

The Mandative Subjunctive in American English

A corpus-based study on the use of mandative constructions

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"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."

W. Somerset Maugham

Chapter I: Introduction

1 Aim and scope

This paper deals with a complex, controversial and quite rare phenomenon in English grammar - the Subjunctive Mood. In particular I will investigate the use of mandative subjunctive forms in contemporary American English. In order to justify my interest in this topic, first, I would like to present a short overview of the previous scholarly attempts to resolve the problematic issues connected to the use of the verbal forms assigned to this grammatical mood.

In the era of traditional grammar scholars noticed that semantically and syntactically subjunctive forms have become hardly distinguishable from those of the Indicative and Imperative Moods. Thus, being almost invisible for native speakers in written or spoken English, the surviving subjunctive forms express a wide range of meanings - wish, demand, command, open and counterfactual conditions (James 1986:4). This puzzling situation caused a lot of frustration among grammarians. As early as 1851, grammarian Gould Brown wrote, "It would, perhaps, be better to abolish the use of the subjunctive entirely. Its use is a continual source of dispute among grammarians, and of perplexity to scholars." (*The Grammar of English Grammars*, p. 33). Fifty years later the famous linguist Otto Jespersen (1905:205) described the subjunctive as "having now very little vital power left". He did not really regret such a state of affairs as he proceeded "the loss is not a serious one, for the thought is just as clearly expressed in "if he died", where *died* may be either indicative or subjunctive, as in "if he were dead"". Henry Watson Fowler (1926:206) suggested "that it probably never would have been possible to draw up a satisfactory table of the English subjunctive uses". However, the problem was of minor

concern since most of grammarians in the 20th century claimed that the Subjunctive Mood in English was in its decline. Despite these respectable opinions, the constructions persisted in the language inspiring more attempts to solve the controversy (see George H. Vallins 1956; Francis James 1986).

The compilation of the first corpora of English in the 1960s offered new opportunities for a descriptive analysis of the language. Thus *A Comprehensive Grammar of English* was written in 1985, where Randolph Quirk et al. give more attention to the lexical environment and syntactic peculiarities of the subjunctive. That is how we first encounter the terms “mandative subjunctive” and “suasive expressions” (from Latin *mandate*, “a command or order”, and *suasion-*, *suasio*, “to urge, persuade”). The subjunctive form is defined as mandative if it occurs in *that*-clauses after verbs, adjectives, or nouns that express a necessity, plan, or intention for the future, i. e. suasive expressions. (Quirk et al. 1985: 1012-1013). This definition was a starting point for a number of corpus-based studies (Norheim 1985, Johansson and Norheim 1988, Övergaard 1995, Hoffmann 1997 etc), which revealed an unexpected diachronic development - **the revival of the mandative subjunctive in American and British English in the 20th century**. Some corpus-researchers and grammarians (Hoffmann 1997, Hundt 1998b, Serpollet 2001, Huddleston and Pullum 2002) found it useful to extrapolate the term “mandative” to the alternants of the subjunctive: non-finite clauses, *that*-clauses containing modal verbs and indicative forms used after suasive expressions, which, in their turn, were labeled as **triggers** (Serpollet 2001). Linguists gave different arguments as to how the subjunctive should be identified in a text; which triggers should be included; to what extent other mandatives can be regarded as alternants of the subjunctive. Therefore two approaches has been elaborated: semantic and morphological. In order to distinguish the construction in the corpus some linguists looked up to the “leftovers” of its syntactic distinctiveness (Crawford 2009) and some tried to grasp the uniqueness of the meaning which it expresses in a sentence (Övergaard 1995, Hoffmann 1997).

Adopting the semantic approach in this corpus-based study I attempt to reveal and explain the current diachronic developments of the mandative subjunctive in AmE and to understand the function that it performs in the utterance with respect to other mandative constructions. In order to fulfill this challenging task I will try to give an account of the

frequency and formality of the use of mandative constructions by ways of quantitative and qualitative analysis of the contexts. On the basis of these observations I will discuss: interdependency between a suasive expression (trigger) and a mandative construction; semantic relationship between matrix and subordinate clauses in a mandative sentence.

Why American English? So far all the diachronic investigations of the American use of the constructions have been based on 1 million-word corpora because no American large corpus existed before. This is the first study on the mandative subjunctive based on the two subsections of a 400-million-word database of American English, which, hopefully, will allow me to collect enough material in order to draw reliable conclusions about the use of such a rare grammatical phenomenon.

2 Material

The data for my investigation is retrieved from **the Corpus of Contemporary American English** (COCA), which is the largest freely-available corpus of English. My choice is determined by a number of factors:

- The size and recent data. The corpus is composed of more than 400 million words in more than 160,000 texts, including 20 million words each year from 1990-2009. This factor allows me to draw reliable conclusions from the data retrieved. Access to the most recent material available gives an excellent opportunity to compare my findings with the results of the previous corpus-based studies and, hopefully, outline the main tendencies of the mandative subjunctive usage in American English.
- Balanced distribution of registers. For each year the corpus is evenly divided between the five genres of spoken (83 million words), fiction (79 million words), popular magazines (84 million words), newspapers (79 million words), and academic journals (79 million words). This factor makes it possible to determine the degree of formality of their usage.
- 18-year time-span.¹ I assume that such a short period cannot possibly reveal the on-going

¹ The initial plan was to take a 20-year time-span but, unfortunately, the 2009 section of COCA was updated only in April 2010 (at the time the searches were made it contained only half as many words as its 1990 counterpart) and the 2008 section appeared to be incomplete as well (15 m words instead of 20 m). Therefore the data was retrieved from

changes but, to my mind, the diachronic analysis still can confirm or put into question the main tendencies of the subjunctive use which were proved by other scholars.

However one nuance of the spoken sub-corpus compilation has to be kept in mind. Since the spoken texts are taken mostly from national TV or radio programs they cannot be regarded as completely natural conversation. Nevertheless, as it is stated in the corpus description on the official web-site (<http://www.americancorpus.org>), “in terms of overall word choice (false starts, interruptions, and so on), though, it does seem to represent "off the air" conversation quite nicely”.

Other corpora that will be mentioned in this investigation:

- **The Standard Corpus of Present-Day American English (Brown)** which consists of 1.014.312 words of running text of edited English prose printed in the United States during the calendar year 1961. (<http://icame.uib.no/brown/bcm.html>)
- **The Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus (LOB)** is a British counterpart of the Brown corpus. It contains 500 printed texts of about 2,000 words each, or about a million running words in all. The texts are from 1961 as well. (<http://khnt.hit.uib.no/icame/manuals/lob/INDEX.HTM>)
- **The Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English (FLOB)** and **the Freiburg Brown Corpus (Frown)** are a set of corpora that match the Brown and LOB corpora with the only difference that they represent the language of the early 1990s. (<http://kh.aksis.uib.no/icame/manuals/frown/INDEX.HTM>)
- **The British National Corpus (BNC)** is a 100 million word collection of samples of written and spoken language from a wide range of sources, designed to represent a wide cross-section of current British English. (<http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/>)
- **The International Corpus of English (ICE)**. The aim of this project is to collect material for comparative studies of English worldwide i. e. its national or regional varieties. Each ICE corpus consists of one million words of spoken and written English produced after 1989. (<http://ice-corpora.net/ice/index.htm>)

the 2007 section and compared to the 1990 section of the corpus. Together these two subcorpora comprise around 40 m words.

- **A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers (ARCHER 2)** is a multi-genre corpus of British and American English covering the period 1650-1990, contains 1.789.309 words. (<http://www.llc.manchester.ac.uk/research/projects/archer/>)
- **The Longman Spoken and Written English corpus (LSWE)**. It consists of 37.244 texts representing British and American English (40.025.700 words) equally distributed between 4 registers: Spoken, Fiction, News and Academic. Samples of spoken English are taken from the British National Corpus; written English is mostly represented by texts which were written after 1980 and vary in length from short articles to whole novels. (<http://efltu.org/reviews/longgram.htm>)

3 Definition of the variables

In this section I will give a more detailed overview of the use of subjunctive forms and their revival in mandative contexts. Then I will outline the difference and similarity between the mandative subjunctive and its alternants; discuss the semantic peculiarities of triggers and give an account of their correlation with mandative constructions. This framework will help me to make a case for the choice of the variables of this study.

3.1 The Subjunctive Mood in contemporary English

Tables 1.1 and 1.2 represent the main syntactic and semantic qualities of the Subjunctive Mood in English according to Quirk et al. (1985:1012)

Table 1.1 The present subjunctive

category	Formation	Use	Meaning conveyed	Examples

mandative	Base form of the verb	Subordinate that-clauses after nouns, verbs, adjectives	demand, proposal, resolution, intention...	(a) I insist that he <u>leave</u>
formulaic	Base form of the verb	Archaic independent clauses	will	(b) God <u>save</u> the Queen!

Table 1.2 The past subjunctive

category	formation	Use	Meaning conveyed	Examples
“were” subjunctive	were-form	Adverbial clauses: introduced by <i>if, as if, as though</i> Nominal clauses: after <i>wish, suppose</i>	Hypothetical or unreal condition	(c) If I <u>were</u> a rich girl I would buy you anything you wanted (d) I wish she <u>were</u> happy

In *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985:1012) Quirk et al. also outline some rare and formal uses of the present subjunctive in open conditional (e), concessive (f) and (negative) purposive (g, h) clauses:

- (e) If any person be found guilty, he shall have the right of appeal².
- (f) Though he be the President himself, he shall hear us.
- (g) They removed the prisoner in order that he not disturb the proceedings any further.
- (h) The President must reject the proposal lest, it cause strife and violence. (negative purpose)

In such cases the simple present indicative is usually preferred and in (b) *should* followed by the

² The examples are taken from Quirk et al. (1985:1012).

infinitive is a more common variant.

The authors of *The Cambridge grammar of the English language* (2002) take another approach to the subjunctive forms. They reinterpret the term as “the name of a syntactic construction – a clause that is finite but tenseless, containing the plain form of the verb. Leaving aside various fixed phrases like *So be it*, *Long live...!*, etc., the subjunctive is restricted to various kinds of content clauses” (p. 993) The “were” form is labeled as “irrealis” (p.88). Hence such terms as “present” and “past” subjunctives disappear from their terminology. Therefore subjunctive forms are discussed in the context of other constructions expressing mandative and counterfactual meanings and the main focus is on the semantic difference between these alternants.

They distinguish four main uses of the subjunctive in content clauses:

- mandative construction (a);
- complement to one of small set of prepositions that can take subjunctives: adversatives (h); conditionals (e); purposives (g);
- exhaustive conditional interrogative:

(1) Our thanks are due to all our staff, whether they be in the offices, the warehouses, or the branches, for their help during this difficult time³;

- irrealis *were*: remote conditionals (c); complement to *wish* (d); “*it be time*” construction:

(2) It's high time the true cost of the monarchy were pointed out. (very rare use)

Both grammars mention that the subjunctive has the following syntactic features:

- the base form of the verb denoting subjunctive is distinctive from the present indicative only in the third form singular (excluding irregular *be*); irrealis is distinctive from the past indicative in the first and third forms singular;
- negative form excludes auxiliary *do* and *not* is used before the verb (g) in most of the

³ Examples (1), (2) are taken from Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 993, f1004)

cases.⁴

As we can see Huddleston and Pullum (2002) give a slightly wider overview of the subjunctive use in contemporary English. Both grammars outline its obsolete use in adversative, purposive and conditional clauses. Examples like (1), (2) are also very rare. As mentioned before, in this thesis I will investigate only the most common and the only productive use of this mood – the mandative subjunctive (MS). Because I agree with the statement that the modern subjunctive has become tenseless, I adopt a slightly modified variant of Huddleston and Pullum's terminology and definition of the variables (see Appendix 1).

3.1.1 The mandative subjunctive: decline and revival

As I've already mentioned in the introduction many grammarians in the 20th century announced **the decline** of the Subjunctive Mood in the English language. In this subsection I am not going to make a detailed overview of the scholarly opinions on its decreasing usage. This has already been done before by some of the corpus researchers like Else Helene Norheim (1985) and Gerd Övergaard (1995). However I would like to point out the general trend of thinking on this issue.

The subjunctive was widely used in the Old English in dependent and independent clauses expressing hypothesis, wish, command and doubt. Harsh (1968) gives evidence that it started losing vital power during the Middle English period under the influence of Latin and French. This was the time when the English language slowly became analytical and the characteristic Old English subjunctive tense endings (*-e* (singular) and *-en* (plural)) were weakened and lost. Consequently, the subjunctive forms now differ from the indicative only when the indicative has inflection (the third person present singular). This phenomenon made it difficult to analyze this grammatical mood both syntactically and semantically. Thus most of the scholars concluded that it would have been easier to let it die in peace, and Frank Robert Palmer

⁴ Hoffmann (1997:34) gives the following example from the BNC: “I... received in reply from the County Planning Office of North Yorkshire County Council merely a statement that the County Council was requesting that an issue *be not* entertained by the inspector on the basis of the Council's position as set out in paragraph eight point one of its proof of evidence.”

(1974:48) even found it more comforting to prove that it actually does not exist at all.

Having consulted different grammars (Curme 1964, Poustma 1926, Jespersen 1965, Kruisinga 1932, Quirk 1979) Norheim (1985:18) summarizes:

“None of the grammars pay much attention to the subjunctive; it is considered a minor problem in the English language. The modal auxiliaries give a more accurate expression of non-fact, especially as there are so few distinctive subjunctive forms left. Moreover, there is agreement on the formality and stiffness implied by the use of the subjunctive which is another reason for preferring the modal auxiliary construction”

Because of these hasty judgments the general use of the subjunctive was considered to be confined to archaic and formal texts⁵ and it was generally expected that its non-inflected forms would be usually substituted by other means of the language like modal auxiliaries. Corpus-based studies not only challenged such conclusions but also proved the opposite trends of development of this grammatical mood .

I consulted *A Grammar of Contemporary English Language* (1972) where Quirk et al. consider the subjunctive to be not an important category in English whereas in the revised edition of their grammar (1985) it is mentioned that “Subjunctive... is not so unimportant as is sometimes suggested” and the authors dedicate to it two and a half pages more. The reason for this change is the first evidence of **the revival of the mandative subjunctive** which were based on the elicitation tests (Quirk and Rusiecki (1982), Johansson (1979), Turner (1980) and later Haegeman (1986)).

John F. Turner, for example, investigated the present subjunctive in subordinate *that*-clauses in BrE. His elicitation test yielded 820 responses and 40% of the material contained subjunctive forms 70% of which were passive. This data gave him grounds to challenge the common view that these forms are usually substituted by modal auxiliaries. In his conclusions Turner emphasized the need for further research on this topic.

⁵ Övergaard points out that: “grammarians and handbooks of the 20th century more or less repeat the statements made by the scholars of the twenties and thirties. Thus the non-inflected subjunctive is said to be “formal and typical of official style” (Close 1975:47), “very formal” (Eckersley 1960:227, Chalker 1984:96) “legal and formal” (Schibsby 1965:37), and according to Leech (1971:106) the present subjunctive in BrE is “little more than archaism of legalistic style.””

The creation of American (LOB) and British (Brown) corpora opened new opportunities for the researchers. Thus **Else Helene Norheim and Stig Johansson (1988)** based their investigation of the subjunctive in British and American English on Brown and LOB. Therefore their research was quite restrictive (1 million words in each corpus; only written texts from 1961). Nevertheless the data yielded interesting results of the use of the mandative and *were*-subjunctive in these two varieties:

- The preference of *should*-periphrasis in BrE and non-inflected subjunctive in AmE (116 vs 14 and 19 vs 97⁶). This observation confirms that the mandative subjunctive is a normal choice in the American material. This discovery is the first real proof that the subjunctive is actually alive.
- The *were*-subjunctive is used to much the same extent in the two corpora. In both corpora the *were*-subjunctive is preferred to indicative *was* in hypothetical-conditional clauses and clauses introduced by *as if* and *as though*. This result contradicts Quirk et al.'s (1985:158) observation that the *were*-subjunctive 'is nowadays a less usual alternative to the hypothetical past indicative'.
- Of the 14 distinctive subjunctive forms in the LOB Corpus 11 contain a passive verb construction. This indicates that non-inflected passives in BrE are used much more frequently than active subjunctive forms.

They also confirmed the formal nature of the Subjunctive Mood in BrE. The following criteria of formality were mentioned: the co-occurrence with the passive in BrE; all the examples except one occur in the categories of informative prose of the LOB corpus; only one of the LOB subjunctives is found in a clause not introduced by the conjunction *that*.

Looking at their results one should keep in mind all the restrictive features of this remarkable investigation. Since there were no spoken corpora available, I believe, it was too early to draw any conclusions about the formality of the structures. The small size of the corpora did not allow Johansson and Norheim to include all the suasive words and possible periphrastic alternants in their analysis. Thus they had to confine themselves to 17 verbs, 9 nouns and 6 adjectives and only *should*-periphrasis. They also found *shall*, *must* and indicative as subjunctive

⁶ Raw frequencies.

alternants but the examples were too few to include them into the comparison. Non-distinctive forms were also included in the comparison but not always. Finally, Norheim (1985:32) claims that in order to prove the revival of MS “one should probably test the usage in this century, perhaps the last fifty years or so”.

A couple of years later Gerd Övergaard (1995) provides the linguistic world with evidence of the rapid increase of the MS use when she presents her diachronic study “The Mandative Subjunctive in American and British English in the 20th century”. Apart from LOB and Brown (texts from 1961) she bases the research on eight non-computerized additional corpora that she compiled herself. Each of the corpora represents 20 years (1900-1990). The chosen texts are subdivided into Press material, Expository texts and Literary texts in order to compare the degree of formality of the contexts in the two varieties. In terms of the variables involved in the diachronic comparison of the data Övergaard's study differs from Norheim and Johansson's investigation in a number of ways. Apart from non-inflected subjunctive and its modal periphrastic alternants the use of the indicative periphrasis is taken into consideration while non-distinctive forms are included in the category of “bare V form” (a radical decision which was criticized by some scholars (Crawford 2009:f261, Schlüter 2009:f282)). Since the search is not restricted to specific mandative verbs and nouns and emotive adjectives (1995:13) the mandative constructions are detected after a much longer list of the governing words (triggers) (47 verbs, 42 nouns, 25 adjectives and prepositional phrases.) Apart from *should* the frequencies of *may/might/must/shall/would/be to* (past tense) are examined (*ought to* is excluded from the study since it often expresses a strong sense of obligation rather than volition) (p. 54).

Working on his thesis about *that*-omission in mandative sentences in BrE (this BNC-based study will be discussed in more detail later in this subsection) another scholar, Sebastian Hoffmann, puts into question Övergaard's results concerning the use of non-inflected subjunctives and ambiguous forms based on LOB. He, then, conducts a test-search based on the list of 293 potentially suasive items. The test yields 39 such forms (vs 17 in Övergaard's study). This observation leads him to the following conclusion:

“Rather than showing a rapid increase in the use of mandative subjunctives between the years of 1960 (LOB) and 1990, the figures represent a steadily growing trend throughout the century towards a more frequent use of the non-inflected

subjunctive.” (1997:18)

Hoffmann also leaves an interesting footnote on the same page:

“Gerd Övergaard has confirmed in a personal communication that she only used a greatly reduced set of potentially suasive items for her automated search of LOB. The results gathered from her manual scanning of the non-computerized parts of her corpora are thus much more complete and a direct comparison of the two sets of results must be regarded as a methodological faux-pas.”

In the course of my analysis of the previous works on the phenomenon in question I found another piece of evidence of her “methodological faux-pas”. Though Övergaard's findings for the 1960s period are based on the same corpora (LOB and Brown) the results are surprisingly different from those of Johansson and Norheim's (J&N 1988) study. Unfortunately Övergaard does not draw any parallels between her own research and the investigation from 1988. Table 1.3 represents the data from both studies.

Table 1.3 The raw frequencies of non-inflected subjunctives from Övergaard 1995 and Johansson and Norheim 1988

Övergaard (+drama texts)	Johansson and Norheim
98 (Brown)/17 (LOB)	116 (Brown)/ 14 (LOB)

Then, consequently, even if we substitute Övergaard's Brown frequencies for bare V-form by J&N's data (98 vs 117) and compare it with the data from her eight additional corpora we would get not a gradual upward movement but a slight decrease in the use of the subjunctive forms between the years of 1960 and 1990. I would like to emphasize that this comparison is speculative because, as their appendices prove, the scholars used different governing words for their studies. But it shows that for some reason Övergaard used even fewer triggers than Norheim only for the 1960 period and directly compared it to the rest of her corpora. Thus I would consider the tendencies of the subjunctive use in AmE and BrE, which are presented in Figure 1 (Övergaard 1995:39), as slightly distorted.

Another of Övergaard's controversial conclusions is that her findings contradict the assumptions of Turner (1980) and Algeo (1992) that BrE favors passive/non-inflected subjunctives. Her data proves the following: “active non-inflected subjunctives outnumber passive instances in BrE just as they do in AmE, even though the share of passive non-inflected subjunctives is higher in the BrE 1990 corpus (36%) than in the corresponding AmE corpus (25%)” (1995:79). Moreover, she doesn't consider Turner's figures based on the elicitation test representative. The findings of Norheim and Johansson 1988, as I've already mentioned, confirm the same assumption and are based on LOB and Brown as well. These scholars found 11 non-inflected passive forms in LOB and Övergaard 3 (LOB + drama). Consequently, if Övergaard's frequencies are much lower, then the fact that in order to represent the 1960 period she retrieved data not only from LOB and Brown but also from three dramas and one film script could not possibly cause this difference. (The inclusion of the additional materials made these combined corpora compatible with the rest of her material.) Since I do not see how non-inflected passive form can possibly be interpreted in a different way⁷ the only possible explanation is that she included a much shorter list of the suasive words into the comparison.

Since her results for non-inflected forms in AmE differ in the same way from Norheim (1985:73) (36 vs 63) we can draw the conclusion that the set of the suasive verbs was reduced for the search in Brown as well. Thus I consider the frequencies presented by Norheim (1985) and Johansson and Norheim (1988) much more reliable.

Nevertheless if Övergaard used the same variables for the analysis of the data from the rest of her corpora (which I have no time and possibility to check) then her data really shows a steady increase in the use of the mandative subjunctive until 1940 in both varieties. This tendency is also proved by the diachronic analysis of the data retrieved from ARCHER-2 especially for AmE (Hundt 2009:31). As to the two remaining decades I would rather rely on the findings of other scholars.

So far all the investigations discussed in this subsection were based on the corpora that comprise not more than 1 million words. The scarcity of the data prevented the scholars from generalizations and confined them to assumptions. Therefore I agree with Hoffmann's (1997)

⁷“*Be* is the only verb which has distinctive subjunctive forms with all types of subject”, (Johansson and Norheim 1988:30)

view that such a rare grammatical structure as the mandative subjunctive is better studied in the large-scale corpora. The controversy of Övergaard's data confirms this suggestion. The compilation of the BNC (100 million words) opened new opportunities for the linguists. This corpus allowed **Sebastian Hoffman** (in his study on *that*-omission in mandative sentences 1997):

- to extend considerably the list of potentially suasive items. Out of his 293 items the most common verbal triggers correspond to Crawford's (2009:275⁸) top 10 for BrE (except *move*⁹) i. e. *recommend, demand, require, suggest, propose, insist, ask, request, order, urge*.
- to give an account of the colloquialization of the construction. The scholar challenged the common opinion about the formality of the subjunctive. He showed that it actually appears more often in the spoken subcorpus than in imaginative writing;
- to include all possible variations of mandative sentences in his research (including *ought to* and non-finite clauses). His data confirmed the observations of all previous scholars that BrE is catching up with AmE in the use of the mandative subjunctive but *should*-periphrasis still prevails.

Nevertheless, because of the unmanageable size of the corpus the search in the whole BNC had to be limited to only *be*-subjunctives (passives and full verb *be*). Then, in order to include all mandative subjunctive forms Hoffmann had to create another database - a subset of the BNC (approximately 20 million words) and restrict his search to the 7 suasive items listed above, which were found to be the most common ones according to his previous search.

Marianne Hundt (1998b) confirms Hoffmann's suggestion about the steady (not as drastic as in Övergaard's data) increase of the MS in BrE between the 1960s and the 1990s in her brief investigation based on FLOB and Frown - the two 1990s counterparts of the 1960s LOB and Brown. In regard to AmE she comes to the conclusion that “the spread of the subjunctive in AmE has probably been slowing down again after the rapid increase in the first half of this century.” (p. 163) This confirms my suggestion about a possible decrease of subjunctive use in this variety. The same tendency was supported by Noëlle Serpollet (2001). Hundt's findings also contradict

⁸ For the detailed discussion see Chapter 1, subsection 3.3.1

⁹ The high number of instances of the verb *move* stems largely from its disproportionately high frequency in transcripts of parliamentary discussions (Hoffmann 1997:14)

Övergaard's claim that *should*-periphrasis is used much less in BrE in 1990 (1998b:166) and, moreover, that it has almost disappeared from AmE. Instead the FLOB data proves that the periphrasis actually prevails. Confined by her comparison to the investigation of Johansson and Norheim (1988), Hundt restricted her search to 17 suasive verbs and *should*-periphrasis. Nevertheless she gives an interesting account on the formality of the construction in BrE:

- the mandative subjunctive is found to be the most advanced in a rather conservative and formal genre - Academic prose. But generally it is used in a wider range of written text-types in comparison with LOB;
- the distribution of passive and active subjunctives appears to be more even than in LOB (which can be regarded as a loss of formal connotations);
- *that*-omission has become more frequent than 30 years ago (from 1 to 9 instances).

Finally, in order to examine colloquial use of the subjunctive she conducts a search in the BNC spoken subcorpus and compares the results with the FLOB frequencies¹⁰. This comparison results in conclusions that are similar to Hoffmann's:

“while the periphrastic construction with *should* is the more frequently chosen option in both written and spoken BrE, the relative frequency of the subjunctive in the spoken British corpus is even marginally higher than in the written corpus.” (Hundt 1998b:169)

However differentiation between the two spoken sections of the BNC and inclusion of other periphrastic alternants into the comparison leads Hundt to the conclusion that “mandative subjunctives are ... probably still used fairly infrequently in spoken texts.”

Pam Peters (2009:125) gives an account of the colloquialization of the construction in her investigation of the mandative subjunctive in spoken English. She focuses on the difference of the subjunctive use (written vs spoken texts) in the wide range of regional variations (AUS, NZ, GB, SING, IND and PHIL). Nowadays only ICE corpora (1 million words each) can allow a balanced direct comparison of so many varieties of the English language. Apart from the size of the corpus the search was limited to 13 triggers¹¹. Interestingly enough, in addition to *should*,

¹⁰ This time, apart from verbs, emotive adjectives were included into the comparison as well. The frequencies were taken from Norheim (1985).

¹¹ *Advise, ask, demand, insist, move, order, propose, recommend, request, require, stipulate, suggest, urge.*

must, have to, might and *may* such modal periphrases as *would, could* and *can* were included in the comparison. As to British English, ICE-GB showed a strong preference for the subjunctives in written texts.

Finally, having reduced the set of triggers to almost half, Peters makes the following generalizations about the MS use in different types of contexts of the spoken material in all varieties:

“the 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.” (p. 134)

Looking at the previous research we can outline the general trends of the mandative subjunctive use:

1. diachronically MS forms have steadily revived during the 20th century in both British and American English;
2. stylistically there are grounds to say that the construction is slowly losing its formal nature (increased *that*-omission, usage in informal prose and spoken texts);
3. concerning regional variations, the distribution of alternants in the 1990s is as follows: AmE prefers MS while in BrE the distribution of “*should* vs MS” is more or less even; *should* is the most frequent periphrasis; indicative forms are the least frequent alternatives of MS (especially in AmE).

Since the American use of the MS has never been studied in a large corpus before all the previous observations based on 1 million corpora need to be tested. Thus my investigation can shed a light on the recent diachronic tendencies of the use of the construction, i. e. data from COCA might support (or not) the evidence that the MS use in AmE is stabilized or even that the frequency of its usage might have slightly decreased. Analysis of the COCA contexts can also answer the question of how formal the structure appears to be in modern AmE. For instance, COCA is the only reliable source of data that represents the MS in American spoken texts (except for spontaneous conversation – see subsection 1.2). Other criteria of formality, that is, *that*-omission and distribution of passive subjunctive forms in different registers, require a detailed quantitative analysis as well. Finally, due to the balanced structure of the corpus findings based

on COCA can be compared with Hoffmann's BNC-based results.

3.1.2 Revival: where did it start and why?

Due to the compilation of new corpora at the end of the 1990s and beginning of the 21st century we could observe a remarkable comeback of the mandative subjunctive forms into written and spoken English during the 20th century. But what are the factors that triggered this revival? Which variety developed this increase in the use and influenced the other? It turns out that Americans are “to blame”.

Övergaard's analysis of the contexts (1995:44,45) indicates that extra-linguistic factors have played an important role in the reestablishing of the mandative subjunctives in AmE. Among them she mentions the popular acquaintance with biblical subjunctives, education and social background of American writers and immigration from other European countries. Her data shows that in the beginning of the 20th century less educated writers favored subjunctive more than well-educated ones. The latter, remaining under the influence of British norms, preferred *should*-periphrasis. She also suggests that the choice of the structure depended on the origin of the writer. Those who came from the areas inhabited by German immigrants in the early history of the country seem to prefer the morphological variant.

Another factor of a more linguistic kind is suggested by Göran Kjellmer (2009:251), that is, *should*-omission.

“*Should* is much more frequent in British than in American English, e.g. in conditional clauses ... and in putative uses... 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.”

Indeed example (a1) from the COCA database also demonstrate that *should* is not a necessary semantic element in a mandative sentence. In the second *that*-clause of the example *should* is omitted in order to avoid tautology without any considerable loss of meaning.

(a1) (1990) FIC What a peculiarity it is that good manners **demand** that you **should**

wipe the grease from your lips, and then that you **put** the greasy napkin on your best clothes to soil them.

Basing his conclusions partly on his own, partly on Övergaard's analysis, Kjellmer (2009:256) summarizes, "That the same tendency towards increasing use of the subjunctive is also observable in BrE is only natural in view of the considerable impact of AmE on modern BrE."

Another feature peculiar to the mandative subjunctive is its structural resemblance to the infinitival construction (subject/object + infinitive) in case of *to*-omission (see b1). Kjellmer (2009:255) mentions this feature in the context of discussion on the unexpected word order in negated subjunctive. Here I would like to emphasize that, in my view, the structural resemblance intensified by *that/to*-omission could have boosted the spread of the subjunctive. My point is well illustrated in example (c1), which can be interpreted as a typical case of *that*-omission [*require (that) hospitals keep*] as well as *to*-omission [*require hospitals (to) keep*] without altering its status as a mandative sentence.

- (b1) 1990 SPOK Were there those who **recommended** that your friend, in effect, **have** the feeding tubes **be cut** out and that she **be put** to death and removed?
- (c1) 2007 NEWS The Texas Advanced Directives Act doesn't **require** hospitals **keep** statistics regarding the futile-care provision, but one expert has compiled data from 16 Texas hospitals from 2000 to 2005.

3.2 Subjunctives and other mandative constructions: semantic distinctiveness and ambiguity

Hundt (1998:160) reports a number of problems that corpus researchers encountered while choosing the variables for the search in the corpus:

- How to deal with the semantic ambiguity?

- Should the non-distinct forms be counted as well?
- How many triggers/modals should be included?
- How to deal with non-finite clauses?

In this section I attempt to answer these and other questions in order to decide how restrictive my research will be.

3.2.1 Modal mandatives

Vallins' comment (1956:38) “The use of *should, may, might, would* in main clauses, and in subordinate clauses, especially after *if*, is bound up with the disappearance of the inflectional subjunctive” entails that these modal auxiliaries substituted subjunctive forms in most of the cases. This is partly true because the subjunctive was almost totally forced out from main clauses but its persistence in subordinate clauses raises a question – to what extent can we consider modal and indicative forms used after suasive words in mandative *that*-clause complements semantically identical to mandative subjunctives?

Quirk et al. (1985:157) do not comment on this issue. They simply name the following subjunctive periphrases: *should*+infinitive (3b) and the indicative (3a).

- (3) Workers demand(ed) that the manager (a) *resigns*/ (b) *should resign*.

Thus corpus researchers faced the problem of semantic ambiguity which they had to tackle on their own. Unfortunately, in practice the solution is “far from obvious” (Hundt 1998:160).

Övergaard claims that “the subjunctive can replace all periphrastic alternants, but not vice versa, i. e. the modals are more specified both in meaning and in usage” (1995:54). According to Hoffmann (1997:36) while the non-inflected subjunctive only expresses the core meanings of volition and futurity the periphrastic construction covers a whole range of more specified meanings and functions.

Therefore Övergaard's conclusion can concede that “Not only would the subtle differences expressed by the various modals be lost, but it would also result in a much more

narrow interpretation of such sentences as (27)¹²- to an extent that would render them into something quite different and therefore not appropriate to their particular context.” (1997:35) This entails that the modal periphrasis can not be semantically identical to the mandative subjunctive and vice versa. In addition Hoffmann suggests that the periphrastic variant tends to express a result-based concept, that is, the aim of a speaker is not to make somebody do something but to emphasize a desired result of an action. Therefore relationships between the matrix (main) and subordinate clauses are less direct when the modal periphrastic alternant is used. Then, consequently, my data might reveal not only how often the subjunctive is substituted by the periphrasis but also the degree of “directness” in the contexts of different registers. These observations, however, do not help to decide on how many modal auxiliaries one should include into a corpus-based investigation on this particular topic. Övergaard included *should, may, might, must, shall, would, be to* and Hoffman, due to the big amount of data available, had an opportunity to investigate all of them¹³. Both studies showed that among all the modals *should* is strongly preferred. Interestingly enough, according to the findings in Hoffmann's study (1997:38), the non-inflected subjunctive in BrE is used much less in comparison with its periphrastic alternants while Övergaard (1995:30) demonstrates the opposite tendency. This fact shows how different decisions on the choice of the variables can drastically alter our final results.

The Cambridge Grammar, as already mentioned, pays a great deal of attention to the semantic differences between the subjunctive and its alternants. Apart from subjunctives these grammarians distinguish two more types of mandative constructions: (1) **covert** and (2) **should-mandatives** (2002:995).

In the first case mandative meaning is expressed in the form of an ordinary declarative content clause (3a) and in the second case the clause contains periphrastic or a so called specialized use of the modal auxiliary *should* (3b). Other modal auxiliaries are not considered to be a periphrasis at all. Instead the following examples are presented as very similar to the mandative constructions:

a2 She insisted that he *must / had to* wear a hat when he went out.

¹² (27) This is not to suggest that the age variable can be ignored.

¹³ *should, might, must, could/can, would, shall, may, have to, will, ought to, be to, need (to)*

b2 I suggested that we *might* invite the Smiths at the same time.

They are not considered to be mandative because *must/have to* and *might* could not be possibly used as covert mandates and we can replace *insisted* and *suggested* by *said* and *added*, for instance. On the other hand, the same test could be applied to *should*:

c2 She insisted (said) that he should wear a hat when he went out.

Why then is *should* considered to be a legitimate periphrasis here? In order to answer this question the grammarians talk about modal harmony between mandative governor (trigger) and its complement. Stronger triggers (*stipulate, require, essential*) tend to allow modals expressing stronger deontic meaning. In the case of *should* there is no modal harmony (see d2) because *should* expresses medium strength modality and *demand* is considered to be a strong trigger. “It is for this reason that we recognize a specialized use of *should* as a grammatical marker of a distinct *should*-mandative construction” (p.998) This explanation does not work when *should* is used with weaker triggers (e2).

d2 They demanded that he *should* be freed.

e2 They suggested/recommended that he *should* engage a consultant.

In the latter example, as the authors claim on the same page, “the distinction between a *should*-mandative and a modally harmonic non-mandative is ... neutralized”. In practice other auxiliaries are not always harmonic with their triggers¹⁴ either. Therefore I don't consider the suggested loss of periphrasis status reasonable enough, and thus other modal verbs will be included in this research.

¹⁴ Example from Hoffmann (1997:37) “Admiral Lord Keith encountered difficulty with an important freeholder who had requested, through an intermediary, that a young man named Maitland might be admitted as a cadet into the college ...”

3.2.2 Covert mandatives

Semantically covert mandatives differ from the rest of the alternants in that they denote – “in addition to the necessary attributes of volition and futurity - a degree of habituality and recurrence. The elements of 'futurity' and 'volition' are thus weakened to a considerable extent. The emphasis is not primarily on getting somebody to do something at some stage in the future; it is on describing a state that takes effect whenever a particular situation occurs.” (Hoffmann 1997:79)

Syntactic ambiguity caused by non-distinctive subjunctive forms can not be avoided and thus such instances as (a3) are usually assigned to a separate group called “ambiguous” (Hoffmann 1997) or “non-distinctive forms” (J&N 1988).

a3 So may I also recommend that you stay at the St. Gotthard while you are in Zurich.

Inclusion of non-distinctive forms into the “morphological (non-inflected) subjunctive” category can result a distortion of the final results¹⁵.

In the case of covert mandatives semantic ambiguity occurs when the (potentially) suasive item is polysemous and both meanings - one factual and the other mandative - can be used in constructions with *that*-complementation. The most common examples for this kind of ambiguity occur with the verbs *insist* and *suggest* (Hoffmann 1997:11).

According to *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online* (<http://www.ldoceonline.com>) ***insist*** is followed by *that*-clause complementation when the following meanings are implied:

1 : to say firmly and often that something is true, especially when other people think it may not be true:

¹⁵ “Övergaard conflates all non-inflected final verbs, so that what she calls “non-inflected subjunctives” necessarily includes a certain number of ambiguous verb forms outside of the 3rd person singular. This method of counting leads to somewhat higher shares of the verb forms referred to as “subjunctives”. Thus in her 1990 data, Övergaard finds 99 per cent of subjunctives in AmE and 57 per cent in BrE”, (Schlüter 2009: f282). In this thesis I give enough evidence that the shares of the subjunctive are overstated in her data.

b3 Mike insisted that he was right¹⁶. (non-mandative)

2 : to demand that something should happen:

c3 They insisted that everyone should come to the party. (mandative)

When followed by *that*-clause complementation, most commonly suggest has the following meanings:

1 : (synonym to *propose*) to tell someone your ideas about what they should do, where they should go etc:

d3 I suggest you phone before you go round there. (mandative)

2 : to make someone think that a particular thing is true:

e3 Opinion polls suggest that only 10% of the population trusts the government.
(non-mandative)

As we can see volition is expressed only in (c3) and (d3) whereas (b3) and (e3) do not have any mandative meaning. In order to decide which meaning is implied the scholars take into consideration a wider context of a sentence (Övergaard 1995, Hoffmann 1997, Hundt 1998b). Hoffmann even claims that the meaning of almost all ambiguous examples was successfully identified due to the extension of the context.

It is also useful to keep in mind that tenseless subjunctive forms do not follow sequence of tenses, and hence occurrences in past tense contexts cause no problem (nor do passives or negated forms) (Övergaard 1995:68) Moreover, it has been shown that covert mandates are found to be rather rare in AmE (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:995). Hence this issue should not cause a lot of trouble in the course of my investigation.

¹⁶ Examples b3, c3, d3 and e3 are from <http://www.ldoceonline.com>.

3.2.3 Non-finite mandative constructions

Non-finite mandatives (Ex. *This time I won't insist on having things my own way.*) will not be included in the present study because they are less restricted both in terms of their syntactic and semantic realizations (Hoffmann 1995:45) and, thus, in many cases, can not be substituted by subjunctive forms without considerable loss of the initial meaning. Since this study focuses on the use of MS and does not pursue the aim of analyzing all cases of mandative sentences I consider such an exclusion well-justified. Moreover, except for Hoffmann's pilot study, there is no detailed semantic analysis of these constructions and, consequently, no clear categorization of their uses has been elaborated so far. Thus these mandative constructions require a separate investigation.

3.3 Mandative expressions (triggers)

All the scholars mentioned in section 3.2 included different sets of mandative expressions into their investigation. Absence of reliable criteria that would help to decide on how many triggers should be involved caused great differences in the results of the the corpus-based studies. We can see it in the example of the LOB-frequencies for the non-inflected subjunctive (N&J – 14, Övergaard – 17, Hoffmann – 39, Serpollet – 25). The more triggers are included the more alternants are found. Thus a reduced list of mandative expressions can be the reason for the incomplete picture of the use of the constructions (this is true especially for rare covert mandatives in AmE) But, unfortunately, the size of COCA requires such a limitation. In this section I will argue that in order to conduct a complete qualitative and quantitative analyses of the contexts the triggers should be chosen according to their **mandative force** and **frequency**.

3.3.1 The mandative force of a trigger

First of all I would like to clarify the terminology used in this subsection. Expressions of demand, proposal, resolution, intention (etc.) are referred to as *suasive/governing/mandative*

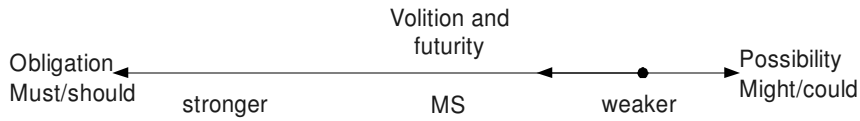
words/expressions in the previous studies. These expressions are the prerequisite for all mandative constructions and they actually trigger the meaning of volition, i. e. an agent imposes his/her will on a recipient. Therefore here I adopt the term “trigger”. Triggers, then, have different *degrees of imposition* of the agent's will¹⁷. The degree of imposition constitutes a **mandative force** of a trigger according to which the latter can be identified as “stronger” or “weaker”. The definition adopted here differs from Hoffmann's, who defines mandative force as “volition” and “futuraity” (1997:32). In this study volition and futurity are the essential meanings of the mandative bare verb forms whereas the mandative force is interpreted as a more complex notion. The question is: apart from our introspection, is there any other way to measure the mandative force of a trigger? In this study I hope to confirm Hoffmann's hypothesis that “There is... a connection between the inherent degree of mandative force (*author's note*: in my interpretation degree of imposition, that is, mandative force) of a potentially suasive verb and the kind of modal employed.” (1997:37) On the basis of this hypothesis I assume that stronger triggers are most likely to be used only with the modals expressing obligation (*must, should*) and weaker triggers are expected to be combined also with the modals denoting possibility (*could, might*) (see Figure 1.1). Consider the contrast between these examples from COCA:

- a4 The American public **demand that** we **must** keep pressure on China...
- b4 Laszlo **suggested that** it **might** be best if we didn't come.
- c4 And I only **ask that** you **be** honest with me.

In (b4) Laszlo leaves a possibility of choice to his recipient while in (a4) the imposition is absolute and (c4) expresses pure volition.

Figure 1.1 The correlation between the mandative force of the trigger and the choice of the modal verb.

¹⁷ Brown and Levinson (1987:77) define the degree of imposition as "a culturally and situationally defined ranking of impositions by the degree to which they are considered to interfere with an agent's wants of self-determination or of approval (negative and positive face wants)."



I would like to point out that there is another explanation for the factors that determine how “strong” or “weak” a trigger can be. William Crawford (2009:263) discusses a notion of trigger's **strength**, which, as he claims, does not only depend on the frequency of its cooccurrence with the subjunctive and its modal periphrasis but also on the frequencies of the trigger's use with non-mandative *that*-complements. Consequently, the proportional difference between mandative and non-mandative uses of the trigger identifies it as “strong”, “moderate” or “weak”. His choice of variables is mainly determined by the syntactic particularities of the subjunctive. Hence, in the mandative uses Crawford includes only distinct subjunctive forms and modal periphrasis (*should/shall* and *must/have to*) while non-distinctive forms represent non-mandative uses together with all the rest of *that*-clauses and they are conflated into such categories as “other modals” and “other”. Here I present (Table 1.4) his results (AmE) in a numerical way for the ten most frequent mandative verbs mentioned above.

Table 1.4 The proportional difference between mandative and non-mandative uses of the triggers

Trigger	Strength ratio	Raw frequency	
		mandative use	non-mandative use
request	5.8	29	5
demand	5.7	125	22
order	5.3	17	3
ask	4.7	52	11
urge	3.3	20	6
propose	2.5	33	17

require	2	46	23
recommend	1.6	52	32
insist	0.2	32	151
suggest	0.2	48	304

As we can see from Table 1.4 Crawford suggests that *insist* is “weaker” than *propose*. This observation looks quite puzzling to me because, as mentioned before, in the mandative context *insist* acquires the meaning of “demand”, which, logically and from a semantic perspective, qualifies the verb to express the same or, at least, similar degree of imposition of the agent's will (mandative force), i. e. to be one of the “strongest” triggers. The same argument can be applied to some other triggers presented above. Moreover, despite their ambiguity with the subjunctive forms, indicative *that*-clauses used after suasive words still express mandative meaning, and therefore in this study they are labeled as “covert mandatives”, that is, they can not be assigned to the non-mandative uses. Hence, the morphological approach adopted by Crawford clashes drastically with the semantic approach adopted in the present study.

3.3.2 Frequency of a trigger

Since I prefer to avoid scarcity of the data, frequency is an important criterion for a trigger to be included in the category. In the search for the the most reliable list of the most frequent triggers used with the subjunctive, first of all I consulted Hoffmann (1997). He is the first one to tackle this problem using a large-scale corpus (BNC). His study involves probably the longest list of potential triggers ever – 293 items. The most frequent verbal triggers in this investigation are: *recommend, demand, require, suggest, propose, insist, ask, request, order, urge*. Hoffmann's set of mandative expressions corresponds to Crawford's (2009:275) top 10 list for BrE and AmE, which was obtained through the search in the 11-million-word American and British news writing subcorpora of the Longman Corpus of Spoken and Written English (LSWE). Thus I consider these frequencies to be more reliable than those retrieved from 1 million-word corpora.

3.4 Conclusion

In order to define my variables I take into consideration not only syntactic but also semantic features of the constructions, i. e. morphological distinctiveness is not the main criterion that determines the choice of categories in this study.

Following Hoffmann (1997:7) I assume that the core meanings of the mandative constructions are volition and futurity. The subjunctive is treated as a “pure” mandative construction expressing only these meanings while in covert and modal mandatives the emphasis is made on the desired result (state or action). Therefore these constructions have the connotation of habituality/recurrence and obligation/possibility respectively. These subtle semantic differences determine the range of the mandative uses and invoke the criterion of gradation (from stronger to weaker) which helps to justify the final choice of variables.

The following variables will be included into the present study:

1. the mandative constructions: distinctive subjunctive forms (the third person singular verb forms, negations, past tense occurrences), non-distinctive forms (covert and MS), covert mandatives and modals expressing obligation and possibility: *should, must, ought to* and *might, could*;
2. 10 verbs representing potentially strong, moderate and weak triggers (*demand, require, insist, ask, request, order, urge, suggest, propose, recommend*).

* The initial plan was to include all the modals in the investigation, but a vast quantity of data impelled me to reduce the list of modals to those verbs that yielded a manageable number of examples.

Chapter II: The Study

1 Aim and scope of the study

Aim. By ways of qualitative and quantitative analysis of the material I attempt to investigate the use of the mandative subjunctive in contemporary AmE with respect to the use of its alternants from both, diachronic and synchronic, perspectives.

Scope. Because of the time constraint, the complexity of the phenomenon in question and errors in the COCA search system (see Chapter II, subsection 2.1), the decision was taken that the comparison of the use of the mandative constructions would be based on the data excluding *that*-omission. Therefore my data can be divided into two main categories: examples with *that* and zero *that*-complements. As a result, the section *Results and discussion* is organized in two parts and only the second part deals with zero *that*- complements.

First, excluding cases of *that*-omission, I give an account of general distribution of the subjunctive forms with regards to the modal and covert mandatives across the two sections of the COCA corpus (1990-2007). The subsections of the first part are dedicated to such aspects of mandative use as:

- general distribution of the mandative constructions across the two subcorpora;
- the register distribution of the mandative constructions;
- the distribution of the triggers across all the variables of the study and COCA registers;
- discussion of the mandative force;
- discussion of “direction” in the relationships between main and subordinate clauses.

In the second part of the section, working with both types of *that*-complements, I will make a detailed analysis of the mandative use of the subjunctive which will include:

1. degree of formality: genre variation, *that*-omission and voice distribution;
2. the distribution of the triggers across registers;
3. use of negative subjunctive forms.

From a **diachronic perspective** this framework might help me to answer such questions as:

- What are the tendencies of the mandative use of the constructions within an 18-year time-span?; Has the usage of MS remained stable since 1990?; How rare are covert mandatives in modern American English?

Synchronically the investigation may also shed light on these questions:

- Is there any correlation between the mandative force of a trigger and the choice of a modal verb?
- **Genre variation:** Is there any preference for particular triggers and mandative constructions in different registers? How formal are the constructions?
- **Regional variation:** How different are the tendencies of the MS use in AmE in the 1990s by comparison with Hoffmann's (1997) study on mandative constructions in BrE? Do frequencies of the verbal triggers in American news writing presented by Crawford (2009) tally with mine?

2 Method

2.1 Searching for *that*-complements

Since the COCA corpus is not parsed but only tagged I had to find the key tags that would retrieve a manageable number of examples representing all the variables of the study. Considering the fact that triggers are primary indicators of the mandative *that*-clause complements I decided to adopt a so called “trigger approach” (Crawford 2009:258) to the retrieval of the data. Hence, the first element of the string is: all the forms of the verbal trigger which can be tagged as Ex. [demand].[v*]. Then I had to think of how to include all the possible subjects (proper nouns, pronouns etc.) and the instances when:

- the suasive verb is separated from the conjunction *that*:

1. (2007) SPOK Where do you recommend **to ladies** that they do spend the money?¹⁸
2. (2007) SPOK Attorneys for Calvin Harris are asking **today** that his conviction for killing his wife, Michele, be thrown out.
3. (1990) NEWS What I recommend **is** that in letters or in tapes that are sent overseas, you just don't mention significant events.

- there is multiple subordination:

4. (1990) ACAD Therefore, the committee recommended that: 50 percent of the legislators be directly elected in 1991; the chief executive be selected by a grand electoral college six months before the transfer of sovereignty; and the second chief executive be directly elected by universal suffrage.

Hence, the decision was taken to exclude *that*-omission from the diachronic analysis because *that* (tagged as [cst*]) is the main indicator of such instances. Consequently, the following “universal” string was elaborated:

Word: [trigger].[v*]

Context: [cst*] 0/8

The string above can be read as [sentences comprising the conjunction *that* after all the forms of the chosen suasive verb with the possible distance between *that* and the trigger not more than eight words]. When I started analyzing the examples I realized that the search system of the COCA corpus has a number of problems which makes the analysis a rather tiresome undertaking. Here are some of the errors that I encountered:

- the total frequency displayed in the table of results sometimes does not correspond to the actual number of contexts;
- examples repeat each other in a random way. For instance, the data displayed after the

¹⁸ Hereinafter, all the examples are taken from COCA. The examples in italics are improvised.

examples sampled as 100, 200, 500 or 1000 per page almost completely repeats them but in a different order.

This problem distorted the results for the frequencies that can not be sampled on a single page. Therefore *suggest* and *insist*, which yielded an unmanageable number of examples, required a separate strategy for their retrieval. That is why every variable was tagged separately for these two triggers, i. e. the correspondent tag was added in the context field:

- [vm*]/[vv0*] for non-distinctive forms, subjunctives and modals: *I suggest that they (should) leave;*
- **be**¹⁹ for subjunctives with *be*: *I suggest that he be fired/He suggests that you be polite;*
- [vvz*]/[vvd*] for covert mandatives: *I insist that he leaves/I insisted that he worked.*

It was much easier to identify samples using this method. Nevertheless it has to be mentioned that such examples as (1, 2, 3) are not present in the results for *insist* and *suggest*. However sentences of this kind are represented scarcely in the corpus and thus do not influence the final results greatly.

In *that*-clauses comprising multiple subjunctive and non-distinctive forms the latter were assigned to the category of “subjunctives” and the repeated forms were counted once. For example, in (5) we can see two active positive and two active negated subjunctive forms. In this case only the types of verbal forms were taken into account, that is, according to the final table of results there are 2 instances of the subjunctive forms in this sentence: active positive and active negated.

5. Well, I think it's a good question, because, when you look at periods of both euphoria and despair, I'd like to **recommend that people take** that opportunity to rebalance their portfolios, **not change** their overall structures, **not change** the kind of investment plan that they have, but rather **reset** the dial so that they can force themselves to buy low and sell high.

In case of multiple subordination most of the researchers included only the first clause in their

¹⁹ Tag [vb0*] does not work.

analysis because of the imperfection of the corpus search program. The COCA corpus allows me to analyze all the subordinate *that*-clauses triggered by suasive words.

Finally, all the retrieved samples have been sorted manually and classified according to the variables they represent. That is, subjunctive (S), non-distinctive forms (ND), modals (M) and covert mandatives (C) .

2.2 Searching for zero *that*-complements

As mentioned before, the main concern of this investigation is the use of the mandative subjunctive forms. Thus, the second part of the corpus analysis deals with the phenomenon in question from a more narrow perspective. Therefore the number of variables was reduced and, consequently, the inclusion of zero *that*-complements became possible. Hence, the two tags for the subjunctive were queried in the context field of the corpus ([**vv0***] and **be**) in combination with a not-followed-by-word tag (**-that**). The following universal string has been adopted:

word: [trigger] -that

context: [vv0*] or be 0/8

Since only one element at a time can be excluded from the search, this query yielded a manageable number of irrelevant examples which had to be manually removed from the rest of the data.

3 Results and discussion

The corpus analysis of the current study is organized in two main sections according to the type of material retrieved from the corpus. As mentioned before, because of the vast quantity of the data and peculiarities of the COCA search system, zero *that*-clauses had to be excluded at the first stage of this investigation. Thus the section *The subjunctive and its alternants in mandative that-complements* deals with the developments and conditions of use of *that*-clauses containing

finite mandative constructions. This section is divided into three. The first subsection contains the quantitative analysis of the data, which reveals synchronic and diachronic patterns of coordination between the variables. The other two subsections deal with the discussion on semantic characteristics of the constructions and their lexical environment.

The second section, *The mandative subjunctive and that-omission*, focuses on the stylistic patterns of the use of MS with respect to *that*-omission. It is also subdivided into three subsections which concentrate on the formality of the construction, trigger distribution and the use of negative subjunctive forms.

This organization of the analysis is an attempt to apply a holistic approach to the phenomenon in question, i. e. not only to report a current state of affairs but also to explain the interconnections between the variables, to discuss all possible factors which influence the changes in the use of MS detected in the process of investigation.

3.1 The subjunctive and its alternants in mandative *that*-complements

The following subsections present a detailed overview of the distribution of subjunctive mandatives in both subcorpora with regard to their alternants. First, by ways of quantitative analysis I attempt to detect the general tendencies of use of mandative constructions. Then, I identify the variables which determine these tendencies. In other words, I try to answer the following questions:

- What are the conditions of use of the finite mandative constructions in American English?
- Have the usage of the constructions changed throughout the years and if yes, then how and why?

3.1.1 General distribution of the variables

On the basis of Table 2.1 (below) we must conclude that our observations are concordant to all the previous studies that suggest that:

1. American speakers prefer the mandative subjunctive forms to modals and covert mandatives, (66% vs 13.5% and 57% vs 17.5%);
2. covert mandatives are very rare in AmE (1.3% and 2%). This observation gives us grounds to suppose that non-distinctive forms are most likely to belong to the category of mandative subjunctives.

Table 2.1 The frequency and percent distributions of mandative constructions across the two sections of COCA (raw frequencies and percentage from the total number of occurrences)

Year	Total	S*		ND		M		C	
1990	1159	780	67.30%	223	19.24%	141	19.17%	15	1.29%
2007	842	497	59.03%	211	25.06%	114	13.90%	20	2.00%

* S = subjunctive forms; ND = non-distinctive forms; M = modal mandatives; C = covert mandatives.

According to Table 2.1 the raw frequencies of mandative contexts show a decrease between 1990 and 2007. But what is the cause of this downward movement? If we disregard ND-forms the decrease of the subjunctive may be the possible reason. In order to find out whether the difference between the frequencies of the subjunctive *that*-complements is statistically significant I calculated chi-square value for, first, the proportion of the mandative contexts in regard to the size of the chosen subcorpora and, secondly, the proportion of the subjunctive forms with regard to the total number of mandative contexts (MC).

Table 2.2 Proportion of the mandative contexts in the two subcorpora of COCA (raw frequencies)

Year	MC	Other	Total words
1990	1159	20531211	20532370
2007	842	20619027	20619869

Chi-square=51,26; p<0,001

Table 2.2 gives us grounds to assume that the decrease of the MC frequencies within the 18-year

time-span is statistically highly significant. However, one should keep in mind that **the non-finite forms are not taken into account in this significance test and the number of grammatical constructions is compared to the number of words**, which makes my test even more dubious. Unfortunately, a comparison to a total number of verbal phrases, which would make the statistical data more reliable, is not yet possible in any existing corpus.

Table 2.3 Proportion of the subjunctives in the two subcorpora of COCA (raw frequencies)

Year	Subjunctive	Other
1990	780	379
2007	497	345

Chi-square=14,1; p<0,001

As we can see the 18-year difference in frequencies of the subjunctive use proves to be highly significant as well. Nevertheless, I emphasize that non-finite mandatives are excluded from this test. Moreover, if the non-distinctive forms are assigned to the category of subjunctives the difference disappears (we get 85 % for 1990 and 84% for 2007).

Thus, we can draw a conclusion that the overall decrease in use of mandative contexts and subjunctives in particular could be caused by the hypothetical increase of the non-finite mandatives. In other words, speakers might tend to increasingly prefer the non-finite mandatives to finite ones in modern AmE.

Therefore our first finding indirectly confirms the assumption of some corpus linguists (Hundt 1998b, Serpollet 2001) that the use of the subjunctive forms in mandative contexts is stabilized and it might have slightly decreased between 1960s and 1990s. However, I would like to emphasize that this data should be considered as preliminary because of all the restrictions I had to impose on this investigation.

3.1.2 The distribution of the triggers across the mandative constructions

Tables 2.4 and 2.5 present a closer insight into the distribution of the variables across the two

sections of the corpus. We can see that there is not much difference in tendencies of the trigger usage between 1990 and 2007. The less frequent verbs (raw frequencies lower than average), *urge*, *order*, *request*, *propose* and *ask*, have the greatest shares of the subjunctive forms (more than 70%). More common suasive verbs (raw frequencies higher than average), *recommend*, *require*, *suggest* and *insist*, exhibit smaller shares of the subjunctive (less than 70%) in both sections of the American corpus. The only difference is that the frequencies of *demand* are slightly higher in comparison with other frequent triggers in 1990. To my mind, it is worth mentioning that the frequent use of *demand* in mandative contexts coincides with the media coverage of such events as the fall of Soviet Union, reunification of Germany and invasion of Kuwait by Iraq (consider the contexts in the the examples below). These turbulent events, which made their mark on all the world, caused a lot of political discussion and yielded many strong opinions on how the situation should be handled. In other words, the outstanding use of the trigger in 1990 might be directly affected by the mentioned paralinguistic factors. Hence, in terms of the shares of the subjunctive *demand* is a borderline case (72.6% vs 68%).

6. NEWS (1990) Gorbachev sent a letter Friday to Lithuania's leaders, **demanding that they rescind** independence-oriented actions that he termed "anti-constitutional"...
7. NEWS He also repeated U.S. **demands that Iraq withdraw** from Kuwait, which it invaded Aug. 2.
8. NEWS (1990) The Polish foreign minister, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, has **demanded that Poland have** a say in "the whole question of the political and military position of Germany.

Three triggers, *suggest*, *require* and *recommend*, exhibit significant decrease of the use of the subjunctive (each for more than 10%). The data for 2007 shows that speakers tend to use more modals after *suggest*; ND forms are used more often after *require*; *recommend* triggers more

Table 2.4 The frequency and percent distributions of triggers across the four types of mandative constructions in the 1990-section of COCA (raw frequencies and percentage of the total number of trigger occurrences)

Trigger	S	%	ND	%	M	%	C	%	Total/100%
demand	151	72.6	43	20.67	11	5.29	3	1.44	208
order	21	80.77	0	0	4	15.38	1	3.85	26
ask	66	81.48	12	14.81	2	2.47	1	1.23	81
require	106	64.24	47	28.48	9	5.45	3	1.82	165
recommend	124	67.76	40	21.86	15	8.2	4	2.19	183
suggest	86	48.31	42	23.6	48	26.97	2	1.12	178
urge	35	81.4	6	13.95	2	4.65	0	0	43
propose	48	73.85	5	7.69	12	18.46	0	0	65
request	45	83.33	8	14.81	1	1.85	0	0	54
insist	98	62.82	20	12.82	37	23.72	1	0.64	156
Total	780	67.3	223	19.24	141	12.17	15	1.29	1159

Table 2.5 The frequency and percent distributions of triggers across the four types of mandative constructions in the 2007-section of COCA (raw frequencies and percentage of the total number of trigger occurrences)

Trigger	S	%	ND	%	M	%	C	%	Total/100%
demand	92	68.15	34	25.19	2	1.48	7	5.19	135
order	23	88.46	0	0	2	7.69	1	3.85	26
ask	46	80.7	8	14.04	1	1.75	2	3.51	57
require	67	47.52	59	41.84	8	5.67	7	4.96	141
recommend	77	55	42	30	19	13.57	2	1.43	140
suggest	53	37.06	40	27.97	50	34.97	0	0	143
propose	36	72	4	8	10	20	0	0	50
urge	9	75	2	16.67	1	8.33	0	0	12
request	36	81.82	7	15.91	0	0	1	2.27	44
insist	58	61.7	15	15.96	21	22.34	0	0	94
Total	497	59.03	211	25.06	114	13.54	20	2.38	842

S = mandatives subjunctive form; ND = mandative non-distinctive form; M = modal mandatives; C = covert mandatives

frequently both – ND forms and modals.

The ambiguous verbs *suggest*, *insist* and *propose* trigger the greatest share of modals. This observation can be explained by the need for disambiguation of the context. Consider:

10. (1990) NEWS Even as she presents herself as a heroine, she insists that we know her vulnerability.
11. (2007) NEWS He suggests that kids start talking to people about global warming
12. (2007) ACAD They propose that educators want students to inquire and think flexibly.

A wider context must be examined in order to identify the meaning of the sentence unless *should* is employed. Without the modal our examples might express mandative as well as non-mandative meanings (demand vs state forcefully; advise vs indicate; advise vs suppose). However, it is worth of note that the employment of the modal verb after these triggers does not automatically qualify the clause as mandative. In (13) *should* has the meaning of necessity rather than obligation (Quirk 1985:221).

13. (1990) MAG Yeltsin has suggested that Gorbachev should be content to be a figurehead leader, like the Queen of England.

3.1.3 The distribution of the mandative constructions across the COCA registers

There are five registers in COCA: Spoken, Fiction, Magazine, News and Academic. Each register represents specific peculiarities of language use. How do they differ from each other? *The Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English (LSWE)* presents an analysis of the Spoken, Fiction, News and Academic registers of the LSWE corpus according to their situational characteristics: mode, interactiveness/online production, shared immediate situation, main communicative purpose/content, audience and dialect domain (1999:17). This analysis helps to range them from more informal (Spoken and Fiction) to more formal (News and Academic). Unlike the LSWE corpus, magazine writing is included in the American corpus and the material

for the COCA Spoken register is obtained from various American news programs, that is, it comprises transcripts of various kinds of interactive public speech: interview, political debate, talk-show discussion etc. but not spontaneous conversation. Following Biber et al. (1999) I would like to outline the main situational characteristics of the Spoken and Magazine registers of the COCA corpus in order to place them on a scale of formality.

The main communicative purpose of the public conversation is the discussion of recent events, which can identify these texts as interactive and online productive. The public debates differ from spontaneous conversation in communicative purpose (information/evaluation vs personal communication), audience (wide-public vs individual) and dialect domain (regional/national vs local). These peculiarities bring them closer to the News register. Indeed, it is hard to assign contexts like (13, 14, 15) to a purely informal type of discourse.

- 14.** SPOK (1990) Five years ago, the British government set up a committee which recommended that the National Health Service begin a nationwide mammography screening program.
- 15.** SPOK (1990) Saddam Hussein has insisted that that economic warfare stop or there would be measures taken.
- 16.** SPOK (2007) Lady Bird insisted that LBJ take himself out of the 1968 presidential race.

The Magazine register has a mixture of News and Academic situational characteristics. On the one hand, this register has a much wider range of communicative purposes than News or Academic. Any magazine may provide the reader with information, evaluation, argumentation or explanation. On the other hand, while news programs refer to all kinds of audience and academic texts are written mostly for the specialists with a common intellectual experience, magazines focus on the specific social groups with a common intellectual, physical or ethnic background (see examples below). Hence, its audience is less wide than in News but wider than in Academic. Thus, in terms of formality, material taken from different domains of society can qualify as “in-between” register.

16. *Organic Garden* (2007) The Bush Administration has proposed that biofuels replace at least 15 percent of the gasoline we'll need by the year 2017.
17. *Cosmopolitan* (2007) That's what her roommate called it a day later, however, **insisting** that Laura **call** the sexual-assault hotline.
18. *Black Enterprise* (1990) Those same standards also **demand** that Reggie Butts **work** 17-hour days sorting packages to satisfy customers.

Considering all the mentioned arguments I would regard Fiction as the most informal COCA register and Academic – as the most formal register. Since the mandative subjunctive is considered to be a formal construction by many scholars, our data might help to define the degree of formality of the registers and reveal the possible change of use of the mandative *that*-complements.

Having established the link between the distribution of the variables and the stylistic peculiarities of the registers we can now turn to the analysis of statistical data. Table 2.6 exhibits the stylistic distribution of all the variables merged in one general category called “Mandative Contexts”.

Table 2.6 The frequency and percent distributions of the mandative contexts across the registers of COCA (raw frequencies and percentage from the total number of hits for each year)

	1990	%	2007	%
Spoken	211	18.21	123	14.61
Fiction	82	7.08	103	12.23
Magazine	282	24.33	181	21.5
News	260	22.43	169	20.07
Academic	324	27.96	266	31.59
Total	1159	100	842	100

We can see that the Academic register exhibits the highest frequencies of the mandative *that*-complements in both subcorpora. The News and Magazine registers show more or less the same frequencies of the variables. Finally, mandatives appear the least often in Spoken and Fiction

registers. This observation confirms earlier claims concerning the formality of *that*-complements comprising mandative constructions and subjunctives in particular.

The shares of mandatives slightly decrease in the Spoken, Magazine and News registers while the percentage increases in the most contrastive registers of the corpus: Fiction and Academic. The increase makes the overall distribution of the mandative contexts in Spoken, Fiction, Magazine and News more even in contrast with the outstanding use of mandatives in the Academic register of the 2007-subcorpus.

Tables 2.7 and 2.8 reveal the percentage of each type of mandative construction with regard to its number of occurrences in each year (overall frequencies). From this perspective we might conclude that the percentage increase is caused by the subjunctives and ND forms in Fiction and modals in Academic. Hence the use of the mandative subjunctive in *that*-complements might have increased only in the least conservative genre. However, there is another factor, the total number of occurrences in each register, which must be taken into account in order to confirm this observation.

Tables 2.9 and 2.10 show the percent distribution of each type of mandative construction within each register regardless of their overall frequencies, that is, the total frequency in every register is equated to 100. Interestingly enough, according to the percentage information in these tables, there is a common feature between the Academic and Spoken registers, which, both, show the greatest shares of the modals and, consequently, smaller shares of the subjunctive. The latter seems to be used much less in 2007. However, the difference becomes less pronounced if we add the ND forms to the category of Subjunctive (Spoken: 80% vs 76%; Academic: 85% vs 75%). Nevertheless, a ten-percent decrease in the use of the subjunctive and ND forms in the Academic register between the years 1990 and 2007 gives us grounds to suppose that the modal mandatives are increasingly preferred in the most formal register in AmE. At the same time, if we disregard the ND forms in Fiction the shares of subjunctive remain stable in this register.

From a synchronic perspective our analysis gives us grounds to conclude that mandative *that*-complements are preferred in academic texts and thus can be regarded as formal constructions. At the same time, the use of the subjunctive is definitely not confined to the formal registers only. Even though MS is mostly used in academic texts, unlike modal mandatives, it prevails in less formal genres such as News and Fiction, especially when

Table 2.7 The frequency and percent distributions of the variables across the registers of COCA (1990) (raw frequencies and percentage from the total number of hits)

1990	Spoken	%	Fiction	%	Magazine	%	News	%	Academic	%	Total/100%
S	131	16.79	55	7.05	184	23.59	199	25.51	211	27.05	780
ND	39	17.49	19	8.52	66	29.6	36	16.14	63	28.25	223
M	38	26.95	7	4.96	30	21.28	21	14.89	45	31.91	141
C	3	20	1	6.67	2	13.33	4	26.67	5	33.33	15
Total	211	18.21	82	7.08	282	24.33	260	22.43	324	27.96	1159

Table 2.8 The frequency and percent distributions of the variables across the registers of COCA (2007) (raw frequencies and percentage from the total number of hits)

2007	Spoken	%	Fiction	%	Magazine	%	News	%	Academic	%	Total/100%
S	61	12.27	71	14.29	114	22.94	117	23.54	134	26.96	497
ND	32	15.17	29	13.74	49	23.22	34	16.11	67	31.75	211
M	19	16.67	1	0.88	18	15.79	16	14.04	60	52.63	114
C	11	55	2	10	0	0	2	10	5	25	20
Total	123	14.61	103	12.23	181	21.5	169	20.07	266	31.59	842

Table 2.9 The frequency and percent distributions of the variables across the registers of COCA (1990) (raw frequencies and percentage from the total number of hits in each register)

1990	Spoken	%	Fiction	%	Magazine	%	News	%	Academic	%
S	131	62.09	55	67.07	184	65.25	199	76.54	211	65.12
ND	39	18.48	19	23.17	66	23.4	36	13.85	63	19.44
M	38	18.01	7	8.54	30	10.64	21	8.08	45	13.89
C	3	1.42	1	1.22	2	0.71	4	1.54	5	1.54
Total	211	100	82	100	282	100	260	100	324	100

Table 2.10 The frequency and percent distributions of the variables across the registers of COCA (2007) (raw frequencies and percentage from the total number of hits in each register)

2007	Spoken	%	Fiction	%	Magazine	%	News	%	Academic	%
S	61	49.59	71	68.93	114	62.98	117	69.23	134	50.38
ND	32	26.02	29	28.16	49	27.07	34	20.12	67	25.19
M	19	15.45	1	0.97	18	9.94	16	9.47	60	22.56
C	11	8.94	2	1.94	0	0	2	1.18	5	1.88
Total	123	100	103	100	181	100	169	100	266	100

combined with the ND forms. A diachronic development can be observed in the use of modals, which seem to be increasingly preferred in academic texts, and overall “Fiction” frequencies of the subjunctive. However when ND forms are disregarded the shares of MS within the register remain more or less the same. Thus the inclusion of ND forms has a significant impact on the diachronic analysis of the data. The scarcity of covert mandatives does not allow any generalizations.

3.1.4 The distribution of the triggers across the COCA registers

As mentioned before (Chapter II, subsection 3.1.2), mandatives triggered by *demand*, *require*, *recommend*, *suggest* and *insist* constitute approximately 75% of the material. The previously reported diachronic developments of the variables, such as the increase in the shares of modal mandatives in the academic texts and the increase of overall “Fiction” frequencies, must be connected to the redistribution of these verbs within the registers. In other words, an insight into the stylistic usage of the triggers may give us a deeper understanding of how our variables correlate with each other.

Tables 2.11 and 2.12 show that in general the distribution of the triggers is more even in 2007 than in 1990. Our data from both corpora suggest the formal use of *require*, *recommend*, *request* and *suggest* in Academic texts (see examples 19-22). *Insist*, on the other hand, does not exhibit any clear preference for any register in both subcorpora. The percentages of *require* and *recommend* increase, which must be the cause of the increased usage of modal mandatives in 2007. The rest of the triggers, *propose*, *urge* and *order*, seem to be practically non-existent in Fiction but no further generalizations can be made because of the scarcity of the data.

19. (2007) ACAD Thus an ecological perspective **requires** that in order to understand the needs of an individual or a group, attention **must be directed** to the characteristics of a specific setting and the interaction of individuals with that setting.
20. (2007) ACAD "Our new guidelines **request** that companies operating in the

Table 2.11 The frequency and percent distributions of the triggers followed by all types of finite mandative *that*-clauses across the COCA registers (1990) (raw frequencies and percentages from the total of occurrences of every verb in the five registers and the total of all instances)

Trigger	Spoken	%	Fiction	%	Magazine	%	News	%	Academic	%	Total/100%	%
demand	39	18.75	<i>11</i>	5.29	45	21.63	63	30.29	50	24.04	208	17.95
order	5	19.23	2	7.69	9	34.62	7	26.92	3	11.54	26	2.24
ask	17	20.99	7	8.64	20	24.69	32	39.51	5	6.17	81	6.99
require	23	13.94	1	0.61	47	28.48	16	9.7	78	47.27	165	14.24
recommend	30	16.39	4	2.19	50	27.32	36	19.67	63	34.43	183	15.79
suggest	35	19.66	24	13.48	40	22.47	35	19.66	44	24.72	178	15.36
urge	11	25.58	0	0	5	11.63	16	37.21	11	25.58	43	3.71
propose	17	26.15	2	3.08	21	32.31	13	20	12	18.46	65	5.61
request	7	12.96	7	12.96	13	24.07	4	7.41	23	42.59	54	4.66
insist	27	17.31	24	15.38	32	20.51	38	24.36	35	22.44	156	13.46
Total	211	18.21	82	7.08	282	24.33	260	22.43	324	27.96	1159	100

Table 2.12 The frequency and percent distributions of the triggers followed by by all types of finite mandative *that*-clauses across the COCA registers (2007) (raw frequencies and percentages from the total of occurrences of every verb in the five registers and the total of all instances)

Trigger	Spoken	%	Fiction	%	Magazine	%	News	%	Academic	%	Total/100%	%
demand	22	16.3	34	25.19	27	20	30	22.22	22	16.3	135	16.03
order	6	23.08	1	3.85	6	23.08	3	11.54	10	38.46	26	3.09
ask	13	22.81	8	14.04	8	14.04	24	42.11	4	7.02	57	6.77
require	16	11.35	5	3.55	29	20.57	30	21.28	61	43.26	141	16.75
recommend	14	10	5	3.57	35	25	21	15	65	46.43	140	16.63
suggest	25	17.48	19	13.29	29	20.28	23	16.08	47	32.87	143	16.98
urge	1	8.33	0	0	2	16.67	1	8.33	8	66.67	12	1.43
propose	4	8	8	16	14	28	11	22	13	26	50	5.94
request	6	13.64	3	6.82	4	9.09	11	25	20	45.45	44	5.23
insist	16	17.02	20	21.28	27	28.72	15	15.96	16	17.02	94	11.16
Total	123	14.61	103	12.23	181	21.5	169	20.07	266	31.59	842	100

Figures in italics - the highest or lowest frequencies of the trigger; **figures in bold** - percentage that significantly increased; figures in **gray color** – totals and their percentages from the total of all instances

central zone **reassess** their risk of failure now, and not wait for the normal triggers," O'Connor said.

21. (1990) ACAD It is **recommended** that more research **should be conducted** to determine the effects of homework on the various types of handicapped learners.
22. (1990) ACAD As it happened, I soon met Samia, who **suggested** that we **collaborate** in our research.

Ask is definitely preferred in News register in both subcorpora. The use of negated passive subjunctive forms prevail after the trigger. Consider the following contexts:

23. NEWS (2007) "We were fine," says Vaughn, who **asked** that his family's last name **not be used** in this story to protect their financial privacy.
24. NEWS (1990) Jurors in the case had **asked** that their names **not be disclosed** because they feared retribution by the defendants.

While there is no preference for any trigger in the most informal register in the 1990 subcorpus, the situation is different in its 2007 counterpart. We can observe the more frequent use of *demand* and *insist* in Fiction in 2007. The frequencies of *demand* not only increase (from 5% to 25%) but also appear to be the highest in comparison with other registers and can be regarded the main reason for the mentioned increase of the subjunctives and ND forms in Fiction. This unexpected discovery might be explained by different distributions of the fiction subcategories in the two subcorpora. For example, a reduced number of Novels is compensated by Science Fiction and Fantasy in 2007 (see Ex.25). Thus, we may assume that the use of *demand* in mandative contexts became more frequent in the American corpus, but no claims can be made about its formality.

25. (2007) FIC Church agents are holding the girl in an undisclosed location and **demanding** that the Hefn **agree** to release her officially into Ephremite custody.

On the basis of our analysis we can single out several important observations:

- the most formal triggers are *require*, *recommend*, *request* and *suggest*;
- the increase in the use of modal mandatives in the Academic register is most likely stipulated by *that*-complements triggered by *suggest* and *recommend*;
- the increase in the use of subjunctives and ND forms in the Fiction register is most likely stipulated by *that*-complements triggered by *demand* and *insist*;
- the factors that influenced the redistribution of *demand* are not completely clear, which hinders a sufficient judgment about its stylistic use. Suffice it to say that this verb can not be assigned to the group of the most formal triggers;
- the mandative use of *ask* is typical for newspaper writing.

3.1.5 Conclusion

Subsection 3.1 gives the answers to some of the key questions of this investigation.

The mandative use of finite *that*-complements shows a tendency to decrease within the 18-year time-span most likely because of the spread of non-finite mandatives in AmE. Covert mandatives are extremely rare in our material; thus no patterns of their use can be detected. The decrease in the use of *that*-complements comprising the mandative subjunctive appears to be statistically highly significant if the non-distinctive forms are disregarded. I would like to point out that the inclusion of non-distinctive forms has a significant impact on the determination of the diachronic developments observed in the current study.

In general stylistic use of the variables is characterized as quite formal. The formality of the constructions is mainly conditioned by the use of the triggers *require*, *recommend*, *request* and *suggest* in the academic texts. *Insist* and *demand* are used more actively in less formal registers. Modals are usually combined with ambiguous triggers most frequently in academic and spoken texts (*suggest*, *propose*) and less frequently – in newspaper and magazine writing (*suggest*, *insist*). News can be distinguished from the other registers by the outstanding use of *ask*.

Being almost absent in fiction, modal mandatives are found to be increasingly used in the conservative genre with the matrix verbs *recommend* and *suggest*. Fiction exhibits higher frequencies of the instances triggered by *demand* and *insist*, which may be caused by the

redistribution of the categories in the genre of imaginative prose in 2007. Thus the potential deformatization of the MS in *that*-complements requires additional proof.

On the basis of these observations we can characterize lexical and grammatical environments of the most contrastive genres in COCA, that is, Academic and Fiction. Informal mandative contexts are usually realized through the combination of *insist/demand* and subjunctives whereas formal mandates allow the combination of a wider range of variables: *require/recommend/request/suggest* and subjunctives/modals. In terms of the stylistic characteristics the rest of the registers can be placed in between these two polarities.

3.2 The mandative force of a trigger

Earlier I hypothesized that weaker triggers are expected to be combined with the modals denoting possibility (*might, could*). This assumption is based on Hoffmann's (1997) observations. The data from both COCA subcorpora partially confirms this hypothesis. Figure 2.1 represents the mandative use of five modal verbs denoting obligation (*should, must, ought to*) and possibility (*might, could*) in 1990 and 2007. In some cases *could* expresses permission as well. Focusing on the use of the modal verbs with the potentially weakest triggers - *suggest, propose* and *recommend*, I will comment partially on individual modals and partially on individual triggers in the following discussion.

3.2.1 The use of *might* in mandative contexts

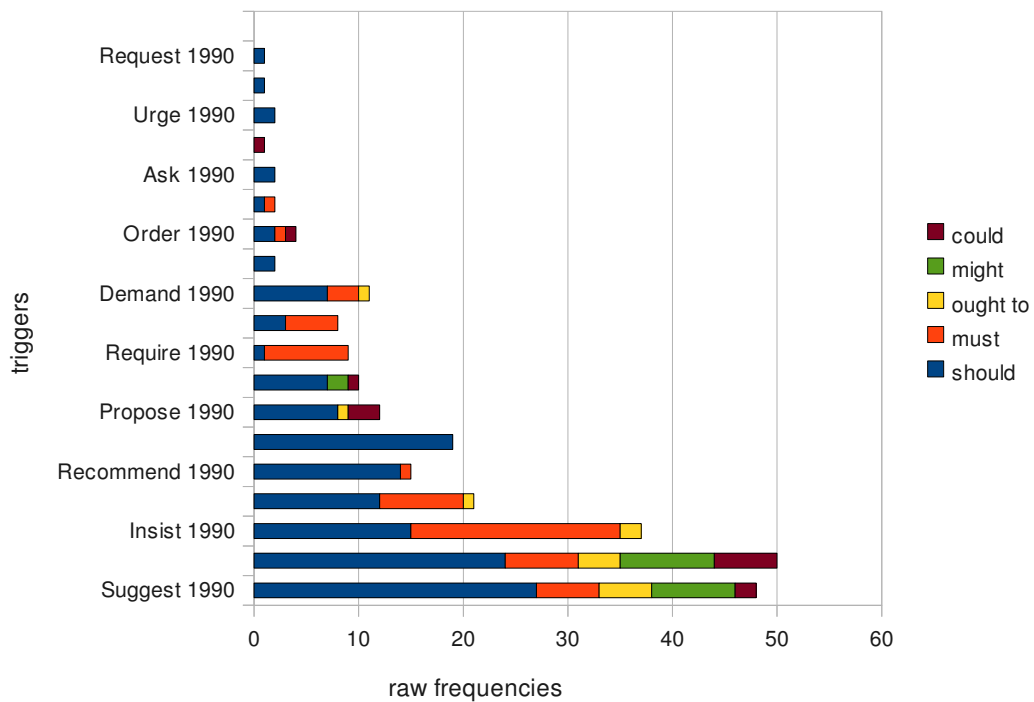
As shown in Figure 2.1, out of the 40-million-word database only the potentially weakest triggers *suggest* and *propose* are found to be combined with *that*-complements containing *might* in mandative contexts. I would like to point out that a larger context had to be taken into account in order to detect these cases. Consider the following example from *Mother Jones* magazine (1990):

26. MAG At a recent COOL gathering, Alex Byrd, a black junior at Rice, said he was tired of all the brochures showing middle-class white kids cradling little black

children in their arms, and initiated discussions on race. # Responding to these concerns, COOL recently presented workshops where black students **suggested** **that** white volunteers **might** have to do things they've never done: "Approach black colleges, the Alpha fraternities, or the Urban League. Relinquish power and work on someone else's project where you're totally outnumbered. Put yourself in the situation a lot of minorities put themselves in every day."

Here we can comprehend a desire of the black students to be understood by the white people by means of such kind of workshops. In other words, the agents (students) deliberately wish to impose some sort of actions on the recipients (white volunteers). The degree of imposition is reduced considerably and it is expressed by means of combination “*suggest-might*” in order to emphasize the possibility for the recipient to be involved in these activities, i. e. to show that s/he is free to decide on the participation. Another function of *might* in this sentence is to soften the semantic meaning of obligation expressed by the quasi-modal verb *have to*.

Figure 2.1: The distribution of the modals in mandative contexts across the two sections of COCA



While analyzing the examples, I distinguished between two types of contexts with *might*:

26. ACAD Students also expressed a desire to interact with the broader community. Some students **proposed** that the University **might** serve as a bridge for students wanting to connect with similar ethnic community groups.
27. MAG I **suggest that** it **might** go better if he changed his name to Guy Thunder.

Example 26 can be paraphrased using the subjunctive forms only by omitting the modal (... students proposed that the University serve...) while in (27) the type of object clause must be changed in order to get the mandative subjunctive (I suggest that he change...). I had some doubt whether it is reasonable to include the latter into my analysis. Nevertheless, since the semantic meanings of volition and futurity are present, this sentence can qualify as mandative. Thus, the decision was taken not to exclude this type of modal mandatives from the investigation.

3.2.2 The use of *could* in mandative contexts

Generally the modal verb *could* can express possibility and permission. In mandative contexts the latter meaning is found when *could* is combined with *order* and *ask*. Only two instances of this combination were found. Consider the following contexts:

28. SPOK So you can imagine the shock among Swiss farmers when a judge recently ruled that one farmer's herd was making too much noise and **ordered** that Henri Marogenet's ten cows **could not** so much as dingdong or jingle.
29. SPOK I've even **asked** that they **could** be used on river environments, if we couldn't give them to the Colombians or the Hondurans and just go use them for a river patrol boat.

The semantic meaning of the triggers leaves no room for other interpretations of the modal in these examples than “be allowed to” or, in other words, *could* expresses the meaning of

permission but not possibility.

Could is combined with *suggest* and *propose* when the agent wants to emphasize the opportunity for an activity or a change of state for the recipient. In the contexts with the combination “*suggest/propose-could*” the modal can be paraphrased as “have an opportunity to”. Hence the element of volition is reduced to a considerable extent and it is expressed in the form of advice like in the following examples:

30. NEWS (2007) Saying that women's ski jumping was still in the early stages of development, the I.O.C. **suggested** that the women **could** perhaps reapply in 2014, when they will probably have met the criteria for inclusion in the event.
31. FIC (1990) I **suggested** that she **could** work at home, and she was adamant about not doing that.
32. ACAD (1990) He **proposed** that the agreement **could** even be kept secret between the two leaders.
33. NEWS (2007) Mr. Vickrey **proposed** that cities **could** reduce traffic by using electronic systems to charge drivers for the privilege of nosing their sedans into urban grids.

3.2.3 The use of *recommend* in modal mandatives

In addition, I would like to discuss the use of another potentially weak trigger, *recommend*, in mandative contexts. As our material shows, this trigger is used only in combination with modals denoting obligation. Thus, according to my hypothesis, the trigger is stronger than *propose* and *suggest*.

34. SPOK (2007) The American Academy of Pediatrics **recommends** that babies **should** be breast-fed up to one year.
35. NEWS (1990) The commission **recommended** that, if there is dangerous work,

there **must** be notification of the appropriate governmental authority, says Loane Skene, project manager of the genetic manipulation review.

36. MAG (1990) Ann Barry Burns *strongly* **recommended** that both John and Norma **update** their wills, which have not been revised since 1974.

Examples (34) and (35) illustrate how the employment of *should* and *must* reinforces the degree of imposition in the sentences, which can be regarded as a stylistically efficient way to define the agent's authority over the recipient. To my mind, even though modifying a different constituent of the sentence, the modal plays the same role of mandative intensification as the adverb *strongly* in (36). Hence, if we omit the adverb or the modal verb these statements become more neutral, i. e. the mandative force of the trigger is more implicit in the sentences where the trigger is combined with the subjunctive form without any intensifiers. Indeed, the use of *recommend* and *suggest* with adverbial intensifiers is quite common while such a lexical environment of, for instance, *ask* and *require* can be characterized as exceptional. Consider:

37. (1990) SPOK And that we were **asking** extremely *firmly* that these people **should** be liberated immediately and given back to the French...
38. (2007) FIC We **request**, *firmly*, that they **don't make** phone calls unless they are calling...

In (37, 38) the mandative force of the triggers is reinforced by the adverbial intensifier *firmly* (two such instances in the whole COCA!). Moreover, *ask* is combined with *should* in (38), which makes the example even more interesting.

3.2.4 Conclusion

We can conclude that in order to define the mandative force of a trigger one should pay attention to the multiple factors that correlate with it. Our material confirms that there is a connection between the use of a trigger and the choice of a modal verb: *suggest* and *propose* are found to be

used with the modals denoting possibility while the rest of the triggers appear exclusively in combination with the modals denoting obligation. However this correlation is far from being the only factor that indicates the degree of imposition in the sentence. Therefore this question goes beyond the scope of this study. We can only hypothesize that if the mandative force of the trigger is frequently strengthened by other stylistic devices, such as modals and intensifiers, the trigger can be qualified as weak.

3.3 Relationships between the mandative clauses

Introducing the notion of “direction” between the matrix and subordinate clauses in mandative contexts, Hoffmann explains that the relationship is direct “in the sense that the recipient of the mand²⁰ is at the same time the agent of the subordinate clause” (Hoffmann 1997:32). He emphasizes different factors that should be taken into account when defining the kind of relationship between the clauses: larger context, animacy of the participants and the type of mandative construction employed. In this subsection I would like to discuss only the factors that do not go beyond the level of a single sentence.

Extending Hoffmann's notion of “direct relationship” in mandative sentences, I propose that a prerequisite of such relationships must be explicitness of both participants: the agent in the matrix clause and the recipient of the mand in the object clause. Consequently, implicitness of these members of the sentence qualifies the relationships as less direct or indirect. On the one hand, as noted by Hoffmann (1997:32), the inanimate subject can not be regarded as direct recipient of the mand and, thus, causes its implicitness²¹:

39. ACAD (1990) The opposition CDU (Christian Democratic Union) questioned whether the FRG could afford them. It **recommended** that the emphasis **remain** on " military preparedness and the preservation of our security, " rather than on the " individual's ability to integrate into civilian life. "

²⁰ *mand* is an abbreviation for *mandate*.

²¹ Even animate subject does not necessarily guarantee the immediate imposition between the participants. (Ex. *She had thought it would heal quickly by itself, but her son insisted that the GP look at it.* (Hoffmann 1997:32).

40. ACAD (1990) In the first course of the junior year, he **recommended** that the focus of it **should** be to encourage good prospects, those possessing good health, sound emotional and moral qualities, as well as a sense of professional vision and spirit, to continue their study.

On the other hand, the choice of the voice in both, subordinate and matrix, clauses defines the participants as explicit or implicit. Compare:

41. FIC (1990) Miss Joyce then **insisted** that Hawk **make** love to her.
42. ACAD (2007) Medical records are frequently used in criminal trials, and **it is recommended** that any information regarding the inmate's criminal activities **not be documented** and that all entries **should** be neat and legible.

While in (41) we can clearly name the agent in the matrix clause (Miss Joyce) and the recipient of the mand (Hawk), it is impossible to determine these participants in (42) due to the passive constructions employed. The passive voice in the matrix clause reduces the degree of imposition to some extent because we do not know to whom the volition is addressed, and thus, theoretically it is not clear whether the recipient of the mand is animate, i. e. whether it is able to qualify as the agent of the object clause.

Concerning the kind of relationships that the mandative constructions express in the sentence Hoffmann (1997:81) writes:

“Both the subjunctive and the indicative are much more straightforward than the periphrastic variant with respect to the concepts expressed. In the case of the subjunctive, it is pure volition - immediately directed at the subject of the subordinate clause - and futurity. The indicative, on the other hand, minimises the influence of volition and futurity and stresses the repetitiveness and regularity of the process in question. The modal construction, however, demands much more from the reader/listener: S/he has to decode both the degree of volition implied in the choice of modal as well as the relationship between the agents of the two clauses, and in addition detect possible elements of necessity.”

In general I agree with this statement. However, I would like to point out that apart from the meaning of recurrence (43), covert mandative clauses may emphasize the fact that the volition took place in the past (44).

- 43. (2007) NEWS "We are simply **asking** that she, like everyone else, **follows** the laws."
- 44. (1990) ACAD In their attack on the character of local officials, Bull and his fellow petitioners **suggested** that they **subscribed** at least in part to the concept of what some called, " the good ruler. "

While in (43) the usual behavior of a law-abiding citizen is imposed, in (44) the agents (Bull and his fellow petitioners) impose the one-time action on the recipients (local officials) – to subscribe to the particular concept. Since it would be odd to say “I usually subscribe to this concept every day” I could not find any other explanation for the choice of the construction except for the wish of the author of the article to emphasize the fact that this event took place in the past and has no reference to the future.

Comparing the use of modals and subjunctives, Hoffmann suggests that “the periphrastic variant... often expresses a semantically more complex situation (usually result-based) with the two clauses being less directly linked.” (1997:81) In other words, in my view, the pure semantic meaning of volition and futurity indicates that agent imposes the action on the recipient directly (see Ex. 45) whereas additional meanings of obligation or possibility serve as mediums of the imposition (see Ex. 48, 49, 50)

Our data show that modal mandatives are almost absent in the most informal and least numerous data (Fiction) and after the least common triggers *order*, *ask* and *request*. Thus, the cases with a direct kind of relationship between the clauses are in minority in our material and they are typical for the most informal types of text. The examples below illustrate the gradation from immediate to indirect imposition.

- 45. (1990) FIC All I **ask** is that you **obey** my commands.

46. (1990) MAG I also **suggested** that members **be** offered the opportunity to buy limited-edition reproductions of the paintings.
47. (2007) ACAD It **is recommended** that a 4-foot by 8-foot platform **be constructed** and **include** obstacles and dead-end paths.
48. (1990) MAG President Saddam Hussein **has ordered** that if war begins, the guests **should** get into the shelters first, " said Information Minister Latif Jassim.
49. (1990) SPOK I have been asked that the staff **should** leave within 48 hours.
50. (2007) ACAD It **is recommended** that these limits **should be adapted** to allow for culturally appropriate contact.

In (45) the explicitness of participants and employment of the active subjunctive form in the object clause indicate the direct volition of the animate agent (I) to impose an action (obey) on the animate recipient (you).

In (46) we don't know on whom the desired action (to offer to buy) is imposed, and thus, theoretically it is not clear whether this entity is animate, i. e. whether it is able to qualify as the agent of the object clause.

The animacy of both participants, the agent and the recipient, can not be verified in (47). Consequently, the imposition is even less direct in this case.

The employment of *should* in (48, 49, 50) brings about the meaning of obligation, through which the agent imposes his/her action. While the agent is identified in (48) (Saddam Hussein) it is implicit in (49, 50) qualifying the relationship between the clauses as less direct.

Since not only the agent but also the recipient is not identified in (50), this sentence is the example of the most far-fetched indirect imposition. The listener/reader is informed only about the action imposed through obligation (should be adapted). S/he has to refer to a wider context in order to learn about the animacy of the participants.

As illustrated above, the main indicators of "direction" between the clauses in mandative constructions are the type of the subject (animate or not), the voice in both clauses (active or passive) and the type of mandative employed in the object clause (subjunctive, modal or covert).

The mandative subjunctive indicates a direct relationship between the agent and the recipient, i. e. the immediate imposition; covert mandates stress the recurrence and time of the event and modals serve as mediums of the imposition. As reported in section 3.1.3, in fiction modals and passives are the least represented and active subjunctives are the most common. The situation is opposite in academic writing. Hence we can draw a conclusion that instances of immediate imposition are typical of the informal texts and are rare in the conservative genre. Due to their informal nature such cases must be in minority in our material. However, it is hard to judge how frequently the direct relationships appear between the clauses in mandative contexts because we do not have statistical data representing the use of animate and inanimate subjects, which can be a topic of further research.

3.4 The mandative subjunctive and *that*-omission

Unlike the first part of our investigation, which concentrates on the use of mandative *that*-complementation, this subsection focuses on the both types of clauses, *that*- and zero *that*-complements, which contain exclusively mandative subjunctive forms. Since the inclusion of non-distinctive forms proved to be useful in section 3.1, I will look at the ambiguous subjunctives as well. Thus the range of variables is reduced to the subjunctive and non-distinctive forms.

Section 3.4 is organized in three main subsections, which deal with:

- **Formality.** The analysis of the observations based on this type of material might reveal the degree of formality of the construction. Thus this subsection is subdivided according to the main factors which indicate its formal nature: genre variation (which register prefers MS?), *that*-omission (how frequent are mandative zero *that*-complements?) and voice distribution (how frequent are passive subjunctives?). Furthermore, it would be interesting to see whether my assumption about the formality of COCA registers will be confirmed or not. Thus I will also touch on the question of which register prefers *that*-omission and passive subjunctive forms.
- **Trigger distribution.** Distribution of the subjunctive triggers in COCA will be compared to the data from previous studies (Hoffmann 1997 and Crawford 2009). The stylistic use of

separate triggers will also be discussed.

- **Negative subjunctive forms.** I will try to outline the main patterns of the use of such a rare phenomenon as subjunctive negative forms.

These phenomena will be approached from diachronic and synchronic perspectives. Firstly, I will give an account of general distribution of the variables. Secondly, I will present a closer view of the distribution of mandative subjunctive forms with regards to their types (active, passive, negations) across registers and triggers in AmE.

3.4.1 Formality

3.4.1.1 General distribution of subjunctive forms

Table 2.13a exhibits the statistical data for all the instances of the grammatical form that can be considered as mandative subjunctive. The data confirms a significant overall decrease in the use of construction even if ND forms are disregarded (see Table 13b). The most frequently used constructions are *that*-complements comprising unambiguous subjunctive forms (63.5% and 50.9% respectively) (51). However, their shares decrease in favor of the data representing non-distinctive (ND) forms (52) and *that*-omission (53). Zero *that*-complements containing ND forms (54) are found to be the least frequently used in our material (4% and 9%). We can see that the increasing use of ND forms, which constitute approximately one quarter of the total amount of the constructions in each subcorpus (22% and 31%), gives us additional evidence for the obvious increase of *that*-omission - from 18% to 27% within 18 years. However even if we disregard this variable the increase is still statistically highly significant (see Table 13b).

51. (2007) MAG The document **proposes that** the church **join** the struggle for a new form of globalization, which the bishops call the globalization of solidarity...
52. (1990) ACAD Further, we **urge that** all students **work** together occasionally on group assignments... to underscore the point that cooperation in the classroom is as

Table 2.13a The frequency and percent distributions of *that* and zero *that*-complements containing subjunctive and non-distinctive forms over the two COCA subcorpora (raw frequencies and percentage of the total of all the instances*)

1990	<i>That</i>	%	<i>Zero-that</i>	%	Total	%
Subjunctive	780	63.57	174	14.18	954	77.75
ND forms	223	18.17	50	4.07	273	22.25
total	1003	81.74	224	18.26	1227	100
2007						
Subjunctive	497	50.87	177	18.12	674	68.99
ND forms	211	21.6	92	9.42	303	31.01
Total	708	72.47	269	27.53	977	100

*Gray-marked frequencies

Table 2.13b The frequency and percent distributions of *that* and zero *that*-complements containing unambiguous mandative subjunctive forms (ND forms are not represented here) over the two COCA subcorpora (raw frequencies and percentage of the total number of hits in each year)

1990	RF*	%
<i>That</i>	780	81.76
<i>Zero- that</i>	174	18.24
Total	954	100
2007		
<i>That</i>	497	73.74
<i>Zero- that</i>	177	26.26
Total	674	100

the increase of *that*-omission: chi-square=14.56; p<0.001

the decrease of subjunctives: chi-square=49.01; p<0.001

*RF = raw frequencies

essential as competition.

53. (2007) SPOK Through more than eight hours of interrogation, he denied knowing anything about the murder, but the Air Force **demanded** he **take** a lie detector test.
54. (2007) FIC I **suggest** you freaks **cooperate** with the new King of Far Far Away.

Two important observations should be discerned from this analysis:

1. the non-distinctive forms can be disregarded in the rest of our analysis because of their insignificant impact on the statistical difference between the 1990 and 2007 data;
2. since the increase of *that*-omission is highly statistically significant even if ND forms are disregarded, we can assume that the use of the mandative subjunctive becomes less formal in contemporary American English over the years.

3.4.1.2 Genre variation and *that*-omission

As Tables 2.14 and 2.15 show, the inclusion of zero *that*-complements in our investigation brings about a different view on the stylistic use of MS. The general distribution of the construction remains the same as before except for lower frequencies for the academic texts (compare with Table 2.6), which is a quite expected observation as academic writing is considered to be a formal and conservative genre (Biber et al. 2006:477), and therefore it is the most resistant to *that*-omission. Thus our material exhibits the highest frequency of MS in the News register (26%); then, with regard to frequency, we can place Academic second (23% and 22%) and Magazine third²² (22.6% and 21%); finally, there is a slight decrease of the MS shares in spoken texts in favor of fiction (from 17% to 13%), which, as explained earlier, could be caused by paralinguistic factors²³.

Tables 2.16 and 2.17 show the shares of *that*-omission in the registers of the 1990 and 2007 subcorpora. The conjunction is omitted most often in fiction texts (45.5% and 39%); less - in News (20.7% and 33%) and Spoken (20.6% and 31%); the least - in Magazine (14.8% and 20%)

²² It should be noted, however, that the frequencies of the Academic and Magazine categories are quite similar.

²³ See discussion on the use of *demand* in Chapter I, subsection 3.1.2.

Table 2.14 The frequency and percent distributions of subjunctive forms in *that* and zero *that*-complements across the COCA registers in the 1990 subcorpus (raw frequencies and percentage from the total number of hits)

1990	<i>That</i>	%	<i>Zero-that</i>	%	Total	%
Spoken	131	16.79	34	19.54	165	17.3
Fiction	55	7.05	46	26.44	101	10.59
Magazine	184	23.59	32	18.39	216	22.64
News	199	25.51	52	29.89	251	26.31
Academic	211	27.05	10	5.75	221	23.17
Total	780	100	174	100	954	100

Table 2.15 The frequency and percent distributions of subjunctive forms in *that* and zero *that*-complements across the COCA registers in the 2007 subcorpus (raw frequencies and percentage from the total number of hits)

2007	<i>That</i>	%	<i>Zero-that</i>	%	Total	%
Spoken	61	12.27	28	15.82	89	13.2
Fiction	71	14.29	46	25.99	117	17.36
Magazine	114	22.94	29	16.38	143	21.22
News	117	23.54	58	32.77	175	25.96
Academic	134	26.96	16	9.04	150	22.26
Total	497	100	177	100	674	100

Table 2.16 The frequency and percent distributions of the subjunctive forms in *that* and zero *that*-complements across the COCA registers in the 1990 subcorpus (raw frequencies and percentage from the total number of hits in each register)

1990	<i>That</i>	%	<i>Zero-that</i>	%	Total/100%
Spoken	131	79.39	34	20.61	165
Fiction	55	54.46	46	45.54	101
Magazine	184	85.19	32	14.81	216
News	199	79.28	52	20.72	251
Academic	211	95.48	10	4.52	221
Total	780	81.76	174	18.24	954

Table 2.17 The **frequency and percent** distributions of the subjunctive forms in *that* and zero *that*-complements across the COCA registers in the 2007 subcorpus (raw frequencies and percentage from the total number of hits in each register)

2007	<i>That</i>	%	<i>Zero-that</i>	%	Total/100%
Spoken	61	68.54	28	31.46	89
Fiction	71	60.68	46	39.32	117
Magazine	114	79.72	29	20.28	143
News	117	66.86	58	33.14	175
Academic	134	89.33	16	10.67	150
Total	497	73.74	177	26.26	674

and Academic (4.5% and 10.8%) categories (see examples 55-59). An increase in the use of zero *that*-complements is observed in the Spoken and News registers. Therefore, we might want to conclude that the registers dedicated to conveying new information show a tendency for “deformalization”, whereas the most contrastive written registers, Fiction and Academic, do not show any significant change in the frequency of *that*-omission.

55. (1990) FIC She **insisted** we **go** to dinner.
56. (2007) NEWS They **demanded** we **lay aside** our laws and grant them full legal status.
57. (1990) SPOK After Snyder fasted for 51 days in 1984, he became a national figure successfully getting President Reagan to **order** six million dollars **be spent** on refurbishing a temporary shelter in Washington.
58. (1990) MAG Also, funds might be appropriated on a "no-year" basis rather than **requiring** they **be spent** by the end of each fiscal year.
59. (1990) ACAD Other courts might follow suit, relying in part on the Supreme Court's statement that "the liberal and humane nature of maritime proceedings **suggests** the court **provide** rather than withhold a remedy."

Having summarized our observations we can conclude that:

1. the greatest quantity of zero *that*-complements appears in news writing, which indicates that News is far from being a conservative and formal register;
2. since the frequency of *that*-omission increases in the News and Spoken categories, there are grounds to suppose that the mandative subjunctive loses its formal nature in contemporary American English through its usage in the mass-media.

3.4.1.3 Voice distribution and *that*-omission

According to *LSWE* (2006:476) the most conservative genre, academic prose, has the highest

frequency of passive forms; thus I consider the voice distribution in the registers of COCA to be one of the factors indicating a degree of formality of the mandative subjunctive in this study. As we can see from Table 2.18 this observation is confirmed: passive subjunctives constitute almost half of the instances found in the most formal texts, academic writing, (46.6% and 47.6%) whereas fiction exhibits the smallest shares of this construction (17.8% and 12%). Interestingly enough, the Spoken and Magazine registers exhibit almost the same percentage of the passive subjunctive (35% and 30%) whereas the News register is the closest to the academic texts with regard to this factor.

From the diachronic perspective, except for a slight insignificant decrease (from 37 % to 32%), our material does not show any change in the use of passive MS. Therefore in terms of passive distribution no evidence of deformatization of the construction was found.

Looking at Table 2.19, on the one hand, we can observe a slight decrease of passives in *that*-complements. On the other hand, there is a slight increase of passives in the clauses with *that*-omission. These two tendencies neutralize each other resulting in insignificance of the statistical difference. Quite expectedly, zero *that*-complements containing passive subjunctives yielded the smallest number of occurrences. In some way I perceive that passives and *that*-omission are barely compatible stylistically. A high frequency of passives indicates formality of the texts whereas a high frequency of *that*-omission (Biber et al. 2006:984-5, N&J 1988:30, Hoffmann 1997:54) is characteristic for informal writing, and thus indicates informality of the text. Interestingly enough, more than half of these rare examples appear in the written and spoken texts representing linguistic peculiarities of American mass-media (News and Spoken) (see Appendix 2). Consider the following examples:

60. (2007) SPOK A Florida judge **ordered** Smith **be embalmed**.
61. (2007) NEWS The celebration, coupled perhaps with preceding neglect, left the park a dusty mess, for a letter to The Times in 1933 from Utilitarian called it a "barren waste" and **suggested** it **be used** for baseball fields.
62. (1990) SPOK Iraq **insisted** the Britons **be taken** out on Iraqi Airways planes.
63. (1990) NEWS The interior minister was replaced earlier this month with a former

Table 2.18 The frequency and percent distributions of active and passive subjunctive forms across the registers in the two subcorpora of COCA (raw frequencies and percentage from the total number of hits in each register)

1990	Active	%	Passive	%	Total/100%
Spoken	107	64.85	58	35.15	165
Fiction	83	82.18	18	17.82	101
Magazine	140	64.81	76	35.19	216
News	152	60.56	99	39.44	251
Academic	118	53.39	103	46.61	221
Total	600	62.89	354	37.11	954

2007	Active	%	Passive	%	Total/100%
Spoken	63	70.79	26	29.21	89
Fiction	103	88.03	14	11.97	117
Magazine	100	69.93	43	30.07	143
News	111	63.43	64	36.57	175
Academic	79	52.32	72	47.68	151
Total	456	67.56	219	32.44	675

Table 2.19 The distribution of active and passive subjunctive forms in *that* and zero *that*- complements across the two COCA subcorpora (raw frequencies and percentage from the total number of all unambiguous subjunctive forms)

	1990				2007			
	<i>That</i>	%	Zero- <i>that</i>	%	<i>That</i>	%	Zero- <i>that</i>	%
Active	471	49.37	129	13.52	319	47.33	136	20.18
Passive	309	32.39	45	4.72	178	26.41	41	6.08
Total	780	81.76	174	18.24	497	73.74	177	26.26
Total*	954	100			674	100		

Total*= Total of all the instances of unambiguous subjunctive forms

KGB officer after hard-line deputies **demanded** he **be replaced** for not cracking down hard enough on independence movements.

3.4.1.4 Conclusion

On the basis of our synchronic and diachronic analyses of the data we can now give an account of the degree of formality of mandative subjunctive forms and the COCA registers.

Following Biber et al. (2006:476,984), Johansson and Norheim (1988:30), Hoffmann (1997:54) the following criteria of formality of the mandative subjunctive are adopted in the current study:

1. register distribution of the construction;
2. the use of passive;
3. *that*-omission.

Concerning the first criterion, our data shows (see Tables 2.15, 2.16) that the mandative subjunctive is most frequently used in the genre of newspaper writing. In British English Hoffmann notices the same surprising particularity of its use: “‘world affairs’ has a considerably higher frequency of mandative subjunctives than the text types ‘applied sciences’ and ‘natural and pure sciences’.” (1997:19) Thus MS can not be regarded purely as a formal construction. Rather it is typical for the written mass-media coverage of recent events, that is, newsfeed. However, it is noteworthy that the Spoken register, which represents linguistic peculiarities of radio and TV broadcasting, reveals a much lower proportion of MS in comparison with newspaper texts and decreases in its shares in favor of fiction.

Passive subjunctives constitute approximately one third of the total number of instances (37% in 1990 and 32% in 2007), which qualifies the construction as quite formal. Despite the slight decrease observed, it is too early to talk about the tendency for deformatisation with regard to this factor.

The statistically significant increase of *that*-omission gives us grounds to suppose that the mandative subjunctive is becoming less formal. Particularly zero *that*-complements tend to increase in the spoken and written material retrieved from the American radio, TV and

newspapers. I would suggest that the probable deformatisation of subjunctive goes hand in hand with the deformatisation of the language used in written and spoken mass-media in the U.S.

Concerning the degree of formality of the COCA registers our data suggests that in terms of *that*-omission and the use of passives in mandative contexts (see Tables 2.18 and 2.19) academic texts and fiction confirm my earlier assumption and prove to be the most contrastive registers: passives exhibit the highest frequencies in academic writing and the lowest frequencies in fiction; *that*-omission is the most frequent in Fiction and it is almost non-existent in academic texts. It is more challenging to define the degree of formality of the rest of the genres represented in COCA. On the one hand, the News category exhibits the highest proportion of passives after academic texts. On the other hand, it shows almost equal shares of *that*-omission together with spoken texts. The Spoken register, in its turn, shows the same shares of passives together with Magazine, which exhibits the lowest frequencies of *that*-omission after Academic. Thus the only conclusion which, I believe, can be made is that Spoken, Magazine and News may be labeled as “in-between” registers in terms of formality. I would like to emphasize that this discussion on formality of registers should be regarded as purely theoretical because only mandative contexts with passives and *that*-omission are investigated. A general overview of these two factors is needed in order to confirm our observations.

3.4.2 Triggers and *that*-omission

3.4.2.1 General distribution of the subjunctive forms across the triggers

In the previous subsections we came to the conclusion that *that*-omission in the contexts containing mandative subjunctive forms has increased since 1990. Table 2.20 reveals that more than 70 % of zero *that*-complements are triggered by *demand*, *suggest* and *insist* in both subcorpora. From Table 2.21 we can learn which triggers caused this upward movement. Our data shows that while there is an increase in the use of *suggest*, *insist* and *recommend*, the proportions of *demand* remain the same.

	1990	2007		
Trigger	<i>Zero-that</i>	<i>Zero-that</i>	Total	%
demand	40	27	67	19.09
order	3	5	8	2.28
ask	2	1	3	0.85
require	14	11	25	7.12
recommend	11	21	32	9.12
suggest	48	58	106	30.2
urge	2	0	2	0.57
propose	5	4	9	2.56
request	4	7	11	3.13
insist	45	43	88	25.07
Total	174	177	351	100

Table 2.21 The frequency and percent distributions of the suasive verbs that trigger unambiguous mandative subjunctive constructions with *that*-omission in both subcorpora (raw frequencies and percentage from the total number of all unambiguous subjunctive forms).

Table 2.20 The frequency and percent distributions of the suasive verbs that trigger unambiguous mandative subjunctive constructions with *that*-omission in both subcorpora (raw frequencies and percentage from the total number of zero *that*-complements).

	1990		2007	
Trigger	<i>Zero- that</i>	%	<i>Zero- that</i>	%
demand	40	4.19	27	4.01
order	3	0.31	5	0.74
ask	2	0.21	1	0.15
require	14	1.47	11	1.63
recommend	11	1.15	21	3.12
suggest	48	5.03	58	8.61
urge	2	0.21	0	0
propose	5	0.52	4	0.59
request	4	0.42	7	1.04
insist	45	4.72	43	6.38
Total	174	18.24	177	26.26
Total*	954	100	674	100

Total*= Total of all the instances of unambiguous subjunctive forms

Most of the cases with *demand* are found in the Spoken and News registers²⁴:

64. (1990) SPOK The U.N. Security Council **demanded** Iraq **withdraw**.
65. (1990) SPOK In Moscow today, a group of legislators **demanded** Soviet President Gorbachev **impose** a state of emergency.
66. (1990) NEWS Extremists blockaded the Communist Party leadership's headquarters and **demanded** the government **resign**, the Azerbaijani news agency Azerinform reported.
67. (2007) NEWS They **demanded** we **lay** aside our laws and **grant** them full legal status.

Insist definitely prevails in Fiction (25 vs 24)²⁵:

68. (2007) FIC When the toast was finished, the captain **insisted** she **sit** with them.
(1990) FIC Ruth had **insisted** he **leave** it home. *Suggest* is distributed more or less evenly across Fiction (13 vs 14), Magazine (17 vs 14) and News (12 vs 20):
69. (1990) FIC It was Celie who very sensibly **suggested** he **move** out for a little while.
70. (2007) FIC Ellen **suggested** I **write** it down.
71. (2007) MAG He **suggested** she **get** her “affairs in order”
72. (1990) MAG His orthopedist **suggested** he **take** up walking as therapy
73. (2007) NEWS When an instructor **suggested** he **enter** the Marines and learn to fly, Sturckow followed up.
74. (1990) NEWS I **suggested** she **change** that to make it more modern

The subjunctive forms after *recommend* are increasingly used in News:

²⁴ For the detailed data representing stylistic use of the triggers see Appendix 2.

²⁵ Here and below: the data provided in parenthesis are the raw frequencies of the trigger in the 1990 and 2007 subcorpora respectively.

76. (2007) NEWS Little League leaves how the pitches are counted up to each local organization, but **recommends** pitches **be tracked** by the official scorekeeper.

If we consider ND forms as subjunctives, *recommend* has considerably higher “Magazine” frequencies in 2007 (3 vs 12). In particular we can come across such examples as:

77. (2007) MAG Another method Kelly uses to help her students discover a personal style is **to recommend** they **paint** subjects they think will be difficult to render convincingly.
78. (2007) MAG The American Academy of Dermatology **recommends** you **check** your skin monthly for changes.

As mentioned before (Chapter I, subsection 3.3) the triggers for the current analysis were chosen on the basis of studies of William Crawford (2009) and Sebastian Hoffmann (1997). Therefore it would be essential to compare the two investigations with the present one in terms of trigger distribution.

3.4.2.2 Comparison with Crawford's study

I would like to remind the reader that Crawford's study only concerns News language. Hence I will compare it with the results for the news category of the COCA subsection.

Table 2.22 shows the distribution of ten verbs that trigger *that* and zero *that*-complement clauses containing unambiguous subjunctive forms in the COCA and LGSWE News subcorpora. When comparing these data we should keep in mind that the LGSWE subcorpus contains 1.7 million words more, which makes direct comparison of the data impossible. That is why all conclusions concerning difference in the trigger distribution should be based exclusively on the percentage information. Moreover, following Övergaard's claim that it is possible to distinguish the non-inflected subjunctive from the indicative in past contexts when there is no sequence of tenses (1995:93), such instances as (79) were assigned to the category of mandative subjunctive

in the current study. It is not clear whether the examples of this kind are included into Crawford's LGSWE-based study.

79. (1990) NEWS The coaches have **insisted** the athletes **train** less as individuals and more as a team.

As we can see, both studies prove *demand*, *recommend* and *ask* to be among the most frequent verbal triggers in American news writing. But shares of *insist* and *suggest* (gray-marked frequencies) are much smaller in Crawford's data. A removal of “past contexts” (Ex. 79) from my data does not change the situation (only 3 (with *insist*) and 5 (with *suggest*) instances of this kind were found). Therefore this difference might probably be explained by Crawford's choice to adopt strictly morphological approach to the definition of the mandative subjunctive. Thus he includes only “cases where there is unambiguous morphological evidence of its subjunctive status.” (2009:259) At the same time, Crawford does not comment on how the problem of the semantic ambiguity of the triggers is resolved in his study. Furthermore, a detailed contrastive analysis of the LGSWE and COCA sources may prove to be useful in this situation.

Table 2.22 The trigger distribution across the News registers of the 1990-subcorpus of COCA (4,072,572 mln words) and American subcorpus of LGSWE (5,688,310 million words)²⁶.

Trigger	COCA		LGSWE	
	RF*	%	RF	%
demand	63	24.51	124	30.02
recommend	36	14.01	51	12.35
insist	36	14.01	24	5.81
suggest	34	13.23	27	6.54
ask	32	12.45	50	12.11
propose	13	5.06	31	7.51
require	13	5.06	42	10.17
urge	13	5.06	19	4.6
request	9	3.5	29	7.02
order	8	3.11	16	3.87
Total	257	100	413	100

*RF=raw frequencies

²⁶ The LGSWE data is taken from William Crawford's article *The Mandative Subjunctive*, Appendix B (2009:275).

3.4.2.3 Comparison with Hoffmann's study

Before comparing the two studies I would like to point out that the subcorpus of the BNC compiled by Hoffmann comprises approximately 20.6 million words, which is 630.000 words more than in the 1990 COCA subcorpus used for the present study. The British material also differs in register composition. Unlike the COCA subcorpus, it contains exclusively written material representing such domains as imaginative prose, applied science, world affairs, arts and law. Hoffmann's decision to include past contexts in the category of ambiguous subjunctive forms is justified by the fact that in this case the relation of the action or state imposed on the recipient to the time of writing cannot conclusively be assessed (1997:f11). The extreme scarcity of covert mandatives in my data gave me grounds to assume that these contexts are most likely to belong to the category of unambiguous mandative subjunctives.

Table 2.23 Comparison of the raw frequencies and shares of the unambiguous subjunctive forms triggered by seven verbs in British (BNC subcorpus) and American (the 1990 subcorpus of COCA) English.²⁷

Trigger	BrE		AmE	
		%		%
suggest	99	19.34	134	18.38
demand	96	18.75	191	26.2
recommend	89	17.38	135	18.52
insist	88	17.19	143	19.62
propose	57	11.13	53	7.27
order	56	10.94	24	3.29
request	27	5.27	49	6.72
Total	512	100	729	100

Despite the different register compositions and approaches to the identification of MS in the corpus, both studies confirm that *suggest*, *insist*, *demand* and *recommend* are the most common triggers to appear in combination with the subjunctive forms. The American material exhibits outstanding use of *demand* (gray-marked frequencies), which is most probably caused by the

²⁷ The data for British English was taken from Hoffmann (1997:26), Table 4.

overrepresented “world affairs” domain (Spoken and News) in COCA. The larger shares of *order* in BrE are, perhaps, caused by the inclusion of the legal texts into Hoffmann's investigation. Thus, it is hard to draw any further conclusions concerning trigger distribution in the two English varieties.

3.4.2.4 Conclusion

Our analysis of trigger distribution in zero *that*-complements comprising unambiguous subjunctive forms shows that:

- *suggest*, *insist* and *demand* are the main lexical indicators of *that*-omission;
- the tendency for the increase of *that*-omission manifests itself in the use of *suggest* (Fiction, Magazine, News), *insist* (Fiction) and *recommend* (News).

Some of my findings tally with the results of other researchers:

- The comparison with Hoffmann's study confirms that four verbal triggers are the most frequent in AmE and BrE: *demand*, *recommend*, *insist* and *suggest*.
- The data from Crawford's study verifies the outstanding use of *ask* in American newspaper writing. Despite the fact that overall frequencies of this trigger are far from being the highest, News would have been underrepresented unless *ask* was included. Thus we can see how important it is to pay attention to trigger frequencies in each register when choosing variables for any research on the stylistic use of mandative constructions.

3.4.3 Negative mandative subjunctive forms

According to our material negated subjunctive forms are extremely rare in American English (see Table 24). Out of our 40-million-words database (both subcorpora) only 55 instances of negative subjunctive forms are found. 93% of negations (51 instances) occur in *that*-complements and only 4 examples are found in zero *that*-complement clauses:

80. (1990) SPOK We all know what the world thinks of is war is fighting and

shooting back and forth and both of them **recommend** the United States **not initiate** that kind of hostilities.

- 81. (1990) NEWS In one of the kinder reviews, Stewrt Klein, on television yet, **suggested** I "**not give up**" my day job.
- 82. (2007) FIC If so, I would strongly **suggest** you **not use** it.
- 83. (2007) NEWS Beirne **suggested** owners **not wait** for an event like an employee's death to happen before they engage an EAP.

Table 2.24 also shows that not a single instance of negative passive subjunctives that occur in sentences with *that*-omission is found. Even though active negations outnumber passive negative forms and the total number of instances increase, no generalizations can be made because of the scarcity of the data.

Table 2.24 The distribution of the active and passive negative subjunctive forms in regard to *that*-omission in the two subcorpora of COCA (raw frequencies)

1990	<i>That</i>	<i>Zero-that</i>	Total
Active	11	2	12
Passive	9	0	9
Total	20	2	21

2007	<i>That</i>	<i>Zero-that</i>	Total
Active	21	2	23
Passive	11	0	11
Total	32	2	34

Furthermore, 15 examples (75% of all passive negations) are found in the same type of context – in the News register with the trigger *ask*:

- 84. (1990) NEWS He **asked** that his name **not be used**.
- 85. (2007) NEWS For security sake, he **asked** that his last name **not be used**.

As the examples show, these contexts can be described as a situation when people do not want their contact information to be given out in public for some reason. There is also one active negative form which occurs in the same context in the *Newsweek* magazine:

86. (2007) MAG The family has asked that we not give the children's names.

Only one passive and one active negation triggered by *ask* are found representing another type of context:

87. (2007) NEWS I was cautious to ask that my credit card not be charged until the flight had been taken, " Jan wrote The Fixer. "

88. (2007) NEWS He filed a letter with the court in late 2005 in which he asked that the proposed sale not happen.

Chapter III: Summary and concluding remarks

Summing up my work I would like to point out that this investigation differs from the previous studies in a number of ways:

- To the best of my knowledge, it is the first study on the use of the mandative subjunctive in contemporary American English based on a large (40-million-word) database, the 1990 and 2007 subsections of the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA).
- The study gives new insight into the use of the mandative subjunctive and its alternans through a detailed analysis of register distribution of all the variables: finite mandative constructions and triggers in *that*- and zero *that*-complement clauses.
- The notions of “mandative force” and “direct relationship” between matrix and subordinate clauses in a mandative context introduced by Hoffmann 1997 have been reanalyzed and expanded. In particular, the qualitative analysis of the data partially confirms the hypothesis that the mandative force of a trigger is identified as weak or strong by the correlation between the use of the trigger and the modal employed in a mandative *that*-complement clause: weak triggers may appear before modals denoting possibility whereas stronger triggers are found only in combination with the modals denoting obligation or permission.

On the basis of **the quantitative analysis** of the material the following synchronic, diachronic, stylistic and regional patterns of use of the mandative constructions are reported:

- **Synchronic patterns of use.** The subjunctives are the most widely spread finite mandative constructions in contemporary American English. Active subjunctives are the most frequent; passives constitute one third of the data; negated subjunctive forms can be characterized as extremely rare, especially in zero *that*-complements.
- **Diachronic patterns of use.** The mandative subjunctive has significantly decreased within the 18-year time-span (1990-2007) most likely because of the spread of non-finite mandatives. The overall frequency of modal mandatives remains the same. Covert mandatives are extremely rare in our material thus no patterns of their use can be detected.

- **Formality.** The stylistic use of MS is not confined to the formal genres. In particular, the construction occurs most frequently in newspaper writing and it definitely prevails in fiction. Moreover, there is evidence that the subjunctive started losing its formal connotations because of the significant increase in *that*-omission after *suggest*, *insist* and *demand* in mandative contexts of the less formal registers (Fiction, Spoken, News). Modal mandatives, on the other hand, are increasingly preferred in academic writing. However, this observation is less reliable because it does not concern instances of *that*-omission. It should be noted that the most informal use of the constructions (spontaneous conversation) is not represented in this study; according to its situational characteristics the Spoken register of COCA must be placed between fiction and news writing on a scale of formality.
- As to **regional variation**, unfortunately the time and size constraint of the master's thesis format did not allow me to fulfill a detailed analysis of the regional use of the MS forms. Still, the status of *demand*, *recommend*, *insist* and *suggest* as the most common triggers in BrE and AmE was confirmed by comparison with Hoffmann's (1997) study. The findings of Crawford's (2009) investigation concerning the outstanding use of *ask* in American news writing are supported in the current study.

The qualitative analysis of the data showed that the mandative subjunctive, unlike its alternants, expresses pure meaning of volition and futurity. The explicitness of participants in combination with active MS forms indicates a direct relationship between main and subordinate clauses, that is, the immediate imposition of an agent's will upon a recipient. Modals in mandative sentences are the mediums of the imposition and indicators of its degree. A correlation between the choice of the trigger and the modal employed is not unidirectional. On the one hand, Americans use modal mandatives mostly in combination with the ambiguous verbs (*suggest*, *insist* and *propose*) in order to disambiguate the context. On the other hand, only potentially weak triggers (*suggest* and *propose*) occur with modals expressing possibility. Thus a trigger determines the choice of a modal and vice versa. The combination “trigger-mandative” depends on the stylistic context. Informal mandative contexts (Fiction) are usually realized through the combination of *insist/demand* and subjunctives whereas formal mandatives (Academic) allow the combination of a wider range of variables: *require/recommend/request/suggest* and subjunctives/modals. This observation gives grounds to concede that the cases of immediate

imposition are rare and characteristic of informal writing.

To obtain these results I had to decide on the choice of variables and the methodology for data retrieval. As to variables, inclusion of non-distinctive forms proved its value in the first part of the analysis. Thus I emphasize the importance of this variable for any diachronic corpus-based study on the use of mandative subjunctive constructions. Apart from the most frequent verbal triggers (*suggest, demand, recommend, insist* and *require*), *ask* and *request*, being mostly used in the News and Academic registers respectively, produce a significant number of examples and thus they can make a difference in the study on the stylistic use of the mandatives.

As regards my own methodology for a retrieval of the data, it required a solution of the two problematic issues: tagging of the heterogeneous variables and technical imperfection of the COCA search system. These two tricky points resulted in separate tagging of the constructions preceded by the ambiguous verbal triggers (*insist, suggest*) and division of the material according to the type of clause complementation (*that* and zero *that*-complements). I must admit that if the same tags were applied to all the variables it would have saved a lot of time without a considerable loss of data. However, since the examples for non-ambiguous triggers had been retrieved prior to the ambiguous material, it would have been inconsistent to avoid the analysis of the relevant data. The cases of *that*-omission were investigated only in the subjunctive mandatives, which makes the findings concerning other finite mandative constructions less reliable. Nevertheless, since the research focuses on the use of subjunctive forms I do not consider this limitation crucial for the present study.

Appendix 1: Terminology and definitions

The subjunctive (S) – a clause that is finite but tenseless containing the plain form of the verb.

The mandative subjunctive (MS) (also mentioned as non-inflected, morphologically distinct/marked, base/bare/plain form of the verb) – an object (*that-*) clause containing the base form of the verb introduced by a trigger in the main clause.

Trigger (also mentioned as suasive/mandative expression, governing word) – a noun, verb or adjective expressing demand, recommendation, resolution, intention etc.

Modal mandative (M) (also mentioned as modal or subjunctive periphrasis/alternant) – an object (*that-*) clause containing the modal verb introduced by a trigger in the main clause.

Covert mandative (C) (also mentioned as indicatives) – an object (*that-*) clause containing the indicative form of the verb introduced by a trigger in the main clause.

Ambiguous subjunctive forms – all the bare verb forms including those that are syntactically ambiguous with the indicative.

Unambiguous subjunctive forms – the bare verb forms, that is, third person singular occurrences (*I recommend that he work harder*), negations (*I demand that you not answer this question*) and past contexts (*My mother insisted they leave*), excluding non-distinctive forms.

Appendix 2 *That*-omission (raw frequencies)

1990	Spoken			Fiction			Magazine			News			Academic			Total
	Trigger	Active S	Passive S	ND forms	Active S	Passive S	ND forms	Active S	Passive S	ND forms	Active S	Passive S	ND forms	Active S	Passive S	
demand	9	1	1	4	1	1	2	1	1	14	4	2	2	2	0	45
order	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
ask	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
require	1	2	1	0	1	0	1	3	0	1	5	1	0	0	0	16
recommend	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	3	2	1	0	1	0	1	16
suggest	2	2	6	13	0	11	15	2	2	10	2	4	1	1	2	73
urge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	3
propose	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	7
request	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	5
insist	5	2	2	25	0	2	5	0	4	6	0	0	1	1	0	53
Total	21	13	14	44	2	14	23	9	11	36	16	8	5	5	3	224

2007	Spoken			Fiction			Magazine			News			Academic			Total
	Trigger	Active S	Passive S	ND forms	Active S	Passive S	ND forms	Active S	Passive S	ND forms	Active S	Passive S	ND forms	Active S	Passive S	
demand	8	2	2	3	0	0	3	0	2	6	3	3	2	0	1	35
order	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	5
ask	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
require	1	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	4	0	14
recommend	3	1	4	1	1	4	3	2	12	7	2	1	0	1	3	45
suggest	5	1	6	14	0	11	13	1	13	16	4	8	4	0	1	97
urge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
propose	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5
request	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	2	0	0	7
insist	2	0	0	21	3	6	6	1	5	9	1	4	0	0	3	61
Total	20	8	14	41	5	22	25	4	32	42	16	18	8	8	8	271

S = subjunctive forms; ND forms = non-distinctive forms

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