The subjunctive in Present-Day English

A critical analysis of recent research, leading to a new
diachronic investigation of the mandative subjunctive

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by

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Declaration

I, Tim Waller, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own.
Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that
this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

It seems the subjunctive lives on in Present-Day English (PDE), despite repeated predictions of its death and the discouragement of the Fowler brothers, who in *The King's English* (1906) dismissed it as 'never necessary, often dangerous, and in most writers unpleasantly formal'. One use of the descendant of the old past subjunctive – as in *If that <u>were</u> true* vs *If that <u>was</u> true* – remains a favourite topic for prescriptivists, while there are still a number of productive uses of the descendant of the old present subjunctive. One of these, the mandative subjunctive – as in *I insisted that he <u>come</u>* – has received considerable scholarly attention following reports of its increasing frequency in the twentieth century, first in American English (AmE) and later in British English (BrE). Even so, reference grammars such as Huddleston & Pullum (2002) are reluctant to apply the term 'subjunctive' to English verb forms in a synchronic description of the language. The two main aims of this thesis are to re-evaluate the growing body of research relating to the subjunctive in PDE, and to present a new study of the mandative subjunctive. The first part features an in-depth critical analysis of subjunctive-related studies since the 1960s, looking in particular at theoretical and methodological approaches. In the course of this, previously unrecognised inconsistencies are identified in important studies involving the mandative subjunctive such as Johansson & Norheim (1988) and Leech et al. (2009). The second part is a new corpus-based diachronic study that for the first time examines the mandative subjunctive in AmE and BrE using freshly derived data from four data points – 1931, 1961, 1991/2 and 2006. This study provides evidence confirming the inconsistencies identified in previous studies and presents new findings regarding variation in preferences in English mandative clauses over a period of 75 years.

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Introduction

[I]t is only a question of time how soon the subjunctive shall be no longer differentiated from the indicative . . . And so posterity will not need to clog its memory with any rule for the employment of the subjunctive; and the English language will have cleansed itself of a barnacle.
(Matthews 1901: 223–224)

We have purposely refrained until now from invoking the subjunctive, because the word is almost meaningless to Englishmen, the thing having so nearly perished . . . *Were*, however, is often right and almost necessary: other subjunctives are never necessary, often dangerous, and in most writers unpleasantly formal. The tiro had much better eschew them.
(Fowler & Fowler 1906: 154, 158)

The story of the subjunctive mood in the history of English is one of great change in form and function. In the earliest written records, the subjunctive was realised by a number of distinctive endings in both present and past tenses and found in a wide range of environments. By the end of the nineteenth century, Henry Sweet was prepared to declare in his *New English Grammar* that the subjunctive, after centuries of morphological levelling and changes in complementation patterns, was 'practically extinct as a living form, surviving only in a few isolated constructions' (1898: 108), a viewpoint apparently shared by the American and British commentators quoted above. A hundred years later, the authors of *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*, taking a strictly synchronic approach, consider it inappropriate to conceive of the subjunctive as a distinct mood but instead treat it as 'the name of a syntactic construction' (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 993).

All this might suggest that the subjunctive is of minor importance in Present-Day English (PDE), yet despite the relatively sparse coverage given to its few surviving uses in contemporary grammars, since the 1960s there has been a growing body of studies looking at subjunctive-related topics. One use of the present subjunctive that has come under particular scrutiny is what is often called the mandative subjunctive, as in *They suggested that he resign*. Evidence has been put forward that it has defied predictions and significantly increased in frequency during the twentieth century, first in American

English (AmE) and later in other national varieties such as British English (BrE), Australian English (AusE) and New Zealand English (NZE).

In this thesis, with the apparent contradictions of these approaches in mind, I set out to re-evaluate this body of subjunctive-related research, looking at how the theoretical and methodological approaches that have been taken fit into the most recent descriptions of PDE, with the ultimate aim of offering a new perspective for researchers in the field. The thesis falls into two parts. The first is built around an in-depth critical analysis of subjunctive-related research since the 1960s. The second is a case study, prompted by the findings of the critical analysis, consisting of a new diachronic investigation of the use of the mandative subjunctive in BrE and AmE, covering the period between 1931 and 2006.

The thesis is structured as follows. In Chapter 2, I briefly summarise the functions of the subjunctive as they are described in recent grammars of Present-Day English, illustrating them with real-world examples from corpora. In Chapter 3, I discuss traditional and recent theoretical approaches towards the grammar of the subjunctive, looking at issues such as the means of identification of subjunctive forms and the differing approaches to how the term 'subjunctive' should be used, as well as examining other topics in the grammar of PDE in which subjunctives play a part, such as finiteness.

Chapters 4 and 5 together make up a wide-ranging re-evaluation of subjunctive-related research since the 1960s. In Chapter 4, after putting such research into context by collating a number of the comments by twentieth-century linguists and usage commentators that are regularly quoted in studies, I focus on the research topics that have been investigated and highlight some of the methodological and theoretical issues that arise. In Chapter 5, I present a chronologically arranged in-depth analysis of important recent studies involving different aspects of both the present and past subjunctive, drawing particular attention to methodological inconsistencies. Among the results of this analysis is the finding that an important study concerning the mandative subjunctive, Johansson & Norheim (1988), contains an unrecognised methodological anomaly that appears to have seriously affected the results of subsequent studies, including Hundt (1998b) and Leech et al. (2009).

In Chapter 6, I present a case study that draws on some of the methodological lessons learned in Chapter 5. The primary aim is to contribute to the field of mandative-subjunctive studies by providing new evidence, based on reliable methodology, about use of the mandative subjunctive (and other variants in mandative clauses) in written AmE and BrE. It is the first study to use newly derived data from four chronological data points: 1931 (the B-LOB and B-Brown corpora), 1961 (LOB and Brown), 1991/2 (F-LOB and Frown) and 2006 (BE06 and AE06). The secondary aim is to test out my theory about the

anomaly identified in Johansson & Norheim (1988). The opportunity arises because the new study involves re-examining the corpora that featured in Johansson & Norheim's study, as well as the corpora used in the studies whose results have been affected by that anomaly. At the same time, I also set out to demonstrate the value of reanalysing previously studied corpora, a process that is not often carried out, despite new developments in corpus-analysis techniques.

The findings of the new study include confirmation of the very different preferences regarding mandative clauses in BrE and AmE in the first half of the twentieth century and of an increase in the frequency of the mandative subjunctive in BrE between 1961 and 1991 – but at a lower level than that reported in previous studies. There is no evidence that the increase in mandative subjunctives in BrE continues after 1991, however. A finding of particular interest is that the frequency of the *should* variant in mandative clauses in BrE has declined since 1961 to such an extent that in the BE06 corpus, with texts from 2006, it is lower than that for the mandative subjunctive for the first time in a BrE corpus, despite there being no significant change in the frequency of the subjunctive variant since 1991.

2

The place of the subjunctive in Present-Day English

As background to the discussions in later chapters of theoretical and methodological aspects

of subjunctive-related research, in this chapter I draw on corpus examples to illustrate the range of

functions of the present and past subjunctive that feature in recent grammatical descriptions of Present-

Day English.[1] Decisions about which uses to include were, for the most part, informed by Huddleston &

Pullum's *Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (2002), on the basis that it takes into account

more of the reported recent developments than earlier reference grammars such as Quirk et al.'s

Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language (1985), which nevertheless remains a valuable

resource on the subject. I draw particular attention to the frequency of the different uses and to the

variants with which subjunctive forms compete, such as modals or indicatives. For simplicity, and

because one of the central concerns of this thesis is recent change, I differ from Huddleston & Pullum

in my terminology, choosing to use the terms 'present subjunctive' and 'past subjunctive', even though

there are strong arguments for not using such terms in a purely synchronic analysis of PDE.

(See Chapter 3 for a discussion of different terms found in the literature.)

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[1] For a guide to the uses in which the subjunctive was found in earlier stages of English, see the chapter on
'The Modally Marked Form' in Visser's *Historical Syntax of the English Language* (1963–73: 786–941).

2.1 The present subjunctive

Huddleston & Pullum discuss the uses of the present subjunctive in four main areas:
(1) mandative clauses (2002: 995ff); (2) other types of content clause, licensed by a small number
of items such as *lest*, *if*, *on condition that* and *though* (2002: 1000); (3) exhaustive conditional
clauses (2002: 1001); (4) formulaic phrases or frames (2002: 944).

2.1.1 *Mandative clauses*

In present-day AmE and, increasingly, BrE, many studies, including Johansson & Norheim (1988) and
Övergaard (1995), have shown that present subjunctive forms are commonly found in mandative clauses:
content clauses licensed by a semantically related group of mandative items, which can be verbs, nouns or
adjectives, as in (1)–(3).

(1)   Elizabeth the First's parliaments **demanded** that she <u>abolish</u> tonnage and poundage.
<div align="right"><ICE-GB DL-I01. #154:1:A></div>

(2)   It is a **proposal** that justice now <u>be</u> served by means other than those that have ever
         preconditioned the search for it, or preconditioned more positive means for attaining it, in the
         past.
<div align="right"><Brown D11></div>

(3)   The bank was becoming ever more **insistent** that she <u>dispose</u> of most, if not all, of the high street
         sites.
<div align="right"><F-LOB P26></div>

The alternatives to subjunctive forms in mandative clauses vary according to national variety. In BrE,
modal verbs, particularly *should*, are common, and indicatives are also found; in AmE, constructions with
should are much less common than subjunctives, and indicatives are not impossible, but are not
universally accepted.

Evidence from studies such as Övergaard (1995), Hundt (2009) and Leech et al. (2009) points to
a revival of the present subjunctive in mandative clauses that seems to have taken place first in AmE,
from around the beginning of the twentieth century, with a lower-level revival in BrE in the second half
of the century.

2.1.2   Other types of content clause

A number of the low-frequency subordinate-clause uses of the subjunctive that have survived into PDE from earlier stages of English are grouped together by Huddleston & Pullum under the heading 'content clauses governed by prepositions' (2002: 1000).[2] They are subdivided into three classes: adversatives, conditionals and purposives.

2.1.2.1   <u>Adversatives</u>

These are clauses governed by *lest* and *for fear* (*that*), as in (4) and (5). Variants within adversative clauses include constructions with *should* and indicatives.

(4)   I did not sleep much that night, which I spent struggling against the Kaiser, dodging his
        submarines and holding him back in the trenches **lest** he <u>storm</u> Paris.

<div align="right"><Frown G39></div>

(5)   Indeed, one might be wary of suggesting to a customer that an invoice is overdue **for fear that**
        he <u>commit</u> hari-kari immediately (without paying first).

<div align="right"><BNC G29></div>

Huddleston & Pullum acknowledge that the word *lest* itself 'belongs to formal style', but note that it is the 'only preposition where the subjunctive is the preferred construction' (2002: 1000). Recent research, in particular by Auer (2008), has provided evidence of a twentieth-century revival of the subjunctive in *lest* clauses in AmE, and to a lesser extent BrE, similar to that found in mandative clauses.

2.1.2.2   <u>Conditionals</u>

This group includes clauses introduced by the prepositions or prepositional idioms *if*, *in case*, *on condition* (*that*), *provided* (*that*), *providing* (*that*) and *unless*. Note that it also includes concessive clauses introduced by *though*.

(6)   The scene at least is superb, and **if** it <u>be</u> too cold to go out, one may at least sit and enjoy it
        behind the windows.

<div align="right"><LOB G06></div>

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[2] It is one of the distinctive characteristics of *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* that what are
     traditionally termed 'subordinating conjunctions' or 'subordinators' are reclassified as prepositions. See in
     particular Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1011ff).

(7)   He now had every incentive to squeeze out the smaller tenants with rent increases and, **in case** he <u>be</u> charged for what he had done himself, to spend no money on improvements.

<div align="right"><COHA 1970, J. R. Edwards, *British History 1815–1939*></div>

(8)   Legend has it that Zeus granted the boy immortality **on condition that** he <u>remain</u> forever slumbering.

<div align="right"><BNC CAC></div>

(9)   Mac Barber of Commerce is asking the House in a privilege resolution to endorse increased federal support for public education, **provided** that such funds <u>be</u> received and expended as state funds.

<div align="right"><Brown A01></div>

(10)   Having said this, I am still as ever quite prepared to show any curious, doubting lady (**providing** she <u>be</u> attractive) that my credentials are in order.

<div align="right"><BNC BN3></div>

(11)   Sections 18 and 21 of the Land Registration Act 1925 provide that a registered proprietor can exercise all powers of disposition **unless** there <u>be</u> some entry on the register to the contrary.

<div align="right"><BNC JXH></div>

(12)   Mr Dodds says he is quite sorry, and even shook him by the hand when he said goodbye, which is going a bit far to my way of thinking, **though** he <u>be</u> a fine upstanding young fellow.

<div align="right"><ICE-GB W2F-005 #56:1></div>

Variants in such clauses include indicatives and modal verbs, particularly *should*. Subjunctives are much less common here than they are in adversatives, and when they do occur they are more likely to feature *be* than lexical verbs. Huddleston & Pullum's view is that the subjunctive here 'belongs to formal style and verges on the archaic' (2002: 1000). However, Schlüter (2009) has provided evidence of a twentieth-century increase in subjunctives in clauses governed by *on condition* (*that*), albeit in formal contexts.

2.1.2.3   <u>Purposives</u>

This group includes clauses governed by *so* (*that*), as in (13), and *in order* (*that*), as in (14).

(13)   Extraordinary precautions were taken **so that** no stranger <u>be</u> allowed in the city and no citizen within the enclosure surrounding the scaffold.

<div align="right"><Brown J58></div>

(14)   But during this period, **in order that** the school's reputation <u>remain</u> intact, he should be taken on in some capacity and paid a salary, that of a youth employment officer's assistant, for example.

<div align="right"><BNC HWN></div>

Huddleston & Pullum take the view that clauses containing subjunctives or *should* are both uncommon after *so* (*that*) and *in order* (*that*), more often featuring indicatives or modals such as *may/might* and *can/could* (2002: 1000–1001).

2.1.3   Exhaustive conditional clauses

In the assessment of Huddleston & Pullum, the PDE use of the subjunctive in these constructions, as in (15) and (16), rather than the more common indicative or a modal construction with *may*, 'belongs to a relatively formal style and is virtually restricted to the verb *be*, but within those limitations it is by no means uncommon' (2002: 765).

(15)   We cannot hope to do this without a tougher and more competitive spirit in industry, a far more critical attitude towards costs, whatever their origin, a relentless rooting-out of all inefficiency, restrictiveness and waste, <u>whether it be</u> of capital resources or of labour.

<div align="right"><LOB A21></div>

(16)   The instincts tune perception and behavior in order to fulfill some purpose important to our species, <u>be it</u> mating, infant care, cooperation, social organization, defense, or competition for mates.

<div align="right"><AE06 J31></div>

Subjunctives are also found in Huddleston & Pullum's 'open interrogative' subtype featuring *-ever* words (2002: 987), as in (17), but in this subtype they suggest that subjunctives are much less common than indicatives (2002: 1001).

(17)   She turned just as Muriel rushed off, not daring to be seen, not knowing how to hide the look – <u>whatever it be</u> – now haunting her own stricken face.

<div align="right"><COCA 1993, Allan Gurganus, The Practical Heart, *Harpers Magazine*></div>

2.1.4   Formulaic subjunctives

This group differs from the preceding three in that it features subjunctive forms in independent rather than subordinate clauses. It is something of a catch-all group, and it is not possible to produce a definitive list of formulaic subjunctives, but the following examples of some of the more common ones are included in recent reference grammars: *Come what may*, *God <u>save</u> the Queen*, *So <u>be</u> it*, *<u>Suffice</u> it to say*, *<u>Be</u> that as it may*, *Heaven <u>forbid</u> . . .*, *Far <u>be</u> it from me . . .*, *Long <u>live</u> . . .*, *<u>Bless</u> you* (Quirk et al. 1972: 76–77, 412);

Be it noted, *So help me God, God/the Lord/Heaven bless you/forbid/help us*, *The Devil take you* (Quirk et al. 1985: 157–158, 839); *God help you* (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 944).

Such uses are discussed briefly by Huddleston & Pullum in a section on optatives, one of their 'minor clause types', and they point out that in some of them 'the subject occupies its basic position, while in others it is postposed to the end of the clause or to the right of *be*' (2002: 944). The latter pattern can be seen in (18):

(18)   The Labour Party's 1983 election manifesto, which committed it to a non-nuclear defence policy and, <u>be it</u> remembered, to withdrawal from the European Community, became known as 'the longest suicide note in history'.

<div align="right"><ICE-GB W2E-004 #57:3></div>

Quirk et al., who introduce the term 'formulaic subjunctive', characterise them as 'set expressions which have to be learned as wholes' (1972: 76). But though it is true that many of them, such as <u>*Be that as it may*</u> and *So be it*, are fixed units, a few others, such as *Long <u>live</u> . . .* and *Far <u>be</u> it from me . . .* are what Huddleston & Pullum call 'formulaic frames' (2002: 944). With these, while the frames themselves are more or less fixed, what follows them is not (though it may be limited). In this sense they remain productive in PDE, as can be seen in (19)–(22), though few speakers would be aware that they were employing a subjunctive.

(19)   Long <u>live</u> the council tax!

<div align="right"><ICE-GB W2E-009 #57:5></div>

(20)   'Far <u>be</u> it from me to play the killjoy, Dudders,' he said.

<div align="right"><BNC HRA></div>

(21)   God <u>save</u> us, is that you, Sean, and me thinking you were in your box long ago?

<div align="right"><Frown N12></div>

(22)   <u>Suffice</u> it to say that intractable confusion between nitrous oxide (laughing gas) and nitrous acid (an entirely distinct compound known only in an aqueous solution) rendered the entire article largely meaningless.

<div align="right"><F-LOB B10></div>

2.2   The past subjunctive

The past subjunctive is a common feature of PDE, more common than the present subjunctive, yet it

occurs with only one verb, *be*, and then only in the first and third person singular, when subjunctive *were*

contrasts with the usual past-tense form *was*: *If I were*, *If he/she/it were*. According to Huddleston &

Pullum (2002: 1002–1004), it appears in PDE, in variation with modal preterites (including past-tense

modals), in the following environments: (1) in remote conditionals, as in (23) and (24);[3] (2) in

complements to *wish*, as in (25); (3) after *would rather/sooner/as soon*, as in (26)–(28); (4) after *it* BE

(*about/high*) *time*, as in (29).

(23)   I'd still consider a dog in my life **if** it <u>weren't</u> for pooper-scoopers and shedding.

<div align="right"><Frown R01></div>

(24)   **Suppose** he <u>were</u> to marry only to be faced with mutton broth?

<div align="right"><BNC H8A></div>

(25)   I **wish** I <u>weren't</u> leaving you here on your own, my dear.

<div align="right"><LOB P29></div>

(26)   If you feel you're in danger, remember that BR **would rather** your train <u>were</u> delayed than that
you became the victim of a crime.

<div align="right"><ICE-GB W2D-009 #152:1></div>

(27)   The thing is he's so bourgeois he'd expect me to marry him because I was the mother of his
child. So **I'd almost sooner** it <u>were</u> a married man, just to keep it clean.

<div align="right"><COHA 1959, Peter De Vries, *Tents of Wickedness*></div>

(28)   Since he has paid fair prices so far, and the Light expects to be nationalized sooner or later, the
Light **would just as soon** it <u>were</u> sooner than later.

<div align="right"><TIME 1963, Darkness in Rio></div>

(29)   It is **high time** something <u>were</u> done.

<div align="right"><COHA 1934, Jared Eliot, *Upon Field Husbandry*></div>

In the fourth category, involving *it* BE (*about/high*) *time*, while modal preterites are common, past

subjunctives are rare and corpus examples are difficult to find, as the date of (29) indicates. Quirk et al.

took the view that 'The *were*-subjunctive cannot replace the hypothetical past in constructions introduced

by *It's time* (*that*)' (1985: 1013). Huddleston & Pullum are slightly less absolute, claiming instead that

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[3] Note that their 'conditionals' are not restricted to *if*-clauses but also include clauses governed by other items,
including *suppose*, as in (24), *provided*, *assuming*, *supposing*, *in the event* and *in case* (2002: 758–759).

'This construction differs from the others in that it hardly allows an irrealis', before supplying (30), 'a rare attested example' from a British newspaper, (2002: 1004):[4]

(30)   It's **high time** the true cost of the monarchy <u>were</u> pointed out.

Huddleston & Pullum comment that in the first three environments that they list, subjunctive *were* is not usually compulsory, with preterite *was* commonly found instead, particularly in informal style (2002: 86). Exceptions in which subjunctive *were* is compulsory include inverted remote conditionals without *if* and the fossilised (though common) phrase *as it were*, as illustrated in (31) and (32), respectively.

(31)   No doubt he would equally be a very experienced colleague <u>were</u> he to be uh Foreign Secretary in a government led either by Michael or myself.

<div align="right"><ICE-GB S1B-043 #86:1:B></div>

(32)   Above all, he leaves his actors room to breathe, to live, <u>as it were</u>, between the script's lines.

<div align="right"><TIME 2000, Comprehensive Care></div>

There is a strong prescriptive tradition of recommending *were* rather than *was* in remote conditionals and after expressions of wishing – see, for example, H. W. Fowler's *Modern English Usage* (1926: 575–576) and more recent comments in Garner's *Modern American Usage* (1998: 625–626) – but this is not always borne out by PDE usage and there are variations between national varieties. Recent studies, including Leech et al. (2009), suggest that in BrE the use of *were* in these environments is becoming less common, whereas in AmE, particularly in edited writing, *were* is still strongly favoured. There is also a strong prescriptive tradition against the use of 'hypercorrect' *were* in inappropriate environments, such as past-time contexts and indirect questions – see Section 4.5.3 for further discussion.

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[4] See Section 4.4.3 for further discussion of complementation after *it* BE (*about*/*high*) *time*.

3

The grammar of the subjunctive in Present-Day English

The literature relating to the English subjunctive is rich in terms such as 'present subjunctive', 'past subjunctive', '*were* subjunctive', 'irrealis *were*', 'modal preterite', 'modal past', 'non-inflected subjunctive', 'modally marked form', 'subjunctive construction', 'subjunctive clause', 'subjunctive form', 'optative', 'hortative' and many others, particularly in older studies. In the field of linguistics this is far from unusual, but what can lead to confusion is the fact that what these terms denote can vary considerably, even in recent studies. This may depend on such factors as the theoretical framework (e.g. purely descriptive or generative), the overall aims (e.g. EFL-oriented or prescriptive), the time frame (synchronic or diachronic) or the variety of English under consideration, but it can also be taken to indicate that there is no single, universally accepted approach to the analysis of the subjunctive in PDE. In an attempt to throw some light on the situation, in this chapter I examine the main theoretical approaches that have been taken and the terminology that has been used, first in traditional grammars and then in more recent studies. I also set out the terms used in this thesis. Finally, I look at some other topics in English grammar in which aspects of the subjunctive feature as evidence, including the question of finiteness discussed in Aarts (2012).

3.1   Early approaches to identification and terminology

For grammarians looking at Present-Day English, the concept of 'the subjunctive' primarily comes into consideration when describing the appearance and distribution of forms such as those underlined in (33)–(35):

(33)   I suggest that he <u>stay</u> one more night.

(34)   If John <u>were</u> here, he would know the answer.

(35)   If Rob <u>came</u> tomorrow, would that be too late?

The form in (33), with no -*s* in the third person, can be seen as the descendant of the present subjunctive of earlier stages of English, and frequently has the term 'subjunctive' applied to it. The forms in (34) and (35) can both be considered descendants of the old past subjunctive, but whereas 'subjunctive' often features in the terms applied to the form in (34), as it is a distinctive form of the verb *be* – e.g. '*were*-subjunctive' or 'past subjunctive' – various terms are used to describe verb forms such as *came* in (35), with 'modal preterite', 'hypothetical past' or 'modal past' more usual in recent studies than 'past subjunctive' (see Section 3.3).

Over the years, approaches to the identification of subjunctive forms have ranged from, at one end, what may be described as 'notional', i.e. taking meaning as criterial rather than inflectional forms, as in an early grammar by Onions (1904), to the 'formal' approach of most recent work, such as Huddleston & Pullum (2002). In extreme examples of the notional approach it is not unusual to come across the type of English modal construction often used to translate, for example, a Latin subjunctive being categorised as 'subjunctive' because it expresses the same meaning as the Latin original. This is something that Jespersen addressed early in the twentieth century in a chapter on moods in his *Philosophy of Grammar*:

> [T]he treatment of this subject has been needlessly complicated by those writers who speak of combinations with auxiliary verbs, e.g. *may he come | he may come | if he should come | he would come*, as if they were subjunctives of the verb *come*, or subjunctive equivalents. Scholars would hardly have used these expressions if they had had only the English language to deal with, for it is merely the fact that such combinations in some cases serve to translate simple subjunctives in German or Latin that suggests the use of such terms.   (Jespersen 1924: 315)

The drawback of the approach he criticises is that it essentially does not separate function and form, one of the basic principles of modern linguistic analysis. In this particular case, it's a failure to separate the semantic notion of 'modality' from the grammatical category of 'mood'.

Adding to the confusion are those writers who categorise distinctive indicative forms as subjunctive on the grounds that they are used in positions in which distinctive subjunctive forms can be (or have been) found. In 1955 Visser, a proponent of a strictly formal approach, takes Onions to task for a passage in his *An Advanced English Synta*x concerning remote conditional clauses, in which Onions states that 'When the Principal Clause speaks of what *would be* or *would have been*, both Clauses take the Subjunctive,* as in Latin and German' (1904: 58), before giving examples

including *If he did this, he would sin* and *If he had done this, he would have sinned*. It is the

following footnote referring to this passage that particularly irks Visser:

> * The Subjunctive is not always distinguishable in form; but there is no justification for not
> calling *had*, *did*, *would* Subjunctives in the above Sentences. They are historically so, and their
> identity in form with the corresponding Indicatives is accidental (contrast *were*). Moreover, they
> cannot be Past Indicatives because they do not refer to past time.   (Onions 1904: 58)

Visser's response is to point out that:

> Onions shows himself unaware of the fact that this looking at the phenomenon from a
> historical standpoint inevitably compels him to call *is* and *had* subjunctives in utterances of the
> type 'He says he is the king', 'he asked if I had seen it', and that he must then further maintain
> that the number of 'subjunctives' in [PDE] is still as great as that in OE. Furthermore, according
> to the definition, it is clearly a contradiction in terms to speak of 'subjunctives not
> distinguishable in form'.   (Visser 1955: 206)

When Visser refers here to *he says he is the king* and *he asked if I had seen it*, he is offering examples of

constructions in which subjunctive forms used to be found in earlier stages of English but in which they

are no longer found in PDE, namely reported speech and subordinate interrogatives (see Visser 1963–73:

851, 855). He is making the point that analysis of PDE syntactic categories should not be based on what

forms happened to appear, sometimes, in the same environments in Old or Middle English: the semantic

notions may remain the same, but not necessarily the inflectional forms. C. C. Fries addresses the same

point from a different angle:

> In general the subjunctive has tended to disappear from use. This statement does not mean
> that the ideas formerly expressed by the inflectionally distinct forms of the verb called the
> subjunctive are not now expressed but rather that these ideas are now expressed chiefly by
> other means, especially by function words.   (Fries 1940: 106)

Despite the efforts of the early proponents of the formal approach, such as Jespersen, some traditional

grammarians continued to talk in terms of a full subjunctive paradigm in English, implying the existence

of separate indicative and subjunctive moods, setting it out, for example, as in Table 3.1, to match

paradigms familiar from languages with a fuller set of inflections, such as Latin or Greek:

Table 3.1. Traditional paradigm of the English moods.

		Indicative		Subjunctive	
		Present	Past	Present	Past
Singular	1	leave	left	leave	left
	2	leave	left	leave	left
	3	leaves	left	leave	left
Plural	1	leave	left	leave	left
	2	leave	left	leave	left
	3	leave	left	leave	left

Such an approach inevitably produces numerous forms that are identical orthographically and phonologically, making it particularly unenlightening to those not familiar with other languages.

3.2   Recent approaches to identification and terminology: present subjunctive

In their analysis of the verbal system of PDE, modern descriptive grammars tend to reduce to a minimum the syncretism evident in Table 3.1 and to follow Palmer's assertion that 'the notion of a subjunctive mood is a simple transfer from Latin and has no place in English grammar' (1988: 46). On the other hand, most also accept that in certain environments verb forms regularly appear that need explanation in terms of 'subjunctiveness', either using the term 'subjunctive' or feeling the need to justify why it is *not* being used. So, if the notional approach to categorisation is not being followed, and there are no distinctive subjunctive forms as such, what are the distinctive features of the forms or clauses in question? To take one example, it would be reasonable to ask what the difference is between the bracketed declarative content clause in (36) and the bracketed clause in (37), which features a mandative subjunctive.

(36)   She knows [that John works hard].

(37)   She suggests [that John work harder next week].

The first obvious 'identifier' is the lack of final -*s* in the verb following the third person singular subject *John* in (37), and all grammars note the systematic lack of agreement in such clauses (which I will refer to by the shorthand label '**iNO-S**', indicating that the form does not feature the -*s* that would be expected if indicative). This would seem to restrict identifiable subjunctive clauses to those featuring third person singular subjects, because in all other persons final -*s* is not found in Standard English. However, there are three other identifiers that show that subjunctive clauses are not restricted in this way. One is the

distinctive form of the verb *be* (which I refer to as '**iBE**'). This is found in the same environments as the forms identified by iNO-S but, as demonstrated in (38), it occurs with subjects in all persons, singular and plural. Notably, it also differs from the regular non-subjunctive present tense paradigm of the verb *be* in all persons. All grammars accept iBE as one of the identifiers of a subjunctive clause.

(38)   She suggests [that I/you/John/we/they <u>be</u> promoted].

A syntactic identifier of subjunctives found with all persons is the characteristic lack of backshift; that is, the failure to follow what is traditionally known as the Sequence of Tenses (hence my label '**iST**'). According to the Sequence of Tenses, when the matrix verb is in the past, the verb in a subordinate clause can 'shift' back with it, 'harmonising' the tenses, which can be seen if (39) below and (36) above are compared.[1]

(39)   She knew [that John worked hard].

(40)   She suggested [that I/you/John/we/they <u>work</u> harder next week].

(41)   She suggests/suggested [that John <u>be/*were</u> promoted].

In (40), however, although the matrix verb is in the past (*suggested*), the verb in the subordinate clause (*work*), in all persons, singular and plural, has the same form as that in the subordinate clause in (37), which follows a present tense matrix verb. In other words, a characteristic of (present) subjunctive clauses is that the verb is not tensed. This applies even if the verb is *be*, as in (41), which shows that in such a (non-past) situation *be* cannot be replaced with *were*, even though in some circumstances *were* is referred to as the past subjunctive form of *be*.[2]

The final identifier accepted in modern grammars, again *not* restricted to third person singular subjects, is the characteristic negation pattern (which I refer to as '**iNEG**'). This can be seen in (42) and (43), in which negation precedes the verb and does not involve *do*-support, which is obligatory in the non-subjunctive subordinate clause in (44).

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[1] This is not to say that all subordinate non-subjunctive clauses automatically follow the Sequence of Tenses. For example, it is not obligatory when 'the original utterance (or belief, etc.) is still applicable and relevant' (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 156), as in their examples *Jill said she <u>had</u>/<u>has</u> a weak heart*, *Jill said the payment <u>was</u>/<u>is</u> due next week*, and in an example from Quirk et al. (1985: 1027) that illustrates an eternal truth: *Their teacher had told them that the earth <u>moves</u> around the sun*.

[2] It can also be replaced here by *was* – at least in BrE – but in that case it is considered to be inflectionally marked as indicative.

(42)   She suggests that I/you/John/we/they **not** <u>work</u> so late next time.

(43)   She suggests that I/you/John/we/they **not** <u>be</u> promoted.

(44)   She knows that John <u>does</u> **not** work hard.

In summary, in addition to the fact that they always feature the plain form of the verb, the standard identifiers of present subjunctive forms, along with the shorthand labels that are used for convenience in the remainder of this thesis, are as follows:

• Lack of -*s* with a third person singular subject	**iNO-S**
• The form *be* in all persons	**iBE**
• No backshifting following past-tense matrix verb	**iST**
• Preverbal negation with *not*	**iNEG**

At this point, it is important to bear in mind that – setting aside fixed expressions such as *so be it* – in none of the environments in which the forms identified by these means are commonly found in PDE is a subjunctive compulsory. Indicative forms represent one of the other options facing speakers, and they can be identified precisely because they do not satisfy the criteria proposed above. Thus a form can be positively identified as indicative: (a) if it has a final -*s* with a third person singular subject; (b) if it features one of the inflected forms of *be*; (c) if it follows the Sequence of Tenses, with a past tense form after a past tense matrix verb; (d) if negation involves *do*-support. Other non-subjunctive options include constructions with modal verbs, particularly *should* and *may*, as well as infinitival clauses (though the alternation is less systematic) and gerund-participial clauses.

Those taking a formal approach to the identification of subjunctives do not all agree with the use of the terms 'subjunctive' and 'indicative'. Visser discusses why he objects to their use in descriptions of English in an early paper on the subject from 1955. In older grammars drawing on Classical traditions, the standard practice was to treat the subjunctive as a verbal mood, usually contrasting with indicative and imperative moods. Visser has no doubt that 'it is unscientific to make the terminological system of one language apply automatically to another' (1955: 205). Later in that paper (1955: 207), and also in the second volume of his *Historical Syntax of the English Language*, he queries the traditional definitions of the two terms that suggest that 'the "indicative" should express fact and the "subjunctive" non-fact' (1963–73: 788). For Visser, this meaning-based definition becomes a problem if, in discussing developments in the history of English, the usual claim is made that many subjunctives were replaced by indicatives in certain environments. Clearly it was the forms that changed rather than the factual status of the propositions expressed in those environments. He explains that while it is true that, in PDE, indicative

but not subjunctive forms are used 'if the modality is that of fact . . . in the majority of utterances with a modality of non-fact (wish, imagination, contingency, doubt, diffidence, uncertainty, supposition, potentiality, non-reality, etc.) *both* forms can be employed' (1963–73: 786; my emphasis).

The terms 'subjunctive' and 'indicative' are certainly unhelpful if defined in the traditional, notional way with regard to PDE, and for this reason Visser employs his own terms. Instead of 'indicative', he opts for 'modally zero form' or 'modally non-marked form', because such a form 'is used irrespective of the modality of the syntactical unit and does not indicate anything in this respect'. In other words, 'indicatives' are neutral when it comes to indicating fact/non-fact. Instead of 'subjunctive', he uses 'modally marked form', because such a form *does* reflect the modality of the utterance (1963–73: 786). Visser clarifies his concept of modality by quoting in his support the comment of Behre (1934: 3) that the modally non-marked form 'is employed to represent the activity without any implication as to the mental attitude on the part of the speaker or some other person' (1963–73: 786).[3] Visser's other objection about terminology – to the use of 'mood' – is that it has become another common source of confusion, because in some grammars 'mood' is used to 'refer to the modality of the utterance, in others to the form of the verb, in others again to both' (1963–73: 788).[4]

Visser's complaints about the traditional terms are not unreasonable and his new terms do have a certain appeal: they bring out their application to inflectionally distinctive forms only, and also go some way towards capturing the semantic aspects involved. Yet the use of a negative term like 'modally unmarked form' for what is essentially the default form in PDE has its drawbacks, and the terms have not been taken up to any great extent in other grammars. It seems the traditional terms – which are applied, of course, not just to English but to other languages – are too well-established.

In the approach of Quirk et al. (1985), the traditional indicative, subjunctive and imperative moods still feature:

> In contrast to the 'unmarked' INDICATIVE mood, we distinguish the 'marked' moods IMPERATIVE (used to express commands and other directive speech acts [. . .]), and SUBJUNCTIVE (used to express a wish, recommendation, etc.).   (Quirk et al. 1985: 149)

The terms do not play a big part in their analysis, however. The authors' conception of 'mood', or indeed what they mean by 'the subjunctive', is not immediately obvious from the beginning of their section on

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[3] Visser slightly adapts Behre's original, which is '. . . the indicative, which mood is employed to mark the verbal activity as real or to represent it without any implication as to a mental attitude on the part of the speaker or some other person' (Behre 1934: 3).

[4] See also Zandvoort (1963) for similar criticism of the traditional terms.

'The Subjunctive Mood', where they say that 'The subjunctive in modern English is generally an optional and stylistically somewhat marked variant of other *constructions*' (1985: 155; my emphasis). This seems to suggest that they consider the subjunctive a construction, yet elsewhere they apparently conceive of it as a verb form, talking of 'subjunctive forms' and 'subjunctive verb phrases' (1985: 156). Present subjunctive forms are described as being 'realised . . . by the base form of the verb' (1985: 155), the base form in their framework being the form that also appears in the present tense (except third person singular), the imperative, the bare infinitive and the *to*-infinitive (1985: 97).

In his 1984 grammar, Huddleston rejects the traditional indicative / subjunctive / imperative mood system, taking the view that 'there is no inflectional system of mood in Modern English' and developing instead the idea that modality is expressed via 'an analytic mood system' (1984: 164). Although he uses the term 'present subjunctive' when explaining his rejection of the traditional paradigm, it does not feature in his own terminology. Instead, a form such as *take* in *I insist that he take it* is considered to be 'a syntactic use of the base form' (1984: 149), because he does not recognise an inflectionally distinctive subjunctive form:

> There is no verb in English where the present subjunctive, the (present) imperative and the infinitive are distinct, so that we have no grounds for making an inflectional difference here, a difference of morphological form. There are certainly grounds for recognising [*I insist*] *that he take it*, *Take care!* and [*He arranged*] *for the Smiths to take over next week* as distinct CLAUSE constructions, but as far as the VERB is concerned, the inflectional form is the same – I shall call it the **base** form.   (Huddleston 1984: 82–83; emphasis as original)

An unusual feature of Huddleston's treatment appears in his chapter on the syntactic category of 'clause type'. In addition to 'declarative', 'interrogative' and 'exclamative', he proposes a new type, 'jussive' (1984: 359–365), which groups together a number of constructions that, to a greater or lesser degree, share certain syntactic and semantic similarities. These include imperatives and subjunctives (including mandatives and formulaics, but notably not other minor uses), which both feature his base form, as well as two semantically similar constructions involving *let*, as in his examples *Let's go to the beach* and *If that is what the premier intends, let him say so* (1984: 359–360). He does not use the term 'subjunctive' to describe the subtype involving subjunctive forms; instead, he proposes the term 'non-imperative jussives'. This concept of a jussive clause type for PDE does not seem to have been widely pursued by others, and does not feature in his own later paper on clause types (Huddleston 1994). An obvious drawback is that, unlike the other clause types, 'jussive' seems to be based more on semantic similarity than on distinctive syntactic characteristics.

For Huddleston, then, clauses involving traditional 'present subjunctives' are 'distinct clause constructions' (1984: 82) featuring 'a syntactic use of the base form' (1984: 149), yet he doesn't make his categorisation of such clause constructions explicit and doesn't elsewhere refer to them as 'subjunctive clause constructions'. Mandative subjunctive clauses (though not so named) do feature in his 'jussive' clause type, yet the other less frequent but still productive environments for present subjunctives, such as conditionals and concessives, do not seem to be covered.

In Huddleston & Pullum (2002), the term 'subjunctive construction' does feature, as part of the most comprehensive recent account of the environments in which the subjunctive is found in PDE. As in Huddleston (1984), and for the same reasons, the forms that appear in such constructions are not called subjunctive forms but are considered instances of the 'plain form', the form that in their framework also occurs in imperative and infinitival constructions (2002: 51). The application of the term 'subjunctive' in their approach is clearly set out – 'we are here reinterpreting it as the name of a syntactic construction' (2002: 993) – yet it is sometimes difficult to keep in mind the notion of the subjunctive as a construction when they talk of the 'three main subordinate constructions where the subjunctive is found' (2002: 993) or, when referring to an example containing *even though it be free and untrammelled*, they say that 'the non-factual status of the subordinate clause is reflected in its subjunctive form' (2002: 737–738). The concept of a construction is also not helpful when considering (45), their (3iii) (2002: 994):

(45)   It's vital that we <u>keep</u> them informed.

(46)   It's vital that he <u>keep</u> them informed.

In (45) *keep* cannot be positively identified as subjunctive or indicative: that is, because (a) it is not third person singular, and so the presence or absence of final -*s* is irrelevant; (b) it does not feature an inflected form of *be*; (c) it does not follow a past tense matrix verb and therefore the question of following the Sequence of Tenses does not arise; (d) it does not feature the characteristic preverbal negation pattern. How the difference between (45) and the clearly subjunctive (46) can be explained in terms of different constructions rather than the same construction or clause featuring different forms is not always easy to grasp. Such forms, for which Huddleston & Pullum use the term 'indeterminate' (2002: 994), pose problems for studies involving subjunctives, as will be seen in Chapters 4 and 5. Other terms found include 'ambiguous' and 'non-distinctive'. I will follow Hundt (1998b: 160) in using 'non-distinct', or the shorthand label '**ND**'.

Like Huddleston & Pullum, Aarts, in his *Oxford Modern English Grammar* (2011), does not feel that the term 'subjunctive forms' is justified when referring to present subjunctives, because there are no distinct inflectional forms. Instead of their 'subjunctive constructions', however, he refers to 'subjunctive clauses', in which the 'plain form' appears. He explains that 'the notion of subjunctive clause is useful, because for the third person singular the form that occurs in a subjunctive clause differs from the form that appears in a non-subjunctive clause with which it can be contrasted' (2011: 25).

While Huddleston & Pullum's rejection of the terms 'subjunctive' and 'indicative' makes sense when taking a purely synchronic approach to PDE, it seems reasonable to use them when looking at subjunctives in terms of recent change, which necessarily involves a historical perspective. In this thesis, I have therefore chosen to talk of 'subjunctive' and 'indicative' forms in different types of clause.

3.3   Recent approaches to identification and terminology: past subjunctive

When it comes to the descendants of the past subjunctive of earlier stages of English, one question facing grammarians is how to analyse the underlined forms in sentences such as (47), (48) and (49):

(47)   If I <u>knew</u> the answer, I would tell you straight away.

(48)   I wish term <u>ended</u> tomorrow.

(49)   It's time you <u>went</u> to bed.

In each case, the form of the verb is the same as the past-tense form but it clearly does not refer to past time. Instead, Aarts suggests that it is 'used to talk about modal situations, for example situations that are hypothetical or non-factual' (2011: 250). This is a use addressed by Jespersen in a section of *A Modern English Grammar* on the 'imaginative use of tenses' (1931: 112); it is conceived of as 'factual remoteness' by Huddleston (1984: 148) and 'modal remoteness' by Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 148). For all lexical verbs, the form is the same as the past tense, so there is no case for identifying the forms in (47)–(49) as subjunctive forms: there is nothing formally distinctive about them. Or, as Aarts puts it, 'we cannot contrast a clause containing a "past subjunctive verb" with a clause containing a past tense form of the verb . . . because the inflectional forms are identical' (2011: 26).

The one exception, and not an insignificant one, is the verb *be*, which in most of the same environments (see Section 2.2) can feature the form *were*, in all persons, making it distinct from the past tense of *be* in the first and third person singular:

(50)   If I <u>were</u> in possession of the information, I would tell you straight away.

(51)   I wish the end of term <u>were</u> tomorrow.

(52)   I'd rather he <u>were</u> in bed.

Most modern descriptive grammars do not apply the term 'subjunctive' to forms such as *knew*, *ended* and *went* in (47)–(49),[5] as they are not distinctive forms, but cover them in their analysis of uses of the past tense. Quirk et al. refer to this use as the 'hypothetical past' (1985: 188), while Palmer talks of the past tense being 'used for what may be called "unreality"' (1988: 44) and later uses the term 'modal-past' (2001: 203). Huddleston & Pullum, whose two 'primary tenses' are 'present' and 'preterite'[6] (rather than 'past') (2002: 74), prefer 'modal preterite' (2002: 148), a term previously used by Visser (1963–73: 761). Aarts, who like Palmer uses the term 'modal past' (2011: 250), shows that he shares this preference for the term 'modal' rather than 'hypothetical', presumably on the grounds that it better captures the range of situations in (47), (48) and (49). It could be argued, for instance, that 'hypothetical' does not capture the deontic modality in (49). In this thesis, I follow Visser and Huddleston & Pullum in using the term 'modal preterite', and I use 'past subjunctive' for the *were* found in (50)–(52).

One good reason for not using 'past subjunctive' and 'present subjunctive' in a description of PDE is that the forms so described do not systematically contrast in tense, as those terms might imply; in fact, there are not many environments in which both forms regularly appear in PDE. If we consider the most productive 'present subjunctive' environments, 'past subjunctive' forms are not found in mandative clauses or exhaustive conditionals and rarely, if at all, after items such as *lest*. If we consider productive 'past subjunctive' environments, the present subjunctive is not usually found after expressions of wish in PDE,[7] so (48) and (49) do not contrast with examples such as (53) and (54):

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[5] The term 'past subjunctive' for these forms is not unknown in recent publications, however, particularly in EFL-oriented grammars. In the *Cambridge Grammar of English*, for example, *came* in *I'd rather she came on Tuesday than Monday* is called a 'past subjunctive form' (Carter & McCarthy 2006: 669).

[6] Huddleston & Pullum use 'preterite' for the simple past tense because they also regard the perfect as a past tense. The traditional term 'preterite', they explain, is 'applicable to past tenses that are expressed inflectionally, rather than by means of an auxiliary, like the perfect' (2002: 86).

[7] See discussion of occasional occurrences of present subjunctive forms after *it's time* in AmE in Section 4.4.3. Present subjunctives are also sometimes found in AmE after the verb *wish* itself: *I then wish that a committee of seven Representatives <u>be</u> appointed* <Brown G45>.

(53)   *I wish term <u>end</u> tomorrow.

(54)   *It's time you <u>go</u> to bed.

One environment in which 'present' and 'past' subjunctives *are* both found, as Huddleston & Pullum

point out (2002: 87), is in conditional clauses such as (55) and (56), their (34i) and (34ii):

(55)   If that <u>be</u> so, the plan will have to be revised.

(56)   If that <u>were</u> so, the plan would have to be revised.

In considering these examples, it has to be said that conditional clauses such as (55) containing 'present

subjunctive' forms are not at all common in PDE, and those that do appear are usually stylistically

marked (poetic or archaic, say). Furthermore, as Huddleston & Pullum state, if (55) and (56) are

compared, the difference in meaning expressed by *be* and *were* is not one of time but of modality: 'Both

are concerned with present time, but [(56)] suggests much more than [(55)] that "that" is not so' (2002:

87). This difference in 'remoteness' is reflected in the fact that the apodosis of (56) features *would* (a

characteristic of a remote conditional), while that of (55) contains *will* (a characteristic of an open

conditional). The difference between 'present' and 'past' subjunctives in PDE is clearly not one of tense.

One place where the term 'subjunctive' *is* likely to be encountered in the description of the

descendants of the old past subjunctive is in the treatment of the instances of *were* exemplified above in

(50)–(52). In their 1972 grammar, Quirk et al. call this the '*were*-subjunctive' and define it as follows:

> The *WERE*-SUBJUNCTIVE is hypothetical in meaning and is used in conditional and concessive
> clauses and in subordinate clauses after optative verbs like *wish* . . . This subjunctive is restricted
> to one form: *were*. It occurs in the 1st and 3rd person singular present[8] of the verb BE, matching
> the indicative *was*, which is the more common in less formal style.   (Quirk et al. 1972: 77)

They also recognise two other main types of subjunctive, coining the terms 'mandative subjunctive' for

those that appear after expressions of 'recommendation, resolution, surprise, and so on', and the

'formulaic subjunctive' for set expressions such as *So be it* (1972: 76). All three terms have been used

extensively in subsequent studies. In this grammar, Quirk et al. show occasional inconsistency, however,

when they follow traditional practice in using 'present subjunctive' when describing the forms in

Whatever <u>be</u> the reason for it and *Though he <u>be</u> the president himself*, and 'past subjunctive' for *were* in *If

it <u>were</u> real* and *Suppose he <u>were</u> here* (1972: 783). In the later *Comprehensive Grammar of the English*

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[8] It is not immediately clear what the significance of 'present' here is.

Language, Quirk et al. suggest that 'The past subjunctive is conveniently called the WERE-SUBJUNCTIVE, since it survives as a distinguishable form only in the past tense of the verb BE' (1985: 155). Nevertheless, they also occasionally still use the more traditional 'past subjunctive', referring to the '*were*-subjunctive (or past subjunctive)' (1985: 158) and the 'past (or *were*-) subjunctive' (1985: 1013).

In Huddleston's 1984 grammar, it is not completely clear what the author's preferred term is when it comes to this *were*. He uses the term 'past subjunctive' when discussing his objections to the traditional verbal paradigm, and then on page 83 and page 149 states that he does not apply the term to *lexical* verbs in his analysis, instead talking of the 'factual remoteness' use of the past tense. In his explanation for this choice he explains that he does not want to 'generalise to all verbs the obsolescent contrast found in *if Ed were here tomorrow* vs *Ed was here yesterday*' (1984: 149), which perhaps implies that he does think of *were* in these examples as 'past subjunctives'.

One notable oddity in this connection appears in Huddleston's discussion concerning the need to avoid the syncretism of the traditional paradigm:

> The status of the distinction between the past indicative and the past subjunctive is, however, more problematical. For all verbs other than **be** they are identical, whereas with **be** in the 1st and 3rd person singular the past indicative is *was*, while the past subjunctive fluctuates between *was* and *were*: one finds both *I wish he was here* and *I wish he were here*, the latter belonging to more formal style.   (Huddleston 1984: 83; my underlining)

The argument implicit in 'while the past subjunctive fluctuates between *was* and *were*' is uncharacteristic of Huddleston's formal approach elsewhere in the book, because claiming that both *I wish he was* and *I wish he were* contain 'subjunctives' only makes sense if the notional concept of subjunctiveness is applied.[9] In his terms, it could be said that in the first and third person singular both *was* and *were* appear in positions filled by past tense forms of other verbs indicating 'factual remoteness', but not that both are forms of the past subjunctive.

No such apparent contradictions survive in the approach taken by Huddleston & Pullum. In discussing (57) and (58), their (32i) and (32ii), they make a clear distinction between what they call 'preterite *was*' and 'irrealis *were*', going on to say that '[p]reterite *was* . . . is very widely used instead of irrealis *were* in these constructions, especially in informal style' (2002: 86).

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[9] Note that Visser criticised Curme for calling '*was* a "subjunctive" in such utterances as "If he was here"' (1963–73: 787), referring to a passage in which Curme comments that 'This use of *was* as a past subjunctive arose in the seventeenth century' (1931: 427). Huddleston here seems to be committing the same 'crime' as Curme.

(57)   He talks to me as if I <u>were</u> a child.

(58)   I wish I <u>were</u> going with you.

This point features in their argument for not using the distinction between *was* and *were* in *I <u>was</u> very busy* and *If I <u>were</u> less busy* as a basis for generalising a mood system to all verbs:

> As we have noted, *was* is a variant of *were* in the modal remoteness constructions, so that if we said that *took*, for example, could be the realisation of either a preterite or an irrealis, there would be no way of telling in cases like . . . [*If he <u>took</u> the later plane tonight he wouldn't have to rush*] whether it corresponded to *was* or to *were*, and hence no way of deciding whether it was preterite or irrealis . . . If we were to say that all verbs had a preterite–irrealis distinction we would be claiming that the massive coalescence of realisational forms that has taken place in the development of English has not produced a change in the system of verb inflection itself, but merely large-scale syncretism. It is much more plausible to say that irrealis *were* is an unstable remnant of an earlier system – a system which has otherwise been replaced by one in which the preterite has expanded its use in such a way that it now serves to express modal remoteness as well as past time.   (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 88)

Their term 'irrealis *were*' is chosen because they consider that the forms identified by the traditional terms 'present subjunctive' and 'past subjunctive' are not in direct contrast (2002: 87). As they reserve the term 'subjunctive' for a syntactic construction that contains what was traditionally (but not by them) called the 'present subjunctive', they need another term, one that better characterises what is expressed by *were* in these environments. They use 'irrealis'[10] because it is 'a general term applying to verb moods associated with unreality (i.e. where the proposition expressed is, or may well be, false)' rather than 'subjunctive', which is 'primarily used for a verbal mood that is characteristically associated with subordinate clauses with a non-factual interpretation' (2002: 88). In the subsequent student textbook based on their large grammar, Huddleston & Pullum state that the term is chosen because 'it conveys varying degrees of remoteness from factuality' (2005: 58), and go on to explain that this use of *were* 'is highly exceptional: there is no other verb in the language where the modal remoteness meaning is expressed by a different inflectional form from the past time meaning . . . It is an untidy relic of an earlier system' (2005: 59).

In summary, there are three notable aspects of Huddleston & Pullum's approach. The first is that, by using the terms 'subjunctive' and 'irrealis', they avoid the false parallelism implied by the traditional terms 'present subjunctive' and 'past subjunctive', and as a result arguably give a more enlightening picture of the situation in PDE. Second, they preserve the traditional association of the term

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[10] Huddleston raised the idea of using the term 'irrealis' rather than 'subjunctive' in his 1984 grammar, for essentially the same reasons, but did not adopt it for that book (1984: 149–50).

'subjunctive' with subordinate clauses. Third, they use 'subjunctive' for a construction and 'irrealis' for a verb form.

Regarding the same phenomena, in his grammar, Aarts talks in terms of 'subjunctive clauses' (featuring the 'plain form') (2011: 25) and 'past subjunctive' verb forms: 'English . . . does not have past subjunctive verb forms . . . The only exception is the verb BE which has the past subjunctive form *were* for the first and third person singular . . . This is the only true remnant of a subjunctive verb form in English' (2011: 279).

3.4   Subjunctive-related grammatical issues

This section addresses three topics relating to the grammar of the subjunctive. The first concerns finiteness, a topic in which the behaviour of subjunctives is often adduced as evidence. The second involves the characterisation of mandative *should*, in which the semantics of subjunctives has some relevance. The third concerns the analysis of a PDE pattern that historically contains a subjunctive form, as in <u>*Come*</u> *the revolution*.

3.4.1   The subjunctive and finiteness

The lack of distinctive inflectional marking of subjunctive forms in PDE poses a problem for grammarians when considering the syntactic category of finiteness. The concept of finiteness comes from Latin grammar, with *finitus* meaning 'limited', and in Latin, a language rich in inflections, it applied to verb forms that were morphologically marked for person and number, thus distinguishing infinitives, participles, gerunds and supine forms as non-finite. As with many terms from Latin grammar, 'finite' was subsequently applied to English grammar, for example by Lindley Murray, writing in his *English Grammar*: '*Finite* verbs are those to which number and person appertain' (1830: 137). Though it was originally concerned with person and number agreement, the term is often extended to include verb forms marked for other categories, such as tense and mood; particularly tense, because in English, for example, there is far more tense marking than agreement or mood marking. (See Nikolaeva (2007) for an overview of finiteness.)

Because English has lost most of its verbal inflections over the centuries, there is a problem if the marking of verbal forms is relied on as the sole criterion for finiteness in PDE, and as a result the

characteristic syntactic features of clauses containing finite forms are often also taken into consideration. Such features include (1) the licensing of nominative pronouns as subjects and the obligatoriness of subjects; (2) the ability to stand as an independent clause; (3) negation requiring *do*-support (apart from modal verbs); (4) the choice of subordinator (with *that* typically introducing finite subordinate clauses and *for* non-finite clauses).

Questions facing a grammarian setting out to characterise finiteness in PDE include: which and how many criteria should be employed? If more than one, then does meeting different numbers of criteria result in a scale of finiteness, or is it still a binary category? Should one criterion be deemed the crucial one, and if so which? And is finiteness a property of verb forms or clauses? Different grammars and frameworks tackle these questions in different ways, but (predominantly present) subjunctive clauses often feature in the argumentation because, depending on the approach taken, they can be seen to exhibit both finite and non-finite characteristics. Finite characteristics of subjunctive clauses include (1) an obligatory subject, which if pronominal must be nominative; (2) the same subordinator as clearly finite clauses, namely *that*. Non-finite characteristics include (1) the inability to stand as main clauses (if formulaic subjunctives are set aside, as I argue they should be); (2) the lack of inflectional marking for tense, person, number or mood (that is, if they are analysed as uses of the plain form rather than as inflected forms); (3) preverbal negation (with no *do*-support).

Quirk et al. (1985) treat finiteness as a property of the verb form and verb phrases. They set up five binary criteria for finiteness and then apply them to indicative, subjunctive, imperative and infinitive verb phrases, as in Table 3.2, based on Quirk et al. (1985: 149–150), to produce what they call a 'scale of finiteness'. Subjunctive verb phrases here include, in their terms, instances of both the present subjunctive and the *were*-subjunctive.

Table 3.2. 'Scale of finiteness' from Quirk et al. (1985).

CRITERIA FOR FINITENESS
(a) Finite verb phrases can occur as the verb phrase of independent clauses.
(b) Finite verb phrases have tense contrast, i.e. the distinction between present and past tenses.
(c) There is person concord and number concord between the subject of a clause and the finite verb phrase.
(d) Finite verb phrases contain, as their first or only word, a finite verb form which may be either an operator or a simple present or past form. *Do*-support is used in forming (for example) negative and interrogative constructions.
(e) Finite verb phrases have mood, which indicates the factual, non-factual or counterfactual status of the predication.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	
INDICATIVE	+	+	+	+	+	
SUBJUNCTIVE	+	?	–	–	+	} (Finite)
IMPERATIVE	+	–	–	?	+	
INFINITIVE	–	–	–	–	–	(Nonfinite)

Quirk et al. thus seem to be taking a gradience approach, which is a characteristic feature of their grammar, by showing that indicative verb phrases satisfy the most criteria and infinitive verb phrases the fewest. Yet, as the dotted line indicates, they nevertheless decide to follow tradition and treat finiteness as a binary category: 'For the sake of clarity, we will continue to make a clear-cut distinction between finite verbs (including those in the indicative, imperative and subjunctive moods) and nonfinite verbs (including the infinitive)' (1985: 150).

A few points about their criteria and results are worth raising. First, criterion (e) is semantically based and sits rather awkwardly with the other criteria, which are syntactically based. Also, it applies to subjunctive verb phrases only because they are including *were*-subjunctives, as only *were*-subjunctives can be analysed as being *marked* for mood. Second, the query in the (b) column for the subjunctive verb phrase seems to concern the question of whether the present and *were*-subjunctive can be seen to contrast in terms of tense, and I argue that they don't. Finally, they suggest that subjunctive verb phrases satisfy criterion (a) – i.e. they can stand as independent clauses – yet in PDE this is not true of *were*-subjunctives, or of the mandative subjunctive, or other productive uses of the present subjunctive; it is true only of formulaic subjunctives, which are arguably fossilised phrases or frames that should not come into consideration here. If (e) is removed and the results for subjunctive verb phrases in (a) and (b) are both changed to a minus, subjunctive phrases do not satisfy *any* of the four criteria for finiteness that remain.

It is notable, however, that Quirk et al. do not take into consideration such markers of finiteness as the licensing of *that* as a subordinator (though this is not true of the *were*-subjunctive in any case) or nominative pronominal subjects. In contrast, the latter criterion does play a central role in Huddleston's

analysis: 'The property that we take to be criterial for central members of the finite class is that when the subject is a case-variable pronoun a nominative form is required' (1984: 388). The term 'finite', however, is reserved by Huddleston for clauses. For verb forms, and hence verb phrases, his primary distinction is between 'tensed' and 'non-tensed' (1984: 84). As we have seen, he analyses *take* in *I insist that he take a holiday* as the base form, which is non-tensed (and not marked for person or number). He retains the term 'finite clause' for clauses containing such forms because they share significant features with clearly tensed and therefore clearly finite clauses,[11] namely, licensing nominative pronominal subjects and 'the subordinating conjunction *that*' (1984: 208). As a result, in Huddleston's analysis, as can be seen in (59), his (12) (1984: 388), all tensed subordinate clauses are finite, all non-finite clauses are non-tensed, but some finite clauses are non-tensed.

(59)   i   [*I hope*] *that they are moved*   Finite; tensed
            ii   [*I insist*] *that they be moved*   Finite; non-tensed
            iii   [*I wouldn't let them*] *be moved*   Non-finite; non-tensed

Being 'tensed' or not also plays a major part in the analysis of verb forms in Huddleston & Pullum's grammar (2002). Their 'primary' forms are inflected for tense *or mood* and appear in 'canonical' clauses, while the 'secondary' forms are inflected for neither and appear in non-canonical clauses (2002: 88). The mention of mood is required because, although they categorise irrealis *were* as non-tensed, they claim that 'it does have mood' (2002: 87), and they want to include irrealis *were* as a primary form because 'it is normally in alternation with preterite *was* and occurs in constructions . . . which select tensed forms of other verbs' (2002: 88).

In Huddleston & Pullum's discussion of whether subjunctive constructions should be considered finite or non-finite (terms they also apply to clauses rather than verb forms), the non-finite characteristics of subjunctive constructions are said to be that (1) they feature the (non-tensed) plain form; (2) they do not feature 'auxiliary *do*'; (3) they are usually subordinate (i.e. main-clause subjunctives are restricted to fixed phrases). Their finite characteristics are that (1) they have an obligatory subject (note that there is no mention of taking *nominative pronominal* subjects); (2) they commonly take the same subordinator as tensed declaratives, namely *that*; (3) 'except in more or less fixed expressions, the subjunctive alternates with a tensed construction' (2002: 90). By this they mean that, for example, in the mandative construction, subjunctives alternate with clauses featuring *should* or non-subjunctive tensed forms.

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[11] This idea of trying to capture a general resemblance is also seen in his statement that his non-finite clauses 'differ a good deal more radically from the structure of main clauses than do finite ones' (1984: 388).

One of the problems with this 'alternating' criterion is that, while mandative subjunctives alternate with non-subjunctives and *should* in BrE, the alternation is not so systematic in AmE. Studies such as Johansson & Norheim (1988: 28–29), Algeo (1992: 610–611) and Övergaard (1995: 56, 62) have shown that for many speakers of AmE, non-subjunctives (i.e. 'indicatives') are barely acceptable, and the construction with *should* is far less common than in BrE. By talking of subjunctive constructions being 'closer to the prototypical finite constructions' (2002: 89) than infinitival constructions, Huddleston & Pullum, like Quirk et al. before them, seem to be taking a gradience approach to finiteness, yet in the end they too opt to treat it as a binary category. For them, subjunctive clauses are 'finite but tenseless' (2002: 993).

One thing that emerges from the discussion of finiteness in these and other grammars is that there is no single criterion that is universally agreed to be definitive. It is difficult to escape the feeling that a lot of the criteria that are based on features associated with finite clauses are chosen out of a wish to find some way to apply the traditional notion of finiteness to subjunctive clauses – which historically used to be clearly marked as finite – while standing by the claim that there are no inflectionally distinct subjunctive forms in PDE.

Cross-linguistically, and historically in English, the notion of finiteness as a feature marked by inflection is undoubtedly difficult to apply consistently, as different languages mark different features. For example, forms that in most languages are prototypically non-finite, such as infinitives, are marked for agreement in modern European Portuguese and for tense in Classical Greek. Partly to deal with this, in generative syntax, in which universals play a central role, from the 1960s there was a movement away from the traditional notion: 'Finiteness was reanalysed as something more abstract, essentially a clausal category that is only secondarily reflected in the form of the verb' (Nikolaeva 2007: 4).

Two features that tend to be considered as indicators of finiteness in the generative approach are set out by Haegeman (1986):

> Though lacking in overt agreement features, the subjunctive clause is not a non-finite infinitival clause. It is well-known that English infinitivals take object-form subjects . . . while subjunctives take subject-form subject[s] . . . In current versions of [Extended Standard Theory] . . . the assumption is that it is the auxiliary node, now labelled INFL, more specifically Agreement (AGR) and/or Tense (T), which assigns nominative case to the subject. This, then, would suggest that subjunctive clauses contain some auxiliary node, though not overtly realized . . . The 'finiteness' of the subjunctive clause is also in line with the occurrence of the complementiser *that*. In this respect it is interesting that *that* tends to be overtly realized. (Haegeman 1986: 72)

In Haegeman and Guéron's generative grammar (1999), these two criteria – nominative subjects and the complementiser *that* – are the two finite characteristics of subjunctive clauses that are weighed against two non-finite characteristics: the uninflected bare form of the verb and the lack of *do*-support in negation. To reconcile the apparently contradictory nature of these features, an explanation is proposed that expands on what was hinted at in Haegeman (1986): 'the subjunctive mood in English is associated with a non-overt modal auxiliary, the equivalent of the overt modal *should*' (1999: 325). The presence of this non-overt modal, indicated by '[**M**]', would then explain not only the finite characteristics – modals are finite and so take nominative subjects and *that* – but also the non-finite characteristics. As can be seen in (60) and (61), their (63a) and (63b), if there is a (non-overt) modal, it is argued that the verb that follows actually *is* a bare infinitive rather than just resembling one, and the position of *not* is explained because the preverbal position is normal for infinitives and for non-finites in general.

(60)   It is important that he **should** not [$_{VP}$ be forgotten].

(61)   It is important that he [**M**] not [$_{VP}$ be forgotten].

In addition, the authors draw on an observation, which was also alluded to by Haegeman above, that, '[f]or many speakers, the complementizer *that* must be overt when it introduces a clause containing a subjunctive form' (1999: 325). They link this to the non-overt modal, suggesting that *that* is required to 'identify' [**M**], thus satisfying the Empty Category Principle, which states that non-overt elements must somehow be identified (1999: 511).

One immediate problem with this theory, despite the hedge 'for many speakers', is that corpus-based studies of subjunctive clauses do not support the assertion that *that* is almost obligatory (see, for example, Leech et al. 2009: 60), so it seems unreasonable to base any arguments on such a claim.[12] Another problem is that, as Aarts (2012: 7) suggests, the argument could be seen as circular: 'Why is the subordinate clause finite? Because it contains a non-overt modal. Why does it contain a non-overt modal? Because we want the clause to be finite.' Anderson points to what he sees as a more general problem: 'analyses invoking covert categories extend, and seriously weaken, the theory of syntactic categories, and indeed considerably restrict access to potential falsification' (2008: 209). On the other hand, null categories play a significant part in generative syntax and so should not, perhaps, be dismissed so easily.

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[12] See also the findings regarding *that*-omission in mandative subjunctives in the new study reported in Section 6.5.4.

Another concern – though, strictly speaking, not one that should matter if taking a purely synchronic view – is that, from a historical viewpoint, the lack of inflection on subjunctive forms seems to have nothing to do with the loss of a modal. It is interesting to note, however, that, according to Visser (who doesn't accept the suggestion), the idea that subjunctives can be explained by a missing modal goes back many years:

> In the eighteenth century the notion that there was an ellipsis of auxiliaries seems to have prevailed: 1761 Joseph Priestley (*The Rudiments of English Grammar* p. 84), discussing the utterance '<u>We shall overtake him though he run</u>', writes: "Almost all the irregularities in the construction of any language arise from the ellipsis of some words which were originally inserted in the sentence, and made it regular: let us endeavour to explain this manner of speaking, by tracing out the original ellipsis: may we not suppose that the word *run* in this sentence is the *radical form* (which answers to the *infinitive mood* in other languages) requiring regularly to be preceded by another verb expressing doubt or uncertainty, and the entire sentence to be, '<u>We shall overtake him though he should run</u>'?"   (Visser 1963–73: 788; my underlining)

More recently, Radford (2009: 107–109) also posits a covert modal in (mandative) subjunctive clauses[13] to explain the apparent lack of a T constituent – i.e. the lack of tense/agreement/mood in what seems to be an 'infinitive verb form' – as well as the non-finite-like lack of *do*-support and the finite-like presence of nominative pronominal subjects. In addition, he goes on to use the covert modal to explain what he considers to be another difficulty with subjunctive clauses: the question of *have*-cliticisation. This concerns the unacceptability of (62), his (44):

(62)   *She requested that *he've* a second chance.

According to the structural conditions in Radford's version of Chomsky's Minimalist Program, *have* can cliticise onto a word that ends in a vowel or diphthong provided that the word c-commands *have* and is immediately adjacent to it (2009: 99). In (62) *he* appears to c-command *have*, and is adjacent to it, but cliticisation turns out not to be possible. His covert modal would be positioned between *he* and *have*, so that they would no longer be adjacent and *he* would not c-command *have*; in other words, it is the null constituent that blocks the cliticisation.

It should be pointed out, however, that on this occasion Radford does not draw attention to an aspect of example (62) that may also affect its acceptability – the fact that it features lexical *have*, rather than the auxiliary *have* that was mentioned when he introduced the idea of *have*-cliticisation (2009: 99). Radford's own comments elsewhere indicate that there are restrictions on the environments in which

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[13] As unfortunately with many grammars and studies, only mandative subjunctives are taken into consideration, ignoring other less productive but still important uses, such as following *lest*, *in order* etc.

cliticisation of lexical *have* is acceptable. First, it is not found in all varieties, as is implied later in reference to example (63), his (11b), when he states that it *is* possible 'in my own British English variety' (2009: 187). Second, even in a variety in which it is acceptable, not all senses of lexical *have* allow it. In another book, in reference to example (64), his (46b), Radford explicitly claims that cliticisation is possible with *have* 'when used as a main verb marking possession' (2004: 309) – i.e. the stative sense that also features in (63). However, a little earlier in the book in which he discusses covert modals (2009: 105–106), he indicates that cliticisation is not possible for him with two dynamic senses, 'causative' and 'experiential' *have*, as in (65) and (66), his (37b) and (37c).

(63)   They've very little money in their bank account.

(64)   They've very little faith in the government.

(65)   *They've* their car serviced regularly (= causative *have*).

(66)   *They've* students walk out on them sometimes (= experiential *have*).

As a fellow BrE speaker, I share Radford's views on the unacceptability of (65) and (66), and the acceptability of (63) and (64), though I recognise that such examples are not common in PDE. Like him, I also find (62) unacceptable, even though a main-clause example such as (67) is possible.

(67)   We've a second chance to make the marriage work.

Arguably, another factor to be considered regarding the unacceptability of (62) is that, while (67) features 'possessive' *have*, the *have* in (62) conveys something more like 'come to have' or 'be given' – and that change in sense may affect the acceptability of cliticisation.

A noteworthy aspect of Radford's discussion of the idea of a covert modal in subjunctive clauses is that he makes a point of taking into account the varying complementation patterns of different varieties of English. When he introduces the idea, he conceives of it as a null counterpart of *should*, but then he adapts this because he is aware that many speakers of American English do not readily allow *should* in mandative clauses. Instead, he reformulates his concept, positing a 'null subjunctive modal' (2009: 108), similar to the '[**M**]' of Haegeman and Guéron above. One question this raises is how much of an effect the variety spoken by a linguist has on their analysis of such clauses. Is it easier for a BrE speaker, for whom the *should* variant is normal and the subjunctive variant less common, to conceive of a covert modal than for an AmE speaker, for whom the *should* variant is rare at best and the subjunctive variant normal? (See discussion in Section 4.3.5.)

Anderson (2001) addresses subjunctive clauses in a paper looking at the difficulties of formulating a universal characterisation of finitenesss because of the variety of morphological manifestations in different languages. He starts from the observation that, in English, non-finite forms are not only morphologically reduced in terms of marking agreement and tense but also *selected* by the finite verbs that precede them: in his terms, their form is 'determined under <u>rection</u> by the preceding finite' (2001: 160, my emphasis). Finite verb forms, for him, are those that do not occur under rection and so 'can be said to have the capacity to license sentencehood'. This syntactic property of licensing sentencehood he terms 'syntactic finiteness', as opposed to 'morphosyntactic finiteness', which is a property of forms marked for tense/agreement/mood (2001: 160).

With regard to the subjunctive, Anderson considers the mandative clauses in (68) and (69), his (7a) and (7b) (2001: 161):

(68)   They demand(ed) that I leave on Tuesday.
(69)   They demanded(ed) that Babsie leave on Tuesday.

For him, the subjunctive clause in (69), marked by the lack of agreement on *leave*, is 'syntactically non-finite' because it is rectionally determined by the preceding verb and also because it cannot stand as an independent clause. This is not just because of the lack of -*s*, but also because, as a subjunctive, it is 'interpreted as irrealis' (2001: 162). On this basis, he treats the subordinate clause in (68) as syntactically non-finite too, and also as subjunctive, even though, in the version with the present tense matrix verb, the verb form is not morphologically marked as subjunctive (i.e. it is non-distinct in my terms). The reason is that although *I leave on Tuesday* can stand as an independent clause, it has a different interpretation: i.e. it too is marked for irrealis (2001: 162). His use of the term 'subjunctive' is thus semantically based (at times), and he even extends it to cover the use of *should* in mandative clauses, as in *They demand*(*ed*) *that I/Babsie should leave*; for him *should* here is both subjunctive, because it conveys irrealis, and syntactically non-finite, because, with its 'subjunctive' meaning, it is rectionally determined and cannot stand as an independent clause (2001: 163).

Approaching the subjunctive from this semantic or notional viewpoint has its problems. If you treat the subordinate clause in (68) as subjunctive on this basis, then arguably you have to do the same to the many kinds of subordinate clause that historically used to feature subjunctive forms but no longer do

so.[14] Such a limited definition of finiteness also has its difficulties. It captures some aspects of the effects of subordination, but it is not particularly illuminating about finiteness itself.

The finiteness (or not) of the subjunctive and the syntactic categorisation of subjunctive clauses are topics addressed in the paper by Aarts entitled 'The subjunctive conundrum in English' (2012). When he assesses finiteness, he follows many others in taking into consideration a range of criteria. However, unlike Quirk et al. (1985) and Huddleston & Pullum (2002), he does not persist with the traditional concept of a binary category. Instead, he posits an amended version of the 'scale of finiteness' in Quirk et al. (1985), applying the concept of 'Subsective Gradience' developed in Aarts (2007), to conclude that subjunctive clauses are 'peripherally finite' (2012: 12). This is based on their closeness to the finite prototype characterised by the criteria in Table 3.3, derived from Table 4 in Aarts (2012: 13). This also shows the author's assessment of how the subjunctive matches these criteria, in the form of '±/+/–' and comments (introduced by '>'):

Table 3.3. Subsective Gradience in subjunctive clauses.

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
±	±	−	−	+	+	+

(a)   Finite clauses can 'license an independent predication'.
        > The subjunctive mostly cannot, but formulaic subjunctives are an exception.
(b)   Finite clauses have tense contrast.
        > There are no present/past subjunctive verb forms for most verbs. The verb *be* (which Huddleston & Pullum 2002 call *irrealis were*) is an exception.
(c)   There is person concord and number concord between the subject of a clause and the finite verb phrase.
        > This does not apply to the subjunctive.
(d)   Finite clauses contain a verb form which may be either an operator or a simple present or past form. Where no auxiliary verb is present *do*-support is used in forming (for example) negative and interrogative constructions.
        > This does not apply to the subjunctive.
(e)   Finite clauses have an obligatory subject, in the nominative case where appropriate.
        > This applies to the subjunctive.
(f)   Finite clauses make use of particular subordinators, typically *that* (or, less commonly, *if*, *lest*, *unless* and *whether*).
        > This too applies to the subjunctive.
(g)   Finite clauses and subjunctive clauses can alternate after appropriate 'triggers', e.g. verbs such as *demand*, *insist*, *require*, adjectives such as *desirable*, *imperative*, etc.
        > This applies to the subjunctive.

Taking a gradience approach to clausal finiteness seems a better way to reflect the situation in PDE than a binary approach. However, (g) is arguably circular: would that criterion be employed to assess finiteness if subjunctive clauses were not under investigation? And the fact that different national

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[14] This is essentially what Visser (1955: 206) was complaining about with regard to Onions (see Section 3.1).

varieties allow different types of clause to alternate after these triggers may affect the applicability of the criterion, which is apparently intended to apply to all varieties. Arguments could also be made against the author's assessment of how subjunctive clauses match the first two criteria. For (a) he opts for '±' because formulaic subjunctives are independent clauses, but I argue that formulaics should be treated as fossilised fixed phrases or minor clause types and not included in studies of the productive uses of the subjunctive. This approach would result in a '–' instead. For (b) he also opts for '±', this time on the grounds that *be* is an exception. It has been argued in Section 3.3 that the contrast between the two 'subjunctive' paradigms of *be* is not one of tense. This again would change '–' to '±', and presumably result in the subjunctive as being even more 'peripherally' finite.

Regarding the categorisation of subjunctive clauses – and partly in an attempt to give a clearer picture of Huddleston & Pullum's 'subjunctive construction' – Aarts proposes a new 'subjunctive clause type', to contrast with the familiar declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamative types.[15] Clause types, which Aarts considers to be 'the analytic reflexes of the synthetic moods of English' (2012: 12), are conceived of as having a typical use (e.g. declarative clauses are typically used to make statements), as well as distinctive syntactic features. In (70) (see Aarts 2012: 14), the author lists the properties he considers characteristic of subjunctive clauses:

(70)   Subjunctive clauses. . .
    (i)   do not take *do*-support when negated; instead the verb is preceded by *not*;
    (ii)   are subordinate (with a few formulaic exceptions), i.e. cannot occur on their own;
    (iii)   have verbs that occur in the plain form, even after third-person singular subjects (e.g. *They insist that you go*; *I demand that she leave*, etc.);
    (iv)   do not show a tense contrast (e.g. *The rules stipulate/stipulated that we sign* (**signed*) *the document*.)

What range of clauses does such a list capture? It is clear from properties (iii) and (iv) that the author is concerned here not with the past subjunctive, but with the present subjunctive. The properties certainly apply to mandative subjunctives, but do they apply to the other environments in which Huddleston & Pullum's 'subjunctive construction' is found, such as after *lest*, *if*, *though*, *in order*, and in exhaustive conditionals (2002: 993)? The answer on the face of it is yes, so it seems that a subjunctive clause type does capture the productive uses of the (present) subjunctive in PDE. However, it also seems to include certain clauses – such as the subordinate clause in his example in (iii): *They insist that you go* – that many would argue contain non-distinct (ND) forms not definitively analysable as subjunctive or indicative. If

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[15] Note that subjunctive clauses are elsewhere generally considered as subtypes of declarative clauses.

considering his property (i) with regard to *They insist that you go*, how can it be argued that such a clause

wouldn't take *do*-support if negated? For many BrE speakers, in particular, both *that you not go* and *that*

you don't go are acceptable alternatives. How to analyse clauses containing NDs is one of the trickier

problems facing those looking at the subjunctive in PDE, and it is not easily resolved.[16] By his use of *even*

in his statement in (iii) that subjunctive clauses 'have verbs that occur in the plain form, even after

third-person singular subjects', Aarts is apparently including clauses featuring NDs as subjunctive

clauses, yet it could be argued that, in this case, his argument is based more on semantic than on syntactic

characteristics. Furthermore, with regard to property (iv), his use of the asterisk seems to indicate

that he considers *The rules stipulated that we signed* not to be acceptable. Yet, corpus examples such

as (71) suggest that this variant is indeed acceptable, at least for BrE speakers, although the fact that

signed is clearly tensed does indicate that it is not a subjunctive, which is his primary concern here.

(71)   The couple first became interested in mushrooms when two Russian friends pointed out a
         beautiful wild mauve mushroom on a country walk, and **suggested** that they <u>cooked</u> it.

<div align="right"><F-LOB H30></div>

3.4.2   *Mandative* should *and the semantics of the subjunctive*

Different approaches are taken to the analysis of the *should* that appears in mandative clauses, as will be

seen in the discussions of recent studies in Chapters 4 and 5.[17] Although this topic does not directly

involve subjunctive forms, the semantics of mandative clauses featuring subjunctives are relevant to the

discussion.

Jespersen discusses the matter in a section on the 'imaginative obligation' use of *should*,

which 'indicates present obligation, duty or propriety in general', as in his example from H. G. Wells:

'*But you should, you ought to; it's your duty*' (1931: 325). The *should* found in mandative clauses is

mentioned as a subtype: 'In clauses after expressions of determination, desire, command, etc. in the

present tense, *should* is originally a weaker *shall*, but has come to be used much more frequently than

shall' (1931: 326).[18] For Jespersen, this use is distinct from 'emotional *should*', a subtype of the

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[16] See discussion in Section 4.3.4.

[17] See in particular Section 4.3.7.

[18] There are echoes of this analysis in Palmer's discussion of *should* in mandative clauses: 'Here, perhaps, we can treat *should* as a tentative form of SHALL referring to a desire, proposal, or recommendation, rather than a decision or agreement' (1979: 161). This use of *shall* can be seen in a corpus example from the 1930s: 'The aircraft designer **demands** that the speed of the airscrew <u>shall</u> not exceed 800 ft. per sec'   <B-LOB J80>.

'imaginative non-obligation' use of *should* (1931: 329, 336), which appears in content clauses

after certain evaluative adjectives, as in his example *It is strange that he should exercise so great influence* (1931: 338).

The term 'putative *should*' is chosen by Quirk et al. (1972: 784) to cover both of these uses and it appears again in Quirk et al. (1985: 234), where it is claimed that in 'using *should*, the speaker entertains, as it were, some "putative" world, recognizing that it may well exist or come into existence'. Jacobsson (1988: 72, 78) points out that there are crucial differences between the two uses of *should*, however, and these provide arguments for not applying the term 'putative' to both. First, in mandative clauses, *should* alternates with the present subjunctive or the indicative; whereas after emotive adjectives, *should* alternates with the indicative but rarely, if at all, with the subjunctive, as Quirk et al. acknowledge (e.g. 1985: 1223). Second, the adjectives or other predicates after which what Jacobsson calls 'emotive *should*' is found are typically factive, i.e. the proposition expressed in their complement is presupposed, and what's more the information in the content clause is very often 'given' as opposed to 'new'. This contrasts with content clauses following mandative predicates, which are not asserted, and for which the term 'putative' is arguably more appropriate.[19]

The importance of the distinction is recognised by Huddleston & Pullum, who treat the two uses of *should* separately, though both are counted as instances of what they call 'specialised uses' of modal auxiliaries, i.e. uses 'that cannot be identified with one of the uses characteristic of main clauses' (2002: 993–994). They refer to what Jacobsson called 'emotive *should*' as 'attitudinal *should*' and define it as being 'found, as an alternant of an ordinary declarative, in clauses governed by (or otherwise related to) items expressing various kinds of subjective attitude or evaluation' (2002: 1001–1002). Crucially, they point out that:

> This construction differs from the mandative in that the *should* clause is not replaceable by a subjunctive (cf. **We felt incensed that he have been treated so leniently*) – though there may be variation with certain items (such as *appropriate* and *proper*) as to whether they belong here or with the mandatives.   (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1002)

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[19] Jacobsson (1988: 79) and Palmer (2001: 3–4, 121–123) point out that in some European languages, such as Spanish, French and Italian, subjunctives are often found after factive predicates, where 'emotive' or 'attitudinal' *should* is found in English. Palmer explains that it is not 'factuality, certainty or truth that is at issue here. What is at issue is that nothing is being asserted, that there is no information value, because both speaker and hearer accept the proposition. It is for that reason that the proposition is treated as Irrealis, for propositions that are presupposed are not asserted' (2001: 4).

It should be pointed out that the example Huddleston & Pullum provide, *We felt incensed that he have been treated so leniently*, is an awkward one, because the tenses involved make it clear that its unacceptability is not just a matter of factivity but of reference to known past events. This is an inappropriate environment for the present subjunctive, and the 'perfect subjunctive' that features in the example would not generally be considered grammatical – although real-world examples are occasionally found, as in (72), which might be considered a form of hypercorrection.

(72)   The NCAA has also recently toughened the academic eligibility requirements for freshmen participating in athletics by increasing the minimum permissible grade point average for thirteen core high school courses to 2.5 and **demanding** that each student have achieved a combined SAT score of 700 or above on at least one occasion.

<div align="right"><Frown E30></div>

The reason for treating attitudinal *should* as a 'specialised' use of *should* is not spelled out, but it is presumably because there is no obvious deontic element in such clauses, as is typical of the use of *should* in main clauses.[20] The *should* that appears in mandative clauses is not given a particular name by Huddleston & Pullum (though I refer to it as mandative *should*), but in this case there is some explicit discussion of how its categorisation as a 'specialised use' is justified (2002: 994), and this reveals another difference from attitudinal *should*. Referring to the *should* in (73), their (2ic), Huddleston & Pullum state that it 'is not the same as that seen in the main clause *Everyone should attend the meeting*: the latter does not accurately express the content of our demand since the *should* here is weaker . . . allowing that not everyone will necessarily attend', which seems to imply that in (73), the *should* is stronger than its main-clause use.

(73)   It is **essential** that everyone should attend the meeting.

At first sight, this apparent suggestion that mandative *should* can be deontically stronger than its main-clause use seems to be at odds with the view expressed in some other studies that mandative *should* is semantically bleached. For example, Leech et al. (2009), in a chapter looking at developments in the use of modal auxiliaries in the twentieth century, consider the semantics of a group of uses of *should*, for which they use the term 'putative, quasi-subjunctive'. This group includes both attitudinal and mandative *should*, as is shown by their examples (74) and (75), their (17), (2009: 86):

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[20] But note that when seeking to explain the origin of 'emotive' *should*, Jacobsson (1988: 80) refers to a study by Behre that puts forward the interesting suggestion that it 'had evolved from the past of *shall* signifying fatal necessity' (1961: 119; my underlining).

(74)   I **insisted** that he <u>should</u> take part in the concert.

(75)   All the more **amazing**, then, that a century later our prisons <u>should</u> be crowded with debtors.

<div align="right"><LOB B13></div>

Their assessment is that what these variants have in common is 'a semantic weakening such that *should* manifests mood rather than modality: it has no epistemic or deontic flavour, but instead expresses the non-factual nature of the predication pure and simple' (2009: 86).[21]

  Similarly, in an earlier AmE-based study, Nichols, referring to the instances of *should* produced by her American informants in an elicitation test involving mandative clauses, wonders whether 'the heavy use of *should* . . . reflects the meaning "obligation" rather than the <u>purely putative</u> meaning characteristic of the British English *should*' (1987: 146; my underlining). The same assumption is made by Algeo (an AmE speaker), when discussing the suggestion of *The Oxford Guide to English Usage*, regarding the example *The most important thing for Argentina is that Britain recognize her sovereignty over the Falklands*, that the 'use of *should recognize* would render the sense quite unmistakable' (Weiner 1983: 179). Algeo comments that 'the recommended mend, "should recognize," is genuinely ambiguous for all varieties of English, since it can be either the putative *should* intended here or the *should* of moral obligation meaning "ought to"' (1992: 602). The perspective of a BrE speaker is revealed by Anderson, who, when comparing (76), his (13), and (77), his (16), states that the *should* in the mandative clause in (76) is 'semantically bleached' compared with the *should* of (77). He goes on to say that this mandative *should* can be seen to be 'dedicated to the signalling of irrealis' (2001: 163–164).

(76)   They **demand(ed)** that Babsie <u>should</u> leave.

(77)   Babsie <u>should</u> leave.

  Huddleston & Pullum offer another insight into their thinking about mandative *should* when discussing (78), their (11i). They state that here '*demand* is stronger than *should* is in its main clause uses . . . It is for this reason that we recognise a specialised use of *should* as a grammatical marker of a distinct *should*-mandative construction, equivalent in meaning to the subjunctive' (2002: 998).

(78)   They **demanded** that he <u>should</u> be freed.

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[21] The use of 'mood' is rather obscure here, apparently referring to notional mood of some sort; the relevance of the statement for the current discussion, however, is their claim that *should* in these uses is semantically weakened.

Bearing in mind that they use 'subjunctive' to refer to a syntactic construction rather than a verb form (2002: 993), my interpretation of this is that it is the combination of a content clause containing mandative *should* (what they call a '*should*-mandative') and its mandative trigger that is semantically equivalent to a content clause containing, in my terms, a 'subjunctive form' and its mandative trigger. Support for this comes from Huddleston & Pullum's explanation of the semantics of mandative clauses, in which it is made plain that, while the underlying meaning of such clauses concerns the bringing-about of the situation expressed in the content clauses, it is the semantic content of the mandative trigger that indicates the level of deontic strength involved. This is explained in terms of 'compliance'. For example, in a mandative clause after *insist*, the subject of the matrix clause strongly advocates compliance; in one after *suggest*, the subject advocates compliance in a relatively tentative way (2002: 996).

A similar explanation is proposed by Francis James in a monograph on the semantics of the English subjunctive (1986). James conceives of modality in terms of two basic 'manners of representation' of the world: 'theoretical', in which words are intended to match the world, and 'practical', in which the world is intended to match words. For him 'the subjunctive mood signifies no more nor less than the practical modality' (1986: 15). The reinforcement of Huddleston & Pullum's point comes in James's comments regarding subordinate clauses, when he explains that information 'conveyed by moods in dependent clauses . . . is qualified by the matrix in which the clause is embedded' (1986: 17). And so, in his example *They insist that it be so*, the 'verb *insist* does not signify modality but qualifies modality, showing that its subject is strongly committed to the view that the relation between words and world signified by the modal form in its noun clause complement holds' (1986: 29).

It seems to me that this also applies to *should* in mandative clauses. It can simply indicate practical modality, with the meaning of the mandative trigger conveying the information about deontic force. That does not mean that *should* in mandative clauses never has its main-clause meaning, however. Poutsma's comment about the variable meaning of *should* in mandative clauses is that it 'sometimes has approximately the same meaning as it has in *He should* (or *ought to*) *come*, sometimes may be understood to serve the purpose of representing an action or state as a mere contingency' (1926: 177). Taking all this into consideration, as a BrE speaker, I choose to infer that in their discussion of (73), Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 994) are not saying that *should* by itself is stronger than its main-clause use, but instead are making the weaker claim that it does not convey the medium-strength deontic modality of its main-clause use. In other words, my interpretation is that the deontic force of a mandative clause featuring *should*

comes from the combination of the mandative trigger and *should*, and that in present-day BrE mandative *should* is semantically bleached.[22]

As the comment by Poutsma above suggests, this interpretation of mandative *should* does not necessarily apply at earlier stages of English, however. Studies such as Övergaard (1995: 54–61) have shown that at the beginning of the twentieth century, particularly in BrE, a wide range of modals were used in mandative clauses, and then over time *should* became the dominant form. Until *should* was grammaticalised in this way, it would presumably have carried, at least sometimes, the strength of its main-clause use.

It also seems to be open to question whether the default meaning of mandative *should* is the same in all national varieties. Regarding *should* in general, rather than just in mandative clauses, Evans & Evans, in their American usage guide, say that 'for most Americans . . . *should* usually means an obligation' (1957: 448). Similarly, Copperud's view in *American Usage: The Consensus* is that '*Should* is generally used in the U.S. only in the sense of *ought to*' (1970: 243). It seems reasonable to suggest that among the reasons for the low use of *should* in mandative clauses in AmE is that, for some AmE speakers at least, it conveys the deontic force of main-clause *should*, which may not feel appropriate for those speakers in mandative clauses governed by triggers of stronger or weaker deontic force.

3.4.3 Come the revolution

From a historical viewpoint, the clause-initial *come* in the pattern exemplified in the title of this section and in (79) was originally subjunctive, and as such it has affinities with 'formulaic frames' such as *long live* and *far be it from me*. However, it has been suggested that in PDE there is reason to reanalyse this *come* as a preposition.[23]

(79)   Will the Minister confirm that <u>come the <,> single uh Common Market</u> that three hundred
         million EEC nationals could and I emphasise could seek employment in this country without the
         need to obtain a work permit.

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[22] It can still be argued that there is a difference between mandative *should* and attitudinal *should*, because there are vestiges of deontic force in the former that are difficult to detect in the latter. Additionally, *I insisted that he go* and *I insisted that he should go* (in BrE at least) convey the same thing, whereas *I am surprised that he should say that*, which features attitudinal *should*, conveys a subtly different meaning from *I am surprised that he says that*.

[23] Expressions such as *come what may*, *come hell or high water*, *come rain or shine* are historically similar from a grammatical viewpoint, but differ in that they are now more or less fixed phrases, rather than formulaic frames.

Visser addresses the construction briefly in his section on optative subjunctives. He states, without great conviction, that this *come* 'seems originally to have been a modally marked form; cf. French "dix-huit ans *vienne* la Saint-Martin – *viennent* les Pâques"', and he labels the pattern 'archaic or dialectal' (1963–73: 795).[24] The source for Visser's French subjunctive examples and his labels seems to be the *OED* (s.v. *come*, *v*, 36a): '*come* (present) is used with a future date following as subject, as in French *dix-huit ans vienne la Saint-Martin*, – *viennent les Pâques*, "eighteen years old come Martinmas, – come Easter"; *i.e.* let Easter come, when Easter shall come. *arch.* and *dial*'. The *OED* has quotations for this pattern from 1420 up to 1888 – *You'll grant me a seven years' lease come next May twelve-month* (C. E. L. Riddell, *Nun's Curse*) – but the 'archaic' label is clearly premature, as the following twentieth-century examples show:

(80)　　But come the next session of Congress, State can expect only that its summer guest will bite its hand when it goes to the Capitol asking money for diplomatic entertaining expenses abroad or for living expenses for its diplomats.

<div align="right"><Brown F46></div>

(81)　　But we can handle them come the time.

<div align="right"><Frown N09></div>

(82)　　Come the turn of the year, Rush will be chasing yet another landmark – Denis Law's record of 41 FA Cup goals.

<div align="right"><BNC HAE></div>

(83)　　If not, the lessons are clear – there will not be a kick-start come the next election, but the Tories will be kicked out.

<div align="right"><BNC HHV></div>

Huddleston & Pullum address this clearly still-productive pattern, but they take a different approach to its analysis:

> *Come* takes a future time expression as complement: *Come the end of the year, we should be free of all these debts.* Historically, this is a subjunctive clausal construction, with *come* a plain form verb and *the end of the year* its subject; synchronically, however, its function and internal structure are like those of a PP (compare *by the end of the year*), and it is plausible to suggest that *come* has been reanalysed as a preposition.　(Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 636)[25]

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[24] The perception of this pattern as archaic is shared by an American usage guide of a few years earlier, which considers it characteristic of BrE: '[A] form of the temporal subjunctive is still coming to us in British mystery stories, which are fond of such quaint expressions as *two weeks come Michaelmas*' (Evans & Evans 1957: 485–486).

[25] Huddleston & Pullum also include *come* in a list of prepositions that take obligatory complements (2002: 635).

The *Oxford Dictionary of English* (a distinct entity from the *OED*) adopts this reanalysis, featuring a separate sub-entry for *come* as a preposition, characterising it as 'informal' and defining it as 'when a specified time is reached or event happens: *I don't think that they'll be far away from honours come the new season*' (Soanes & Stevenson 2005: 344). But what is the justification for analysing this *come* as a preposition? According to Huddleston & Pullum, the important properties that distinguish prepositions are that (1) the most central prepositions can take NP complements; (2) all prepositions can head PPs functioning as non-predicative adjunct; many can also head PPs in complement function; (3) a subset of prepositions are distinguished by their acceptance of such adverbs as *right* and *straight* as modifiers (2002: 603). Clause-initial *come* seems to satisfy the first two criteria – it's followed by an NP and the combination functions as a non-predicative adjunct – but modification with *right* or *straight* is not possible: **Right/*Straight come the end of the year*. The third criterion is not crucial, however, as Huddleston & Pullum concede that 'Not all prepositions accept these modifiers – they occur primarily with prepositions indicating spatial or temporal relations' (2002: 606).

These are very general criteria, however. In a study looking specifically at the common cross-linguistic phenomenon of verbs being recategorised as prepositions, Kortmann & König propose a number of criterial 'conditioning factors and concomitant changes' (1992: 673). These are summarised as follows by Aarts (2007: 148):[26]

(a) Changes in word order. For example, in Middle English *alle the moneth during* and *Durynge that persecucioun* were possible, but later only the latter order;
(b) Participles lost inflectional endings;
(c) Changes in grammatical relations and control. For example, in the sentence *Concerning your request, I would like to inform you . . .*, which contains a dangling participle, a direct object becomes the object of a preposition;
(d) Semantic bleaching. For example, English *barring* is no longer felt to mean 'keep out with a bar';
(e) Loss of selectional restrictions. For example, in *Regarding your recent inquiry . . .* the NP would be pragmatically odd as the direct object of the verb *regard*;
(f) Univerbation. English *notwithstanding* displays a welding together of morphemes with an opaque lexical item as a result;
(g) Morphological and phonological erosion. Examples are English *past* (derived from *passed*), *ago* (derived from *agone*);
(h) Loss of verb stem. For example, English *during* is not related to a verb that is in use;
(i) Development into an affix. Examples are reanalysed verbs which can be used as affixes in derivation, as in English *tres-* (from Latin *trans*).

Criterion (a) does not apply to *come*; on the contrary, the old VS word order is preserved in PDE. Unlike most of the examples that Kortmann & König are concerned with, such as *concerning* and *following*,

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[26] For ease of reference, Aarts's bullet points have been replaced by identifying letters.

come was not originally a participle, and so criterion (b) does not apply. Criterion (c), which in the case of *come* involves the question of whether what historically was the subject of the verb *come* has become the complement of the preposition *come*, is essentially the question this process is aimed at answering, but there is no evidence from the case of personal pronouns because they are not found in this pattern. Both (d) and (e) – importantly, it seems to me – do not apply to *come*. The core meaning of *come* in the sense 'arrive' is clearly retained and the NPs that follow are subject to selectional restrictions: the construction with *come* apparently has to be paraphrasable as 'when NP comes', and the content of the NP seems to be restricted to time expressions, dates or significant events (though as (81) shows, this can be as vague as *the time*). None of the remaining criteria apply.

By this account, there are not strong arguments for analysing *come* as a preposition. If it does qualify as what Quirk et al. call a 'marginal preposition' (1985: 667) – a term they use to cover items such as *bar*, *considering*, *pending* and *given* – it is a very marginal one, with a lot of restrictions. However, there is an aspect of its use not mentioned by Huddleston & Pullum that seems to strengthen the case for a prepositional analysis, and it concerns the time reference of clauses involving this *come*.

As we have seen, Huddleston & Pullum specify that *come* takes 'a future time expression as complement' (2002: 636), and the OED say that it is used with 'a future date'. Kortmann & König, who acknowledge the difficulty of justifying the reanalysis of *come* as a preposition, make a similar point:

> The preposition *come* . . . if indeed this expression has already acquired this categorial status, represents the rare case of a deictic preposition in English; it is only compatible with present tense as well as futurate contexts and future reference. This deictic meaning carries over, of course, from the meaning of the underlying verb. Whether this interpretation is best linked to an analysis of *come* (and similarly Fr. *vienne*) as preposition and a following internal argument or of a verb and a following subject is not an easy question to decide. (Kortmann & König 1992: 677–678)

However, the following corpus examples, (84)–(88), provide evidence of the use of clause-initial *come* in past-time contexts, rather than with reference to the future:

(84) <u>Come the tournament</u> he certainly putted well enough, and we were there after a 70 in the first round and a shot behind Jack Nicklaus after the second round.

<div align="right"><BNC ASA></div>

(85) Home advantage meant that pitches could be prepared especially to suit fast bowlers, and <u>come the first Test in Jamaica</u> it was soon evident this is what had happened.

<div align="right"><BNC ABR></div>

(86) Scientists were aware of gallium's potential as a semiconductor 30 years ago but <u>come the computer revolution</u> it remained largely ignored.

<div align="right"><BNC BMK></div>

(87)   There was always a bed in the house for him, and, <u>come the morning</u>, out of respect for his gray hair nobody gave him a wake-up call.

<div align="right"><COCA 2015, Massachusetts Review></div>

(88)   What black teams there were didn't have the luxury of leagues; indeed, the first professionals of his race whom Leonard saw were actually minstrels first. They would parade through Rocky Mount in the morning, play a baseball game, and then, <u>come the evening</u>, put on a full-fledged minstrel show.

<div align="right"><COCA 2013, Smithsonian></div>

In these, the constructions with *come* cannot be paraphrased in quite the same way as we have seen in previous examples. For instance, *come the tournament* has to be paraphrased as 'when the tournament came' rather than 'when the tournament comes'. This seems to be strong evidence of a change in meaning, as in Kortmann & König's (d) criterion, which suggests that there is a little more justification for analysing *come* as a preposition, at least in these examples. To provide more evidence, it seems to me that a large-scale corpus-based investigation of the use of *come* in this environment would be worthwhile.

3.5   Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the different terms and approaches found in the literature related to the subjunctive. The overall aim is to draw attention to the areas in which there is disagreement among grammarians and to demonstrate the need for researchers to be clear about exactly what is meant by 'the subjunctive' in each study. I have also outlined the formal approach taken in this study and explained the terminology used, including my own labels for subjunctive identification (iNO-S, iBE, iST, iNEG). Finally, I have explored some grammatical issues in which the concept of 'the subjunctive' plays a part: finiteness, the semantics of mandative clauses and the categorisation of a construction that historically involved a subjunctive.

4

English subjunctive studies: topics and issues

In this chapter I introduce the main topics that have been addressed in previous research and highlight the key issues that have arisen. In order to provide some background and context for this body of research, I begin by collating evidence from a number of influential early linguists and other scholars whose comments on the subjunctive have been referred to in a number of later studies, in the process revealing how predictions of the imminent death of the subjunctive came to be challenged by a growing recognition of its resurgence. I then discuss subjunctive-related topics that have featured in studies published since the 1960s, looking in turn at those involving the mandative subjunctive, the present subjunctive in other environments, and finally the past subjunctive. In the course of my discussion, I draw particular attention to methodological issues and also point out some areas in which there is potential for further research.

4.1   Background: twentieth-century attitudes

It is hardly surprising that, at the beginning of the twentieth century, English scholars who had recognised the decline in the number of subjunctive forms over the preceding centuries were predicting that the trend would continue. An early British commentator was Henry Bradley, the second editor of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, who in 1904 contemplated the passing of at least the present subjunctive:

> The only formal trace of the old subjunctive still remaining, except the use of *be* and *were*, is the omission of the final *s* in the third person singular of verbs. And even this is rapidly dropping out of use, its only remaining function being to emphasize the uncertainty of a supposition. Perhaps in another generation the subjunctive forms will have ceased to exist except in the single instance of *were*, which serves a useful function, although we manage to dispense with a corresponding form in other verbs.   (Bradley 1904: 53)

Shortly afterwards, H. W. and F. G. Fowler referred to Bradley's comment in *The King's English*, their popular usage guide, in which they made clear their dislike of the present subjunctive and their thoughts about its future:

> The use of true subjunctive forms (if he be, though it happen) in conditional sentences is for various reasons not recommended. These forms, with the single exception of *were*, are perishing so rapidly that an experienced word-actuary [=Bradley] puts their expectation of life at one generation. As a matter of style, they should be avoided, being certain to give a pretentious air when handled by any one except the skilful and practised writers who need no advice from us. And as a matter of grammar, the instinct for using subjunctives rightly is dying with the subjunctive.   (Fowler & Fowler 1906: 157–158)

Twenty years later, the predicted death had still not taken place, and H. W. Fowler dedicated considerable space to the use and misuse of the subjunctive in an article in his influential *Modern English Usage*. It contains this much-quoted passage:

> About the subjunctive, so delimited, the important general facts are: (1) that it is moribund except in a few easily specified uses; (2) that, owing to the capricious influence of the much analysed classical upon the less studied native moods, it probably never would have been possible to draw up a satisfactory table of the English subjunctive uses; (3) that assuredly no-one will ever find it either possible or worth while to do so now that the subjunctive is dying; & (4) that subjunctives met with today, outside the few truly living uses, are either deliberate revivals by poets for legitimate enough archaic effect, or antiquated survivals as in pretentious journalism, infecting their context with dullness, or new arrivals possible only in an age to which the grammar of the subjunctive is not natural but artificial.   (Fowler 1926: 574)

It was not just British commentators who thought the end was in sight. From the evidence of his 1901 collection of essays on English, American linguist Brander Matthews seems to have felt no great attachment to the subjunctive. In an essay on English in the USA, he declares that:

> the subjunctive mood is going slowly into innocuous desuetude . . . its days are numbered. It serves no useful purpose; it has to be laboriously acquired; it is now a matter of rule and not of instinct; it is no longer natural: and therefore it will inevitably disappear, sooner or later. (Matthews 1901: 63)

In a separate essay in the same book, this time on questions of usage, Matthews displays a strikingly positive attitude towards language change, relishing the thought of seeing the back of the subjunctive:

> In every language there is a constant tendency toward uniformity and an unceasing effort to get rid of abnormal exceptions to the general rule; but in no language are these endeavors more effective than in English . . . [I]t makes it probable that it is only a question of time how soon the subjunctive shall be no longer differentiated from the indicative . . . And so posterity will not need to clog its memory with any rule for the employment of the subjunctive; and the English language will have cleansed itself of a barnacle.   (Matthews 1901: 223–224)

In 1909, another American linguist, George Philip Krapp, was no more confident of the future of the subjunctive:

> Practically, the only construction in Modern English in which the subjunctive is in living, natural use, is in the condition contrary to fact, 'If I were you, I shouldn't do it.' Elsewhere, altho it may still be employed with some subtle distinctions of thought, there is always a trace of consciousness in its use; it has more or less literary or archaic or affected flavor. It seems likely, therefore, with the continuance of the present tendencies, that the subjunctive as a distinctive inflectional form will disappear, except, perhaps, in the one construction noted. (Krapp 1909: 289–290)

In *The American Language*, first published in 1919 and reprinted in 1922, H. L. Mencken declares, in a section looking at spoken AmE ('the common speech'), that '*Be*, in the subjunctive, is practically extinct' (1922: 272).[1] Later in the book, when discussing the subjunctive in general, he comments on the situation in both spoken and written registers: 'All signs of the subjunctive, indeed, seem to be disappearing from vulgar American . . . This war upon the forms of the subjunctive, of course, extends to the most formal English' (1922: 288–289). He goes on to quote Bradley's prediction of its death within a generation before commenting that 'Here, as elsewhere, unlettered American usage simply proceeds in advance of the general movement. *Be* and the omitted *s* are already dispensed with, and even *were* has been discarded' (1922: 289).

Charles Fries's *American English Grammar* (1940), unusually for the time, drew on the evidence of a written corpus, consisting of letters written to the United States government during the First World War,[2] and his finding was that in general 'the subjunctive has tended to disappear from use' (1940: 106). Looking at the letters subcategorised as 'Standard' and 'Vulgar', he found that the '*s*-less subjunctive very rarely appears' (1940: 104), identifying only four instances. Present subjunctives featuring *be* were easier to find, however. In the Standard subcorpus, he found 47 instances in mandative clauses, but also 64 mandative clauses featuring *should* and 65 infinitival constructions in the same environment. This led him to state that 'On the whole, then, despite the nature of the material in the letters of Standard English which provides the conditions for an increased use of the subjunctive in *that* clauses following the words

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[1] On the previous page, at the start of his section on 'The Verb', Mencken himself uses a present subjunctive in an open conditional clause (my underlining): 'A study of the materials amassed by Charters and Lardner, if it be reinforced by observation of what is heard on the streets every day, will show that the chief grammatical peculiarities of spoken Amerian lie among the verbs and pronouns' (1922: 271). This subjunctive does not survive in later editions of the book.

[2] For the purpose of helping the teaching of English in the USA, Fries was granted access to 'certain files of informal correspondence in the possession of the United States Government' (1940: 26). After a careful selection process, he was left with about three thousand letters, all from US citizens whose families had been in the country for at least three generations. These were categorised according to 'social or class groups' (1940: 29).

of request, the subjunctive forms are used in only 18.4 per cent of the situations in which we might expect them' (1940: 105). In the Vulgar subcorpus, there were just eight instances of mandative subjunctives featuring *be*, plus 37 mandative clauses featuring *should* or *would* and 85 infinitival constructions, leading to the assessment that subjunctive forms were used in only 13 per cent of the situations in which they might have been expected (1940: 106). In his overall findings, he made it clear that he did not consider the 'disappearing' subjunctive to be simply a question of register: 'The failure to use the subjunctive form in non-fact conditions, and in *that* clauses after words of asking, requesting, suggesting, etc., is not a characteristic of Vulgar English only. The practices of Standard English and Vulgar English do not differ significantly in this respect' (1940: 107).

4.1.1 Signs of life

A British linguist who at an early stage of the twentieth century recognised the vitality of the present subjunctive in AmE and its apparent influence on BrE was Ernest Weekley, author of numerous books on lexicographical topics. In 1928 he published a small pocket guide, *The English Language*, in which he comments that:

> In America, though it may be rather a revival than a survival,[3] the subjunctive is much used in the written language, *e.g.* Walter Page writes, in the early years of the War, 'I am now going down to Garden City and New York till the President *send* for me; or, if he *do* not send for me, I'm going to his house and sit on his front steps till he *come* out.' Few modern English writers would indulge in such a surfeit of subjunctives, though there is a tendency just now, under American influence, to revive this almost obsolete mood, *e.g.* Mr. P. G. Wodehouse writes, 'It was imperative that he select some place where he could sit and think quickly,' and *The Times Literary Supplement* (March, 29, 1928), 'Mr. W. has turned a deaf ear to our plea that he write a preface of his own.'   (Weekley 1928: 20; italics as in original)[4]

Here Weekley refers to Walter Hines Page, journalist, publisher and US ambassador to Britain during the First World War, whose Pulitzer Prize-winning collection of letters (edited by Burton J. Hendrick) had been published, posthumously, in 1923. The large number of subjunctives in Page's letters, and the range of clause-types in which they were found, seems to have been particularly striking to British readers, so much so that the number of comments on the subject by Weekley and others prompted Thyra Jane Bevier

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[3] Weekley's early conjecture that the use of the subjunctive in AmE (or at least the mandative subjunctive) was a revival rather than a survival would later be shown by Övergaard (1995) and others to be correct.

[4] The example from P. G. Wodehouse is from the novel *Leave it to Psmith*, published in 1923. Though Wodehouse may be considered the most British of writers, it should also be borne in mind that at the time he had been living in America for some years, so Weekley's suggestion of influence from American English cannot be ruled out.

to produce an article for the journal *American Speech* in 1931 reviewing American use of the subjunctive. In her study, she focuses primarily on present subjunctive forms in conditional sentences, rather than the arguably more remarkable examples in temporal clauses introduced by *till* that feature in Weekley's comment above, and finds, from a small survey of American writers of a similar type, that the number of subjunctives in Page's letters was by no means typical of contemporary AmE: 'Mr. Page's use of these distinctive forms, then, seems to represent an individual taste in the expression of a language rather than tendencies generally prevalent in American speech' (1931: 215).[5]

One of the interesting aspects of Weekley's 1928 comment on the growing influence of AmE on the use of the subjunctive in BrE is that the two examples he gives both feature subjunctives in mandative clauses, rather than in conditional clauses, which is what tended to feature in grammars of the time when present subjunctives were discussed. Weekley continued to set out his objections to mandative subjunctives in a number of newspaper articles over the next few years. In 1936, in a review in the *Observer* newspaper of *The Development of Modern English* by Stuart Robertson, he claimed to be surprised by 'the absence of any reference to the most remarkable phenomenon in modern American syntax, viz., the pedantic revival of the subjunctive in such a sentence as "She insisted that he knock before coming in," a construction now common in English books and newspapers, but quite unknown in the happy pre-War days'.[6] In another book review in 1938, Weekley lamented that 'there has been in the present generation no influence exercised on English to compare with the ever more violent impact of "American." Our journalists are gradually ejecting the English "should" in favour of the revived American subjunctive.'[7]

When he came to produce a revised edition of *The English Language* in 1952, Weekley added the following paragraph, revealing his assessment of the position of the mandative subjunctive in BrE of the time and his fears about other misuses of the subjunctive:

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[5] Page's letters have been a useful source for other writers on the subjunctive. Curme, for example, draws on them to exemplify the occasional modern use of present subjunctives in 'choice prose'. The Page letter about sitting on the President's steps that Weekley quotes is included in Curme's *Grammar of the English Language* (1931: 407), as is an example from a Page letter to Woodrow Wilson: '"I sometimes wonder if it *be* (in plain prose *is*) understood in the United States"' (1931: 415).

[6] 'English as she is spoke' (*Observer*, 24 May 1936, p. 10).

[7] 'Words: American and English' (*Observer*, 9 October 1938, p. 9).

> Since the above was first written, this construction [i.e. the mandative subjunctive] has almost become normal English and some writers seem to think, wrongly in most cases, that every *if* must be followed by a verb in the subjunctive. Some fifty years ago that great scholar, Henry Bradley, opined, in connection with the 'disappearance of the subjunctive', that 'perhaps in another generation the subjunctive forms will have ceased to exist, except in the single instance of *were*' . . . a singularly unlucky prophecy.   (Weekley 1952: 37)

One of the first detailed accounts of the mandative subjunctive from an AmE viewpoint came from Charles Allen Lloyd in 1937, who took a much more positive attitude than Weekley. In an article in the *English Journal*, as well as recognising the frequency of the present subjunctive after *lest*, Lloyd provided numerous recent examples containing mandative subjunctives and supplied lists of the verbs and adjectives that can trigger them.[8] He also pointed out, correctly, that the use of the present subjunctive in mandative clauses was something that H. W. Fowler did not mention in 1926:

> It is these numerous and important uses of the present subjunctive in 'that'-clauses which Fowler, by some incredible oversight, fails utterly to take into account in his article on the subjunctive in *Modern English Usage*. One who ignores them as he does might well think that the subjunctive is moribund, but their vigor is compelling evidence to the contrary. Indeed, it seems to me that this is one line along which the subjunctive is actually gaining ground today. It would be possible in most of these 'that'-clauses to use the auxiliary 'should.' But more and more the tendency seems to be to drop the somewhat cumbersome 'should' and use the simple subjunctive.   (Lloyd 1937: 370–371)

In a 1939 article on syntactic differences between AmE and BrE, Stuart Robertson draws on Lloyd's work to confirm the AmE preference for subjunctives rather than *should* in mandative clauses. He does so partly in response to the comment by Weekley in the *Observer* in 1936 cited above,[9] in which Weekley criticised Robertson's book for not mentioning the phenomenon.

> There would seem to be no doubt, then, that in American English the present subjunctive is experiencing a lusty revival – if, indeed, this particular type of subjunctive is not really a new growth. British English seems about to follow suit; it is perhaps another case of 'first endure, then pity, then embrace.' Whether Professor Weekley's characterization of the development as 'pedantic' is accurate may well be doubted: the omission of *should* makes for greater brevity and detracts nothing from clarity – indeed, it occasionally avoids a possible confusion with another meaning of *should*, 'ought to.' Further, the construction is certainly to be observed in quite uninhibited speech, as well as in writing. Professor Lloyd, I may say, has called my attention to its use in the dialog of comic strips – in the mouths of such unpedantic speakers as Donald Duck and Little Orphan Annie.   (Robertson 1939: 250–251)

It seems, then, that by the middle of the century, the growing use of the subjunctive in AmE, particularly in mandative clauses, has been recognised and accepted by American scholars and commentators. On the

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[8] One of Lloyd's examples – 'I insist that he not be too hasty to abandon his former beliefs' (1937: 369–370) – is an early example of the use of preverbal *not* in a mandative subjunctive.

[9] 'English as she is spoke' (*Observer*, 24 May 1936, p. 10).

other side of the Atlantic, however, the possibility of the return of the subjunctive is still treated with some suspicion by British commentators such as Weekley.

4.1.2   Recognising change in BrE

From the middle of the twentieth century, there is evidence of growing, if still grudging, recognition of the increase in the use of the present subjunctive in BrE in mandative clauses. Ernest Gowers, in the style guide *ABC of Plain Words*, consigned the mandative subjunctive in BrE to 'legal or quasi-legal language' (1951: 131). In his expanded and revised *The Complete Plain Words* (1954), he added a paragraph in which he recognised the AmE preference for the mandative subjunctive in all registers and showed himself to be open to the possibility that it might also become part of BrE:

> In America this last usage is not confined to formal language, but is usual in such sentences as 'I ask that he be sent for', 'It is important that he be there', and even in the negative form 'he insisted that the statement not be placed on record', in which the custom in this country is to insert a *should*. With our present propensity to imitate American ways, we may follow suit. (Gowers 1954: 159)[10]

By the time Gowers produced his revised version of Fowler's *Modern English Usage*, which was published in 1965, the construction was apparently established enough for him to feel compelled to add a new paragraph to Fowler's original article. It included the following:

> This use of the subjunctive in a formal motion is established idiom, and its scope has been widened under American influence; it is now used after any words of command or desire . . . *He is anxious that the truth be known*. British idiom used to require *should be*; but this use of the subjunctive seems now to have become so well established with us that we can read in a leading article in 'The Times', *No one would suggest that a unique, and in the main supremely valuable, work be halted.*   (Fowler 1965: 595–596)

An acceptance of the AmE preference for the mandative subjunctive, and the awareness that it was occasionally found in BrE, is also to be seen in *American into English* (1953), a guide by British writer and proofreader G. V. Carey aimed at those in the publishing industry who faced the task of anglicising American books for the British market, a task still undertaken in British publishing today. While not written by an academic linguist, it is illuminating for the insight it gives into the attitude of those whose work necessarily involves a familiarity with what is deemed to be acceptable in written Standard BrE of the time. Most of Carey's book concerns vocabulary and idiom, but in the section

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[10] Note the early example of the characteristic preverbal negative from a British commentator.

pointing out differences in the area of grammar, the first entry on verbs (as his subsequent examples make clear) is dedicated to AmE habits in mandative clauses:

> (a) Omission of 'should' (and sometimes a preceding 'that' as well) after verbs of *asking*, *suggesting* and the like. I give a rather large selection, to show how regularly this occurs in American; it is by no means unknown – and some would account it more correct – in English. (Carey 1953: 17)[11]

Not all British commentators were so accepting, however. In a paper from 1961 optimistically called 'The whim of the moment', Catherine M. Nesbitt makes no attempt to hide her alarm at discovering signs of the return of the present subjunctive in BrE:

> We all know that there are fashions in writing as well as in clothes, and there is much concern among English critics when the latest fad strikes them as ugly or harmful. But the complaints are nearly always about the misuse of words . . . Today I would like to draw attention to something far more serious, the unexpected revival of the Subjunctive Mood, which seems to have begun in this country less than ten years ago and is now spreading so rapidly that, if left unchecked, it will do real damage to the structure of the language, a far more harmful thing than any craze for the latest fashionable word.   (Nesbitt 1961: 238–239)

When voicing her concerns, Nesbitt claims the support of British writer Somerset Maugham, whose vivid comment earlier in the century on the subjunctive in *A Writer's Notebook* (1949: 307) is often quoted by those writing about the subjunctive: 'The subjunctive mood is in its death throes, and the best thing to do is to put it out of its misery as soon as possible.'[12] Yet it is not clear, at least from the passage containing the quotation, just how deep a knowledge of the subjunctive Maugham had. The comment came in a notebook entry made in 1941 when Maugham was based in New York, and it was introduced by his assessment that 'American writers use the subjunctive much more than we do. I suppose they are used to it and so it seems natural to them – to us it has always a slightly pedantic look' (1949: 307). The example he supplies is of a present subjunctive in a conditional clause, for which his use of the term 'pedantic' might not have been as inappropriate as Weekley's use of the same term regarding mandative subjunctives, given that present subjunctives in conditional clauses were restricted to fairly formal registers in AmE at the time he wrote. Maugham does not comment on mandative subjunctives on this

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[11] Visser cites Carey's statement as an example of how 'Unfamiliarity with the historical development occasionally causes wrong interpretations to be put on the construction' (1963: 844). I would argue that this misrepresents Carey's intentions. He is not attempting a grammatical description of English; he is addressing British editors/proofreaders who need directing to the differences in AmE, and at that time they would be likely to characterise the construction in question as AmE omitting *should* where BrE would normally have it.

[12] See, for example, Vallins (1952: 52), Mittins et al. (1970: 74–75), Jacobsson (1975: 218), Peters (2009: 125), Marsh (2013: 41).

occasion, but he was prepared to use one himself in his 1944 novel *The Razor's Edge*: 'Joseph was insistent that his wishes be carried out.'

In the 1960s, three books by British authors looking at recent change in English – Charles Barber's *Linguistic Change in Present-day English* (1964), Brian Foster's *The Changing English Language* (1968) and Simeon Potter's *Changing English* (1969) – include references to the increasing use of the mandative subjunctive in BrE. Barber doesn't attribute it to the influence of AmE; he merely suggests that it 'seems to have begun in the language of administration, and spread from there to the literary language' (1964: 133). He suspects that it won't last, though he displays some concerns about its effect on the language:

> It is extremely unlikely, however, that we are going to see any serious long-term revival of the subjunctive forms; the present development is probably only a passing fashion. If it has any long-term significance, this is likely to be, not a revival of the subjunctive, but an eroding away of the third-singular inflexion; by accustoming people to forms like *he do* and *he make*, these usages may prepare the way for the ultimate disappearance of *he does* and *he makes*. (Barber 1964: 133–134)

The same possibility is considered by Potter:

> Has this revival any bearing on the future of English? Will the time come when our language, like Danish, has one unchanging form throughout the present tense? After all, our verbs have shed *-est* and *-eth* within living memory. In regional dialects in the United Kingdom, and in pidgin varieties in the Far East, flexionless *he go* instead of inflected *he goes* creates no difficulty in straightforward communication. (Potter 1969: 142)[13]

Foster is more concerned with style and usage, and he dwells on the supposed risks of ambiguity caused by use of the mandative subjunctive. In his account, he unhelpfully follows the practice of earlier grammarians such as Onions of referring to *should* as an instantiation of the subjunctive, which leads him to describe the *s*-less present subjunctive as 'a shortened form of it [the subjunctive]', yet his examples still offer good evidence of the range of options available to BrE speakers in mandative clauses at the time:

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[13] The response of Leech et al. (2009: 69–70) to these predictions from the 1960s is that 'third-person singular present tense verbs without an inflectional ending are still strongly associated with non-standard language use and it is therefore unlikely that this change is going to take place in the near future.'

Certainly there exists in many quarters the tendency to disregard the existence of a subjunctive; so 'it is essential that nuclear weapons are not banned' (*Sunday Times*, 13 Feb. 1955) states a letter to the editor from a reader who is on internal evidence a rather young man. Taken out of context, this sentence would not make it clear whether a ban on nuclear weapons is in operation or not, whereas the use of the subjunctive would have made the position clear: 'It is essential that nuclear weapons should not be banned'. In this particular case it can readily be argued that the objection is a theoretical one since all readers will be well enough informed about this point of international law, yet on occasion the lack of the subjunctive 'should' gives rise to a real danger of ambiguity, as when a letter to a popular newspaper stated 'They insist that I pay them ten pounds a year.'

Yet when it has been conceded that there has been in some respects a movement away from the subjunctive there must be added the reminder that the situation is at present complicated by a current of influence flowing once again from the United States where it so happens that this verbal mood is held in high esteem. Furthermore there is a strong liking in American usage for the use of a shortened form of it, and the practical result is that among the younger generation of British writers there is a move in the same direction. 'He agreed on condition that I bombard the enemy house,' writes Maurice Rowdon in *Of Sins and Winter* (p. 43) [1955]. In a more usual style this might have been 'that I should bombard' or even 'that I bombarded'. The upshot of all this is that usage is in a somewhat fluid state. Let us take for example a sentence spoken by the actor Albert Finney in a BBC *Face to Face* programme in 1962: 'The headmaster suggested I went to drama school.' He might alternatively have said 'The headmaster suggested I go to drama school' or else '. . . suggested I should go to drama school'.   (Foster 1968: 212)

4.1.3   Early English subjunctive studies

After more than fifty years of predictions of the death of the English subjunctive and apparently contradictory reports – of inconsistent reliability – of a revival of sorts, there was clearly a need for a more scientific account based on firmer evidence. An important early study of this type was a monograph by Wayne Harsh, *The Subjunctive in English* (1968).

Harsh first presents a clear account of the confusion caused by the mixture of notional and formal approaches to the subjunctive taken in earlier studies, before taking a formal approach himself in a series of diachronic studies. These include analyses of samples from (1) Bible translations from between the tenth and twentieth centuries; (2) twentieth-century translations of ME texts; (3) dramatic texts from between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries (see Section 5.1.1). Although these collections of samples are small and unrepresentative compared with the electronic corpora available today, his study provides clear evidence of the decline in the number of distinctive subjunctive forms since OE, to the 'point of non-existence in present-day English' (1968: 99).

After Harsh's predominantly diachronic study, it was the situation in PDE that came under focus in Bengt Jacobsson's 'How dead is the English subjunctive?' (1975):

> The statement that the English subjunctive is dying has been made so often and by so many that it has come to be generally accepted and has been handed down from one generation of grammarians to another. In recent years, however, quite a number of commentators have observed that although the subjunctive is used within a rather limited area it is very much alive within that area and is actually extending its territory.   (Jacobsson 1975: 219)

This much-cited paper, discussed in more detail in Section 5.1.2, addressed many of the topics concerning identification and distribution of forms, terminology and usage that appear in the rest of this section, and is an essential reference point for subsequent studies of the subjunctive.

4.1.4   The contribution of usage commentators

This brief account of the origins of the recent interest in the subjunctive has drawn on the work of both linguists and usage commentators. While the opinions of usage commentators cannot be relied on as accurate grammatical descriptions of the language, they are still worthy of attention because they are often prompted by a recognition of recent change or of a difference between varieties. More importantly, their comments have sometimes attracted the interest of linguists and led to more thorough evidence-based research, such as Harsh (1968), Jacobsson (1975) and ultimately the studies that feature in the rest of this chapter and the next. The judgements of usage commentators are also of particular interest for studies involving the subjunctive because some have argued that prescriptive influences have had a significant effect on the use of the subjunctive, for example Leech et al. (2009: 68).

4.2   Mandative subjunctives: research topics

As an example of a clear grammatical difference between AmE and BrE and of recent change in English grammar, it is understandable why the mandative subjunctive has aroused the curiosity of many linguists. In this section I introduce the main topics relating to the mandative subjunctive that have been investigated in studies since the 1960s and summarise the key findings, which will be discussed in greater detail in the critical survey in Chapter 5.

4.2.1   The situation in BrE

In the years before electronic corpora became widely available, there were a number of elicitation studies that, while demonstrating a preference for the *should* variant in mandative clauses in BrE, also confirmed the reports of a revival of the present subjunctive in that environment. These include studies using British informants by Turner (1980), investigating preferences in both active and passive mandative clauses, and Quirk & Rusiecki (1982), investigating the effect of the reluctance or willingness of the subject of mandative clauses on the choice of variant.

In 1986, Haegeman carried out a corpus-based study of the mandative subjunctive in BrE, which confirmed the choices in mandative clauses available in that variety: *should*-constructions, the present subjunctive and the indicative. The Survey of English Usage corpus that she used was not computerised at that time, but its size – around 445,000 words of spoken text and 360,000 words of written text – was not far away from that of the million-word corpora featured in many recent studies. Nevertheless, one thing to come out of her study was an appreciation of the difficulty of finding enough examples of the subjunctive – she found 24 – to make statistical analysis worthwhile (1986: 65).

4.2.2   The situation in AmE

An elicitation test by Nichols (1987) involving American college students confirmed the reported preference for the subjunctive in mandative clauses in AmE. Nichols also demonstrated that in the 1980s it was not restricted to speakers with a high level of literacy, by showing that the mandative subjunctive regularly occurred in the responses of students whose previous results in a verbal-skills test had required them to take a course in 'remedial' English (see Section 5.1.7).

Further evidence of the American preference for the subjunctive variant was provided by Algeo (1992), who repeated the BrE-based elicitation test of Turner (1980), this time with AmE-speaking informants. Algeo's test also demonstrated the reluctance of AmE speakers to accept two mandative-clause variants commonly used by BrE speakers: not only *should*, but also indicatives, present and past. Algeo was at pains to categorise this mandative use of the indicative as a 'Briticism' (1992: 611) (see Section 5.1.8).

4.2.3   Comparing the preferences of AmE and BrE

While separate earlier studies had shown the different preferences of the two national varieties in mandative clauses, Johansson & Norheim (1988) were the first to investigate the topic in a systematic way using parallel electronic corpora: the Brown and LOB corpora containing texts from 1961 in AmE and BrE, respectively. The study confirmed the preferences suggested by previous work and provided the model for many subsequent studies, which have frequently used its results for comparison. Several have also relied on the list of mandative verbs, nouns and adjectives set out by Johansson & Norheim.

A more recent study that took a slightly different path was Crawford (2009), which investigated the mandative subjunctive using corpora of British and American 'news writing' from the 1990s. At about 5.5 million words each, these were more than five times larger than the corpora used in most previous studies, and the number of triggers was also much higher. In general, the findings about the preferences of the two varieties supported those of previous studies, but, as discussed in Section 5.2.13, the results are arguably undermined by some of the methodological decisions, which make comparison with other studies difficult.

4.2.4   Evidence of recent change

The first major diachronic study was by Övergaard (1995), who looked at the mandative subjunctive in a combination of LOB and Brown and the author's own non-computerised, personally compiled corpora of texts covering almost the whole of the twentieth century. For the first time, Övergaard demonstrated a dramatic increase in the use of mandative subjunctives in AmE at the beginning of the century, providing evidence that it was a revival rather than a continuation of the use of an older form. She confirmed that in BrE the *should* variant was the norm in mandative clauses for most of the century, but also highlighted a significant increase in the use of subjunctives in that variety between the 1960s and 1990s.

Diachronic studies involving electronic corpora of texts from the 1960s and later include Peters (1998), which compared the ACE corpus of Australian English (AusE) texts from 1986 with the earlier LOB and Brown, and Hundt (1998b), which was the first to use the recently compiled F-LOB and Frown corpora, consisting of BrE and AmE texts from 1991 and 1992, respectively, to carry out a systematic comparison with LOB and Brown. Her results were less dramatic than those of Övergaard, in that the evidence of a revival of the mandative subjunctive in BrE was not so marked, but a significant increase was revealed nonetheless.

The chapter devoted to the subjunctive in Leech et al.'s book-length study of recent change in English (2009: 51–70) includes a comprehensive section on the mandative subjunctive. The authors reported the results of another investigation of LOB/F-LOB and Brown/Frown, which featured generally similar findings, though they were able to identify more indicatives in mandative clauses in BrE than in previous studies based on the same corpora (2009: 55).

In a chapter in a forthcoming textbook on historical linguistics, Hundt (one of the authors of Leech et al. 2009) and Gardner have taken advantage of the new matching corpora of AmE and BrE texts from 1931 – B-Brown and B-LOB – to extend the study of the mandative subjunctive reported in Leech et al. (2009) back to the first half of the twentieth century. The results confirm Övergaard's finding that AmE was already well advanced in its use of the mandative subjunctive at that time, while it was still a low-frequency variant in BrE.

4.2.5   The mandative subjunctive in other national varieties

Since the late 1990s, there has been a growing body of research into varieties other than BrE and AmE. The situation in New Zealand English (NZE) was investigated by Hundt (1998b), using data from the Wellington Corpus, which she compared with the AusE figures from a similar period supplied by Peters (1998). Both varieties were found to use the mandative subjunctive more than BrE but less than AmE. If just the subjunctive and *should* variants are considered, the following subjunctive proportions were found in these two studies for the corpora of four national varieties from the mid-1980s/early 1990s: AmE 89.5 per cent, AusE 77.7 per cent, NZE 66.7 per cent, BrE 39.6 per cent (Hundt 1998b: 163, 165).[14] It was also shown that the indicative variant was a significant feature of NZE English, demonstrating that it was not simply the 'Briticism' that Algeo had suggested.

The growing family of ICE corpora, of texts from the early 1990s based on the pattern of ICE-GB, have allowed corpus-based studies of the subjunctive in several other national varieties. The situation in Philippine English (PhilE) was investigated by Schneider (2005), using ICE-PHIL. He found that, as might be expected given the history of the country, the use of the mandative subjunctive in PhilE was very close to the high level found for AmE in Brown and Frown. Five more of the ICE corpora featured in a study by Peters (2009), who reassessed the frequency of the mandative subjunctive (which

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[14] The texts in the ACE corpus are from 1986; those in WCNZE from between 1986 and 1990. The findings of these two studies are also summarised in Hundt et al. (2004: 560–570).

she refers to as 'MS') in AusE, BrE and NZE, while also investigating the situation in English from India (IndE) and Singapore (SingE), using Schneider's (2005) figures for comparison. The results showed variation among the varieties but confirmed BrE's position as 'the least MS-friendly variety' (Peters 2009: 130). Of the others, only IndE shared BrE's preference for modal periphrasis. One notable result was that, unlike PhilE, SingE differed greatly in this regard from the English of its colonial past, BrE, by showing a strong preference for the subjunctive.

The existence of ICE-Phil and the creation of Phil-Brown, a new corpus of PhilE from the 1960s designed to match the Brown corpus, provided the opportunity for the first diachronic study of a post-colonial national variety, by Collins et al. (2014). This showed that in PhilE the relative frequencies of the mandative and *should* variants remained stable across the thirty years between the two corpora, matching the situation in AmE in the same period. While the two varieties shared a very strong preference for the mandative subjunctive, there was one significant difference, however. In terms of actual tokens of the mandative subjunctive, in both corpora, PhilE had half the number found in the corpora of AmE (Collins et al. 2014: 268).

4.2.6   Association with formality

Since the earliest studies, there has been an assumption that the subjunctive, and particularly the mandative subjunctive, is associated with formality. This is at least partly thanks to the influence of comments such as the following by Quirk et al.: 'The use of this subjunctive occurs chiefly in formal style' (1972: 76). Later studies have tried to test this association, taking into consideration such factors as co-occurrence with the passive (and as a consequence the verb *be*), *that*-omission, variation across text categories and relative frequency in speech and writing.

In general, it has been demonstrated that the association with formality seems to be less evident in AmE, in which the mandative subjunctive has been established for longer. Studies such as Leech et al. (2009: 59) have also found that in BrE the proportion of mandative subjunctives featuring passives decreased significantly in the second half of the twentieth century, suggesting a weakening association with formality in that variety. This finding would seem to be supported by the regular presence of mandative subjunctives in a popular British national daily newspaper such as *The Sun*, as the following three examples found within a few pages of the same issue demonstrate.

(89)   He also suggested she <u>kill</u> herself with rat poison to avoid shaming the family.

The Sun, p. 16, 29 November 2015

(90)   Yeo dismissed the offer and then demanded it <u>be</u> taken off his bill.

The Sun, p. 18, 29 November 2015

(91)   This week he pulled a Farage flounce and apparently demanded the Oxford Union <u>uninvite</u> brilliant Tory MEP Dan Hannan, who was due to speak on the Brexit side with Nige at a student debate.

The Sun, p. 27, 29 November 2015

Early studies generally assumed that the mandative subjunctive was most likely to involve *be*, particularly in BrE, at least partly because it was also assumed to be associated with the passive, which is itself associated with formality. More recently, it has been demonstrated by Schlüter (2009: 295–298) that there seems to be an intriguing variation between national varieties when it comes to subjunctive *be*. She has suggested that in AmE, where the subjunctive is the norm in mandative clauses, subjunctive *be* is actually likely to be avoided because it stands out, and might therefore be perceived as oddly formal.[15] On the other hand, in BrE, in which the subjunctive is not the norm, subjunctive *be* is more likely to be used because it is easier to deal with than the awkward-feeling subjunctive of other verbs. This seems to give some support to the statement by Quirk et al. that there is 'a tendency in BrE to choose the subjunctive more especially when the finite verb is BE (*eg* in the passive voice)' (1985: 157). However, a recent diachronic study of AmE and BrE use of the mandative subjunctive using corpora from the 1960s and 1990s suggests that this may no longer be the case: 'The data . . . indicate that the verb *be* may not remain the stronghold of the subjunctive that it was in the past, as passive subjunctives are becoming relatively less frequent' (Leech et al. 2009: 60).

For obvious practical reasons – because there are fewer corpora of spoken English – most studies have concentrated on written English. Attempts to look at use of the mandative subjunctive in speech include Haegeman (1986), examining the SEU material; Hundt (1998b), which features an analysis of the spoken subcorpus of the BNC; and Leech et al. (2009), which compares the (40 per cent) written and (60 per cent) spoken subcorpora of ICE-GB. This written/spoken aspect of the ICE corpora was also exploited in the study by Peters (2009) involving six national varieties. A couple of studies have used the fairly recent DCPSE corpus, which consists of spoken BrE from around 1960 and 1990: Waller (2005) and Klein (2009).

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[15] This perception is echoed in a usage guide written by an American proponent of plain English:
  'The subjunctive form *be* is part of literary, formal English and gives any sentence it appears in a pompous, stuck-up air' (Flesch 1964: 46).

The general findings are that, in BrE and all the other varieties studied by Peters (2009), the subjunctive is a less common choice in speech than in writing, though all other varieties still use it more than BrE. In BrE the indicative is correspondingly more common, whereas in the other varieties modals are more likely. It seems that, in BrE, the return of the mandative subjunctive is occurring predominantly in written English. A slightly different picture of the position in spoken AmE is offered by Leech et al. (2009: 60), who compared the ratio of subjunctives to *should* in mandative clauses in the (written) Frown corpus and the Longman Corpus of Spoken American English and found that in AmE it was higher in the spoken than in the written corpus. They take this as further evidence that the subjunctive is losing its formal connotations, though they also warn that care must be taken when focusing on relative frequency in this way, because in terms of absolute frequency, 'the mandative subjunctive is vastly more common in writing than in speech' (Leech et al. 2009: 61).

4.2.7   *The number of mandative contexts*

Several studies have identified variations in the numbers of mandative contexts: that is, in the overall number of mandative clauses. It has been suggested, for example, that they are less common in BrE than in AmE (Crawford 2009: 263), and in Waller (2005) evidence was found of a fall in the number of mandative contexts in spoken BrE between the 1960s and 1990s. Peters (2009: 134) puts forward convincing sociolinguistic reasons why situations involving mandatives are likely to be rarer in speech, and this is supported by the findings of Leech et al. regarding AmE and BrE at the end of the twentieth century: 'mandative contexts as a whole are more common in writing than in speech . . . This might account for the widely held notion of the subjunctive being a feature of written English' (2009: 61). However, studies tend not to include infinitival and gerund-participial clauses when considering the options available to speakers after mandative predicates (see Section 4.3.4), and as a result it has not been clearly established how much of the variation can be put down to changing preferences involving those non-finite variants.

4.2.8 Factors affecting the choice of variant

Some studies have tried to establish whether the effect of the strength of the deontic modality expressed by the trigger has any effect on the choice of variant in mandative clauses. Greenbaum (1977: 94–95), for example, expected the strong triggers *demand* and *insist* to elicit more subjunctives in his elicitation test, but there was no evidence of this, arguably because the informants in the test were all American.[16]

As mentioned in Section 4.2.1, one of the British-based elicitation tests in Quirk & Rusiecki (1982) included an investigation into whether the attitude of the subject of the mandative clause towards the action proposed had any influence on the choice of variant in those clauses. Their findings suggested that the reluctance or willingness of the subject was a significant factor, but there was not enough evidence to present a convincing explanation of the effect of that factor. Nevertheless, in their 1985 grammar Quirk et al. make a similar claim (apparently referring to BrE), though their examples are not persuasive:

> There is a greater use of the subjunctive than the indicative if the agentive (perhaps implied) in the *that*-clause is shown to be willing to perform the action. Contrast:
>> The committee was impressed by the candidate, but recommended that she *reapply* when she had been awarded her PhD.
>> He was *very reluctant* to leave, but I recommended that he *went*.   (1985: 1013)

In themselves, the examples do not seem to demonstrate that the choice of variant is related to the willingness of the subject. For me, swapping the variants would be acceptable and would not indicate anything about willingness or reluctance. On the other hand, this may reflect the fact that their judgement is based on the BrE of more than 30 years ago.

4.2.9 Factors behind the revival of the mandative subjunctive

One of the theories put forward to explain the return of the mandative subjunctive in AmE is the influence of the (particularly Germanic) language backgrounds of immigrants to that country. This idea features in usage guides such as Bruce Fraser's revised version of *The Complete Plain Words* (Gowers 1973: 150) and is proposed again by Övergaard (1995: 44–45). Övergaard's suggestion is repeated in several later studies, including Leech et al. (2009: 67) and Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming), though compelling evidence in support of the theory has not been presented.

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[16] Crawford (2009) presents a different concept of trigger strength. In his study, strong triggers are those that are most likely to be followed by 'mandates', by which he means clauses containing subjunctives *or* modals.

Other suggested reasons, some more unlikely than others, include familiarity with subjunctives in the Authorised Version of the Bible (e.g. Kjellmer 2009: 248) and in legal/administrative English (e.g. Haegeman 1986: 66), and a predilection for archaic expressions (Turner 1980: 273).[17] An explanation based on more robust linguistic arguments has been put forward by Kjellmer (2009). This theory connects the revival with the way in which AmE and BrE complementation differed during the nineteenth century in environments where subjunctives had formerly appeared. Broadly speaking, it is claimed that in the nineteenth century AmE was reluctant to accept indicatives in irrealis contexts and used modals instead, while BrE used modals but also more readily accepted indicatives. A later apparent reluctance in AmE to use *should*,[18] Kjellmer argues, might then have pushed AmE into using subjunctives to convey modality in mandative clauses, as indicatives were still unusual in these areas in AmE (and remain uncommon in mandative clauses in that variety).

No convincing explanation for the more recent return of the mandative subjunctive in BrE has been given other than American influence (for example, Övergaard 1995: 89) or Americanisation (Mair 2006: 193), building on an underlying familiarity with the continuing legal/administrative use (Gowers 1954: 159). Exactly why this particular aspect of AmE should so influence BrE – and other varieties of English around the world – is not clear, though Mair suggests that it can be put down to 'the increasing prestige of formal American usage outside the United States' (2006: 203).

There is one possible contributory factor that appears not to have been explored to any great extent in the literature. More than once, as discussed above in Section 4.1.1, Ernest Weekley specifically commented on the increasing use of the mandative subjunctive in British newspapers,[19] and, as the examples from *The Sun* in Section 4.2.6 reveal, an examination of any of today's British national newspapers will reveal plenty of examples. In newspapers, there are always restrictions on space, and it seems possible that one of the attractions of the mandative subjunctive from the point of view of a journalist could be its conciseness and economy in comparison with the *should* construction.

One of the possible determinants of linguistic change mentioned by Mair in his study of twentieth-century English is 'colloquialisation' (2006: 187), according to which the norms of written English have tended to grow closer to those of the spoken variety. In grammar, Mair suggests, the trend in

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[17] To be fair, Turner merely mentions it as a theory that has been proposed; he does not actively support it.

[18] As, perhaps, reflected in the comment about AmE by Mencken that 'In the main, *should* is avoided, sometimes at considerable pains' (1936: 445).

[19] For example, 'English as she is spoke' (*Observer*, 24 May 1936, p. 10) and 'Words: American and English' (*Observer*, 9 October 1938, p. 9).

the verb phrase is for changes to follow this pattern, with a few exceptions, one of which he concedes is 'the recent spread of the subjunctive, a formal variant, in British writing' (2006: 192). He also identifies an apparently contradictory trend in the form of an increase in structures that help the compression of information – or a 'tendency to increase information density in most written genres' – and states that this 'shapes the grammar of the noun phrase' (2006: 203). Leech et al. use the term 'densification' for the same process (2009: 249–252). This topic was considered by Biber (2003) in a study of noun phrases in British and American newspapers. While accepting that in some respects newspaper prose has followed the trend of colloquialisation, via such changes as 'a greater use of first and second person pronouns, contractions, sentence-initial conjunctions, phrasal verbs, and progressive aspect' (2003: 170), Biber claims that it has also 'retained some of its nineteenth-century characteristics associated with dense, informational prose' (2003: 170). Assuming that one of the major factors in newspapers is the need for economy – the 'pressure to communicate information as efficiently and economically as possible' (2003: 170) – Biber suggests that in addition to achieving this by simple editorial cutting, writers have adopted various 'devices' in the noun phrase, such as 'noun–noun sequences, heavy appositive post-modifiers, and *to*-noun complement clauses . . . These features are all literate devices used to pack information into relatively few words' (2003: 179).

It could be argued that the use of the mandative subjunctive in British newspapers is an example of another 'device' that results in increased information density – but one in the verb phrase rather than the noun phrase. It may involve a difference of only one word – the loss of *should* – but that can be important from an editorial point of view when space is at a premium. As with the devices in the noun phrase that Biber discusses, it is certainly more likely to be characterised as 'literate' than 'colloquial' (in BrE, at least). Indeed, there are indications that in BrE the subjunctive in such clauses, historically associated as it is with legal and administrative use, is in some way considered more 'correct'. This is expressed directly in the comment cited in Section 4.1.2 (and repeated here) by a professional proofreader (albeit one in the book-publishing rather than newspaper industry): '[the mandative subjunctive] is by no means unknown – *and some would account it more correct* – in English' (Carey 1953: 17; my italic). It is also indicated indirectly by Weekley's description of its revival as 'pedantic',[20] if pedantry is understood as an excessive concern with correctness.

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[20] See 'English as she is spoke' (*Observer*, 24 May 1936, p. 10).

4.3   Mandative subjunctives: issues in methodology

Methodological issues in recent studies concerning the mandative subjunctive tend to involve decisions regarding three broad areas: the identification of present subjunctive forms, the identification of mandative clauses, and the range of variants in mandative clauses to be considered. This section examines the main issues that have arisen and some of the different approaches that have been taken.

4.3.1   Identification of present subjunctive forms

All studies recognise that the present subjunctive consists of the plain form (or base form) of the verb. However, not all studies make reference to all of the methods of subjunctive-identification that were discussed in Section 3.2, as exemplified in (92)–(95), along with my labels.

(92)   The head demands that John **work** harder next week.   **[iNO-S]**

(93)   The head recommends that I/you/John/we/they **be** promoted.   **[iBE]**

(94)   The head **suggested** that I/you/John/we/they <u>work</u> this weekend.   **[iST]**

(95)   The head insists/insisted that you/he/they **not** <u>work</u> so late next time.   **[iNEG]**

The two most obvious identifiers are iNO-S, as in (92), in which the verb form has no final *-s*, even though there is a third person singular subject, and iBE, as in (93), which features the distinctive form of the verb *be*. These identifiers are recognised by all studies, at least implicitly. The two others are iST, as in (94), in which the verb in the mandative clause does not follow the Sequence of Tenses, and iNEG, as in (95), which features preverbal negation. These identifiers receive different treatments by different researchers. In early studies, iST was recognised but there was variation in how it was applied. Johansson & Norheim (1988: 27–28), for example, assigned some of the subjunctives identifiable by iST to their 'non-distinctive' category (apparently those with non-third person singular subjects – see discussion in Sections 5.2.3 and 6.3.1), and Peters treats them separately from other subjunctives (1998: 92). The majority of more recent studies, such as Övergaard (1995: 93), Serpollet (2001: 533), Klein (2009: 34), Leech et al. (2009: 54) and Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming), include iST as an identifier, but there are occasional studies, such as Crawford (2009: 260), in which only formally distinctive subjunctives are considered. The iNEG criterion has also played a part since the earliest corpus-based studies – for

example, in Haegeman (1986: 64) and Johansson & Norheim (1988: 27) – but again, there are exceptions such as Crawford (2009: 260).

4.3.2   Identification of mandative clauses

Studies involving mandative clauses are prompted by the regular appearance of the otherwise uncommon present subjunctive in such clauses, which are known to be associated with particular mandative[21] lexical items, or 'triggers'. As a result, most studies start with a list of such triggers and search for the different complements that follow them.

It is important to make clear that although the lists of triggers are made on the basis of their co-occurrence with subjunctives, the items involved should be seen as *mandative* triggers rather than simply subjunctive triggers; subjunctive clauses are just one of the types of mandative clause that they allow. Visser, in the introduction to his long section on subjunctives, makes a similar point:

> From the fact that these modally marked [i.e. subjunctive] forms occur after expressions of volition it should not be inferred that the latter are determinative in this respect. For one thing the units with the modally marked form . . . express the intended modality independently of these introductory expressions . . . The introductory expression does not 'require' a modally marked form of the verb, but is only added to indicate whether the content of the clause is a desire, an advice [*sic*], an exhortation, a command, a suggestion, a request, etc, and to make it clear who it is that utters the desire, command, suggestion, etc. For another, there is the fact that there are numerous examples in which expressions of volition are followed by object clauses with a modally non-marked [i.e. indicative] or zero form of the verb.   (Visser 1963–73: 825)

In light of this, 'trigger' is perhaps not the best term to use, as it implies that something follows more or less automatically; nevertheless, it remains useful as a shorthand term.

Another approach to finding mandative clauses involves reading through whole texts, which is obviously more labour-intensive than searching electronically for trigger words and is impractical when working with anything but small corpora. Nevertheless, such an approach was adopted for some of her study by Övergaard (1995), who read through all of the texts she had collected for her diachronic study of the mandative subjunctive in the twentieth century. One interesting consequence of this is that she claimed to find a number of mandative subjunctives (and other variants) not governed by obvious mandative triggers, or as she puts it, 'the matrix need not contain an explicitly mandative verb/noun for the utterance to have mandative meaning' (1995: 82). Among the examples she gives is (96), her (159):

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[21] Sometimes characterised as 'suasive' (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985: 1182).

(96)   I exploded and told J. that her single priority in my book is that O. <u>be</u> up and dressed and fed a
         decent breakfast to ensure her healthy circulation.

<div align="right"><A90: H1></div>

Here, the subjunctive is licensed by *priority*, which, while not being regularly associated with
subjunctives, seems to me to contain enough deontic force for a mandative interpretation not to be
inappropriate, particularly in the context. Perhaps the most useful point to be drawn from Övergaard's
approach is the importance of the contribution of the context to the overall mandative meaning.[22]
Convincing examples of mandative subjunctives licensed by items with no trace of mandative meaning
are not common. Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1000) offer (97), apparently a real-world example:

(97)   I would stress that people just <u>be</u> aware of the danger.

Yet, for me, *be* here feels more like an imperative than a true subjunctive, though much would depend on
context and intonation, if, as seems likely, it is a spoken example.

When it comes to the practicalities of looking for mandative subjunctives in an electronic corpus,
the trigger approach unsurprisingly remains the most popular one, not only because even in parsed
corpora it is unlikely that all appropriate verb forms will have been consistently marked as subjunctives,
but also because studies are concerned with other variants in the same environment, not just subjunctives
(see Section 4.3.4). Practicality also tends to dictate which triggers are chosen. The list of 30 triggers, as
shown in Table 4.1, in Johansson & Norheim's (1988) ground-breaking study of the mandative
subjunctive in LOB and Brown has been relied on in numerous subsequent studies, principally to enable
easy comparison. Yet there is no explanation of how these triggers were chosen in the first place, and it is
not certain that they are necessarily the most appropriate triggers to use in a study aimed at providing an
accurate picture of the situation in PDE.

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[22] The B-Brown corpus (AmE, 1931) contains an interesting example of this kind, where the trigger for the
mandative subjunctive *be* is 'a good thing': 'We think it a good thing, perhaps, that the correspondents responsible
for influencing or inflaming public opinion here and abroad <u>be</u> given, if it be necessary, a sense of responsibility,
although they would not be here if they had not already achieved that' <B-Brown B23>. (Note also the presence of
a conditional clause containing a present subjunctive.)

Table 4.1. Mandative triggers: Johansson & Norheim (1988).*

Verbs / corresponding nouns

advise	*direct*	*propose* / *-al*	*stipulate*
ask	*insist*	*recommend* / *-ation*	*suggest* /*-ion*
beg	*move*	*request* / *request*	*urge*
demand / *demand*	*order*	*require* / *-ment*	*wish* / *wish*
desire / *desire*			

Adjectives 1‡

essential	*important*	*necessary*	*sufficient*

Adjectives 2‡

anxious

* Based on Table 1 and the list of 'corresponding nouns' in Johansson & Norheim (1988: 28, 29).
‡ With Type 1 adjectives the mandative clause characteristically appears as subject or extraposed subject; with Type 2, it is normally complement within the adjective phrase (see Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 999).

A larger list can be found in Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 999), as displayed in Table 4.2, though the authors make a point of calling it 'a sample' and stressing that 'there can be no question of giving a definitive list of mandative items' (2002: 999). Apart from the additional triggers this list contains, it is notable that three of the items in Johansson & Norheim's list are *not* included – *direct*, *wish* and *sufficient* – presumably on the basis that there is not enough evidence of them being productive mandative items in PDE to warrant inclusion. Slightly oddly, the list does not include *mandatory*, even though it is one of the triggers that feature in the authors' initial explanation of the mandative construction (2002: 995).

Table 4.2. Mandative triggers: Huddleston & Pullum (2002).*

Verbs / corresponding nouns

advise / *advice* †	*decree* / *decree*	*intend* / *-tion*	*request* / *request*
agree / *-ment* †	*demand* / *demand*	*move* / *motion*	*require* / *-ment*
allow †	*desire* / *desire*	*ordain*	*resolve* / *resolve* †
arrange /*-ment*	*determine* / *-ation* †	*order* / *order*	*rule* / *-ing* †
ask	*enjoin*	*pledge* / *pledge*	*stipulate* / *-ation*
beg	*entreat* / *entreaty*	*prefer* / *-ence*	*suggest* /*-ion* †
command / *command*	*insist* / *-ence* †	*propose* / *-al* †	*urge* / *-ing* †
decide / *decision* †	*instruct* / *-ion*	*recommend* / *-ation*	*vote* / *vote*

Adjectives 1‡

advisable	*desirable*	*important* †	*proper*
appropriate †	*essential*	*necessary*	*urgent*
compulsory	*fitting* †	*obligatory*	*vital*
crucial †	*imperative*	*preferable*	

Adjectives 2‡

anxious	*keen*
eager	*willing*
insistent†	

* Based on (14) and (15) in Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 999). Items marked by '†' also readily allow non-mandative content-clause complements.
‡ With Type 1 adjectives the mandative clause characteristically appears as subject or extraposed subject; with Type 2, it is normally complement within the adjective phrase (2002: 999).

The way in which Johansson & Norheim approached mandative nouns has also affected later studies. They listed 'accompanying nouns' for eight of their 17 verbs, and they simply combined the results for those nouns with the figures for the verbs (as several subsequent studies have also done), whereas treating them separately might have offered insights into differences between nominal and verbal predicates. For example, as Huddleston & Pullum point out, in PDE mandative clauses are commonly found after the noun *wish*, but 'are hardly possible with the verb, which takes, rather, a modal preterite' (2002: 999). Also, there are productive accompanying nouns for six of Johansson & Norheim's verbs that were apparently not included in their study: *advice*, *insistence*, *motion*, *order*, *stipulation* and *urging*.

Other approaches have been taken by, for example, Crawford (2009: 261), who combed through numerous sources to come up with a list of 108 triggers, but then restricted his study to the 33 of those triggers that were found with at least one subjunctive in his corpora. This approach may give an accurate picture of mandative subjunctive use in those particular corpora, but it has its limitations if the broader aim is to look at overall complementation in mandative clauses.

If the intention is for the results of a corpus-based study to be comparable with studies involving different varieties or different (relatively recent) periods, it makes sense to use a fixed set of triggers. Yet it is perhaps unfortunate, though understandable, that the fairly restricted Johansson & Norheim list has ended up being used in so many studies.

4.3.3   *Mandative vs non-mandative complements*

As indicated by the symbol '†' in Table 4.2, some of the triggers that are known to license mandative content-clause complements (in which subjunctives can appear) also license non-mandative complements (in which subjunctives cannot appear).[23] Particularly common ones are *insist*, *suggest* and *important*. As a result, a content clause following such a trigger can be ambiguous – if the verb form in the clause is not positively identifiable as a subjunctive – and it is important that any study purporting to consider all the finite variants in mandative clauses should make sure that the non-mandative examples are excluded.

Distinguishing the two uses involves reference to the characteristic meaning of mandative clauses, which involves the subject of the matrix clause expressing an attitude towards the actualisation of

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[23] Those indicated by '†' in Table 4.2 are: *advise/advice*, *agree/agreement*, *allow*, *appropriate*, *crucial*, *decide/decision*, *determine/determination*, *fitting*, *important*, *insist/insistence/insistent*, *propose/proposal*, *resolve*, *rule/ruling*, *suggest/suggestion*, *urge/urging*.

the situation in the content clause. This can be seen in (98), in which the subject of the matrix clause clearly advocates the action in the mandative clause. Example (99) is non-mandative because this time the subject of the matrix clause is simply commenting on the situation in the content clause. The difference is not always so clear in isolated examples, particularly in varieties like BrE in which the indicative is an acceptable option in mandative clauses, but doubt can usually be resolved if there is access to the surrounding context. The tenses of the two verbs involved can also be decisive. For example, if a present-tense matrix verb is followed by a past-tense verb in the content clause, as in (100), it cannot be a mandative clause, because it makes no sense to advocate the actualisation of a situation in the past.

(98)   The doctor suggests that you <u>exercise</u> more regularly.   [mandative]

(99)   The doctor suggests that you <u>exercise</u> too much.   [non-mandative]

(100)   The doctor suggests that you <u>exercised</u> too much.   [non-mandative]

Huddleston & Pullum's succinct summary of the difference between the two types of clause is that 'With mandatives it is a matter of bringing about the situation expressed in the content clause . . . With the non-mandatives, by contrast, it is a matter of the truth of the proposition expressed in the content clause' (2002: 996). Most studies recognise the importance of this difference, but occasionally there is evidence that mandative and non-mandative uses have not been distinguished – e.g. Klein (2009), Crawford (2009) – and the consequence is that potentially misleading results can be produced.

Another aspect of this phenomenon is that many of these mandative/non-mandative triggers are very common. As a result, in BrE, the frequency of one-word indicative forms after *suggest* or *important* in their non-mandative uses may have eased the acceptance of the one-word subjunctive after those triggers in their mandative uses, rather than a two-word construction with a modal such as *should*.

4.3.4   Range of variants in mandative clauses

Most studies look at the two major finite variants within mandative clauses, the subjunctive and *should*, but there are differences in the amount of attention paid to indicatives, non-distinct forms and other modals. A question that is not often seriously considered in studies is whether the non-finite complementation options available to speakers in the same environment should be included.

The indicative variant, as in (101) and (102), is not always taken into account by researchers, possibly because the national variety with which they are most familiar does not easily allow it.

(101)   However, as a contract, College now **insists** that we <u>are</u> in the loop for obtaining College signature.

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(102)   Stephen was swaying as she and Saul stripped off his bloodied clothes; giddily shaved in rusty water, **insisted** that she <u>washed</u> too and <u>brushed</u> her hair with the Jaguar's carpet brush.

<div align="right"><ICE-GB:W2F-015 #72:1></div>

An exception is John Algeo, an AmE speaker, who has paid particular attention to the indicative variant, supplying numerous real-world examples of both present and past indicatives in mandative clauses in more than one study (e.g. 1992; 2006). Often it is ignored as a variant in studies that are predominantly based on AmE. Crawford (2009), for example, compares AmE and BrE corpora, but does not include indicatives, on the grounds that they are very rarely found in AmE. This is understandable, but it could be argued that it does not give a true comparison of the range of options available to speakers of both varieties. Similarly, a number of other studies, though not US-based, restrict the variants under consideration to just the subjunctive and *should* when comparison with AmE results is involved (e.g. Serpollet 2001: 533).[24]

Occasionally, attitudes towards indicatives in mandative clauses move beyond ignoring them to doubting that they are mandative at all. In her discussion of BrE indicatives, particularly those found in instructions, Övergaard states that:

> By using the indicative in these noun clauses rather than the non-inflected or the periphrastic subjunctive, the writer minimizes the volitional element, and the noun clause is turned into an ordinary instruction . . . or a comment or a current fact which may or may not express a personal opinion.   (Övergaard 1995: 63)

I would argue that, although the 'volitional element' in instructions may not be particularly strong, it does not follow that indicatives can never appear in mandative clauses involving greater deontic force. Moessner, on the other hand, seems inclined to take Övergaard's approach one step further by interpreting her comment to mean that the indicative 'cancels or at least minimises the mandative force of the matrix verb' (Moessner 2006: 211).

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[24] The reluctance of some American commentators to treat indicatives as valid variants in mandative clauses can be seen in Bryan Garner's *A Dictionary of Modern American Usage* (1998: 625–626): '[Subjunctives are] worth keeping. Following is some evidence of slippage . . .' Among the examples of 'slippage' that follow are two BrE examples of indicatives in mandative clauses in the *Sunday Times* (*demanding that all British beef comes* and *he suggests that his informant checks*) and one from the (British-based newspaper) the *European* (*France proposes that the EC commits*) – all of them acceptable in BrE and therefore not 'slippages' in any meaningful sense.

Studies vary in their approach to non-distinct forms (which I refer to as NDs), i.e. non-third person singular forms that are not positively identifiable as subjunctives by iST or iNEG (*She suggests that I/you/we/they stay*). Often they are treated as a separate category, but occasionally they have been counted as subjunctives, notably in Övergaard (1995) and Klein (2009). Categorising them in this way obviously has a significant effect on the figures reported for subjunctives, but it is not always clear that subsequent studies show an awareness of this when discussing results from the studies involved. It might be argued that the frequency of NDs is one of the contributing factors in the growing acceptability of the subjunctive: the greater the number of clauses without *should* or other deontic modals that are felt to have mandative force, the lower the expectation for the modality of mandative clauses to be expressed by such modals.

As for modals in general, while a number of studies concentrate on *should*, some also take into account other types, particularly studies looking at diachronic change, e.g. Övergaard (1995) and Peters (1998). In their grammar, Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 996–998) raise the question of whether, in PDE, all clauses containing such modals following mandative triggers are best characterised as mandative, in particular when the modals seem to retain the deontic force they normally display in main clauses. This is discussed in greater detail in Section 4.3.8. However such clauses are analysed, it still seems to me to be justifiable to include them in studies involving mandative clauses, as they are clearly one of the options available to speakers in such contexts.

A number of items that license finite mandative clauses also allow non-finite complementation in which the subject of the non-finite clause is different from that of the matrix clause, so that the meaning conveyed is similar to that of a finite mandative construction. Mostly these are infinitival constructions with an intervening noun phrase, as in *I instructed him to report back as soon as possible*, but gerund-participial constructions are also possible, with or without prepositions, as in *She proposed his leaving before noon* and *They insisted on his returning the company car*, respectively. Non-finite clauses of this type are sometimes mentioned in mandative-related studies (e.g. Haegeman 1986: 69; Nichols 1987: 146; Algeo 1992: 611; Leech et al. 2009: 70), but they are not included among the variants considered. There are practical reasons for this, involving the difficulty of reliably assessing the interchangeability of the various constructions, as Hundt discusses (1998b: 162), but the result is that the possibility of correlations between the various types of complementation remains under-explored. One such correlation has been made by Peters (2009) in her study of the mandative subjunctive in six national varieties. She found that the four triggers most likely to be followed by subjunctives

(*suggest*, *demand*, *recommend*, *move*) all 'belong to the subset which require a *that* clause complement: *demanded that he bring a partner*. The nonfinite construction: **demanded him to bring a partner* is not available' (2009: 131). (See Sections 5.2.17 and 6.5.5 for further discussion of this claim.)

4.3.5   Recognising differences in the underlying models of varieties of English

In the introductory chapter of *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, Quirk et al. talk of a 'common core' of grammatical and other characteristics running through all varieties (1985: 16). In studies looking at syntactic variation, a question that arises is how much of that common core can be assumed to be fixed. On several occasion in this thesis – in the previous section, for example – I draw attention to situations in which assumptions based on underlying preferences in one variety of English have had an effect on judgements involving other varieties, many of them concerning such things as whether the meaning of an example is 'clearer' if a particular variant is used. Sometimes these judgements are conscious, as when the BrE speaker Radford (2009: 108) changed his covert counterpart of *should* to a covert modal because he recognised the different preferences of AmE speakers regarding the use of *should* (see Section 3.4.1); sometimes they appear not to be, as when Crawford (2009: 260) chose not to include indicatives as a mandative variant, even though his study involved BrE (see Sections 4.3.4 and 5.2.13).

Occasionally, studies such as Kjellmer (2009: 251) (see Sections 4.2.9 and 5.2.12) and Schlüter (2009: 295–298) (see Sections 4.2.6 and 5.2.14) rely on the existence of fundamental differences of this kind for explanations of historical developments, but often researchers do not appear to take into account the possibility that variation in basic assumptions – between varieties and over time – can have a profound effect. When Övergaard (1995: 63) states that an indicative 'minimizes the volitional element' in a mandative clause (see Sections 4.3.4 and 5.2.5), she apparently does not conceive of the indicative as being neutral with regard to modality. In doing so, she does not seem to consider that in varieties like my own in which indicatives are not infrequent in mandative clauses, speakers may, as I do, conceive of it in that way. Similarly, Algeo's disagreement with the advice of a British usage guide (Algeo 1992: 602) may partly result from his not fully accepting that the author has a different conception of the meaning of *should* (see Sections 3.4.2 and 5.1.8).

Such underlying differences pose problems for variationist studies of mandative clauses in more than one variety. Following the underlying assumptions of just one variety by, for example, restricting a

study to include only subjunctive and *should* variants (e.g. Leech et al. 2009: 53) can lead to another variety's important variants being under-appreciated. On the other hand, if more variants are included, it is arguably dangerous to assume that in all varieties each variant has the same value, and so care should be taken when analysing results. Nevertheless, it still seems to me that using a broader range of variants – as in my own study in Chapter 6 – offers the possibility of more insight than a restricted range.

4.3.6   Coordinated clauses and collective nouns

There are two small methodological points that have to be taken into consideration when identifying the variants in mandative clauses. One is how to treat coordinated clauses governed by mandative expressions, as in (103) from ICE-GB:

(103)   The technology of hard disk systems **requires** that the disk <u>be</u> spinning at about 3,000 revolutions per minute **and** that the recording heads, which are mounted on long arms, <u>be</u> thrust back and forwards over the disk surface whilst remaining very close to it.

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Johansson & Norheim (1988: 34) count only the first verb if more than one clause follows the trigger. Though it is not always made explicit, subsequent studies seem to have followed this policy, though Hundt has queried whether it always makes the best use of the limited data: 'For the analysis of the range of verbs that are used in the subjunctive, it might be useful to include more than just one subordinate clause' (1998b: 161).

The second point concerns collective nouns like *committee* that are known to allow singular or plural agreement, something about which different national varieties have different preferences, with BrE more likely to allow plural agreement than AmE (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 502). This is obviously crucial in subjunctive-related studies because third person singular subjects play an important role in the identification of subjunctive forms. An example of the problems that can arise is mentioned in Peters (1998: 90), in which (104), one of the sentences in an elicitation test, had to be discounted from further study after it was realised that *committee* 'could take either singular or plural verb in agreement, and so the verb's form "invite" could be either plural indicative or subjunctive' (although it would be identified as a subjunctive by iST).

(104)   The paper **recommended** that the committee <u>invite</u> the local doctor to future meetings.

In some studies, this problem is addressed in the discussion of methodology – Sedlatschek, for example, mentions it in a study involving the mandative subjunctive in Indian English (2009: 282) – but it is not always made clear. It might be argued that decisions should be made based on the context and on the preferences of each national variety regarding nouns like *committee*, yet as there is always the chance of interference caused by the preferences of the national variety of the researcher (see Section 4.3.5), it makes sense to err on the side of caution.

4.3.7   Should *in mandative clauses*

All studies agree that in PDE the modal most often found in mandative clauses is *should*, but, as discussed in Section 3.4.2, occasionally there is a lack of clarity about which type of *should* is to be included, and there are also different approaches to the analysis of this *should*.

To summarise, the question about the type of *should* concerns the difference between what Huddleston & Pullum call 'attitudinal *should*' (2002: 1001) and what I call 'mandative *should*'. Attitudinal *should* is found in clauses governed by items 'expressing various kinds of subjective attitude or evaluation' (2002: 1001–1002), as in the real-world example (105).

(105)   It was **inevitable** that such a principle <u>should</u> arouse criticism.

<LOB G57>

Semantically, such clauses are quite different from mandative clauses. There is no question of a requirement to bring about the situation in the subordinate clause; instead, a comment is made about a proposition. As a result, according to Huddleston & Pullum, this construction 'differs from the mandative in that the *should* clause is not replaceable by a subjunctive' (2002: 1002).

For studies involving the mandative subjunctive, the relevance of this distinction between the two uses of *should* is that, when looking at variation in complementation, it is important to consider only predicates that license subjunctives. Occasionally, however, some predicates of the type that license attitudinal *should* (and not subjunctives) appear to have been included in studies (e.g. Haegeman 1986: 69), which naturally affects the overall results. There is also the possibility that, as discussed in Section 3.4.2, approaches to mandative *should* might be affected by (unacknowledged) different interpretations of its salient meaning – i.e. whether it is semantically bleached or not – by speakers of different national varieties.

4.3.8 Other modals and mandative triggers

Clauses after words that can license mandative complements may contain modals other than *should*, but it can be argued that not all of these are necessarily mandative clauses. Some of the tangled issues surrounding this, which are discussed in depth by Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 996–998), are summarised below.

As mentioned in Section 4.3.3, items such as *insist* and *suggest* allow non-mandative as well as mandative complements. These mon-mandative clauses may contain modal and semi-modal verbs expressing deontic modality, just as clauses licensed by a non-mandative verb such as *say* may do, and the resulting combination can be interpreted as having the same overall meaning as a mandative construction. Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 997) offer example (106), their (9i):

(106)   She insisted that he must/had to wear a hat when he went out.

A general argument they use to support their contention that this does not involve a mandative clause is that *insisted* could be replaced here by *said* or *added* (presumably without significantly changing the meaning). This implies that in this case the deontic aspect of the construction comes directly from the modal verb, rather than from the combination of matrix verb and content clause, and indeed in this example the modal verbs do seem to retain their normal main-clause force. A convincing specific argument they offer is that *had to* in this example could not be replaced by *have to* (whether the matrix verb is past or present) in the same way that an indicative variant in a mandative clause can normally alternate with a subjunctive. So, while the overall interpretation of such examples, which they call 'modalised non-mandatives', is the same as that of a mandative construction, it results from the semantic content of the verb in the content clause rather than from the combination of mandative trigger and content clause. As an analogy, they draw attention to how ordinary declarative clauses not featuring imperatives can be used as directives, as in (107):

(107)   You must/have to wear a hat when you go out.

Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 997) also highlight the fact that other words that normally allow only mandative complements are sometimes found with non-mandative clauses containing other deontic modal verbs, as in (108), their (10i):

(108)   The agreement stipulates that an election must be held next year.

They claim that for these to be acceptable, the deontic force of the modal verb has to be the same as that of the mandative governing item, and clearly *stipulate* and *must* express the same (strong) deontic modality in their example. They describe this in terms of 'modal harmony': 'We will say that a non-mandative is allowed with such items if it is modally harmonic with them' (2002: 998). This seems to be a reasonable claim, but it would be interesting to see whether it applies to all items that allow only mandative complements, or whether there are semantic restrictions.

The third issue that Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 998) discuss concerns how the previous two issues affect the analysis of two kinds of ambiguous mandative clause featuring *should*. The first involves *insist*, which allows both mandative and non-mandative complements. As a result, an example such as (109), their (11iii), is ambiguous.

(109)   They insisted that all murderers should be hanged.

In its mandative interpretation, deontically strong 'mandative' *insist* combines with mandative *should* to have the same meaning as a mandative construction containing a subjunctive, which can be paraphrased as 'They insisted on having all murderers hanged'. In its non-mandative interpretation, 'strong assertion' *insist* combines with *should* in its main-clause use to convey the meaning 'They strongly asserted that they thought all murderers ought to be hanged'. The two meaning are distinct, however, and context is likely to make clear which applies in any given instance.

The second type of ambiguity is more difficult to resolve. It occurs with governing items of medium-strength modality, whether exclusively mandative or not, as in (110), their (11iv):

(110)   They suggested/recommended that we should engage a consultant.

Both governing items are potentially modally harmonic with ordinary, main-clause *should*, so in each case they could be interpreted as being followed by a mandative clause containing mandative *should*, or by a modalised non-mandative clause containing main-clause *should*. The meaning conveyed, however, is essentially the same. Huddleston & Pullum conclude that:

> We probably need to accept that the distinction between a *should*-mandative and a modally harmonic non-mandative is here neutralised; such examples are much more frequent than the clear cases of modal harmony like [*The agreement stipulates that an election must be held next year*], but they are also considerably more frequent, especially in AmE and AusE, than strong *should*-mandatives like [*They demanded that he should be freed*].
> (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 998)

The analysis of such modals is certainly not always easy, often depending on intuition and context, and it is likely that different approaches have been taken in studies involving mandative clauses. Peters, for example, when discussing the range of modals used in her analysis of her Australian corpus from the 1980s (ACE), found that some of the modals expressed strong obligation, some relatively weak, and that the 'choice often correlates with the relative force of the suasive verb . . . Those expressing weaker obligation are sometimes ambiguous as to whether they are being used as a mandative or to express a proposition' (1998: 94).

4.4   Present subjunctive forms in other environments

The other environments in which present subjunctives are found include the more or less fixed phrases or frames that are often called 'formulaics', as well as certain subordinate clauses, such as conditional, exhaustive conditional, concessive and purpose clauses (see Section 2.1). Presumably because they are less common, but perhaps also because strong differences between national varieties have not often been noted, present subjunctives of this type tend not to be the subject of dedicated studies. Instead, they are occasionally included in broader studies of the subjunctive. In this section, I examine some of the studies that *have* touched on other recognised uses, before considering some of the less obvious uses that have received little or no attention.

4.4.1   Formulaic subjunctives

With their more or less fixed nature, formulaics are not obviously suitable for inclusion in elicitation tests, so it is not surprising that they do not feature in such studies. On the other hand, as was shown in Section 3.4.1, they are occasionally used as evidence in debates about whether subjunctive clauses should be categorised as finite or non-finite, on the basis that one of the often-proposed characteristics of a finite clause is that it can stand as an independent clause. In most subjunctive-related studies looking at PDE, however, formulaic subjunctives tend simply to be mentioned in passing. Johansson & Norheim (1988:

31), for instance, pick out four examples from LOB and Brown and comment that they are 'rare in both corpora'. An exception is the study mentioned in Section 4.2.9 by Kjellmer (2009), who proposes a number of features of the language that 'may have paved the way' for the return of the subjunctive in PDE. These features include formulaic subjunctives:

> The old subjunctive had never disappeared completely. It remained in traditional sayings and proverbs, fossilized expressions and in the Bible . . . Speakers can therefore be assumed to have had a certain familiarity with subjunctive forms even if they did not use them themselves. (Kjellmer 2009: 248–249)

4.4.2   Present subjunctives in non-mandative subordinate clauses

According to Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 993), apart from mandatives, the environments in PDE that are still productive as far as the present subjunctive is concerned are exhaustive conditionals, as in (111), and clauses introduced by certain prepositions, as in (112). Subjunctives of this type feature in studies more than formulaics, but some constructions are given greater attention than others.

(111)   The students would keep uh a record of what it is that's going on, <u>whether it be</u> routine mundane day-by-day things or something out of the ordinary.

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(112)   It is right that Mr Baker has chosen the vehicle of a Royal Commission to do the necessary work of examining the structures of that justice **so that** the fundamental issues of adversarial or inquisitorial methods <u>be</u> considered in detachment.

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Both types are covered by Johansson & Norheim (1988). Not surprisingly, the one-million-word LOB and Brown corpora under investigation in their study did not reveal many examples, which prompted them to conclude that: 'The limited evidence does not suggest that there are any major differences between British and American English in the use of base-form subjunctives in adverbial clauses' (1988: 32). The same range of constructions was investigated in the ACE corpus of AusE by Peters (1998), who took Johansson & Norheim as a starting point, but she found even fewer examples (1998: 96). This perceived lack of difference between varieties, combined with the small number of tokens to be found in the standard corpora, perhaps explains why these subjunctives have not received

much attention in subsequent studies.[25] (The development of much bigger corpora such as COHA and COCA would seem to offer the opportunity for more studies of this kind of subjunctive to be undertaken.)

There are exceptions, however, and one of these is what Huddleston & Pullum call 'adversatives': clauses governed by *lest* (or, less commonly and somewhat archaically, *for fear that*). Although *lest* itself is not a particularly common item in PDE, and is relatively formal, they suggest that when it does occur it is 'the only preposition where the subjunctive is the preferred construction' (2002: 1000). This view is supported in Butterfield's recent version of Fowler's *Modern English Usage*, in which the author asserts that '*Lest* is a mainstay of the subjunctive in English', and does not feel it necessary to mention any difference between the varieties (Butterfield 2015: 473). This was apparently not the case throughout the twentieth century, and the evidence seems to suggest a pattern of change not dissimilar to that followed by mandative clauses. Fowler's assessment early in the century was that the 'idiomatic construction after [*lest*] is *should*, or in exalted style the pure subjunctive ([*lest*] *we forget*; [*lest*] *he be angry*)' (1926: 322). From his collection of twentieth-century examples, Jacobsson deduced that in BrE the range of options after the 'somewhat bookish *lest*' (1975: 223) was more varied, including not just subjunctives and *should*, but also indicatives and other modals. Regarding AmE, he reported the assertion in the usage guide by Evans & Evans that in that variety '*lest* is always followed by a subjunctive verb' (1957: 272). Empirical evidence of the situation around 1960 is provided by Johansson & Norheim, who found eight present subjunctives in *lest*-clauses in the AmE Brown corpus and none at all in the LOB corpus (1988: 32). This is reflected in Quirk et al.'s assessment that *lest* with a subjunctive is possible, but that it is 'more current in AmE' (1985: 158).

A dedicated study by Auer (2008) draws on historical corpora to look at complementation patterns after *lest* from Early Modern English to the end of the twentieth century. Because of the relatively small size of the corpora, not many tokens were found, but the results of the study show that from 1570 to 1700 the subjunctive was the predominant choice, with no examples after that. To investigate the reports of an increase in the twentieth century, the author looked at the texts from the 1960s in LOB and Brown, finding the same number of instances of *lest* with the subjunctive as Peters (1998: 97): eight in the American corpus and none in the British. She also examined the 1990s texts in F-LOB and Frown, finding five instances in the American corpus and one in the British, which did not

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[25] Non-mandative uses of the present subjunctive have been looked at in far more detail with regard to earlier stages of English – e.g., Moessner (2005), Auer (2006) and Grund & Walker (2006) – and it could be argued that studies of broader developments in subjunctive use in lME, in particular, throw light on the developments of the mandative subjunctive in the twentieth century that have received so much attention.

amount to convincing evidence of a revival. But the much bigger BNC corpus, containing BrE texts from 1960 to 1994, supplied 411 instances of *lest*, including 185 with third person singular subjects that made it possible to assess the choice between subjunctive, indicative and modal complementation options. Of these 185, the majority (59.4 per cent) featured present subjunctives and 35.7 per cent featured modals, with only 4.9 per cent featuring indicatives (2008: 156). Auer took these findings to support Huddleston & Pullum's assessment of the subjunctive as the 'preferred option' in PDE (2002: 1000), and came to the conclusion that, like the mandative subjunctive, the subjunctive after *lest* was re-established in the twentieth century first in AmE and later in BrE (Auer 2008: 166).

Algeo has also pointed out that there has been a change in the relative frequency of the word *lest* itself in BrE and AmE: 'In the mid twentieth century, *lest* was apparently 5 times more frequent in American English than in British, the ratio in the Brown and LOB corpora being 17:3. CIC [Cambridge International Corpus], however, now shows *lest* to be actually more frequent in British use than in American. It has 53.7 iptmw in British texts, mainly fiction, and 32.6 in American texts, mainly academic' (2006: 202).

4.4.3   *Present subjunctives in past subjunctive environments*

Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1002–1004) list four environments in which modal preterites and past subjunctives are regularly found in PDE: (1) remote conditionals (which include clauses introduced by not only *if* but also *provided*, *as/so long as*, *on condition*, *assuming*, *supposing*, *in the event* and *in case*); (2) complements licensed by *wish*; (3) complements licensed by *would rather/sooner/as soon*; (4) complements licensed by *it BE time* (*that*). In this section, I present some evidence that *present* subjunctives can also be found in the last two environments, particularly in AmE, despite there being little reference to this in recent grammars.

4.4.3.1   <u>*It's time*</u>

The construction with *it BE time* (*that*) is mentioned by Quirk et al., but only in a footnote. Referring to the example repeated here as (113), they point out that the '*were*-subjunctive cannot replace the

hypothetical past in constructions introduced by *It's time* (*that*)' (1985: 1013), a judgement that is also made by James (1986: 83–84).[26]

(113)   It's **time** I <u>was</u> in bed.

As mentioned in Section 2.2, this claim is challenged to some extent by Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1004) when they state that the construction 'hardly allows an irrealis', supplying (114), a rare example from a British newspaper, before adding (without specifying in which variety) that examples 'are also occasionally found of mandative *should* or a present tense instead of the modal preterite' (2002: 1004). By 'present tense' they seem to mean indicative, and there is no mention of the possibility of a present subjunctive form in this environment.

(114)   It's **high time** the true cost of the monarchy <u>were</u> pointed out.

Early evidence that the situation in AmE is not being adequately accounted for in such descriptions comes from American linguist George Curme, who includes a present subjunctive as the first of four possibilities after *it BE time* (*that*): '"It is high time that he *go*' (or more modestly *went*, or *were going*, or *should go*)' (1931: 405). More recently, Jacobsson states that, while the modal preterite is normal in PDE, in 'rather more formal English the present subjunctive is still usable' (1975: 222–223), before supplying three clear present subjunctive examples from recent AmE sources, including (115), his (5):

(115)   It is **time** that the present director no longer <u>be</u> the director.

<div align="right">(Time, 4 April 1971)</div>

Evidence based on a little more data comes in a book by Algeo surveying differences between AmE and BrE (2006: 257). He presents four possibilities in PDE content-clause complements after *it BE time*: modal preterites, present subjunctives, present indicatives and a construction with *should*. In support, he reports the findings of a small study using AmE and BrE texts from the Cambridge International Corpus, which indicate that the ratio in the BrE texts of 'preterit to nonpreterit verbs' was 8:1, while that in the AmE texts was 1:2. This seems to show that AmE uses a wider range of complements in this environment, but exactly what proportion of those is made up of present subjunctives is not clear.

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[26] Jespersen supplies an example that shows that this was not necessarily true at the end of the nineteenth century: 'It is high time that the omission were supplied' (1931: 123). The example is from R. L. Stevenson's *The Merry Men* (1887). More recently, Jacobsson claims that although 'subjunctive *were* is still possible in sentences like *It's time he were gone*, the indicative form *was* is now preferred' (1975: 222).

More solid corpus-based evidence for the range of options available in this environment in AmE is supplied by an earlier study by Lavelle & Minugh (1998), which used large corpora of newspaper writing from the 1990s to investigate complementation after *high time* in three national varieties: AmE, BrE and AusE.[27] They found that modal preterites were strongly favoured in BrE and AusE newspapers, appearing in 93 per cent and 88 per cent of the relevant clauses, respectively. The proportion of present indicatives (or at least non-distinct forms) was 6 per cent for BrE and 9 per cent for AusE, with just a few distinctive present subjunctives found: two for BrE (1 per cent) and one for AusE (3 per cent). For AmE, the proportion of modal preterites was significantly lower, at 60 per cent, and the proportions of present indicatives (31 per cent) and present subjunctives (9 per cent) correspondingly higher (1998: 224).[28] With such a low-frequency construction, large corpora (of more than 35 million words each) were required to provide sufficient data, but the evidence of present subjunctive and present indicative use in this environment in AmE – as in (116), found in the *OED* (s.v. *freedom*), and (117) and (118), from COHA – suggests that further investigation could be worthwhile, particularly if other variations such as *it be time*/*it be about time*/*it be past time* are included:[29]

(116)   It's **high time** we <u>take</u> back our country . . . from the fear-mongering, freedom-hating neocon criminals who have hijacked the Republican Party.

(*OED*, *Anchorage Daily News*, 7 July 2007)

(117)   It's **about time** the secretary of state position <u>be</u> considered for restructuring.

<COHA, 2002, *Chicago Tribune*>

(118)   It's **about time** I <u>start</u> to look like a grown-ass man.

<COHA, 2002, *Is the bitch dead, or what?*>

4.4.3.2   *I'd rather*

The evidence regarding use of the present subjunctive with *would/'d rather* is not as strong, and recent reference grammars do not include it as an option. Quirk et al. treat *would/'d rather* as one of their 'hypothesis verbs', alongside *wish* and *suppose*, which 'may be followed by a *that*-clause containing a verb in the hypothetical past or the *were*-subjunctive' (1985: 1183). Huddleston & Pullum have it only in

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[27] Note that other variations – such as *it BE time*/*it BE about time*/*it BE past time* – were not included.

[28] Though the possibility of clauses containing *should* in this environment is acknowledged in the study (Lavelle & Minugh 1998: 216), it is not clear whether such clauses are included in their figures.

[29] Native-speaker-intuition-based support for the existence of the present subjunctive and present indicative as viable options in this environment can be found in the comments on two blogposts on Language Log by Geoffrey Pullum (2009) and Arnold Zwicky (2009).

combination with a modal preterite and past subjunctive (2002: 148, 1003–1004, 1128), and in the student textbook version of their grammar actually state that with *would rather* 'the modal preterite is grammatically obligatory' (2005: 47).

Evidence that this may not be the case in AmE – though the examples used are artificial rather than from a corpus – is provided by Givón (1993: 276), who claims that there is a subtle difference between (119) and (120), his (94a) and (94b), concerning the uncertainty of the speaker and the resistance of the subject of the content clause:

(119)   I'd **rather** she <u>go</u> somewhere else.

(120)   I'd **rather** she <u>went</u> somewhere else.

(121)   I'd **rather** she not <u>come</u>.

(122)   I'd **rather** that she (*<u>should</u>) <u>be</u> there with you.

As a BrE speaker, I have to say that I find (119) of borderline acceptability, and the same applies to (121), Givón's (91e). When Radford, another BrE speaker, discusses (122), his (47), he suggests that the version with *should* is not acceptable to him (2009: 109), thereby implying that the version without *should*, involving a present subjunctive, *is* acceptable, but again for me this does not feel natural. Nevertheless, the fact that corpus examples such as (123)–(125) are reasonably easily found suggests that the Givón and Radford examples may not be unrepresentative, at least of AmE, and that further investigation, using very large corpora such as COCA, would be worthwhile.

(123)   'Would you **rather** that a kid <u>resell</u> shoes, or sell drugs?' 'I'd rather he <u>stand</u> in line and sell shoes.'

<div align="right"><COCA 2012, Associated Press></div>

(124)   'From what I know right now, if it were my kid, I think I'd **rather** he <u>get</u> the vaccine than chicken pox,' Dr. Orenstein said.

<div align="right"><COCA 1993, *New York Times*></div>

(125)   I am as small as she is when it comes to this, but I would **rather** she not <u>know</u>, so I do not talk at all.

<div align="right"><COCA 1990, *TriQuarterly*></div>

4.5 Past subjunctives

This section addresses some of the main issues that arise in studies involving the past subjunctive. After discussing the general assumption that the choice between subjunctive *were* and indicative *was* is associated with levels of formality, I look at two other factors affecting the choice that have been put forward in studies: differences in remoteness of possibility and the placing of stress. I then consider some of the assumptions that have been made about 'hypercorrect' uses of *were* and question the approach of some recent studies.

4.5.1 The formal option?

With past subjunctives, the topic normally investigated in recent studies is the choice between *were* and *was* after first and third person singular subjects in remote conditionals and other hypothetical environments. This represents the use of the subjunctive in PDE that speakers are most likely to be aware of if they are aware of the concept of the subjunctive at all, and it is something that features regularly in usage guides, with *were* normally recommended for more formal writing.

The relevance of formality seems to be supported by the findings of the British-based Attitudes to English Usage survey by Mittins et al. at the end of the 1960s, which included the sentence *They would accept this if it was offered* as one of the 55 items sent to its 500 informants. The authors' assessment was that 'Though our respondents were conspicuously tolerant of "if it was" in Informal Speech (77 per cent acceptance), they were very much less so (21 per cent) at the other extreme, Formal Writing' (1970: 75).

The major reference grammars come to the same conclusion. Quirk et al. (1972: 748) state that 'both the indicative and subjunctive forms are possible for hypothetical conditions, the subjunctive being preferred in formal written English.' In Quirk et al.'s later grammar there are a number of references to the connection between *was/were* and formality (1985: 158, 1013, 1094), but there is also a comment that is perhaps revealing about perceptions of the subjunctive at the time: 'The *were*-subjunctive may be regarded as a fossilised inflection: it is nowadays a less usual alternative to the hypothetical past indicative' (1985: 158). An echo of that thought may also be seen in the assessment that 'irrealis *were* is an unstable remnant of an earlier system' by Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 88), who also ascribe the choice between *was* and *were* to formality (2002: 86, 151).

Unlike the situation with the mandative subjunctive, possible differences between the major national varieties of English regarding the use of the past subjunctive do not feature in the grammars.

Algeo (1988), on the other hand, does look into the question, as part of a survey of grammatical differences between AmE and BrE based on his own collection of texts and reference to corpora including LOB, Brown and the SEU. His assessment is that in BrE the use of indicative *was* rather than subjunctive *were* 'is still regarded as a bit substandard . . . but it seems to occur with greater freedom in edited use than one would expect in American' (1988: 21).

The corpus-based study by Johansson & Norheim (1988) that confirmed the difference between BrE and AmE with regard to the mandative subjunctive also looked at the past subjunctive, but the authors did not find evidence of a significant difference in preferences in the LOB and Brown corpora.[30] There was also no evidence to support Quirk et al.'s claim that the past subjunctive 'is nowadays a less usual alternative to the hypothetical past indicative' (1985: 158). Johansson & Norheim instead found that in their corpora 'the *were*-subjunctive is clearly the dominant choice in hypothetical-conditional clauses and in clauses introduced by *as if* and *as though*' (1988: 34), though they recognised that their texts were from 1961 and wondered whether Quirk et al.'s (1985) assessment reflected a change in usage in the intervening period (which might also be supported by the comments from Algeo above).

The same possibility is considered by Peters (1998) in a study looking at evidence of subjunctive use in ACE, a million-word corpus of AusE texts from the mid-1980s: i.e. 25 years later than the texts in LOB and Brown. Comparing her results with the Johansson & Norheim figures for those corpora, she noted a much lower use of the past subjunctive in hypothetical-conditional constructions in AusE than in both other varieties.[31] Evidence that the time difference might be playing a part in this – representing a 'substantial shift away from the use of *were* subjunctives' (1998: 100) – was provided by Peters's 1993 elicitation test involving readers of *Australian Style*. When the results were correlated with the age of the informants, it was found that they were 'very clearly graduated as to age . . . The implication is that whatever the current level of subjunctive use in conditional clauses, it is likely to decrease with the next generation' (1998: 100).

To see if there was evidence of this suggested diachronic change in BrE and AmE, Leech et al. (2009) looked at data from Brown/LOB and Frown/F-LOB. This showed that in the 30 years between the two sets of corpora, there had been a marked decrease in the use of subjunctive *were* in BrE,

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[30] While the figures for *were* in conditional/hypothetical clauses were similar – Brown 113, LOB 126 – there was a greater difference between the figures for *was* – Brown 45, LOB 113. Or, as Leech et al. put it later when commenting on these figures: 'In terms of the overall frequency of forms, the *were*-subjunctive was more frequent in LOB, but relative frequencies of subjunctive *were* and indicative *was* suggest that AmE is the more conservative variety' (2009: 62).

[31] The comparable figures for *were* v *was* are: ACE 48:77, Brown 113:45, LOB 126:74 (based on Peters 1998: 99).

but no significant change in AmE. In terms of relative frequency of *were* vs *was*, the *were* proportion in BrE dropped from 63.3 per cent in LOB to 51.9 per cent in F-LOB, whereas in AmE it remained steady at 73.4 per cent in Brown and 73.7 per cent in Frown. The recent completion of the B-LOB and B-Brown corpora of texts from 1931 has allowed the diachronic picture to be extended. In a forthcoming study by Hundt & Gardner the corresponding figures for *were* of 80.4 per cent in B-LOB and 83.4 per cent for B-Brown suggest to the authors that 'we are actually dealing with a divergent development in BrE and AmE': i.e. in BrE, a decrease in the use of subjunctive *were* over the course of the twentieth century; in AmE, a slight decrease followed by a levelling-off.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the choice between subjunctive *were* and indicative *was* is often put down to formality, and with this in mind, Leech et al. (2009) looked more deeply into their data from F-LOB and Frown to establish whether the fall in the use of subjunctive *were* meant that the remaining instances were found primarily in formal environments. This did not turn out to be the case, however. Unlike with the mandative subjunctive, there was no association of the *were*-subjunctive with the passive, and they took the relative frequency of the form in the Fiction subcorpora – a genre 'that, otherwise, is more open to colloquial usages' (2009: 66) – to indicate that it was not restricted to formal text types. But it seems to me that there is a danger in equating the differing perceptions of correctness in different genres with formality. One of the text types in which subjunctive *were* was notably more common in Frown than in F-LOB was Press (which supports the comment of Algeo (1988: 21) quoted above), whereas it was relatively common in both varieties in Fiction. Rather than being tied simply to formality, this may indicate that American editors in both newspapers and book publishing maintain fairly strict ideas of correctness regarding the use of the subjunctive, whereas editors in the two British industries may take different approaches, though there is not sufficient data from F-LOB and Frown to prove this one way or the other.

4.5.2 *Other reasons for choosing between* was *and* were

Occasionally, other explanations for the choice between subjunctive *were* and indicative *was* are proposed. One involves different levels of remoteness of possibility. This is occasionally implied in the recommendations of usage guides. For example, the advice in the British *Chambers Common Errors in English* reads: 'When the situation is a likely or possible one, use **was**: . . . *If she was here, she could fix it*' (Marriott & Farrell 1992: 50). The comments from two American guides, *The ABC of Style: A Guide*

to Plain English and *The New York Public Library Writer's Guide to Style and Usage*, respectively, convey the same message:

> The textbooks say you should say *were* instead of *was* in *if* clauses dealing with a 'condition contrary to fact.' But the textbooks are wrong. The current idiom uses either *were* or *was* for conditions contrary to fact, *depending on whether the idea is being suggested or ruled out*. If you ask the reader to imagine something as true, write *was*; if you ask him to dismiss it as impossible, write *were*.   (Flesch 1964: 293; italic as original)

> If the information in such a clause points out a condition that is or was probable or likely, the verb should be in the indicative mood. The indicative tells the reader that the information in the dependent clause could possibly be true[:] If she *was* the boss, this office *would* run smoothly. (There is a possibility that she could become the boss some day.)   (Sutcliffe 1994: 155)

Jespersen (1933) makes a similar point, though specifically about a possible difference between *was to* and *were to*, rather than generally about *was* and *were*:

> A distinction is often made between *if he was to* (with an infinitive) and *if he were to*. The former retains the meaning of obligation or arrangement that is found in 'he is to return at six,' while the latter has lost that meaning and indicates merely a vague possibility in the future, nearly the same thing as *if he should*. . .
> > If I was to be shot for it I wouldn't tell.
> > If he were to call, tell him to wait.   (Jespersen 1933: 256)

The possibility that there might be something behind such opinions was investigated in an elicitation test by Quirk & Rusiecki (1982: 388–389). Hypothesising that one of the influencing factors could be 'relative degrees of hyperbole', they prepared the following sentences to test this: (i) *After all, it's not as if he —— a devil with horns*; (ii) *After all, it's not as if he —— drunk every night*. They found that, faced with a forced choice between *was* and *were*, 45 of their 68 informants chose *were* for sentence (i), which was deemed to be the most unlikely, thus confirming their expectations. Another way of interpreting this result, however, is to say that the sentences represent two subtypes of remote conditional clauses: (i) being counterfactual, (ii) merely hypothetical. The result therefore could be seen to indicate that subjunctive *were* is more likely to be used in counterfactual conditionals.

Jespersen (1933) also mentions another factor that may play a part in the choice between *was* and *were*: the idea that it is more natural to place stress on *was*.

> It may be a consequence of the more colloquial tone of *was* that it is decidedly better adapted for emphatic use than *were*, and is therefore preferred in negative statements.
>> The captain says he wishes I were black; I wish I was (Marryat).
>> I wish it wasn't Sunday to-day.
>> You speak as if there wasn't enough for all of us.
> Macaulay, who generally uses the form *were*, writes with stress on *was*:
>> It was not impossible that there might be a counterrevolution, and it was certain that, if there *was* a counterrevolution, those who had lent money to William would lose both interest and principal.   (Jespersen 1933: 256)

Intuitively, in BrE at least, my impression is that there seems to me to be something in this, but it is more likely to come into play in speech rather than writing and so it is not surprising that it has not received attention in studies involving written corpora.

4.5.3   Were *and hypercorrection*

In studies involving the past subjunctive, an issue that arises, under a number of different names, concerns environments in which subjunctive *were* is deemed to be being used incorrectly instead of indicative *was*. The two areas that are normally involved were both addressed by Fowler in the 'Arrivals' section of his entry on the subjunctive in *Modern English Usage*. The first concerns the use of *were* in past contexts: '*Were* (sing.) is, then, a recognizable subjunctive, and applicable not to past facts, but to present or future non-facts; it is entirely out of place in an *if*-clause concerned with past actualities and not answered by a *were* or *would be* in the apodosis' (1926: 576). The second concerns its use in indirect questions, particularly those in which *whether* and *if* are interchangeable: 'Latin grammar is perhaps also responsible for the notion that indirect question requires the subjunctive. There is no such requirement in English . . . but again such subjunctives may be found in older writers' (1926: 577).

Quirk et al. (1985: 158) draw attention to the same two phenomena, pointing out 'the occasional occurrence of a hypercorrect "pseudo-subjunctive" *were*' in their real-world examples (126) and (127):

(126)   The pilot appeared to deviate from his flight path to minimize the danger to people living in the town; but if this <u>were</u> his intention, he failed to communicate it to the control tower.

(127)   It was difficult to tell whether the language <u>were</u> Semitic or Indo-European.

Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 87) include these perceived misuses in a section on 'Extended uses of irrealis *were*', and offer some explanations. For their example involving an indirect question, [%]*She phoned to ascertain whether he were dining at the Club*, which they describe in terms of 'backshift in a

closed interrogative', they suggest that 'This construction allows *if* in place of *whether* . . . and this can be seen as providing a link to the central uses of irrealis *were*' (2002: 87). For their example involving a past-time context (%*If he were surprised, he didn't show it*), their view is that '*Were* here clearly has something of the character of a "hypercorrection": prescriptive grammar used to insist on *were* rather than *was* in modal remoteness constructions, and this may have led to the avoidance of *was* in certain neighbouring constructions' (2002: 87). As is indicated by the '%' symbol that Huddleston & Pullum insert, the acceptability or otherwise of such examples is not fixed, however, nor is there universal agreement about exactly which uses of subjunctive *were* are not 'correct'.

At the beginning of the 1960s, strong views about the topic were aired in two articles in the journal *American Speech* by William Ryan (1961; 1962), who characterised the perceived misuses as examples of 'pseudo-subjunctive' *were*. The many examples he supplied, all taken from publications from the previous twenty-five years, can be broken down into the two broad classes suggested by Fowler: past-time-related conditionals and indirect questions (introduced by *whether* or *if*).

The reasons behind the identification of subjunctive *were* in indirect questions as a misuse are fairly self-evident. In an example that Ryan (1961: 50) takes from Henry Miller's *Sunday After the War* (1944) – 'As we were going through the immigration formalities the officer asked me jokingly if I were *the* Henry Miller' – it's clear that the original question would have been something along the lines of 'Are you *the* Henry Miller' and so, by the normal rules of backshift, one would expect this to be reported as '. . . asked me jokingly if I was *the* Henry Miller'. The picture with past-time-related conditionals is not so straightforward. First, there are past-time environments in which subjunctive *were* is generally deemed appropriate, such as after *as if*. In Ryan's example –'He acted as if he were crazy' (1961: 48) – *were* is presumably considered acceptable because he wasn't crazy and, if brought forward into the present, 'He is acting as if he were crazy' would be an unobjectionable remote conditional.[32] Second, Ryan's examples of past-time uses that are often considered unacceptable, on the basis that they are not contrary to fact, predominantly fall into two groups. The first group includes conditionals in which the apodosis features the 'habitual' use of *would*,[33] such as his example 'if my aunt were feeling "upset," she would ask instead for her "tisane"' (1961: 50), which, if brought forward to the present, corresponds to an open (not remote) conditional, with an apodosis containing the habitual use of *will*: *If my aunt is feeling upset, she'll ask*

[32] In his *ABC of Plain Words*, Gowers considers that subjunctive *were* is acceptable with '*as if* and *as though*, if the hypothesis is not accepted as true, thus: He spoke of his proposal as if it were a complete solution of the difficulty' (1951: 131).

[33] This is the past-time use of *would* described by Huddleston & Pullum in terms of 'propensity' (2002: 197).

instead for her tisane. The second group includes non-habitual examples such as 'If I were going to be wrecked by giddiness that day, I might as well know now' (Ryan 1962: 117), which, if brought forward to the present, again corresponds to an open conditional: *If I am going to be wrecked by giddiness today, I may as well know now*.

But are the 'errors' Ryan complains about as clear-cut as he suggests? And are some studies that otherwise take a descriptive approach too quick to discount examples that some would categorise as hypercorrect? As Huddleston & Pullum mention, and as Ryan's plentiful examples show, such examples are 'found in the writings of highly prestigious authors' (2002: 87). A less judgemental view is put forward by Jacobsson, who devotes several pages of his study of the modern English subjunctive to the points raised in Ryan's articles (1975: 225–230):

> [T]here seems to be nothing to prevent a speaker or writer from referring to what are undoubted facts by using subjunctive *were* with past-time reference . . . It would be a mistake to believe that subjunctive *were* is confined to the function of expressing rejected condition or unfulfilled wish. As has been pointed out by Poutsma and others before and after him, *were* is frequently found also in clauses of open condition.   (Jacobsson 1975: 225)[34]

Jacobsson subsequently supplies dozens of examples from well-known post-war British and American writers[35] that demonstrate the use of subjunctive *were* both in *if*-clauses with past-time reference and in embedded interrogative clauses, suggesting that the 'writers quoted above would probably have been surprised to learn that the pseudo-subjunctive is the "last refinement or perversion of English" and that those who make use of it are "overcautious but undertaught"' (1975: 227). Highlighting the difference between prescriptive and descriptive approaches, he points out that 'it does not occur to Ryan that the frequency of examples like those listed above may be due to a desire on the part of the writer to express shades of meaning not conveyed by the corresponding indicative form' (1975: 227).

In his analysis of possible shades of meaning in the 'habitual' past-time examples, as in (128), his (37), Jacobsson finds that they describe 'what would normally happen if or when a certain condition

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[34] The Poutsma comment Jacobsson refers to is 'In the case of the time-sphere being the past, the preterite subjunctive takes the place of the present, but its employment is more limited than the latter, *were* being apt to raise a notion of rejected condition and suggesting an apodosis with a conditional. Sweet [(1898: 110)] even goes so far as to say "the sequence of tenses in *if he were here, I did not see him* makes nonsense". This may apply to this particular sentence, but it must certainly not be inferred from Sweet's statement that the preterite subjunctive is particularly rare in conditional clauses of open condition' (Poutsma 1926: 189). Among Poutsma's examples are the following: *Our folly, if it were folly, was expiated by the foolish Emperor at Sedan* (Robert Williams Buchanan, *That Winter Night*, 1886); *The dispute ended in the guard assuring the passengers that they should have seats in a heavy coach which would pass that spot in less than half an hour, providing it were not full* (Walter Scott, *The Heart of Midlothian*, 1818); *What a set they were . . . not a sportsman amongst the lot, unless it were George* (John Galsworthy, *The Man of Property*, 1906).

[35] These include Saul Bellow, Kingsley Amis, Iris Murdoch, John Braine, Anthony Powell, John Updike, William Faulkner, Doris Lessing and Graham Greene (Jacobsson 1975: 226–228).

was fulfilled' and that in this context 'were has a generalizing force' (1975: 229).[36] The majority of the other past-time examples he labels 'non-committal' or 'potential' (1975: 227), as in (129), his (25), in which he suggests the speaker is reluctant to commit to the truth of the proposition.

(128)   Eating our toffee, we would then, if the weather <u>were</u> fine, take a train to the Grünewald.

(Stephen Spender, 1951, *World Within World*, 125)

(129)   If it <u>were</u> so, Mrs Egan didn't seem to notice.

(Angus Wilson, 1964, *Late Call*, 235)

Regarding the use of subjunctive *were* in embedded interrogative clauses, Jacobsson points out that 'Conditional and interrogative clauses have a number of syntactic features in common, and it should come as no surprise, therefore, to learn that subjunctive *were* is fairly common in indirect questions' (1975: 230). Again, he demonstrates this with several examples from well-known writers, such as (130), his (58),[37] before listing scores of others who 'have felt no compunction about using "pseudo-subjunctive" *were* in dependent questions' (1975: 230).

(130)   He tried not to consider whether he <u>were</u> responsible.

(Norman Mailer, 1948, *The Naked and the Dead*, 39)

Support for Jacobsson's defence of hypercorrect *were* is occasionally found in usage guides. For example, *The Oxford Guide to English Usage* suggests that it conveys an important nuance: '*Were* may also be used in dependent questions, where there is doubt of the answer, e.g. *Hilliard wondered whether Barton were not right after all* (Susan Hill)' (Weiner & Hawkins 1984: 183).

So how, then, have recent studies involving subjunctive *were*/indicative *was* treated the question of pseudo-subjunctive *were*? It is not specifically mentioned by Johansson & Norheim, though their results include figures for *were* after '*if* (=*whether*)' (1988: 33), which suggests that they were not excluded. Peters mentions that she found some examples of *were* 'in clauses where *if* is a synonym for *whether*', taking this to indicate that 'for some Australians (as for British) there is a lingering awareness of formal rules about the use of the *were* subjunctive' (1998: 97). In their diachronic study of the past subjunctive in the Brown family of corpora, Leech et al. discuss Ryan (1961) and in the explanation of

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[36] Palmer's comment on this type of example is that here '*If* seems to have the sense of "whenever"' (1988: 153).

[37] It is notable that almost all the writers Jacobsson refers to are novelists. It may be that the need to convey the thought processes of characters in fiction makes it a particularly suitable genre for the use of the subjunctive to convey 'shades of meaning'.

their methodology make clear that they excluded examples featuring the indirect-question type of pseudo-subjunctive (2009: 63–64). A footnote in a later section discussing their results seems to suggest that they also addressed the past-time type, though it's not clear if they were excluded from the overall figures or not: 'Interestingly, instances of hypercorrect *were* in non-counterfactual *if*-clauses have remained fairly stable in the American corpora (3 in Brown and 4 in Frown), whereas they have completely disappeared in the 1990s BrE corpus (LOB still has 3 instances)' (2009: 69). The footnote comes within a discussion of the possibility that one reason for the greater use of *were* in AmE is that 'Americans may be more susceptible to prescriptive influence in this area of language use' (2009: 68). They claim that support for this comes from 'the fact that hypercorrect usage has been commented on in America but not Great Britain' (2009: 69). Unfortunately, this argument is undermined by the fact that, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, the hypercorrect uses of *were* were discussed in some detail by Fowler in the most influential British usage guide of the twentieth century (1926: 576–577).

4.6   Conclusion

After exploring the reasons behind the growing interest in the subjunctive, in this chapter I have introduced the most important topics that have been investigated in the recent studies that are analysed in more detail in Chapter 5. I have also drawn attention to some topics that seem to be under-explored, including (1) past subjunctives in environments other than conditional clauses, such as wishes; (2) present subjunctives in environments in which past subjunctives are more usually found, such as after *had rather* and *it's time*. As for methodology, I have drawn attention to some areas in which decisions might have had unfortunate effects in previous studies. Regarding the past subjunctive, one of these involves the automatic acceptance of examples that are considered to be hypercorrect. Issues that have affected research into the mandative subjunctive include (1) the range of triggers used and the reliance on the list from Johansson & Norheim (1988); (2) the reuse of Johansson & Norheim's results in later studies, despite the likelihood that their interpretation of iST differs from that of later studies.

5

English subjunctive studies: a critical analysis

In this chapter I present a detailed reassessment of the most important studies involving aspects of

the present and past subjunctive in PDE that have been published since the 1960s. My overall objective

is to provide a new perspective for future research in this field by questioning some of the accepted

approaches. In addition to commenting on significant findings, I focus on the methodological issues that

were introduced in the previous chapter, some of which, I argue, have had unfortunate consequences

for later studies. One of the general problems I have identified results from the way in which one study

often relies too heavily, and trustingly, on the results of a preceding study. In order to illustrate this as

clearly as possible, I have presented my analysis in chronological order, rather than thematically, which

I felt might have obscured some of the developments. The first section concerns non-corpus-based

studies; the second, corpus-based studies.

5.1   Non-corpus-based studies

Among studies that were carried out before the establishment of widely available electronic corpora of

sufficient size for such a low-frequency item as the subjunctive, there are two of particular importance for

later work, by Wayne Harsh (1968) and Bengt Jacobsson (1975), both drawing on privately collected

data. There were also a number of studies that relied on elicitation techniques for their data.

5.1.1 *Harsh (1968):* The Subjunctive in English

Harsh's 1968 monograph is of interest to current researchers for two reasons. First, it offers a clear account of some of the confusing ways in which the subject had been tackled up to that point, highlighting the problems that arise from basing accounts of PDE on Latin grammar; second, it presents an investigation into the historical development of the subjunctive in written English from OE to the present day that is thorough within the practical limitations of its time. In doing so, it also provides an illustration of some of the difficulties faced by researchers before the establishment of representative, balanced corpora, because each of the four studies it contains – three diachronic, one synchronic – employs a different technique, with its own advantages and drawbacks (as Harsh acknowledges).

The central diachronic study is a comparison of one passage from the New Testament in six different translations, ranging from OE to PDE. The obvious benefit of using the same passage is that it allows an assessment of the range of syntactic variants employed in the same environments at different periods. However, one problem with evidence taken from translations is that the influence of the foreign-language original, and of preceding translations, cannot be discounted. Furthermore, in the case of the Bible, the nature of the text means that the style does not necessarily reflect the standard English of its time, with the King James Version acknowledged by Harsh to be 'deliberately archaic' (1968: 55).

This style problem is avoided in the second study, of secular texts, in which a sample from the twelfth-century *Peterborough Chronicle* is compared with a translation from 1953, and two samples from the fourteenth-century *Canterbury Tales* are compared with a 1931 translation. This again has the benefit of comparing like with like, but at only two points in time. The third diachronic study looks at samples from dramatic texts from ten time points, dating from 1430 to 1961, including American texts for the last four. While this provides a fuller picture of diachronic development, the different styles and subjects involved in that number of plays present problems of representativeness and comparability. Similar difficulties are encountered in the single synchronic study, in which the aim is to investigate dialectal variation by comparing samples of prose and poetry from each of the five ME dialects (no clear pattern was found).

As is the case in most subsequent studies, Harsh takes a formal approach to the identification of subjunctives in PDE, drawing on Zandvoort (1957: 86–89). In his survey of previous work in the area, he describes the battle between notional and formal approaches over the years, before making his own position clear: 'Certainly, as Fowler observed, no subjunctive paradigm can properly be said to exist in present-day English' (1968: 35). In his analysis of PDE texts, only instances of *were* with first and third

person singular subjects are categorised as past subjunctives, and he follows Zandvoort (1957: 89) (and Visser 1963–73: 761) in using the term 'modal preterite' for other verbs. For the present subjunctive, his criteria are restricted to iNO-S and iBE (1968: 105). The range of variants considered in his analysis is relatively extensive. When he is comparing the same sample at different periods, he not only searches for subjunctives, modal constructions and modal preterites, but also keeps a record of other non-subjunctive structures used in the same environments – including those involving indicative forms, infinitives and gerund-participles (1968: 15–16) – thus giving a broad picture of changes in complementation, something that is not always achieved in later studies.

Overall, his results confirm the expected picture of a decline of the subjunctive over the centuries, with remnants found in PDE in a restricted number of environments. In his initial survey of studies of the English subjunctive, he indicates that these include mandative clauses, which he refers to as 'indirect discourse imperatives'. His assessment is that the 'statistics reported in this book indicate that this construction exhibits one of the few subjunctives still frequently used' (1968: 27). It should be pointed out, however, that examination of the relevant results in his Tables 1, 4 and 9 does not appear to support the frequency he claims for mandative subjunctives.

His analysis of dramatic texts from ten time points includes several findings that anticipate the concerns of later studies regarding (1) diachronic change; (2) differences between varieties; and (3) differences between registers. First, his two late-nineteenth-century texts (one British, one American)[1] show a 'pronounced increase in the percentage of inflected subjunctives' (1968: 84); second, his four American texts 'reveal, with one exception, a higher incidence of inflected subjunctive forms than the corresponding British texts' (1968: 84); and third, he found more subjunctive usage in the formal language of the tragedies than in the relatively informal language of the comedies (1968: 85).

5.1.2 Jacobsson (1975): 'How dead is the English subjunctive?'

Jacobsson's 1975 paper is remarkable for challenging many of the accepted views about the subjunctive. It sets out to address the sometimes contradictory attitudes towards the subjunctive that had been exhibited by both descriptive grammarians and usage commentators in the previous decades. At a time when many linguists were reluctant to include the subjunctive in accounts of PDE because of the lack of a

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[1] *Harold* by Alfred Lord Tennyson (1876) and *Hazel Kirke* by J. M. S. MacKaye (1880), respectively.

full paradigm, Jacobsson argues that it is still 'perfectly legitimate to speak of subjunctive forms in English as long as there are morphological oppositions like those expressed by (*he*) *takes*/*take* and (*he*) *was*/*were*' (1975: 221). To disprove predictions of its death, he concentrates on two areas in which the vital signs are strong in PDE: the present subjunctive in mandative clauses and the past subjunctive in conditional and other hypothetical clauses.[2] He then goes on to question prescriptivists' objections to what some consider to be inappropriate, or hypercorrect, uses of the past subjunctive and supplies numerous examples to counter them, as was discussed in detail in Section 4.5.3.

In his description of mandative subjunctives, a term he adopts from Quirk et al. (1972: 76), Jacobsson addresses three issues not considered (in detail) by Harsh: iST, iNEG and the analysis of non-distinct forms (NDs). With regard to iST, while Jacobsson does not explicitly treat it as a subjunctive identifier, he does consider it to be a characteristic of subjunctive forms that they are 'not subject to the normal rules for the sequence of tenses. For example, *he take* can be preceded by a verb in the preterite or the present tense (*I suggest*/*ed*/ *that he take it with him*)' (1975: 221).[3] As for negation, he draws attention to Visser's evidence that the *he not write* pattern is a relatively recent phenomenon but dismisses that author's explanation that it is the result of the tendency to 'give a word prominence by putting it in an unusual place' (1963–73: 847). Instead, Jacobsson suggests that 'the sequence *not write* was naturally preferred to the archaic *write not*' (1975: 221), which is arguably a description of the situation rather than an explanation. He provides evidence that the negative pattern is still not well established in BrE by quoting an example showing the 'archaic' order given by the usage commentator Brian Foster (1968: 213): 'What we are asking is that they be *not* examined in French.' Because Foster was citing it in the mistaken belief that it was an example of the typical AmE pattern of negation that was apparently beginning to establish itself in BrE at the time, Jacobsson suggests that the preverbal pattern must still have been alien to him.

The question of how to analyse NDs in mandative clauses is considered with reference to the different patterns of usage in AmE and BrE. In his answer, the author seems to take a step away from a strictly formal approach. Recognising that for AmE speakers the subjunctive is the norm while BrE speakers have a three-way choice between *should*, subjunctive or indicative variants, he proposes that *go*

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[2] Note that he also touches on the use of present subjunctive forms after *lest* (1975: 223) and in conditional clauses (1975: 229).

[3] It is notable that the example he gives features a third person subject and so, because the verb lacks a final -*s*, it is identifiable as a subjunctive whether the matrix verb is past or present. Was this just an unfortunate choice or does it suggest that he does not treat all instances involving iST as subjunctives? See the later discussion of Johansson & Norheim (1988) regarding a similar ambiguity.

in a sentence such as *I suggest that you go now*, though not formally marked as a subjunctive, 'must be felt as such by those speakers who invariably say *I suggest that he go now*' (1975: 222).[4] Such a form, he asserts, 'is subjunctive functionally if not morphologically'. This implies that for speakers of BrE, ND forms are not necessarily felt to be subjunctive, which is a defensible position. He claims that in BrE, the 'sentence *It is important that we have an adequate supply of atom bombs* could be taken to mean that we have already got the supply, while the American interpretation would be that it is important for us to get it' (1975: 222). The ambiguity exists, of course, because *important* is a trigger that licenses both mandative and non-mandative complements, but whether speakers of BrE might be more likely to assume the non-mandative reading because of the lack of *should* is another matter, and much depends on context. There is a discussion of almost exactly the same sentence in Bruce Fraser's revised edition of Ernest Gowers's *The Complete Plain Words* – 'It is important that we have an adequate supply of hydrogen bombs' (1973: 151) – in which Fraser claims that an American informant is convinced that 'no American could possibly interpret it in this way [i.e. as non-mandative]'.[5]

5.1.3   Greenbaum (1977): 'Judgments of syntactic acceptability and frequency'

Greenbaum's early elicitation study is notable for attempting to investigate factors affecting the choice of variants in mandative clauses, rather than simply describing current preferences. It was part of a larger elicitation experiment carried out at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee in 1974 with American informants, who were asked to judge both the acceptability and perceived frequency of various test sentences.

Though he was aware that the mandative subjunctive was considered to be more common in AmE than in BrE – he was one of the authors of a grammar in which that assertion was made: Quirk et al. (1972: 76, 783) – Greenbaum wanted to establish its frequency in relation to the indicative and *should* variants. The hypothesis was that the subjunctive would be more frequent when the mandative triggers were semantically close to commands (*demand*, *insist*) rather than suggesting persuasion (*recommend*, *urge*): in other words, exhibiting strong rather than medium-strength deontic force. As a BrE speaker, he professed himself to be somewhat surprised (1977: 95) to find that the tests showed that his American informants felt the mandative subjunctive to be by far the most acceptable and most frequent construction

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[4]   A similar approach is taken by Övergaard (1995: 69) with regard to ND forms, and by Serpollet (2001: 533).
[5]   In Gowers (1973: 151) the sentence is ascribed to President Eisenhower in 1954.

in all cases, irrespective of the deontic strength of the trigger, with the indicative variant judged the least acceptable and least frequent.

It is interesting to note that, despite the not-infrequent characterisation of the mandative subjunctive as a typically AmE construction in twentieth-century studies up to this time, the full strength of the AmE preference for the mandative subjunctive had apparently not been appreciated, at least among some British linguists, as recently as 1977. Given such a preference, it is not surprising that in a test with American informants the strength of the mandative triggers made little or no difference.

5.1.4 Johansson (1979): 'American and British English grammar: An elicitation experiment'

Johansson's 1979 elicitation study stands out for being part of an early, carefully balanced investigation of the reported differences between AmE and BrE grammar, involving 93 American and 92 British university students as informants. One of the ten topics was the mandative subjunctive (1979: 201–203), taking as its starting point the assertion in Quirk et al. (1972: 76) that the mandative subjunctive occurs 'chiefly in formal style (and especially in AmE) where in less formal contexts one would rather make use of other devices, such as *to*-infinitive or *should* + infinitive'.

Overall, the results supported the expectation that the subjunctive would be favoured in AmE, but they also showed that the level of formality appeared not to be a factor in that variety. As anticipated, British informants preferred the *should* variant, but Johansson was surprised at how acceptable they also found the subjunctive, particularly in sentences involving the verb *be*. Preverbal negation, however, was still felt to be 'foreign' to the British group (1979: 202). The American group was prepared to accept some *should* variants, but there was a significant difference between the two groups when it came to indicatives: while they were a common option among the BrE speakers, following both present- and past-tense triggers, they were almost completely lacking from the responses of the AmE group.

5.1.5 Turner (1980): 'The marked subjunctive in contemporary English'

John Turner sets out to investigate the relative frequency of variants in mandative clauses in BrE in this elicitation study involving British informants at Goldsmith's College in London. It has been an influential paper, referred to in many subsequent studies (for example, Algeo 1992, Johansson & Norheim 1988 and

Övergaard 1992, 1995), but my assessment is that it is seriously flawed from a methodological point of view and the results are unreliable.

The test consists of ten passive and ten active sentences containing verbal mandative triggers. The results (1980: 274–276) are surprising for the high number of subjunctives found. They feature in 40 per cent of the completed responses, with only 33.7 per cent containing a modal variant and the rest indicatives. There is a marked difference between the results for the passive and active sentences. The number of subjunctives is significantly higher in the passive sentences, where 56 per cent of the responses contain a subjunctive and only 29 per cent a modal verb. In the active sentences the proportions are almost reversed, with 24 per cent of responses containing a subjunctive, 38 per cent a modal and 34 per cent an indicative (almost all past tense).

Turner concludes from this (1980: 276) that (1) the subjunctive is certainly not extinct in BrE; (2) there are a lot of subjunctives in the passive sentences because either (a) the formality associated with the passive encourages use of the subjunctive, or (b) the verb *be* 'has remained a stronghold of the subjunctive'; (3) the common assertion that modal verbs are the most common variant in BrE is misleading, as shown not only by the number of subjunctives in the passive sentences, but also by the number of indicatives in the active sentences.

Though it can be argued that the results at least show the acceptability of the three main variants in mandative clauses in BrE, there are a number of problems with the test that undermine the validity of the findings. The first concerns the instructions on the test booklet (1980: 274, my italics):

> The booklet now in front of you contains a sentence on each page. In each sentence there is a word in brackets. What you have to do is to write down *the form of the word* you feel is most appropriate for the sentence you have been given. For example, if the sentence is:
>
> "He left after she (to arrive)".
>
> You could write "arrived" or "had arrived". Use the word in the form that seems most natural and normal to you.

It seems to me that, despite the example *had arrived* in the third paragraph, asking non-linguist informants to write down 'the form of the word' they feel most appropriate is much more likely to elicit a response containing a single-word subjunctive, ND or indicative form than one containing a modal construction, which involves adding another word rather than using what the informants might consider to be a 'form' of that word. Second, drawing any firm conclusions about a preference for subjunctives in passive sentences seems unjustified when the informants were presented with ten passive and ten active

sentences. This does not represent the ratio of passive and active sentences in language in general, where there are far fewer passive sentences. Third, as Turner states (1980: 271), he is concerned solely with the subtype of mandative clause following a past-tense matrix verb. The reason for this restriction is not made explicit, but a hint may be found in his brief discussion of the history of the subjunctive, in which he dwells on the 'irregularity' of the subjunctive's not following the Sequence of Tenses, even speculating that this feature 'undoubtedly impeded the chances of the subjunctive's survival' (1980: 272). The unfortunate consequence of this choice in the test is that there are no present-tense verbal triggers and no adjectival or nominal triggers. The combination of this and the instruction to choose 'the form of the word' may well have contributed to the relatively high number of past-tense indicatives found in the active sentences.

5.1.6 Quirk & Rusiecki (1982): 'Grammatical data by elicitation', and Quirk (1995): 'A problem of modality'

Like Greenbaum (1977), Quirk & Rusiecki's elicitation study sought to investigate factors affecting the choice of variants in environments in which subjunctives are found. Unlike Greenbaum's study, it looked at both past subjunctives and present subjunctives in mandative clauses. The later paper by Quirk reports a follow-up study featuring a refined version of the mandative-subjunctive element of the original.

In the first study, the subjunctive-related topics were two of several investigated in a battery of elicitation tests in which students at UCL and Royal Holloway College were informants. The first topic (1982: 388) concerned the choice between *were* and *was* in remote conditional clauses. Formality had previously been suggested as one of the determining factors, for example in Quirk et al. (1972: 748), but the intention of this experiment was to establish whether relative remoteness of possibility was also important. Informants were presented with the following two sentences, and told to fill one blank with *was* and the other with *were*.

> (i)   After all, it's not as if he - - - a devil with horns.
> (ii)   After all, it's not as if he - - - drunk every night.

As anticipated, a significant majority of informants selected *were* in the first sentence, which was taken to confirm 'a tendency to use *were* with the greater hyperbole' (1982: 388). As discussed in Section 4.5.2, another interpretation would be to say that it shows that *were* is more likely to be used in counterfactual conditionals, as represented by the example featuring a devil. However, the forced choice makes it

difficult to give too much weight to these findings, as it is impossible to know what effect a free choice would have had on informants' preferences.

The second topic (1982: 389–393) concerned mandative clauses and the testing of a hypothesis that choice of variant might be affected by the willingness or reluctance of the subject of the mandative clause to undertake the proposed action. There were two stages to the experiment. In the first, the informants were presented with the following sentences, which were widely separated within the larger test (1982: 389; emphasis in original):

(i)   He wanted to see the play, so I suggested that he - - - -.
(ii)   He was reluctant to leave, but I INSISTED that he - - - -.

As possible responses for each sentence, they were given a free three-way choice of *go*, *should go* and *went*. Out of the 42 informants, 27 chose different forms for the two sentences, suggesting that they might be making some sort of distinction. As the clearest difference between the two sentences was the matter of willingness or reluctance, this was taken as an indication that it was likely to be a significant factor in the choice, though it was not clear from the results in which way it affected it.

In an attempt to clarify this, the second stage of the test involved the following pair of sentences appearing three times within the test battery, this time with different two-way forced choices for the blanks on each occasion: (a) *go/went*, (b) *go/should go*, (c) *should go/went*.

(i)   He wanted to see the play, so I suggested that he - - - - - -.
(ii)   He was very reluctant to leave, but I suggested that he - - - - - -.

Though the results seemed to support the hypothesis that informants were making conscious choices related to willingness/reluctance, no clear pattern emerged. It did confirm that for most informants all three choices of mandative construction were valid options. It is perhaps notable, however, that when informants were faced with the (c) choice between *should go* and *went*, several failed to comply, and most of those who failed to comply had chosen *go* in (a): i.e. they had previously shown a preference for the mandative subjunctive (1982: 390–391).

The significance of this with regard to BrE is hard to assess, however, because in the introduction to the overall study, it is explained that the informants 'included up to a dozen American students for some of the tests' (1982: 380), but it is not made clear whether or not they took part in the tests relating to mandative clauses. It was also an unfortunate choice to use only *suggest* as the trigger in the examples, as it licenses both mandative and non-mandative complements and is therefore possibly

more likely to be seen with indicatives. Another limitation was introduced by using, as in Turner (1980), only past-tense matrix verbs (in both this and the follow-up study), which does not give a picture of the full range of the mandative subjunctive.

The follow-up mandative subjunctive study reported in Quirk (1995) again featured students from UCL and Royal Holloway, but this time there is no mention of AmE speakers being included. It set out not only to test the willingness/reluctance hypothesis, but also to explore the importance of the deontic strength of the mandative trigger, by using a larger range of triggers in a series of similar sentences. Additionally, a test sentence was included that featured *be* rather than *go* in the mandative clause, in order to establish whether this affected the choice of variant.

The results (1995: 142–143) suggested that in all cases, *should go* was the most common choice, but that there was significant variation between the subjunctive *go* and the indicative *went*. The environment in which the subjunctive was most likely to be used was in the 'willing' sentences, but only in those featuring the two weaker triggers, *suggest* and *recommend*. With the two stronger triggers, *urge* and *insist*, there was no significant pattern in 'willing' sentences. In the 'reluctant' sentences, however, similar results were found for all triggers: the subjunctive was significantly less popular, while the indicative was correspondingly more popular. The conclusion drawn from this was 'the overwhelming dominance of the "reluctant" pole in determining modality selection' (1995: 143).

Notably, in the sentence with *be*, which featured the strong trigger *demand*, there was a significant increase in the proportion of subjunctives selected in the 'willing' version, making it the most popular choice, suggesting a greater readiness to use the (perhaps more familiar) distinctive *be* subjunctive than the (perhaps less familiar) subjunctive of other verbs.

5.1.7   Nichols (1987): 'The suasive subjunctive: Alive and well in the Upper Midwest'

The position of the subjunctive as the standard choice for AmE speakers, irrespective of levels of education, was convincingly established in this elicitation test involving American college students. It is also notable for (1) the author's findings regarding the acceptability of the modal and indicative variants in AmE; (2) her recognition of infinitival constructions as another variant; (3) her acknowledgement of the problems of the correct analysis of some modals following mandative triggers; and (4) her identification of the problem of distinguishing between mandative and non-mandative complements.

Nichols sets out to counter three 'commonplaces': that the subjunctive is dead, that it typically occurs in formal contexts, and that only people who read widely are able to recognise and use it (1987: 140). The fact that she feels the need to investigate this seems to indicate that the strength of the AmE preference for mandative subjunctives was not as widely known at this time as might be expected, even in America.[6] The sources for these commonplaces include not only British-based works such as the Fowler brothers' *The King's English* (1931) and Quirk et al. (1972), but also the American grammar of Charles Fries, and in particular his assessment that in general 'the subjunctive has tended to disappear from use' and that 'these ideas are now expressed chiefly by other means, especially by function words' (1940: 106). Although Nichols is aware of at least one article, by Lloyd (1937), that argues for 'the good health of the suasive subjunctive', she suggests that it is Fries's view that has remained influential (1987: 150), even though Fries's work is based on texts from the first quarter of the twentieth century (see Section 4.1).

On the first occasion the test was given, the informants were 132 students at Winona State University (WSU) taking a course in remedial English, something required because of their relatively low scores in a previous verbal-skills test.[7] It was included as part of a larger end-of-course examination and took the form of a continuous passage of prose with gaps, which were to be filled with appropriate phrases. Four of these gaps followed mandative triggers: three verbs and one adjective. Two of the verbs (*suggest*, *ask*) were followed by *that*; the adjective (*essential*) and the other verb (*order*) were not.

Nichols found a high level of subjunctive use by the WSU students, which she took as evidence of 'a remarkably vital suasive subjunctive' in AmE (1987: 142). Percentages were highest where there was an introductory *that*: 70 per cent of responses featured a subjunctive after *suggest* and 53 per cent after *ask*. The adjective was also followed by a subjunctive in 45 per cent of the completions. Only with the third verb, *order*, was another type of complementation favoured, with 72 per cent choosing an infinitival construction. This is not an unexpected choice given the wording of that particular test sentence: *She assured the local traffic policeman that she would only be a minute. Ten minutes later he ordered* ——. These results show a higher use of the subjunctive than the early-twentieth-century AmE findings reported by Fries (below 20 per cent) (1940: 105–106) and the BrE findings of Turner (40 per

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6 See account of Greenbaum (1977) above for a similar point (Section 5.1.3).
7 The same test was later administered to further groups of students at Western Illinois University and Duke University, with broadly similar results.

cent) (1980: 274–275), but not as high as in the later study by Algeo (around 90 per cent) (1992: 609), though the figures are not strictly comparable because of different methodologies.

In the WSU responses, modal verbs were not uncommon in the two *that*-clauses – in 18 per cent of responses following *suggest* and 30 per cent following *ask* – but were not favoured after the adjective *essential* (only 7 per cent). The modal verb figures are lower than the figures of Fries, who found modals to be the most usual option (1940: 105), and lower than the BrE figures of Turner (35 per cent) (1980: 274–275). However, they are higher than the later AmE figures of Algeo (7 per cent) (1992: 609). To a certain extent, this can probably be put down to the format of the test, but Nichols also draws attention to one of the problems involved in analysing modal verbs in mandative clauses. She points out that it is possible to interpret a number of the instances as examples of what Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 997–998) would describe as the reinforcing use of a modally harmonic modal, such as *must* with *essential*, rather than the 'putative' or 'specialised' use of *should* typically found in mandative clauses (see Sections 3.4.2 and 4.3.8).

A number of indicative forms were found after *essential* (26 per cent), *suggest* (11 per cent) and *ask* (9 per cent), but only one was found after *order*, which again is not surprising given the wording of the sentence involved (see above). On average, as expected, these figures are lower than Turner's indicative figures for BrE (12 per cent passive, 34 per cent active) (1980: 274–275), but they are also considerably higher than those found later in AmE by Algeo (2 per cent) (1992: 609), suggesting that the indicative variant in mandative clauses was more of an option for AmE speakers than Algeo allows.

While the nature of the test did not permit Nichols to prove or disprove the commonplace about the subjunctive typically being found in formal English, she was able to produce far stronger evidence to counter the suggestion that 'only people who read widely recognize and use the subjunctive'. This was achieved by separating the informants into 'literate' and 'semiliterate' categories by means of an additional question in the test. When the results for these two groups were analysed, it was found that more of the 'literate' students used at least one subjunctive (41 out of 43), but the number of 'semiliterate' students who did so was still high (71 out of 89). As Nichols puts it, 'What is particularly significant is the large number of students classified as semiliterate who did use the suasive subjunctive' (1987: 149), thus demonstrating that in AmE in the 1980s the subjunctive was not restricted to speakers with a high level of literacy.

5.1.8 Algeo (1992): 'British and American mandative constructions'

American linguist John Algeo's 1992 elicitation study has at its centre a rerunning of Turner's (1980) test, this time involving AmE speakers. It is notable for the initial discussion in which he examines the different approaches of British and American researchers towards the subject, highlighting the assumptions and judgements that the speakers of one variety have tended to make about the other. It is also unusual in paying particular attention to the indicative variant in mandative clauses, which he memorably describes as a 'Briticism' (1992: 611).

In his discussion of British and American perceptions of the mandative subjunctive, Algeo states that:

> British attitudes towards what is widely, if inaccurately, perceived to be the American option are noteworthy as exemplifying the more general emotional entanglements between the two national varieties.   (Algeo 1992: 602)

To demonstrate 'British attitudes', he refers to some British usage guides that warn against using the mandative subjunctive, despite the fact that, as far as Algeo is concerned, it is part of normal BrE usage. From the *Oxford Guide to English Usage*, he picks out the following advice:

> Beware of constructions in which the sense hangs on a fine distinction between subjunctive and indicative, e.g.
>
> > *The most important thing for Argentina is that Britain* recognize *her sovereignty over the Falklands.*
>
> The implication is that Britain does not recognize it. A small slip that changed *recognize* to *recognizes* would drastically reverse this implication. The use of *should recognize* would render the sense quite unmistakable.   (Weiner 1983: 179)

Algeo dismisses the likelihood of such slips and goes on to suggest that *should* would actually be more ambiguous for all varieties of English because it could be mistaken for 'the *should* of moral obligation' (1992: 602). Another analysis would be to say that Weiner's example covers two separate points: that items such as *important* are ambiguous because they can take both mandative and non-mandative complements, and that in BrE the subjunctive is not as familiar as the *should* variant. Weiner considers that the insertion of *should* would make the example clearer for a BrE speaker, which seems reasonable enough advice in a usage guide aimed at BrE speakers. Algeo's claim that the 'subjunctive in this and similar constructions is in fact the clearer option' (1992: 602) can only be said to be valid in varieties of English in which the mandative subjunctive is the norm. His concern about the possibility of mandative *should* being misinterpreted as deontic *should* perhaps reveals an important difference between the

varieties (see discussion in Section 3.4.2). The underlying problem in Algeo's analysis here is that, from the evidence of the rest of the article, he is overestimating the frequency of the mandative subjunctive in BrE because he is relying on the skewed figures presented in Turner (1980).[8]

Algeo takes exception to the following paragraph[9] from the entry on the subjunctive in one of the most popular British usage guides in the second half of the twentieth century, Ernest Gowers's *The Complete Plain Words*:[10]

> It is remarkable – for it seems contrary to the whole history of the development of the language – that under the influence of American English the use of the subjunctive is creeping back into British English.   (Gowers 1986: 139)

He reads the loaded expression 'creeping back' as implying that 'the subjunctive has been exiled to the colonies' and that 'from there it is making a surreptitious and probably ill-intentioned re-entry into Britain' (1992: 603). Though his tongue is at least partly in his cheek, Algeo's reaction against the perceived British bias of grammars and usage guides at this time is perhaps understandable, as is his complaint that the phrasing in *The Complete Plain Words* seems to imply that AmE is not part of 'the whole history of the development of the language'.[11]

Before introducing the results of his own study, Algeo addresses some of the unattributed speculative explanations for the revival of the mandative subjunctive that were reported (without comment or endorsement) by Turner:

> It is beyond the scope of this survey to investigate in detail the reasons for this development. Economy of effort, a predilection for archaic expressions – especially those which most effectively serve to distinguish the British and American varieties – the influence of immigrants' home dialects and languages are some of the stimuli which have been suggested.   (Turner 1980: 273)

Algeo dismisses the idea of 'a predilection for archaic expressions' among AmE speakers as 'ethnocentric nonsense', and it is hard to disagree. He rightly points out that the fact that a usage is considered archaic

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[8] See discussion of Turner (1980) above (Section 5.1.5). The findings of Turner are also queried by Övergaard (1995: 76).

[9] Also mentioned by Turner (1980: 271).

[10] The edition of *The Complete Plain Words* that Algeo refers to is the third, revised by Sidney Greenbaum and Janet Whitcut in 1986. The passage in question was not written by them or by Gowers, however. It appeared for the first time in the second edition, revised by Bruce Fraser (Gowers 1973: 150).

[11] This British attitude can also be detected in *The King's English*, Kingsley Amis's typically idiosyncratic 'guide to modern usage' published a few years after Algeo's paper: 'Be careful with any American writings, which often indulge in subjunctive forms, especially if the context seems precise or public in any way. Do not imitate them. If necessary, mentally translate them into familiar indicative English. Any sentence with a subjunctive form in it (e.g. "it was decided that we adjourn" rather than "that we should adjourn") is suspect. N.B.: The above rules are not flippant or satirical' (Amis 1997: 260).

in one variety of English is irrelevant for those using another variety in which it is current. He also understandably rejects the idea that ordinary AmE speakers would know that this use of the subjunctive is considered a marker of difference from BrE.

His general complaint about these 'pseudo-explanations' is that 'the explainers have taken current British usage as the norm for English and so assume that departures from that norm require an explanation . . . The American use of the mandative subjunctive requires no explanation if it is simply the continuation of a once general feature of English grammar' (1992: 604). The first part of this complaint, about taking BrE as the norm, is a fair point, but a number of later studies, including Övergaard (1995) and Hundt (2009), have shown that the assumption implicit in the second part is not correct: it appears that the mandative subjunctive had all but disappeared from both BrE *and* AmE in the nineteenth century, only to be revived around the beginning of the twentieth century in AmE and then later in BrE, apparently under AmE influence, which is what the attitudes of the British usage commentators were reflecting.

Algeo's own study of mandative clauses (carried out in 1988 but reported in this paper for the first time) is a response to a suggestion by Turner (1980: 276) that comparative studies in other varieties of English were needed. Accordingly, Algeo took Turner's elicitation test and administered it to a group of native speakers of AmE. The same test sentences were used – ten active, ten passive – although with very slight changes to avoid vocabulary that was deemed confusingly British. The preliminary instructions were also essentially the same. In particular, the arguably misleading instruction to 'write down the form of the word' was unaltered. This, as I suggested in the discussion of Turner (1980) in Section 5.1.5, made it less likely that informants would use modal constructions when filling the gaps. In Algeo's test, however, it turns out that it probably had less effect, as later studies (e.g. Johansson & Norheim 1988) have confirmed that the modal variant is not a common option in AmE anyway, and as a consequence, Algeo's results can be seen to be considerably more robust than Turner's.

Algeo's conclusions from these results (1992: 610–611) include the following: (1) the mandative subjunctive was preferred by an overwhelming majority of his AmE informants: 90 per cent of their responses used the subjunctive, compared with 40 per cent of Turner's; (2) whereas in the BrE results the subjunctive was favoured in the passive sentences, the question of voice was irrelevant in the AmE results; (3) indicative forms featured in only 2 per cent of his informants' responses; (4) only 7 per cent of his responses involved modals, which suggested that while this *was* an option in AmE, it was 'a minor and unfavored one'. Overall, he concludes that AmE 'does not offer much choice in mandative constructions. The subjunctive is the norm' (1992: 611).

The final section of Algeo's paper argues that the most interesting difference between AmE and BrE preferences in mandative clauses concerns not the subjunctive or modals, but BrE use of the indicative, which is 'foreign . . . to American grammatical usage' (1992: 616). His dismissal of the indicative variant as 'foreign' should be questioned, however. When he discusses the 18 responses that did feature indicatives, rather than accept them as evidence of a low level of indicative use, he suggests reasons why the responses could have been mistakes, putting several down to the confusing use of triggers such as *insist*, *propose* and *suggest* that can take both mandative and non-mandative complements, and pointing out that no such indicatives were found in responses from faculty members, 'who can be expected to respond in a linguistically more normal way' (1992: 611). On the face of it, such an analysis seems to exhibit the same kind of bias he was complaining about in British usage guides of the time. Later studies have also shown that the indicative variant is regularly found in other varieties, such as New Zealand English (e.g. Hundt 1998a: 93–94).

Algeo goes on to cite numerous recent examples of indicatives in mandative clauses from British newspapers. For him, then, it is not the subjunctive in AmE that should be considered a departure from the norm, but the use of the indicative in BrE: 'it is British rather than American English which has the unique and noteworthy grammatical forms when it comes to this construction, and it is these forms which necessitate further study' (1992: 616).[12]

5.1.9   *The continuing role of elicitation tests*

For diachronic investigations of recent change, elicitation tests may seem to be of limited value, yet they arguably offer certain benefits that are not available in corpus studies. One of these, demonstrated in a study by Peters (1998) (see Sections 4.5.1 and 5.2.6), involves taking advantage of the 'apparent time' effect. According to this method, which is based on the expectation that individuals' speech patterns tend to remain fixed after acquisition in childhood, the results of a test in which informants are carefully stratified according to age can be taken as evidence of a linguistic change in progress (see, e.g., discussion in Meyerhoff 2011: 135–163). In Peters's study, the answers to a test concerning the choice between subjunctive *were* and modal preterite *was* in conditional clauses (see Section 4.5) revealed that the older

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[12] Algeo's insistence on the notability of the BrE use of mandative indicatives is also discussed, with a great number of very useful examples, in an earlier paper of his on differences between AmE and BrE (1988: 20–21) and in a later book on the same topic (2006: 263–267).

informants were more likely to use *were* than the younger informants. She took this to indicate that 'whatever the current level of subjunctive use in conditional clauses, it is likely to decrease with the next generation' (1998: 100). Other advantages include the possibility of obtaining information about speakers' perceptions of correctness. One method involves a 'preference test', in which informants are asked to judge a sentence as, for example, 'perfectly natural', 'wholly unnatural' or 'somewhere between' (see discussion in Meyer & Nelson 2006: 99–100). In the case of mandative clauses, this kind of test with multiple possible answers might give a better picture of the level of acceptance of different variants. Elicitation tests still have a role to play, especially if they are used to supplement data from corpus-based studies, but of course care must be taken to avoid the type of problems I have suggested were caused by ambiguous wording in the study by Turner (1980).

5.2   Corpus-based studies

Since the creation of the Brown corpus of written AmE published in 1961 and the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen (LOB) corpus of written BrE from the same year, there have been a number of studies involving the subjunctive that have taken advantage of these matching electronic corpora, including the early but still influential study by Johansson & Norheim (1988). Subsequent extensions to the Brown family of corpora – F-LOB (BrE; texts from 1991) and Frown (AmE; 1992); B-LOB (BrE; 1931) and B-Brown (AmE; 1931) – have allowed structured, evidence-based investigations into reports of diachronic change, as have a growing number of other types of corpus covering different periods of English. Inter-varietal differences have been facilitated by the creation of corpora such as ACE for Australian English and those from the International Corpus of English project (ICE). In this section I discuss the most important subjunctive-related studies that have taken their data from such corpora (whether electronic or not).

5.2.1   *Johansson (1980): 'Corpus-based studies of British and American English'*

The arrival of the British LOB corpus, designed to match the earlier Brown corpus of American texts from 1961, presented linguists with the opportunity to study reported differences between the two national varieties in a new way. This paper by Stig Johansson, who was involved in the creation of LOB, serves as an introduction to the possibilities for research offered by the two corpora and includes a number of brief case studies as examples. One of these (1979: 90–91) consists of a small-scale corpus

study of the mandative subjunctive. It is notable for detecting the possibility of increasing use of the mandative subjunctive in BrE.

In the brief space available, the subjunctive-identification criteria used are not set out. There is, however, a reference to the description of the mandative subjunctive in Quirk et al. (1972: 76), which mentions iNO-S and from which iST and iBE can be inferred.[13] There is also no discussion of non-distinct forms or of the need to distinguish between mandative and non-mandative uses of certain triggers. The variants considered are subjunctive, *should*, other modals (*might* in Brown; *might, could, must* in LOB) and indicative.

Table 5.1. Absolute and relative frequency of three variants in mandative clauses after four selected verbs (incl. corresponding nouns) in AmE and BrE.*

	Johansson (1980)							
	Brown AmE 1961				LOB BrE 1961			
	subj.	*should*	other modals	indic.	subj.	*should*	other modals	indic.
demand	18	1	0	0	4	4	0	0
insist	12	1	0	0	1	6	2	0
propose	11	1	0	0	1	5	0	0
suggest	15	5	2	0	8	31	2	2
Total	**56** (84.9%)	**8** (12.1%)	**2** (3%)	**0** (0%)	**14** (21.2%)	**46** (69.7%)	**4** (6.1%)	**2** (3%)

* Based on Table 3 in Johansson (1980: 91).

The overall results, summarised in Table 5.1, confirmed Johansson's expectation of an AmE preference for the subjunctive variant and BrE preference for the *should* variant, but he was surprised to find that a third of the subjunctives in both categories appeared in the fiction category. Though he doesn't spell out the significance of this, it seems likely he is suggesting that this indicates that the subjunctive is not restricted to formal categories.

He compares the results with those from his own recent elicitation experiment (Johansson 1979) and notes that the proportion of subjunctives used by his BrE informants was higher than in the corpus study, which of course involved texts from 1961. He suggests that this may indicate 'an ongoing change in BE, influenced by AE usage, since the appearance of the corpus texts' (1980: 90).

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[13] But see the discussion in Section 5.2.3 of the approach to iST taken by Johansson and Norheim in their later full-blown study of the mandative subjunctive in LOB and Brown (1988).

5.2.2   Haegeman (1986): 'The present subjunctive in contemporary British English'

Liliane Haegeman's investigation is one of the first to take its data from a relatively large corpus of BrE, albeit not then an electronic one – the Survey of English Usage corpus at UCL – and is notable for looking at both written and spoken texts. In addition, the author not only relies on all the subjunctive identifiers used in more recent corpus-based studies – iNO-S, iBE, iNEG and iST – but also addresses the question of NDs and analyses the results of her study by tense of the matrix verb and by voice of the mandative clause.

Her analysis of mandative clauses (1986: 65), based on 89 spoken texts from the corpus[14] of 5,000 words each and 72 written texts of 5,000 words each, revealed a strong preference for the *should* variant, with 126 instances, and roughly equal numbers for subjunctives (24), indicatives (23) and NDs (25). That the *should* variant exhibited the highest frequency confirmed her expectations, which were based on both Quirk et al. (1972: 76) and Close's *Reference Grammar for Students of English* (1975: 47). On the other hand, the figures for indicatives surprised her because Close had characterised the indicative variant as 'informal', yet of the 23 found in Haegeman's study, 16 were in the written material and only seven in the spoken. At first sight, Quirk et al.'s assessment that the mandative subjunctive is found 'chiefly in formal style' (1972: 76) did not seem to be reflected in her results either, as eight of the 13 spoken subjunctives were found in informal conversation. But closer study showed that four were used by one speaker in a conversation with other academics, which illustrates the limitations of drawing inferences regarding low-frequency constructions in a corpus of this size; and in the written texts most of the 11 subjunctives appeared in 'legalistic writing'. Taking this into account, Haegeman speculates that:

> it might well be that the spoken variety of English has tended to introduce the subjunctive more recently, perhaps because of the influence of American English, while the occurrence of the subjunctive in legalistic writing is the remainder of its original use.   (Haegeman 1986: 66)

Any comparison of her findings with those of later studies needs to be undertaken with care, however. The three lists she supplies of items that triggered the subjunctive, indicatives and *should* variants in mandative clauses, both in the corpus and in her own random sampling, raise a number of questions (1986: 68–69). In the subjunctive list, there are several items that are not normally associated with mandative clauses, such as *assumption* and *wait*, though it is difficult to comment further without seeing the actual examples. She also, without explanation, states that 'all items taking the subjunctive also

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[14] The SEU corpus, in its final form, consists of 100 texts of spoken and 100 texts of written material collected between 1959 and 1985. Since being computerised, it has also been known as the London-Lund Corpus (LLC).

take a *to*-infinitive clause' (1986: 69). This is certainly not true of all the items in her subjunctive list, such as *insist* or *ensure*, at least in PDE. The indicative list also includes *in order that*, which is normally associated with purpose clauses rather than mandative clauses. The *should* list includes several items, such as *legitimate* and *fair*, that seem to be of the type that license Huddleston & Pullum's 'attitudinal *should*', which are not in variation with subjunctives (2002: 1001–1002). It seems clear, then, that not all the items in all three lists can license all three variants, in which case Haegeman's figures do not give a true picture, as they do not reflect the choices facing speakers in mandative clauses.

5.2.3   Johansson & Norheim (1988): 'The subjunctive in British and American English'

Johansson & Norheim's comparative study is a key paper on the use of the subjunctive in recent AmE and BrE, the first major corpus-based investigation of the subject and a reference point for most subsequent studies in the area. Johansson had previously looked at the mandative subjunctive in LOB and Brown in the small-scale exploratory study reported in Johansson (1980) (see Section 5.2.1). This time the aim was to investigate, in both varieties, the three main uses of the subjunctive in PDE as categorised by Quirk et al. (1985: 156–158): not just the mandative subjunctive but also the formulaic subjunctive and past subjunctive.

In their study of the mandative subjunctive, the authors analyse finite content clauses after the 30 verbs (and associated nouns) and adjectives in Table 5.2, which also shows their findings.[15] As mentioned in Section 4.3.2, this list has been relied on, for purposes of comparison, in many subsequent studies, including Peters (1998), Hundt (1998a; 1998b), Leech et al. (2009), Peters (2009) and Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming).

There is no mention of distinguishing between mandative and non-mandative uses of items such as *insist*, *suggest* and *important*, but there is also no evidence from the examples supplied that this was not done. As identification criteria, the authors discuss iNO-S, iST and iNEG (1988: 27). The use of *be* in all persons as an identifier (iBE) is not spelled out, but seems to be covered by the general statement that 'The subjunctive is identical to the base form of the verb' (1988: 27), and their example (3) on the same page contains *be*. It is also suggested, presumably as an added means of identification, that *should* can normally be inserted before the subjunctive form 'with no appreciable difference in meaning' (1988: 28).

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[15] The list of triggers is also displayed in Table 4.1 above.

While this is true for BrE speakers, it is probably unwise to assume that it is the case for AmE speakers (see Section 4.3.5).

Johansson & Norheim record subjunctive, *should* and indicative variants and also make a separate note of 'non-distinctive' forms (1988: 28). As might be expected, these NDs include non-third person singular forms following present-tense matrix verbs that could not be definitively categorised as subjunctive or indicative, such as *go* in as *We insist that you go*. More surprisingly, they also cite *I suggested that we leave at once* as an example containing an ND (1988: 28), despite mentioning lack of backshift as a characteristic of subjunctives on the previous page, where they use the example *He insisted that she* (*should*) *come*. If this is not simply a mistake, it would seem to suggest that for the authors – unlike for Haegeman, who uses the example *I suggested that they come* (1986: 64) – lack of backshift is an identifier of subjunctive forms only with third person singular subjects (as mentioned in Section 4.3.1).[16] This potentially has serious ramifications for findings from later studies that rely on Johansson & Norheim's figures.

Johansson & Norheim's findings in Table 5.2 confirm the generally accepted view of the time that the subjunctive was the normal choice in AmE (in 116 out of 165 cases), but was not so common in BrE (14 out of 122), in which the *should* variant was preferred (97 out of 122). There are also fewer NDs in the BrE data – 11 as opposed to 30 in the AmE data – which suggests that the number of these forms may be worth considering as an indicator of attitudes to the subjunctive (but bear in mind what constitutes an ND in Johansson & Norheim's study). Surprisingly, only one example of a positively identified indicative was found, in the BrE material, and this is not included in the table.[17]

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[16] See also discussion in Section 5.1.2 regarding Jacobsson (1975: 221), which possibly also considers iST only in relation to third person singular subjects, and discussion of the results of the new investigation of LOB and Brown in Section 6.3.1.

[17] The example was 'Feeling it would not be wise to rush matters so soon he finished his drink and **suggested** they returned to the dance room.' <LOB P07>. Note that in a later re-examination of LOB by Leech et al. (2009: 55) four other indicative examples were found.

Table 5.2. Absolute frequency of three variants in mandative clauses after 17 selected verbs (plus eight corresponding nouns) and five adjectives in AmE and BrE.*

| | Johansson & Norheim (1988) | | | | | |
| | Brown AmE 1961 | | | LOB BrE 1961 | | |
	subj.	ND	*should*	subj.	ND	*should*
advise	2	0	1	0	0	3
ask	5	4	0	1	0	2
beg	1	0	0	0	0	0
demand V+N	19	1	0	2	1	3
desire V+N	1	0	1	0	0	1
direct	2	0	0	0	1	1
insist	9	4	2	0	1	8
move	1	0	0	1	0	0
order	2	0	1	1	0	0
propose V+N	9	3	1	0	1	5
recommend V+N	10	3	1	1	0	13
request V+N	6	1	0	2	0	0
require V+N	14	2	0	1	1	6
stipulate	2	0	0	0	0	1
suggest V+N	12	7	7	2	6	34
urge	6	1	0	0	0	2
wish V+N	3	0	0	1	0	2
essential	2	0	1	1	0	7
important	4	3	3	0	0	0
necessary	5	1	1	0	0	5
sufficient	0	0	0	1	0	2
anxious	1	0	0	0	0	2
Total	**116**	**30**	**19**	**14**	**11**	**97**
	70.3%	18.2%	11.5%	11.5%	9%	79.5%

* Based on Table 1 in Johansson & Norheim (1988: 29). 'ND' = non-distinct form; 'V+N' indicates that results for 'corresponding nouns' were also included.

The fact that 11 of the 14 subjunctive forms in LOB were in passive constructions was taken to confirm Turner's view of *be* as 'a stronghold of the subjunctive' (Turner 1980: 276). The co-occurrence with the passive was also taken to illustrate 'the formal nature of the subjunctive in British English' (Johansson & Norheim 1988: 30). Without seeing the actual examples, however, it seems unwise to put too much weight on these conclusions (as discussed in Section 5.1.5). Turner's findings seem to be based on flawed data, and the automatic association of the passive with formality has to be treated with care.

The use of preverbal negation (iNEG) was found to be a significant difference between the two varieties, though it should be noted that negative clauses in general were not common in mandative clauses of any type, with only seven found in each corpus. In Brown, six of these featured subjunctives and one *should*; in LOB all seven contained *should*.

With regard to the less common (non-mandative) uses of the present subjunctive, no major differences were found between the varieties. Both corpora contained a few formulaic subjunctives, as well as examples of conditional, temporal and concessive clauses, mainly in formal contexts. The only significant pattern concerned clauses following *lest* (1988: 32). In Brown, eight of the 17 clauses with *lest* contained subjunctive forms; there were only three instances of *lest* in LOB, and none of them were followed by subjunctive complementation.

The investigation of the past subjunctive involved the analysis of the occurrence of indicative *was* and subjunctive *were* with first person or third person singular subjects in clauses dependent on *as if*, *as though*, *even if*, *even though* and *if*.[18] No significant differences between the two corpora were found, but the number of past subjunctives was higher than expected, leading the authors to claim that 'the *were*-subjunctive is clearly the dominant choice in hypothetical-conditional clauses and in clauses introduced by *as if* and *as though*' (1988: 34). As discussed in 4.5.1, they point out that this result is hard to reconcile with Quirk et al.'s observation that the *were*-subjunctive 'is nowadays a less usual alternative to the hypothetical past indicative' (1985: 158), although they raise the possibility that preferences may have changed between 1961 and 1985.

5.2.4 Övergaard (1992): 'On the use of the mandative subjunctive in English'

As in Johansson & Norheim (1988), Gerd Övergaard's paper reports the findings of an investigation of the mandative subjunctive based on data from the LOB and Brown corpora.[19] It is important for being the precursor to the large-scale diachronic study in Övergaard (1995), and the methodology it describes throws light on some of the issues in the later monograph, including her attitude towards non-distinct forms (NDs) and indicatives, and the difficulties involved in distinguishing between mandative and non-mandative uses of various predicates.

The starting point was the view expressed by, among others, Barber (1964: 133), Turner (1980: 273) and Quirk et al. (1985: 1013) that there had been an increase in the use of the mandative subjunctive in BrE in the second half of the twentieth century. Her own observations seemed to support this view, but also to suggest that the subjunctive was not limited to formal environments, as often claimed. In order to

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[18] They also record five instances in each corpus of subjunctive *were* in 'clauses after *wish/suppose*' (1988: 33), plus 17 instances of the set phrase *as it were* in LOB compared to only three in Brown (1988: 34).

[19] There is no mention of Johansson & Norheim's study or any apparent awareness of its findings.

investigate the reported diachronic change, the author created her own mini-corpora of written AmE and BrE texts from the 1980s for comparison with the findings for 1961 from her analysis of LOB and Brown. Mini-corpora of recent spoken material, drawn mainly from films and TV, were primarily intended to provide examples of the use of the mandative subjunctive in non-formal environments.

In her discussion of the characteristics of the present subjunctive, Övergaard mentions iNO-S, iST and iNEG, but not iBE, though a later footnote (1992: 211) shows that she is aware of it. The first stage of the study involved searching LOB and Brown for a list of verbal, nominal and adjectival triggers and sifting through the resulting concordance.[20] It is not clear how she put together this list of triggers, but it includes a couple of verbs that are not generally associated with mandative content clauses, namely *persuade* and *expect*, which tend to take infinitival complements in PDE. The convincing example she supplies from Brown for *expect*, however – (131), her (12) (1992: 208) – demonstrates one of the advantages over introspection that a corpus offers, and the importance of not making assumptions about complementation.

(131)   It might be added that as he kept his word so he **expected** that others <u>keep</u> theirs.

<div align="right"><Brown B03></div>

(132)   I expect that you/she leave it to me/hand it in tomorrow.

She then tests (131) on some informants, as well as similar examples of her own creation, including (132). The response was that such sentences expressed polite orders (1992: 209), but it has to be said that, as a BrE speaker, I find her own *expect* examples barely acceptable and would find infinitival complementation more natural.

The variants in mandative clauses included in her study consist of those featuring *should*, other modals, indicatives and what she calls 'unmarked' forms, i.e. the plain form of the verb, with no final -*s*. She comments that 'In some cases it is difficult to decide whether the unmarked verb form is indicative or subjunctive. However, the number of unmarked forms which are neither passive nor 3 p. sg. and which occur after present tense verbs is low: 19 out of 75' (1992: 211). From this statement and the results that are displayed in her tables, it is apparent that she does not treat NDs separately but instead includes them

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[20] The triggers were: VERBS: *ask, demand, expect, insist, move, persuade, prefer, propose, recommend, request, suggest, urge*; NOUNS: *condition, expectation, insistence, persuasion, preference, proposal, recommendation, suggestion*; ADJECTIVES: *acceptable, anxious, appropriate, concerned, desirable, essential, fitting, imperative, important, natural, right, unacceptable, undesirable, unnatural, urgent, vital, wise* (Övergaard 1992: 208).

with her subjunctives. (This also seems to be the case in Övergaard (1995: 93), as discussed below (Section 5.2.5) in relation to that study.)

Övergaard's results for verbal and nominal triggers are considered together but those for adjectival triggers separately, though it is not clear why. When looking at verbs and nouns, she identifies the problem of distinguishing between mandative and non-mandative uses of triggers such as *suggest* and *propose*, stressing that for the use of a trigger to be considered mandative, and included in her study, a 'volitional feature' must be present (1992: 209). Making the distinction is not always easy, however, and this volitional feature is not always evident in her examples. In her discussion of the appearance of different modal verbs in mandative clauses (1992: 215), she includes (133), her (31). She implies that the clause containing *might* is mandative, but I would argue that it is not. It concerns the statement of a possibility rather than a recommendation that something be done.

(133)   The **suggestion** that a prisoner who voluntarily accepted after-care <u>might</u> thereby qualify for
         early release . . . is at first sight not unattractive.

<LOB H08>

The results for verbs and nouns in Brown show that 100 per cent of the clauses following nouns and 90 per cent of those following verbs featured unmarked forms; in the mini-corpora of written and spoken material from the 1980s, 100 per cent featured unmarked forms. This she takes to indicate that the 'subjunctive thus appears to be the rule rather than the exception in AmE' (1992: 212). The results for BrE are quite different, with only 16 per cent of the verbs and 22 per cent of the nouns in LOB followed by unmarked forms, and a strong preference for the *should* variant in evidence, though she points out that the 15 subjunctives found in LOB after verbs and nouns 'can hardly be said to be insignificant' (1992: 212). She then takes the larger proportions of subjunctives found in her mini-corpus of British written texts from the 1980s (nine out of 13 variants after verbs, three out of four after nouns) as supporting evidence for the reported recent increase in the use of the subjunctive in BrE. Little significance can be placed on this, however, as the mini-corpora are very small and not representative. Regarding formality, she finds that contrary to 'what is stated in most of the literature referred to in the introduction, the unmarked forms moreover occur in a variety of texts in all four written corpora' (1992: 212). She also considers that the examples in her spoken mini-corpora, including some from soap operas and comedy films, indicate that subjunctives are not 'archaic in style' (1992: 222).

After verbs and nouns, Övergaard finds no indicatives in Brown and only three in LOB. Her explanation for this low figure reveals one of the difficulties that regularly crops up in studies of mandative clauses. She considers the reason for the low figure to be obvious because an 'indicative in the noun clause typically neutralizes or removes the volitional feature of the verb and the intent of the subject in the matrix' (1992: 217). To demonstrate this, she claims that if the subjunctive form in (134), her (4), were replaced with an indicative, as in (135), her (4y), it 'would be taken to be factual rather than mandative' (1992: 217).

(134)   The governor **insisted** that he <u>lower</u> his prices in accord with the scale.

<Brown G52>

(135)   The governor **insisted** that he <u>lowered</u> his prices in accord with the scale

This may be true for those speakers for whom the indicative is not an acceptable variant in mandative clauses (i.e. most AmE speakers), but it is not true for those, like many BrE speakers, who do find the indicative acceptable (see Section 4.3.5). It is clear that judging mandative uses of the indicative in different varieties can be difficult for speakers for whom it is not a natural option.

After adjectival triggers, Övergaard finds that the overall number of subjunctives is low, but there is still a clear difference between AmE (11 out of 23 variants in Brown) and BrE (three out of 39 in LOB). In her discussion of the BrE results, it then becomes clear that not all the triggers are mandative.[21] She notes that:

> the figures would have been slightly different if the adjectives had been tested as to their volitional feature . . . We are actually dealing with two types of subjective statements: non-modal, though subjective, statements about a situation on the one hand, and statements that express a wish, concern, or volitional involvement on the other.   (1992: 219–220)

Among her examples for the first type she includes (136), her (49), and for the second type (137), her (44).

(136)   It is perfectly **natural** that an angler <u>should</u> prefer to believe.

<LOB F38>

(137)   The government was most **anxious** that there <u>be</u> a respectable response.

<Brown J37>

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[21] It's not clear why verbs and nouns were checked for their mandative qualities but not adjectives.

(138)   It is **essential** that the ripening <u>is</u> stopped at the correct degree.

<div align="right"><LOB E33></div>

In making this distinction, she is essentially identifying the difference between mandative adjectives and those (typically factive) adjectives that license attitudinal rather than mandative *should*, and do not usually license subjunctives.[22] This is an important distinction when looking at complementation after adjectives, but again her choice of example shows that deciding what is and isn't mandative is not always easy. She claims that, because the verb is indicative, the content clause in (138), her (41), lacks 'volitional involvement' (1992: 219, 220), i.e. is not mandative. But for speakers for whom the indicative is acceptable in mandative clauses, I argue that this example can indeed be taken as mandative.[23]

5.2.5 *Övergaard (1995):* The mandative subjunctive in American and British English in the 20th century

This monograph was the first major diachronic study of the mandative subjunctive in BrE and AmE. The aim was to investigate the reported differences between varieties and how they changed over the course of the twentieth century. Its results provided the first substantial proof of a revival in the mandative subjunctive in AmE early in the twentieth century and a significant increase in its use in BrE after 1961.

The starting point was her own analysis of the LOB (BrE) and Brown (AmE) corpora, something she had first undertaken in Övergaard (1992). For the diachronic dimension, she created eight additional corpora of written texts from around 1900, 1920, 1940 and 1990. These were not electronic, but were selected by Övergaard herself and intended to be similar in style, structure and overall size to LOB and Brown. One important difference was that the individual texts were not consistently 2,000 words long, as is the case in LOB and Brown. The literary texts, in particular, were longer, 'to make them more suitable for in-depth analysis' (1995: 12), and there were fewer of them. The corpora were not, therefore, strictly comparable. Another difference was that Övergaard decided to set up an additional category of text types, 'drama', which required adding sections to LOB and Brown created by herself (1995: 12).

Her identification of subjunctive forms ('non-inflected subjunctives' in this study) is based on iNO-S, iBE, iST and iNEG (1995: 93). With regard to iST, though her example when discussing

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[22] See Sections 3.4.2 and 4.3.7 and discussion of the same point in relation to Haegeman (1986) in Section 5.2.2.

[23] Leech et al. (2009: 55) identify this example from LOB as one of the mandative indicatives that was not recognised as such in the study of LOB by Johansson & Norheim (1988).

identification criteria unhelpfully features a third person singular subject (*He insisted that she leave the premises* (1995: 93), various other examples cited in the book (e.g. (48) on page 30, and numerous examples taken from speech on pages 122–126) indicate that for her iST applies in all persons, not just third person singular. Övergaard's attitude towards NDs (her 'ambiguous forms') is also notable. She states that if 'no indicatives appear in parallel instances, it is taken for granted that a bare V form is a non-inflected subjunctive, not an indicative form' (1995: 93). The breakdown of her results (1995: 68–69) indicates that this applies, perhaps surprisingly, to both AmE and BrE, something that is not always recognised in later studies.[24]

Her method for identifying mandative clauses differs significantly from that of more recent studies. For LOB and Brown, she relied on a list of known mandative triggers.[25] For her own, non-electronic, corpora, however, she extended this by reading through larger texts, in order to find out 'whether, and if so to what extent, the variants are available after verbs and nouns and emotive adjectives normally lacking this semantic feature' (1995: 13). While this approach increases the range of mandative items investigated, it also affects the comparability of her figures, summarised in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3. Absolute and relative frequencies of three variants in mandative clauses in twentieth-century AmE and BrE.*

	Övergaard (1995)				
AmE	**AmE** 1900	**AmE** 1920	**AmE** 1940	**'Brown'** 1961	**AmE** 1990
Subjunctive	31 (32%)	54 (62.1%)	70 (82.4%)	98 (86%)	104 (99%)
Modal	65 (67%)	33 (37.9%)	15 (17.6%)	16 (14%)	1 (1%)
Indicative	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
BrE	**BrE** 1900	**BrE** 1920	**BrE** 1940	**'LOB'** 1961	**BrE** 1990
Subjunctive	5 (4.4%)	9 (8%)	12 (10.9%)	17 (14.3%)	56 (54.9%)
Modal	106 (93.8%)	104 (92%)	98 (89.1%)	96 (80.7%)	37 (36.3%)
Indicative	2 (1.8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (5%)	9 (8.8%)

* AmE figures from Tables 15 and 17 in Övergaard (1995: 40–41);
BrE figures from Table 21 in Övergaard (1995: 52).

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[24] In this she seems to be following the practice she adopted in Övergaard (1992).

[25] No list as such is provided, but one can be extracted from the examples in her Appendix 2.

Övergaard's combined results for mandative clauses following all types of trigger reveal that in 1900, while subjunctives were already more common in AmE than in BrE (32 per cent of mandative variants and 4 per cent, respectively), in both varieties modals were the most common option (67 per cent in AmE; 93.8 per cent in BrE). By 1920, in AmE there had been a significant change, with the proportions of subjunctive and modal forms roughly switched (62.1 per cent subjunctive; 37.9 per cent modals). This increase in the use of mandative subjunctives in AmE continued until, in 1990, modals represented only 1 per cent of the total. In BrE, the ratios remained fairly constant over the first half of the century, though with a slight increase in subjunctives. Between the last two corpora, however, there was a remarkable change. The 1961 BrE figures are 14.3 per cent subjunctive, 80.7 per cent modals, 5 per cent indicatives. By 1990, subjunctives are the most common variant at 54.9 per cent, with 36.3 per cent modals and 8.8 per cent indicatives. Thus, though the mandative subjunctive was still not as common in BrE as in AmE, it was significantly more common than it was 30 years before.

In mandative clauses following adjectives only, the author found that the change in preferences seemed to lag behind that following verbs and nouns.[26] In AmE in 1920, for example, after adjectives modals remained the most popular choice, which was no longer the case following verbs and nouns, and the subjunctive did not take over until the 1960s (1995: 33). In BrE, the resistance to the subjunctive in this environment was even greater, with only four subjunctive forms found after adjectives in all the corpora, three of them in the 1990 corpus (1995: 35). Otherwise, modals predominated.

While the overall pattern in the use of modals in mandative clauses is a decrease, to varying degrees in AmE and BrE, Övergaard's study also shows a significant change in the frequency of particular modals (1995: 56). *Should* was already the most common in 1900 in both varieties, representing 66 per cent of modal variants in AmE and 81 per cent in BrE. However, *shall* was also well represented: 26 per cent in AmE and 12 per cent in BrE. In BrE, other modals such as *may*, *must* and *might* occurred throughout the century, although *should* had become the strongly preferred choice by 1990, where it represented almost 95 per cent of the modal variants: 35 out of 37 examples. One finding that seems surprising, particularly in light of more recent studies, is that Övergaard identified only one modal in a mandative clause in her AmE corpus for 1990 (*must*), prompting the conclusion that the modal variant in AmE had 'virtually disappeared' (1995: 24). The decrease from 67 per cent in the first AmE corpus to less than 1 per cent in the latest leads her to claim that 'this variant can hardly be said to be a viable

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[26] Something also found by Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming) and Van linden (2010).

option in present-day AmE' (1995: 61). Later studies have supported the general trend, but indicate that the modal variant is still clinging on to life in AmE. For example, in the figures reported in Leech et al. (2009: 281), there are ten instances of *should* in the 1992 (AmE) Frown corpus, representing around 9 per cent of the total.

Övergaard makes two points regarding modals, which together suggest to her a possible explanation for the increase in the use of the mandative subjunctive in BrE. She states (1995: 54–55) that 'the subjunctive can replace all periphrastic alternants, but not vice versa, i.e. the modals are more specified both in meaning and usage.' The subjunctive on the other hand 'expresses only the combined core meaning of volition and futurity' (1995: 55). In this she is echoing Curme when he said that the modal auxiliaries 'have more and brighter shades of meaning than the old simple subjunctive forms' (1931: 394). Övergaard suggests that the change to preferring *should* as the modal variant (thereby losing the range of shades of meaning offered by the other modals) might have facilitated the recent increase in mandative subjunctives in BrE because of the potential for ambiguity between mandative *should* and 'obligation' *should* (1995: 61). In this, she seems to take a similar view to Algeo (1992: 602): that the simpler subjunctive construction is clearer in this regard. But as argued in Section 5.1.8, that is the case only when the subjunctive is firmly established, and for national varieties in which *should* is a common variant, the potential for ambiguity is small.

With regard to indicatives, Övergaard was surprised to discover that the number of indicatives in her corpora was 'exceedingly low' (1995: 62). Her expectations were based on Quirk et al.'s comment (1995: 1013) that 'indicative forms are also occasionally used in this construction' and the findings of Turner (1980: 275) that modal and indicative forms were distributed relatively evenly in active sentences. She found no indicative examples in AmE and only 17 in BrE, though she detected a small increase in BrE over the years, which gives some support to Algeo's labelling of the indicative variant as a 'Briticism' (Algeo 1992: 611). She notes that several indicative forms are found in instructions, concluding that the indicative is appropriate because instructions are 'neutral statements' in that they 'express nobody's volition and moreover often denote recurring situations' (1995: 63). I would argue that indicative forms in instructions can be mandative. The deontic force may be weaker than in other environments, but it is still there. This seems to be supported by her own admission that subjunctive forms are sometimes found in such instruction-type texts as well (1995: 63).

Övergaard's findings regarding NDs, her 'ambiguous forms', are notably different from those of Johansson & Norheim. While they record 30 in Brown and 11 in LOB (1988: 29), Övergaard finds

only 55 in all her AmE corpora and only 20 in her BrE corpora (1995: 68–69). This is possibly at least partly because her iST criterion applies to all persons, whereas Johansson & Norheim apparently use it only with third person singular subjects, and so she is able to positively identify more forms as subjunctives while they classify them as NDs. She also differs from Johansson & Norheim in not treating NDs as a separate category. With regard to AmE, she takes the view that because, apart from one instance in the 1900 corpus, there are no indicatives in the AmE corpora, 'no non-inflected verb forms in the American corpora can be regarded as ambiguous as regards mood' (1995: 69), and so she includes the NDs in AmE in her 'subjunctives' figures. As mentioned above, she also takes the more surprising step of adopting the same approach towards NDs in the BrE corpora, including them as 'subjunctives'.[27] This is something that does not appear to have been taken into consideration when her results are reported in later studies, yet clearly it affects the extent of the remarkable change in BrE she has noted between 1960 and 1990. In her original figures for 'subjunctives' in the 1960 BrE corpus (after all types of trigger), as in Table 5.3, there are 17 examples (14.3 per cent of total mandative clauses), with an increase to 56 (54.9 per cent) in the 1990 corpus. If ND forms are removed from the figures, 13 unambiguous subjunctives (10.9 per cent) remain in 1960, rising to 47 (46.1 per cent) in 1990. Nevertheless, the last figure is still higher than the number of modals (37 = 36 per cent) for 1990.

Few examples of the characteristic preverbal negation are found in Övergaard's corpora, though this is in keeping with the fact that overall there are very few negated mandative clauses. In all the American corpora, a total of 20 mandative clauses with *not* were found; ten of these featured subjunctive forms, ten featured modals. All the negated modals were from the first half of the century; all but one of the negated subjunctives were from the second half (1995: 70). In the BrE corpora, a total of 23 negated mandative clauses were found. Of these, 21 contained modals, mostly *should*, and only two contained subjunctives, both in texts from novels in the 1990 corpus (1995: 73–74). Meaningful analysis is obviously difficult with such a low-frequency construction, but it does seem to confirm that the negative pattern has only become familiar in BrE in the second half of the twentieth century.

When considering the distribution of passive and active mandative clauses containing subjunctives (1995: 79), Övergaard refers to the suggestion in Quirk et al. (1985: 157) that there 'is a tendency in BrE to choose the subjunctive more especially when the finite verb is *be* (*eg* in the passive voice)'. This suggestion does not appear to be supported by Övergaard's results. Though the low overall

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[27] This can be seen by comparing her Tables 21 and 25 (1995: 52, 68).

BrE figures for subjunctive forms in her early corpora make it difficult to draw any conclusions from this period, the fact that all nine instances of mandative subjunctives in the 1920 BrE corpus were passive may carry some weight. However, in the 1961 BrE corpus (1995: 76) only 17.6 per cent of the total number of subjunctives appeared in passive sentences (three out of 17); in 1990 the equivalent figure is 35.7 per cent (20 out of 56). Bearing in mind that the 1990 corpus contains considerably more subjunctives than any other BrE corpus and so can be more readily compared with the AmE corpus, it is interesting to note that the figure of 35.7 per cent is only slightly higher than the overall average figure for passive subjunctives in the AmE corpora: 31 per cent.

A number of possibilities are put forward by Övergaard as reasons for the return of the mandative subjunctive in AmE at the beginning of the twentieth century, all of them speculative and almost impossible to prove. These include the influence of the native languages of the large number of immigrants from north-European backgrounds[28] and the importance of the Authorized Version of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, in which subjunctive forms are prominent features. She points out that these books represent 'practically the only English that *all* gentile immigrants . . . came in contact with' (1995: 46). Regarding the increase in the mandative subjunctive in BrE between 1960 and 1990, Övergaard follows commentators such as Quirk et al. (1985: 157) and Gowers, in his edition of Fowler's *Modern English Usage* (1965: 595), in ascribing it to the influence of AmE and the growth of mass media after the Second World War, as a result of which 'American texts of every kind flooded Europe, and their impact on BrE evidently led to renewed availability of the non-inflected subjunctive, causing what appears to have been something of a sea change' (1995: 51).

In summary, Övergaard's monograph is clearly a major contribution to the understanding of developments regarding the mandative subjunctive in BrE and AmE in the twentieth century. The evidence of the revival early in the century in AmE and the later revival in BrE is very strong. Yet certain things need to be borne in mind when referring to her findings. It is generally acknowledged in later studies that as a result of the manner in which her corpora were compiled and her addition of a 'drama' text category, comparison with studies using corpora based on the Brown sampling frame is of limited value. However, it is apparently not recognised that her inclusion of NDs as subjunctives in both the AmE and BrE results must also be taken into account. Her overall findings, as presented in Table 5.3, are also slightly obscured by the decision to group *should* variants and other modals together as 'periphrastic

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[28] Such a suggestion had also been made by Fraser in his edition of Gowers's *The Complete Plain Words* (1973: 211).

alternants'. Yet by referring to a number of Övergaard's tables, it is actually possible to piece together a table in which all of these elements have been separated. The results of this can be seen in Table A22 in the Appendix.

5.2.6 Peters (1998): 'The survival of the subjunctive: Evidence of its use in Australia and elsewhere'

After Johansson & Norheim's and Övergaard's investigations of BrE and AmE, Peters's study was one of the first to look at aspects of the subjunctive in another major variety, Australian English (AusE). Both corpus and elicitation techniques were employed. The elicitation test took the form of a questionnaire included in the second issue of the biannual newsletter *Australian Style*. The corpus study used the Australian Corpus of English (ACE), designed to match the LOB and Brown corpora, but containing texts from 1986 rather than 1961.

In her useful introductory discussion of the attitudes towards the subjunctive of twentieth-century usage commentators, Peters pays particular attention to Fowler's *Modern English Usage* (1926: 574–578), with its generally discouraging tone and its declaration that the subjunctive is moribund. A minor point to note is that Peters suggests that Fowler mentions the mandative subjunctive (1998: 88), but as Lloyd had pointed out (1937: 370–371), Fowler did not in fact include any examples of the mandative subjunctive in his original entry. The section Peters refers to was added by Gowers in his revised edition of Fowler's work (Fowler 1965: 595–596). Nevertheless, the influential position of *Modern English Usage* for much of the twentieth century cannot be discounted, and Peters even goes so far as to make the following suggestion:

> Such cautionary advice from the guru of English usage may indeed have helped to reduce the use of the subjunctive in Britain, though it comes rather strangely from one who was generally disposed to preserve distinct grammatical forms and constructions at all costs. (Peters 1998: 88)

Peters conducted her elicitation study in 1993. Around 600 readers of *Australian Style* responded to the questionnaire, which consisted of ten sentences with gaps, with forced choices between subjunctive forms and alternatives. The test sentences included five mandative clauses, three conditional clauses, one clause introduced by *lest* and one exhaustive conditional introduced by *whether* (1998: 103). The results were mixed but certainly provided evidence that the subjunctive was a viable option in AusE (1998: 90–91). In half of the sentences (three mandative clauses and two remote conditionals), the

subjunctive was the majority choice. Only 4 per cent of the returned questionnaires supported the subjunctive in all ten sentences. The results also provided evidence of the importance of *should* as an alternative to the subjunctive, which led Peters to speculate as to whether the choice of modals was to any extent determined by the strength of modality of the mandative triggers, or whether the choice of *should* was 'somehow obligatory' (1998: 91).

The first part of the corpus study concerned mandative clauses. The methodology (1998: 91–92) involved searching for the same set of mandative items as in Johansson & Norheim (1988), although *beg*, *desire* and *wish* were omitted on the grounds that no examples were found in mandative clauses in the ACE corpus. In addition, Peters does not include in her main results the five adjectives from the Johansson & Norheim list (*anxious*, *essential*, *important*, *necessary*, *sufficient*), but instead mentions in a footnote results for the four adjectival triggers for which she did find subjunctive forms in ACE (*desirable*, *essential*, *important*, *necessary*). It is not completely clear why the results for these items were not considered of equal importance and why a different approach was taken.

The identification criteria for subjunctives are not set out, but as she is basing the study on Johansson & Norheim (1988), it is likely that she followed their criteria: iNO-S, iBE and iNEG. However, the treatment of non-distinct forms differs from that in the studies of both Johansson & Norheim and Övergaard (1995). Like Johansson & Norheim, Peters lists them separately, but unlike those authors, she subdivides them into those that can be analysed as subjunctives by iST[29] and those that cannot. As a result, unlike Övergaard, she does not systematically include all NDs as subjunctives. Within the modal variants, she distinguishes between modals and 'quasi-modals' (e.g. *had to*, *was to*). A footnote (1998: 92) makes it clear that she is aware of the non-mandative uses of triggers such as *propose*, *suggest* and *insist*, which implies that non-mandative examples were filtered out.

When compared with Johansson & Norheim's figures for Brown and LOB, the results (1998: 97) showed that as far as the total number of unambiguous subjunctive forms in mandative clauses is concerned, AusE, with 78, turned out to be much closer to the AmE figure (99) than to the BrE figure (11), although Peters stresses that there is a time difference of roughly 25 years between ACE and the earlier corpora. Subjunctives in ACE were not found to be restricted to formal contexts but were represented across the range of text types, and in the mandative clauses a variety of verbs were found: 25 different lexical verbs in addition to *be*. In this regard, ACE again differs significantly from LOB, in

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[29] As justification for this, she cites Quirk et al. (1985: 1013).

which, as reported by Johansson & Norheim (1988: 30), of the 14 subjunctive forms found, all but three contained BE.

Overall, in mandative clauses in ACE, the subjunctive variant was by far the most popular choice. In addition to the 78 unambiguous subjunctive forms, there were 19 forms identifiable as subjunctives by iST; there were 11 truly non-distinct forms, 36 modals and three quasi-modals. A variation was noted among different mandative triggers regarding selection of subjunctive or modal complements: the three items followed by the greatest number of mandative clauses were *demand* and *recommend*, which strongly favoured subjunctives, and *suggest*, which had roughly the same number of subjunctive and modal complements. As expected, *should* was the most commonly used modal. An analysis of the variation showed that the choice of modal 'often correlates with the relative force of the suasive verb', with, for example, *must* and *had to* tending to correlate with triggers involving strong obligation and *was to* with triggers involving weak obligation (1998: 94). This leads Peters to conclude that:

> Effectively there is scope for choice among the modals, and this allows English speakers greater resources to specify meaning than is possible with the plain subjunctive. The verb phrase is evidently the locus of an expanding set of grammatical notions, notions hitherto expressed synthetically (or echoed) in the English subjunctive, but increasingly expressed by analytic means.   (Peters 1998: 94)

The second part of the corpus study concerned other uses of the subjunctive in subordinate clauses, and in particular the past subjunctive. In conditional clauses, there was a strong preference in ACE for indicative *was* over subjunctive *were*, marking a difference from the situation in Brown and LOB. The comparable figures for clauses introduced by *if*, *as if*, *as though*, *even if* and *even though* were: ACE *were* 48, *was* 77; Brown *were* 113, *was* 45; LOB *were* 126, *was* 74 (1998: 99). She suggests that, on the face of it, this indicates that for some reason AusE is resisting the pressure from prescriptivists to a greater extent than AmE and BrE. However, she speculates that the quarter-century difference between ACE and the other corpora might also be a factor, with ACE representing a later stage in an overall decline in the use of *were*. Some evidence for her impression of an ongoing decline in the use of *were*, in AusE at least, is supplied by the elicitation test. As discussed in Section 5.1.9, when the test sentences involving a choice between *was* and *were* were analysed by age bracket, there was a clear preference for *were* among the older respondents.

When discussing the possibility of prescriptive influence on the choice between *was* and *were*, Peters reports an interesting comment from one of the respondents to the questionnaire: 'An alternative

explanation, articulated by a pragmatic Australian responding to the *Australian Style* survey, is that after *if* the use of the subjunctive to suggest counterfactuality is redundant' (1998: 99).

5.2.7   *Hundt (1998a):* New Zealand English grammar: Fact or fiction?

Marianne Hundt extends mandative subjunctive studies to New Zealand English (NZE) in a section of this corpus-based monograph on the grammar of that variety. The section features two synchronic studies: one comparing NZE with BrE and AmE using large newspaper databases, the other comparing NZE with AusE and AmE using standard million-word corpora.

In a preliminary discussion of the difficulties involved in defining the variables in mandative clauses, the author addresses the question of what to do with non-distinct forms (NDs). She notes that Johansson & Norheim treated them separately, but does not seem to be aware that their NDs apparently included some examples that by her own explanation of iST would have been categorised as subjunctives (see Section 5.2.3).[30] She points out that if NDs are not included among the variants when looking at mandative clauses 'the relative frequency of the remaining options increases. This produces more pronounced preferences (for the subjunctive in Brown and for the periphrastic variant in LOB)' (1998a: 91). She does not make clear whether that should be considered a good or bad thing, but it could be argued that it gives a less accurate picture of the choices facing speakers.

Hundt also mentions the need to distinguish between mandative and non-mandative uses of some triggers and considers the possibility of including non-finite complementation, in particular *to*-infinitives, as variants following mandative triggers, but concludes that because of the practical difficulties involved in identifying comparable environments 'it seems a perfectly legitimate approach to limit the analysis to finite subordinate clauses' (1998a: 92).

The data for the first study comes from newspaper databases containing samples from the 1990s: from the *Dominion* and *Evening Post* (*Dom*/*EVP*) for NZE; from the *Guardian* for BrE; and from the *Miami Herald* for AmE. One of the obvious advantages of these corpora is that they are much larger than million-word corpora such as Brown and LOB, which is potentially important when dealing with a low-frequency phenomenon like the subjunctive. On the other hand, they are restricted to one text type,

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[30] Hundt's example of an iST subjunctive has a first person singular subject, showing that for her iST does not apply only with a third person singular subject: *When my own worry lines began to deepen recently, Donna suggested I take up jogging with Rob.* <WCNZE K29> (1998a: 90).

newspaper writing, and so are not as balanced and representative as Brown and LOB are intended to be. The results, therefore, should not be taken to apply to all text types in the national varieties.

Instead of simply using the Johansson & Norheim (1988) triggers, Hundt takes a two-stage approach to the identification of mandative clauses. The first stage involves a broad search of the *Dom*/*EVP* database for 'the syntactic patterns which may trigger a mandative subjunctive in AmE' (1998a: 92), counting only unambiguous subjunctives. In the second stage, working from these *Dom*/*EVP* results, she selects a subset of five triggers that occur most frequently with the subjunctive and then searches for equal numbers of mandative clauses following those triggers in all three databases.[31]

Table 5.4. Absolute frequencies for three variants in mandative clauses after five selected triggers in newspaper corpora from New Zealand, Britain and the USA in the 1990s.*

	Hundt (**1998a**)								
	DOM/EVP NZE 1990s			*Guardian* BrE 1990s			*Miami Herald* AmE 1990s		
	subj.	*should*	indic.	subj.	*should*	indic.	subj.	*should*	indic.
insist	19	3	3	7	10	8	16	6	3
important	10	2	16	5	16	7	23	0	5
demand	45	4	1	34	14	2	48	1	1
recommend	67	14	3	26	53	5	80	4	0
suggest	36	29	0	17	45	3	54	10	1
Total	**177** (70%)	**52** (21%)	**23** (9%)	**89** (35%)	**138** (55%)	**25** (10%)	**221** (88%)	**21** (8%)	**10** (4%)

* Based on Table 4.19 in Hundt (1998a: 93).

Hundt takes the results, displayed in Table 5.4, to confirm previous findings that the mandative subjunctive is more common in AmE than in BrE, and that *should* is the preferred variant in BrE. However, as she points out, it also shows that BrE is not alone in using indicatives. While the few indicative examples in the AmE database all involved verbs that can also take non-mandative complements, examples in NZE were unambiguously mandative. She concludes that the 'indicative can therefore hardly be claimed to be a Briticism' (1998a: 93).

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[31] The number of mandative clauses searched for in each database for each trigger was 25 for *insist*, 28 for *important*/*importance*, 50 for *demand*, 84 for *recommend*/*recommendation*, 65 for *suggest*/*suggestion* (1998a: 92).

As far as the mandative subjunctive is concerned, the results indicated that NZE was closer to AmE than to BrE, though the *should* variant was still fairly common.[32] NZE was found to be closer to BrE when it came to the use of the subjunctive with *be*. In both varieties, around 60 per cent of subjunctives involved *be*, whereas in AmE the figure was 50 per cent. Similarly, NZE and BrE were both shown to be reluctant to use preverbal negation. There were eight examples in the AmE database, but only two in the NZE database and none in the BrE database.

The aim of Hundt's second study involving mandative subjunctives was to see how NZE compared in this regard with the other major Southern Hemisphere national variety, AusE, and how both varieties compared with AmE, the variety believed to have the highest use of mandative subjunctives. Unfortunately, the description of the data involved in the study raises a few questions, as do the results themselves.

The data for AusE was apparently taken directly from the analysis of ACE in Peters (1998) and so, for the sake of comparison, the 17 verb (and associated noun) triggers that featured in that study were used in Hundt's analysis of NZE from the Wellington Corpus (WCNZE). The variants were restricted to subjunctive and *should*, and the AmE results, taken from the analysis of Brown in Johansson & Norheim (1988), were modified to restrict them to those triggers. All of this seems reasonable, but a comment about the identification criteria muddies the waters. Hundt states that she follows Peters in so far as 'cases with first and second person[33] subjects in the subordinate clause were included [as subjunctives] whenever they occurred in a disambiguating past-tense context' (1998a: 96). This does not seem to reflect the fact that Peters (1998: 92) kept a separate record of forms that could be identified as subjunctives by iST but did *not* include them in her subjunctive figures. As there is considerable doubt about whether Johansson & Norheim relied on iST for anything other than third person singular subjects (as discussed in Section 5.2.3), it seems very likely that in this study Hundt's subjunctive figures and those she took from other studies for comparison were not all based on the same criteria. Another apparent discrepancy is that the figures for ACE in Hundt's results table, as summarised in Table 5.5, do not seem to tally with those reported in Peters (1998: 93), the supposed source, even if Peters's unmistakable subjunctives and those

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[32] In the discussion of these results, Hundt refers to an elicitation test that provided some of the data for the book: 'Interestingly, the *should* variant was not perceived as a Briticism by the American informants of my elicitation test . . . The New Zealand informants did not single out the mandative subjunctive after *interest* . . . as typical of AmE, either. Even though regional variation in this area of grammar has long been recognized by linguists, it does not seem to rank high in the minds of speakers when asked to identify regionalisms' (1998a: 94).

[33] It's not clear why cases with third person plural subjects are not included.

identifiable by iST are combined.[34] Given the references to Peters's paper as 'Peters (forthcoming)', it could well be that Hundt was working from a non-final version, but whatever the reason, it seems clear that care should be taken when referring to Hundt's results.

Table 5.5. Absolute and relative frequencies of
subjunctive and *should* variants in mandative clauses
after selected verbs and nouns in NZE, AusE and AmE.*

	Hundt (1998a)		
	WCNZE NZE 1986–90	**ACE** AusE 1986	**Brown** AmE 1961
Subjunctive	70 (66.7%)	73 (77.7%)	104 (88.1%)
Should	35 (33.3%)	21 (22.3%)	14 (11.9%)

* Based on Table 4.2 in Hundt (1998a: 97).

Hundt's analysis of her results indicates that regarding the mandative subjunctive there is no statistically significant difference between the AusE and NZE or the AusE and AmE results, yet there *is* a significant difference between AmE and NZE, which suggests to her that 'AusE has come closer to the pattern observed in AmE of the 1960s than NZE' (1998a: 97).

5.2.8 *Hundt (1998b): 'It is important that this study (*should*) be *based on the analysis of parallel corpora: On the use of the mandative subjunctive in four major varieties of English'*

Hundt's three-part paper begins with the first diachronic study of mandative clauses based on truly comparable electronic corpora, which distinguishes it from Övergaard's mixture of electronic corpora and personally collected written texts. This became possible after the (near) completion of the F-LOB (BrE) and Frown (AmE) corpora containing written texts from 1991 and 1992, respectively, which allowed results from those corpora to be compared with the results for LOB and Brown in Johansson & Norheim (1988). The second part of her study is a synchronic investigation of the mandative subjunctive in four major varieties of English, in which the new results for BrE and AmE from F-LOB and Frown are compared with the AusE results from the analysis of ACE in Peters (1998) and those for NZE from Hundt's own study of the WCNZE corpus (Hundt 1998a). In the third part, she examines data from all of

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[34] The figures reported in Peters (1998: 93): 78 unambiguous subjunctives, 19 subjunctives identifiable by iST and 29 *should* variants.

these written corpora, plus material from the spoken part of the BNC and the Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English (WCSNZE), in an attempt to establish whether level of formality has any influence on the use of the subjunctive in mandative clauses.

Hundt helpfully discusses methodological issues at some length and, for practical reasons, adopts different approaches in the three parts of her study. Her criteria for identification of subjunctive forms include not only iNO-S, iBE and iNEG, but also iST, in all persons (1998b: 160). As in her previous study, (Hundt 1998a), she does not appear to be aware that Johansson & Norheim (1988: 28) treated non-third person singular iST forms as NDs rather than as subjunctives, and so the results she relies on for comparison from that study were apparently based on different criteria from hers.

In her diachronic and synchronic studies, because indicatives are not included in the results of the earlier studies, Hundt considers only subjunctive and *should* variants (though some examples of indicatives in F-LOB are discussed on page 164). She does not include results for NDs, on the basis that they are not included in Peters's study (1998b: 160), despite the fact that, as mentioned in Section 5.2.7, results for NDs are clearly recorded in the table of results in that study (Peters 1998: 93). Hundt does, however, include both NDs and indicatives when extending her analysis to spoken corpora (1998b: 163). Hundt is clear on the need to distinguish between mandative and non-mandative clauses after triggers such as *insist* and *suggest*, and also devotes considerable thought to the question of what variants should be considered when looking at mandative clauses, presenting the same arguments as in her earlier paper (1998a: 91–92) and coming to the same decision: to restrict her analysis to finite subordinate clauses. Also as in her previous paper, in the diachronic and synchronic studies she follows Peters in restricting the set of mandative triggers to the 17 verbs and associated nouns that feature in Johansson & Norheim (1988: 29), omitting the five adjectives.[35] In her examination of the spoken corpora, however, Hundt uses the full set of Johansson & Norheim triggers, including adjectives.

When looking at the results of her diachronic study of mandative clauses in Brown/LOB and Frown/F-LOB, Hundt was interested to see if there was evidence of the swing to a preference for the subjunctive variant in BrE that was reported by Övergaard for her privately collected 1990s corpus. The results of Hundt's study are shown in Table 5.6, alongside, for ease of comparison, the relevant results

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[35] Note that Peters does not include figures for *beg*, *desire* and *wish* in her table of results, as they were not found in mandative clauses in the ACE corpus (1998: 92).

from Övergaard (1995), though it must be stressed that these are not strictly comparable for a number of reasons.[36]

Table 5.6. Comparison of results from Hundt (1998b) and Övergaard (1995): absolute and relative frequencies of subjunctive and *should* variants in mandative clauses after verbal and nominal triggers in AmE and BrE corpora from the 1960s and 1990s.*

	Hundt (1998b)		Övergaard (1995)	
AmE	**Brown** 1961	**Frown** 1992	**Brown** 1961	**AmE** 1990
Subjunctive	104 (88.1%)	94 (89.5%)	87 (91.6%)	91 (100%)
Should	14 (11.9%)	11 (10.5%)	8 (8.4%)	0 (0%)
BrE	**LOB** 1961	**F-LOB** 1991	**LOB** 1961	**BrE** 1990
Subjunctive	12 (12.9%)	44 (39.6%)	17 (22%)	53 (64.6%)
Should	81 (87.1%)	67 (60.4%)	61 (78%)	29 (35.4%)

* Hundt took the Brown and LOB figures from Table 1 in Johansson & Norheim (1988: 29); Hundt's Frown and F-LOB figures are from Table 2 (1998b: 163); Övergaard's AmE figures are from Table 7 (1995: 24); Övergaard's BrE figures are from Table 11 and subsequent discussion (1995: 30–31).

The results for F-LOB (from 1991) do show a significant increase in the number of subjunctives in mandative clauses in BrE since LOB, but it is not as dramatic as that reported by Övergaard: most notably the *should* variant is still dominant at 60.4 per cent. The results from Frown (from 1992), though not definitive because the corpus was not completed at the time of the study, show little change from Brown, with subjunctives used in almost 90 per cent of cases and the *should* variant in 10 per cent. This again differs from the results for Övergaard's 1990 AmE corpus, in which the *should* variant is not found following verbal and nominal triggers (1995: 24). Hundt's results, therefore, suggest that the *should* variant did not disappear from AmE to the extent Övergaard claimed (1995: 61). The part played by indicatives is also discussed by Hundt (1998b: 164). In the knowledge that Övergaard reported a small increase in unambiguous indicatives in BrE in the second half of the century, finding six in LOB and nine in her 1990 corpus (1995: 52), and that Johansson & Norheim found only one indicative in LOB

[36] (1)The Hundt (1998) figures are not directly comparable with the Johansson & Norheim (1988) figures because of the different analysis and treatment of iST subjunctives. (2) The Övergaard (1995) figures are not strictly comparable with the other two because (a) they use a mixture of computerised corpora and privately collected, non-computerised corpora with varying text sizes; (b) they are not based on the same limited set of triggers; (c) they include NDs as subjunctives in both AmE and BrE.

(1988: 28),[37] Hundt reports that in F-LOB 'this option is more frequent' (1998b: 164), and provides five

examples, but does not make clear if they constitute the full total.

Hundt's synchronic study is significant for investigating mandative subjunctives in four major

national varieties. She achieves this by comparing her Frown, F-LOB and WCNZE data with the ACE

AusE data from Peters (1998).

Table 5.7. Absolute and relative frequencies of subjunctive and *should* variants in
mandative clauses in AmE, AusE, NZE and BrE in 1980s/1990s corpora.*

	Hundt **(1998b)**			
	Frown AmE 1992	**ACE** AusE 1986	**WCNZE** NZE 1986–90	**F-LOB** BrE 1991
Subjunctive	94 (89.5%)	73 (77.7%)	70 (66.7%)	44 (39.6%)
Should	11 (10.5%)	21 (22.3%)	35 (33.3%)	67 (60.4%)

* Based on Table A1 in Hundt (1998b: 173).[38]

The results, summarised in Table 5.7, show that both AusE and NZE are closer to AmE than to BrE in

their use of the subjunctive in mandative clauses, leaving BrE as the only variety in which the *should*

variant is still the preferred option.

In the third part of the paper, Hundt investigates a possible association of the mandative

subjunctive with formality. To do this, she looks at three areas discussed in this context by Johansson &

Norheim – text type, co-occurrence with the passive and *that*-omission – and additionally examines the

use of the subjunctive in mandative clauses in two spoken corpora. With regard to text type, Johansson &

Norheim (1988: 30) reported that in LOB all the mandative subjunctives except one occurred in the

'informative prose' subcorpus (categories A–J). Hundt's analysis of F-LOB (1998b: 167) shows

subjunctives spread across a wider range of text types than in the earlier corpus, and the area of greatest

growth in the use of the subjunctive is academic prose. Hundt considers that while this is at first sight

unexpected, on reflection, it is 'hardly surprising that a genre which is resisting the trend towards a more

colloquial written style should be in the vanguard of a change that is reviving a formal syntactic option'

(1998b: 167). As for the passive, Johansson & Norheim reported that 11 out of a total of 14 subjunctives

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[37] Note that in Leech et al. (2009: 55) four more examples featuring indicatives were identified in LOB.

[38] Note that the figures for ACE are the same as those reported in Hundt (1998a). As discussed above in relation to
that study, the figures do not apparently tally with those actually reported in Peters (1998: 93).

in LOB occurred in passive clauses (1988: 30),[39] but Hundt's figures for F-LOB show an even distribution of subjunctives, with 22 in active and 22 in passive clauses, which she takes as 'evidence that the subjunctive in BrE is indeed losing its formal connotations' (1998b: 167). While the automatic association of the passive with formality needs to be treated with care, the change from the LOB figures is notable. *That*-omission was found by Johansson & Norheim in only one out of their 14 LOB subjunctives, which was taken as a 'further indication of formality' (1988: 30). Hundt reports *that*-omission in five of the 44 mandative subjunctives in F-LOB (1998b: 168), but no conclusions can be drawn from this without comparable figures for the other mandative variants, which are not supplied by Johansson & Norheim. It also needs to be set in a broader context of diachronic developments in *that*-omission in written texts, which possibly reflect changes not only in usage but also in editorial attitudes.

Data from two spoken corpora of BrE and NZE – the spoken subcorpus of the BNC (*c*.10 million words) and WCSNZE (1 million words), respectively – in general reflected the preferences found in the written corpora (1998b: 169–170). The BNC supplied 167 subjunctives and 228 *should* variants; the WCSNZE 27 subjunctives and 11 *should* variants. Surprisingly, the relative frequency of the subjunctive when compared with just the *should* variant in the BNC spoken data was slightly higher than that in the written texts of F-LOB (42.3 per cent vs 39.6 per cent). However, this was shown to be understandable when the large number of parliamentary speeches and transcriptions of committee meetings found in the BNC was taken into account. When only the section containing spontaneous speech was considered, the use of the subjunctive was much lower: 19 as opposed to 41 *should* variants.

Table 5.8. Variants in mandative clauses in two spoken 1990s corpora.*

	subj.	*should*	other modals	indic.	NDs	Total
Hundt (1998b)						
BNC BrE	167 (15.4%)	228 (21.1%)	79 (7.3%)	191 (17.7%)	417 (38.5%)	1082 (100%)
WCSNZE NZE	27 (25.2%)	11 (10.3%)	10 (9.3%)	8 (7.5%)	51 (47.7%)	107 (100%)

* Based on Table 7 in Hundt (1998b: 170).

When looking at the spoken corpora, Hundt was able to use the full set of triggers, including adjectives, and to extend the search to include other variants: indicatives, other modals and non-distinct forms. The

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[39] Note that Johansson & Norheim's LOB figures differ considerably from the LOB figures of Övergaard, who reports a total of 17 subjunctives in LOB, of which only three are passive (1995: 80). This disparity is difficult to explain, even taking into account different approaches to searching for and identifying mandative subjunctives.

results, summarised in Table 5.8, provide strong evidence of the importance of the indicative in BrE, and show that considering only the ratio of subjunctive to *should* variants can give a misleading picture when it comes to the significance of the subjunctive in mandative clauses. Her conclusion is that 'Comparative data from the two spoken corpora have shown that subjunctives are also catching on in spoken texts, but they are still far less popular than other variants' (1998b: 171).

5.2.9 *Serpollet (2001): 'The mandative subjunctive in British English seems to be alive and kicking. . . Is this due to the influence of American English?'*

Serpollet's study follows Hundt (1998b) in looking at mandative subjunctives in Brown/LOB and Frown/F-LOB, but differs in two important respects. While Hundt relied on Johansson & Norheim (1988) for her data for the earlier corpora, Serpollet carried out her own analyses of all four corpora. Serpollet also worked with a new, much larger set of mandative triggers rather than relying on those from Johansson & Norheim's study.

Her criteria for identification of subjunctive forms were iNO-S, iBE, iST and iNEG (2001: 533). Additionally, non-distinct forms (NDs) were initially considered to be subjunctives, but the results were presented separately. The justification for taking NDs to be subjunctives was the application of a substitution test, in which replacing the subject of the subordinate clause with *he* and producing an acceptable result that was identifiable as subjunctive because of the lack of -*s* was claimed to show that the original clause also contained an unambiguous subjunctive. Such a test has its limitations, however, as in a variety such as BrE in which the indicative is a viable option in mandative clauses, the test cannot be said to show that *all* speakers would find the mandative subjunctive acceptable or appropriate in a particular case. Perhaps tellingly, Serpollet chooses, without explanation, not to include indicatives in her study, even though she mentions them in her initial characterisation of mandative clauses (2001: 533).

Two approaches were taken to identifying mandative clauses. Initially, in a pilot study of two text types within LOB and F-LOB, she searched for all instances of *should* and then went through them to find the mandative clauses. As might be expected, this proved to be prohibitively time-consuming. Her second approach involved searching for a finite set of mandative triggers. At 64 verbs, 52 nouns, 40 adjectives, this was a much larger set than used in previous studies, but unfortunately the actual triggers

are not listed, which makes it difficult to be sure that items that might trigger attitudinal *should*[40] rather than mandative *should* had been filtered out.

Table 5.9. Comparison of results from Hundt (1998b) and Serpollet (2001): absolute and relative frequencies of subjunctive and *should* variants in mandative clauses in AmE and BrE corpora from the 1960s and 1990s.*

	Hundt (1998b)		Serpollet (2001)	
AmE	**Brown** 1961	**Frown** 1992	**Brown** 1961	**Frown** 1992
Subjunctive	104 (88.1%)	94 (89.5%)	91 (77.8%)	78 (79.6%)
Should	14 (11.9%)	11 (10.5%)	26 (22.2%)	20 (20.4%)
BrE	**LOB** 1961	**F-LOB** 1991	**LOB** 1961	**F-LOB** 1991
Subjunctive	12 (12.9%)	44 (39.6%)	14 (8.3%)	33 (28.4%)
Should	81 (87.1%)	67 (60.4%)	155 (91.7%)	83 (71.6%)

* Hundt took Brown and LOB figures from Table 1 in Johansson & Norheim (1988: 29); Hundt's Frown and F-LOB figures from Table 2 (1998b: 163); Serpollet's figures from (2001: 541).[41]

Bearing in mind that the same corpora were used, there are some notable differences between the results of this study (2001: 541) and those reported in Hundt (1998b: 163), as displayed in Table 5.9, not all of which can be put down to the different number of triggers involved. Serpollet's results regarding BrE show a similar increase in the use of the subjunctive, but she finds twice as many clauses featuring *should* in LOB as in the Johansson & Norheim (1988) figures for LOB reported by Hundt. This may show that not all of Serpollet's triggers are truly mandative. On the other hand, it could be that the extended list of triggers has resulted in a larger number of triggers for which the mandative subjunctive is a very occasional complement and *should* the normal one in BrE, whereas the triggers from Johansson & Norheim (1988) were presumably chosen because it was believed that subjunctives were found with them fairly regularly. (Further light on this could be thrown by another investigation involving considerably more triggers than used by Johansson & Norheim, such as the list in Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 999.) More difficult to explain are Serpollet's results for the AmE corpora, in both of which she finds fewer

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[40] As defined by Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1001).

[41] Note that the figures are not truly comparable because of the difference in the number and type of triggers involved: Serpollet uses 64 verbs, 52 nouns and 40 adjectives, whereas Hundt uses 17 verbs (and associated nouns).

examples of mandative subjunctives than Johansson & Norheim and Hundt, despite working with far more triggers.

An interesting aspect of the results is that if Serpollet's figures for NDs are included (2001: 541), there is a significant difference between the varieties regarding the overall number of mandative clauses. While AmE remains stable at 133 in Brown and 127 in Frown, BrE shows a decrease from 184 in LOB to 141 in F-LOB. This could be of interest, as a decrease in the number of mandative contexts has been noted in other studies, e.g. Waller (2005), yet the unusually high number of *should* variants in Serpollet's LOB figures has to be taken into consideration, as does the fact that indicatives were not included, something that is likely to affect the BrE figures more than those for AmE. In general, however, despite some interesting approaches and findings, because of the slightly confusing methodology and missing information, it seems safe only to acknowledge the general trends identified in this paper, rather than rely on all the details.

5.2.10 Waller (2005): 'The subjunctive in present-day British English: A survey, with particular reference to the mandative subjunctive'

While previous diachronic studies involving the mandative subjunctive had primarily looked at written English, the aim of this study was to examine the situation in spoken BrE, using the newly created Diachronic Corpus of Present-day Spoken English (DCPSE). This consists of about 400,000 words from the spoken subcorpus of ICE-GB (collected in the early 1990s) and 400,000 words of spoken material from the London-Lund Corpus (LLC, late 1960s–early 1980s). In addition, an analysis of mandative clauses in the ICE-GB corpus was undertaken.

For comparative purposes, the triggers listed in Johansson & Norheim (1988: 29) were used. In order to give a broad picture of the options available to BrE speakers in mandative clauses, the variants considered were not only the subjunctive and *should* variants, but also indicatives, NDs and clauses containing other modals. The criteria for identifying subjunctive forms were iNO-S, iBE, iST (in all persons) and iNEG. Non-mandative uses of triggers such as *insist*, *suggest* and *important* were weeded out, and the specialised and deontic uses of *should* were distinguished.

Table 5.10. Absolute and relative frequencies of variants in mandative clauses after selected verbal, nominal and adjectival triggers in DCPSE (BrE).*

| | Waller (2005) | | | | | |
	should	subj.	ND	indic.	other modals	**total**
DCPSE: LLC	20 (39.2%)	5 (9.8%)	9 (17.7%)	7 (13.7%)	10 (19.6%)	**51**
DCPSE: ICE-GB	11 (39.3%)	2 (7.1%)	6 (21.4%)	8 (28.6%)	1 (3.6%)	**28**

* Based on Table 1 in Waller (2005: 49).

The most striking result from the diachronic study based on DCPSE, summarised in Table 5.10, was the decrease in the overall number of mandative clauses (or mandative contexts), from 51 to 28. It was suggested that further study was needed to see if the use of other patterns of complementation, such as infinitival and participial clauses, could have affected this result, though the possibility of sampling differences should also be borne in mind, as well as the relatively small size of the corpora. The DCPSE results also confirmed the importance in mandative clauses in BrE of both the *should* variant, which remained stable, and of indicatives, which showed a significant increase (in relative frequency). As for the subjunctive, while the small numbers overall mean that care should be taken not to ascribe too much importance to the findings, neither the absolute nor the relative frequencies provided evidence that the reported increase in the frequency of the mandative subjunctive in written BrE had also taken place in spoken BrE. With five examples of subjunctives in the earlier subcorpus and only two in the later, the raw figures suggest a significant decline, but because of the overall decrease in the number of mandative contexts the decrease in the relative frequency is much smaller, from 9.8 per cent to 7.1 per cent.

Table 5.11. Absolute, normalised and relative frequencies of variants in mandative clauses after verbal, nominal and adjectival triggers in ICE-GB (BrE from the 1990s).*

		should	subj.	ND	indic.	other modals	mand. total (MT)
						Waller (2005)	
ICE-GB – written							
423,702 wds	raw	18	14	10	9	3	54
	pmw	42.5	33	23.6	21.2	7.1	
	% of MT	33%	25.9%	18.5%	16.7%	5.6%	
ICE-GB – spoken							
637,562 wds	raw	22	7	13	15	7	64
	pmw	34.5	11	21.1	23.5	11	
	% of MT	34.1%	10.9%	20.9%	23.2%	10.9%	

* Based on Table 4 in Waller (2005: 51).

The study of ICE-GB allowed a synchronic comparison of the situation in spoken and written BrE, as the corpus consists of just over 600K words of spoken text[42] and just over 400K words of written text. The results, summarised in Table 5.11, showed a significant difference between speech and writing in the number of subjunctives in mandative clauses, both in terms of raw and relative frequency: 33 (25.9 per cent) written, 11 (10.9 per cent) spoken.

Among the conclusions drawn was that the inconsistent approaches of previous studies regarding identification criteria, the range of variables and the list of triggers, coupled with the reliance on figures from earlier studies that are not strictly comparable, suggested a need for a consistently based reanalysis of the Brown family corpora.

5.2.11 Hundt (2009): 'Colonial lag, colonial innovation or simply language change?'

The question of how the twentieth-century increase in the use of the mandative subjunctive in both AmE and BrE fits into a broader historical context is addressed in this book chapter examining various patterns of diachronic grammatical change and some of the terms that have been used to capture them. It is the first of four chapters[43] on subjunctive-related topics in *One Language, Two Grammars?* (Rohdenburg & Schlüter 2009), a book whose theme is grammatical differences between BrE and AmE.

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[42] Note that the ICE-GB element of DCPSE does not contain the *whole* of the ICE-GB spoken subcorpus, but just 400K words, to match the 400K words from the LLC.

[43] The others are Kjellmer (2009), Crawford (2009) and Schlüter (2009), all of which are discussed below.

Among the terms Hundt assesses is 'colonial lag', originally coined by Marckwardt (1958: 80), which has often been used to describe apparently conservative grammatical features of AmE, sometimes in contrast to 'colonial innovations', in which AmE is instead seen to take the lead. In her survey of previous studies illustrating several different patterns of diachronic change, and in three new case studies of her own, the author reveals that the situation tends to be far more complicated than a simple dichotomy between conservatism and innovation. For example, some assumed instances of colonial lag turn out to be 'colonial revivals' (2009: 14): that is, features that were shared by both varieties at an earlier stage before falling out of common usage, to be revived at a later date in AmE.

One of the three new case studies involves the mandative subjunctive (2009: 30–31). Hundt points out that while Övergaard (1995) found evidence of a twentieth-century revival in AmE, it is important to establish whether it was already significantly more popular in AmE than in BrE in the centuries before that. To that end, she analyses data from the ARCHER corpus and the Chadwyck-Healey Early American Fiction corpus, searching for ten out of the 17 Johansson & Norheim (1988) triggers[44] that she used in her own earlier diachronic study of the mandative subjunctive in the twentieth century (1998b), and following the same principles for identification of subjunctive forms.[45]

Though the number of mandative clauses in ARCHER is small, the preference for modal periphrasis is strong, and the findings 'clearly indicate that the subjunctive was rarely used after mandative expressions such as *ask*, *insist* or *propose* in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English on both sides of the Atlantic' (2009: 31). The figures from the larger corpus of eighteenth-century fiction support this, confirming that 'AmE was not, originally, more conservative in the use of the mandative subjunctive.' She thus offers convincing evidence that the mandative subjunctive is a 'clear-cut example of post-colonial revival rather than colonial lag' (2009: 31).

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[44] Though it's not reported, the triggers – *ask*, *demand*, *insist*, *propose*, *recommend*, *request*, *require*, *suggest*, *urge* and *wish* – are the ten that co-occurred with the most subjunctives in the analysis of the AmE Brown corpus in Hundt (1998b).

[45] Non-distinct forms were not included in the count (2009: 31).

5.2.12 Kjellmer (2009): 'The revived subjunctive'

Kjellmer's chapter in Rohdenburg and Schlüter (2009) is notable for addressing some of the questions prompted by the findings of previous studies about the mandative subjunctive in the twentieth century, namely (1) Why did it return in AmE early in the twentieth century?; (2) Why did it then return in BrE?; (3) How did the unusual position of *not* with the present subjunctive come about?

When considering the first of these, Kjellmer separates the reasons for the return of the subjunctive in AmE into 'scene-setting factors' that made it possible, and 'potentially decisive factors', though the different levels of importance this distinction implies is perhaps difficult to justify at times. The first of the scene-setting factors is the fact that the subjunctive never disappeared completely. It was always present in 'traditional sayings and proverbs, fossilized expressions and in the Bible', and so speakers 'can therefore be assumed to have had a certain familiarity with subjunctive forms even if they did not use them themselves' (2009: 248–249). This is undoubtedly true, though its impact is hard to assess, and the continued, semi-formulaic use of the subjunctive in legal/government contexts might also be added to this list.

In addition, Kjellmer proposes that three types of ambiguity could have played a part in making a construction without *should* or other modal acceptable in mandative clauses. The first concerns the mandative and non-mandative meanings of verbs such as *insist* and *suggest*. He argues that the appearance of those verbs with (one-word) indicative forms in non-mandative or ambiguous uses 'could smooth the way for the acceptance of one-word mandative subjunctive forms' (2009: 249). This seems to be a reasonable point. Such verbs still tend to be those most regularly followed by subjunctive forms in both varieties. The second and third ambiguities are perhaps less convincing. The second concerns a supposed ambiguity between finite present tense forms and infinitives in sentences such as *We can see you jump for joy*, where *you jump* can be analysed as a finite clause ('that you jump') or subject/object + infinitive ('you jumping'). Kjellmer suggests that '[i]ntended infinitives could thus be understood as finite present tense forms, so the stage was set for infinitive-like finite[46] subjunctive forms to appear' (2009: 249). In sentences like *His boss had John paint the house* and *His boss insisted John paint the house*, he suggests that the structural difference 'may not have been apparent to everybody' (2009: 250). To support this, he quotes an example from Middle English given by Denison (1993: 182), his (100):

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[46] In a footnote, he points out that he chooses to treat subjunctives as finite (2009: 249). See discussion of the subjunctive and finiteness in Section 3.4.1.

(139)   And preie God <u>save</u> the king.

<div align="right">(Chaucer, Astrolabe Prol. 56)</div>

But it should be pointed out that Denison was using (139) to explain the spread of constructions with infinitives, and in this particular case the possible reading of a subjunctive form (*save*) as an infinitive, whereas Kjellmer is suggesting a change in the other direction: constructions with infinitives being interpreted as subjunctives. One point Kjellmer does not address is that the examples he gives depend on *that*-omission for their ambiguity, and the frequency of *that*-omission at the time of the revival of the mandative subjunctive in AmE needs to be established before the importance of this as a contributory factor can be assessed. The third ambiguity concerns the use of indicative forms in mandative sentences and the consequent existence of non-distinct forms. This is the situation in present-day BrE but arguably not in AmE, where the indicative is unusual in mandative clauses. For non-distinct forms to be a possible scene-setting factor in the revival of the subjunctive in AmE, however, the indicative needs to have been a common variant in AmE at the beginning of the twentieth century. This was apparently not the case according to Övergaard, who found no indicatives in her American corpora for that period (1995: 62).

For his potentially decisive factors, Kjellmer puts forward two proposals concerning *should*. The first involves sentences in which Kjellmer suggests present indicative forms can alternate with *should* 'without any serious semantic consequences' (2009: 251),[47] such as:

(140)   If you (should) see him, will you tell him?
(141)   I (should) think I can do it.

He argues that for speakers who are accustomed to sentences like this, the fact that 'a finite base form of the verb can take the place of a periphrastic *should*-construction is therefore a familiar phenomenon' (2009: 251). In light of this, he implies, replacing a *should*-construction with a subjunctive (which he considers finite) in a different environment must have been easier to contemplate. Perhaps so, but it was also true in BrE, where the subjunctive was not revived till much later, so this is arguably more of a scene-setting factor than a decisive one.

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[47] He seems to have in mind various types of clause in which *should* appears with what Huddleston & Pullum call 'low-degree modality' (2002: 187). Though it does not affect the argument in Kjellmer's paper, it might be argued that his example (141) is of borderline acceptability; *I should think I could do it* is perhaps more likely. But a sentence such as *I should think so* is, of course, perfectly acceptable.

Kjellmer's second point concerns an apparent disinclination to use *should* in AmE. He asserts that one of the recognised distinguishing features of BrE and AmE is that *should* is more frequent in BrE, particularly in conditional clauses (*I should be glad if you would*) and in what he refers to as 'putative' uses (*I'm surprised he should feel lonely*). Thus, while 'the indicative was not much of an option in AmE . . . the decline of *should* in that variety created a gap which in mandative contexts would conveniently be filled by the morphological subjunctive' (2009: 251). On the face of it, the differing attitudes of BrE and AmE to the use of modal periphrases and indicatives in various environments may well be of relevance to the AmE revival of the subjunctive. However, to make a stronger case, more corpus-based evidence of the situation in AmE is needed than is provided in this study.[48]

The section devoted to the question of why the subjunctive has returned in BrE is rather brief (2009: 252). Apart from restating the twentieth-century situation – the preference for modal periphrasis, the existence of the indicative as a variant[49] and the revival of the subjunctive 'some decades' after the AmE revival – there is simply a repetition of Övergaard's view that it is 'a result of American influence'. Any explanation of how that might happen is not attempted. He has considerably more to say about the unusual position of *not* with mandative subjunctives. As Visser, among others,[50] has pointed out, the position of *not* before the verb with subjunctives is a relatively recent phenomenon and not a post-colonial survival, because 'at the time that in England *not* was still often used without the *do*-paraphrasis, it was regularly placed in post-position in this case' (Visser 1963–73: 847). To illustrate his contention that preverbal *not* is 'mystifying' and 'astonishing' (2009: 252–253), Kjellmer provides two quotations from the King James Version of the Bible in which *not* appears after a subjunctive form, though in purpose clauses rather than mandative clauses (his examples (15) and (16); emphasis in original):

(142)   And the LORD said unto Moses, Speak unto Aaron thy brother, *that he come not* at all times into the holy place within the vail before the mercy seat, which is upon the ark; *that he die not*: for I will appear in the cloud upon the mercy seat.

(Leviticus 16: 2)

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[48] Regarding AmE reluctance to use *should* he quotes the following American commentators on language: Mencken (1936: 445), Evans & Evans (1957: 448) and Copperud (1970: 243). Not all American usage guides from the middle of the century took the same view of *should*, however. In *The ABC of Style*, Rudolf Flesch, who considers that the use of subjunctive *be* 'gives any sentence it appears in a pompous, stuck-up air' (1964: 46), appears to disapprove of – in mandative clauses – 'the use of *be* instead of the natural American form *should be*' (1964: 47).

[49] Unfortunately, the example given to illustrate the BrE use of an indicative in a mandative clause arguably features a non-mandative (or at least ambiguous) use of *suggest*: 'Now it is suggested that the man responsible for it . . . is to be sacked because of it' <CobuildDirect Corpus: UK Today newspaper. Text N6000920907>.

[50] See, for example, Zandvoort (1954), Kirchner (1954) and González-Álvarez (2003).

(143)   And the prince that is among them shall bear upon his shoulder in the twilight, and shall go
         forth: they shall dig through the wall to carry out thereby: he shall cover his face, *that he see not*
         the ground with his eyes.

                                                                                          (Ezekiel 12: 12)

He also shows the old order being used in what is presumably[51] a recent example of the legalistic type of

mandative subjunctive (his (17); emphasis in original):

(144)   The Speaker advised the House that such a motion was not in order whereupon the Member
         subsequently moved 'That the Member speaking *be not* further heard', which was agreed to on
         division.

                                                 (NSW Legislative Assembly Practice and Procedure Book)

It seems to me that in addition to illustrating the old order, these examples raise another way of looking at

the surprising new order. If, as Kjellmer suggests in his earlier section, the use of subjunctives in the

Bible and in legalistic contexts was among the scene-setting factors that facilitated the return of the

mandative subjunctive, why wasn't the position of *not* in these environments also adopted?

       When considering explanations for the unusual position of *not*, Kjellmer (2009: 253) rejects

Visser's unconvincing explanation that it 'may be due to a tendency . . . to give a word prominence by

putting it in an unusual place' (1963–73: 847), and addresses the more reasonable suggestion of

Övergaard (1995: 72–73) that the pattern may be based on the position of adverbs such as *never* in similar

sentences. But he is not convinced that the explanation is sufficient: 'It is difficult to imagine that

speakers would put it on a par with frequency adverbs and change the time-honoured order if there were

no other influencing factors' (2009: 253). He then puts forward three suggestions of his own.

       The first concerns the interpretation of a mandative subjunctive as a *should*-construction with the

should omitted. As, among others, Visser (1963–73: 843–847) has pointed out, early commentators

occasionally explained the subjunctive in terms of *should*-omission.[52] Kjellmer takes this further:

       If many, or most, people thus take, for example, . . . *that he leave* to be a form of . . . *that he*
       (*should*) *leave*, they will also take . . . *that he not leave* to be a form of . . . *that he (should) not*
       leave, where consequently *not* is seen as regularly occurring after the deleted *should*. On the
       assumption that a modal had been deleted, speakers new to the expression would naturally insert
       a *not* before the remaining verb form.'   (2009: 254)

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[51] No date for the example is supplied, but the book referred to seems to be from around 2007.
[52] See discussion of this approach in Section 3.4.1.

Kjellmer supports his case (2009: 254) by supplying examples of recent English in which auxiliaries in non-mandative environments are omitted, to show that 'the standing of the English auxiliary is less than rock solid'. The first set of examples (2009: 253–254) are unconvincing, however. In two, it seems likely that the auxiliary was omitted accidentally; in (145), his (21), a past participle is used instead of a past-tense form in non-standard speech, apparently in an American novel. In any case, the examples do not seem to support his argument that people must therefore be more likely to interpret subjunctives as *should*-omission.

(145)   Ain't he always in trouble? You forget I <u>known</u> him longer than you.
<div align="right"><CobuildDirect Corpus B9000001192></div>

A second group of supporting examples is of more interest, though the explanation given is confused. These examples involve coordinated infinitives, the second of which is negated, as in (146), his (24). (The connection with the previous examples is that *will* could be understood to have been omitted before *not vote*.)

(146)   I think I'll go straight down and <u>not vote</u> for any incumbent.[53]
<div align="right"><CobuildDirect Corpus S2000920406></div>

He argues that if the second infinitive is too far away from the first, it sometimes becomes detached from the coordinated structure, loses its infinitival character and is reanalysed 'as a finite verb with a preposed negation' (2009: 254). But, unaccountably, the examples he proceeds to give all exhibit the opposite of what he is talking about: coordinations in which the first element is a finite verb, which is followed by what seems to be a negated infinitive, as in (147), his (28):

(147)   You look at the overall response and <u>not worry too</u> much about whether it's the ocean or the
         atmosphere which is carrying the heat.
<div align="right"><CobuildDirect Corpus S9000001058></div>

What seems to me to be of interest here is not the apparent anacolutha in his examples, but rather the fact that speakers are familiar with the negation pattern for infinitives and other non-finites. This is something that comes up again in Kjellmer's second explanation for the subjunctive negative pattern (2009: 255). This involves negated subject/object + infinitive sentences such as (148), his (31). He suggests that if

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[53] His example (24), from CobuildDirect Corpus: US National Public Radio broadcasts. Text: S2000920406.

such sentences are acceptable, similar sentences with mandative matrix verbs are also likely to be acceptable, as in (149), his (33). Familiarity with such patterns may be relevant, but it seems to me that the important aspect may be the non-finiteness. Kjellmer earlier (2009: 249) stated that he treats subjunctives as finite; it could be argued that the examples he has collected lend support to the interpretation of subjunctives as non-finite.[54]

(148)   I'd rather see more people <u>not accept</u> keeping people alive just to keep them alive.

<div align="right"><CobuildDirect Corpus S2000921123></div>

(149)   I will insist more people <u>not accept</u> keeping people alive just to keep them alive.

Kjellmer's final proposed explanation (2009: 256) for the subjunctive negation pattern refers back to Övergaard's suggestion (1995: 42–48) that the native language of immigrants to America might have affected the development of English. Kjellmer provides a particular example of this, suggesting that the word order of the German *Sie verlangt, dass er nicht komme* might have been applied to produce the English equivalent *She demands that he not come*. However appealing this idea may be, it's impossible to establish why this particular word order should have influenced AmE in the nineteenth century.

5.2.13 Crawford (2009): 'The mandative subjunctive'

Crawford's contribution to Rohdenburg and Schlüter (2009) involves a large-scale corpus investigation of mandative clauses in AmE and BrE, taking a different approach from most previous studies. As such, it is potentially of great interest, but unfortunately some of the methodological decisions have rendered the results unreliable and arguably misleading.

The corpora analysed are the British and American newswriting subcorpora used in the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (Biber et al. 1999), both of which have more than 5.5 million words from the 1990s. The aim is to investigate how complementation following mandative triggers varies according to not only national variety, but also word class and individual trigger. He also proposes the concept of 'strong', 'moderate' and 'weak' triggers, though what these terms denote seems to change within the chapter, apparently switching from 'subjunctive' triggers to 'mandative' triggers.

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[54] See Section 3.4.1 for discussion of the question of finiteness and the subjunctive.

His criteria for the identification of both mandative clauses and subjunctive forms potentially undermine the findings of his study. The first level of his classification of content clauses found after triggers divides these into 'general mandative' and 'non-mandative', which on the face of it seems reasonable. The 'general mandative' type consists of 'mandates', which are viewed as 'any clause in its finite verb form that explicitly addresses the fact that some person or entity wants a particular action to be taken or a certain event to happen' (2009: 259), i.e. a functional/semantic definition. There are three types of mandate: clauses containing (1) subjunctives, (2) *should* (and *shall*), (3) *must* (and *have to*). The 'non-mandative' category consists of two types: (1) clauses containing non-mandative modal verbs (e.g. *could*), (2) 'other'. Crucially, 'other' includes clauses containing indicatives and non-distinct forms (2009: 260).[55]

The reason he gives for including non-distinct forms in the non-mandative category is that he has decided to take a strictly formal approach to the identification of subjunctive forms, applying only iNO-S and iBE. (Notably, he does not use iST or iNEG as criteria, though he does not explain why.) But the fact that a form is ambiguous between subjunctive and indicative does not mean that the clause containing it is necessarily ambiguous between mandative and non-mandative. Here, as elsewhere, he seems to be confusing subjunctive clauses and mandative clauses. He has set up a semantic definition of 'mandates' (see above), yet he uses formal criteria for categorising clauses as non-mandative. As a result, his non-mandative clauses seem likely to contain a large number that, by his own semantic definition, should be considered 'mandates': not only the subjunctives identifiable by iST and iNEG, but also a proportion of those containing non-distinct forms and indicative forms.

Discounting all indicative forms as non-mandative is bound to have a considerable effect on his results for BrE, because previous studies have shown the indicative to be a significant variant in mandative clauses (e.g. Algeo 2006, Hundt 1998b). The effect of his choice is revealed in his first general findings. As expected, when comparing the varieties, he finds that subjunctive counts are higher for AmE than for BrE and that *should* counts are higher for BrE than AmE, following all three word classes (verbs, nouns, adjectives). When looking at the variants within each variety, he finds that the overall counts 'illustrate the strong preference for the subjunctive in all three word classes in AmE and the somewhat equal distribution of subjunctive and *should* complement clauses in verbs and nouns in BrE, but a

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[55] Rather troublingly, one of the examples he gives (2009: 259) to illustrate a clause containing a non-distinct form, or what he calls an 'ambiguous subjunctive', does not contain a form that could be taken as subjunctive at all (his example (3), my underlining): *Last night police virtually ruled out a suggestion that the intruders <u>were</u> poachers*. Clearly, *were* here can only be a past indicative form, following a non-mandative use of *suggestion*.

preference for *should* complement types with adjective triggers' (2009: 262). It seems to me that 'equal distribution' gives a misleading picture of the situation in BrE, as it ignores indicatives (as well as some subjunctives and ND forms).

To be fair, Crawford does note that in his figures, the BrE 'other' category is much bigger than in AmE and he is aware of some of the reasons why this might be. But he dismisses it as a problem on the grounds that adopting a different method for determining subjunctives would 'move some of the "other" group to the subjunctive category in AmE as well, so there is still a strong preference for expressing mandates with the subjunctive in AmE' (2009: 262). It is reasonable to say that the picture of AmE having a preference for the subjunctive is unlikely to be changed, but the argument seems to assume that it doesn't matter because there isn't much difference between BrE and AmE attitudes towards indicative forms in mandative clauses, when many studies have shown that there is a great difference.

To decide on the triggers to be used in the study, he starts with a list of 108 produced by collating those mentioned in Quirk et al. (1985: 155–158, 1182, 1224) and in Appendix 2 in Övergaard (1995: 95–121). Only those triggers that were followed by at least one subjunctive in Crawford's corpus were included in the study (2009: 261).[56] In the first main strand in his study he compares the proportions of his mandates (featuring subjunctives, *should*, *must*/*have to*) and those clauses in his non-mandative group (featuring other modals and 'other': indicatives and NDs, plus iST-subjunctives and iNEG-subjunctives that are not also marked as subjunctive by iNO-S or iBE). This is done first by word class and then by individual trigger.

The word-class figures (2009: 263) show that AmE has a greater proportion of mandates than BrE after verb triggers (almost 40 per cent in AmE; just over 20 per cent in BrE) and after noun triggers (55 per cent in AmE; 24 per cent in BrE). After adjective triggers the proportions are the same (20 per cent). Following his earlier general finding about the varieties' preferences, he interprets this as showing that 'AmE not only has a preference for the subjunctive . . . but also expresses more overall mandates with the triggers that condition the subjunctive' (2009: 263). But this has to be understood within the limitations imposed by his own definitions of 'mandate'. It would be interesting to know how the figures would change if BrE mandative indicatives were included as mandates, and also the NDs and other discounted subjunctives. Would this bring the BrE figures up to the AmE figures for verbs and nouns?

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[56] VERBS: *ask*, *decide*, *demand*, *determine*, *dictate*, *ensure*, *insist*, *order*, *propose*, *provide*, *recommend*, *request*, *require*, *suggest*, *urge*, *wish*; NOUNS: *advice*, *condition*, *decree*, *demand*, *insistence*, *mandate*, *proposal*, *recommendation*, *request*, *requirement*, *suggestion*; ADJECTIVES: *concerned*, *determined*, *essential*, *imperative*, *important*, *vital* (Crawford 2009: 275–276).

Does it mean that BrE actually has more mandates after adjectives than AmE? If differences remain, does this indicate different preferences in the two varieties regarding other forms of complementation following these triggers, in particular infinitival complements?

It is when looking at the results for individual triggers that he introduces his concept of trigger strength, apparently according to the proportion of complement clauses that are 'mandates' (2009: 263–264). The reference points he chooses are 65 per cent and over for 'strong' triggers, 40–64 per cent for 'moderate', under 40 per cent for 'weak'. This is a potentially interesting approach, but there are a number of problems with it as it stands. First, his limited definition of 'mandate' means that it is not a true picture of the proportion of clauses that are semantically 'mandative'. Second, the use of 'strong' and 'weak' is unfortunately liable to be confused with more familiar concepts of deontic strength. Third, use of a proportional count rather than absolute frequencies can produce some apparently odd results, particularly when the frequencies involved are low. To illustrate this, Table 5.12 shows, for three selected triggers, actual frequencies next to 'mandate' proportions.

Table 5.12. Complementation after three triggers in British and American corpora of news writing from the 1990s: absolute frequencies and 'mandate' proportions (mand. %).*

		Crawford (2009)						
		'mandative'			'non-mandative'			
		subj.	*should/ shall*	*must/ have to*	other modals	'other'	total	mand. %
urge	BrE	7	1	0	1	0	9	89%
	AmE	19	1	0	2	4	26	77%
insist	BrE	13	14	8	31	136	202	17%
	AmE	24	1	7	33	118	183	17%
suggest	BrE	7	42	1	105	228	383	13%
	AmE	27	21	0	136	168	352	14%

* Absolute frequencies taken from Table 14.3 (2009: 275); mandative proportions taken from Figure 14.2 (2009: 265).

Because of the mandative proportion, this table shows *urge* to be a 'strong' trigger in both varieties, whereas previous studies, such as Hundt (1998b: 173), have found it to be among the least productive as far as frequency is concerned. And the high percentage for *urge* in BrE also obscures the big frequency difference between the two varieties. The results for *suggest* and *insist* are revealing for another reason.

The studies of Hundt (1998b: 173) and others find that they tend to be among the most productive triggers as far as subjunctives are concerned, yet Crawford's analysis categorises them as 'weak' triggers. This is surely because of the large number of clauses found in Crawford's 'non-mandative' categories. Both verbs can take mandative and non-mandative complements. If the truly non-mandative clauses – which could never feature subjunctive forms – are removed from Crawford's figures for these triggers, which apparently has not been done, it is likely that a very different result would be found.

With so many reservations about the methodology, it is difficult to rely on the discussion of Crawford's findings for individual triggers, whether regarding 'mandative' vs 'non-mandative' or variants within 'mandative'. What seems to me to be of potential interest is where there are big differences between varieties. The tables showing raw figures (2009: 275–276) offer some insight into this, but the limited criteria used for identifying subjunctives, the discounting of mandative indicatives and the fact that the corpora contain only news writing render even these of limited value.

His more general observations (2009: 272–273) are perhaps of greater interest. He shows that as far as word classes are concerned, mandative clauses are found most frequently after verbs, followed by nouns and then adjectives. Furthermore, the triggers that are most productive in this respect are also the triggers in which BrE is likely to use the same variant as AmE (usually subjunctive), whereas after the least productive triggers, BrE is likely to use a different variant (usually *should*).

5.2.14 Schlüter (2009): 'The conditional subjunctive'

Julia Schlüter's chapter in Rohdenburg & Schlüter (2009) is notable for focusing on one particular conjunction, (*Up*)*on* (*the*) *condition* (*that*),[57] which had previously not received individual attention in subjunctive-related studies. As a diachronic study, it also covers a much longer period in the history of English than most other studies, using corpora of material starting from the fifteenth century (for BrE) and the eighteenth century (for AmE), right up to the present day.

To produce worthwhile results, Schlüter draws on far larger corpora than in previous studies. While most of her early corpora are from the Chadwyck-Healey prose collections, those for PDE are the BNC for BrE and the ANC for AmE, with the gaps filled by corpora put together in a University of Paderborn research project. Corpus size ranged from 4.9 million words up to 22.6 million for the ANC

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[57] Hereafter, for simplicity, just *on condition*, though all its variations were considered in the study.

and 100 million for the BNC. A large database of British and American newspapers from the 1990s was also used for the in-depth synchronic element of the study (2009: 283–285). Criteria for the identification of subjunctive forms were iNO-S, iBE, iST and iNEG, and four variants were considered: subjunctives, modal periphrases, non-distinct forms and indicatives.

In the diachronic study, it is clear that in the earliest BrE corpus (1460–1670) *on condition* is predominantly associated not with subjunctive forms but with modal periphrases, which feature in 82 per cent of complement clauses. This proportion falls steadily over time to a figure of 18 per cent in present-day BrE (2009: 287–288). There is a corresponding increase in indicatives, which rise from 8 per cent in the earliest corpus to 61 per cent in the most recent corpus. Subjunctives remain a very low-frequency option until a small but significant increase to 9 per cent in the twentieth century.

In the earliest AmE corpus (1728–1799) the situation is close to that in the BrE corpus for the same period, with modals at 60 per cent in AmE and 67 per cent in BrE, but thereafter the patterns for the two varieties diverge. Most strikingly, the reduction in modal periphrases in BrE in the nineteenth century does not take place in AmE. Then, in the twentieth century, the proportion of modal periphrases in AmE falls dramatically while that of subjunctives increases, with indicatives remaining a low-frequency option. In the most recent AmE corpus (1960-2003), subjunctives stand at 74 per cent, modals at 13 per cent and indicatives at only 9 per cent (2009: 289). Further data regarding the situation in AmE in the twentieth century was provided by samples from the *Los Angeles Times* and *New York Times* published between 1900 and 1960. These showed that use of the subjunctive in this environment in AmE was already established at the beginning of the century. What's more, Schlüter's assessment is that, when compared with the data from Övergaard (1995), it is 'exactly as far advanced' (2009: 290) as in mandative clauses at this date.

So what brought about this twentieth-century AmE adoption of the subjunctive in clauses following *on condition*, an environment in which it had apparently never been the most common choice (unlike mandative clauses)? And why did it not happen in BrE? Schlüter proposes two factors that may have played a part: a 'certain disposition' and a 'triggering circumstance' (2009: 291). The first concerns the point highlighted above, that in the nineteenth century AmE retained a preference for modals, whereas BrE increasingly favoured indicatives. The importance of this, Schlüter argues, is that:

> both the subjunctive and modal periphrases ensure an explicit marking of the irrealis, while the indicative is indifferent to the realis/irrealis distinction. This means that forms marked for irrealis after *on condition* became ever more rare in the British homeland, while AmE preserved a grammatical marking of the irrealis.   (Schlüter 2009: 291)

In other words, in AmE, changing from modals to subjunctives was acceptable because both were marked for irrealis. But what was the triggering circumstance that prompted the change in the twentieth century? Schlüter suggests it was the increase in mandative subjunctives, and she draws attention to the semantic similarities between clauses following *on condition* and mandative clauses: 'Its affinity with mandative interpretations accounts for the fact that it readily accommodates the subjunctive, and the choice of verbal syntagms consequently develops in parallel with the evolution of mandative contexts' (2009: 292–293).

Both explanations are of interest but they raise further questions. Why did AmE retain modals in the nineteenth century and resist a change to indicatives? Why did modals then become less acceptable in the twentieth century in AmE? Was the pattern with mandatives actually similar in the nineteenth century, and are the supposed semantic similarities as strong as suggested? Crucially, however, the study shows that the different attitude of each variety towards indicatives is possibly of great importance, and that inter-varietal studies that do not consider the indicative option are possibly missing a vital piece of the overall picture.

The object of the synchronic investigation was to look more closely at the differences between BrE and AmE in clauses after *on condition* in the more recent history of English. The corpora contained texts from the 1990s from four British and three American newspapers (2009: 285). In addition to basic quantitative differences, differences connected to four areas were investigated: semi-formulaic uses, the special status of the verb *be*, the influence of negation and the choice of modal auxiliary.

One semi-formulaic use that came to light demonstrates the effect that different conventions can have in the different varieties. Overall in the synchronic corpora, the conjunction *on condition* (and all its variations) was found to be more common in BrE than in AmE: 2.99 occurrences per million words (pmw) as opposed to 2.54 pmw (2009: 293). But it was also discovered that more than half of the 501 examples from the AmE corpus were instances of what is clearly a semi-formulaic use, as in (150), her (12):

(150)   One banker, speaking <u>on condition he not be named</u>, declined detailed comment on the plan, except to say, 'They've got a way to go.'

(*Los Angeles Times* 1992)

In contrast, this pattern, which Schlüter schematises as (*up*)*on* (*the*) *condition* (*that*) *NP not be Ved*, was found only three times in the BrE corpus. Postulating that BrE might use the phrase (*up*)*on* (*the*) *condition of anonymity* instead, Schlüter was surprised to find that not only was the frequency of the proposed

alternative very low, but it was significantly more common in AmE. Further searches found several

instances of both phrases in the ANC (22.6 million words), all in press sources, but only three instances

of (*up*)*on* (*the*) *condition of anonymity* in the much bigger BNC (100 million words), all in an American

context. Clearly, different conventions are at work in the press in AmE and BrE: '(*up*)*on* (*the*) *condition*

(*that*) *NP not be Ved* and (*up*)*on* (*the*) *condition of anonymity* are part of American journalese but hardly

extend to other text genres, and are not current across the Atlantic either' (2009: 295). If this semi-

formulaic use is omitted, the difference in frequency between varieties is even greater – BrE 2.98 pmw,

AmE 1.25 pmw – leading Schlüter to conclude that 'on the one hand, *on condition* is strongly associated

with a stereotyped high-frequency type of clause in AmE journalistic styles, but is less often used

elsewhere. On the other, BrE employs *on condition* more frequently overall and in a wider variety of

contexts' (2009: 295).

In the second part of the synchronic investigation, looking into the association of the

subjunctive with the verb *be* (see Section 4.2.6), Schlüter aimed to establish whether the situation in

clauses after *on condition* differed from that in mandative clauses. The most striking result was that while

BrE shows a slightly higher proportion of subjunctives in clauses featuring *be* (13 per cent) than in

clauses featuring other verbs (9 per cent), AmE shows a considerably lower proportion of subjunctives in

clauses featuring *be* (58 per cent) than in clauses featuring other verbs (70 per cent). This Schlüter takes

to indicate that 'AmE clearly avoids the subjunctive in connection with *be*, falling back on modal

periphrases instead' (2009: 297). As she points out, this doesn't tally with the suggestion that the

distinctive nature of the *be* subjunctive makes it easier to deal with. Her explanation concerns the levels

of association of the subjunctive with formality in the different varieties:

> while subjunctives in general are a widespread feature in AmE, the particular form *be* may
> nevertheless be perceived as more formal than other, less distinctive subjunctives. This appears
> to be the crucial effect responsible for the avoidance of subjunctive *be*.   (Schlüter 2009: 298)

In other words, the distinctiveness of subjunctive *be* seems to help its entrenchment in BrE but to mark it

out in AmE, which is a very intriguing suggestion.

With regard to preverbal negation, the third element of the synchronic investigation, previous

studies (e.g. Övergaard 1995: 70–74) have shown that in mandative clauses it remains a low-frequency

option, particularly in BrE, where negated modals are preferred. One of the findings of Schlüter's

synchronic analysis of clauses following *on condition* in her press corpora indicates that in this

environment both varieties also 'show a remarkable avoidance of subjunctive forms in negated

subordinate clauses' (2009: 299). This became particularly clear when the content clauses after *on condition* were split into negated and non-negated groups. In the BrE corpus, 12 per cent of the non-negated clauses featured subjunctives, while there were no negated subjunctives at all. In the AmE corpus, the share of subjunctives fell from 68 per cent in the non-negated group to 47 per cent in the negated. In both varieties, the number of modal periphrases increased accordingly (2009: 300).

To explain this, Schlüter refers to Horn's 'Embedded Negation Constraint' (Horn 1978: 191–205), which describes a cross-linguistic aversion to negation in non-finite embedded clauses, and also proposes a continuum of finiteness, in which subjunctives range closer to the non-finite end than indicatives. Horn offers the following motivation for the constraint:

> The function of negation is to deny a proposition or claim, or to substitute an inverse act for the one under consideration. The less the dependent clause looks and acts like a sentence – the less it seems to express a complete proposition, thought, claim, or act – the less negation is admitted without corresponding discomfort, if it is admitted at all.'   (Horn 1978: 205)

If this in-built constraint exists, it suggests that negation is felt to be more acceptable with modal periphrases and indicatives because they are more clause-like, but is less acceptable with subjunctive clauses because they 'are semantically more dependent and thus less fully-fledged sentential units than other finite clauses' (Schlüter 2009: 301).

The fourth element of Schlüter's synchronic study involves the choice of modal verb within those clauses featuring modal periphrases. In mandative clauses, previous studies (e.g. Övergaard 1995: 56) have shown that in the twentieth century BrE has a strong preference for *should*, while AmE is more varied in its choice of modal. Schlüter's results indicate that the picture is very different in the case of *on condition*, with BrE exhibiting the greater variation. In the modal periphrases in the BrE press corpus, only 16 per cent feature *should*, while 38 per cent feature *would*, with *could* and *will* both frequent choices, and *can*, *must* and *will* less common options. In the AmE corpus, on the other hand, *would* is found in 83 per cent of examples (2009: 303). Schlüter sees this difference in terms of the bigger picture of differing modal use in the two varieties described, for example, by Leech (2003: 236), and also the volitional force of the different modals:

> We may conclude that BrE manifests a considerably greater explicitness than AmE as far as the differentiation between different degrees of volitionality is concerned. Judging from the literature, this situation is contrary to the one obtaining for mandative subjunctives, where it is AmE that is less fixed in its use of modals.   (Schlüter 2009: 304)

But what should also be made clear is that it is a reminder that, while it has semantic similarities, *on condition* is not strictly a mandative trigger, and so the same patterns of complementation should not be assumed.

5.2.15 Klein (2009): 'Ongoing grammatical change in spoken British English: Real-time studies based on the DCPSE'

Klein's paper, one of few focusing on spoken English, takes its data from the Diachronic Corpus of Present-Day Spoken English (DCPSE). She investigates three areas of reported recent change in written English in order to see if those changes are also evident in spoken English: *s*-genitives, subjunctives and modal auxiliaries. In the section on subjunctives, she looks at four areas: mandative subjunctives, formulaic subjunctives, present subjunctives in condition and concession clauses, and past subjunctives in hypothetical clauses.

The section on mandative subjunctives essentially covers the same topic as Waller (2005), which also looked at mandative clauses in DCPSE. One notable difference is that Klein chooses to use only a subsection of the 400K-word LLC component of DCPSE. The reason is that the LLC contains text from 1958 to 1977, and to ensure her findings are comparable with studies using the Brown corpora, she restricts her study to texts from 1958 to 1960. It was not necessary to restrict the 400K-word ICE-GB component of DCPSE, however, as it covers 1990 to 1992, roughly matching the F-LOB and Frown corpora. To aid comparability between the two subcorpora, she normalises her findings per 10,000 words. While this is understandable for strict comparability, it does have the effect of making an already relatively small corpus even smaller, which is not an advantage when looking at such a low-frequency item as the subjunctive.

In Klein's study of mandative clauses, she considers the full range of finite variants – subjunctives, NDs, indicatives, *should* and other modals – but there is no mention of a list of triggers and no other explanation of how mandative clauses are identified. Apparently, the subjunctive identification criteria are iNO-S, iBE, iST and iNEG. Unfortunately, there is no discussion of the question of distinguishing mandative and non-mandative uses of verbs such as *insist* and *suggest*, and the results, as shown in Table 5.13, seem to indicate that this process was not undertaken (as will be discussed below).

Table 5.13. Absolute and normalised frequencies of variants in mandative clauses in two subsamples of DCPSE (BrE).*

| | Klein (2009) | | | |
| | DCPSE: LLC 1958–1960 | | DCPSE: ICE-GB 1990–1992 | |
	total	n/10K	total	n/10K
Subjunctive	0	0.00	2	0.05
Should	5	1.34	11	0.26
Other modals	2	0.54	9	0.21
Indicative	1	0.27	45	1.07
Non-distinct forms	0	0.00	10	0.24
Total mandative	**8**	**2.15**	**77**	**1.83**

* Based on Table 2 in Klein (2009: 34).

In Klein's subsample from the early LLC subcorpus, she finds no mandative clauses containing subjunctives, five containing *should* and one containing an indicative form. In Waller (2005: 49), the findings for LLC were five subjunctives, 20 *should*-clauses and seven indicatives. The difference is presumably at least partly due to the fact that Klein's study was restricted to texts from 1958 to 1960, whereas Waller (2005) used all the data in the subcorpus. In the later ICE-GB subcorpus, Klein finds the same two subjunctive examples identified in Waller (2005). Curiously, however, there is evidence of some confusion when she discusses identification criteria for (151), her (2).

(151)   When we got the request for help we suggested that we <u>look not</u> at general loans that wouldn't help a country already in difficulty but to see if we could give specific help in certain spheres such as for example with food processing with transport with oil exploration.

<div align="right"><ICE-GB:S1B-053 #102:1:B></div>

She chooses to identify *look* in (151) as a subjunctive form on the basis of iNEG (2009: 34), but then expresses concern about that identification because *not* is not in the characteristic preverbal position. She is right to be concerned. This is not a case of iNEG, and the reason is a question of scope: *not* here has scope over the prepositional phrase that follows rather than the verb that precedes it. However, *look* is still a subjunctive form. As it follows the past-tense *suggested*, it can be positively identified because of the lack of backshifting, i.e. by iST.

Klein's normalised figures for *should* variants indicate a significant decrease between the two subcorpora, though the danger of relying too much on such small numbers should be borne in mind. The most remarkable finding is the large increase in the number of indicatives. She finds one example in her (reduced) LLC subcorpus and 45 in the ICE-GB subcorpus, whereas the comparable figures from

Waller (2005: 49) are seven in the (full) LLC subcorpus and just eight in the ICE-GB subcorpus. The likely explanation is that Klein has not disregarded non-mandative uses of triggers such as *insist* and *suggest*. As content clauses following non-mandative uses often contain indicatives, this is bound to skew the figures. These findings also affect her treatment of non-distinct forms: 'It is generally agreed that ambiguous forms should be added to the numerically more important group, which in this case obviously are the indicatives' (2009: 35). It is far from established that such an approach – though taken, for example, by Övergaard – is 'generally agreed', but basing it on flawed figures is doubly misleading. By combining the non-distinct and indicative figures, she comes up with an increase in the frequency of indicatives of 385.89 per cent, a figure that is not supported by similar increases in any other studies.

Despite this problem with the indicative figures, Klein's results do support the findings in Waller (2005) that there is no evidence in DCPSE of a significant increase in the use of the mandative subjunctive in spoken BrE between 1960 and 1990. That study also found a decrease in mandative contexts over that period, and Klein refers indirectly to the low number of such contexts when offering an explanation of why the apparent AmE influence on BrE use of the mandative subjunctive in written English is not also found in spoken BrE: 'Probably, as it is still, even in American writing, a formal way of expressing commands or propositions, which is not typical of spontaneous speech' (2009: 37).

The method for finding formulaic subjunctives within the corpora is not clearly set out, but it apparently includes searching for *be it*,[58] *far be it*, *so be it* and *if need be* (2009: 35). Klein doesn't expect formulaics to be common in speech, and finds just six examples in the earlier subcorpus and four in the later: in both cases, more than the number of mandative subjunctives found. Present subjunctives in conditional and concessive clauses are not common in written English, so it is not surprising that she finds no examples in the reduced LLC subcorpus, but she does find five examples in the later subcorpus (2009: 36). However, this demonstrates once again the difficulties involved in drawing conclusions about such low-frequency items from relatively small corpora.

Methods for identifying past subjunctives were also not made clear, but her findings revealed a 'modest decline' (2009: 36) between the two periods, though the overall figures were too low for it to be statistically significant. There are, however, two points that are of interest in relation to other studies regarding use of the past subjunctive. First, Klein's results for the 1990–92 subcorpus reveal that indicative *was* was preferred to subjunctive *were* in relevant contexts in almost 80 per cent

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[58] Note that *be it* probably indicates what Huddleston & Pullum call the exhaustive conditional construction (2002: 1001), considered to be a productive construction and so arguably not 'formulaic'.

of cases. The comparable figure for F-LOB, a corpus of written BrE from the same period, was found

by Leech et al. (2009: 65) to be 48 per cent, showing a significant difference between preferences in

spoken and written BrE.[59] Second, in the 1990–92 subcorpus, a remarkably large proportion[60] of the

instances of the past subjunctive were in the set phrase *as it were*, a total of 35 instances (2009: 36).

Johansson & Norheim (1988: 34) had noted that *as it were* was more common in BrE than in AmE, with

four instances in Brown and 17 in LOB. Klein points out that in the ICE-GB subcorpus, most of the

instances of *as it were* were found in text category B (informal face-to-face conversation) and text

category I (assorted spontaneous), where the expression 'serves as a type of discourse marker' (2009: 36).

5.2.16 Leech et al. (2009): 'The subjunctive mood'

Recent change in BrE and AmE in the use of the subjunctive in a number of environments is

investigated in a chapter of *Change in Contemporary English*, a book by Geoffrey Leech, Marianne

Hundt, Christian Mair and Nicholas Smith that for the most part draws its data from the Brown family

corpora but also uses other corpora when appropriate. In addition to thorough and clearly thought-out

studies of both the mandative subjunctive and the most common use of the past subjunctive, the chapter

includes a side investigation into reports of the increasing use of *would* in the protases of conditional

sentences. The statistical results are also reviewed in the light of recent thinking about trends in language

change, such as Americanisation and colloquialisation.

In the introduction, the authors neatly set out the two areas of modality with which the most

common uses of the subjunctive in PDE are associated: 'Just like some modal auxiliaries, the subjunctive

in English can be used to express obligation or necessity (*he demands that the evidence be / must

be / should be demolished*). In *if*-clauses it can express "irrealis", similar to the use of such modals as

could and *might*' (2009: 51). After citing reports in the literature about the demise of the subjunctive,

they also make a point of distinguishing between the 'paradigmatic poverty of the subjunctive on the

one hand and its use on the other hand' (2009: 51). The uses they recognise for the present subjunctive

are (1) those that appear 'in a few fossilized contexts', such as *if need be*, *be it that. . .*, *God save the*

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[59] Care should be taken not to ascribe too much significance to these figures because of differences in identification techniques in the three studies.

[60] The wording in the paper makes it difficult to be certain about the exact proportion: '*as it were* … is used almost twice as much as the genuine past subjunctive' (2009: 36). If 'the genuine past subjunctive' is intended to mean all other – non-formulaic – uses of the past subjunctive, then the proportion with *as it were* is almost two-thirds.

Queen and after *lest*; (2) mandative subjunctives: 'a development in which (written and spoken) AmE is leading world English in an essentially twentieth-century (post-colonial) revival'; (3) other low-frequency uses such as in conditionals: 'The present subjunctive in *if*-clauses seems to be a fossilized feature of English, with only a sprinkling of examples in standard corpora such as Brown (5), LOB (9), Frown (4) and F-LOB (7)'. For the past subjunctive, their intention is to 'answer the question whether the past subjunctive is on the wane' (2009: 52).

5.2.16.1   The mandative subjunctive

The first part of the study of mandative subjunctives involves using the set of triggers in Johannsson & Norheim's (1988) analysis of LOB and Brown for their own investigation of F-LOB and Frown, then comparing their results with those from the earlier paper.[61] This essentially replicates the study in Hundt (1998b) with a couple of differences. First, at the time of Hundt's earlier paper, the Frown corpus was not quite complete; second, this time the adjective triggers from Johansson & Norheim's list are included, not just the verb and noun triggers. Leech et al. state that the triggers are 'the seventeen most common suasive verbs and related nouns and adjectives' (2009: 53), though the justification for claiming them to be the most common, rather than just the ones chosen by Johansson & Norheim, is not supplied.[62]

For ease of comparison, they initially restrict the variants to content clauses containing subjunctives and *should*, leaving the discussion of indicatives to the second part of the study. Identification of subjunctives is based on iNO-S, iBE, iNEG and iST, while non-distinct forms are not included in their figures. It has to be said that the explanation of iST is, on the face of it, rather misleading: 'With a past tense verb in the matrix clause, however, the unmarked form following a plural pronoun was interpreted as a subjunctive (e.g. *He insisted that they go*)' (2009: 54). There is, of course, no reason to restrict iST to clauses featuring subjects realised by pronouns rather than other noun phrases, or to those containing plural pronouns rather than singular, and there is no evidence that this approach was taken in the study. The explanation seems to be that the statement is intended to refer to a specific example earlier in the paragraph – *It is important that they leave on time* – but it is easily read as a general statement, and is therefore potentially confusing.

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[61] As mentioned above (Section 5.2.8) in relation to Hundt (1998b), one problem with relying on the Johansson & Norheim (1988) figures is the doubt about whether iST was used to identify subjunctives in all persons.

[62] For example, as mentioned above (Section 4.3.2), Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 999) claim that mandative clauses in PDE 'are hardly possible' with the verb *wish*', which is one of the Johansson & Norheim triggers.

The results, summarised in Table 5.14, confirm the general findings reported in Hundt (1998b), with AmE maintaining a strong preference for the mandative subjunctive and BrE increasing its use of the subjunctive in the thirty-year period, but still lagging some way behind AmE.

Table 5.14. Comparison of results from Leech et al. (2009) and Övergaard (1995):
absolute and relative frequencies of subjunctive and *should* variants in mandative clauses after
verbal, nominal and adjectival triggers in BrE and AmE from the 1960s and 1990s.*

	Leech et al. (2009)		Övergaard (1995)	
AmE	**Brown** 1961	**Frown** 1992	**Brown** 1961	**AmE** 1990
Subjunctive	116 (85.9%)	105 (91.3%)	94 (88.7%)	90 100%)
Should	19 (14.1%)	10 (8.7%)	12 (11.3%)	0 (0%)
BrE	**LOB** 1961	**F-LOB** 1991	**LOB** 1961	**BrE** 1990
Subjunctive	14 (12.6%)	49 (38.3%)	13 (13.4%)	47 (57.3%)
Should	97 (87.4%)	79 (61.7%)	84 (86.6%)	35 (42.7%)

* Leech et al. took LOB and Brown figures from Table 1 in Johansson & Norheim (1988: 29);
Leech et al. figures from Table A3.1 (2009: 281); Övergaard AmE figures from Tables 23 and 26
(1995: 56, 69), BrE figures from Tables 24 and 26 (1995: 56, 68).[63]

The authors point out that in their study the changes in BrE are not as extreme as in the findings in
Övergaard (1995). To support this, they claim that in her 1990 BrE corpus Övergaard found 14 *should*
variants and 44 subjunctives (2009: 54), but unfortunately these figures are misleading. First, they are
taken from Table 1 in Övergaard (1995: 15–16), which is only concerned with mandative clauses after
verbs, rather than all types of trigger. Second, as discussed in Section 5.2.5, Övergaard counts NDs as
subjunctives in most of her figures, including those in Table 1. The more accurate figures for her 1990s
BrE corpus, after all types of trigger and with NDs removed, are 35 *should* variants and 47 subjunctives,
as shown in Table 5.14. Even with the correct figures, however, the reduction in the use of *should* in
F-LOB compared with LOB in Leech et al.'s study is not as great as that found for the same period by
Övergaard, nor is the corresponding increase in subjunctives. Both of these BrE changes in Leech et al.
(2009) are still statistically significant, however, but notably the *should* variant remains the preferred
option in F-LOB. For AmE, the small differences between the results for the Brown and Frown corpora
are not statistically significant. For Leech et al., the lack of significant change in AmE is to be expected:

[63] Figures are not strictly comparable because of differences in approaches to the identification of subjunctive forms,
as discussed in Section 5.2.5. See also Table A22 in the Appendix.

This hardly comes as a surprise if we consider that even back in the 1960s with almost 90 per cent of subjunctives in mandative contexts, a saturation point had practically been reached in written AmE, and the expectation that the subjunctive would become obligatory is probably an unreasonable one.   (Leech et al. 2009: 54)

The second part of Leech et al.'s mandative study concerns the known difference between the two varieties concerning the use of indicatives (see, e.g., Algeo 1992 and 2006). Johansson & Norheim (1988: 28) had found only one example of an indicative in a mandative clause in LOB; Leech et al.'s own search of the same corpus produced four more examples. The precise figure for F-LOB is not given, but they do confirm that in that corpus 'the indicative has remained a low-frequency option, below the 25 per cent level that Turner (1980) observed in his elicitation data' (2009: 55). Taking into account previous studies such as Quirk & Rusiecki (1982) and the section in Hundt (1998b) on the spoken subcorpus of the BNC, they set out to determine whether the indicative in mandative clauses is more common in spoken BrE than in written BrE by using the same set of triggers to analyse the ICE-GB corpus, which contains spoken texts (*c.*600K words) and written texts (*c.*400K words) from the same period as F-LOB.

Table 5.15. Absolute, relative and normalised frequencies of three variants in mandative clauses in ICE-GB (BrE; 1991–92) after verbal, nominal and adjectival triggers.*

	Leech et al. (2009)	
	ICE-GB Spoken	**ICE-GB Written**
Indicative	12 (33.3%) 18.8 pmw	9 (30%) 21.2 pmw
Should	19 (52.8%) 29.8 pmw	11 (36.7%) 25.9 pmw
Subjunctive	5 (13.9%) 7.8 pmw	10 (33.3%) 23.6 pmw

* Based on Figure 3.2 and Table A3.2 in Leech et al. (2009: 57, 282).

The findings summarised in Table 5.15 confirmed their expectations, showing that 'the indicative is a viable alternative in both spoken and written BrE. In spoken English, the indicative is used much more frequently than the subjunctive, whereas in written BrE, it is the least frequent alternative' (2009: 56). (The difference between the use of the subjunctive in spoken and written English is also significant, though it should be noted that the overall number of mandative clauses is small.) After finding no examples of indicatives in mandative clauses in Brown or Frown, and only one in a search of the LCSAE,

they echo Algeo (1992) in concluding that 'the indicative after suasive expressions is indeed a syntactic Briticism' (2009: 57).[64]

The third part of the mandative study investigates the relationship between the subjunctive and formality by looking at its spread in text categories, its co-occurrence with the passive, and its absolute and relative frequencies in written and spoken English. Johansson & Norheim (1988: 30) reported that all but one of the subjunctives in LOB occurred in 'the categories of informative prose'. Leech et al. find that the distribution of examples in F-LOB is more evenly spread, close to that found in Brown and Frown (2009: 57), and are intrigued by the fact that the biggest change is found in academic prose:

> This is all the more interesting because we found this genre to be conservative with respect to other innovations (cf. Hundt and Mair, 1999). At the same time, it is hardly surprising that a genre which is resisting the trend towards a more colloquial written style should be in the vanguard of change that is reviving a (previously) formal syntactic option. Additionally, we can argue that the more even spread across genres in F-LOB indicates that the subjunctive is beginning to lose its former stylistic connotations in BrE.   (2009: 58)[65]

This nicely captures an apparent paradox regarding the return of the mandative subjunctive in BrE: its wider use seems to indicate that it is losing its association with formal, administrative writing, yet its increasing use in academic prose suggests that it is not perceived as informal or colloquial. In fact, it could be argued that its perception as being in some way more 'correct' is one of the influences promoting its return.

Their findings regarding the changing relationship between the mandative subjunctive and the passive also suggest that the subjunctive is losing its association with formal contexts in BrE. In LOB, only three of the 14 subjunctives are in active clauses, but in F-LOB the share is almost even, with 25 of the 49 examples in active clauses. The evidence from spoken corpora of BrE is less compelling, though the authors do show, through their analysis of the LCSAE, that the subjunctive is 'especially frequent in spoken AmE' (2009: 60). Wary of the danger of attributing too much significance to the findings regarding spoken English, they make the important point that overall it contains far fewer mandative contexts than written English:

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[64] Note, however, that in an earlier study, when describing the variants in mandative clauses in New Zealand English in newspaper corpora from the 1990s, Hundt showed that the indicative was almost as common in NZE as in BrE and 'can hardly be claimed to be a Briticism' (1998a: 93).

[65] This develops a similar point made in Hundt (1998b: 167).

The one-million-word corpora F-LOB and Frown provide 128 and 126 potential contexts, respectively, whereas the 4.2 million words of spoken BrE and five million words of spoken AmE each produce only 60 potential contexts for choice between a subjunctive and a modal periphrasis. This might account for the widely held notion of the subjunctive being a feature of written English.   (Leech et al. 2009: 61)

A footnote also draws attention to the difficulties of defining the variables when studying mandative clauses: 'Alternative patterns that avoid the choice between subjunctive, *should*-periphrasis and indicative altogether (such as non-finite clauses) would result in much lower relative frequencies of the subjunctive' (2009: 61).

5.2.16.2   The past subjunctive

The section concerning the past subjunctive focuses on the choice for speakers between *were* and *was*, with first and third person singular subjects, in 'the (adverbial) subordinate clause of a hypothetical sentence' (2009: 61), which in practical terms meant searching for relevant clauses after *as if*, *as though*, *even if* and *if*. It represents the first comprehensive published study of this subject using LOB/F-LOB and Brown/Frown.[66]

Table 5.16. Absolute and relative frequencies of subjunctive *were* vs indicative *was* in hypothetical/unreal conditional constructions in AmE and BrE from the 1960s and 1990s.*

		Leech et al. (2009)	
AmE		**Brown** 1961	**Frown** 1992
	Were	113 (73.4%)	98 (73.7%)
	Was	41 (26.6%)	35 (26.3%)
BrE		**LOB** **1961**	**F-LOB** **1991**
	Were	126 (63.6%)	80 (51.9%)
	Was	72 (36.4%)	74 (48.1%)

* Based on Figure 3.3 and Table 3.4 in Leech et al. (2009: 64, 65).
They take their Brown and LOB figures from Johansson & Norheim (1988: 33).

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[66] It is perhaps regrettable that the study does not include other areas in which the past subjunctive is regularly found in PDE, such as after *wish*, *would rather/sooner* or (*high/about*) *time* (see Section 2.2).

Their findings, as displayed in Table 5.16, show a statistically significant decrease in the use of *were* in BrE in the thirty-year period between LOB and F-LOB, so that in the later corpus it is used with about the same frequency as *was*. In AmE, the relative frequency of *were* was already significantly higher in Brown than in LOB and it remains at the same level in Frown, showing no statistically significant change. The authors' comment on this is that 'AmE is clearly lagging behind in this development' (2009: 64). This is perhaps an unfortunate choice of words, as it assumes that AmE will inevitably follow the same pattern as BrE in using subjunctive *were* less, even though, in themselves, these findings, involving just two time points, cannot prove that.

In the middle of the section on the past subjunctive there is a potentially interesting side investigation into the non-standard use of *would* in the protases of conditional sentences in AmE that, at least as reported in the chapter, appears rather confused. When introducing the topic (2009: 63), the authors refer to an example given by Fillmore: 'The conditional perfect is used, in American English, in past counterfactuals (if you would have fixed it, it would have worked)' (Fillmore 1990: 157, underlining in original).[67] As Fillmore states, this is a *past* counterfactual, as are the other examples that Fillmore gives a few pages earlier in relation to *would've* (1990: 153), his (59) and (60):[68]

(152)   If he would have opened it we would have died.
(153)   If I would've met you earlier I wouldn't have married Louise.

The standard versions of the protases in these three examples would be *if you had fixed it*, *if he had opened it* and *if I had met you earlier*, respectively, with the modal use of the past perfect, of lexical verbs rather than *be*. When the investigation is reported, however, the focus seems to have moved to something slightly different.

The authors mention that the search terms they used (presumably in Brown and Frown, though this is not stated explicitly) were *if* followed by *would*, separated by up to seven words, which would be expected to turn up any examples of the type described by Fillmore. The report of their findings is rather unclear, however. They state that they find 'only a sprinkling of counterfactual *if*-clauses containing *would* (none of them involving the verb *be* and thus possible variants of subjunctive *were*)' (2009: 65). Unfortunately, no examples of these clauses containing *would* are given. It would not be surprising to find that corpora of edited written AmE did not turn up many examples of a non-standard pattern such as that

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[67] This is a pattern also mentioned by Quirk et al. (1985: 1011), James (1986: 103) and Denison (1998: 300).
[68] These examples are not included in Leech et al. (2009).

mentioned by Fillmore, but the lack of examples or further explanation in the report do not make it clear that this is the pattern referred to here. More doubt is cast by the comment within brackets, which seems to suggest the authors were interested in finding cases of *if . . . would be* being used instead of *if . . . were*, which is not the pattern alluded to by Fillmore. This impression seems to be confirmed when they extend the investigation by looking in the much bigger LCSAE for '*if* followed by *would be/wouldn't be*' (2009: 65), which are definitely not past counterfactuals. This time they do supply examples from the corpus, but some of them raise further concerns. In several, there seem to be good reasons for the choice of *would be*, including two examples featuring the semi-formulaic *if you would be willing*, which is clearly the volitional use of *would*.[69]

The side investigation is therefore rather frustrating. The use of *would've Xed* in the protases of past counterfactuals seems to be something worth investigating, particularly in a spoken corpus rather than a written one, and in BrE as well as AmE, as it is a pattern also heard in spoken BrE. It is actually something that cropped up in usage guides well before Fillmore's comment in 1990. Evans & Evans, for example, state that 'One also hears *would have* in a contrary-to-fact condition, as in *if you would have told me, I could have helped you*. This too is generally condemned and the simple auxiliary *had* should be used, as in *if you had told me . . .*' (1957: 486).[70] What seems to me to be the separate use of *would be* instead of *were/was* in (non-past) remote conditionals may also be worth looking at more carefully, though my impression from teaching English as a foreign language is that it is still something more associated with non-native speakers of English, particularly those with a Germanic background.[71]

5.2.16.3   Explanations of change

When discussing possible reasons behind the changes identified in their investigation, Leech et al. mention Övergaard's suggestion (1995: 44) of the influence of the Germanic languages of immigrants in the Mid-West of the USA on the development of the mandative subjunctive. For the apparent reduction in

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[69] See their examples (21b) and (21e) (2009: 65–66).

[70] The occurrence of the pattern in AmE is discussed in detail, with a large number of examples, in an article by Cecily Hancock in *American Speech* (1993). Back in 1922, Mencken, when discussing spoken AmE, touched on it in connection with the use of *of* for *have*, giving examples such as *If you had of went* and *if it had of been hard* (1922: 286). Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 752) discuss it in the context of '*I'd've* etc', suggesting it is sometimes debatable whether this represents *I would have* or *I had have*.

[71] This is also the view given by Anderson (2001: 165), who considers the sentence **If that would be true, I would resign* to be ungrammatical, even though it is common 'in the utterances of – particularly Germanic – speakers of English as a second or subsequent language'.

the use of the past subjunctive in hypothetical contexts, they cite the semantic redundancy of the subjunctive when following *if*, as mentioned by, among others, one of the respondents in an elicitation test in Peters (1998: 99). No particular justification for these explanations is put forward.

They do, however, attempt to explain AmE conservatism regarding the use of the past subjunctive, but in doing so show the danger of not treating the present and past subjunctive separately. They argue that the 'fact that the mandative subjunctive has seen such a marked revival, especially in AmE, might have lent support to the receding *were*-subjunctive' (2009: 68). It seems to me to be unreasonable to assume that non-linguists would automatically connect the present subjunctive and the past subjunctive, especially considering the very different contexts in which they are found in PDE. Their second suggestion – that 'Americans may be more susceptible to prescriptive influence in this area of language use' (2009: 68) – is perhaps more credible.[72] Oddly, however, as mentioned in Section 4.5.3, in support of this argument they offer the claim that 'hypercorrect usage has been commented on in America but not Great Britain' (2009: 69), even though it is mentioned by, among others, Fowler (1926: 577), Quirk et al. (1985: 158) and Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 87).[73]

Their final comment when discussing the alternatives to the present and past subjunctive in the contexts they have analysed makes a strong point about the semantics involved:

> Note that the indicative as an alternative for the *were*-subjunctive is a more viable option than the indicative after mandative expressions since past tense *was* [as a modal preterite] still helps to convey the non-factual nature of the situation. Indicatives after mandative expressions, on the other hand, are less clearly exhortative than the subjunctive or modal periphrasis.   (Leech et al. 2009: 70)

This final point is followed by a footnote that touches on what is arguably an important but underplayed aspect of mandative complementation: 'This also applies to an even more frequent alternative in mandative contexts, namely the *to*-infinitive, which has been excluded as a variable here' (2009: 70).

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[72] Personal experience of the publishing industry confirms that stricter appliance of house styles and prescriptive rules is often found in American publishing.
[73] See Jacobsson (1975) for an extended discussion of hypercorrect *were*.

5.2.17 Peters (2009): 'The mandative subjunctive in spoken English'

Investigation of the mandative subjunctive in PDE is extended to six national varieties for the first time in Peters's 1998 study. The data is taken from six ICE corpora – ICE-AUS, ICE-NZ, ICE-GB, ICE-SING, ICE-IND and ICE-PHIL[74] – all of which contain texts from around 1990. Because of the design of ICE corpora, with 60 per cent of the texts consisting of spoken English, she was also able to undertake a more thorough comparative survey of variation in spoken and written English than had been possible before.

In an otherwise succinct and informative introduction (2009: 125–126), there are some slightly misleading references. Peters quotes the predictions of several commentators from the last century about the likely demise of the mandative subjunctive, including Bradley (1904: 53), Fowler (1926: 574–578), Maugham (1949: 307) and Vallins (1952: 54). Unfortunately, the relevant passages all refer to the subjunctive in general or to the present subjunctive, rather than specifically to the mandative subjunctive, as her wording suggests. In fact, as was mentioned in the discussion of Peters (1998) in Section 5.2.6, one of the notable omissions in Fowler (1926) is any reference to mandative subjunctives, or any examples of them in the entry on subjunctives. (They were introduced by Gowers in his 1965 revised version of *Modern English Usage*.) The counter-argument could be made, perhaps, that these general comments about the subjunctive still apply here because the mandative subjunctive is the most important environment for present subjunctives in PDE, but it is surprising nonetheless.

For her study of the ICE corpora, Peters uses 13 of the 17 verb (and accompanying noun) triggers from Johansson & Norheim (1988: 29), omitting *beg*, *desire*, *direct* and *wish*, presumably on the grounds that the frequency of the mandative subjunctive after those triggers is relatively low.[75] No adjective triggers are used, which was also the case in the main study in Peters (1998). The variables investigated are clauses containing subjunctives and clauses containing deontic modals and semi-modals, i.e. not just *should*. The criteria for identification of subjunctive forms are not clearly set out, though from her previous work in the area, iNO-S and iBE can be assumed, and iNEG seems to be suggested by the comment that 'Negative forms have also been included' (2009: 129). The unanswered question is whether iST is applied. As discussed in Section 5.2.6, in Peters (1998: 92) subjunctives identifiable by iST are treated as a subset of non-distinct forms and, though listed in one table (1998: 93), are not included in the overall subjunctive figures when ACE, LOB and Brown are compared (1998: 97). It is not clear whether

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[74] Unfortunately there was no ICE-US available for comparison.

[75] Note that in Peters (1998: 92), *beg*, *desire* and *wish* (but not *direct*) were omitted from the list of triggers, because no examples of those verbs with mandative complementation were found in ACE.

the same approach has been followed here. On the other hand, non-mandative and mandative uses of

triggers such as *suggest* and *propose* have definitely been carefully distinguished. The results of her study

are displayed in Table 5.17.

Table 5.17. Absolute and normalised frequencies of subjunctive and modal variants
in mandative clauses after verbal, nominal and adjectival triggers in spoken and
written texts from the early 1990s in six national varieties.*

	Peters (2009)					
	ICE-AUS	ICE-NZ	ICE-GB	ICE-SING	ICE-IND	ICE-PHIL
Subjunctives in spoken	23 (36.8)	16 (25.6)	6 (9.6)	25 (40)	11 (17.6)	30 (48)
Subjunctives in written	17 (42.5)	47 (117.5)	11 (27.5)	24 (60)	10 (25)	23 (57.5)
Subjunctives total	40	63	17	49	21	53
Modals total	11	16	28	16	41	19

* Based on Table 1 in (2009: 129), with normalisation per million words in brackets.
Peters took the data for ICE-PHIL from Schneider (2005).

When discussing her results for speech and writing, Peters chooses to refer to the absolute frequencies to

show that the mandative subjunctive (referred to as MS in the paper) is more common in the spoken

corpus of ICE-AUS and ICE-PHIL, more common in the written subcorpus in ICE-NZ and ICE-GB than

in the spoken, and equally common in both subcorpora in ICE-SING and ICE-IND. However, as the

spoken and written subcorpora are not the same size, normalised figures should arguably be used for such

a comparison, and it turns out these do not paint quite the same picture, with the figures for the written

corpora higher in all cases. Nevertheless, the results do indicate that BrE has the lowest usage of the

mandative subjunctive in speech, as well as overall: 'Its position as the least MS-friendly variety is

confirmed' (2009: 130).

Regarding the choice between subjunctives and modals in mandative clauses when the results for

the spoken and written subcorpora are combined, the findings are statistically significant for all varieties

(2009: 130). The two varieties that show a clear preference for modals are BrE and IndE, whereas the

other four varieties strongly prefer subjunctives. The preference for subjunctives in both AusE and NZE

supports the general findings reported in Hundt (1998b), but the new figures show a difference between

the two varieties, in that in NZE the subjunctive is strongly associated with writing, whereas the levels in

speech and writing are similar in AusE. Unfortunately, the figures for modals in the spoken and written

corpora are combined in the table, so it is not possible to work out the relative frequencies of the

subjunctive and modal variants in both speech and writing.

When discussing results for the different mandative triggers across the varieties, Peters draws

attention to the fact that some of them also license infinitival complements (with subjects different from

that of the matrix predicate) and that the triggers found with most subjunctives – *suggest*, *demand*,

recommend, *move* – belong to the subset that do *not* license infinitivals:

> While this syntactic requirement probably contributes to the high MS [mandative subjunctive] scores for those four verbs, it also means that the use of MS is lexically conditioned in some cases . . . By the same token, the relatively frequent use of MS with verbs which do allow a choice between clausal (i.e. finite) and nonfinite forms of complementation (e.g. *request*, *require*, *insist*, *ask*) is all the more significant. The use of MS with these middle-frequency verbs indicates that MS is still freely used within the variety, as the optional rather than the required construction.   (Peters 2009: 131)

This recognition of how the individual complementation patterns of different triggers affect a speaker's

choice is important, and not one always recognised in the literature. But it should be pointed out that at

least two of the triggers she lists as not licensing infinitivals, *recommend* and *demand*, are very

occasionally found with them in corpora, as in (154) and (155).[76]

(154)   He and his family and other directors control more than 60 per cent of the company's shares and
          have **recommended** other holders <u>to accept</u> the Harvey offer.   <LOB A38>

(155)   Locus claims DCE and ONC solutions still **demand** applications <u>to be</u> modified for their
          respective application programming interfaces in order to function.   <BNC CTT>

When Peters looks at the subjunctives in spoken texts more closely, she finds that there is 'scant

evidence of MS usage becoming "vernacular" in the sense of it being everyday conversational usage'

(2009: 134). She points out that in ICE only one of the four speech text categories – S1A: private

conversation – consists of spontaneous conversation among equals and so could provide realistic evidence

of vernacular speech, and in that category she finds only five examples of mandative subjunctives. The

other categories involve institutional settings, in which parties have unequal roles, or feature scripted or

unscripted monologues, and so cannot be said to be characteristic of vernacular speech.

She usefully points out that sometimes a particular trigger in a particular setting can skew the

overall figures. For example, a considerable number of instances of the subjunctive in the corpora,

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[76] Note that John Algeo draws attention to such infinitival complementation with *recommend* in BrE in an article
   highlighting some of the differences between AmE and BrE, offering the example *The Scottish teachers union
   has recommended its members to reject the offer* (1988: 22).

particularly in ICE-AUS, are found in institutional settings after *move*, representing its semi-formulaic use in formal meetings. She also offers some interesting reflections on possible sociolinguistic factors restricting the use of the subjunctive in everyday speech (though it should be stressed that these comments do not necessarily apply to AmE, as there was no AmE corpus involved in this study):

> [T]he ICE spoken data shows that MS is not often generated in conversation or interactive speech. Most cases are found in institutionalized settings, where the directive speech acts with which they are associated are used for the management of others or ritual purposes. MS does not seem to be part of the conversational repertoire: it would be odd to express everyday requests with *demand*, or provide advice for your friends with verbs like *recommend*. Such verbs are probably more acceptable as part of professional consultation, where professional advice is sought in an unequal dyad.   (Peters 2009: 134)

5.2.18 Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming): 'Corpus-based approaches: Watching English change'[77]

Two recent additions to the Brown family of corpora, B-Brown and B-LOB, provide the data for an investigation of the subjunctive in AmE and BrE in the 1930s in this chapter in a forthcoming textbook on English historical linguistics. It is one of two case studies intended to illustrate the range of methods that can be employed when working with corpora. The subjunctive case study is split into three parts, covering (i) the past subjunctive in hypothetical *if*-clauses; (ii) mandative subjunctives; (iii) the 'conditional subjunctive', i.e. subjunctives licensed by *on condition*. In addition to the four established Brown family corpora and the two recent additions, they also draw on other corpora such as ARCHER (A Representative Corpus of Historical English), COHA (Corpus of Historical American English) and COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English).

The past subjunctive study takes as its starting point a monograph by Auer (2009) that looks at the choice between indicative *was* and subjunctive *were*, with third person subjects only, in conditional clauses in the ARCHER corpus of historical English, with texts from between 1650 and 1990. Though based on a relatively small number of texts, this study showed a sharp decline in the use of subjunctive *were* in the second half of the seventeenth century. There was a small, short-lived increase in the second half of the nineteenth century, which Auer (2009: 86) puts down to the influence of prescriptivism, and then another significant increase in the second half of the twentieth century.

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[77] Note that the analysis of this study is based on a pre-publication version and so details and figures are not necessarily those found in the final text – which was published, after submission of this thesis, in 2017.

Thanks to the recent availability of B-Brown and B-LOB, Hundt & Gardner are able to carry out a more detailed examination of the situation in twentieth-century English than was possible for Auer, showing clear differences in usage patterns in AmE and BrE during that period. Essentially, they extend backwards the past subjunctive study reported in Leech et al. (2009: 61–67),[78] which looked at the situation in Brown/LOB and Frown/F-LOB. They use the figures from that study and repeat the analysis on the two early corpora. Unlike Auer (2009), this involves the *was* and *were* alternants with both first and third person singular subjects, not just third person. As in Leech et al. (2009: 63), the particular use of the past subjunctive under investigation is the one in hypothetical clauses introduced by *if*, *as if*, *as though* and *even if*.[79] Instances where *if* is used to mean *whether* are weeded out, but it's not clear if any of the other uses condemned by some usage guides as hypercorrect are also removed, such as its use in past-time contexts (see Section 4.5.3).

Table 5.18. Absolute and relative frequencies of subjunctive *were* and indicative *was* in hypothetical/unreal conditional constructions in three corpora of BrE and AmE.*

		Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming)		
AmE		**B-Brown** 1931	**Brown** 1961	**Frown** 1992
	Were	136 (83.4%)	113 (73.4%)	98 (73.7%)
	Was	27 (16.6%)	41 (26.6%)	35 (26.3%)
BrE		**B-LOB** 1931	**LOB** 1961	**F-LOB** 1991
	Were	107 (80.5%)	126 (63.6%)	80 (51.9%)
	Was	26 (19.5%)	72 (36.4%)	74 (48.1%)

* Based on Figure 4.3 and Table 4.1-a in Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming).
The authors took the figures for Brown/LOB from Johansson & Norheim (1988); the figures for Frown/F-LOB from Leech et al. (2009).

The existing data had shown that there was a marked difference between the two varieties by the end of the twentieth century. The new results, summarised in Table 5.18, show that the decline in the use of subjunctive *were* in conditional clauses in BrE was already under way in the first half of the century. In AmE, on the other hand, the situation remained relatively stable throughout the century.

[78] Hundt is the author in common.

[79] Also as in the earlier study, therefore, the frequency of the past subjunctive in other environments, such as after *wish* and *high time*, was not investigated.

The authors suggest that this could be put down to 'an overall greater propensity of Americans to use subjunctives', by which they mean the strong AmE preference for mandative subjunctives (and subjunctives after *on condition that*). But, as discussed in Section 5.2.16 in relation to similar suggestions in Leech et al. (2009), while this may be possible, I argue that it is too much of a leap to assume that use of the past subjunctive in one environment is influenced by use of the present subjunctive in a completely different environment.

The section on the mandative subjunctive is also an extension of a study in Leech et al. (2009: 52–61). Once again, they use the full set of verbal, nominal and adjectival triggers from Johansson & Norheim (1988: 29) and rely on those authors' results for LOB and Brown. Criteria for subjunctive identification include iNO-S, iBE and iST (in all persons). No mention is made of iNEG, but there is a reference to Hundt (1998b), in which iNEG is discussed, and iNEG was used in Leech et al. (2009), so it is probably safe to assume that it is also a criterion in this study. Non-mandative uses of triggers such as *suggest* and *important* are weeded out. The variants are restricted to subjunctives and *should*.

Table 5.19. Absolute and relative frequencies of subjunctive and *should* variants in mandative clauses after verbal, nominal and adjectival triggers in three corpora of BrE and AmE.*

	Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming)		
AmE	**B-Brown 1931**	**Brown 1961**	**Frown 1992**
Subjunctive	76 (79.2%)	116 (85.9%)	105 (91.3%)
Should	20 (20.8%)	19 (14.1%)	10 (8.7%)
BrE	**B-LOB 1931**	**LOB 1961**	**F-LOB 1991**
Subjunctive	19 (20.7%)	14 (12.6%)	49 (39.3%)
Should	73 (79.3%)	97 (87.4%)	79 (61.7%)

* Based on Figure 4.4 and Table 4.2-a in Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming).
The authors took their figures for Brown/LOB from Johansson & Norheim (1988); figures for Frown/F-LOB from Leech et al. (2009).[80]

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[80] For some reason, the figures for F-LOB in Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming) differ from those reported in Leech et al. (2009: 281) and the figure for *should* in Brown differs from that in Johansson & Norheim (1988: 29). As it is stated that the figures are taken from those studies, I have kept the original figures in this table, on the basis that the discrepancies are likely to be due to the fact that the version I have seen is not the final, published version.

The study in Leech et al. (2009) showed a statistically significant increase in the use of the mandative subjunctive in BrE over the course of the second half of the twentieth century, with AmE remaining at essentially the same high level during that period. Hundt & Gardner comment that their figures, summarised in Table 5.19, confirm that 'AmE in the 1930s was already fairly advanced in the revival of the mandative subjunctive and that BrE has been very slow in following suit'. As with Leech et al. (2009) and Hundt (1998b), when considering these results, it is necessary to bear in mind that the Johansson & Norheim (1988) figures, based on an apparently different application of the iST criterion, have been re-used. Because iST was applied to all persons in this new study, it is probable that like is not being compared with like.

In order to assess the connection of the mandative subjunctive with formality, as in Leech et al. (2009: 59), the authors look at the proportion of mandative subjunctives that appear in passive clauses. In the earlier study, it was found that in LOB 11 of 14 subjunctives were in passive clauses, but in F-LOB the ratio was almost equal, with 24 out of 49 subjunctives in passive clauses. In B-LOB, Hundt & Gardner find that 14 of 19 subjunctives are in passive clauses, showing that if the findings with regard to the passive do indicate a change in the association of the subjunctive with formality in BrE, such a change took place in the second half of the century rather than the first. The figures for AmE reveal an even bigger change in that variety, from 54 of 117 subjunctives in passive clauses in Brown to 66 of 105 in Frown. Unfortunately, the relevant figures for B-Brown are not included.

In a second stage, Hundt & Gardner then extend the investigation of the mandative subjunctive back three centuries by looking at data from the ARCHER corpus, using the same set of triggers. Because of the relatively small size of the corpus, the overall frequencies are low, so no great significance can be placed on the results, summarised in Table 5.20, but they do appear to show low use of the subjunctive in both national varieties until the twentieth century, when there is a significant increase in AmE.

Table 5.20. Absolute and relative frequencies of subjunctive and modal variants in mandative clauses after verbal, nominal and adjectival triggers in ARCHER.*

	Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming)		
AmE	**1700–99**	**1800–99**	**1900–99**
Subjunctive	1 (16.7%)	5 (33.3%)	29 (87.9%)
Modal	5 (83.3%)	10 (66.7%)	4 (12.1%)
BrE	**1700–99**	**1800–99**	**1900–99**
Subjunctive	2 (12.5%)	5 (17.9%)	6 (18.8%)
Modal	14 (87.5%)	23 (82.1%)	26 (81.2%)

* Based on Table 4.3 in Hundt (forthcoming).[81]

The third stage of their investigation involves an attempt to pinpoint when such a big change in AmE took place. To do this, the authors turn to COHA, which contains up to 400 million words of AmE, sampled from texts from 1810 to the present. Because of the size of the corpus, they restrict their investigations to *require*, one of the most productive triggers, and look at data at 30-year intervals, from the 1840s to the 1990s. The results show a big increase in the use of subjunctives in AmE between the 1870s and the 1900s, and an even bigger increase between the 1900s and the 1930s.

In a fourth and final stage, having established the early 1900s as a key point, they look at results for that period in COHA for all of the Johansson & Norheim triggers, finding that overall the proportion of subjunctives was 46.4 per cent, higher than the proportion for the single trigger *require*. It was also notable that the proportion after verbs and nouns was significantly higher than that after adjectives – see discussion of Crawford (2009) in Section 5.2.13. If adjectives are removed, the proportion is 53.8 per cent. Overall, their comments on the results are that 'the COHA data further substantiate the results reported in Övergaard (1995): the marked revival of the mandative subjunctive in AmE dates back to the first thirty years of the twentieth century.'

The third part of Hundt & Gardner's subjunctive study builds on the study in Schlüter (2009), which, as discussed in Section 5.2.14, used a collection of corpora[82] of texts from the fifteenth to the

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[81] Their Table 4.3 refers to 'periphrastic constructions' rather than '*should*', which raises the question of whether the variants in this part of the study were the subjunctive and *should* or the subjunctive and all modals. This may be because the version I have read is not the final, published version.

[82] These included – but were not restricted to, as suggested by Hundt & Gardner – fiction corpora. See Schlüter (2009: 284–285).

nineteenth century, plus, for the twentieth century, the BNC, the ANC and some British and American newspaper corpora, to examine clauses licensed by the 'complex conjunction' (*up*)*on* (*the*) *condition* (*that*). The findings showed that the subjunctive was a very low-frequency choice in both varieties until the twentieth century, when it became the majority choice in AmE, while still being little used in BrE. The study also showed big differences between the two varieties with regard to the indicative in such clauses. From the nineteenth century right up to the twentieth century, the indicative has remained the majority choice in BrE, while AmE preferred modals until the change to subjunctives. Bearing in mind that Hundt & Gardner's chapter appears in a textbook, the purpose of this section on the conditional subjunctive is mainly to exhibit Schlüter (2009) as a good example of the approaches that can usefully be taken in a study involving one trigger, and the difficulties involved. Their extension to the study consists of analysing data from COHA to clarify the situation in AmE in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, a period when Hundt's corpora provide few examples. Their results show that the subjunctive in such clauses in AmE was already on the increase in the 1890s.

5.3   Conclusion and opportunities for future research

One of the most important findings of this critical analysis of previous studies concerns mandative subjunctives. The situation in BrE and AmE between the 1930s and 1990s has now been investigated in some detail using the Brown family corpora, yet it seems likely that the methodological issue I have identified concerning Johansson & Norheim's (1988) approach to the identification of subjunctives by iST has had a significant effect on subsequent studies. A fresh investigation of LOB/Brown and F-LOB/Frown, using consistent methodology based on the lessons learned from my reassessment of previous studies, should reveal whether the apparent anomaly exists and offer the opportunity to assess its effect. A bigger challenge is to overcome the difficulties involved in including non-finite complements as variants in studies looking at mandative clauses. A new study aimed at addressing some of these issues is presented in Chapter 6.

There are other opportunities for future research concerning both the present and the past subjunctive. The studies in Leech et al. (2009) and Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming) have looked into the use of the past subjunctive in conditional clauses in BrE and AmE between the 1930s and the 1990s. Apart from extending this to other varieties and to earlier and later dates with other corpora, there seems

to be scope for investigating the use of the past subjunctive in some of the less productive environments, such as in wishes and after *had rather* and *it's time*, but it is likely that much larger corpora than those in the Brown family will be needed to provide enough data, such as COHA and COCA. With the present subjunctive, there are opportunities for investigations of its use in exhaustive conditionals, formulaics and other less productive subordinate clauses. To this list can be added some of the suggestions made in previous chapters: the use of the present subjunctive in environments more usually associated with the past subjunctive, particularly after *had rather* and *it's time*, and the use of the historically subjunctive *come* found in *come the revolution*. Again, research into these less common uses of the present subjunctive will need to be based on data from much larger corpora than those in the Brown family.

6

Case study: a new diachronic study of the mandative subjunctive in British and American English

This case study has two main objectives: first, to add to the body of knowledge of developments in the use of mandative subjunctives – and other mandative-clause variants – in BrE and AmE over a 75-year period; second, to test out some of the changes in methodological and theoretical approach that were prompted by the re-evaluation of existing subjunctive-related studies in the first part of this thesis.

It is the first two-variety study of the mandative subjunctive featuring eight matching corpora based on four chronological data points. The time period under investigation is the 75 years between 1931 and 2006. Two of the data points are provided by the familiar set of four Brown family corpora: LOB (BrE, 1961), Brown (AmE, 1961), F-LOB (BrE, 1991) and Frown (AmE, 1992). An earlier data point is provided by two recent additions to the Brown family, B-LOB (BrE, 1931) and B-Brown (AmE, 1931); a later data point is provided by two corpora developed at Lancaster University, BE06 (BrE, 2006) and AE06 (AmE, 2006). Though this case study focuses on the subjunctive variant in mandative clauses, it differs from several previous studies by including results for four other recognised finite variants: not just *should*, but also non-distinct forms (NDs), indicatives and other modals. The study sets out to look at variation in the use of the mandative subjunctive between varieties, over time and across text categories, and investigates its association with the passive, *that*-omission and individual triggers.

In Section 4.3 and at several points in Chapter 5, I drew attention to what I suspected to be important inconsistencies in certain studies based on the B-Brown/B-LOB, Brown/LOB and Frown/F-LOB corpora. A number of these inconsistencies appeared to be connected to the re-use of second-hand data that had been affected by an anomaly I detected in Johansson & Norheim (1988) (see Section 5.2.3). The secondary objective of this case study is to investigate these suspicions by using

consistent methodology to reanalyse all of these corpora – without relying on data from other studies. By doing so, I also hope to demonstrate the benefits to be gained from re-examining corpora that have featured in previous studies, a process that is not often undertaken, even though it is something for which modern corpora would seem to be well suited.

Among the findings of the case study is the discovery that while the increase in the frequency of the mandative subjunctive in BrE between 1961 and 1991 that was reported in previous studies turns out to have been overestimated, the decrease in the frequency of the *should* variant in that variety in the same period has been underestimated. The results for the previously uninvestigated period between 1991 and 2006 show that in AmE the gradual decrease in frequency of the mandative subjunctive that began in 1991 has continued. In BrE, the decline of the *should* variant is found to be unexpectedly steep, while the increase in the frequency of the mandative subjunctive has apparently come to a halt – except in the Press category of the BE06 corpus, which shows a remarkable increase.

The chapter is structured as follows: after a description of corpora and methodology, the overall results regarding all mandative variants in the two varieties are presented. The relevant findings are then compared with those of previous studies in order to establish whether their results have been affected by the suspected anomaly in Johansson & Norheim (1988). In the fourth section, the focus returns to the present study and a detailed analysis of the new evidence of change affecting all mandative-clause variants in the two varieties in the 75 years covered by the corpora. The remaining sections concentrate on the mandative subjunctive, looking at variation in its use across text categories, between varieties and over time, while attempting to assess how any changes fit into previously identified trends such as colloquialisation, Americanisation and densification. I also examine the association of the mandative subjunctive with the passive and *that*-omission, before looking into which individual triggers are most productive in terms of mandative subjunctives. The chapter concludes with a summary of the findings of the case study and some suggestions for future research.

6.1   Corpora and methodology

In this section, I first discuss the corpora used in this case study and assess some of their advantages and disadvantages. I then summarise the ways in which the Brown family corpora have featured in previous studies involving the mandative subjunctive and set out in brief some of the methodological weaknesses

of those studies that were identified and discussed in detail in earlier chapters. Finally, I explain the

methodology used in this study for data-collection and the presentation and analysis of results.

6.1.1   Corpora used in this study

Like the well-established quartet of Brown/LOB and Frown/F-LOB, all four of the more recently

compiled corpora in this study were designed to be comparable, based on the sampling frame first used in

the Brown corpus. B-Brown and B-LOB (which has also been known as Lancaster1931 and Lanc-31)

contain written AmE and BrE texts, respectively, from 1931.[1] The 30-year gap between these corpora and

Brown/LOB thus matches that between Brown/LOB and Frown/F-LOB, a period that has been

considered to be relevant because it represents 'the span of a generation' (Leech et al. 2009: 27). The two

twenty-first-century corpora, AE06 (also known as American English 2006) and BE06 (British English

2006), both feature texts from 2006,[2] which of course means that the gap between those corpora and

Frown/F-LOB is only 15 years, half the usual span.

The design of the Brown family corpora, despite their use in many studies, has not escaped

criticism over the years. Questions have been raised about the corpora's content, representativeness,

comparability and size – see, for example, discussions in Hundt & Mair (1999), Leech & Smith (2005),

Hundt (2008), Leech et al. (2009: 24–30), Hundt & Leech (2012). One obvious drawback of the content is

that because it is restricted to published samples of English written by native speakers, there are no

samples of unpublished correspondence or of spoken English, as there are, for instance, in the ICE

corpora. One consequence for this study is that it is not possible to check whether any changes of, say,

mandative-subjunctive frequency detected in written English have been preceded or followed by similar

increases in spoken English, something that might be useful when trying to determine in which medium

any change originated. The corpora also lack biographical and demographic information about the authors

of the texts, so it is not possible to assess the effect of any of these variables.

As for representativeness, in the original Brown corpus, the intention was that it should represent

'a wide range of styles and varieties of prose', and those involved in its compilation had to rely on their

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[1] In fact, in both cases, for practical sampling reasons, texts were taken from material published between 1928 and 1934, which is sometimes signified in studies referring to these corpora as '1931$^{\pm3}$' (see Leech & Smith 2005: 87; Hundt & Gardner forthcoming). For the sake of simplicity, I will use '1931'.

[2] As with B-LOB and B-Brown, texts for BE06 were also taken from the years before and after 2006 – between 2003 and 2008, with 82 per cent from between 2005 and 2007; the same process was apparently followed for the AE06 corpus (See Baker 2009 and http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/linguistics/about-us/people/paul-baker).

own judgement to come up with the 15 text categories, the subcategories and the number and size of texts within them, while reflecting the proportions of what was actually published in the USA in 1961 (see Francis & Kučera 1964). Some aspects of this sampling frame have been questioned by researchers. For example, it has been suggested that the names of some categories, such as Popular Lore (category F) and Belles Lettres, Biography, Memoirs etc. (G), are less than clear (McEnery & Hardie 2012: 98); some categories, such as Religion (D), Skills, Trades and Hobbies (E), and Miscellaneous (H), seem to mark different subject areas rather than stylistically distinct genres (Leech et al. 2009: 26); while others, such as Learned (J), include a range of stylistically distinct texts, with, for example, introductory textbooks alongside more specialist material (Hundt 2008: 172).

When LOB, the BrE counterpart to Brown, was set up, the same categories and random sampling methods were used to collect texts, as far as possible. One of the few slight differences involved category N, Adventure and Western Fiction. As a result of the difficulty of obtaining sufficient samples of Western Fiction published in Britain in 1961, LOB contains correspondingly more samples of Adventure Fiction than Brown (Hofland & Johansson 1982: 3). Other similarly motivated adjustments to the choice of fiction subgenres had to be made by the creators of Brown-based corpora for other varieties, such as the Kolhapur corpus of Indian English and the Australian Corpus of English (Leech & Smith 2005: 90).

When a diachronic dimension was introduced by the development of F-LOB and Frown, the compilers faced what has been referred to as the 'diachronic sampling dilemma' (Baker 2010: 60): whether to match the composition of the 1961 corpora, text by text, to ensure comparability, or to adjust the sampling frame to make it more representative of English of the 1990s, at the expense of comparability with the earlier corpora. The compilers of F-LOB and Frown chose to prioritise comparability, and when the compilers of the B-LOB corpus followed suit, they encountered problems with what they termed 'genre evolution' – i.e. the tendency for genres to change in size and importance over time (Leech & Smith 2005: 87). This emerged as a particular problem when trying to find science fiction and romantic fiction samples for categories M and P, because they were less popular genres in 1931, and sociology and psychology samples for the Learned category J, because they were relatively new disciplines. Apart from the practical difficulties of locating sufficient samples, one consequence of this problem is that in B-LOB such categories are arguably over-represented for the period (Leech 2007: 143).

If it is reasonable to expect that the problems of genre evolution increase as the distance in time between a new corpus and its model increases, it is likely that the BE06 and AE06 corpora will have been

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affected to a greater extent than the other corpora involved in this study. Indeed, Paul Baker, the compiler of these new corpora, concedes that 'the sampling frame created to reflect language use in the 1960s may not reflect current usage'. He cites online newspapers and blogs as significant new developments that are not included in the corpus, and horror and erotic fiction as genres that are probably more widely available now than they were fifty years ago (Baker 2010: 61). Nevertheless, he decided to retain the Brown sampling frame for BE06, not only for the sake of comparability, but also because he believes it to be 'still representative of a great deal of British writing' (Baker 2010: 61).

Apart from the shorter gap between data-collection points, there is another very important difference between BE06/AE06 and the other six corpora, in that all the text samples were sourced from the internet. To minimise the effect of this difference, only texts that had also been published in paper form were selected, but Baker still raises the question of whether the knowledge that a piece of writing was likely to appear online might have led the author to adapt its style or content (Baker 2009: 315). With regard to comparability, the intention was to follow F-LOB and B-LOB in matching individual texts, but because only internet sources were being used, this was 'not always feasible with some genres, where text collection had to be more opportunistic' (Baker 2009: 318). One problem affected fiction categories in particular. For commercial and copyright reasons, the fiction that is freely available on the web tends to consist of extracts on publishers' and authors' websites, and these frequently contain only the beginning of a work. As a result, the proportion of beginnings of novels is higher in BE06 (and presumably AE06) than in the other corpora, which are based on the random sampling process applied in the Brown corpus (Baker 2009: 317–318).

As far as the size of the eight corpora used in this study is concerned, it could be argued that one million words is only just large enough to provide sufficient examples of mandative clauses for reliable conclusions to be drawn about the use of different variants. The amount of data now available in much bigger corpora of AmE such as COCA and COHA (see, for example, Davies 2012) offers the opportunity for more robust findings to be made about low-frequency items such as mandative subjunctives in AmE (as well as other, even less common types of subjunctive), but at the moment these are not paralleled by corresponding easily available corpora of BrE, particularly for the first half of the twentieth century. Other large corpora, such as the one based on *Time* magazine featuring in Millar's study of modal verbs (2009), have the disadvantage of being restricted not just to one genre, but to one publication with a strong house style (see Leech 2011).

There is also a practical benefit arising from the relatively small size of the corpora when studying mandative clauses. To find all mandative-clause variants, it is necessary to search for a list of triggers and then check through the resulting concordances (see Section 6.1.3) – in other words, it is not easy to automate the process to any useful extent. Because of the size of the Brown family corpora, the volume of this post-editing, though still time-consuming, remains within manageable bounds, and it is not necessary to resort to 'thinning' – i.e. working with subsamples – as would be the case with much larger corpora. A less welcome consequence of the small size, however, is that, while each corpus as a whole can be taken to be broadly representative, the same cannot necessarily be said for each smaller text category and subcategory (see Hundt & Leech 2012: 179). As a result, it is difficult to rely on findings regarding preferences within subcategories, particularly in the case of low-frequency items (such as mandative subjunctives). To counter this, researchers often choose instead to group the 15 categories into smaller 'broad categories' such as Press, General Prose, Learned and Fiction.

Taken together, the reservations outlined above have generally not been considered sufficiently serious to outweigh the value of the comparability of the Brown family corpora and the belief that they are representative enough for it to be reasonable to generalise any findings based on them to the language as a whole, as was done by Leech et al. (2009). It has been judged, for example, that the sampling frame 'has actually proved to be quite robust for synchronic and diachronic comparison' (McEnery & Hardie 2012: 100), and that, despite the problems of genre evolution, each corpus is 'broadly representative of published English for the relevant period and regional variety' (Leech & Smith 2005: 90).

For this study, another reason that the six traditionally compiled corpora – B-LOB, LOB, F-LOB, B-Brown, Brown and Frown – have been chosen as the starting point is that one of the main objectives is to use consistent methodology to rerun previous studies based on them (see Section 6.3). The recognised comparability of these corpora suggests that this is still a worthwhile undertaking. The addition of BE06 and AE06 to the study is clearly desirable because of the chance to extend the time period under investigation from 60 years to 75, providing the opportunity to find out if trends identified in previous studies show signs of continuing. One study that has taken a similar path, at least regarding BrE, is Smith & Leech (2013), which investigates developments in various verbal constructions over the same 75-year period, choosing to use B-LOB, LOB, F-LOB and BE06 on the basis that, despite the obvious advantages of larger corpora, this quartet 'still offers one of the most detailed corpus records of written English over the last seventy-five years' (2013: 69).

A word of caution is in order, however, regarding BE06 and AE06. The effect of both the internet-sourcing of texts and the less strict text-by-text matching has yet to be tested to any great extent, and so the results must be interpreted with care. In fact, concrete evidence of the risks inherent in relying on web-derived data for corpus-compilation was encountered during the course of this study. I discovered that text J04 in BE06, an extract from an article in the *British Journal of Social Work*, was not published in 2005, as the corpus metadata claimed, but in 1986 – though it is not clear whether its inclusion was the result of the unreliability of web metadata or human error in downloading the wrong article. It should be noted, therefore, that because the data in text J04, published 20 years earlier than everything else in BE06, has been shown not to match the sampling criteria, I have excluded it from the data used in this study. I have also chosen to adopt the name 'BE06*' in the remainder of this study for the slightly smaller corpus that results from the removal of the 2,176 words that made up J04.

6.1.2   Corpora and methodological issues in previous studies

Brown and LOB featured in the ground-breaking study by Johansson & Norheim (1988). They provided strong evidence of different preferences in mandative clauses in BrE and AmE in the 1960s, and their data has been re-used in several subsequent studies. Peters (1998) compared it with data from the ACE corpus of AusE, while Hundt (1998b) and Leech et al. (2009) relied on it in their diachronic studies involving Frown and F-LOB, which provided evidence of change in the use of the mandative subjunctive in BrE between the 1960s and the 1990s. Recently, Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming) extended the picture back in time by working with B-Brown and B-LOB, confirming that AmE's preference for the mandative subjunctive had already been established in the first third of the twentieth century. Together, the studies following Johansson & Norheim (1988) have presented a fairly consistent picture of inter-varietal differences and diachronic change within varieties. Yet certain apparent inconsistencies in methodology, as briefly summarised below, coupled with the fact that data from previous studies has routinely been relied on in later studies despite these inconsistencies, suggest that a re-examination of the data from all of the corpora on a consistent basis is worthwhile.

The first broad area of concern involves the initial identification of mandative clauses (see Section 4.3.2). Most of the major studies have aimed for consistency by relying on the set of 30 mandative items, or 'triggers', that feature in Johansson & Norheim (1988: 29), while others, such as Crawford (2009) and Övergaard (1995), have used a variety of means to come up with much larger lists.

A drawback of the former approach is that the small number of triggers inevitably results in a limited range of data, and, in any case, the basis for the original choice of the items on the list is not clear. A problem with the larger lists is that they tend to be tailored to the particular corpora under investigation, meaning that comparison with other studies is difficult with regard to anything other than general trends. Whichever approach is taken, the important next step is to weed out non-mandative clauses that are licensed by some of the items that license mandative clauses, such as *suggest* and *important* (see Section 4.3.3). This weeding-out process is not always easy, but it seems that some studies have paid less attention to it than others, which means that comparability of results can be problematic.

The second area of concern involves the range of mandative-clause variants included in studies (see Section 4.3.4) and the criteria used to identify them. The differences in the range of variants considered are often related to the treatment of NDs, with some studies accounting for them separately, some including them in the figures for other variants, and others ignoring them. They also result from the varying treatment of indicatives, which some studies discount because of their rarity in AmE, and of modal verbs other than *should*, which are sometimes not considered because of the predominance of *should*. A number of studies, such as Leech et al. (2009), concentrate on just the subjunctive and *should* variants. With regard to identification criteria, the most important methodological inconsistency concerns the identification of present subjunctive forms, and in particular identification on the basis of not following the Sequence of Tenses (iST) and of preverbal negation (iNEG) (see Sections 4.3.1 and 5.2.3). Not all studies have taken the same approach to identification by these criteria.

6.1.3   Data-collection methodology in this study

Access to data from all eight corpora was obtained via Lancaster University's CQPweb, a web-based corpus analysis system (see Hardie 2012).[3] It was decided that, for the sake of comparison with previous work in the area, the list of mandative items first set out in Johansson & Norheim (1988: 29) would be used as the basis for identification of mandative clauses. The initial datasets were created by a simple lemma search for these 30 triggers. As expected, this resulted in considerable over-collection of data, which necessitated manual post-editing of the resulting concordances: taking care to discount tokens that

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[3]   Access to most of the Brown family of corpora and to BE06 and AE06 via CQPweb was kindly granted by Geoffrey Leech and Andrew Hardie of Lancaster University; access to B-Brown via CQPweb was kindly granted by Marianne Hundt at the University of Zurich.

involved non-mandative uses of the trigger word (or different senses, such as the marriage-related use of *propose*), as well as tokens with no complementation, non-clausal complementation or clausal complementation of a non-mandative kind.

The overall aim of this study is to assess new evidence regarding the full range of variants in mandative clauses in written AmE and BrE between 1931 and 2006, working on the principle that these five possibilities can be seen to comprise what Aarts, Close and Wallis call 'a set of true alternants' (2013: 20), which it is believed will give as accurate a picture of the choices facing a speaker as possible. To this end, results for five mandative variants – subjunctive, non-distinct (ND), indicative, *should* and 'other modals' – were recorded separately. During the analysis, additional features that were taken into account included text category, voice of mandative verb and *that*-omission.

An important caveat is required at this point. It could be argued that the picture is not complete and that the five mandative-clause variants mentioned in the previous paragraph do not comprise the full set. As discussed in Section 4.3.4, many of the triggers also license non-finite complements. There are, however, significant difficulties involved in deciding which non-finite examples can be said to be in environments in which finite variants could also have been used – i.e. there are problems in assessing true variability (see discussion by Hundt 1998b: 162). Though data regarding non-finite complementation was collected in the course of this study, more analysis is needed before that data can be assessed, so for the moment, apart from a few comments on the complementation preferences of individual triggers in Section 6.5.5, only the five finite variants have been considered.

To ensure consistency, in each corpus subjunctives were identified using the same criteria: iBE, iNO-S, iNEG and iST (see Section 4.3.1). The iST criterion was considered to apply to all persons, not just third person singular (see Section 6.3.1). In the case of multiple subjunctive coordination following a single trigger, only the first verb in the coordination was counted (see Section 4.3.6).

When the subjunctive variants had been identified, a check was made to see if any of the individual 2,000-word text samples in the corpora had yielded unusually high numbers of subjunctives, which might have had a skewing effect on the results. Overall, it was found that there were no obvious problems of this kind. The breakdown of which text each example of the subjunctive appears in can be seen in Tables A9–A16 in the Appendix. In the AmE corpora, there were six texts containing more than three subjunctives, with the highest total being six: in Brown A01, a report from a grand jury, and in Frown G45, an extract from a political biography. These quantities, and the typically institutional nature of the texts involved, did not raise immediate concerns about unrepresentativeness. The same can be said

for three of the four texts in the BrE corpora that contained more than three subjunctives. Two of these, both containing four subjunctives, were reports of institutional proceedings; the other, yielding five subjunctives, was a legal history of the House of Lords. The remaining BrE text, containing seven subjunctives – the highest total in any of the corpora – was BE06 J04, the problematic text mentioned in Section 6.1.1 that turned out to be from a social work journal published in 1986 rather than 2005. As stated in Section 6.1.1, this text has been excluded from the remainder of this study because of the date problem, but the number of subjunctives it contains is still notable. Closer examination shows that this can be explained, to some extent, by the procedural focus of the article, which consists of numerous recommendations about best practice in social work case conferences.

6.1.4   Measures used in this study

In the discussion of results in this chapter, the following measures are used: (1) raw figures; (2) normalised figures per million words (pmw); (3) proportions of the total number of mandative clauses within a corpus (% of MT). The raw figures are particularly useful for comparison with the results of previous studies looking at the same corpora (see Section 6.3). The normalised figures are more accurate, given the slight differences in the size of the corpora, and are appropriate when comparing results with studies based on different-sized corpora, and when comparing frequencies in subcorpora. The word counts for the corpora, subcorpora and categories used in the calculation of frequency pmw were those supplied on CQPweb. These are set out in Tables A17 and A18 in the Appendix.

The proportional figures are appropriate for a diachronic study looking at mandative clauses in two varieties because previous studies have indicated that variation takes the form of changes or differences in preferences with regard to a limited set of existing variants, rather than the adoption of new variants, and presenting the results in terms of relative frequency is a reasonable way of capturing these preferences. In the particular case of mandative clauses, however, because of the low frequencies involved, it is important to take care to consider the proportional figures alongside the raw or normalised figures. If the combined total of variants found in a corpus is low, as is the case with mandative clauses, there is a risk that a small difference between numbers of individual variants can appear misleadingly significant when looked at only in proportional terms.

Statistical significance has been assessed in this study by log-likelihood test: a value of 3.84 or higher is considered to be significant at the level of $p < 0.05$. The log-likelihood wizard run by Paul

Rayson at http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html was used for this purpose. Where log-likelihood results are included in tables, significant values are highlighted in bold.

6.2 Mandative clauses: initial findings

The overall findings of this study are presented in Table 6.1, which shows results for five finite mandative-clause variants in four matching corpora of AmE written texts and four matching corpora of BrE written texts, covering the 75 years between 1931 and 2006. Full details of the results for each trigger in each corpus can be found in Tables A1–A8 in the Appendix.

Table 6.1. Five mandative-clause variants in four American and four British corpora: raw frequency, frequency pmw and proportion of total mandative clauses (% of MT).

		subj.	ND	indic.	*should*	other modals	mand. total (MT)
AmE							
B-Brown (1931)	raw	89	25	0	27	18	**159**
1,152,310 wds	pmw	77.2	21.7	0.0	23.4	15.6	138.0
	% of MT	56.0%	15.7%	0.0%	17.0%	11.3%	
Brown (1961)	raw	140	12	1	20	9	**182**
1,148,454 wds	pmw	121.9	10.4	0.9	17.4	7.8	158.5
	% of MT	76.9%	6.6%	0.5%	11.0%	4.9%	
Frown (1992)	raw	107	19	3	11	7	**147**
1,154,283 wds	pmw	92.7	16.5	2.6	9.5	6.1	127.4
	% of MT	72.8%	12.9%	2.0%	7.5%	4.8%	
AE06 (2006)	raw	82	36	3	10	3	**134**
1,175,965 wds	pmw	69.7	30.6	2.6	8.5	2.6	113.9
	% of MT	61.2%	26.9%	2.2%	7.5%	2.2%	
BrE							
B-LOB (1931)	raw	25	5	4	128	31	**193**
1,162,739 wds	pmw	21.5	4.3	3.4	110.1	26.7	166.0
	% of MT	13.0%	2.6%	2.1%	66.3%	16.1%	
LOB (1961)	raw	22	9	8	122	24	**185**
1,141,986 wds	pmw	19.3	7.9	7.0	106.8	21.0	162.0
	% of MT	11.9%	4.9%	4.3%	65.9%	13.0%	
F-LOB (1991)	raw	43	17	19	66	10	**155**
1,142,958 wds	pmw	37.6	14.9	16.6	57.7	8.7	135.6
	% of MT	27.7%	11.0%	12.3%	42.6%	6.5%	
BE06* (2006)	raw	35	32	20	27	9	**123**
1,144,921 wds	pmw	30.6	27.9	17.5	23.6	7.9	107.4
	% of MT	28.5%	26.0%	16.3%	22.0%	7.3%	

The details and statistical significance of these figures will be discussed in Section 6.4, but at this point it can be seen that, with regard to the period covered by the first three corpora, all of which have featured in previous studies, the findings broadly support those studies' accounts of the differing preferences of the two national varieties, namely the AmE preference for the subjunctive variant and the BrE preference for the *should* variant. These preferences are particularly evident when the normalised figures for the varieties are presented as bar charts, as in Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.2.
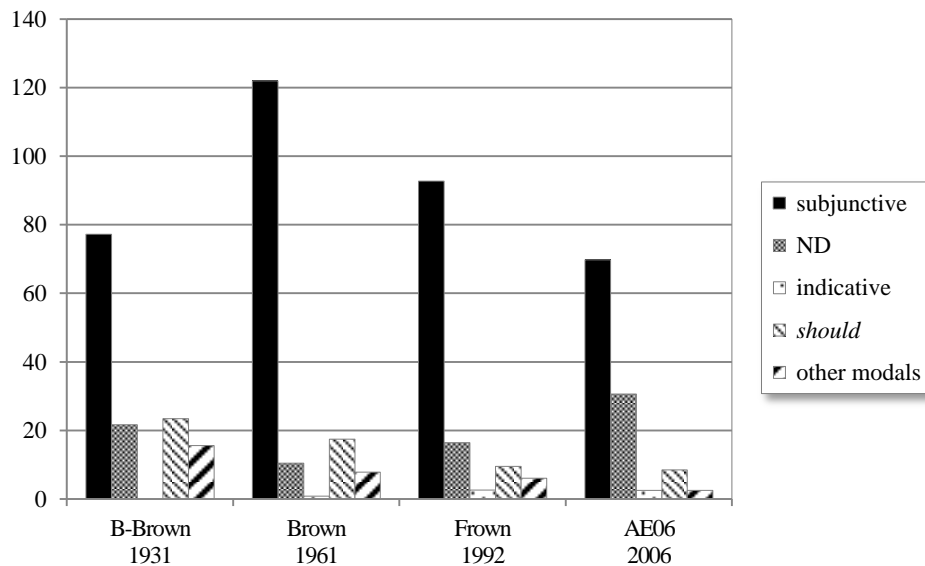
Figure 6.1. Mandative variants (pmw) in four AmE corpora.
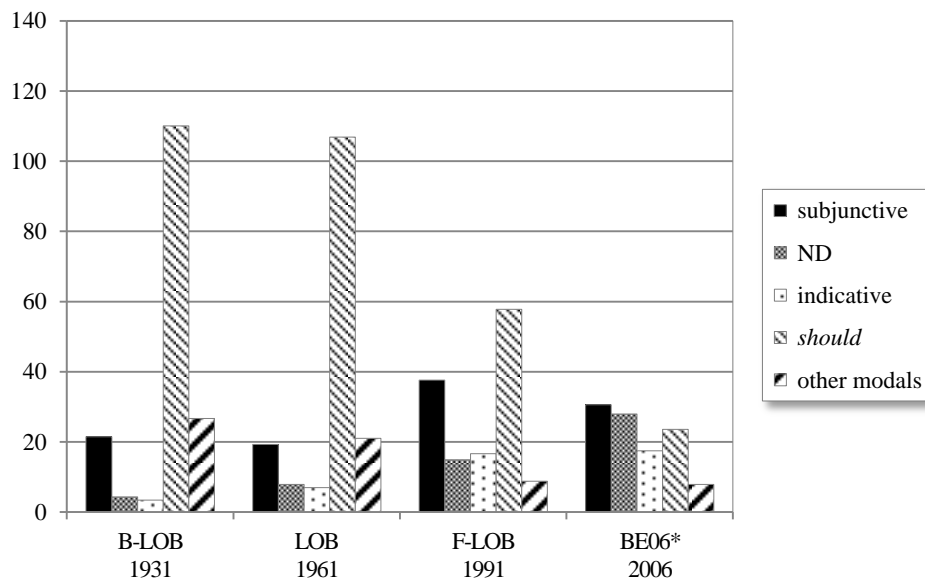
Figure 6.2. Mandative variants (pmw) in four BrE corpora.

Over the first 60 years, it can be seen that in AmE there is low use of the *should* variant and very little use of the indicative variant. The subjunctive is already the most common American option at the beginning of the period, even before the notable increase after 1931 to a high point in 1961, which is followed by a less marked decline to 1992. In BrE, there is a strong preference for *should* in the first half of the century, and other modals appear in mandative clauses more often than subjunctives. Between 1961 and 1991, the picture in BrE changes as a notable increase in the use of subjunctives (and NDs) takes place, accompanied by a significant reduction in the frequency of *should* variants and other modals. It is also evident that BrE differs from AmE in including the indicative variant as a viable option, more so after 1961 than before.

There are three particularly notable aspects of the findings for the period between 1991/2 and 2006: (1) in AmE, a continuing decline in the use of the subjunctive; (2) in BrE, a levelling-off of the use of the subjunctive, rather than a continuation of the increase noted between LOB and F-LOB; and (3) perhaps most strikingly, a continued decrease in the use of *should* in BrE. When the figures are displayed in a chart based on relative frequency (% of MT), however, as in Figure 6.3 and Figure 6.4, it becomes apparent that in AmE the situation is not quite so simple. In that variety, because the indicative is not considered to be an option for many speakers (see, for example, comments by Algeo in Section 5.1.8), it can be argued that the ND variants are felt to be subjunctive, or at least that it is reasonable to combine the results for subjunctives and NDs when looking at relative frequency in that variety (see Section 4.3.5). If this is done, the proportion of mandative clauses featuring either subjunctives or NDs remains roughly stable between Frown and AE06. If the same thing is done for BrE, the combined ND/subjunctive share would seem to represent a considerable increase (see Figure 6.4). In that variety, however, because the indicative variant is clearly still an acceptable option, there is as much argument for interpreting NDs as indicatives as there is for interpreting them as subjunctives, and so it is not justifiable to lump the two variants together in this way. With regard to the two notable aspects relating to BrE, the apparent decrease in the use of *should* and the levelling-off of the use of the subjunctive, the evidence supplied by the relative frequency in Figure 6.4 is just as striking as that supplied by the normalised figures in Figure 6.2.
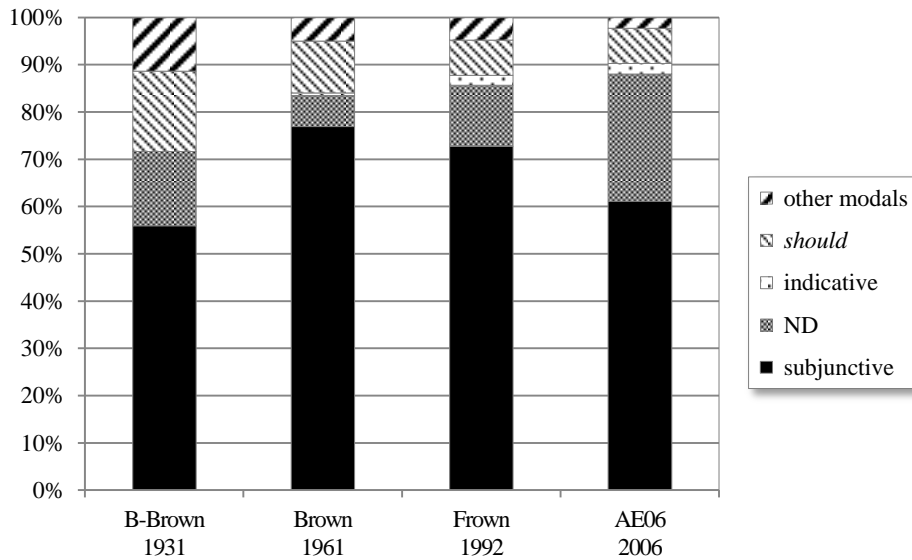
Figure 6.3. Relative frequency (% of MT) of mandative variants in four AmE corpora.
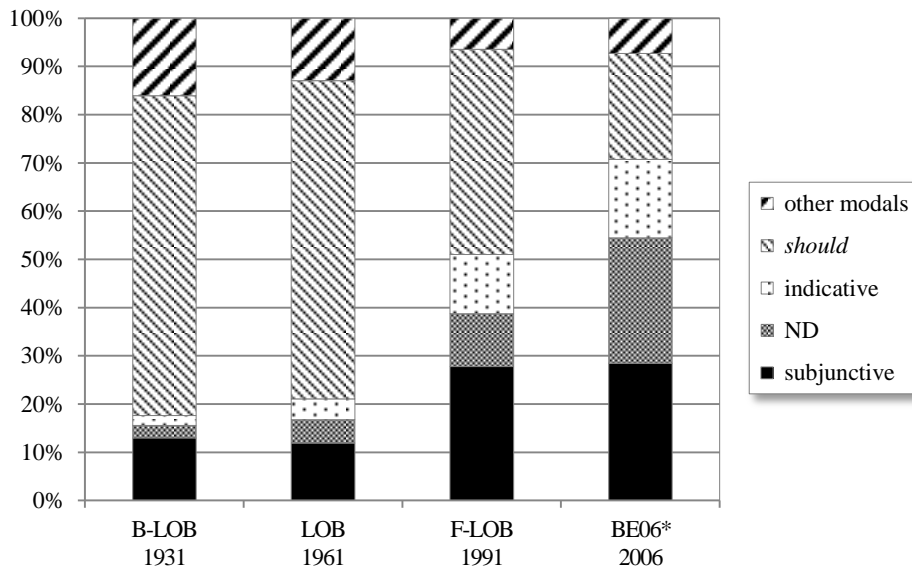
Figure 6.4. Relative frequency (% of MT) of mandative variants in four BrE corpora.

It can be seen that the proportional figures and the normalised figures highlight different aspects of the data. Presenting the results in terms of relative frequency, as in Figure 6.3 and Figure 6.4, gives a clear indication of variation in preferences in mandative clauses, both over time and between the two varieties. What these proportional charts do not show so clearly, however, even if totals are added to the columns, is the variation in the overall number of (finite) mandative clauses – what in Section 4.2.7 were described as 'mandative contexts'. To illustrate this, the normalised figures are more appropriate, as

displayed in Figure 6.5, and they show a steady decrease in the frequency of (finite) mandative contexts in both varieties over 75 years, apart from an increase in AmE between 1931 and 1961.
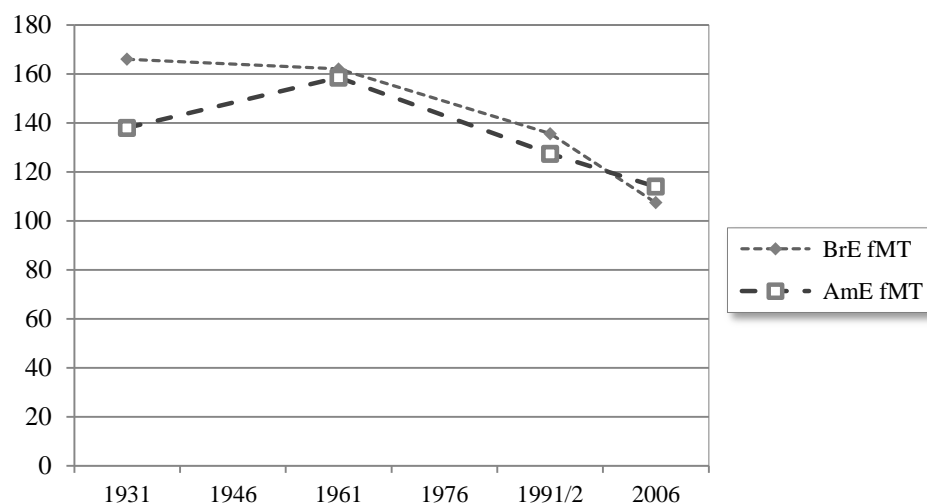
Figure 6.5. Frequency (pmw) of finite mandative clauses in eight matching corpora.

In BrE, the difference between the figures for 1931 and 2006 is statistically significant, as is the difference between the figures for 1961 and 2006 in AmE. It is notable that the same change is seen in both varieties, and at no point are the differences between the varieties statistically significant, not even in 1931. What remains to be determined is whether the decrease can be accounted for by a corresponding increase in non-finite constructions following the same triggers (something that will require further analysis of the data gathered for this study, as mentioned in Section 6.1.3 above), or whether the decrease reflects a broader change in the nature of the content of the corpora based on the Brown sampling frame.

6.3   Comparisons with previous studies

A secondary objective of this study was to check my results against those from previous studies based on the same corpora, in order to find more evidence about the various methodological issues identified in Chapter 5. As discussed in Section 5.2.3 and elsewhere, potentially the most significant and far-reaching anomaly was identified in Johansson & Norheim (1988). Accordingly, a comparison of my results for the LOB and Brown corpora with those found in that study is the starting point of this section. For Frown and F-LOB, the main studies for purposes of comparison are Hundt (1998b) and Leech et al. (2009); for

B-Brown and B-LOB, Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming) and Leech & Smith (2009). I am aware of no published studies with data regarding mandative clauses in BE06 and AE06. For general trends, comparison with data from Övergaard (1995) was also useful. It should be noted that not all of the studies mentioned provided data for all five of the mandative-clause variants considered in my study, and so in some cases only partial comparison was possible.

6.3.1 A comparison with Johansson & Norheim (1988)

Before examining differences between the various sets of results, it is worth discussing possible reasons why some of these differences are to be expected. For example, identifying variants within mandative clauses in a million-word corpus involves checking through hundreds of sentences, which provides ample opportunity for missing examples, especially as they are not common and the verb in the mandative clause can sometimes be widely separated from the trigger. In addition, some of the decisions that have to be made – such as whether an example is mandative or not – are to a certain extent subjective, and it is unlikely that two researchers will always make exactly the same choice. Later researchers also have the considerable advantage of being able to check against existing results in order to avoid missing examples.

Table 6.2. Comparison of results with those from Johansson & Norheim (1988: 28–29): absolute and relative frequencies of subjunctive, ND, indicative and *should* variants in mandative clauses in the Brown and LOB corpora from the 1960s.

	Johansson & Norheim (1988)		Waller (2017)	
	Brown AmE 1961	**LOB** BrE 1961	**Brown** AmE 1961	**LOB** BrE 1961
Subjunctive	116 (70.3%)	14 (11.4%)	140 (80.9%)	22 (13.7%)
ND	30 (18.2%)	11 (8.9%)	12 (6.9%)	9 (5.6%)
Indicative	0 (0%)	1 (0.8%)	1 (0.6%)	8 (5.0%)
Should	19 (11.5%)	97 (78.9%)	20 (11.6%)	122 (75.8%)
Total	**165**	**123**	**173**	**161**

Some of the differences in the results that are apparent in the summary in Table 6.2 can be explained in this way. For example, as mentioned in Section 5.2.16, Leech et al. (2009: 55) have already demonstrated that LOB contains more examples of the indicative variant than (156) below, the single example found by Johansson & Norheim (1988: 28), by adding four more, (157)–(160), their (4)–(7):

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(156)   Feeling it would not be wise to rush matters so soon he finished his drink and **suggested** they
          <u>returned</u> to the dance room.

<LOB P07>

(157)   In the testing of Rh negative women antenatally, for instance, it is **recommended** that . . .
          techniques <u>are</u> used in parallel.

<LOB J13>

(158)   May I venture to **suggest** that when the Minister of works investigates the microphones, he
          <u>considers</u> not only new microphones but the possibility of reverting to the pre-war practice of not
          having microphones . . . ?

<LOB H19>

(159)   . . . and it is **essential** that the ripening <u>is</u> stopped at the correct degree of acidity, and the
          temperature subsequently reduced quickly and evenly.

<LOB E33>

(160)   . . . for plane frameworks it is merely **necessary** that they <u>are</u> made of material which obeys
          Hooke's law of linear elasticity, to a chosen layout scale.

<LOB J76>

To those five I am able to add three more indicative examples from LOB, (161)–(163), as well as a

solitary example from Brown, (164):

(161)   I've got enough to worry about; all I **ask** is that you <u>don't</u> antagonize Tim and his wife.

<LOB L21>

(162)   The actual **requirements** for a bronze medal test are, that the candidate <u>dances</u> three dances,
          waltz, foxtrot and quickstep, with an amateur or professional partner, paying particular attention
          to the footwork, timing and alignment of the figures.

<LOB E13>

(163)   Then she can either take her turn as host, by saying she has been given theatre tickets [. . .] and
          asking him to accompany her, perhaps **suggesting** that to make it entirely her evening, he <u>allows</u>
          her to take him for a meal beforehand; or alternatively she can, when accepting his next
          invitation, say, yes, I'd love to come, but let's go Dutch this time.

<LOB F08>

(164)   My sincere **wish** is that he <u>continues</u> to add to this record he sets here today.

<Brown H03>

When it comes to the subjunctive and ND variants, however, it is not so easy to ascribe all the differences

between the two sets of results to missed examples or the benefit of a second pair of eyes. It is my

contention that a large proportion are attributable to a systematic difference in approach concerning

the identification of subjunctives by iST. This was something I raised as a possible inconsistency in

Section 5.2.3 (and elsewhere), but it was not possible to assess more robust evidence until a

reanalysis of the mandative clauses in LOB had been undertaken.

To summarise, in their initial description of the mandative subjunctive, Johansson & Norheim (1988: 27) state that there is 'no backshifting of tense depending upon the superordinate verb', giving as an example *He insisted that he* (*should*) *not come,* their (2). This might seem to indicate that they, like most recent studies, take all examples of non-backshifted verbs in mandative clauses following past-tense matrix verbs as subjunctives. On the next page, however, an explanation of the mandative variants included in their study suggests (but admittedly does not spell out clearly) that this is not quite the case: 'Among the verb forms in the *that*-clauses we include, apart from distinctive subjunctive forms and *should* constructions, "non-distinctive" forms, as in: 5. *We insist that you go*. 6. *I suggested that we leave at once*' (1988: 28). The crucial point here is that in their 'subjunctive' example (2), the verb in the mandative clause has a third person singular subject, while in their 'non-distinctive' example (6), it does not. It appears that, for Johansson & Norheim, iST applies only when the subject of the verb in the mandative clause is third person singular.[4]

Strong support for this is revealed when Johansson & Norheim's subjunctive and ND results for each trigger are set alongside mine, together with details of the relevant subjunctive-identification criteria (iBE, iNO-S, iST, iNEG) and the person and number (1PS, 3PP etc.) of the subject involved when the criterion is iST. This can be seen in Table 6.3 for Brown and Table 6.4 for LOB. Bold and underlining is used to highlight apparent correlations between non-third person singular iST subjunctives identified in this study and variants classified as NDs by Johansson & Norheim (1988: 29).

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[4] Note that the example Huddleston & Pullum use to explain iST features a third person plural subject – *The nuns insisted that their young ladies wear stockings* – which makes it clear that for them iST is *not* restricted to examples with third person singular subjects (2002: 994–995).

Table 6.3. Comparison of results with those from Johansson & Norheim (1988): two mandative-clause variants in the Brown corpus, with suggested correlations in bold and underlined.

Brown	Johansson & Norheim (1988)		Waller (2017)		
	ND	subj.	ND	subj.	ID criteria for subjunctives
advise	0	2	0	2	2 x iBE
ask	**<u>4</u>**	5	0	9	3 x iNO-S, 1 x iBE 5 x iST: 3PS, **<u>1PS</u>**, **<u>1PP</u>**, **<u>3PP</u>**, **<u>3PP</u>**
beg	0	1	0	1	1 x iBE
demand V+N	**<u>1</u>**	19	0	21	12 x iNO-S, 8 x iBE 1 x iST: **<u>1PS</u>**
desire V+N	0	1	0	1	1 x iBE
direct	0	2	0	2	2 x iBE
insist	**<u>4</u>**	9	2	11	5 x iNO-S, 4 x iBE 2 x iST: **<u>1PS</u>**, **<u>3PP</u>**
move	0	1	0	1	1 x iBE
order	0	2	0	2	2 x iBE
propose V+N	**<u>3</u>**	9	2	11	2 x iNO-S, 8 x iBE 1 x iST: **<u>3PP</u>**
recommend V+N	**<u>3</u>**	10	1	14	2 x iNO-S, 11 x iBE 1 x iST: **<u>3PP</u>**
request V+N	1	6	1	6	6 x iBE
require V+N	2	14	2	16	16 x iBE
stipulate	0	2	0	2	1 x iNO-S, 1 x iBE
suggest V+N	**<u>7</u>**	12	2	17	7 x iNO-S, 5 x iBE 5 x iST: **<u>2PS</u>**, **<u>1PP</u>**, **<u>3PP</u>**, **<u>3PP</u>**, **<u>3PP</u>**
urge	**<u>1</u>**	6	0	7	3 x iNO-S, 2 x iBe, 1 x iNEG 1 x iST: **<u>3PS/3PP</u>** (ambig.)
wish V+N	0	3	0	3	1 x iNO-S, 2 x iBE
essential	0	2	0	2	2 x iBE
important	3	4	1	6	1 x iNO-S, 4 x iBE, 1 x iNEG
necessary	1	5	1	5	5 x iBE
sufficient	0	0	0	0	–
anxious	0	1	0	1	1 x iBE
Total	**30**	**116**	**12**	**140**	

Table 6.4. Comparison of results with those from Johansson & Norheim (1988): two mandative-clause variants in the LOB corpus, with suggested correlations in bold and underlined.

| LOB | Johansson & Norheim (1988) | | Waller (2017) | | |
	ND	subj.	ND	subj.	ID criteria for subjunctives
advise	0	0	0	0	–
ask	0	1	0	1	1 x iBE
beg	0	0	0	0	–
demand V+N	**1**	2	0	4	2 x iBE, 1 x iNO-S 1 x iST: **3PP**
desire V+N	0	0	1	0	–
direct	1	0	1	0	–
insist	**1**	0	0	1	1 x iST: **3PP**
move	0	1	0	1	1 x iBE
order	0	1	0	1	1 x iBE
propose V+N	**1**	0	0	2	1 x iBE 1 x iST: **1PP**
recommend V+N	0	1	0	1	1 x iBE
request V+N	0	2	0	2	1 x iBE, 1 x iNO-S
require V+N	1	1	1	1	1 x iBE
stipulate	0	0	1	0	–
suggest V+N	**6**	2	3	5	2 x iBE 3 x iST: **1PS**, **1PP**, **3PP**
urge	0	0	0	0	–
wish V+N	0	1	0	1	1 x iBE
essential	0	1	1	1	1 x iNO-S
important	0	0	1	0	–
necessary	0	0	0	0	–
sufficient	0	1	0	1	1 x iBE
anxious	0	0	0	0	–
Total	**11**	**14**	**9**	**22**	

These tables illustrate a strong correspondence between the non-third person singular iST examples in my study and some of Johansson & Norheim's NDs.[5] It seems very likely that those authors did indeed follow the practice that the wording of their study suggested: with regard to iST, they only counted examples featuring third person singular subject as subjunctives.

It is not easy to understand the thinking behind Johansson & Norheim's attitude to iST. Examples with third person singular subjects are already identifiable as subjunctives because of the lack of final -*s*, so what is the point of mentioning iST as another criterion unless it applies to all persons? The counterintuitive nature of such an approach perhaps explains why this detail of Johansson & Norheim's methodology has not always been recognised. The unfortunate consequence, however, is that most of the studies that have relied on Johansson & Norheim's results have not been comparing like with like,

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[5] The difference between my ND results for Brown and Johansson & Norheim's is statistically significant.

because the results from the other corpora normally also include subjunctive forms that are identified as such because of iST when the subject of the matrix verb is not third person singular.

Peters (1998) is an exception. Although she mentions that with 'a past tense form of verb in the matrix clause, the use of the base form for the following verb implies a mandative subjunctive' (1998: 92), Peters still follows Johansson & Norheim in treating such examples separately from unambiguous subjunctives (though she differs in keeping them separate from other types of ND form, rather than combining them). Her Table 3 (1998: 97) shows that the variants identified as mandative subjunctives in the ACE corpus do not include any non-third person singular iST examples, which is appropriate because she is directly comparing the ACE results with Johansson & Norheim's for LOB and Brown.

The same cannot be said for Hundt (1998b) and studies that build on its findings, such as Leech et al. (2009) and Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming). The results for F-LOB and Frown and WCNZE in Hundt (1998b) apparently include non-third person singular iST subjunctives. Evidence for this is provided by the author's discussion of subjunctive identification, in which she says that when 'the verb in the subordinate clause is not governed by a third person singular subject, indicative and subjunctive cannot be distinguished unless the verb in the superordinate clause requires back-shifting', before giving (165) as an example (1998b: 160), her (5), which features a first person singular subject:

(165)   When my own worry lines began to deepen recently, Donna **suggested** I <u>take</u> up jogging with Rob.

<div align="right"><WCNZE K29></div>

As a result, when Hundt compares her figures for Frown/F-LOB and WCNZE with Johansson & Norheim's figures for Brown/LOB and Peters's figures for ACE (1998b: 173), she is not comparing data based on the same identification criteria, which must affect her findings, particularly as the mandative subjunctive is such a low-frequency item. Similarly, Leech et al. also mention iST as a criterion, using the third person plural example *He insisted that they go*, which implies that for them iST is not restricted to third person singular (2009: 54). But again their results for Frown/F-LOB are compared with Johansson & Norheim's original results for Brown/F-LOB (2009: 281), and so they are not comparing like with like. Exactly the same example is used to illustrate iST in Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming). As their study involves comparing new results for the B-Brown/B-LOB corpora with the Hundt (1998b) figures for Frown/F-LOB and the original figures for Brown/LOB from Johansson & Norheim (1988), the same problem applies.

6.3.2   A comparison with Leech et al. (2009)

I chose to compare my results for Frown and F-LOB with those from Leech et al. (2009: 281), rather than those from Hundt (1998b: 173), because the Frown corpus was not quite complete at the time of the earlier study and so the results could not be said to be final, as Hundt made clear.[6] Another advantage is that, unlike Hundt (1998b), Leech et al. (2009) include results for *all* of the Johansson & Norheim triggers, rather than just the verbs and nouns. Both Hundt (1998b) and Leech et al. (2009) provide results only for the subjunctive and *should* variants.

Table 6.5. Comparison of results with those from Leech et al. (2009): absolute and relative frequencies of subjunctive and *should* variants in mandative clauses in the Frown and F-LOB corpora from the 1990s.*

	Leech et al. (2009)		Waller (2017)	
	Frown AmE 1992	**F-LOB** BrE 1991	**Frown** AmE 1992	**F-LOB** BrE 1991
Subjunctive	105 (91.3%)	49 (38.3%)	107 (90.7%)	43 (39.4%)
Should	10 (8.7%)	79 (61.7%)	11 (9.3%)	66 (60.6%)
Total	**115**	**128**	**118**	**109**

* Leech et al. figures based on their Table A3.1 (2009: 281).

In this case, there is no evidence of any systematic differences. The sets of results for Frown are similar and the differences are not statistically significant. With regard to F-LOB, it is perhaps slightly surprising to see that I have fewer examples of each variant, but without seeing exactly which examples were identified in the earlier study, it is difficult to be certain about reasons, other than straightforward missed examples. Possibilities include decisions regarding whether or not to include the second verb in a coordination, as in (166), or examples following nouns such as *advice* and *order*, as in (167) and (168), which did not feature in the original Johansson & Norheim (1988) list.[7]

(166)   Gerbner goes on to **recommend** that war imagery <u>should</u> not be placed out of bounds to children – to do so would serve only to heighten the sense of things having gone out of control – but that parents <u>should</u> view and discuss such material with their children, so alleviating some of the most harmful consequences.

<F-LOB F15>

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[6]   The Hundt (1998b) and Leech et al. (2009) figures differ at several points: for example, in the results for subjunctive and *should* variants after *demand*, *insist*, *order*, *propose*, *recommend*, *require* and *suggest*.

[7]   The only 'corresponding nouns' in the Johansson & Norheim list were *demand*, *desire*, *proposal*, *recommendation*, *request*, *requirement*, *suggestion*, *wish* (1988: 28).

(167)   Alex's **advice** that the place <u>should</u> be sold seemed sound.

<div align="right"><F-LOB L16></div>

(168)   Nor can they apply for a prohibited steps or specific issue order as a way of obtaining the care or supervision of a child, nor to obtain an **order** that the child <u>be</u> accommodated by them.

<div align="right"><F-LOB H13></div>

There is a small inconsistency in Leech et al.'s study with regard to the *should* variant in Frown. In their Table A3.1 (2009: 281), on which my Table 6.5 is based, the total for *should* is given as 10, but earlier in the book, in their Table 3.3 (2009: 60), the total is given as 11 (matching my total). If their findings for individual triggers in their Table A3.1 are compared with mine (see Table A7 in the Appendix), the discrepancy seems to involve the number of *should* variants found after the trigger *suggest*.

6.3.3   A comparison with Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming) and Leech & Smith (2009)

These two studies offer the opportunity for comparing results for the B-Brown and B-LOB corpora, but with Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming) it must be remembered that all comparisons are made on the understanding that the version of the study to which I had access was not the published version, and so none of its results can be taken as final. In Hundt & Gardner's study, as with Hundt (1998b) and Leech et al. (2009), only results for the subjunctive and *should* mandative variants were supplied.

Table 6.6. Comparison of results with those from Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming): absolute and relative frequencies of subjunctive and *should* variants in mandative clauses in the B-Brown and B-LOB corpora from the 1930s.*

	Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming)		Waller (2017)	
	B-Brown AmE 1931	**B-LOB** BrE 1931	**B-Brown** AmE 1931	**B-LOB** BrE 1931
Subjunctive	76 (79.2%)	19 (20.7%)	89 (76.7%)	25 (16.3%)
Should	20 (20.8%)	73 (79.3%)	27 (23.3%)	128 (83.7%)
Total	**96**	**92**	**116**	**153**

* Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming) figures based on their Table 4.2-a.

The fact that Hundt & Gardner's results are not final makes it difficult to draw many conclusions, but the most obvious difference concerns the greater number of *should* variants I have identified in B-LOB, which a log-likelihood test shows to be significant at $p < 0.05$ (unlike the other differences between

results). This may reflect a different approach to the question of which clauses featuring *should* are considered to be mandative (see Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 998) and the discussion in Section 3.4.2). Whether this is the case or not, the benefit of taking a consistent approach to analysis in a multi-corpus study seems clear.

In Leech & Smith's study, the mandative subjunctive is included as one of several constructions covered in a general survey of grammatical change in BrE between 1931 and 1991. There are no detailed figures, and there is no information about the methodology used, but a chart (their Figure 12) indicates a notable decrease in the use of the mandative subjunctive between B-LOB and LOB (2009: 186). My equivalent figures for BrE, as in Table 6.1 and Figure 6.2, show no change rather than a decrease. Evidence from their chart suggests it is likely that for LOB they used the Johansson & Norheim figures, which are lower than mine (see Section 6.3.1), and this would partly explain the difference. However, they also appear to have a higher figure for B-LOB than my study, but it is not possible to establish a reason for this without any methodological details.

6.3.4   A comparison with Övergaard (1995)

Övergaard's study differs from others in this section in that for the most part it is based on different corpora and different data-collection methods (see Section 5.2.5). Even Övergaard's results for Brown and LOB have to be treated with care, because she customised them by adding her own Drama category (hence my use of quotes around 'Brown' and 'LOB' when referring to her corpora). Despite this lack of strict comparability, given this study's concern with the effects of different methodologies, there still seems to be some value in comparing the general trends indicated by her findings with mine by looking at the relative frequency of the mandative variants, not least because her study overlaps with much of the period covered by this study.[8] The results are presented in Figure 6.6. and Figure 6.7, and in general the similarities are more striking than the differences.

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[8]   Extracting data for all five variants involved referring to pp. 40, 41, 56 and 69 of Övergaard (1995) for the American corpora; and pp. 52, 56 and 68 for the British corpora. See Table A22 in the Appendix.
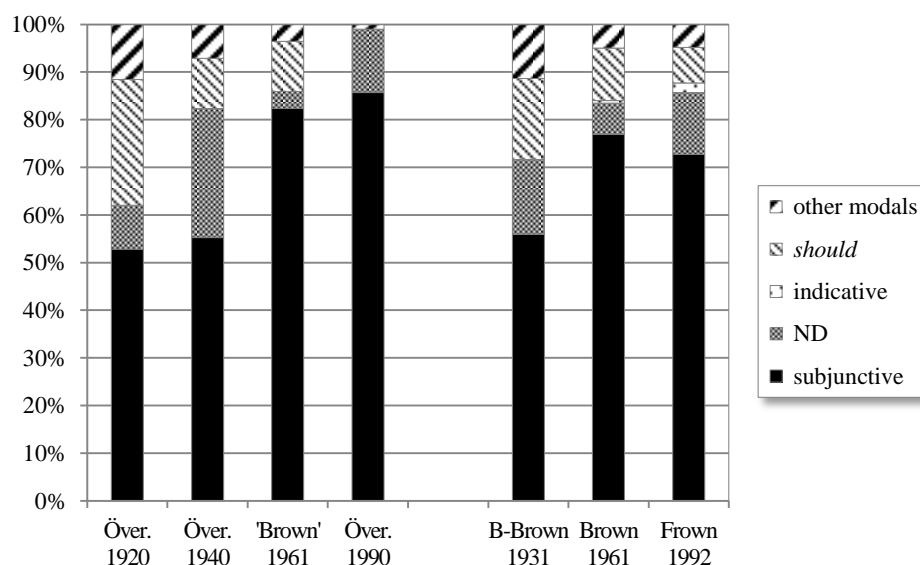
Figure 6.6. Comparison with Övergaard (1995): relative frequency (% of MT) of five mandative variants in four AmE corpora in Övergaard (1995) and three AmE corpora in this study.
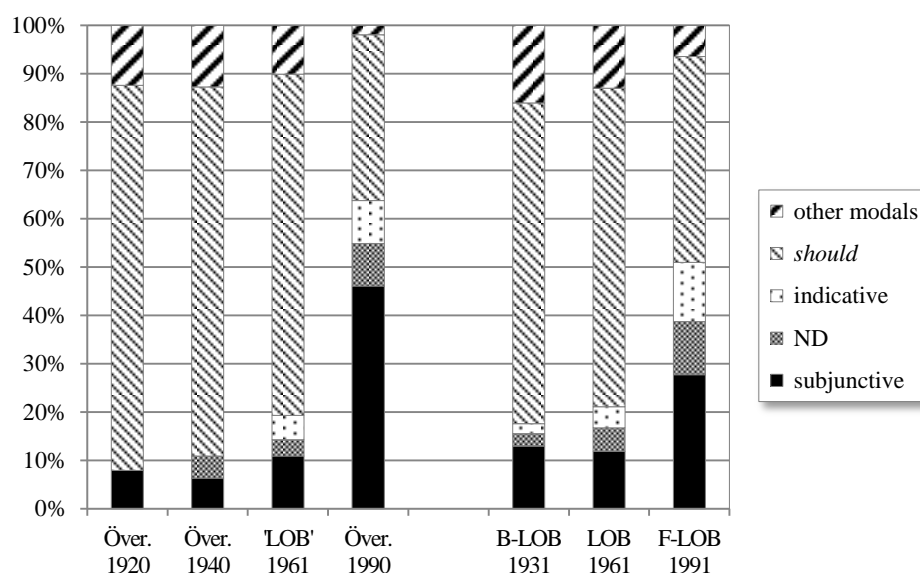
Figure 6.7. Comparison with Övergaard (1995): relative frequency (% of MT) of five mandative variants in four BrE corpora in Övergaard (1995) and three BrE corpora in this study.

With regard to trends in BrE indicated by Övergaard's 1920 and 1940 corpora, my 1931 results for

B-LOB do not offer any counter-evidence to the stable situation suggested by her findings, in which the

only area of statistically significant difference involves an increase in NDs. There are no noteworthy

differences between my figures for B-LOB and Övergaard's 1920 and 1940 corpora – although the

presence of a few indicatives in my figures probably reflects a different approach to identification of

mandative indicatives (see Section 5.2.5). In Övergaard's AmE corpora for 1920 and 1940, though the

proportion of subjunctives remains stable, the increase in NDs and decrease in the *should* variant are significant. Again, my 1931 B-Brown results do not provide any counter-evidence to these trends, with no significant differences from her earlier and later corpora.

The results for Övergaard's customised versions of LOB and Brown, with their added Drama categories, show no notable differences from my results for the traditional corpora, which is perhaps not surprising, as Drama can be expected to be one of the more speech-like categories and therefore unlikely to yield many mandative subjunctives. It is in the next set of corpora that important differences from my results can be seen. In her corpus of BrE from 1990, there is an increase in the proportion of subjunctives, one of the most notable findings of her study; in my results for F-LOB there is also an increase but it is not so marked. The difference between the two sets of subjunctive figures is statistically significant. In the AmE corpora, the main difference concerns the modal variants – not just *should*, of which, remarkably, Övergaard finds no examples in her American corpus for 1990, but also other modals, of which she finds a single example. As with the indicative variant, it is likely that this reflects a different approach to the identification of mandative uses of the variant concerned.

6.4   Mandative clauses: variation over time

In this section, I look more closely at the results of this case study in order to assess the changes in frequency between the four time points and establish whether they are statistically significant. After first looking at the overall changes between the oldest and most recent corpora, I examine three periods during which change might be detected: first, from B-Brown/B-LOB (1931) to Brown/LOB (1961); second, from Brown/LOB (1961) to Frown/F-LOB (1991/2); third, from Frown/F-LOB (1991/2) to AE06/BE06* (2006). Where appropriate, these changes of frequency are compared with those identified in other studies, again with the aim of assessing how findings are affected by the different methodologies.

6.4.1 Mandative variants in AmE and BrE over 75 years

The current study's results for B-Brown/B-LOB and AE06/BE06* are compared in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7. From 1931 to 2006: changes in frequency of mandative-clause variants in AmE and BrE.

		subj.	ND	indic.	*should*	other modals	mand. total (MT)
1. AmE: B-Brown vs AE06							
B-Brown (1931)	raw	89	25	0	27	18	159
1,152,310 wds	pmw	77.2	21.7	0.0	23.4	15.6	138.0
	% of MT	56.0%	15.7%	0.0%	17.0%	11.3%	
AE06 (2006)	raw	82	36	3	10	3	134
1,175,965 wds	pmw	69.7	30.6	2.6	8.5	2.6	113.9
	% of MT	61.2%	26.9%	2.2%	7.5%	2.2%	
Change in freq. (pmw)		-9.72%	41.10%		-63.71%	-83.67%	-17.42%
	LL	0.45	1.78	**4.10**	**8.46**	**12.19**	2.67
Change in freq. (% of MT)		9.32%	70.87%		-56.05%	-80.22%	
	LL	0.34	**4.32**	**4.69**	**5.47**	**9.47**	
2. BrE: B-LOB vs BE06*							
B-LOB (1931)	raw	25	5	4	128	31	193
1,162,739 wds	pmw	21.5	4.3	3.4	110.1	26.7	166.0
	% of MT	13.0%	2.6%	2.1%	66.3%	16.1%	
BE06* (2006)	raw	35	32	20	27	9	123
1,144,921 wds	pmw	30.6	27.9	17.5	23.6	7.9	107.4
	% of MT	28.5%	26.0%	16.3%	22.0%	7.3%	
Change in freq. (pmw)		42.18%	549.96%	407.78%	-78.58%	-70.52%	-35.28%
	LL	1.83	**22.41**	**11.89**	**69.96**	**12.46**	**14.57**
Change in freq. (% of MT)		119.67%	904.23%	684.55%	-66.90%	-54.45%	
	LL	**9.20**	**36.01**	**20.06**	**33.81**	**4.90**	

In AmE, the overall change in the frequency of subjunctive variants over the 75-year period is not statistically significant, which raises the question of whether the high point reached in the 1992 corpus is an anomalous result, something that needs to be investigated using a much larger corpus such as COHA. The overall decrease in *should* and other modals in AmE, on the other hand, is significant, as are all the changes in the relative frequency (% of MT) of all variants apart from the subjunctive, which seems to represent strong evidence that there have been genuine changes in preference in AmE in the period, involving an overall favouring of variants that do not involve periphrasis.

In BrE, there is also strong evidence of changing preferences, with the differences in the relative frequency of all variants found to be significant. As with AmE, the change in the frequency of the subjunctive variant is not significant, and again this does not reflect a high point earlier in the period, but

in the case of BrE this takes place in 1991, 30 years later than AmE. However, the highest figure for subjunctives in BrE, 37.6 pmw in 1961, is significantly lower than the lowest figure for AmE, 69.7 pmw in 2006, so while BrE, 30 years on, seems to be following a similar pattern to AmE, it must be stressed that the use of the mandative subjunctive in BrE is still far lower than in AmE. As in AmE, there is an overall decrease in the modal variants in BrE – although at all points the figures are higher than the AmE figures – and an overall increase in the non-periphrastic variants, particularly NDs and indicatives.

6.4.2   Mandative variants in AmE and BrE between the 1930s and 1960s

The results for B-Brown/B-LOB and Brown/LOB are compared in Table 6.8. The findings can be set against those of Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming), who, as discussed in Sections 5.2.18 and 6.3.3, produced their own figures for the two 1930s corpora – for subjunctive and *should* variants only – but relied on those from Johansson & Norheim (1988) for Brown and LOB. In both studies, the differences between the results for the AmE and BrE corpora are clear, and statistically significant, with AmE already strongly preferring the subjunctive in 1931 and BrE the *should* variant. With regard to variation over time, it is striking that whereas in BrE the situation is stable, in AmE there is considerable change.

Table 6.8. The 1930s to the 1960s: changes in frequency of mandative-clause variants in AmE and BrE.

		subj.	ND	indic.	*should*	other modals	mand. total (MT)
1. AmE: B-Brown vs Brown							
B-Brown (1931)	raw	89	25	0	27	18	159
1,152,310 wds	pmw	77.2	21.7	0.0	23.4	15.6	188.0
	% of MT	56.0%	15.7%	0.0%	17.0%	11.3%	
Brown (1961)	raw	140	12	1	20	9	182
1,148,454 wds	pmw	121.9	10.4	0.9	17.4	7.8	158.5
	% of MT	76.9%	6.6%	0.5%	11.0%	4.9%	
Change in freq. (pmw)		57.83%	-51.84%	–	-25.68%	-49.83%	14.85%
	LL	**11.63**	**4.62**	1.39	1.02	3.03	1.63
Change in freq. (% of MT)		37.42%	-58.07%	–	-35.29%	-56.32%	
	LL	**5.61**	**6.59**	1.26	2.21	**4.40**	
2. BrE: B-LOB vs LOB							
B-LOB (1931)	raw	25	5	4	128	31	193
1,162,739 wds	pmw	21.5	4.3	3.4	110.1	26.7	166.0
	% of MT	13.0%	2.6%	2.1%	66.3%	16.1%	
LOB (1961)	raw	22	9	8	122	24	185
1,141,986 wds	pmw	19.3	7.9	7.0	106.8	21.0	162.0
	% of MT	11.9%	4.9%	4.3%	65.9%	13.0%	
Change in freq. (pmw)		-10.40%	83.27%	103.63%	-2.96%	-21.17%	-2.40%
	LL	0.14	1.23	1.43	0.06	0.77	0.06
Change in freq. (% of MT)		-8.19%	87.78%	108.65%	-0.57%	-19.23%	
	LL	0.09	1.33	1.53	0	0.62	

In my figures for the two BrE corpora, there are no statistically significant differences between B-LOB and LOB – in particular, just as studies such as Övergaard (1995) have suggested, there is no evidence of an increase in the use of the mandative subjunctive in BrE in this period. Hundt & Gardner support this finding regarding the subjunctive variant in BrE, but whereas I find a (non-significant) decrease in the frequency of *should* variants, they find a statistically significant 32.9 per cent increase. This can be put down to the greater number of *should* variants I find in B-LOB – 128 to their 73, as discussed in Section 6.3.3.

In AmE, on the other hand, my results for B-Brown and Brown indicate significant increases, not only for subjunctives – a finding supported by Hundt & Gardner's figures – but also for NDs. The combined relative frequency for subjunctives and NDs rises from 71.7 per cent in 1931 to 83.5 per cent in 1961. There is also a significant decrease in the relative frequency of other modals in AmE in this period, though the fall in the frequency of *should* is below the level of statistical significance.

6.4.3 *Mandative variants in AmE and BrE between the 1960s and 1990s*

The change that has drawn so much attention to the mandative subjunctive in recent years is the one reported in Övergaard (1995: 30) and noted as statistically significant in Hundt (1998b: 163) and Leech et al. (2009: 54): the increase in the use of the mandative subjunctive in BrE between the 1960s and the 1990s. The results covering this period are presented in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9. The 1960s to the 1990s: changes in frequency of mandative-clause variants in AmE and BrE.

		subj.	ND	indic.	*should*	other modals	mand. total (MT)
1. AmE: Brown vs Frown							
Brown (1961)	raw	140	12	1	20	9	182
1,148,454 wds	pmw	121.9	10.4	0.9	17.4	7.8	158.5
	% of MT	76.9%	6.6%	0.5%	11.0%	4.9%	
Frown (1992)	raw	107	19	3	11	7	147
1,154,283 wds	pmw	92.7	16.5	2.6	9.5	6.1	127.4
	% of MT	72.8%	12.9%	2.0%	7.5%	4.8%	
Change in freq. (pmw)		-23.96%	57.53%	198.49%	-45.28%	-22.61%	-19.64%
	LL	4.59	1.56	1.04	2.70	0.26	3.68
Change in freq. (% of MT)		-5.37%	96.03%	271.43%	-31.90%	-3.70%	
	LL	0.19	3.44	1.52	1.08	0.01	
2. BrE: LOB vs F-LOB							
LOB (1961)	raw	22	9	8	122	24	185
1,141,986 wds	pmw	19.3	7.9	7.0	106.8	21.0	162.0
	% of MT	11.9%	4.9%	4.3%	65.9%	13.0%	
F-LOB (1991)	raw	43	17	19	66	10	155
1,142,958 wds	pmw	37.6	14.9	16.6	57.7	8.7	135.6
	% of MT	27.7%	11.0%	12.3%	42.6%	6.5%	
Change in freq. (pmw)		95.29%	88.73%	137.30%	-45.95%	-58.37%	-16.29%
	LL	**6.89**	2.50	**4.61**	**16.98**	**5.95**	2.68
Change in freq. (% of MT)		133.28%	125.45%	183.47%	-35.43%	-50.27%	
	LL	**11.13**	**4.12**	**6.77**	**8.5**	3.73	

For the AmE corpora, Leech et al.'s findings indicate that the situation is stable and that the difference between the two corpora is below the level of statistical significance (2009: 54). This is the case in my results for *should*, but not for the subjunctive. Though the differences between my results for Frown and those of Leech et al. are not significant, the higher figure I have for subjunctives in Brown (140 as opposed to 116; see Table 6.2), which I contend is a consequence of different approaches to iST (see Section 6.3.1), has resulted in the decrease in subjunctives that my figures show between Brown and Frown being statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

Regarding BrE, Leech et al. make the following comment:

> For the parallel British corpora, the data show a significant increase in subjunctives and a concomitant decrease of the periphrastic construction ($p \leq 0.001$). The expanding use of mandative subjunctives in BrE is not quite as dramatic as that reported in Övergaard (1995: 16): she found only 14 occurrences of the periphrastic variant with *should* in her British data for 1990, but 44 subjunctives. In the F-LOB data, on the other hand, the subjunctives are still less frequent than the periphrastic variant, which is not 'losing ground at an accelerating speed', as Övergaard (1995: 31) finds on the basis of her data.   (Leech et al. 2009: 54–55)

The first area of change Leech et al. mention concerns an increase in the subjunctive, as reported in previous studies. An analysis of their figures (2009: 281) confirms that the change in frequency (249.7 per cent) is highly significant (LL: 20.56). The equivalent increase in my figures, however, is smaller (95.29 per cent) and less statistically significant (LL: $6.89 = p < 0.01$). Again, this can be put down to the higher number of subjunctives I have in my analysis of LOB (see Section 6.3.1). So while I still find a notable increase in subjunctives in BrE in this period, it is not as great as the increase suggested by Leech et al., which in turn is not as great as that suggested by Övergaard.

The second area of change in BrE that Leech et al. refer to concerns a decrease in the *should* variant. It is worth pointing out again that, as discussed in Section 5.2.16, the figures from Övergaard (1995: 16) quoted by Leech et al. are unfortunately misleading because, unlike their own, they refer only to clauses after mandative *verbs* rather than after all types of trigger. Övergaard's equivalent figures for *all* trigger types are 35 *should* variants and 56 subjunctives (or 47 if NDs are removed from the figure) (Övergaard 1995: 52, 56, 68), rather than the 44 subjunctives and 14 *should* variants that Leech et al. mention in the quote above.[9] The point about Övergaard's subjunctive figures being higher than her *should* figures still stands, but the difference is not as great. Like Leech et al., in my data for F-LOB I still have more instances of *should* than subjunctives, but the change in frequency of *should* (-45.95 per cent) is significant at $p < 0.0001$, whereas the change of -18.63 per cent revealed by their figures (2009: 281) is below the level of statistical significance.

Leech et al. do not supply figures for mandative variants apart from subjunctives and *should*, but it is notable that my results, as in Table 6.9, also provide evidence of significant change in the other three variants in BrE. The normalised figures show an increase in indicatives and a decrease in other modals. In the figures that relate to proportions of mandative clauses (% of MT), the increases in subjunctives, indicatives and NDs are greater than those for the normalised figures, and in all cases more

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[9] See Table A22 in the Appendix for a 'separated' version of Övergaard's figures.

statistically significant. On the other hand, the decrease in *should* is not as big (though still significant), while the decrease in other modals is below the level of statistical significance.

If the proportional figures for BrE between the 1960s and the 1990s are looked at without focusing on subjunctives and *should*, it is interesting to note that the overall picture they offer can be seen as a general increase in the proportion of clauses that do not feature modals, and a corresponding decrease in those that do.

6.4.4 *Mandative variants in AmE and BrE between the 1990s and 2006*

Results for the fifteen-year period between Frown/F-LOB and AE06/BE06* are presented in Table 6.10.

Table 6.10. The 1990s to 2006: changes in frequency of mandative-clause variants in AmE and BrE.

		subj.	ND	indic.	*should*	other modals	mand. total (MT)
1. AmE: Frown vs AE06							
Frown (1992)	raw	107	19	3	11	7	147
1,154,283 wds	pmw	92.7	16.5	2.6	9.5	6.1	127.4
	% of MT	72.8%	12.9%	2.0%	7.5%	4.8%	
AE06 (2006)	raw	82	36	3	10	3	134
1,175,965 wds	pmw	69.7	30.6	2.6	8.5	2.6	113.9
	% of MT	61.2%	26.9%	2.2%	7.5%	2.2%	
Change in freq. (pmw)		-24.78%	85.98%	-1.84%	-10.77%	-57.93%	-10.52%
	LL	**3.80**	**5.03**	0.00	0.07	1.72	0.87
Change in freq. (% of MT)		-15.93%	107.86%	9.70%	-0.27%	-52.99%	
	LL	1.41	**7.03**	0.01	0.00	1.30	
2. BrE: F-LOB vs BE06*							
F-LOB (1991)	raw	43	17	19	66	10	155
1,142,958 wds	pmw	37.6	14.9	16.6	57.7	8.7	135.6
	% of MT	27.7%	11.0%	12.3%	42.6%	6.5%	
BE06* (2006)	raw	35	32	20	27	9	123
1,144,921 wds	pmw	30.6	27.9	17.5	23.6	7.9	107.4
	% of MT	28.5%	26.0%	16.3%	22.0%	7.3%	
Change in freq. (pmw)		-18.74%	87.91%	5.08%	-59.16%	-10.15%	-20.78%
	LL	0.84	**4.64**	0.02	**16.94**	0.05	3.75
Change in freq. (% of MT)		2.57%	137.21%	32.65%	-48.45%	13.41%	
	LL	0.01	**8.79**	0.78	**9.09**	0.07	

For AmE, these figures show that the decrease in the number of subjunctives that was found between the 1960s and the 1990s has continued, at least according to the normalised figures, where the change is

statistically significant. The decrease for subjunctives in the proportional figures, however, is below the level of significance. On the other hand, the increases in both the number and proportion of NDs are significant. Otherwise, the situation in AmE has remained stable.

In BrE, it is notable that the increase in the frequency of mandative subjunctives found during the preceding period does not continue. Instead, the small decrease between the frequencies in F-LOB and BE06* is not significant. Much more striking, however, is the continued fall in the number of *should* variants. As the charts in Figure 6.2 and Figure 6.4 show, there is clear evidence over almost half a century of a trend to use *should* less in mandative clauses in BrE. Between F-LOB and BE06*, the decreases in tokens per million words and in proportion of mandative clauses are both statistically significant, and the fact that this is true across a fifteen-year period rather than the usual thirty years makes it even more noteworthy.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the BE06* figures is that, for the first time, the frequency of the *should* variant in a BrE corpus based on the Brown sampling frame is lower than that for subjunctives, despite there being no significant change in the subjunctive frequency, a finding that runs counter to the general perception that *should* is the usual preference in mandative clauses in BrE. It is important not to see this decrease in isolation, however, as it has been shown that the decrease in the frequency of *should* in BrE during this period is not restricted to its use in mandative clauses. Smith & Leech's diachronic study of modal verbs in BrE (2013: 78–79), which features the BE06 corpus, found that, amid a general decline in the use of modal verbs, the fall in the use of *should* between 1961 and 1991 noted by Leech et al. (2009: 71–78) had continued, though they do not break down the figures according to different uses of *should*, as in the earlier study (see Section 3.4.2). Övergaard's comment about *should* 'losing ground at an accelerating speed' (1995: 31), which Leech et al. are disinclined to accept in the quotation above (2009: 55), is perhaps not so wide of the mark after all.

It is interesting to note that, as in the AmE figures, there is a significant increase – according to both types of measure – in NDs in BrE in this period. NDs are identified only when the subject of the mandative clause is not third person singular and the matrix verb is present tense. Övergaard, when trying to explain the low number of 'ambiguous forms' (NDs) in her corpora, put it down to the fact that apart from 'dialogues and instructions, written texts tend to contain few present tense contexts' (1995: 68).

6.5   Mandative subjunctives: assessing variation

Having examined the changing patterns in the use of five different mandative variants in Section 6.4, I now focus on one variant: the mandative subjunctive. In this section, following a summary of the comments of previous studies, I consider the evidence provided by the current study regarding variation in the use of the mandative subjunctive across text categories, between varieties and over time, and I assess to what extent this evidence accords with some of the explanations that have been put forward as possible determinants of recent grammatical change, such as colloquialisation and Americanisation. I also make some preliminary observations about correlations between these developments and such variables as the voice of the verb in the content clause, tense of the matrix verb, and *that*-omission.

6.5.1   The characterisation of mandative-subjunctive variation in previous studies

In early studies, expectations about what kind of text categories the mandative subjunctive was most likely to be found in largely reflected the judgements of two reference grammars by Quirk et al. In the first, the mandative subjunctive is said to occur 'chiefly in formal style', while the present subjunctive in general 'is more common in AmE than in BrE, where it is little more than an archaism of legalistic style' (Quirk et al. 1972: 76, 783). This assessment was echoed in the second grammar, in which the mandative subjunctive is considered to be 'more characteristic of AmE than of BrE, where it is formal and rather legalistic in style' (Quirk et al. 1985: 157).

In her study based on the SEU corpus of BrE texts compiled between 1959 and 1985 (see Section 5.2.2), Haegeman, following the earlier Quirk et al. grammar, found that most mandative subjunctives in the corpus did indeed occur in legalistic writing, and suggested that this represented the continuation of an old use (1986: 66). She went on to report a personal impression, not based on the corpus, that they seemed to be used 'relatively frequently' in certain British newspapers (1986: 67). Övergaard, in her large-scale diachronic study (see Section 5.2.5), found that by the middle of the twentieth century, the mandative subjunctive in AmE had 'taken over in all the text types' (1995: 23). In BrE, the few examples of mandative subjunctives in Övergaard's corpora from the first half of the century were likely to be found in the Press categories (1995: 30), but in the 1960s and 1990s corpora, they were distributed 'more or less evenly over the different registers' (1995: 52).

In the first study based purely on Brown family corpora, Johansson & Norheim (1988) also expected the mandative subjunctive to be formal in BrE (see Section 5.2.3). Referring to the two large groupings of text categories in the Brown and LOB corpora – 'informative prose' (categories A–J, all non-fiction) and 'imaginative prose' (K–R, fiction and humour) – they take as supporting evidence for this expectation of formality their finding that in LOB 13 of their 14 subjunctives are 'in the categories of informative prose' (1988: 30). Hundt's analysis of F-LOB (see Section 5.2.8) found that by the 1990s, mandative subjunctives were spread more evenly across the 15 text categories than in LOB, so that the distribution was approaching that found for 1960s AmE in Brown. Of particular note was the finding that, rather than the 'legalistic' category H, which includes various kinds of institutional documents, it was category J, containing academic writing, that featured the greatest increase in mandative subjunctives in BrE (1998b: 167, 174). The same findings about the more even distribution in F-LOB and an increase in academic prose are reported by Leech et al. (2009: 57–58) (see Section 5.2.16). They also comment on how the decrease in the frequency of mandative subjunctives that was found in AmE between the 1960s and 1990s did not affect all text categories, with administrative prose (category H), academic prose (J) and fiction (K–R) exhibiting increases. Hundt & Gardner (forthcoming), in the study that features both B-LOB and B-Brown for the first time (see Section 5.2.18), were surprised to find that mandative subjunctives were not restricted to formal categories in the BrE corpus from the 1930s. They found instances in the arguably less formal Press and Fiction subcorpora, yet only one in category H.

Among the explanations and trends included in Leech et al.'s chapter on 'linguistic and other determinants of change' (2009: 236–272) are three that can be seen to be relevant to the mandative subjunctive: colloquialisation, Americanisation and densification (as discussed in Section 4.2.9). One of the reasons for the attention paid to the late-twentieth-century increase in British use of the mandative subjunctive, seen as a formal variant, is that it appears to run counter to the general shift towards a more speech-like style, making it 'a curious exception to the colloquialization of written English' (Hundt 2009: 35). Similar points are made by, for example, Leech & Smith (2009: 187), McEnery & Hardie (2012: 101) and Mair (2006: 187), who in his survey of twentieth-century English cites it as one of few counter-examples to colloquialisation. For AmE, on the other hand, the decrease in the use of the mandative subjunctive between 1961 and 1992 is seen by Leech et al. as 'a development that fits the trend to colloquialization' (2009: 58). When it comes to the reasons behind the BrE revival, most studies agree with the verdict of Leech et al. that 'the only convincing explanation . . . seems to be American influence' (2009: 254–255). In fact, it is often mentioned as a prime example of

Americanisation (see Mair 2006: 187; Mair & Leech 2006: 336; Leech & Smith 2009: 187; McEnery & Hardie 2012: 101). The third of Leech et al.'s trends, densification, which Biber refers to in terms of 'economy' (2003: 169), is not one that generally features in discussions of the mandative subjunctive. However, in Section 4.2.9, I put forward the suggestion that the mandative variant's brevity in comparison with the *should* variant might be one of the reasons behind the increase in its use in newspapers, where economy is always an important consideration because of the demands on space.

6.5.2   *The mandative subjunctive and genre*

It would seem that taking Johansson & Norheim's approach and looking only at the broad groupings of Informative Prose (categories A–J) and Imaginative Prose (K–R) is likely to provide limited insight into the range of environments in which mandative subjunctives tend to be found, particularly as the groupings are not of equal size – on average, the first makes up around 74 per cent of each corpus, the second 26 per cent. Yet the results for the eight corpora in my study, as displayed in Figure 6.8 in terms of frequency per million words, still offer interesting preliminary indications of changes that can be seen in more detail in the analysis of smaller subcorpora later in this section, particularly regarding Imaginative Prose in AmE. In BrE, Informative Prose has the higher mandative-subjunctive frequency in all four corpora, though in LOB that grouping does not dominate to the extent suggested by Johansson & Norheim for that corpus: whereas the frequencies pmw based on their figures for Informative and Imaginative Prose, respectively, are 15.4 and 3.4, the equivalent figures in the current study are 21.3 and 13.5. In AmE, there is evidence of considerable growth in the frequency of mandative subjunctives in Imaginative Prose, and in Frown it is actually higher in Imaginative Prose than in Informative Prose, though there is a decrease in the next corpus.
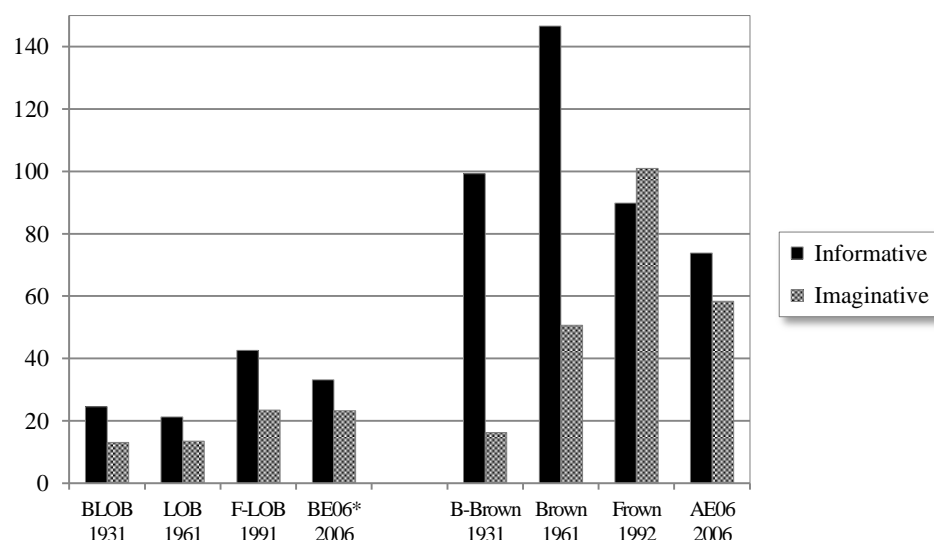
Figure 6.8. Mandative subjunctives: frequency (pmw) in Informative Prose (categories A–J) and Imaginative Prose (K–R) in four BrE corpora and four AmE corpora.

Later studies using the Brown family corpora generally group the text categories into four rather than two subcorpora: Press (A–C), General Prose (D–H), Learned (J) and Fiction (K–R).[10] However, in their study of mandative subjunctives in Brown/LOB and Frown/F-LOB, Leech et al. instead work with five subcorpora by extracting the 'Miscellaneous' category H, which contains administrative (or 'legalistic') texts, from General Prose, apparently on the basis that it is the category in which subjunctives are most likely to be found (2009: 58).

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[10] The individual categories in the four 'broad genres' are distributed as follows – **Press**: A. Reportage, B. Editorial, C. Reviews; **General Prose**: D. Religion, E. Skills, trades and hobbies, F. Popular lore, G. Belles lettres, biography, essays, H. Miscellaneous (government & other official documents); **Learned**: J. Learned and scientific writings; **Fiction**: K. General fiction, L. Mystery and detective fiction, M. Science fiction, N. Adventure and western fiction, P. Romance and love story, R. Humour.
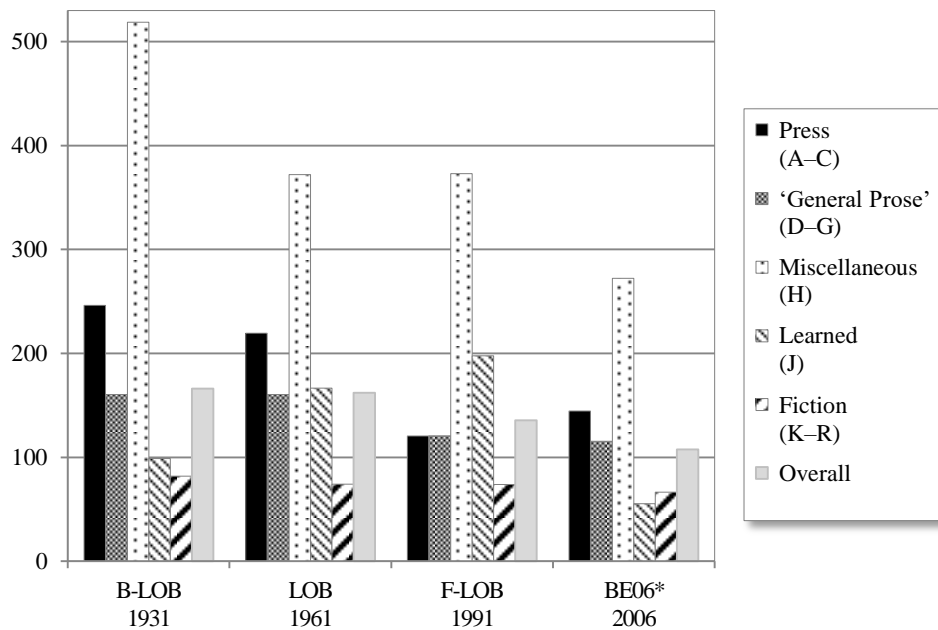
Figure 6.9. Frequency (pmw) of mandative variants in five 'broad genres' in four BrE corpora.
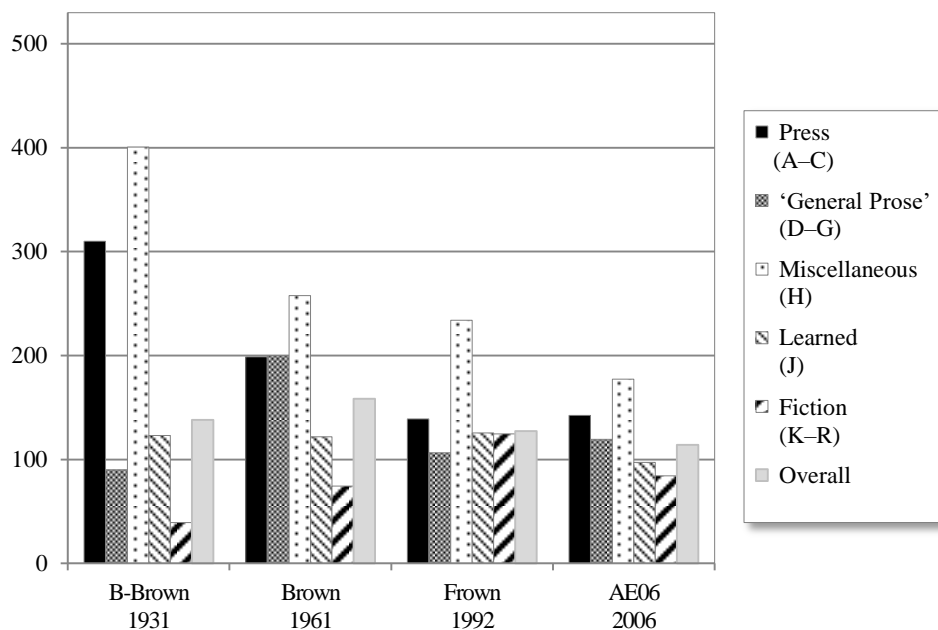
Figure 6.10. Frequency (pmw) of mandative variants in five 'broad genres' in four AmE corpora.

Supporting evidence for Leech et al.'s approach can be seen in Figure 6.9 and Figure 6.10, in which the frequency pmw of mandative clauses (i.e. all mandative variants, not just subjunctives) is displayed for each corpus. These charts show that category H, with its high proportion of government-sourced documents – including, in the British corpora, extracts from *Hansard*, the official record of British parliamentary proceedings – has the highest frequency of (finite) mandative contexts in every corpus.

For the purposes of comparison, in the remainder of this study, I will follow Leech et al. and group the text categories into the same five subcorpora. The results for mandative subjunctives are presented in Table 6.11 and in chart form in Figure 6.11 and Figure 6.12.

Table 6.11. Mandative subjunctives: distribution in five broad genres in eight corpora, including frequency per million words and as a proportion of the total number of subjunctives in the corpus (% of ST).

		Press (A–C)	'General Prose' (D–G)	Misc. (H)	Learned (J)	Fiction (K–R)	subj. total (ST)
B-LOB (1931)	raw	12	6	3	0	4	25
1,162,739 wds	pmw	59.1	14.8	44.5	0.0	13.1	21.5
	% of ST	48.0%	24.0%	12.0%	0.0%	16.0%	
LOB (1961)	raw	6	7	2	3	4	22
1,141,986 wds	pmw	29.9	17.6	29.8	16.7	13.5	19.3
	% of ST	27.3%	31.8%	9.1%	13.6%	18.2%	
F-LOB (1991)	raw	5	13	5	13	7	43
1,142,958 wds	pmw	25.1	32.7	74.6	71.4	23.5	37.6
	% of ST	11.6%	30.2%	11.6%	30.2%	16.3%	
BE06* (2006)	raw	14	7	5	2	7	35
1,144,921 wds	pmw	69.7	17.6	75.6	11.1	23.3	30.6
	% of ST	40.0%	20.0%	14.3%	5.7%	20.0%	
B-Brown (1931)	raw	40	18	14	12	5	89
1,152,310 wds	pmw	200.0	45.0	207.6	67.1	16.3	77.2
	% of ST	44.9%	20.2%	15.7%	13.5%	5.6%	
Brown (1961)	raw	34	60	14	17	15	140
1,148,454 wds	pmw	168.9	149.7	200.3	94.1	50.7	121.9
	% of ST	24.3%	42.9%	10.0%	12.1%	10.7%	
Frown (1992)	raw	19	31	11	16	30	107
1,154,283 wds	pmw	94.2	76.7	160.9	87.3	101.0	92.7
	% of ST	17.8%	29.0%	10.3%	15.0%	28.0%	
AE06 (2006)	raw	12	31	11	10	18	82
1,175,965 wds	pmw	58.9	75.5	162.4	53.9	58.3	69.7
	% of ST	14.6%	37.8%	13.4%	12.2%	22.0%	
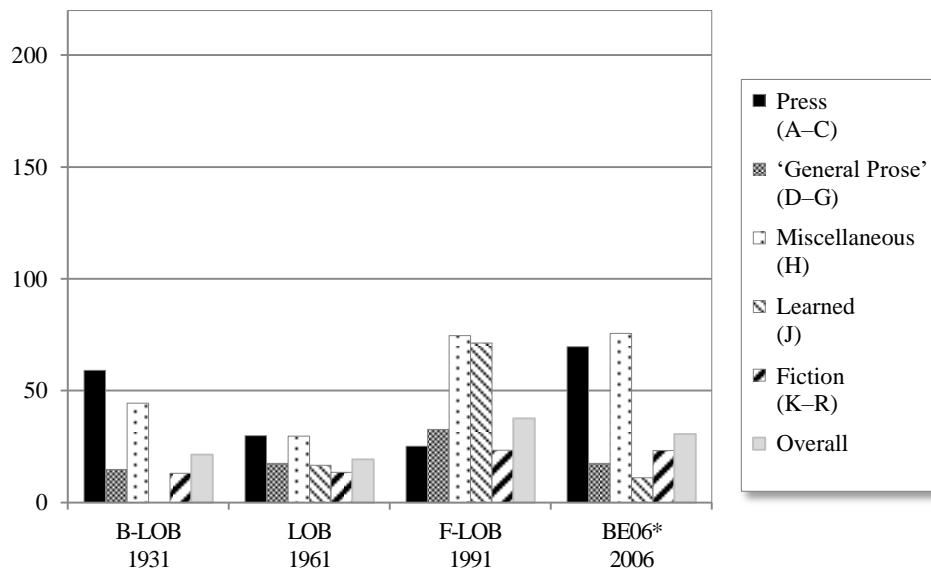
Figure 6.11. Mandative subjunctives: frequency pmw in four BrE corpora.
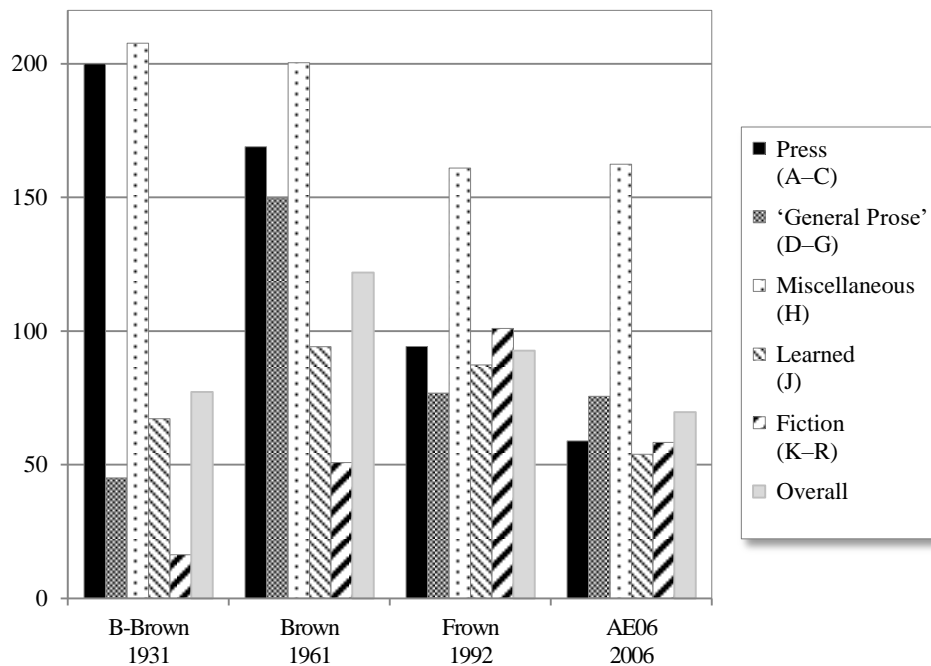
Figure 6.12. Mandative subjunctives: frequency pmw in four AmE corpora.

In Leech et al.'s study, as expected, category H is shown to have the highest subjunctive frequency pmw in each corpus (2009: 58). In the current study, this is still the case in all but one of the eight corpora (though in LOB, Miscellaneous and Press are essentially level). The notable exception is B-LOB, where Hundt & Gardner's comment about the mandative subjunctive not being used predominantly in administrative writing seems to be confirmed: the most productive subcorpus is Press, which supports Övergaard's findings (1995: 30). Haegeman's assumption that before the recent revival in BrE, mandative subjunctives were most likely to be found in legalistic texts thus does not seem to be justified. However, a

closer examination of the 12 subjunctive examples in Press in B-LOB reveals that seven of them, including (169), occur in formal reports of council meetings, and so could still be described as legalistic or administrative in nature. It just so happens that they appear in newspapers rather than official reports.

(169)   He **moved** that the increases <u>be</u> referred back for reconsideration.

<div align="right"><B-LOB A27></div>

With regard to changes in the use of the subjunctive in BrE between 1961 and 1991, there does not appear to be strong support for the comments of Övergaard and Leech et al. about a more even spread across text categories in F-LOB, as two categories clearly predominate: Miscellaneous and Learned. On the other hand, Leech et al.'s finding that, in F-LOB, academic prose is 'the text category in which BrE has caught up with AmE' (2009: 58) does have some support. My results show not only a significant increase in this category between LOB and F-LOB, but also an earlier increase between B-LOB and LOB. There is no evidence of this trend continuing after 1991, however. There is a statistically significant fall between F-LOB and BE06*, though this is partly the result of excluding the seven examples found in the wrongly dated J04 text. In AmE, the peak in academic writing comes thirty years earlier than in BrE, in 1961, since when there has been a gradual decline – although the fall between Frown and AE06 is below the level of statistical significance.

One of the most striking differences between the two varieties can be seen in the Press subcorpora. In the earliest AmE corpus, Press is a highly productive genre, along with Miscellaneous, but there is a steep decline in frequency in AmE across the 75 years, particularly between 1961 and 1992, when the statistically significant decrease leaves Press with a lower frequency than Fiction. In BrE, starting from a much lower level, there is a modest decline over the first 60 years, but a statistically significant increase between F-LOB and BE06* – something that accords with my own personal impression about increasing use of the mandative subjunctive in newspapers. The frequency in Press in AE06 is actually lower than that in BE06*, the only example of a British subcorpus having a higher frequency than its American counterpart – though the difference is not statistically significant.

A preliminary investigation of the examples in the British Press subcorpora reveals some interesting indications about changes in the types of environment in which mandative subjunctives are found. In the earliest British corpus, seven of the 12 examples appear in reports of council meetings, as mentioned above, and two in a political report. Of the six examples in the 1960s corpus, there are none from official meeting reports. Instead, they feature in a mixture of political, society and sports writing.

This spread to inherently less formal environments continues in F-LOB, apart from one example from a council meeting. The significant increase in subjunctives in the Press subcorpus in BE06* is spread across a wide range of types of writing, and across newspapers associated with varying levels of formality, as can be seen in examples (170) and (171), both from (informal) British tabloids.

(170)   Sir Paul is [. . .] stunned by a **demand** from Heather that he <u>hand</u> over his beloved 12 million
         Peasmarsh estate home.
                                                                    <BE06 A26. 2007. *News of the World*>

(171)   Sir Richard – who visited troops in Afghanistan over the weekend – also **demanded** the Royal
         Mail <u>stop</u> ripping off soldiers' families.
                                                                    <BE06 A10. 2006. *The Sun*>

It is also of interest that BE06* is the first corpus in which most of the examples in the Press subcorpus (nine out of 14) feature active content clauses, which can be taken as another indication of decreasing association with formality. Further analysis would be necessary to establish how much of the decrease in the number of official meeting reports can be put down to 'genre evolution' (see Section 6.1.1), but the increasing use of mandative subjunctives in BrE in a wide range of Press subcategories does seem to represent a clear change in preferences, and to indicate that the mandative subjunctive's association with formality is being lost. Strong support for this comes from the figures for the subjunctive proportions of the mandative-clause totals in the subcorpora (see Figure 6.13 and Table A21 in the Appendix).These show an increase for the subjunctive from 20.8 per cent of mandative variants in F-LOB Press to 48.3 per cent in BE06* Press, suggesting that the change cannot simply be put down to an increase in mandative variants in BE06* Press (the increase in the frequency of mandative variants between F-LOB Press and BE06* Press shown in Figure 6.9 is not significant). Attributing the increase simply to Americanisation does not explain why this genre in particular has seen such an increase in this period, particularly in the most informal newspapers. It seems likely that in (printed) newspapers the pressure to write concisely is an important additional factor, one that overrides the competing trend towards colloquialisation.
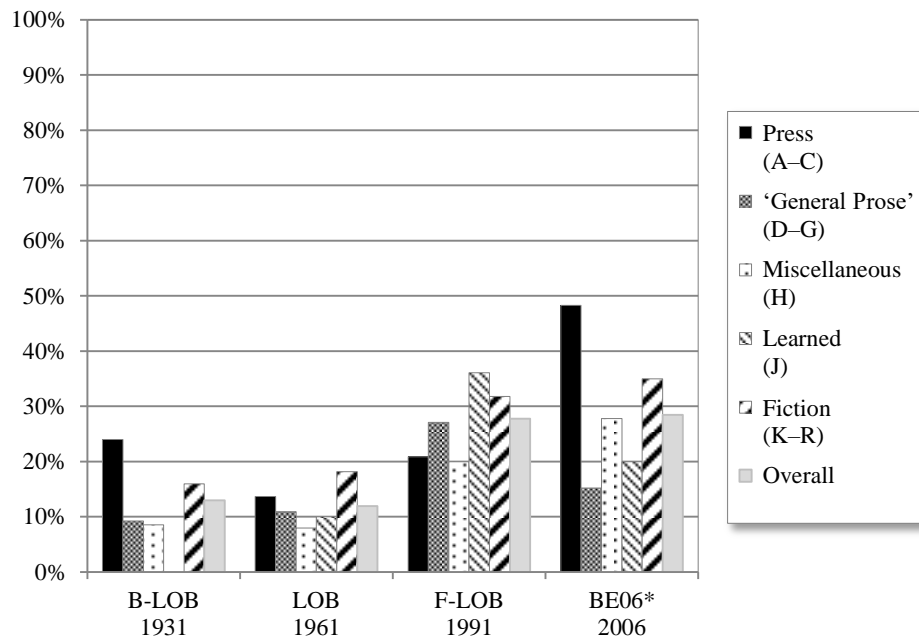
Figure 6.13. Subjunctive proportion of mandative variants in five 'broad genres' in four BrE corpora. See Table A21 in the Appendix for figures.
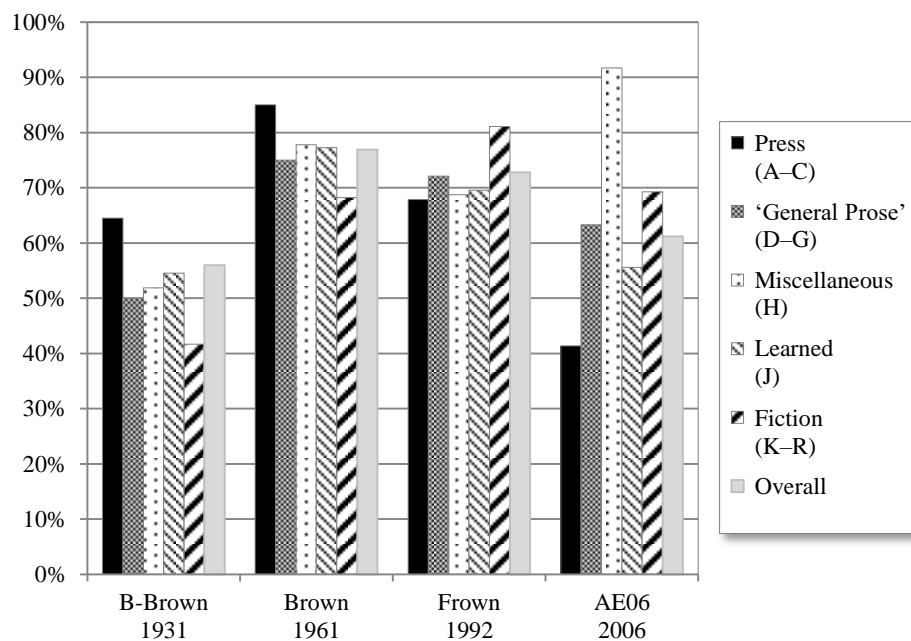
Figure 6.14. Subjunctive proportion of mandative variants in five 'broad genres' in four AmE corpora. See Table A21 in the Appendix for figures.

In the Press subcorpus of B-Brown, subjunctives already feature in a fairly wide range of types of writing, though a large proportion of them still appear in reports of official proceedings of one sort or another. The number of examples of this latter type decreases in Brown, and when similar examples are occasionally found in the two later corpora, as in (172), the style is much less formulaic.

(172) In essence, what Secretary Margaret Spellings and her 19-member Commission on the Future of Higher Education have recently **proposed** (among other recommendations) is that colleges receiving various types of federal money <u>be</u> held accountable for the quality of learning they provide.

<AE06 B09. 2006. *The Christian Science Monitor*>

It would seem that at least some of the overall decrease in the number of mandative subjunctives in the American Press subcorpora can be put down to changing approaches to the reporting of official proceedings, but it is unlikely that this is the only factor in the decline. Figure 6.10 indicates a decrease in the frequency of all kinds of mandative variant in Press between B-Brown and Frown, which accounts for some of the subjunctive decrease in that subcorpus in that period, but between Frown and AE06 the overall mandative frequency in Press does not change, while the subjunctive frequency falls. That this represents a change in preferences is suggested by the proportional figures in Figure 6.14 and Table A21, which indicate that between Frown and AE06, the subjunctive share of mandative variants in Press falls from 67.9 per cent to 41.4 per cent. Leech et al. proposed colloquialisation as an explanation for the overall decrease in the use of the mandative subjunctive in AmE between Brown and Frown (2009: 58). As they also suggest that Press is one of the subcorpora 'at the forefront' of that process (2009: 59), it seems reasonable to propose that colloquialisation may be a factor in this continuing decline.

It can be seen in Figure 6.12 that in both B-Brown and Brown, the Fiction subcorpus has the lowest frequency of mandative subjunctives, which is hardly surprising, given that Figure 6.10 shows that the same applies to mandative clauses of all types in those subcorpora. It would seem that the circumstances in which a mandative clause is appropriate do not arise in fiction as often as in other genres. In all four British corpora, the frequency of both mandative clauses and mandative subjunctives in the Fiction subcorpora remains low throughout, and there is certainly no sign of the significant increase between the 1960s and 1990s corpora that Övergaard reports (1995: 15–18, 30–31). The proportional figures in Figure 6.13 and Table A21 do offer some evidence of a change in preferences, however: the subjunctive proportion of mandative clauses in B-LOB Fiction is 16 per cent, which rises to 35 per cent in BE06* Fiction. In AmE, by contrast, there is clear evidence in the frequency figures in Figure 6.12 and Table 6.11 of an increase in Fiction in the first 60 years, with a statistically significant increase between B-Brown and Brown, and also between Brown and Frown. This is supported by the proportional figures in Figure 6.14 and Table A21, in which the subjunctive proportion in Fiction rises from 41.7 per cent in B-Brown to 81.1 per cent in Frown. The trend does not continue, however, and there is a (non-significant) decrease, in both types of measure, in AE06.

Though this may represent evidence of the effect of colloquialisation, it is difficult, as Leech et al. point out, to be confident about accounting for changes in the Fiction subcorpus because it is 'probably the least stylistically homogeneous category' (2009: 59), with some types of fiction, such as those featuring court scenes or those set in earlier centuries, likely to contain deliberately formal or archaic language and, as a result, to feature more mandative subjunctives than other types. The Fiction subcorpus also includes the Humour subcategory (R), which contains not only humorous novels and short stories, but also other types of writing, such as the memoir by a popular comic containing example (173), which features a mandative subjunctive. A book of this type is unlikely to be categorised as fiction in any other context, though the Brown corpus's term 'imaginative prose' might not be inappropriate.

(173)   So I **proposed** that we <u>call</u> it a roman clef and leave it at that.
<div align="right"><AE06 R05. Bob Newhart. *I Shouldn't Even Be Doing This*></div>

Another intangible that may affect the low uptake of the mandative subjunctive in Fiction is the influence of copy-editors in book publishing. Personal experience as an editor would suggest that there are differences in the approaches of fiction and non-fiction editors, with fiction editors tending to be more concerned with the authenticity of 'voice' – of narrator and characters – than in correctness or space-saving (the latter being of particular concern to subeditors in newspaper publishing; see Section 4.2.9). A usage that strikes a fiction editor as being unnatural, too innovative or associated with another variety is likely to be queried with the author and subsequently amended.[11] It is possible that such conservative tendencies have contributed to delaying an increase of the mandative subjunctive in British fiction. It perhaps also reflects the fact that while mandative subjunctives are part of everyday language in AmE, they are still very much a low-frequency item in BrE. Their particularly low frequency in the Fiction subcorpora, in theory the most speech-like of the genres, could be taken as evidence that the increase in the frequency of the mandative subjunctive in BrE is more likely to have originated in the written language than the spoken.

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[11] See discussion in Section 4.1.2 of the attitude towards the mandative subjunctive of G. V. Carey, a British book-industry professional, in 1953.

6.5.3   The mandative subjunctive and the passive

Any evidence from this study about the association of the mandative subjunctive with the passive needs to be set against evidence regarding developments in the use of the passive in all types of finite clause in the same period. A number of studies, including Mair & Leech (2006: 331) and Leech & Smith (2006: 194), have presented data from the Brown family corpora indicating a general decline in the use of the *be*-passive in finite clauses in written AmE and BrE, associating this development with colloquialisation. Leech et al. (2009: 148) report a 28 per cent decrease between Brown and Frown and a 14 per cent decrease in the same period in BrE. They ascribe the greater decrease in AmE to prescriptive pressure to avoid the passive in American usage guides. For BrE, Smith & Leech (2013) extend the period under investigation to the 75 years covered in the current study by including data from B-LOB and BE06. They find only a gentle decline of 4 per cent between B-LOB and LOB, but the trend set by the steeper decline between LOB and F-LOB continues, with a 13.1 per cent fall between F-LOB and BE06 (2013: 94).

When looking at the situation in subjunctive and other types of mandative clause, a clearer picture of changes in preference with regard to voice can be given by considering the proportions of the two options, active and passive, rather than the frequencies that were used in the studies mentioned in the previous paragraph. One reason for preferring this approach is that, as shown in Figure 6.5, the overall number of finite mandative clauses has declined in the period under investigation. In their study of 1960s corpora, Johansson & Norheim (1988: 30, 35) report that 78.6 per cent (11 of 14) of the 14 subjunctives they found in LOB were in passive constructions, whereas the passive:active ratio in Brown was more balanced (though still slightly in favour of passives), with 54.3 per cent (63 of 116) of their subjunctives in passive constructions. Leech et al. (2009), who use Johansson & Norheim's figures for LOB and Brown, report that in both AmE and BrE the situation had changed by the 1990s. For AmE, their figures indicate a decrease from 53.8 per cent (63 of 117) in Brown to 37.1 per cent (39 of 105) in Frown. In BrE, the change was even more marked. In F-LOB, they found that the 'growing use of mandative subjunctives in BrE goes hand in hand with an increase in active subjunctives, resulting in a more even distribution', with only 49 per cent (24 of 49) of F-LOB's subjunctives passive, compared with 78.6 per cent in LOB (2009: 59). My results, presented in Table 6.12, show significant decreases in both varieties over the 75 years, but, in terms of percentages, they do not support Leech et al.'s findings for BrE in the period between LOB and F-LOB.

Table 6.12. Passive proportions of subjunctive variants in eight corpora.

	subj. total	passive subj.	passive subj. %
B-LOB (1931)	25	17	68.0%
LOB (1961)	22	12	54.5%
F-LOB (1991)	43	23	53.5%
BE06* (2006)	35	8	22.9%
B-Brown (1931)	89	53	59.6%
Brown (1961)	140	64	45.7%
Frown (1992)	107	36	33.6%
AE06 (2006)	82	29	35.4%

In my analysis, though there is an increase in the raw frequency of active mandative subjunctives in BrE between the 1960s and the 1990s because of the overall rise in the number of mandative subjunctives, there is no evidence of the kind of increase in the active proportion that might be interpreted as a change in preferences. In fact, the stable situation in BrE in this period – 54.5 per cent in LOB, 53.5 per cent in F-LOB – runs counter to the general 14 per cent decrease in finite passives identified elsewhere by Leech et al. (2009: 148), which suggests that, despite the pressure of colloquialisation, the association of the subjunctive with the passive, and formality, persists in BrE in this period. On the other hand, in the 75 years between B-LOB and BE06*, the decrease in the passive proportion of mandative subjunctives is significant – but this is mainly because of the steep decrease between F-LOB and BE06*. AmE shares the same overall trend – the difference between the B-Brown and AE06 figures is also significant – but the lower proportion of passives in the 1930s corpus seems to suggest that the weakening of the association of the subjunctive with formality had progressed further in AmE by that point.

In order to establish to what extent any changes in association with the passive are particular to the subjunctive variant, it is necessary to see how the subjunctive results fit into those for mandative clauses in general. Accordingly, Figure 6.15 and Figure 6.16 display the passive proportions for four mandative-clause variants. (NDs are, of course, not included, because in passive clauses all indicatives and subjunctives can be distinguished by the form of the verb *be*.)
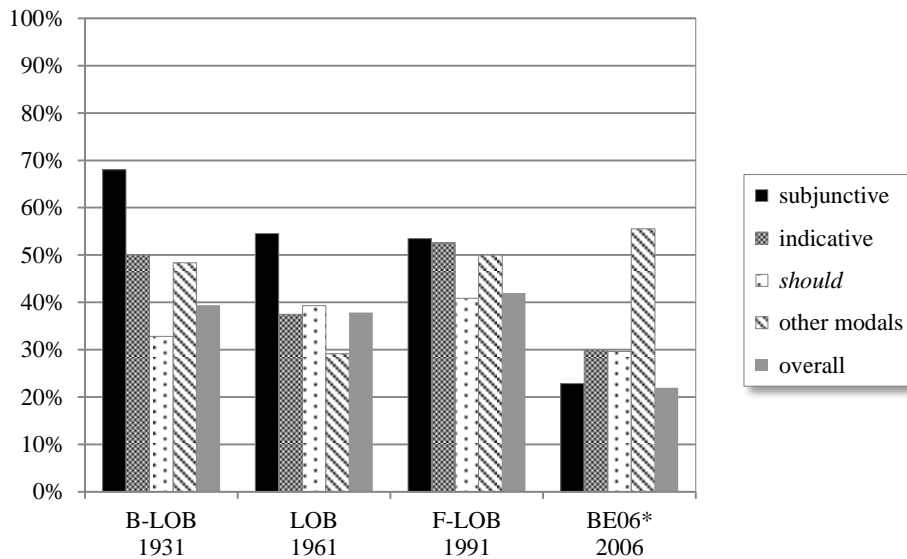
Figure 6.15. Passive proportions of four mandative variants in four BrE corpora.
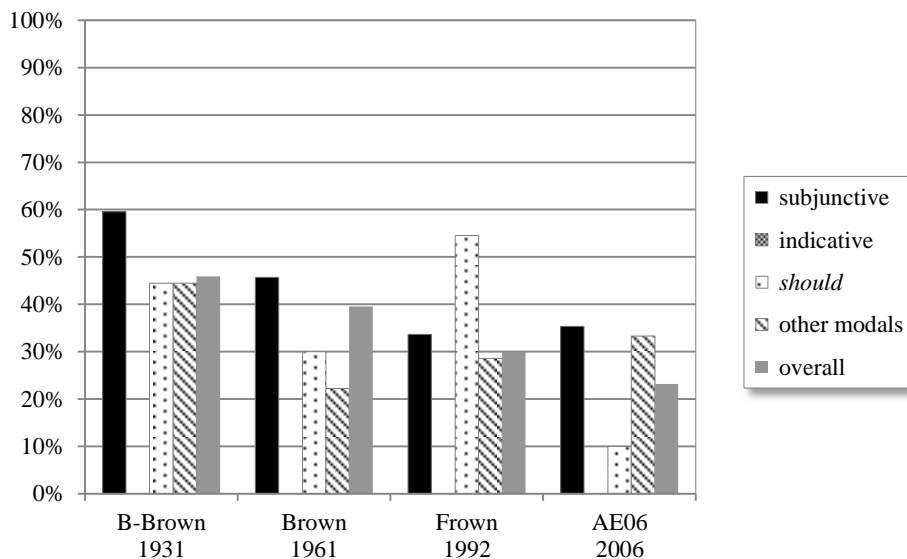
Figure 6.16. Passive proportions of four mandative variants in four AmE corpora.

In the earliest BrE corpus, the subjunctive's association with the passive appears to be at its strongest.

Of the four variants, the subjunctive passive proportion is clearly the highest, and in particular is

significantly higher than that for the other main variant, the *should* variant, which in BrE at that point (see

Figure 6.2) was by far the most common in terms of frequency. By the time the mandative subjunctive's

frequency has increased in 1991, and the *should* variant's decreased, the passive proportion has fallen to

the extent that it is no longer notably higher than that for the other variants. This seems to represent

evidence that by this point the subjunctive's association with formality is no longer as strong. The sharp

decrease in passive proportion for the subjunctive between F-LOB and BE06* noted above is shown to

apply to all variants (apart from other modals). This could be interpreted to indicate that the subjunctive in this period is no more associated with the passive (and formality) than the other variants, and therefore just as liable to be influenced by pressures such as colloquialisation.

In AmE, as with BrE, in terms of passive proportions, the greatest difference between the subjunctive and other mandative variants is seen in the earliest corpus, though it is already lower than the equivalent figure for BrE, showing that the disassociation of the subjunctive from the passive is further advanced in AmE than in BrE at this point. From the 1960s on, the subjunctive passive proportion in AmE is only marginally higher than that of the other variants, which decline in line with the overall decrease in passives in that period – apart from an increase in the passive proportion of *should* variants, which merits further investigation (though it is probably an effect that has been magnified as a result of the small number of *should* variants in this corpus, namely 17).

6.5.4   *The mandative subjunctive and* that-*omission*

Several previous studies have commented on frequencies of *that*-omission in connection with the assumed association of the subjunctive with formality. Johansson & Norheim (1988: 30) do not mention Brown in this regard, but they point out that in LOB only one of the 14 mandative subjunctives (7.1 per cent) was not introduced by *that*. Hundt found that in F-LOB the figure for mandative subjunctives had risen to five out of 44 (11.4 per cent) (1998b: 168). In this study, the presence or absence of *that* was recorded for all of the mandative variants in all eight corpora. The results are presented in terms of *that*-omission in Table 6.13 and in chart form in Figure 6.17 and Figure 6.18.

Table 6.13. Evidence of *that*-omission in five mandative variants in eight corpora.

	subj. total	subj. + *that*	*that*- omission	ND total	ND + *that*	*that*- omission
B-LOB (1931)	25	25	0.0%	5	5	0.0%
LOB (1961)	22	19	13.6%	9	7	22.2%
F-LOB (1991)	43	37	14.0%	17	11	35.3%
BE06* (2006)	35	23	34.3%	32	20	37.5%
B-Brown (1931)	89	86	3.4%	25	24	4.0%
Brown (1961)	140	117	16.4%	12	12	0.0%
Frown (1992)	107	91	15.0%	19	15	21.1%
AE06 (2006)	82	72	12.2%	36	24	33.3%

	should total	*should* + *that*	*that*- omission	indic. total	indic. + *that*	*that*- omission
B-LOB (1931)	128	126	1.6%	4	4	0.0%
LOB (1961)	122	117	4.1%	8	7	12.5%
F-LOB (1991)	66	63	4.5%	19	13	31.6%
BE06* (2006)	27	23	14.8%	20	18	10.0%
B-Brown (1931)	27	26	3.7%	0	0	—
Brown (1961)	20	19	5.0%	1	1	0.0%
Frown (1992)	11	10	9.1%	3	2	33.3%
AE06 (2006)	10	8	20.0%	3	2	33.3%

	other modals total	other modals + *that*	*that*- omission	**all variants total**	**all variants + *that***	*that*- omission
B-LOB (1931)	31	29	6.5%	**193**	**189**	**2.1%**
LOB (1961)	24	23	4.2%	**185**	**173**	**6.5%**
F-LOB (1991)	10	10	0.0%	**155**	**134**	**13.5%**
BE06* (2006)	9	8	11.1%	**123**	**92**	**25.2%**
B-Brown (1931)	18	18	0.0%	**159**	**154**	**3.1%**
Brown (1961)	9	8	11.1%	**182**	**157**	**13.7%**
Frown (1992)	7	6	14.3%	**147**	**124**	**15.6%**
AE06 (2006)	3	2	33.3%	**134**	**108**	**19.4%**
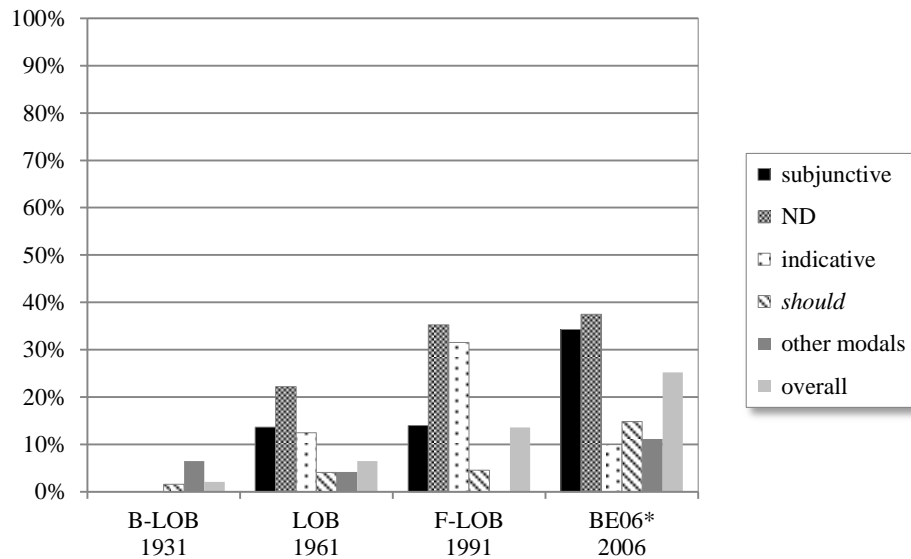
Figure 6.17. *That*-omission in five mandative variants in four BrE corpora.
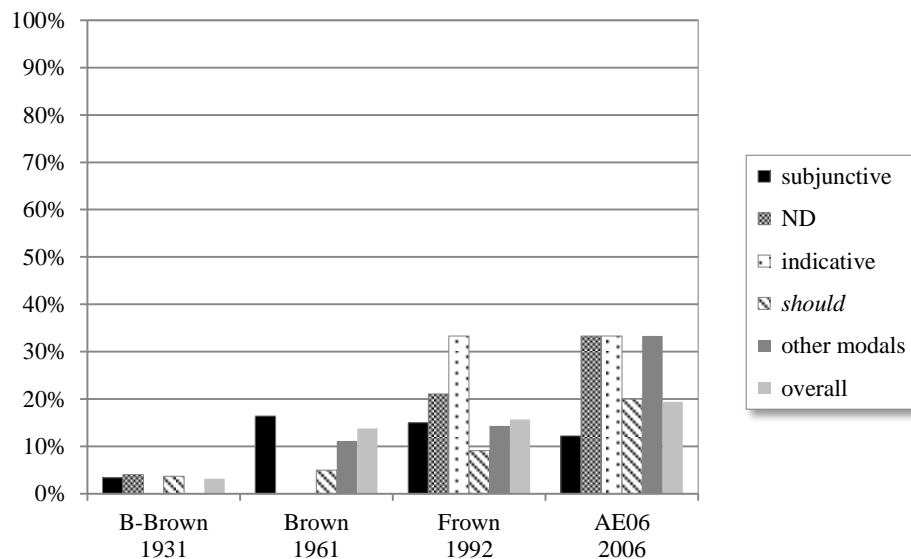
Figure 6.18. *That*-omission in five mandative variants in four AmE corpora.

With regard to mandative subjunctives and *that*-omission, my figures for LOB (13.6 per cent) and F-LOB (14 per cent) reveal a lower rate of change than Hundt's comment suggests, which can partly be explained by the higher raw figures that I have for mandative subjunctives in LOB (see Section 6.3.1). It should, however, be pointed out that the sparseness of the data yielded by the million-word corpora in this study means that attempting analysis of such things as variation in *that*-omission – particularly in the different mandative variants – is problematic, and the results should be treated with care. It seems clear, at least, that the overall trend for all variants over the 75 years is an increase in *that*-omission, but there is no strong evidence to suggest that it is occurring more or less in mandative subjunctives than in any of the

other variants. It is therefore not possible to claim that any perceived increase in the amount of *that*-omission with mandative subjunctives indicates a change in the association of mandative subjunctives with formality, rather than a change in the association of mandative clauses as a whole with formality. Instead, it seems to be evidence of one of the general effects of colloquialisation in written English.

6.5.5   The mandative subjunctive and individual triggers

In Table 6.14 and Table 6.15, the mandative-subjunctive results for each trigger in each corpus are presented. Once again, it must be remembered that the small number of mandative subjunctives identified in the corpora used in this study means that such fine-grained analysis – in this case by trigger – is unlikely to produce reliable results, and care should be taken when assessing the data. Nevertheless, from these tables it is clear that some of the items in the Johansson & Norheim list are more likely to be found with mandative subjunctives than others, and that the triggers that are most 'productive' in this sense tend to be the same ones in each corpus, though the actual frequency in each variety differs, as the overall results show. In this section, I look at the most productive triggers in the BrE and AmE corpora, to see if there are any notable differences between the varieties, and I also consider some correlations between subjunctive complementation and non-finite complementation, although at this stage these are only preliminary impressions. Further analysis of non-finite complementation is required.

Table 6.14. Mandative subjunctives in four AmE corpora, arranged by raw frequency of individual triggers. The '†' symbol indicates that the mandative items also license non-mandative complements.

B-Brown 1931		Brown 1961		Frown 1992		AE06 2006	
	subj.		subj.		subj.		subj.
suggest†	16	*demand* (v)	18	*suggest†*	25	*require*	20
ask	9	*suggest†*	14	*require*	13	*insist†*	16
urge†	8	*recommend*	13	*demand* (v)	12	*demand* (v)	11
demand (v)	6	*insist†*	11	*insist†*	12	*suggest†*	11
suggestion†	6	*require*	10	*recommend*	8	*recommend*	6
demand (n)	5	*ask*	9	*important†*	7	*request* (v)	3
request (v)	5	*propose†*	9	*request* (v)	6	*necessary*	2
require	5	*urge†*	7	*ask*	4	*propose†*	2
insist†	4	*important†*	6	*order*	4	*requirement*	2
propose†	4	*requirement*	6	*requirement*	3	*advise†*	1
recommend	4	*necessary*	5	*urge†*	3	*ask*	1
direct	3	*request* (v)	5	*propose†*	2	*demand* (n)	1
important†	3	*demand* (n)	3	*beg*	1	*desire* (v)	1
essential	2	*suggestion†*	3	*demand* (n)	1	*essential*	1
necessary	2	*advise†*	2	*desire* (v)	1	*order*	1
recommendation	2	*direct*	2	*proposal†*	1	*request* (n)	1
request (n)	2	*essential*	2	*request* (n)	1	*stipulate*	1
advise†	1	*order*	2	*stipulate*	1	*suggestion†*	1
desire (v)	1	*proposal†*	2	*suggestion†*	1	*anxious*	0
move	1	*stipulate*	2	*wish* (n)	1	*beg*	0
anxious	0	*wish* (n)	2	*advise†*	0	*desire* (n)	0
beg	0	*anxious*	1	*anxious*	0	*direct*	0
desire (n)	0	*beg*	1	*desire* (n)	0	*important†*	0
order	0	*desire* (n)	1	*direct*	0	*move*	0
proposal†	0	*move*	1	*essential*	0	*proposal†*	0
requirement	0	*recommendation*	1	*move*	0	*recommendation*	0
stipulate	0	*request* (n)	1	*necessary*	0	*sufficient*	0
sufficient	0	*wish* (v)	1	*recommendation*	0	*urge†*	0
wish (n)	0	*desire* (v)	0	*sufficient*	0	*wish* (n)	0
wish (v)	0	*sufficient*	0	*wish* (v)	0	*wish* (v)	0
Total	**89**		**140**		**107**		**82**

Table 6.15. Mandative subjunctives in four BrE corpora, arranged by raw frequency of individual triggers. The '†' symbol indicates that the mandative items also license non-mandative complements.

B-LOB 1931		LOB 1961		F-LOB 1991		BE06* 2006	
	subj.		subj.		subj.		subj.
move	4	*suggest†*	5	*demand* (v)	7	*demand* (v)	8
suggest†	4	*demand* (n)	2	*require*	7	*recommend*	5
recommend	3	*demand* (v)	2	*request* (v)	5	*suggest†*	5
demand (v)	2	*propose†*	2	*insist†*	4	*ask*	3
insist†	2	*ask*	1	*order*	3	*demand* (n)	2
order	2	*essential*	1	*recommend*	3	*insist†*	2
propose†	2	*insist†*	1	*suggest†*	3	*propose†*	2
ask	1	*move*	1	*important†*	2	*request* (v)	2
recommendation	1	*order*	1	*recommendation*	2	*suggestion†*	2
request (n)	1	*recommend*	1	*ask*	1	*order*	1
request (v)	1	*request* (n)	1	*demand* (n)	1	*proposal†*	1
suggestion†	1	*request* (v)	1	*propose†*	1	*require*	1
urge†	1	*requirement*	1	*requirement*	1	*urge†*	1
advise†	0	*sufficient*	1	*stipulate*	1	*advise†*	0
anxious	0	*wish* (n)	1	*suggestion†*	1	*anxious*	0
beg	0	*advise†*	0	*urge†*	1	*beg*	0
demand (n)	0	*anxious*	0	*advise†*	0	*desire* (n)	0
desire (n)	0	*beg*	0	*anxious*	0	*desire* (v)	0
desire (v)	0	*desire* (n)	0	*beg*	0	*direct*	0
direct	0	*desire* (v)	0	*desire* (n)	0	*essential*	0
essential	0	*direct*	0	*desire* (v)	0	*important†*	0
important†	0	*important†*	0	*direct*	0	*move*	0
necessary	0	*necessary*	0	*essential*	0	*necessary*	0
proposal†	0	*proposal†*	0	*move*	0	*recommendation*	0
require	0	*recommendation*	0	*necessary*	0	*request* (n)	0
requirement	0	*require*	0	*proposal†*	0	*requirement*	0
stipulate	0	*stipulate*	0	*request* (n)	0	*stipulate*	0
sufficient	0	*suggestion†*	0	*sufficient*	0	*sufficient*	0
wish (n)	0	*urge†*	0	*wish* (n)	0	*wish* (n)	0
wish (v)	0	*wish* (v)	0	*wish* (v)	0	*wish* (v)	0
Total	**25**		**22**		**43**		**35**

In her study involving a collection of ICE corpora, Peters points out that in her data the highest frequencies of mandative subjunctives are with the verbs *suggest*, *demand*, *recommend* and *move*, and that all four 'belong to the subset which require a *that* clause complement' (2009: 131) (see Section 5.2.17). In my results, three of these triggers feature in the top third of the table in all eight corpora: *suggest*, *demand* and *recommend*. The exception is *move*, which only features strongly in the first two BrE corpora, where it appears in reports of formal meetings and can thus be seen as representing the continuation of the traditional administrative use of the mandative subjunctive in BrE.

As Peters suggests, all four of these verbs do not normally allow anything but content-clause complements, though in the corpora there are a handful of examples featuring infinitival complementation, such as (174) for *demand*, and (175) and (176) for *recommend*.[12]

(174)   The mystification of metaphysical systems does not imply the demise of philosophy, only the close of a philosophic age which **demanded** metaphysics <u>to be</u> rational and logical.

<div align="right"><Brown J51></div>

(175)   In a statement issued yesterday, the Nelson Weavers' Committee **recommended** their members <u>to vote</u> against negotiations

<div align="right"><B-LOB A04></div>

(176)   It basically **recommends** courts <u>to take</u> into consideration the Model Law, its amendments, and the case law.

<div align="right"><AE06 H22></div>

Examples of this type are not common, however, and the general point that content clauses represent the normal type of complementation for these verbs is borne out by the evidence in the corpora. Peters adds that this indicates that the use of the mandative subjunctive 'is lexically conditioned in some cases' (2009: 131): in other words, with these verbs, the choice facing the speaker is restricted to the range of content-clause variants available in a particular variety. Another verb on the Johansson & Norheim list for which this applies is *stipulate*. Unlike the others, it doesn't feature in the top third of any tables, but this can be explained by its general rarity as a word.

There are two verbs on the list for which non-finite complementation is very much the less usual choice, both of them commonly found with the mandative subjunctive: *insist* and *propose*. For *insist*, in its mandative use, there is the possibility of a construction featuring *on* and a gerund-participial, as in (177) and (178).

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[12] There are four more similar *recommend* examples in LOB.

(177) The delay ended, however, when the recorder **insisted** on a pardon <u>being</u> issued under the great seal.

<div align="right"><B-Brown F16></div>

(178) To avoid the laboratory being placed in the invidious position of knowing information that is not known to the individual, we **insist** on such samples <u>being</u> made anonymous before testing.

<div align="right"><F-LOB J13></div>

Such examples are by no means rare, but evidence from the corpora shows that content-clause complementation is still clearly the norm in both varieties, at least in written English.

For *propose*, an infinitival construction following *it BE proposed*, as in (179), is found in F-LOB, BE06*, B-Brown and Brown. In Frown, there are six examples of a more unusual construction with a passive matrix verb and passive infinitival construction, as in (180), though all feature in the same formal report and so may reflect the usage of a particular speaker. As with *insist*, evidence from the corpora indicates that, despite these occasional exceptions, content-clause complementation is the unmarked choice after *propose* in both varieties.

(179) Later in the century when it was **proposed** <u>to re-seat</u> the church, many pew owners opposed the plan.

<div align="right"><F-LOB F04></div>

(180) A statement of each account to which the transfer is **proposed** <u>to be made</u> and the amount **proposed** <u>to be transferred</u> to such account.

<div align="right"><Frown H12></div>

In mandative contexts, the other verbs in the Johansson & Norheim list that license subjunctives are more usually found with non-finite complementation involving an intervening NP, as in *They asked her to stay*, or its passive counterpart *She was asked to stay*. If this type of complementation is taken into consideration, *ask* is far and away the most common mandative verb in all of the corpora (e.g. 26 per cent of mandative clauses in Brown), but that does not mean that it produces the highest number of subjunctives. Only a small portion of its complementation involves content clauses, and so the relatively high number of mandative subjunctives that are found with *ask* should be seen as reflecting its frequency as a verb rather than a strong propensity to license subjunctives. The second most frequent mandative verb, *require*, is considerably less frequent than *ask* (12.7 per cent of mandative clauses in Brown), but it has a higher proportion of content-clause complements. The fact that *require* produces more subjunctives than *ask*, particularly in AmE, can be taken to indicate that, relatively speaking, *require* is a more productive, or 'stronger', subjunctive trigger. The increase in the proportion of mandative subjunctives

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featuring *require* over the 75-year period is the greatest shown by any of the triggers in the AmE corpora: from 5.6 per cent of all finite mandative clauses in B-Brown to 24.4 per cent in AE06. This contrasts with the situation in BrE, where *require* is not a strong trigger, with the notable exception of F-LOB, in which it is one of the most productive. The evidence of BE06*, however, in which there is only one subjunctive with *require*, does not indicate that the F-LOB results represent the beginning of a trend for *require*.

There are suggestions of differences between the varieties with regard to the use of subjunctives with *ask* – that is, apart from there being more of them in the AmE corpora. In the BrE corpora, in all but one of the six examples, the verb in the mandative clause is passive. In B-Brown, the situation is similar, with five out of nine passive, but in the later AmE corpora the proportion decreases, with only three out of 14 examples featuring passives. Something similar is seen for *request* in the later two AmE corpora, with only two out of the nine examples passive. In the case of *urge*, another verb with similar complementation patterns, the differences between the national varieties are more marked, particularly regarding frequency. There are only three mandative subjunctives with *urge* in the four BrE corpora, and all are passive. In B-Brown alone, there are eight mandative subjunctives, of which five are passive; in Brown two out of seven examples are passive and in Frown two out of three. The figures produced by these corpora are too small for much store to be set by this, but it would be interesting to see if a larger-scale investigation might produce evidence of differences between the varieties along these lines, or differences over time.

In most cases, the verbs after which no subjunctives were found in the BrE corpora – *advise*, *beg*, *desire*, *direct*, *wish* – are found with very few subjunctives in the AmE corpora, indicating no great differences between the varieties. The one exception is *direct*, at least in the first two AmE corpora, where all five examples are in formal settings. Otherwise, there is very little content-clause complementation of any kind with *direct*, which perhaps helps to explain why it is not included in Huddleston & Pullum's table of mandative items (2002: 999). The other two members of Johansson & Norheim's list that are not included in Huddleston & Pullum's table are *sufficient* and *wish*. In the case of *sufficient*, the exclusion is probably justified: in the corpora there is no content-clause complementation after *sufficient*, except in LOB, where there are examples that could be argued to feature attitudinal *should* rather than mandative *should*, and one iBE subjunctive:

(181)   But it was generally **sufficient** that a word <u>be</u> given English dress, even if this was not
         appropriate.

<div align="right"><LOB G51></div>

The evidence of the corpora regarding *wish* supports the comments made (in a footnote) by Huddleston & Pullum that while subjunctives are commonly found after the noun, after the verb they are 'hardly possible' (2002: 999). In the eight corpora, there are subjunctive examples after the noun in both varieties, but after the verb there is just a single example, in Brown:

(182)   What I want is to have this evidence come before Congress and if the Attorney General does not report it, as I am very sure he won't, as he has refused to do anything of the kind, I then **wish** that a committee of seven Representatives <u>be</u> appointed with power to take the evidence.

<div align="right"><Brown G45></div>

These results by themselves would not seem to be low enough to warrant excluding *wish* from a list of mandative items, however, and it is likely that it was not included in Huddleston & Pullum's table because the finite complementation that is usually found with *wish* – i.e. modal preterites and past subjunctives – is so different from the finite complementation that is found with the other items on their list. Nevertheless, the evidence from this study would suggest that a future study setting out to use an extended list of triggers based on the Huddleston & Pullum (2002) table should add *wish*, both noun and verb.

6.6   Summary of findings

This case study had two main objectives: first, to investigate developments in the use of mandative subjunctives – and other mandative-clause variants – in BrE and AmE over a 75-year period, as revealed by the evidence of the extended Brown family corpora; second, to test out methodological changes prompted by the re-evaluation of previous studies in the first part of this thesis. Both elements of the case study have produced some interesting findings.

My general results regarding the frequency of variants in mandative clauses for the period that had been covered by previous studies – from 1931 to 1991/2 – have largely confirmed the general picture painted by those studies of the different preferences of the two varieties and of variation over time. In AmE, the subjunctive has been the predominant variant since the beginning of the period, reaching a high point in 1961, with *should* much less common throughout. In BrE, in the period covered by the first two corpora, *should* was predominant, with the subjunctive a low-level variant mainly restricted to specialised contexts. Between 1961 and 1991 the *should* variant in BrE was still the most popular, but it experienced a significant decrease, accompanied by a simultaneous increase in the use of the mandative subjunctive –

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but in both cases my findings differ from those of Hundt (1998b) and Leech et al. (2009). My results indicate that the decrease in *should* was greater than previously reported, while the increase in mandative subjunctives was smaller. The findings for the period between 1991/2 and 2006, for which no comparable results have been published, as far as I am aware, suggest that in AmE the mandative subjunctive once again declined, continuing the trend of the previous 30 years. The results for BrE were more unexpected. Use of the mandative subjunctive has not continued to increase, but instead has levelled off. Perhaps most remarkably, use of the *should* variant has continued to decline, to the extent that, for the first time, it is lower than use of the mandative subjunctive in BrE.

Taking into account more mandative-clause variants than most previous studies has revealed aspects of the situation that have previously been under-appreciated. One of these is that over the 75 years, the overall number of finite mandative clauses has steadily decreased in both varieties. Further study is needed to investigated possible reasons for this – such as an increase in non-finite mandative complementation or the effects of the Brown family sampling frame – and to establish whether there is evidence of a similar decrease in other national varieties. Including the indicative variant has shown its importance in BrE and demonstrated the dangers of allowing the preferences of one variety, namely AmE, to narrow the scope of an investigation into a construction that allows multiple variants. Taking into account the changing frequency of NDs and other modals has produced evidence that has prompted new speculation about changes in the underlying preferences of the two varieties regarding one-word and periphrastic complementation.

Focusing on the use of the mandative subjunctive in five broad genres has brought out some of the differences between the varieties and added to evidence to be used when assessing how some of the changes fit into identified trends such as colloquialisation, Americanisation and densification. Category H, Miscellaneous, containing predominantly formal administrative texts, has been shown to be a natural home for legalistic-type subjunctives in both varieties. The Press category is also important, but the two varieties display contrasting trends. In AmE, subjunctive frequency has consistently decreased in Press across the 75 years, which can perhaps be taken to reflect the effect of colloquialisation in that genre. In BrE, in 1931, when use of the subjunctive was at its lowest, it was more frequent in Press than in Miscellaneous. This initially surprising result was explained by looking more closely at the actual texts involved, which revealed that a large proportion featured in semi-formulaic reports of formal institutional meetings, and so were in many ways similar to the types of texts found in Miscellaneous. It turned out that the frequency of subjunctives in this context in Press rapidly decreased in both varieties over the 75

years, probably reflecting changes in approach to this type of reporting in newspapers, which may in turn be connected to colloquialisation. The remarkable resurgence in the frequency of subjunctives in Press in BrE between 19991 and 2006 appears to defy this trend. Examination of the texts involved suggested that the increase was not connected with an increase in formal contexts but instead was spread across a range of styles. It was proposed that, in addition to the Americanisation that seems likely to have contributed to the general increase in the use of the mandative subjunctive in BrE since 1961, another possible explanation for the recent increase in Press is densification, with the need for economy and conciseness in newspaper writing overriding the competing pressures of colloquialisation.

The investigation of the association of the subjunctive with the passive confirmed that from the earliest corpora, the passive proportion of mandative subjunctives has been lower in AmE than in BrE, reflecting establishment of the predominance of the subjunctive in mandative clauses in that variety early in the twentieth century. In both varieties, there has been a decrease in passive proportions – part of a general decline in passives – but there was no evidence of the significant decrease in passive mandative subjunctives in BrE between 1961 that was reported by Leech et al. (2009). Instead, there was a sharp decrease after 1991, which may represent the effects of colloquialisation. Looking at the passive proportions of the other variants in mandative clauses provided confirmation that the subjunctive was the variant most associated with the passive – at least in the first two corpora. After 1961, the differences between the variants in this regard were not significant, suggesting that no variant was more associated with the passive, and formality, than any other.

Evidence was found of a steady increase in *that*-omission in clauses containing mandative subjunctives in both varieties. But similar evidence was also found in clauses containing the other mandative variants, suggesting that there is no reason to suppose that the increase in *that*-omission in clauses containing mandative subjunctives is more to do with a disassociation of the subjunctive from formality than with a general increase in *that*-omission that reflects the influence of colloquialisation.

As for the second main objective of this case study, regarding methodological and theoretical approaches, a careful comparison of my results with those of Johansson & Norheim (1988) has provided strong evidence that my identification of an anomaly in their treatment of iST subjunctives is correct and that this has had an unfortunate effect on the findings of later studies that have relied on its results. As has been seen in the preceding summary, the decision to extend the study to include five variants has also been fruitful. Overall, the case study has demonstrated the benefits to be gained from re-examining

corpora from scratch, rather than relying on the results from previous studies. Not the least of these benefits is the reliability of results based on consistent methodology.

There remain numerous opportunities for further research using the data that has been collected for this case study. The preliminary discussion of the findings for individual triggers has shown that there is scope for more detailed statistical analysis in this area and for extending it to include all types of mandative variant, both finite and non-finite. Assessing the comparability of non-finite complementation presents a difficult challenge, but it offers the possibility of finding a correlation with the overall decrease in finite mandative contexts. There is more work to be done in the analysis of the use of the mandative subjunctive by genre, and it could also be extended to include all other finite variants. Other aspects still to be investigated include the effects of the tense of the matrix verb, variation in the frequency of negation, the association of the subjunctive with the verb *be* and the effects of extending the study to include all of the mandative triggers in the longer list provided by Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 999). Questions raised in the course of this study that would require data from other sources, such as much bigger corpora, include whether the high frequency of the mandative subjunctive in Brown is an anomalous result, and what has led to the decrease in *should* in BrE.

Appendix: additional statistical tables

Table A1. Absolute frequency of five mandative variants in the B-LOB corpus.

	B-LOB BrE 1931					
	subj.	ND	indic.	*should*	other modals	**Total**
advise†	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
ask	1	0	0	5	2	**8**
beg	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
demand (v)	2	0	1	5	3	**11**
demand (n)	0	0	0	6	0	**6**
desire (v)	0	0	0	4	0	**4**
desire (n)	0	0	0	4	1	**5**
direct	0	0	0	1	1	**2**
insist†	2	0	1	7	2	**12**
move	4	1	1	1	0	**7**
order	2	0	0	0	0	**2**
propose†	2	0	0	6	0	**8**
proposal†	0	0	0	4	0	**4**
recommend	3	0	0	11	0	**14**
recommendation	1	0	0	1	0	**2**
request (v)	1	0	0	0	1	**2**
request (n)	1	0	0	2	0	**3**
require	0	0	0	8	1	**9**
requirement	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
stipulate	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
suggest†	4	3	0	18	7	**32**
suggestion†	1	1	0	10	3	**15**
urge†	1	0	0	1	4	**6**
wish (v)	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
wish (n)	0	0	0	3	0	**3**
essential	0	0	1	5	1	**7**
important†	0	0	0	12	0	**12**
necessary	0	0	0	9	1	**10**
sufficient	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
anxious	0	0	0	5	1	**6**
Total	**25**	**5**	**4**	**128**	**31**	**193**
	13.0%	2.6%	2.1%	66.3%	16.1%	

Table A2. Absolute frequency of five mandative variants in the LOB corpus.

	LOB BrE 1961					
	subj.	ND	indic.	*should*	other modals	**Total**
advise†	0	0	0	3	0	**3**
ask	1	0	1	2	0	**4**
beg	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
demand (v)	2	0	0	2	0	**4**
demand (n)	2	0	0	2	0	**4**
desire (v)	0	0	0	1	1	**2**
desire (n)	0	1	0	0	2	**3**
direct	0	1	0	1	2	**4**
insist†	1	0	0	8	3	**12**
move	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
order	1	0	0	0	3	**4**
propose†	2	0	0	5	0	**7**
proposal†	0	0	0	2	0	**2**
recommend	1	0	1	13	0	**15**
recommendation	0	0	0	5	0	**5**
request (v)	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
request (n)	1	0	0	2	1	**4**
require	0	1	0	5	0	**6**
requirement	1	0	1	2	0	**4**
stipulate	0	1	0	1	1	**3**
suggest†	5	3	3	30	4	**45**
suggestion†	0	0	0	6	2	**8**
urge†	0	0	0	2	2	**4**
wish (v)	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
wish (n)	1	0	0	2	1	**4**
essential	1	1	1	7	1	**11**
important†	0	1	0	11	1	**13**
necessary	0	0	1	6	0	**7**
sufficient	1	0	0	2	0	**3**
anxious	0	0	0	2	0	**2**
Total	**22**	**9**	**8**	**122**	**24**	**185**
	11.9%	4.9%	4.3%	65.9%	13.0%	

Table A3. Absolute frequency of five mandative variants in the F-LOB corpus.

	subj.	ND	indic.	should	other modals	Total
	F-LOB BrE 1991					
advise†	0	0	0	2	0	**2**
ask	1	0	0	2	0	**3**
beg	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
demand (v)	7	0	3	6	0	**16**
demand (n)	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
desire (v)	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
desire (n)	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
direct	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
insist†	4	2	2	2	4	**14**
move	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
order	3	0	0	3	1	**7**
propose†	1	1	0	5	0	**7**
proposal†	0	0	0	1	0	**1**
recommend	3	3	0	17	0	**23**
recommendation	2	1	0	2	0	**5**
request (v)	5	0	1	0	0	**6**
request (n)	0	0	0	1	0	**1**
require	7	1	5	3	0	**16**
requirement	1	0	0	2	2	**5**
stipulate	1	0	0	1	0	**2**
suggest†	3	4	1	9	3	**20**
suggestion†	1	1	0	4	0	**6**
urge†	1	0	0	1	0	**2**
wish (v)	0	1	0	0	0	**1**
wish (n)	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
essential	0	1	3	1	0	**5**
important†	2	2	4	4	0	**12**
necessary	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
sufficient	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
anxious	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Total	**43**	**17**	**19**	**66**	**10**	**155**
	27.7%	11.0%	12.3%	42.6%	6.5%	

Table A4. Absolute frequency of five mandative variants in the BE06* corpus.

	BE06* BrE 2006					
	subj.	ND	indic.	*should*	other modals	**Total**
advise†	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
ask	3	1	0	0	0	**4**
beg	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
demand (v)	8	3	1	2	1	**15**
demand (n)	2	3	0	0	0	**5**
desire (v)	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
desire (n)	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
direct	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
insist†	2	2	1	2	0	**7**
move	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
order	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
propose†	2	0	0	2	0	**4**
proposal†	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
recommend	5	3	2	4	0	**14**
recommendation	0	0	0	1	0	**1**
request (v)	2	1	0	0	0	**3**
request (n)	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
require	1	3	0	0	0	**4**
requirement	0	0	1	0	0	**1**
stipulate	0	0	0	1	1	**2**
suggest†	5	6	1	8	2	**22**
suggestion†	2	1	0	1	0	**4**
urge†	1	0	0	1	2	**4**
wish (v)	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
wish (n)	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
essential	0	0	3	1	0	**4**
important†	0	9	9	1	0	**19**
necessary	0	0	1	2	0	**3**
sufficient	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
anxious	0	0	1	1	0	**2**
Total	**35**	**32**	**20**	**27**	**9**	**123**
	28.5%	26.0%	16.3%	22.0%	7.3%	

Table A5. Absolute frequency of five mandative variants in the B-Brown corpus.

	B-Brown AmE 1931					
	subj.	ND	indic.	*should*	other modals	**Total**
advise†	1	1	0	0	1	**3**
ask	9	2	0	0	0	**11**
beg	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
demand (v)	6	1	0	4	1	**12**
demand (n)	5	2	0	1	0	**8**
desire (v)	1	0	0	0	1	**2**
desire (n)	0	0	0	1	0	**1**
direct	3	0	0	2	4	**9**
insist†	4	0	0	3	1	**8**
move	1	2	0	0	0	**3**
order	0	0	0	1	0	**1**
propose†	4	0	0	0	0	**4**
proposal†	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
recommend	4	0	0	2	0	**6**
recommendation	2	2	0	2	0	**6**
request (v)	5	1	0	1	0	**7**
request (n)	2	1	0	1	1	**5**
require	5	0	0	2	5	**12**
requirement	0	0	0	0	2	**2**
stipulate	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
suggest†	16	7	0	3	0	**26**
suggestion†	6	1	0	2	0	**9**
urge†	8	2	0	0	0	**10**
wish (v)	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
wish (n)	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
essential	2	1	0	1	0	**4**
important†	3	1	0	1	0	**5**
necessary	2	0	0	0	1	**3**
sufficient	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
anxious	0	1	0	0	0	**1**
Total	**89**	**25**	**0**	**27**	**18**	**159**
	56.0%	15.7%	0.0%	17.0%	11.3%	

Table A6. Absolute frequency of five mandative variants in the Brown corpus.

	Brown AmE 1961					
	subj.	ND	indic.	*should*	other modals	**Total**
advise†	2	0	0	1	0	**3**
ask	9	0	0	0	0	**9**
beg	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
demand (v)	18	0	0	0	0	**18**
demand (n)	3	0	0	0	0	**3**
desire (v)	0	0	0	1	0	**1**
desire (n)	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
direct	2	0	0	0	0	**2**
insist†	11	2	0	2	1	**16**
move	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
order	2	0	0	1	0	**3**
propose†	9	2	0	1	0	**12**
proposal†	2	0	0	0	0	**2**
recommend	13	1	0	1	0	**15**
recommendation	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
request (v)	5	0	0	0	0	**5**
request (n)	1	1	0	0	0	**2**
require	10	1	0	0	2	**13**
requirement	6	1	0	0	1	**8**
stipulate	2	0	0	0	2	**4**
suggest†	14	2	0	5	1	**22**
suggestion†	3	0	0	0	0	**3**
urge†	7	0	0	0	1	**8**
wish (v)	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
wish (n)	2	0	1	0	0	**3**
essential	2	0	0	1	0	**3**
important†	6	1	0	6	1	**14**
necessary	5	1	0	1	0	**7**
sufficient	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
anxious	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
Total	**140**	**12**	**1**	**20**	**9**	**182**
	76.9%	6.6%	0.5%	11.0%	4.9%	

Table A7. Absolute frequency of five mandative variants in the Frown corpus.

	Frown AmE 1992					
	subj.	ND	indic.	*should*	other modals	**Total**
advise†	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
ask	4	0	0	0	0	**4**
beg	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
demand (v)	12	2	0	0	0	**14**
demand (n)	1	0	0	0	1	**2**
desire (v)	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
desire (n)	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
direct	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
insist†	12	2	0	2	1	**17**
move	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
order	4	0	0	0	0	**4**
propose†	2	1	0	1	0	**4**
proposal†	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
recommend	8	3	0	1	0	**12**
recommendation	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
request (v)	6	0	0	0	0	**6**
request (n)	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
require	13	6	0	0	1	**20**
requirement	3	0	2	0	0	**5**
stipulate	1	0	0	0	1	**2**
suggest†	25	4	1	7	1	**38**
suggestion†	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
urge†	3	0	0	0	0	**3**
wish (v)	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
wish (n)	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
essential	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
important†	7	1	0	0	1	**9**
necessary	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
sufficient	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
anxious	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Total	**107**	**19**	**3**	**11**	**7**	**147**
	72.8%	12.9%	2.0%	7.5%	4.8%	

Table A8. Absolute frequency of five mandative variants in the AE06 corpus.

	AE06 AmE 2006					
	subj.	ND	indic.	*should*	other modals	**Total**
advise†	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
ask	1	1	0	0	0	**2**
beg	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
demand (v)	11	3	0	0	0	**14**
demand (n)	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
desire (v)	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
desire (n)	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
direct	0	0	0	1	0	**1**
insist†	16	6	1	1	2	**26**
move	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
order	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
propose†	2	0	0	0	0	**2**
proposal†	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
recommend	6	3	0	0	0	**9**
recommendation	0	0	0	1	0	**1**
request (v)	3	1	0	0	0	**4**
request (n)	1	1	0	0	0	**2**
require	20	6	1	0	0	**27**
requirement	2	0	0	1	0	**3**
stipulate	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
suggest†	11	14	0	4	1	**30**
suggestion†	1	0	0	1	0	**2**
urge†	0	0	0	1	0	**1**
wish (v)	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
wish (n)	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
essential	1	1	0	0	0	**2**
important†	0	0	1	0	0	**1**
necessary	2	0	0	0	0	**2**
sufficient	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
anxious	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Total	**82**	**36**	**3**	**10**	**3**	**134**
	61.2%	26.9%	2.2%	7.5%	2.2%	

Table A9. Texts in B-LOB containing mandative subjunctives, with triggers. (Boxes = more than one; shading = more than three.)

B-LOB
BrE
1931

A-C	Press	12	D–G	General prose	6	H	Miscellaneous	3	J	Learned	0	K–R	Fiction	4
A04	*demand*		E31	*recommend*		H08	*recommendation*					K22	*insist*	
A04	*demand*		F19	*suggest*		H27	*move*					K22	*suggestion*	
A27	*move*		F24	*order*		H27	*propose*					L23	*request* (V)	
A27	*move*		F44	*insist*								N10	*request* (n)	
A27	*move*		G16	*recommend*										
A27	*suggest*		G42	*recommend*										
A29	*propose*													
A29	*urge*													
A36	*order*													
B01	*ask*													
B05	*suggest*													
B05	*suggest*													

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Table A10. Texts in LOB containing mandative subjunctives, with triggers. (Boxes = more than one; shading = more than three.)

LOB
BrE
1961

A-C	Press	6	D–G	General prose	7	H	Miscellaneous	2	J	Learned	3	K–R	Fiction	4
A08	*propose*		E07	*suggest*		H19	*move*		J20	*requirement*		K16	*propose*	
A10	*wish* (n)		F17	*essential*		H24	*recommend*		J43	*ask*		K16	*suggest*	
A29	*demand* (v)		F21	*request* (n)					J72	*demand* (v)		L24	*order*	
A29	*insist*		F27	*demand* (n)								M01	*suggest*	
B06	*demand* (n)		F28	*suggest*										
B09	*request* (v)		G47	*suggest*										
			G51	*sufficient*										

Table A11. Texts in F-LOB containing mandative subjunctives, with triggers. (Boxes = more than one; shading = more than three.)

	F-LOB BrE 1991											
A-C	**Press**	**5**	**D–G**	**General prose**	**13**	**H**	**Miscellaneous**	**5**	**J**	**Learned**	**13**	**K–R**	**Fiction**	**7**

A-C	Press		D–G	General prose		H	Miscellaneous		J	Learned		K–R	Fiction
A05	*demand* (v)		D02	*insist*		H06	*important*		J16	*demand* (v)		K22	*suggest*
A09	*request* (v)		D05	*require*		H13	*requirement*		J18	*require*		K23	*demand* (v)
A12	*suggest*		E06	*suggestion*		H14	*request* (v)		J18	*require*		N01	*important*
A37	*recommendation*		E15	*recommend*		H16	*urge*		J23	*demand* (n)		N16	*insist*
B12	*demand* (v)		F12	*recommend*		H22	*order*		J27	*ask*		N16	*recommendation*
			F27	*require*					J27	*require*		N22	*request* (v)
			G06	*stipulate*					J48	*order*		P20	*insist*
			G08	*propose*					J48	*recommend*			
			G14	*insist*					J48	*request* (v)			
			G20	*demand* (v)					J48	*request* (v)			
			G40	*demand* (v)					J48	*require*			
			G57	*order*					J68	*suggest*			
			G74	*require*					J71	*demand* (v)			

Table A12. Texts in BE06* containing mandative subjunctives, with triggers. (Boxes = more than one; shading = more than three.)

BE06*
BrE
2006

A-C	Press	14	D–G	General prose	7	H	Miscellaneous	5	J	Learned	2	K–R	Fiction	7
A06	*demand* (v)		D07	*urge*		H06	*recommend*		J02	*demand* (v)		L19	*suggest*	
A10	*demand* (v)		E01	*demand* (v)		H06	*recommend*		J02	*require*		N03	*suggest*	
A14	*demand* (n)		F16	*suggest*		H06	*recommend*		J04	*requirement*		N04	*demand* (v)	
A17	*ask*		F41	*ask*		H06	*recommend*		J04	*suggest*		N17	*suggest*	
A21	*order*		F41	*ask*		H24	*request* (v)		J04	*suggest*		P04	*propose*	
A26	*demand* (n)		G10	*suggestion*					J04	*suggest*		P06	*insist*	
A36	*request* (v)		G40	*insist*					J04	*essential*		P08	*demand* (v)	
A44	*demand* (v)								J04	*important*				
B09	*recommend*								J04	*important*				
B16	*demand* (v)													
B16	*suggestion*													
B21	*proposal*													
C03	*propose*													
C11	*suggest*													

Table A13. Texts in B-Brown containing mandative subjunctives, with triggers. (Boxes = more than one; shading = more than three.)

B-Brown
AmE
1931

A-C	Press	40	D–G	General prose	18	H	Miscellaneous	14	J	Learned	12	K–R	Fiction	5
A02	*ask*		D11	*require*		H04	*recommendation*		J19	*require*		K20	*propose*	
A02	*suggest*		E03	*require*		H05	*require*		J22	*urge*		L13	*insist*	
A03	*demand* (n)		E17	*important*		H06	*demand* (n)		J31	*ask*		L13	*suggest*	
A06	*recommend*		E29	*essential*		H06	*urge*		J43	*demand* (v)		N09	*suggest*	
A06	*recommend*		F04	*insist*		H13	*desire* (v)		J43	*suggestion*		P07	*insist*	
A06	*suggest*		F10	*demand* (v)		H13	*move*		J45	*demand* (v)				
A06	*urge*		F11	*important*		H13	*request* (n)		J47	*urge*				
A07	*ask*		F15	*demand* (n)		H14	*recommend*		J55	*ask*				
A07	*ask*		F17	*urge*		H14	*recommendation*		J57	*suggest*				
A07	*suggest*		F32	*suggest*		H18	*essential*		J64	*necessary*				
A10	*ask*		F39	*suggest*		H19	*necessary*		J68	*request* (v)				
A10	*urge*		F48	*demand* (n)		H24	*direct*		J75	*suggest*				
A10	*urge*		F48	*urge*		H24	*direct*							
A14	*ask*		G47	*advise*		H30	*suggest*							
A20	*demand* (n)		G51	*suggest*										
A21	*ask*		G61	*insist*										
A22	*request* (v)		G68	*direct*										
A23	*demand* (v)		G68	*suggest*										
A23	*request* (n)													
A23	*suggest*													
A34	*suggestion*													
A34	*suggestion*													
A35	*require*													
A36	*suggest*													
A42	*request* (v)													
B02	*demand* (v)													
B02	*suggestion*													
B07	*propose*													
B07	*recommend*													
B09	*suggestion*													
B13	*important*													
B15	*propose*													
B15	*propose*													
B18	*suggest*													
B18	*suggest*													
B20	*demand* (v)													
B23	*request* (v)													
B23	*suggestion*													
B26	*ask*													
C08	*request* (v)													

Table A14. Texts in Brown containing mandative subjunctives, with triggers. (Boxes = more than one; shading = more than three.)

Brown
AmE
1961

A–C	Press	34	D–G	General prose	60				H	Miscellaneous	14	J	Learned	17	K–R	Fiction	15
A01	*recommend*		D05	*demand* (v)		G07	*wish* (n)		H02	*important*		J18	*necessary*		K01	*suggest*	
A01	*recommend*		D09	*important*		G09	*stipulate*		H14	*stipulate*		J18	*necessary*		K03	*order*	
A01	*recommend*		D10	*propose*		G10	*demand* (n)		H16	*direct*		J21	*require*		K08	*demand* (v)	
A01	*request* (v)		D10	*propose*		G12	*demand* (v)		H16	*urge*		J21	*require*		K10	*demand* (v)	
A01	*urge*		D11	*proposal*		G12	*suggest*		H17	*require*		J21	*necessary*		K22	*suggest*	
A01	*urge*		D11	*important*		G16	*require*		H17	*suggest*		J25	*ask*		K29	*ask*	
A02	*requirement*		D16	*desire* (n)		G21	*request* (v)		H17	*necessary*		J26	*propose*		L09	*suggest*	
A04	*recommend*		E01	*suggest*		G32	*demand* (v)		H19	*propose*		J32	*require*		L14	*wish* (n)	
A04	*recommend*		E05	*require*		G34	*suggest*		H19	*important*		J32	*requirement*		M03	*ask*	
A05	*advise*		E05	*suggest*		G35	*direct*		H20	*propose*		J37	*anxious*		N11	*order*	
A07	*recommend*		E05	*suggest*		G36	*recommend*		H21	*recommend*		J42	*require*		N18	*suggest*	
A10	*ask*		E08	*essential*		G36	*recommend*		H21	*urge*		J48	*require*		P02	*ask*	
A13	*request* (n)		E17	*recommend*		G36	*request* (v)		H22	*requirement*		J48	*requirement*		P02	*insist*	
A16	*insist*		E19	*insist*		G38	*advise*		H26	*proposal*		J55	*ask*		P18	*insist*	
A19	*ask*		E24	*ask*		G38	*demand* (v)					J55	*demand* (v)		R02	*important*	
A19	*urge*		E24	*demand* (v)		G38	*demand* (v)					J70	*propose*				
A19	*essential*		E29	*demand* (v)		G38	*move*					J77	*recommend*				
A22	*requirement*		F07	*recommend*		G45	*wish* (v)										
A23	*insist*		F08	*demand* (n)		G52	*demand* (v)										
A23	*request* (v)		F08	*important*		G52	*demand* (v)										
A36	*demand* (n)		F09	*insist*		G52	*demand* (v)										
A40	*insist*		F11	*demand* (v)		G52	*insist*										
A41	*urge*		F11	*insist*		G62	*propose*										
A43	*suggestion*		F16	*demand* (v)		G67	*beg*										
B03	*demand* (v)		F17	*ask*		G67	*suggest*										
B05	*recommendation*		F17	*suggest*													
B05	*require*		F21	*requirement*													
B07	*suggestion*		F22	*suggest*													
B08	*recommend*		F28	*request* (v)													
B11	*demand* (v)		F28	*suggest*													
B16	*ask*		F28	*suggestion*													
B17	*demand* (v)		F29	*propose*													
B17	*insist*		F29	*propose*													
C05	*urge*		F47	*insist*													
			F48	*require*													

Table A15. Texts in Frown containing mandative subjunctives, with triggers. (Boxes = more than one; shading = more than three.)

Frown
AmE
1992

A–C	Press	19	D–G	General prose	31	H	Miscellaneous	11	J	Learned	16	K–R	Fiction	30
A09	*request* (v)		D02	*demand* (n)		H04	*recommend*		J13	*recommend*		K04	*ask*	
A13	*require*		D10	*require*		H07	*urge*		J17	*require*		K12	*suggest*	
A22	*insist*		E05	*request* (v)		H12	*demand* (v)		J21	*require*		K23	*ask*	
A26	*recommend*		E13	*suggest*		H15	*request* (v)		J28	*important*		K23	*demand* (v)	
A26	*request* (v)		E16	*demand* (v)		H16	*order*		J29	*propose*		K23	*insist*	
A26	*suggest*		E18	*order*		H16	*order*		J30	*wish* (n)		K25	*beg*	
A28	*require*		E22	*request* (v)		H17	*demand* (v)		J31	*suggest*		L08	*ask*	
A37	*suggest*		E22	*important*		H19	*recommend*		J39	*recommend*		L10	*suggest*	
A40	*suggest*		F02	*demand* (v)		H20	*recommend*		J41	*suggest*		L11	*ask*	
B01	*requirement*		F10	*suggest*		H23	*suggest*		J43	*require*		L11	*insist*	
B02	*demand* (v)		F13	*important*		H28	*desire* (v)		J52	*requirement*		L19	*important*	
B07	*insist*		F14	*requirement*					J55	*insist*		L24	*suggest*	
B16	*require*		F14	*important*					J56	*demand* (v)		N08	*suggest*	
B18	*suggest*		F28	*insist*					J60	*propose*		N18	*insist*	
B18	*urge*		F30	*suggest*					J62	*urge*		N25	*demand* (v)	
B19	*proposal*		F37	*require*					J67	*demand* (v)		N25	*insist*	
B21	*suggestion*		F43	*stipulate*								P02	*insist*	
B23	*suggest*		G06	*order*								P02	*suggest*	
B24	*suggest*		G06	*require*								P02	*suggest*	
			G09	*require*								P03	*suggest*	
			G09	*require*								P04	*insist*	
			G09	*require*								P07	*insist*	
			G13	*important*								P10	*important*	
			G24	*demand* (v)								P11	*demand* (v)	
			G45	*insist*								P19	*demand* (v)	
			G45	*recommend*								P23	*suggest*	
			G45	*recommend*								P24	*request* (v)	
			G45	*request* (n)								P24	*suggest*	
			G45	*require*								R07	*suggest*	
			G45	*suggest*								R07	*suggest*	
			G60	*suggest*										

Table A16. Texts in AE06 containing mandative subjunctives, with triggers. (Boxes = more than one; shading = more than three.)

AE06
AmE
2006

A–C	**Press**	**12**	D–G	**General prose**	**31**	H	**Miscellaneous**	**11**	J	**Learned**	**10**	K–R	**Fiction**	**18**
A13	*insist*		D05	*advise*		H04	*recommend*		J10	*suggestion*		K18	*suggest*	
A22	*order*		D05	*insist*		H04	*recommend*		J14	*require*		K21	*insist*	
A27	*demand* (v)		D05	*require*		H04	*recommend*		J14	*require*		K29	*insist*	
B02	*demand* (v)		D06	*require*		H04	*suggest*		J19	*require*		L04	*demand* (v)	
B04	*demand* (v)		D10	*necessary*		H08	*recommend*		J23	*request* (v)		L06	*demand* (v)	
B09	*propose*		D10	*necessary*		H15	*recommend*		J34	*require*		L12	*insist*	
B12	*require*		D15	*demand* (v)		H15	*requirement*		J34	*require*		N12	*insist*	
B16	*require*		E16	*suggest*		H16	*require*		J56	*demand* (v)		P02	*essential*	
B19	*insist*		E21	*suggest*		H21	*require*		J58	*demand* (n)		P12	*ask*	
B23	*requirement*		E24	*insist*		H22	*recommend*		J71	*require*		P14	*request* (v)	
C05	*insist*		E25	*require*		H28	*require*					P24	*demand* (v)	
C06	*require*		E34	*suggest*								P24	*desire* (v)	
			E36	*request* (n)								P24	*insist*	
			F19	*stipulate*								R02	*insist*	
			F21	*suggest*								R03	*demand* (v)	
			F25	*require*								R05	*propose*	
			F25	*require*								R05	*suggest*	
			F28	*require*								R07	*suggest*	
			F33	*suggest*										
			F39	*suggest*										
			G06	*request* (v)										
			G10	*insist*										
			G15	*demand* (v)										
			G22	*require*										
			G25	*insist*										
			G42	*insist*										
			G52	*insist*										
			G58	*insist*										
			G58	*require*										
			G59	*suggest*										
			G63	*demand* (v)										

Table A17. Word counts for BrE corpora used in this study. Figures as given in CQPweb.

Subcorpus and text category	B-LOB	LOB	F-LOB	BE06*
	1931	1961	1991	2006
Press				
A. Reportage	101,907	100,786	99,055	99,679
B. Editorial	61,553	60,684	60,982	61,195
C. Reviews	39,756	38,978	39,034	39,935
	203,216	200,448	199,071	200,809
General Prose				
D. Religion	38,975	38,636	38,471	38,121
E. Skills and hobbies	86,550	85,718	85,511	85,350
F. Popular lore	101,588	100,235	99,053	98,468
G. Belles lettres, biography, memoirs, etc.	177,689	173,824	174,281	176,103
H. Miscellaneous non-fiction	67,469	67,166	66,997	66,094
	472,271	465,579	464,313	464,136
Learned				
J. Learned (academic writing)	181,821	179,912	181,976	179,945
	181,821	179,912	181,976	179,945
Fiction				
K. General fiction	70,057	67,782	68,825	68,689
L. Mystery and detective fiction	58,079	56,318	57,191	58,853
M. Science fiction	14,195	14,081	14,149	14,646
N. Adventure and western fiction	70,055	68,705	67,895	69,037
P. Romance and love story	71,193	68,341	68,321	67,932
R. Humour	21,852	20,820	21,217	20,874
	305,431	296,047	297,598	300,031
Total	**1,162,739**	**1,141,986**	**1,142,958**	**1,144,921**

Table A18. Word counts for AmE corpora used in this study. Figures as given in CQPweb.

Subcorpus and text category	B-Brown	Brown	Frown	AE06
	1931	1961	1992	2006
Press				
A. Reportage	100,174	100,021	100,522	102,245
B. Editorial	60,570	61,133	61,486	61,451
C. Reviews	39,299	40,146	39,584	39,875
	200,043	201,300	201,592	203,571
General Prose				
D. Religion	38,424	38,730	38,650	39,417
E. Skills and hobbies	81,005	81,927	82,994	84,058
F. Popular lore	108,399	109,158	110,215	112,121
G. Belles lettres, biography, memoirs, etc.	171,922	171,012	172,079	175,056
H. Miscellaneous non-fiction	67,422	69,899	68,373	67,750
	467,172	470,726	472,311	478,402
Learned				
J. Learned (academic writing)	178,719	180,649	183,269	185,506
	178,719	180,649	183,269	185,506
Fiction				
K. General fiction	68,273	67,368	68,451	70,264
L. Mystery and detective fiction	60,269	56,437	56,754	59,956
M. Science fiction	14,248	14,020	14,210	14,484
N. Adventure and western fiction	70,941	68,123	67,700	70,269
P. Romance and love story	71,437	68,721	68,968	71,700
R. Humour	21,208	21,110	21,028	21,813
	306,376	295,779	297,111	308,486
Total	**1,152,310**	**1,148,454**	**1,154,283**	**1,175,965**

Table A19. Frequency of subjunctives pmw in corpora, subcorpora and text categories: BrE.

| | B-LOB | LOB | F-LOB | BE06* |
	1931	1961	1991	2006
Press	<u>59.1</u>	<u>29.9</u>	<u>25.1</u>	<u>69.7</u>
A. Reportage	88.3	39.7	40.4	80.3
B. Editorial	48.7	33.0	16.4	65.4
C. Reviews	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.1
General Prose	<u>19.1</u>	<u>19.3</u>	<u>38.8</u>	<u>25.9</u>
D. Religion	0.0	0.0	52.0	26.2
E. Skills and hobbies	11.6	11.7	23.4	11.7
F. Popular lore	29.5	39.9	20.2	30.5
G. Belles lettres, biography, memoirs, etc.	11.3	11.5	40.2	11.4
H. Miscellaneous non-fiction	44.5	29.8	74.6	75.6
Learned	<u>0.0</u>	<u>16.7</u>	<u>71.4</u>	<u>11.1</u>
J. Learned (academic writing)	0.0	16.7	71.4	11.1
Fiction	<u>13.1</u>	<u>13.5</u>	<u>23.5</u>	<u>23.3</u>
K. General fiction	28.5	29.5	29.1	0.0
L. Mystery and detective fiction	17.2	17.8	0.0	17.0
M. Science fiction	0.0	71.0	0.0	0.0
N. Adventure and western fiction	14.3	0.0	58.9	43.5
P. Romance and love story	0.0	0.0	14.6	44.2
R. Humour	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Whole corpus	**21.5**	**19.3**	**37.6**	**30.6**

Table A20. Frequency of subjunctives pmw in corpora, subcorpora and text categories: AmE.

	B-Brown	Brown	Frown	AE06
	1931	1961	1992	2006
Press	200.0	168.9	94.2	58.9
A. Reportage	249.6	239.9	89.5	29.3
B. Editorial	231.1	130.9	162.6	113.9
C. Reviews	25.4	49.8	0.0	50.2
General Prose	68.5	157.2	88.9	87.8
D. Religion	26.0	154.9	51.7	177.6
E. Skills and hobbies	37.0	122.1	72.3	71.4
F. Popular lore	83.0	174.1	81.7	62.4
G. Belles lettres, biography, memoirs, etc.	29.1	146.2	81.4	62.8
H. Miscellaneous non-fiction	207.6	200.3	160.9	162.4
Learned	67.1	94.1	87.3	53.9
J. Learned (academic writing)	67.1	94.1	87.3	53.9
Fiction	16.3	50.7	101.0	58.3
K. General fiction	14.6	89.1	87.7	42.7
L. Mystery and detective fiction	33.2	35.4	105.7	50.0
M. Science fiction	0.0	71.3	0.0	0.0
N. Adventure and western fiction	14.1	29.4	59.1	14.2
P. Romance and love story	14.0	43.7	174.0	83.7
R. Humour	0.0	47.4	95.1	229.2
Whole corpus	**77.2**	**121.9**	**92.7**	**69.7**

Table A21. Mandative subjunctives: distribution in five broad genres in eight corpora, and as a proportion of the number of mandatives in each broad genre.

		Press (A–C)	'General Prose' (D–G)	Misc. (H)	Learned (J)	Fiction (K–R)	total
B-LOB (1931)	subj. by genre	12	6	3	0	4	**25**
1,162,739 wds	mand. by genre	50	65	35	18	25	**193**
	subj. %	24.0%	9.2%	8.6%	0.0%	16.0%	**13.0%**
LOB (1961)	subj. by genre	6	7	2	3	4	**22**
1,141,986 wds	mand. by genre	44	64	25	30	22	**185**
	subj. %	13.6%	10.9%	8.0%	10.0%	18.2%	**11.9%**
F-LOB (1991)	subj. by genre	5	13	5	13	7	**43**
1,142,958 wds	mand. by genre	24	48	25	36	22	**155**
	subj. %	20.8%	27.1%	20.0%	36.1%	31.8%	**27.7%**
BE06* (2006)	subj. by genre	14	7	5	2	7	**35**
1,144,921 wds	mand. by genre	29	46	18	10	20	**123**
	subj. %	48.3%	15.2%	27.8%	20.0%	35.0%	**28.5%**
B-Brown (1931)	subj. by genre	40	18	14	12	5	**89**
1,152,310 wds	mand. by genre	62	36	27	22	12	**159**
	subj. %	64.5%	50.0%	51.9%	54.5%	41.7%	**56.0%**
Brown (1961)	subj. by genre	34	60	14	17	15	**140**
1,148,454 wds	mand. by genre	40	80	18	22	22	**182**
	subj. %	85.0%	75.0%	77.8%	77.3%	68.2%	**76.9%**
Frown (1992)	subj. by genre	19	31	11	16	30	**107**
1,154,283 wds	mand. by genre	28	43	16	23	37	**147**
	subj. %	67.9%	72.1%	68.8%	69.6%	81.1%	**72.8%**
AE06 (2006)	subj. by genre	12	31	11	10	18	**82**
1,175,965 wds	mand. by genre	29	49	12	18	26	**134**
	subj. %	41.4%	63.3%	91.7%	55.6%	69.2%	**61.2%**

Table A22. Övergaard (1995): five mandative variants after verbal, nominal and adjectival triggers in five American and five British corpora, with NDs separated from subjunctives and 'periphrastic alternants' separated into *should* and 'other modals'.*

		subj.	ND	indic.	*should*	other modals	mand. total (MT)
Övergaard (1995)							
AmE							
1900	raw	25	6	1	43	22	97
	% of MT	25.8%	6.2%	1.0%	44.3%	22.7%	
1920	raw	46	8	0	23	10	87
	% of MT	52.9%	9.2%	0.0%	26.4%	11.5%	
1940	raw	47	23	0	9	6	85
	% of MT	55.3%	27.1%	0.0%	10.6%	7.1%	
Brown	raw	94	4	0	12	4	114
	% of MT	82.5%	3.5%	0.0%	10.5%	3.5%	
1990	raw	90	14	0	0	1	105
	% of MT	85.7%	13.3%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%	
BrE							
1900	raw	3	2	2	86	20	113
	% of MT	2.7%	1.8%	1.8%	76.1%	17.7%	
1920	raw	9	0	0	90	14	113
	% of MT	8.0%	0.0%	0.0%	79.6%	12.4%	
1940	raw	7	5	0	84	14	110
	% of MT	6.4%	4.5%	0.0%	76.4%	12.7%	
LOB	raw	13	4	6	84	12	119
	% of MT	10.9%	3.4%	5.0%	70.6%	10.1%	
1990	raw	47	9	9	35	2	102
	% of MT	46.1%	8.8%	8.8%	34.3%	2.0%	

* AmE figures from Tables 15, 17, 23 and 26 in Övergaard (1995); BrE figures from Tables 21, 24 and 25 in Övergaard (1995).

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