The *mandative subjunctive* in British English seems to be alive and kicking… Is this due to the influence of American English[1]?

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1.   Introduction

Johansson & Norheim (1988: 34) wrote at the end of their 1988 paper: "results from elicitation tests […] suggest that the mandative subjunctive may be on the increase in British English. To study such changes, we need two new comparable British and American corpora". With the completion of the one-million-word corpora FLOB (Freiburg-LOB, 1991) and Frown (Freiburg-Brown, 1992), the two 1990s counterparts of the 1960s LOB and Brown, it is now possible to study these changes. These four corpora being available, the objective of this paper is to study the variation of a grammatical category of modern British English (henceforth BrE) such as the *mandative constructions* (modal *should* and the *mandative subjunctive*) over a thirty-year period. In order to carry out this analysis, I will first analyse two general categories – Press and Learned Prose – of two corpora of BrE: the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen (LOB) and Freiburg-LOB corpora (FLOB).

(1)   […] but it is also very *important* that they *should* be fair. (LOB Press, B)
(2)   […] nor to obtain an *order* that the child *be* accommodated by them […] (FLOB Learned Prose, H)
(3)   […] usually by *recommending* that politicians or administrators *introduce* incentive […]. (FLOB Learned Prose, J)

Then in order to know if the tendency observed in my findings is only intrinsic and limited to the two text categories studied or is indeed verified throughout the other genres (Fiction and General Prose), I will carry out a thorough analysis of the whole LOB and FLOB corpora. I have applied a grammatical approach to corpus data, using Xkwic, a fast concordance programme to carry out an analysis which involved developing complex queries on grammatically tagged, comparable and computerized corpora.

My results confirmed previous studies (Övergaard, 1995 - Hundt, 1998) and showed that the use of the *mandative subjunctive* is increasing, whereas the use of *mandative should* is declining.

So far, the description of two complementary phenomena has been provided, but we are still in need of a possible explanation for this "revival" of the subjunctive suspected by Johansson and proven by other linguists' observations. If the mandative subjunctive is indeed 'alive and kicking', is its health sustained by American English (henceforth AmE)? Is the increase of the subjunctive in BrE therefore due to the Americanization of the British language? The final part of this paper will attempt to provide an answer to this question by analysing two corpora of American English: Brown and its 1992 counterpart Frown.

2.   Background
2.1. Previous studies

The grammarians of the 1950s and 1960s considered the extinction of the subjunctive either imminent or already accomplished. They stated that the subjunctive was gradually dying out of the language, that it was fossilised, that its death throes could be observed in literary English or that living English had no subjunctive at all. Harsh (1968 : 11) reports the fact that Sir Ernest Gowers, in his 1965 revision of Fowler's *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, decided to leave intact what Fowler had written in 1926, "writing off" the subjunctive in the following statement: "it is moribund except in a few easily specified uses" (1965: 595). According to Harsh (1968:12), "the inflected subjunctive, though hardly in a state of robust good health, has been taking a long time to die. But that it is still dying, as Fowler noted, can hardly be denied".

Johansson and Norheim (1988: 27) state nonetheless and without any doubt that "English verbs have distinctive forms under certain circumstances which differ from the normal indicative forms and convey the meaning of 'non-fact', which is characteristic of the subjunctive in other languages".

Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1012-1013) define the subjunctive occurring "in *that*-clauses after verbs, adjectives, or nouns that express a necessity, plan, or intention for the future" as the *mandative subjunctive* and this is this use of the subjunctive that "[this] corpus-based investigation of language change in progress" is focusing on.

I borrowed here the terms in inverted commas above, to Mair & Hundt (1995) who use this expression as the subtitle of their article presenting a pioneering effort on that subject.

The analysis by Johansson and Norheim (1988) which is the starting point of this study aimed at verifying if the subjunctive was more frequently used in AmE than in BrE, examining for that purpose the two comparable Brown and LOB corpora. The results showed that the *mandative subjunctive* was favoured in the American corpus while its number was very low in the British one, and that the construction with *should* was preferred to the subjunctive in the British material. This confirms the observations of Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1012-1013) who emphasise the fact that the mandative subjunctive is especially used in American English, whereas in BrE, mandative *should* with the infinitive is more common.

While a synchronic study of mandative constructions in two types of English had been carried out, what was needed in 1988 was a diachronic analysis of these constructions to observe their evolution and to check if the following statements by Quirk *et al.* (1985) were still applicable to the English of the 1990s:

- the present subjunctive occurs more frequently in AmE than in BrE
- its use in *that*-clauses seems to be increasing in BrE.

Several studies of "language change in progress" have been undertaken since, and analyses focusing on the evolution of different grammatical features have been conducted on parallel corpora and more specifically on LOB / Brown and on the new comparable corpora FLOB / Frown[2]. Indeed, recent studies using new corpus resources (Asahara, 1994; Övergaard, 1995; Hundt, 1998) have analysed the diachronic evolution of mandative constructions in BrE and AmE. They have presented findings which indicate a remarkable increase of the use of the mandative subjunctive in British English, especially in late 20th century. Apparently, this use of the subjunctive, although not very frequent, is far from becoming extinct. In sections 4. and 5., more will be said about previous work on the *mandative constructions*.

With four carefully matched corpora now available, an exhaustive corpus-based study of language change in progress over a thirty-year period can be conducted. This study can analyse and compare synchronic corpora to examine for example the possible influence of American English on British English with FLOB/Frown or diachronic corpora to study the evolution of linguistic features with LOB/FLOB in BrE.

2.2. The "mandative constructions" (non-inflected or morphological subjunctive & periphrastic construction with the modal *should*): a definition

In this section, I will concentrate on the "mandative constructions" that I will describe, I will set out the criteria to recognise the subjunctive and clarify the terminology used.

Etymologically, "mandative" is derived from the verb 'mandate', itself coming from the Latin *mandāre*: *to enjoin, command*. The term "*mandative expressions*" is used in reference to verbs, nouns and adjectives (that I also call *triggers*) which express a demand, request, intention, proposal, suggestion, recommendation, etc. This expression is borrowed from Algeo (1992: 599) who himself adapted it from the term "mandative subjunctive" used by Quirk *et al.* [1985:156] for one of the three verb forms in the *that*-clause that follows certain expressions of resolution, intention, etc. By extension, I use the term "*mandative constructions*" for the different verb forms which can follow *mandative expressions*. Therefore instead of using the expression *periphrastic construction with the modal should* (Övergaard, 1995; Hundt, 1998) to designate the construction with the modal which is one variant of the mandative subjunctive, I use the term "*mandative SHOULD*".

(4)   I *insisted* that he *should* take part in the concert, Alan said. (LOB Fiction, P)

(5)   During the stand-up confrontation, which took place shortly after the new year at Highgrove, the Prince of Wales's Gloucestershire home, Charles *insisted* that his son *have* a more conventional celebration in the newly refurbished Orchard Room in the house. (*The Sunday Times* (6th February 2000), "Charles and William in nightclub row")

Different verb forms can follow the mandative expressions: we can have a mandative subjunctive as in the example (6), or the non-distinctive form (7) that I will define below, or the modal

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auxiliary *should* followed by an infinitive (8) or the indicative (9). The last construction, namely the indicative, will not be considered further in this paper.

(6)   She *insisted* that he *leave* early.
(7)   He *suggests* that we *leave* early.
(8)   Her *wish* was that he *should* leave early.
(9)   She was *eager* that he *left* early.
        (examples from Algeo (1992 : 599) apart from the non-distinctive form in (7))

The subjunctive is difficult to identify because it is identical to the *base form* of the verb. According to Asahara (1994: 2) "the present subjunctive refers to a grammatical form that takes only the base form of the verb regardless of tense contrast, person and number concord". Therefore, with a plural subject, there is no difference between the indicative and subjunctive forms. The non-inflected or morphological subjunctive is distinguishable from the indicative (through morphological criteria) in the following cases:
-     in the 3rd person singular present tense (no –s) (10)
-     in past contexts (no sequence of tenses) (11)
-     in finite forms of *be* (base form for all persons and no tense marker) (12), (13)
-     in negated clauses (no *do*-periphrasis and *not* is placed before the verb) (14)

(10)   […] he *proposes* to Isabella that she *join* his plan to frame Mariana […]. (FLOB General Prose, G)
(11)   Russia *insisted* that the Western powers *take* immediate measures to put an end to the unlawful and provocative actions of the Federal German Republic in West Berlin. (LOB Press, A)
(12)   Hence it is *important* that the process *be* carried out accurately. (FLOB Learned Prose, H)
(13)   Conditions have *dictated* that operations *be* scaled down enabling overheads to be reduced […]. (LOB Press, A)
(14)   Moreover, it *requires* that the concepts F(x) and G(x) *not* themselves *contain* any quantification […]. (FLOB Learned Prose, J)

I included in my counts, as part of the mandative subjunctive forms, not only the distinctive/genuine subjunctive forms but also the *non-distinctive* forms which are indistinguishable from the indicative, as in (15a).
(15a)   I will guard your house for you *on condition* that you *bake* me an apple pie every day. (LOB General Prose, F)
In that case, we can perform a *substitution test* by putting a third person singular subject in the place of "you" and we can see that we obtain a distinctive subjunctive form:
(15b)   I will guard his house for him *on condition* that he *bake* me an apple pie every day.

3.   Material used and purpose of this paper
3.1. Data

The four carefully matched corpora that have been analysed are the following:
♦ Two well-known and widely used corpora representing the language of the 1960s:
- The Brown corpus, compiled at Brown University consists of one million words made up of 500 texts of American English from 1961 and spread over 15 categories[3].
- The Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus (LOB) has been compiled, computerized and word-tagged by research teams at Lancaster, Oslo and Bergen. It consists of 500 British English texts of about 2,000 words each, printed in 1961, divided into 15 different genre categories and contains one million words. It is synchronically parallel to the Brown corpus.
♦ Two parallel one-million-word-corpora matching the original LOB and Brown corpora, developed at Freiburg University to enable linguists to study language change in progress:
- The Freiburg-LOB Corpus (FLOB, 1991) has been modelled on LOB; it is constituted of one million words of British English texts printed in 1991.
- The Freiburg-Brown Corpus (Frown, 1992) modelled on Brown is synchronically parallel to FLOB and diachronically parallel to Brown.

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[3] They are listed in the notes to table 1.

3.2. Objectives

As I have indicated in section 3.1. above, this study only undertakes the analysis of written data. It is intended to be an observation and a description of linguistic change in contemporary English. On that aspect, I refer to the study of grammatical change in present-day English by Mair (1997) and Hundt (1997) and I quote Holmes (1994:37):

> The prospect of using corpora data to infer language change over time is an exciting one. It is clearly possible to make suggestive and interesting comparisons between the frequencies of items in corpora of similar size and composition which have been constructed at different points in time.

The Press and Learned Prose genre (which amount to about 2/5 of each corpus) are represented in the figure below by two rectangles with upward (LOB) and downward (FLOB) diagonal patterns.
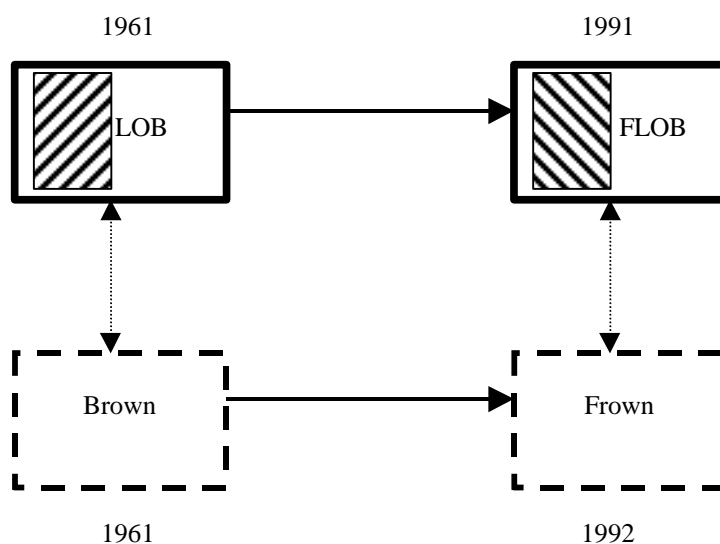

Figure 1:   British English 30 years on, a description - AmE, a possible explanation to the changes in BrE?

The paper will develop a descriptive analysis based on a thorough and exhaustive observation of the data. Therefore, in order to describe what has been happening over a thirty-year period, I have carried out a comparative study of two parallel and computerised corpora LOB and FLOB to find out if there is an increase in the use of the mandative subjunctive form and concurrently a decline in the use of the mandative *should* over the years. My objective is also to examine in what text genres this has taken or is taking place.

- Thus I will first analyse the Press and Learned Prose categories to see if two different genres follow the same trend, i.e. have experienced the same evolution regarding the mandative constructions.
- Then I will verify if the trend is found in the rest of the two corpora. Is it general to BrE or genre specific?
- Finally the analysis of American data will enable me to see if the ongoing change in BrE is dependent of diachronic developments in AmE or of the synchronic influence of AmE.

A detailed qualitative analysis of the data is beyond the scope of this paper. Nonetheless, I hope that the last part of this study will shed some light on the evolution of mandative constructions and provide the beginning of a possible explanation.

4. METHODS AND PILOT RESULTS
4.1. Method used

I have applied both a grammatical approach to corpus data, and a corpus linguistics methodology, using computer tools and retrieving software such as Xkwic. First, I carried out a concordance of *should* in WordSmith Tools[4] (Version 3.00.00), an integrated suite of programs used to investigate how words behave in texts, in order to retrieve the total number of occurrences of the modal.

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[4] More detailed information can be found at http://www.liv.ac.uk/~ms2928/ and in Scott (1996).

Table 1: Frequency of *should* in the LOB and FLOB corpora

SHOULD				
CATEGORIES	**LOB**	**FLOB**	**Difference (abs)**	**Difference (%)**
PRESS[5] (A-B-C)	285	185	- 100	- 35.1
FICTION[6] (K-L-M-N-P-R)	214	250	+ 36	+ 16.8
GENERAL PROSE[7] (D-E-F-G)	472	330	- 142	- 30.1
LEARNED PROSE[8] (H-J)	330	382	+ 52	+ 15.8
TOTAL	**1301**	**1147**	**- 154**	**- 11.8**

We are shown with these results that the overall number of occurrences of *should* has decreased between the 1960s and the 1990s. However, this trend is not generalised to all genres, as we can note a decrease in the press and general prose categories and yet an increase in fiction and in learned prose.

Identifying the mandative uses of the modal on which this present study focuses required a semantic analysis leading to a classification of each of the retrieved occurrences. This process was laborious and time consuming and I limited the analysis to the Press and Learned Prose categories of LOB and FLOB. Then, I used a concordancing tool to find the mandative constructions without having to go through a detailed manual analysis. I started with WordSmith and as I progressed with my search queries, I realised that the package was not adapted to the type of complex queries I needed to create in order to retrieve *only* the mandative constructions. This tool could not support at the same time wild-cards (*), windows {n}, interval operators {n, m} nor tags. Therefore I had to switch to Xkwic, which could handle much more complex queries, as it has a more powerful search language, and therefore I could limit the number of hits I was getting.

Xkwic is a software part of the ISM Corpus Workbench[9], and a motif-based user interface to the Corpus Query Processor (CQP). CQP, the concordance engine itself receives an input from a file, under the form of a query entered in Xkwic, and returns the result back to Xkwic once it has been computed. The analysis reported thereafter involved developing complex queries to retrieve only the relevant instances of both the modal and the subjunctive – which is not part-of-speech tagged. I used four totally comparable, grammatically tagged and computerized corpora of British English and therefore, I could run exactly the same retrieving queries in all corpora (LOB / FLOB and Brown / Frown). This is where the originality of my research comes from: in this very use of the same search patterns which provided me with comparable findings.

As I have already mentioned in section 1., some of the previous studies of *mandative constructions* presented results that were somehow incomplete. Asahara (1994) did not use computerised corpus data, and relied on a rather small number of examples; nonetheless, her results are very interesting. A similar situation is found with Övergaard (1995) who did not use truly parallel corpora: she analysed the Brown and LOB corpora for the 1960s, but worked with four other corpora that were not computerised for the more recent period. The instances in these corpora are random examples that she recorded when she encountered them, hence the non-reliability of one part of her research. Regarding Hundt's analysis (1998: 162), it appears as very valuable but incomplete as she used her own findings on FLOB and Frown (which was yet complete at the time) as well as results from Johansson and Norheim (1988) for Brown and LOB. Therefore, the range of governing expressions (triggers) was limited to only 17 verbs and their related nouns. Nonetheless these previous studies indicate a trend in the evolution of mandative constructions that I intend to verify in the two sets of parallel and comparable corpora.

The occurrences of mandative constructions have been retrieved using the concordance programme Xkwic and an appropriate search query. I will present below some issues involved with the

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[5] A = reportage, B = editorial, C = reviews [88 texts → 176,000 words]

[6] K = general fiction, L = mystery & detective fiction, M = science fiction, N = adventure & western fiction, P = romance & love story, R = humour [126 texts → 252,000 words]

[7] D = religion, E = skills, trades & hobbies, F = popular lore, G = Belles Lettres, bibliography, essays [176 texts → 352,000 words]

[8] H = miscellaneous, mainly government documents, J = learned & scientific writings [110 texts → 220,000 words]

[9] The IMS Corpus Toolbox has been developed at the University of Stuttgart. Further details can be obtained from the following web page: http://www.ims.uni-stuttgart.de/projekte/CorpusWorkbench/ and in Chist (1994).

search criteria. When a triggering expression was followed by more than one *that*-clause, only the first clause was included in the final results. The decision could have been different if the data had been only analysed by hand; however, Xkwic stops at the first clause and does not account for any following *that*-clause triggered by the same expression. In the case of several verbs appearing in a *that*-clause, I took the decision to include in my counts only the first one, as the concordancer only accounts for the first verb following *that*. Regarding that issue, I have taken the same approach as Johansson and Norheim (1988). I shall indicate as well that I accounted for the *that*-deleted clauses in my results (even although they are very rare) and as I mentioned in 1.2., I also included the non-distinctive forms in my counts (details are given in the tables). I limited my research to a set of trigger, i.e. a finite set of suasive expressions: 64 suasive verbs, 52 corresponding nouns and 40 adjectives. A few words now about precision and recall:

- precision error: the search output given by Xkwic contained instances that were not mandative constructions (they did indeed contain a trigger and the modal *should* or a base form, but the mandative construction had a non-mandative meaning). These were false instances or noise that needed to be removed manually. Even with an automatic computer search the manual intervention of the analyst is still needed and indeed necessary in order to provide accurate results.
- Ratio of error: about 4 hits out of 10 had to be discarded. Therefore, the recall rate generally varied between 57 and 67%, i.e. an average of 63%.
- Recall error: having retrieved all the occurrences of mandative *should* in the Press category of LOB and FLOB (using WordSmith), I tested my queries in Xkwic in order to see if I was retrieving all the occurrences of the modal. In fact, the concordancer failed to retrieve genuine occurrences of mandative constructions because they fell out of the search criteria set up in the Xkwic query (it would appear that the syntax is more complex in Learned Prose and that some of the mandative forms fall out of the limitations of the search queries).

Table 2: Retrieval rate of Xkwic for *mandative should* (comparison of manual analysis and automatic retrieval with that-deleted clauses included)

Retrieval rate (should)		
	LOB	**FLOB**
Press	97%	91%
Learned Prose	90%	75%

A possible remedy would be to extend the search of the search scope. Unfortunately, such an extension revealed unmanageable as too much noise was encountered and a practical choice had to be made. However, the instances that have not been retrieved are in a limited number. Moreover, the occurrences retrieved still form a large subset of the total number of possible occurrences contained in the corpus.

4.2. Results in two genres of British English

This section presents the results of the queries carried out in only two genres of the two corpora of BrE:

- *Press* (A, reportage; B, editorial and C, reviews), ca. 176,000 words
- *Learned Prose* (H, miscellaneous, mainly government documents and J, learned & scientific writings), ca. 220,000 words

It would seem that the Press would be more prone to evolution as it tends to reflect the changes occurring in modern written language. We might therefore expect to witness in this genre a decline of the mandative subjunctive which belongs to a formal, legalistic style such as the one found in the Learned Prose category considered as more formal and conservative.

Table 3: Frequency of *mandative should* in LOB and FLOB [A-B-C] with verbs, nouns and adjectives as triggers (*that*-deleted clauses included)

Should in LOB (Press)				*Should* in FLOB (Press)			
VERBS	NOUNS	ADJ.	TOTAL	VERBS	NOUNS	ADJ.	TOTAL
21[10]	8	7	**36**	12[11]	6	1	**19**

We are shown that mandative *should* has decreased in the Press category from the 1960s to the 1990s by 47.2% after the three types of triggers, which is the general tendency of all the uses of *should* in Press. It has decreased from 36 to 19 occurrences, which means going from 12.6% of the total number of occurrences of *should* to 10.3%.

(16)   They will accompany Mr. Heath next month when he goes to Brussels, headquarters of the Common Market Commission, or wherever the Six *decide* negotiations *should* be held. (LOB Press, A)

(17)   The *suggestion* that Royton *should* be demolished for the delight of the yuppie mugwumps of Oldham will alarm many Roytoners. (FLOB Press, B)

Table 4: Frequency of *genuine mandative subjunctives* and *non-distinctive forms* (ND) in LOB and FLOB [Press] with verbs, nouns and adjectives as triggers (*that*-deleted clauses included)

	Mandative subjunctives and ND in LOB (Press)				Mandative subjunctives and ND in FLOB (Press)			
	VERBS	NOUNS	ADJECT.	TOTAL	VERBS	NOUNS	ADJECT.	TOTAL
Subj.	2	2	0	**4**	3	1	0	**4**
Non-dist.	3	0	1	**4**	4	0	0	**4**
TOTAL	**5**	**2**	**1**	**8**	**7**	**1**	**0**	**8**

The results of the concordances on the base form carried out in the Press category of the two corpora show that the total number of mandative subjunctives and non-distinctive forms is identical in the two corpora with four subjunctives and four non-distinctive forms. In this genre, although the total number of subjunctive forms is constant from the 1960s to the 1990s, the variation in the number of triggers does not follow one particular direction. There are more occurrences triggered by verbs in FLOB and fewer instances triggered by nouns and adjectives.

(18)   Since Peking realises just how much Britain needs the deal, it *demanded* that Mr Major - and his kudos as world leader – *come* in person to sign it. (FLOB Press, A)

Table 5: Frequency of *mandative should* in LOB and FLOB [H-J] with verbs, nouns and adjectives as triggers (no *that*-deleted clauses)

Should in LOB (Learned Prose)				*Should* in FLOB (Learned Prose)			
VERBS	NOUNS	ADJ.	TOTAL	VERBS	NOUNS	ADJ.	TOTAL
24	6	14	**44**	20	6	1	**27**

In Learned Prose we can note that mandative *should* has decreased by 36.8%, but mainly after the triggering adjectives where we can notice a sheer drop in numbers, whereas *should* as a whole had increased in this genre. The construction which used to represent 13.3% of the total number of occurrences of *should* represents now only 7% of this total.

(19)   It is *essential* that the landscaping *should* be designed for ease of maintenance […]. (LOB Learned Prose, H)

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[10] This count of 21 occurrences includes two occurrences of SHOULD in two *that*-deleted clause triggered by the verbs *decide* and *agree*.

[11] This count of 12 occurrences includes one occurrence of SHOULD in a *that*-deleted clause triggered by the verb *propose*.

(20)   We *recommend* that the Department *should* re-appraise and update such calculations at frequent intervals […]. (FLOB Learned Prose, H)

Table 6: Frequency of *genuine mandative subjunctives* and *non-distinctive forms* (ND) in LOB and FLOB [Learned Prose] with verbs, nouns and adjectives as triggers (*that*-deleted clauses included)

	Mandative subjunctives and ND in LOB (Learned Prose)				Mandative subjunctives and ND in FLOB (Learned Prose)			
	VERBS	NOUNS	ADJECT.	TOTAL	VERBS	NOUNS	ADJECT.	TOTAL
Subj.	1	0	0	**1**	9	3	1	**13**
Non-dist.	4	0	1	**5**	4	0	1	**5**
TOTAL	**5**	**0**	**1**	**6**	**13**	**3**	**2**	**18**

In the Learned Prose category, the mandative subjunctive is on the increase by 1211% [sic] if we consider the genuine subjunctive forms on their own. If we include the non-distinctive forms which have remained stable at five occurrences in each corpora, we still have a very important increase of 198% which is encountered mainly after trigger-verbs. In that case, there is no doubt that we are witnessing a rise in the mandative subjunctive over a thirty-year period and although the numbers are very small, this would tend to prove that the subjunctive is not dying in Learned Prose in BrE.

(21)   The petitioner would then *request* that the house *overrule* the injunction or, alternatively, make a clear determination on where the suit ought best to be tried. (FLOB Learned Prose, J)

So far, the findings from two genres confirm the trend presented by previous studies, i.e. that the use of the modal *should* as a periphrastic alternant to the non-inflected subjunctive is declining. Regarding the remarks that I made at the beginning of this section, a closer examination of the results leads me to say that in the Press category the counts of the subjunctive are inconclusive as no variation has be noted, i.e. the form is stable. However a "revival" of the subjunctive can be noted in Learned Prose. Hundt (1997: 167) indicates that "it is hardly surprising that a genre [Academic prose, category J] which is resisting the trend towards a more colloquial written style should be the vanguard of a change that is reviving a formal syntactic option".

5.   Full results in all genres

The tables that follow present the results obtained after the analysis of the two corpora of written BrE in their entirety. This will enable me to have a full picture (nonetheless limited to one million words and four general genres) of some specific grammatical changes that happened between 1961 and 1991 and to see if the trend previously identified is verified in all genres or specific to some.

Table 7: Raw frequency and proportion of *genuine mandative subjunctives* and *non-distinctive forms* in LOB and FLOB

Mandative subjunctive forms	LOB	FLOB
Genuine subjunctive	14 (48.3%)	33 (58.9%)
Non-distinctive	16 (51.7%)	14 (43.1%)
Total	**29**	**58**

From LOB to FLOB, the number of mandative subjunctives has doubled and the proportion of non-distinctive forms has decreased by 10.6%. This means that in FLOB, 58.9% of the subjunctive forms are genuine subjunctive forms. Hence, even if the non-distinctive forms are not included in the quantitative analysis, the direction of the evolution is not skewed; the increase is even more remarkable (from 100% to 135.7%).

In the tables 8 and 9 below, both the raw frequencies and the frequencies normalized per 100 texts are presented[12]. The latter count is due to the fact that the different categories are not balanced. The general genres, which regroup several text categories, each contain a different number of texts (see table 1). The normalized frequencies provide a better idea of the repartition of the mandative forms in

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[12] A raw frequency of five subjunctives within 176 texts in General Prose is normalized to 2.8 occurrences within 100 texts.

each genre and give us an insight into the stylistic distribution. Looking at the raw frequencies for FLOB in table 8, one would think that there were more genuine subjunctives in General Prose, then in Learned Prose, in Fiction and finally in Press. In reality, the normalised frequencies show us that it is the Learned Prose category which ranks first with the highest number of mandative subjunctives forms, then General Prose, Press and Fiction. This classification does not really come as a surprise as the two "Prose" genres tend to use a more formal style with legalistic writing (category H), academic prose (category J) on the one hand and religious writings (category D), Belles Lettres, bibliographies and essays (category G) on the other hand.

Table 8: Frequency of *genuine mandative subjunctives* and *non-distinctive forms* across genres in LOB and FLOB

Genre		LOB			FLOB		
		Subj.	Non-dist.	Total	Subj.	Non-dist.	Total
Press	Frequency (n.) (88 texts)	4	4	**8**	4	4	**8**
	Norma- lized per 100 texts	4.5	4.5	**9**	4.5	4.5	**9**
Fiction	n. (126)	4	2	**6**	7	4	**11**
	%	3.2	1.6	**4.8**	5.6	3.2	**8.8**
General Prose	n. (176)	5	4	**9**	9	12	**21**
	%	2.8	2.3	**5.1**	5.1	6.8	**11.9**
Learned Prose	n. (110)	1	5	**6**	13	5	**18**
	%	0.9	4.6	**5.5**	11.8	4.6	**16.4**

The number of mandative subjunctives stayed constant in the Press category, whereas in Learned Prose, the number of occurrences increased by 198%. Table 10 summarises the increases per genre of all the mandative constructions.

Table 9: Frequency of *genuine mandative subjunctives* and *non-distinctive forms* across genres in LOB and FLOB

Genre		LOB	FLOB
		Should	Should
Press	Frequency (n.)	36	19
	Norma- lized per 100 texts	40.9	21.6
Fiction	n.	19	9
	%	15	7.1
General Prose	n.	56	28
	%	31.8	15.9
Learned Prose	n.	44	27
	%	40	24.5

The use of the periphrastic construction with *should* has decreased in all four genres between 38.6% and 100%.

To be able to check easily the evolution of all the mandative constructions studied, the two tables above are summarised below. I have indicated in parenthesis the rank of each category from the highest rise or decline to the lowest.

Table 10: Summary of the evolution of the *mandative constructions* from LOB to FLOB

Categories	Genuine subjunctive	Subj. with non-distinctive forms	Should
Press	(Same number)	(Same number) (4)	- 47.2% (3)
Fiction	+ 75%	+ 83% (3)	- 52.6% (2)
General Prose	+ 82%	+ 133% (2)	- 100% (1)
Learned Prose	+ 1211%	+ 198% (1)	- 38.6% (4)

We find almost the same ranking between the categories containing the highest number of mandative subjunctive forms and the categories having experienced the highest increase, the only difference being between Press and Fiction which have exchanged their third and fourth places. Regarding mandative *should*, its use has decreased between 38.6% in Learned Prose and 100% in General Prose. And although there does not seem to be a correspondence within genres between the fall of one construction and the rise of the other, Hundt (1998:163) notes about results[13] on the whole LOB and FLOB corpora that "[f]or the British corpora, a chi-square test proves that the increase in mandative subjunctives and the concomitant decrease of the periphrastic construction is highly significant (p 0.001)". The only feature of interest is the fact that while Learned Prose is the category where the most important rise of subjunctive has taken place, it is also the very category where mandative *should* has decreased the least. This tends to reconfirm our observation that this genre is formal and conservative and that the only change experienced is to revive a formal syntactic option.

An observation of the data and description of the results that confirmed previous analyses have been provided. They showed that amongst stylistic variations from one genre to the next, general and real grammatical changes concerning mandative constructions are taking place in BrE. Now we need a possible explanation of the evolution witnessed in BrE. Where does this "revival" of the *mandative subjunctive* and decline of *mandative should* come from? Is this due to the americanization of the British language? This possibility is worth investigating as many observations carried out on American vs. British English have suggested the influence of the former on the latter. The American influence is referred to an 'accelerator of change' within BrE (Barber, 1964: 141). Hence would this be the main reason for these linguistic changes?

The final section of this paper will thus analyse the two corpora of American English: Brown and Frown in an attempt to provide an answer to these changes.

6. Analysis of two corpora of American English: a possible explanation?

The following examples are extracted from Brown and Frown:

(22)   It was *essential* that he *should* restore his formidable reputation as a rip-roaring, ruthless gun-slinger and this was the time-honored Wild West method of doing it. (Brown Fiction, N)

(23)   The panel *recommended* that public affairs preparations *should* be included in the planning for future military operations […]. (Frown General Prose, E)

(24)   The doctors had *suggested* Scotty *remain* most of every afternoon in bed until he was stronger. (Brown Fiction, K)

(25)   Lattimore's attention to these events was distracted by a *request* from the United Nations that he *head* a technical assistance mission to Afghanistan […]. (Brown General Prose, G)

Table 11: Repartition of the mandative subjunctive forms per genre in the four corpora[14]

Genres	LOB	FLOB	Brown	Frown
Press	8	8 (0)	29	23 (- 20.7%)
Fiction	6	11 (+ 83%)	21	35 (+ 66.7%)
General Prose	9	21 (+ 133%)	42	27 (- 35.7%)
Learned Prose	6	18 (+ 198%)	15	22 (+ 46.7%)
Total	**29**	**58 (+100%)**	**107**	**107 (0)**

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[13] Her results display frequencies (expressed in percentages) which are not dissimilar to mine – see table 12.

[14] The results for the two American corpora are still provisional.

We can see that the status of the mandative subjunctives in the Press genre in AmE is even worse than in BrE (decrease of 20.7%). This would tend to indicate that the status quo of the subjunctive observed in FLOB might only be the preliminary to a future decline, as it is the case in AmE. The increase of the subjunctives in Fiction is marked more in FLOB than in Frown although the number of instances in FLOB (11) is inferior to the one in Brown (21) and far from the number reached in Frown (35). In General Prose, a rise can be observed in FLOB contrary to a decline in Frown. Number wise, BrE has not yet but almost caught up with AmE (21 compared to 27 occurrences) and the proximity in numbers seems to be due to the fact that the subjunctive is decreasing in this category of AmE. Here the results are inconclusive. What variety of English is leading the changes? Finally, Learned Prose shows an increase in the two 1991 corpora and BrE is catching up with AmE even if the number of instances in FLOB (18) is just in between Brown (15) and Frown (22). Here BrE seems to be following the trend set up by AmE.

The findings on mandative *should* (see table 12) present a decrease of this construction throughout the genres (- 23% from the 1960s - with 26 occurrences, to the 1990s - with 20 instances); the number are very small (between 3 and 7 for each genre) and little variation is shown.

If AmE is indeed leading the way on the path of linguistic change (as is indicated in the results), BrE appears to be lagging behind but is doing its best to catch up.

Table 12: Frequency of mandative *should* vs. *mandative subjunctive* forms in LOB/FLOB and Brown/Frown

Brown			Frown			LOB			FLOB		
Should	Subj.	Non-dist.	Should	Subj.	Non-dist	Should	Subj.	Non-dist	Should	Subj.	Non-dist
26	91	16	20	78	29	155	14	15	83	33	25
19.6%	68.4%	12.0%	15.8%	61.4%	22.8%	84.2%	7.6%	8.2%	58.9%	23.4%	17.7%
	=80.4%			=84.2%			=15.8%			=41.1%	

The proportion of mandative subjunctive forms represents around 80% of mandative constructions in AmE and has only risen by 3.8%. Would there be a slowing down of the evolution of the mandative constructions on the way, leading to a future stabilisation? In BrE the proportion went from 15.8% to 41.1% with a rise of 25.3%. The subjunctive seems to be the preferred option in AmE (we can note than *should* has not disappeared yet) whereas the periphrastic construction with *should* seems to still be favoured by British people although the trend could be reversing in the future.

The trend observed in BrE regarding the mandative *should* (-23%) is mirrored in AmE; it is also decreasing in all genres by 46.5%. The hypothesis presented by Johansson (1988) is verified, the mandative subjunctive forms are on the increase in BrE by 100% whereas it has stabilised in AmE with a great disparity between text categories. Hence the spread and rise in the subjunctive, observed in the first half of the 20th century must have slowed down in this variety of English.

7. Conclusion

This descriptive and exploratory study has identified specific trends in the evolution of mandative constructions which are both specific to genres and varieties of English. These linguistic changes observed are much more drastic in BrE than in AmE where the language change in progress seems to be slowing down.

Three hypotheses for the evolution of BrE can be presented:

- Americanization

Several studies have presented the hypothesis (confirmed by their analyses) that AmE is more innovative than BrE in ongoing morphological and syntactical changes. Therefore, it would influence BrE and would lead to an americanization of the language.

- Grammaticalization
- Colloquialization

Mair (1997) states that very few genuine and significant instances of grammatical change can be observed.

> The changes "are not due to the fact that the grammar of the language itself has changed. Rather, these developments [increased frequency of the progressive and the *going-to* future, greater use of contracted forms] show that informal options which have been available for a long time are chosen more frequently today than would have been the case thirty years ago" (1997: 203).

Therefore, he prefers talking about "colloquialization" of the norms of written English rather than about "grammaticalization[15]" of the language when a syntactic structure is being replaced by an older grammatical form. But could this be argued with the rise in the use of the mandative subjunctive which used to be reserved to formal genres? This hypothesis could be verified in the Press section with either the status quo or decrease in the mandative constructions. However, this possible explanation needs to be rejected in the other genres: in Learned Prose, a very feeble decrease of *should* and an important increase of the subjunctive has been noted, hence the formality of this genre is not loosing any ground. The same can be said about Fiction with less extreme variations.

Our work presents some limitations and an even more detailed study by type of triggers and/or by single text category might provide more explanations. We also need to be extremely cautious with the conclusions drawn from the results, as the corpora analysed are rather small (only one million words). It would be worth carrying out the same study on a bigger corpus such as the British National Corpus containing 90 million of BrE written texts. If the trends observed in BrE were confirmed in the BNC data, this would show that the changes noted in this present analysis are not due to chance and/or to the sampling and size of the data.

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[15] Grammaticalization: study of how grammatical morphemes are produced from the lexicon.