

**The Complementation of the Verb *Hate*
in Recent Centuries**

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Tässä korpuspohjaisessa pro gradu -tutkielmassa tarkastellaan englannin kielen verbin *hate* komplementaatiota kirjoitetussa brittienglannissa 1710-luvulta 1990-luvulle. Tarkoituksena on selvittää, mitä komplementteja verbin kanssa esiintyy ja millaisia muutoksia näiden käytössä on tapahtunut tutkittavalla aikavälillä. Lisäksi tutkimuskohteena on komplementtien muodon ja merkityksen yhteys.

Tutkimusaineisto on haettu kahdesta sähköisestä korpuksesta. Historiallinen aineisto on kerätty Corpus of Late Modern English Texts -korpuksen ensimmäisestä ja kolmannelta osasta, jotka sisältävät vuosina 1710–1780 ja 1850–1920 julkaistuja kaunokirjallisia tekstejä. Nykykielen aineiston lähteenä on vuosina 1960–1993 julkaistuja tekstejä sisältävä British National Corpus, jonka käyttö on rajattu korpuksen kaunokirjalliseen osioon paremman vertailtavuuden vuoksi.

Tutkielma jakautuu teoreettiseen ja empiiriseen osaan. Teoriaosiossa esitellään aluksi korpuslingvistiikan tutkimusalaan sekä tutkimuksessa käytettävät korpuksat, minkä jälkeen tarkastellaan keskeisiä komplementaatioon liittyviä käsitteitä ja teorioita. Teoriaosan lopuksi perehdytään aikaisempaan tietoon *hate*-verbistä valikoitujen sanakirjojen, kielioppiteosten sekä komplementaatiotutkimusten avulla. Empiirisessä osiossa analysoidaan noin 200 *hate*-verbin esiintymää kultakin ajanjaksolta kronologisessa järjestyksessä ja verrataan niitä toisiinsa.

Hate-verbi ilmenee esiintyvän tutkimusaineistossa kymmenen erilaisen komplementin kanssa (nollakomplementin lisäksi), joista ylivoimaisesti yleisin jokaisella ajanjaksolla on nominilauseke (NP). Tutkimus osoittaa, että *hate*-verbi ei noudata The Great Complement Shift -nimellä tunnettuja yleisiä komplementaatiomuutoksia, vaan sekä *to*-infinitiivien että *-ing*-komplementtien määrä on noussut tasaisesti. *To*-infinitiivien lisääntynyt käyttö selittyy vain nykykielessä esiintyvällä idiomaattisella kohteliaisuusfraasilla, jossa käytetään vain *to*-infinitiiviä. Toinen vain nykykielessä esiintyvä piirre on *it + when* -komplementti. Lisäksi *hate*-verbin passiivimuotoinen käyttö ilmenee vähentyneen.

Asiasanat: *hate*, verbit, komplementaatio, korpuslingvistiikka, englannin kieli

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1 Introduction

Consider the following sentences, taken from the British National Corpus:

- (1) I *hate* to say it, but pain may be necessary to art. (BMD 2012)
- (2) I *hate* watching someone struggle with a job I can do more quickly. (CDK 2281)
- (3) Jacob *hated* her going to the clinic, but she went whenever things at home got too difficult. (FNT 1762)
- (4) She *hates* what she does now, but feels that there is no alternative. (HAE 4243)

The sentences aim to illustrate some of the ways in which the verb *hate* can be used. As can be seen, *hate* may be followed by various kinds of clauses: *to*-infinitive, *ing*-clause, NP + *-ing*-clause and *what*-clause. This thesis aims to explore what kinds of elements may complement the verb *hate* in British English from 18th century to present day. Data will be gathered from two electronic corpora, namely the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts and the British National Corpus. In addition to the frequencies of different complementation patterns, attention will be paid to whether any changes, either syntactic or semantic, have taken place in the use of the verb during the time span. More precisely, I aim to:

- i) identify the complement patterns selected by the verb *hate* and count their frequencies
- ii) compare the frequencies diachronically in order to track any changes in the use of *hate*
- iii) define whether the complementation of *hate* follows a trend known as the Great Complement Shift
- iv) explore the connection between different senses and syntactic patterns of *hate*
- v) analyze semantically the nominal complements of *hate*.

To put it more broadly, my goal is to find out what people have hated in recent centuries and see how these expressions are constructed.

This thesis is mainly motivated by reasons that have to do with teaching of English as a foreign language. Studies within the field support the view that linguistic variation, however complex, is systematic (Biber 2010, 160). Therefore, corpus linguistic studies may provide insight into grammatical change and help to develop new ways of teaching. Conrad (2000, 549) argues that

grammar and lexis are likely to be more integrated to each other in language teaching owing to corpus linguistics. Based on lexicogrammatical findings, such as verbs having a preference for certain complement types, Conrad states that “certain grammatical constructions ought to be taught in relation to lexical items; in this case, the complement clause should be associated with its preferred verbs” (Conrad 2000, 553). In addition, Conrad points out that frequency information obtained via corpus research can be used as a tool by teachers when deciding which items to emphasize in class.

According to Greenbaum (1986, 6), “[o]ver a period of fifty or so years, grammatical change manifests itself largely in the increased frequency of some variants over others, [...] and in differences in the grammatical treatment of individual words. These changes spread gradually across the whole speech community, sometimes taking several generations before they become conspicuous.” Thus, by examining a single word and its use during a time-span of several centuries, I aim to contribute to our understanding of verb complementation and linguistic change. Moreover, I hope this thesis will serve as an introduction to corpus linguistics to anyone interested in the topic.

Another, more personal reason for why I find this kind of research task worth carrying out has to do with my own professional prospects as a teacher of English. As mentioned, it is possible to draw professional support for teaching from corpus linguistics. Liu and Jiang (2009, 61) have reported on students’ “improved command of lexicogrammar, increased critical understanding of grammar, and enhanced discovery learning skills” when “integrating corpus and contextualized lexicogrammar in foreign and second language teaching”. Thus, corpus linguistics may well prove to be a useful acquaintance when implementing pedagogical methods as a language teacher.

2 Corpus linguistics

Bloomfield, writing in 1933, states that “[t]he process of linguistic change has never been directly observed; [...] such observation, with our present facilities, is inconceivable” (Bloomfield 1933, 347). Since then, new technological linguistic methods have been developed, and, Bauer, for instance, takes a contrary view to the matter. He states that “English is changing today and [...] you can watch the changes happening around you” (Bauer 1994, 1). While the statement may be somewhat optimistic, it is certain that the possibilities for carrying out systematic research on language change have significantly improved since Bloomfield’s time. Conrad (2000, 558) sees corpus linguistics as a route to a description of grammar that is consistent with native speaker use, systematically takes into account linguistic variation and that benefits both teachers and students of English. In this chapter, I will introduce the basics of corpus linguistics and provide information on the corpora used in this study.

2.1 Corpus-based approach to corpus linguistics

In corpus linguistics, the most essential element is the corpus, which is defined as “[t]he body of written or spoken material upon which a linguistic analysis is based” in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*). Kennedy (1998, 4) adds that distinction between a corpus and a text archive can be made – an archive is simply a text repository, whereas corpus is *designed* for linguistic analysis and can be described as systematic, planned and structured.

According to Biber’s description (2010, 159), “[c]orpus linguistics is a research approach that has developed over the past several decades to support empirical investigations of language variation and use, resulting in research findings that have much greater generalizability and validity than would otherwise be feasible.” It has been debated whether corpus linguistics should be seen as a methodological basis for studying language instead of a domain of research (Tognini-Bonelli 2001, 1). However, as corpus linguistics unites the ways of data gathering and theorizing, as well as computational, statistical methods and the qualitative change of the observations (*ibid.*), it can be

argued that corpus linguistics has a body of its own, which permits the researchers to ask fundamentally different kinds of research questions than in previous research (Biber 2010, 160).

Corpus linguistic studies can be divided in two main approaches: corpus-driven and corpus-based. Corpus-driven approach at its purest entails no presuppositions regarding the linguistic features in focus – the constructs emerge from the analysis of the data (Biber 2010, 162). Thus, observations within corpus-driven studies may lead to new and innovative descriptions on language use. Corpus-based research, on the contrary, “assumes the validity of linguistic forms and structures derived from linguistic theory; the primary goal of research is to analyze the systematic patterns of variation and use for those pre-defined linguistic features” (ibid.). Mair (2010, 1) has listed the main aims of corpus-based work on on-going change as follows:

- (1) to empirically verify/falsify hypotheses on linguistic change in present-day English proposed in the linguistic literature;
- (2) to uncover instances of change and/or variation not previously noticed in the literature through a systematic and exhaustive comparison of frequencies in the corpora;
- (3) to use recent developments in national standard varieties of English in order to investigate the precise mode of interaction between synchronic variation and diachronic change.

In sum, corpus linguistics provides an interesting vantage point to language change. As regards this study, the approach will be corpus-based with focus on complementation patterns of the verb *hate*. Thus, I hope to contribute to the aims 1 and 2 above identified by Mair by adding this small piece of research into the body of research on verb complementation.

2.2 Corpora used in this study

In this thesis, I will analyze data drawn from two corpora, namely the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (CLMET) and the British National Corpus (BNC). In the following subsections, the corpora will be described briefly.

2.2.1 The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts

The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts is a 10-million-word compilation of texts drawn from Project Gutenberg and the Oxford Text Archive, covering the period from 1710 to 1920 (de Smet 2005, 70). In this thesis, the original version of the corpus will be used. As the corpus is divided into three sub-periods of 70 years each, it is well suited to this kind of diachronic study (ibid.). Figure 1 below presents the corpus sub-periods and the number of words in each sub-period.

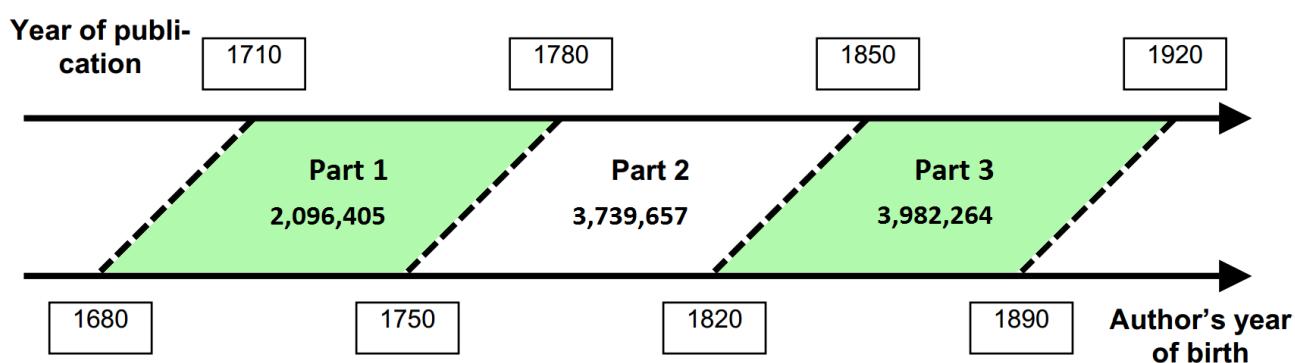


Figure 1. Corpus sub-periods and the number of words in each section (adapted from de Smet 2005, 71). The highlighted parts 1 and 3 will be used in this study.

According to the compiler (De Smet 2005, 70), the compilation of the corpus has been guided by four principles. First, the texts included within one sub-period of the corpus are written by authors within a correspondingly restricted time-span. Thus, an author can only be represented in one sub-period of the corpus. Second, all authors are British and native speakers of English, which reduces the dialectal variation in the data. Third, there is a maximum of 200 000 words per author in the data, which makes it unlikely that idiosyncratic expressions dominate the data. Fourth, attempts have been made to ensure that there is variation in genre and author's background. Non-literary texts and texts from lower registers have been favoured over literary ones and texts from higher registers.

Despite the efforts, De Smet (ibid., 78) points out that the corpus make-up is not ideal. The corpus is “largely made up of formal writings by highly schooled (and linguistically self-conscious) authors [which] is unfortunate, because these are exactly the type of texts where one expects language change to be kept at a tight leash” (ibid., 79). Nevertheless, the CLMET is large enough to be used in the study of relatively infrequent syntactic patterns and lexico-grammatical patterning (ibid., 78).

2.2.2 The British National Corpus

For present-day data, the British National Corpus (BNC) will be utilized. The BNC is a 100 million word collection of both written and spoken samples of language use. According to the *BNC User Reference Guide* (Burnard 2007), written sources dominate the data with 90 million words. The corpus covers three decades, with texts published between 1960 and 1993 (ibid.). Over 90 percent of the texts, however, have been published between 1985 and 1993 (ibid.). The corpus is composed of text samples, generally no longer than 45 000 words, from various genres, subject fields and registers (ibid.). All samples are produced by speakers of British English (ibid.).

To ensure the validity of the comparisons between the two corpora, data will be gathered from the imaginative prose section of the BNC. Thus, the data should fall within a similar category as those obtained from the CLMET. The imaginative prose section contains 16 496 408 words in 476 texts, covering thus roughly one sixth of the whole BNC.

2.3 Normalized frequencies

Normalization is a way of relating raw frequency counts to the size of the relevant context (Biber et al. 1998, 263). The procedure is essential when comparing data from different corpora, as the comparison of raw frequency counts would yield misleading results if the corpora are of different size (ibid.). Normalization is carried out by first multiplying the number of occurrences of a given pattern by a pre-defined number chosen for norming. Then, the product is divided by the total word count of the relevant context. This leads us to following formula, in which 'n' stands for the number of occurrences, 'm' for chosen multiplier, 'c' for context and NF for the outcome, normalized frequency:

$$\frac{n \times m}{c} = \text{NF}$$

As regards this study, the relevant context will be the (sub-)corpus and the multiplier 1 000 000.

For example, if a pattern occurs 20 times in the 1st part of the CLMET, the normalized frequency will

be $\frac{20 \times 1\,000\,000}{2\,096\,405} = 9,54$ per million words.

However, roughly the same amount of data will be gathered from each corpus so that the comparison of raw counts, which may be more intuitive for the reader, will yield approximately correct results.

3 Complementation

In this chapter, the basic principles of verb complementation will be introduced. First, I will discuss the definition of *complement* briefly. Then, I move on to introducing valency theory, upon which complementation studies strongly rely. Finally, I will discuss some other notions central to verb complementation. A central point steering the discussion is the distinction between complements and adjuncts.

3.1 Defining *complement*

To begin with a broad definition, the term *complement* is used “to refer to a major constituent of sentence or clause structure, traditionally associated with ‘completing’ the action specified by the verb” (Crystal 2008, 92). Thus, the verb (or some other predicate) is seen as a central clause element, which requires other elements to make the utterance complete. However, researchers have different views on which elements to regard as complements. Quirk et al. (1985, 65, italics added), for instance, define *complementation* as a “function of a part of a phrase or clause which *follows* a word, and completes the specification of a meaning relationship which that word implies”. Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 215), on the other hand, have a broader view of complements as they regard subject-position elements as complements too, since “they have important affinities with the object and other complements”. Quirk et al.’s approach can be explained by the extended projection principle, according to which all sentences must have subjects regardless of the verb (Haegeman 1994, 69). This stance will be followed in this study, although some observations will be made of subject position elements, too. In the following sections, the notion of complement will be discussed in more detail.

3.2 Valency theory

Valency is a term describing relationships between a verbal predicate and other elements making up a predication (Somers 1984, 508)¹. The roots of valency theory can be found in in Tesnière’s work in the framework of dependency grammar (Faulhaber 2011, 3). Valency theory is based on the assumption that “the verb occupies a central position in the sentence because the verb determines how many other elements have to occur in order to form a grammatical sentence” (Herbst et al. 2004, xxiv). Basically, the elements closely associated with the predicate are ‘complements’ and the rest ‘adjuncts’ (Somers 1984, 508). A verb’s valency pattern thus includes the number of complements required by the verb and their properties as regards form and function² (Somers 1984, 508). For instance, the verb *put* requires two complements (Herbst et al. 2004, xxiv, adjunct *last night* omitted from (1)):

- (1) I put paper and kindling by the fire.
- (2) *I put by the fire.
- (3) *I put paper and kindling.

In addition to the complements required by a verb’s valency, other elements may be expressed in the sentence too. Such elements are termed adjuncts (Herbst 2004, xxiv). According to Herbst, “adjuncts have two essential characteristics: (i) they can occur relatively freely and (ii) they are not determined in their form by the governing verb” (Herbst 2004, xxiv). Somers emphasizes that “all elements are assigned complement or adjunct status with respect to some verb” (Somers 1984, 508, capitals removed), and it is important to acknowledge that a given verb may have different valency patterns in different contexts (Crystal 2008, 507). Somers (1984, 508) points out that many valency grammarians have made the mistake of seeing the adjunct status as an inherent feature of some

¹ It needs to be noted, however, that adjectives and nouns may take complements, too.

² Not all grammarians, however, include form and function in ‘valency’. Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 219), for instance, refer only to the number of complements with the term valency. Another point of view is to base valency on the number of semantic arguments rather than syntactic complements (ibid.)

elements. According to Somers (ibid.), Helbig, for instance, has characterized adjuncts as “insertable to or eliminable from any sentence almost at will”. Somers argues that the flaws of this view can be noticed by comparing the following sentences, since the phrase *in London* functions as an adjunct in (4) and is obviously not ‘freely eliminable’ in (5), being thus a complement of *live* (ibid.):

- (4) He looked for his friend in London.
- (5) James lives in London.

3.3 Distinguishing complements from adjuncts

According to Somers (1984, 508), the distinction between complements and adjuncts is by far the most studied topic in the framework of valency grammar. A number of principles and practical tests have been suggested in literature to account for the distinction, a selection of which is presented in the following subsections.

3.3.1 Licensing

Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 219) mention *licensing* as the most important property of complements in clause structure. All complements in a clause structure “require the presence of an appropriate verb that licenses them” (ibid.). This tendency of verbs selecting particular types of complements is sometimes called *subcategorization*: the verb *subcategorizes for* or, simply, *selects* a specific type of complement (Haegeman 1994, 42). Examples (6) and (7) below from Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 219) illustrate this notion.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| (6) a. She <u>mentioned</u> the letter. | b. *She <u>alluded</u> the letter. |
| (7) a. She <u>thought</u> him unreliable. | b. *She <u>said</u> him unreliable. |

In (6), the verb *mention* licenses an object, but *allude in* (6) does not (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 219). In (7), *think* licenses an object + ‘predicative complement’ (*unreliable*), whereas *say* in (7) does not (ibid.). On the basis of the different complement types selected by the verb, verbs can be divided into various classes. A basic division can be made on the grounds of transitivity – for instance, intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive verbs select zero, one or two complements respectively.

In the previous examples from Huddleston & Pullum, *mention* is monotransitive and *thought* ditransitive³.

3.3.2 Obligatoriness

While every complement needs to be licensed by the verb, some of the complements may be required by the verb. According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 221), obligatoriness distinguishes complements from adjuncts, as complements may be obligatory, but adjuncts are always optional. In other words, licensing is a matter of verb *allowing* a certain pattern, whereas obligatoriness is a matter of verb *requiring* it (ibid.). Quirk et al. (1985, 52) take a slightly different stance on the matter by arguing that there are adverbials that are obligatory, such as *in the garden* in example (8) below (ibid.). Quirk et al. argue that *in the garden* is “equivalent to adverbials in meaning, [e.g.] in answering the question *Where?*, even though [it is] similar to complements in acting as an obligatory element following the verb *be*”, which can be seen in the ungrammaticality of example (8).

- (8) a. I have been in the garden all the time since lunch.
b. *I have been all the time since lunch

However, as already pointed out in section 3.2, this view is based on a notion of a prototypical adjunct rather than context specific complement/adjunct status assignation in reference to a particular verb. The view of adjuncts being always optional will be followed in this thesis. Thus *in the garden* in example (8) above is analyzed as complement. Herbst (2009, 55) brings out the connection to valency theory by pointing out that it is strictly speaking the realization of the valency slot that is obligatory rather than the actual complement.

³ However, as Quirk et al. (1985, 1168) quite rightly observe, many verbs allow several complementation types, and, therefore, it may be misleading to talk of ‘intransitive verbs’ or ‘monotransitive verbs’. Instead, expressions such as ‘monotransitive use’ or ‘monotransitive complementation’ fit more easily to such cases. Another point concerning such labels is that only a few very general patterns have established names (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 220). For instance, there is no label for verbs such as *inquire* or *wonder*, which take interrogative clauses as complement (ibid.).

To sum up the stance taken in this thesis, complements and adjuncts can be analyzed in the following groups based on their obligatoriness (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 221):

- (9) a. She perused the report. b. *She perused. [obligatory complement]
(10) a. She read the report. b. She read. [optional complement]
(11) a. She left because she was ill. b. She left. [adjunct]⁴

The contrast between sentences *a* and *b* in examples (9)–(11) above leads us to a definition of obligatoriness: an element is obligatory if its omission would yield an ungrammatical construction or an unsystematic change of meaning (Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 221). We will look at these criteria more closely in section 3.3.4 on tests. As a final note, according to Herbst (2004, xxxii), a fourth category of contextually optional complements can be identified. A complement is contextually optional only if their referent can be identified from the context, as is the case with *know* in the following example (ibid.)

- (12) But where is he now? Does Hannah know?

3.3.3 Position

When distinguishing complements from adjuncts, it may be helpful to experiment with the sequence of the elements in the sentence. According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 225), complements are more restricted than adjuncts as regards their position in a sentence. The authors (ibid.) illustrate this with the examples presented in (13) and (14) below.

- (13) a. We played tennis in the afternoon. b. In the afternoon we played tennis.
(14) a. He gave the beer to Kim. b. To Kim he gave the beer.

Although all of the sentences above are grammatical, (14) is relatively unusual in comparison with (13) and more restricted in its possible contexts, whereas the adjunct *in the afternoon* in (13) can be used much more easily in both constructions. Thus, it can be summarized that adjuncts allow more mobility in a sentence than complements.

⁴ In Huddleston and Pullum's analysis, (11)a. is labelled as "optional adjunct". In this thesis, however, adjuncts are considered optional by definition, and thus labelled simply as *adjuncts*.

3.3.4 Other tests

I will now review two other tests proposed in literature to distinguish complements from adjuncts. One such test is the extraction test (see Somers 1987, 13), which was, in fact, previously used in this section in examples (9)–(11) from Huddleston and Pullum. It was concluded that a complement is obligatory, when its omission yields an ungrammatical sentence, as in example (9) above. Less straightforward are cases such as example (10), in which the omission does not result in ungrammaticality but in a change of meaning, the degree of which may vary. The change is much more obvious in the following example from Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 221).

- (15) a. She ran the business. b. She ran.

To sum up the main idea of the extraction test, as argued by Brinker (in Somers 1987, 13), an element is a complement “[i]f the deletion of the element leads to a change in the semantic value of the whole sentence, i.e. if the change of meaning associated with the deletion cannot be attributed to the deleted element alone”. However, the test has been criticized for relying on definitions and interpretations based on intuition (ibid.).

Another test is the ‘do so’ test, which builds upon the use of ‘do’ as a general proform for verbs, and, as reported by Lakoff and Ross (1966, II-5ff.), ‘do so’ as a pro-form for the verb phrase, as in example (16).

- (16) a. Harry forged a check, but Bill could never bring himself to forge a check.
 b. Harry forged a check, but Bill could never bring himself to do so.

Somers (1987, 18) has outlined the test as follows: “while a *do so* phrase can be the proform of anything up to the entire predication [...], the minimum element that can be substituted is the predicate plus any complements”. It follows that, unlike adjuncts, complements cannot occur alongside the proform, as illustrated in examples (17) and (18) below (from Somers, ibid.).

- (17) John took a trip *last Tuesday*, and I’m going to do so *tomorrow*. [adjunct]
(18) *I live *in Manchester* and Jock does so *in Salford*. [complement]

In (17), *tomorrow* can be used perfectly acceptably after *do so*, which shows that it and the corresponding element *last Tuesday* are adjuncts (ibid.). Example (18), on the contrary, illustrates that complements fail to make up grammatical sentences in the same construction.

As regards *hate*, there are some constraints in using the test. It is doubtful whether the test can be applied to the verb at all, as it is reported to be impossible with stative verbs by Lakoff and Ross (1966, II-5). However, a native speaker of New Zealand English consulted on the matter did not consider the construction impossible and brought to my attention a sentence found in the BNC:

(19) He always hated bully-boys and was correct to do so. (H90 2568)

Even if the construction is possible, the test seems controversial with *hate* and may not return conclusive results.

To conclude the section on complement vs. adjunct distinction, it seems that no conclusive criteria can be identified despite the efforts. Nevertheless, the properties described in this section should be helpful in making the distinction.

3.4 Control and NP Movement

As the main interest in this thesis will be on sentential complements, a brief survey of control and NP movement structures is at this point useful. As Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1193) point out, most non-finite clauses do not have a subject, although, semantically, one is often needed and understood to fulfill the predication of the lower verb – these are known as *understood subjects*. Formally, the assumption is underpinned by the theta criterion, according to which “[e]ach argument is assigned one and only one theta role [=semantic role] and “[e]ach theta role is assigned to one and only one argument” (Haegeman 1994, 54). In other words, semantic roles are governed by the predicate, and they need to be mapped exclusively to an argument in a sentence. To account for the cases where there is no overt target for a semantic role, the concepts *control* (or *Equi*) and *NP Movement* (or *raising*) have been utilized. It is important to acknowledge that many predicates may license sentential complements both with and without an overt subject.

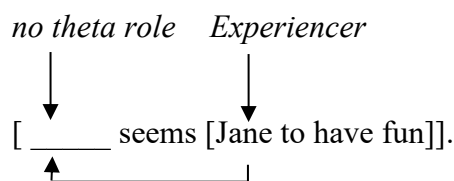
Let us first discuss subjectless non-finite clause complements. Consider the following sentences (of my own):

(20) Jane seems to have fun.

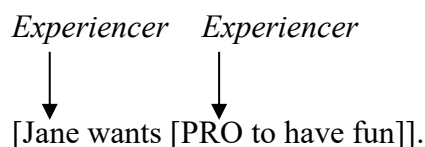
(21) Jane wants to have fun.

In example (21), both *wants* and *have* need to assign the theta role of experiencer to an argument. Intuitively, we can observe that Jane is the experiencer of both verbs, but this seems to violate the theta criterion. Superficially, example (20) is similar, but a closer look at its argument structure reveals a major difference – Jane is not *seeming*, she is *having fun*. Carnie (2007, 403) argues that whenever the matrix predicate assigns an external theta role (a role for the subject position element), the construction does not involve raising. Thus, the structures can be analyzed as follows (modified from Carnie 2007, 403):

Subject-to-subject raising:



Subject control:



In the raising construction, *Jane* belongs to the lower clause, but is moved up to the matrix clause. In the control structure, on the contrary, *Jane* belongs to the matrix clause, and PRO is needed in the lower clause to receive the theta role of experiencer assigned by *have*.

A number of tests have been proposed in literature to distinguish control predicates from raising. Next, a selection of these tests will be introduced and applied on *hate*. According to Carnie (2007, 404), only raising predicates allow extraposition, as exemplified by the following sentences.

(22) It seems that Jean will dance. (Raising)

(23) *It hates that Jean will dance. (Control)

Moreover, only raising predicates may be inserted into idiomatic expressions without losing the figurative interpretation (ibid.). Consider, for instance, the idiom “the cat is out of the bag” meaning

that a secret has been revealed. Clearly, *hate* does not allow the figurative interpretation and, in this case, can be classified as control predicate, as the following illustrations show (modified from Carnie, *ibid.*):

- (24) The cat seems to be out of the bag. (idiomatic meaning possible)
(25) The cat hates to be out of the bag. (non-idiomatic meaning only)

I have now discussed the ways of accounting for the understood subjects in subjectless non-finite complement patterns, and found out that *hate* is a control predicate in this particular structure. However, as this is not the only pattern selected by *hate*, it is now in order to discuss sentential complements involving an overt subject. Examples (26) and (27) below from Carnie (2007, 409) illustrate this pattern. *t* stands for trace indicating the original position of the subject position element in raising structures:

- (26) Jean wants Robert_i [_{t_i} to leave].
(27) Jean persuaded Robert_i [PRO_i to leave].

Similarly to the cases (20) and (21) discussed previously, we can spot a difference in the argument structures of these two examples. To begin with a generalization made by Carnie (2007, 411), in object control structures, such as (27) above, the main predicate assigns three theta roles (of external agent or experiencer, an internal theme, and a proposition). Subject-to-object raising, on the contrary, does not involve an internal theme, but only two theta roles of external agent or experiencer, and a proposition). Following Carnie's (2007, 410) analysis on sentences (20) and (21) above, *leave* assigns an agent role to *Robert* in both sentences. However, *want* does not assign a theta role to *Robert*, whereas *persuade* does. Thus, in (21), PRO is needed to take the theta role of theme (*ibid.*). The latter sentence is thus a control sentence, but as the main clause object is coreferential with PRO, we call this structure "object control" to distinguish the construction from subject control.

In addition to the argument structure criterion described above, the idiom test can, again, be applied to test whether a sentence involves control or raising.

- (28) I want the cat to be out of the bag. (idiomatic meaning possible)
(29) I persuaded the cat to be out of the bag. (non-idiomatic meaning only)

As regards *hate*, it seems to fit the pattern illustrated with *want* in the previous examples. *I hate the cat to be out of the bag* may be interpreted idiomatically, and, more importantly, *hate* assigns a theta role not for *the cat*, but rather for the clause *the cat to be out of the bag*.

We will return to sentential complements at several points in this thesis. To summarize the discussion in this section, sentential complements of *hate* involve subject control when no overt subject is expressed and subject-to-object raising when there lower verb is preceded by a NP, as illustrated below.

- (30) I_i hate [PRO_i to dance with a stranger]. (subject control)
(31) I hate Jane_i [t_i to dance with a stranger]. (subject-to-object raising)

3.5 Semantics of *to*-infinitive and *ing*-clause constructions

To-infinitive and *ing*-clause complements are perhaps the most thoroughly studied complement clauses, which may be explained by their overlapping contexts of use and rivalry, which will be discussed later in section 3.6.1 on the Great Complement Shift. However, the two constructions are not always (if ever) interchangeable, and many scholars have noted that the complement selection is affected not only by syntactic phenomena but semantic differences of the two constructions. In this section, I will review some of the most prominent semantic aspects associated with the two constructions. Thus, I hope to put the sentential complements into a broader semantic context before discussing them with a specific predicate, *hate*, in chapter 4.

A significant number of studies in the area elaborate on Bolinger's (1968, 127) conclusion that a "difference in syntactic form always spells a difference in meaning". According to Rudanko (2012a, 262), this principle, known as Bolinger's Generalization, has proved valuable as it has steered subsequent research towards exploring the meaning of constructions, although pinpointing differences between two semantically similar forms may not always be easy. Smith and Escobedo (2001, 550), among others, agree with Bolinger and argue that semantic criteria can be found for why

certain predicates prefer either *to*-infinitives or *ing*-clauses as complements, and for why some predicates allow both types of complements.

Perhaps the most frequently mentioned difference between the constructions is the aspect of factuality vs. potentiality: according to Quirk et al. (1985, 1192), the infinitive refers to potential situations, which favours its use in “hypothetical and nonfactual contexts”, whereas the participle is used to refer to something which definitely happens or has happened. According to Quirk et al.’s analysis (*ibid.*), sentence (32) below is favoured to (32), as living has definitely happened, but when modalized with *would*, both constructions are equally possible.

- (32) a. Brian *loathed?* to live in the country.
b. Brian *loathed* living in the country.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1242) present similar analysis by linking the gerund-participial (*-ing*-clause) with factuality. However, their treatment of the infinitive differs slightly from the aspect of potentiality, as they associate the infinitive primarily with change. They illustrate this viewpoint with the following sentence (*ibid.*).

- (33) I like being married.

In the sentence, *-ing*-clause is preferred to *to*-infinitive, as it would, quite strangely, imply repeated changes from not being married to being married (*ibid.*). Although the viewpoint is slightly different, this seems to be in concordance with Quirk et al.’s analysis presented above, as both constructions seem to be possible when modalized with *would*.

Allerton’s view, too, is somewhat similar to Quirk et al.’s, although factuality seems to be defined through the concept of likelihood. In addition, frequency has been mentioned as a factor affecting complement selection: “the infinitive typically refers to something infrequent, unlikely, or even hypothetical, [while] the gerund refers either to a factual event or regular series of events in the past, or to a likely future event” (Allerton 1988, 14).

Another prominent aspect bearing on complement selection is the temporal scope of action. According to Poutsma’s early analysis (1929, 864), the infinitival construction is preferred in

describing a special case, whereas gerund-constructions imply mostly habit or duration. In more precise presentations, this idea has been discussed through the concept of temporal or conceptual overlap (of the matrix verb and the lower verb), which is realized with *-ing*-clauses but not with *to*-infinitives. Smith and Escobedo (2001, 559) argue that the infinitive implies a “holistic view of the subordinate process, with its initial boundary especially salient and not yet accessed”. Thus, the process is seen to occur at a specific point in time which has “not yet [been] accessed” (ibid.), linking the process closely to the hypothetical contexts discussed previously. *Ing*-complements, on the contrary, are said to involve a “temporal overlap with the first part of the matrix process” (ibid.). These are illustrated in the following examples (ibid., examples originally from Dirven):

(34) a. The clock began to strike twelve.

b. The clock began striking twelve.

In (34), the emphasis is on the first strike of a series of twelve, whereas the *-ing*-clause complement in (34) implies an internal perspective with reference to any number of strikes (ibid.). Thus, the process expressed by the *-ing*-complement is clearly seen to have a duration.

An interesting view presented by Smith and Escobedo (2001, 550) is that the complement marker *to*, although grammaticalized, carries a meaning related to its original path–goal schema, which is evoked by the meaning of the matrix predicate. In this view, the schema is extended to abstract domains as well, for instance with references to future, in which case the goal is a point in time (ibid., 554). The meaning of matrix predicates selecting *-ing*-complements, on the contrary, “usually evoke some kind of conceptual overlap between the matrix and subordinate processes which is conveyed by the meaning of *-ing*” (ibid.). In some cases, the overlap can be prior rather than actual (ibid., 557). Smith and Escobedo (ibid.) illustrate this with the sentence “I miss and recommend studying with her”, in which the subordinate processes have been, at least partially, completed.

To conclude the current discussion, a brief recapitulation may be in order. It was argued that *to*-infinitival and *ing*-clause constructions are semantically distinct, both associated with different semantic aspects. *To*-infinitives entail hypotheticality, potentiality, infrequency, holisticity and

change, which can be, according to Smith and Escobedo, derived from the path–goal meaning of *to*. *Ing*-constructions are reported to entail factuality, likeliness, duration and conceptual (or temporal) overlap. Some of these concepts will be revisited later with reference to *hate*.

3.6 Other factors affecting complementation

In this section, a number of other factors influencing complement selection will be discussed.

3.6.1 The Great Complement Shift

The Great Complement Shift denotes “the set of major changes in the evolving system of English predicate complementation“ (Rudanko 2012b, 222). Rohdenburg (2006, 143), when coining the term, described the shift as involving a number of changes, most importantly the establishment of gerundial complements at the expense of infinitival ones. According to Vosberg (2009, 213), the gerund has been competing against the infinitival complements of various verbs since late Middle English times, if not earlier. Rohdenburg (2006, 143f.) gives the following examples and argues that the changes have virtually reached completion, with the exception of *accustomed* and *dread*:

- | | | |
|--|---|-------------------------------------|
| (35) She delighted to do it. | → | She delighted in doing it. |
| (36) She was used/accustomed to do it. | → | He was used/accustomed to doing it. |
| (37) She avoided/dreaded to go there. | → | She avoided/dreaded going there. |

According to Fanego (2004, 28), gerundial complements have replaced *to*-infinitives, either completely or partially, with a wide range of verb types. Among the types mentioned are emotive verbs, such as *fear*, *like*, *love* and *hate*. In my analysis, attention will be paid to whether the sentential complements of *hate* follow this tendency of shifting towards *-ing*-complements.

3.6.2 Extractions

In terms of Transformational Grammar, extractions can be described as deviations from canonical sentence structure (Vosberg 2003a, 201), in which a linguistic unit is extracted out of the lower clause into the matrix clause. According to Postal (1994, 162), there are nine types of extractions, which are

illustrated below (Postal’s examples, slightly modified). [t] stands for trace, the position which the bracketed item on the left would occupy in a canonical sentence structure.

question extraction	[Who] did they nominate [t] to be director?
restrictive relative extraction	[The gun (which)] they claimed [t] was used in the crime.
pseudo clefting	[What] Ellen wants [t] is a Mercedes-Benz.
negative NP extraction	[No such gorilla] did I ever see [t].
comparative extraction	Stella tickled more chimps than [what] I said that Dwight tickled [t].
exclamatory extraction	[What a lovely woman] I found out that he married [t]!
topicalization	[Frank] I would never hire [t].
non-restrictive relative extraction	[Frank], who they adored [t], is dishonest.
clefting	It was Frank [who] they hired [t].

Vosberg (2003b, 307) summarizes these groups into four main types of extraction: relativization, comparativization, topicalization, and interrogation. Extractions are of interest because they may affect the complementation patterns a verb selects. According to Vosberg’s Extraction Principle (2003b, 308), “[i]n the case of infinitival or gerundial complement options, the infinitive will tend to be favoured in environments where a complement of the subordinate clause is extracted [...] from its original position and crosses clause boundaries.” I will evaluate the validity of this principle in the light of my data in the corpus analysis section.

3.6.3 Horror aequi

Another factor affecting complement selection is what is known as the *Horror aequi* principle, coined and defined by Rohdenburg (2003, 236) as follows:

[T]he horror aequi principle involves the widespread (and presumably universal) tendency to avoid the use of formally (near-)identical and (near-)adjacent (non-coordinate) grammatical elements or structures.

Conversely, the following hypothesis may be formulated on basis of the principle, adopted from Rudanko (2002, 104).

Form of matrix verb		Form of complement
-ing form	prefers	to-infinitive
to-infinitive	prefers	-ing-form

As pointed out by Rudanko (ibid.), the hypothesis has its limitations and should be treated only as a tendency. In particular, the hypothesis can only be applied to verbs that are capable of selecting the two types of complements without significant differences in meaning (ibid.). However, as *hate* is expected to select both *-ing*-clauses and *to*-infinitives, it seems promising to evaluate this hypothesis in the empirical part of this thesis.

4 Hate in the literature

In this chapter, I will review selected literature in order to explore both semantic and syntactic characteristics of *hate*. As the two are often intertwined, I aim to discuss them side-by-side. The section reviewing dictionaries focuses primarily on semantic descriptions, while the section on grammars is more focused on syntax. However, syntax is often linked to semantic grouping of verbs. In the section on complementation studies, more detailed views of *hate* will be presented. Finally, some complement types will be discussed more thoroughly, followed by a summary of the chapter. Throughout the chapter, a strong emphasis is placed on sentential complements.

4.1 Etymology

To properly understand the properties of a word, a brief note on its origins may be useful. According to Chambers Dictionary of Etymology (2006, 468) the verb *hate* has developed from Old English *hatian*, which developed into *haten* at the end of the 12th century. Originally, the verb has been derived from Proto-Germanic **Hatōjanan* from the Indo-European base **kād-*, **kəd-*. The verb has cognates in Old Frisian (*hatia*), Old Saxon (*haton*), Dutch (*haten*), Old High German (*hazzōn*, or *hassen* in modern German), Old Icelandic (*hata*) and Gothic (*hatjan*, *hatan*) (ibid.).

4.2 Hate in dictionaries

To begin with one of the most influential dictionaries of English, a listing of the senses for (verbal) *hate* in the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* is presented in Table 1 below. As a general rule guiding the compilation of the tables in this section, all the examples found in the dictionaries have been analyzed syntactically by the current author, and at least one example of each complement type found in each sense has been included.

Sense	Example(s)	Complement(s)
<p>1.(a) <i>trans.</i> To hold in very strong dislike; to detest; to bear malice to. The opposite of <i>to love</i>.</p> <p><i>absolute:</i></p>	<p>1635 Shee hated her selfe for suffering her resolution to bee overcome. (J. HAYWARD tr. G. F. BIONDI <i>Donzella Desterrada</i> 181)</p> <p>1716 Our Children..are taught in their Infancy to hate one half of the Nation. (J. ADDISON <i>Freeholder</i> No. 53)</p> <p>1855 She hated easily; she hated heartily; and she hated implacably. (MACAULAY <i>Hist. Eng.</i> (1880) II. xv. 158)</p>	<p>NP + <i>for</i> + <i>-ing</i>-clause</p> <p>NP</p> <p>∅ (+ adjunct)</p>
<p>(b) It is intensified by various phrases.</p>	<p>1530 He hateth me lyke poyson. (J. PALSGRAVE <i>Lesclarcissement</i> 579/2)</p> <p>1709 He hates to be call'd <i>Parson</i>, like the <i>Devil</i>. (SWIFT <i>Mrs. Harris's Petit.</i> in <i>Baucis & Philemon</i> 12)</p>	<p>NP (+ adjunct)</p> <p><i>to</i>-inf</p>
<p>2. To dislike greatly, be extremely averse (<i>to do</i> something). Also constr. with verbal nouns.</p>	<p>1653 I hate to promise much, and fail. (I. WALTON <i>Compl. Angler To Rdr.</i> sig. A vj^v)</p> <p>1891 The easy-going, who hate being bothered. (T. HARDY <i>Tess</i> II. xxvii. 87)</p>	<p><i>to</i>-inf</p> <p><i>-ing</i>-clause</p>

Table 1. A complete list of senses and complements of *hate* (v) in the *OED*.

As illustrated in Table 1, the *OED* identifies two main senses for the verb *hate*, which are semantically rather similar. The division between senses 1a and 2 can perhaps be best explained by terms of syntax – sense 1 is described as transitive, whereas sense 2 seems to select sentential complements. The definition of sense 2, “averse (to do something)”, suggests the same, as the *to*-infinitive has been embedded in the definition itself. Five out of six examples of sense 2 in the *OED* include a *to*-infinitive complement, with the exception of one *-ing*-clause complement. Sense 1b is somewhat interesting (and perhaps slightly ill-placed), as it basically introduces adjuncts that may intensify *hate* both in sense 1a and sense 2, such as *mortally*, *deadly* or *to ded* (sic), in addition to the *like* + NP adjunct mentioned in the table.

The following complement types can be found in the *OED*: 1) NP; 2) NP + *for* + *-ing*-clause; 3) *-ing*-clause; 4) *to*-infinitive; and the zero complement type. Sense 1 involves both non-sentential and sentential complements, while sense 2 involves only sentential complements. However, it may be argued that the complement type 2 identified above is an NP complement followed by an adjunct⁵.

⁵ This view will be discussed later in section 4.5.

Moreover, sense 1 only involves *to*-infinitives in the subsense 1b, which, as pointed out above, should rather be seen as a subtype of both senses 1(a) and 2.

Thus, to simplify things, the *OED* can be divided into two semantically rather similar senses, which differ in their complement selection. Sense 1 of very strong dislike selects complement patterns with NP as the direct object, while sense 2 of aversion selects sentential complements. In addition, there are some examples in the *OED*, which illustrate, interestingly, a pattern that does not require an object. These cases are defined as “absolute”. However, this kind of usage seems quite exceptional and it can be considered a case of intransitive *hate* followed by an adjunct, which might deserve a sense of its own.

As the entries in the *OED* include only a limited number of senses and complement types, it may be useful to look into an advanced learner’s dictionary as well. Table 3 summarizes the senses found in the *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (OALD)*. Again, the table includes an example of each complement type present in the entries. As can be seen, the number of senses is still small, but many new complement patterns emerge.

Sense	Example(s)	Complement(s)
1. To dislike something very much	I hate Monday mornings. I hate it when people cry. He hated it in France (= did not like the life there). She hates making mistakes. She's a person who hates to make mistakes. He hates anyone parking in his space. She would have hated him to see how her hands shook.	NP <i>it + when</i> <i>it + in + NP</i> <i>-ing</i> -clause <i>to</i> -infinitive NP + <i>-ing</i> -clause NP + <i>to</i> -inf.
2. To dislike somebody very much	Sometimes I really hate him. I hated myself for feeling jealous. Hate somebody/yourself for something [no complete sentence of this type provided]	NP NP + <i>for + -ing</i> -clause NP + <i>for + NP</i>
3. used when saying something that you would prefer not to have to say, or when politely asking to do something	I hate to say it, but I don't think their marriage will last. I hate to trouble you, but could I use your phone?	<i>to</i> -inf. <i>to</i> -inf.

Table 2. A complete list of senses and complements of *hate* (v) in the *OALD*.

The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* makes a distinction between senses 1 and 2 on the grounds of whether the object is 1) “something” or 2) “somebody”. Both senses allow NP complements. However, the four most canonical sentential complements (*-ing*-clause; *to*-inf; NP + *-ing*-clause; NP + *to*-inf) occur in sense 1 only, as well as the less canonical *it* + *when* and *it* + *in* complements. This can be explained by the fact that the former set of sentential complements function as the logical object of the verb as a whole, describing *something* that is hated, whereas NP + *for*-element complements occur in sense 2 only, as the *for*-element specifies why *somebody* is hated (see sections 4.3 and 4.5 for more discussion). It is interesting that the NP + *for*-element constructions occur in sense 2 only, and reflexive pronouns are mentioned in both examples. In the corpus section, I will try to find out whether this is an actual tendency. What is missing from the *OALD* is the zero-complement type.

The division made in the *OALD* seems potentially useful, as the semantic division between senses 1 and 2 is intuitive, and, as far as the examples in the dictionary are considered, it seems possible to classify sentential complements exclusively into either sense 1 or 2 based on their form. *To*-infinitives are used in sense 3 too, but this sense seems to be characterized by *hate* being used as a polite introduction before the actual topic, introduced after the conjunction *but*. In such cases, the first part of the sentence seems to be omissible, with no effect on the main point of the utterance apart from stylistic change. For ease of reference, *hate*-clauses in sense 3 will be called *introductory*.

Although not a dictionary in the traditional sense, it may be useful to consult *A Valency Dictionary of English* (2004) compiled by Thomas Herbst. The dictionary is a corpus-based study of a large number of predicates, aimed at listing their possible complement patterns. As the previously discussed dictionaries were perhaps more focused on the senses, the focus will now be shifted towards complementation. The verb *hate* has an entry in the dictionary, and it is reported to select the following kinds of complements, the labels of which have been adapted to match the style used in this thesis: 1) Zero complement; 2) NP; 3) *to*-infinitive; 4) *-ing*-clause; 5) *that*-clause; 6) NP + *to*-

infinitive; 7) *for* + NP + *to*-infinitive; 8) NP + *for* + NP; 9) NP + *for* + *-ing*-clause (Herbst et al. 2004, 377).

4.3 *Hate* in grammars

The main focus of the previous section was on the senses of *hate*, and the analysis of the complement patterns relied on my own observations. Now, the focus will be shifted to syntax. In this section, the characteristics of the verb *hate* and its complementation patterns will be discussed in the light of selected grammars. It needs to be noted that the grammarians have used different terminology to describe the same phenomena. As this is not only a case of labelling but may involve deeper analytical differences, I review the literature using the original terminology despite possible inconsistency. Examples should provide sufficient support for interpreting the terminology.

I begin by replicating a table from Quirk et al. (1985, 1186), which illustrates what I call the four canonical types of sentential complements and their differences in general. Coincidentally, they illustrate the constructions with the verb *hate*.

	Without subject	With subject
<i>to</i> -infinitive	Jack <i>hates</i> <u>to miss the train.</u>	Jack <i>hates</i> <u>her to miss the train.</u>
<i>-ing</i> -participle	Jack <i>hates</i> <u>missing the train.</u>	Jack <i>hates</i> <u>her missing the train.</u>

Table 3. The four canonical (non-finite) sentential complements of *hate*. (Quirk et al. 1985, 1186)

As illustrated in Table 3 above, *hate* can take a subjectless infinitival clause or *-ing*-participle as direct object and the construction can be used with an overt subject as well. In section 3.4, it was noted that the subjectless complements involve control whereas constructions with subject involve NP Movement. As regards argument structure, Quirk et al. (ibid.) seem to agree – they have analyzed the underlined elements in Table 3 as direct objects. Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1231) have identified the same patterns for *hate* and add that both genitive and non-genitive NPs are permitted (e.g. his/him), but the former is restricted to formal contexts.

As was noted in section 3.5, Quirk et al. (1985, 1192) consider the infinitive to be used in more “potential” situations, whereas *ing*-complement implies factuality. Quirk et al. (ibid.) present example (1) below on a potential or non-factual situation.

- (1) a. I *hate* to seem rude, but you’re blocking the view.
- b. I *hate* ?seeming rude, but you’re blocking the view.

While Quirk et al.’s analysis may be correct, it needs to be noted that this kind of use *hate* was labelled *introductory* in section 4.2 above. According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1242), *hate* is the only verb of liking and not liking used in this sense which they see as idiomatic. Thus, Quirk et al.’s example seems to describe a rather special case, treated in this thesis as a sense of its own.

Hendrik Poutsma, writing in 1929, classifies *hate* into the group of verbs that expresses “a liking or disliking” (Poutsma (1929, 800). Syntactically, an infinitival construction, labelled as *accusative + infinitive*, is the ordinary construction after such verbs (ibid., 812), but gerundial constructions are used as well (ibid., 864). These are illustrated in the following examples.

- (2) She *hated* him to see the child. (Poutsma 1929, 800)
- (3) I *hate* crying. (Poutsma 1929, 863)
- (4) I *hate* being pitied. (Poutsma 1929, 863)
- (5) He *detested* people laughing when he himself perceived no joke. (Poutsma 1929, 989)

According to Poutsma (1929, 791), in constructions such as in (2), “the accusative answers to the subject and the infinitive to the predicate of the corresponding subordinate statement”. Thus, the logical object of the matrix verb is not the noun or pronoun in the accusative but the semantic combination it forms with the infinitive and its adjuncts (ibid.). It follows that example (2) above does not entail that the subject hated *him* but the whole idea of *him to see the child*. This analysis, too, is in concordance with the discussion on argument structure in section 3.4. As regards the discussion on the semantics of the complements, this example seems to include a holistic view of the event, whereas the gerunds in (3) and (4) imply habit or duration (see section 3.5). Example (5) illustrates an *ing*-clause complement of *detest* involving an overt subject, a pattern which seems to be possible with *hate*, too, although not specifically mentioned by Poutsma.

Biber et al. (1999, 362f.) classify *hate* in a slightly broader group than Poutsma, namely to the semantic group of mental activity, which includes both dynamic and stative verbs. More precisely, *hate* is classified into the sub-class of verbs describing emotional or attitudinal states (ibid., 363). In addition to the four canonical types of sentential complement identified in Table 3, *hate* is reported to control *wh*-clauses and *for* + NP + *to*-clauses (ibid., 684, 698). However, *hate* belongs to a set of verbs that are less frequent with *wh*-clauses, and thus, no illustration of the type has been presented (ibid., 685f.). The *for* + NP + *to* complement, tagged as American English conversation, is illustrated below (Biber et al. 1999, 698).

(6) I'd *hate* for all that stuff to go bad.

Finally, Huddleston and Pullum discuss cases which in this thesis are classified as zero complement, previously identified in the *OED*. According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 304), “[t]he unexpressed object [...] is interpreted as an indefinite member of the typical, unexceptional category for the verb in question [...]. Thus *He read for a while* wouldn't normally be used of a situation where he was reading short-answer examination questions: this is not the usual kind of reading”. This lexical process of omitting an indefinite object of a basically transitive verb is reported to be highly productive, especially in contexts involving generalizations rather than particular events (ibid.). Thus, sentences (7) and (8) below are more acceptable than (9) and (10) (examples from Huddleston & Pullum, 304).

(7) It is better to love than to hate.

(8) He loves/hates with great passion.

(9) ?He's going to love/hate.

(10) ?At that time he loved/hated.

4.4 *Hate* in complementation studies

The basics now explained, I will now review selected studies specifically focused on verb complementation to complete the overview on *hate* in the literature. To begin with a broader viewpoint on verbs selecting both *to*-infinitival and *ing*-clause complements, Smith and Escobedo

(2001, 559) argue that such verbs are always polysemous, each sense being compatible with the different form and meaning of a certain complement type. While this may be a useful model for linguists, dictionaries can hardly adopt this view and map only one complement type with each sense, at least with *hate*, whose polysemy is hardly felt with the different complement patterns. From this premise, Smith and Escobedo (ibid., 561) add that many predicates involving preferences or value judgments, such as *hate*, may select either kind of complement, but certain contexts have a preference for one of the complements. An interesting observation is made on complements involving multiple verbs. Consider the following examples (ibid.):

- (11) a. I hate to eat and run.
b. ?I hate eating and running.

According to Smith and Escobedo's analysis (ibid.), the *to*-infinitive evokes a holistic interpretation of each of the subordinate processes. Thus, in (11) the process of eating precedes and is completed before the process of running (ibid.). Sentence (11), on the contrary, is odd, because it implies that eating and running are happening simultaneously (ibid.).

Rudanko (1989), elaborating on Visser's categories, has (re-)organized subject-control verbs into partly hierarchical semantic categories. As regards *to*-infinitive constructions, formally expressed as [NP₁ – Verb₁ – [PRO–*to* Verb₂–]S₂]S₁, *hate* is classified in the following categories (Rudanko 1989, 22–23):

- 1 Verb₁ expresses volition, positive or negative, roughly meaning 'want or wish for something (not) to be realized or to hold'.
- 1.2 Verb₁ expresses negative volition with respect to the realization of S₂.
- 1.2.1 Verb₁ has the rough meaning 'not to want' 'or not to wish'.

In terms of semantics, Rudanko (ibid., 24) points out that the verbs of class 1.2.1 "basically express [negative] desideration, a degree of volition, but do not express intention". On a more general level, according to Rudanko (ibid., 34), *to*-infinitive constructions may be seen to involve the aspect of movement, which has often been attributed to the preposition *to* (see section 3.5):

Volitional verbs imply direction or movement toward, or away from, an abstract goal. They are therefore compatible with the original force of *to*, provided that we

can interpret *to* more abstractly, as expressing a broader concept of movement, setting aside the direction of the movement.

As regards Rudanko's classification of *hate* in the context of *-ing*-complements, the classification is fairly similar with the hierarchy presented above, and will not be repeated here (see Rudanko 1989, 45).

Rudanko (1989, 77) mentions one previously unidentified complement type for *hate*: according to him, *hate* can take *that*-clauses as complement, too, to express "an attitude on the part of NP1 toward S2 or a reaction of NP1 to S2". *Hate* is listed also to take *for to* complements, a pattern which is said to be gradually spreading to British English, illustrated below in (12) (Rudanko 1989, 78). *That*-clauses are reported to be more specific and definite than *for to* clauses, which is why (12) below is "severely strained" (ibid, 84).

- (12) a. I hated for John to be unpunctual.
b. ??I hated that John was unpunctual.

One of the most thorough presentations of *hate* (among many other predicates) in contemporary data has been presented by Thomas Egan (2008). Using data from the BNC, Egan analyzes a notable number of verbs, paying specific attention to infinitival and *-ing*-complements. Egan has analyzed *hate* into the group of negative attitude verbs, which "encode situations the subject would strive to avoid on all occasions of their possible realization". *Hate* is reported to take both same-subject and different-subject⁶ *-ing*-clauses and *to*-infinitives as complements. Egan has set up a five-level scale to account for the frequency of the constructions with each verb. In same-subject constructions, both *to*-infinitives and *ing*-clauses belong to level 4 (5 meaning the most frequent), whereas in different-subject constructions (with complement initial NPs) these types belong to level 3. This means that, based on Egan's sample of 1000 tokens of *hate*, the projected totals of the two same-subject constructions are between 126–625 tokens, and of the corresponding different-subject constructions

⁶ These labels differ from the ones discussed in section 3.4. As Rudanko (2009, 138) argues in his review of Egan, it seems safe to assume that same-subject constructions correspond, to a significant extent, to subject-control predicates.

between 26–125 tokens in the 4620 tokens of *hate* in the BNC. These translate into 2,7–13,5 percent for same-subject constructions and 0,5–2,7 percent for different-subject constructions.

Egan presents many detailed observations on *hate*, for instance, when comparing it with some semantically related verbs. Egan argues that *hate* and *loathe* share the semantic component of extreme dislike. However, as regards *loathe*, “the nature of the dislike has a sort of stomach-turning tinge to it: hate may on occasion be intellectual, loathe is always visceral” (Egan 2008, 172). In the following quote, Egan contrasts *hate* with *love*. While comparisons of this kind are outside the scope of this study, the points made by Egan are, nevertheless, of interest and contribute to our understanding of the verb *hate*.

Hate is often conceived of as the semantic opposite of *love*. As far as taking non-finite complement clauses goes, however, it differs from *love* in three respects. In the first place *hate* is much more likely to occur with an *-ing* complement clause. Secondly, ‘*hate to infinitive*’ is much less likely to be modalised, and, thirdly, non-modalised ‘*hate to infinitive*’ resembles *like* more than *love* in so far as it can be used to encode a specific predication in the projected future. In fact it is so used more frequently than *like*. (Egan 2008, 171)

Moreover, Egan (2008, 173) makes an interesting observation about the complement predicates of the *hate* + *to*-infinitive pattern. According to him (ibid.), the verb *see* occurs in no less than 13 of the 46 non-modalized instances of the *to*-infinitive pattern, whereas only 2 of 79 *-ing* complements involve *seeing*. As regards semantics, Egan argues that “*I hate to see you unhappy* implies that there is a possible alternative – that the person in question does not necessarily *have* to be unhappy [whereas] *I hate seeing you unhappy* would merely assert the existence of the unhappy state and the fact that the subject finds the observance of this unhappiness disturbing” (ibid., 174). It will be of interest to me to find out, whether *see* is as prominent in the data as Egan’s findings suggest.

4.5 Further notes on some complement types

The aim of this section is twofold. First, some inflectional forms of *hate* and its complement types involve structural ambiguity, which needs to be recognized before the analysis. Second, some of the

less canonical complement patterns deserve more discussion to account for their treatment as complements.

To begin with ambiguity, different views have been presented about the categorization of different parts of speech. Ross (2004, 351) goes as far as to state that “the traditional view of the categories verb, adjective, and noun, under which these three are distinct and unrelated, is incorrect”, and that these categories are, in fact, points in a linear squish. Without going into details on this stance, the first point of interest for this study is complementation by stand-alone *-ing* form or possessive + *-ing* form. According to Quirk et. al. (1985, 1065), such cases are syntactically ambiguous in that they can be interpreted either as a verbal *-ing* clause or as a NP with verbal noun as its head, as exemplified in (13) and (14) below (Quirk et al.’s examples).

(13) I hate *lying*.

(14) They liked *our singing*.

Moreover, sentences such as (13) are ambiguous in their meaning. Quirk et al. (ibid.) present the following analysis on the topic.

When the *-ing* form is alone and is the direct object, [...] two interpretations of the implied subject are often possible. Thus, *I hate lying* may mean 'I hate it when I lie', linking the action specifically to the subject of the superordinate clause, or it may generalize ('I hate it when people lie'). When the *-ing* construction contains a direct object or an adverbial and is therefore unambiguously clausal, the usual interpretation is that there is an implicit link to the superordinate subject: *I hate telling lies*. ('I hate it when I tell lies.')

In sum, stand-alone *-ing* complements seem to be ambiguous in their meaning, and, more importantly, we may speculate whether they should be treated as verbal or nominal complements. As a rule of thumb, all complements involving an *-ing* form will be analyzed as sentential. Possible exceptions will be accounted for.

Another ambiguous case that needs attention is that of constructions involving the word form *hated*, which may be considered either passive or adjectival⁷. Thus, not all tokens of *hated* may be

⁷ Some dictionaries, such as the *OED*, have a separate entry for the adjective *hated*, while some others do not recognize it as an adjective. In the entry for the adjective *hated* in the *OED*, all the examples present *hated* in prenominal position.

relevant for this study. I expect to find cases, in which the word is used as a premodifier, and, as stated by Levin and Rappaport (1986, 626), only adjectives may occur as prenominal modifiers. It follows that all prenominal uses of *hated* are adjectival, and, therefore, sentences such as (15) will be ruled out from the data.

(15) He was a hated tyrant.

Passive or passive-like uses of *hated* seem more ambiguous. The basic rule, as argued by Quirk et al. (1985, 160), is that the relations of meaning in passive sentences are the same as in corresponding active sentences although they are structurally different. Cook (1990, 25) points out that short passives that do not involve a *by*-phrase are ambiguous between passive and stative interpretation. According to Cook (ibid., 26), passives imply an agent, while statives do not. In example (16) below, a stative interpretation (without the *by*-phrase) might lead to the conclusion that *hated* is used as an adjective.

(16) The teacher was hated (by all).

To apply a test often proposed in literature (e.g. Wasow 1977, 340), intensifier *very* is used with adjectives, while *very much* is used with verbs. *Hated* seems to be more comfortable with the latter, as the example (17) below illustrates.

(17) a. The teacher was very much hated.
b. ?The teacher was very hated.

In my analysis, I will consider predicative uses of *hate* verbal⁸.

Next, I wish to discuss some of the less canonical complement structures and account for their treatment as complements. To begin with the *it + when* pattern, identified in the *OALD*, an observant reader may have noticed the construction being used in the quote from Quirk et al. (1985, 1065)

⁸ In this section, I have only presented a fraction of the research on adjectival and verbal passives or participles. For more detailed analysis, see for instance Levin and Rappaport (1986) or Cook (1990). Nevertheless, I hope to have covered the most essential cases that will be found in my data. The rest will be accounted for if and when they show up.

presented in this section. In the quote, the *it* + *when* construction was used as an explanatory paraphrase, repeated below. (18) and (19) are explanatory paraphrases for (18) and (19).

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| (18) a. I hate lying. | b. (“I hate it when I lie.”) or (“I hate it when people lie.”) |
| (19) a. I hate telling lies. | b. (“I hate it when I tell lies.”) |

The strong semantic similarity between the constructions alone may suggest that the *it* + *when* construction should be treated as a complement. The *when*-clause, clearly, cannot be omitted without a drastic change of meaning. From a formal point of view, as argued by Johan Rooryck (2000, 195), the expletive *it* seems to be coreferential with the *wh*-clause. Thus, it seems more suitable to treat the construction as a complement – adjuncts can hardly be coindexed with a complement. Moreover, Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1482), although not explicitly defining the construction as complement, recognize it in a section on “special uses of *it*”, providing example given in (20) below.

- (20) I don't like it when you behave like this.

In Huddleston and Pullum’s words (*ibid.*), the sentence resembles extraposition, as “what I don't like is your behaving like this”, but differs from it as the final element is not a content clause nor a potential replacement for *it*⁹. To conclude the discussion on this construction with a final point, movement tests seem to support the complement status of the construction. If we accept the coreferentiality of *it* and the *when*-clause, only the sequence *it* + *when*-clause seems possible, as illustrated in the example (21) below from Rooryck (2000, 195):

- (21) a. I love it₁ [when you sing that song]₁
 b. *[When you sing that song]₁, I love it₁

⁹ Rooryck (2000, 185) suggests, on the contrary, that factive verbs such as *hate* may select *wh*-clauses as complements without the expletive *it*, which he illustrates with the sentence “I love/hate when/how you sing that song”. However, Rooryck (*ibid.*, 195), too, acknowledges in a footnote that some speakers consider the expletive *it* necessary before the *wh*-clause, a stance shared by the current author. Another interesting pattern, remarkably similar to the one under discussion, was mentioned in the *OALD* (see section 4.2): “He hated it in France (= did not like the life there)”. In this construction, too, *it* and the location may be coreferential, but *it* is more uncontroversially necessary. These emerging constructions seem interesting topics for further research.

Another construction to be commented on is NP followed by a *for*-element. NP + *for* + NP and NP + *for* + *-ing* complements are rarely mentioned in the literature, but may be rather frequent in constructions such as illustrated in (22) and (23) below.

(22) I hate you for it.

(23) I hate you for doing that.

While most of the literature reviewed in this study does not recognize these kinds of *for*-elements as complements, a major exception is made by Herbst et al. in *A Valency Dictionary of English*, which specifically lists these elements as complements for *hate*. In the *Oxford Modern English Grammar* (Aarts 2011, 145) the pattern NP + *for* + NP is recognized as a complement pattern for a number of verbs, such as *envy*. Both *envy* and *hate* seem rather similar as regards the difference between NP complements and NP + *for* + NP complements – *for*-element adds a reason or perhaps even a more precise target for the emotion, but both verbs can equally well be complemented by a standalone NP, too. Even though the difference in meaning with and without the optional *for*-complement is subtle, the emotion is, semantically, much more precise when the object is followed by a *for*-element. Moreover, the *for*-elements, used in this sense, seem to be acceptable only with a limited number of verbs, which suggests that they are licensed by the verb.

Thus, *for*-elements will be treated as (optional) complements in this thesis. However, finite *for*-clauses will not be accepted as complements, as such clauses may follow almost any sentence, and are clearly not selected by the verb.

4.6 Summary of the literature

In this chapter, I have discussed the senses and complement patterns identified for *hate* in selected literature. As the topic is rather broad, a brief recapitulation is in order. A total of 12 complement types were identified in the literature. In addition to NP complements and the four canonical sentential complements, seven less established patterns and the zero complement type were identified either by current author or the other analysts. These are summarized in Table 4 below, which is an expanded

version of the senses and patterns identified in the *OALD*, containing now patterns identified in this chapter altogether. The *OALD* has been selected as the basis for the table, as the dictionary seems to provide a promising framework for mapping the senses with complement patterns. Examples will not be repeated. Some of the less canonical complements were discussed in section 4.5, and it will be interesting to analyze them if and when they emerge in the data.

Sense	Complement(s)
1. To dislike something very much, be averse to do something	NP <i>wh</i> -clause <i>it</i> + <i>when</i> <i>to</i> -infinitive <i>it</i> + <i>in</i> + NP NP + <i>-ing</i> -clause <i>for</i> + NP + <i>to</i> -inf. NP + <i>to</i> -inf. <i>that</i> -clause
2. To dislike somebody very much	NP NP + <i>for</i> + <i>-ing</i> -clause NP + <i>for</i> + NP
3. Introductory <i>hate</i> , usually followed by <i>but</i>	<i>to</i> -inf.
4. To (be able to) experience the emotion of hatred	∅

Table 4. Summary of the senses and complement types identified in in the literature.

Semantically, *hate* has been grouped under various labels with different coverage. *Hate* has been placed in the groups of mental activities; volitional, emotional or attitudinal verbs; and verbs of liking or disliking. Verbs within a group usually share some syntactic characteristics. As regards *to*-infinitives and *ing*-clauses, *to*-infinitives tend to be favoured in potential contexts in which there is no temporal overlap with the matrix predicate, whereas *-ing*-clauses often describe factual events, temporally or conceptually connected with the matrix predicate.

5 Corpus analysis

In this chapter, I will move on to analyzing empirical data from two corpora. In the following sections, I will proceed chronologically from the historical data in the 1st and the 3rd part of the CLMET (original version) to present-day data found in the BNC.

Before moving on to the analysis, I will briefly outline the order of discussion in each of the following sections. Each section begins with a subsection on overview of findings, in which I present general information about the data and discuss irrelevant tokens. In addition, I will present a table listing the complement types found alongside each verb form¹⁰. These tables are sorted by descending order of frequency, and, for ease of reference, sentential complements are highlighted. I follow the practice of listing the zero-complement type at the bottom of the list regardless of its frequency – these tokens will receive equal attention in the analysis, but the label *complement type* is perhaps less applicable to such cases in which there is no complement. Although normalized frequencies of the complement types will be given, the raw quantities are fairly comparable between the corpora as well: data from the CLMET 1 consists of 195 tokens, the CLMET 3 of 187 tokens and the BNC of 189 tokens.

After the overview section, I move on to more detailed findings, beginning with non-sentential complements, followed by sentential complements. In the section on other remarks, I wish to discuss some findings that are not limited to sentential or non-sentential tokens. Recapitulation of the findings will be left to the concluding chapter 6.

¹⁰ By verb form I mean the forms *hate*, *hates*, *hated*, and *hating*. It needs to be noted that full verbs are said to have six inflectional forms (see Huddleston & Pullum 2002, 50), some of which are homonymous in the case of *hate*, but no distinction between the homonymous forms is made in the overview. However, some remarks will be presented later, for instance, regarding the number of passive use of *hated*.

5.1 CLMET, 1st part: 1710–1780

In this section, I will analyze the earliest data gathered for this study, obtained from the 1st part of the CLMET (CLMET 1), which comprises of some 2,1 million words in 24 texts by 15 authors.

5.1.1 Overview of findings

The CLMET 1 was searched for the word forms *hate*, *hating*, *hated* and *hates* separately, yielding a total of 213 tokens from 22 different texts by 14 authors. The tokens were then searched manually to exclude non-verbal uses of *hate*, resulting in the exclusion of 15 tokens. Of these tokens, nine included *hate* as a noun as illustrated in examples (1) and (2) below. Interestingly, eight out of nine such cases were found in the same text, namely *An Essay on Man* by Alexander Pope.

- (1) Yet like the Papist's, is the poet's state, / Poor and disarmed, and hardly worth your *hate*!
(Pope 1734, *An Essay on Man*)
- (2) He honoured me with constant professions of love; but his conduct is so opposite to my sentiments of that passion, as to have been the prime source of all my misfortunes and affliction; and I have often wished myself the object of his *hate*, in hopes of profiting by a change in his behaviour. (Smollet 1751, *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*)

In four tokens, *hated* was used adjectivally as a premodifier, as illustrated in example (3) below:

- (3) They exulted in their unexpected deliverance from a *hated* tyrant, and it seemed of little consequence to examine into the virtues of the successor of Caracalla. (Gibbon 1776, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire I*)

In addition, one token, presented in (4) below, included an adjectival use of *hating*:

- (4) “So *hating*, I say, to make mysteries of nothing” (Sterne 1759-1767, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*)

Moreover, three tokens were removed for having exact and non-coincidental duplicates in the data.

Two were found in the section Project Gutenberg editor's bookmarks, which is obviously not historical data. One duplicate was caused by an author quoting a passage from another.

After removing the irrelevant tokens, the data consists of 195 tokens in 20 texts by 13 authors, the normalized frequency of the verb *hate* being thus 93,02. The distribution of the complement types for each inflectional form is summarized in Table 5 below. As can be seen from the table, seven

complement patterns were identified in the data plus nine instances of the zero-complement type. The table will not be described in detail at this point, but we will return to some aspects later.

Construction	<i>hate</i>	<i>hated</i>	<i>hates</i>	<i>hating</i>	Total	% of all tokens	NF/million
NP	87	49	15	5	156	80,0 %	74,41
<i>to-inf.</i>	5	2	2	0	9	4,6 %	4,29
NP + <i>for</i> + NP	7	1	1	0	9	4,6 %	4,29
<i>-ing</i> -clause	4	2	1	0	7	3,6 %	3,34
<i>wh</i> -clause	1	0	1	0	2	1,0 %	0,95
NP + <i>for</i> + <i>-ing</i> -cl.	1	0	1	0	2	1,0 %	0,95
NP + <i>to-inf.</i>	1	0	0	0	1	0,5 %	0,48
∅	7	0	0	2	9	4,6 %	4,29
Total	113	54	21	7	195	100,0 %	93,02

Table 5. Distribution of the complement types in the CLMET 1.

5.1.2 Non-sentential complements

Not surprisingly, the largest complement pattern of all with 156 tokens is the NP complement, which covers 80 percent of the data. The only other non-sentential complement type with nine occurrences is the NP + *for* + NP pattern (for discussion, see section 4.5). To begin with the largest complement type, two of the four inflectional forms of *hate* dominate the data with NP complements – there are 87 tokens with *hate* and 49 with *hated*. Examples (5)–(8) illustrate this complement type.

- (5) When any virtuous motive or principle is common in human nature, a person, who feels his heart devoid of that motive, may *hate* himself upon that account, and may perform the action without the motive, from a certain sense of duty, ... (Hume 1738, *A Treatise of Human Nature*)
- (6) My uncle Toby and Trim sought comfort in each other's faces—but found it not: my father clapped both his hands upon his cod-piece, which was a way he had when any thing [sic] hugely tickled him: for though he *hated* a monk and the very smell of a monk worse than all the devils in hell—yet the shot hitting my uncle Toby and Trim so much harder than him, 'twas a relative triumph; and put him into the gayest humour in the world. (Sterne 1759-1767, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*)
- (7) Such as are poor and will associate with none but the rich, are *hated* by those they avoid, and despised by these they follow. (Goldsmith 1766, *The Vicar of Wakefield*)
- (8) I hate the country: I am past the shepherdly age of groves and streams, and am not arrived at that of *hating* every thing [sic] but what I do myself, as building and planting. (Walpole 1935–48, *Letters*)

Example (5) above represents the only NP complement realized by a reflexive pronoun. It is worth noting that the construction is followed by the adjunct *upon that account*, which bears some resemblance to NP + *for* + NP complements in terms of semantics. Example (6) involves the somewhat frequent comparative adjunct *worse than*. As both of these examples illustrate, the context is often rather meandering and the sentences complex. Example (7) illustrates one of the 19 passivized tokens, which are, except for one NP + *for* + NP construction, all NP complements. In this case, the complement is, exceptionally, realized by the *such*-element. Example (8) deserves a comment as well, as it may be speculated whether the token might be classified as *wh*-clause. Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1263) argue that in the sentence *He does nothing but waste people's time* the bare infinitival construction is licensed by *do nothing + but*, the preposition of exception. However, as the current frame of research is not very flexible as regards treating *hate* as a part of a longer predicate, I have analyzed the token as NP complement, treating the phrase *every thing* (sic) as the complement of *hate*, followed by an adjunct.

The NP complements can be divided into three groups based on two pairs of semantic characteristics: [+HUMAN] vs. [-HUMAN] and [+ABSTRACT] vs. [-ABSTRACT]/[+CONCRETE])¹¹. The 111 [+HUMAN] NPs dominate the data, covering some 70 percent of the NP complements. [+ABSTRACT] NPs are found in 44 tokens. In addition, 7 tokens are [+CONCRETE]. To discuss the subject in a more hands-on way, the most common head words of the NP complements are presented below in Table 6. Three occurrences was selected as the minimum, but, in addition, there are eight words in the data that occur twice. Obviously, this kind of presentation favours pronouns to nouns, but, nevertheless, it may help to reveal some interesting details about the complement NPs.

¹¹ The more precise category [+HUMAN] was selected instead of the oft-used [+ANIMATE], as [+ANIMATE] [-HUMAN] NPs proved to be virtually non-existent. Another point about the categories is that a small number of tokens may be both [+HUMAN] and [+ABSTRACT] in sentences involving multiple coordinated NP complements, as illustrated in example (6). [+CONCRETE] NPs are, unless otherwise stated, [-HUMAN].

Head	<i>him</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>those</i>	<i>each other</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>country</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>enemies</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>it</i>
Count	14	10	10	6	5	5	4	4	4	3	3	3	3

Table 6. The most common heads of NP complements and their number in the CLMET 1.

Not surprisingly, Table 6 above is dominated by pronouns. More surprising is that the noun *man* occurs as many as ten times in the data, being the second most frequent head of all (with tokens in six different texts). Another observation is that the 24 tokens of *him* and *man* are [+MALE], which makes a striking contrast with the three instances of the female pronoun *her*. However, as the gender of the referents of the other personal pronouns has not been studied here, this observation is only presented here to point out a possible question for further research.

Table 7 below summarizes the most frequent heads of the subject position NPs. Passive constructions without an expressed agent and other impersonal constructions have been included, marked by a dash. All elements with multiple occurrences have been listed. The only common noun to be found in the table is *man* with three instances. A cross tabulation of the subjects and object was carried out, but the data set proved to be too limited – all that can be said on that account is that the most frequent combination with six tokens is *I* as the subject and *him* as the object.

NP	<i>I</i>	<i>he</i>	-	<i>she</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>those</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>all</i>
Count	51	20	14	10	10	9	6	3	3	3	2

Table 7. The most common heads of subject NPs among tokens with NP complements in the CLMET 1.

As regards extractions among the NP complements, there are 17 cases of relativization and one topicalization in addition to the 19 passive sentences, already exemplified in example (7) above. Relativization is illustrated in example (9) and the only topicalized token in example (10) below.

- (9) ...; besides, he had an interest in giving her credit, for he was not a little pleased with finding a reason for hating the man whom he could not help *hating* without any reason, at least, without any which he durst fairly assign even to himself. (Fielding 1751, *Amelia*)
- (10) The man who stands opposite to him in battle, he hates heartedly, not only for the present moment, which is almost unavoidable, but for ever after; ... (Hume 1777, *An Enquiry Concerning The Principles of Morals*)

The NP + *for* + NP pattern is the only other non-sentential complement type found besides the NP complement. With its nine tokens, the pattern is the third largest complement type of all. Seven of the tokens are used with *hate*, whereas *hated* and *hating* have one token each. Illustrations are given below. Of the nine tokens of this complement type, seven include a direct object that is [+HUMAN], as in (11) and (12). Both [-HUMAN] NPs are included in example (13) below. Obviously, the NP in the *for*-element gives a reason for the hate, which seems, in most cases, to be a quality of the object NP or an action.

(11) We never love or *hate* a son or brother for the virtue or vice we discern in ourselves; though it is evident the same qualities in him give us a very sensible pride or humility. (Hume 1738, *A Treatise of Human Nature*)

(12) I was up early and late: I was brow-beat by the master, *hated* for my ugly face by the mistress, worried by the boys within, and never permitted to stir out to meet civility abroad. (Goldsmith 1766, *The Vicar of Wakefield*)

(13) That grave people *hate* love for the name's sake; That selfish people *hate* it for their own; ... (Sterne 1768, *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy*)

The zero complement has nine tokens, seven with *hate* and two with *hating*. In accordance with Huddleston and Pullum's view (see section 4.3), the zero complement is used in generalizations, leaving the object unspecified, as illustrated in example (14) and in the two tokens included in (15).

(14) And, surely, my lords, it is our duty, as well as our right, to address the throne, that a minister should be removed who fears the people, since few men fear without *hating*, and nothing so much contributes to make any man an enemy to his country, as the consciousness that he is universally abhorred. (Johnson 1740–41, *Parliamentary Debates I*)

(15) I have often thought, and still think, that there are few things which people in general know less, than how to love and how to *hate*. They hurt those they love by a mistaken indulgence, by a blindness, nay, often by a partiality to their faults. Where they *hate* they hurt themselves, by ill-timed passion and rage. (2 tokens, Chesterfield 1746–71, *Letters to His Son*)

In one, rather poetic token, the perceived object of *hate* has been separated from the verb by a colon and a line break, as illustrated in example (16) below.

(16) To that each passion turns, or soon or late; / Love, if it makes her yield, must make her *hate*:
/ Superiors? death! and equals? what a curse! (Pope 1734, *An Essay on Man*)

Semantically, it seems safe to argue that *superiors* and *equals* are the ones hated, but as our approach is syntax-driven, an adequate syntactic analysis of such clustered elements does not seem worthwhile,

if even possible. Thus, the colon is here analyzed as a full stop, ruling out the interpretation as enjambement, which would involve a direct object.

Finally, the token presented below as (17) illustrates a borderline case between a verbal and nominal interpretation of the word form *hating*. I have classified it as verbal instance of zero complement.

- (17) It has been observed, that nothing is ever present to the mind but its perceptions; and that all the actions of seeing, hearing, judging, loving, *hating*, and thinking, fall under this denomination. (Hume 1738, *A Treatise of Human Nature*)

5.1.3 Sentential complements

Five types of sentential complements are found in the data. Two complement types in particular stand out, namely *to*-infinitives with 9 tokens and *ing*-clauses with 7 tokens. Of the three remaining patterns, *wh*-clause and NP + *for* + *-ing* clause have two occurrences each, and NP + *to*-infinitive has one. This totals to 22 sentential complements.

To begin with the most frequent type, the *to*-infinitive can be found in sentences such as the ones presented in examples (18) and (19) below. Interestingly, example (18) involves a [−ANIMATE] subject, which are relatively rare in the data. This has been pointed out by Rudanko (1989, 21), who argues that for majority of verbs used in this construction, the subject must be [+ANIMATE] or even [+HUMAN], apart from metonymic or metaphoric usage, which is clearly the case with this token. In example (19), interestingly, both (*not to*) *love* and *hate* are used in a way, which bears some resemblance to the introductory sense of *hate* identified in section 4.2. *Love* is used with an *-ing*-complement whereas *hate* is complemented by *to*-infinitive, which may be explained by the generality of the statement with *hate*. *Love*, on the contrary, refers specifically to the current letter (in addition to the previous letters).

- (18) Nature is shy, and *hates* to act before spectators; but in such an unobserved corner you sometimes see a single short scene of hers worth all the sentiments of a dozen French plays compounded together, ... (Sterne 1768, *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy*)

(19) My dear lord, I don't love troubling you with letters, because I know you don't love the trouble of answering them; not that I should insist on that ceremony, but I *hate* to burthen any one's conscience. (Walpole 1935–48, *Letters*)

Interestingly, the only complement verb to occur twice in *to*-infinitive constructions is *see*. Although a sample of ten tokens is puny, the data hints at the possibility that historical data may be in accordance with the observation made by Egan (see section 4.4) on the dominance of *see* as a lower verb in this construction in present-day data.

Ing-complements are found in 7 tokens. Three tokens, such as (20) below, include a stand-alone *-ing*-form, whereas the four other complements of the kind are unambiguously verbal and followed by complements of their own. One such token is illustrated in (21) below, in which the complement selection can be explained by the inherent semantics of the *-ing*-form (see section 3.5) - in this case, false news have already been passed.

(20) I always naturally *hated* drinking; and yet I have often drunk; with disgust at the time, attended by great sickness the next day, only because I then considered drinking as a necessary qualification for a fine gentleman, and a man of pleasure. (Chesterfield 1746–71, *Letters to His Son*)

(21) I *hate* sending you false news, as that was, of the Duke of Eichmond's resignation. (Walpole 1935–48, *Letters*)

One token is a borderline case between verbal and nominal use of *gaming*, which I have included in the data, as it cannot absolutely be ruled out despite the inserted phrase *all manner of*. The *OED* recognizes the noun *gaming* but also the verb *game* in a semantically relevant sense.

(22) Walking out, drinking tea, country dances, and forfeits, shortened the rest of the day, without the assistance of cards, as I *hated* all manner of gaming, except backgammon, at which my old friend and I sometimes took a two-penny hit. (Goldsmith 1766, *The Vicar of Wakefield*)

Apart from one token with *missing a post* as a lower clause, the remaining six complement verbs seem to describe different kinds of actions: there are two instances of *write*, and one for *gaming*, *sending*, *drinking* and *sleeping* (although it can be speculated, whether sleeping is an action).

Three patterns remain to be discussed: NP + *for* + *-ing* and *wh*-clause complements with two tokens each, plus the one occurrence of NP + *to*-infinitive. An example of each type is provided below. In both tokens of the first kind, the initial NP is [+HUMAN], as illustrated in example (23). In

(24), the *wh*-element is realized by *whate'er*, making the generality of the reference explicit. In example (25), quite interestingly, two parallel NPs precede the *to*-clause. This adds to the complexity of the sentence, as well as the comma separating the NPs from the *to*-clause. However, as punctuation is prone to editorial interventions, one needs to be cautious with the analysis. It is, nevertheless, interesting that this complement is divided by the comma, as it suggests that a pause may have been acceptable in the construction in spoken language.

(23) What, is the Fool in Love in earnest then? I *hate* thee for being particular: Why, Wench, thou art a Shame to thy very Sex. (Gay 1765, *A Beggar's Opera*)

(24) Or damn all Shakespeare, like the affected fool / At court, who *hates* *whate'er* he read at school. (Pope 1734, *An Essay on Man*)

(25) 'O my own dear'—for minutes she could no more—'my own dearest good papa! Could angels be kinder! How do I deserve so much! The villain, I *hate* him and myself, to be a reproach to such goodness.' (Goldsmith 1766, *The Vicar of Wakefield*)

Only one extraction is found with the sentential complements, a topicalized *wh*-clause illustrated below in (26). The poetic language is likely to have contributed to the use of the extraction.

(26) But Britain, changeful as a child at play, / Now calls in princes, and now turns away. / Now Whig, now Tory, what we loved we *hate*; ... (Pope 1734, *An Essay on Man*)

5.1.4 Other remarks

As regards modals, *hate* is modalized in 18 tokens. The most common modal verbs are *will* with 7 tokens, followed by 3 tokens of *should* and *would* and 1 of *must*, *may*, *can* and *could* (or *coued*, to be precise). In addition, although not strictly a modal verb, in one token *do* is used in a similar manner without negation, and has been included in the total number. Among the 18 modalized tokens, there are 13 NP complements, 2 NP + *for* + NP complements, 2 zero-complements, whereas only one sentential complement is found: a *to*-infinitive pattern has been used with *hate* modalized by *should*:

(27) Now, you know one should *hate* to have one's private correspondence made grounds for a measure,—especially for an absurd one, which is just possible. (Walpole 1935–48, *Letters*)

18 tokens include *hate* in the infinitival form *to hate*. 16 of these tokens are complemented by NP, one by NP + *for* + NP and one by zero-complement. In accordance to the Horror Aequi condition, no *to*-infinitive complements are found, nor any other sentential complements, for that matter. Even

though I do not wish to extend the scope of this study to systematically examine the matrix predicates governing *hate*, I would like to point out that the verb *begin* seems to be prominent in the data with 5 tokens, each of them used in past tense as illustrated below.

(28) ...; but, as soon as I came here, the case was much worse; for, instead of one person to envy, I found many; for all my schoolfellows had learned more than I; and, instead of endeavouring to get knowledge, I began to *hate* all those who knew more than myself; ... (Fielding 1749, *The Governess*)

One token, illustrated in example (29) below, presented an imperative use of *hate*, which seems rather exceptional.

(29) *Hate* and punish those who introduce strange gods, not only for the sake of the gods, (he who despises them will respect no one,) but because those who introduce new gods engage a multitude of persons in foreign laws and customs. (Gibbon 1776, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire I*)

As a final observation, which will be revisited later, all 7 tokens of *hating* are used in complete finite sentences (as opposed to verbless, supplementary clauses), in 5 cases with an NP complement and twice with zero complement, which has been previously illustrated in examples (14) and (17).

5.2 CLMET, 3rd part: 1850–1920

In this section, I will analyze data from the midpoint of the studied time span: 1850–1920. The CLMET 3 comprises of some 4 million words in 52 different texts by 28 authors.

5.2.1 Overview of findings

Similarly to the CLMET 1, the corpus was searched for the inflectional forms of the verb *hate* separately, which yielded a total of 399 tokens. The data for each word form was thinned by 50 percent, which makes for a suitably representative sample, conveniently almost equal in size with the CLMET 1. Nominal and adjectival tokens were, again, identified and eliminated, as well as two other tokens: one included the title “Loving and hating” (Butler 1912, *The Note-Books of Samuel Butler*), and the other presents a scene in which the speaker is interrupted before she gets to expressing what she hates:

(30) “I hate it. I detest every atom of the filthy, stuck-up, stuccoed hovel. *I hate* -” Catharine was very excited, and it is not easy to tell what she might have said if Mrs. Bellamy had not interrupted her. (Rutherford 1913, *Catharine Furze*)

This procedure leaves us with a sample of 187 tokens from 46 different texts by 25 authors, which translates into the normalized frequency of 93,92 per million words, almost identically with the CLMET 1 (93,02 / million). The distribution of the complement types for each inflectional form is, again, summarized below in Table 8. As the table illustrates, there are no major changes in the distribution, apart from a slight increase in the number of sentential complements, especially *-ing*-clauses, which have doubled since the CLMET 1. In addition, one minor complement pattern emerges in the data, namely NP + *for* + *wh*-clause with one token. The zero complement type is now significantly smaller with only one token.

Construction	<i>hate</i>	<i>hated</i>	<i>hates</i>	<i>hating</i>	Total	% of all tokens	NF/million ¹²
NP	70	65	12	6	153	81,8 %	76,84
<i>-ing</i> -clause	8	4	2	0	14	7,5 %	7,03
<i>to</i> -inf.	4	6	2	0	12	6,4 %	6,03
NP + <i>for</i> + NP	2	1	0	0	3	1,6 %	1,51
NP + <i>for</i> + <i>-ing</i> -cl.	1	0	0	0	1	0,5 %	0,50
NP + <i>for</i> + <i>wh</i> -cl.	0	1	0	0	1	0,5 %	0,50
NP + <i>-ing</i> -cl.	1	0	0	0	1	0,5 %	0,50
<i>wh</i> -clause	0	1	0	0	1	0,5 %	0,50
∅	1	0	0	0	1	0,5 %	0,50
Total	87	78	16	6	187	100,0 %	93,92

Table 8. Distribution of the complement types in the CLMET 3.

5.2.2 Non-sentential complements

Similarly to the CLMET 1, the most frequent pattern covering 80 percent of the data is the NP complement with 153 tokens. In addition, three tokens of the type NP + *for* + NP are found in the data. As regards the inflectional forms of *hate* with NP complement, *hate* is still the most frequent inflectional form with 70 tokens but is now more closely followed by the 65 tokens of *hated*. Example (31) below illustrates the NP + *for* + NP pattern, followed by two examples of NP complements.

¹² As the data was narrowed down to a 50% sample of all tokens in the CLMET pt. 3, the total word count used in calculating the normalized frequency has been reduced accordingly.

- (31) I have treated you abominably, my child, my dear daughter—and all the time with a full sense of what I was doing. That's the punishment of faults such as mine. I *hate* myself for every harsh word and angry look I have given you; ... (Gissing 1891, *New Grub Street*)
- (32) What she wanted was a love that was too proud, too independent, to exhibit frankly either its joy or its pain. She *hated* a display of sentiment. (Bennett 1908, *The Old Wives' Tale*)
- (33) Well, you can say, she might have chosen worse. He drinks, she hates it; she loves the man and *hates* his vice. (Meredith 1895, *The Amazing Marriage*)

Example (31) above illustrates a token in which the subject and object NPs are coreferential. In fact, two out of three NP + *for* + NP complements have reflexive pronoun as direct object and all three are [+HUMAN]. The possibility that this might be a tendency will be discussed in the concluding chapter. Example (32) is noteworthy as it brings out a point about some NP complements – *a display* is a noun closely associated with the verb *display*, and thus, at least in some contexts, it might be possible to paraphrase the complement sententially *anyone to display their sentiment*. Even though somewhat speculative, this observation is relevant to many other complements, especially to rivals such as *see* and *the sight*. Example (33), interestingly, presents a construction that resembles topicalization: the sentence “He drinks, she hates it”, quite clearly implies that she hates his drinking¹³. However, the sentence cannot be rephrased “*She hates it he drinks”, but might be paraphrased with the *it + when* construction discussed in more detail in section 4.5.

As regards semantics, [+HUMAN] complements have lost some of their prominence since the CLMET 1. There are 78 [+HUMAN] NPs among the 153 tokens. 57 of complements are [+ABSTRACT]. The [+CONCRETE] type has gained ground, having now 18 tokens. Exceptionally, one NP denoting animals has been included in this group. Table 9 below lists the heads of the complement NPs and their total number. Unlike in the CLMET 1, this time all heads that occur twice have been included in the table (in the CLMET 1, the minimum was three instances). The more narrow selection of head nouns expresses thus a more dispersed distribution of NP head words in the CLMET 3¹⁴, even though

¹³ Strictly speaking, this particular instance of *hate* is not a part of my data, but came to my attention from the context of the latter instance of *hate*, also presented in example (33), which is a typical NP complement.

¹⁴ The fact that there are more texts from different authors in the CLMET 3 may have contributed to the distribution.

him is now an even more prominent object in the data. Heads of the subject NPs in the same set of data are listed in Table 10 which is relatively similar to the corresponding Table 7 with data from the CLMET 1. Again, by far the most frequent combination with 13 tokens is *I* as subject and *him* as object.

Head	<i>him</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>them</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>thing</i>	<i>Man</i>	<i>people</i>	<i>thee/ye</i>	<i>herself</i>
Count	22	9	6	5	4	4	4	3	3	2

Table 9. The most common heads of NP complements and their number in the CLMET 3.

Head	<i>I</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>we</i>	-	<i>you</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>people</i>	<i>some</i>
Count	50	26	17	8	7	6	5	2	2	2

Table 10. The most common heads of subject NPs among tokens with NP complements in the CLMET 3.

One token of the zero complement type was found in the data. In (34) below, *hate* and *love* are described as converses, without an expressed object.

- (34) The two main ideas underlying all action are desire for closer unity and desire for more separateness. ... So they will first be this and then that, and act and re-act and keep the balance as near equal as they can, yet they know all the time that it isn't right and, as they incline one way or the other, they will love or *hate*. (Butler 1912, *The Note-Books of Samuel Butler*),

The NP complement is the only complement type in the CLMET 3 to be involved in extractions. Apart from the seven passive sentences, there are 14 cases in which the NP has been extracted. 11 of these tokens are relativizations and the remaining three topicalizations. Example (35) below presents a pseudo-cleft relativization, whereas (36) exemplifies topicalization.

- (35) "What I *hate*," said Shelton, "is the way we men decide what women are to bear, and then call them immoral, decadent, or what you will, if they don't fall in with our views." (Galsworthy 1904, *The Island Pharisees*)
- (36) These questions I *hated* at the time, but they were very useful to me, since they gave me the habit of concentrating my attention on what was going on in the course of our visits, in case I might be called upon to give a report. (Gosse 1907, *Father and Son*)

5.2.3 Sentential complements

Similarly to the CLMET 1, two most frequent sentential complement patterns stand out from the data. This time, however, the most common type is the *ing*-clause with 14 tokens, followed by the 12

tokens of *to*-infinitives. The CLMET 3 shows some changes in the less frequent sentential patterns, too. The NP + *to*-infinitive complement (one token in the CLMET 1) is not found in the data. Instead, two new patterns emerge, namely those of NP + *ing*-clause and NP + *for* + *wh*-clause with one token each. Moreover, there is one token of NP + *for* + *ing* clause and one *wh*-clause. To summarize, there are six patterns of sentential complements present in the data with a total of 32 tokens. There are no extractions in the sentential tokens.

As regards *-ing*-form complements, the token presented below as (37) was deemed to be NP complement. It seems that *letter-writing* might be paraphrased with *writing letters* here. However, as *letter-writing* can hardly be derived from the (non-existent, according to the *OED*) verb *letter-write*, the only possibility is to analyze the token as NP. After this exclusion, we are left with 14 tokens.

(37) "He will be coming himself," said Ermine, resolved against again expressing a doubt; while Alison added that he *hated* letter-writing. (Yonge 1865, *The Clever Woman of the Family*)

Turning now to the actual *-ing*-clause complements, I begin by illustrating some of the 14 tokens. As we might presume based on the Horror Aequi principle, these complements are not found with *hating* but with the other forms of *hate*.

(38) Mr. Wilcox *hates* being asked favours; all business men do. (Forster 1910, *Howards End*)

(39) "Well," returned Mrs. Dennant, "I *hate* doin' things just because other people do them, and I sha'n't get it." (Galsworthy 1904, *The Island Pharisees*)

(40) I should only do more harm than good: and of all things I *hate* fighting most, and disobedience next to it. (Blackmore 1869, *Lorna Doone*)

The most common *-ing*-complement with four tokens is the verb form *being*. Two of these tokens include the pattern *being -ed*, which is illustrated in example (38). Other verbs only occur once in the data. Two tokens include the spoken form *-in'*, as illustrated by *doin'* in example (39) above. Example (40) is the only token with a stand-alone *-ing*-form complement, which entails possible ambiguity between verbal and nominal interpretation. Even though *fighting* is contrasted with the more overtly deverbal form *disobedience*, I feel that I cannot rule out a clausal interpretation and the token is thus analyzed as an *-ing*-clause.

The second largest sentential pattern with 12 tokens is the *to*-infinitive complement, illustrated below. Three complement verbs have multiple instances in the data: *see* (4), *be* (2) and *have* (2). Thus, Egan's observation on the dominance of *see* as an infinitival complement for *hate* in present-day data (see section 4.4) seems to be valid in this part of the data as well. To analyze these cases further, two of the four tokens are illustrated in (41) and (42) below.

(41) I *hated* to see it, and closed my eyes; its murmurings and gibberings haunted my ears for awhile, making me restless and unhappy; ... (Hope 1985, *Rupert of Hentzau*)

(42) With extraordinary rapidity she had formed a habit of preaching moderation to Gerald. She *hated* to 'see money thrown away,' and her notion of the boundary line between throwing money away and judiciously spending it was still the notion of the Square. (Bennett 1908, *The Old Wives' Tale*)

The examples above are contrasted here to bring out a difference about the semantics of the verb *see*, which may have some influence on the frequency of the verb. Example (41), quite clearly, involves visual perception, whereas this is not necessarily entailed in (42). This is especially evident owing to the figurative meaning of 'to throw money away'. The speaker has witnessed prodigal behaviour from the part of Gerald, but, to sum up the main point here, the observation is significantly less bound to visual perception than it is in the former example. Thus, the pattern *hate to see* seems to entail some personal involvement, but the degree of visual perception varies.

To conclude the discussion on *to*-infinitives, two other tokens are presented below.

(43) "Never you mind my family on my father's side," said Billy angrily, for every mule *hates* to be reminded that his father was a donkey. (Kipling 1894, *The Jungle Book*)

(44) Therefore I wiped my bill-hook and shearing-knife very carefully, for I *hate* to leave tools dirty; ... (Blackmore 1869, *Lorna Doone*)

Example (43) is the only *to*-infinitival token used in the passive pattern *to be -ed*. In both examples above, the *to*-infinitive seems to be motivated by the general meaning of the statement as opposed to a specific case. In (44), the tools were not left dirty, and thus an *-ing*-clause would be less suitable.

As regards the less frequent sentential patterns, the following patterns have one occurrence in the data: NP + *for* + *-ing*-clause; NP + *for* + *wh*-clause; NP + *-ing*-clause; and *wh*-clause. First, the tokens involving *for*-complements are presented below.

(45) "A nasty sly fellow! I *hate* him for trying to supplant Mr. Franklin!" (Collins 1868, *The Moonstone*)

(46) These qualities will prevent any boy from sinking very low in the opinion of his schoolfellows; but Ernest thought he had fallen lower than he probably had, and *hated* and despised himself for what he, as much as anyone else, believed to be his cowardice. (Butler 1903, *The Way of All Flesh*)

Obviously, the *for*-elements account for the reasons for hating. The first NP of the complement is in both cases [+HUMAN], but the subject and the object are coreferential only in (46). The possibility that coreferential tokens may be more likely to include an explanatory *for*-clause will be discussed later.

The last patterns to be presented are the NP + *-ing* and *wh*-clause complements. The former is illustrated by example (47), expressed in one token by rather unusual verbs. As the NP is possessive, the nominal interpretation would again be possible.

(47) Just because they're old and silly one's expected to say 'How sweet!' I *hate* their 'if'-ing and 'but'-ing and 'and'-ing. (Forster 1908, *A Room with a View*)

A *wh*-clause complement is used in the following sentence, realized by a clause headed by *whatever*.

(48) Some Scots fancied they were being brought back to Rome; others hated whatever was commanded in England. (Yonge 1873, *Young Folks' History of England*)

5.2.4 Other remarks

There are significantly less modalized tokens in this part of the corpus than in the CLMET 1. Only 10 tokens are modalized: 4 tokens by *would* (more precisely, 2 by *wouldn't*, 2 by *would have*), 2 by *should*, 2 by *do*, and one by *need* and *will*. Six of the modalized tokens have NP complements, and the following four patterns have one occurrence each: NP + *for* + NP, *-ing*-clause, *to*-infinitive, and zero complement. The two sentential tokens are presented below. In (49), *would* is used as a past tense of *will* with reference to actual events in the past, whereas in (50), the context is hypothetical.

(49) "He hated my husband because...it is so strange I hardly know how to say it...because..." "Yes?" said Brown patiently. "Because my husband wouldn't *hate* him." (Chesterton 1914, *The Wisdom of Father Brown*)

(50) "I should *hate* to live in London," said Antonia suddenly; "the slums must be so awful". (Galsworthy 1904, *The Island Pharisees*)

There are 10 tokens with the marked infinitive *to hate*. No Horror Aequi violations are found. As regards the observation on *begin* being the matrix predicate in a significant number of tokens in the CLMET 1, this is no longer the case, although there is one occurrence of *begin* as a matrix predicate in the data. The only predicate to occur twice is *learn*. As regards the verb form *hating*, only NP complements are found, 3 out of 6 tokens being in a non-finite clause.

5.3 BNC: 1960–1993

In this section, I will analyze data from the imaginative prose section in the BNC, which contains over 16 million words in 476 texts.

5.3.1 Overview of findings

For present-day data, the imaginative prose section of the BNC was searched for the lemma *{hate}*¹⁵. The resulting 2526 tokens were thinned to 200 to match the size of the samples from the CLMET. Irrelevant tokens were sorted out manually, leaving a data of 189 tokens. In most of the irrelevant cases, *hate* was used as a noun:

(51) And when love turns to *hate*, for me, you know, that's it. (ASS 41)

(52) The look he shot her was pure *hate*. (HP0 1277)

In addition, one token presents an adjectival use of *hating*:

(53) ...; Araminta's bitter, *hating* mouth; Rose's pleading smile for Benedict. (HGV 5242)

Moreover, (54) below seemed at first rather interesting as it included a non-realized contextually optional complement. However, the text proved to be a reprint of the novel *Pamela* by Samuel Richardson, first published in 1740, and was thus excluded from the data.

(54) His pride of heart and condition may again take place and a man who could in so little a space first love me, then *hate*, then banish me his house and now send for me again in such affectionate terms may still waver, may still deceive thee. (FU4 973)

¹⁵ A single search term was selected for easier reproduction after it was made sure that the proportions of the different inflectional forms with the lemma search correspond with the actual numbers in the corpus reasonably well. It is worth noting, though, that the difference in the number of *hating* and *hates* is slightly smaller than suggested in Table 11.

After removing the irrelevant tokens, we are left with 189 relevant ones with a normalized frequency of 145,47 per million words. The distribution of tokens and their complementation patterns is presented in Table 11 below.

Construction	<i>hate</i>	<i>hated</i>	<i>hates</i>	<i>hating</i>	Total	% of all tokens	NF/million ¹⁶
NP	57	52	9	14	132	69,8 %	101,06
<i>-ing</i> -clause	7	13	1	0	21	11,1 %	16,08
<i>to</i> -inf.	13	6	0	0	19	10,1 %	14,55
NP + <i>for</i> + NP	4	1	0	0	5	2,6 %	3,83
NP + <i>for</i> + <i>-ing</i> -cl.	0	1	1	1	3	1,6 %	2,30
NP + <i>-ing</i> -cl.	2	1	0	0	3	1,6 %	2,30
<i>wh</i> -clause	0	2	0	0	2	1,1 %	1,53
<i>it</i> + <i>when</i> -clause	1	1	0	0	2	1,1 %	1,53
NP + <i>to</i> -inf.	0	1	0	0	1	0,5 %	0,77
∅	0	0	0	1	1	0,5 %	0,77
Total	84	78	11	16	189	100,0 %	144,70

Table 11. Distribution of the complement types in the BNC, imaginative prose section.

5.3.2 Non-sentential complements

The data are, again, dominated by NP complements. Even though some 13 percentage points smaller than in the CLMET 3, the pattern still covers two thirds of the data with its 130 tokens. If we were to treat NP + *for* + NP/*-ing* constructions as NPs followed by adjuncts, the number would be even higher, covering 3/4 of the data. Examples of the NP complements are given below.

(55) ‘I *hate* empty houses,’ she said, clinging to Harry’s arm. (FS1 1764)

(56) In any case, she *hated* him, hated him for never making love to her any more. (FNT 1854)

(57) She stood up, *hating* her own weakness, and he stepped forward so that he was directly in front of her, frowning down at her troubled face. (H9H 552)

Example (55), in its simplicity, illustrates a rather typical sentence type in the data. Example (56) includes two instances of *hate* with two different complement patterns: NP, and NP + *for* + *-ing*. This kind of repetitive sequences are surprisingly frequent, perhaps due to the verbs emotive meaning, which is often manifested in colloquial language or passages resembling inner speech. In such cases,

¹⁶ As the data was narrowed down from 2526 tokens to a sample of 200 tokens, the total word count used in calculating the normalized frequency has been reduced in the same proportion: it has been multiplied by (200/2564), leaving thus a sample of some eight percent.

I have taken into account only the particular instance which has been selected as the node by the BNC, in this case the former ‘*hated him*’ without the *for*-clause. Example (57) illustrates one of the ten tokens with a non-finite usage of the verb form *hating*.

Surprisingly, no passive uses of *hate* are found in the data. Extractions are found in eight tokens, all of which complemented by an NP. All extractions are relativizations, as illustrated in example (58) and (59) below. Example (59) resembles topicalization, but a closer look reveals that it, too, is a case of relativization without an overt relative pronoun.

(58) Everything she *hated* was white: that slice of custard just now; these little stones hard as sugared almonds at a christening [...] (GUK 735)

(59) She had turned other men — men she didn't *hate* — away at her door before now without going through all this prior angst, meeting the moment with the tact or firmness it required when it came, but not before. (H9L 728)

In the same proportion as in the CLMET 3, 72 of the 131 tokens are [+HUMAN], whereas [+ABSTRACT] NPs with 36 tokens show a slight decrease. 25 tokens are [+CONCRETE], including one instance of *Bambi*. We will look at this development more closely in chapter 6. Table 12 below lists all heads of complement NPs with multiple occurrences in the data, and the heads of the subject NPs in the same set of data are listed similarly in Table 13. As regards the most frequent heads in both tables, the distribution is slightly more balanced than in the CLMET. As for the objects, the number of common nouns is similar with the CLMET 3. In subject NPs, on the contrary, there are no common nouns at all – only pronouns (and the impersonal construction). Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, there is only one sequence of *I hate him*. In the BNC, the most common subject-object combination with 9 tokens is *I hate you*, closely followed by the 8 tokens of both *I hate it* and *she hates him*.

Head	<i>me</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>them</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>body</i>	<i>way</i>	<i>thing</i>	<i>herself</i>	<i>what</i>
Count	13	12	10	9	6	5	3	3	2	2	2	2

Table 12. The most common heads of NP complements and their number in the BNC, imaginative prose section.

Head	<i>I</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>both</i>	<i>they</i>	-
Count	38	36	17	13	2	2	2

Table 13. The most common heads of subject NPs among tokens with NP complements in the BNC, imaginative prose section.

There are 5 tokens in the data with the pattern NP + *for* + *-ing*. One of the tokens includes coreferential subject and object, the other four do not. Both kinds are illustrated below in (60) and (61). All five tokens are exceedingly similar in that the initial NP of the complement is in each case a personal (or reflexive) pronoun, and the final NP always *it* or *that*. Thus, it seems that in each token the final NP does not present new information, but refers to something already discussed.

(60) ‘It’s patronising, and it’s my own fault that you can all patronise me, and I *hate* myself for it.’ (CCW 2259)

(61) ‘And I’m sorry, too,’ puts in Rainbow, ‘for getting you into this mess in the first place. You must *hate* me for it.’ (HGN 3777)

One occurrence of zero-complement is found. Again, the token, presented below, is on the grey area on the nouniness squish discussed in section 4.5, but is nevertheless included in the data.

(62) Paradoxically the myriad-mind is the ‘I’ mind, the mind which does not simply observe, but enters into the essence of other substances or beings, be they people, animals, things or even the ghosts and spirits, angels and demons, which Reason itself has not yet driven out of the world we experience in waking and sleeping, in loving and in *hating*. (ADA 1881)

5.3.3 Sentential complements

The overall frequency of sentential complements has increased from the CLMET 3, covering now over a fourth of the data. The two most prominent sentential patterns stand out clearly from the data, *ing*-clause being the most common type with 21 tokens, closely followed by the 19 *to*-infinitival complements. Other patterns found in the data are NP + *for* + *-ing* clause (4 tokens); NP + *-ing* clause (3); *wh*-clause (2); *it* + *when*-clause (2, a new complement type); and NP + *to*-infinitive (1).

To begin with the largest complement type, the *-ing*-form verbs complementing *hate* are quite varied. Only two verbs occur more than once in the data. These are *being* with 4 tokens and *having* (*to*) with 2 tokens. In addition, the word form *lying* occurs twice in the data but in separate senses. Not surprisingly, none of the *-ing*-forms complement the verb form *hating*. Examples of this complement type are given below.

(63) ‘Three-seventy-five with fuel.’ ‘Hell, we can cover that. We can do that for you.’ Tabitha was relieved. She *hated* bargaining. (CJA 1492)

(64) He was always Richard, he *hated* being called Dick. (HGM 2778)

(65) I *hate* hurting you, I hate it more than anything else in the world, but I *did* hurt you, and I'd sooner die than do it again. (H8F 4053, *did* originally italicized)

Example (63) above illustrates one of the three occurrences of a stand-alone *-ing*-form (the two others are *dancing* and *waiting*). Example (64) is the only token with the passive pattern *being -ed*. The example presented in (65) parallels with the discussion presented in section 4.4 with reference to the verb *see*. With a *-to*-infinitive complement, we could assume that there is a possible alternative, but the *-ing*-form entails here what Smith and Escobedo have called prior overlap (see section 3.5) – in the example, hurting definitely has happened in the past.

To-infinitival complements are found in 19 tokens. The complements are found with the forms *hate* and *hated*. As expected, no tokens are found with *to hate*. Complement verbs with multiple occurrences in the data are *be* (3), *do* (2), *disillusion* (2) and *lose* (2). To address the question on the dominance of *see*, only one instance is found in the set of data¹⁷. Two of the *be*-complements are used in the passive construction *to be -ed*, as illustrated in example (66) below.

(66) ‘I *hate* to be bossed,’ she muttered mutinously. (JY2 1724)

The two instances of *disillusion* reflect the emergence of the introductory sense identified in the OALD in section 4.2 – there are five tokens with *hate* used as a softening introduction to a request or, in most cases, to an opinion which may be considered upsetting by the other part. However, both instances of *disillusion* are used in contexts in which the speaker is rather trying to challenge the interlocutor than to be polite, as illustrated in example (67) below. As the example illustrates, the information given in the lower clause seems to be considered self-evident by the speaker. Example (68) below represents a more prototypical sense of polite request.

(67) ‘And what? Challenge them to a good old-fashioned fist fight? I *hate* to disillusion you, but I'd have been hard pressed to come out on top with those odds!’ (JXV 427)

¹⁷ However, as Egan based this claim on a sample of 1000 tokens from the BNC, my observation cannot contradict Egan's observation.

(68) ‘Tom, I *hate* to bother you — you know I do try not to — but could I pop round tonight when I've got Mother settled?’ (H8Y 1285)

One of the *to*-infinitival tokens is a borderline case between the introductory sense and the “normal” use in sense 1 (of aversion), presented below as example (69). It can be argued that the *hate* + *to*-infinitive softens a non-verbal communicative act of producing an unwanted package. However, as there is no explicit statement following the complement, the sentence was analyzed in favour of a non-introductory interpretation.

(69) ‘I don't believe you! If you'd had any IOUs you'd have sent them to my father,’ she counter-attacked. ‘I *hate* to prove you wrong.’ He put his hand in his jacket and brought out a small package. [...] Her shoulders sagged in defeat and it became clear to the watching man that she accepted their veracity. (HGM 762)

As a final observation on this sense, each token has a first person subject, suggesting a close connection with direct speech.

Four *to*-infinitival tokens are modalized, in each case by *would*. Two such tokens are illustrated in (70) and (71) below. Both examples involve a hypothetical event whose fulfilment the speaker would like to avoid (or has already avoided). Although narrow, this set of data does not support Quirk et al.'s view (see p. 18) that both *to*-infinitives and *-ing*-clauses are equally possible when modalized with *would*, as there are no modalized *-ing*-clauses in the data.

(70) She would have *hated* to share their last moments in a crowded restaurant. (JY4 257)

(71) ‘It won't be all that long before Susan marries and then I'll be a great-grandmother. Oh, I'd *hate* to be a great-grandmother.’ (HWE 659)

Let us now turn to the less frequent complement types. There are 3 tokens with NP + *for* + *-ing*-clause complement. Each involves a [+HUMAN] complement and two are coreferential with the subject, as illustrated in example (72) below. The subject in the example is [–HUMAN], which is very rare in the data.

(72) Like a dog you keep chained up in a dark room. It *hates* you for putting it there, but is loyal to you because you bring it food. (CML 2339)

Three tokens of NP + *-ing*-clause and one of NP + *-to*-infinitive are found in the data. These will be discussed side by side, as the constructions are often contrasted with each other in the

literature. In each token the complement NP is [+HUMAN]. In the token with *to*-infinitive, presented as example (75) below, the NP is realized by the indefinite pronoun *anyone* whereas the *-ing*-type complements involve only personal pronouns. The tokens seem to support the view shared by many grammarians of *to*-infinitives involving a more general reference than *-ing*-clauses, which are associated with factuality (see section 3.5). Example (75) below presents clearly a more hypothetical event than examples (73) and (74), in which prior overlap is felt as smoking and shutting the speaker out definitely has happened.

(73) Time for coffee and — she hated to admit it, for he *hated* her doing it — a cigarette. (HGF 2666)

(74) I'll keep your secrets, I promise. Only I *hate* you shutting me out like this. (AD9 1862)

(75) As a matter of fact, he *hated* anyone to get to the post before himself, needed to be the first to turn them over and sort them out. (AD1 388)

Finally, two tokens of both *wh*-clauses and *it + when*-clauses are found. Both *wh*-elements are realized by *what*, as exemplified in (76) below.

(76) I *hated* what Horatia Manners did to Andrew and Virginia. (EVC 3069)

Both tokens involving the *it + when* pattern (discussed in section 4.5) are presented in examples (77) and (78) below.

(77) Why, oh why, wasn't Gina there? He *hated* it when she was tactful and allowed him space to meet women. (AC3 740)

(78) No one knows how she made the switch. It just doesn't happen. Look at her, the eyes, the mouth – superb. No evidence. I can't figure it. I *hate* it when I can't figure things. (HOM 114)

The two examples are interestingly similar. The *it + when* complement seems to imply that the speaker has experienced a same kind of situation before. However, the expression of hate is clearly triggered by the events or circumstances in the immediate past. Thus, at least in these two tokens, the construction *hate + it + when* seems to make not only a general statement on the idea expressed in the lower clause, but also a specific reference to something which is happening right now or has just happened. It seems that both sentences are best paraphrased by an *-ing*-clause as follows, (79) being a paraphrase for (77) and (80) for (78):

(79) He hated her being tactful and allowing him space to meet women.

(80) I hate not being able to figure things.

Based on these pairs of sentences, near-synonymous sentential complements can be found. However, to speculate on the differences, it may be the case that the *it* + *when* construction emphasizes the aspect of prior overlap – (77) seems to assert that she had also previously allowed him space to meet women, whereas in (79) this might happen for the first time. Another possible difference is that the *it* + *when* complement may fit exclamations more easily, as *hate* is always followed by the “snappy” pronoun *it*, and the following sentence is a finite one. This is clearer in (80) and (78) involving first person subject – a frustrated person seems more likely to exclaim the utterance in (78) than in (80).

5.3.4 Other remarks

The number of modalized tokens in the BNC is somewhat similar to the CLMET 3. There are 8 tokens in which *hate* has been modalized, five times with *would* (one of which *would have*), 2 with *will* and one with *must*. Sentential tokens are now much more prominent than in the CLMET, as four of the eight modalized tokens have *to*-infinitival complements. The remaining four include three NP complements and one NP + *for* + NP complement. As pointed out in the previous section, *to*-infinitives seem to be strongly linked with the modal *would* – all four tokens with *to*-infinitival complements are modalized by *would*.

Similarly, the number of marked infinitives in the node shows no change. There are 8 such cases, all of which are complemented by NPs. The only matrix verb governing *hate* with two occurrences is *seem*.

As regards the verb form *hating*, it is now slightly more common than in the CLMET with 16 tokens, 14 of which complemented by NPs. In addition, one NP + *for* + *-ing* clause is found, and one zero complement. Non-finite clauses are now more pronounced in the data, covering 10 of the 16 tokens of *hating*. One of these tokens is exemplified below as (81).

(81) She bit her lip, *hating* the shrewish sound of her own voice. (HA9 956)

6 Summary and concluding remarks

I have now analyzed a total of 571 relevant tokens in the CLMET and the BNC. In this chapter, I will summarize and discuss the main findings with reference to the research questions presented in chapter 1.

To begin with the most general findings, the normalized frequency of *hate* is nearly equal in the CLMET 1 and 3 but shows a significant increase in the BNC, being one third larger than in the CLMET. This progression is illustrated in more detail in Figure 2 below.

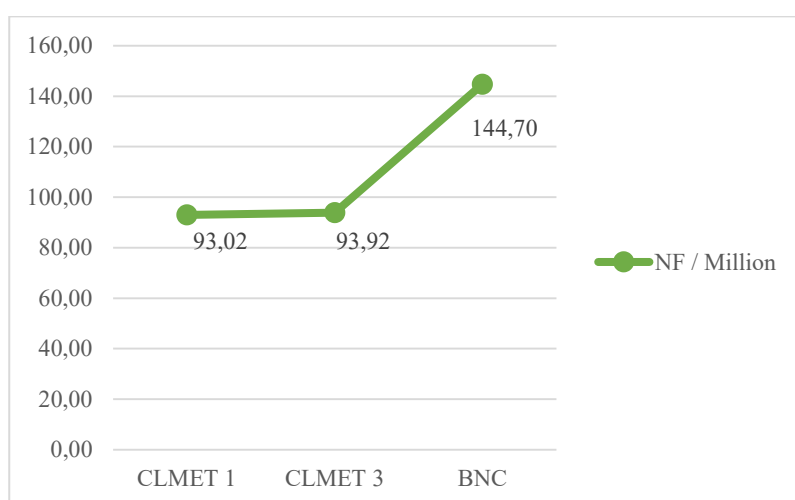


Figure 2. Normalized frequency of verbal *hate* in the three (sub-)corpora.

As regards research question *i* and different complement patterns, 10 complement types plus the zero-complement type were identified in the corpus data. Three complement types identified in the literature were not found in the data, namely *that*-clauses, *for* + NP + *to*-clauses and *it* + *in* complements. The types found in the corpora are listed in Table 14 below. As can be seen, the number of different complement types remains quite consistent throughout the corpora. Starting from the seven types in the CLMET 1, the number of different types increases by one per corpus, reaching nine types in the BNC. In addition, the zero-complement type is found in each corpus, most notably in the CLMET 1, in which it covers 4,6 percent of the data. The number of NP complements shows a decrease of some 10 percent in the BNC, but the pattern is still exceedingly prominent. The only other non-sentential complement type, NP + *for* + NP, shows a slight decrease too, although the pattern is relatively rare throughout the data despite being the fourth most common complement type.

On the contrary, *-ing*-clauses and *to*-infinitives have become more common with frequencies twice or thrice as large in present-day data as in the CLMET 1. The less frequent patterns only occur in a handful of tokens, and it is thus not worthwhile to attempt to analyze their trends.

Construction	CLMET 1	CLMET 3	BNC	TOTAL
NP	80,0 %	81,8 %	69,8 %	77,2 %
<i>-ing</i> -clause	3,6 %	7,5 %	11,1 %	7,4 %
<i>to</i> -inf.	4,6 %	6,4 %	10,1 %	7,0 %
NP + <i>for</i> + NP	4,6 %	1,6 %	2,6 %	3,0 %
NP + <i>for</i> + <i>-ing</i> -cl.	1,0 %	0,5 %	1,6 %	1,1 %
<i>wh</i> -clause	1,0 %	0,5 %	1,1 %	0,9 %
NP + <i>-ing</i> -cl.		0,5 %	1,6 %	0,7 %
<i>it</i> + <i>when</i> -clause			1,1 %	0,4 %
NP + <i>to</i> -inf.	0,5 %		0,5 %	0,4 %
NP + <i>for</i> + <i>wh</i> -cl.		0,5 %		0,2 %
∅	4,6 %	0,5 %	0,5 %	1,9 %
Total	99,9 %	99,8 %	100,0 %	100,2 %

Table 14. The percentage of different complement patterns in the three (sub-)corpora in order of frequency.

To address research question *ii* and the changes in the use of *hate*, the number of sentential complements has increased from 11,3 in the CLMET 1 to 27 percent in the BNC, whereas non-sentential tokens have decreased from 84,6 to 72,5 percent. Although the change has been moderate, the trend is clearly visible, as illustrated in Figure 3 below. The zero complement type has become marginal since the CLMET 1. It needs to be noted that the zero-complement type is not included in the figure, which accounts for the sum of sentential and non-sentential tokens not being 100 percent.

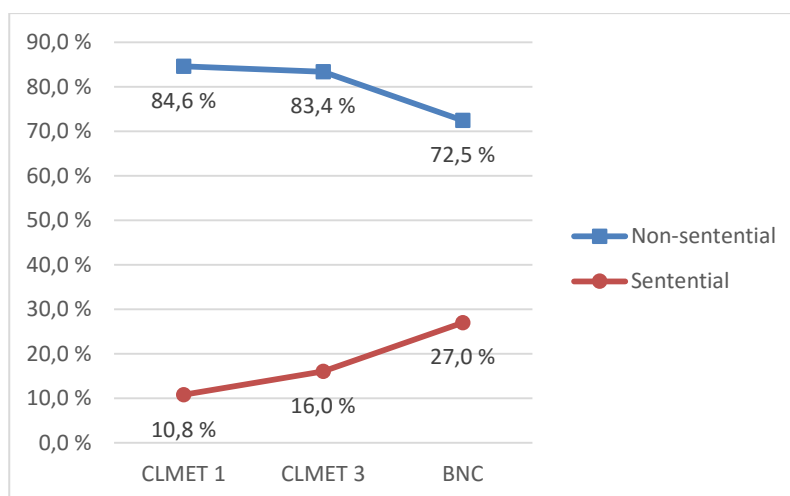


Figure 3. Sentential and non-sentential complements in the three (sub-)corpora.

Let us now have a closer look on the sentential complement types throughout the data. As illustrated in Figure 4 below, *to*-infinitives and especially *-ing*-clause complements show a significant increase in frequency during the studied time-span. These two complements stand out from the data, whereas the other sentential patterns stay under two percent in each corpus. The complements with verbal *for*-clauses have been combined under the label NP + *for* + S.

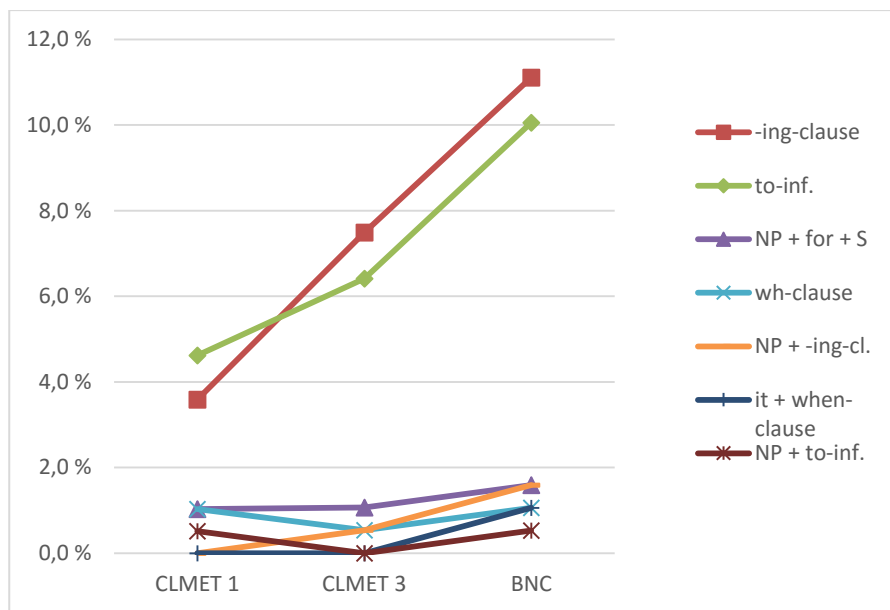


Figure 4. Distribution of the sentential complement types in the three (sub-)corpora.

As regards research question *iii*, *hate* seems to share only some aspects of the Great Complement Shift in the light of my data. Even though *-ing*-complements have become increasingly prominent, this has not happened at the expense of *to*-infinitives. Rather, the number of *to*-infinitives seems to be increasing similarly. However, the number of tokens studied is relatively small, and thus further research is needed to confirm this observation. Nevertheless, data suggests that *hate* is now more commonly used with *-ing*-clauses and *to*-infinitives in subject control structures than in historical data.

A possible explanation for the increase of *to*-infinitives has to do with research question *iv* and the connection between senses and complement types of *hate*, which are illustrated in Table 15 below. First, to describe the table on a more general level, it elaborates further on the senses summarized in section 4.6, reviewing the number of tokens of each complement type used in each sense. As regards

the selection of complements, the senses, although relatively broad, were confirmed to be mutually exclusive with a majority of complement types – only three complement types out of the ten identified are listed under two different senses, namely NP, NP + *for* + NP (in historical data only), and *to*-infinitive (in present-day data only). As regards frequency of the senses, since the CLMET 1, sense 1 (to dislike something) has become the most frequent sense at the expense of sense 2 (to dislike somebody). Sense 3 has emerged in present-day data, whereas sense 4 associated with the zero-complement has become marginal since the CLMET 1. The increase of *to*-infinitives has been largely contributed by the introductory sense 3, only found in present-day data. In addition, *to*-infinitives were found to be used in present-day data in hypothetical contexts when modalized by *would*.

Sense	Complement(s)	CLMET 1	CLMET 3	BNC	Total
1. To dislike something very much, be averse to do something	NP	46	75	62	183
	<i>-ing</i> -clause	7	14	21	42
	<i>to</i> -infinitive	10	12	14	36
	<i>wh</i> -clause	2	1	2	5
	NP + <i>-ing</i> -clause		1	3	4
	NP + <i>to</i> -inf.	1		1	2
	<i>it</i> + <i>when</i>			2	2
	NP + <i>for</i> + NP	2			2
	Sum	68	103	105	276
2. To dislike somebody very much	NP	111	78	72	261
	NP + <i>for</i> + NP	7	3	5	15
	NP + <i>for</i> + <i>-ing</i> -clause	2	1	3	6
	NP + <i>for</i> + <i>-wh</i> clause		1		1
	Sum	120	83	80	283
3. Introductory <i>hate</i> , usually followed by <i>but</i>	<i>to</i> -inf.			5	5
4. To (be able to) experience the emotion of hatred	∅	9	1	1	11

Table 15. Complement types and their number of occurrence in each sense.¹⁸

The assumption of the introductory sense having an influence in the increase of *to*-infinitives is supported by Egan (2006, 228–229). Based on a sample of 70 tokens involving *hate* + *to*-infinitive,

¹⁸ Due to some tokens with NP complements involving multiple coordinated complements, this figure presents the CLMET 1 with one “extra” NP complement and the BNC with two extra ones.

obtained from the imaginative prose section in the BNC, Egan found that nearly half of the *to*-infinitival tokens making a specific (as opposed to general) reference encode an act of communication. This category is likely to correspond to the introductory sense identified in this thesis. The percentage of these cases in Egan’s data is some 15–20 percent, being thus fairly close to the percentage of the introductory sense in my data.

Research question *v* addressed the semantics of the nominal complements. In addition to the NP complements, the initial NPs of the NP + *for*-element complements were analyzed. A division was made into [+HUMAN], [+ABSTRACT] and [+CONCRETE] NPs, whose distribution among the NP complements is summarized in Figure 5 below. [+HUMAN] NPs are dominant throughout the data, most notably so in the CLMET 1 with a coverage of some 70 percent, becoming slightly less prominent in the later periods, but still making up over half of the data. [+CONCRETE] NPs have increased steadily from 4,5 to 19,7 percent, whereas [+ABSTRACT] NPs balance between these two types with varied frequency. Overall, the distribution seems to have levelled out significantly during the studied time-span. In contrast, all types of NP + *for* complements were found to be realized by [+HUMAN] NPs in all tokens after the CLMET 1. Moreover, when complemented by a reflexive pronoun, *hate* was found to be likely to select an optional *for*-complement accounting for the reason in some 40 percent of the cases.

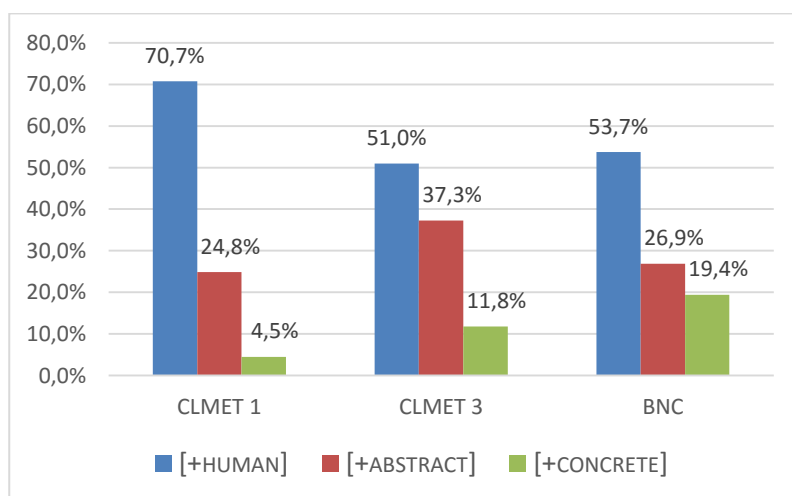


Figure 5. Semantic distribution of the NP complements in the three (sub-)corpora.

Some attention was given to the form of the NP complements, too. Division was made into nouns, personal pronouns and other pronouns. Their distribution is summarized in Figure 6 below. In the few cases of multiple complement NPs, the first one was considered. As the figure illustrates, the number of personal pronouns has increased significantly since the CLMET 1, being almost level with nouns in the BNC. It needs to be noted, however, that the reasons for this progression may be more closely linked with changes in language use in general rather than in the use of *hate*. Nevertheless, the figure supplements the semantic analysis of the NPs.

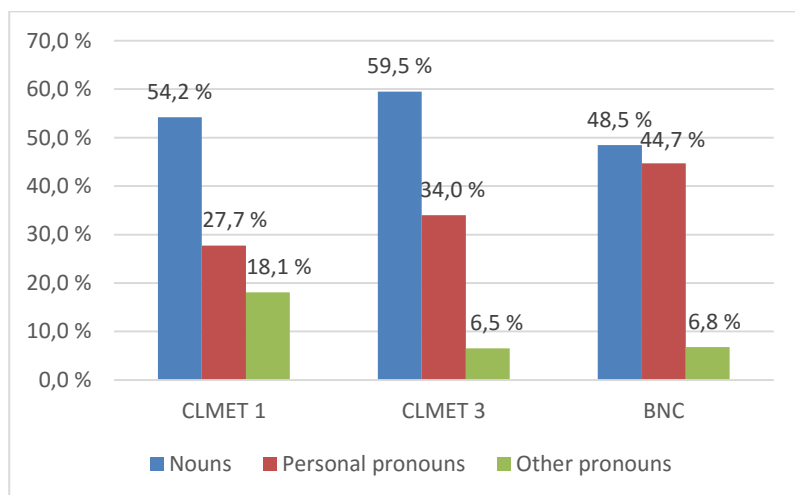


Figure 6. Distribution of the units realizing the NP complements in the three (sub)-corpora.

To have a look at the NPs at a surface level, the three most common NP complement heads in each subcorpus are all personal pronouns, except for *man* in the CLMET 1. These are listed in Table 16 below. Although the listing may seem trivial, it helps to answer the general question on what has been hated throughout the centuries – the first person object has increased significantly, which may reflect a shift towards first person narratives, increased amount of reported speech in literature or more self-centred ways of thinking. Moreover, it is worth noting that only male and unisex (pro-)nouns top the lists. As regards subject position NPs, the haters, *I*, *he* and *she* top the list in each corpus, in addition to agentless passive, which was common in the CLMET 1.

CLMET 1	CLMET 3	BNC
<i>him</i> 9,0 %	<i>him</i> 14,4 %	<i>me</i> 9,8 %
<i>man</i> 6,5 %	<i>it</i> 5,9 %	<i>him</i> 9,1 %
<i>you</i> 6,5 %	<i>me</i> 3,9 %	<i>you</i> 7,6 %

Table 16. Three most common NP complement heads in the three (sub)-corpora.

A few other observations remain to be discussed. First, extractions and passives have become less frequent during the studied period of time, as Figure 7 below illustrates. Especially surprising is the total absence of passives in the BNC. Most of the extractions found in the data are relativizations, but the historical corpora include a limited number of topicalizations, too. Only one token in the CLMET 1 involves an extraction of a sentential complement, namely a topicalized *wh*-clause. On this basis, we are left without confirmation of Vosberg’s extraction principle (see section 3.6.2).

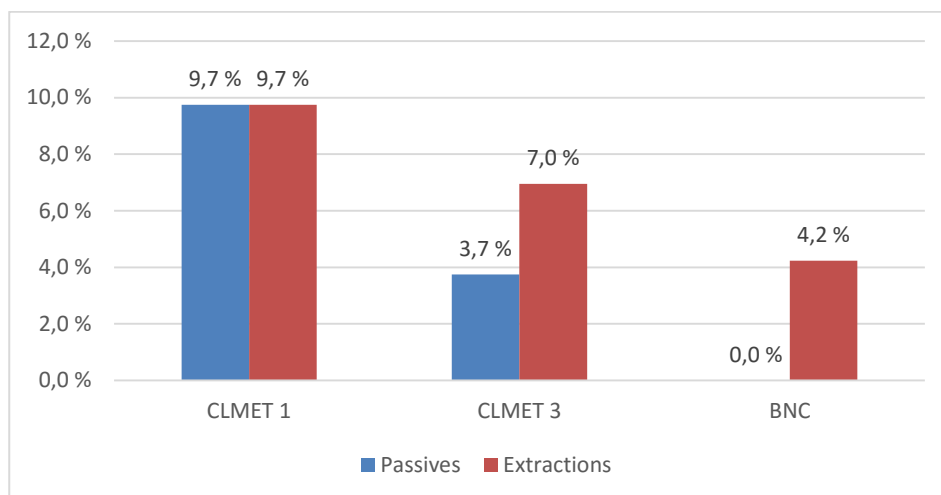


Figure 7. The percentage of passives and extractions in the three corpora.

The number of modals proved to be in decline in the data, too, having fallen from 9,2 percent in the CLMET 1 to 4,2 percent in the BNC. The range of modal verbs has also narrowed. To suggest some connections between the more frequent modals and the complement types, *will* seems to be strongly associated with NP complements and *would* and *should* with sentential complements (in addition to NP complements), especially *to*-infinitives.

The data did not include any Horror aequi violations involving *hate*. The marked infinitive *to hate* was not complemented by *to*-infinitives, and *hating* was not complemented by *-ing*-forms. In fact, *hating* avoided all sentential complements in the data, save for one NP + *for* + *-ing* complement found in the BNC.

Last but not least, this thesis highlighted some less canonical complement patterns, most importantly the *it* + *when* construction with two instances in contemporary data. In section 4.5, it was argued that the pattern should be treated as a complement type of its own. One speculative point

accounting for the semantic difference between *it + when* and the other sentential complements was that this pattern may be punchier, and thus more readily used in exclamations. In the BNC, the pattern seems to be used similarly with *like* and *love*, which provides an interesting topic for further research.

The research questions and a number of other topics that emerged along the way have now come to conclusion. Some interesting trends and tendencies regarding *hate* have been identified in the data. Many of the findings touched upon in this thesis may provide fruitful venues for further research.

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CLMET = The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (Original Version)