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Complementation of the ditransitive verbs *envy* and *forgive*

Komplementace ditranzitivních sloves *envy* a *forgive*

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Abstract

The subject of the present thesis is an analysis of the ditransitive verbs *envy* and *forgive* in the ditransitive/double-object constructions, i.e., either the S-V-O_i-O_d or S-V-O-O_{prep} argument structure, in which both objects are explicitly expressed. *Envy* and *forgive* represents marginal ditransitive verbs, whose accounts in major grammars and various studies are far from uniform. Occasionally considered idiosyncratic, the ditransitive use (i.e., the indirect pattern) of the two verbs is expected to decrease in frequency. Thus, the research aims to investigate the postverbal complementation preference of *envy* and *forgive*, and the way the preference changes over time. However, it is not the relative frequency of the S-V-O_i-O_d pattern with respect to all remaining constructions that is of interest here, but its ratio to the frequency of the other available double object construction, the prepositional S-V-O-O_{prep} pattern. Additionally, the thesis provides a systematic overview of syntactic and semantic differences between *envy* and *forgive* as well as an account of their shared features and aspects. Particular attention is paid to the O_i/O realisation (e.g., the substantival or pronominal realisation) and the O_d/O_{prep} realisation (namely, the substantival realisation, the pronominal realisation, the gerund phrase or the nominal relative clause) and their correlation with the type of the ditransitive argument structure.

Keywords: ditransitive construction, double object construction, ditransitive verb, valency, *envy*, *forgive*, argument structure, object, object realisation, syntactic change

Abstrakt

Předmětem této diplomové práce je analýza ditranzitivních sloves *envy* a *forgive* v ditranzitivních/dvou-předmětných konstrukcích, tj. v syntaktické struktuře bezpředložkové S-V-O_i-O_d a předložkové S-V-O-O_{prep}, v nichž jsou oba předměty explicitně vyjádřeny. *Envy* a *forgive* představují okrajová ditranzitivní slovesa, jejichž popis se liší napříč jak významnými gramatikami, tak různými studii. V několika případech jsou tato slovesa v bezpředložkovém ditranzitivním větném vzorci označena za idiosynkratická, a tudíž se předpokládá, že se relativní frekvence S-V-O_i-O_d se slovesy *envy* a *forgive* postupně sníží. Tento výzkum má především za cíl prozkoumat preferenci postverbální komplementace sloves *envy* a *forgive* i to, jak se daná preference mění v čase. Nicméně pozornost není věnována relativní frekvenci bezpředložkové struktury S-V-O_i-O_d vůči všem ostatním větným konstrukcím, ale jejímu poměru ve srovnání s větným rámcem předložkovým jakožto jediným zbývajícím dvou-předmětným vzorcem. Tato práce dále poskytuje jak systematický přehled syntaktických a sémantických rozdílů, které odlišují sloveso *envy* od *forgive* a naopak, tak popis prvků a vlastností, které tato slovesa sdílí. Zvláštní pozornost je pak věnována realizaci O_i/O (tj. nominální či pronominální realizace) a O_d/O_{prep} (tj. nominální realizace, pronominální realizace, gerundiální fráze nebo věta vztahná substantivní) a jejich korelaci s příslušným typem ditranzitivní konstrukce.

Klíčová slova: ditranzitivní konstrukce, dvou-předmětná konstrukce, ditranzitivní sloveso, valence, sloveso „*envy*“, sloveso „*forgive*“, syntaktická struktura, předmět, realizace předmětu, syntaktická změna

List of abbreviations

A	adverbial
BNC	British National Corpus
C	predicative complement
CD	communicative dynamism
CLMET	Corpus of Late Modern English Texts
COHA	Corpus of Historical American English
DOC	double object construction
ex	example
exx	examples
FSP	functional sentence perspective
NP	noun phrase
NR	nominal relative
O	object
O1	recipient object (O_i/O)
O2	affected object (O_d/O_{prep})
O_d	direct object
O_i	indirect object
O_{prep}	prepositional object
S	subject
V	verb

List of tables and figures

Table 1: Major clause patterns (Quirk et al., 1985: 721).....	13
Table 2: Different constructional possibilities in the DOCs (Quirk et al., 1985: 1209).....	15
Table 3 Number of occurrences regarding the type of the O2 realisation in the S-V-O _i -O _d and S-V-O-O _{prep} argument structures with envy in the 1820-1869 sample of the COHA ..	52
Table 4 Number of occurrences regarding the type of the O2 realisation in the S-V-O _i -O _d and S-V-O-O _{prep} argument structures with envy in the 1870-1919 sample of the COHA ..	54
Table 5 Number of occurrences regarding the type of the O2 realisation in the S-V-O _i -O _d and S-V-O-O _{prep} argument structures with envy in the 1920-1969 sample of the COHA ..	55
Table 6 Number of occurrences regarding the type of the O2 realisation in the S-V-O _i -O _d and S-V-O-O _{prep} argument structures with envy in the 1970-2019 sample of the COHA ..	57
Table 7 Number of occurrences of the S-V-O _i -O _d and S-V-O-O _{prep} structures with envy in the analysed sample of the COHA	58
Table 8 Number of occurrences regarding the type of the O2 realisation in the S-V-O _i -O _d and S-V-O-O _{prep} argument structures with forgive in the 1820-1869 sample of the COHA	60
Table 9 Number of occurrences regarding the type of the O2 realisation in the S-V-O _i -O _d and S-V-O-O _{prep} argument structures with forgive in the 1870-1919 sample of the COHA	62
Table 10 Number of occurrences regarding the type of the O2 realisation in the S-V-O _i -O _d and S-V-O-O _{prep} argument structures with forgive in the 1920-1969 period of the COHA	63
Table 11 Number of occurrences regarding the type of the O2 realisation in the S-V-O _i -O _d and S-V-O-O _{prep} argument structures with forgive in the 1970-2019 period of the COHA	64
Table 12 Number of occurrences of the S-V-O _i -O _d and S-V-O-O _{prep} structures with forgive in the analysed sample of the COHA	65

Table 13 Chi-square test of independence results regarding the relation between the O1 pronominal or nominal realisation and the two alternating double-object argument structures with envy	70
Table 14 Chi-square test of independence results regarding the relation between the O1 pronominal or nominal realisation and the two alternating double-object argument structures with forgive..	70
Table 15 Chi-square test of independence results regarding the relation between the O2 nominal or gerundial realisation and the two alternating double-object argument structures with envy	72
Table 16 Chi-square test of independence results regarding the relation between the O2 nominal or gerundial realisation and the two alternating double-object argument structures with forgive.	72
Figure 1 Central sense and the extended senses in the ditransitive construction (Goldberg, 1995: 38).....	25
Figure 2 Verb classes of the ditransitive construction represented as similarity clusters (Goldberg, 1995: 135)	26
Figure 3 Envy and forgive in the CLMET and the BNC (Colleman & De Clerck, 2008: 194)	36
Figure 4 Graphic representation concerning the number of occurrences of the S-V-O _i -O _d and S-V-O-O _{prep} structures with envy attested in the analysed sample of the COHA	59
Figure 5 Graphic representation concerning the number of occurrences of the S-V-O _i -O _d and S-V-O-O _{prep} structures with forgive attested in the limited sample of the COHA	66

Table of contents

1. Introduction	11
2. Theoretical background.....	13
2.1. Major clause patterns and double object constructions	13
2.1.1. DOC in A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language (1985)	14
2.1.2. DOC in Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny (1988)	16
2.1.3. DOC in Longman Grammar of the Spoken and Written English (1999).....	17
2.1.4. DOC in The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language (2002)	18
2.1.5. The account of envy/forgive in the aforementioned grammars.....	20
2.2. The semantics of ditransitive construction and the verbs <i>envy</i> and <i>forgive</i>	22
2.2.1. Beth Levin: English Verb Classes and Alternations (1993).....	23
2.2.2. Anne Wierzbicka: <i>The Semantics of Grammar</i> (1988)	24
2.2.3. Adele Goldberg: <i>A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure</i> (1995) and William Croft: “Lexical Rules Vs. Constructions: A False Dichotomy” (2003)	24
2.2.4. Steven Pinker: <i>Learnability and Cognition</i> (1989) and Susan Hunston & Gill Francis: <i>Pattern Grammar: A corpus-driven approach to the lexical grammar of English</i> (2000)	28
2.2.5. Cross-linguistic evidence of the ditransitive clauses with <i>envy</i> and <i>forgive</i> .	30
2.3. The indirect ditransitive construction and its prepositional alternation in time....	31
2.3.1. Major principles of syntactic change.....	32
2.3.2. A brief overview of the changes in the use of the ditransitive construction and its prepositional alternation	33
2.4. Coleman & De Clerck’s (2008) account of the ditransitive use of <i>envy</i> and <i>forgive</i>	34
2.4.1. A quantitative account of the syntactic change in formal British English	35
2.4.2. Conceptual links between the semantics of ditransitive verbs and <i>envy/forgive</i>	37
2.5. Semantic roles in double object constructions.....	39
2.5.1. The semantic role of the subject.....	39
2.5.2. The semantic role of the indirect object	40
2.5.3. The semantic role of the direct object	41
3. Material and Method	42
3.1. Aims.....	42
3.2. Material.....	43
3.3. Method.....	43

3.3.1.	Surface S-V-O structures involving the animate recipient.....	46
3.3.2.	Surface S-V-O structures involving only the affected constituents	48
3.3.3.	Surface S-V structures with general participants	49
3.3.4.	Ambiguous cases, anomalous argument structures and excluded set phrases 49	
4.	Analysis	52
4.1.	ENVY	52
4.1.1.	DOCs with <i>envy</i> in 1820-1869	52
4.1.2.	DOCs with <i>envy</i> in 1870-1919	53
4.1.3.	DOCs with <i>envy</i> in 1920-1969	55
4.1.4.	DOCs with <i>envy</i> in 1970-2019	57
4.1.5.	Further observations regarding the DOCs with <i>envy</i> attested in COHA.....	58
4.2.	FORGIVE	60
4.2.1.	DOCs with <i>forgive</i> in 1820-1869	60
4.2.2.	DOCs with <i>forgive</i> in 1870-1919	62
4.2.3.	DOCs with <i>forgive</i> in 1920-1969	63
4.2.4.	DOCs with <i>forgive</i> in 1970-2019	64
4.2.5.	Further observations regarding the DOCs with <i>forgive</i> attested in COHA...	65
4.3.	Discussion.....	67
4.3.1.	The role of pronouns in the postverbal complementation preference	69
4.3.2.	The correlation between the O2 realisation and the type of the postverbal complementation	71
5.	Conclusions	74
	References and sources.....	77
	Resumé	80
	Appendix	85
	<i>ENVY</i>	85
	<i>FORGIVE</i>	97

1. Introduction

The study of verbs entering the ditransitive construction has been given considerable attention, yet there are many aspects and features of both the verbs in question and the construction that require further investigation. The aim of the present thesis is to analyse the ditransitive/double-object constructions¹ with the verbs *envy* and *forgive* as the representatives of a verb class that is considered marginal due to the verbs' syntactic and semantic properties. On the one hand, they differ from prototypical ditransitive verbs in the specific type of alternation, i.e., S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep}, in which the order of the objects does not undergo any change, and on the other hand, their verbal meaning is not perfectly in line with the central sense of verbs associated with the indirect ditransitive pattern (e.g., *give*).

Due to the marginal status of *envy* and *forgive*, some linguists presuppose a gradual decrease in the frequency of their ditransitive S-V-O_i-O_d use. Thus, the present study investigates their postverbal complementation preference and how the preference has evolved in the last 200 years. Additionally, the aim of the thesis is to provide a synchronic analysis. Given the interchangeability of the objects, *envy* and *forgive* offer an opportunity to investigate the postverbal complementation preference, i.e., whether the verbs tend to occur in the S-V-O_i-O_d pattern or the S-V-O-O_{prep} pattern, without other crucial factors impacting the form of the clause, as, for instance, the principles of the functional sentence perspective may govern the object ordering and, subsequently, the type of the clause pattern. Therefore, the present thesis will hopefully unveil several aspects of the verbs *envy* and *forgive* as well as contribute to the body of research associated with ditransitive constructions in general.

The theoretical background is predominantly comprised of accounts regarding ditransitive constructions found in major grammars, several approaches to the constructions in question from the perspective of the verbs that enter the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} pattern, and treatments of the verbs *envy* and *forgive*, in terms of their ditransitive status. The empirical part provides a corpus-based analysis of the verbs *envy* and *forgive* conducted on the data drawn from the Corpus of Historical American English, with 200 instances of each

¹ Although we use the two terms interchangeably, i.e., as both referring to the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} patterns, once we introduce the construction grammar approach, we resort to the double object construction label more frequently to avoid confusion.

verb illustrating its use in argument structures with both objects explicitly expressed. Notable attention is given to the O2 realisation (i.e., O_d in the S-V-O₁-O_d pattern or O_{prep} in the S-V-O-O_{prep} pattern) and its correlation with the form of the given clause pattern.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Major clause patterns and double object constructions

All verbs can be defined by the arguments they require for a clause to be grammatically acceptable. Based on the number and type of the arguments, grammarians distinguish several major clause patterns that can be attested in language. The variety of the patterns is usually limited as the classification of the patterns is not conditioned by the realisation of the elements, e.g., the noun phrase, the subordinate clause, etc. (Biber et al., 1999: 141).

Apart from the subject (S) and the finite verb (V), the elements which comprise the clause pattern are the object (O), the predicative complement (C), and the adverbial (A) (Quirk et al., 1985: 54, 55). The remaining elements that are not involved in the verbal complementation are defined as optional, since their presence does not affect the grammatical acceptability of the clause but rather provides additional information (Dušková et al., 2012: 12.2). However, verbal complements, such as adverbials, may become optional members as well if they are present in a clause in which the verb does not require the adverbial complementation. The following examples (Table 1) offer the account of the canonical clause patterns.

<i>SV</i>	The sun is shining.
<i>SVO</i>	That lecture bored me.
<i>SVC</i>	Your dinner seems ready.
<i>SVA</i>	My office is in the next building.
<i>SVOO</i>	I must send my parents an anniversary card.
<i>SVOC</i>	Most students have found her reasonably helpful.
<i>SVOA</i>	You can put the dish on the table.

Table 1: Major clause patterns (Quirk et al., 1985: 721)

If a clause requires the object, the clause is consequently considered transitive, while the absence of the object marks an intransitive clause. Based on the type of complementation (intransitive, copular, monotransitive, ditransitive, or complex transitive), English verbs are classified into several groups, labelled accordingly. However, such categorisation is often considered misleading, as it leads to a false assumption that a verb allows only one complementation (Quirk et al., 1985: 1168). Verbs that are not semantically specific, e.g., *get* or *turn*, are associated with much higher variability in terms of their constructional possibilities than other verbs whose semantics allow little ambiguity (Dušková et al., 2012:

12.2). Therefore, when discussing verbs, it is advisable not to refer to them as, for instance, bivalent or trivalent when adopting the valency approach, or monotransitive or ditransitive when adopting the transitivity approach, but we should rather “more correctly speak of verbs being ‘used with’ particular valencies” (Biber et al., 1999: 141), just as “transitivity applies to uses of verbs” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 216).

For the sake of terminological clarity, it is important, at this juncture, to establish links between transitivity and the newer grammatical representation of verbs, valency. When commenting on verb complementation, both terms may be used; nevertheless, while transitivity defines the number and type of postverbal complements (the object, the predicative complement, or the adverbial), valency also accounts for the subject (Quirk et al., 1985.: 1169). However, valency provides “a more general classification based simply on the number of complements” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 218, 219). It represents “the potential of the individual verb” regarding the occurrence of other elements, and it is not preoccupied with the typology of the clause elements in contrast to the older grammatical representation (Biber et al., 1999: 141).

This paper focuses on the verbs *envy* and *forgive* in the ditransitive/trivalent/three-place use. Thus, the core of this study lies in constructions that consist of two objects. Their realisation is treated differently by respective grammarians. Therefore, the following subdivisions briefly summarise the existing accounts of the double object constructions² (DOC) by canonical grammars, specifically in regard to the alternative prepositional construction.

2.1.1. DOC in A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language (1985)

When speaking of double object constructions in Quirk et al. (1985), the authors resort to the label “ditransitive complementation”. They distinguish two main subtypes of the complementation with a number of additional variants (i.e., those where the object is expressed by a clause). The first subtype is characterised by noun phrases that comprise two objects: the direct object and the indirect object. Since both are labelled as the object, they

² The term double-object construction is firstly introduced by Barrs and Lasnik (1986) to refer to the V NP₁ NP₂ structure, and in this sense the term plays an important role in Larson’s work (1988). In this analysis, we resort to the use of the term double object construction to encompass both the indirect pattern: S-V-O_i-O_d and the prepositional pattern S-V-O-O_{prep}.

share several characteristic features, such as the form, clause position, or syntactic function (ibid.: 726).

- (1) *I gave him [O_i] my address [O_d].* (ibid.)

Nevertheless, they are differentiated not only by their order in the postverbal complementation if both are present (the indirect object takes the first position, while the direct object follows), but also by their semantics – the indirect object usually refers to an animate entity “that is the recipient of the action”, whereas the direct object expresses a concrete entity “that is affected by the action denoted in the clause” (ibid.: 1208, 727).

Due to the prepositional verbs in the ditransitive use, Quirk et al. present another subtype of the ditransitive complementation that includes the object and the prepositional object. On the ground of evidence revealing two possible orders of the element, the authors identify two prepositional patterns: the direct object + the prepositional object, and the indirect object + the prepositional object. The variety of ditransitive patterns is illustrated in Table 2.

<i>tell</i> [D1 + 2a + 2b]	Mary told only John the secret.	[D1]
	Mary told the secret only <i>to</i> John.	[D2a]
	Mary told only John <i>about</i> the secret.	[D2b]
<i>offer</i> [D1 + 2a]	John offered Mary some help.	[D1]
	John offered some help <i>to</i> Mary.	[D2a]
<i>envy</i> [D1 + 2b]	She envied John his success.	[D1]
	She envied John <i>for</i> his success.	[D2b]
<i>wish</i> [D1]	They wished him good luck.	[D1]
<i>blame</i> [D2a + 2b]	Helen blamed the divorce <i>on</i> John.	[D2a]
	Helen blamed John <i>for</i> the divorce.	[D2b]
<i>say</i> [D2a]	Why didn't anybody say this <i>to</i> me?	[D2a]
<i>warn</i> [D2b]	Mary warned John <i>of</i> the dangers.	[D2b]

Table 2: Different constructional possibilities in the DOCs (Quirk et al., 1985: 1209)

Thus, we can summarise that all three patterns are available for some verbs, while other verbs might allow either the indirect ditransitive use or only one of the prepositional alternations, and certain verbs appear solely in one or both of the prepositional patterns.³ Therefore, verbs can be classified into categories based on this criterion (ibid.: 1210).

³ Regarding the verbal complementation, these findings concern verbs in the active voice.

2.1.2. DOC in Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny (1988)⁴

For the description of the double object constructions, Dušková et al. (2012) treat the constructions as two separate entities: S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep}, and consequently differentiate the verbs entering the DOC as those that allow the indirect pattern (ex 2) and those that exclude the pattern from the available argument structures due to the affected nature of the animate participant (ex 3). The latter are, therefore, complemented by the animate object and the prepositional object.

(2) *They granted her a loan.* (ibid.: 12.22.3)

(3) *You can't entrust him with money.* (ibid.: 12.22.4)

The perspective as such entails considerable differences in contrast to the approach implemented by Quirk et al. (1985), and therefore, we cannot draw as clear parallels between the two accounts as it may seem at the first glance. In contrast to Quirk et al.'s treatment, Dušková et al. (2012) further categorise the verbs allowing the S-V-O_i-O_d pattern into two more subtypes. The criterion for such a classification lies in the preposition, either *to* (ex 4b) or *for* (ex 5b), that introduces the prepositional object conveying the recipient in the alternative prepositional construction.⁵

(4) a. *He sold me his bicycle.* (Dušková et al., 2012: 12.22.3)

b. *He sold his bike to his neighbour.* (ibid.; the underscore added)

(5) a. *He bought her a present.* (ibid.)

b. *He bought presents for the whole family.* (ibid., the underscore added)

Although such constructions are present also in Quirk et al.'s account of ditransitive complementation (Quirk et al., 1985: 1210), Dušková et al. address the ditransitive use of verbs whose indirect object does not denote an entity that receives something, but rather an entity from which something is taken (ex 6). The alternative prepositional construction (ex 7), however, seems to be the preferred option (Dušková et al., 2012: 12.22.3).

(6) *They denied us their support.* (ibid.)

⁴ The electronic version (Dušková et al., 2012), from which the paper draws information, is based on *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny* (Academia, 1988, 1994, 2003, 2006).

⁵ Quirk et al. (1985) also adopt this classification; nevertheless, it is applied to verbs that have been already classified on the basis of the acceptability of different ditransitive patterns.

(7) *She took his toys from him.* (ibid.)

Another aspect of the ditransitive constructions that should be mentioned is the possibility of not explicitly expressing the indirect object, as in some cases the omissibility of the recipient participant is permissible (ex 8).

(8) *Everybody gave something.* (ibid.)

As far as the direct object is concerned, its omissibility presents a number of issues. Consider the following examples.

(9) **They granted the applicant.* (ibid.)

(10) *They sent John.* (ibid.)

(11) *I told him.* (ibid.)

In most cases, the omission of such kind either is not considered grammatical (ex 9) or causes a significant shift in meaning (ex 10), for both the syntactic function and the syntactic role consequently change as well. The original meaning, thus, is not preserved. Admittedly, the possibility to omit the direct object without the change in meaning arises with certain verbs, as in ex 11 (ibid.; for further discussion on object deletion see 2.1.4. and 3.3.).

2.1.3. DOC in Longman Grammar of the Spoken and Written English (1999)

Biber et al.'s approach to verbs in the DOC is in line with Dušková et al. in several of their remarks. The S-V-O_i-O_d pattern and the S-V-O-O_{prep} pattern occur with verbs that are captured under the umbrella term three-place verbs. The authors construe the indirect ditransitive construction “as the SVO_d pattern expanded by a recipient or benefactive role” (Biber et al., 1999: 150). However, there are cases in which the more complex construction conveys the same piece of information just as its SVO_d type; this phenomenon concerns semantically light verbs.⁶ Compare exx 12 and 13a.

(12) *Jacobus' wife brought him a mug of tea.* (ibid.)

(13) a. *Give it a good shake though.* (ibid.: 129)

⁶ A similar description can be found in Dušková et al., 2012: 12.22.3. Nevertheless, it is pointed that the affiliation between the prototypical ditransitive use and the construction with light verbs lies only in their formal relation.

b. *Shake it well though.* (ibid.)

In contrast to ex 13a, the sentence 13b offers the alternative SVO_d construction with no, or very little, change in the meaning. Additionally, Biber et al. point out that “ditransitive verbs also have ditransitive prepositional uses” (ibid.).

Concerning the S-V-O-O_{prep} pattern, the authors emphasise the possibility to omit the preposition in some cases and the possibility to find an alternative prepositional construction (see examples with the verbs *envy* and *blame*, respectively, in Table 2). Such variability “provide[s] good means of adjusting the form of the message according to the requirements of context” (Biber et al., 1999: 151).

2.1.4. DOC in *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (2002)

Huddleston & Pullum’s approach diverts from the existing accounts in a number of ways. Just like the aforementioned grammarians, the authors of *The Cambridge Grammar* also differentiate two types of elements in a clause structure – those that are more central to the grammar, i.e., complements of the predicator, and those that are not, i.e., adjuncts (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 215). Nevertheless, the complements are further classified into core elements and non-core elements. For the purposes of this paper, this distinction plays an important role in deciphering the differences between this and previous treatments of the double object constructions. Huddleston & Pullum, as the representatives of one of the younger approaches, categorise a prepositional phrase as a non-core element; ex 14a includes three core elements, while ex 14b only two. Its prepositional complementation, usually a noun phrase, is “related to the verb only indirectly, via the preposition”, and the noun phrase is referred to as an oblique (ibid.: 216).

(14) a. *Kim gave Pat the key.* (ibid.)

b. *Kim gave the key to Pat.* (ibid.)

“The preposition characteristically makes a contribution to identifying the semantic role of the NP. In this example, Pat is recipient, and although a recipient is inherently involved in the semantics of *give*, the preposition *to* can be regarded as identifying the NP that has the role.”

(ibid.)

Thus, it might be of interest to note that when speaking of transitivity, Huddleston & Pullum adopt the stance which dictates that only core elements are those that comprise a clause pattern as far as transitivity is concerned. Therefore in their case, only structures with the direct and the indirect object may be considered ditransitive.⁷ Consider the following examples.

- (15) *He read the paper.* (ibid.: 219)
- (16) *He blamed me for the delay.* (ibid.)
- (17) *She gave him some food.* (ibid.)

By most, ex 15 would be identified as monotransitive and ex 17 as ditransitive with little room for debate. Nevertheless, ex 16 is classified as monotransitive in the grammar in question, a notion with which Quirk et al. would most certainly disagree (see Table 2).

Similarly to Dušková et al.'s approach (2012), Huddleston & Pullum (2002) recognise the contrast between the *to*-phrase and the *for*-phrase in the alternative prepositional constructions. Based on their account, the preposition *to* is used with objects either taking the role of the recipient (ex 18) or expressing the locative goal (ex 19); the latter of which does not alternate with the indirect ditransitive construction. The preposition *for* introduces the element with a beneficiary role of either goods (ex 20) or services (ex 21; ibid.: 310).

- (18) *I gave/sent some cash to him.* (ibid.)
- (19) *I moved/sent Kim to the back.* (ibid.)
- (20) *I'll get another glass for you.* (ibid.)
- (21) *Let me open the door for you.* (ibid.)

Additionally, a limited number of verbs may include a different preposition, e.g., *of*, *with*, *against*, or *towards*, to introduce the animate participant corresponding to the indirect object in the ditransitive S-V-O_i-O_d construction (ibid.: 310-311).

Concerning the omissibility of the objects, the ditransitive construction does not necessitate the overt presence of the indirect object in most cases, the verbs *wish* and *deny* serving as the exception in terms of this tendency. The recipient is considered either definite,

⁷ This approach, however, relates only to transitivity, not valency, since the prepositional phrase is not classified as the object, but as a complement, nonetheless. Ex 16 is therefore classified as monotransitive and trivalent (ibid.).

recoverable from the context (ex 22), or indefinite, denoting a general human recipient (ex 23; *ibid.*: 312).

(22) *She gave \$100.* (*ibid.*)

(23) *This kind of work can give immense satisfaction.* (*ibid.*)

The direct object in the indirect ditransitive construction, on the other hand, is rarely omitted, although several verbs allow this type of omission, e.g., *bet*, *cost*, *envy*, *excuse*, *forgive*, *refuse*, *show*, *teach*, *tell* and *charge* (ex 24). Once again, we can draw distinction between omitted objects that are definite and indefinite (*ibid.*: 313)

(24) *They charged us.* (*ibid.*)

Brůhová's (2010) summarisation of the aforementioned grammars provides a comparative synthesis of various perspectives from which the ditransitive construction may be approached. Quirk et al.'s treatment "is most liberal in that it subsumes various types of formal realisations under this category and various verbs, even if they occur only in the prepositional construction". Biber et al. propose a condition under which only those verbs that enter the S-V-O_i-O_d pattern are regarded ditransitive, but due to the possibility of other ditransitive uses, the prepositional pattern is also considered ditransitive. "Huddleston & Pullum are the most strict and their group of verbs is the most limited: they include only the preposition-less construction (SVO_iO_d) in the category of ditransitives and exclude all constructions where a prepositional phrase occurs in the position of object" (*ibid.*: 19).

2.1.5. The account of *envy/forgive* in the aforementioned grammars

Before we shift our attention to syntactic change as a phenomenon of language change in general and the history of ditransitive constructions, it seems imperative to take a note of the instances of the verbs *envy* and *forgive* in relation to clause patterns in the above-mentioned grammars.

Quirk et al. (1985) classify both the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} as ditransitive complementation with no hesitation to cluster the verbs *envy* and *forgive* into one of the categories that they have construed, specifically the D1 + 2b category (*ibid.*: 1211). This class of verbs is characterised by the possibility of an alternative construction in which the indirect object remains in the same position, followed by the prepositional object which originally filled the position of the direct object (*ibid.*: 1208). Compare exx 25a and 25b.

- (25) a. *She envied John his success.* (ibid.: 1209)
 b. *She envied John for his success.* (ibid.)

Although Biber et al.'s (1999) account of double object constructions lacks the mention of the verb *envy*, the verb *forgive* is described in similar terms as in the previous grammar. According to Biber et al., the verb *forgive* allows both the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} pattern, with the order of the objects exemplified by the animate/inanimate distinction of the objects in question: *forgive somebody for something* (ibid.: 144).

Dušková et al.'s (2012) approach to double object constructions is missing both verbs. The only comment that is made concerns the incapability of the indirect object to alternate with the prepositional object in the clauses containing *envy* and *forgive* (ibid.: 13.32). Nevertheless, the authors note the possibility of the direct object in a monotransitive pattern (ex 26) to alternate with the prepositional one (ex 27), a finding that may resemble the O_d/O_{prep} correspondence in the ditransitive use of the verbs *envy* and *forgive*.

- (26) *Will you watch my clothes while I have a swim?* (ibid.: 13.36)
 (27) *Will you watch over my clothes while I have a swim?* (ibid.)

As has been mentioned in the previous subsection, Huddleston & Pullum classify double object constructions involving the prepositional object as monotransitive due to the non-core nature of the prepositional object, a distinction not reflected in the other grammars. The ditransitive/monotransitive contrast is illustrated in ex 28 and described in terms of the correspondence between the indirect object in a ditransitive construction (Oⁱ_{ditrans}) and the direct object in a monotransitive construction (O^d_{mono}) in the use of the verb *envy* (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 297).

- (28) a. *I envied him his freedom.* (ibid.)
 b. *I envied him for his freedom.* (ibid.)

Following the distinction, both verbs are classified as verbs that allow the recipient to be expressed only by the indirect object in constructions with two complements, since it is the direct object that alternates with the prepositional non-core element. Apart from *envy* and *forgive*, the class includes verbs such as *allow*, *begrudge*, *cost*, *excuse*, *refuse*, *tax* etc. (ibid.: 309). *Envy*, *forgive*, and *excuse* are further marked as those whose preposition in the alternative construction is always *for* (ibid.: 312).

- (29) *I can't forgive him his lies.* (ibid.)
(30) *I can't forgive him for his lies.* (ibid.)

To conclude, it seems evident that the various treatments of both the double object constructions and the verbs *envy* and *forgive* are not always in line with one another as different perspectives offer different interpretations. Thus, such diversity might elucidate heterogeneous conceptions of ditransitive constructions (and consequently conceptions of the verbs *envy* and *forgive*) that will be further discussed in the following subchapters of this paper.

2.2. The semantics of ditransitive construction and the verbs *envy* and *forgive*

In this paper, we attempt to survey major approaches to the verbs *envy* and *forgive* in terms of their semantic link to the indirect ditransitive construction (S-V-O_i-O_d). The heterogeneity of the feasible treatments is situated on two major axes. On the one hand, we differentiate two kinds of approaches: the traditional approach, also termed the lexical rule approach, which considers the meaning in ex 31b, that is, ‘bake something with the intention to give it to someone’, as a part of the semantics of the verb, and the constructional approach. The constructional approach represents a more recent development in the treatment of semantics, and it ascribes the additional meaning in ex 31b to the ditransitive construction⁸ (Croft, 2003: 49-50).

- (31) a. *Tess baked a cake.* (ibid.: 49)
b. *Tess baked Bill a cake.* (ibid.)

On the other hand, regarding the constructional approach, we may discern the following studies based on the interpretation of the ditransitive use of the verbs *envy* and *forgive* as their treatment is far from unified. Some linguists do not comment on the two verbs at all, some consider their use idiosyncratic, and a few include them in one of their established verb classes that allow the indirect ditransitive construction. In the upcoming subsections, first, we provide an overview of *envy* and *forgive* by one of the prominent lexicalist, Beth Levin, then we offer a brief description of Anne Wierzbicka’s account, functioning here as a representative of the linguists that do not mention *envy* and *forgive* at all. The third

⁸ In terms of construction grammar, i.e., the indirect pattern.

subchapter is dedicated to the linguists advocating the idiosyncratic ditransitive use of the two verbs, specifically Adele Goldberg and William Croft. Perhaps the most important accounts are outlined in the following part that explores the treatment of *envy* and *forgive* by Steven Pinker and Susan Hunston & Gill Francis, who grant them the status of fully-fledged ditransitive verbs within the conventional classes. The last subchapter contrasts the various approaches with cross-linguistic evidence.

2.2.1. Beth Levin: English Verb Classes and Alternations (1993)

Before we investigate the different accounts of the ditransitive construction (i.e., the indirect pattern), its semantics and their relation to the verb *envy* and *forgive*, let us briefly summarise the interpretation of *envy* and *forgive* from the viewpoint of the lexicalist approach, namely by Beth Levin (1993). *Envy* and *forgive* are categorised as verbs that do not allow dative alternation, which would permit the change in the order of the two objects in the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O_d-O_{prep} alternation, as, for instance, the verb *sell* does (ex 32; *ibid.*: 47), nor the *blame* alternation, in which their form is permissible only with the preposition ‘for’, the same notion applicable to the verb *condemn* (ex 33; *ibid.*: 69).

- (32) a. *Bill sold Tom a car.* (*ibid.*: 47)
 b. *Bill sold a car to Tom.* (*ibid.*)
- (33) a. **Mira condemned the accident on Terry.* (*ibid.*: 69)
 b. *Mira condemned Terry for the accident.* (*ibid.*)

As far as other alternations are concerned, Levin speaks of the so-called “possessor-attribute factoring alternations”. She argues that such alternations emerge “because a possessor and a possessed attribute may be expressed in two different ways with certain verbs”, either synthetically by a single noun phrase, or separately with one or the other coded by the prepositional phrase (*ibid.*: 72). While the class of verbs including *envy* (here exemplified by the verb *admire*) allow all three types of the alternations (exx 34a, b and c), *forgive*, alongside with *praise* (exx 35a, b, and c), does not permit the construction in which the ‘attribute’ takes the position of the direct object, and the ‘possessor’ is expressed by the prepositional phrase (ex 35c; *ibid.*: 73-75).

- (34) a. *I admired his honesty.* (*ibid.*)
 b. *I admired him for his honesty.* (*ibid.*)
 c. *I admired the honesty in him.* (*ibid.*)

- (35) a. *They praised the volunteers' dedication.* (ibid.)
b. *They praised the volunteers for their dedication.* (ibid.)
c. **They praised the dedication in the volunteers.* (ibid.)

In the above-mentioned examples, Levin characterises the verb *envy* as a member of **the negative admire-type psych verbs** and the verb *forgive* as a representative of **the positive judgement verbs**.

Although the approach is purely lexicalist in nature, it reveals possible issues that the constructional grammarians need to face when analysing *envy* and *forgive* and their ditransitive use.

2.2.2. Anne Wierzbicka: *The Semantics of Grammar* (1988)

Wierzbicka (1988) offers an extensive account of the ditransitive constructions, which she terms 'internal datives'. She claims that by "identifying the meaning of this syntactic construction, and [...] stating this meaning in precise terms (in the proposed semantic metalanguage), we can both explain and predict the range of application of the construction" (ibid.: 359). It is established that there are semantic constraints that allow only a limited set of verbs to occur in such constructions. When discussing subtypes that share the semantic core, Wierzbicka includes **the verbs of transfer, speaking of future having, making, preparing, entertaining, telling, teaching and showing**, which represent "the specifiable semantic contexts" allowing the construction. The verbs *envy* and *forgive* are not included in the account (ibid.: 364).

2.2.3. Adele Goldberg: *A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure* (1995) and William Croft: "Lexical Rules Vs. Constructions: A False Dichotomy" (2003)

Goldberg (1995) argues that constructions behave similarly to morphemes and therefore may also show signs of polysemy. The ditransitive construction expresses the basic, central sense of the agent argument acting "to cause transfer of an object to a recipient" (ibid.: 32). However, several extensions can be made, and the implied transfer undergoes a semantic change, introducing a category of related meanings. In Figure 1 (ibid.: 38), Goldberg identifies the central sense and its derived senses with specific verb classes representing each semantic modification.

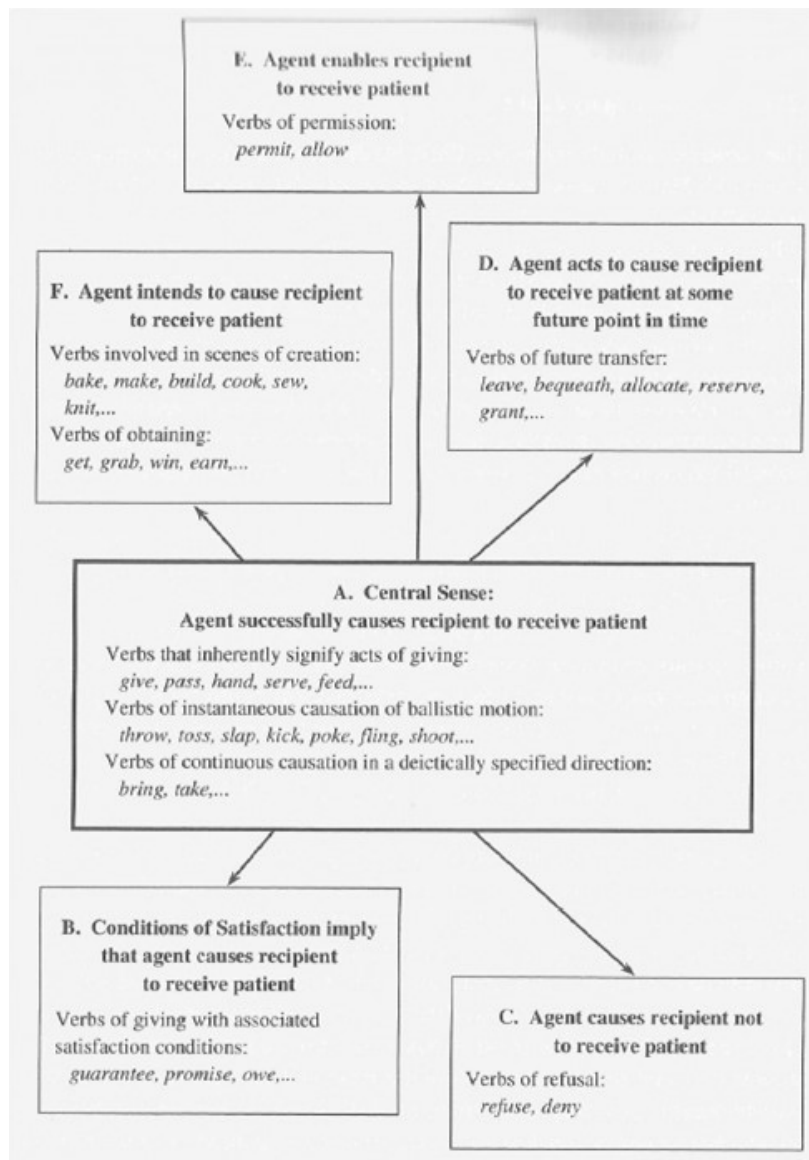


Figure 1 Central sense and the extended senses in the ditransitive construction (Goldberg, 1995: 38)

Verbs of creation (e.g., *make, bake, cook*) and **verbs of obtaining** (e.g., *get, earn, win*) only imply the intended transfer in the ditransitive construction, however, it cannot be claimed that the transfer will truly occur or not. Similar interpretation may be postulated with **verbs of giving with associated satisfaction conditions** (e.g., *guarantee, promise, owe*). No intention nor obligation is suggested by **verbs of future having** (e.g., *leave, reserve, grant*) but the transfer of possession is expected to occur at a future point in time. The agent in constructions with **verbs of permission** (e.g., *permit, allow*) is not strictly the agent of the transfer but only an enabler of the action. By contrast, the ditransitive use of **verbs of refusal** (e.g., *refuse, deny*) negate the transfer, as the agent refuses to take the opportunity to perform or allow the reception. Thus, Goldberg speaks of the so-called

constructional polysemy (ibid.: 31-33). In her later work (2002), Goldberg subsumes another group of verbs systematically related to the central sense denoting “that transfer will *not* occur” (ibid.: 332).

In line with the semantic modifications to the central sense of the ditransitive construction, it is necessary to include Goldberg’s interpretation of the semantic difference between the indirect and the prepositional pattern in double object constructions. Consider the following examples.

- (36) a. *Mary taught Bill French.* (Goldberg, 1995: 33)
 b. *Mary taught French to Bill.* (ibid.)

According to Goldberg, ex 36a “implies that Bill actually learned some French, that the metaphorical transfer was successful”, while in ex 36b “no such implication is necessary” (ibid.).⁹ Thus, the successful transfer is considered to be part of the central sense, which may later be subject to semantic shifts.

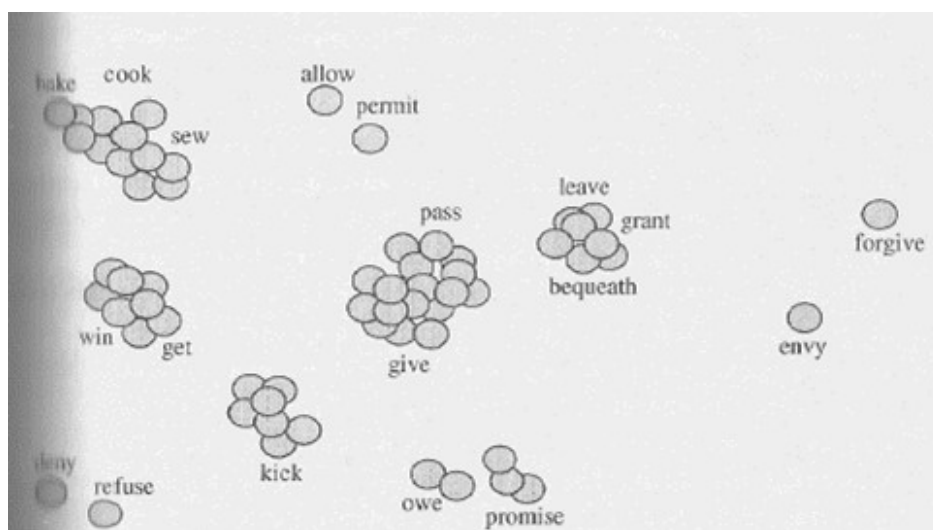


Figure 2 Verb classes of the ditransitive construction represented as similarity clusters (Goldberg, 1995: 135)

As far as the verbs *envy* and *forgive* are concerned, they are treated as positive exceptions that occur in the ditransitive construction, yet no associated transfer is to be found in their meaning (see Figure 2, which, apart from the low type-frequency of the ‘cluster’ containing

⁹ In contrast to the polysemous approach to alternative constructions adopted by Goldberg, but also Pinker (1989), Larson (1988), as a representative of the generative grammar, considers such constructions as differing only in their formal aspect, since they are linked by the syntactic derivation, and not in their semantics.

envy and *forgive*, also graphically represents their semantic distance from other ditransitive verbs). Goldberg presents the following examples as her case in point.

(37) *He forgave her her sins.* (ibid.: 132)

(38) *He envied the prince his fortune.* (ibid.)

According to Goldberg, in terms of the transfer interpretation of the ditransitive construction “the subjects in these cases are not causal, and no reception is involved” (ibid.: 131-132). Goldberg attributes the possibility of the ditransitive use to the semantic histories of *envy* and *forgive*. Regarding *envy*, several examples are attested in the period from the 16th to the 18th century in which the meaning is understood as “to grudge, give reluctantly, refuse to give (a thing) to (a person)”, while the meaning behind one of the obsolete uses of the verb *forgive* is “to give, grant” (OED). Such findings suggest that at some point in history, both verbs pertained to the other verb classes in regard to their central sense. However, it is possible that the ditransitive use remained ‘frozen’ and has consequently caused the synchronic interpretation of the verbs *envy* and *forgive* that views them as “positive exceptions to the semantic generalizations” (Goldberg, 1995: 133)

Perhaps the most interesting (and most crucial for this paper) commentary made by Goldberg is her assumption concerning the future of the ditransitive use with the verbs *envy* and *forgive*. She postulates that “it would be natural for odd cases of ditransitives involving *forgive* and *envy* to drop out of use”, since “it seems reasonable that syntactic change should tend toward patterns that are more transparent to the speaker” (ibid.: 132). She remarks that her and her students’ acceptance of the ditransitive use with *envy* and *forgive* is considerably low, and she notes that younger speakers may find not only modern-sounding sentences (exx 39b, 40b) but also more archaic-sounding ones (ex 39a, 40a) unacceptable.

(39) a. *She forgave him his sins.* (ibid.)

b. ?**She forgave him his goof.* (ibid.)

(40) a. *She envied him his vast fortune.* (ibid.)

b. ?**She envied him his extensive stock portfolio.* (ibid.)

Thus, she concludes that it is to be expected for the ditransitive use of *envy* and *forgive* to gradually cease to exist. However, their current presence in language does not prevent new generations of speakers from learning them, and such use may be learned “on an instance-

by-instance basis as idioms” (ibid.) If they are to be replaced, the issue of which constructions should substitute the ditransitive use is, nonetheless, not commented upon.

Croft’s (2003) account is in line with Goldberg’s interpretation to great extent, the only difference his treatment offers lies in the subdivision of verb-class-specific constructions and verb-specific constructions, under which the verbs *envy* and *forgive* fall as well (ibid.: 58). Yet, it is worth noting that Croft also provides convincing points on the desirable effects of combining both the constructional and lexicalist views in the examination of the ditransitive construction.

The existence and necessity of verb-specific constructions indicates that there is a false dichotomy underlying the lexical rule analysis and the abstract constructional analysis. One can account for lexical idiosyncrasy and constructional generality with verb-specific and verb-class-specific constructions.

(ibid.: 60)

In his later work, *Verbs: Aspect and Causal Structures* (2012), Croft addresses the diachronic nature of the ditransitive use of the verbs *envy* and *forgive* that Goldberg postulates as the origin of the currently ‘frozen’ use, and argues that the moment the verbs lost the basic sense denoting reception, the ditransitive construction should have no longer been considered acceptable. Yet, the truth is the opposite, and *envy* and *forgive* continued to occur in the ditransitive argument structure. According to Croft, such findings indicate that the representation of the verb-specific constructions had been independent and autonomous even before the change in meaning took place, and thus both verbs could keep their syntactic properties (ibid.: 389).

In contrast to Goldberg and Croft, other linguists have attempted to generate conventional verb classes of the ditransitive use, the verbs *envy* and *forgive* having their rightful place among them, and thus recognised as entailing the meaning of the ditransitive construction.

2.2.4. Steven Pinker: Learnability and Cognition (1989) and Susan Hunston & Gill Francis: Pattern Grammar: A corpus-driven approach to the lexical grammar of English (2000)

Pinker (1989) also identifies the “X causes Y to have Z” meaning as the thematic core of the ditransitive constructions. As far as the defining subclasses of verbs are concerned,

Pinker outlines several groups that allow this particular argument structure and provides information about the limitations on its productivity. **Verbs of giving** pose as the prototypical subclass, including the verbs *give, pass, hand, sell, pay, trade, lend, loan, serve* and *feed*, whose semantics is completely compatible with the thematic core. Additionally, a type of such transfer can come into play, and verbs of this type, i.e., **verbs of sending** such as *send, ship, and mail*, also constitute a significant subcategory. Although certain verbs may seem compatible with the thematic core, “some subclasses can be reinterpreted by a narrow lexical rule to denote changes of possession, by means of which they inherit the double-object argument structure, and other cannot” (ibid.: 110). **Verbs of instantaneous causation of motion** (e.g., *throw, toss, flip, slap, kick, poke, blast*) may occur in the ditransitive construction, while verbs whose causation of motion is continuous rather than instantaneous and whose meaning is construed as denoting some type of manner (e.g., *carry, pull, push, lift, lower*) fail to dative. Temporal relations are foregrounded in sentences with **verbs of future having**, illustrated by verbs such as *offer, promise, leave, refer, guarantee, assign, reserve* and *grant*, where one commits to the transfer at some point in future, and **verbs of future not having**, which are, apart from the verbs *cost, spare, begrudge, bet, refuse, ask, save, charge, and fine*, also exemplified by the verbs *envy* and *forgive*. Other subclasses are identified as **illocutionary verbs of communication** (*tell, show, ask, teach, pose, write, read, cite* + **verbs specifying an instrument of communication**: *radio, satellite, telegraph, telephone*), **verbs of creation** (*bake, make, build, cook, sew, knit*), and **verbs of obtaining** (*get, buy, find, steal, order, win, earn, grab*). It is necessary to stress the existence of counterexamples in the majority of the aforementioned subclasses that do not permit the ditransitive use (ibid.: 110-119).¹⁰ Coleman & De Clerck (2008) point out that the category of future not having may not seem as semantically homogeneous as the other above-mentioned classes, but the inclusion of *envy* and *forgive* in this particular subclass is not misplaced (ibid.: 192).

¹⁰ Nondative verbs include *donate, contribute* (verbs of giving); *transport* (verbs of sending); *propel, release* (verbs on instantaneous causation of motion); *explain, announce, describe, admit* (illocutionary verbs of communication); *construct, create, design* (verbs of creation); *purchase, obtain* and *collect* (verbs of obtaining). Moreover, verbs denoting manner of speaking (*shout, scream*), transfer of something that is needed (*entrust, credit, supply*) or selection/designation (*choose, pick, select*) never occur in the ditransitive argument structure (Pinker, 1989: 119).

Hunston & Francis (2000) establish a comprehensive list of five “meaning groups” of verbs whose argument structure includes two objects.¹¹ The first group consists of a large category of **verbs and phrasal verbs concerned with giving someone something, or refusing to do so**, exemplified by the verbs *give, afford, assign, throw, show, pass, offer, permit, refuse, sell, grant* etc. Hunston & Francis admit that verbs conflated in this group may be diffused into several smaller groups, “such as giving, selling, lending, offering, not giving, allocating money, resources, or tasks” (ibid.: 88). **Verbs concerned with doing something for someone** include *bring, buy, cook, find, order, pour, sing* etc., **verbs concerned with talking, writing, or otherwise communicating something to someone** are illustrated by the verbs *ask, fax, mail, send, teach, tell, write* etc., and **verbs and phrasal verbs concerned with giving someone a benefit or a disadvantage** consist of *charge, cost, earn, lose, save spare, win* etc. The fifth and simultaneously the last meaning group completes the extensive list with four more verbs, namely (*not*) *begrudge, envy, excuse* and *forgive*, which constitute the **verbs concerned with feelings and attitudes** (ibid.: 88-89).

The motivation behind each group is not explicitly stated, as Hunston & Francis provide no information based on which they formulated the classification, but their account illuminates a novel perspective that can be considered in the treatment of verbs and their ditransitive use, especially the interpretation of the last meaning group, verbs concerned with feelings and attitudes. The inclusion of the verbs *envy* and *forgive*, both in Pinker (1989) and Hunston & Francis (2000) contributes to the process of re-establishing the two verbs as rightful members of verb classes allowing the ditransitive use. Their ascription to **verbs of future not having** (Pinker, 1989) and **verbs concerned with feelings and attitudes** (Hunston & Francis, 2000) offers a case in point in Coleman & De Clerck’s (2008) semantic explanation of the conceptual similarities between the prototypical ditransitive verbs and *envy/forgive* (see 2.4.2.).

2.2.5. Cross-linguistic evidence of the ditransitive clauses with *envy* and *forgive*

Cross-linguistic evidence of any linguistic phenomenon acts as a significant marker of shared semantic features or notions. As Coleman & De Clerck (2008) note, many languages

¹¹ Hunston & Francis refrain from the indirect/direct object distinction in these particular cases (e.g., *She gave her son some cash*), since they construe both objects as involved in, but not responsible for, the verbal action. Additionally, they do not contrast them with the objects in the prepositional pattern, thus making the distinction redundant (ibid.: 153).

(e.g., Dutch, Spanish, Polish, Russian, Swedish, German and French) containing comparable ditransitive argument structures also include *envy* and *forgive* in such constructions, thus challenging the idiosyncratic interpretation of the ditransitive construction with the verbs *envy* and *forgive* (Colleman 2006, Maldonado 2002, Rudzka-Ostyn 1996; Coleman & De Clerck, 2008: 198-201). More importantly, the counterparts of *envy* and *forgive* across languages are not always associated with the verbal class of giving and never have been, consequently disputing the etymological explanation behind the so-called ‘frozen’ use of the ditransitive construction that Goldberg envisages (see 2.2.3.; Goldberg, 1995: 133). Correspondingly, Czech counterparts *závidět* and *odpustit* likewise enter the ditransitive argument structure, but in contrast to the other available structures in English (see 2.4.), the complementation of *závidět* cannot omit the recipient, since as such it would be considered ungrammatical (compare exx 41a and 41b; Havlíčková Kysová, 2007: 11), and neither the prepositional structure seems to be available.

- (41) a. *Petr záviděl Pavlovi nové auto.* (ibid.)
 b. **Petr záviděl nové auto.* (ibid.)

What is worth noting is the nature of Czech ditransitive verbs, which frequently, but not necessarily, denote the change of possession, as, for instance, *dát* or *poslat*. But some verbs simply express an action that is directed towards someone, whether the recipient is aware of such action or not. The meaning of this type is illustrated by the following verbs that allow the ditransitive complementation: *věřit* (‘believe’), *vytknout* (‘reproach’), and *ukrást* (‘steal’) as well as *závidět* (‘envy’) and *odpustit/prominout* (‘forgive’) (Dvořák, 2007: DATIV). As far as valency is concerned, both *závidět* and *odpustit/prominout* are considered mental actions that require the complementation with the addressee and the patient (Lopatková et al., 2020). Regarding the opposite direction of the transfer, Czech more readily accepts this type of ditransitive constructions, while their English counterparts usually require the prepositional object. An exception is represented by the verb *deny* (Dušková et al., 2012: 12.22.3).

2.3. The indirect ditransitive construction and its prepositional alternation in time

Since the paper concerns predominantly the preference in the complementation of the ditransitive verbs *envy* and *forgive* in time, it is important to briefly summarise some major

principles of syntactic change and the development of the ditransitive construction use, because, as it is going to be pointed out in the subsequent parts, there seems to be an ongoing syntactic change regarding the verbs treated here. Although the analysis included in this paper is, to a great extent, conducted on the basis of the synchronic perspective, the diachronic approach offers a unique view on the syntactic change in progress.

2.3.1. Major principles of syntactic change

Syntactic change is generally described as a change in syntactic constructions, whether it be a creation of a new one, a change in an already existing one or a change by which a certain construction ceases to exist (Bybee, 2015: 161). The process of syntacticization stems from discourse as “loose, paratactic, ‘pragmatic’ discourse structures develop – over time – into tight, ‘grammaticalized’ syntactic structures” (Givón, 1979: 208). One might presume that such process may cause an extensive syntacticization of a language, nevertheless, there are other countervailing processes, specifically the processes of morphologization or lexicalization, that hinder such an excessive change in the nature of human languages. Thus, syntactic structures eventually erode. However, communicative needs might demand a rise of other syntactic constructions, ultimately cycling the whole process (ibid.: 209). The use of a conventionalised construction then may see either the expansion or the decrease of their range of use as either more or fewer lexical items occur in the particular construction. The latter possibility is usually accompanied by the existence of another construction that serves similar functions, which may result in a complete disappearance of one of them, e.g., the gradual loss of the impersonal construction – replaced by the transitive construction (Bybee, 2015: 169, 176), although that might not always be the case. The situation when more than one construction can be used to denote the same or similar meaning is represented by the term *layering*, which is considered one of the five main principles¹² of grammaticization by Hopper (1991):

“Within a functional domain, new layers are continually emerging. As this happens, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers.”

(ibid.: 22)

¹² The five principles include layering, divergence, specialization, persistence and de-categorialization (Hopper, 1991: 22)

2.3.2. A brief overview of the changes in the use of the ditransitive construction and its prepositional alternation

The term *layering* is also applicable when describing the situation of the coexisting indirect ditransitive constructions and their prepositional alternations. From the diachronic viewpoint, the ditransitive construction (S-V-O_i-O_d) represents an older development than the more recent prepositional double object construction (S-V-O-O_{prep}). In the Old English period, there were several types of ditransitive constructions with two NP objects (dative + accusative, genitive + accusative, or dative + genitive etc.) that were easily distinguished by case markings. Although the prepositional alternation had already been in existence, one must keep in mind that its use was much less frequent than in Present-Day English. The Middle English period brought about the loss of case markings, which motivated the narrowing of functions conveyed by the ditransitive constructions to only those that expressed the role of the recipient in the position closest to the verb (Bybee, 2015: 173). As has been suggested in the previous section, such a change in the range of application allowed the expansion of the prepositional double object construction as both its token and type frequency increased. Although ditransitive constructions were becoming more and more limited, Bybee argues that today “there is complete overlap in the sense that any verb that occurs in the DOC [i.e., the indirect pattern] can also occur in the prepositional construction” (ibid.: 174), a notion of compatibility with which Quirk et al. might disagree (see Table 2, specifically the verb *wish*). Even though, in this particular instance, the prepositional construction is attested in Collins Online English Dictionary with the example of the construction *wish something on somebody*, it is worth noting that the use is associated only with the negative sense.

Colleman & De Clerck (2011) provide an in-depth study on semantic specialization in the English indirect ditransitive construction during the later stages of the development, specifically from the Late-Modern to the Present-Day English period. On the one hand, the authors admit that the domain of verbs used in the indirect ditransitive pattern has been slightly expanded by the verbs classified as instrument-of-communication verbs, such as *fax*, *radio*, *e-mail* etc. Those lexical units are not attested in the 18th-century data as they represent inventions of the following centuries (ibid.: 190, 191). On the other hand, Colleman & De Clerck’s investigation reveals a significant narrowing of the range of lexemes that occur in the indirect ditransitive construction. They identify a number of verb classes whose ditransitive use was common in the 18th century but that are now obsolete either due to shifts

in the semantics of the verbs or because the indirect ditransitive use is no longer acceptable, the latter of which presents the key interest of the study. The classes of verbs that underwent the syntactic change and are no longer used in the indirect ditransitive construction are **the verbs of banishment** (*banish, dismiss, discharge, expel*; *ibid.*: 193), **the verbs of ‘pure benefaction’** (exx 42 and 43), although the use with a beneficiary instead of a prototypical recipient can be characterised as grammatical if the meaning is limited to the “acts of creation/preparation or obtainment” due to the “‘intended reception’ constraint”, e.g., *make, cook, build, find* etc. (*ibid.*: 194), and some of **the communication verbs**, specifically those that denote a manner of speaking have the tendency not to allow the S-V-O_i-O_d pattern (*shout, whisper, mumble*). Nevertheless, an additional number of communication verbs were involved in the syntactic change, namely the verbs *command, inform, repeat, state*, an observation that presupposes higher variability of the indirect ditransitive use in earlier stages in the development of the English language (*ibid.*: 197, 198).

(42) ?**She opened me the window.* (*ibid.*: 195)

(43) **She flowered me the plants.* (*ibid.*)

Apart from the above-mentioned classes of verbs, there is only one more class that has captured the attention of Coleman & De Clerck, namely **the verbs concerned with feelings and attitudes**. This class includes verbs such as *envy* and *forgive* together with their near-synonyms *excuse* and *begrudge*. In contrast to the previous classes, these verbs offer instances of indirect ditransitive use not only in the 18th century but also in Present-Day English, although such use is becoming less frequent. Coleman & De Clerck make further observations about the syntactic change of the verbs *envy* and *forgive* in one of their studies, whose account comprises the following section.

2.4. Coleman & De Clerck’s (2008) account of the ditransitive use of *envy* and *forgive*

Probably the most exhaustive study of the verbs *envy* and *forgive* and their occurrence in the indirect ditransitive pattern S-V-O_i-O_d was conducted by Coleman & De Clerck in 2008. They analysed all instances of verbal *envy* and *forgive* attested in the *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts* (CLMET) and in the imaginative domain of the *British National Corpus* (BNC), the component chosen to provide a suitable counterpart to the predominantly fictional characteristics of texts written by British authors, which are compiled in the

CLMET. Apart from the indirect ditransitive pattern, Coleman & De Clerck identify other available argument structures, namely the prepositional construction [envy/forgive X for Y] (ex 44), the monotransitive pattern with the object denoting either the person that is envied or forgiven (ex 45), or what is being envied or forgiven, for instance, some quality such as beauty, or possession that is repeatedly accompanied by a possessive determiner (ex 46; *ibid*: 193-195).

- (44) a. *Members of Parliament are envied by thousands merely for this frivolous glory, as a thinker calls it.*
b. *Shake hands my lad, and forgive me freely for having been so cold to thee.*
- (45) a. *A poet is not apt to envy a philosopher, or a poet of a different kind, of a different nation, or of a different age.*
b. *You must forgive her, but she is still not herself.*
- (46) a. *He watched it disappear into the trees, a fleeting light-brown spectre, and envied its skittish grace.*
b. *I could readily forgive her prejudice against me, and her hard thoughts of our sex in general, when I saw to what brilliant specimens her experience had been limited.*

Absolute frequencies of the ditransitive argument structure are put into contrast with all the other constructions, the ratio then compared across the four different periods. It is necessary to notice that, although Coleman & De Clerck's approach covers the variability of constructions into which *envy* and *forgive* can enter, the boundaries between the different configurations are blurred in their analysis. Moreover, among the examined instances, some occurrences are coded in the passive voice and inevitably, one of the predicate constituents takes the preverbal position, thus not allowing the ditransitive construction by default (see ex 44a.).

2.4.1. A quantitative account of the syntactic change in formal British English

Coleman & De Clerck (2008) note a gradual drop in the ditransitive use of both *envy* and *forgive* over time, putting into contrast the frequencies in three distinct periods in the CLMET (1710-1780, 1780-1850, 1850-1920) and the BNC (see Figure 3).

Table 2. *Envy* in the CLMET and the BNC

	Absolute frequencies and proportions			Normalised frequencies per million words		
	Ditransitive	Other	Total	Ditransitive	Other	Total
CLMET 1710–1780 2.1m words	13 (27.1%)	35 (72.9%)	48 (100%)	6.2	16.7	23.0
CLMET 1780–1850 3.7m words	14 (18.7%)	61 (81.3%)	75 (100%)	3.8	16.5	20.3
CLMET 1850–1920 4m words	4 (6%)	65 (94%)	69 (100%)	1.0	16.3	17.3
BNC-imaginative 19.7 m words	39 (17.6%)	182 (82.4%)	221 (100%)	2.0	9.2	11.2

Table 3. *Forgive* in the CLMET and the BNC

	Absolute frequencies and proportions			Normalised frequencies per million words		
	Ditransitive	Other	Total	Ditransitive	Other	Total
CLMET 1710–1780 2.1m words	14 (8.7%)	147 (91.3%)	161 (100%)	6.7	70.0	76.7
CLMET 1780–1850 3.7m words	20 (6.5%)	289 (93.5%)	309 (100%)	5.3	78.1	83.5
CLMET 1850–1920 4m words	13 (4.5%)	277 (95.5%)	290 (100%)	3.3	69.2	72.5
BNC-imaginative 19.7m words	44 (4.6%)	919 (95.4%)	963 (100%)	2.2	46.6	48.9

Figure 3 *Envy* and *forgive* in the CLMET and the BNC (Coleman & De Clerck, 2008: 194)

As far as the verb *forgive* is concerned, there is a notable decrease in the instances with the S-V-O_i-O_d structure. The calculated gamma coefficient also confirms the significance of the decline in frequency, albeit mild. *Envy*, on the other hand, is gradually being dropped out of use in the first three periods, but the ditransitive indirect pattern seems to increase in frequency in the BNC, hence the significance of the change can be established only in the CLMET (ibid.: 194-196). However, perhaps the most valuable information extracted from the data concerns the frequency of the ditransitive use in Present-Day British English that proposes several counterarguments to a few postulates in Goldberg (1995). First of all, the proportion of the indirect pattern is clearly not insignificant, as it is still actively used. Although their study has “shown a decrease in use of the ditransitive argument structure pattern with *envy* and *forgive* [...], their occurrence cannot (yet) be labelled as near-obsolete: at least in written British English, they still occur with a respectable frequency” (Coleman & De Clerck, 2008: 210). Secondly, Coleman & De Clerck note that both the verbs considerably more often enter the ditransitive construction than some other canonically ditransitive verbs, such as *refuse* or *order*, and therefore, they argue against the notion of *envy* and *forgive* being on the verge of extinction. Lastly, a great emphasis is placed on the

time-relevant parameters of the direct object. While Goldberg argues that modern-sounding nouns are likely to be considered unacceptable, the data in the BNC suggest the opposite (exx 47 and 48), with the verbs *envy* and *forgive* showing signs of flexibility and productivity (ibid.: 196-198).

(47) *Further back, Judie had envied Anne her college boyfriend.* (ibid.: 197)

(48) *'Oh, shut up, Jay, forgive a mother her blind spots.'* (ibid.: 198)

2.4.2. Conceptual links between the semantics of ditransitive verbs and *envy/forgive*

Given the cross-linguistic evidence that disputes the claim concerning the etymological explanation of the ditransitive use of *envy* and *forgive*, Coleman & De Clerck (2008) provide a systematic process of drawing connections between the prototypical ditransitive verbs, such as *give* or *send*, and *envy/forgive*, and by applying the multidimensional approach, advocated for by Geeraerts (1988), they establish a number of semantic extensions.

“[W]e shall argue that ditransitive clauses involving *envy* and *forgive* instantiate such a combination of extensions from several dimensions, too. They can be described as combining (i) a metaphorical extension from **material to abstract** transfers with (ii) a shift in direction from a transfer **towards** the indirect object to a transfer **away from** the indirect object and/or (iii) an extension from the **actual causation** of a possessional transfer to an **attitude** towards such a transfer.”

(Coleman & De Clerck, 2008: 202)

The feasibility of **metaphorical possession** instead of a material entity is present in many ditransitive clauses including verbs of giving. According to the data found in the CLMET and the BNC, *envy* is compatible with both concrete and abstract entities, but the ditransitive use of *forgive* accepts only metaphorical possession, usually “negatively evaluated behaviour, deed or characteristics of the indirect object which cause a feeling of guilt in the possessor or personal discomfort in the agent which the latter is willing to cleanse by the act of forgiving” (ibid.: 203).

A **reversal in direction** affects the transfer by reanalysing “the indirect object referent as its source rather as its target” (ibid.). As Coleman & De Clerck point out, many Old English verbs of dispossession had the ability to express this type of reversal, nonetheless,

most of them are no longer available. As one of the current representatives, we may consider the verb *cost* in clauses such as ex 49, in which the semantic core lies in the [X causes Y to lose Z] interpretation (ibid.: 204).

(49) *Mina cost Mel his job.* (Goldberg, 2002: 333)

As has been outlined in the previous sections, the semantics of this reversal is recognised by Goldberg in her later studies (ibid.) and by Pinker (1989) in the ‘verbs of future not having’ class (see 2.2.3. and 2.2.4.), which is a considerably heterogeneous group, in which *envy* and *forgive* take a crucial position. Similarly to the ditransitive instances of *cost*, the verb *envy* also presupposes the subject becoming the possessor of the direct object, i.e., the semantics of the verb entails the subject’s desire to become the possessor of the direct object; nevertheless, the aspect of the indirect object losing the referent of the aforementioned direct object is not necessary (Coleman & De Clerck, 2008: 205). Consider the following examples.

(50) *I envy old Podgy Hicks that boat.* (ibid.)

(51) *I used to envy you your looks – tall, wandlike, elegant – and that red hair of yours!* (ibid.)

While ex 50 entails the possibility of Podgy Hicks losing the boat at the expense of the subject, ex 51 codes the desire of the subject to have the looks just like the indirect object referent does without the need of the indirect object to renounce their looks. Unlike *envy*, *forgive* “can be conceptualised as a transfer of possession in both the canonical and the reversed direction [...]: the indirect object referent ‘receives’ forgiveness and thereby ‘loses’ its burden” (ibid.).

The last extension manifests itself in the semantics of the verbs *envy* and *forgive*, specifically in **the attitudinal aspect** that both verbs demonstrate. Verb classes compiled in Goldberg (1995) include several extended senses which divert from the basic sense of the direct and immediate causation of the transfer to the intension, obligation or enablement of such action. Therefore, the inclusion of the attitudinal approach should be regarded equally. Verbs expressing this type of concept code a particular “feeling or attitude towards an (actual or potential) possessive relationship between indirect and direct object” (ibid.: 206). *Envy*, alongside *begrudge*, clearly expresses a negative attitude towards the relation of possession between the referent of the indirect object and the direct object. A counterexample of positive

attitude can be found in ditransitive clauses with the verb *wish*. As far as the negative attitude aspect in *envy* is concerned, the subject referent hopes for the disruption of the possession either by severing the relation as such or by asserting himself or herself in the relationship at the expense of the direct object referent. *Forgive* is not purely attitudinal as *envy* is. Although the attitudinal component is present in the semantics of the verb, the primary function entails the act of granting forgiveness, thus causing a change in the possession relationship (ibid.: 206-209).

2.5. Semantic roles in double object constructions

To conclude the theoretical part, we shift our focus to the semantic roles involved in the ditransitive use of the verbs *envy* and *forgive* to illustrate the complexity of the verbs and their semantics. The approach to semantic roles is by no means completely unified across grammars, nevertheless, we attempt to provide an outline of possible sense interpretations of each role that the verbal constituents take in the DOC with *envy* and *forgive*. Most prototypically, the subject takes the agentive participant role, the role of the direct object is that of the affected participant and the indirect object is interpreted as having the role of the recipient (Quirk et al., 1985: 741). Regarding the postverbal complementation, most grammarians accept this configuration of the semantic roles in the ditransitive construction, with the Agent causing the transfer of the Affected participant towards the Recipient (Goldberg 1995, Malchukov et al. 2010). As has been discussed in the previous sections, *envy* and *forgive* are often considered marginal verbs allowing the ditransitive use due to their connotations, and as such pose a challenge to the interpretation of the semantic roles for each clausal participant.

2.5.1. The semantic role of the subject

The Agentive participant is typically an animate being that initiates the action in question (Quirk et al., 1985: 741). However, it should be noted that, after applying several extensions, the verbs *envy* and *forgive* are not only verbs expressing the transfer of possession but also attitudinal verbs, with *envy* being more static and emotion-focused than *forgive*. Therefore, there is a possibility for the verbs and the semantic role of the subject, especially in clauses with *envy*, to also be reanalysed to suit the semantic implications of the role of the Experiencer (type “processor” in Dušková et al., 2012: 12.22.22). The argument structure of this type of predicates is usually monotransitive but it expresses mental and emotive attitudes

(ibid.). The Experiencer evaluation of the subject becomes even more acceptable in the prepositional pattern of the DOC, especially if we decide to adopt the stance promoted by Huddleston & Pullum that define the S-V-O-O_{prep} structure as monotransitive (see 2.1.4.). Additionally, the subject in clauses with *envy* is defined as the Experiencer frame element, while the subject of *forgive* is given the label of the Judge in the FrameNet database.

2.5.2. The semantic role of the indirect object

Quirk et al. (1985) differentiate only two available semantic roles of the indirect object, namely the Recipient, which is the most frequent semantic role of the indirect object, and the role of the Affected participant. The latter role is present in argument structures with predicates involving the Eventive object (ibid.: 741, 753). Consider the following examples.

(52) *He gave the girl a doll.* (ibid.: 1208)

(53) *I gave Helen a nudge.* (ibid.: 753)

While *the girl* in ex 52 clearly illustrates the Recipient role, there is nothing for *Helen* in ex 53 to receive and the referent is merely Affected by the subject referent's action. Based on this distinction, it seems appropriate to call the indirect object in the ditransitive argument structure the Recipient, albeit the Recipient of an abstract entity. Malchukov et al. (2010) also point out that the Recipient role needs to be understood in a much broader sense, as a Recipient-like entity, since many ditransitive constructions entail a certain level of abstractness, e.g., mental transfer (ibid.: 2).

What is worth noting is the ability of the Recipient indirect object to be paraphrased by the equivalent prepositional phrase, provided that the referent is animate (Quirk et al. 1985: 741). However, such an alternation of the argument structure including either *envy* or *forgive* would not be grammatically acceptable. The indirect object in the DOC with *envy* and *forgive* thus may be perceived as a borderline case in which both interpretations (the Recipient role and the Affected role) are possible. Once again, if we adopt the monotransitive views discussed by Huddleston & Pullum concerning the prepositional pattern, the Affected evaluation is foregrounded as one of the possible interpretations in this respect. Nevertheless, the semantic role of the direct object could not be simultaneously considered the Affected in order not to violate the conditions of the deep structure where “each case relationship occurs only once in a simple sentence” (Fillmore, 2003: 41).

What we must not forget is that other roles that are not as widely accepted as the two aforementioned ones may also help to define the semantics of the indirect subject. Dušková et al. (2012) mention several ditransitive verbs whose meaning concerns the opposite direction of the transfer, such as *deny*, *forbid*, *grudge* and *refuse*, which introduce a clausal participant, the opposite of the Recipient, from whom something is taken away (ibid.: 13.32). When discussing the verbs of future not having, Pinker (1989) characterises them “in terms of the first object being a ‘malefactive’ or ‘adversative’ argument of the action or state of the subject, similar to the traditional benefactive case but of opposite affective valence” (ibid.: 111). The label ‘malefactive’ proves to be the most fitting for the indirect object of the *envy/forgive* ditransitive argument structure.

For the sake of terminological clarity, we should also emphasise that Quirk et al. (1985) encompass both roles of the Recipient and the Benefactive/Beneficiary under the former label. The Benefactive/Beneficiary is paraphrasable only by a *for*-phrase, while the Recipient also allows the preposition *to*.¹³ Yet, there are other approaches to the Benefactive role, specifically by Jackendoff (1990), who considers the role to be “a subclass of ‘affected’; it is thus more prominently associated with an NP adjacent to the verb, for example, the first NP in a double object construction” (ibid.: 447).

2.5.3. The semantic role of the direct object

The interpretation of the direct object as taking the Affected role in the ditransitive use of *envy* and *forgive* seems to be the most plausible solution. However, once we start considering the correlative prepositional pattern of the DOC and the equivalent prepositional object, the seemingly clear description becomes less so readily acceptable. If we refer to FrameNet once more, the prepositional object is given the label of the Offense in the frame of forgiveness, while the prepositional object referent in clauses with *envy* is either identified as the core element Content or labelled as the Explanation, one of the non-core frame elements. Whether both could be considered subtypes of the Affected role or whether there is another label to describe the semantic role of the object remains unknown.

¹³ The prepositional parameter influences the interpretation of the indirect object semantic role in Huddleston & Pullum (2002). The Recipient role can be paraphrased by a *to*-phrase, while the Beneficiary role can be paraphrased by a *for*-phrase (ibid.: 310).

3. Material and Method

3.1. Aims

The principal aim of the thesis is to approach the DOCs with *envy* and *forgive* from both the diachronic and the synchronic viewpoint, and thus outline the development of the postverbal complementation preference (i.e., either the indirect ditransitive pattern: S-V-O_i-O_d, or the prepositional pattern: S-V-O-O_{prep}) over time. Moreover, we attempt to identify other factors influencing the preference of one structure over the other. It is necessary to emphasise that the discussion of the intervening factors differs from other studies concerned with ditransitive verbs. Conventionally, a word order, as one of the main factors of the Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP), is a significant marker of the degree of communicative dynamism (CD), yet here, due to the fixed sequence of the objects, it cannot serve this purpose to explain the choice of the suitable postverbal structure.

The approaches towards the DOCs with the verbs *envy* and *forgive* are far from unified. As discussed in previous sections, *envy* and *forgive* in the indirect ditransitive pattern are considered idiosyncratic instances by some linguists, while others include them in the established verb classes allowing the argument structure. The way the verbs *envy* and *forgive* have been studied so far is rather scarce. While Colleman & De Clerck (2008 & 2011) note a significant drop of the indirect ditransitive pattern, they do not inspect the instances in greater detail.

Our study provides an in-depth analysis of the DOCs with *envy* or *forgive* in which both objects are explicitly expressed. There are numerous instances where only one object is present, however, we divert from Huddleston and Pullum's (2002) interpretation and the monotransitive label which they apply in these cases (as well as in the instances of the prepositional pattern). We rather consider those examples as inherently involving two objects with one of them being absent from the construction, yet retrievable from the context. Nonetheless, instances of this type offer little information on the preference of the indirect or the prepositional pattern, and therefore as such are excluded from our current research. Admittedly, future investigation is advised, as the instances may reveal more facets that are affecting the possible omissibility of one or the other object and that may be fuelling the decline in the use of the indirect pattern.

3.2. Material

The study of the present thesis examines 400 instances of the DOCs with the verbs *envy* and *forgive* attested in the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA). The corpus is compiled of more than 475 million words of texts balanced across genres, including fiction, TV/movies, magazine, newspaper and non-fiction. More than 100 000 texts are collected from the 1820s-2010s (Davies, 2010). We have divided the 200-year-long period into four eras of the same length (i.e., 50 years each; 1820-1869, 1870-1919, 1920-1969 and 1970-2019), and in each of them analysed 50 instances of the DOCs with *envy* and 50 instances of the DOCs with *forgive*. Thus, our project inspects 200 examples of the DOCs of each verb. Due to the complexity of the web interface, we have collected all results for the lemmas *envy* and *forgive*, respectively, in the order the web interface provides, and consequently randomised all instances in R Studio (with the ‘seed’ set to ‘42’).

Due to its large size, the COHA represents a suitable corpus for the purposes of this study. It may also reflect the assumptions made by Goldberg more readily than corpora compiling British English texts, as American English represents the set of varieties of the English language with which she is presumably more familiar and on which she predominantly bases her hypotheses. Since the present thesis reacts to her expectations (Goldberg, 1995), as does the research conducted by Coleman & De Clerck (2008), we have found it more appropriate to examine the DOCs with *envy* and *forgive* in this particular corpus rather than in the British counterpart.

3.3. Method

Before we shift our focus to examples with the verbs *envy* and *forgive* included in and excluded from our analysis, it is important to address the methodology of the syntactic-semantic analysis. First, we determine whether the argument structure is that of the indirect or the prepositional pattern. Then, we identify the concrete type of realisation that is used to express the object in question, namely the nominal realisation, pronominal realisation, the gerund phrase or the nominal relative clause. Finally, we assess semantic features, such as the status of concreteness/abstractness, and for concrete entities the status of animacy/inanimacy. If coordination is found in the place of one of the objects, and each coordinated entity indicates different semantic features, the object is assigned the “mixed” label and, when necessary, an additional comment reveals the nature of each referent.

As has been mentioned in the previous subchapter, only the instances with *envy* or *forgive* in the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} patterns comprise the core of the paper. Among the attested sentences, a small number is formed by structures in which the two objects are separated by a punctuation mark (e.g., comma or dash).

- (54) *As I read the life of young Chatterton I **envied** him, his fame and his early death and more than ever, I too desired to die young.*¹⁴ (E127)
- (55) *They parted, he to ponder means to accomplish his purpose, and she alternately to reproach and to **forgive** herself, for encouraging her lover in an undertaking full of peril, yet demanded by gratitude and honor.* (F33)
- (56) *I **envy** him – living here, volunteering here, explaining everything to the tourists.* (E189)

On the one hand, when such structure is found in the indirect pattern, we can argue that the punctuation mark serves to differentiate the two entities more explicitly, functioning similarly as *for* in the prepositional pattern. One of the aspects supporting this hypothesis lies in the observation that oftentimes, the non-recipient object is expressed by a gerund, and the punctuation mark serves to separate it from the recipient. Although in ex 57 we could interpret *my diet* as an additional explanation rather than the direct object, we argue that other interpretations do not necessarily exclude such instances from our research. On the other hand, there is also a minute possibility, especially in the case of the comma, that the speaker interprets both entities as sharing the same syntactic position and therefore expresses them through the coordinated relation, as, for instance, in ex 58 with the coordinator *and*, which has been excluded from the research.

- (57) *Forgive me, my diet.* (F104)
- (58) *Truth is, Margaret, I **envy** you and your Bible.*

Although such reading is possible, the double object interpretation is still considered a plausible one and thus, argument structures with two objects divided by a punctuation mark are included in the analysis. Similarly, constructions with two objects separated by an embedded structure are incorporated into our research project as well.

¹⁴ Unless stated otherwise, the following examples are all drawn from the COHA.

(59) [...] and you'll **forgive me**, won't you, for playing that horrid trick with the mice? (F96)

(60) I don't **envy you**, Lucher, having to abide here among the remains. (E143)

Additionally, it needs to be emphasised that instances of the S-V-O_i-O_d pattern in which the direct object is coded by *that*-clause are not analysed in this paper.

(61) They **envied Dolly** that her husband loved her so fiercely after four years of married life, and no children either.

The reason for the exclusion of *that*-clauses from the present study is that they do not allow the possible *for*-phrase alternation in contrast to, for instance, nominal relative clauses that are included in the analysis (see section 4.2.).

It is perhaps no surprise that our research is comprised of argument structures where both objects are positioned post-verbally. Our motivation for this decision is fairly simple. If one of the objects takes the preverbal position, we cannot be sure about the possible existence of other principles operating or factors influencing the presence or absence of the *for* preposition. Therefore, we consider it more convenient for the purpose of this paper to exclude such instances, which can be attested in, e.g., relative clauses or passive constructions, and thus we restrict the scope of the present analysis accordingly.

(62) [...] she sat there weeping so bitterly, the fair young girl whom Magdalen Lennox **had envied** for her beauty, her muslin dress, her mother, her home!

(63) I was once old in sin, for which God **forgive me!**

(64) Old Julian **had been envied** his post.

(65) Simon was a soldier and **could be forgiven** for not following the bread of my reasoning.

As far as excluded instances are concerned, we need to briefly outline principal observations made by Allerton (1982) regarding the deletability/omissibility of argument structure elements. Allerton distinguishes two types of deletion. Obligatory clause elements can be omitted if the sentence does not lose its sense without it, and in such cases, we can usually assert *something* or *someone* in the place of the complement (ex 66). The deletion of such kind is termed indefinite by Allerton (ibid.: 68) and optional “in the stronger sense” by Matthews (1981: 125). In different instances, even though the element is not expressed, it is recoverable from the context, therefore the type of deletion is called contextual (ex 67;

Allerton, 1982: 68). Nevertheless, the object in these instances is ‘latent’ and Matthews (1981) refers to it as optional “in the weaker sense” (ibid.: 125).

(66) *Oliver was reading/painting/hoeing/cleaning.* (Allerton, 1982: 68)

(67) *Oliver was watching/choosing/pushing/following.* (ibid.)

The use of the verbs in ex 66 cannot be considered monovalent, since “the object must be ‘present’ semantically even though it is not represented in the outward form of the sentence” (ibid.: 69). Regarding the verbs *envy* and *forgive*, an identical approach is adopted in sentences with only one object present. They represent a class of verbs that allow the deletion of either the indirect object / the recipient, or the direct object / the patient, or occasionally both. When one object is deleted, it is possible to use the adjectival paraphrase *be envious of* or *be forgiving of* to express very similar meaning.

3.3.1. Surface S-V-O structures involving the animate recipient

Firstly, one of the most common surface structures with *envy* and *forgive* is that expressing only the recipient, O_i in the indirect pattern or O in the prepositional pattern. It might be deemed unexpected that this type of argument structure is so frequent because it is usually the direct object that “is more directly affected or involved in the process than the Oⁱ argument” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 245). Dušková et al. (2012) point out that once the direct object is omitted, the syntactic function of the previously indirect object usually undergoes a change as it loses the status of the recipient role and becomes the direct object of the clause structure.

(68) *I found her a corner seat.* (S-V-O_i-O_d) – *I found her.* (S-V-O_d) (ibid.: 13.32)

However, after certain verbs, the indirect object keeps its recipient function, although it behaves as the only postverbal complement (ibid.).

(69) *They paid him twenty pounds.* – *They paid him.* (ibid.)

(70) *He forgave me my offence.* – *He forgave me.* (ibid.)

Equally to the examples with the verbs *pay* and *forgive*, the instances of *envy* with only the animate recipient expressed are understood in the same vein. The presence of such an elliptical construction points to the possibility for the direct object to be recovered from the context. The potential non-recipient direct object seems to be coded in a variety of possibilities. The implication of the inanimate/abstract object envied or forgiven may be

detected, for instance, in subordinate clauses, usually adjectival relative clauses (exx 71a, 71b) or adverbial reason clauses (ex 72a) / conditional clauses¹⁵ (ex 72b), in adjacent sentences (exx 73a, 73b), or occasionally in premodifiers of the object (ex 74).

- (71) a. He **envied** *Abiathar*, whose faith in the Lord was a mighty hand gripping his hand and sustaining and leading him. b. You expect me to **forgive** the woman that kidnapped my son.
- (72) a. I **envy** him because he doesn't worry about anything.
b. Oh, Pete, **forgive** me if I've hurt you.
- (73) a. Oh, I can't tell you how I **envy** your wife! She's the luckiest woman in the world.
b. You are wrong, you are unkind; but you love me, and I forgive you.
- (74) A woman who for years **envied** her more attractive and intelligent sister might worry that this sin threatened her very salvation.

Such paraphrases denote an interconnectedness between the textual and situational contexts and thus, when the implication of the non-recipient O_d is not found in the text/speech, they elucidate a possibility for the direct object to be retrievable only by the participants involved in the communicative act.

Concerning all the aforementioned examples, we speak of contextual deletion. Nevertheless, an occasion may arise when the direct object is not expressed due to its indefinite nature.

- (75) *It is not envy – I am too happy now to **envy** anybody in the wide world.*
- (76) *And that saints **forgive** sinners, sometimes.*

In the case of the sentence with *envy*, both objects: the indirect object *anybody* and the implied direct object [*anything*] do not refer to any concrete entities, but express general participants/entities of the act.

¹⁵ The adverbial reason clauses provide additional information on the nature of the direct object only with the verb *envy*. In instances with *forgive*, this type of subordinate clause refers to the reason for the forgiveness, and not to the forgiven deed.

3.3.2. Surface S-V-O structures involving only the affected constituents

Secondly, elliptical constructions of the indirect object with the verbs *envy* and *forgive* frequently occur as well. Although Huddleston and Pullum (2002) argue that the indirect object can be easily dropped without change in meaning, there are a few exceptions, such as the argument structure of the verb *wish* or some ditransitive constructions with the verb *deny*. The core of the latter mentioned restriction may be associated with the concept of possession (ibid.: 312). Consider the following examples.

- (77) *They wished us a safe journey. *They wished a safe journey. (ibid.)*
- (78) *They denied him his request to take the computer home. They denied his request to take the computer home. (ibid.)*
- (79) *They denied him promotion. *They denied promotion. (ibid.)*

While *his request* can be understood as a possession of the referent, the *promotion* cannot be regarded as such partially owing to the non-existence of the entity. This aspect is also highlighted by the presence or absence of the possessive pronoun.

Compared to the previous examples with the omitted direct object, there are different principal features that aid the identification of the contextually deleted argument. As Coleman & De Clerck (2008) also note, “the NP often has a possessive determiner referring to the person envied or forgiven” (ibid.: 195, ex 80a), but we also note that the noun phrase is occasionally replaced by the gerund phrase (ex 80b). Additionally, the recipient can also be expressed in the postmodification of the direct object, either by the *of*-phrase (exx 81a, 81b), by other close clause constituents (exx 82, 83), and/or it may simply refer to one of the participants of the communicative act.¹⁶

- (80) a. *Everyone on the bus **envied** Sue Ellen's possession of the string box, even Walter, because it was such a calming activity and actually produced something useful.*
- b. *They will pardon a man's failures, but can not **forgive** his doing a thing better than they can do.*

¹⁶ Quite frequently, the verb *forgive* occurs in imperative clauses, in which the demand for forgiveness concerns the content of the utterance, such as: *Forgive the question...*, *Forgive the interruption*, with the indirect object *me* being omitted. The same situation can be found with only recipients explicitly expressed, as in *Forgive me, but why are you pilloried?* where the direct object *the/my question* is implied.

- (81) a. Mason **envied** the splendid health of his neighbour, and mourned to see it wasting there.
 b. I hope you'll **forgive** the whims of an old man who has liked you from the start.
- (82) Garion looked at his friend, **envying** the freedom that made it possible for Silk to go anywhere in the world he wanted to go.
- (83) Can you – will you – overlook and **forgive** the past, and be again to me all that you once were?

Furthermore, the indirect object may be omitted due to the reference to the general human recipient, the deletion being indefinite, rather than contextual.

- (84) *Becoming really insincere – calling myself "not such a bad fellow," thinking I regretted my lost youth when I only **envy** the delights of losing it.*
- (85) *So she entreated as though she alone could save him, yet knowing well that Jesus alone had power to **forgive** sins.*

3.3.3. Surface S-V structures with general participants

Lastly, there is a chance, albeit very slim, for both the objects to be deleted. In such cases, the object referents are general entities that do not require any specifications.

- (86) *You will admire, **envy**, and imitate!*
- (87) *She never **forgives**.*

As we have noted before, instances such as these seem to be associated with the shift in focus towards the quality of the subject referent rather than the action conveyed by the verb, describing the agent/experiencer as either envious or forgiving.

3.3.4. Ambiguous cases, anomalous argument structures and excluded set phrases

A few instances have a surface clause structure that is open to several interpretations. Specifically, this issue usually concerns examples with a gerund expressing one of the objects. Consider the following example.

- (88) *I can not **forgive** you letting me carry all that water for a fainting fit – and there was no fainting fit! (F67)*

You can be understood as either the agent of the gerund action (thus implying the S-V-O pattern) or as the recipient of the main clause verbal event. There is room for a third reading, which, in a way, combines both interpretations. Dušková (1991) speaks of the so-called apo koinou constructions. “A coreferentially identical participant operates in two propositions in different semantic roles, e.g. *He saw Charles coming* (*He saw Charles* + *Charles was coming*)” (ibid.: 66). We resort to this shared-element reading and therefore incorporate such examples into the analysis. It is necessary to mention that on the ground of this interpretation, we also include similar instances with 3rd person singular feminine *her*, which can be either considered a possessive personal pronoun or the dative case of the pronoun *she*. Contrast the following example with ex 80b.

- (89) *"First, Tom," he pursues, "be to yourself a friend; second, forget the error of your mother, and **forgive** her sending you here; [...]."* (F14)

As we have shown in subsection 2.2.1., Levin (1993) differentiates the verbs *envy* and *forgive*, with only *envy* allowing “the possessor and attribute to be expressed either as a single noun phrase functioning as the direct object of the verb or as two distinct constituents: the attribute as direct object and the possessor via a prepositional phrase headed by *in*” (ibid.: 75). During the research, we have encountered several uses of the preposition *in* introducing the indirect object and one occurrence of the preposition *about*¹⁷. However, the use of *in*-phrase has proved not to be limited to *envy* only. The existence of such argument structures with *forgive* in the corpus alludes to attempts of speakers to analogically apply the known, even though not so frequent, argument structure.

- (90) *What could a bigwig bishop, albeit his oldest friend, **envy** in a country parson?*
- (91) *Of course, I forgave him; for a loving wife can **forgive** anything in her husband but infidelity.*

The last remark that we need to make touches upon set expressions with the verb *forgive* that rarely, or not at all, alternate with the prepositional pattern. These as well have been excluded from our analysis as they provide very little information on the undergoing

¹⁷ *Her name was just one thing I envied about Cass.*

syntactic change. Usually, they represent a part of the established and well-known Lord's Prayer.

- (92) a. **Forgive** us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us.
b. **Forgive** us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us.
c. And **forgive** us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors.

The last example brings us to the set phrase *forgive debts*. As many dictionaries suggest (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, Collins Online English Dictionary, Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionaries etc.), the phrase of this kind has its own specific meaning and therefore it is not considered relevant for the current purposes of the analysis.

- (93) *I dried the tears of the fatherless and robbed not the widows but **forgave** them their debts [...].*

4. Analysis

In this chapter, we analyse the DOCs for each verb separately, concentrating on specific eras, before we provide an overview of common trends that are present across the 200-year-long period and contrast the data that allude to the possibility of the ongoing syntactic change. Consequently, we start the analysis by observing the pattern ratio of each period, with our focus being on the form and the meaning of either the direct object (S-V-O_i-O_d) or the prepositional object (S-V-O-O_{prep}), which we jointly term O2. Then we shift our attention to the whole analysed era, provide additional information on the characteristic syntactic and semantic features of the recipient (labelled O1), and observe changes in postverbal preference by comparing the pattern proportion over the four respective periods. Finally, we comment on the ditransitive use of the verbs *envy* and *forgive*, outline their shared aspects and point out the differences which may have affected the postverbal preference in the DOCs.

4.1. ENVY

4.1.1. DOCs with *envy* in 1820-1869

The first inspected sample of the DOCs provides little variety in terms of the postverbal preference. Only 1 instance of the 50 examples attested in the corpus demonstrates the use of the S-V-O-O_{prep} argument structure, while the remaining 49 instances represent the indirect pattern.

	NP ¹⁸	Pronoun	Gerund phrase	NR clause	Total
S-V-O _i -O _d	47 (94%)	2 (4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	49 (98%)
S-V-O-O _{prep}	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)
Total	47 (94%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	50 (100%)

Table 3 Number of occurrences regarding the type of the O2 realisation in the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} argument structures with *envy* in the 1820-1869 sample of the COHA

However, the very first use of the *for*-phrase that we analyse may already reflect the onset of the prepositional pattern use and the possible factors that enable the syntactic change. Consider the following example.

¹⁸ In the present analysis, the NP, i.e., the noun phrase, refers to the nominal realisation excluding the pronominal realisation that is given its own category, i.e., “Pronoun”.

- (94) *[...] but we **envy** the Norwegians, for being rid of that boundless profligacy with which the president's power of removal [...] is flooding our country.*
(E50)

The prepositional object is expressed by the gerund phrase with extensive postmodification. It is worth noting that the agent of the gerund action is not present in the phrase, but it is obvious from the context that it is the recipient object of the finite clause, *the Norwegians*, that has this function. Due to its simple recoverability from the context, there is no need for it to be repeated, an observation applicable to almost all instances with O₂ formed by a gerund phrase.

In contrast to the above-mentioned example of the prepositional pattern, no direct objects of the S-V-O_i-O_d instances are expressed by the gerund phrase in this subset. Out of the total 49 examples, 47 illustrate the use of the noun phrase while 2 clauses include a pronoun occupying the position of the direct object. In both cases, the pronominal reference of the direct object could be considered indefinite, as the pronouns refer to a general entity (ex 95).

- (95) *I should **envy** Alexander nothing and Napoleon nothing if I thought I could really conquer one woman's heart.* (E48)

As far as the concrete/abstract, animate/inanimate differentiation is concerned, the direct object noun phrases predominantly refer to abstract entities (39 instances, ex 96). However, both animate (2 instances, ex 97) and inanimate (6 instances, ex 98) direct object referents have also occurred in this analysed sample.

- (96) *He did not even **envy** him the repose of his woodland grave.* (E19)
(97) *But while I love Bella, cruel and cold as she is, I shall **envy** no one another.*
(E49)
(98) *How I **envied** the rat his sharp teeth!* (E41)

4.1.2. DOCs with *envy* in 1870-1919

In the next 50-year-long interval, the limited sample of the attested examples of the DOCs with *envy* has not revealed any significant difference in the use of the verb in the respective argument structures. Thus, apart from one sentence, all analysed instances convey their meaning by utilising the ditransitive pattern S-V-O_i-O_d.

	NP	Pronoun	Gerund phrase	NR clause	Total
S-V-O_i-O_d	45 (90%)	2 (4%)	2 (4%)	0 (0%)	49 (98%)
S-V-O-O_{prep}	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)
Total	46 (92%)	2 (4%)	2 (4%)	0 (0%)	50 (100%)

Table 4 Number of occurrences regarding the type of the O2 realisation in the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} argument structures with envy in the 1870-1919 sample of the COHA

As in the previous era, the most prototypical conceptualisation of the direct object belongs to the noun phrase, usually referring to an abstract entity (38 instances¹⁹; ex 99).

(99) *She **envied** him the privilege. (E72)*

The ratio of the concrete/abstract and animate/inanimate referents remains essentially the same as in the previous period; the inanimate direct object occurs in 6 instances (ex 100), while only 2 examples include the animate direct object referent (ex 101).

(100) *A woman might **envy** him those masses of beautiful hair. (E54)*

(101) *And every soul in the Cabbage Patch **envying** you a stylish man like Mr. Stubbins. (E79)*

When coded by a pronoun (2 instances), the direct object refers to a general indefinite entity (ex 102) as in the previous subset, unless we speak of an elliptical construction in which the actual noun is deleted and only the possessive pronoun abides (ex 103).

(102) *If I could **envy** you anything, my dear girl, I should envy you this privilege of seeing a city where man is valued simply and solely for what he is in himself [...]. (E97)*

(103) *Mary was feeling pretty bad about having to put up with another old stove and **envying** Cissie Harvey hers. (E96)*

In contrast to the 1820-1869 sample, another possibility that has arisen in this dataset involves the gerund phrase functioning as the direct object in the ditransitive indirect pattern (2 instances). Consider the following example.

(104) *I **envy** you having such a husband always about. (E98)*

¹⁹ Including the only instance of the prepositional pattern: *He got up and staggered through the darkness along the length of the line, almost **envying** the miserable dynamiter, who had died above the remnant of wall, for the quiet into which he had been thrust. (E100)*

As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, there are several readings available, and although we resort to the double-object interpretation, it is necessary to emphasise the possibility for the monotransitive understanding of clauses of this type. Nevertheless, when arguing for the ditransitive interpretation, we may speak of the apo koinou phenomenon based on which *you* in ex 104 shares two syntactic functions: the indirect object of a finite clause and the agent of the gerund action.²⁰

4.1.3. DOCs with *envy* in 1920-1969

As Table 5 shows, the following period seems to signal the onset of the syntactic change in terms of the postverbal complementation preference. The prepositional pattern with *for* comprises 10% of the inspected sample.

	NP	Pronoun	Gerund phrase	NR clause	Total
S-V-O_i-O_d	38 (76%)	4 (8%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	45 (90%)
S-V-O-O_{prep}	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	0 (0%)	5 (10%)
Total	40 (80%)	5 (10%)	4 (8%)	1 (2%)	50 (100%)

Table 5 Number of occurrences regarding the type of the O2 realisation in the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} argument structures with *envy* in the 1920-1969 sample of the COHA

Albeit few, the analysed instances provide a considerable range in terms of the prepositional object realisation: 2 instances of the noun phrase, 2 instances of the gerund phrase and 1 instance of an anaphoric pronoun (exx 105, 106, 107 respectively).

- (105) *She came towards me, and I held out my hand, **envying** her for her dignity and her composure [...]. (E146)*
- (106) *And I can't help **envying** you, Dinkie, for being a part of that world which is so much more heroic than mine. (E149)*
- (107) *I heard you play last? It was on your own harpsichord. How I **envied** you for it. (E148)*

In the 45 instances of the indirect pattern, the noun phrase remains to be the most frequently used means of expressing the direct object. Similarly to previous instances, the S-V-O_i-O_d argument structure also allows for the gerund phrase to take place of the direct object (2 instances, ex 60, here repeated for convenience as ex 108). In both cases, the objects

²⁰ Although not further mentioned, the apo koinou interpretation is always applicable in ambiguous constructions of this type discussed in this analysis.

are separated by an embedded structure addressing the other participant of the communicative act.

(108) *I don't **envy** you, Lucher, having to abide here among the remains.* (E143)

The pronominal realisation of the direct object slightly increases in frequency with one personal pronoun coding an animate entity (ex 109), the anaphoric use of the demonstrative *that* (ex 110) and the indefinite pronoun (ex 111), which, when contrasted to other referents of this subset, lacks the level of concreteness, a notion associated with general statements.

(109) *Just like they **envied** me you.* (E140)

(110) *[I envy you your doubts and floundering, even.] And Frau Brown, I **envy** you that, too.* (E139)

(111) *But I say **envy** no man anything but his gold.* (E142)

For the first, and also the last, time in the analysis of the DOCs with the verb *envy*, we come across an instance in which the direct object is coded by a nominal relative clause.

(112) *There are those, I know, who will **envy** me what they consider my good fortune [...].* (E145)

Although it is more than obvious that such constructions are rare, at least in terms of their use with *envy*, it is worth noting that such direct object realisation is plausible. It also may be of interest to notice that this type of occurrence has been revealed only in the indirect pattern, especially when contrasted with the use of nominal relative clauses functioning as the O2 in the DOCs with *forgive* (see 4.2.).

As far as the semantics is concerned and regardless of the type of the postverbal complementation, the head of the noun phrase usually refers to an abstract entity (31 instances, ex 113), with only 6 instances including the inanimate O2 (ex 114), and 3 sentences illustrating the mixed category.²¹ The latter mentioned incorporates two or more coordinated noun phrases in the position of the O2 whose semantics differ; in the case of ex 115, the coordinated objects refer to animate and abstract entities, respectively.

(113) *I thought also of Mr. Hall and **envied** him his activity.* (E113)

²¹ The seemingly missing animate reference can be found either in the mixed category or in the pronominal conceptualisation of the direct object (see ex 109).

- (114) *She saw herself languishing on Stuart's arm, [...] all the drab ladies **envying** her her magnificent toilette, all the gentlemen bewitched. (E135)*
- (115) *Jessie did not **envy** Helen Lee her family and its intense life, she had few tastes that would have fitted her for anything like it. (E115)*

4.1.4. DOCs with *envy* in 1970-2019

The sample in the last five decades of the COHA reveals an ongoing tendency in the increase of the prepositional pattern. However, before we delve into the analysis of the S-V-O-O_{prep} argument structure, we want to provide a detailed description of the form and semantics of the direct object in the indirect pattern.

	NP	Pronoun	Gerund phrase	NR clause	Total
S-V-O_i-O_d	34 (68%)	4 (8%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	39 (78%)
S-V-O-O_{prep}	4 (8%)	0 (0%)	7 (14%)	0 (0%)	11 (22%)
Total	38 (76%)	4 (8%)	8 (16%)	0 (0%)	50 (100%)

Table 6 Number of occurrences regarding the type of the O2 realisation in the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} argument structures with *envy* in the 1970-2019 sample of the COHA

Out of the total 39 instances, 34 sentences have once again proven that the NP occupies the position of the direct object most frequently. In regard to the semantics of the NP head, reference to abstract (22 instances, ex 116), inanimate (6 instances, ex 117), and animate (3 instances, ex 118) entities is present. There is also a possibility for multiple elements that are coordinated in the position of the direct object to refer to different semantic types of entities (ex 119).

- (116) *His laugh came again, and Tom **envied** him the carefreeness of it. (E167)*
- (117) *Morris didn't **envy** them the trip. (E175)*
- (118) *I **envied** you your family. (E170)*
- (119) *Not that Katya **envied** her the special tutors, the tower of her own, and all the special considerations. (E158)*

As far as pronouns in the position of the O_d are concerned, 2 cases show the use of anaphora (ex 120), while the 2 remaining instances refer to a general indefinite entity (ex 121). The sample has also revealed a single example of the gerund phrase occurring in the indirect pattern (ex 122).

- (120) *Sofia didn't have the time to understand. Sometimes I **envy** her that. (E188)*
- (121) *Warren had never before **envied** his younger brother anything. (E187)*

- (122) *When he was gone I said, "I envy him -- living here, volunteering here, explaining everything to the tourists." (E189)*

We now shift our focus to the prepositional pattern, which, in this time period, has grown in size in contrast to the previously analysed samples. 11 instances include the *for*-phrase, out of which only 4 sentences use the NP as the prepositional complement (ex 123), while the gerund phrase in the same position counts for 7 instances (ex 124). It is also worth noting that the gerund phrase predominantly takes the simple form (6 instances) instead of the past gerund one (1 instance, ex 125).

- (123) *Sometimes Nashira almost **envied** the kid for his simple idealism. (E191)*
- (124) *I think many rather **envy** us for pulling through and for sticking to our position. (E200)*
- (125) *I wish I could say I so **envied** him for having truly lived that I have finally broken free of this half-life safety [...]. (E195)*

4.1.5. Further observations regarding the DOCs with *envy* attested in COHA

Let us now conclude the analysis of the DOCs with *envy* by proposing several observations and comments regarding the postverbal complementation preference over time. First of all, we should inspect whether the verb *envy* prefers the S-V-O_i-O_d argument structure or the S-V-O-O_{prep} construction with the preposition *for* and what kind of changes each of the four periods has brought about. Consider the data in the following table.

	1820-1869	1870-1919	1920-1969	1970-2019	Total
S-V-O_i-O_d	49 (24.5%)	49 (24.5%)	45 (22.5%)	39 (19.5%)	183 (91.5%)
S-V-O-O_{prep}	1 (0.5%)	1 (0.5%)	5 (2.5%)	11 (5.5%)	17 (8.5%)
Total	50 (25%)	50 (25%)	50 (25%)	50 (25%)	200 (100%)

Table 7 Number of occurrences of the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} structures with *envy* in the analysed sample of the COHA

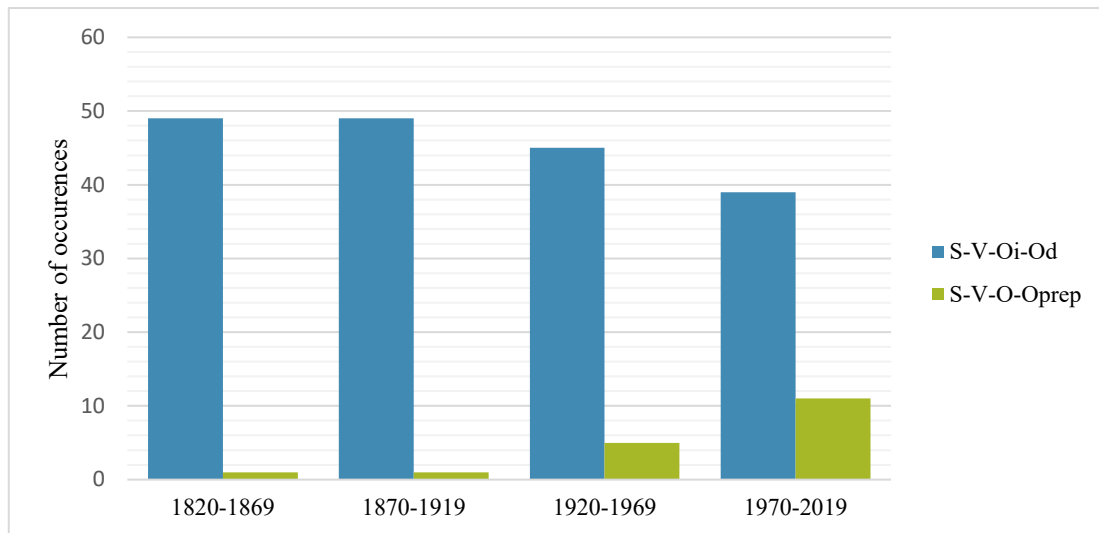


Figure 4 Graphic representation concerning the number of occurrences of the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} structures with *envy* attested in the analysed sample of the COHA

In this respect, it is clear that at the beginning, or more specifically in the first half, of the investigated time frame, *envy* unequivocally shows the tendency in preference of the indirect pattern. However, the latter two time periods and the slowly emerging prepositional pattern seem to point to the possible syntactic change taking place.

Since the noun phrase in the position of the O₂ comprises such a significant section of the analysed sample, a commentary should be made regarding the semantics of the NP head in the DOCs with *envy*. The semantic status clearly points to the prevalence of abstract entities (77.8%); however, the number of animate and, more importantly, inanimate referents is not insignificant. Although it is clear that what is being envied is, in most cases, a quality or some other abstract entity, such as *job*, there is a possibility for the subject to be envious of some material possessions (14.6%, ex 126). The animate description comprises a mere 4.1% of the analysed instances (ex 127) because we usually do not consider other human beings as belonging to someone else.²²

(126) *I envy you a room with a skylight.* (E133)

(127) *I'd often **envied** him his women, but now it seemed I would not be up for that, anyway.* (E169)

As we have not included a general account of the O₁s occurring in the DOCs with *envy* in the previous subsections, specifically due to the absence of any significant changes over

²² Additionally, 6 instances include coordinated O₂s which refer to different types of semantic entities. See the Appendix section, examples: E112, E119, E125, E158, E159 and E177.

the four periods, let us briefly comment on them now. The recipient is, in the majority of cases, an animate entity. Only 2 instances include the inanimate object (ex 128), although admittedly, in one of the sentences the object refers to a body-part (ex 129), in which case the status of animacy/concreteness may be debatable.

(128) *On the plus side, anti-elitism is also dangerous for those who hope the American art world will **envy** ceramics for remaining in a time warp where established tradition and canons remain undisturbed.* (E194)

(129) *[...] I would give you such a picture of the site and scenery of Cincinnati, as should make you **envy** my eyes their perpetual feast.* (E39)

When animate, the object referent is coded either by a pronoun or the noun phrase. Pronouns are far more common; their use comprises almost 72% of instances. It is interesting to note that the most frequently used pronouns include *you* (44 instances) and *him* (48 instances), while *us* occurs rarely (5 instances) and the pronoun *it* is, logically, not found in a single instance.

4.2. FORGIVE

4.2.1. DOCs with *forgive* in 1820-1869

The data attested in the COHA concerning the instances of the DOCs with *forgive* provide a significantly different description than the account of *envy* did in the previous sections. In investigating the first sample of texts produced in the years 1820-1869, we have noted a considerable preference for the S-V-O-O_{prep} pattern (36 instances) at the expense of the S-V-O_i-O_d structure (14 instances).

	NP	Pronoun	Gerund phrase	NR clause	Total
S-V-O_i-O_d	11 (22%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	14 (28%)
S-V-O-O_{prep}	11 (22%)	3 (6%)	19 (38%)	3 (6%)	36 (72%)
Total	22 (44%)	5 (10%)	20 (40%)	3 (6%)	50 (100%)

Table 8 Number of occurrences regarding the type of the O2 realisation in the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} argument structures with *forgive* in the 1820-1869 sample of the COHA

When the speakers/writers make use of the *for*-phrase, the direct object takes predominantly the form of the gerund phrase (ex 130).

(130) *I can **forgive** you for disobeying orders, but I can't **forgive** you for being a fool.* (F47)

Although the gerund oftentimes refers to an event that has already passed, the present form of the gerund is preferred over the past form, since anteriority of the gerund action is already implied by the semantics of the verb *forgive* (Dušková et al., 2012: 8.85.2). Accordingly, the past form has emerged only once in this subset. When the prepositional pattern is applied, the second most common form of the direct object is represented by the noun phrase (ex 131). It is worth noting that all nouns appearing as the head of the direct object refer to abstract entities.

(131) *I never thoroughly **forgave** Zenobia for her conduct on this occasion. (F23)*

If a pronoun occupies the position of the prepositional complement (ex 132), we speak of the pronouns *it* and *that* functioning as an anaphoric device.

(132) *Don't speak so crossly; I might answer back -- then you'd kick me out -- and you'd never **forgive** yourself for it as long as I lived. (F28)*

A possibility of a nominal relative clause in the position of the prepositional object has not been attested in the sample with the verb *envy*, nevertheless, 3 such occurrences (ex 133) has appeared in this subset.

(133) *Say, my child, you **forgive** me for what has past [sic]. (F49)*

As far as the indirect pattern is concerned (S-V-O_i-O_d), the account does not share that many similarities with the above-mentioned description. First of all, the majority of the direct objects are expressed by the noun phrase (ex 134), with two remaining instances including the indefinite pronoun *everything* (ex 135), and only one example of the gerund phrase functioning as the clause constituent in question (ex 136).

(134) *And can you **forgive** me the shaft that I have thrown. (F9)*

(135) *I may say, in the words Mrs. Chick, "I **forgave** dear Fanny everything." (F13)*

(136) *"First, Tom," he pursues, "be to yourself a friend; second, forget the error of your mother, and **forgive** her sending you here [...]." (F14)*

Disregarding one instance of the inanimate object (ex 134), we conclude that the object referents are typically of the abstract nature. No instance of the subordinate finite clause in the position of the direct object has been revealed in this subset.

4.2.2. DOCs with forgive in 1870-1919

The following sample of 50 instances resembles the data collected from the previous data to some extent. Once again, the S-V-O-O_{prep} argument structure is considered the preferred frame over the indirect pattern.

	NP	Pronoun	Gerund phrase	NR clause	Total
S-V-O_i-O_d	10 (20%)	6 (12%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	17 (34%)
S-V-O-O_{prep}	5 (10%)	1 (2%)	26 (52%)	1 (2%)	33 (66%)
Total	15 (30%)	7 (14%)	27 (54%)	1 (2%)	50 (100%)

Table 9 Number of occurrences regarding the type of the O2 realisation in the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} argument structures with forgive in the 1870-1919 sample of the COHA

Regarding the prepositional pattern, what is perhaps the most interesting is the unequivocal choice of the gerund phrase expressing the prepositional object (ex 137), out of which a smaller portion comprises of instances with past gerunds (7 instances, ex 138), in contrast to the frequency of the noun phrase (ex 139), the demonstrative pronoun *that* (ex 140), or a nominal relative clause (ex 141) having the same function.

- (137) *Oh, I'll never **forgive** myself for letting him fight in my place! (F92)*
- (138) *Surely he would **forgive** her for having avenged him. (F80)*
- (139) *I am confident that any reader who has ever had pets, birds or animals, will **forgive** me for this brief digression. (F71)*
- (140) *Poor little Daisy never forgot that first day at boarding-school; how all the dainty young girls in their soft white muslins glanced in surprise at her when Mme. Whitney brought her into the school-room, but she could have **forgiven** them for that if they had not laughed at her poor old uncle John [...]. (F73)*
- (141) *May God in his mercy **forgive** me for what I am about to do. (F100)*

On the other hand, in this particular subset, the indirect pattern S-V-O_i-O_d sees only one use of the gerund phrase in the position of the direct object (ex 142), while the noun phrase (ex 143) or a pronoun are more readily available.

- (142) *I can not **forgive** you letting me carry all that water for a fainting fit – and there was no fainting fit! (F67)*
- (143) *I freely **forgive** him every hour of sorrow he has caused me. (F54)*

Concerning the use of pronouns, the small sample offers a little variety regarding their subtypes. In most cases, we speak of the indefinite pronouns, such as *all*, *everything* and

anything (ex 144), but this time the demonstrative pronoun *that* has also occurred, functioning as an anaphor (ex 145).

(144) *He could have **forgiven** her almost anything but this. (F66)*

(145) *"[...] She was certainly thinking of her second marriage." "You have not **forgiven** her that!" said the Countess, very gravely. (F65)*

4.2.3. DOCs with *forgive* in 1920-1969

The next five decades show signs of a crucial development of the prepositional pattern as the cases of the indirect argument structure considerably drop.

	NP	Pronoun	Gerund phrase	NR clause	Total
S-V-O_i-O_d	8 (16%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (16%)
S-V-O-O_{prep}	5 (10%)	2 (4%)	33 (66%)	2 (4%)	42 (84%)
Total	13 (26%)	2 (4%)	33 (66%)	2 (4%)	50 (100%)

Table 10 Number of occurrences regarding the type of the O2 realisation in the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} argument structures with *forgive* in the 1920-1969 period of the COHA

As Table 10 demonstrates, a significant number of S-V-O-O_{prep} pattern instances find the gerund phrase²³ fulfilling the position of the prepositional object (ex 146). Probably due to its high frequency, the prepositional pattern is, nevertheless, a framework that also houses the noun phrase (ex 147), a demonstrative pronoun (ex 148) or a nominal relative clause (ex 149) in the *for*-phrase expressing the prepositional object, although all of them are not used as regularly as the gerund phrase.

(146) *Sylvester, please **forgive** me for thinking you were a coward. (F143)*

(147) *Please **forgive** me for my lack of faith. (F113)*

(148) *He **forgave** him for that 'cause he paid his debt to society. (F115)*

(149) *Oh, [Penny], **forgive** me for what I've done. (F149)*

Once again, it is worth noting the striking contrast in the choice of the means expressing the O2 between instances corresponding to either the S-V-O-O_{prep} pattern or the S-V-O_i-O_d pattern. In all 8 instances of the indirect pattern, the object is coded only by the noun phrase (ex 150).

(150) *We **forgive** each other the little things that sisters must forgive. (F108)*

²³ In its present form.

Illustrated in ex 147, the noun phrase, when expressing the O₂ element, always refers to an abstract entity, apart from one instance.²⁴

4.2.4. DOCs with *forgive* in 1970-2019

Although the previous sample seems to reflect the ongoing process of the syntactic change aiming to disregard the use of the ditransitive construction in the case of the verb *forgive*, the last era is characterised by recessive tendencies; specifically, the ratio between the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} patterns is restored to its previous image recorded in the first half of the inspected 200-year-long period (for further reference compare the following table with Table 8 and Table 9).

	NP	Pronoun	Gerund phrase	NR clause	Total
S-V-O _i -O _d	12 (24%)	4 (8%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	17 (34%)
S-V-O-O _{prep}	5 (10%)	5 (10%)	22 (44%)	1 (2%)	33 (66%)
Total	17 (34%)	9 (18%)	23 (46%)	1 (2%)	50 (100%)

Table 11 Number of occurrences regarding the type of the O₂ realisation in the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} argument structures with *forgive* in the 1970-2019 period of the COHA

The position of the prepositional object in the S-V-O-O_{prep} argument structure is typically occupied by the gerund phrase (ex 151), out of the total 22 instances, 2 of them making use of the past form of the gerund (ex 152). Apart from one instance of the nominal relative clause (ex 153), the remaining examples include evenly the use of either the noun phrase (ex 154) or a pronoun (ex 155).

- (151) *I don't think he ever **forgave** himself for abdicating to them.* (F196)
- (152) *I magnanimously **forgave** Eileen for having lied to me.* (F186)
- (153) *[...] she found herself looking into her own eyes and wondering if she would have **forgiven** Alice Vavasor for whatever it was she'd done.* (F200)
- (154) *[...] it was many years before they **forgave** him for this ordeal.* (F170)
- (155) *I hope you can **forgive** me for this.* (F176)

When taking the function of the direct object in the S-V-O_i-O_d pattern, the most frequently occurring means of expression pertains to the noun phrase (ex 156), with fewer cases of a pronoun, usually indefinite, filling the O_d position and referring to general entities

²⁴ However, similarly to ex 134 (F9), the wrongdoing that is being forgiven in that case is not expressed by the direct object, but rather by its postmodification that clarifies the event that needs to be forgiven: *[...] and in his generous new mood Hatcher could easily have **forgiven** Pinkie the polo ponies that kept stablemen off relief rolls*. (F107)

(ex 157). The gerund phrase functioning as the direct object is represented only once in this small sample (ex 158).

- (156) *Forgive us our action.* (F154)
- (157) *Megan was too clearly fond of him, too willing to **forgive** him everything.*
(F166)
- (158) *Forgive me saying so, Holmes, but if [...] then, you're [sic] precious Professor Moriarty deserves to sit on his mountain of gold and tell the rest of us to jump.* (F167)

Regardless of the given argument structure, the noun phrase expresses an abstract entity, although there is one case that seems to operate with a concrete inanimate object (ex 159).

- (159) *Lord, **forgive** her her tongue.* (F156)

However, after analysing the context, it is evident that the concrete/abstract interpretation is partially ambiguous, since the direct object alludes to something that has been said²⁵, rather than commenting on the offence of the muscle in question.

4.2.5. Further observations regarding the DOCs with *forgive* attested in COHA

Before we shift our focus to the discussion of the results concerning both investigated verbs, let us point out and comment on several tendencies that we have detected in the sample with the verb *forgive*.

	1820-1869	1870-1919	1920-1969	1970-2019	Total
S-V-O_i-O_d	14 (7%)	17 (8.5%)	8 (4%)	17 (8.5%)	56 (28%)
S-V-O-O_{prep}	36 (18%)	33 (16.5%)	42 (21%)	33 (16.5%)	144 (72%)
Total	50 (25%)	50 (25%)	50 (25%)	50 (25%)	200 (100%)

Table 12 Number of occurrences of the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} structures with *forgive* in the analysed sample of the COHA

²⁵ Further context: *ETAIN* You shot the bird from the sky. Did you not know it was me, it was you? Do you not know what you do? *THE WOMEN* Hush, Etain, hush. She is young. Lord, forgive her her tongue.

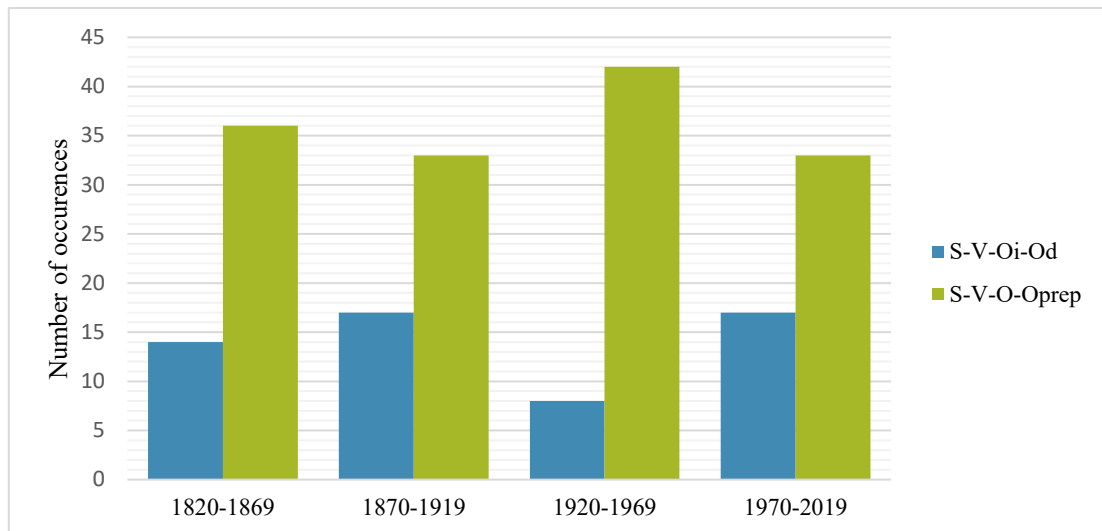


Figure 5 Graphic representation concerning the number of occurrences of the S-V-O_i-O_d and S-V-O-O_{prep} structures with *forgive* attested in the limited sample of the COHA

First of all, it is clear from the previous account that we cannot truly speak of a syntactic change when discussing the preferred argument structure of the DOCs. Apart from the third period, which has seen a substantial rise of the prepositional pattern, the preference remains overall the same throughout the 200-year-long interval. However, that is not the only characteristic feature that differentiates this sample from the sentences with *envy*. Contrastingly, the semantic analysis has revealed that the O₂ referents are predominantly abstract with only 1 instance of inanimate entities in the place of the constituent in question (ex 134, repeated here for convenience as ex 160). Given the meaning of the verb *forgive*, it is, if not unacceptable, then at least very unlikely as the data have shown for the O₂ to be semantically animate.

(160) *And can you forgive me the shaft that I have thrown.* (F9)

Lastly, we wish to present a condensed overview of the indirect objects in the DOCs with *forgive*. The description regarding the nature of the O₁ is very similar to the sample involving *envy*, at least, when their semantic concreteness/abstractness/animacy or the option of either a pronoun or the noun phrase coding the recipient are involved. Pronouns (ex 161) are, by far, significantly more common than noun phrases (ex 162), as they can be found in 84% of the analysed instances. It is probably no surprise that their referents are always concrete and animate. Nevertheless, given the type of sentence in which the verb *forgive* regularly occurs, that is the imperative clause, it is quite logical to note the pronoun *me* comprising the largest part of the sample (87 instances, ex 163). Another contrast to the

previous sample is represented by the re-occurrence of reflexive pronouns. Albeit infrequent, they represent a considerable portion of means expressing the O1 (16 instances, ex 164).

- (161) *I have **forgiven** him his cruelty twice, but I can't do it again.* (F59)
(162) *But John Adams never **forgave** the people for denying him a second election.*
(F138)
(163) ***Forgive** me for not asking you to sit down, Appleby.* (F125)
(164) *I shall never **forgive** myself for the pain I inflicted upon you.* (F24)

4.3. Discussion

On theoretical grounds, *envy* and *forgive* have similar tendencies in their syntactic behaviour. However, our investigation has revealed that the manner and its frequency with which the verbs *envy* and *forgive* package information differ. It is evident that the respective meanings of the two verbs influence the preference of available argument structures and the individual constituents. Following the categorisation introduced by Levin (1993) with *envy* representing the negative *admire*-type psych verbs and with *forgive* interpreted as the positive judgement verb (see 2.2.1.), the differentiation found in FrameNet that classifies the subject of *envy* as the Experiencer, while the subject of *forgive* acquires the label of the Judge (see 2.5.1.), or Coleman & De Clerck's (2008) application of metaphorical extensions regarding the transfer of possession, which are not identical for the respective verbs (see 2.4.2.), we also note several dissimilarities. The first observation concerns various sentence types in which *envy* and *forgive* function as a finite verb. Although declarative sentences represent the most used grammatical unit for both verbs, there is a considerable divergence in the distribution of the remaining sentence types. In the investigated sample of the DOCs, *envy* has appeared in only one example of the interrogative and no imperative sentence. Nevertheless, exclamative sentences, specifically with the intensifier *how*, count a notable portion of the analysed instances (ex 165).

- (165) *How I **envy** dear Martha her peaceful grave!* (E36)

Contrastingly, we have noted a wider range of sentence types in the DOCs with *forgive*. There is a considerable number of imperative sentences, occasionally accompanied by the weakening device *please*, their discourse function interpreted as a plea for forgiveness²⁶ (ex

²⁶ It is also worth noting that several instances of the directive use have the metatextual or contextual function, referring to what is being said (*For God's sake, forgive me for saying this, but this man robbed you!*

166). As mentioned in section 4.2.5., the imperatives correspond with the pronoun *me*, i.e., the speaker of the utterance, mapped onto the position of the indirect object, thus facilitating the pronoun's higher frequency in the DOCs with *forgive*. Additionally, the directive function becomes reflected in particular questions with modal verbs (ex 167). The use of exclamative sentences is not limited to *envy* only, nevertheless, it is a specific type of the exclamatives, namely the optative sentence, that comprises the majority of instances with *forgive* displaying this particular sentence type, whether it be the optative subjunctive with no inversion (ex 168) or the use of *may* with the subject-verb inversion (ex 169).

- (166) *Please **forgive** me for my lack of faith.* (F113)
 (167) *Can you **forgive** me, Fred, for having wronged you so?* (F89)
 (168) *"God **forgive** me for saying so," said Sarah, reverently throwing her wan eyes upwards.* (F40)
 (169) *"May God **forgive** me for taking it of you," he said.* (F83)

Moreover, the semantic status of the O2 when coded by the noun phrase, excluding the pronominal realisation, exhibits another facet of the *envy/forgive* distinction. While *forgive* imposes semantic restrictions on the O2, which in the vast majority of cases refer to abstract entities only, *envy* utilises the O2 referents of all three possible labels: abstract, animate or inanimate (see sections 4.2.5. and 4.1.5., respectively). We may assume that what is being forgiven is predominantly action-related instead of referring to concrete entities, i.e., someone has done something for which they can be forgiven. *Envy*, on the other hand, concerns abstract qualities or possession as well as material possession, and occasionally human beings too (although the meaning of 'possessing' someone rather refers to the existence of someone in the proximity of the 'possessor').

Remaining at the topic of the O2, we detect a minor semantic contrast in the instances with omitted O2. At this juncture, let us briefly introduce the dialogue test of obligatoriness proposed by Panevová (1999), who argues that it is possible to determine obligatory constituents even when they are not explicitly expressed, as in (a) – *My friends have arrived.* – *Where have they arrived?* – **I don't know*, and (b) – *My friends have arrived.* – *Where have they arrived from?* – *I don't know* (ibid.: 35). While the response *I don't know* is not acceptable in (a) due to the obligatoriness of the adverbial, in (b) the adverbial is optional

F189) or referring to what is being (partially) done by uttering the sentence (*Forgive me for intruding, My Lord, but you and I need to talk.* F183)

and therefore the answer *I don't know* is permissible. Applying the dialogue test of obligatoriness and combining it with Allerton's (1982) indefinite and contextual omissibility, we argue that the response *I don't know* to the question *What do you envy/forgive me?* that follows the statement *I envy/forgive you* seems to be permissible in instances with only *envy* but not *forgive*. Unless we speak of a general statement (see sections 3.3.1. and 3.3.3.), forgiveness usually entails the existence of concrete wrongdoing. Classified as static and emotion-focused, *envy*, on the other hand, exhibits close semantic affinity to verbs such as *love* or *hate*. Therefore, the response *I don't know* may be feasible in situations when the subject referent feels envy towards someone else and yet cannot pinpoint the particular quality or possession envied (compare to Allerton's example of the indefinite omission in *Oliver was reading/painting/hoeing/cleaning* that can be complemented by *something*; Allerton, 1982: 68). Simultaneously, we might visualise *envy* as being positioned in the middle of a spectrum whose one end is occupied by traditional verbs expressing emotions (*love, hate*), which are associated with the monotransitive use, while the other end of the spectrum is represented by verbs concerned with feelings and attitudes, e.g., *forgive*, that require both, albeit possibly deleted, objects.

Finally, let us now shift the focus to the core of this paper. All of the above-mentioned factors may have, in one way or another, influenced the significantly different postverbal complementation preference of the verbs *envy* and *forgive* in the DOCs. Although we do not argue with Coleman & De Clerck's (2008) analysis of the gradually decreasing frequency of the S-V-O_i-O_d pattern regarding the use of *envy* and *forgive*, our findings have revealed that the proportion of the indirect patterns in relation to the frequency of the prepositional one is dropping slowly in the case of *envy*, but, despite one exceptional period (1920-1969) which marks a sudden surge of the S-V-O-O_{prep} argument structure, remains the same in the DOCs with *forgive* throughout the examined 200 years.

As far as the postverbal preference is concerned, it may not be the semantic differences of *envy* and *forgive* that offer a compelling account of their ditransitive use, but rather features of the syntactic behaviour that exhibit the same trends, regardless of the verb. Those pertain to the role of pronouns in the DOCs and the O2 realisation.

4.3.1. The role of pronouns in the postverbal complementation preference

We consider the use of pronouns in the postverbal complementation of the DOCs with *envy* and *forgive* dual, since the pronominal realisation concerns both the O1 and the O2.

Considerable attention has been paid to the pronominal realisation and its effect on the object ordering in the DOCs (for further reference see Brůhová, 2010 and Biber et al., 1999). In our case, we cannot speak of object ordering per se, but it is necessary to take into consideration the alternating argument structures and their correlation with the realisation of the constituents.

As we have noted before, the recipient is, in most cases, either expressed by a pronoun or a noun, specifically a proper noun, and thus we may assume its contextual dependence. However, concerning the relation between the object realisation and the type of the argument structure, we may pose the following question: Is there a possibility that one or the other realisation affects the selection from the two alternating double-object patterns? Using the available built-in functions of Excel, we have performed the chi-square test of independence to determine whether there is a correlation between those two variables. Nevertheless, the test has revealed that there is no significant association between the O1 realisation and the individual double-object patterns, whether the calculations concerned the verb *envy*, $x^2(1, N = 198^{27}) = 3.23, p = .07$, or the verb *forgive*, $x^2(1, N = 199^{28}) = 0.01, p = .9$. For the respective periods, compare the data in the following tables.

	1820-1869	1870-1919 ²⁹	1920-1969	1970-2019
x^2	1.7	4.1	1.2	0.5
N	50	50	48	50
p	0.2	0.04	0.28	0.48

Table 13 Chi-square test of independence results regarding the relation between the O1 pronominal or nominal realisation and the two alternating double-object argument structures with *envy*.³⁰

	1820-1869	1870-1919	1920-1969	1970-2019
x^2	0.04	0.3	0.5	0.3
N	50	50	49	50
p	0.84	0.56	0.47	0.59

Table 14 Chi-square test of independence results regarding the relation between the O1 pronominal or nominal realisation and the two alternating double-object argument structures with *forgive*.³¹

²⁷ The instances with recipients expressed by a pronoun but separated from the O2 by the vocative form of the referent have been excluded from the test.

²⁸ One instance of the O1 expressing two human recipients, one coded by a pronoun and the other by a proper noun, has been excluded from the test.

²⁹ Although the data in the 1870-1919 subset with *envy* seem to point to the possibility of significant correlation, the calculations are affected by low frequency of the prepositional pattern, as in the first subset, and as such are sensitive to deviation. Therefore, it is the later stages that provide a more accurate description of the relation.

³⁰ X^2 = chi-square test value, N = sample size, p = p value; degrees of freedom = 1, chi-square test critical value = 3.84, $\alpha = .05$.

³¹ X^2 = chi-square test value, N = sample size, p = p value; degrees of freedom = 1, chi-square test critical value = 3.84, $\alpha = .05$.

Regarding the pronominal realisation of the O2, the results illustrate a more distinct correlation. However, it is the type of pronoun, not the word class itself, that seems to trigger one or the other argument structure. When mapped onto the O2 position, indefinite pronouns (e.g., *everything*, *anything*, *all* etc.) are found predominantly in the S-V-O_i-O_d pattern (6 instances with *envy* and 10 instances with *forgive*) in contrast to a single instance of *something* functioning as the constituent of the prepositional object. While demonstrative pronouns (e.g., *this*, *that*) show signs of relatively equal distribution between the two patterns³², the personal pronoun *it* is strictly used in the prepositional pattern (1 instance of *envy*, 4 instances of *forgive*).

4.3.2. The correlation between the O2 realisation and the type of the postverbal complementation

The account of pronominal realisation's effect on the choice of the respective clause patterns alludes to the importance of the O2 realisation. To recapitulate our findings, the O2 constituent of the DOCs with *envy* and *forgive* recognises four types of realisation: the noun phrase, specifically nominal realisation, the gerund phrase, the nominal relative finite clause, or one of the aforementioned pronouns. Unfortunately, as far as the subordinate finite clauses are concerned, they comprise a rather small subset of instances for us to draw any conclusions; however, it is worth noting that in the case of *envy*, the only instance attested in the sample represents the use of the indirect pattern, while the nominal relative clauses expressing the O2 in the DOCs with *forgive* are always introduced by the preposition *for* (7 instances). What we are left with is the O2 taking the form of either the nominal or the gerundial phrase. Following the direction of our preceding inquiry regarding the correlation between the object realisation and the argument structure selection, we have, once again, calculated the chi-square test of independence to determine whether there is any relation between the two variables. In contrast to our previous findings, we observe a significant correlation between the O2 realisation and the type of argument structure. It is more likely for the O2 expressed by the gerund phrase to occur in the prepositional pattern, for the O2 expressed by the noun phrase to occur in the indirect pattern, and vice versa. Perhaps the most important aspect of this observation is the fact that the significant relation is discernible

³² The subset is comprised of 6 instances of S-V-O_i-O_d and 6 instances of S-V-O-O_{prep} with a demonstrative pronoun in the position of the O2. However, in the case of *envy*, demonstrative pronouns tend to occur in the indirect pattern, whereas it is the prepositional pattern that is preferred with *forgive*. This observation might be attributed to the overall preference of one or the other pattern by the respective verbs.

in both the conflated samples of *envy*, $\chi^2(1, N = 186) = 65.02, p < .001$, or *forgive*, $\chi^2(1, N = 169) = 70.58, p < .001$., and in (almost) every respective period (see Table 15 and Table 16).

	1820-1869	1870-1919 ³³	1920-1969	1970-2019
χ^2	48	0.04	8.9	21.5
N	48	48	44	46
p	< 0.001	0.833	0.003	< 0.001

Table 15 Chi-square test of independence results regarding the relation between the O2 nominal or gerundial realisation and the two alternating double-object argument structures with *envy*³⁴

	1820-1869	1870-1919	1920-1969	1970-2019
χ^2	10.5	19.8	24.6	18.2
N	44	42	46	41
p	< 0.001	< 0.001	< 0.001	< 0.001

Table 16 Chi-square test of independence results regarding the relation between the O2 nominal or gerundial realisation and the two alternating double-object argument structures with *forgive*³⁵

Therefore, we may conclude that the type of the double-object argument structure, either the indirect or the prepositional pattern, is evidently associated and probably triggered by the O2 realisation.

A few concluding remarks pertain to the nominal realisation of the O2 in the DOCs with *envy* and *forgive*. First, Coleman & De Clerck (2008) note that a possessive pronoun frequently functions as the determiner of the O2 in the argument structures with the omitted O1 (ibid.: 195). We may argue that its presence clarifies the deleted recipient. Nevertheless, it is interesting to notice a similar tendency in constructions with the O1 explicitly expressed. Apart from the first 50-year-long period, in which the definite article is slightly more frequently used, possessive pronouns also represent the most common type of the determiner, alluding to the interpretation of the O2 as possession of the recipient. Second, observing the nominal realisation, we have also taken notice of the contextual dependence regarding the O2, and we assume that the principles of the FSP may pose as another, but not as crucial, factor influencing the postverbal complementation preference. In some cases, the

³³ Although the data in the 1870-1919 subset with *envy* do not seem to point to the possibility of significant correlation, the calculations are affected by low frequency of the prepositional pattern, as in the first subset, and as such are sensitive to deviation. Therefore, it is the later stages that provide a more accurate description of the relation.

³⁴ χ^2 = chi-square test value, N = sample size, p = p value; degrees of freedom = 1, chi-square test critical value = 3.84, α = .05.

³⁵ χ^2 = chi-square test value, N = sample size, p = p value; degrees of freedom = 1, chi-square test critical value = 3.84, α = .05.

contextual dependence of the subject and both the objects points to the verb as the new/context-independent/irretrievable expression in the clause (ex 170, here signalled by the use of personal pronouns and the demonstrative pronoun), while in other cases it may be the O2 (ex 126, here repeated for convenience as ex 171) that codes the new piece of information (Firbas, 1992: 31). Nevertheless, in the majority of instances, we cannot simply determine which clause constituent functions as the most dynamic element without investigating beyond the sentence boundaries, as further examination of the immediately relevant context is required (ex 118, here repeated for convenience as ex 172).

- (170) *I have long **envied** you these walks, -- let me make you my acknowledgments, since it is, perhaps, owing to your friendly cares that I am so soon able to enjoy them.* (E34)
- (171) *I **envy** you a room with a skylight.* (E133)
- (172) *I **envied** you your family.* (E170)

Albeit unaccounted for in the present thesis, we suggest further investigation of the contextual dependence in the DOCs with *envy* and *forgive*, since it may illuminate another aspect of the current use regarding either the indirect or the prepositional pattern. Lastly, Goldberg (1995) postulates that the indirect pattern with *envy* or *forgive* is deemed unacceptable by native speakers when modern-sounding words fill the position of the direct object (ibid.: 132, see section 2.2.3., exx 39-40). Although some ‘archaic’ words (such as *sin*) tend to be, albeit not exclusively, expressed in the S-V-O_i-O_d argument structure, the pattern is not limited to only those instances and therefore, even modern-sounding words may lack the preposition *for* in the DOC (ex 173).

- (173) *You have no idea how I **envy** you your cubicle.* (E182)

5. Conclusions

Although considerable attention has been given to ditransitive constructions and the central verbs relevant to this topic, the verbs whose ditransitive use is oftentimes deemed marginal or idiosyncratic are yet to be further examined. Their treatment is far from uniform and as such, they pose a challenge to any linguist attempting to provide a cohesive and systematic description of trends and tendencies governing the postverbal complementation preference. When discussing such verbs, those who are inclined to the idiosyncratic label, e.g., Goldberg (1995), anticipate a gradual decrease in their ditransitive use, i.e., the indirect pattern, at the expense of other constructions available. The situation of this kind, when there are two types of syntactic behaviour that code the same or very similar meaning, is represented by the term *layering*. Coleman & De Clerck (2008) have studied the ditransitive S-V-O_i-O_d use of the verbs *envy* and *forgive* and noted a significant decrease of its frequency in relation to all the remaining argument structures that the verbs enter.

The analysis of the present thesis has revealed that the topic requires more detailed examination in terms of the respective patterns associated with the verbs *envy* and *forgive*. It is necessary to contrast the dropping tendencies of the ditransitive construction S-V-O_i-O_d with its ratio to the prepositional pattern, i.e., S-V-O-O_{prep}, to determine trends governing the acceptability of the indirect pattern. Constructions in which only one of the postverbal clause constituents is expressed may affect the absolute frequency of the S-V-O_i-O_d argument structure and as such conceal the changes in the complementation preference. It needs to be borne in mind that constructions with *envy* and *forgive* where one object is deleted provide very little information on the form of the underlying double object construction. Thus, our focus on the postverbal complementation in the DOCs with both objects expressed attempts to contribute to the study of *envy* and *forgive* regarding their ditransitive use.

The data attested in the COHA show a discrepancy between the preferred argument structures of the two verbs. Instances with *envy* point to the overall preference of the indirect pattern. Nevertheless, we note a gradual tendency of the S-V-O_i-O_d argument structure being replaced by the prepositional pattern, especially in the second half of the analysed 200-year-long period. Thus, the data seem to suggest the onset of the syntactic change; however, whether the trend continues in the same direction and eventually leads to the ungrammaticality of the indirect pattern with the verb *envy* or not remains unclear.

As for the data concerning the verb *forgive*, the analysis provides a significantly different account. The unequivocally preferred argument structure is represented by the S-V-O-O_{prep} pattern, but in this case, it appears we cannot speak of the process of the syntactic change when we examine the trends across the investigated time frame. Apart from one period in which the surging numbers of instances exhibiting the prepositional pattern seems to allude to the significant prevalence of the construction in question, the proportions of the two patterns remain the same throughout the investigated time frame. Thus, the last period following the substantial emergence of the S-V-O-O_{prep} argument structure finds the indirect pattern restoring its former frequency.

Although the diachronic viewpoint that deals with the change in preference over time offers an interesting survey, there is a considerable amount of synchronic aspects that also require further investigation. We assume two distinct perspectives.

The first approach concerns the semantic and structural features that distinguish the verb *envy* from *forgive*, and vice versa. It is interesting to note that the use of *envy* and *forgive* is already disparate in terms of sentence types and their respective frequencies. Although the declarative sentence is most common for both the verbs, in the DOCs with *envy* it is only the exclamative sentence type occurring with notable frequency. *Forgive*, on the other hand, often functions as the main finite verb in imperative sentences with several interrogative and optative sentences also comprising, albeit smaller but still, a significant portion of the analysed instances.

Additionally, we consider the semantic status of the O2 (i.e., the O_d in the S-V-O_i-O_d pattern and the corresponding O_{prep} in the S-V-O-O_{prep} pattern) as another feature that differentiates the two verbs in question. While the position of the O2 in the DOCs with *envy* can be filled by a noun phrase that expresses abstract, animate and/or inanimate referents, it is only an abstract entity, save for minor exceptions, that is mapped onto the O2 position in the DOCs with *forgive*.

Nevertheless, there might be other factors influencing the preference of one or the other construction that go far beyond the syntactic and semantic level investigated in the present paper. For instance, phonological features may constitute another aspect of postverbal preference, specifically regarding the stress placement in the individual words and its impact on the presence or absence of the preposition *for*. Further, we may suggest the etymological background, with *forgive* representing the native term in contrast to foreign *envy*, as

representing another distinct aspect that may have influenced the postverbal complementation preference.

Proceeding now to the general aspects of the DOCs irrespective of the verb involved, we detect a noteworthy correlation between the O2 realisation and the type of the DOC. In spite of the pronominal realisation of the O1, i.e., the recipient, having little to no effect on the type of the argument structure, pronouns seem to play an important role when mapped onto the O2 position. The data have revealed that indefinite pronouns (e.g., anything, everything etc.) extensively prefer the indirect pattern, whereas the pronoun *it* in the position of the O2 occurs exclusively in the prepositional pattern. Moreover, the data seem to suggest a significant correlation associated with an ongoing trend of nominal realisations of the O2 preferring the indirect pattern of the argument structure in comparison to the gerund phrase that, when expressing the O2, tends to be introduced by the preposition *for*. The motivation for this particular discrepancy seems to have grounds in the speaker/writer's attempt to avoid ambiguous sentences that the S-V-Oi-Od argument structure with the gerund phrase coding the direct object very likely represent, since such constructions can be interpreted as monotransitive. Due to the action-oriented semantic status of the O2, i.e., the wrongdoing that is being forgiven, the need to express the O2 via the gerund phrase intensifies in the DOCs with *forgive*, and thus, as a consequence, the prepositional pattern may have become the preferred one. *Envy*, on the other hand, still seems to be inclined to the O2s expressing qualities and, sometimes abstract, possessions, such as task, job, good fortune, experience etc. Nevertheless, the 'object of envy' is not restricted to nominal realisation only, and gradually, what is being envied begins to allude to actions and events as well. It is evident that further investigation of the DOCs with *envy* and *forgive* is necessary as many other co-existing factors controlling the postverbal complementation preference are yet to be discovered.

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Resumé

Tato studie se věnuje analýze sloves *envy* a *forgive* v ditranzitivních konstrukcích, ať už jde o syntaktický vzorec bezpředložkový S-V-O_i-O_d či předložkový S-V-O-O_{prep}. Slovesa *envy* a *forgive* představují specifický typ ditranzitivních sloves jak z formálního, tak sémantického hlediska. Na rozdíl od prototypických ditranzitiv, jako je například sloveso *give*, se pořadí členů v dané alternaci nemění. Zároveň se zdá, že sémantická rovina sloves *envy* a *forgive* neobsahuje význam přenosu nějakého majetku, konkrétního nebo abstraktního, který je se slovesy tohoto druhu spojován. Právě jejich okrajovost v rámci tradičně přijímaných ditranzitivních sloves přivádí některé lingvisty k hypotéze, že se tato dvě slovesa postupně přestanou objevovat v bezpředložkové ditranzitivní struktuře. Cílem této práce je poskytnout detailní analýzu jak z pohledu diachronního, tedy komplexní popis týkající se postverbálního doplnění a to, jak se preference jednoho či druhého syntaktického vzorce měnila v posledních 200 letech, tak z perspektivy synchronní se zaměřením na různé aspekty, které mohou figurovat jako potenciální faktory dané postverbální preference.

Teoretická část se skládá z několika podkapitol. Pozornost je věnována nejen významným gramatikům a jejich přístupu k ditranzitivním konstrukcím, ale také jednotlivým popisům, které se týkají klasifikace ditranzitivních sloves. V obou případech se nejedná o kompletně jednotné přístupy, a tak je pochopitelné, že shoda mezi lingvisty nepanuje ani v případě *envy* či *forgive*. Zatímco někteří tato slovesa do svých studií vůbec nezahrnují, ostatní se rozdělují na dvě skupiny: první, která považuje ditranzitivní užití u sloves *envy* a *forgive* za idiosynkratické, a druhá, která jejich místo mezi ostatními prototypickými ditranzitivními slovesy nijak nezpochybňuje. Právě první skupina lingvistů, reprezentována Adele Goldbergovou, předpokládá postupné vymizení bezpředložkového větného typu s *envy* a *forgive*.

Zůstává tedy faktem, že slovesa *envy* a *forgive* se mohou vyskytovat v obou konstrukcích bez významných sémantických dopadů. V takovémto případě hovoříme o situaci, kdy dochází k tzv. *layering*. Danou problematikou se rozsáhle zabývali Coleman a De Clerck ve svých studiích z let 2008 a 2011. Zaznamenali menší, nicméně významný úbytek frekvence bezpředložkové struktury, která obsahovala buď *envy* či *forgive*, ve vztahu vůči všem ostatním možným větným rámcům. Dá se tedy tak usoudit, že tato situace pravděpodobně poukazuje na právě probíhající syntaktickou změnu. Jejich práce zároveň nabízí důkladnou analýzu těchto dvou sloves a jejich sémantické propojení s centrálním ditranzitivním významem. Poslední sekce teoretické části je věnována sémantickým rolím

větných členů. Ačkoli se s největší pravděpodobností můžeme uchýlit k interpretaci podmětu jakožto agense neboli konatele, nepřímého předmětu jakožto adresáta neboli příjemce, a přímého předmětu jakožto patiense, je důležité brát v úvahu i jiné výklady, které právě u sloves *envy* a *forgive* a jejich specifických sémantických okolností mohou rezonovat.

Jak již bylo zmíněno, cílem této práce je diachronní a synchronní popis ditranzitivních konstrukcí se slovesy *envy* a *forgive*. Zatímco Coleman a De Clerck porovnávali relativní frekvenci bezpředložkové ditranzitivní struktury vůči všem ostatním výskytům daných sloves, tato studie se detailně zaměřuje pouze na konstrukce, ve kterých jsou oba předměty explicitně vyjádřeny. Příklady jsou převzaty z Korpusu historické americké angličtiny (COHA) a jsou rozděleny následovně: každé sloveso je zastoupeno 200 příklady (dohromady tudíž tato práce analyzuje 400 příkladů), které jsou dále rovným dílem rozděleny na čtyři podskupiny dle doby jejich vzniku (každé období obsahuje 50 příkladů). Vznikají tedy tak zároveň čtyři časové segmenty, konkrétně jde o časová rozmezí 1820-1869, 1870-1919, 1920-1969 a 1970-2019. Analýza se převážně věnuje jak syntaktickým, tak sémantickým aspektům. Pro stejnorodost zkoumaného vzorku bylo nutné vypustit některé struktury, jako například pasivní konstrukce, věty, ve kterých jeden nebo druhý předmět figuruje v preverbální pozici, či jiné konstrukce, kde formální vlastnosti přímého předmětu neumožňují přítomnost předložky *for* (např. přímý předmět vyjádřený vedlejší větou obsahovou). Přestože věty se slovesy *envy* či *forgive*, které vypouští jeden, druhý či oba předměty, se dají rovněž považovat za ditranzitivní konstrukce s nevyjádřenými členy, jejich forma nenabízí žádné indicie, které by poukazovaly na preferenci vzorce S-V-O_i-O_d nebo S-V-O-O_{prep}, a tudíž i ty jsou z analýzy vyřazeny.

První a zároveň i druhé období jednoznačně poukazují na převahu syntaktického vzorce S-V-O_i-O_d u slovesa *envy*. V obou časových úsecích se vyskytl pouze jeden případ předložkového větného typu. Zatímco v letech 1820-1869 je předložkový předmět vyjádřen gerundiální frází, v druhém období je to nominální fráze, která formuluje O_{prep}. Oproti tomu je přímý předmět, kromě pár výjimek, realizován substantivem (47 případů v letech 1820-1869 a 45 případů v letech 1870-1919). Ve zbývajících dvou případech je O_d realizován zájmenem, avšak v druhém období se nově vyskytují další dva příklady S-V-O_i-O_d s gerundiální frází. Tyto příklady představují dvojznačné případy, ve kterých může být referent nepřímého předmětu chápan jako agens gerundia.

V následujícím období, respektive v letech 1920 až 1969, předložková syntaktická struktura začíná nabývat na síle (5 případů). Realizace O_{prep} nabízí značnou rozmanitost. Dá

se hovořit jak o nominální realizaci (2 případy), pronominální realizaci (1 případ), tak o gerundiální realizaci (2 případy). Variabilita se dá najít i u bezpředložkového větného typu. Kromě substantiv (38 případů), zájmen (4 případy) a gerundiálních frází (2 případy) se rovněž vyskytla vztažná věta substantivní (1 případ), která vyjadřovala O_d . Tento případ je však ve vzorku se slovesem *envy* ojedinělý.

Poslední etapa zaznamenává ještě vyšší frekvenci předložkového větného typu S-V-O- O_{prep} . Zatímco nominální realizace se týká pouze 4 případů, zbývajících 7 vět tohoto typu mají na pozici O_{prep} gerundiální frázi. Opačné tendence se dají nalézt u syntaktické struktury S-V- O_i - O_d . V těchto případech se gerundium v roli přímého předmětu vyskytuje pouze jednou, protože významnou většinu představují substantiva na pozici O_d (34 případů). Ve zbývajících 4 případech hovoříme o pronominální realizaci přímého předmětu.

Ačkoli S-V- O_i - O_d početně převažuje nad S-V-O- O_{prep} v ditranzitivních konstrukcích se slovesem *envy*, z diachronního hlediska můžeme pozorovat postupné klesavé tendence, které se týkají frekvence bezpředložkové syntaktické struktury. Co se týká sémantiky zkoumaného předmětu (O_d/O_{prep}), tento větný člen odkazuje většinou k abstraktnímu referentu (skoro 78% případů), nicméně životné (skoro 15 % případů) a neživotné (4 % případů) aktanty se v této pozici rovněž vyskytly. Zbývajících 3 % patří příkladům s mnohonásobně vyjádřeným a sémanticky nesourodým předmětem, které získávají označení ‚mixed‘.

Analýza slovesa *forgive* nabízí zcela jiný popis preference postverbálního doplnění. Již v prvním období, tedy v letech 1820 až 1869, je předložkový větný typ S-V-O- O_{prep} značně upřednostňován (36 případů). O_{prep} je ve většině případů realizován gerundiální frází (19 případů), nicméně substantivní fráze (11 případů), zájmena (3 případy) a vedlejší věty vztažné substantivní (3 případy) představují nemalý podíl analyzovaného vzorku. Oproti tomu má značná část větného typu S-V- O_i - O_d (dohromady 14 případů) v pozici přímého předmětu podstatné jméno (11 případů) s pouze 2 případy zastupující pronominální realizaci a 1 případem gerundia.

Druhé období se pouze částečně odlišuje od toho předchozího. S-V-O- O_{prep} opět představuje preferovanou syntaktickou strukturu (33 případů), avšak poměr realizací se od minulé etapy poněkud změnil. Frekvence gerundiální fráze na pozici O_{prep} se významně navýšila (26 případů), zatímco počet substantiv (5 případů), zájmen (1 případ) a vět vztažných substantivních (1 případ) klesá. Naopak výskyt nominální fráze (10 případů) a gerundií (1 případ) jakožto realizace O_d v syntaktické struktuře S-V- O_i - O_d se nijak zvlášť

nemění. Oproti tomu je bezpředložkový větný typ v tomto období svědkem zvýšené frekvence zájmen vyjadřující O_d (6 případů).

V letech 1920 až 1969 se poměr $S-V-O_i-O_d$ a $S-V-O-O_{prep}$ značně odlišuje od všech ostatních období. Nárůst počtu předložkové ditranzitivní syntaktické struktury (dohromady 42 případů) je doprovázen především gerundiální realizací O_{prep} (33 případů). Mezi další, ačkoli ne tak početné, prostředky vyjadřující O_{prep} opět patří podstatná jména (5 případů), zájmena (2 případy) a věty vztažné substantivní (2 případy). Co se realizace O_d týká, zbývající případy větného typu $S-V-O_i-O_d$ jsou limitovány striktně nominálním vyjádřením (8 případů).

Data z posledního období připomínají spíše první polovinu zkoumaných 200 let, tedy první dvě etapy, než předcházející případy z let 1920 až 1969. Zdá se tak, že předchozí období představovalo určitou výjimku, místo aby naznačovalo další vývoj probíhající syntaktické změny. Naše poznatky se tudíž nijak zvlášť neliší od těch dříve zmíněných. Syntaktická struktura $S-V-O-O_{prep}$ zůstává upřednostňovaným větným typem (33 případů) s realizací O_{prep} buďto gerundiální (22 případů), substantivní (5 případů), pronominální (5 případů) či skrze vedlejší větou vztažnou substantivní (1 případ). Poslední zmíněný typ realizace se sice v bezpředložkové struktuře $S-V-O_i-O_d$ nevyskytoval, nicméně nominální fráze (12 případů), zájmena (4 případy) a gerundium (1 případ) nadále slouží jako potencionální prostředky k vyjádření O_d .

Analyzovaná data, kromě třetího zkoumaného období, v případě *forgive* nenaznačují žádnou významnou změnu v preferenci postverbálního doplnění. To však není jediný aspekt ditranzitivních konstrukcí s *forgive*, které dané sloveso odlišuje od *envy*. Je nutné podotknout, že na rozdíl od sémantické stránky O_d/O_{prep} v ditranzitivních konstrukcích s *envy*, substantivum na pozici O_d/O_{prep} , kromě dvou méně významných výjimek, vždy odkazuje k abstraktnímu referentovi. Zatímco *envy* se vyskytuje převážně ve větách oznamovacích a zvolacích, *forgive* lze nalézt kromě vět oznamovacích také ve větách rozkazovacích, tázacích a přacích.

Co se týká poznatků, které se ve dvou daných vzorcích nijak zvlášť neliší, určitá pozornost patří recipientovi, tedy O_i ve větném vzorci $S-V-O_i-O_d$ a O v syntaktické struktuře $S-V-O-O_{prep}$. Recipient je ve většině případů vyjádřen pomocí zájmena, u slovesa *envy* hovoříme o skoro 78 % případů, zatímco v ditranzitivních konstrukcích s *forgive* tvoří zájmena dokonce 84 % případů. Ve zbylých případech je O_i/O realizován podstatným jménem, nejčastěji vlastním jménem. Existuje možnost, že by realizace O_i/O ovlivňovala

typ syntaktické struktury? Data nicméně poukazují na to, že tyto dvě proměnné hodnoty nejsou na sobě nijak závislé, $\chi^2(1, N = 198) = 3.23, p = .07$ (v případě *envy*) a $\chi^2(1, N = 199) = 0.01, p = .9$ (v případě *forgive*). Na druhou stranu, realizace O_d/O_{prep} a jeho dopad na typ větného rámce poskytuje zcela opačné poznatky. Co se týká zájmen, zatímco typ neurčitých zájmen se převážně vyskytuje v bezpředložkové syntaktické struktuře, zájmeno *it* je vždy předcházeno předložkou *for*. Zajímavý fenomén představuje distribuce nominálních a gerundiálních frází na pozici O_d/O_{prep} v syntaktických strukturách S-V- O_i - O_d a S-V-O- O_{prep} . Jak data naznačují, korelace mezi prostředkem realizace O_d/O_{prep} a větným typem je významná, $\chi^2(1, N = 186) = 65.02, p < .001$ (v případě *envy*) a $\chi^2(1, N = 169) = 70.58, p < .001$ (v případě *forgive*). Může to být právě snaha mluvčího vyhnout se nejednoznačným bezpředložkovým strukturám, ve kterých gerundium vyjadřuje přímý předmět, která ovlivňuje preferenci postverbálního doplnění. Zatímco *forgive* často odkazuje k nějaké proběhlé činnosti, *envy* se týká vlastností či majetku, a tak sémantika těchto sloves může ovlivňovat preferenci určitého prostředku realizace O_d/O_{prep} , který má pak následně vliv na využití jedné či druhé ditranzitivní konstrukce.

Je zřejmé, že slovesa *envy* a *forgive* si zaslouží další pozornost, především s důrazem na ostatní faktory, které přesahují syntakticko-sémantický rámec této studie.

Appendix

The appendix is comprised of 400 examples of the ditransitive constructions with the verbs *envy* and *forgive* attested in the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA). The arrangement of all the 400 instances is based, successively, on their affiliation to either *envy* or *forgive*, the time period, the type of the ditransitive construction (i.e., S-V-O_i-O_d or S-V-O-O_{prep}), and the realisation of the O_d/O_{prep} (nominal realisation, pronominal realisation, gerund phrase and nominal relative clause). In the case of the pronominal realisation of the O_d/O_{prep}, specifically when the pronoun serves the anaphoric function, additional context, if available, is provided. Each instance is given a unique code and the number in brackets refers to the location of the example in the present thesis.

ENVY

I. 1820-1869

i. S-V-O_i-O_d

No.	O _d = NOMINAL REALISATION
E1	Such a rich man as Morris Finley I despise, or rather pity, as much as you or any man can; but, pray, do not let us envy <u>him his riches</u> -- they are something quite independent of himself; and, can a man be really poorer than he is -- a poor mind, a poor heart -- that is the poverty to shun.
E2	How I envy <u>you the power of belief</u> ; perhaps one day I shall share it.
E3	A flourishing colony of prairie dogs had burrowed into it in every direction, and the little mounds of fresh earth around their holes were about as numerous as the hills in a cornfield; but not a yelp was to be heard; not the nose of a single citizen was visible; all had retired to the depths of their burrows, and we envied <u>them their dry and comfortable habitations</u> .
E4	I have always envied <u>the Catholics their faith in that sweet, sacred Virgin Mother, who stands between them and the Deity, intercepting somewhat of his awful splendor, but permitting his love to stream upon the worshipper more intelligibly to human comprehension through the medium of a woman's tenderness</u> .
E5	I could envy <u>you the happiness of having lived so long in Rome</u> .
E6	When, after great mental exertion, my nerves are unstrung, my energies depressed and my fancy incapable of conjuring up one bright image, I sit listlessly and reflect that I am in pursuit of a phantom which withers the powers of manhood and repels the hope of a green old age, I feel that the shadowy reward is dearly earned, and almost envy <u>the worldling his unintellectual enjoyments</u> .
E7	The magnanimous words of the queen put a stop to all invidious remarks in her presence, but certain of the courtiers, who had envied <u>the count the glory gained by his former achievements</u> , continued to magnify, among themselves his present imprudence; and we are told by Fray Antonio Agapida that they sneeringly gave the worthy cavalier the appellation of count de Cabra the king-catcher.
E8	" I envy <u>you</u> , " he said, " <u>your hopeful and joyous spirit</u> , while I know you are mistaken.
E9	The Pilgrim's crew envied <u>me my place on board the ship</u> , and seemed to think that I had got a little to windward of them; especially in the matter of going home first.
E10	I have often envied <u>him his person and accomplishments</u> .

E11	He ordered the remnants to be given away, lest hiE6:E13uld envy him every mouthful he eats.
E12	We envy not <u>the man his heart</u> , who can read this description without feeling the deep fountains of emotion flow within him.
E13	Stand apart, and let me survey: turn thy shoulders round, " he added, as by a sleight he twirled the dame upon her heel so as to bring her back to his view -- " thou art a woman of ten thousand, and I envy <u>Garret such store of womanly wealth.</u> "
E14	I allude to the speech, in which the usurper, in the very bloom of his success, and on the throne of his power, turns to the victim he has murdered, contrasts his condition with his own, and envies <u>him the repose of the tomb.</u>
E15	I do not envy <u>Mr. Flimsy-faith his habitation.</u>
E16	Take my word for it, there is not a dad among them, that does not envy <u>his own son the excellence of his limbs, and the long time of exercise and enjoyment which they seemingly assure him.</u>
E17	Then it was, father, that I envied <u>her the possession of those charms which God had given her.</u>
E18	I watched boat after boat depart for the island, full of people and goods, and envied <u>them the glorious privilege of once more standing firmly on the earth</u> , after two long months of rocking and rolling at sea.
E19 (96)	He did not even envy <u>him the repose of his woodland grave.</u>
E20	I envy <u>you the recollections of your Italian journey.</u>
E21	He felt almost jealous of so much goodness; he nearly envied <u>him the pure delight of thus expressing his gratitude.</u>
E22	We do not envy <u>the "Unitarian ministry" the distinction of never denouncing such "innocent and rational amusements," as theatrical entertainments, balls, cards and dice.</u>
E23	"I love my own country too well," observed Ellen, to whom the last remark had been slyly directed, "to prefer either a Scotch or an English name to one of true Irish growth; and while my native appellation distinguishes me as an Irishwoman, I shall neither envy <u>you your Scotch title</u> , nor the gentleman both his English ones.
E24	During the few days passed in Boston he had become more than half in love with Katy himself, almost envying <u>his friend the pretty little creature he had won.</u>
E25	They died in defence of their country's honor; and he almost envied <u>them the death which wrote their names, subject to no future stain, upon the roll of fame.</u>
E26	He was old, he said: he was fat: he did not envy <u>younger men the honour of living on potatoes and whiskey among the Irish bogs</u> ; he would try to console himself with partridges, with champagne, and with the society of the wittiest men and prettiest women of Paris.
E27	Poor fellow! he has cause to envy <u>me your affection</u> ; but I know that he is incapable of any such passion.
E28	They say the British force on Staten Island is from twelve to fifteen thousand, of which about one thousand are Hessians; that Lord and General Howe speak very respectfully of our worthy commander-in-chief, at their tables and in conversation giving bim the title of General; that many of the officers affect to hold our army in contempt, calling it no more than a mob that they envy <u>us our markets</u> , and depend much on having their winter-quarters in this city, out of which they are confident of driving us, and pretend only to dread our destroyin *, of it; that the officers' baggage was embarked, a number of flat-bottom boats prepared, and every disposition made for an attack, which we may hourly expect.

E29	Or, to put it in another way, ought I to envy you the discovery that the guests are shamed by the statues and pictures ; -- yes, and by the spoons and forks also , if they should chance neither to be so genuine nor so useful as those instruments?
E30	Indeed, I shall envy you your reputation .
E31	In his believing ignorance, he had small cause to envy me the superiority of my reason ; at least I felt so for the moment.
E32	We sympathize with the author's genial optimism; we envy him the clear-sighted faith which can discern so certain and happy a solution of so fearful a problem ; and we have felt like one resting under " the shadow of a great rock in a weary land, " as we have turned from the rumors and forebodings of our daily papers to these utterances of a loyal Christian heart.
E33	As for Colonel Fitzherbert, he might well have envied Tantalus and Ixion their torments .
E34 (170)	I have long envied you these walks , -- let me make you my acknowledgments, since it is, perhaps, owing to your friendly cares that I am so soon able to enjoy them.
E35	You make me envy you the sights you've seen!
E36 (165)	How I envy dear Martha her peaceful grave!
E37	Now, if, as is very certain, no one would envy the madman the glow and originality of his conceptions , why must we extol the cultivation of that intellect, which is the prey, not indeed of barren fancies but of barren facts, of random intrusions from without, though not of morbid imaginations from within?
E38	You envy me Silsby's acquaintance .
E39 (129)	Did I possess one tithe of Scott's talent for description, I would give you such a picture of the site and scenery of Cincinnati, as should make you envy my eyes their perpetual feast .
E40	Men envy the beasts the instinct which guides them : but if, from their birth, they knew, like them, all that they ever are to know, What should they do in the world 1 They would saunter through it without interest or curiosity.
E41 (98)	How I envied the rat his sharp teeth!
E42	I distinguished you in the procession; and I almost envied you the privilege of embroidering the sacred peplus, and being six long months in the service of Pallas Athen .
E43	Assuredly he who encourages us to envy others the power or the wealth of which we find them in possession , needs no authority save that of the tribunal to which he appeals.
E44	O, wonderful youths! how I envy them such firmness of decision .
E45	Monarchs and patriots, in their high estate, Might envy us this festival of love : For your arrival makes a home indeed, Whence, from the temple of domestic bliss, That core of country, I, an outcast wretch, Nestling embosomed in my family, May look abroad, and hug myself within, While tempests shake the troubled world without.
E46	I did not envy the black man his voyage : I have not had the pleasure of hearing from Mr. Humfries since that date.
E47	" Envied you your well-deserved appellation -- <u>that of Friend of the People, as they call you,</u> " replied the judge.
Total	47

No.	O _d = PRONOMINAL REALISATION
E48 (95)	I should envy <u>Alexander nothing</u> and <u>Napoleon nothing</u> if I thought I could really conquer one woman's heart.
E49 (97)	But while I love Bella, cruel and cold as she is, I shall envy <u>no one another</u> .
Total	2

ii. S-V-O-O_{prep}

No.	O _{prep} = GERUND PHRASE
E50 (94)	It may admit of doubt, whether the inferior functionaries should hold their offices during good behavior, or only for a term of years, with the privilege of reappointment; but we envy <u>the Norwegians, for being rid of that boundless profligacy with which the president's power of removal-unblushingly exercised as it is, and is likely to be through all the changes of party, for the lowest ends-is flooding our country.</u>
Total	1

II. 1870-1919

i. S-V-O_i-O_d

No.	O _d = NOMINAL REALISATION
E51	He said to me a month or two later that he envied <u>me my five years in furs and snow houses, in new lands and among new people.</u>
E52	On the subject of phonetics, the editor envies <u>the English their standard pronunciation, through the gradual supersession by London of provincial and dialectal peculiarities.</u>
E53	Any one who had seen Neilson in her doublet and hose of silver-grey, Modjeska in her shades of blue, and Ada Cavendish in her lovely suit of green, might have thought Bell's patched-up dress a sorry mixture; yet these three brilliant stars in the theatrical firmament might have envied <u>this little Rosalind the dewy youth and freshness that so triumphed over all deficiencies of costume.</u>
E54 (100)	A woman might envy <u>him those masses of beautiful hair.</u>
E55	" I envy <u>you your strength of mind,</u> " said he.
E56	They lived in a little cottage in the outskirts of the town, and the neighbors envied <u>them their contented lot,</u> and even strangers paused to admire their pretty home, and these fair, beautiful children.
E57	I don't envy <u>you one part of your task,</u> my friend.
E58	I envy <u>you her haunts so close and dear.</u>
E59	Gee! how I envied <u>him his chance</u> just then; but there he stood, lookin' like a white rabbit bein' tried for murder.
E60	The vast room was, in fact, perfectly ventilated, and the poor who housed themselves that night, and many well-to-do sojourners in hotels, had reason to envy <u>the vagrants their free lodging.</u>

E61	For an instant he envied <u>him his apparent contentment</u> .
E62	I don't envy <u>you your task</u> .
E63	I don't envy <u>you your trip down the mountain</u> on a night like this.
E64	I envy <u>him his chance</u> .
E65	There are many successful sculptors and decorators who might have envied <u>him his chance at St. Paul's and Dorchester House</u> But, on the other hand, it is true that he never received what is regarded as official recognition in England.
E66	I envied <u>the citizens such a delightful promenade ground, full of variety and interest</u> .
E67	He will hardly believe that you and I envy <u>him the happiness he extracts from the first ten cents he spends, knowing he has enough left for the circus and all the side shows</u> .
E68	I don't envy <u>him his forthcoming interview with my hired man to-morrow morning</u> .
E69	I don't envy <u>you your thoughts</u> , though.
E70	Zuleika expected ridicule from her companions, but the warm-blooded, romantic Italian girls, instead of ridiculing her, looked upon her as a heroine and envied <u>her the possession of a lover daring and devoted enough to scale the wall of a convent garden</u> .
E71	Even women smile and then sigh, envying <u>her the rapt delight of thus listening</u> .
E72 (99)	She envied <u>him the privilege</u> .
E73	I envy <u>him his executive ability</u> .
E74	You envy <u>him</u> thoroughly <u>the extraordinary capacity that he has</u> .
E75	I should like to know, from the Christian point of view, however beautiful and interesting a thing it was to do, -- and I envy <u>you the opportunities</u> , I assure you, -- how you dared.
E76	The cemetery from which he had come looked less lonesome to his eyes and far less ominous; and, for a passing instant, as he contemplated the scene hideous with old memories and threatening new sorrows, he envied <u>Bela his narrow bed and honourable rest</u> .
E77	I envied <u>him the force of his imagination</u> , and I used sometimes to close my eyes with a vague desire that when I opened them I might find Apollo under the opposite tree, lazily kissing his flute, or see Diana hurrying with long steps down the ilex-walk.
E78	Out of all this earth's prosperity you have envied <u>me my little share</u> : you have tried to take away my school.
E79 (101)	And every soul in the Cabbage Patch envying <u>you a stylish man like Mr. Stubbins</u> .
E80	For shame, Beulah! to envy <u>me my poor estate of good looks!</u>
E81	I envied <u>him his good fortune</u> , for I had never discovered even one of them.
E82	Not without envying <u>him the hours of rest still before him</u> , Roddy helped himself to Peter's revolver, left him a line saying it was he who had borrowed it, and went out into the dark and empty streets.
E83	If you but knew how she envies <u>me my Crusoe adventures!</u>
E84	O, I envy <u>you not your more fortunate lot</u> : I've a wife all my own in my own little cot, And with happiness, which is far better than riches, The cup of our love overruns.
E85	How I envy <u>the little Tyrolese girls their health and strength</u> to-day!
E86	No, Sir, it looks to me as though Solomon in all his glory, was an old masher, and from what I have seen of men being bossed around with one wife, I don't envy <u>Solomon his thousand</u> .

E87	Rose wondered at her, as often, envying her the gift of detachment.
E88	And a third was mine, for I in turn envied him his power and achievements and the character which had made them possible.
E89	More than one young fellow watched Friedrich and Sydney as they disappeared behind the willows on the bank, and wished that he had been the first to suggest the bridge, and envied the two their vantage point.
E90	We speak with admiration of the eighth sense common among Parisians, and envy them their magic power of combining simple materials into an artistic whole.
E91	From far up the street came the sound of singing and laughter; and De Lacy, recognizing the voices of some of his own men, envied them their light hearts and freedom from care and sorrow.
E92	I envied you the six months' advantage you had of me.
E93	In the medical writers of the older period of Salerno who had not yet been disturbed by Arabian culture or scholasticism, we can not but admire the clear, charmingly smooth, light-flowing diction, the delicate and honest setting forth of cases, the simplicity of their method of treatment, which was to a great extent dietetic and expectant, and while we admire the carefulness and yet the copiousness of their therapy, we can not but envy them a certain austerity in their pharmaceutic formulas and an avoidance of medicamental polypragmasia.
E94	Find a man who lives by successful manipulations of the hand-book of chance, and who bows to the deity of three aces; who finds victims in fortified places, and whose most hazardous scheme is surest of success; who walks abroad the admired of his contemporaries, who envy him his position as fortune's favorite in proportion as they ply their own similar trade near the foot of the ladder of chance; who shows to men the dress and manner of a gentleman, and to the angels the heart of a fiend -- and you will find that man aided and abetted, upheld and applauded, by a woman, his fitting companion by nature or education.
E95	I think I envied you her friendship.
Total	45

No.	O_d = PRONOMINAL REALISATION
E96 (103)	Mary was feeling pretty bad about having to put up with another old stove and envying Cissie Harvey hers.
E97 (102)	If I could envy you anything , my dear girl, I should envy you this privilege of seeing a city where man is valued simply and solely for what he is in himself, and where color, wealth, family, occupation, and other vulgar and meretricious distinctions are wholly lost sight of in the consideration of individual excellence.
Total	2

No.	O_d = GERUND PHRASE
E98 (104)	I envy you having such a husband always about.
E99	I didn't envy him having to sit there, facing Miss Patricia, with his conscience hurting him as it must have done.
Total	2

ii. S-V-O-O_{prep}

No.	O _{prep} = NOMINAL REALISATION
E100	He got up and staggered through the darkness along the length of the line, almost envying <u>the miserable dynamiter, who had died above the remnant of wall, for the quiet into which he had been thrust.</u>
Total	1

III. 1920-1969

i. S-V-O_i-O_d

No.	O _d = NOMINAL REALISATION
E101	I have always envied <u>her that plunge.</u>
E102	Other scripts -- notably some of those selling the virtues of the American way of life to various audiences of free people who may envy <u>us our possessions,</u> but not our culture -- seem like uninspired fare.
E103	I envy <u>you your subject.</u>
E104	I envied Olaf his hidden land as I envied <u>Nancy her opportunity.</u>
E105	I wouldn't envy <u>you the job.</u>
E106	A bath, a brisk rubdown, and breakfast put Buddy in fairly good fettle once more; so marked was his improvement, in fact, that Gray envied <u>him his glorious gift of youth.</u>
E107	Not that I envied <u>her the chicken-god.</u>
E108	Denny secretly envied <u>Ray his physical prowess,</u> but he did nothing to emulate it.
E109	And above it all the Throne, with the velvet canopy and the Royal Arms, and my Lord Harrington, his Excellency, sitting like a picture of himself, with his stars and orders and his coat of sky-blue velvet laced and embroidered with gold; and as each pretty lady came up to him and swept her curtsy he lifted her by the hand and kissed her cheek; for the Viceroy has that privilege, and many a man envied <u>him a few of the kisses,</u> if they did not envy them all.
E110	Well, I do not envy <u>him his post,</u> I confess!
E111	I envied <u>them their powers of withdrawal.</u>
E112	There arc women who envy <u>the man his role in life and his sexual organs</u> and psychologically refuse to submit to him or to feel or expose any pleasure his sexual organ might give them.
E113 (113)	I thought also of Mr. Hall and envied <u>him his activity.</u>
E114	I've always envied <u>her her looks.</u>
E115	Yet they have always envied us; envied <u>us the beauty of our women, and of our cities.</u>
E116	Watching her go, Mrs. I-lazlitt envied <u>her the simplicity, even the spinsterhood that had barred her from imagination as it had from experience.</u>
E117	I was not sure for a moment but here was a philosopher who had left far behind him the philosophers of Greece and India, and I envied <u>him his advantageous point of view -- "</u> with much more to the same effect.
E118	I envy <u>you your struggle.</u>

E119 (115)	Jessie did not envy <u>Helen Lee her family and its intense life</u> , she had few tastes that would have fitted her for anything like it.
E120	I envy <u>you your conviction, your singleness of aim</u> -- dearest Avis.
E121	One could not help envying <u>her her ease of manner, the innocence with which she appeared to maintain that there was nothing odd or improper in the fact of the four of them being there together</u> -- two middle-aged women (for one might asp381well face it: that was what they were!) with their young lovers, holdingillicit rendezvous in the house of the husband of one of the women.
E122	Why, a minister of a great metropolis might well envy <u>me such a gift!</u>
E123	I'm jealous of him, I envy <u>him his scientific eminence, I envy him his money.</u>
E124	There are men who envy <u>the woman her role</u> and who refuse psychologically to play the male role.
E125	And although Cateau did not envy <u>her sister her sable cloak, nor the coach-and-six, nor the prancing postilions, nor the four pretty maids -- no, not even the two little black boys in their glittering turbans</u> -- she would have given ten years of her life to have a young man -- any young man at all -- to ride beside her carriage in the Cours.
E126	I didn't envy <u>the police their job</u> when it was handed to them.
E127 (54)	As I read the life of young Chatterton I envied <u>him, his fame and his early death</u> and more than ever, I too desired to die young.
E128	Oh well, there is no use envying <u>her her jewels</u> , Mary Liebchen.
E129	Picasso, that sad aesthetic rake, spends each week-end with a different style; and how many young foreigners, who envy <u>him his gallantry</u> , he has debauched by his example!
E130	No One Can Envy <u>Her Her story</u> , as pieced together from fact and rumor, is a sad one.
E131	Austerely aloof, this lone wolf of Fleet Street, who envies <u>Press Barons Beaverbrook and Rothermere only their titles</u> , seldom talks to them direct, receiving their messages through a lieutenant.
E132	Well, I envy <u>them their log.</u>
E133 (126) (171)	I envy <u>you a room with a skylight.</u>
E134	Yet last week Americans could envy <u>Canadians the exuberant dash of their new Prime Minister, Pierre Elliot Trudeau, who, along with intellect and political skill, exhibits a swinger's panache, a lively style, an imaginative approach to his nation's problems.</u>
E135 (114)	She saw herself languishing on Stuart's arm, as they entered a shadowy drawing-room, all the drab ladies envying <u>her her magnificent toilette</u> , all the gentlemen bewitched.
E136	I've never envied <u>you that smart-alecky cleverness you're so proud of, and which you use mainly for sneering at other people and for finding new ways to make fun of old virtues.</u>
E137	We may not envy <u>him the job</u> but he happens to be the man on whom the responsibility rests.
E138	They envied <u>me my invitations to the Bing Crosby National Pro-Amateur, the Lucky International in San Francisco and the Bob Hope Desert Classic in Palm Springs</u> -- the near month of tournament play in the pro-ams that I would enjoy on the tour -- and they said that the one compensation they could think of as they toiled at their desks was that on my return I would not be as likely to embarrass them with my bad golf on our occasional weekend rounds.
Total	38

No.	O _d = PRONOMINAL REALISATION
E139 (110)	I envy you your doubts and floundering, even. And Frau Brown, I envy <u>you</u> <u>that</u> , too.
E140 (109)	Just like they envied <u>me</u> <u>you</u> .
E141	He tells me you were seen leaving the Condesa's cabin at a highly unrespectable hour. (lifts glass) Congratulations. I envy <u>you</u> <u>that</u> .
E142 (111)	But I say envy <u>no man</u> <u>anything</u> but <u>his</u> <u>gold</u> .
Total	4

No.	O _d = GERUND PHRASE
E143 (60) (108)	I don't envy <u>you</u> , Lucher, <u>having to abide here among the remains</u> .
E144	I CERTAINLY ENVY <u>YOU</u> , PETE, <u>GOING HOME AT LAST</u> .
Total	2

No.	O _d = NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSE
E145 (112)	There are those, I know, who will envy <u>me</u> <u>what they consider my good fortune</u> , but for my own part I would gladly have given up all claim to any of it if in so doing I could return Selina to life.
Total	1

ii. S-V-O-O_{prep}

No.	O _{prep} = NOMINAL REALISATION
E146 (105)	She came towards me, and I held out my hand, envying <u>her</u> <u>for her dignity and her composure</u> ; but when she took my hand hers was limp and heavy, deathly cold, and it lay in mine like a lifeless thing.
E147	Chilion despised and envied <u>Mahlon</u> <u>for his frailty and my tenderness which it won him</u> ; and Mahlon envied and despised Chilion for his strength and lustfulness.
Total	2

No.	O _{prep} = PRONOMINAL REALISATION
E148 (107)	I heard you play last? It was on your own harpsichord. How I envied <u>you</u> <u>for it</u> .
Total	1

No.	O _{prep} = GERUND PHRASE
E149 (106)	And I can't help envying <u>you</u> , Dinkie, <u>for being a part of that world which is so much more heroic than mine.</u>
E150	Dwight agreed, and said he envied <u>Tim</u> <u>for having found the right girl</u> before it was too late.
Total	2

IV. 1970-2019

i. S-V-O_i-O_d

No.	O _d = NOMINAL REALISATION
E151	I envy <u>you</u> <u>the excitement, the responsibility, the opportunities to contribute, that will: be yours.</u>
E152	Well, I don't envy <u>you</u> <u>your jobs.</u>
E153	But boy, did she envy <u>that migrant family</u> <u>its closeness.</u>
E154	He envied <u>your father</u> <u>his little adventures</u> -- he found it hard enough to satisfy one woman.
E155	There were times, I knew, when he envied <u>some of his less talented but more openly manic Village friends</u> <u>their concentration on " living, " on public " bailing. "</u>
E156	And I envied <u>him</u> <u>the innocence of childhood</u> as I envied <u>him</u> <u>the luck he had in having parents he could say that to and then have them make a fuss over him.</u>
E157	He envied <u>them</u> <u>their learning side of the room</u> , and knew that, as much as there was inside his head, there was even more still outside it.
E158 (119)	Not that Katya envied <u>her</u> <u>the special tutors, the tower of her own, and all the special considerations.</u>
E159	She envied <u>them</u> <u>their quick, bubblinglaughter and their golden tans.</u>
E160	I can tell you this- I don't envy <u>him</u> <u>this parish.</u>
E161	I envied <u>him</u> <u>his moment, his innocence.</u>
E162	And though I may complain, though I may envy <u>her</u> <u>her face</u> , I love Ella as if she were my own child.
E163	This proclamation shall now be taken to the Great Wall where all will read it and envy <u>you</u> <u>your good fortune.</u>
E164	Once did I envy <u>the werewolves</u> <u>their ability to change from human form to canine form, and have all the powers of the animal.</u>
E165	Aris envied <u>Sersta</u> <u>her experiences.</u>
E166	I don't envy <u>you</u> <u>that lot.</u>
E167 (116)	His laugh came again, and Tom envied <u>him</u> <u>the carefreeness of it.</u>
E168	I don't envy <u>you</u> <u>the job.</u>
E169 (127)	I'd often envied <u>him</u> <u>his women</u> , but now it seemed I would not be up for that, anyway.

E170 (118) (172)	I envied <u>you your family</u> .
E171	She shivered, envying <u>him his long, obviously warm coat</u> .
E172	How I envy <u>you your mind</u> , Watson.
E173	There had been daysmany days, especially latelywhen Ali had envied <u>him that freedom</u> .
E174	Whereas we in sportswriting always envied <u>them their hair and their money</u> -- and actually resented them enormously.
E175 (117)	Morris didn't envy <u>them the trip</u> .
E176	It was a converted two story home two blocks east of Hancock Park and had once been a palatial residence of an eighty year old virgin who died envying <u>young girls the fun they had growing round bellies</u> .
E177	She envied <u>him</u> not <u>the body</u> but his unconsciousness of it, his oblivious ignorance of <u>what he had</u> .
E178	His image was vague and tenuous -- a more remote potential for existence, I suppose -- but I could still make out his wide shoulders, his muscled torso, thick penis hanging like a rope between his legs, and in a way I envied <u>him</u> too -- <u>his apparent strength, his male power</u> .
E179	Sometimes she envies <u>him</u> -- <u>all his trouble circumscribed by his sentence</u> .
E180	I don't envy <u>you your job</u> , " Wallis said lamely.
E181	Miss Josephine listened, though seeming not to, and envied <u>Hannibal his Gulliver's travels</u> , and thought about Hannibal, and thought more and more about Hannibal, there being no one else and nothing else to engage her mind.
E182 (173)	You have no idea how I envy <u>you your cubicle</u> .
E183	I envy <u>you your nose</u> .
E184	I do not envy <u>my niece her task</u> , though this is the only sympathy I can find in my heart for her pinched and spiteful personality.
Total	34

No.	O _d = PRONOMINAL REALISATION
E185	I envied <u>Jill just about everything</u> , but I didn't feel jealous right then, listening to Elvis in Margot's house.
E186	His hair was tight and vital; Corde envied <u>him that</u> .
E187 (121)	Warren had never before envied <u>his younger brother anything</u> .
E188 (120)	Sofia didn't have the time to understand. Sometimes I envy <u>her that</u> .
Total	4

No.	O _d = GERUND PHRASE
E189 (56) (122)	When he was gone I said, " I envy <u>him</u> -- <u>living here, volunteering here, explaining everything to the tourists.</u> "
Total	1

ii. S-V-O-O_{prep}

No.	O _{prep} = NOMINAL REALISATION
E190	I sat in our little group and envied <u>them</u> for the splendor and <u>gorgeousness</u> , as we tried to sing without even a harmonica to give us the pitch.
E191 (123)	Sometimes Nashira almost envied <u>the kid</u> for his <u>simple idealism</u> .
E192	She envies <u>all other girls she knows</u> for one quality or another (<u>this one's figure, that one's hair, the next one's money, the next one's brains or talents</u>) and does not know who it is she should want to emulate.
E193	She envied <u>her father</u> for his <u>bright blue eyes</u> .
Total	4

No.	O _{prep} = GERUND PHRASE
E194 (128)	On the plus side, anti-elitism is also dangerous for those who hope the American art world will envy <u>ceramics</u> for remaining in a time warp where established tradition and canons remain undisturbed.
E195 (125)	I wish I could say I so envied <u>him</u> for having <u>truly lived</u> that I have finally broken free of this half-life safety, that I have finally stopped waiting, or that I think I can at least try to break free as time goes on.
E196	Ile had wondered, standing and being shaken by the train, whether part of the reason his father wanted him to be escorted around New York didn't have ¹⁵³ to do with the fact that his father would envy <u>him</u> for <u>getting lost</u> .
E197	He knows, he knows all too well he'd have to hold a different job with each hand; he'd end up envying <u>her</u> for <u>getting to sit down all day</u> .
E198	I didn't envy <u>him</u> for <u>doing such a thing</u> and still don't, but I remain impressed that he'd admit it in print.
E199	Not for the first time, I envied <u>him</u> for <u>inheriting some of Mom's Scandinavian coloring and height</u> , while I got Dad's pale Irish skin and raven hair.
E200 (124)	I think many rather envy <u>us</u> for <u>pulling through</u> and for <u>sticking to our position</u> .
Total	7

FORGIVE

I. 1820-1869

i. S-V-O_i-O_d

No.	O _d = NOMINAL REALISATION
F1	Forgive <u>me such a question</u> , at such a moment.
F2	I can forgive <u>him even my death</u> , however unjust and cruel.
F3	We forgive <u>men many absurdities</u> ; but we require of women that they shall maintain in our minds the ideal they inspire.
F4	So long as an eminent person is present, to awaken a personal interest in his readers or his party, they forgive <u>him this lavish freedom with money which belongs to others</u> , they forbear to press home that charge of dishonesty to which they know he must plead guilty.
F5	God has given me peace of mind at last, my dear daughter has forgiven <u>me all my old follies</u> , and my stanch old mate will never let me want a roof over my head, or a crust of his bread and a sup of his can.
F6	I could forgive <u>him the ague-fit he bestows on poor Summer</u> , as she hurries by; but the plague of it is, he will stand gossiping with Spring's green fairy, till every tooth chatters in her sweet little head.
F7	Emily could have forgiven <u>him the want of the former</u> , but the latter was imperatively demanded.
F8	Forgive <u>me</u> , dear Jane, <u>a little jealousy</u> ; you know jealousy argues love.
F9 (134) (160)	And can you forgive <u>me the shaft that I have thrown</u> .
F10	His proud spirit was crushed, but yet he was not sufficiently humble to ask her to forgive <u>him the wrong he had committed</u> , She was civil to him, but very cold.
F11	I would not, of course, undertake to defend every word he uttered, and every action he performed, during the whole of this perplexing business; but forgive <u>him the wrong of his belief</u> (if it be a wrong), and admit him to have been sincere and honest in his convictions; and I see little in what he did which does not, at least, appear consistent, and which, if it can not be fully justified, may not readily be excused.
Total	11

No.	O _d = PRONOMINAL REALISATION
F12	Then I forgive <u>you every thing</u> , in consideration of the benefit you have done our revenue; for a heavy duty, I am told, is paid on all articles the principal ingredient of which is brass.
F13 (135)	I may say, in the words Mrs. Chick, " I forgave <u>dear Fanny everything</u> . "
Total	2

No.	O _d = GERUND PHRASE
F14 (89) (136)	" First, Tom, " he pursues, " be to yourself a friend; second, forget the error of your mother, and forgive her sending you here ; and third, cut the house of Madame Flamingo, in which our chivalry are sure to get a shattering.
Total	1

ii. S-V-O-O_{prep}

No.	O _{prep} = NOMINAL REALISATION
F15	" Oh, my God! my God! " cried Isaline, clasping her hands and almost sinking into the arms of her faithful Rhoda; " this is my doing -- mine -- and I shall never forgive myself for my folly! "
F16	" God forgive me for the thought , Mr. Tyrrel, but it remains yet to be proved who most faithfully serve their sovereign; they who counsel peace, or they who push war to its fatal extremes.
F17	Take the late gift, my good old friends, and forgive me for the wrong I have done you all these years.
F18	Forgive me , rather, <u>for every grief I have ever caused you</u> , and, believe me, I will promise all you wish.
F19	But he could not forgive Pelham for his perfidy , forgetting that each had been treacherous to the other.
F20	Can you, will you, forgive me for the blindness, the presumption, the folly for which I have never forgiven myself?
F21	If we forgive the negro for his degradation and his ignorance , in consideration of the system of which he has been the sacrifice, we ought also to make every allowance for the evil influence of that system upon the poor whites.
F22	The amiable Gertrude had never forgiven her sister for her fascinating appearance as bridesmaid , and occasionally amused herself now by taunting her with the futility of her charms in obtaining admirers.
F23 (131)	I never thoroughly forgave Zenobia for her conduct on this occasion.
F24 (164)	I shall never forgive myself for the pain I inflicted upon you.
F25	And in turn, you may rest assured that I forgive you for all the anguish and sickness of spirit that I have suffered on your account.
Total	11

No.	O _{prep} = PRONOMINAL REALISATION
F26	I do not say that he was a coward, but that we thought him so. But he soon undeceived us -- he bore, till he could bear no longer -- and left his oppressor, weltering in his own blood, in church -- at the communion table. I never forgave him for it -- although he was cruelly wronged.
F27	" Hilda, I saw you at the confessional! " said Kenyon." Hilda, I saw you at the confessional! " said Kenyon. " Ah well, my dear friend, " replied Hilda, casting down her

	eyes, and looking somewhat confused, yet not ashamed, " you must try to forgive me for that , if you deem it wrong, because it has saved my reason, and made me very happy.
F28 (132)	Don't speak so crossly; I might answer back -- then you'd kick me out -- and you'd never forgive yourself for it as long as I lived.
Total	3

No.	O _{prep} = GERUND PHRASE
F29	There is your coarse food, Heaven forgive me for not offering you better , but little did my thoughts turn upon such a godsend.
F30	" O Lord, forgive me , " cried a third, " <u>for going to the Universalist up to Dunwich</u> ; I do believe there is a hell, I do believe there is a hell.
F31	Nay, nay, do not weep, I meant not unkindly, dear; and thou art so like my poor girl, that I am sure she would forgive me for loving thee -- I do love thee, I do indeed, child.
F32	If anything should happen to her in the night, I should never forgive myself for deserting her .
F33 (55)	They parted, he to ponder means to accomplish his purpose, and she alternately to reproach and to forgive herself, for encouraging her lover in an undertaking full of peril , yet demanded by gratitude and honor.
F34	I could have forgiven little children for playing sojer ; but men!
F35	Will you forgive me for insinuating that the task which he failed, or rather neglected to accomplish, seems naturally and gracefully, when time shall have in some degree moderated the more poignant emotions of /z/ regret, to devolve upon you?
F36	Bless me, my dear, forgive me for staying ; I always get so interested in your interests.
F37	Sabiah in the meantime standing in the doorway, vexing her poor heart lest Mad Sallie should break Mabel's neck, and she never forgive herself for having persuaded the dear child to run such an awful risk .
F38	Forgive me , my dear friend, <u>for troubling you with these things</u> .
F39	While Edward was arranging various matters with Willy, I heard Geoffrey whisper to Margaret that he hoped she had forgiven him for spoiling that drawing of hers .
F40 (168)	"God forgive me for saying so , " said Sarah, reverently throwing her wan eyes upwards.
F41	You'll forgive me for being so cruel to you , wont you?
F42	They don't scruple showing their hands dirty to us servants -- God forgive me, for myself calling me so here in America .
F43	If, on the other hand, anything should happen to frighten Ned, or to cause him any injury or unhappiness, how could he ever forgive himself for not having rushed to his rescue at the earliest moment in his power?
F44	I forgive you, John; hard it is, but I forgive you for stepping in before me .
F45	No, no, Captain, not the man I was then,' he added, glancing over the huge raw bones of his shrunken frame with a melancholy smile; no, the British could never forgive me for taking old Ti; so with characteristic magnanimity to a fallen foe , they took their revenge by battering, hewing, hacking and starving the oldbody, till there is scarcely enough left of it to furnish a habitable tenement for the soul, which remains as whole and sound as ever; for that, thank God, they could neither kill nor bribe.
F46	Och! the Lord forgive me for swearing and spakeing of such vanities ; but this I will say for the French, that they paid in good silver; and one glass would go a great way wid? em,

	for they gin? rally handed it back wid a drop in the cup; and that? s a brisk trade, Joodge, where the pay is good, and the men not over-partic? lar.??
F47 (130)	I can forgive you <u>for disobeying orders</u> , but I can't forgive you <u>for being a fool</u> .
Total	19

No.	O _{prep} = NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSE
F48	It was wrong for her to feel so about Miss Dabney; but she hoped he would forgive her <u>for what she could not help</u> .
F49 (133)	Say, my child, you forgive me <u>for what has past</u> .
F50	She would never forgive <u>Geraldine</u> <u>for what she would regard as an insult</u> .
Total	3

II. 1870-1919

i. S-V-O_i-O_d

No.	O _d = NOMINAL REALISATION
F51	We are writing in a feeble effort to imitate Mr. Chapman's own breezy manner, and our words may sound a trifle presumptuous, but, as a matter of fact, there is one section of the book so sound in judgment and so timely in point that we are almost ready to' forgive the author <u>his glowing indiscretions in other chapters</u> .
F52	I forgive him <u>his inordinate dulness</u> , for he was not a diplomatist and it was not his business to lie, but he might once in a way have forgotten Mount Vernon.
F53	She could not forgive me <u>the false representations I had made to her regarding my assets</u> .
F54 (143)	I freely forgive him <u>every hour of sorrow he has caused me</u> .
F55	I proved, irrefutably, that the list was incomplete, and he has never forgiven me <u>this impeachment of his taste</u> .
F56	Will you forgive me <u>this display of it?</u>
F57	Edward had never forgiven <u>Clarence</u> <u>his desertion</u> ; and his impeachment in 1478 on a charge of treason, a charge soon followed by his death in the Tower, brought Richard nearer to the throne.
F58	Now for me, an aspirant for public favour, to champion against the aroused public the case of a man who has -- forgive me <u>the word</u> -- who has betrayed that public, and in the end to lose that case, as I most certainly should -- it would be nothing less than political suicide.
F59 (161)	I have forgiven him <u>his cruelty twice</u> , but I can't do it again.
F60	The man you have just sent away would forgive you <u>his disappointment</u> if you gave him the supreme satisfaction of carrying doom to the still more formidable being who prophesies death to those for whom she has already prepared a violent end.
Total	10

No.	O _d = PRONOMINAL REALISATION
F61	He forgave <u>her all</u> just on account of those few wet, wandering locks.
F62	Yea, I would bless her for that precious gift -- I had not known its treasures but for her, And O for that would I forgive <u>her all</u> , And bless the hand that smote me to the soul.
F63	And if he is dead, may God be merciful A little more to him because of this, That Lilian Lane forgives <u>him everything!</u> "
F64	" But consider that this man very nearly put your majesty to death. " " Ah! " the queen said, " but I have forgiven <u>him all that</u> ; and, as he did not kill me, he shall not be put to death on my account. "
F65 (145)	" Remember that I am old enough to be your father; that I knew you when you were three years old. I may surely ask such questions. But you are right; one must do your mother justice. She was certainly thinking of her second marriage. " " You have not forgiven <u>her that!</u> " said the Countess, very gravely.
F66 (144)	He could have forgiven <u>her almost anything but this</u> .
Total	6

No.	O _d = GERUND PHRASE
F67 (88) (142)	I can not forgive <u>you letting me carry all that water for a fainting fit</u> -- and there was no fainting fit!
Total	1

ii. S-V-O-O_{prep}

No.	O _{prep} = NOMINAL REALISATION
F68	" Oh, God, " she silently prayed, " forgive <u>us for our neglect</u> of such as these.
F69	" Oh, well, don't say it! " he pleaded; " or don't say it now, not till you've forgiven <u>me for the anxiety I've caused you</u> ; not till you've praised me for trying to do what I thought the right thing.
F70	I was much touched that she had acted upon my advice so promptly, and half forgave <u>her for her treatment of me at coffee</u> , though I understood it the less.
F71 (139)	I am confident that any reader who has ever had pets, birds or animals, will forgive <u>me for this brief digression</u> .
F72	Evidently Mrs. Campbell had not quite forgiven <u>the attache for his desertion of the morning</u> .
Total	5

No.	O _{prep} = PRONOMINAL REALISATION
F73 (140)	Poor little Daisy never forgot that first day at boarding-school; how all the dainty young girls in their soft white muslins glanced in surprise at her when Mme. Whitney brought her into the school-room, but she could have forgiven <u>them for that</u> if they had not laughed at her poor old uncle John, in his plain country garb, and they giggled behind their

	handkerchiefs when she clung to his neck and could not say good-bye through her tears, but sunk down into her seat, leaning her head on her desk, bravely trying to keep back the pearly drops that would fall.
Total	1

No.	O_{prep} = GERUND PHRASE
F74	He can't forgive <u>his wife for having married him too extravagantly</u> and loved him too well; since he feels, I suppose, in some uncorrupted corner of his being that as she originally saw him so he ought to have been.
F75	" Forgive me, darling! forgive me <u>for being almost glad when I heard that you were free, and not married out of my reach.</u>
F76	Forgive me <u>for alluding to your home and family,</u> Peyton, but I must not lose my honesty, you know.
F77	Did I say, " May Heaven forgive her " <u>for saddling me with this Scotch schoolmaster's daughter?</u>
F78	She would have retreated, but Everard gently detained her, " promise me Miss Leicester, " he said, " that what passed between us this afternoon shall make no difference to your arrangements, you will not think of leaving, for I should never forgive myself for having deprived my sisters of the benefit of your society if you do.
F79	I drove him away, and sat down in a big rocking chair with my wife in my lap, and was stroking her hair and telling her that if she would forgive me for marrying I never would do so again, and trying to make her feel more at home, when there came another knock at the door, and she jumped clear across the room and knocked over a water pitcher.
F80 (138)	Surely he would forgive her for having avenged him.
F81	He never would forgive a politician for taking a right course, unless satisfied that he took it from a wrong motive.
F82	I can't ever forgive her for turning against you, and spoiling your childhood as she has, but I couldn't forgive anybody else for abusing her.
F83 (169)	" May God forgive me for taking it of you, " he said.
F84	And you can forgive me for deceiving you?
F85	I will not forgive her for what she made me bear, any more than I will forgive Griggs for receiving her when she left me.
F86	Mr. Kendall, I have perused the contents of your paper, and hope you will forgive me for having the boldness to write to you.
F87	Can the prim Louise ever forgive us for tricking her?
F88	" You promised in the San Miguel this morning, if we trusted you enough to come with you to Guatemala, you would see that the San Miguel did not sail without us. Guillermo! " -- with an inspiration I draw the white face down to mine -- " forgive me for doubting you; you will keep your word, " and I kiss him between the pain-contracted brows.
F89 (167)	Can you forgive me, Fred, <u>for having wronged you so?</u>
F90	Brady, I hope you'll forgive me for saying something harsh and disrespectful about your grandfather, but here goes.

F91	If you bring me a beautiful lava bracelet perhaps I'll forgive you for going away , -- and some pink coral, -- don't forget.
F92 (137)	Oh, I'll never forgive myself for letting him fight in my place!
F93	I've never quite forgiven the girl for playing the prude with me so successfully, when we first met.
F94	Forgive me for mentioning it , my dear, but we always have to pay double postage due on your epistles.
F95	" I am going to show you something that my son would not easily forgive me for betraying ; for it is a secret he guards most jealously -- "
F96 (59)	I knew you wouldn't keep on hating us when you knew us better -- and you'll forgive me , won't you, for playing that horrid trick with the mice?
F97	Forgive you for -- for what? For having loved me to well?
F98	They will never forgive Tilden for notsecuring the Presidency the last time.
F99	You forgive me for having quarreled with you?
Total	26

No.	O_{prep} = NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSE
F100 (141)	May God in his mercy forgive me for what I am about to do.
Total	1

III. 1920-1969

i. S-V-O_i-O_d

No.	O_d = NOMINAL REALISATION
F101	While, as for Mr. Racer, as long as his boys were safe he could forgive them the anxiety they had caused him.
F102	So they forgave her the little important airs that sprang from her position as the mistress's personal maid, and they forgave her her jealous refusal to let anyone but herself tend Miranda. "
F103	" Wives tell me they could forgive a husband a lot of things if he wouldn't insist on bringing the newspaper to the table with him and propping it against the sugar bowl and reading it all through the meal.
F104 (57)	Forgive me, my diet.
F105	Please, please forgive me my wickedness , dear Tabs.
F106	Here in Normandy they have not been able to forgive him his landless condition , believing it a fault in anyone not to show a proper degree of acquisitiveness.
F107	The costly meshed bag had made employment for many people, beginning with the miners who brought forth its metals; and in his generous new mood Hatcher couldp123easily have forgiven Pinkie the polo ponies that kept stablemen off relief rolls.

F108 (150)	We forgive <u>each other the little things that sisters must forgive.</u>
Total	8

ii. S-V-O-O_{prep}

No.	O _{prep} = NOMINAL REALISATION
F109	Representative Holifield argues that a certain " military clique " has never forgiven <u>Condon for his part in taking atomic energy away from the Army,</u> and that this unidentified clique worked through Thomas to even scores with Condon.
F110	And I pray God you will see with clear understanding, David Carrigan -- and forgive me -- as I have forgiven you -- <u>for a thing that happened long ago.</u> "
F111	They apologize and ask you to forgive them <u>for their lack of trust.</u>
F112	Forgive me <u>for my intrusion.</u>
F113 (146) (166)	Please forgive me <u>for my lack of faith.</u>
Total	5

No.	O _{prep} = PRONOMINAL REALISATION
F114	Oh, I'll never forgive you <u>for this.</u>
F115 (148)	Baptist... oh, and he thought the world of Buck, my daddy did, even knowing that Buck was serving time in jail. He forgave him <u>for that'</u> cause he paid his debt to society.
Total	2

No.	O _{prep} = GERUND PHRASE
F116	Forgive me <u>for telling you what I knew about your father.</u>
F117	Can you forgive us, my dear, <u>for overlooking you for a minute?</u>
F118	After a while she even began to love Douglas, but she never quite forgave him, or Manley <u>either, for pressing on her the dowdy crown of motherhood.</u>
F119	Forgive me <u>for asking.</u>
F120	If you'll forgive me <u>for saying so,</u> you apparently notice very little.
F121	Forgive me <u>for coming here.</u>
F122	Can you forgive me <u>for saying that to you?</u>
F123	Forgive me <u>for contradicting you,</u> but there's gallantry and gallantry.
F124	Forgive us <u>for dropping in like this...</u>
F125 (163)	Forgive me <u>for not asking you to sit down,</u> Appleby.
F126	I can't forgive <u>Martin Holmes</u> <u>for washing his hands of the business.</u>
F127	" Forgive me <u>for interrupting your reading,</u> " said Dumas politely, " but I see that you are as fond of eggs as I am. "

F128	GILI hope Heaven forgives us for earning this easy money.
F129	Monetarily much benefited, the heeder, feeling a sort of universal good will prosperity always engenders, is apt even to forgive the adviser for being right , to have nothing in the world against him.
F130	You'll forgive an old admirer for sort of relapsing a bit and -- admiring you?
F131	The judge said to Morris, " Good Lord, man, forgive me for being blunt , but what that child needs is the whipping of his life. He needs it desperately. "
F132	You must forgive me for barging in on you this way , but we only arrived late last night.
F133	Forgive me for molesting you.
F134	If you'll forgive me for saying so , you're becoming something of a pest.
F135	Forgive me for saying it.
F136	I let him think I was just lazy, yet in my heart I never forgave him for not understanding.
F137	Yoyo treated Quarrier with servile rudeness; like Guzman, he had not forgiven the missionary for noticing the trade in slaves , and the hate in his moist yellow eyes was plain.
F138 (162)	But John Adams never forgave the people for denying him a second election.
F139	" Loosh, " whispered Mr. Cabot, chokingly, " if the rest of this stunt is as good as the beginning I'll forgive you for handing that fourteen thousand to the mummy-hunters.
F140	" Forgive me for being suspicious , but I've played around and stayed around this old town too long.
F141	Forgive me for asking.
F142	You know, the boss has even forgiven me for selling his soul?
F143 (146)	Sylvester, please forgive me for thinking you were a coward.
F144	Mr. Munn knew that she hated him, and that she would never forgive him, not for taking May, or painting her house, or saving her from eviction.
F145	Please forgive me for crying , Cary.
F146	"Since Hank is numbered among the late lamented, " she continued, " I can forgive you for bungling the Hooker end of your job.
F147	" My dear, " he said softly, " we none of us know what's in a man's mind, and I couldp139almost forgive him for turning against his country , if so be those are his principles.
F148	He'd never forgive me for jumping ship.
Total	33

No.	O_{prep} = NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSE
F149 (149)	Oh, [Penny], forgive me for what I've done.
F150	I'll die peacefully if I knew you'll forget me, and forgive me... for what I've done to you.
Total	2

IV. 1970-2019

i. S-V-O_i-O_d

No.	O _d = NOMINAL REALISATION
F151	It was in this new life where he hoped to find his selfrespect, and to forgive <u>himself the memory of his first wife</u> .
F152	He looked so stunned and funny that she immediately remembered he was a child in her care and forgave <u>him his modest reticence</u> .
F153	Octavius pretended surprise, listened to their pleas for friendship with Antonius, and made a brief speech to them in which he forgave <u>Antonius the insults</u> and agreed to repair the breach that had grown between them.
F154 (156)	Forgive us our action.
F155	She felt a punishing headache, and a strange desire to believe, to go to confession as Lucia did every Sunday and have some mysterious male voice forgive <u>her her sins</u> ...
F156 (159)	ETAIN You shot the bird from the sky. Did you not know it was me, it was you? Do you not know what you do? THE WOMEN Hush, Etain, hush. She is young. Lord, forgive <u>her her tongue</u> .
F157	It seems to me that friends ought to be more willing to forgive <u>each other their occasional frailties</u> .
F158	Forgive <u>me my many petty cruelties</u> , but understand: I must now seize all the opportunities.
F159	Rachel had forgiven <u>Terry the affair</u> ; did that somehow make it easier for her to accept this?
F160	Have you asked God to forgive <u>you your sins</u> ?
F161	The Blessed Virgin will forgive <u>you all your sins</u> .
Total	11

No.	O _d = PRONOMINAL REALISATION
F162	They'd forgive <u>Caleb a lot</u> because he was a preacher and had, because of his calling, to swallow whole such commands as " Thou shalt not kill " and " All men are brothers. "
F163	Hey, a true friend will forgive <u>you anything</u> and love you no matter what.
F164	BLAZE Dora wrote with Sapphic passion... KNOX Quite. BLAZE... for that I forgave <u>her everything</u> .
F165	The camera caresses Fiennes' face during these VR sessions; his face reveals surrender to pleasure as he forgives <u>himself everything</u> .
F166 (157)	Megan was too clearly fond of him, too willing to forgive <u>him everything</u> .
Total	5

No.	O _d = GERUND PHRASE
F167 (158)	Forgive me <u>saying so</u> , Holmes, but if you're prepared to stand there and fiddle while the world goes up in smoke well, then, you're precious Professor Moriarty deserves to sit on his mountain of gold and tell the rest of us to jump.
Total	1

ii. S-V-O-O_{prep}

No.	O _{prep} = NOMINAL REALISATION
F168	There are times when you even have to forgive yourself <u>for things you have not done</u> .
F169	I dedicate this book to the wonderful people of Butternut Creek with my my love and admiration, and in the desperate hope that someday Miss Birdie will forgive me <u>for my many errors</u> .
F170 (154)	His daughters cried as he swabbed their throats, stuck needles in their arms, and demanded specimens of their excretions, and it was many years before they forgave him <u>for this ordeal</u> .
F171	May the King of the Day of Judgment forgive me <u>for all my transgressions</u> , he thought, and find it displeasing that this should be my boy before me.
F172	The Pope forgave him <u>for the shooting</u> .
Total	5

No.	O _{prep} = PRONOMINAL REALISATION
F173	They work hard and play hard, flying all over the world to exotic vacation spots-beginning with their elopement to Barbados two years ago. # Mom still hasn't forgiven her <u>for that</u> .
F174	I guess he'd just never forgiven me <u>for something I did to him very early in life</u> .
F175	Cox contested the divorce with such vehemence a restraining order was granted. The relationship between father and son deteriorated so rapidly that they " had a knock-down, drag-out fight one day, " Cox said. " I'll never forget it; I'll never forgive myself <u>for it</u> . "
F176 (155)	I hope you can forgive me <u>for this</u> .
F177	Don't be rude to me. I see that look in your eye. All my life, men have been giving me that look. But I forgive you <u>for it</u> just like I forgive them.
Total	5

No.	O _{prep} = GERUND PHRASE
F178	We've been out of high school for thirteen years and you haven't forgiven me <u>for using that shot of Josh McGinnes instead</u> .
F179	" Forgive me <u>for hitting you</u> , Sir Keith, " I murmured.
F180	Pleasure was the intermission of an ongoing catastrophe; serenity, a betrayal of old ghosts: she couldn't forgive herself <u>for escaping Treblinka</u> .
F181	" Forgive me , " she said, " <u>for not behaving toward you as the Master would have me behave toward all persons</u> .

F182	" God, I will forgive <u>You for making me suffer so</u> , if You will let me see Sordello's face just now.
F183	Forgive me <u>for intruding</u> , My Lord, but you and I need to talk.
F184	Though I am disappointed and sad I do not hold bitterness in my heart against you, may God forgive you <u>for having let Lucy die...</u>
F185	My father's father never forgave her for disposing of the caul I was born in, and she never forgave him <u>for pressing on me, when I was seven, a bizarre compensation for this supposed loss.</u>
F186 (152)	I magnanimously forgave Eileen <u>for having lied to me.</u>
F187	I might even forgive you <u>for going away</u> if you show proper appreciation for my surprise.
F188	Please forgive me <u>for acting so strange</u> , today.
F189	For God's sake, forgive me <u>for saying this</u> , but this man robbed you!
F190	Mr Kittering, forgive me <u>for asking you this</u> , but where were you the night the Commodore was killed?
F191	Forgive me <u>for saying this</u> , Sister.
F192	Forgive me <u>for asking</u> , but I believe we've known each other long enough and well enough for me to ask you: How is it that a woman as lively as you doesn't marry again?
F193	And I have enjoyed myself so much that at the end of my trip I forgive the people at Amtrak <u>for not running the trains on time, for not having good food, for not having the nicest waiters, and for just generally not being on the? ball</u> , and the next time I go anywhere I want to go by train.
F194	Hello Marian, forgive me <u>for intruding</u> , I'm Rudolph Bing, I don't believe we've been introduced.
F195	Forgive me <u>for touching my fiancee when I notice her breasts.</u>
F196 (151)	I don't think he ever forgave himself <u>for abdicating to them.</u>
F197	There are two reasons for this neglect: one lies with Liberman's development, which has seemed - to veer somewhat between geometric and expressionistic forms of painting and sculpture; the other is that the tolerance of the New York art world, though endlessly extendable to people like Tony Shafrazi (the " Guernica " vandal) finds it harder to forgive Liberman <u>for being the editorial director of Conde Nast.</u>
F198	Please forgive me <u>for continuing writ -- ing.</u>
F199	You'll forgive me <u>for saying so.</u>
Total	22

No.	O _{prep} = NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSE
F200 (153)	But instead of touching up her lipstick or adjusting an errant strand of hair, she found herself looking into her own eyes and wondering if she would have forgiven Alice Vavator <u>for whatever it was she'd done.</u>
Total	1