relatively small amount of members in their class. They are grammatical words, functional words with nominal function. Leech in *A Glossary of English Grammar* furthermore states that: "[pronouns] will fill the position of nouns or noun phrases and will also substitute for, or cross-refer to, other expressions." (Leech, 2006: 95) The following paragraphs discuss pronouns from the morphological and from the syntactic standpoint.

From the morphological perspective they are capable of expressing the following characteristics:

a. Case - we distinguish between:
   i. Subjective case - *I*
   ii. Objective case - *me*
   iii. Genitive case – *my/mine*
b. Person - there are three persons distinguished when it comes to pronouns:
   i. 1st person - *I, we*
   ii. 2nd person – *you*

      iii.   3rd person - *he, she, it, they*

c. Gender - this distinction is largely connected to 3rd person personal, possessive, reflexive pronouns

      i.   Personal

           a)   Masculine – *he, him, his, himself*

           b)   Feminine – *she, her, hers, herself*

      ii.   Non-personal gender

           a)   Neuter – *it, its, itself*

d. Number - unlike nouns the plural forms of pronouns are not marked by the plural *–s* suffix but the plural forms are formed by morphologically unrelated number forms

      i.   Singular - *I, you, he, she, it*

      ii.   Plural – *We, you, they*

e. Definiteness   - this factor is present only with possessive pronouns and "the distinction between definite and indefinite reference of a possessive is not inherent in the possessive itself, but depends on pragmatic factors." (Dušková a kol., 1999:269)

      i.   Generic – ***Our*** *life is but a drop in the sea of eternity.*

      ii.   Non-Generic - Specific

           a)   Situational – *Will you pass me* ***my*** *briefcase? – This one?*¹

           b)   Cataphoric - *While* ***his*** *fellow students were still schoolboys,* <u>*John*</u> *was leading a raffish private life.*

           c)   Anaphoric - *Have the children washed* ***their*** *hands?* (Quirk et al., 1985: 344)

Quirk et al. also categorizes pronouns from their semantic perspective. Semantically, pronouns are often used as pro-forms which occur when:

    a. They (pro-forms) may substitute for some word or a phrase

    b. They may signal that a reference is given to something that is known or given from the immediate situational context

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¹ Yet another division of pronouns' function is according to Huddleston and Pullum who claim that pronouns are mostly used either deictically (in which case they refer to a speaker or an addressee) or anaphorically (then the pronouns refer to their antecedent). (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 325)

c. They may stand for a very general concept in a way that their reference includes a reference of some untold more specific noun phrases (Quirk et al., 1985: 344)

Syntactically, the pronouns can function as:

a. Noun phrases *(The next state, 'I love **the me** in you. –* BNF 508*)*
b. Determiners *(Leslie's mother Lillian, also 61, said: 'She loves **her** job. –* CBF 5097*)*
c. Adjectives *(My eyes followed his **every** move. –* AA8 881*)*
d. Adverbs *(We drink **some** more, eat **some** more)I slept **some**. –* A6T 2280*)*[2]

2.2 Classification of pronouns

The division of pronouns into subclasses varies from linguist to linguist. Quirk et al's division in *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* will be considered as the default division as it is the most elaborated one. Table 1 summarizes the classification of pronouns based on CGEL. (Quirk et al., 1985: 345)
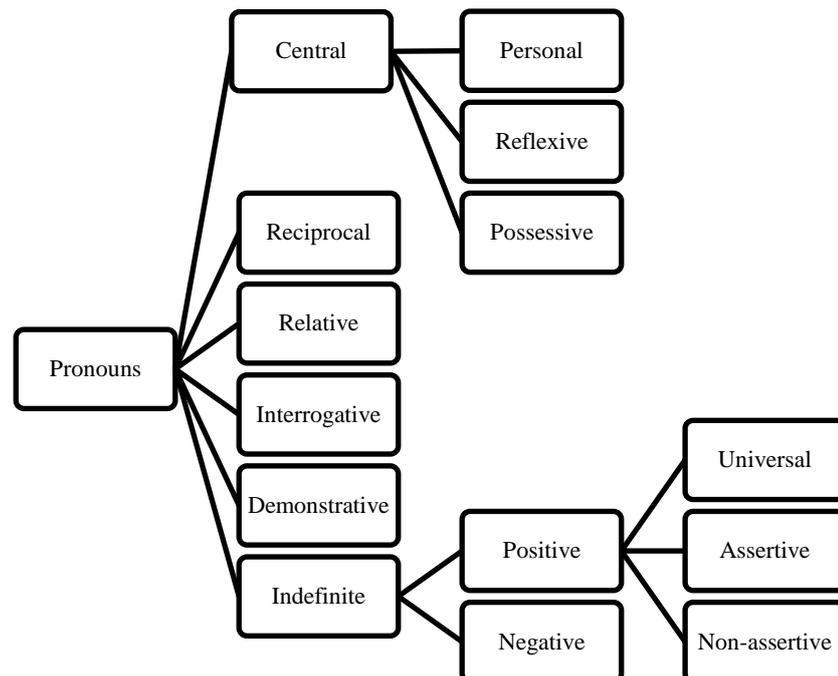
Table 1. Subclasses of pronouns according to Quirk et al.

Dušková's division of pronouns more or less corresponds to the one of Quirk's however; there are slight deviations especially in indefinite pronouns classification, which are divided into the following categories:

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[2] Examples a.-d. were taken from the BNC. Each of the sentences is provided with a code of the title in the corpus.
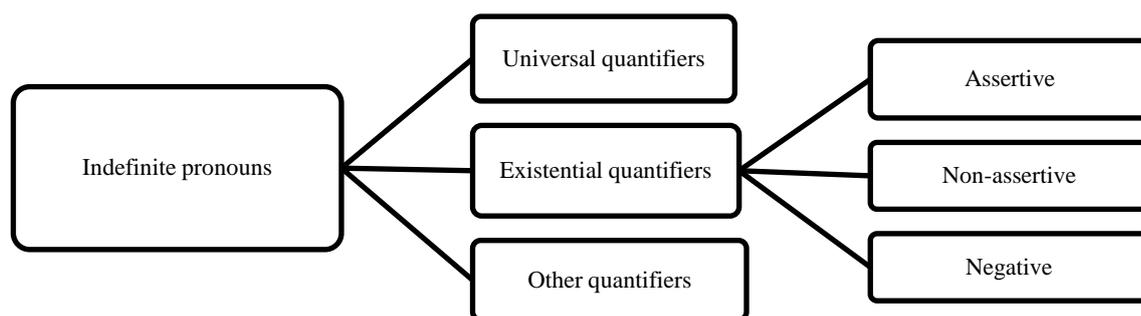
Table 2. *Duškova's division of indefinite pronouns*

Huddleston and Pullum distinguish only five subclasses of pronouns: personal, reciprocal, relative, interrogative and temporal. This is due to their not accepting certain determinatives in the so-called fused head NP-constructions as pronouns. The temporal subclass of pronouns is established by Huddleston and Pullum because they classify words such as *today* as pronouns even though such words are traditionally labeled as nouns or adverbs. (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 425)

2.3 Reciprocals

2.3.1 Reciprocity

Reciprocity is a universal phenomenon which all languages are capable of expressing; however by various means. The only universal concerning reciprocity is the plurality of participants. In some languages posses reciprocal construction overt markers of plurality that are encoded in nominal, pronominal, verbal, or adverbial expressions. (Frajzyngier, 2000: vii) The framework of reciprocal functions has been a source of heated debates in linguistic circles and the "reciprocal starting point" has not changed in the last half century. Reciprocity has not been studied only in linguistics but also in other sciences, such as biology, philosophy or the social sciences. Even though it did not receive the attention it deserved in social sciences, it has now become a vastly studied area. Linguists are inquisitive as regards various means how languages express reciprocity. As König and Gast mention: "In turning from biology, the social sciences, and philosophy (ethics) to linguistics one is struck by the fact that the term 'reciprocity' is used not only for positive interactions centering around the prototypes 'sharing', 'exchange', 'the gift', 'hospitality', 'cooperation' or 'mutual knowledge', but for all kinds of symmetric or mutual relations and interactions." (König and Gast, 2008: 3-4) In addition, they comprehend reciprocity as a disguised self-interest and mention that reciprocity is put into opposition with reflexivity. Simeon Potter however, does

not put reflexivity in direct opposition; he views reciprocity rather as a "two way reflexive relationship between agent and object, [which] may be expressed in more ways than one." (Simeon Potter, 1953: 252) According to Potter reciprocity may be inherent within a verb; nonetheless, he pays greater attention to the various means of expressing a reciprocal relationship which are the following:

a. By the usage of middle voice or the reflexive form of the verb
b. Simple or reflexive verb with adverb or adverb phrase
c. Pronoun nominative in combination with pronoun accusative (or genitive or dative) (Simeon Potter, 1953: 252-254)

2.3.2 On Reciprocal Terminology
Reciprocal constructions commonly share an obligatory prerequisite, which is the plurality of participants and they are commonly defined "in terms of propositional formulas like: V(a,b) AND V(b,a)". The "*V*" stands for a binary relation which is related to the participants *a* and *b*. (Frajzyngier, 2000: 166) For many linguists this definition represents the starting point regarding the reciprocal situations, for it fulfills the prerequisite (plurality of participants) and it furthermore comprises as a "powerful heuristic which is a convenient tool for linguists who are concerned with cross-linguistic identification of reciprocal markers." (Frajzyngier, 2000: 167) König and Kokutani comprehend reciprocal constructions as "grammatical means for the expression of symmetrical relations for any n-ary predicate and for at least one set of arguments." (König and Kokutani, 2006) Vladimir Nedjalkov in *Reciprocal Constructions* has a somewhat similar definition of the reciprocal constructions which is: "constructions with reciprocal predicate, either grammatical [by which he alludes to the derived predicate] or lexical [by this the inherent reciprocal is meant]" (Nedjalkov, 2007: 6) Nedjalkov is not the only linguist who differentiates between grammatical and lexical reciprocals. Haspelmath also distinguishes between these types of reciprocals. Haspelmath's article will also be the most essential resource in the following section, for his remarks are of the general nature and they do not submit to various approaches to reciprocity such as generative, transformational or even typological. Grammatical reciprocals posses the derived predicate whereas the lexical reciprocals (he also refers to them as the *allelic predicates*) "express a mutual configuration by themselves, without necessary grammatical marking."(Haspelmath, 2007: 4) In other words, the lexical reciprocals denote the reciprocal action by themselves without any further reciprocal markers (e.g. reciprocal pronouns). Those markers are only added to grammatical reciprocals. Furthermore, the lexical reciprocals are to

be distinguished from the grammatical ones by their constitution of semantically restricted set of predicates and their meanings belong to the following categories:

a. Social actions and relations - *marry, quarrel, frond*
b. Spatial relations – *adjoin, next to*
c. Relations of (non)-identity - *same as, different from, resemble* (Haspelmath, 2007: 4)

Similarly to Haspelmath's allelic predicates Quirk et al. speak of *mutual participation*, which is one of the means of expressing combinatory meaning. Here the participants of the action enter into a symmetric or reciprocal relationship as illustrated in the following figure 1:
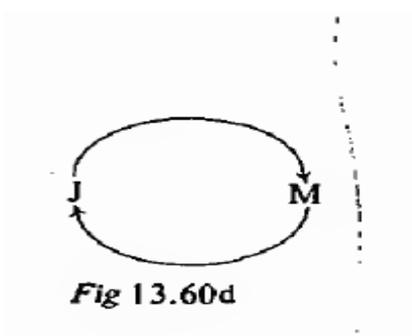
Figure 1. *Mutual participation*

The following example is Quirk et al.'s example of the mutual participation: *John and Mary played tennis.* Quirk et al. however suggests that this essentially may mean that both participants of the action played tennis with somebody else (as is shown in the figure 2); to fully express reciprocity or symmetrical action one needs to add reciprocal pronouns *each other* or *one another.* Yet another means for Quirk et al. that marks reciprocity are plural nouns in complement position like in the following sentence: *Mary and Susan are sisters/cousins/colleagues (of each other).* (Quirk et al., 1985: 954-955)
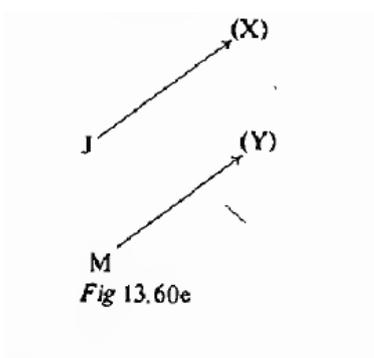
Figure 2. *Ambiguity raised due to the lack of reciprocal markers*

Returning back to Haspelmath and his studies of various universals concerning reciprocity he also states that fundamentally all languages do posses allelic predicates and these predicates can be either subject-oriented or object-oriented.

Nonetheless, the most fundamental term is *reciprocal*, which refers to both meanings (reciprocal situation and reciprocal event) and to forms (reciprocal construction, marker and predicate). (Haspelmath, 2007: 1) Haspelmath in his article differentiates between the terms reciprocal, which he uses only for what he calls "specialized expression patterns that code a mutual situation" and between the terms mutual which is reserved for the semantic plane. (Haspelmath, 2007: 1) This usage of the term reciprocal however differs from linguist to linguist. Instead of the term "mutual" König and Kokutani actually use the term "symmetrical" for meanings and "reciprocal" for forms.

A reciprocal situation, according to Haspelmath's paper or a mutual situation, is defined as "a situation with two or more participants (A,B,…), in which for at least two of the participants A and B, the relation between A and B is the same as the one between B and A." (Haas, 2008: 1) To illustrate with an example: *Pete and Kate slapped each other*. Such example illustrates the reciprocal action happening between Pete and Kate and the reason for it is that the sentence can be also written as the following: Pete slapped Kate, and Kate slapped Pete. Such example essentially suggests that Pete and Kate are both agents and patiens in the situation and the situation thus is to be qualified as mutual (reciprocal).

2.4 Reciprocal pronouns

Reciprocal pronouns constitute a relatively small group of words; only two pronouns fall into this category – *each other* and *one another*. English, unlike Czech, is provided with this special category denoting reciprocity, whereas in Czech the reflexive pronouns are also capable of expressing a reciprocal, mutual relationship besides their primary reflexive function. (Dušková a kol., 2012: 4.32) However, even in English the reciprocal pronouns share certain similarities with reflexive pronouns -- they both express, as Quirk et al. call it (Quirk et al.,1985: 364) "a two way reflexive relationship." We can compare this phenomenon with the two following examples found in CGEL: (Quirk et al., 1985: 364)

1) Reflexive pronoun: Adam and Eve blamed *themselves.*
2) Reciprocal pronoun: Adam and Eve blamed *each other*.

From the above examples it is to be recognized that both reflexive and reciprocal pronouns share the need for plurality of participants who are involved in the action. However, the variance lies in the meaning the pronouns carry, which contributes to the various

interpretations of the above sentences and more importantly to the variation between the functions of the pronouns. Whereas the first example suggests that Adam blamed himself and that also Eve blamed herself, the second example suggests that Adam blamed Eve and Eve blamed Adam, which essentially is the typical example of reciprocity. (Quirk et al., 1985: 364) Huddleston and Pullum unlike Quirk et al. focus on the features which differentiate reciprocals from reflexives, which are illustrated by the following points:

a. Reciprocals always functions as a complement; there is no emphatic use possible
b. Reflexives are not capable of having genitive forms whereas reciprocals are (*each other's, one another's*)
c. Reflexive is an inflectional property whereas a reciprocal is not (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 1502)

2.4.1 Each Other and One Another

Each other and *one another* are according to Quirk et al. written as word sequences (Quirk et al., 1985: 364) however most linguists treat them as compounds which means that they cannot occur in subject positions in finite clauses. (Raumolin-Brunberg, 1997: 227) These reciprocal pronouns have undergone a vast study of their stylistic and semantic differences, however even now there is no firm explanation of how the pronouns differ semantically, whether they are fully interchangeable or not. Most grammarians such as Biber et al., Dušková et al., Huddleston and Pullum, Swan and Quirk et al. all agree on the notion of the pronouns exhibiting no semantic difference between one another. Stylistically, they differ in that *each other* is used in more informal style whereas *one another* is to be found in formal style, especially in academic articles concerned with biology or anthropology. This will be further discussed in the practical part of this thesis and data for this research will be acquired from the British National Corpus (henceforth only as BNC). Yet, the stylistic differences between the two pronouns have not represented the main source of discussions; most of the disagreements which arise when it comes to reciprocals stem from the number of participants to which each of the pronouns refers. There have been debates and researches conducted upon this issue and yet there is no definite answer to this phenomena. Quirk et al. and Michael Swan support the opinion that *each other* is used when referring to two people and *one another* is preferred when alluding to either a larger group or when one is making a general statement. (Quirk et al., 1985: 364 and Swan, 1996: 175) Quirk et al. however admit that this distinction probably does not have a prominent foundation in usage.

2.4.2   Historical development of English reciprocal pronouns

Before immersing into the issue of number of participants associated with each of the pronouns the historical development of the reciprocal pronouns will be discussed briefly. Old English (henceforth only as OE) possessed a set of verbs which when used intransitively with plural subjects could express reciprocity, but besides this OE did not have any specialized reciprocal construction. The following examples prove OE having reciprocal predicates:

1) *ðær hie æt gefeohtum gemette* = There they met at the battle. (Ælfred, Oros., 127,26)
2) *Se bið gefeana fægrast þonne hy æt frymðe gemetað…* = That shall be the fairest of joys, when they at first shall meet… (Gutha, 83,1) (Haas, 2006: 35)

Another way to express reciprocity in OE was to use non-specialized plural object pronouns as in:

3) *Ne ðurfe we us spillan* = We need not kill each other. (Battle of Maldon, 34)

This example proves that the object pronouns were not bound locally which further suggests that they also expressed a reflexive relation. This reflexive relation, and in this instance also the reflexive anaphor, was also capable of signifying reciprocity (such phenomenon occurred on regular basis even in Shakespeare's plays). (Haas, 2006: 35)

In Middle and early Modern English (henceforth only as ME and ModE) not only pronouns were used to express the reciprocal relationship; the adverb *together* (which in OE had the form of *gemænelice* (example 7) or *togedere* (example 4-6)) apparently sometimes fulfilled the reciprocal function as well:

4) *Pilgrymes and palmers pliȝted hem **togedere**, to seke seynt James and seyntes in Rome.*
5) *They met so near with their lips that their breaths embraced **together**.*
6) *Sir, we have known **together** in Orleans.* (Potter, 1953: 253)

Potter provides even further evidence of this usage of the word together used by Wycliffe, by Walter Hylton and William Tyndale and so these examples undeniably confirm the truth that the adverb *together* indeed used to express the reciprocal function. Hass further adds that these collective adverbs were either added to the transitive clauses with the bare object pronoun in object position, or they could also occur without the object pronoun as in the following instance:

7) *Þæt ge lufion eow **gemænelice** swa ic oew lufode.* = That you love one another as I have loved you. (OE Gosp., John XV,12) (Haas, 2006: 35)

Another reciprocal expression variants were forms with *the other* which were the precise opposites found in French *l'un l'autre*, Spanish *el uno el otro* or Italian *l'uno l'altro.* (Potter, 1953: 253) The forms with *the other* had many possible alternatives as illustrated by the following figure taken from Haas' article:

(5) (a) ælc 'each' . . . oðer
    (b) æghwylc 'each'. . . oðer
    (c) ægðer/æghwæðer 'either'. . . oðer
    (d) an 'one'. . . oðer
    (e) ænig 'any'. . . oðer
    (f) oðer. . . oðer

Figure 3. *Variants of reciprocal expressions in ME*

These forms remained in use until Early Modern English (henceforth EModE) and another feature differing from the contemporary reciprocal pronouns is their discontinuity. (Raumolin-Brunberg, 1997: 228) Also, all of the above mentioned variants with *one (the one the other, one the other, one another, one another)* had their antecedents in OE and started to be used in approximately 13th and 14th centuries. (Potter, 1953: 254) The plural form *the ones the others* were also used, however it never became accepted in English, for the sentence *"They greeted (saluted) the ones the others"* (Potter, 1953: 254) would receive no comment in Tudor times and in Present-day English (henceforth only as PDE) it would be considered as unnatural and would certainly sound awkward to a native speaker, however the sentence as a whole is intelligible. As Raumolin-Brunberg puts it: "[These variants] do not represent the same type of compound unit as the Present-day English *each other* and *one another.* The reciprocal expression is divided between subject and object functions (…), so that the first pronoun, like *each*, or a noun with a corresponding determiner (…) represent the subject and *(an)other* the object." (Raumolin-Brunberg, 1997: 229) Eventually, English manages with only two reciprocal pronouns *each other* and *one another* which correspond to the Dutch *elkander* and German *einander.* (Potter, 1953: 254) Dutch and German actually does not distinguish in number of participants when it comes to reciprocal pronouns, however, English does, or at least the pronouns and this issue associated with them have been the source of many discussions of the linguists whether there is a difference or not.

2.4.3   Various approaches to number of participants in the reciprocal action

The English reciprocal pronouns have represented a linguistic dilemma for linguists, for they cannot decide or form a strict rule which would settle the distinction between the pronouns as such. As was mentioned in the section 2.4.1., most grammarians settle for the traditional distinction which states that *each other* refers to two people or things and *one another* refers to a group of more than two people or objects. Potter (Potter, 1953: 256) attempts to discover the roots for this distinction; however, he cannot find the traces for this distinction in the eighteenth century. "'To *each*' wrote Dr Johnson [Samuel Johnson, the creator of A Dictionary of English Language published in 1755] 'the correspondent word is *other*, whether it be used of two, or of a greater number.'" Potter then lists several other linguists from the nineteenth century who support this distinction and among those belong Henry John Todd and Henry Sweet. Nonetheless, contrary to this distinction is Lathom who wanted "to recommend capriciously that *one another* should be used to express the reciprocal action of two and *each other* to express the reciprocal action of more than two." (Potter, 1953: 255) Lathom's arbitrary differentiation was ignored, especially by Henry Sweet who published the *New English Grammar* in 1891.

In the twentieth century this distinction was supported by linguist John C. Nesfield who was then followed by other linguists, specifically editors of Webster's *New International Dictionary* (1926) and of Funk and Wagnalls *New Standard Dictionary* (1947). Further, Henry Watson Fowler adds that this distinction does not have any historical roots because "the old distributive of two as opposed to several was not *each* but *either;* and *either other*, which formerly existed beside *each other* and *one another*" (Potter, 1953: 255-256) Having said that he also admits that if there was a special meaning required for the distinction between the number of participants, then the forms *either, either other* would have probably survived. (Potter, 1953: 256)

Further on, Potter himself admits to observing how the usage of the reciprocal pronouns differs among speakers. According to his own research there is a growing tendency among as he calls them "sensitive speakers" to distinguish between the pronouns. The distinction is for Potter based on the subjective attitude of the speaker towards what he or she is actually saying, it is not based on any mechanical facts or figures. "If the speaker is thinking first of agents as individuals or single units, he will say *each other*: if he is thinking first of actions as shared or mutual, he will say *one another.*" (Potter, 1953: 257)

Jørgensen (Jørgensen, 1985: 351) focuses on P. A. Erades' understanding of the reciprocal pronouns; since he is one of the few linguists who not only repudiates the

traditional distinction but moreover, who actually suggests another semantic, distinction which is that "the difference between the two forms of expression is in most cases subjective and it does not depend upon objective facts, but upon the attitude of the speaker to these facts. (…) In the compound [*each other*] *each* retains the meaning it has when it occurs by itself it suggests a definite group with individual members, while this is not, it is maintained, the case with the other compound [*one another*]." (Jørgensen, 1985: 351) In other words, *each other* always insinuates a definite group whereas *one another* can (but does not have to) refer to a definite group (however then the subjective attitude of the speaker comes into play and thus further explanation is required); then this phenomenon is considered as "sub spectre generalitatis". Before the concept of "sub spectre generalitatis" is explained the term "definite group" ought to be defined as "a concrete group, small or large, of individuals or single units" (Jørgensen, 1985: 353-354) Owing to this definition the reciprocal pronoun *one another* should be then used only when referring to mankind at large (*Love one another)* or when the speakers refers to something in a completely abstract manner (*To love one another is the supreme commandment*). (Jørgensen, 1985: 354) The theory of "sub spectre generalitatis" is to be clarified by the following example, taken from Jørgensen's article (Jørgensen, 1985: 352):

1) Although Deborah's mother and father raised a mild protest against so sudden a marriage on traditional grounds, before as they said, the young people had had time to know one another.

The usage of *one another* in this instance hints that Deborah's parents supported the idea of long engagements, in order for the engaged couple to truly know the significant other, which further signifies that Deborah's parents were in favor of this in general but also in the case of their daughter. The usage of *each other* would here suggest that in Deborah's case, the parents would prefer a longer engagement, but in general they would be against a long engagement. The "sub spectre generalitatis" is acceptable in this particular instance, for here it is possible to take into account the engagement issue in general, however according to Jørgensen's study there are "comparatively few instances of actual usage [that] can be mustered to lend color to his idea of the reciprocal activity being viewed "sub sprectre generalitatis" when *one another* is used when referring to a definite group, the majority of cases seem to be incompatible with this interpretation." (Jørgensen, 1985: 352-353)

Jørgensen also briefly addresses Potter's theory about reciprocal pronouns; however he completely rejects this theory, for the classification of "sensitive writers" will be received

with "great difficulties, will prove to be impossible or at any rate absurd, far-fetched, in a great many cases." (Jørgensen, 1985: 356) In other words, he rejects his theory for the lack of documentation and for the surfeit of subjectivity. He then concludes with his own observation which is that "*each other* and *one another* coexist merely to allow variety as a stylistic desideratum" (Stuurman, 1989: 356) Such conclusion provokes a reaction from Fritz Stuurman, a Dutch linguist, who maintains that such statements does not explain anything; together Jørgensen and Stuurman thus enter into a linguistic argument resulting in several articles on the issue. Even though Stuurman points out that such deduction was made from the evidence taken from the actual usage, thus the deductive approach; he still maintains that dogmatic approach to this issue be more appropriate, i.e. "deduction from a theory, if only the most general theory held by many modern linguists that Jørgensen also disagrees with, viz. that between different forms there will always prove to be a difference… in content or in function." (Stuurman, 1987: 354)   Stuurman gives the following figures, which will be essential for his understanding of the subject:

(6) a. $A \leftrightarrow B \leftrightarrow C$ b. $A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C$
   c.   C   d.   C
      $\nearrow \searrow$ $\swarrow \nwarrow$
      $A \leftrightarrow B$ $A \rightarrow B$

Figure 4. Reciprocal relations according to Fritz Stuurman

According to Stuurman the graph (6)a and (6)c represents the "true reciprocal relations" and (6)c and (6)d "chain relations". Ideally, *each other* and *one another* should be correlated with true reciprocal and chain relations in one way or another. Stuurman further states that *each other* is to fulfill or express the chain relation and *one another* is to be the true reciprocal. As regards the number of participants: "A $\rightarrow$ B hardly constitutes a chain; any degree of reciprocity will rather obtain under A $\leftrightarrow$ B, and hence elicit *one another.*" (Stuurman, 1987: 355) Thus Stuurman predicts that the pronoun *one another* will be more frequent when the action is regarding two participants. "Mr. Jørgensen has been kind enough to confirm to me in a letter that in his corpus, *one another* is indeed the norm when the antecedent refers to two participants." (Stuurman, 1987: 355) The utter merit of Stuurman's and Jørgensen's argument is that they use the same examples to prove their approach right, therefore the example 1 (concerning Deborah's parents) from this section should be taken into account yet again. Stuurman determines himself to prove that in this example *one another* truly does represent a true reciprocal relation. "Obviously, Deborah's parents would not want

only Deborah to get to know her intended; or only the boy to get to know Deborah.(…) Note that this confirms that *one another* will be the normal pronouns in the case of two participants – Deborah and her intended." (Stuurman, 1987: 356).[3]

The most essential argument is that Stuurman and his deductive approach to the issue stems from the point of departure which states that there *is* a difference between the two pronouns, because it would not make sense if the only purpose of the pronouns was to serve variety. Stuurman supports this by giving an example where the words *woman* and *girl* would also function only for the purpose of stylistic variety – which they, of course, do not. (Stuurman, 1989: 359).

2.4.4   Syntactic Level of the Reciprocal Pronouns

Syntactic level of the reciprocal pronouns will be briefly discussed on the basis of Kjellmer's article (Kjellmer, 1982: 232-235). In this chapter, the English reciprocal pronouns will be studied as if there was no difference in their use. Both the pronouns are syntactically restrictive in the sense that they cannot appear in all positions in a clause (whereas for example indefinite pronouns can do so). Kjellmer gives a very well arranged table, which summarizes how the English reciprocal pronouns can or cannot function:

	Head of	Genitival *s*-modifier of	Genitival *of*-modifier of	Other prepositional modifier of
Subject	--	--	--	+
Object	+	+	--	+
Adverbial phrase	+	+	--	+
Attributive phrase	+	+	--	+
Predic. complement	+	+	+	+

Table 3. *Summary of syntactic occurrence of reciprocal pronouns in a clause*

For clarity's sake examples will be listed bellow in which the reciprocal pronouns occupy the above foreshadowed positions within clauses.

The reciprocal can occur as:

1) Object

   a. *They like each other.*

2) Head of an adverbial or attributive phrase

   a. *They looked at one another.*

---

[3] Stuurman gives more examples than the one example provided above to prove the true reciprocal merit of *one another,* however, the following examples were not discussed previously and so they will be only added here. Nonetheless, the true reciprocity of *one another* apllies to these instances too:

   a) Betty and Herbert didn't speak to one another on the Sunday

   b) Fortunetely, the two men took a liking to one another.

   b. In their letters to each other.

3) Genitival s-modifier of such a head or the head of the object or the predicative complement

   a. They looked at one another's books.

   b. In their letters to each other's children.

   c. They are each other's opposites.

4) Predicative complement

   a. All we have left in the world is one another.

   Quirk et al. (1972; §12.9.) further augment that the "coreference between subject and nominal object blocks the passive transformation, and occurs with reflexive, reciprocal, and possessive pronouns in the object. (…) Since reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are objective case replacements, it would be unexpected anyway to have such a pronoun in the subject position of a positive sentence." Kjellmer justifies Quirk et al.'s statement with an example: **Each other could hardly be seen in the fog*. Such sentence is undeniably ungrammatical; such example further makes it clear that reciprocal pronouns simply cannot occur in subject positions of active sentences too: **Each other embraced.* (Kjellmer, 1982: 233) The only instance, according to Kjellmer, when a reciprocal pronoun appears in the subject position is when the speaker of the utterance has not had time to fully think and arrange the sentence as he or she would have wished; Kjellmer supports this notion by providing an example which he found in Poutsma: *Miss Cunningham and I are going to find out what each other are like.* Reciprocal pronouns can, nonetheless, be subjects of the non-finite clauses:

5) *They saw each other smile.*

6) *His parents relied on each other to lock up.* (Kjellmer, 1982: 234)

   It is necessary to mention, that Kjellmer's research on the syntactic functions of the reciprocal pronouns represents the only resource for such subject; and owing to the limited amount of resources on this particular area the classic syntactic classification according to Quirk et. al. and Dušková et. al. will be used in the analysis. Therefore, syntactic functions such as direct and indirect object, object as complementation of adjective, adverbial, subject complement etc. are expected to appear.

2.5 Stylistic variation of the reciprocal pronouns

   Even though through history the greatest source of linguistic debates have been the number of participants to which each of the pronouns refer to, now, the source of the debates

have moved rather to the stylistic field and the contemporary linguists are concerned with the pronoun's stylistic variation. As was mentioned in the chapter 2.4.1. and 2.4.3. the pronoun *one another* is expected to appear in larger amount in formal style and the pronoun *each other* in informal style. However, before the classification itself, a clear distinction of the texts and their respective genres ought to be made.

When thinking of style one bears also in mind the suitability of the text into a given situation. Each style employs various grammatical means which can somehow distinguish it from the other styles and which thus reduce the number of possible obstacles in determining the style of the text. Crystal and Davy (1969: 66-67) speak of an utterance (which can also be applicable to a sentence) being situationally constrained. They provide a list of the situations which constrain the sentence:
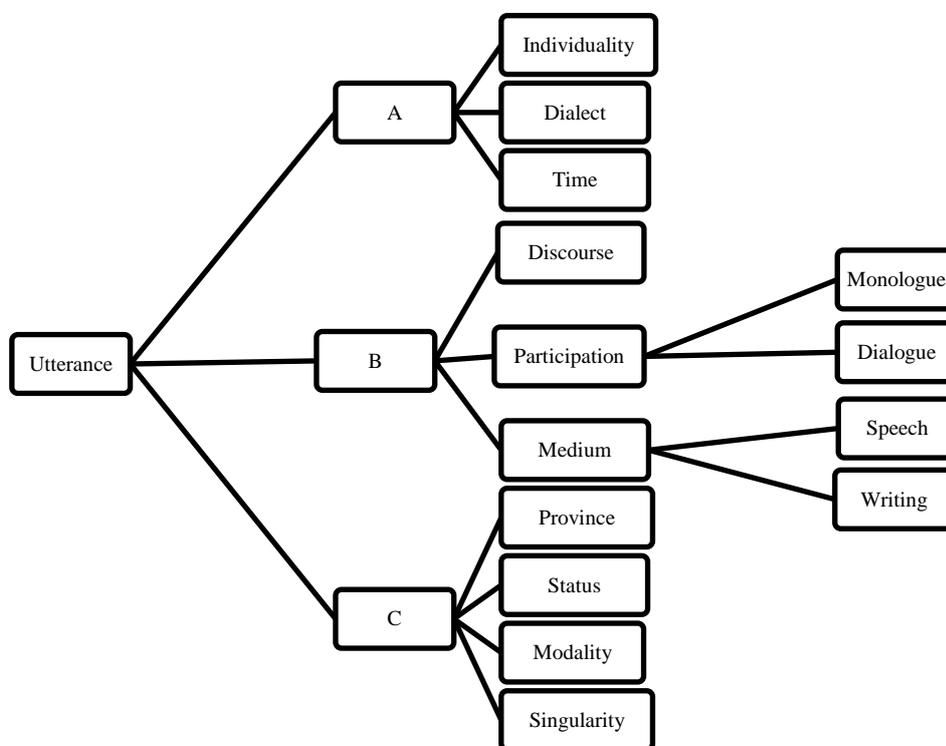
Table 4. *Crystal and Davy's situational constraints of an utterance*

In this section, the only situational criterion that will be discussed is the modality, which according to Crystal and Davy is associated with genre and the suitability of form to the subject matter. (Crystal and Davy, 1969: 74-75) The category of modality is closely related to the term "genre"; however, genre itself has represented a rather problematic area for linguists, as it has never been given a generally agreed definition "and is regularly used to refer to varieties simultaneously operating at different degrees of theoretical abstraction – for example, 'poetry' *v* 'prose', as well as 'essay' *v* 'short story', which are sub-categories of

prose."[4]Yet another information needed for the classification of the extracted sentences is the comprehension of formality/informality within a language. Leech et al. (1985.145) grasps formality not as two opposites but rather as a continuum which has two extremes – formality and informality. Between these two extremes are set various criteria such as posh talk, distance, familiar tone or spontaneous tone. Leech et al. (1982: 146) also provide the following table which summarizes certain features of the formal and informal style.

Table 9.1

FORMAL	INFORMAL
Complex sentences	Simple sentences
Polysyllabic, classical, vocabulary, e.g. *investigate, extinguish, decipher*	Monosyllabic, native vocabulary, especially phrasal verbs, e.g. *look into, put out, make out*
POLITE	**FAMILIAR**
Respectful terms of address, e.g. *Sir*	Intimate terms of address, if any, e.g. *John, love*
Indirect requests, e.g. *Would you be so kind as to . . .*	Direct imperatives, e.g. *Give me. . .*
IMPERSONAL	**PERSONAL**
Passive voice, e.g. *the terrorists were shot*	Active voice, e.g. *police shot the terrorists*
Third person noun phrases, e.g. *the reader, customers*	First and second person pronouns, e.g. *I, you*

Table 5.Leech et al.'s features of formal and informal style

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[4] Crystal and Davy, strana 41 pdf, 75 v knize

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3   Material and Method

The present thesis is a corpus-based study and corpus represents the primary source of the required material for the analysis (i.e. 50 instances on the reciprocal pronoun *each other* and 50 instances on *one another*). The corpus that was chosen for the analysis and classification of the material was British National Corpus (henceforth only as BNC). The process of acquiring the material in the corpus has not been a complicated one, for the query that was inserted in BNC was simply writing *each other* or *one another* in the query window.

The reason for such basic search is that further analysis had to be done in the context of the individual instances of the pronouns, as the number of participants in the reciprocal action could not be determined at times from just the sentences acquired. The only restriction that was made to the query was the limitation to written texts, for a part of this research is also interested in the variation of the pronouns in formal/neutral or informal style; and such analysis could not be conducted upon spoken discourse. For the sake of variation the results were also put into random view, so the examples of the pronouns' occurrences were not acquired from a single work, but rather various works and various styles. A complete list of the sentences used for the analysis is to be found at the end of this thesis in Appendix No. 1.

For clear arrangement the analytical part of this thesis will be mainly focusing on the following categories:

1) Number of participants (whether animate or inanimate) in the reciprocal action
2) Most frequent verbal collocates associated with the reciprocal pronouns
3) The pronouns' syntactic position within the clause
4) Reciprocal pronouns and their stylistic variation

Each of the categories will address the issue with a prototypical example owing to which the ambiguity of the pronouns' use will be eliminated. Even though each category seem rather disconnected from the other, it is safe to assume that mainly the first three categories will in large proportion be interconnected, for the working hypothesis of this research assumes that the essential difference between the pronouns lies in their stylistic use.

4 Analysis

4.1 Number of participants in the reciprocal action

The primary focus of this analysis is the number of participants (whether animate or inanimate entities) in the reciprocal action. The main discussion will be regarding whether the reciprocal pronouns refer to two participants or whether they refer to more than two. As mentioned in the theoretical part of this thesis in chapter 2.4.3. the current situation clearly suggests that at this moment there is no definite rule when concerning the interchangeability of the pronouns in this respect (meaning that currently the pronouns' variability is most likely used only for the purpose of stylistic variation in texts).

Even though the grammarians usually divide the antecedents of the pronouns into two groups (two participants and more than two participants in the action) this thesis will also add another group of participants, that is, an unspecified group (utilized mainly when the speaker makes a general statement). A clear definition of each group is required for the sake of clarity:

a. Reciprocal pronouns referring to two participants of the action:
   - In this particular instance we know the exact number of entities involved in the reciprocal action. The number of participants in the action will always be two; it cannot be less because reciprocity in general possesses a prerequisite which is the plurality of participants in the action.

b. Reciprocal pronouns referring to a group of more than two participants involved in the action:
   - At this particular moment the analysis slightly modifies Jørgensen's theory about the reciprocal pronouns (cf. chapter 2.4.3.) and instead of adhering to the notion that *each other* always refers to a definite, specific group of people it will be stated that both the pronouns pertain to a larger group of people (or inanimate entities), where the exact number does not have to be known exactly, but the it is lucid that the speaker (though he or she does not express it explicitly) has a particular number in mind.

c. Reciprocal pronouns alluding to an unspecified group of participants:
   - This category concerns mainly situations when the speaker does not have any particular group of participants in mind and speaks rather generally. In other words, the reference to the group is rather abstract in the sense that the speaker does not think of any particular entities he or she is familiar with.

Before the analysis of the individual groups is discussed with the help of the examples extracted from BNC a table summarizing the occurrences with the individual antecedent groups will be provided below:

Referent Group	Each other	%	One another	%
Two participants	25	50%	13	26%
More than two participants	12	24%	9	18%
Unspecified group	13	26%	28	56%
Total	50	100%	50	100%

Table 6. Summary of the referents with each of the pronouns

Regarding the reciprocal pronoun *each other* an exact half of the examples alludes to two participants. Such result confirms the assumption that *each other* in most of the cases indeed refers to two entities. As for the other groups associated with *each other* the percentage is rather balanced. The calculated percentage of *one another* also confirms the assumption that the pronoun will pertain to a larger group, however in this instance the result is more interesting in that it is utilized in 56% of the time when referring to an unspecified group and making a general statement, whereas when talking about a specific group the percentage is only 18%.

In the following chapters the issue of participants will be addressed in greater detail and for the sake of cohesion each section will always start with the example analysis of the pronoun *each other* and then the instances with *one another* will follow.

4.1.1 Reciprocal pronouns referring to two entities

Both instances of a straightforward reference[5] to the couple of participants in the action and ambiguous examples[6] were found in the one hundred examples taken from BNC. The following sentences (exx. 1-3) have not represented a problem in determining the number of participants, for it is clear just from the extracted sentence without having to dwell into the context of the work. [7]

4.1.1.1 Each Other
1. Die Entführung (also known as The Seraglio) takes place in a Turkish harem, and concerns the efforts of Belmonte, a Spanish nobleman, to rescue his beloved Constanze, who has been captured by pirates and sold to the Pasha Selim along with

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[5] By straightforward reference it is meant that the antecedents are expressed in the sentence
[6] By ambiguous examples it is intended that larger context of the corpus example had to be examined
[7] For the sake of clarity the antecedents of the reciprocal pronouns will be written in bold in the following examples

her English maid, **Blondchen**, and Belmonte's servant, **Pedrillo** (who are, naturally, also in love with _each other_). (CEW, 561)

2. Thus from mid-1962 **the Soviet Union** and **Cuba** were committed to _each other_ to an extent which made it extremely difficult for either party to renounce the relationship. (G1R, 1025)

3. Make **two semi-circular cakes** and place them on top of _each other_ to make a football. (C8P, 558)

However, in the majority of cases (exx 4) the context of the sentence extracted was essential; otherwise the participants could not be determined, because the pronoun was usually introduced by the personal pronoun "they", nonetheless, from such pronoun it cannot be inferred how many people are included in the event.

4. The only time they spoke was to quarrel, and in the dressing room and round the dining-room at the Benson's Theatre Home from Home they rarely sat beside _each other_. (ATE, 2322)

In the example above, the reciprocal pronoun _each other_ fulfills the reciprocal prerequisite (meaning the plurality of participants), however it is impossible to deduce just from this extract whether the people mentioned constitute a group of two or more. At this point, the context is not sufficient and the broader context is required, thus to acquire the needed information of the title (in the case of the fourth example the book _Worlds Apart_) has to be thoroughly searched, until the antecedents are found. In this case the pronoun _each other_ refers to Bernie and Rose, who are siblings and are about to perform a brother and sister act in theatre.

4.1.1.2 _One Another_

Straightforward examples of _one another_ alluding to two people, when it was not necessary to study the corpus's extract further are listed below:

5. Ever since they had known _one another_, **Otto** had been kindness itself to **Jean-Claude**. (FAT, 1108)

6. Merson had the opportunity to extend Arsenal's lead when **Gough** and **Butcher** misread _one another's_ intentions but, in keeping with the general tone, he was well off the mark. (AA7, 268)

7. 'Yes, but **she** and **Dr Heatherton** take nothing to do with _one another_ now; everyone knows of it, though nobody is certain why. (CD2, 597)

In contrast to the pronoun *each other* it was easier to find the antecedents associated with *one another*, for they were to be found in immediate surroundings; whereas with the pronoun *each other* it needed to be searched further in the text to find them.

8. They idolized *one another*. (AN7, 645)

The above written example again shows that from this particular sentence the number of participants in the action cannot be deduced, however from the preceding sentence it was found that *one another* in this instance refers to mum and dad.

4.1.2   Reciprocal pronouns referring to more than two entities

Unlike with the previous group of antecedents, here, the exact number of participants was not discovered (except for the exx 9).

9. It is important to realise however, that all four bodies (which includes the physical) interpenetrate with *one another*; whatever affects one aspect will affect the whole. (B06, 684)

From the one hundred examples extracted from BNC, this was the only one where no further research had to be conducted regarding the precise count of participants involved in the reciprocal action.

Even though the accurate quantity of the partakers was not discovered in most of the cases it was rather obvious from the context that the speaker thought of more than two entities and that is why the following examples ware classified into this category. Due to the smaller amount of examples only one with each pronoun will be provided.

10. Calling out our imaginary names we had to find *each other*. (HDB, 128)
11. They loved *one another* and did not care who knew it. (FRC, 390)

In example no. 10 the pronoun *each other* alludes to pupils in class and the sentence is uttered by their teacher, which essentially suggests that the teacher knows the precise number of her students in class which further supports the argument for the classification into this referent group. In the example with *one another* the context gives the information that "they" actually refers to member of a family, specifically brothers and sisters, and thus, yet again, the example undeniably belongs to this group of referents.

Interestingly enough, with both reciprocal pronouns this category acquired the smallest number of occurrences out of the hundred examples acquired. When considering that throughout history most grammarians have been arguing whether the pronouns regard a group

of two people or three and more, it seems from the results of this analysis that the source of heated debates should have been between the reference to two people or to an unspecified group (i.e. general statement) because with both pronouns this category (reference to a specific group with more than two people) acquired less than 25%.

4.1.3 Reciprocal pronouns referring to an unspecified group

As mentioned in the previous chapter, throughout history of English language most of the linguistic debates were concerned with whether the reciprocals ascribe to a group of two people or three and more, nevertheless, the category of an unspecified group, in other words a general statement, was not addressed in greater detail. Such observation is in the least an interesting one, since 26% of the occurrences with *each other* (such percentage is larger than when *one another* refers to a specific group of three and more people) and 56% of the instances with *one another* (this result constitutes the greatest share out of the three categories) fall into this category.

Another striking observation is that in the overwhelming majority of cases (where 41 instances in total were found where the reciprocal pronouns referred to an unspecified group of people) the antecedents in the sentences were in immediate surroundings of the pronouns (meaning that no further context had to be searched for) as is illustrated by the following examples:

12. It is more complicated than that, because the effects of **genes** interact with *each other* in ways that are more complicated than simple addition. (J52, 1042)

13. And in their relations with *each other*, **Libyans** show the same rejectionist spirit: the taunt, 'We killed Pasha Naiz', means that Magharba were irremediably tainted by their submission to Turkish government; Zuwaya had been, and continued to be, irreconcilable. (ADW, 624)

14. One can see the **publishers** emerging from that smoke-filled room, slapping *each other* on the back: 'Baby, we not only have a trilogy here, we have a thesaurus.' (EDT, 2173)

15. The second part of the festival, which resulted in the final performance, raised vital questions about the way **women** relate to *one another* when they are free to make real choices. (AA9, 242)

16. In a series of articles later collected in his book Mutual Aid of 1902, the Russian anarchist writer Peter Kropotkin argued that **animals** naturally co-operate with *one another*. (G0H, 1038)

17. On Sunday mornings during the time of the spring and autumn ploughing, the **horsemen** often strolled around the parish to view _one another_ 's work, estimating its quality with the eye for detail of an exacting sticker at a furrow-drawing match. (G09, 232)

The remaining 12% were introduced by personal pronouns such as _we, you, they_ which are generally in the case of general statements also known as general human agents.

18. The difference was, of course, that they shared the same land mass, and were directly connected to _each other_ by transcontinental tracks. (AR0, 678)
19. In his speech which honoured 1,300 representatives of award winning companies, star of stage and screen Roy Castle said: 'Safety is all about being aware of those around you — making sure that you protect _each other_. (HBE, 7) We should all be vaguely conscious of a disaster brought about by ourselves, a universal mutual degradation, and would be making feeble intermittent efforts to restore contact and rehumanize _each other_. (CB1, 484)
20. Make us more of a church family, Lord, binding us closer to you and to _one another_. (GX0, 76)
21. If you set an area outside which you cannot sail then tag _one another_ by doing a tack or a gybe around them, it can turn into a very good game where you can build up your own tactics. (AT6, 566)

Here, the pronouns have anaphoric function and the context was yet again needed for to determine whether the speaker/narrator pertains to an unspecified group or a group of three or more participants. The example no. 18 will be further analyzed to fully explain the reason why this sentence was classified into this category.

The personal pronoun "they" in this instance has an anaphoric function and points back to a passage in texts which is concerned with railway stations: "By the last two or three decades of the nineteenth century the railway stations of the Eastern states were analogous to those of the imperial metropoles in Europe, while those of the West seemed like colonial stations." From the context provided, it is obvious that the speaker, though he probably is a specialist in that area, had not have an exact number of railway stations in mind, and therefore was speaking generally which essentially means that his reference is to an unspecified group, because it is very likely that he himself did not know the exact number of railways stations in the country.

4.1.4 Problematic areas

During the analysis problematic areas were also discovered, the following two examples are the only ones which are rather arguable in regards of the number of participants.

22. The point is that many of these specific areas of functional excellence are not independent of *each other* and improvements in one area may be at the cost of worsening in another. (EA8, 989)

23. The parcel presented should be amusing, either an unusual shape, or several boxes inside *each other* so that the gift takes a while to find. (FSN, 440)

The antecedents in both cases are expressed immediately in the sentences, however to determine whether the speaker refers to a specific number of areas of functional excellence (example 22) or whether the narrator has a precise count of boxes (example 23) becomes questionable.

Let us consider the example 22 first. After thorough analysis of the context the writer of the book speaks of various business areas (such as improvements in the use of energy, the productivity of capital or even numbers employed and so on) which thus makes him a specialist on the subject and therefore it could be inferred that he does a specific number on mind (since he already mentioned several business areas that are not independent of each other) even though the way he conveys the information might seem that the writer's statement is general.

The example 23 is of even more debatable nature, since the narrator does not have an image of a particular parcel on mind. The parcel thus becomes an abstract object and it cannot in any way be determined how many smaller boxes can fit into the largest one. Due to the abstract nature of this example, it was settled to classify this example into the category of an unspecified group, for the abstract meaning is of general disposition and such characteristics fulfils the criteria of the unspecified group to a larger extend.

4.1.5 Comparison of the antecedents

It is possible to compare the antecedents (whether they are animate or inanimate beings) with the individual pronouns. In an overall statistic, the reference to animate entities definitely possesses the majority of occurrences as the table 7 suggests:

	Animate entities	%	Inanimate entities	%
Total	79	79%	21	21%

Table 7. *Summary of the references to entities*

The following graphs will illustrate the pronoun's reference to animate/inanimate entities within the individual categories. For the sake of clarity, the categories will be repeated to avoid any confusion. The 1st category represents the one where reciprocal pronouns allude to only two participants in the action; the 2nd category ascribes to a specific group where there are more than two participants in the event and the last one pertains to an unspecified group (i.e. when making a general statement).
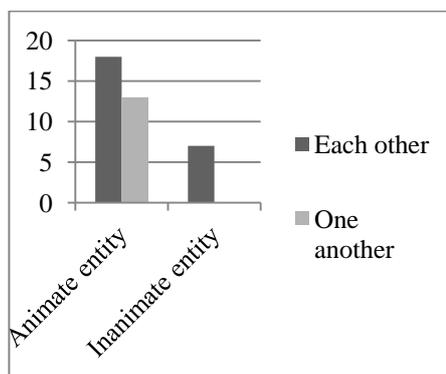
Graph 1. *Antecedents' summary of the 1st category*

Examples of each of the categories will be provided for further illustration; the first category that will be exemplified is the animate category (starting always with an example for the pronoun *each other* and then an example for *one another*) and then following the inanimate category.

24. 'John Thelwall is a very warm hearted honest man,' Coleridge wrote to Josiah Wade, 'and disagreeing, as we do, on almost every point of religion, of morals, of politics, and of philosophy; we like *each other* uncommonly well.' (B0R, 860)

25. Merson had the opportunity to extend Arsenal's lead when Gough and Butcher misread *one another* 's intentions but, in keeping with the general tone, he was well off the mark. (AA7, 268)

Now, for the inanimate section:

26. (Minter and Kingdom within hours of *each other*: at last Harry was making progress.) (H8T, 2072)
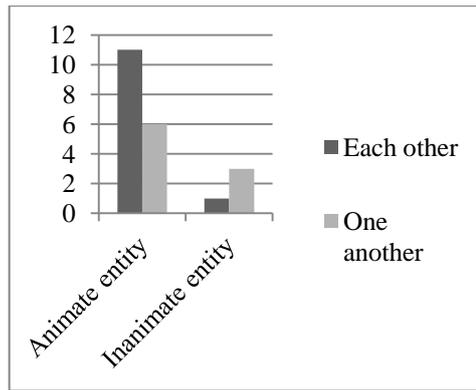
Graph 2. *Antecedents' summary of the 2ⁿᵈ category*

Yet again, to demonstrate with examples:

27. Another irritating item was that the place was swarming with tortoises, clashing against *each other* in their anxiety to mate. (HA0, 2749)
28. Emilia would never be deceived; the sisters knew *one another* far too well. (H82, 2869)

Following with the inanimate section:

29. The picture plane is further stressed by the device of dropping the small doors or openings below the bases of the buildings, and by the way in which some of the forms are opened up into *each other* and fused. (GUJ, 872)
30. The reason I cite these tales is that they do have a bearing on *one another*, albeit a tenuous. (BNH, 522)
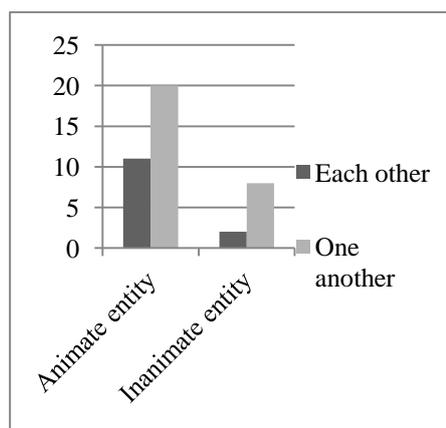
Graph 3. *Antecedents' summary of the 3ʳᵈ category*

31. In his speech which honoured 1,300 representatives of award winning companies, star of stage and screen Roy Castle said: 'Safety is all about being aware of those around you — making sure that you protect *each other*. (HBE, 7)

32. The second part of the festival, which resulted in the final performance, raised vital questions about the way women relate to *one another* when they are free to make real choices. (AA9, 242)

And lastly, examples denoting the inanimate group:

33. The difference was, of course, that they shared the same land mass, and were directly connected to *each other* by transcontinental tracks. (AR0, 678)

34. At sites where a number of periods of occupation overlie *one another,* the archaeologist has to identify and record very large numbers of what are referred to as contexts — divisions of the excavated material that can be distinguished in some way from their neighbours. (AC9, 1497)

35.

From the 1st graph it is observed that the pronoun *one another* when referring to two participants always possesses an animate antecedent which is an interesting contrast to *each other's* antecedents that is represented by both entities as is illustrated by the following example:

36. (Minter and Kingdom within hours of *each other*: at last Harry was making progress.) (H8T, 2072)

Overall both the pronouns prefer animate entities as their antecedents, which is understandable since reciprocity as "a term is used not only for positive interactions centering around the prototypes 'sharing', 'exchange', 'the gift', 'hospitality', 'cooperation' or 'mutual knowledge', but for all kinds of symmetric or mutual relations and interactions." (König and Gast, 2008: 3-4) The above mentioned actions are prototypical examples of interactions which inanimate entities could hardly perform, thus the animate pronouns' preference is natural.

4.2 Verbal collocates

The following section will focus primarily on the verbal collocates of the reciprocal pronouns while also considering the position which the verbs occupy. Into consideration will also be taken the verbal collocates found in the entire BNC; the reason for such consideration is that the results will be compared – whether in the 100 examples extracted were found any

similarities or whether the scope of this analysis is rather too narrow and thus the results with the collocates from our examples and the whole BNC will not correspond.

The verbs that will be taken into consideration in the following section are the ones which were found repeatedly in the one hundred examples extracted from BNC. The reason for such sorting is the fact that the discussion of every verb would not provide any significant data for the comparison with the overall corpus collocates. In the following table the verbs which occurred more than once in the one hundred examples are listed:

Verb	No. of occurrences	Percentage
Know	4	4%
Be	4	4%
Stare	3	3%
Relate	3	3%
Follow	2	2%
Face	2	2%
Love	2	2%
Play	2	2%
View	2	2%

Table 8. List of verbal collocates with reciprocal pronouns

The verbs were listed in their bare infinitive forms, even though they, naturally, occurred in the sentences in various forms (i.e. *The two women knew each other from London and The New Age)*[8]. It also needs to be pointed out that the upper table lists verbs that collocate with both the reciprocal pronouns, not just *each other* or *one another.*

4.2.1   Verbal collocates with *each other*

Since one of the goals is to compare collocates from our examples and the entire BNC the following section will only be concerned with the reciprocal pronoun *each other* and its collocates. The collocates taken from the BNC were the ones, which had the greatest percentage across the corpus; in the table below, the verbs are listed in the order going from the largest number of occurrences to the lowest.

Each other	No. of occurrences	Entire BNC	Collocate frequency
Be	4	Look	185
Stare	3	Face	89
Know	2	Know	213

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[8] See appendix No.1, exx 9

Play	2	Communicate	59
View	1	Complement	42
Love	1	Interact	39
Face	1	Stare	63

Table 9. Comparison of verbal collocates

It is to be observed from the table above that the verbs *know, stare* and *face* have earned their rightful place among the most common verbal collocates with the reciprocal pronoun *each other*, for these verbs appear also in our analysis. Even though the verb *face* appears only once in the hundred examples extracted from BNC, this result is still to be considered as relevant because it represents a match with the overall BNC's collocates. What is striking, however, is that the verb *be*, which had the greatest occurrence statistics in our analysis, has not acquired the top positions in BNC. In the BNC it actually possesses the 39th position in regards of the collocates (where it takes the past simple, 2nd person form *were*). It needs to be mentioned, however, that the verb *be* appears in sentences such as the following example below, in which the reciprocal pronoun is not directly linked to the verb be, but rather to the adjective *cruel* and thus the verb *be* functions as an auxiliary. In other words the reciprocal pronoun functions here as the object as complementation of adjective.

37. 'All over the world today children are starving, men and women are being cruel to <u>one another</u> and killing one another. (AEA, 538)

Regarding the verbs *communicate* and *complement,* which in the BNC occupy 4th and 5th in the verbal collocates sense, they nonetheless, do not appear at all in our analysis.

4.2.2   Verbal collocates with *one another*

Yet again a comparison will be maid of the verbal collocates among the one hundred examples and the entire BNC.

One another	No. of occurrences	Entire BNC	Collocate frequency
Relate	3	Separate	38
Follow	2	Interact	25
Know	2	Love	33
View	1	Relate	26
Love	1	Communicate	17
Face	1	Differ	16

Table 10. Comparison of verbal collocates

As can be deduced from the table provided above, the match in our analysis between our collocates and the collocates from the BNC is lesser than with the reciprocal pronoun *each other*. Whereas in the previous section, the verbal match constituted from 3 verbs, here the same collocates are found only in the following cases: *relate* and *love.* The most common verbal collocates from the whole BNC such as *separate, interact, communicate* and *differ* were not discovered in the examples extracted for the purposes of our analysis. *Relate*, however, represents the most utilized collocate both in our analysis and is also fairly used in the BNC. Since the default premise of this thesis is that the pronoun *one another* will be employed in much greater amount in formal style, from the short glimpse on the verbal collocates one can confirm that it might be so, even without any further analysis, for the verbs listed above are not of informal speech nature, unlike the verbs which collocate with the pronoun *each other* where *look, face, know, stare* are quite common verbs which do not carry any formal features, but are of a rather informal and neutral nature.

4.2.3   Problematic areas

In one particular example the verb was not even expressed in the sentence which represented a complication in regards of the verbal collocate:

38. (Minter and Kingdom within hours of <u>*each other*</u>: at last Harry was making progress.) (H8T, 2072)

In the example above no verb is expressed, nevertheless, from the context it is apparent that the sentence is concerned with Dr. Kingdom and Minter. To foreshadow the situation further Minter tries to make an appointment with Dr. Kingdom who unfortunately is out of town. Thus, it is safe to assume that the verb that ought to be expressed in the sentence is the verb *be*. However, without any context provided one could fill in the verbs like *move* or other verbs associated with movement.

4.3   Syntactic function of the reciprocal within clauses

The following section will focus on the syntactic function of the reciprocal pronouns within the clauses. The syntactic constituents found in the examples extracted from the BNC are the following: direct object (henceforth only as O_d), prepositional object (henceforth only as O_{prep}), object as complementation of adjective, post-modification and adverbial. Furthermore, even though a determiner is not perceived as a syntactic function it was taken into consideration in this section, for the reciprocal pronouns appeared quite commonly in their determinative functions within prepositional phrases (most commonly). Therefore,

determiner is only for the sake of clarity given its own individual chapter, though it is not a syntactic function.

The following table summarizes the percentage of the reciprocal pronouns' syntactic functions:

Syntactic function	Each other	%	One another	%
O_d	17	34%	17	34%
O_{prep}	16	32%	17	34%
Object as complementation of adjective	4	8%	8	16%
Post-modification	7	14%	4	8%
Determiner	3	6%	3	6%
Adverbial	3	6%	1	2%
Total	50	100%	50	100%

Table 11. Percentage of syntactic functions

As is evident from the table 11, direct and prepositional objects are the most common functions the reciprocal pronouns take. Examples of each constituent will be provided, however, since they do not raise any questions or they are not accompanied by any ambiguities no extended commentary will be needed.

4.3.1 Direct Object

Direct object along with prepositional object represents the most common syntactic functions of the reciprocal pronouns. The following examples are of the ones where *each other* functions as Od:

39. Put another way, they wish to say, and indeed advertise, that there is nothing transient, superficial, or casual in the way they view *each other* and wish to be viewed. (ASK, 227)

40. At sites where a number of periods of occupation overlie *one another,* the archaeologist has to identify and record very large numbers of what are referred to as contexts — divisions of the excavated material that can be distinguished in some way from their neighbours. (AC9, 1497)

4.3.2 Prepositional Object

  The prevalent prepositions introducing the prepositional object with the pronoun *each other* are *at, to, with, against.* The total numbers of instances are shown in the following table:

Preposition	No. of occurrences	Percentage
At	4	26%
To	3	20%
With	2	13,3%
Against	2	13,3%
For	1	6,6%
On	1	6,6%
About	1	6,6%
Into	1	6,6%
Total	15	100%

Table 12. Prepositions occurring with each other

Provided below is an example of the reciprocal pronoun *each other* functioning as the prepositional object:

  41. They stared at <u>*each other*</u> in silence for a moment, surprised to find that they shared some fragment of a common cause: the unsolved mysteries that troubled them both, though twenty years and half a world apart, were somehow one and the same. (H8T, 810)

Whereas with the reciprocal pronoun *each other* the most frequent preposition were *at* and *to* with *one another* the most common prepositions are *to* and *with*; yet again a table summarizing all of the prepositions is provided:

Preposition	No. of occurrences	Percentage
To	5	33,3%
With	4	26,6%
On	2	13,3%
From	2	13,3%
For	1	6,6%
Past	1	6,6%
Total	15	100%

Table 13. Prepositions introducing one another

Listed below are the sentences where the reciprocal pronoun *one another* functions as a prepositional object:

42. Their habits, modes of thought, patterns of speech, style of drafting will have rubbed off on *one another* to the point where but a few free or tough or independent spirits resist mutation into a sludgy administrative amalgam. (GVN, 709)

4.3.3 Object as a complementation of adjective

Surprisingly, this syntactic function, which compared to O_d or O_{prep} does not appear so frequently, is quite usual with reciprocal pronouns as it appears in 12 out of the 100 examples. When object complements the adjective it is usually introduced by a preposition such as *of, to, from, with* etc.

43. The point is that many of these specific areas of functional excellence are not independent of *each other* and improvements in one area may be at the cost of worsening in another. (EA8, 989)

44. The columns and capitals of the nave colonnade were frequently taken from ruined Roman buildings and are therefore different from *one another* and the capital does not fit its column or base. (HWB, 937)

4.3.4 Post-modification
In the case of post-modification it is usually realized by a prepositional phrase:

45. 'THERE is no way to know … ': how it resounds, that phrase, standing for centuries of silence, hints, half-knowledge about the hidden complexity and richness of women's relations with themselves and *each other*. (ATA, 1340)

46. If historical time is the existence of the social totality then the relation between the two must be one of immediacy, allowing what Althusser calls an 'essential section', that is 'a break in the present such that all the elements of the whole revealed by this section are in an immediate relationship with *one another*, a relationship that immediately expresses their internal essence'. (CTY, 487)

4.3.5 Determiner

Determinative function in the case of reciprocal pronouns was in most of the cases realized by the genitive form the pronouns took.

47. When siblings are in conflict they need consistent and caring control plus help in recognizing *each other 's* needs and feelings. (CGT, 1000)

48. In France the process by which the administrative and business elites give one another interesting employment is called pantouflage which literally means jumping in and out of _one another_ 's trousers (Birnbaum, 1981). (CS3, 492)

4.3.6 Adverbial

In the case of adverbial, the reciprocal is found within an adverbial phrase that is usually realized by a prepositional phrase however, this function of the reciprocal is not at all a commonplace one.

49. The only time they spoke was to quarrel, and in the dressing room and round the dining-room at the Benson's Theatre Home from Home they rarely sat beside _each other_. (ATE, 2322)

50. They were all crushed against _one another_ — Paddy at her side now. (C85, 3488)

4.3.7 Ambiguities

In certain instances ambiguities arise as in the following example which will be further analyzed:

51. She and Cameron, arms around _each other_, facing the camera and squinting into the sunlight. (GV8, 61)

In this particular case it is rather debatable whether the _each other_ fulfills the function of adverbial of place which is realized by a prepositional phrase or whether the pronoun post-modifies the noun (while the post-modification also being realized by a prepositional phrase). In the above mentioned case, when considering the context, the reciprocal pronouns seems to be expressing rather the position of the narrator and Cameron because they are facing the camera and so after further examination we are supporting more the notion of the pronoun being an adverbial of place realized by a prepositional phrase and introduced by the preposition around.

From the examples extracted from the BNC usually the ambiguities arose exactly when regarding either adverbial of place or post-modification. Another example of such occurrence is the following, where after a greater contemplation it was concluded that the reciprocal functions as a post-modification:

52. The parcel presented should be amusing, either an unusual shape, or several boxes inside _each other_ so that the gift takes a while to find. (FSN, 440)

The reason for such decision is that throughout the entire sentence the initial parcel is somehow being specified either by means of its shape or its content and therefore it makes more sense for the reciprocal to be a post-modification rather than an adverbial of place.

4.4   Stylistic variation of the reciprocal pronouns

Since the primary goal of this section is to classify the extracted sentences from the BNC into formal, neutral or informal style and since genre has not been precisely defined, the classification of the genre that will be worked with will be the one of the BNC, in which the corpus itself provides its users with a clear genre distinction. Then, the examples will be classified into their respective styles based on their genre. It is expected that in certain ambiguous cases broader context of the sentence will have to be examined (the features that will be further studied will be based on Leech et al.'s table, which is provided in the chapter 2.5.), for us to divest of ambiguities. Detailed table which summarizes the occurrences of the individual reciprocal pronouns in various genres based on the BNC is provided in Appendix 4.

As for the division of the above mentioned genres into formal and informal style, it was decided that all of the genres that are labeled as academic and non-academic will be considered as formal style, for their subject matter is of a specialized nature and thus informality is highly improbable to be found in the texts. The following genres are in need of further studies of the context: essay, miscellaneous, biography, pop, commerce, instructional, newspaper and religion. Thus the division of the style is the following:

1. Formal
   a. Academic
      i.   Humanities and arts
      ii. Politics, law, education
      iii. Social science
      iv. Technical
      v.   Natural science
   b. Non-academic
      i.   Social science
      ii. Humanities and arts
      iii. Natural science
      iv. Politics, law, education
   c. Religious

d. Commerce
2. Neutral
        a. Essay
        b. Miscellaneous
        c. Biography
        d. Instructional
        e. Newspaper
3. Informal
        a. Fiction
        b. Pop[9]

The reason why non-academic, religious and commerce genres were classified as the formal style is that each of the genre elaborates on a rather specific subject, where specialized terms are being utilized in a rather formal manner (in the instance of commerce, which without any context analysis seemed the least likely to be categorized into formal style, however, from the context the texts were concerned with economics, management and companies' development, which thus fulfills the criteria of being a specific subject matter with technical terms and in a high narrative tone).

Since the default criteria, according to Leech et al. (see chapter 2.5.) is the consideration of the vocabulary, verbal voice and compound or complex sentence the neutral style represents a middle ground between formal and informal style. All of the above mentioned genres were classified into the neutral style, for they do not fall into both of the extremes of the style continuum. Though each of the genres does posses both formal and informal features, it cannot be concluded that they belong to either of the extremes.

The argument, why fiction and pop genres were classified into informal style is that fiction (though its narrative is neutral) possesses dialogues which are of informal nature and pop (usually the magazines were *Esquire* and the like) although they try to be neutral, most of the articles (if other articles are also taken into account) posses a large amount of informal vocabulary, simple constructions and active voice – thus it fulfills all of the criteria according to Leech et al.

The following table summarizes the occurrence of each of the pronouns in formal, neutral and informal style:

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[9] Pop as a genre is meant in the sense of popular magazines like for example Esquire, Vogue etc.

Style	Each other	%	One another	%
Formal	17	34%	25	50%
Neutral	13	26%	9	18%
Informal	20	40%	16	32%
Total	**50**	**100%**	**50**	**100%**

Table 14. Percentage of the reciprocal pronouns across styles

The table above confirms the notion that *one another* truly does appear in the majority of the cases in formal style and that *each other* on the other hand appears mostly in informal style. However, the range of percentage is smaller with the reciprocal pronoun *each other* and such fact essentially suggests that the usage of the pronoun is of a more stable nature than with the reciprocal pronoun *one another* where its use is prevalent in formal style rather than in any other style.

5 Conclusions

The subject of the present study was the analysis of English reciprocal pronouns *each other* and *one another*. The study mainly focuses on the number of participants involved in the reciprocal action and on the distribution of the pronouns across various styles and genres. Originally, it was intended to study only the above mentioned phenomena; however, the corpus presented interesting results regarding the verbal collocates of the pronouns, and so the verbal collocates were also included into this study. Further, we also decided to focus on which syntactic functions the pronouns take within clauses, as it was discovered when analyzing the hundred examples that the reciprocal pronouns quite commonly take the function of object as a complementation of an adjective, which is not so frequent in contrast to other syntactic elements.

The analysis confirmed and further developed the theoretical background, which was mainly focusing on the number of participants in the action. From the 17th century, when people started to focus on the correctness of their spoken language, the linguists could not agree on whether the reciprocal pronouns are fully interchangeable or whether they exhibit infinitesimal differences between each other. The opinions varied from linguist to linguist, once the opinion being that the pronouns are not interchangeable and that *each other* refers to only two entities and *one another* to more than two entities, however a century later the conviction changed to the exact opposite; in other words there has never been any prescriptive rule which would clearly state how the pronouns ought to be used. Owing to such development of the pronouns' use, the linguists now rely in greater amount on corpus linguistics, which can through precise statistics help determine how and when the pronouns are used.

The analysis of the hundred examples extracted from the BNC truly did prove that the reciprocal pronoun is utilized in greater extent when referring to two entities (whether animate or inanimate) as is discussed in chapter 4.1. (see page 27). Specifically, the reference to two entities with the pronoun *each other* occurred in 50% of the cases and with the pronoun *one another in 26%* of the cases. Furthermore, the analysis introduced a new group of referents – the unspecified group. Since a new referent group presented itself (an example of this referent group is provided for illustration: catfish of several species do so and appear to be calling to <u>*one another*</u> as they move in murky water) a clear distinction needed to be made. The unspecified group (i.e. general statement) refers to an abstract unit, when the speaker/narrator does not know the exact number of entities involved in the action, nor does he or she want to know the precise number of the participants. The specific group, a group of more than two

participants, on the other hand insinuates that the speaker does have a specific number of people/entities in mind (even though the number might not be mentioned directly in the sentence – however, the count is easily deduced from the context of the sentence). As was mentioned earlier, the linguists could not come to an agreement in the sense of whether the pronouns refer to two or more entities; however, as the analysis demonstrates the debates should have rather been regarding whether the pronouns refer to two entities or to an unspecified group – as in when one makes a general statement. In chapter 4.1. it is to be deduced, that the pronoun *one another* is utilized the most (in 56% of the cases) when referring to an unspecified group and the second most to the two partakers in the action (in 26% of the instances). What is striking about the results in this part of the research is the percentage of both the pronouns when alluding to a group of more than two entities. In both cases, the pronouns are used the least (*each other* in 24% of the cases and *one another* only in 18%). Although the usage of the pronoun *each other* is more balanced when comparing the referent group of an specific larger group and an unspecified group, it is still surprising that the specific group (i.e. more than two participants) represents the least utilized group of referents of the reciprocal pronouns.

During the analysis of the number of participants a further context needed to be examined to rightly determine the participants, as often the exact number was not immediately expressed in the sentences. In majority of the cases the participants could be easily deduced from the previous or the following context, however, there were two rather problematic sentences which represented a true challenge (chapter 4.1.4.). Furthermore, a comparison of the entities was made (meaning whether the pronouns refer to an animate or inanimate entity) and it was calculated that the reciprocal pronouns prefer in 79% of the instances an animate entity rather than an inanimate one.

The section, which discussed the verbal collocates of the reciprocal pronouns, only considered the verbs which were found in the hundred examples more than once (the reason for such sorting was that if every verb would be analyzed the results would not provide any significant data). For the sake of clarity, the following verbs were found in the extracted sentences more than once: *know, be* (in the case of the verb *be*, its function was mostly auxiliary for the function of object as a complementation of adjective – even despite the auxiliary function it was involved in the research)*, stare, relate, follow, face, love, play* and *view.* These verbal collocates were also compared with the overall verbal collocates from the entire BNC; a match between the verbs from our examples and the entire corpus was searched for. The greatest obstacle in comparing and overall in acquiring the verbal collocates was the

inability of the corpus to calculate and find the verbal collocates from the fifty examples on each of the pronouns and so the verbal collocates had to be found by hand, individually. In the case of the pronoun *each other* the verbs that were found in both our research and the BNC were *know, stare* and *face* and in the case of *one another* the verbal match lied in *relate* and *love*. Certain verbs such as *communicate, complement* or *differ* did not appear at all in the examples extracted from corpus, which suggests that perhaps the scope of our research was rather too narrow, since the verbal collocates listed and discussed in the chapter 4.2.2. represent the most commonly used verbs collocating with the reciprocal pronouns.

The third section of the practical part of the thesis examined the syntactic functions of the reciprocal pronouns within the clauses. The prevalent syntactic functions were direct and prepositional object (both syntactic functions possess percentage of occurrence varying from 32 to 34%). Such result was expected, however the reciprocal pronouns also functioned quite commonly as objects complementing the adjectives, which is a function that does not possess such an immense base (in contrast to direct and prepositional objects). The reciprocal pronoun *each other* functioned as such syntactic element in 8% of the cases and *one another* in 16%. This part of the analysis further elaborated the theoretical part, where Kjellmer's classification of syntactic function of the reciprocal pronouns was introduced; however, his approach was not adopted. The analysis of the syntactic elements was based on Quirk et al.'s and Dušková's division, since this division does not invite any ambiguities (and when the ambiguities arise their number is of minimal nature). Each of the syntactic functions were illustrated with instances found in the extracted examples and in the case of the prepositional object the prepositions were listed and a likelihood of their occurrence was calculated and expressed by the means of percentage. The most frequent preposition with *each other* is the preposition *at* which appeared in 26% of the cases and the most recurrent preposition with *one another* is *to* which was found in 33,3% of the instances.

The last section of the analysis was dedicated to the distribution of the pronouns across various genres and styles. As was mentioned in the theoretical part (see chapter 1.4.1.), most contemporary linguist perceive the difference between the pronouns in their stylistic distribution. Generally, the assumption is that *each other* appears more frequently in informal style and *one another* in formal style. The stylistic distribution according to its genres was introduced in the theoretical part (chapter 2.5.) and was based on Crystal and Davy's *Investigating English Style*. However, the division of the genres found in the extracted examples into the formal, neutral or informal style was slightly modified and based on one hand on Leech et al.'s sorting of formal and informal style and on the other hand on the

subject matter of the individual texts (where further context sometimes had to be determined to rightly classify the genre in the proper style). Nonetheless, the contemporary assumption was confirmed: *each other* is in most of the cases (40%) found across the informal style (mostly in fiction) and *one another* is most frequent in formal style (50%) especially in academic articles concerning humanities, arts and politics. The range of both the pronouns, nevertheless, varies. Whereas the reciprocal pronoun *each other* again displays greater stability in its usage (the scope of the pronoun varies from 26% to 40%) the pronoun *one another* exhibits a preference in its usage in formal style (50%) furthermore, its range of usage in styles varies from 18% to 50% which essentially suggests that the pronoun *one another* clearly prefers formal style to others. The reciprocal pronouns are the least recurrent in neutral style which with both of the pronouns possesses the least percentage (with *each other* 26% and with *one another* 18%).

Overall, this research hopes to have provided a sufficient analysis of reciprocal pronouns and what is more to have contributed to the limited number of work written on the subject (especially on the subject of their stylistic variation, number of participants in the reciprocal action, syntactic position within clauses and on reciprocity in general, which usually is approached in a specific manner).

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7 Resumé

Předmětem této studie je analýza anglických recipročních zájmen *each other* a *one another*, zejména analýza počtu účastníků v reciproční události a distribuce těchto zájmen v různých žánrech a funkčních stylech. Studie je založená na 100 příkladech, získaných z Britského Národního Korpusu (dále jen BNC), z nichž 50 se týká zájmena *each other* a 50 zájmena *one another*. Počátečním záměrem byla studie pouze těchto dvou oblastí, avšak v průběhu práce s korpusem byly odhaleny zajímavé výsledky, které se týkaly slovesných kolokátů. Rozhodli jsme se proto prvotní plán studie o tyto kolokáty rozšířit. Jako další předmět studie byly zvoleny syntaktické funkce recipročních zájmen v rámci jednotlivých vět. Důvodem začlenění této oblasti byla častá funkce těchto recipročních zájmen jako předmětu, doplňujícího přídavná jména, což představuje velmi neobvyklou funkci, která nemohla být opomenuta.

Analýza potvrdila a rozvinula formulovanou hypotézu v teoretické části této bakalářské práce, zaměřené na počet účastníků v reciproční události. Počátek zájmu o korektní podobu anglického jazyka se datuje do 17. století. V této době se angličtí a američtí lingvisté soustředili na otázku, zda jsou reciproční zájmena zcela zaměnitelná, či zda jsou mezi nimi určité rozdíly. Jejich názory se často lišily; někteří vycházeli z předpokladu, že zájmeno *each other* odkazuje pouze ke dvěma účastníkům děje a že zájmeno *one another* naopak odkazuje ke skupině více lidí. Pro jiné standardním užitím těchto zájmen byl přesný opak. Jinými slovy řečeno, nikdy nebylo formulováno normativní pravidlo, které by jasně rozlišilo užití jednotlivých zájmen. V současné době tento fakt způsobuje, že lingvisté z velké části spoléhají na korpus, který pomocí přesných statistik dokáže vypočítat, kdy a zároveň jak jsou jednotlivá zájmena užita.

Analýza skutečně potvrdila náš předpoklad o rozšířenějším používání zájmena *each other* v kontextu s referencí ke dvěma subjektům (buď životným, nebo neživotným), jak ostatně ukazuje kapitola 4.1. (strana 27). Zájmeno *each other* odkazovalo na dva účastníky děje v 50% případů, zatímco zájmeno *one another* pouze ve 26% příkladů. Díky této studii se také podařilo odhalit nové referenty obou recipročních zájmen, a to tzv. obecnou skupinu (příkladem budiž následující věta: catfish of several species do so and appear to be calling to _one another_ as they move in murky water). Tato skupina se nejvíce užívá v obecných výpovědích, spíše abstraktního charakteru, v nichž člověk nemá zpravidla na mysli určitý počet účastníků akce. Vzhledem k tomu, že se tato skupina v našem výzkumu objevila, bylo třeba jasně rozlišit rozdíl mezi touto obecnou skupinou a skupinou konkrétní. V případě konkrétní skupiny, kdy člověk mluví o konkrétním, specifickém počtu účastníků reciproční

akce, tento přesný počet nemusí být vyjádřen ve větě, ale musí být odhalen z kontextu dané věty. Ačkoli se mnozí lingvisté nemohli shodnout na tom, zda zájmena odkazují ke dvěma či více subjektům, tato analýza odhalila, že předmětem jejich diskuzí měla být spíše otázka, zda zájmena odkazují ke dvěma subjektům či k obecné skupině.

Z kapitoly 4.1. vyplývá, že zájmeno *one another* je z 56% používáno především ve spojitosti s obecnou skupinou a že reference ke dvěma subjektům je až na druhém místě (tato skupina získala 26%). Překvapujícím je, že reference ke dvěma a více entitám je u obou zájmen nejnižší, přestože tato reference byla v dějinách předmětem mnoha lingvistických debat. V případě zájmena *each other* se reference k více jak dvěma účastníkům objevuje pouze v 24 % případech, se zájmenem *one another* pouze v 18 % případech.

V rámci studie účastníků bylo občas třeba zjistit přesný počet lidí, či subjektů v reciproční akci z kontextu dané věty, protože ve větě samotné tento počet určen nebyl. V těchto případech bylo nutné zkoumat širší kontext jednotlivých knih v korpusu do té doby, dokud tato informace nebyla s přesností zjištěna. Nicméně je třeba dodat, že tato hlubší analýza ve většině případů nebyla nutná. Pouze u dvou vět (kapitola 4.1.4.) se objevily problémy určení počtu spoluúčastníků v dění. Dalším předmětem studie této kapitoly, bylo porovnání, zda zájmena odkazují k životným či neživotným objektů. Jeho výsledkem je zjištění, že v drtivé většině příkladů (79 %) zájmena upřednostňují životné objekty před neživotnými.

Další sekce praktické části této práce se zabývala slovesnými kolonáty obou zájmen. Je třeba podotknout, že slovesa, která byla rozebrána, byla pouze ta, která se ve 100 příkladech objevila více než jednou. Byla analyzována následující slovesa: *know, be, stare, relate, follow, face, love, play a view*. Dalším cílem této kapitoly bylo porovnání slovesných kolonátů, zjištěných v našich 100 příkladech, se slovesnými kolonáty celého korpusu. Hledali jsme shodu mezi touto bakalářskou prací a korpusem, která by potvrdila četnost užití těchto sloves i v rámci malého výzkumu. Tato shoda však byla nalezena pouze minimálně. Největší překážku v získávání kolonátů představoval malý počet příkladů; BNC nebyl schopen vypočítat slovesné kolonáty pomocí log-likelihood statistiky pouze z 50 ti příkladů, a proto tyto kolonáty musely být analyzovány individuálně. Nicméně, po této ruční analýze byly shody ve slovesech přece jen nalezeny. Shoda sloves se zájmenem *each other* byla nalezena u sloves *stare, know, a face*; shoda sloves se zájmenem *one another* byla nalezena v případech *relate* a *love*. Při porovnávání nejčastějších sloves v rámci celého BNC se slovesy v naší analýze, se slovesa jako například *communicate, complement* nebo *differ* ani jednou nevyskytovala v našich příkladech, přestože v rámci celého korpusu patří do první desítky

nejčastějších. Důvodem této anomálie může být rozsah tohoto výzkumu, který je, srovnáme-li jej s obsahem celého korpusu, velice zanedbatelný.

Třetí část bakalářské práce studovala funkci recipročních zájmen v rámci vět. Nejčastější funkcí byly přímý a předložkový předmět (obě tyto syntaktické funkce se vyskytovaly v rozmezí 32% až 34%), avšak tento výsledek byl očekávaný. Zarážející ovšem byla skutečnost, že reciproční zájmena často doplňovala přídavná jména, což představuje funkci, která v porovnání s přímým či předložkovým předmětem není častá. Výskyt této syntaktické funkce se tak stal důležitým, a proto byl také zahrnut do této studie – zájmeno *each other* se v této funkci vyskytovalo v 8% případů a zájmeno *one another* v 16% případů. V teoretické části byla zmíněna klasifikace syntaktických funkcí recipročních zájmen na základě Kjellmerova rozdělení. Tato klasifikace však v analytické části této studie nebyla uplatněna, protože touto analýzou narůstal počet nejasností a dvojsmyslností. Vzhledem k vzniklému problému jsme přistoupili k analýze zájmena na základě Duškové a kol. a Quirk a kol. a jejich rozdělení syntaktických funkcí, neboť tato klasifikace je velmi jasná a nedává prostor k nejasnostem. Každá syntaktická funkce, kterou zájmena vykazovala, byla pomocí příkladů do podrobností vysvětlena. V případě předložkového předmětu byly porovnány i předložky, s nimiž se zájmena pojila nejčastěji. Dále byl také vypočítán procentuální výskyt těchto předložek. Nejčastější předložkou, spojenou se zájmenem *each other*, byla předložka *at*, která se vyskytovala ve 26 % případů a předložka *to*, která se vyskytovala ve 33 % příkladů se zájmenem *one another*.

Poslední část praktické analýzy se zabývala distribucí recipročních zájmen v různých žánrech a stylech. Jak již bylo řečeno v teoretické části (naleznete v kapitole 1.4.1.), v současné době se lingvisté domnívají, že rozdíl mezi recipročními zájmeny spočívá právě v jejich stylistické distribuci. Všeobecně přijímaným faktem je, že zájmeno *each other* se častěji vyskytuje v neformálním stylu, zatímco *one another* se vyskytuje především ve stylu formálním. Definice distribuce recipročních zájmen v rámci funkčních stylů byla založena na základě výzkumu Crystal a Davy *Investigating English Style* (kapitola 2.5.). Přestože je tato studie pro studium stylistiky výchozí, jejich definice byla trochu pozměněna a byla mimo jiné také inspirována Leech a spol., kteří primárně rozlišují to, jaké má formální a neformální styl typické znaky. Dalším kritériem pro rozdělení stylů se stalo téma jednotlivých textů; pro správné zařazení textů do stylů bylo v některých případech nutné zjistit širší kontext jednotlivých textů, z něhož pak bylo možné rozhodnout, zda text patří do formálního, neutrálního či neformálního stylu. Předpoklad, že zájmeno *each other* se bude ve větší míře vyskytovat v neformálním stylu, se potvrdil, neboť se toto zájmeno skutečně ve 40 % případů

v tomto stylu vyskytuje. Stejně tak se potvrdil předpoklad vyslovený pro zájmeno *one another*, že se bude vyskytovat primárně ve formálním stylu – toto zájmeno se ve formálním funkčním stylu vyskytovalo v 50% případů a to především v literatuře týkající se především humanitních věd, politiky či umění. Zajímavé je, že se obě zájmena vyskytují nejméně ve stylu neutrálním (*each other* se v tomto stylu vyskytuje v 26% případů a zájmeno *one another* pouze v 18% případů). Zájmeno *each other* mimo jiné take vykazuje větší stabilitu v distribuci (zájmeno se nachází ve všech funkčních stylech a prokazuje jistou stabilitu v jeho užití) zatímco zájmeno *one another* zcela zřetelně preferuje formalin funkční styl (50%) před jinými (například v neutrálním stylu se toto zájmeno vyskytuje pouze v 18% případů).

Tato studie usilovala nejen o bližší zmapování a analyzování podmínek výskytu recipročních zájmen, ale také o rozšíření poznatků vytvořených k tomuto tématu.

8   Appendix

Appendix 1. *Sentences with each other*

1. The Maiden girls didn't know *each other* before the race but by the end many were firm friends. (KAY, 917)
2. And they seem to work on the principle of allowing *each other* to do anything they like. (HTG, 1078)
3. 'THERE is no way to know … ': how it resounds, that phrase, standing for centuries of silence, hints, half-knowledge about the hidden complexity and richness of women's relations with themselves and *each other*. (ATA, 1340)
4. The picture plane is further stressed by the device of dropping the small doors or openings below the bases of the buildings, and by the way in which some of the forms are opened up into *each other* and fused. (GUJ, 872)
5. Thus from mid-1962 the Soviet Union and Cuba were committed to *each other* to an extent which made it extremely difficult for either party to renounce the relationship. (G1R, 1025)
6. 'Did you visit *each other* 's homes?' (C8D, 1262)
7. In his speech which honoured 1,300 representatives of award winning companies, star of stage and screen Roy Castle said: 'Safety is all about being aware of those around you — making sure that you protect *each other*. (HBE, 7)
8. Put another way, they wish to say, and indeed advertise, that there is nothing transient, superficial, or casual in the way they view *each other* and wish to be viewed. (ASK, 227)
9. The two women knew *each other* from London and The New Age. (ANF, 529)
10. Another irritating item was that the place was swarming with tortoises, clashing against *each other* in their anxiety to mate. (HA0, 2749)
11. The only time they spoke was to quarrel, and in the dressing room and round the dining-room at the Benson's Theatre Home from Home they rarely sat beside *each other*. (ATE, 2322)
12. We're used to each other now, we're furniture in *each other* 's lives.' (CEX, 2651)
13. The old days with the Coes and the Ovetts, they used to avoid *racing each other*, and the public never ever got the benefit from that. (FBL, 1342)
14. Calling out our imaginary names we had to find *each other*. (HDB, 128)
15. It is more complicated than that, because the effects of genes interact with *each other* in ways that are more complicated than simple addition. (J52, 1042)
16. They stared at *each other* in silence for a moment, surprised to find that they shared some fragment of a common cause: the unsolved mysteries that troubled them both, though twenty years and half a world apart, were somehow one and the same. (H8T, 810)
17. The point is that many of these specific areas of functional excellence are not independent of *each other* and improvements in one area may be at the cost of worsening in another. (EA8, 989)
18. The eyes of vertebrates and of squids are similar to *each other*, and to the camera. (AE7, 584)

19. Make two semi-circular cakes and place them on top of *each other* to make a football. (C8P, 558)

20. The difference was, of course, that they shared the same land mass, and were directly connected to *each other* by transcontinental tracks. (AR0, 678)

21. That war is still going on, Jamie is still wasting his life on a childhood hatred and Edward Swift is still playing them off against *each other* from beyond the grave.' (JYD, 216)

22. These may of course in practice be confused or entangled with *each other*, as they are in Northern Ireland, or as they are in any state where the elections are largely or wholly a political ritual or a way of mobilizing mass support or approval for a regime in which party and state are indistinguishable, and electoral choice between contestants for office non-existent. (FP8, 582)

23. Surely if you love *each other* — ' (JYE, 2753)

24. I can't stand gossip, or people bitching about *each other*. (K5D, 8836)

25. We should all be vaguely conscious of a disaster brought about by ourselves, a universal mutual degradation, and would be making feeble intermittent efforts to restore contact and rehumanize *each other*. (CB1, 484)

26. What had apparently happened was that, faced with persecution, the committed witches had formed themselves into small clandestine groups and became separated from *each other.* (B2G, 77)

27. Pale with fright, they all stared at *each other*. (FRK, 1187)

28. It forms a record of not only the resources allocated, but also those requested, and after a few months of operating the system the project leaders' requests become realistic and they even strike agreements with *each other* on timing and amount of resources in advance of the meeting. (HNV, 1576)

29. She begins by recalling a remark made to her a long time ago by Larkin, about difficulties encountered in his private life — a remark which consisted of a joke to do with 'the impossibility of relations between men and women', followed by the notion that 'women ought really to marry *each other*', followed by 'but that would be wrong, wouldn't it?' (A05, 1162)

30. And in their relations with *each other*, Libyans show the same rejectionist spirit: the taunt, 'We killed Pasha Naiz', means that Magharba were irremediably tainted by their submission to Turkish government; Zuwaya had been, and continued to be, irreconcilable. (ADW, 624)

31. Yet, despite this intimacy, the fact that they exist as a couple with a unique value in *each other*'s eyes (a point marvellously grasped in Donne's love-poetry), they remain separate, even when man and woman strive to overcome the fundamental dualism of life. (CRV, 710)

32. When siblings are in conflict they need consistent and caring control plus help in recognizing *each other*'s needs and feelings. (CGT, 1000)

33. 'John Thelwall is a very warm hearted honest man,' Coleridge wrote to Josiah Wade, 'and disagreeing, as we do, on almost every point of religion, of morals, of politics, and of philosophy; we like *each other* uncommonly well.' (B0R, 860)

34. Anti-Philistinism and anti-Arab sentiment may have a nasty way of feeding on *each other*. (A2J, 371)

35. And it looks to me as if you two lovely people were just made for *each other*!' (JXX, 1303)

36. Even last year, when her father was so ill, she and Susan had filled stockings for *each other*, and had such fun over the wonderful box of curios that Jack had sent from India. (BMU, 983)

37. One can see the publishers emerging from that smoke-filled room, slapping *each other* on the back: 'Baby, we not only have a trilogy here, we have a thesaurus.' (EDT, 2173)

38. We need *each other*. (K54, 1404)

39. (Minter and Kingdom within hours of *each other*: at last Harry was making progress.) (H8T, 2072)

40. 'From the way both drivers got out from their vehicles and looked ready to tear *each other* apart, I doubt it,' Ven answered, and halted at her bedroom door. (JYF, 2101)

41. The current seeding method, which prevents any two Minor sides playing *each other*, negates the major appeal of a knock-out competition like the FA Cup … namely that the vagaries of the draw, allied to a bit of luck, suddenly throw a minnow into the big pool of the last eight. (CU1, 305)

42. They are looking through the directory board in the foyer of the RCA building, reading aloud to *each other* all the names of firms they find ridiculous ('How about this? (G0F, 1100)

43. She and Cameron, arms around *each other*, facing the camera and squinting into the sunlight. (GV8, 61)

44. He described the coterie around John as 'a kind of Chelsea-Bloomsbury Group' and said that they were in and out of *each other 's* flats all the time. (ASC, 1170)

45. We gazed at *each other* in stunned silence. (EB7, 951)

46. FLY-HALVES Michael Lynagh and Naas Botha got an early chance to size *each other* up before world champions Australia take on would-be kings South Africa later on this month when they meet, plying their trade for Treviso and Rovigo respectively, in the Italian Championship final. (CB3, 144)

47. The two men stared at *each other*. (H85, 2372)

48. The parcel presented should be amusing, either an unusual shape, or several boxes inside *each other* so that the gift takes a while to find. (FSN, 440)

49. They were both singing well, not exactly together, but not destroying *each other* either and, as he listened, he realized that once again it was Therese who was making it work, adapting slightly, but still dominating the sounds as they came over the footlights. (J19, 2633)

50. Die Entführung (also known as The Seraglio) takes place in a Turkish harem, and concerns the efforts of Belmonte, a Spanish nobleman, to rescue his beloved Constanze, who has been captured by pirates and sold to the Pasha Selim along with her English maid, Blondchen, and Belmonte's servant, Pedrillo (who are, naturally, also in love with *each other*).

Appendix 2. *Sentences with one another*

1. Catfish of several species do so and appear to be calling to *one another* as they move in murky water. (EFR, 1678)

2. (c) Accounting and tax Whilst agreement in principle may have been reached on the relative standing in the new firm of its partners, precise calculation of their capital and profit sharing ratios can be a nightmare as the accountants wrestle with the task of bringing the accounts of the firms involved into line with *one another*: and it will be assumed here that there are differing practices which need to be harmonised. (J6P, 817)

3. 'Yes, but she and Dr Heatherton take nothing to do with *one another* now; everyone knows of it, though nobody is certain why. (CD2, 597)

4. Professional football matches offer contemporary youth, particularly working-class youth, an opportunity to identify with *one another* as a solid group in opposition to other such groups. (B17, 588)

5. The scriptures largely concern the interaction of men with *one another* and with their God. (EF0, 1444)

6. Then they had been sinking on to the bed and, between kisses and caresses, peeling the clothes hungrily from *one another*, until at last they lay naked, side by side. (JXS, 4121)

7. By the time the permissive climate of the late 1960s had come to allow boys and girls to admit tender feelings for *one another,* the first faint notes of anti-sexist protest ensured that girls would no longer be content to be victims awaiting rescue by dauntless boys. (EC8, 1156)

8. 'All over the world today children are starving, men and women are being cruel to *one another* and killing one another. (AEA, 538)

9. The love between man and wife, therefore, apparently presupposes man and wife treating *one another* as equal, autonomous beings. (ECV, 881)

10. One of these is connected with the fact that gravity affects the causal structure of space-time; that is, gravity determines which events can be causally related to *one another*. (FYX, 861)

11. The word Mizpah is Hebrew and means 'The Lord watch between me and thee when we are absent *one another*' (Genesis 31, Verse 49). (G30, 333)

12. At sites where a number of periods of occupation overlie *one another,* the archaeologist has to identify and record very large numbers of what are referred to as contexts — divisions of the excavated material that can be distinguished in some way from their neighbours. (AC9, 1497)

13. Merson had the opportunity to extend Arsenal's lead when Gough and Butcher misread *one another 's* intentions but, in keeping with the general tone, he was well off the mark. (AA7, 268)

14. The reason I cite these tales is that they do have a bearing on *one another*, albeit a tenuous. (BNH, 522)

15. Make us more of a church family, Lord, binding us closer to you and to *one another*. (GX0, 76)

16. Freed from managing aspects of learning which children can provide for themselves and for *one another,* the teacher uses opportunities as they arise with individuals and groups to inject new purposes for collaboration, develop appropriate skills and strategies and model processes which the children will later be able to use for themselves. (F9T, 193)

17. The second part of the festival, which resulted in the final performance, raised vital questions about the way women relate to *one another* when they are free to make real choices. (AA9, 242)

18. I do not mean by this that I expect managers to cry, or to clasp *one another* like footballers after a goal has been won. (EA8, 1053)

19. Such schemes are essentially analytical in nature, but do not permit any synthesis or joining together of concepts that have been divided from *one another*. (H99, 428)

20. Thus the English greet *one another* with a verbal formula, a reciprocal, "How do you do? " , but simultaneously they shake hands. H10, 1090)

21. They idolized *one another*. (AN7, 645)

22. It could be accomplished, I thought, by not worrying about the future, by taking things day by day, and our being perfectly honest with *one another* so that we knew where we were; and loving. (AC7, 207)

23. Offices are deemed to be permanently related to *one another* in a structure of kinship. (H10, 978)

24. In a series of articles later collected in his book Mutual Aid of 1902, the Russian anarchist writer Peter Kropotkin argued that animals naturally co-operate with *one another*. (G0H, 1038)

25. Lawyers who spend their days faxing revisions of contracts to *one another* could avoid the need to type in the changes every time they receive something new. (HAC, 3681)

26. Residents were sexually assaulted or goaded into assaulting *one another*, it was alleged, while staff looked on, drinking beer, laughing and ignoring pleas for help. (CFB, 296)

27. They were all crushed against *one another* — Paddy at her side now. (C85, 3488)

28. In France the process by which the administrative and business elites give one another interesting employment is called pantouflage which literally means jumping in and out of *one another* 's trousers (Birnbaum, 1981). (CS3, 492)

29. In exploring these processes, the school librarian, teachers and pupils can learn from *one another* and, more importantly, they can learn together. (JXK, 734)

30. In the New Testament, Paul frequently tells his readers to 'be kind to one another', 'consider *one another in* love', and so on. (ARG, 358)

31. They reassured *one another*; they insisted that love cannot die. (AEA, 816)

32. The pathologist's secretaries followed *one another* in bewildering succession. (GWB, 459)

33. Rock stars punch the air, embrace *one another*, pray; and enjoin the world to use a condom. (CAL, 1493)

34. But onomatopoeia is on stronger ground if it is appreciated that the effect is generally a result of phonological features acting in combination with *one another*, and in combination with meaning. (EWA, 455)

35. The columns and capitals of the nave colonnade were frequently taken from ruined Roman buildings and are therefore different from *one another* and the capital does not fit its column or base. (HWB, 937)

36. Hazards were taken to be simple, which include a single damaging element such as wind, rain, floodwater or earth tremor; compound, which involves several elements acting together above their respective damage thresholds such as the wind, hail and lightning of a severe storm; and multiple, when elements of different kinds coincide accidentally or follow *one another* as a hurricane may be succeeded by landslides and floods. (GVW, 952)

37. Emilia would never be deceived; the sisters knew *one another* far too well. (H82, 2869)

38. They loved *one another* and did not care who knew it. (FRC, 390)

39. They consulted *one another,* hardly hoping for advice but grateful to vent their anger, grateful that all were of one mind. (FAT, 127)

40. Their habits, modes of thought, patterns of speech, style of drafting will have rubbed off on *one another* to the point where but a few free or tough or independent spirits resist mutation into a sludgy administrative amalgam. (GVN, 709)

41. Single pieces of card, were used in some trials, in others several were used in a variety of positions relative to *one another* and to the central strip. (HGX, 849)

42. On Sunday mornings during the time of the spring and autumn ploughing, the horsemen often strolled around the parish to view *one another* 's work, estimating its quality with the eye for detail of an exacting sticker at a furrow-drawing match. (G09, 232)

43. After Famagusta is taken, I propose that you and I face *one another* in public combat.(BP0, 1468)

44. If historical time is the existence of the social totality then the relation between the two must be one of immediacy, allowing what Althusser calls an 'essential section', that is 'a break in the present such that all the elements of the whole revealed by this section are in an immediate relationship with *one another*, a relationship that immediately expresses their internal essence'. (CTY, 487)

45. Wilkins said that he and the police constable had hold of *one another* and the officer had fallen to the ground. (C88, 60)

46. ,Somewhere,' Lee said, 'I don't know where — in Africa, I think — there dwell two tribes, close to *one another* — I mean I think their assumed boundaries could well be adjacent — who hold diametrically opposed attitudes to the birth of twins. (CA3, 1502)

47. If however, the stress is maintained for a sufficient time, there is a general tendency for chains to unravel and slip past *one another* into new positions where the segments can relax and regain a stable coiled form. (HRG, 1247)

48. It is important to realise however, that all four bodies (which includes the physical) interpenetrate with _one another_; whatever affects one aspect will affect the whole. (B06, 684)
49. Ever since they had known _one another_, Otto had been kindness itself to Jean-Claude. (FAT, 1108)
50. If you set an area outside which you cannot sail then tag _one another_ by doing a tack or a gybe around them, it can turn into a very good game where you can build up your own tactics. (AT6, 566)

Appendix 3. *Genre occurrence within the BNC*

Genre	Each other	%	One Another	%
Fiction (prose)	17	34%	14	28%
Essay	1	2%	0	0%
Non-academic (social science)	3	6%	3	6%
Academic (humanities and arts)	5	10%	2	4%
Miscellaneous	4	8%	5	10%
Non-academic (humanities and arts)	2	4%	3	6%
Biography	4	8%	0	0%
Pop (lore)	3	6%	2	4%
Non-academic (natural science)	2	4%	2	4%
Commerce	2	4%	2	4%
Instructional	1	2%	0	0%
Academic (politics, law, education)	1	2%	4	8%
Newspaper	3	6%	4	8%
Religion	1	2%	3	6%
Academic (social science)	1	2%	3	6%
Non-academic politics, law, education)	0	0%	1	2%
Academic (technical)	0	0%	1	2%
Academic (natural science)	0	0%	1	2%
Total	50	100%	50	100