

UNIVERZITA KARLOVA V PRAZE, FILOZOFICKÁ FAKULTA
ÚSTAV ANGLICKÉHO JAZYKA A DIDAKTIKY
STUDIJNÍ OBOR: ANGLISTIKA-AMERIKANISTIKA

DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

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**CHANGING USAGE IN MODERN ENGLISH AS REFLECTED IN R.W. BURCHFIELD'S REVISED
3RD EDITION OF H.W. FOWLER'S DICTIONARY OF MODERN ENGLISH USAGE**

**VÝVOJOVÉ ZMĚNY V MODERNÍ ANGLIČTINĚ NA ZÁKLADĚ POROVNÁNÍ VYBRANÝCH HESEL
V BURCHFIELDOVĚ REVIDOVANÉM 3. VYDÁNÍ A PŮVODNÍM VYDÁNÍ A DICTIONARY OF
MODERN ENGLISH USAGE**

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2010

Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně a že jsem uvedla všechny použité prameny a literaturu.

I declare that the following MA thesis is my own work for which I used only the sources and literature mentioned

V Praze dne 30.4.2010

Milada Kubová

Velice ráda bych poděkovala a vyslovila uznání prof. Libuši Duškové nejen za trpělivé vedení a vstřícný přístup, ale i také za množství praktických rad.

I would like to thank prof. Libuše Dušková and express appreciation for her patient guidance and helpful approach, and also for many practical suggestions.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to examine changing usage in Modern English as reflected in R.W. Burchfield's revised 3rd edition of H.W. Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. The study first provides an historical overview of attitudes toward English usage and examines its treatment in contemporary usage books. The third edition of *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* is then compared with earlier editions to show what areas of language usage are represented in each edition and to detect any changes in representation. The subsequent analysis is based on comparison of entries from the revised 3rd edition with entries from earlier editions. Changes in usage are demonstrated on three general entries that deal with general areas of grammar, namely complex prepositions, split infinitive and fused participle, and on twenty individual entries that reflect changes in the surface structure, specifically changes in prepositions in the construction of the type "noun/verb/adjective + preposition" and changes in the realization of verb complementation. The aim of the study is to determine areas of changing usage and consider tendencies with respect to the language system.

ABSTRAKT

Cílem práce je zkoumat vývojové změny v moderní angličtině na základě porovnání vybraných hesel v Burchfieldově revidovaném 3. vydání a původním vydání *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* H.W. Fowlera. Práce nejprve podává historický přehled o vztahu k úzu anglického jazyka a zkoumá přístup současných jazykových příruček. Dále je provedeno srovnání třetího vydání *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* s předchozími vydáními, které ukazuje, kterým jazykovým oblastem se jednotlivá vydání věnují a zda došlo ke změnám v zastoupení těchto oblastí. Následná analýza se opírá o srovnání hesel ze třetího revidovaného vydání s hesly z prvního a druhého vydání. Změny v úzu jsou demonstrovány na třech heslech, které se týkají obecných jazykových oblastí, a to složených předložkách, rozděleném infinitivu a tzv. *fused participle*, a dále na dvaceti heslech, které odráží změnu v povrchové struktuře; v tomto případě jsou zkoumány změny předložek ve spojení „podstatné jméno/sloveso/přídavné jméno + předložka“ a změny v realizaci slovesné komplementace. Cílem práce je určit oblasti vývojových změn a posoudit tendence z hlediska současného stavu jazykového systému.

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1 List of abbreviations

Linguistic abbreviations:

CD	communicative dynamism
Co	object complement
Co _{prep}	prepositional object complement
FSP	functional sentence perspective
NP	noun phrase
O _i	indirect object
O _d	direct object
O _{prep}	prepositional object
TME	exponent of tense and mood

Other abbreviations:

BNC	British National Corpus
CGEL	<i>A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language</i>
MEU	<i>A Dictionary of Modern English Usage</i> , 1 st ed. (Fowler)
MEU2	<i>A Dictionary of Modern English Usage</i> , 2 nd ed. (Gowers)
MEU3	<i>The New Fowler's Modern English Usage</i> , 3 rd rev. ed. (Burchfield)
OALD	<i>Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary</i>
OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i>

2 Introduction

The aim of this study is to examine changing usage in Modern English as reflected in R.W. Burchfield's revised third edition of H. W. Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. The study is divided into three main parts – the survey of English usage, an analysis of changed usage and a conclusion.

In the initial part, English usage and attitudes towards English usage are viewed both from historical and contemporary perspectives and different approaches to usage are demonstrated on four contemporary usage books. The analytical part is based on comparison of three editions of Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*: the revised third edition *New Fowler's Modern English Usage*, edited by Robert Burchfield and published in 1998, the first edition *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, compiled by Henry Watson Fowler and published in 1926, and the second edition, revised by Sir Ernest Gowers and published in 1965. The analysis first shows what areas of usage are represented in the three editions and then focuses on changing usage as reflected in the revised third edition. Changing usage is demonstrated on three general entries and twenty individual entries of the above usage books. The general entries deal with three general areas of grammar that display major changes in usage – complex prepositions, split infinitive and fused participle. The individual entries reflect changes in the surface structure and concern preposition changes in the pattern “noun/adjective/verb + preposition” and changes in the realization verb complementation. In each case, the earlier usage is contrasted with findings presented in contemporary linguistic books and/or actual examples of contemporary use.

Attention is paid not just to actual uses but also to attitudes to specific issues occurring in the relevant edition. Therefore, the aim of the analysis is to compare earlier usage with contemporary language trends and evidence, and detect changing usage with respect to the language system.

3 Survey of English usage

In this chapter the notion of English usage is discussed. To show various trends in treatment of English usage, a brief overview of the history of English usage books is offered and a selection of contemporary usage books is then presented. In addition, the three editions of Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage* are examined and compared.

3.1 Historical overview of English usage

The concept of "English usage" embraces all areas of the English language, be it grammar or semantics. *The Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* defines usage in a linguistic sense as "established or customary use or employment of language, words, expressions, etc." The first citation in this sense comes from Daniel Defoe's *An Essay upon Projects* (1697), in which Defoe calls for establishing an Academy which would be "authority for the usage of words" ("usage" sense 8). The proposed Academy has never come to existence and the absence of a central language institution in the United Kingdom which would issue binding rules related to the English usage (e.g. in the Czech Republic, the standard is established by *Ústav pro jazyk český*) has resulted in the existence of a number of usage books, which are, to a varying extent, perceived as the authorities on usage (Leith: 50).

The history of usage books is of course interconnected with the history of reference books. The earliest reference books for English speakers were bilingual glossaries that provided equivalents for difficult Latin and French words used in manuscripts. Monolingual dictionaries developed later as modifications of bilingual dictionaries. *A Table Alphabeticall*, compiled by Robert Cawdrey in 1604, is generally considered to be the first English monolingual dictionary, although it did not include all words (Landau: 37-38). Other works followed, e.g. *An English Expositor* by John Bullokar in 1616; *The English Dictionary* by Henry Cockeram in 1623; *Glossographis* by Thomas Blount in 1656; *New World of Words* by Edward Phillips 1658; *Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae* by Stephen Skinner in 1671 and many more (Dušková 1962: 6). In the 18th century, dictionaries with a more systematic coverage of vocabulary started to appear. *A New English Dictionary*, edited by John Kersey and published in 1702, is regarded to be the first dictionary of this type (Landau: 44). In the

17th century, the attention turned to books of grammar. The first English grammar *Bref Grammar for English*, written by William Bullokar, was published as early as in 1586 and the first comprehensive grammar book, *Logonomia Anglica*, was written by Alexander Gill in 1619 (Dušková 1962: 6-7).

In the 17th century, an increasing effort to improve English was materialised in the first plans for establishing an academy that would be the authority in correcting and improving the language. In 1664 the Royal Society, whose member was for example John Dryden, established a committee with an aim to encourage the use of an appropriate and correct language. The idea of fixing the English language was also supported by Jonathan Swift in *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue*, 1711-1712 (Dušková 1962: 8). In 1747, Samuel Johnson published *A Plan for a Dictionary of the English Language*, which marks the beginning of the normative period of English lexicography, which lasted until around 1850. In his proposal, Johnson says that the planned dictionary should “preserve the purity and ascertain the meaning of our English idiom ... fix the English language ... secure our language from being over-run with *cant*, from being crowded with low terms ...” (Landau: 51). This prescriptive approach did not concern just individual words but also English grammar and its usage, and there was a sharp rise in interest in grammar and its proper application. Landau points out that Latin served as the ideal model and English constructions were considered correct if they corresponded to their Latin equivalents. There was a general feeling that the English language had been long neglected and needed to be corrected and standardised. For illustration, more than two hundred and fifty grammar books were published in the 18th century and the trend continued in the 19th century (Landau: 194-195). Among the most important grammar books belong *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* by Robert Lowth, first published in 1762, *Grammatical Institutes, or, An Essay introduction to Dr Lowth’s English Grammar* by John Ash, first published in 1763 or *A Grammar of the English Language* by William Ward, published in 1765 (Dušková 1962: 10-11).

By the middle of the 19th century, the normative period was coming to an end. In 1857, R.Ch. Trench presented two papers titled *On Some Deficiencies in Our English Dictionaries*, which criticised some of the methods used in dictionary making. Above all, he claimed that a dictionary maker should merely describe the actual usage of language and not reject words whose use he disapproves of

(Landau: 67). The focus shifted to descriptiveness of the contemporary usage “based on facts about a language or language variety rather than attitude on how it should be used” (Hartmann: 37). One of the highlights of this period was publishing *The Oxford English Dictionary* based on historical principles (over the period of forty years; all 12 volumes and a supplement were published in 1933) (Landau: 71).

At present, the concept of English usage is associated with Standard English, which is defined by Burchfield as “educated English used in their formal programmes by the broadcasting authorities based in London, by the London-based national newspapers, and by teachers of English to young people in this country and to foreigner” (“standard English”). To evaluate usage, several criteria may be used. *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* lists four major aspects: a) analogy with particular usage which is already established; b) logic; c) etymology, which is used to defend the contemporary language against changes; and d) personal preference, which is subjective and relates to one’s own personal taste and intuition (McArthur: 1071-1072). To the above mentioned criteria, one more can be added – corpus evidence.

The recent tendency is to evaluate English usage as objectively as possible with the support of relevant evidence. However, it can be argued that not even substantial evidence of a particular use can guarantee good usage. The prescriptive approach, although often condemned, has survived until the present. Moreover, as Landau points out, even those usage books that are based on the actual use, supported by collected samples (corpora), etymology, or grammar books, are ultimately normative (Landau: 212-216). Also Hartmann notes that even the most comprehensive and descriptive dictionary would be taken as an authority on correct usage (37).

Clearly, evaluating English usage and determining what expression or construction is the most appropriate is not an easy task. In the following section various approaches to usage are exemplified in selected contemporary usage books.

3.2 Contemporary usage books

This section illustrates various approaches towards usage in contemporary usage books. Attention is paid to the grounds for evaluations, i.e. whether recommended usage is based on corpora, resource books or perhaps just intuition, and to the goal, i.e. whether the aim is to correct mistakes, provide firm guidance or stay descriptive and share observations about particular usage. Four contemporary books of English usage, published between 1986 and 2004, were selected for comparison. Two focus on American English – *The Penguin Dictionary of American English Usage and Style* (2002), edited by Paul W. Lovinger, and *Webster's Dictionary of English Usage* (1989), edited by E. Ward Gilman. The third, *The Longman Guide to English Usage* (1989), compiled by Sidney Greenbaum and Janet Whitcut, is primarily concerned with British English. The last one, Pam Peters' *The Cambridge Guide to English Usage* (2004), is dedicated to “international” English. Fowler's *Modern English Usage* is dealt with later. The observations presented here are based on information contained in a preface to each book and also on the content of each book.

3.2.1 *The Penguin Dictionary of American English Usage and Style*

The Penguin Dictionary of American English Usage and Style (referred to as *the Penguin Dictionary*) was written by Paul W. Lovinger, who has professional experience as journalist and author. The Introduction provides ample information about the methods and approach to usage and some of the points given in the Introduction are as follows: *The Penguin Dictionary* is based on about 2,000 examples of misuse and questionable usage collected mostly from the popular press, broadcasting, books and other unspecified sources. The entries are of two types – those dealing with specific words or expressions, and those devoted to general topics. Quoted examples of bad usage are given in every entry and a corrected version follows. Lovinger states that his aim is to draw a line between good and bad usage whenever possible and he defines his approach as “an antidote to laissez-faire lexicography and anything-goes grammar“ (Lovinger: viii). He uses a large number of secondary sources for reference but he does not rely on corpora to have his choices justified. According to the Introduction, the main themes of the book are: a) clarity, which is endangered by “hastiness, inability to express ideas simply, intentional hedging, lack of facts, language that is too pompous or too slangy, obscurity of ideas or terms, overloading of sentences, overlooking of double meanings, stinginess in using words or punctuation, too little thought, or too much abstraction and generality

without concrete examples...muddiness and confusion” (ix-x); b) avoidance of “loose meanings of words”, i.e. extended meanings that developed from “strict” meanings (e.g. meanings of *legendary*: mythical x famous) (x); and c) protection of words against borrowings which bring fuzziness and ambiguity (x-xi).

As regards specific issues, the following observations have been made: The entries are comparatively long and some are almost story-like. Overall, the guide is authoritative and provides firm guidance. On the other hand, since Lovinger prefers a clear distinction between good and poor usage, some of his claims may be disputable. For example, trying to encourage clarity and preciseness, Lovinger rejects the use of “daring” in “daring escape from a medium-security facility outside of Pueblo”, arguing that “daring” is a word of praise only (“daring”). Another example is his disapproval of using “alibi” in non-legal context: “Outside of the legal community, the popular misuse casts a shadow on the legitimate use of the word” (“alibi”). The style is personal with a number of very subjective observations. In the entry “no choice”, Lovinger, commenting on a newspaper article which reported that U.S. planes had attacked Serbian planes because the Americans had “little choice but to blow them out of the sky”, Lovinger says: “‘Little choice’? The Americans had the choice of not blowing them out of the sky; the choice of talking instead of shooting; the choice of going home.”¹ When explaining the term Six-Day War, he observes that “the Israelis fought the war in six days, hence the well-known appellation the Six-Day War. (On the seventh day they rested.)” (“Numbers” 261).

3.2.2 Webster’s Dictionary of English Usage

Webster’s Dictionary of English Usage (the Webster’s Dictionary) is a joint work of a number of Merriam-Webster staff members. The strategy used to compile the book is discussed in the Preface and can be summarised as follows: The topics for articles were selected on the basis of existing usage books. The book focuses on disputed or confused usage but it also illustrates idiomatic usage (e.g. “verb + preposition” constructions). Again, articles deal with general and specific issues and every article typically contains the historical background and abundant examples of usage taken from the Merriam-Webster files. In addition, the articles incorporate views of a number of commentators, although according to the Preface, “the pet peeves of individual commentators have in the main been

¹ Lovinger is also an anti-war activist.

passed over” (4a). The evaluation of usage is based mostly on present-day evidence, historical evidence and reference books. Even though articles are in general very comprehensive and analytical, they are always followed by a conclusion with recommended usage. The approach is summarised on the back cover of the book. In contrast to Lovinger’s book, the recommendations are less strict in that a line between good and bad usage is not drawn so readily and the tone is less authoritative. For example, in the entry in which the use of *being* as a conjunction is discussed, the final paragraph includes the following recommendation: “It is clear that the conjunction *being* survives dialectally in current English. If it—or its compounds—is part of your dialect, there is no reason you should avoid it. You should be aware, however, that when you use it in writing it is likely to be noticed by those who do not have it in their dialects” (“being, being as, being as how, being that”). When the use of *beside* in the preposition sense of *besides* is discussed, the following conclusion is reached: While this use of *beside* is not wrong, nor rare, nor nonstandard, *besides* is the word most people use (“beside, besides”).

3.2.3 *The Longman Guide to English Usage*

The Longman Guide to English Usage (the Longman Guide) was compiled by Sidney Greenbaum and Janet Whitcut, a grammarian and a lexicographer. The goal of the book, as described in the Preface is to provide “clear recommendation in plain English to those who look for guidance on specific points of pronunciation, spelling, punctuation, vocabulary, grammar, and style”. In the Introduction, Randolph Quirk discusses good usage and appropriate means of expressing things as opposed to too casual “free expression”. He points out that the latter approach originated in the twentieth century as a response to the normative period, and he defends more careful speech and writing. In his opinion, language users should be conscientious of the language they use and train themselves to use expressions that are appropriate for the given time, place and occasion. Although the primary focus is on British English, differences between American and British English are occasionally pointed out. As the main source of reference *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Usage* is mentioned, and recommendations are also based on the Survey of English Usage at University College London, the first research centre in Europe to have carried out research with corpora, founded in 1959 by Randolph Quirk (“A brief history of the Survey of English Usage” <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/about/history.htm>). The entries alone are kept short and

recommended usage is usually clearly specified (“...do not use...”, “...use the form...”, “...should be replaced in Standard English by...”). For example, the use of *numerous* is commented on in the following way: “This is an adjective. You can say *numerous reasons* but not *numerous of the reasons*. If you want to use the *of* construction, say *many of the reasons*” (“numerous”).

3.2.4 *The Cambridge Guide to English Usage*

The Cambridge Guide to English Usage (the Cambridge Guide) has an ambitious goal, according to the Preface – to provide guidance with respect to regional varieties of English, mostly British and American English but also Canadian, Australian and New Zealand, as well as “global” English (vii). The Preface also provides the following information about the sources used to support advice on usage: Two major corpora were used as the primary resources of samples – the British National Corpus for British English (BNC) and a subset of the Cambridge International Corpus for American English (CCAE). Both corpora include oral discourse, which enabled finer identification of standard usage on the scale ranging from informal to formal English. Further, six questionnaires provided feedback from participants on various points of usage and, as secondary sources, numerous language authorities were consulted, including grammar books, books on style and usage books (including Fowler’s *Modern English Usage*). In addition, the book incorporates findings of numerous linguistic researches (vii-ix). Upon examining the book it can be said that the information contained in the entries is exhaustive as most entries refer also to regional varieties and include examples and statistics from the BNC and CCAE as well as from other resources mentioned above. As a result, careful reading is often needed to absorb the information and users are sometimes left to make their own decisions based on statistical data, surveys or quoted reference books. This applies particularly to entries in which optional usages or different usages of relevant expressions are discussed. Whenever relevant, recommendations are marked with “international English selection”, which is an indication of a preferred usage on the global level. E.g. “**abridgement or abridgment**“ is followed by the following comment:

The *Oxford Dictionary* (1989) prefers the regular **abridgement**, and in British English it’s way out in front of **abridgment**, by 34:1 in data from the BNC. In American English the difference

is less marked. *Webster's Third* (1986) gives priority to **abridgment**, yet it's only slightly ahead of **abridgement** in data from CCAE. See further under **-ment**.

International English selection: The spelling **abridgement** recommends itself for the purposes of international English, given its regularity and substantive use in American English as well as British.

(“abridgement or abridgment“)

The wide scope of *the Cambridge Guide* is also documented by the fact that it includes nine appendices providing encyclopaedic information: geological eras, perpetual calendar, international system of units, interconversion tables for metric and imperial measures, currencies of the world, and advice on style: selected proofreading marks, formats and styles for letters, memos and e-mail and layout for envelopes.

3.2.5 Summary

To sum up, each of the above usage books represents a slightly different approach. *The Penguin Dictionary* seems to be the most idiosyncratic with its personal style, occasional subjective comments and conservative stance. Its motto is to protect the language against unnecessary changes. The direction of the book is already given by the entries, which were collected as examples of misuse or disputed usage that needs to be corrected. In addition, Lovinger chose not use corpora to support his claims. The prescriptive approach of *the Penguin Dictionary* can be contrasted with the descriptive approach of *the Cambridge Guide*, which provides comprehensive information in most entries, including historical overviews and statistics. The comprehensiveness is partly due to the fact that attention is paid equally to American and British English, and wherever relevant also to other regional varieties. Moreover, “global” usage is identified whenever applicable. The information on usage is supported by numerous examples from American and British corpora. Similarly extensive information is provided in the entries of *Webster's Dictionary*, which include historical and contemporary treatment and examples of usage; nevertheless, the descriptive part is followed by a conclusion (recommendation). In contrast, *the Longman Guide* is an ideal book for quick reference.

The entries are short, plainly stating what is considered to be good usage. Overall, the authors advocate more careful language, relying on current reference books and corpora.

3.3 *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* in three editions

In the following section the three editions of Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, which serve as the sources of samples examined in this study, are introduced and characterised in a greater detail. The first edition of *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (hereinafter only *MEU*) was compiled by Henry Watson Fowler and published in 1926. The second edition (*MEU2*) was revised by Sir Ernest Gowers and published in 1965. The latest, third revised edition (*MEU3*), edited by Robert Burchfield, was published in 1998.

MEU has a long history, with seventy-two years between the publishing of the first and the third revised edition. Its author, H.W. Fowler was born in 1858. He studied at Oxford and then spent seventeen years as a master at Sedberg. After that, he worked as a freelance essayist and eventually, he started to cooperate with his brother Francis and together they wrote *The King's English* (1906) and compiled *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1911). After his brother's death, he alone wrote *Pocket Oxford Dictionary* (1924) and *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (1926) (Gowers: iv-v). Having descended from grammar books of the 18th and the 19th century, *MEU* followed the tradition of prescriptive rather than descriptive lexicography. Commenting on Fowler's approach to English usage, Burchfield writes in the preface to the third edition:

the ancient Greek and Latin classics (including the metrical conventions of the poets), the best-known works of Renaissance and post-Renaissance English literature, and the language used in them formed part of a three-coloured flag. This linguistic flag was to be saluted and revered, and, as far as possible, everything it represented was to be preserved intact.

(Burchfield: vii)

Fowler himself does not specify the approach which he adopted. Burchfield notes that Fowler above all used newspapers as sources to illustrate **deviation** from standard language and often referred to

OED for the support of his arguments (Burchfield: vii-viii). In addition, Fowler was not afraid to express his personal views of specific points, and he was sometimes criticised for being idiosyncratic. It is precisely this idiosyncrasy to which Gowers attributes the success of the first edition. Besides relying on his sources, which were not often quoted, Fowler frequently gave his personal opinions and made amusing remarks. For example, commenting on the pronunciation of “jugular”, Fowler observes: “The large dictionaries (*OED*, *Century*, *Standard*) all want us to say jōōg-; but for ordinary mortals, familiar from childhood with *jūgular vein*, it is as much out of the question as to make kō’kaīn out of COCAINE” (“jugular”).

Moreover, Fowler has been criticised for being too prescriptive. Jespersen, himself a descriptive linguist, rejected the idea of advising people what should be written or spoken, and called Fowler an “instinctive grammatical moraliser” (Gowers: viii). Landau notes that Fowler “does not seem to believe that the fate of the world hangs in the balance of disputed usages” (Landau: 211). Zgusta mentions Fowler’s book when referring to pairs of adjectives with partly overlapping meanings (e.g. definite x definitive, intense x intensive) and their occasional occurrence in identical contexts. He observes that Fowler “may regret it and may try to persuade the user to discontinue such (mis)use.” (Zgusta: 292). Fowler himself explains the purpose of the dictionary in a letter to his publishers: “...**We have our eyes not on the foreigner, but on the half-educated Englishman of literary proclivities who wants to know Can I say so-&-so? . . . Is this use English?**” (Burchfield: vii). On the other hand, Fowler opposed a number of points that language purists insisted on. For example, he advocated placing a preposition at the end of a sentence, saying that it “is an important element in the flexibility of the language”² (“preposition at end”).

Fowler’s edition remained unchanged for almost forty years, until 1965, when the second edition, revised by Sir Ernest Arthur Gowers, was released. Gowers was born in 1880 and died in 1966. He was educated at Cambridge and worked as a civil servant at the Inland Revenues, the Treasury and also at various boards and commissions. He wrote his first style manual *Plain Words, a guide to the use of English* in 1948 at the invitation of the Treasury. The manual was intended to guide officials to use plain English instead of over-elaborate expressions. In 1951 followed a sequel *The ABC of*

² For more examples, see Fowler’s entries “fetishes”, “pedantry” and “superstitions.”

Plain Words. Gowers was then encouraged to write a compilation of both works, named *The Complete Plain Words*, which was published in 1954 and which is still in print. The latest, third revised edition was edited by Sidney Greenbaum and Janet Whitcut and published in 2004. The success of Gowers's manuals prompted the Oxford University Press to invite him to prepare a new edition of *MEU*, which was published in 1965 (Wikipedia: "Arthur Gowers"). Gower claims in the preface to the second edition that he did not make any material changes and the few alternations that he mentions relate to disputed usage and updates of usage. Gowers calls himself "an amateur linguist" in the Acknowledgements and expresses his gratitude to a number of scholars who had provided guidance, including R.W. Burchfield and Randolph Quirk.

The third edition, written by Robert Burchfield, was published in 1996 and a revised edition followed in 1998. Robert Burchfield was born in 1923 in New Zealand and died in 2004. He held several academic posts at the University of Oxford, and between 1971 and 1984 was chief editor of the Oxford English dictionaries. As a lexicographer, Burchfield worked on and completed several projects, including *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (1966), *A Supplement to the OED* (1972-1986), *The New Zealand Pocket Oxford Dictionary* (1986), or *Unlocking the English Language* (1989) (Telegraph.co.uk: "Robert Burchfield"). As he himself mentions in the Preface to the Third Edition, his revision of *MEU* was more thorough and he compiled his own database of English uses and constructions. His sources include mainly British and American newspapers, periodicals, journals and books of fiction of the 1980s and 1990s but also material from other English-speaking countries – e.g. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, or South Africa. Burchfield acknowledges preference of a historical approach to English usage to one that is "limitedly descriptive" (x-xi). Details about how and when new usages occurred are also included whenever relevant. Burchfield's aim is to provide users with sufficient information, supported by quoted sources, so that users can "make sensible choices in linguistically controversial areas of words, meanings, grammatical constructions, and pronunciations" (xi). This approach contrasts with Fowler's goal to provide readers with clear answers. Burchfield also inserted a supplement that includes feedback by readers and reviewers, and an article summarising the development in the 20th century and outlining the future of English. By that Burchfield gives a signal that language usage is a matter of importance not just to grammarians, lexicographers or compilers of usage books, who are

perceived as the authorities on correctness, but also to the general public, whose opinions may differ on a number of points, and reminded readers that English is constantly changing and will continue to do so. Paradoxically, while Fowler was criticised for prescriptivism, a number of reviewers of the third edition reproached Burchfield for a lack of firm guidance³ (Telegraph.co.uk “Robert Burchfield”).

3.4 Conclusion

The aim of the introductory chapter was to provide a short survey of English usage. The concept of English usage can be traced back to the 17th century and is linked to rising interest in the language itself. Despite several efforts, a national language academy has never been established in the United Kingdom and the authority to evaluate usage has been, to some extent, assumed by usage books. There have been continuous attempts to define and monitor good usage, and to find the most appropriate method of its evaluation. The prescriptive approach towards usage was gradually replaced by descriptive; nevertheless, the contemporary treatment of usage cannot be generalised and identified with just one approach, as is illustrated in the four guides presented here. All four books differ in the degree of descriptivism/prescriptivism as well as the sources and resources used. While *the Cambridge Guide* can be viewed as the most descriptive, *the Penguin Dictionary* lies at the other, more prescriptive, end of scale.

Different approaches are also evident in the three editions of *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, which were published over the period of seventy-two years. In *MEU* Fowler aims to provide clear answers and guidance. Nevertheless, his examples of misuse are often unattributed and the style regarded as idiosyncratic. His approach is prescriptive but, at the same time, he opposes language purists in a number of points. On the other hand, Burchfield in *MEU3* cites the sources of his examples and his approach is more descriptive, backed by historical evidence. It is also worth mentioning that all three compilers wrote their works at a later stage of their lives. The first edition was published when Fowler was eighty-nine, Gowers saw the second edition published when he was

³ One reviewer for example wrote: “Burchfield’s wildly descriptionist perversions of the classic prescriptionist masterpiece have assured him a definite place in Hell.” (Telegraph.co.uk “Robert Burchfield”)

eighty-five and the third edition was published when Burchfield was eighty-six. This fact could have affected the approach applied and the stance toward various language issues and uses.

As has been shown above, the evaluation of English usage depends on a number of aspects and sources, including corpora, reference books, intuition or historical evidence. Last but not least, whether a usage book is influential and will have an impact on future evaluation of usage is related to its success among readers, which is among others related to good reputation enjoyed by its authors or publishers.

4 Sources and methods

The present study is based on comparison of entries in three editions of Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. Entries from the third revised edition, *The New Fowler's Modern English Usage (MEU3)*, edited by Robert Burchfield, are compared with entries from the first edition, *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage (MEU)*, compiled by Henry Watson Fowler, and also with entries from the second edition (*MEU2*), edited by Sir Ernest Gowers. The analysis is divided into three sections.

The first section is introductory and provides information about the areas of usage which are dealt with in each edition and about their representation in each of the editions. The examination is based on comparison of entries that start with letters *b*, *k* and *n*. These entries are divided into groups according to the area of usage that they address, and the three editions are compared to show changes in the representation of the relevant area of usage.

In the second section, three entries that concern general areas of grammar are examined – “compound prepositions” (in this study also referred to as “complex prepositions”), “split infinitive” and “fused participle.” These topics were selected out of all general entries as topics displaying major changes in usage. The relevant entries in *MEU* are first compared with respective entries in *MEU2* and *MEU3* and then examples of usage originally rejected in *MEU* are analysed and contrasted with contemporary linguistic trends and findings. In addition, the changes are illustrated by examples of actual use extracted from the British National Corpus (BNC)⁴ or occasionally also from the Internet. All examples are numbered and their source is provided in brackets. In the case of examples extracted from BNC, the BNC's text identifier (a three-letter code) followed by a sentence number is given in round brackets, e.g. in (H78; 6), H78 is the text identifier and 6 is the sentence number. In addition, BNC's genre code is given in square brackets, e.g. [W_non_ac_nat_science]. All examples given in the text are also listed in appendices according to the area that they relate to.

⁴ Examples of usage taken from the British National Corpus (BNC) were obtained under the terms of the BNC End User Licence. Copyright in the individual texts cited resides with the original IPR holders. For information and licensing conditions relating to the BNC, please see the web site at <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk>

The third section deals with changes in the surface structure, namely changes in prepositions in the pattern “noun/adjective/verb + preposition” and changes in the realization of verb complementation. These two areas were chosen because the respective entries reflected notable changes and because their coverage displayed certain continuance. In addition, changes in the surface structure reflect changes or aspects that concern more than one linguistic area (e.g. semantic changes, aspect information structure, changes in syntactic structure etc.) and are therefore sources of extensive information. In both cases, entries in *MEU3* were compared with entries in *MEU* and *MEU2*, and the first ten entries that displayed changed usage were taken for analysis; thus twenty samples were obtained altogether. The analysed examples are consulted with contemporary evidence. All examples are again numbered and given in the text, and also listed in appendices. In addition, the relevant appendices contain additional examples that were also examined when a specific use was considered.

5 Changing usage as reflected in three editions of *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*

The analytical part is divided into three sections. The first section deals with the type of entries and their representation in each of the editions. The second and third sections explore changes in usage.

5.1 Representation of entries in comparison

This section examines what areas of usage are treated in *MEU*, *MEU2* and *MEU3* and monitors any possible changes in their representation. For that purpose, all entries beginning with letters *b*, *k* and *n* were examined. The letters were selected randomly and the only decisive factor was their extent. Entries that are too numerous (such as *a*-, *p*- and *s*-entries) as well as the least frequent entries (beginning with letters *x* and *y*) were excluded from consideration. It needs to be mentioned that words of certain origin may be represented more in certain entries. For example, in *y*-entries, most words are Old English words, while *z*-entries are heavily represented by words of foreign origin (e.g. Old Iranian, German, Greek, or Italian). Consequently, this could have some impact on the motivation of entries (e.g. entries with words of Latin origin are more likely to deal with plural forms). However, the process of selecting the most “neutral” initial letters, i.e. those with proportionally balanced representation of domestic words and words of various origins would be very tedious, if not impossible. The selected entries are placed into eight groups according to the area of usage that they address.

- a) Lexical meaning – this group subsumes entries in which the meanings of headwords, or their derived forms, are discussed
- b) Fixed expressions – this group subsumes fixed, idiomatic expressions
- c) Constructions – this group consists of entries which relate to patterns (verb complementation, adjective complementation, noun complementation)
- d) Pronunciation, spelling – entries dedicated only to correct spelling or pronunciation of words
- e) Plurals – entries concerned only with plurals (mostly of words of foreign origin)
- f) Past participle forms – entries concerned only with irregular past participle forms
- g) Multiple treatment – entries in which more than one of the above issues are dealt with
- h) General entries – entries concerned with general language issues

- i) Cross reference – refers to another entry

The groups were formed specifically for this purpose and they emerged gradually while every *b*-, *k*- and *n*-entry was examined from the point of view of its motivation. The following table illustrates the representation of each entry type in the three editions.

Table 1: Distribution of entries in *MEU*, *MEU1* and *MEU2* according to motivation

Motivation	<i>MEU</i> (Fowler)		<i>MEU2</i> (Gowers)		<i>MEU3</i> (Burchfield)	
	<i>b, k, n</i> -entries		<i>b, k, n</i> -entries		<i>b, k, n</i> -entries	
Lexical meaning	78	17%	107	37%	211	43%
Fixed expressions	15	3%	20	7%	29	6%
Constructions	13	3%	16	6%	24	5%
Pronunciation/spelling	132	30%	51	18%	93	19%
Plurals	47	10%	11	4%	35	7%
Past participle forms	9	2%	12	4%	7	1%
Multiple treatment	12	3%	9	3%	19	4%
General entries	14	3%	11	4%	14	3%
Cross reference	128	29%	50	17%	54	11%
Total	448	100%	287	100%	486	100%

The first striking difference is the total number of entries. The third edition has the highest number of entries, while the second edition has significantly fewer entries than the other two editions. Gowers chose to dramatically reduce entries dealing with pronunciation and spelling (from 132 to 51), plurals (from 47 to 11), and cross references (from 128 to 50), while maintaining approximately the same number of the other entries. In contrast, Burchfield reduced the gap left by Gowers at least partially by including more entries that treat pronunciation and spelling (an increase from 51 to 93), and plurals (from 11 to 35). At the same time, he followed Gowers in maintaining the number of cross references at a relatively low level. Another difference concerns the number of entries treating the meaning, which steadily increased (from 78 to 107 and eventually to 211 in Burchfield's edition). Proportionally, Fowler's edition has the highest share of pronunciation/spelling entries (30%), followed by cross reference (29%). In the case of Gowers's edition, most prominence was given to

meaning (37%), followed by pronunciation/spelling and cross reference (18% and 17%, respectively). Similarly, Burchfield gave the most prominence to meaning (43%) while pronunciation/spelling account for 19% of all entries and cross reference for 11%.

While the above table indicates changes in the total number of entries, the following table provides more details with respect to the number of original entries that were kept in the third edition, the number of newly added entries and the number of entries that were dropped altogether.

Table 2: Fluctuation of entries in MEU3 in comparison to earlier editions

<i>b, k, n</i> -entries in MEU3	1 + 2 + 3		3 + 1		3		3 + 2		Total	
Lexical meaning	89	42%	24	11%	75	36%	23	11%	211	100%
Fixed expressions	12	41%	1	4%	12	41%	4	14%	29	100%
Constructions	13	54%	-	-	9	38%	2	8%	24	100%
Pronunciation/spell.	31	33%	35	38%	23	25%	4	4%	93	100%
Plurals	10	29%	13	37%	12	34%	-	-	35	100%
Past participle forms	5	72%	-	-	1	14%	1	14%	7	100%
Multiple treatment	13	69%	1	5%	5	26%	-	-	19	100%
General entries	10	72%	-	-	3	21%	1	7%	14	100%
Cross reference	14	26%	10	18%	27	50%	3	6%	54	100%
Total	196	40%	84	18%	166	34%	38	8%	486	100%

1 + 2 + 3 entries that appear in all three editions
 3 + 1 entries that appear in MEU3 and MEU3
 3 entries that appear in MEU3 only
 3 + 2 entries that appear in MEU3 and MEU2

The table provides details on the fluctuation of entries, the third edition serving as the basis for comparison. Entries are divided vertically into four columns according to identical entries with respect to earlier editions. The first column (“1 + 2 + 3”) includes identical entries that are present in all three editions, the second column (“3 + 1”) entries that were found only in the first edition and the third edition, i.e. entries that Gowers excluded from MEU2 and Burchfield decided to include again in MEU3. The third column (“3”) marks entries that appear only in the third edition, and the fourth column (“3 + 2”) describes entries found in the third edition and the second edition. The sum of these four groups gives the total number of entries of the relevant type in MEU3. The proportion of each of

the four groups in *MEU3* is given in brackets (e.g. the total number of “Lexical meaning” entries in *MEU3* is 211, of which 42% occur in all three editions, 11% in both *MEU* and *MEU3*, 36% only in *MEU3* and 11% in both *MEU2* and *MEU3*).

According to the table, 58% of entries in the third edition come from the first edition (“1 + 2 + 3” plus “3 + 1”), 34% of entries in the third edition are new additions, and 8% of entries in the third edition are present in both the second and the third editions. Interesting data are given in the second column, which comprises entries that were excluded from the second edition but which were returned to the third edition (18% of all entries present in the third edition). Overall, the table indicates major changes between the third edition and earlier editions. The relatively high proportion of new entries in the third edition reflects Burchfield’s effort to bring the third edition up to date.

The findings presented above reflect slightly different approaches adopted by Fowler, Gowers and Burchfield in the first, the second and the third editions, respectively. The analysis of entries beginning with letters *b*, *k* and *n* reveals several trends, which can be summarised as follows:

- i) The total number of headwords in each edition indicates that Gowers radically reduced the number of headwords in the second edition, in particular those that concern only pronunciation or spelling, or plural forms. In contrast, Burchfield reversed this downtrend and returned some of these entries to the third edition.
- ii) As regards the motivation for including entries, in *MEU3* lexical entries significantly outnumber other types and constitute almost half of all entries (43%).
- iii) With changing usage, new entries appeared and some of the original entries were excluded. Burchfield revised the entries thoroughly. Entries from the first edition account for 58% of all considered entries in the third edition and new entries make up 34% of all considered entries. An interesting pattern emerges with respect to 170 entries that were excluded from the second edition – 84 of them were returned to the third edition, especially those addressing pronunciation or spelling, plurals, and also lexical meaning.
- iv) In general, in all editions most attention was paid to lexical meaning of words, and pronunciation and spelling.

5.2 Changing usage reflected in general entries

While the previous section dealt with the overall description of *MEU* and its entries, the following section provides a deeper insight into changes in usage and attitudes to usage that concern three general linguistic issues – complex prepositions, fused participle and split infinitive.

5.2.1 Complex prepositions

For the purpose of this paper only complex prepositions consisting of preposition + noun + preposition are considered.

5.2.1.1 Preliminaries

Fowler treats complex preposition under an entry called *compound prepositions, conjunctions, &c*, listing the following examples: *for the purpose of, in connection with, in favour of, in reference to, in relation to, in the absence of, in the case of, in the instance of, in the matter of, in the neighbourhood of, in the region of, of the character of, of the nature of, with a view of, with reference to, with regard to, with relation to, with respect to*. Although Fowler thinks that some are more acceptable than others, he makes the following comment:

...taken as a whole, they are almost the worst element in modern English, stuffing up the newspaper columns with a compost of nouny abstractions. To young writers the discovery of these forms of speech, which are used very little in talk & very much in print, brings an expansive sense of increased power; they think that they have acquired with far less trouble than they anticipated the trick of dressing up what they may have to say in the right costume for public exhibition... (“compound prepositions, conjunctions, &c” 88)

While Gowers left the entry unchanged, Burchfield extended it by mentioning a general division of prepositions into simple, marginal and compound (complex), the latter being further divided into two subsets, two-word and three-word prepositions. Commenting on Fowler’s negative statement, Burchfield observes that “his colourful view no longer seems to be supported by facts” and does not express any objection or provide any additional comment on usage (“compound prepositions” 167).

Complex prepositions represent a part of the English grammar that has only recently started to attract more interest. The most recent monographs for example include Klégr's *English Complex Prepositions of the Type in spite of and Analogous Sequences* (2002) and Hoffmann's *Grammaticalization and English Complex Prepositions* (2005). Two aspects need to be considered when dealing with complex prepositions – a) their definition and b) their function.

a) Defining complex prepositions

As for determining the group of complex prepositions, there is no clear-cut definition of complex prepositions, which is due to the fact that they are mostly recognised as an open-end subclass with blurred boundaries. Although the definition of complex prepositions is not the primary focus of this analysis, it is useful to mention how complex prepositions are treated in authoritative grammar books. Quirk et al. define a three-word complex preposition as a sequence of preposition1 + noun + preposition2 whose prepositionality may be attested by nine syntactic criteria of cohesiveness:

(a) Prep2 can be varied:

on the shelf at (the door) [but not: **in spite for*]

(b) noun can be varied as between singular and plural

on the shelves by the door [but not: **in spites of*]

(c) noun can be varied in respect of determiners

on a/the shelf by; on shelves by (the door) [but not: **in a/the spite of*]

(d) Prep1 can be varied

under the shelf by (the door) [but not: **for spite of*]

(e) Prep + complement can be replaced by a possessive pronoun

on the surface of the table ~ on its surface

[but: *in spite of the result ~ *in its spite*]

(f) Prep2_complement can be omitted

on the shelf [but not: **in spite*]

(g) Prep2_complement can be replaced by a demonstrative

on that shelf [but not: **in that spite*]

(h) The noun can be replaced by nouns of related meaning

on the ledge by (the door) [but not: **in malice of*]

(i) The noun can be freely modified by adjectives

on the low shelf by (the door) [but not: **in evident spite of*]

(Quirk et al.: 671–2)

Apart from these, one lexical criterion is added – a complex preposition may be replaced by a synonymous simple preposition (Quirk et al.: 671-672). On the other hand, Huddleston and Pullum do not recognise complex prepositions as such, treating them as “idiomatic and fossilised expressions headed by a preposition”. Although they say that these idiomatic expressions cannot be syntactically manipulated in the same extent as free expressions (listing similar criteria as Quirk), which differentiates them from free expressions, they also claim that the fact that most of these expressions allow at least one type of such manipulation disqualifies them from being treated as units. Those few expressions that do not allow any manipulation (*in case of*, *by dint of*, *in lieu of*, *by means of*, *on pain of*, etc.) are regarded only as more fossilised expressions (Huddleston and Pullum: 618-621). In contrast, Klégr’s criteria adopted for selection of complex prepositions are broad-based, and besides a syntactic criterion requiring a compatible syntactic function of the prep-noun-prep-noun sequence, he applied a criterion of collocational nature of the presumed complex prepositions and of their substitutability with an established preposition (Klégr: 18-19). As mentioned above, fitting the notion of complex prepositions into a specific definition is not the purpose of the analysis; nevertheless, in the following comparison of their usage, complex prepositions are considered units as defined by Quirk et al. At the same time, it needs to be borne in mind that there is a gradience between established complex prepositions and units that do not meet the criteria of prepositionality.

b) Functional aspect

What needs to be considered next is the functional aspect of complex prepositions within the context of the theory of functional styles developed by the Prague School of Linguistics. The functional style represents linguistic means of expression with a specific function that are obtained by way of abstraction and generalisation (Chloupek et al.: 38). These functional norms yield different styles⁵. Complex prepositions are primarily characteristic of the scientific style because they enable language users to express more complex relations in a more explicit way (Petr et al.: 213). In *Stylistika češtiny*, they are also associated with the publicist and administrative styles (Chloupek et al.: 127). Their origin is connected with the functional overload of primary prepositions, which have become semantically vague and polysemous (Petr et al.: 203). Klégr points out that complex prepositions contribute to stylistic differentiation within a language and allow more explicit expression of abstract

⁵ *Stylistika češtiny* distinguishes four main functional styles: colloquial, scientific, publicists and poetic, plus other styles at a lower level of abstraction, such as journalistic, rhetorical, essayist, administrative. (Chloupek et al: 40).

relations (Klégr: 23). A factor which plays a role in the use of complex prepositions is that more demanding contexts require more complex (bulkier) constructions. Hoffmann notes that the choice between complex and simple prepositions is likely to depend on the usage context: “The longer and more expressive complex prepositions would consequently lend themselves better to use in cognitively more demanding contexts that are more likely to occur in formal situations of language use” (Hoffmann: 102).⁶

Fowler associates the use of complex prepositions with “young writers”. Nevertheless, as Hoffmann shows, complex prepositions are not a recent addition to the English language. According to his study, in a group of 30 most frequent complex prepositions (based on BNC), six were introduced into English before 1500, ten were introduced between 1500 and 1700 and fourteen after 1700 (Hoffman: 62). Moreover, Hoffman notes that “by the beginning of the 17th century, the sequence ‘preposition + noun + preposition’ was already well established as a potential unit-like structure via a number of combinations”, also due to strong influence of French, which has the same type of construction (Hoffman: 86). In addition, the first preposition and the second preposition in the sequence are combined in a limited number of repetitive patterns. These patterns seem to be productive and contribute to new formations by means of analogy (Klégr: 31). Hoffman arrives at the same conclusion, saying that analogy may explain the still rising number of new sequences. His arguments are supported both by diachronic and synchronic study of complex prepositions, when he observes that a number of complex prepositions entered the language suddenly, without any noticeable process of slow development from free expressions, and that high-frequency prepositions may have an impact on the emergence of low-frequency complex prepositions (Hoffmann: 152-154). Fowler’s association of complex prepositions with “young writes” may therefore indicate changes in the distribution of complex prepositions. This would correspond to Hoffmann’s findings, according to which the distribution of complex preposition in fiction and non-fiction has changed over the past three hundred years. Having studied the development of overall use of 275 complex prepositions, Hoffmann discovered that while between 1700 and 1749 their use in fiction was proportionally much

⁶ Here, the idiom principle should be mentioned. According to this principle, language users have available to them “a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices” (Sinclair: 110). Complex prepositions can be considered examples. In comparison, *Longman Grammar* uses the concept of “lexical bundles”, defined as “bundles of words that show a statistical tendency to co-occur, regardless of idiomacity, or structural status” (Biber et al: 989). Complex prepositions are referred to several times there, in particular as bundles found mostly in academic prose (chapter 13.2.4).

higher than in non-fiction, the trend reversed already in the second part of the eighteenth century, and at present, based on BNC, their frequency in non-fiction is more than twice as high as in fiction. In addition, the total frequency of prepositions has increased as well (Hoffmann 2000: 133). The increase recorded in non-fiction can be to some extent explained by the rising interest in sciences in the 17th and the 18th century (Hoffmann: 101-102).

The above findings only confirm that the category of complex prepositions is neither marginal nor new and that these sequences are an established part of the English language structure. As described above, complex prepositions are particularly used in contexts that require explicitness and preciseness of expression and they also contribute to a wider stylistic choice.

5.2.1.2 In the case of, in connection with, in the neighbourhood of, with a view to and in/with regard to

Fowler pays most attention to five complex prepositions – *in the case of, in connection with, in the neighbourhood of, with a view to* and *in/with regard to* – which are listed under separate entries. Burchfield maintains these entries, which enables comparison of recommended usages of specific complex prepositions. Gowers's edition is not considered here because the respective entries are identical to those in Fowler's edition. Fowler's comments are followed by examples of use, with two examples per complex preposition (except for *in the neighbourhood of* where no examples were given and *with a view to* to which he has no objection). Some examples also contain changes or omissions suggested by Fowler. Words in brackets mark words that Fowler recommends omitting or recommended changes. Since Burchfield did not include his own examples, sample sentences from the BNC are provided, two per each preposition, with an aim to dispute Fowler's objections to each complex preposition and show their functionality in the given context. In view of that, the analysis pays attention in particular to i) the possibility to substitute the complex prepositions with corresponding simple prepositions; ii) the possibility to avoid their use by rephrasing the sentence; and iii) differences in meaning in case of such alternation. Fowler's examples are unattributed and they presumably come from newspapers. The sentences taken from BNC are always related to their source and genre given in the BNC (the source code is given in round brackets and the genre in

square brackets). The relevant complex preposition is underlined. All examples examined in the text are also listed in Appendix 1.

IN THE CASE OF ⁷

MEU (entry “case”)

Fowler sees two reasons why this complex preposition is used: “lazy impulse to get the beginning of a sentence down & let the rest work itself out as it may & sometimes to the perverted taste for long-windedness, periphrasis or elegant variation ... *in the case of*, the worst offender, can often be simply struck out ... & often avoided by the most trifling change, such as the omission of another word...”.

(1) *Robert Peel used to tell an amusing story of one of these banquets, in the case of which he & Canning were seated on opposite sides of Alderman Flower.* (Fowler: 87)

(2) (*In the c. of Purvey his name was first mentioned in connexion with Bible translation in 1729 (Purvey's).*) (Fowler: 87)

While in sentence (1) the complex preposition seems indeed redundant and a simple preposition *in* would be sufficient (... at which he and Canning were seated ...), in sentence (2) the redundancy could be disputed. The complex preposition at the beginning of sentence (2) serves as a device that foregrounds the original context-dependent theme of the sentence (*Purvey*). In addition, *Purvey* is in apposition with *his name*, which adds to the emphasis. To determine the suitability of the expression, wider context would be needed.

MEU3 (entry “case”)

In response to Fowler’s examples, Burchfield notes that “such aberrant uses ... are much harder to find now: perhaps they are edited out by vigilant copy editors.”

(3) *Roman catholicism and protestantism constitute, in different ways and to varying degrees, nationalist and loyalist beliefs in Ireland. This is even official in the case of loyalism. In the*

⁷ According to *Longman Grammar*, *in the case of* (together with *on the other hand*) is the most common four-word lexical bundle in academic prose (994).

case of Irish nationalism a specific relationship with catholicism has been formulated.

(BNC: A07 2) [W_ac_humanities_arts]

The complex preposition used in the second and the third sentence has several functions. It expressly describes the semantic relation that exists within the prepositional phrase. There is an appositive relationship between the more abstract nominal element of the complex preposition and the prepositional complement, which describes a concrete instance (*case – loyalism / Irish nationalism*). Moreover, by the use of the complex preposition more emphasis is placed on a specific context-dependent element – *loyalism* in the second sentence and *Irish nationalism* in the third sentence. In the latter example, the prepositional phrase is fronted, which contributes to the foregrounding of the thematic part. The two concepts are thus presented in contrast. In addition, the repetition of the same complex preposition in both sentences achieves an additional cohesive effect. Fowler's claim that complex prepositions may be avoided by omission or a simple change was tested in both sentences. The second sentence was changed to: *This is even official for/with loyalism*. Although the replacement was structurally possible, both prepositions may be considered questionable as far as the meaning and idiomatic usage is concerned. In sentence (3), the same change would yield a likewise disputable sentence: *For/with Irish nationalism a specific relationship with catholicism has been formulated*. A better result would be achieved if marginal prepositions⁸ *concerning, regarding* were used. Another possibility is the rephrasing of the sentence, for example: *Between Irish nationalism and catholicism a specific relationship has been formulated*. Nevertheless, such a change would ignore the intended foregrounding of *Irish nationalism*.

(4) *From the observed orbit of the visible star, one can determine the lowest possible mass of the unseen object. In the case of Cygnus X-1, this is about six times the mass of the sun. (H78 6)*

[W_non_ac_nat_science]

As in the above example, the use of the complex preposition is motivated by its explicitness and ability to spotlight a context-dependent element (*Cygnus X-1*). The preposition is used initially to reintroduce an element mentioned earlier and the whole prepositional phrase *in the case of Cygnus X-1*

⁸ *-ing* and *-ed* participial forms functioning as prepositions (Quirk et al.: 660)

constitutes a diatheme⁹, while *this* is the theme proper. Again, a marginal preposition could be used (*concerning, regarding*), although it may be felt to be less explicit. If the sentence were to be rephrased, a repetition of a part of the previous sentence would be necessary: *The lowest possible mass of Cygnus X-1 is about six times the mass of the sun.*

IN CONNECTION WITH

MEU (“connexion”)

Fowler does not object to the sequence when it “has a real meaning” (*buses run in connection with the trains*); otherwise he connects it with “vagueness”, “pliability”, “laziness” and “haziness”, adding that “the worst writers use it, from sheer love of verbiage, in preference to a single word.” Examples:

- (5) *The three outstanding features in connection with (of) our “Batchworth Tinted”, as sample set enclosed, are as follows.* (Fowler: 90)

The above example is most likely from a letter to a customer in which a product is promoted. For example, the choice of the premodifier *outstanding* to refer to a product is typical of the language of advertising. The complex preposition indicates an attempt to achieve a higher degree of formality, and thus credibility. Nevertheless, this attempt clashes with the vagueness of the expression because the meaning of the complex preposition in this case does not contribute to greater explicitness.

- (6) *Sir S. P. will shortly retire from the secretaryship in connection with the age limit.* (Fowler: 90)

This is an announcement, probably taken from a newspaper. The complex preposition is used to avoid direct reference to age. It could be replaced with two-word prepositions in the following way: *Sir S. P. will shortly retire from the secretaryship because of / owing to / due to¹⁰ the age limit.* The mentioned prepositions express cause and would therefore provide a direct causal link to the preceding context. The intention to be indirect is also confirmed by the use of *age limit* instead of

⁹ This was pointed out to me by Prof. Dušková. The concept is based on Svoboda’s concept of diatheme as the most dynamic element of the thematic part of the clause and theme proper as the least dynamic element (Svoboda 1981: 6).

¹⁰ Fowler would probably object to using *due to* as a complex preposition. He regarded *due* as an adjective, which could be only used to modify a noun. On the other hand, he showed no opposition to *owing to*. Burchfield notes that despite continuing objections, the prepositional use of *due to* is likely to become a part of the natural language (“due to”).

just *age*. Another option would be to expand the original condensed sentence: *S. P. will shortly retire from the secretaryship after he has reached the age limit.*

MUE3 (“connection”)

Burchfield mentions Fowler’s objections and notes that his examples were unattributed, only to conclude that “as a broad rule, if a simple preposition like *by* or *about* will do instead, use it” (172).

(7) *So far as is known, nobody else has been arrested or charged in connection with the murder of Mr Mxenge.* (A9V 2) [W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_report]

This sample comes from an article in the *Guardian*. If a simple preposition were to be required, the sentence would be as follows: *So far as is known, nobody else has been arrested for or charged with the murder of Mr Mxenge.* Two problems arise here. First, the meaning does not fully correspond to the meaning expressed by the longer unit. The construction with the simple preposition refers only to those who allegedly committed the crime, while the meaning expressed by the complex preposition includes persons who may be involved in the offence indirectly. Secondly, the complex preposition is more economical as it complements both verbs (*arrest, charge*).

(8) *This section does not cover liability: -- (a) arising directly or indirectly by, through or in connection with (i) the ownership, possession or use by or on behalf of the Insured Person of any mechanically-propelled vehicle or aircraft.* (BNC: AMW 1) [W_advert]

The above example comes from a sample text promoting a holiday club. The text is presumably from a section describing the terms and conditions of insurance coverage, i.e. a legal text. Legal texts are built up in such a way as to avoid ambiguity and achieve preciseness of expression by means of a string of synonyms or near synonyms. This can be documented in the above example, when three different prepositions are used (*by, through, in connection with*), each bringing in a different shade of meaning. While *by* expresses the means, *through* also implies intermediacy and *in connection with* circumstance connected “with ownership, possession”

IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF

MEU (“neighbourhood”)

According to Fowler, this complex preposition is “a repulsive combination of polysyllabic humour & periphrasis”. No examples were provided.

MEU3 (“neighbourhood”)

Burchfield advises against using this complex preposition (when referring to a sum of figure) “when *roughly* or *about* would serve as well.” The following example comes from a book on financial markets:

- (9) *The average price at which shares sell during this period is somewhere in the neighbourhood of \$55 (more or less depending on the shape of the time-price curve).* (BNC: ECD 1) [W_commerce]

Although a specific figure is given in the sentence, the intention is to indicate that the information given is not final and may be subject to changes. The complex preposition has an explicit meaning “somewhere about”, with *neighbourhood* used in its transferred meaning of “vicinity”. To emphasise that the share price is only approximate, other elements are added – *somewhere, more or less, depending*, which is in line with the intention to avoid accurateness; nevertheless, the complex preposition itself may be considered inelegant due to its length. Shorter alternatives include prepositions *around, about* or adverbials *approximately, roughly* (which cannot be premodified by intensifier *somewhere*). Here, the choice between the complex preposition and the shorter option is a choice between a higher degree of explicitness and a more elegant way of expression.

Of six occurrences in the BNC in which this complex preposition refers to a sum or a figure, it appears only once in an academic text – in the following sentence:

- (10) *Using 1920 as the base year for education and 1958 as the corresponding year for economic development, he found that `sustained growth generally starts when primary enrolment is in*

the neighbourhood of 30% to 50% of the school-aged population.' (BNC: FR4 1)

[W_ac_soc_science]

The motivation is the same – explicitness of the preposition.

WITH A VIEW TO

MEU (“view”)

Fowler does not object to this preposition, calling it “a well established idiom”. He only mentions possible confusion with *in view of*¹¹ or *with the view of*¹².

MEU3 (“view”)

Burchfield also comments on the difference in meaning of the three expressions, listing numerous examples.

(11) *In 1986 the local authority became concerned about injuries which D had sustained and they obtained a place of safety order. D was placed with long-term foster parents with a view to adoption, and the mother's access to her was suspended.* (BNC: A8B 1)

[W_newsp_brdsht_nat_social]

(12) *In the meantime, the commission will consider the merits of the case with a view to bringing about a private, 'friendly' settlement with the Government.* (BNC: A3G 1)

[W_newsp_brdsht_nat_report]

Both sentences come from broadsheet newspapers. In both cases, the preposition expresses a desired result of an action. The sentences could be rephrased using *to*-infinitive constructions (*D was placed*

¹¹ While *in view of* means “taking sth into account” or “considering”, the meaning of *with a view to* is “with the aim object or hope of attaining, effecting, or accomplishing sth”. OED also mentions *in view of* as one of the sub-senses of *with a view to* (OED: sense 17b(c)).

¹² Two points need to be made here. Firstly, *with the view of* was commonly used in the 18th and 19th century, meaning “with the object or design of (doing something)”, but has been effectively replaced by *with a view to*. (Burchfield: “view”). There is not a single occurrence of *with the view of* in BNC. Secondly, Fowler mentions that besides a verbal noun and a gerund, the construction may be followed, less idiomatically, by an infinitive, e.g. *with a view to diminish waste...* Burchfield confirms this by saying the construction with an infinitive is no longer standard. The BNC records only one example of an infinitive construction, which, moreover, is a quotation dated 1859.

with long-term foster parents to be adopted... /... the commission will consider the merits of the case to bring about....), resulting, however, in a slightly altered meaning in which only the purpose of the action is stressed and the implication of “**it is hoped** that something will be achieved” is not present. A similar effect would be achieved if a simple preposition *for* were used in sentence 11 (“was placed ... for adoption”).

IN/WITH REGARD TO

MEU (“regard”)

According to Fowler, using *with regard to* is “not strikingly bad on each occasion, but cumulatively spoils a writer’s style & injures the language”.

(13)*France is now going through a similar experience with regard to Morocco to that which England had to undergo with reference to Egypt after the occupation.* (Fowler: 88)

Two complex prepositions are used in the above sentence, which could be considered example of a verbose style. Both can be regarded as redundant, effectively replaceable with a simple preposition (*with*). At the same time, it might be felt that the extra meaning of “regard” and “reference” denoted by the respective complex prepositions is needed.

(14)*In regard to three other seats there will be a divided Unionist vote.* (Fowler: 490)

In the above sentence the complex preposition is in the initial position, switching the topic to “three other seats”. In this respect, it has a similar function as *in the case of* mentioned earlier. Alternative prepositions include, for example, marginal prepositions *concerning*, *regarding* or a two-word complex preposition *as regards*. Wider context would be needed to decide on the suitability.

MEU3 (“regard”)

Burchfield remarks that the prepositions (he mentions one more combination – *as regards*) are used “despite their obvious wordiness, to introduce a statement”, concluding that “they are all in standard use but should be used sparingly and with discretion”.

(15) *This part of the question essentially asks whether the fact that the competent minister of a member state has the power to dispense with the nationality requirement in respect of an individual in view of the length of time such individual has resided in that member state and has been involved in the fishing industry of that member state can justify, in regard to Community law, the rule under which registration of a fishing vessel is subject to a nationality requirement and a requirement as to residence and domicile.* (BNC: FCJ 4)
[W_ac_polit_law_edu]

This sample comes from a periodical that addresses legal issues. The use of the complex preposition corresponds to the highly formal style of the text. What is striking is the complexity of the sentence, with heavy post-modification (of *power* and *rule*) and abundance of noun phrases, typical of academic writing. Besides the complex preposition discussed, three more complex prepositions can be identified (*in respect of*, *in view of*, *as to*). *In regard to* is used to relate one element (a legal rule) to another (*Community law*). Regarding a potential replacement with a simple preposition, the preposition *under* could be used, but with a slightly different meaning of “according to”.

(16) *Thus, if women tend to commit more minor crimes, they will have a much better chance of avoiding detection. With regard to crimes that are known about, the police and courts may be more lenient with female offenders.* (BNC: B17 3) [W_ac_soc_science]

This sentence comes from a social science book. The complex preposition is placed initially and is used to switch the topic (from undetected to detected offences), and therefore has contrastive-connective function. In its connective function it is used to elaborate a previously mentioned topic (*minor crimes*) while in its contrastive function it contrasts undetected crimes with “crimes that are

known about”. Prepositions with the same function include, for example, *concerning*, *considering*, *as for*, *as regards* etc.

5.2.1.3 Conclusion

As the above examples indicate, the usage of complex prepositions can be viewed from two perspectives. The first aspect is functional and relates to complex prepositions as relevant elements serving precision of expression particularly in scientific, administrative and journalistic styles. The second aspect concerns their overuse, which may lead to vagueness or verbosity. Fowler disregards the functional aspect and only focuses on examples of bad usage. Although he condemns the complex prepositions as a whole, he is not very consistent when dealing with individual prepositions. While he flatly rejects the use of *in the case of*, *in connection with* and *in the neighbourhood*, he is less strict in his judgement of *with regard to*, which he recommends be used “sparingly”, and accepts *with a view to*, referring to it as “an established idiom”. As regards specific examples, some uses indeed reveal bad style (e.g. sentences 1, 5, 13) whereas in other cases the unsuitability of complex prepositions may be disputed and the judgment would depend on the wider context (sentences 2, 6, 14). A question that arises is how representative his samples were and what type of user Fowler had in mind. As Burchfield mentions in his Preface to the third edition, since Fowler’s examples most probably came from newspapers, it can be expected that they would contain a larger proportion of bad usage or deviations from Standard English. As far as the intended user is concerned, Fowler aimed at “the half-educated Englishman of literary proclivities” (viz. Chapter 3.3). The entries lack an indication of a typical context or a degree of formality and Fowler’s comments are limited to warnings against the overuse of complex prepositions, which he might have encountered in his time.

Burchfield, on the other hand, does not object to complex prepositions as such, which is a significant shift in attitude towards this subset of a word class. Nevertheless, he shows his objections to *in the neighbourhood of* and warns against the overuse of *in connection with* and *in/with regard of*. Although acknowledging the general usage to be standard, Burchfield seems to have based the individual recommendations mostly on one aspect – potential stylistic inelegance due to the excessive use or wordiness. The functionality of complex prepositions in cognitively more demanding contexts is not mentioned and the recommendations are given with a general user in

mind. To document the functional aspect, examples from the BNC were used and analysed. Four sentences came from an academic text, three from a newspaper, there was one example of legal English and the remaining two examples came from non-academic texts. The analysed complex prepositions manifested the following functions:

- i) **Semantic relation** – the meaning was more explicit in most examples or the units expressed slightly different semantic relations than the respective simple preposition (e.g. *in connection with* in sentence 6, 7, 8; *with a view to* in sentence 11 and 12).
- ii) **Sentence construction** – complex prepositions enabled a sentence construction which better corresponded to the speaker's needs (switching topics, greater emphasis) (e.g. *in the case of* in sentence 2, 3, 4; *in/with regard to* in sentences 14, 15, 16).
- iii) **Flexibility** – the complex preposition in sentence 7 proved to be more flexible in combining with two different verbs, which would otherwise require two simple prepositions.
- iv) **Textual function** – some complex prepositions (in initial position) were found to have a connective (/contrastive) function on the textual level (e.g. *in the case of* in sentence 2, 3, 4, *in regard to* in sentence 14, 16). This feature is to a certain degree interconnected with ii).

5.2.2 Split infinitive

This part discusses the use of the so-called split infinitive. After a brief theoretical overview various attitudes toward this construction are presented and the use of the construction as a regular device is illustrated in examples.

5.2.2.1 Preliminaries

The split infinitive can be regarded as one of the most controversial areas of English usage. Fowler divides English speakers into five groups:

(1) those who neither know nor care what a split infinitive is; (2) those who do not know, but care very much; (3) those who know & condemn; (4) those who know & approve; & (5) those who know & distinguish. (Fowler: “split infinitive” 558)

Fowler claims that it is natural and normal to use “*to* + infinitive” together and keep adverbs outside this construction, adding that a split infinitive is “not so much a misplacing of the adverb as a violence done to the verb“. On the other hand, he does not categorically reject the split infinitive, allowing it to be used in specific cases. For example: *With us outside the Treaty, we must expect the Commission to at least neglect our interest.* Here, the adverb *at least* should be placed immediately before the verb *neglect* to avoid potential ambiguity (“position of adverbs” 447).

In comparison, Burchfield does not label the split infinitive as an unnatural construction but points out the psychological aspect that stops native speakers from using it freely: “...all the evidence points towards the reality of the feeling that it is 'wrong' to split infinitives.” In addition, he notes that “it is clear that rigid adherence to a policy of non-splitting can sometimes lead to unnaturalness or ambiguity” (“split infinitive” 737). Burchfield continues to give numerous examples, without disputing any of them; however, he concludes with the advice: “Avoid splitting infinitives whenever possible, but do not suffer undue remorse if a split infinitive is unavoidable for the natural and unambiguous completion of a sentence already begun.” (“split infinitive” 738)

The split infinitive is one of the areas in English grammar that has attracted much attention. By definition, an infinitive is called “split” when a word (usually an adverbial) or words are placed between *to* and the infinitive, e.g. She ought to *seriously* consider her position (Quirk et al.: 496). Huddleston and Pullum define the split infinitive as “a construction with an adjunct in post-marker position”, where *to* is the marker. The adverbial is mostly realized by adverbs but the post-marker position can be also occupied by prepositional phrases (e.g. *at least, in effect, in some measure*) and noun phrases (e.g. *one day*) (581). The position may be also taken by *not*, e.g. *Their aim is to not change things* (Huddleston and Pullum: 805). It is worth mentioning that progressive, passive and perfective infinitives with an adverbial between the auxiliary and the main verb are not split infinitives, for example: *For me to have suddenly resigned... is not a split infinitive.* (Quirk et al.: 496). Thus, in an attempt to avoid it, anxious users sometimes “correct” such constructions. One of several examples of hypercorrection is given by Fowler: *He was proposed at the last moment as a candidate likely generally to be accepted.* (“split infinitive” 559) In this case the user was trying to avoid the construction *to be generally accepted*, which he considered split infinitive.

With respect to the shift in attitude, two things need to be taken into consideration – a) grammaticality of the construction and b) the psychological aspect.

a) Grammaticality

While Fowler views the split infinitive as “unnatural”, Burchfield’s comments reveal no such objection. The alleged unnaturalness of the split infinitive stems from the assumption that *to*-infinitive is a unit that cannot be split. This misconception might be based on Latin, in which an infinitive is indivisible, and is supported by the fact that the split infinitive started to be criticised by grammarians in the 18th and the 19th centuries, when the normative approach was on the rise and Latin served as a model for English (Peters: 513). Barbara Strang writes that “fussing about split infinitives is one of the more tiresome pastimes invented by nineteenth-century prescriptive grammarians” (173). Dušková, who surveyed the attitude to the split infinitive as presented in numerous usage books, observed that the objections stated there were unfounded and that the split infinitive was not at variance with the principles of English syntax (Dušková 1962: 181).

The rising concern about the split infinitive is linked to its increasing usage. While the earliest examples of the split infinitive date back to the 13th century, the construction was used only sparingly until the 18th century and its frequency started to increase from the end of the 18th century (Burchfield: “split infinitive”)¹³. Arguments supporting the view that *to* is not an inseparable part of the infinitive can be summarised based on the comments of Dušková and Quirk et al. as follows:

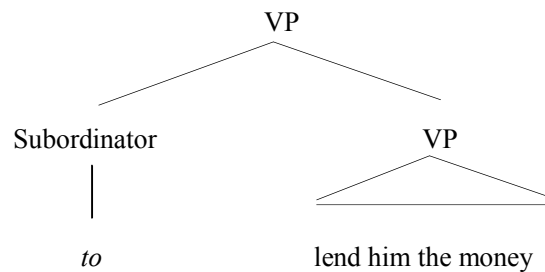
- Existence of bare infinitive, i.e. confirmation that *to* is not an integral part of the infinitive (Dušková 1962: 181);
- Parallel with *that*- construction; while *to* introduces an infinitive, *that* introduces a finite subordinate clause in which postposition is natural (*He decided that he would secretly investigate ~ He decided to secretly investigate*) (Dušková 1962: 179-180);
- Extended scope of *to* which belongs to two infinitives, e.g. *the power to understand and fully sympathize with him* (Dušková 1962: 172);
- Ellipsis of the predication, which indicates the leftward binding, e.g. *A: Did you ever visit her after she had retired? B: I used to sometimes* (Quirk et al.: 496);
- Closer link with the preceding word, supported by phonological evidence and informal spelling, e.g. *used to* /^hju:st□/, *have to* /^hæft□/, *got to (gotta)* /^gɒt□, -d□, -r□/ (Quirk et al.: 496).¹⁴

The particle *to* had originally a prepositional meaning of goal and purpose, gradually becoming a formal word (Vachek: 223). As mentioned above, it now has the function of an infinitive marker and in this respect is similar to the subordinator *that*, which marks a finite subordinate clause. For this reason *to* is sometimes treated as a subordinator of a subsequent verb phrase. This view is also taken by Huddleston and Pullum, who, after rejecting morphological boundness of the particle *to* to the verb

¹³ The historical perspective is dealt with, for example, by Olga Fischer, who describes the process of grammaticalisation of *to* and regards the split infinitive as a proof of reversal of this process. She claims that the grammaticalisation of *to* was a regular process until the Middle English but at the end of that period, *to* regained its original semantic meaning (as a preposition) of goal and direction and became more semantically independent, which subsequently led to the occurrence of the split infinitive. Had it not been for the disturbance, *to* would have been more bonded with the infinitive (Fischer: 158).

¹⁴ Fitzmaurice takes this issue a step further in her study on degrammaticalisation of the infinitive marker *to* in American English. Using examples of the *to*-infinitive construction split by the negative particle *not* in spoken American English, she connects the process of degrammaticalisation of *to* with the grammaticalisation of semi-auxiliaries. For example, in the following sentence *They used to not be like that*, the isolation of *not* shows the integrity of the semi-auxiliary *used to* and its ongoing grammaticalisation. Consequently, the semi-auxiliary could be potentially reanalysed as an auxiliary and *be* as the main verb (Fitzmaurice: 182-183).

base, present two possible analyses – *to* as an auxiliary verb and *to* as a subordinator. Despite some similarities with an auxiliary verb on the one hand and differences from clause subordinators on the other¹⁵, it is concluded that *to* is a verb phrase subordinator because “it is omissible without any change in meaning or grammatical construction type” (e.g. All I did was to ask a question. ~ All I did was ask a question.) and because “it can only appear in non-elliptical sentences when some other verb is superordinate to it”, unlike all other English verbs (1186). The following analysis of an infinitive construction *to lend him the money* presents *to* as a subordinator of a verb phrase:



(Huddleston and Pullum: 1187)

Biber et al. also regard the infinitive marker as a type of subordinator, called a complementizer.¹⁶

b) Psychological factor

Despite the evidence that points to the separability of *to* from the infinitive, there is reluctance to admit the construction into everyday use. This reluctance can be ascribed to the psychological factor. Burchfield’s article on the split infinitive may serve as an example – although no justification of ungrammaticality of the split infinitive is given, the splitting is not accepted as a regular device but only as something to be used in specific situations (e.g. to avoid ambiguity). According to Quirk et al., the split infinitive should seem “natural”; however, at the same time it is noted that “... the widespread prejudice against split infinitives must not be underestimated, especially with respect to formal writing, and indeed there is no feature of usage on which critical native reaction more

¹⁵ One similarity to auxiliaries lies in the possibility of *to* standing alone in elliptical constructions: She wants me to lend him the money, but I don’t have to_ / but I won’t_t_. What makes it different from subordinators is that it does not always occupy the initial position in the non-finite subordinate clause: She taught her children always to tell the truth. (Huddleston and Pullum: 1185).

¹⁶ Complementizers introduce complement clauses, i.e. clauses that are “normally selected or controlled by a preceding verb, adjective, noun or preposition.” (Biber et al.: 194)

frequently focuses.” (Quirk et al.: 496-497). In the *Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*, where the construction is otherwise marked “fully acceptable” and is accompanied by numerous examples documenting its usefulness, a similar remark can be found: “... there can be no doubt that in careful or edited writing adjuncts are often consciously placed in pre-marker (or end) position to avoid infringing the traditional rule” (Huddleston and Pullum: 581-582). David Crystal in his article “To boldly split, or not to split” concludes that “... once you know that this is a sensitive area of English usage, it would be sensible to be cautious. There’s more chance of you upsetting someone if you do use a split infinitive than if you don’t” (Crystal: 30).

5.2.2.2 Elements separating *to* from infinitive

The infinitive marker is separated from the infinitive mostly by an adverbial. However, this position is not restricted exclusively to adverbials, and other clause elements may be found between the infinitive and *to*. While Fowler mentions only adverbs, Burchfield also notes less common examples, such as the negative marker *not* or even a pronoun (“split infinitive” 738). Some less common examples, taken from the BNC, are:

(1) *Like every other mother, mine was keen to tell her daughter to certainly go swimming, but to not go near the water.* (BNC: B38 1) [W_misc]

(2) *The first team to all sit on one chair.* (BNC: C8P) [W_instructional]

Quirk et al. mention a rare case of the split infinitive involving an adverbial of manner in a proform *so do* (876). This can be exemplified in the following sentence:

(3) *It was true that Hassan had managed to balance the often conflicting pressures more successfully than had the Shah. Indeed, the Shah’s failure to so do had caused his downfall.* (BNC: G3R 1) [W_biography]

The split infinitive seems to appear most frequently with gradable verbs and involves what Quirk et al. call “subjuncts of narrow orientation”¹⁷ (Quirk et al.: 497). The position is also occupied by adjuncts of manner and adjuncts of time. As regards adverbials not integrated into the sentence structure, both conjuncts and disjuncts can be found in this position. For the purpose of this study, only adverbials realised by adverbs are considered and the following semantic categories are distinguished: intensifiers¹⁸, focalizers, adjuncts of indefinite time, manner adjuncts and sentence adverbials (conjuncts and disjuncts). Only one-word adverbs are taken into account since they are most likely to be found in the split infinitive construction.

5.2.2.3 Split infinitive as a regular device

In order to avoid the split infinitive, the adverb is placed before the particle or after the verb. However, as has been previously indicated, such placements may be counterproductive and only justify placing the adverb between the particle and the verb to achieve the required meaning and emphasis. This part discusses the split infinitive as a device for expressing the desired semantic relations and achieving word order that corresponds with the information structure of the sentence (Dušková 1999: 108-109).

a) Avoiding ambiguity

Both Fowler and Burchfield find the construction acceptable in cases when avoiding the split infinitive may lead to ambiguity. This can happen when the adverb is compatible with an element that precedes the infinitive marker or with an element that follows the infinitive:

(4) *Julia Roberts should make Pretty Woman 2 quickly to revive her flagging career, a magazine survey has urged.* (BNC: CBE 1)

It is not clear whether *quickly* qualifies *make* or *revive*. The first reading can be ascribed to the fact that the adverb precedes the actual marker of the infinitive and therefore does not have to be

¹⁷ Adverbs that have a subordinate role with respect to an individual clause element, e.g. emphasizees, intensifiers, focusing subjuncts and item subjuncts (Quirk et al.: 566-567).

¹⁸ In this study, intensifiers include amplifiers, downtoners and emphasizees, although the last mentioned subgroup is sometimes listed separately because it subsumes adverbials that do not express a degree but only reinforce the truth value of the element they modify (Quirk et al.: 567).

associated with it. The question is to what extent the ambiguous reading is influenced by the reader's awareness of the split infinitive.

- (5) *With us outside the Treaty, we must expect the Commission to neglect at least our interests*
(Fowler: 447).

In this case, *at least* could relate to either *neglect* or *our interest*. On the other hand, placing the adverb before the verb would narrow the scope just to the verb.

Occasionally, the particle *not* is found in the same position:

- (6) *His hardest decision was to not allow the children to go to summer camp.* (Quirk et al.: 497)

This sentence is unambiguous because *not* has a scope only over the non-finite clause. On the other hand, if the negative particle is moved before the infinitive marker, the sentence becomes ambiguous:

- (6a) *His hardest decision was not to allow the children to go to summer camp.*

The ambiguity is due to the potentially different scope of negation. The negator is within the scope of both the verb in the matrix clause and the infinitive and, accordingly, the negation may be interpreted as a clausal or local.¹⁹ In the first case, the sentence would mean that *to allow the children to go to summer camp* was *not his hardest decision*. In the second case, the sentence would mean that *not to allow the children to go to summer camp* was *his hardest decision*. On the other hand, in example (6) the negator is placed after the infinitive marker and its scope is clearly determined.

In another example, the position between the infinitive marker and the infinitive enables unambiguous reading of a sentence which contains a polyfunctional adverb, i.e. an adverb that can function both as an integrated adjunct and a sentence adverbial (Dušková 1999: 108-109)

¹⁹ Local and clausal negation as defined by Quirk et al. on pp 775-776

(7) *We tended rather sit back and wait for developments*. (Quirk et al.: 497)

Here, the adverb is integrated and modifies the non-finite verb. On the other hand, in the following sentence, it could be interpreted as a reformulatory conjunct²⁰:

(7a) *We tended rather to sit back and wait for developments*.

b) Information structure

The split infinitive needs to be also considered with respect to the functional sentence perspective (FSP). According to the theory of FSP, a sentence can be described in terms of distribution of communicative dynamism (CD) over elements in a sentence which is determined by linear modification, semantic content, context dependency and intonation (in spoken communication) (Firbas: 10-11). The communicative dynamism is defined as “the relative extent to which a linguistic element contributes towards the further development of the communication (Firbas: 8). According to the degree of communicative dynamism, a sentence can be divided in two main parts – theme, which carries the lowest degree of CD and rheme, which carries the highest degree of CD (Firbas: 73-74). The mediation between a rheme and a theme is performed through transition, which is mostly realised by a verb (Firbas: 70). Besides finite clauses, this distribution also applies to non-finite clauses, which have their own information structure within a distributional subfield (Firbas: 17). A verb may be further divided into two communicative units – the notional component and the categorical exponents. The latter includes exponents of tense and mood, as well as voice, aspect and positive polarity, abbreviated as TME (Firbas: 18). Both transitional units are also differentiated by the degree of CD. The notional component often functions as the transition, carrying a higher degree of communicative dynamism than the categorical components, which have the role of transition proper (Firbas: 70-72). Another transitional element to be mentioned is a transition proper oriented element, which “through its temporal or modal feature comes close to the TMEs” (Firbas: 77). In terms of CD, transition proper oriented elements carry more weight than transition proper but less

²⁰ Based on a classification given in Quirk et al. on p. 635.

than transition (Firbas: 72). As far as the infinitive verb is concerned, the TMEs are suppressed and the transition part is defective (Svoboda: 122).

As regards the communicative function of the infinitive marker, it is similar to the function of a conjunction.²¹ Therefore, it is a part of the transitional part and functions as a transition proper oriented element (Firbas: 79).

Adverbials can be thematic, rhematic or form a part of the transition, depending on the interplay of the semantic factor, the contextual factor and linear modifications (Firbas: 50). It needs to be noted that in all examples given below the adverbial is context independent and is automatically treated as such. It has been also said that only adverbs are taken into account. Adverbs can be regarded as minimised nominal subfields, i.e. minimised nominal phrases, and they are therefore considerably unstable and tend to be tied to the transition (Svoboda: 129-130). If this tie is loosened, it is an opportunity for the linear modification to start operating (Firbas: 50).

From the semantic point of view, five groups of adverbials that can appear in the post-marker position are considered, as already mentioned above. They are: intensifiers, focalizers, adjuncts of indefinite time, manner adjuncts and sentence adverbials. The use of an adverbial in the split infinitive construction is exemplified in each group. The examples come from the BNC. All examples presented below are also listed in Appendix 2 with wider context.

- **A sentence adverbial** is usually closely related to the modal indication of TMEs, functioning as the transition proper oriented element in the presence of more dynamic competitors. This function is maintained regardless of the position in the sentence. (Firbas: 77-78)

(8) *They had to perhaps give up their pots and pans, or they were supposed to.* (BNC: KRN)

[S_speech_unscripted]

²¹ This was pointed out to me by Prof. Dušková.

The adverb functions as a content adjunct. As such, it is not restricted to just one position and it could be moved within the sentence (e.g. *Perhaps they had to give up ...*). From the point of FSP, *perhaps* is a part of the transition (*had to perhaps give up*) and functions as a transition proper oriented element. The rheme is realised by the object (*their pots and pans*). The communicative function would remain the same even if the adverbial were placed initially. However, in the presented example, the distribution of communicative dynamism is in line with the linear arrangement (theme-transition-rheme).

- **A manner adjunct** “significantly amplifies the information conveyed by the verb and takes the communication a step further than the verb.” It carries a higher degree of CD than the verb irrespective of the position in the sentence; however, at the same time, it is affected by linearity and therefore becomes more prominent when placed after the verb (Firbas: 53). Svoboda notes that an adverbial that relates to the notional part of the verb (as opposed to adverbials that relate to modal, temporal and spatial parameters) can function as a rheme (its weight is determined by the context or linearity) and in such a case becomes an independent unit; otherwise, it has a tendency to form one unit with the notional part of the verb while carrying a higher degree of CD than the verb (Svoboda: 131-132).

Another important factor that plays a role is the semantic factor. Chládková notes that the position of manner adjuncts is determined, besides the grammatical character of elements following the verb, by the semantic content of the adjuncts, and confirms that the different positions reflect different degrees of communicative dynamism (Chládková: 93). As regards a link between the position and the semantic content, two subgroups are distinguished – process adjuncts and subject adjuncts. While the former qualify just the verb and are usually placed in the end position, the latter also qualify the subject of the action denoted by the verb and are restricted to the pre-verbal position (Dušková 1988: 456). Since at least a part of the semantic content denoted by the subject adjunct relates to the subject and not just to the verb, it can be assumed that subject adjuncts are less dynamic than process adjuncts, which specify the content of the verb (Chládková: 88-89). At the same time, the communicative dynamism related to process adjuncts is also determined by their position in the

sentence. When placed before the verb, the adjunct is less dynamic than when placed after the verb. (Chládková: 93).

- (9) *This is a good example of Bryan's percussive strumming technique; as you play through this be sure to **carefully follow** all the pick-stroke indications and to mute the chords as indicated*
(BNC: CDL) [W_pop_lore]

The above adjunct is in a pre-verbal position and can be considered to be a part of the transition. Semantically, the clause could be interpreted in two slightly different ways. According to the first interpretation, the adjunct qualifies both the subject and the verb, therefore functioning as a subject adjunct. It can be paraphrased as “be careful in that you follow all the pick-stroke indication”. In the second interpretation the adjunct qualifies just the verb and can be paraphrased “in a careful manner”. In any case, the adjunct carries a higher degree of CD than the verb *follow*. If the adjunct were placed after the verb (... *be sure to follow carefully all the...*), only the latter interpretation would be feasible. In addition, the adjunct would be more dynamic in this position than before the verb.

- (10) *Always remember to **check carefully** the identity of any caller whatsoever who wants to gain admittance to your home.* (BNC: ARA 2) [W_misc]

The adjunct qualifies the verb (i.e. the checking is done in a careful manner) and is more dynamic than the verb. Nevertheless, it is surpassed in CD by the direct object (*the identity of any caller ...*), which functions as the rheme. In terms of CD it is more dynamic than when placed before the verb.

- **An intensifier** has a subordinate role with respect to other clause elements and always modifies a superordinate element (Dušková: 465). Intensifiers usually appear in the medial position before the verb and this generally applies to all three subgroups considered here – emphasizers, amplifiers and downtoners. Emphasizers “normally precede the item they emphasize” (Quirk et al.: 586). In the case of amplifiers, both medial and end positions are available but they might represent slightly different meanings. In positive declarative clauses, the medial position is

used for “scaling upwards” while amplifiers in the end position may denote “the absolute upper extreme of the scale”, i.e. the absolute meaning, and may be sometimes interpreted as manner adjuncts (Quirk et al.: 595-596). These points can be illustrated in the following example:

(11) *Layouts such as this seem to completely polarise opinion, and the decision is obviously down to the individual.* (BNC: C9K) [W_pop_lore]

The adverbial is used in the pre-verbal position to amplify the verb *polarise*. It carries a higher degree of CD than the verb; nevertheless, it seems to be a part of the transition, while the direct object *opinion* functions as the rheme. If the adverbial were to be placed in a post-verbal position, i.e. *to polarise opinion completely*, it would become even more dynamic and become the rheme of the sentence. In addition, in the end position it could be interpreted as a manner adjunct (*to polarise opinion in every respect*). The situation becomes less clear if the attention is turned to the infinitive verb. Whereas *seem to completely* can be regarded as the transition, it is questionable whether the infinitive verb *polarise* can be also included in the transition or whether the notional component functions as the rheme.

- **An adverbial of indefinite time**, again closely related to TME, usually serves as a transition proper oriented element if placed between the subject and the verb. However, outside this frame the adverbial might become thematic or even rhematic and its communicative function outside the mentioned frame still remains to be determined (Firbas: 78).

(12) *It is not easy in a country as hierarchically inclined as ours to continually question authority in a constructive way.* (BNC: EA8) [W_commerce]

In the relevant non-finite clause the adverbial is a part of the transition (*to continually question*), while the rhematic part is realised by a manner adjunct (*in a constructive way*). The time adjunct could be placed after the verb, i.e. *to question authority continually in a constructive way*. However, in this position it would be more remote from the verb and closer to the rheme and therefore become more prominent.

- **A focalizer** draws attention to a sentence element or a part of a sentence, which consequently functions as the rheme. The adjunct is typically placed before the focused element (Dušková 1988: 473).

(13) *Bitter disappointment caused her to merely pick at her breakfast until suddenly she was startled by the sound of his deep voice coming from behind her.* (BNC: HHB) [W_fict_prose]

The adjunct precedes the focused element *pick*, which functions as the rheme. Placement after the verb (*to pick merely at her breakfast*) is not semantically possible. On the other hand, the adjunct could be put before the infinitive marker (*merely to pick at her breakfast*), which would therefore stand between the focusing adjunct and the focused element. Therefore, the split infinitive could be due to an attempt to put the focalizer as close to the focused element as possible.

- **Negator not**

Besides adverbials, the negator “not” in the post marker position also deserves attention. A negator usually has the role of the anticipator of the focus in the negative sentence but it can also become rhematic if all other elements, with the exception of TME, are context-dependent (Firbas: 102). As has been already pointed out, its placement in the post-marker position can be useful in avoiding ambiguity. Nevertheless, such a position has a specific function also in cases where no ambiguity would arise:

(14) *She was careful not to identify the culprit.* (Fitzmaurice: 178)

(15) *She was careful to not identify the culprit.* (Fitzmaurice: 178)

The scope of the negation is the same in both sentences. The difference concerns “the negative force”, which is perceived to be greater and more purposeful in (15) than in (14) (Fitzmaurice: 178). The following example further illustrates the point:

(16) *Since it matters to some extent (and perhaps a good deal) which rule is chosen, we do best to use convention only to protect decisions that some responsible political institution has actually taken on the merits and to not include under that umbrella decisions by default, that is decisions no one has actually made.* (JXJ) [W_ac_polit_law_edu]

As in the above examples, the negator is placed closer to the verb and this marked position intensifies the negation. If it were placed before the infinitive marker, the meaning would not change because of the same scope but the negative force would not be as strong. The same tendency as in example (15) can be observed, i.e. to place *not* as close to the focused element as possible. In addition, the infinitive phrase *to use convention...* is coordinated with *to not include...* and the word order in the second constituent (*to* in the initial position) is to some extent indicated by the word order in the first constituent of the coordination (*to* in the initial position).

- **Fowler's examples in MEU**

The last examples to be discussed are sentences provided by Fowler, who quoted them to show that the split infinitive should not be used when “nothing is gained.” Three sentences were selected – containing an adjunct of time, an intensifier and a manner adjunct. Each sentence with the split infinitive is compared with a sentence in which the split infinitive was avoided, as proposed by Fowler.

The first example involves an adjunct of time:

(17) *The people are now returning & trying to again get together a home.* (447)

Modification proposed by Fowler:

(17a) *The people are now returning & trying to get a home together **again**.* (447)

Fowler argues that “it is easy to write *to get a home together again*, as *again* does not belong to the single word *get*, but *to get a home together*, nothing is gained by its abnormal placing” (“position of adverbs” 447). Let us first consider only the rephrasing of *to get together a home* into *to get a home together*. In the original phrase the direct object *home* is placed at the end and is more prominent than *together*. In contrast, in the phrase proposed by Fowler the adverb *together* is more dynamic than the object. Now we can go back to (17) and (17a) and consider the position of *again*. In (17) the adjunct is a part of the transition, while *home* remains the rheme. On the other hand, in (17a) *again* surpasses *together* in the degree of CD and becomes the most dynamic element, i.e. rheme proper. It can be concluded that the proposed change does not respect the information structure of the original sentence. Further, placing the adjunct in yet a different position is not satisfactory either because of ambiguity:

(17b) *The people are now returning & trying again to get together a home.*

Here, *again* could relate to both the preceding and the following verb.

The next example involves an intensifier *considerably*:

(18) *It will be found possible to considerably improve the present wages of the miners without jeopardizing the interests of capital. (560)*

Modification proposed by Fowler:

(18a) *It will be found possible to improve the present wages of the miners **considerably** without jeopardizing the interests of capital. (560)*

Within the non-finite clause, the intensifier in (18) is closer to the transition (*to considerably improve*) and is more dynamic the verb. The theme is realised by *the present wage of the miners* and the participial construction *without jeopardising...* functions as the rheme. In contrast, in (18a) the adverbial is moved further from the verb and, with respect to the degree of CD, moves from the transition and comes closer to the rheme.

The last sentence exemplifies the use of a manner adjunct:

(19) *Always providing that the Imperialists do not feel strong enough to decisively assert their power in the revolted provinces. (Fowler: 560)*

Modification proposed by Fowler:

(19a) *Always providing that the Imperialists do not feel strong enough to assert their power **decisively** in the revolted provinces. (Fowler: 560)*

In (19) the adverbial relates to both the subject and the verb, i.e. it functions as a subject adjunct (to be decisive in asserting power). On the other hand, in (19a) the adverbial is perceived as a process adjunct (assert their power in a decisive way). As regards the CD, both adverbials seem to be the most dynamic elements, which would need to be confirmed by wider context. However, it can be said that the adverbial in (19a) is more dynamic than in (19).

5.2.2.4 Conclusion

The attitude to the split infinitive has changed and the construction is no longer regarded as “unnatural” but it is still waiting to be admitted as a regular device as the psychological aspect continues to play an important role. The admittance of the construction is mostly restricted to cases where ambiguity would arise and Burchfield still recommends avoiding the split infinitive if possible. However, the construction should not be considered just in cases of potential ambiguity but also with respect to the information structure of a sentence and the meaning related thereto. Adverbials realised by adverbs, and the negator *not* were considered, and the split infinitive has been found to display the following functions:

- i) **Avoiding ambiguity** – In cases when the relevant elements placed in the pre-marker position were compatible both with the infinitive verb and the preceding word, e.g. in (4), (5), (6), or in the case of a polyfunctional adverb (7).
- ii) **Semantic aspect** – Placing the corresponding adverb before or after the infinitive verb had an impact on the semantic relationship with the verb, e.g. in (9), (10) and (11), and in turn on the degree of CD.
- iii) **Information structure**
 - Although the adverbials in general were more dynamic than the infinitive verb, when placed after the adverb the degree of CD increased, e.g. (9), (10), (11), (12), (14), (17), (18).
 - Elements anticipating the rheme (focalisers, *not*) were moved to the post-marker position to get closer to the focused element, thus making it more prominent, e.g. (13), (14), (15), (16). An additional factor was found working in a coordinated phrase in example (16), where the post-marker placement of *not* was influenced by the word order in the first infinite clause of the coordinated phrase.
 - In the case of sentence adverbials, which maintain their function as transition proper oriented elements, the placement between to and the verb was in line with the linear arrangement (8).

- Overall, adverbials in the pre-verbal position displayed a tendency to be a part of the transition, which is in line with Svoboda's observation. On the other hand, while outside this frame, they were affected by linearity, as noted by Firbas.
- iv) **Modifications** proposed by Fowler did not respect the information structure and were driven by the psychological factor.

5.2.3 Fused participle

The following part discusses the use of a construction that is often referred to as “fused participle.” The changed usage is demonstrated on examples given in *MEU*, which are compared with current approaches to the construction and with examples of actual use.

5.2.3.1 Preliminaries

Fowler objected to the construction, noting that “the name was invented a dozen years ago for the purpose of labelling & so making recognizable & avoidable a usage considered by the inventor to be rapidly corrupting modern English style” (“fused participle” 206). To illustrate the construction he compared it with a gerundial clause and a participial clause:

- (1) *Women having the vote share political power with men.* (Fowler: 206)
- (2) *Women's having the vote reduces men's political power.* (Fowler: 206)
- (3) *Women having the vote reduces men's political power.* (Fowler: 206)

In the first sentence *having the vote* is a participial construction attached to *women*, which is the subject of the sentence. It has an attributive function and can be paraphrased by a relative clause (*women who have the vote ...*). In the second sentence, *having* is a gerund while *women's* is the subject of the gerundial action in the genitive case and the whole gerundial clause *Women's having the vote* functions as the subject of the matrix sentence. In the third sentence, the *-ing* form resembles the gerund in that it determines the form of the matrix verb. On the other hand, it modifies the non-possessive noun and behaves as a participle. The construction is called a fused participle because the subject of the matrix sentence (*women having the vote*) is “a compound notion formed by fusion of the noun *women* with the participle *having*“. Fowler strongly objected to the construction and called it “indefensible” (“fused participle” 206).

Gowers reprinted almost the entire article to illustrate Fowler's stance and he also noted Jespersen's defence of the construction. He concluded that “Fowler was right in deprecating the use of the fused participle with a proper name or personal pronoun in a simple sentence” but he went on to say that

the fused participle is convenient in cases “when a more complicated sentence makes a possessive impossible” or when the use of a possessive would result in an unidiomatic construction (“fused participle” 218).

Burchfield admitted the construction with the following notes: (i) The possessive with gerund is frequently used when the possessive is a personal pronoun or a proper name. (ii) It is not normally used “when the noun is non-personal, is part of a phrase, or is in the plural”. (iii) Usage is divided with personal pronouns. (iv) Usage is also divided with non-personal pronouns, although the non-possessive form is preferred. Overall, the possessive with a gerund is “on the retreat but its use with proper names and personal nouns and pronouns persists in good writing. When the personal pronoun stands in the initial position it looks certain that the possessive form will be preferred for a long time to come”(“possessive with gerund” 610).

Fowler analysed the fused participle by comparing its features with those of the gerundial and participial constructions. Showing there is no exact match, he called the construction undesirable. Nevertheless, such a strict view is not taken in current grammar books, which show tendencies not to isolate the construction but to treat it within a gradient or within a group that subsumes *-ing* constructions without distinguishing between a gerund or a participle.

Quirk et al. place the fused participle within a gradient that starts with the count noun, as in *some paintings of Brown's*, and ends with the participial form in a finite phrase, as in *Brown is painting his daughter*. In this gradient, the construction is placed between a gerund and a participle. A gerund is not formally distinguished from a participle in order “to represent more satisfactorily the complexity of the different participial expressions as we move along the gradient” (Quirk et al.: Note [a] 1292). A non-possessive as the subject is regarded as a variant of a possessive form, although “the genitive is preferred if the item is a pronoun, the noun phrase has personal reference, and the style is formal” (1063).

A similar approach to *-ing* constructions is presented by Huddleston and Pullum, who do not distinguish between a gerund and a present participle and refer to both as “gerund-participle form of

a verb” (1187). In their opinion, “there is no difference of form, function or interpretation that correlates systematically with the traditional distinction between 'gerund' and 'present participle’” and any such distinction is “one of the features of traditional grammar that should be discarded” (1222). Nevertheless, a distinction is made between gerund-participials with complement function, which include primarily but not exclusively gerunds, and gerund-participials with non-complement function, which involve participles (1188). The fused participle would be then a gerund-participial complement with a non-genitive subject. The non-possessive is referred to simply as a variant of a possessive form: “the genitive can be replaced in informal style by accusative (or plain) case” (1189) and the construction is regarded as a further step in the process “of changing from noun to verb” (Huddleston and Pullum: 1190).

Biber et al. talk about *-ing* clauses, making a distinction between two patterns: verb + *-ing* clause and verb + NP + *-ing* clauses (Biber et al.: 739-740). Therefore, the fused participle would belong to the latter pattern (together with participles and with gerunds that have their subject expressed). Within this pattern it is observed that the non-possessive form is used in 90% of cases (Biber et al.: 750), but since gerunds are not differentiated from participial clauses, the above mentioned proportion also includes “regular” participial constructions, for example *I walked out and left him sitting there*.

On the other hand, Dušková differentiates between the gerund and the present participle and the distinction is based on the syntactic behaviour – gerunds are syntactic nouns whereas participles are syntactic adjectives²². The gerund retains some of the typical verbal features, namely the government, the grammatical category of voice and tense, and the modification by adverbial, while at the same time displaying nominal features, e.g. it can appear in the same syntactic functions as a noun in a sentence or it can be determined by a possessive (Dušková 1988: 268). The fused participle is regarded as a gerund with its subject realised by a non-possessive form (Dušková 1988: 572).

In the present chapter, the general distinction between the gerund and the present participle is observed, as described by Dušková.

²² This distinction corresponds to the distinction between gerund-participles with complement function and gerund-participle with non-complement function as defined by Huddleston and Pullum.

5.2.3.2 Factors influencing the choice of non-possessive subject

The above-indicated tendency not to attach importance to differentiation between participles and gerunds and rather see these constructions as belonging to a gradient is reflected in the approach to the fused participle, which is seen simply as a variant of a possessive + gerund and is not treated as a separate construction. Rather, grammar and usage books focus on the factors that seem to determine the use of a non-possessive, which are summarised below:

a) Style: The non-possessive form is likely to be used in informal style. (Huddleston and Pullum: 1192)

b) Type of noun phrase: It is used in cases when the subject cannot take genitive markings (e.g. *there, this, that, all, some, both of them, some of us*) and it is preferred when the subject is in plural (ending in *-s*), or distinctly long or complex. Generally, the non-possessive is less likely with personal pronouns and singular nouns that refer to people²³. (Huddleston and Pullum: 1192-93)

c) Matrix clause: If the *-ing* construction is the subject of the matrix sentence, the genitive form is more likely. The choice depends also on the verb in the matrix clause, e.g. with the verb *stop* the non-genitive form is dominant. (Huddleston and Pullum: 1193)

d) Semantic factor: The non-possessive form is more frequent if it is emphasised, often when contrast is desired, e.g. *we seem to think nothing of a boy smoking, but resent a girl smoking* (Dušková 1999: 25). The fused participle may also differ in the range of its potential meaning, as can be illustrated in the following examples:

a) I dislike Brown's painting his daughter. (Quirk et al.: 1291)

b) I dislike Brown painting his daughter. (Quirk et al.: 1291)

²³ This was for example shown in Petrlíková's study of the gerund in contemporary British fiction. Of 23 gerundial constructions with an expressed subject, fifteen personal pronouns or proper nouns were realised by a possessive form. The remaining eight in the non-possessive form were connected with the plural (five cases) or the singular of an inanimate noun. The objective form of a personal noun occurred only once (Petrlíková: 188-189). It needs to be noted that these findings concern just the genre of fiction and the proportion can vary in individual varieties.

While sentence a) can mean that the speaker dislikes the fact that Brown paints his daughter or the way he does it, sentence b) allows just the first reading (Quirk et al.: 1291). A similar observation is made by Dušková, who compared *I admire Mary's / Mary taking care of her younger brother* (Dušková 1988: 574). The difference is noted also by Peters in sentences *The dogs reacted to me singing* and *The dogs reacted to my singing*, although he immediately adds that “those differences intersect with matters of style” (Peters: “fused participle” 229). In addition, the choice may be driven by an effort to achieve euphony, to be clearer or to find an expression that better serves the purpose (Gilman: “fused participle” 755).

In addition, when considering the availability of the *-ing* construction by means of the fused participle, one important thing needs to be borne in mind. The *-ing* construction in general has an important function of a sentence condenser and if it were restricted only to cases when a possessive form can be used, its capacity as a condenser would be diminished (Dušková 1999: 26).

5.2.3.3 Disputed examples from today's perspective

The following are some of Fowler's examples, all of which he disapproved of, discussed from today's perspective. The above factors are taken into account and an attention is given to cases when the use of either the possessive or the non-possessive could be problematic. Fowler's examples were all extracted from the entry “fused participle” in *MEU* on pp 206-208. Wherever applicable, BNC was also consulted. The non-possessive form is in bold and the corresponding *-ing* form is underlined.

(4) *We welcome **Tariff Reform** being discussed as often as possible.* (Fowler: 208)

The *-ing* clause functions as the object of the matrix clause. The subject of the gerund is realized by a noun phrase “Tariff Reform” and the choice might have been influenced by the subject being an inanimate noun. Moreover, it is realised by two elements. Rephrasing the sentence would require its expansion (*We welcome that Tariff Reform is discussed as often as possible*).

(5) *This habit of **Ministers** putting forth their ideas through newspaper articles sometimes produced curious results.* (Fowler: 208)

In the above example the subject is in the plural form, which justifies the use of a non-possessive form. Besides a clear interpretation of the construction as a fused participle another reading could be possible. The *-ing* clause could function as a post-modifier of *this habit* and be paraphrased by a relative clause (*Ministers who put forth their ideas...*). Nevertheless, this interpretation is less plausible for semantic reasons, and in this meaning were required, an infinitive construction would be more likely (*This habit of Ministers to put forth their ideas...*).²⁴

(6) *The existence of these long term contracts is a large part of the case for the **coalowners** refusing to give increased wages to the men.* (Fowler: 208)

As in the above example, the choice of a non-possessive could have been influenced by the plural form of the relevant noun. Fowler notes that the sentence is ambiguous. Indeed, as in the above example, two readings are possible: a) fused participle, which denotes a verbal fact (coalowners refuse to give increased wages to the men), b) participial construction, with *coalowners* post-modified by *-ing* clause. This construction could be paraphrased by “coalowners who refuse to give....” If a possessive form were used, the ambiguity would not arise and only the sense a) would be possible.²⁵ However, it can be expected that wider context would limit the ambiguity.

(7) *One of the jurymen absented himself from the rest of the jury without **he, or the rest of the jury**, being given in charge of the proper officer.* (Fowler: 208)

This sentence presents a competing form – the subject form of the personal pronoun, which prompted Fowler to make the following comment: “*after all, if it is not to be his, it may as well be he*

²⁴ The sentence could be also viewed as a conflict between a double genitive and a participle/gerund. *This habit of Ministers* could point to a double genitive construction. In that case *putting forth their ideas through newspaper articles* would be an appositive clause. Nevertheless, the double genitive would require a possessive form (*this habit of ministers'*) and it is questionable whether a plural noun could occur in a double genitive. In addition, the semantic factor must be considered. Thus, such interpretation should be regarded only as peripheral.

²⁵ Potentiality of the fused participle is discussed for example by Šaldová, who notes that the potential can be limited by a verb-subject concord, e.g. in *Women having the vote reduces men's political power* the present simple indicates that *women having the vote* functions as the noun of the sentence (Šaldová: 39).

as *him*” (208). The nominative with pronouns is generally rarer than the possessive (Dušková 1999: 26). In this example the possessive form is avoided because of the length of the subject, which is realised by a coordinated noun phrase (*he, or the rest of the jury*). To avoid the fused participle and, at the same time, the awkward placing of the genitive marker, the sentence would have to be expanded into a complex sentence. What is also interesting is the presence of the nominative *he* after a preposition, indicating hypercorrection.

(8) *But he objects to the cutting down of imports in war time, & **the fact** that we have to do without things being taken as an argument for our continuing to shut goods out after the war.* (Fowler: 208)

The subject of the *-ing* construction is realised by a noun phrase, with the head modified by a relative clause (*that we have to do without things*). Fowler’s main objection concerns the fused participle but the above sentence is primarily an example of bad style, regardless of employment of a possessive or a non-possessive form. The sentence contains a garden path – *being taken* could be regarded as attached to *things* – and retracing to the beginning of the sentence is necessary.

(9) *I insisted on **him** at once taking the bill down.* (Fowler: 207)

In the above example, the decisive factor in applying the objective form of the personal pronoun is the separation of the *-ing* construction from the gerund by an adverbial *at once*. In addition, the objective form seems to be carrying more emphasis than the genitive form, which would shift the attention more to the verbal act (the act of taking the bill down). Wider context would be needed to determine the difference in emphasis. To illustrate the point further, an example from the BNC is provided:

(10) *For the Broadway run of Edmund Kean, Ben Kingsley was paid \$12,500 per week. His Equity-required understudy received \$800 per -- without having to learn a line. The producer sent him the script, in case he was curious, but assured him there was no question of **him** appearing on stage in the role.* (BNC: A35 1)
[W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_arts]

In the above example, the objective form makes the subject of the *-ing* construction more emphatic. This interpretation is mostly supported by the context, when the same referent of *him* appears several times in the immediately preceding context (*sent him, he was curious, assured him*) until a contrast is achieved (it is not him who will appear in the role but someone else). In comparison, the possessive form would place more stress on *appearing*.

(11) *We cannot reckon on **the unrest** ceasing with the end of one strike, or on its not being renewed in the case of other trades.* (Fowler: 208)

In the above example, Fowler points out the discrepancy between the non-possessive (*unrest*) and the possessive form *its*. While the use can be regarded as inconsistent, it indicates a hesitation to put an inanimate noun into the genitive case. Another possibility would be to expand the non-finite clause into a finite clause (*We cannot expect that the unrest will cease with the end of one strike or that it will not be renewed in the case of other trades*).

(12) *The machinery which enables one man to do the work of six results only in the **others** losing their job, & in **skill** men have spent a lifetime acquiring becoming suddenly useless.* (Fowler: 206)

Here, the criticised issue was not just the non-possessive but also the insertion of another clause between the subject and the present participle. The fused participle construction is disrupted by a restrictive relative clause, which immediately follows the antecedent (*skill*). Fowler called it the “bracketing capacity” of the fused participle and compared it to German (206). The genitive case would not allow such a construction and the sentence would have to be rephrased. Interestingly, Fowler did not mention the first fused participle *in the others losing their job*. It is worth attention that if the possessive forms were used in both cases (disregarding the relative clause), in the first case, the possessive form and the non-possessive form would be homonyms (*others' x others*), while in the second case, the subject in the genitive case would be homonymous with the plural form of the countable noun (*skill's x skills*).

5.2.3.4 Conclusion

From today's perspective, the above examples of the fused participle are considered standard and reflect the general preference for a non-possessive form in specific cases. As has been shown, the clear-cut distinction between a gerund and a participle is no longer applied in authoritative grammars. Moreover, the availability of this type of *-ing* construction is especially important if we consider the function of *-ing* constructions as sentence condensers.

In Fowler's examples the use of the non-possessive was driven by two main actors – the type of the noun phrase realizing the subject and the semantic factor. The specific aspects are summarised below:

- i) **Plural noun** – The subject of the fused participle was in plural, e.g. in sentences (5), (6), (12). This usage can be influenced by the fact the possessive and the plural are homonymous.
- ii) **Inanimate noun** – The subject of the fused participle was realized by an inanimate noun, e.g. sentences (4), (11) and (12)
- iii) **Complex subject** – In sentences (4) and (7) the subject the noun phrase realizing the subject consisted of more than one element.
- iv) **Separation of the *-ing* form from the subject** – The subject was separated from the *-ing* clause either by a relative clause, in sentences (8) and (12), or by an adverbial (9).
- v) **Emphasis** – Sentence (12) is the only example where the possessive form would be readily employable because the subject is realized by a pronoun (*he*) and none of the above-mentioned factors would interfere. However, by using a non-possessive the author achieved different emphasis required by the context. Therefore, the fused participle served better the communicative purpose.

In addition, sentence (9) is worth interest as it shows quite a rare use of the nominative with a pronoun.

5.3 Changing usage in surface structure

In comparison to the second section, in which three general linguistic topics were treated, the third section is devoted to specific changes in the surface structure relating to two areas – changes in prepositions in the construction of the type “noun/verb/adjective + preposition” and changes in the realization of verb complementation. Each area is represented by ten entries. The entries were obtained in alphabetical order and non-selectively, which means that after comparing *MEU3* with the two earlier editions, the first ten entries that displayed changes in the respective areas were automatically registered. In the first subsection (“noun/verb/adjective + preposition”) the ten entries were gathered between *a-* and *d-* entries. Nevertheless, only *a-*, *c-*, and *d-* entries are represented since no relevant entries were found under the letter *b*. In the second subsection (realization of verb complementation), the ten entries were gathered between *a-* and *c-* entries. In contrast to the first section, all of the mentioned letters are represented.

Prior to an analysis of the twenty samples a general overview is provided, which concerns cases that do not display any change in usage, entries which were newly added to the third edition and entries excluded from the third edition.

5.3.1 Identical entries, new additions and omissions

While the main focus is to analyse changing usage by comparing corresponding entries that display a certain development, some information about contemporary usage may be gathered from other entries as well. For example, entries that stayed unchanged may point to stability of a particular construction or indicate that a particular construction is still not a part of idiomatic English. Entries that are new in the third edition may inform users about new uses of a particular expression or reflect potential or already existing areas of disputed usage or misuse. On the other hand, entries that were excluded from the latest edition could indicate that a particular construction has become obsolete or that once disputed usage has dropped out of use.

As regards the method of collection of the entries, the comparative basis for each subsection corresponds to the ones mentioned above, i.e. *a-* to *d-* entries were checked in the first subsection and *a-* to *c-* entries in the second subsection. First, all entries devoted to the two relevant areas of usage

were extracted. After that, entries extracted from the third edition were compared with the corresponding entries in the first edition and the second edition, and divided into four main groups. The first group, named “changed usage”, comprises constructions whose usage has changed. Entries that do not show any changes in usage were put into a group named “unchanged usage”. Entries which were newly added to the third edition are subsumed under “new entries”, and entries which were excluded from the third edition under “excluded entries”.

The collected data are summarised below. Table 3 describes entries which are concerned with changes in prepositions in the “verb/noun/adjective + preposition” constructions and Table 5 entries which deal with the realization of verb complementation.

Table 3: “Verb/noun/adjective + preposition”
in *MEU3* compared to earlier editions

<i>a- to d- entries</i>		
Changed usage	10	53%
Unchanged usage	2	10%
New entries	7	37%
Excluded entries	0	0%
Total	19	100%

Table 4: Realization of verb complementation in
MEU3 compared to earlier editions

<i>a- to c- entries</i>		
Changed usage	10	38%
Unchanged usage	7	27%
New entries	8	31%
Excluded entries	1	4%
Total	26	100%

According to Table 3, changed usage represents the largest proportion of all considered entries (53%), followed by new entries (37%). The same applies to Table 4, where changed usage makes up 38% of all entries, followed by new entries (31%). The relatively high proportion of new entries in both cases may reflect the fact that new entries are potential areas of future change. The number of entries with unchanged usage is proportionally much smaller in Table 3 than in Table 4 (10% and 27%, respectively). Altogether, there was only one entry that was excluded from Burchfield’s edition.

Prior to an analysis of entries that reflect changed usage, an overview of the other entries is provided (i.e. entries that display unchanged usage, entries that are new and entries that were excluded).

a) Unchanged usage, new entries, excluded entries in “noun/adjective/verb + preposition”

New entries, excluded entries and entries displaying unchanged usage “noun/adjective/verb + preposition” are listed in the tables below. Each entry is accompanied by a note on usage and examples from *MEU3*. Instances of disputed usage are exemplified in the text by sentences extracted from BNC. All examples can be found in Appendix 4, where additional examples provided.

The table below illustrates unchanged usage of prepositions in the “verb/noun/adjective + preposition”:

Table 5: Entries displaying unchanged usage in “verb/noun/adjective + preposition”

UNCHANGED USAGE	NOTES ON USAGE IN <i>MEU3</i>	page
Consist + of / in	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <u>consist + of</u> in most contexts means “be composed; have some specific ingredients or elements” E.g. <i>Newton imagined light to <u>consist of</u> particles.</i> - <u>consist + in</u> usually means “have its essential features as specified” E.g. <i>not everyone can tell in what the beauty of a figure <u>consists</u></i> 	175
Content oneself with	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - e.g. <i>You should not <u>content yourself with</u> being a mere collector of insects.</i> - The use of <i>by</i> is wrong in this sense (“not go beyond some course of action”). 	177

In the case of *consist*, the entry is concerned with different meanings associated with each preposition. On the other hand, in the case of *content* one preposition is prescribed and another rejected in the same meaning. Several examples of “*content* oneself *by*”, which is considered incorrect, can be found in BNC, e.g.:

- (1) *Of course, I could not have expressed this view to Mr Farraday without embarking upon what might have seemed a presumptuous speech. I thus contented myself by saying simply:...* (BNC: AR3) [W_fict_prose]

Although in both cases the recommendations remained unchanged, the inclusion of these entries indicates sensitive areas with potential future changes.

The following table shows new entries that deal with changes in prepositions in the “verb/noun/adjective + preposition” constructions:

Table 6: New entries devoted to “verb/noun/adjective + preposition”

NEW ENTRIES	NOTES ON USAGE IN <i>MEU3</i>	page
Accountable + <i>to</i> sb <i>for</i> sth	- “Most frequently used of persons being <i>accountable to</i> (another person or persons) <i>for</i> (something), i.e. liable to be called to account”	16
Accuse + <i>of</i>	- E.g. He <i>accused</i> the sound technicians <i>of</i> sabotaging the record. - In the past other prepositions were available (e.g. <i>for</i>)	16
Adequate + <i>for</i> / <i>to</i>	- The preposition <i>for</i> is now used as commonly as <i>to</i> . E.g. <i>their earnings are adequate for/to their needs</i>	21
Bored + <i>with</i> / <i>by</i> / <i>of</i>	- No difference between <i>bored with</i> and <i>by</i> is mentioned; E.g. <i>They were bored with being left alone in the country.</i> <i>They were bored by the party political broadcasts before the general election.</i> - Non-standard use: <i>bored + of</i>	114
Cater + <i>for</i> (<i>to</i>)	- Occasional use: <i>cater +to</i> (“perhaps after <i>pander to</i> ”) In American English <i>cater + to</i> is more usual	136
Continue + <i>on</i>	- Relatively new use, persists esp. in contexts of travel E.g. <i>After leaving Nice continue on to Cannes.</i>	179
Contrast (noun) + <i>to/with/between</i>	- No difference in use is mentioned	181

The new entries inform users of the emergence of a new preposition in connection with a new sense (*continue on*) or of the use of another preposition which is still acceptable (*cater to*). They may also detect non-standard uses (*bored of*). In some cases the prepositions that are established and standard are simply listed (*accuse of, accountable to sb for sb, contrast to/with/between*).

The non-standard use of “*bored of*” is illustrated in the following example:

(2) *In 1981 I was working the summer in Tenerife as a PR and when we got bored of the clubs, we would go to the beach at about 3am.* (BNC: CGC) [W_pop_lore]

The emergence of *bored of*, which is used instead of *bored with/by*, could be ascribed to analogy with a synonymous constructions *be tired of*.

b) Unchanged usage, new entries, excluded entries in “noun/adjective/verb + preposition”

The next three tables describe entries that deal with the realization of verb complementation. Entries reflecting unchanged usage are given in Table 7, new entries in Table 8 and excluded entries in Table 9.

Table 7: Entries displaying unchanged usage in the realization of verb complementation

UNCHANGED USAGE	BURCHFIELD’S NOTES ON USAGE	page
Adjust*	- is complemented by a prepositional object (<i>adjust to sth</i>) in the sense of to adapt oneself to (something) - in addition, a new use of <i>adjust + for</i> as in <i>adjust for inflation</i> is mentioned in <i>MEU3</i>	
Admit	- the construction with <i>of</i> is restricted to the senses “present an opening” and “leave room for” and seems old-fashioned	25
Allow	- the construction with <i>of</i> is still used in the sense of “to admit the realization or possibility of, permit”, but less often - in addition, Burchfield mentions the verb in the sense “to acknowledge, concede” followed by a subordinate clause	42
Appreciate*	- in the sense of “esteem at full value, acknowledge with gratitude” (e.g. in business letters) should not be followed by <i>how-</i> or <i>that-</i> clauses	64
Avail oneself of	- a reflexive pronoun should be used	80
Await	- can be used only transitively with a direct object (as opposed to <i>wait</i>)	82
Bid	- in the sense of “command” is either followed by a bare infinitive (in the active) or by a <i>to-</i> infinitive (in the passive); this use has been largely replaced by <i>tell sb to do sth</i>	108

* Not included in *MEU*

The entries given in the above Table 7 describe unchanged usage, at the same time indicating areas of a potential change. Entries “admit,” “allow” and “bid” deal with limited usage which is becoming outdated. Other entries warn against usage which is considered disputed, e.g. entries “appreciate”, “avail”, “await”; nevertheless examples can be found in the BNC:

Appreciate followed by that-clause:

- (3) *You will no doubt appreciate that letting property today is very complex and governed by so much legislation that it is essential you enjoy a competent Managing Agent.* (AAY)
[W_commerce]

Avail of without a reflexive pronoun:

- (4) *If you feel that you, or any group that you are associated with, could avail of our facilities, please do not hesitate to contact us.* (B29) [W_misc]

Await complemented with a prepositional object:

- (5) *I await for better selections and performance in the autumn from the so-called 'heirs apparent' to the Webb Ellis Trophy.* (CHW) [W_pop_lore]

The next table exemplifies new entries that deal with the realization of verb complementation:

Table 8: New entries dealing with the realization of verb complementation

NEW ENTRIES	BURCHFIELD'S NOTES ON USAGE + EXAMPLES	page
Agree	- a transitive use with a direct object realized by a NP has become common, but it is controversial E.g. <i>the tax inspector has agreed your allowances</i>	34
Appeal	- in US commonly used with a direct object; in UK usually followed by a prepositional object (<i>appeal against</i> sth)	63
Beware	- <i>beware</i> constructed with a direct object is still acceptable in poetry or in formal prose	107
Boggle	- is followed by a prepositional object (<i>the mind boggles at the extent of the damage</i>) or a direct object (<i>the suddenness of the collapse of Communism boggles the imagination</i>)	112
Comprise	- a relatively new use – “comprise of” – is disputed but “opposition is [...] weakening”	168
Conclude	- no longer followed by a <i>to</i> -infinitive in the sense “to decide” (archaism)	170
Convince	- “convince + to-infinitive” in the sense of “persuade” has been used since 1950s; E.g. <i>The miners tried to convince their colleagues to join them.</i>	182
Cope	- occurs in the construction “cope + with” (E.g. <i>Like many religious professionals, I cope with festivals, but I can't really enjoy them</i>) and also in absolute constructions (<i>Angela rang the bell wildly for someone to come and cope</i>)	182

Some entries are newly added to draw attention to usage that has become limited, e.g. “beware” and “conclude”. Other entries describe available patterns (“appeal”, “cope”, “boggle”). Some patterns that are mentioned may be still disputed, e.g. “agree” followed by a direct object or “comprise” complemented with a prepositional object. These two disputed patterns are also exemplified below:

Agree complemented with a direct object:

- (6) *The European Community yesterday agreed regulations for vetting large cross-border mergers, after years of complex and tough negotiations.* (BNC: AAJ)
[W_newsp_brdsht_nat_commerce]

In examples such as above, the more common pattern would be agreed on regulations.

Comprise of:

(7) *There is also a Curriculum Council for Wales. Each of these bodies is, by statute, comprised of not less than 10 and not more than 15 members appointed by the Secretary of State.* (BNC: B28) [W_non_ac_polit_law_edu]

In the above sentence, the preposition *of* can be regarded as redundant. Nevertheless, the use of *of* in *comprise of* is analogous with *consist of* or *make up of*.

Table 9: Entries devoted to the realization of verb complementation not included in *MEU3*

DROPPED ENTRIES	Gower's comment and example	page
Contest	- <i>contest</i> followed by a prepositional object is rare; E.g. <i>Troops capable of <u>contesting successfully against</u> the forces of other nations.</i>	107

No example of the above-given construction was found in BNC. The Internet search revealed that the construction is used in Asian English. In comparison, examples from British English are hard to find. The following example comes from a British web page:

(8) *ELISA kit methodology is being used to contest against demanding illnesses.*
(<http://www.ezine-articles.co.uk/Art/166891/276/ELISA-kit-methodology-is-being-used-to-contest-against-demanding-illnesses.html>)

As has been shown, changing usage may be anticipated also in new entries and to some extent also in entries which have so far remained unchanged. The following subsection shows that entries which reflect changing usage over a longer period of time (i.e. entries that appear in all three editions) display similar trends as new entries (e.g. change based on analogy, semantic change etc.).

5.3.2 “Verb/noun/adjective + preposition”

This section examines ten instances of a preposition change in the construction of the type “verb/noun/adjective + preposition”. The aim is to examine constructions in which one preposition has been replaced or joined by another preposition and to determine the impact of the change. The respective entries are dealt with in alphabetical order.

5.3.2.1 Examples of preposition change

In each example, recommendations given by *MEU*, *MEU2* and *MEU3* with respect to the relevant usage are paraphrased or quoted to illustrate the character of the change. The analysed changes are supported by examples from the BNC or other sources. All discussed examples are included in Appendix 5, where additional examples are also provided.

ADVERSE TO

MEU: According to Fowler, the adjective may be followed only by *to*, not by *from*. (“adverse” 12)

MEU2: The same observation as *MEU*. (“adverse” 12)

MEU3: The use of *to* is not disputed. The entry notes the difference between *adverse* and *averse*. The construction *adverse* + *to* is not likely to be found in the sense of “unfavourable to” and is considered rather archaic. Instead, the adjective *averse* is preferred. Overall, *adverse* is most commonly used attributively. (“adverse, averse” 28)

While in the first two editions the focus is on the use of a correct preposition, the latest edition addresses a different issue – the difference between *adverse* and *averse*. Besides a certain semantic difference²⁶, the two words differ in their syntactic functions. In contrast to *adverse*, which is mostly used attributively, *averse* can be used only predicatively. The predicative use of *adverse* in the sense of “opposing any one’s interests (real or supposed); hence, unfavourable, hurtful, detrimental, injurious, afflictive” (OED: “adverse a.” sense 2) seems to have been taken over by *averse*. Nevertheless, it can be still found:

²⁶ *adverse*: 1(a) not favourable; contrary. (b) hostile; opposing. 2 harmful. (Hornby.: “adverse”)
averse: not liking sth; opposed to sth (Hornby: “averse”)

- (1) *Where the decision is adverse to the claimant, information about the right of appeal to the Commissioners must be given.* (BNC: FRT 2) [W_non_ac_polit_law_edu]

With respect to the preposition that follows *adverse*, it has been mentioned that *MEU3*, unlike *MEU*, does not mention *from*, which means that it is no longer regarded as competing with *to*. No example of *adverse from* was found in the BNC. Interestingly, a different preposition, *against*, was discovered in the same sense as in example (1). The sentence comes from an American legal document published on the Internet:

- (2) ... *it appears from the evidence that reasonable minds can come to but one conclusion and that conclusion is adverse against the non-movant.*

<http://www.supremecourt.ohio.gov/rod/docs/pdf/2/2007/2007-Ohio-5166.pdf>

Nevertheless, the above use seems to be only minor and is not supported by BNC. Overall, it can be said that the preposition *from* disputed in *MEU* is no longer found and the standard construction (*adverse + to*) has become archaic. Its meaning has been taken over by *averse to*.

AFFINITY BETWEEN/WITH/FOR/TO

MEU: The prepositions normally used are *with/between*. According to Fowler, the noun should only describe a reciprocal relationship and it should not be used to describe a one-sided relationship, in which case it is sometimes followed by *for/to*. (“affinity” 12-13)

MEU2: The same observation as in *MEU*. (“affinity” 13)

MEU3: The prepositions *with/between* are still the best choice. When describing a one-sided relationship, other nouns are normally used, although *affinity + for* is possible and it appears especially in scientific work. The preposition *to* is not mentioned. (“affinity” 31)

The BNC reveals that all four prepositions (*with/between/for/to*) are still used to a varying extent. As regards *for*, a number of examples in BNC demonstrate its use to describe a one-sided relationship, usually in scientific texts:

(3) *Studies of the nucleic acid binding activities of retroviral MoMuLV NCp10 and avian pp12 indicate that NC protein has a higher affinity for single stranded DNA and RNA than for double stranded DNA* (BNC: ETE; 2) [W_ac_nat_science]

Another interesting issue is the use of the preposition *to*. Although mentioned in *MEU* and *MEU2*, it was completely left out of *MEU3*. The preposition was nevertheless found in the BNC to implicitly describe a reciprocal relationship:

(4) *Since 1945, West Germany has become a ‘normal’ liberal democracy, with close affinities to the political systems of other western countries.*

(BNC: ADD) [W_ac_polit_law_edu]

The reciprocal relationship in the above example is only implied (the implication is that there were *shared features between* West Germany’s liberal democracy and the political systems of other western countries). An example of a one-sided relationship is given below:

(5) *A natural consequence of an affinity to mechanical things, and an ability, what is more, to master them, is generally accorded more status than direct patient contact.*

(BNC: CHT) [W_non_ac_medicine]

Fowler’s advice not to use *affinity* (followed by *for/to*) to express a one-sided relationship was not followed and this sense of the word has become established. Therefore, the use of these two prepositions is connected with a specialization of meaning – from reciprocal, expressed by *affinity with/between*, to one-sided, realized by *affinity for/to*. In the latter sense, the preposition *for* seems to occur more frequently. On the other hand, the preposition *to* was also found to describe a reciprocal relationship, albeit only implicitly.

ALIEN FROM/TO

MEU: The preposition *from* is used to mean “difference” or “separation”, while *to* is preferred when “repugnance is suggested”. Nevertheless, “this distinction is usually difficult to apply” and *to* seems to be generally preferred. (“alien” 15)

MEU2: The same observation as in *MEU*. (“alien” 17)

MEU3: The current predominant use of *to* is connected with a changed sense of the adjective from “of a nature or character different from” to “repugnant, adverse or opposed to”. (“alien” 41)

This is an example of a semantic change accompanied by a preposition change, when the originally neutral meaning deteriorated and is now associated with a negative quality. The construction with the preposition *to* now corresponds to synonymous *repugnant to*, *adverse to* or *opposed to*. In the BNC, only one example of *alien from* in the sense of “different from” occurs:

(6) *Over millions of years, its physical and mental processes had continued in its own course, parallel to but alien from ours.* (BNC: HA0) [W_fict_prose]

AVERSE TO/FROM

MEU: To insist on *from* is a pedantry. (“averse” 38)

MEU2: The same commentary as in *MEU*. (“averse” 44)

MEU3: *Averse to* is now more common than *averse from*. (“averse, aversion” 81)

The trend indicated in the three editions is confirmed by the *OED*, which points out that verbs which express analogous mental relations (*hostile*, *contrary*, *repugnant*, *hostility*, *opposition*, *dislike*) take the same constructions (“averse” sense 4b), and also by the BNC, which lists only one occurrence of *averse from*:

(7) *An increase in seventy may betoken -- even, more arguably, may occasion -- a salutary change in the climate of opinion. For this reason I am not averse from seeing a sharpening of sentencing policy within the present law.* (BNC: A69) [W_non_ac_polit_law_edu]

It can be said that the preposition *to* has largely replaced *from* without any change in meaning, on the analogy with constructions expressing parallel semantic relations.

COMPARE WITH/TO

MEU: The preposition *with* is mostly used in sense a) “examine or set forth the details of a supposed similarity or estimate its degree” while *to* is preferred in sense b) “suggest or state a similarity.” After an intransitive verb only *with* is possible. (“compare” 86)

MEU2: The same observation as Fowler. (“compare” 99-100)

MEU3: The sense a) which Fowler associated mostly with the preposition *with* is now associated with both prepositions without any further distinction. As regards the use of *to* in sense b) and the use of *with* after an intransitive verb, the same recommendation is given. (“compare” 164-165)

With respect to sense a), the semantic difference between *with* and *to* seems to have diminished and Burchfield no longer makes a distinction between them. The BNC provides abundant examples of both prepositions used in the same sense:

(8) *At present the pattern of weathering in small mammals is compared to that of large mammals (Table 1.3).* (BNC: B2C) [W_ac_humanities_arts]

(9) *Or, the effect of a painting may be compared with those of other means of communication, such as photography, film or television.* (BNC: A04) [W_ac_humanities_arts]

In the above sense, either preposition could be used and Fowler’s distinction no longer applies. The preposition *to*, which was previously associated primarily with a different sense (in sense b) mentioned above) became available also in sense a). What is also interesting is an occasional occurrence of *to* when *compare* is used intransitively:

- (10) *Rooms and their facilities compare to those on the country house circuit.* (BNC: A7F)
 [W_misc]
- (11) *White Stilton is a very young, immature Stilton and does not compare to the traditional blue variety.* (BNC: ABB) [W_instructional]

Such a use of *to* is rejected in all three editions and only Burchfield mentions one example containing *to*, which, moreover, comes from American English. Therefore, this could indicate a potential expansion of *to* even to this type of usage.

CORRESPOND WITH/TO

MEU: The entry is not included.

MEU2: Gowers distinguished two senses: a) “in the sense of be similar etc. it takes *to*; b) in the sense of “communicate by letter” it takes *with*.” (“correspond” 112)

MEU3: To the two senses distinguished by Gowers, two more were added: c) “to agree in amount, position, etc.” (usually associated with the preposition *to*) and d) “to be in harmony or agreement” (usually associated with the preposition *with*, although in practice, *to* is often used). (“correspond” 184-185)

The fact that this entry was included in *MEU2* and extended in *MEU3* to cover more senses of the verb indicates an ongoing process potentially resulting in a change. Except for the literal meaning of *correspond with* the current usage seems to be divided. For example, Peters et al. make only a simple distinction between *correspond with* in its literal meaning and *correspond to* in the sense “have a similar function or shape”, noting that in the latter sense *with* is gaining ground (129). The *OED* mentions *to* in the above sense a), both *to* and *with* in the above sense c), and *with* in the sense d) (“correspond” senses 1, 2). As mentioned above, not even *MEU3* makes a clear distinction between the prepositions and although the senses c) and d) are associated primarily with *to* and *with*, respectively, numerous examples of different uses can be found in BNC. For example, the following sentence illustrates the use of *with* in sense c):

- (12) *Check that this number corresponds with the one on the document.* (BNC: ARA)
[W_misc]

And the example below shows the use of *to* in sense d):

- (13) *The plants are displayed in sealed glass cases. They stand in water, which corresponds to their boggy native habitat, and are given additional light overnight.* (BNC: B71)
[W_non_ac_nat_science]

According to the *OED*, neither of the two senses that were included in *MEU3* is a recent addition. This means that *MEU3* attempts to provide a finer differentiation between senses, associating each with a different preposition. Nevertheless, this distinction is not absolute and *with* has entered the sense c) and *to* has become common in sense d) alongside *with*.

DEMAND sth OF/FROM sb

MEU1: The entry is not included.

MEU2: The verb is followed by *of* or *from*; no distinction is made. (“demand” 124)

MEU3: The preposition *from* is more common; no further specification is provided. (“demand” 204)

First included by Gowers, the entry was only slightly modified by Burchfield, who commented on the higher frequency of *from* without providing any semantic or other differentiation. Both prepositions are also admitted by the *OED*. Other verbs that are semantically related display similar patterns – *require/expect/ask* sth *off/from* sb. The interchangeability of the two prepositions points to one aspect of simple prepositions – their polysemy, as illustrated in the examples below:

- (14) *And what can she demand from the father of the child, for its upkeep?* (BNC: ANL 1)
[W_fict_prose]

- (15) *He gave, and demanded of others the highest standards of performance.* (BNC: A58)
[W_newsp_brdsht_nat_misc]

Both prepositions coexist together and no difference in meaning has been detected; yet, the preposition *from* is gaining ground.

DEPEND UPON/ON/-

MEU1: The verb must be followed by *upon* if an indirect question follows. The absence of the preposition is “indefensible” (e.g. *It all depends who is going to read the criticism*). (“depend” 108)

MEU2: Leaving out the preposition before an indirect question is “common, but slovenly.” (“depend” 125)

MEU3: The verb is construed with *on/upon*. “When followed by an indirect question, *on* or *upon* is usually not considered necessary in spoken English.” (“depend” 205)

The change reflects different degrees of formality linked to each construction. *Upon* is used in more formal contexts and less frequently than *on*, while the preposition is left out altogether in informal contexts. The informal use is illustrated in the following sentence, which appeared in an interview for a newspaper:

(16) *We’ve got some fixed dates in the diary, but we don’t always operate to those because it depends whether or not we’ve got enough cases.*

(BNC: A4P) [W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_sports]

All of the constructions mentioned above can be found in the BNC. In addition, the preposition *from*, which is used only rarely²⁷, was found in the same sense as *depend on/upon*:

(17) *Erm it perhaps doesn’t strike us as being very revolutionary but of course it depends from the context that you’re in erm to perhaps some of the absolute rulers of er of er perhaps, this was revolutionary.* (BNC: DCJ) [S_speech_unscripted]

²⁷ viz. OED: “depend v.” in sense 2

DIFFER WITH/FROM

MEU: In sense a) “be different, exhibit a difference” the verb is followed only by *from* not by *with*. In sense b) “have a difference of opinion, express dissent, dispute”, it is followed usually by *with*, but sometimes by *from*. (“differ” 113)

MEU2: The same commentary as above. (“differ” 130)

MEU3: In sense a) the verb is “almost always” followed by *from*. In sense b) the preposition *with* is now relatively restricted except for cases when the verb is additionally complemented by *on-* or *about-* phrase (*I'm very sorry to differ with you on/about that*). (“differ” 212)

While the use of *with* in sense a) is expressly rejected in *MEU* and *MEU2*, Burchfield is less strict in *MEU3*, indirectly admitting a different preposition (presumably *with*). Other dictionaries and usage books that were consulted²⁸ mention only *from* in sense a). Sinclair et al. explicitly say “you do not use any preposition except 'from'” (Sinclair 1996 “differ”). A few examples of *with* in sense a) can be found in BNC, e.g.:

(18) *HEV also differs with HAV in the increased frequency with which infection is observed in adults compared with children.* (BNC: HWV) [W_ac_medicine]

The trend has changed with respect to sense b), where the preposition *from* has become more common than *with*. As a result, both senses are now associated with the same preposition (*from*). In this connection, it is worth mentioning that a morphologically related word – the adjective *different* – is usually followed also by *from*.

Apart from the general trend indicated above, each of the two prepositions is associated with a specific construction. The preposition *with* is usually used in the construction *differ with sb on/about sth*. In comparison, the *OED* states that the preposition *from* is often found in the pattern *differ from sb in sth*. (“differ v.”).

²⁸ OED, OALD, Collins Cobuild English Guides: Prepositions, and Collins Cobuild English Usage

DIFFERENT TO/FROM/THAN

MEU: Fowler vigorously defended the use of *to*, stating that both *to* and *from* are correct; the preposition *than* is not mentioned. (“different” 113)

MEU2: The same commentary as above. (“different” 130)

MEU3: Burchfield concludes that *to* is “a credible alternative,” while *than* is widely used in American English and the construction “does not form part of the regular language in Britain. (“different” 213).

According to Quirk et al., the construction *different than* is accepted when followed by a sentence, e.g. *She's quite a different girl than she was five years ago*, or when there is an ellipsis, e.g. *The unions are taking a very different attitude than the employers*. In other cases, the construction is “decidedly less acceptable” (1226). According to the BNC, most uses of *different + than* are examples of the acceptable usage mentioned by Quirk et al., e.g.:

(19) *Because the period is not a whole number of years, the next standstill will occur at a different season than its predecessor*. (BNC: CET) [W_non_ac_nat_science]

In the above example, the noun phrase *its predecessor* can be expanded into a clause (*the next standstill will occur at a different season than its predecessor occurred*). The grammatical aspect is also mentioned by Peters, who says that although *different from* is used comparatively more often in American English than in British English, “grammatical issues are more important than regional differences in deciding what to collocate *different* with” (153).

5.3.2.2 Conclusion

The above ten examples reflect changes that occurred in constructions of the type “verb/noun/adjective + preposition”. Of the ten examples, five involved a verb, four involved an adjective only one concerned a noun. The changes can be considered from the following aspects:

(i) Semantic aspect:

- **A new preposition as a result of semantic change:**

- The original preposition has been joined by a new preposition in connection with a specialization of meaning and both constructions coexist (e.g. AFFINITY, which was originally used with *between/with* to express a reciprocal relationship, is now also commonly used with *for/to* to express a one-sided relationship).

- The original preposition has been replaced by another preposition in connection with semantic modification, e.g. deterioration of the meaning of ALIEN from “different” to “repugnant, adverse or opposed to”. The modified sense has altogether replaced the original sense and the original preposition has disappeared.

- **A new preposition without a semantic change:**

- The new preposition has largely replaced the original preposition and the meaning remained unchanged (e.g. AVERSE: *to* has replaced *from*; DIFFER in sense b): *from* has replaced *with*).

- The new preposition has joined the original preposition, and the meaning remained unchanged (COMPARE in sense a): *to* is used alongside *with*; DEPEND: *on* is used alongside *upon*²⁹; CORRESPOND: *with* is used alongside *to* in sense c), and *to* is used alongside *with* in sense d)).

- The possibility to use a different preposition to express the same meaning confirms the polysemous character of simple prepositions (as opposed to complex prepositions discussed earlier).

(ii) Aspects influencing the distribution:

- **Degree of formality:** Some prepositions associated with one sense may be differentiated by their degree of formality (e.g. DEPEND *with/on/-*)

- **Currency:** The construction has become archaic (ADVERSE *to* in the sense “unfavourable to”).

- **Country:** The distribution of prepositions is determined by the country where the construction is used (e.g. DIFFERENT *from/than* – *British/American English*).

- The choice of the preposition is determined by a larger pattern (e.g. DIFFER WITH sb on/about sth x DIFFER FROM sb in sth) and can be also influenced by analogous constructions (e.g. ALIEN TO, AVERSE TO).

(iii) In addition, **analogy** with parallel constructions plays an important role.

²⁹ They differ in the level of formality.

5.3.3 Realization of verb complementation

This subsection deals with changes in the realization of verb complementation documented in the three editions. The four main types of verb complementation are: copular, monotransitive, complex-transitive and ditransitive, and each type is realized by different patterns, e.g. ditransitive complementation may be realized by the following six patterns: 1) verb + noun phrases as O_i or O_d , 2) verb + O_{prep} , 3) verb + O_i + *that*-clause, 4) verb + O_i + *wh*-clause, 5) verb + O_i + *wh*-infinitive clause and 6) verb + *to*-infinitive clause (Quirk et al.: 1171). The primary focus is on changes between patterns that realize a specific complementation. Any change in the type of verb complementation is also noted. As in the previous part, ten entries are examined and the findings are supported by evidence from the BNC. All examples are listed in Appendix 6, where additional examples are provided too.

5.3.3.1 Changes in realization of verb complementation

ACCEPT OF/ACCEPT

MEU: The prepositional verb is allowed only in the meaning of “consent to receive as a gift or benefit or possession” with a note that it tends to become archaic. It is not allowed in the sense of “agree or approve” (“accept of” 7).

MEU2: *Accept of* is becoming an archaism (“accept of” 6-7)

MEU3: The construction appears to be obsolete “in the sense of ‘to accept’ (something offered, esp. something unwelcome)”. (“accept of” 13)

The construction does not appear in the BNC in the sense of “accept sth” and it occurs in the sense of “admit/agree with/approve of” only in a letter dated 1720:

- (1) *He therefore earnestly begs of me that since you deservedly have the nomination of an Gardner to the Chelsea Garden, which I understand is now vacant, that I would address you in his behalf that at least you would accept of him as an Candidate if there are other competitors and, if found sufficiently qualifyd you would propose him accordingly as you shall find he deserves.* (BNC: ALU 1) [W_misc]

Another type of use involves *accepting of* as an adjective, in the same sense as above:

(2) *Have you found the art world to be completely accepting of you as a woman?*

(BNK: J1K 1) [W_misc]

(3) *She had been out with her boy friend on one occasion and her parents had tried to be more accepting of her relationship with him.* (BNK: B30 1) [W_ac_medicine]

The data from the BNC confirm the tendency indicated in the three editions and the construction seems to be no longer used in the sense of “accept sth offered”. Therefore, in this sense the verb is no longer realized by a prepositional object. At the same time, however, the construction has not gone out of use completely and can be found in the sense of “admit/agree with/approve of” (as an adjective), as demonstrated in sentences (2) and (3). Interestingly, it was in this sense that Fowler did not allow *of* to be used. Neither Gowers nor Burchfield mentions this usage.

ADMIT TO

MEU: This use is not mentioned.

MEU2: *Admit* may not be followed by *to*. (“admit” 11)

MEU3: “The phrase *admit to* (= confess to, acknowledge) is a relatively recent addition to the language.” (“admit” 25)

This construction is in contrast with the preceding example, where a preposition was lost. The change occurred within the monotransitive complementation, which is in addition to the pattern “verb + direct object” now realized also by “verb + prepositional object.” The new construction is connected with emergence of a new sense “to acknowledge; to confess” (*OED*: “admit” sense 2e) and it appears frequently in the BNC, e.g.:

(4) *Entirely innocent people might admit to lesser offences to avoid confiscation.* (BNK: A4K) [W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_report]

ADVOCATE + *that*-clause

MEU: Unlike *recommend*, *propose*, *urge* the verb should be complemented only by a noun phrase or the *-ing* form and not by *that*-clause. (“advocate” 11)

MEU2: The same commentary as above. (“advocate” 12)

MEU3: Complementation by *that*-clause is correct and all three patterns are now found. (“advocate” 29-30)

This is an example of change in the realization of the monotransitive complementation, in which *that*-clause has been admitted. The verb in the *that*-clause can be one of the three types: indicative, putative *should* or subjunctive. As far as the distribution is concerned, the putative *should* is more common in British English than in American English. On the other hand, the subjunctive is more frequent in American English than in British English, where it is considered to be formal (Quirk et al.: 1180). The indicative verb is largely restricted to the British English (Quirk et al.: 1182). All three types can be found in the BNC – indicative in sentence (5), putative *should* in sentence (6) and subjunctive in sentence (7):

(5) *In my books I strongly advocate that a rope is carried in the party for use as a safeguard if necessary...* (BNC: ECG) [W_pop_lore]

(6) *The UCJBA also advocates that the new ministry should be enabled to operate freely ...* (BNC: EBD) [W_misc]

(7) *the NIDR advocates that the chewing surfaces of children ‘s permanent teeth be treated with sealants* (BNC: CRB) [W_pop_lore]

AIM *at* + gerund / AIM + *to*-infinitive

MEU: In the figurative sense “of purpose or design or endeavour” the verb should be followed only by “*at* + gerund”, not by “*to*-infinitive”. (“aim” 13)

MEU2: The *to*-infinitive is used commonly, reinforced by analogy of *purpose*, *try*, *intend* and American usage. (“aim” 15)

MEU3: The *to*-infinitive construction has largely replaced *aim at* + gerund, except for the passive. (“aim” 37)

The change concerns the realization of the monotransitive complementation³⁰. The two realization patterns are not semantically or stylistically differentiated and the increasing use of *to*-infinitive construction is attributed to an analogy with synonymous constructions and also to an impact of American English. Both constructions are found in the BNC, although the infinitive is more dominant than the gerundial construction. The following examples illustrate the use of both constructions:

(8) *Triumph aimed to build 12,000 Stags a year.* (A38 2) [W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_misc]

(9) *It aimed at reducing defence spending to the European average and transferring [sic] the savings to the health service, pensions, housing and education.* (BNC: A1Y) [W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_report]

In both sentences either construction is possible, and any potential difference in the semantic meaning is difficult to detect. According to the BNC, the gerundial construction is still prevalent in the passive, although the infinitive can be occasionally found too:

(10) *Treatment was aimed to reduce Maria's dependence on the bottle by providing it only at bedtime and in the morning.* (BNC: CGT) [W_ac_soc_science]

ANTICIPATE + *to*-infinitive

MEU1: The verb is wrongly used as a synonym for *expect* and the *to*-construction is a result of an analogy with *expected to*. Such a use is not idiomatic. (“anticipate” 26)

MEU2: The use of *anticipate* as a synonym for *expect* is a “slipshod extension” (30), which occurs when “some accident gives currency among the uneducated to words of learned origin” (“anticipate” 562).

MEU3: Despite his personal objections, Burchfield admits that the sense rejected by Fowler and Gowers “seems to have become widely adopted.” Nevertheless, he maintains that the verb should not be followed by the infinitive construction. (“anticipate” 56-57)

³⁰ Prepositional verbs are here regarded as monotransitive rather than intransitive, which is in accordance with an analysis given by Quirk et al: 1177-1178.

In spite of the fact that the construction was rejected in all three editions, it is worth mentioning because the verb has shown certain development that could indicate a potential change in the future. The first step is the adoption of the originally rejected sense, which even Burchfield had to admit despite his personal reservations. With the adopted sense of “expect”, it can be assumed that the *to-*construction will become more common due to the analogy with *expect to*. The BNC provides a number of examples; most of them are in passive but the following example demonstrates an active use:

- (11) *We export and anticipate to export a fair quantity to another country, which for the purpose of our own affairs shall be nameless.* (BNC: G4P) [S_interview_oral_history]

BLAME sth ON sb / BLAME sb FOR sth

MEU1: The construction “*blame sth on sb*” is not mentioned

MEU2: *Blame sth on sb* is “a needless variant” of *blame sb for sth* and “not to be encouraged.” (“blame” 60)

MEU3: The construction “*blame sth on sb*” is in standard use. (“blame” 109)

The verb in both constructions is ditransitive. The new realization pattern is of the type “verb + direct object + prepositional object”, compared to the original type “verb + indirect object + prepositional object. The two constructions offer a greater variety of expression and also help users achieve the required sentence focus:

- (12) *Senator Robert Dole wants to repeal a quirky law that bars direct flights from there to his home state of Kansas. He hopes to drum up the support of sympathetic congressmen who blame the law for high fares.* (BNC: A6F 1) [W_ac_polit_law_edu]

- (13) *It must be confusing and I have no answer to the criticism, except to blame the clearly short-sighted attitude on management.* (BNC: A0X) [W_pop_lore]

In sentence (12) the most dynamic element is *high fares*, which constitutes the rheme of the sentence. This placement is in line with the tendency to place a sentence element that carries the highest degree

of CD at the end of the sentence. Similarly, the construction in sentence (13) also enables placing the most dynamic part (*management*) at the end of the sentence and thus complies with the principle of end focus. If the construction were not available, the different focus could be indicated by intonation – but only in spoken English.

CLAIM in complex transitive complementation / CLAIM + *that*-clause

MEU: Fowler objects to a complex-transitive use of the verb, e.g. *This new product, which Mr Sandow claims to be absolutely pure* is considered incorrect. He says that the reason of the misuse is a new sense of “assert, maintain, represent” associated with the verb.

In addition, he comments on the use of *that*-clause, which in his opinion is admissible only when the verb means “demand” and not “assertion.” (“claim” 78)

MEU2: The complex transitive use is not mentioned. As regards the use of *that*-clause disputed in *MEU*, it is not recommended when other verbs can be used (e.g. *allege, assert, contend, declare, maintain* etc). (“claim” 89)

MEU3: Contemporary evidence does not support the earlier views regarding both the complex transitive use and *that*-clause; nevertheless, according to Burchfield, “many a copy editor in Britain” would substitute other verbs (e.g. *allege, contend, declare, maintain, or say*) in both cases. (“claim” 148)

In *MEU* Fowler primarily objected to the “new” sense of *claim*; nevertheless, the *OED* refers to the verb as “Often loosely used (esp. in U.S.) for: Contend, maintain, assert”, with a first recorded quotation dated 1864 (“claim” sense 2c). A few examples can be found in the BNC:

(14) *The attitude of many older musicians and critics to science and technology is nothing more, of course, than the stale residue of the romantic, fin de siècle aesthetic that, in the phrase of Villiers de L’Isle-Adam, claims science to be ‘the religion of the suburbs’.*
(BNC: ADP 3) [W_biography]

Therefore, in the case of the infinitive construction, the semantic change gave rise to complex transitive complementation exemplified above (*science* functions as the object of *claim* and the

infinitive constructions is the object complement). As regards *that*-clause, which is a new realization of the monotransitive complementation, it is objected to only if the construction is used in the sense of “assert.” Nevertheless, numerous examples of this usage can be found in the BNC, e.g.:

(15) *The Republicans claim that the capital gains cut (from 28 per cent to 19.6 per cent for two years) would stimulate investment and create jobs.* (BNC: A1G)
[W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_report]

COMMENCE + to-infinitive / gerund

MEU: According to Fowler, the domestic verb *begin* should be used instead of the French loanword. When an infinitive construction is required, *begin* should be used even in a formal style. A complementation by a gerund is not mentioned. (“commence” 85)

MEU2: The same commentary as above. A complementation by a gerund is not mentioned.

MEU3: Both the infinitive and the gerund are mentioned but only as minor types of complementation. The verb *begin* is more common and *commence* is restricted to formal contexts. (“commence” 163)

Both constructions are mentioned in the *OED*, the infinitive with a note “This construction has been objected to by stylists, who prefer *begin* before *to*” (“commence” sense 2). Besides the stylistic factor, there is another aspect that needs to be considered with respect to the choice between *-ing* and *to*-infinitive. According to Řeřicha, who studied the complementation of *begin* and *start*, the infinitival complement “implies only the entry into the initial phase of an activity and also activity the initial phase of which has been interrupted, not completed and so on” while the *-ing* construction “implies the initial phase of a repeated activity or of an activity which is fully developed in the initial phase.” (Řeřicha: 130-131). The same distinction can be applied to *commence* since this verb also describes the initial phase of an activity or process as *begin* and *start* do. The following sentences illustrate the point:

(16) *I commenced to talk in English, whereupon he said, ‘Speak in Burmese’.* (BNC: CDC)
[W_biography]

(17) *At last the trolleybuses commenced running through to the Crystal Palace on 9 February 1936.* (BNC: CBK; 2) [W_non_ac_humanities_arts]

In example (16) the potential activity was interrupted and remained uncompleted. On the other hand, example (17) implies a process that fully developed. This aspect is disregarded in *MEU3*, which only notes that both uses are minor.

COMMISERATE + object / prepositional object

MEU1: “The orthodox use of *c.* is transitive, & the *OED* gives no quotation showing *with*.” (“commiserate” 85)

MEU2: Gowers admits that “*commiserate with* cannot be denied recognition.” (“commiserate” 98)

MEU3: Thanks to the analogy with *condole with* and *sympathize with* the verb is “now always construed with *with*” (“commiserate” 164)

Burchfield’s observation is confirmed by the BNC, which does not record a single occurrence of “*commiserate* + direct object”. The following example illustrates the use of *commiserate* with a prepositional object:

(18) *When Duval was arrested in London, high society queued to commiserate with him in his cell.* (BNK: ANK) W_misc

CONSIDER sb/sth AS

MEU1: This entry is not included.

MEU2: Unlike *regard*, *consider* should not be followed by *as*. (“consider” 106)

MEU3: The construction is used, albeit less often than without the preposition and also less often than a competing construction with *to*-infinitive. The choice seems to be based “on the nature of the surrounding words.” (“consider” 173)

The shift has taken place within the complex transitive complementation. The preposition *as* “designates a copular relation, particularly in specifying a role or status associated with the direct object” and the complementation is recognised as the subtype “verb + object + prepositional object complement” (Quirk et al.: 1200). The copular relation can be illustrated in the following example:

(19) *But, again, no one seems to have considered that as an option.* (BNC: AB6)

[W_non_ac_polit_law_edu]

The choice of the preposition may have been motivated by an effort to make the copular relation between the direct object and the complement more explicit. To achieve maximum explicitness, the object could be complemented by the copular verb – *But, again, no one seems to have considered that to be an option.* In addition, the construction can be seen analogous to *regard to*.

5.3.3.2 Conclusion

The changes in the realization of verb complementation demonstrated in the above ten examples can be summarized in the table below, where both the original and the new patterns are provided. The right column provides details as regards changes in meaning.

Table 10: Changes in realization of verb complementation

EXAMINED VERBS	CHANGING PATTERNS	SEMANTIC FACTORS
ACCEPT	$O_{\text{prep}} \rightarrow O_{\text{d}}$	The same meaning
ADMIT	$O_{\text{d}} \leftrightarrow O_{\text{prep}}$	Used in a different sense
ADVOCATE	NP/ <i>ing</i> -cl. \leftrightarrow <i>that</i> -clause	The same meaning
AIM	$O_{\text{prep}} \leftrightarrow O_{\text{d}}$ (<i>to</i> -infinitive)	The same meaning
ANTICIPATE	NP \leftrightarrow <i>to</i> -infinitive	Used in a different sense
BLAME	$O_{\text{i}} + O_{\text{prep}} \leftrightarrow O_{\text{d}} + O_{\text{prep}}$	The same meaning (difference in focus)
CLAIM	Change in complementation type: Monotransitive \leftrightarrow complex transitive	Used in a different sense
	NP \leftrightarrow <i>that</i> -clause	Used in a different sense
COMMENCE	Noun phrase \leftrightarrow <i>to</i> -infinitive/ <i>ing</i> -clause	The same meaning ; difference in meaning concerns <i>to</i> -inf. / <i>ing</i> -cl.
COMMISERATE	$O_{\text{d}} \rightarrow O_{\text{prep}}$	The same meaning
CONSIDER	$O_{\text{d}} + C_{\text{O}} \leftrightarrow O_{\text{d}} + C_{\text{O}_{\text{prep}}}$	The same meaning

O_{d} direct object
 O_{i} indirect object
 O_{prep} prepositional object
 C_{O} object complement

$C_{\text{O}_{\text{prep}}}$ prepositional object complement
 \rightarrow the new pattern replaced the earlier pattern
 \leftrightarrow the new pattern coexists with the earlier pattern

The primary aim was to examine changes in the realization of verb complementation. In one instance (CLAIM) the change went beyond the surface structure and involved a change in complementation, from monotransitive to complex transitive, connected with a different sense of the verb. However, in proportion to examples demonstrating changes in the surface structure this type of change is clearly in a minority.

In two instances, the new pattern has replaced the original one (ACCEPT, COMMISERATE) while the meaning remained the same. In the remaining cases, the new realization coexists with the original pattern and either conveys the same meaning (ADVOCATE, AIM, COMMENCE, CONSIDER, BLAME) or has a different sense (ADMIT, ANTICIPATE, BLAME, CLAIM). In the case of BLAME, the different realization is connected with a change in focus.

To sum up, as new senses emerge, new constructions are formed. The fact that new constructions are not necessarily associated with a new sense indicates an effort to have more syntactic constructions available. As in the case of prepositions, analogy seems to play an important role.

6 Conclusion

The present study aimed to examine changing usage as reflected in three editions of Fowler's usage book. With three editions published over the period of seventy-two years, his *Dictionary of Modern English Usage* presented ample study material. The strategy was based on comparing selected entries from the three editions and examining the results in view of contemporary linguistic evidence and examples of actual use.

The underlining feature of the study is the conflict between the actual usage and what is considered to be correct usage. This conflict is reflected in attitudes and approaches toward the English language which can be traced back to the 17th century, when first calls for improving English emerged. The idea of fixing the language by means of establishing an official academy that would decide on the correct usage has never been put into practice. Instead, numerous usage books have emerged, which have been, to a varying extent, perceived as the authorities on usage. As mediators of "good usage" usage books have used different strategies, from the prescriptive approach applied in particular in the 18th and the 19th centuries to the descriptive approach that became popular especially in the 20th century. The fact that usage books are still striving for an optimum approach can be detected in contemporary usage books, which cannot be said to adhere just to one approach or strategy. On the contrary, the four books examined here, *The Penguin Dictionary of American English Usage and Style*, *Webster's Dictionary of English Usage*, *The Longman Guide to English Usage* and *The Cambridge Guide to English Usage* differ in the degree of descriptivism or prescriptivism and each uses different sources and resources to justify its recommendations. This variance is also reflected in the three editions of Fowler's usage book. The generally prescriptive approach adopted by Fowler in the first edition was replaced with a more descriptive approach applied by Burchfield in the third edition. The formal differences between the editions do not stop here, however. Burchfield, in contrast to Gowers, who followed Fowler's approach very closely, considerably revised Fowler's edition. The examination of *b-*, *k-* and *n-* entries showed that the total number of entries increased (in particular entries that deal with lexical meaning) and that almost a half of the entries are new additions. In all three editions, most attention was paid to lexical meaning, pronunciation and spelling; nevertheless, Fowler was

especially concerned with spelling and pronunciation while Gowers and especially Burchfield paid much greater attention to the lexical meaning of words.

The discrepancy between the actual usage and what is considered the correct usage became quite visible especially in entries that dealt with general linguistic topics – complex prepositions, split infinitive and fused participle. What Fowler in his times saw as disputable has been largely confirmed by the linguistic evidence to be regular and fully adequate. Each of the above topics can be viewed in terms of contrasting aspects that yield a certain tendency in the language.

In the case of complex prepositions, the main issue is the perceived inelegance versus functionality. The functional aspect, which was reflected in the examined sentences, was ignored by Fowler, who generally rejected all complex prepositions as examples of a verbose style. In this respect it needs to be said that although Burchfield took into consideration contemporary evidence that shows an increasing use of complex prepositions, he did not take into account the functional aspect either and had in mind only potential stylistic inelegance. Nevertheless, as the examined examples confirmed, complex prepositions are an established part of the English language structure. The examples showed that they are uniquely used to achieve a higher degree of abstractedness and are irreplaceable in contexts that require explicitness and preciseness of expression (primarily in scientific style), where primary prepositions are not adequate due to their polysemous character. In addition, these units prove to be more flexible in sentence constructions and are also useful on the textual level as elements with a connective/contrastive function.

The split infinitive could be regarded in terms of a conflict between a psychological aspect and a structural aspect. Fowler correctly saw the usefulness of the split infinitive in specific cases, such as avoiding ambiguity, which, however did not stop him from considering it “unnatural”. The third edition no longer presents the split infinitive as an abnormal construction but it still reveals reluctance to admit it into everyday use. The psychological block, when even those who understand the grammaticality of the construction and acknowledge its usefulness observe the outdated rule rather than be considered incorrect, still remains to be broken. As the examined examples showed, the construction enabled a more precise expression of semantic relations.

Nevertheless, it was found to be useful not only in avoiding ambiguity; the word order also had an impact on semantic relations between the relevant adverbial and the verb in a sentence. Moreover, the split infinitive was confirmed as a device that is fully operational with respect to the information structure. Its continuing use, notwithstanding the fact that it is often disputed and avoided, indicates a natural tendency in the language to achieve the required meaning and emphasis, and to organise words in a sentence in a way that is in accordance with the communicative purpose.

As regards the fused participle, the main issue that was studied here were restrictions on the morphological level when a possessive is desired as opposed to a greater availability of the construction when a non-possessive is used. Fowler's examples mostly reveal constructions in which the use of a possessive would be problematic because the subject of the construction does not normally take the genitive marker (e.g. in case of inanimate nouns or long noun phrases) or cases when its use is less relevant (e.g. due to homonymy of the possessive with the plural form). Nevertheless, Fowler did not pay attention to the greater availability of the construction with a non-possessive and only pointed out that it was neither a gerundial nor a participial construction, which he considered proof of ungrammaticality. This view can be contrasted with the contemporary tendency indicated in authoritative grammars to treat the fused participle as a part of a continuum. Burchfield recognised this and admitted the construction whenever the use of a possessive would be problematic. Altogether, this points to a trend to make the *-ing* construction, which has an important function of a sentence condenser, as widely available as possible.

The last section was concerned with the surface structure. In the case of "noun/adjective/verb + preposition" there was a link between a preposition replacement and a semantic change in the complemented word (noun/verb/adjective). The semantic change, however, did not apply to all new prepositions and in some cases the new preposition started to be used alongside the original preposition without any apparent modification in meaning, often based on analogy. This confirms the polysemous character of simple prepositions, which in this respect show an opposite tendency compared to complex prepositions.

As regards the verb complementation and its different realizations, only one verb (*claim*) showed a change in the complementation. The remaining examples reflected changes in the realization of the complementation. Some of these changes again reflected a semantic modification. However, in some instances the new realization seems to have been motivated by an effort to have more constructions available for communicating ideas.

While the aim of this thesis was to show major changes in usage and indicate trends, it needs to be emphasised that not all areas of changing usage could be examined and in this respect Fowler's *Modern English Usage* still offers ample material for further study.

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Czech summary

Tato práce se zabývá vývojovými změnami v moderní angličtině na základě porovnání vybraných hesel v Burchfieldově revidovaném 3. vydání a původním vydání *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* H.W. Fowlera. Změny jsou demonstrovány na třech heslech, které se týkají obecných jazykových témat, a to složené předložky, rozdělený infinitiv a tzv. *fused participle*, a dále na dvaceti heslech, které odráží změnu v povrchové struktuře; v tomto případě jsou zkoumány změny předložek ve spojení „podstatné jméno/sloveso/přídavné jméno + předložka“ a změny v realizaci slovesné komplementace. Cílem práce je určit oblasti vývojových změn a detekovat tendence z hlediska současného stavu jazykového systému.

Úvodní část se věnuje problematice jazykového úzu. V rámci historického přehledu je zmíněn růst zájmu o anglický jazyk, který lze pozorovat od 17. století a také hlavní přístupy, které se uplatňují v jazykových příručkách. Normativní přístup, který je typický zejména pro druhou polovinu osmnáctého století a první polovinu století devatenáctého, je spjat se snahou opravovat a standardizovat jazyk. Ve druhé polovině devatenáctého století se pak objevuje deskriptivní přístup, který si klade za cíl spíš popis úzu. V současné době se však v jazykových příručkách neuplatňuje jednotný přístup, což je v této práci doloženo na čtyřech současných uživatelských příručkách, které se liší jak v míře popisnosti nebo normativnosti, tak i ve způsobu využití zdrojů nebo příkladů.

Rozdílný přístup lze také pozorovat při srovnání tří vydání *A Dictionary of English Usage*. Zatímco Fowler v prvním vydání podává jasná doporučení ohledně vhodného užití, Burchfield je ve třetím vydání opatrnější a uplatňuje spíš popisný přístup za podpory historických dokladů. U příkladů nesprávností, které uvádí Fowler, je jen zřídka uveden zdroj, a není tedy zcela jasné, v jaké oblasti bylo dané užití zjištěno (například zda se jedná o novinářský styl, odborný styl atd.). To je například relevantní při zkoumání složených předložek. Druhé vydání je v přístupu téměř shodné s prvním vydáním.

Analytická část práce se opírá o srovnání hesel ze třetího revidovaného vydání s hesly z prvního a druhého vydání a je rozdělena na tři úseky.

V prvním úseku se obecně zkoumá, kterým jazykovým oblastem se jednotlivá vydání věnují a do jaké míry došlo ke změně v zastoupení jednotlivých oblastí. Pro toto srovnání byla vybrána všechna hesla začínající na písmena *b*, *k* a *n*. Ze srovnání vyplývá, že došlo jak ke změně rozsahu, tak i obsahu. Co do rozsahu je nejobsáhlejší třetí vydání, které obsahuje 486 hesel v uvedeném vzorku ve srovnání se 448 hesly v prvním vydání a 287 hesly ve druhém vydání. Důvodem výrazného snížení hesel ve druhém vydání je hlavně vyřazení velkého množství hesel, které se zabývají výslovností a spelováním (snížení ze 132 na 51) a množným číslem (ze 47 na 11), přičemž do třetího vydání pak byla některá tato hesla opět zařazena. Tato oblast také představovala jediný výraznější rozdíl mezi prvním a druhým vydáním. Pokud se týče obsahu hesel, všechna tři vydání se nejvíce věnují lexikálnímu významu, výslovnosti a spelování, nicméně ve třetím vydání získala jasně navrch hesla zabývající se lexikálním významem (v prvním vydání 78 hesel, ve druhém 107 a ve třetím 211 hesel), zatímco počet hesel, které se věnují spelování a výslovnosti, celkově klesl (v prvním vydání 138 hesel, ve druhém 51 hesel a ve třetím 93 hesel). Ve třetím vydání byly jednotlivé typy hesel zastoupeny následujícím způsobem: lexikální význam – 43%, výslovnost/spelování – 19%, plurál – 7%, ustálená spojení – 6%, konstrukce – 5%, hesla zabývající se několika oblastmi zároveň – 4%, obecná jazyková témata – 3%, minulé příčestí – 1%. Také z hlediska aktualizace hesel došlo k podstatným změnám. Ve třetím vydání představují v uvažovaném vzorku (hesla *b*, *k* a *n*) nová hesla 34% všech hesel. Hesla, která se objevila již v prvním vydání, tvoří 58% uvažovaných hesel třetího vydání a 8% připadá na hesla, která byla předtím zařazena pouze do druhého vydání.

Druhý úsek analytické části je zaměřen na sledování změny úzu u složených předložek, rozděleného infinitivu a tzv. *fused participle*.

V kapitole zabývající se složenými předložkami jsou uvažované pouze složené předložky, které se skládají ze tří částí (předložka + podstatné jméno + předložka). Ze srovnání hesel vyplývá, že Fowler v prvním vydání tyto jednotky odmítá ze stylistického hlediska, protože jsou dle jeho názoru zdrojem vágnosti a rozvláčnosti. Druhé vydání je v tomto ohledu zcela shodné s prvním vydáním. Naproti

tomu Burchfield složené předložky akceptuje jako standardní součást jazyka, i když podobně jako Fowler varuje před potenciální stylistickou neuhlazeností. Například se staví zcela proti užití *in the neighbourhood of* a varuje před příliš častým užíváním *in connection with* a *in/with regard of*. Ačkoli tedy nastal posun a složené předložky jsou obecně přijímány, v obou případech je opominuto funkční hledisko. Z tohoto hlediska jsou zkoumány věty, ve kterých Fowler varuje před užitím složené předložky a funkčnost je také dokumentována na příkladech z Britského národního korpusu. Některé analyzované příklady špatného užití uvedené Fowlerem jsou sice ukázkou nedbalého stylu, nicméně v některých příkladech je údajné špatné užití diskutabilní. Zde se také projevuje jeden nedostatek prvního vydání, a sice to, že Fowler neuvádí zdroje svých příkladů a ani nenaznačuje typický kontext. Analýza příkladů z Britského národního korpusu pak zcela dokládá funkčnost složených předložek. Složené předložky v daných příkladech jasně přispěly k větší explicitnosti významu nebo vyjadřovaly lehce odlišný význam ve srovnání s jednoduchými předložkami. Dále bylo zjištěno, že složené předložky umožňují větší flexibilitu jak z hlediska kombinovatelnosti s různými slovesy, tak i výstavby věty, která lépe odpovídá záměru mluvčího (např. při změně tématu nebo při vyjádření důrazu). V neposlední řadě byla důležitá jejich funkce na úrovni textu, kdy předložky v úvodní pozici ve větě mají důležitou spojovací/kontrastivní funkci (u zkoumaných předložek se jednalo o *in the case of* a *in regard to*). Celkově lze konstatovat, že složené předložky přispívají k precizaci významu a přesnému vyjadřování, a uplatňují se tak zejména v odborném stylu.

Další zkoumanou oblastí ve druhém úseku je rozdělený infinitiv. Fowler tuto konstrukci považuje za nepřirozenou, neboť se domnívá, že *to* a infinitivní sloveso jsou nerozlučitelné části, nicméně rozdělení obhájí v případech, kdy se tím předejde mnohoznačnosti. Burchfield již nenamítá proti oddělení *to* od infinitivního slovesa jako takovém, ale poukazuje na to, že mnozí uživatelé rozdělený infinitiv stále považují za nesprávný, a proto nabádá k opatrnosti. Podobné upozornění se objevuje v autoritativních mluvnicích, jako je například *Cambridge Grammar of the English Usage* nebo *Comprehensive Grammar of the English Usage*.

V pozici mezi *to* a infinitivním slovesem se většinou objevuje příslovečné určení, a v této práci jsou proto zařazeny primárně tyto případy. Na příkladech z Britského národního korpusu je demonstrováno, jak se rozdělený infinitiv uplatňuje jako prostředek pro vyjadřování přesných

sémantických vztahů ve větě a také na úrovni informační struktury věty. Z hlediska významu příklady ukazují, že rozdělený infinitiv zamezuje dvojznačnosti, ke které dochází, pokud je příslovečné určení kompatibilní jak s infinitivním slovesem tak i se slovem, které předchází *to*. Pokud příslovečné určení naopak infinitivní sloveso následuje, dochází v některých případech ke změně sémantického vztahu k infinitivnímu slovesu (např. intenzifikátor *completely* byl v postverbální pozici interpretován jako příslovečné určení způsobu) nebo zároveň ke změně kvalifikace (adverbiální určení podmětu v preverbální pozici kvalifikovalo podmět i děj, zatímco v postverbální pozici se z něj stalo příslovečné určení místa, a kvalifikovalo tedy pouze děj).

Při zkoumání rozděleného infinitivu z hlediska informační struktury práce vychází z teorie funkční perspektivy větné. Zkoumané příklady potvrzují, že příslovečná určení mají v preverbální pozici tendenci být součástí větného tranzitu, zatímco v postverbální pozici dochází k jejich většímu osamostatnění a podléhají vlivu linearity (za předpokladu kontextové nezapojenosti příslovečného určení). Celkově se dá říci, že příslovečná určení mají i v rámci tranzitní složky větší míru výpovědní dynamičnosti než infinitivní sloveso, ovšem v postverbální pozici tato míra ještě roste a dané příslovečné určení se stává součástí rematické složky. Jediným typem příslovečného určení, které se může vyskytovat v různých slovosledných pozicích, aniž by došlo ke změně komunikativní funkce, je příslovečné určení nezačleněné do větné stavby. Zvláštním typem jsou prvky, které vytýkají réma – vytýkáci příslovce a zápornka *not*, které v pozici těsně před infinitivním slovesem zesilují jeho funkci.

Samotný závěr kapitoly je pak věnován některým příkladům, ve kterých dle Fowlera není užití rozděleného infinitivu opodstatněné. Jejich rozbor však prokazuje, že právě tyto příklady ilustrují nepostradatelnost rozděleného infinitivu. Na závěr lze konstatovat, že zmíněné psychologické hledisko tedy brání plně využít vlastností tohoto pravidelného jazykového prostředku.

Poslední zkoumanou oblastí ve druhém úseku je tzv. *fused participle*. Fowler tuto konstrukci odmítá s tím, že ji nelze jasně zařadit ani ke gerundiū ani k participiū. Gowers ve druhém vydání již konstatuje, že *fused participle* je užitečný v případech, kdy není možné dát předmět gerundia do přivlastňovacího tvaru. Burchfield pak dále vymezuje příklady, kdy je tato konstrukce běžně

používána, a shrnuje, že posesivní tvar se již používá většinou je s vlastními jmény, zájmeny a životnými podstatnými jmény.

Fowler se tedy pouze soustředí na údajnou gramatickou nesprávnost oproti gerundiū a participiu. Z autoritativních mluvnic ovšem vyplývá tendence neizolovat jednotlivé *-ing* konstrukce, ale spíše je pokládat za součásti určitého kontinua. Příklady, které Fowler označil jako nesprávné, jsou v této práci podrobeny analýze, ze které vyplývá, že se jedná o případy, kdy je neposesivní tvar podmětu naopak žádoucí. Konkrétně se jedná o případy, kdy podmět je v množném čísle, přičemž určitou roli může hrát fakt, že tvar množného čísla je homonymní s posesivním tvarem. Dále se jedná o případy, kdy podmětem je neživotné podstatné jméno nebo kdy je podmět vyjádřen složitější frází. Neposesivní tvar se také objevuje v případech, kdy je podmět oddělen od *-ing* konstrukce dalším větným členem. V jednom případě s sebou neposesivní tvar nese větší důraz, který lépe odpovídá kontextu. Celkově lze konstatovat, že menší požadavky na důsledné dodržování posesivní formy vedou k větší dostupnosti *-ing* tvaru, který má mimo jiné důležitou funkci kondenzátoru.

Třetí úsek analytické části je věnován změnám v povrchové struktuře, a to ve dvou oblastech – změny předložek ve spojení „podstatné jméno/sloveso/přídavné jméno + předložka“ a změny v realizaci slovesné komplementace. Pro obě oblasti bylo pro analýzu vybráno prvních deset hesel ve třetím vydání, které odráží vývojové změny. V případě předložek bylo těchto deset příkladů nalezeno mezi písmeny *a* a *d*, v případě realizace komplementace mezi písmeny *a* a *c*. Před analýzou těchto konkrétních příkladů, ve kterých nastala změna, je podán celkový přehled o tom, v kolika heslech z uvažovaného vzorku došlo ke změně, kolik hesel bylo nově zahrnuto, popřípadě ze třetího vydání vyloučeno. V případě spojení „podstatné jméno/sloveso/přídavné jméno + předložka“ tak bylo mezi písmeny *a* a *d* ve třetím vydání nalezeno celkem 19 hesel. Z toho deset hesel vykazuje změnu, devět hesel bylo nově zahrnuto a dvě hesla zůstala beze změny. Žádné heslo z předchozího vydání nebylo vypuštěno. V případě realizace slovesné komplementace bylo mezi písmeny *a* a *c* ve třetím vydání nashromážděno celkem 26 hesel. Z toho deset hesel vykazuje změnu, osm hesel bylo nově zahrnuto a sedm zůstalo beze změny. Jedno heslo bylo vypuštěno.

V přehledu jsou dále specifikována hesla nová a hesla, která zůstala beze změny. U předložek se nová hesla týkají nového standardního užití jiné předložky v souvislosti se změnou významu, dále nestandardního užití nové předložky, anebo upozorňují na předložky, které jsou stále součástí standardního jazyka. Některé příklady pouze uvádí předložkové spojení a příklady použití bez dalšího vysvětlení. U realizace slovesné komplementace nová hesla podobně poukazují na nová užití v souvislosti s novým významem, dále na užití méně standardní a nestandardní.

Ze samotné analýzy deseti příkladů, které odráží změnu v předložce, vyplývá, že ke změně předložky často dochází v souvislosti se změnou ve významu, přičemž nový význam s novou předložkou koexistuje s původním významem a původní předložkou, anebo tento původní význam spojený s původní předložkou zcela nahradí. V některých případech dochází ke změně předložky bez změny ve významu a nová předložka opět buď koexistuje s původní předložkou anebo jej nahrazuje. Důležitou roli hraje analogie s paralelními konstrukcemi. Případy, kdy ke změně nedochází, potvrzují polysémii jednoduchých předložek. Mezi aspekty, které ovlivňují distribuci předložek, patří například míra formálnosti, zda se jedná o britskou nebo americkou angličtinu (či angličtinu jiné země), popřípadě je volba předložky vázána na širší kontext.

Z deseti analyzovaných příkladů, které odráží změnu v realizaci slovesné komplementace, jeden příklad zároveň ukazuje na změnu přímo v komplementaci. Jedná se o sloveso *claim*, které se používá jak monotranzitivně, tak i nově v komplexně tranzitivní komplementaci. Všechny ostatní příklady se týkají pouze změny v realizaci. Ze zkoumaných příkladů vyplývá, že motivací pro změnu v realizaci je opět často změna ve významu slovesa. Nová realizace tak vyjadřuje změněný význam, který koexistuje s původním významem. Další možností je nová realizace, která střídá realizaci původní, přičemž význam je zachován, a dále nová realizace, která vyjadřuje stejný význam a koexistuje s původní konstrukcí. Celkově lze říct, že změny v povrchové struktuře odráží hlavně sémantické změny, přičemž důležitou roli hraje analogie, a v případě zachování stejného významu také snaha mít k dispozici širší spektrum syntaktických konstrukcí.

Appendix 1

IN THE CASE OF

- (1) *Robert Peel used to tell an amusing story of one of these banquets, in the case of which he & Canning were seated on opposite sides of Alderman Flower.* (Fowler: 87)
- (2) *(In the c. of Purvey his) name was first mentioned in connexion with Bible translation in 1729 (Purvey's).*(Fowler: 87)
- (3) *Roman catholicism and protestantism constitute, in different ways and to varying degrees, nationalist and loyalist beliefs in Ireland. This is even official in the case of loyalism. In the case of Irish nationalism a specific relationship with catholicism has been formulated.* (BNC: A07 2) [W_ac_humanities_arts]
- (4) *From the observed orbit of the visible star, one can determine the lowest possible mass of the unseen object. In the case of Cygnus X-1, this is about six times the mass of the sun.* (H78 6) [W_non_ac_nat_science]

IN CONNECTION WITH

- (5) *The three outstanding features in connection with (of) our “Batchworth Tinted”, as sample set enclosed, are as follows.* (Fowler: 90)
- (6) *Sir S. P. will shortly retire from the secretaryship in connection with the age limit.* (Fowler: 90)
- (7) *So far as is known, nobody else has been arrested or charged in connection with the murder of Mr Mxenge.* (A9V 2) [W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_report]
- (8) *This section does not cover liability: -- (a) arising directly or indirectly by, through or in connection with (i) the ownership, possession or use by or on behalf of the Insured Person of any mechanically-propelled vehicle or aircraft.* (BNC: AMW 1) [W_advert]

IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF

- (9) *The average price at which shares sell during this period is somewhere in the neighbourhood of \$55 (more or less depending on the shape of the time-price curve).* (BNC: ECD 1) [W_commerce]
- (10) *Using 1920 as the base year for education and 1958 as the corresponding year for economic development, he found that ‘sustained growth generally starts when primary enrolment is in the neighbourhood of 30% to 50% of the school-aged population.’* (BNC: FR4 1) [W_ac_soc_science]

WITH A VIEW TO

- (11) *In 1986 the local authority became concerned about injuries which D had sustained and they obtained a place of safety order. D was placed with long-term foster parents with a view to adoption, and the mother’s access to her was suspended.* (BNC: A8B 1) [W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_social]

(12)*In the meantime, the commission will consider the merits of the case with a view to bringing about a private, 'friendly' settlement with the Government. (BNC: A3G 1) [W_newsp_brdsht_nat_report]*

IN/WITH REGARD TO

(13)*France is now going through a similar experience with regard to Morocco to that which England had to undergo with reference to Egypt after the occupation. (Fowler: 88)*

(14)*In regard to three other seats there will be a divided Unionist vote. (Fowler: 490)*

(15)*This part of the question essentially asks whether the fact that the competent minister of a member state has the power to dispense with the nationality requirement in respect of an individual in view of the length of time such individual has resided in that member state and has been involved in the fishing industry of that member state can justify, in regard to Community law, the rule under which registration of a fishing vessel is subject to a nationality requirement and a requirement as to residence and domicile. (BNC: FCJ 4) [W_ac_polit_law_edu]*

(16)*Thus, if women tend to commit more minor crimes, they will have a much better chance of avoiding detection. With regard to crimes that are known about, the police and courts may be more lenient with female offenders. (BNC: B17 3) [W_ac_soc_science]*

Appendix 2

- (1) *Like every other mother, mine was keen to tell her daughter to certainly go swimming, but to not go near the water.* (BNC: B38 1) [W_misc]
- (2) *The team tasks are also very popular and involve everyone. Some ideas are as follows: the first team to have everyone sat on the floor, first team to have everyone standing on one leg. The first team to have everyone with their hands in the air. The first team to all sit on one chair.* (BNC: C8P) [W_instructional]
- (3) *It was true that Hassan had managed to balance the often conflicting pressures more successfully than had the Shah. Indeed, the Shah's failure to so do had caused his downfall.* (BNC: G3R 1) [W_biography]
- (4) *Julia Roberts should make Pretty Woman 2 quickly to revive her flagging career, a magazine survey has urged.* (BNC: CBE 1)
- (5) *With us outside the Treaty, we must expect the Commission to neglect at least our interests* (Fowler: 447).
- (6) *His hardest decision was to not allow the children to go to summer camp.* (Quirk et al.: 497)
- (7) *We tended to rather sit back and wait for developments.* (Quirk et al.: 497)
- (8) *If they were freemen, they had to give up their right to graze in Port Meadow, because erm the hay was to be grown there, to be promised to His Majesty .They had to perhaps give up their pots and pans, or they were supposed to.* (BNC: KRN) [S_speech_unscripted]
- (9) *This example contains the rhythm part which forms the intro/verse of Somebody. This is a good example of Bryan 's percussive strumming technique; as you play through this be sure to carefully follow all the pick-stroke indications and to mute the chords as indicated* (BNC: CDL) [W_pop_lore]
- (10) *The chances that you or a member of your family will be the victim of a personal attack is already low. But if you are worried about your own safety or the safety of someone close to you, it is possible to minimise the risk even further by taking some simple , sensible precautions . Always remember to check carefully the identity of any caller whatsoever who wants to gain admittance to your home.* (BNC: ARA 2) [W_misc]
- (11) *CONCLUSION Since the actual performance of the Decimax is so impressive, any misgivings will probably be reserved for the system's hi-tech looks. Layouts such as this seem to completely polarise opinion, and the decision is obviously down to the individual.* (BNC: C9K) [W_pop_lore]
- (12) *Even if the suggestion that is made is not feasible, it should be listened to with courtesy and responded to with the respect that such an offer demands. It is not easy in a country as hierarchically inclined as ours to continually question authority in a constructive way.* (BNC: EA8) [W_commerce]
- (13) *I'm too late, she thought dismally. He's gone without me. Farmers are often away at the crack of dawn .Bitter disappointment caused her to merely pick at her breakfast until suddenly she was startled by the sound of his deep voice coming from behind her.* (BNC: HHB) [W_fict_prose]

(14)She was careful **not to identify** the culprit. (Fitzmaurice: 178)

(15)She was careful **to not identify** the culprit. (Fitzmaurice: 178)

(16)Since it matters to some extent (and perhaps a good deal) which rule is chosen, we do best to use convention only to protect decisions that some responsible political institution has actually taken on the merits and **to not include** under that umbrella decisions by default, that is decisions no one has actually made. (JXJ) [W_ac_polit_law_edu]

(17)The people are now returning & trying **to again get** together a home. (Fowler: 447)

(18)It will be found possible **to considerably improve** the present wages of the miners without jeopardizing the interests of capital. (Fowler: 560)

(19)Always providing that the Imperialists do not feel strong enough **to decisively assert** their power in the revolted provinces. (Fowler: 560)

APPENDIX 3

- (1) *Women having the vote share political power with men.* (Fowler: 206)
- (2) *Women's having the vote reduces men's political power.* (Fowler: 206)
- (3) *Women having the vote reduces men's political power.* (Fowler: 206)
- (4) *We welcome **Tariff Reform** being discussed as often as possible.* (Fowler: 208)
- (5) *This habit of **Ministers** putting forth their ideas through newspaper articles sometimes produced curious results.* (Fowler: 208)
- (6) *The existence of these long term contracts is a large part of the case for the **coalowners** refusing to give increased wages to the men.* (Fowler: 208)
- (7) *One of the jurymen absented himself from the rest of the jury without **he, or the rest of the jury,** being given in charge of the proper officer.* (Fowler: 208)
- (8) *But he objects to the cutting down of imports in war time, & **the fact** that we have to do without things being taken as an argument for our continuing to shut goods out after the war.* (Fowler: 208)
- (9) *I insisted on **him** at once taking the bill down.* (Fowler: 207)
- (10) *For the Broadway run of Edmund Kean, Ben Kingsley was paid \$12,500 per week. His Equity-required understudy received \$800 per -- without having to learn a line. The producer sent him the script, in case he was curious, but assured him there was no question of **him** appearing on stage in the role.* (BNC: A35 1) [W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_arts]
- (11) *We cannot reckon on **the unrest** ceasing with the end of one strike, or on its not being renewed in the case of other trades.* (Fowler: 208)
- (12) *The machinery which enables one man to do the work of six results only in the **others** losing their job, & in **skill** men have spent a lifetime acquiring becoming suddenly useless.* (Fowler: 206)

APPENDIX 4

Disputed usage in “verb/noun/adjective + preposition”:

CONTENT ONESELF BY

- (1) *Of course, I could not have expressed this view to Mr Farraday without embarking upon what might have seemed a presumptuous speech. I thus contented myself by saying simply:... (BNC: AR3) [W_fict_prose]*

BORED OF

- (2) *In 1981 I was working the summer in Tenerife as a PR and when we got bored of the clubs, we would go to the beach at about 3am. (BNC: CGC) [W_pop_lore]*

Disputed usage in the realization of verb complementation:

APPRECIATE + THAT-cl.

- (3) *You will no doubt appreciate that letting property today is very complex and governed by so much legislation that it is essential you enjoy a competent Managing Agent. (AAY) [W_commerce]*

AVAIL OF

- (4) *If you feel that you, or any group that you are associated with, could avail of our facilities, please do not hesitate to contact us. (B29) [W_misc]*

AWAIT + Oprep

- (5) *I await for better selections and performance in the autumn from the so-called ‘heirs apparent’ to the Webb Ellis Trophy. (CHW) [W_pop_lore]*

AGREE + Od (realized by NP)

- (6) *The European Community yesterday agreed regulations for vetting large cross-border mergers, after years of complex and tough negotiations. (BNC: AAJ) [W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_commerce]*

COMPRISE OF

- (7) *There is also a Curriculum Council for Wales. Each of these bodies is, by statute, comprised of not less than 10 and not more than 15 members appointed by the Secretary of State. (BNC: B28) [W_non_ac_polit_law_edu]*

Out of use:

CONTEST + Oprep

- (8) *ELISA kit methodology is being used to contest against demanding illnesses. (<http://www.ezine-articles.co.uk/Art/166891/276/ELISA-kit-methodology-is-being-used-to-contest-against-demanding-illnesses.html>)*

Additional examples:

Unchanged usage in “verb/noun/adjective + preposition”:

CONSIST OF / IN

- (9) His note consisted of a few words, impersonal, noncommittal, on a tiny scrap of paper written with a burned matchstick. (BNC: A03;4) [W_pop_lore]
- (10) So the meaning of a sign consists in the bare fact that it stands in an external causal relation to that which we say it signifies. (BNC: A0T;3) [W_ac_humanities_arts]

CONTENT ONESELF WITH (BY)

- (11) So Vaughan contented herself with training as a nurse and avidly reading food books in her spare time. (BNC: A0C) [W_misc]
- (12) She contented herself by having the official offer letter framed. (BNC: GU9) [W_biography]

New entries in “verb/noun/adjective + preposition”:

ACCOUNTABLE TO SB FOR STH

- (13) The authority should be accountable to general practitioners for its purchasing performance and general practitioners should be accountable for the purchasing plans they advocate. (BNC: EC7;1) [W_ac_medicine]

ACCUSE OF

- (14) He was accused of calling for the violent overthrow of the monarchy. (BNC: A03;4) [W_pop_lore]

ADEQUATE FOR / TO

- (15) In fact they are no more adequate for primitive societies than they would have been for any others. (BNC: A6S) [W_ac_soc_science]
- (16) His salary of 300 a year was adequate to his needs but the greater reward was in being a full-time Fascist at last. (BNC: EDA) [W_biography]

BORED WITH / BY /OF

- (17) I quite suddenly got very bored with M's conversation tonight. (BNC: A7C) [W_biography]
- (18) She had always disliked them, had never for a moment been able to see their virtues; she had been bored by the classical, and had felt a positive, righteous contempt for the baroque and the neo-Gothic. (BNC: EFP) [W_fict_prose]
- (19) I am convinced that the public is bored of seeing works that are widely reproduced. (BNC: CKT) [W_pop_lore]

CATER FOR (TO)

- (20) There are three plans available to cater for individual preferences. (BNC: A0Y;2) [W_non_ac_soc_science]
- (21) The policy caters for children from three to 18 years of age or when they start work, whichever is the sooner. (BNC: A3J) [W_newsp_brdsht_nat_commerce]
- (22) All he was doing was catering to one particularly backward-looking group of people. (BNC: A6E) [W_biography]
- (23) Now the market caters to tourists and students. (BNC: AJV; 2) [W_newsp_brdsht_nat_arts]

CONTINUE ON

- (24) More riverside and woodland paths lead to the town of Grassington, continuing on to Buckden. (BNC: A65) [W_pop_lore]
- (25) He dropped Julie off at the house, then continued on to Stone to change the accumulator. (BNC: B3J) [W_fict_prose]

CONTRAST (noun) TO/WITH/BETWEEN

- (26) *What a contrast to the beautiful gladioli grown by Carole in pots.* (BNC: A0G) [W_pop_lore]
- (27) *Quite a contrast to equivalent places in European cities, even New York.* (BNC: AOU) [W_fict_prose]
- (28) *The contrast with the brewing industry is striking.* (BNC: A14) [W_misc]
- (29) *Despite his high sporting profile he remains an unassuming, almost diffident character, a stark contrast with some of his more vociferous colleagues.* (BNC: K2D) [W_newsp_other_sports]
- (30) *There is a sharp contrast between the monotony and similarity of the event in the nervous system and the variety of the perceived world.* (BNC: A0T; 3) [W_ac_humanities_arts]
- (31) *What Mr Alexander establishes is the vital contrast between external sanctity and order and the lust, violence, madness and panic that fuel the characters' actions.* (BNC: A93) [W_newsp_brdsht_nat_arts]

Unchanged usage in the realization of verb complementation:**ADJUST + Oprep**

- (32) *Those members of the catholic population who sought to advance up the class structure had to adjust to more marginal roles among the professional classes.* (BNC: A07) [W_ac_humanities_arts]

ADMIT OF

- (33) *If real truth is eventually arrived at, its reality will be self-evident, and will therefore not admit of controversy.* (BNC: BM2) [W_non_ac_humanities_arts]

ALLOW OF

- (34) *His own ecclesiastical authority as an archbishop and metropolitan, though a reflection of papal authority at one level, was too important to him in itself to allow of such a thing.* (BNC: ADC) [W_non_ac_humanities_arts]

APPRECIATE + HOW/THAT-cl.

- (35) *I was sad to see that apparently they still do not appreciate how relatively well off they are under the present set-up and how much they could stand to lose from open warfare in the game.* (BNC: CKL) [W_pop_lore]
- (36) *You see, Mr McKillop, although I'm reasonably happy to accept you as Elsie's brother and I appreciate that you've put a great deal of work into tracking her down, I'm bound to say that I respect Elsie's wishes to start life afresh and leave her old life behind.* (BNC: ASN) [W_fict_prose]

AVAIL ONESELF OF

- (37) *The extension of legal aid after the 1939-45 war was bound to affect the numbers of people able to avail themselves of this service.* (BNC: B25) [W_ac_soc_science]

AWAIT + Od

- (38) *Those awaiting execution will spend their last days almost entirely alone.* (BNC:A03) [W_pop_lore]

BID + bare inf./to/inf.

- (39) *When Christ calls a person, he bids him come and die.* (BNC: ABV) [W_religion]
- (40) *Both he and Fitzroy Maclean were bidden to dine with the Prime Minister at the British Embassy on 8 August.* (BNC: AR8) [W_non_ac_polit_law_edu]

New entries in the realization of verb complementation:

APPEAL + Od / Oprep

- (41) *The common law courts have through three centuries consistently resisted all attempts to appeal decisions of the visitor.* (BNC: EE3) [W_ac_politLaw_edu]
(42) *The Social Fund, limited in expenditure to £203 million in its first year, made discretionary loans, with no right to appeal decisions.* (BNC: FPJ) [W_ac_soc_science]
(43) *You can appeal against an enforcement notice on a number of grounds.* (BNC: A5T) [W_newsp_brdsht_nat_commerce]
(44) *Mr Mark Gale, who was fined £50 after completing his poll tax registration form in Arabic, said yesterday he will appeal against the penalty.* (BNC: AAL) [W_newsp_brdsht_nat_report]

BEWARE + Od

- (45) *The Proverbs of the Old Testament return over and over again to the theme that men should beware women.* (BNC: ACL) [W_religion]

BOGGLE + Oprep/Od

- (46) *George went across to introduce himself to the Red Army, an event which boggles the imagination.* (BNC: BN6) [W_biography]
(47) *The mind rather boggles at what might happen should this expedition not be a success* (BNC: CB3) [W_pop_lore]

CONCLUDE + to-inf.

- (48) *Plaintiff submitted no evidence that law enforcement actually concluded to take no further action. ("Anonymous sender of beer pong email gets to remain unknown": <http://blog.internetcases.com/2010/03/19/anonymous-sender-of-beer-pong-email-gets-to-remain-unknown/>)*

CONVINCE + to-inf.

- (49) *My colleagues seemed genuinely worried by my decision and many of them tried to convince me to change my mind.* (BNC: A0F) [W_fict_prose]

COPE + with/ absolute construction

- (50) *It took me quite a while to cope with the shock.* (BNC: JY3) [W_fict_prose]
(51) *BR had proposed closure of this famous station, but the growth of the commuter traffic meant that London Underground would not be able to cope.* (BNC: A11;9) [W_misc]

APPENDIX 5

A sentence with a number in round brackets marks a sentence analysed in the text under the same number. Sentences without a number in round brackets mark additional examples. Square brackets are used to count the total number of examples.

ADVERSE TO

- [1] (1) *Where the decision is adverse to the claimant, information about the right of appeal to the Commissioners must be given.* (BNC: FRT 2) [W_non_ac_polit_law_edu]
- [2] (2) *... it appears from the evidence that reasonable minds can come to but one conclusion and that conclusion is adverse against the non-movant.*
(<http://www.supremecourt.ohio.gov/rod/docs/pdf/2/2007/2007-Ohio-5166.pdf>)
- [3] *Some of that evidence, it might be said in parenthesis, appears to be adverse to the appellants.* (BNC: FCB) [W_ac_polit_law_edu]
- [4] *On the facts of the case, the appropriation was adverse to the shopkeeper because the accused removed the goods from the shelves and swapped the labels.* (BNC: HXE) [W_ac_polit_law_edu]
- [5] *The doctor may exercise therapeutic privilege if he thinks that revealing a particular risk would be adverse to the patient's health.* (BNC: HXV) [W_ac_polit_law_edu]

AFFINITY BETWEEN/WITH/FOR/TO

- [6] (3) *Studies of the nucleic acid binding activities of retroviral MoMuLV NCp10 and avian pp12 indicate that NC protein has a higher affinity for single stranded DNA and RNA than for double stranded DNA* (BNC: ETE; 2) [W_ac_nat_science]
- [7] (4) *Since 1945, West Germany has become a 'normal' liberal democracy, with close affinities to the political systems of other western countries.* (BNC: ADD) [W_ac_polit_law_edu]
- [8] (5) *A natural consequence of an affinity to mechanical things, and an ability, what is more, to master them, is generally accorded more status than direct patient contact.* (BNC: CHT) [W_non_ac_medicine]
- [9] *The affinities between music and poetry have been familiar since antiquity, though they are largely ignored in the current intellectual climate.* (BNC: A1A) [W_ac_humanities_arts]
- [10] *Sam was a complete countryman, with a pronounced affinity with nature in all its forms.* (BNC: BN6) [W_biography]

ALIEN FROM/TO

- [11] (6) *Over millions of years, its physical and mental processes had continued in its own course, parallel to but alien from ours.* (BNC: HA0) [W_fict_prose]
- [12] *They should not be introduced to a culture that was alien to them, but instead should be taught and guided through their own 'working-class' culture, in which they could succeed.* (BNC: ASY) [W_non_ac_polit_law_edu]
- [13] *One could not teach a chimpanzee to grow bananas nor a dolphin to farm fish, for these are quite alien to its mind set and require the foresigh, the ability to see and plan ahead, which only man possesses.* (BNC: BMY; 2) [W_religion]

AVERSE TO/FROM

- [12] (7) *An increase in seventy may betoken -- even, more arguably, may occasion -- a salutary change in the climate of opinion. For this reason I am not averse from seeing a sharpening of sentencing policy within the present law.* (BNC: A69) [W_non_ac_polit_law_edu]
- [13] *Yet the government has always found it safer to regulate companies than to tax consumers, and Mr Bush is especially averse to taxes.* (BNC: ABK) [W_pop_lore]
- [14] *The West German government was not averse to the idea of rearmament.* (BNC: CLR) [W_non_ac_polit_law_edu]

- [15] *The secretary of state is averse to use his powers of call-in unless important non-local issues are involved, even if the permission is highly contentious.* (BNC: J16) [W_non_ac_soc_science]

COMPARE WITH/TO

- [16] (8) *At present the pattern of weathering in small mammals is compared to that of large mammals (Table 1.3).* (BNC: B2C) [W_ac_humanities_arts]
- [17] (9) *Or, the effect of a painting may be compared with those of other means of communication, such as photography, film or television.* (BNC: A04) [W_ac_humanities_arts]
- [18] (10) *Rooms and their facilities compare to those on the country house circuit.* (BNC: A7F) [W_misc]
- [19] (11) *White Stilton is a very young, immature Stilton and does not compare to the traditional blue variety.* (BNC: ABB) [W_instructional]
- [20] *Much as I admire the French, nothing can compare with being back home in good old Blighty.* (BNC: A61) [W_biography]

CORRESPOND WITH/TO

- [21] (12) *Check that this number corresponds with the one on the document.* (BNC: ARA) [W_misc]
- [22] (13) *The plants are displayed in sealed glass cases. They stand in water, which corresponds to their boggy native habitat, and are given additional light overnight.* (BNC: B71) [W_non_ac_nat_science]
- [23] *The presence of neutrons explains why the atomic weights of elements do not correspond with their atomic numbers.* (BNC: ADX; 2) [W_ac_humanities_arts]
- [24] *Marr also confirmed that the new peak did not correspond to either of the known toxins using the HPLC-fluorescence method and standards of okadaic acid and DTX-1.* (BNC: ALW) [W_non_ac_nat_science]
- [25] *Mr Sells said he had corresponded with Mr Bewick and asked why he had not joined the BTS and become involved in debates on transplants.* (BNC: A8X) [W_newsp_brdstht_nat_report]

DEMAND sth OF/FROM sb

- [26] (14) *And what can she demand from the father of the child, for its upkeep?* (BNC: ANL 1) [W_fict_prose]
- [27] (15) *He gave, and demand of others the highest standards of performance.* (BNC: A58) [W_newsp_brdstht_nat_misc]
- [28] *She did not like what her life demand of her, but she knew painfully and absolutely that the moment for truth had come.* (BNC: A6J) [W_fict_prose]
- [29] *It is beyond the scope of this book to enter deeply into these problems, a full understanding of which would demand of the reader a specialized knowledge of monetary economics.* (BNC: ATG) [W_non_ac_polit_law_edu]
- [30] *The Israeli authorities did not demand from him an expression of regret.* (BNC: CFH) [W_pop_lore]
- [31] *Our congregations demand from every new member not only a conversion but also a change in culture.* (BNC: CGE) [W_religion]

DEPEND UPON/ON/-

- [32] (16) *We've got some fixed dates in the diary, but we don't always operate to those because it depends whether or not we've got enough cases.* (BNC: A4P) [W_newsp_brdstht_nat_sports]
- [33] (17) *Erm it perhaps doesn't strike us as being very revolutionary but of course it depends from the context that you're in erm to perhaps some of the absolute rulers of er of er perhaps, this was revolutionary.* (BNC: DCJ) [S_speech_unscripted]
- [34] *Loss of bitterness depends on the boiling conditions, on the degree, type and time of trub formation and on the yeast action in fermentation.* (BNC: A14) [W_misc]

- [35] *Access to public transport depends upon the cost and availability of services, particularly in rural areas.* (BNC: A10) [W_non_ac_soc_science]

DIFFER WITH/FROM

- [36] (18) *HEV also differs with HAV in the increased frequency with which infection is observed in adults compared with children.* (BNC: HWV) [W_ac_medicine]
- [37] *This intention differed from the sculptor's frequent artistic aim to make his small figures appear remote.* (BNC: A04; 2) [W_ac_humanities_arts]
- [38] *A contemporary of Freud, he differed from the master over his emphasis on sexuality as the most important motivation on personality.* (BNC: CEF) [W_non_ac_soc_science]
- [39] *The vote was boycotted by a rival faction led by Kenneth Matiba and Martin Shikuku, who had differed with Odinga over methods of selecting FORD 's presidential candidate* (BNC: HLP) [W_non_ac_polit_law_edu]
- [40] *His language in the poems also differs with the simple language of 'The Sentry' to the much more complicated ideas of 'Futility'.* (BNC: KA1) [W_essay_school]

DIFFERENT TO/FROM/THAN

- [41] (19) *Because the period is not a whole number of years, the next standstill will occur at a different season than its predecessor.* (BNC: CET) [W_non_ac_nat_science]
- [42] *The emphasis may be different than at Forest but the essentials are the same.* (BNC: CBG) [W_newsp_other_sports]
- [43] *The social fund is different from the grant system because it is discretionary.* (BNC: AOY) [W_non_ac_soc_science]
- [44] *Many a visitor has been embarrassed by the fact that Reykjavik airport is different from Keflavik.* (BNC:A6T) [W_misc]
- [44] *It was a period of risk-taking and setting horizons for growth rates which were different to anything I had experienced before.* (BNC: A6L; 2) [W_commerce]

APPENDIX 6

A sentence with a number in round brackets marks a sentence analysed in the text under the same number. Sentences without a number in round brackets mark additional examples. Square brackets are used to count the total number of examples.

ACCEPT OF/ACCEPT

- [1] (1) *He therefore earnestly begs of me that since you deservedly have the nomination of an Gardner to the Chelsea Garden, which I understand is now vacant, that I would address you in his behalf that at least you would accept of him as an Candidate if there are other competitors and, if found sufficiently qualifyd you would propose him accordingly as you shall find he deserves.* (BNC: ALU 1) [W_misc]
- [2] (2) *Have you found the art world to be completely accepting of you as a woman?* (BNK: J1K 1) [W_misc]
- [3] (3) *She had been out with her boy friend on one occasion and her parents had tried to be more accepting of her relationship with him.* (BNK: B30 1) [W_ac_medicine]
- [4] *To any readers who feel hard done by or annoyed please accept my sincere apologies.* (BNC: A0X; 2) [W_pop_lore]
- [5] *The council can choose not to accept instalments of less than £5.* (BNC: A0Y; 5) [W_non_ac_soc_science]

ADMIT TO /ADMIT + Od

- [6] (4) *Entirely innocent people might admit to lesser offences to avoid confiscation.* (BNK: A4K) [W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_report]
- [7] *Mr Jacobson admitted to conveying \$120,000 from Jimmy Christian, the black president of United Chemcon, to Richard Ramirez, the US navy official responsible for granting contracts to black and Hispanic businesses.* (BNC: A2V) [W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_commerce]
- [8] *These were meat eaters who admitted to not caring about their intake of salt, sugar, caffeine or calories.* (BNC: A7F) [W_misc]
- [9] *Many within the industry admit privately, however, that they may be less inclined to appoint someone who declares their infection at their interview.* (BNC: A0C; 2) [W_misc]
- [10] *Mrs Sutcliffe, wearing dark tinted glasses, listened carefully in the packed public benches as Mr Lightman read out an affidavit by Oliver Duke, once the boyfriend of Mail on Sunday reporter Barbara Jones, in which he admitted taking part in a scheme to get the money secretly from the newspaper to Mrs Sutcliffe .* (BNC: A2A) [W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_report]
- [11] *'I wouldn't admit a mistake even if I made one,' Davis said.* (BNC: A2S; 2) [W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_sports]

ADVOCATE + *that*-clause / NP / -ing

- [12] (5) *In my books I strongly advocate that a rope is carried in the party for use as a safeguard if necessary...* (BNC: ECG) [W_pop_lore]
- [13] (6) *The UCJBA also advocates that the new ministry **should** be enabled to operate freely ...* (BNC: EBD) [W_misc]
- [14] (7) *the NIDR advocates that the chewing surfaces of children 's permanent teeth **be treated with sealants*** (BNC: CRB) [W_pop_lore]
- [15] *He advocates marking the stretchers off one at a time instead of squaring cross all four at once.* (BNC: A0X) [W_pop_lore]
- [16] *She advocates building up place settings 'with separate yet related pieces that can be combined according to mood , time of day and style of meal'.* (BNC: A3M) [A3M]
- [17] *Graham advocates an hour of free running every day.* (BNC: A17) [W_pop_lore]

- [18] *One might think that radical behaviourists such as Skinner would advocate the classification of stimuli along purely physical dimensions. (BNC: A0T; 4) [W_ac_humanities_arts]*

AIM at + gerund / AIM + to-infinitive

- [19] (8) *Triumph aimed to build 12,000 Stags a year. (A38 2) [W_newsp_brdsht_nat_misc]*
[20] (9) *It aimed at reducing defence spending to the European average and transferring [sic] the savings to the health service, pensions, housing and education. (BNC: A1Y) [W_newsp_brdsht_nat_report]*
[21] (10) *Treatment was aimed to reduce Maria's dependence on the bottle by providing it only at bedtime and in the morning. (BNC: CGT) [W_ac_soc_science]*
[22] *This intention differed from the sculptor's frequent artistic aim to make his small figures appear remote. (BNC: A04; 2) [W_ac_humanities_arts]*
[23] *Mohamed Abbad was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment on charges including conspiracy to overthrow the government and possessing leaflets aimed at disturbing internal security. (BNC: A03; 3) [W_pop_lore]*
[24] *It expects profitability to remain under pressure, despite recent restructuring actions aimed at achieving \$50m in annual cost savings. (BNC: CND; 2) [W_non_ac_tech_engin]*

ANTICIPATE + to-infinitive

- [25] (11) *We export and anticipate to export a fair quantity to another country, which for the purpose of our own affairs shall be nameless. (BNC: G4P) [S_interview_oral_history]*
[26] *It has been agreed that the changing rooms at the Stratton Bates playing field needs to be replaced and £10,000 has already be set aside in the current budget towards the cost, which is anticipated to be in the region of £55,000. (BNC: BM4) [W_newsp_other_report]*
[27] *If security prices are anticipated to fall or the exchange rate to rise, people will demand to hold more (domestic) money balances. (BNC: J15) [W_commerce]*
[28] *Two out of five ACET clients in Scotland are women and therefore we anticipate an increase in the number of children needing care. (BNC: A02) [W_institut_doc]*
[29] *The Prime Minister's speech was eagerly anticipated by the educational and wider community and it duly received the full media treatment. (BNC: CN5) [W_ac_polit_law_edu]*

BLAME sth ON sb / BLAME sb FOR sth

- [30] (12) *Senator Robert Dole wants to repeal a quirky law that bars direct flights from there to his home state of Kansas. He hopes to drum up the support of sympathetic congressmen who blame the law for high fares. (BNC: A6F 1) [W_ac_polit_law_edu]*
[31] (13) *It must be confusing and I have no answer to the criticism, except to blame the clearly short-sighted attitude on management. (BNC: A0X) [W_pop_lore]*
[32] *She blames the manufacturers for the poor design of the container: probably deliberate, she reflects, probably calculated to make people splurge out far more than they need of the stuff. (BNC: FB0) [W_fict_prose]*
[33] *She did not blame herself for going on the cruise, although she sensed that Adam, always an opportunist, had taken advantage of her absence. (BNC: FPB; 2) [W_fict_prose]*
[34] *President Vinicio Cerezo has blamed the killings on right-wing extremists trying to destabilise his government. (BNC: A28) [W_newsp_brdsht_nat_report]*
[35] *The profits fall was blamed on wet weather in the early part of year. (BNC: A37) [W_newsp_brdsht_nat_commerce]*

CLAIM in complex transitive complementation / CLAIM + that-clause

- [36] (14) *The attitude of many older musicians and critics to science and technology is nothing more, of course, than the stale residue of the romantic, fin de siècle aesthetic that, in the*

- phrase of Villiers de L'Isle-Adam, claims science to be 'the religion of the suburbs'. (BNC: ADP 3) [W_biography]*
- [37] (15) *The Republicans claim that the capital gains cut (from 28 per cent to 19.6 per cent for two years) would stimulate investment and create jobs. (BNC: A1G) [W_newsp_brdsht_nat_report]*
- [38] *Indeed, the music industry can reasonably claim its market to include anyone from 5 years to 50, taking in both sexes and every social class. (BNC: A6A) [W_misc]*
- [39] *'There,' he said, claiming her achievement as his own and inflating it in the process. (BNC: CKB) [W_fict_prose]*
- [40] *The company claims that its system is a 'radically new approach to 3D' and is covered by patents.*
- [41] *What is their reason for not complying with these regulations? They claim that it would cost £300,000 extra on the station. (BNC: KRT) [S_brdbcast_news]*

COMMENCE + to-infinitive / gerund

- [42] (16) *I commenced to talk in English, whereupon he said, 'Speak in Burmese'. (BNC: CDC) [W_biography]*
- [43] (17) *At last the trolleybuses commenced running through to the Crystal Palace on 9 February 1936. (BNC: CBK; 2) [W_non_ac_humanities_arts]*
- [44] *He commenced to walk slowly around her, flicking the crop menacingly towards her, but never quite touching her. (BNC: FPX) [W_fict_prose]*
- [45] *Professor Pacey had epitomised the forties as one of 'vacillation and disillusionment,' but the tide had indeed commenced to turn, a new era was opening up. (BNC: AOP) [W_biography]*
- [46] *She was waiting to commence training as a nurse so her life was also heading in a new direction, but she was ill prepared for the grief she was to experience at the loss of the sister who had been so close and influential in her own life. (BNC: H7E) [W_biography]*
- [47] *In April 1982 the IOM commenced trading in the S&P 500 stock index futures contract, with an associated option contract in 1983. (BNC: HY2) [W_commerce]*

COMMISERATE + object / prepositional object

- [48] (18) *When Duval was arrested in London, high society queued to commiserate with him in his cell. (BNK: ANK) [W_misc]*
- [49] *He commiserated with Blair over his failure with certain seeds and promised to send him rare plants. (BNC: ALU) [W_misc]*
- [50] *These can be just as useful even if you do not have the benefit of an instant peer group with whom to celebrate or commiserate on your shared experience. (BNC: CHT) [W_non_ac_medicine]*
- [51] *I congratulate all those who won trophies and I commiserate with the runners up and others, in the knowledge that it may be their turn next year. (BNC: HRY) [W_misc]*

CONSIDER sb/sth AS

- [52] (19) *But, again, no one seems to have considered that as an option. (BNC: AB6) [W_non_ac_polit_law_edu]*
- [53] *This must therefore be considered as having a detrimental effect overall on the tourism market. (BNC: A0C) [W_misc]*
- [54] *The individual communities consider the State as the true owner of the land they cultivate in common. (BNC: A6S) [W_ac_soc_science]*
- [55] *Tolstikov is a wealthy professional athlete, yet he considers bananas a luxury. (BNC: AJR) [W_newsp_brdsht_nat_misc]*
- [56] *Steve Scrutton considers legislation essential in many areas. (BNC: B01) [W_non_ac_soc_science]*