The Complementation of the Verb *Cease* in Recent Centuries – A Diachronic Corpus-based Study

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Tämän pro gradu -tutkielman tarkoitus on tutkia *cease*-verbin komplementaatiota nykybrittienglannissa aikavälillä 1710–1993. Tutkimus toteutetaan korpuslingvistiikan menetelmin, ja tavoitteena on kuvailla, miten verbin *cease* komplementaatio on muuttunut diakronisesti ja mitkä semanttiset tai syntaktiset tekijät tai yleiset kieliopilliset taipumukset ovat mahdollisesti vaikuttaneet verbin komplementaatioon.

Tutkimuksen lähtökohtana on verrata sitä, miten sanakirjat ja kielioppiteokset kuvaavat verbin *cease* komplementaation siihen, minkälaista tietoa elektroniset korpukset antavat todellisesta kielenkäytöstä. Elektroniset korpukset mahdollistavat suurten tekstimassojen käsittelyn ja tarjoavat hyvän välineen lingvistiseen tutkimukseen. Tässä tutkielmassa käytetyt korpukset ovat nimeltään the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (versio 3.0) ja the British National Corpus, ja eri aikakausilta kerätyt tekstit mahdollistavat diakronisen vertailun.

Tutkielma on jaettu kahteen osaan: ensimmäinen osa kuvaa, miten verbi *cease* esiintyy taustakirjallisuudessa, ja lisäksi komplementaatioon liittyvät peruskäsitteet selitetään. Toinen osa keskittyy korpusdatan analysointiin, ja tarkoituksena on myös verrata korpuslöydöksiä tutkielman ensimmäisessä osassa esiteltyyn tietoon. Mahdolliset diakroniset muutokset ja muut löydökset pyritään selittämään taustakirjallisuuden avulla.

Tutkimuksessa kävi ilmi, että verbin *cease* ylivoimaisesti yleisin komplementtityyppi on kaikilla tutkituilla aikakausilla *to*-infinitiivi, ja ainoastaan lieviä diakronisia muutoksia komplementtien yleisyydessä havaittiin. Tutkimuksen mielenkiintoisin löydös liittyy kahden ei-finiittisen komplementtityypin väliseen valintaan, ja tutkimuksessa huomattiin, että komplementin valintaan vaikuttavat ennen kaikkea semanttiset seikat. *To*-infinitiivien ja *–ing*-lauseiden väliset semanttiset erot vaikuttavatkin eniten siihen, kumpi ei-finiittinen komplementti esiintyy verbin *cease* kanssa.

Muille kieliopillisille periaatteille ei löytynyt yhtä paljon tukea korpusdatasta, ja kolmas mielenkiintoinen löydös on se, ettei verbi *cease* tunnu seuraavan Günter Rohdenburgin esittelemän the Great Complement Shift –periaatteen mukaisia taipumuksia, joista keskeisin on *–ing*-lauseiden yleistyminen *to*-infinitiivien kustannuksella.

Avainsanat: korpuslingvistiikka, komplementaatio, korpus, verbi, *cease*

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1 Introduction

The following example sentences function as an introduction to the topic of the present study:

(1) How is it possible for me to <u>cease loving</u> her? (Lennox 1760-1, *The Lady's museum*)
(2) I <u>ceased my walk,</u> for the pavement was too crowded, and hung on the outskirts of the throng. (Hope 1898, *Rupert of Hentzau*)
(3) Roland had <u>ceased to be surprised</u> that an English Department was sponsoring the study of French books. (APR 648)

All the examples above contain the verb *cease* and, more precisely, illustrate three different ways *cease* can be complemented by a sentential or a non-sentential element: in the first example, the complementing part is an *–ing* clause, in the second one a noun phrase, and in the final one a *to*-infinitive. If all the examples in (1)–(3) are acceptable, how can a language user know which type of complement can be used and in which context?

When approaching a subject related to the acceptability of different complements in connection with a certain verb, one can either rely on a native speaker's intuition or investigate actual language use. As Lindquist (2009, 2) points out, the information in earliest dictionaries and grammars was based on the writer's own intuitions and opinions of language, which can sometimes be partial and partisan. More recently, grammarians have been interested in studying language in use, and corpora, which are large bodies of text, can be used as an integral tool in obtaining less biased information about language. Corpus linguistics, as Lindquist (ibid.,1) argues, is both a methodology and an outlook on language use that is user-based and thus offers a suitable starting point for studying the complementation of a certain verb as well. During the last five decades there has been a significant increase in the availability of different kinds of corpora, and especially electronic corpora that give access to large collections of authentic language use in electronic form.

Although corpora contain a large amount of authentic material and enable the user to process data quickly and effectively, there are certain aspects one has to take into account

when adopting a corpus linguistic methodology. Lindquist (ibid., 187) argues that corpora, no matter how large, always remain inadequate representations of a particular language. This has to be taken into account especially when studying a predetermined linguistic item – it is probable that not all usages of a certain item are represented in any corpus. In other words, corpora are always incomplete in some respect.

2 Methodology

The purpose of this pro gradu thesis is to analyse the complementation of the verb *cease* diachronically from the beginning of the 18th century to the late 20th century with the help of electronic corpora. The corpora used in this study are the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, version 3.0 (CLMET3.0) and the British National Corpus (the BNC), which provide authentic data over a time span of more than two centuries. The older data comes from two separate sub-parts of the CLMET, with data from 1710–1780 and 1850–1920, whereas the BNC contains texts from recent centuries, more precisely from between the years 1960 and 1993 (Burnard 2010). Analysing data from different periods of time makes it possible to detect changes in language, which is always interesting from a linguistic perspective.

Firstly, the term *complement* and some related issues are explained, including some linguistic principles, as sometimes the choice of a certain complement over the other is connected either to semantic or structural factors. A brief analysis of the different senses of the word *cease* is given – being able to distinguish between the different senses of *cease* is helpful when analysing the corpus data, since the occurrence of certain constructions can possibly be explained in terms of the sense of the construction. In addition, I will offer a description of how certain grammarians present the complementation of *cease* and compare it with the information found in the dictionaries and eventually in the corpus data.

Secondly, after background information I will concentrate on analysing the corpus findings in a chronological way, starting with the oldest data from the 18th century and concluding with the 20th century data. Alongside the diachronic analysis of the complementation patterns there will be an accompanying attempt to relate the findings to the previous information provided by dictionaries and grammars.

The preliminary research questions are thus the following: How is the verb *cease* complemented in British English between 1710 and 1993, and are the findings consistent with

earlier literature? Are there any noticeable diachronic differences in the complementation of the verb *cease?* To what extent is the choice of a complement affected by the sense of the construction?

3 Complementation

The following chapter will concentrate on offering a brief introduction to the area in grammar referred to as complementation. The following questions will be answered: What is a complement? How do complements differ from adjuncts? What kinds of complements are found in English? In addition, some linguistic principles that might affect complementation are presented.

3.1. Complements versus Adjuncts

According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 219), complements are elements that are more clearly connected to verbs than adjuncts. Huddleston and Pullum (ibid.) introduce some major differences between complements and adjuncts and name the criterion of licensing the most crucial property of complements. Licensing means that the form of the complement depends on the verb, and thus the verb licenses its complements. The following sentences from Huddleston and Pullum (ibid.) illustrate the argument:

> (1) (a) She <u>mentioned</u> the letter.
>   (b) *She <u>alluded</u> the letter.

In (b) the asterisk indicates that the sentence is ill-formed, and the ungrammaticality results from the fact that the verb *allude* does not license the element *the letter*, unlike in (a), where the verb *mention* licenses the complement *the letter*. In contrast to complements, adjuncts do not need to be licensed by the verb and thus can occur more freely with all kinds of verbs. Consider the following invented example:

> (2) She mentioned the movie <u>yesterday</u> / <u>a year ago</u> / <u>briefly.</u>

The underlined elements in (2) represent adjuncts, and their presence does not depend on the verb *mention*. Due to the fact that different verbs license different kinds of complements, verbs are said to subcategorize for certain complements (Haegeman 1991, 34). The verb

mention, for example, subcategorizes for an NP, whereas *allude* does not – it subcategorizes for a PP. Haegeman (ibid.) also introduces subcategorization frames, which are used to describe the complementation of *cease* in this thesis as well. The subcategorization frame for *mention* would be [– NP]. Huang (1997, 75) uses the term C-selection to describe the licensing property of verbs and argues that adjuncts do not contribute to subcategorizing verbs, which serves to highlight the distinction between complements and adjuncts.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 221) also state that while adjuncts are always optional elements, complements are sometimes required to complete the meaning of the structure. In his analysis of C-selection, Huang (1996, 77) makes a similar remark on obligatoriness and states that while complements complete the structure headed by a verb, adjuncts only serve to modify the meaning. Here one has to make a distinction between obligatory and optional complements – a complement is obligatory, if its deletion results in an ungrammatical structure or an unsystematic change in meaning (Huddleston and Pullum, ibid.). Huddleston and Pullum provide the following sentences as examples:

(3) (a) She perused <u>the report</u>.   (b) *She perused. (obligatory complement)
(4) (a) She read <u>the report</u>.   (b) She read. (optional complement)
(5) (a) She left <u>since she was ill</u>. (b) She left. (optional adjunct)

The sentences above show not only that deleting an obligatory complement results in an ungrammatical sequence, but also that the criterion of obligatoriness does not help to make a distinction between optional complements and adjuncts. In other words, obligatory complements are more distinct from adjuncts than optional complements. According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 222), optional complements are still considered complements because they meet the licensing criterion. In (4) (a), one could not replace the verb *read* with the verb *depend*, for example. This shows that *the report* has to be accompanied by a certain kind of a verb, which suffices to confirm that *the report* is indeed a complement.

As licensing and obligatoriness demonstrate, complements are more closely tied to

verbs than adjuncts, and Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 222–3) introduce the so-called *do so* test to further emphasize the complement-adjunct distinction. As Huddleston and Pullum (ibid.) state, the antecedents of anaphoric expressions, such as *do so*, include not only the verb but also its verb-internal complements. As a result, the expression *do so* cannot combine with a complement, as can be seen in the subsequent sentence given in the following example from Huddleston and Pullum (ibid.):

(6) *I didn't read all the reports but I <u>did so</u> most of them.

In (6), the insertion of the complement *most of them* after the anaphoric expression makes the sequence nonsensical, since the antecedent of *did so* also includes the complement *all the reports.* Adjuncts, however, allow the combination with *do so,* as adjuncts are not necessarily included in the antecedents of anaphoric expressions. Huddleston and Pullum (ibid.) give this sentence as an example:

(7) I didn't cover this topic last time but I shall <u>do so </u>on Tuesday.

Here *on Tuesday* does not create a contrast with the complement *this topic,* which indicates that *on Tuesday* functions as an adjunct in the sequence. As Huddleston and Pullum (ibid.) point out, the *do so* test qualifies as a helpful technique to confirm the status of an element as an adjunct. What is stated, however, is that the inability of an element to occur with an anaphoric expression does not confirm its status as a complement, since some semantic restrictions control the combining of certain anaphoric expressions and antecedents (ibid.). The following sentence, for example, is nonsensical: "*My neighbour died last year and Tom did so last week".

3.2. Types of Complements

Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 216) distinguish between external and internal complements, and only the latter type will be examined in the present study. In other words, internal

complements are simply called complements, disregarding external complements altogether. The word *internal* derives from the fact that complements of this type are internal to the verb phrase (VP), such as the object. External complements, in turn, are not part of the VP but are realized by subjects.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 224–5) mention the following categories as possible complements:

(a) NPs   (It was <u>a girl</u>.)
(b) AdvPs   (You treat me <u>well</u>.)
(c) PPs   (I alluded <u>to the poem</u>.)
(d) AdjPs   (She was <u>happy</u>.)
(e) Finite clauses   (Pam said <u>that she had lied</u>.)
(f) Non-finite clauses   (She began <u>to cry</u>.)

Complements can also be divided into non-sentential, in (a) – (d), and sentential ones, (e) and (f), and the division will be applicable to this thesis as well.

3.3. Some Principles Affecting Complementation

When the verb allows more than one kind of construction as its complement, sometimes the choice of the complement might be affected by certain semantic or syntactic factors. In this part of the thesis I will explain the following four principles or linguistic tendencies that could account for the variation found in complementation: Bolinger's Principle, The Complexity Principle, the *horror aequi* principle, and the Great Complement Shift.

3.3.1. Bolinger's Principle

In his discussion of *for to* and *–ing* complements, Bolinger (1968, 127) arrives at the conclusion that "a difference in a syntactic form always spells a difference in meaning", which is generally referred to as Bolinger's Principle. Bolinger utilizes minimal pairs to indicate the inherent semantic difference between the infinitive and the gerund, and the following pair is given as an example (ibid., 123):

(8) (a) I like him <u>to be</u> nice to you.
     (b) I like him <u>being</u> nice to you.

Bolinger (ibid.) argues that the infinitive is characteristically related to potentiality, whereas the gerund is used when the action referred to is actual, not hypothetical. What follows is that in (a) the speaker only expresses their wish for a potential future situation and in (b), the action is, in Bolinger's words, reified (ibid., 124). Bolinger's principle functions as a crucial theoretical framework in this thesis, which means that the aim is to find semantic reasons for any variety found in the complementation of *cease*. However, as Bolinger (ibid., 122) notes, the contrasts are better described as potential rather than necessary − in some cases the semantic differences are so subtle that no contrasts in meaning can be discerned.

3.3.2. The Complexity Principle

According to the Complexity Principle, cognitively complex environments are more likely to select grammatically more explicit elements (Rohdenburg 1996, 151). Rohdenburg (ibid.) mentions passive constructions, discontinuous constructions and lengthy subjects, objects and subordinate clauses as examples of complex environments. In connection with the more or less explicit elements, Rohdenburg (ibid., 151–68) names a number of examples. For example, bulkier elements are usually more explicit than less bulky elements, and finite clauses are considered more explicit than non-finite clauses. The two sentences below demonstrate the previous remarks concerning the Complexity Principle:

(9) (a) You told me <u>that I should read more.</u>
     (b) You told me <u>to read more.</u>

Although both sentences (a) and (b) are grammatically correct, the preferred option would be sentence (a) due to the fact that the inserted personal pronoun *me* functions as a complexity factor and thus favours the presence of the more explicit finite clause.

In addition to insertions, extractions increase the complexity of a linguistic environment.

Extractions are of many types, including topicalization and relativization, to name two, and what is common to all extractions is that some element has been extracted from its neutral or original sentence position to another position, resulting in a complex environment (Vosberg 2003). The following examples, adapted from Rohdenburg (2006, 153), illustrate the relative extraction:

> (10) (a) It was a scene which he had dreaded to see (*t*).
> (10) (b) It was a scene which he had dreaded seeing (*t*).

The letter *t* in the examples stand for trace, which in turn represent the environment from where something has been extracted: in this case the noun phrase *a scene* has been extracted over a sentence boundary, leaving a trace after the lower verbs in the lower sentences. According to Rohdenburg (2006, 154) the more explicit *to*-infininitive (*to see*) would be preferred over the *–ing* clause (*seeing*) in an extraction environment such as in (10) (a) and (b).

The Complexity Principle can also be applied to explain the difference between two different non-finite clauses. In his discussion of the so-called Nouniness Squish, Ross (2004, 351) places the *to*-infinitive higher than the gerund on a scale of sententiality. One could thus argue that the *to*-infinitive is a more explicit construction than the *–ing* clause, which could possibly explain the choice of the complement with *cease* in some cases.

3.3.3. The *horror aequi* principle

Rohdenburg (2003, 236) introduces the *horror aequi* principle in the following words: "… the widespread (and presumably universal) tendency to avoid the use of formally (near-) identical and (near-) adjacent (non-coordinate) grammatical elements or structures". In other words, it is unlikely for a verb in the marked infinitive to be complemented by a *to*-infinitive, and similarly there are even some restrictions in English regarding adjacent *–ing* forms (ibid.) The following invented sentences illustrate operation of the *horror aequi* principle:

> (11) (a) To begin <u>writing</u> is always difficult.

(b) ?To begin <u>to write</u> is always difficult.
(c) Ceasing <u>to speak,</u> he got up.
(d) ?Ceasing <u>speaking,</u> he got up.

In the sentences above the options (a) and (c) are more natural, which can be explained in terms of the *horror aequi* principle – the sentences in (b) and (d) contain adjacent, formally identical elements which makes the formations slightly questionable. In (b), two infinitival elements appear adjacently, and in (d) both the verbs end in – *ing*. According to Rohdenburg (ibid.), what follows is that certain avoidance strategies are employed, which may include postponing the identical element or altogether replacing it with another element that does not violate the *horror aequi* principle.

3.3.4. The Great Complement Shift

A considerable amount of work on complementation has concentrated on investigating the motivation behind choosing between two or more non-finite complements (cf., e.g., Vosberg 2003, Rohdenburg 2006, Rudanko 2006) and one possible explanation might lie in a phenomenon now known as the Great Complement Shift, a term first introduced by Rohdenburg (2006, 143). According to Rohdenburg (ibid.), the English complementation system has undergone some clearly regular and universal changes affecting sentential complementation. In his 2006 article, Rohdenburg examines four selected areas of change in the complementation system of English: the emergence of the *–ing* clause complement as an alternative to the other non-finite complement, the *to*-infinitive; the choice between marked and unmarked infinitives; the choice between finite and infinitival interrogative complements; and lastly the choice between marked infinitives and unlinked gerundial and prepositional complements.

Vosberg (2009, 213) refers to the Great Complement Shift as "a long-term and general tendency" which has led to the increase in the number of *–ing* clause complements. The Great Complement Shift has affected the complementation pattern of various heads, and according

to Vosberg (ibid.), some heads that previously only selected infinitival complements as non-finite complements are now being complemented by the gerund, as well. Vosberg (ibid.) argues that different semantic and morphosyntactic factors, including extractions, the Complexity Principle and the *horror aequi* principle, affect the way the Great Complement Shift progresses to change the complementation of different heads.

As the examples in (1) and (3) illustrate (see page 1), *cease* selects both of the non-finite complements, which is why the implications of the Great Complement Shift will be of relevance in the present thesis. The following chapter concentrates on earlier literature on the verb *cease* and how the complementation of the verb is described in various grammars and dictionaries.

4 *Cease* in earlier literature

In this chapter I will describe how the senses and complementation of *cease* are presented in the *OED*, the *OALD,* the *COBUILD* and grammars, first concentrating on the more intricate *OED* and then moving on to the more basic senses provided by the *OALD* and the *COBUILD*. To simplify the analysis of the data, the senses found in the *OED*, the *OALD* and the *COBUILD* will be combined into simplified senses. I will then compare the complementation patterns found in the dictionaries to the patterns found in various grammars. As the aim is to study *cease* in recent centuries, only the senses from the 18th century onwards will be taken into account.

4.1. *Cease* in the *OED*

In addition to providing the senses of *cease,* the *OED* also includes some information about the etymology of the word. *Cease* comes from the French *cesse-r*, which in turn originates from the Latin *cessare* "to give over, stop".

The following is a table illustrating the senses and complementation of *cease* in the *OED*. The obsolete senses and some irrelevant comments related to them have been excluded.

Table 4.1. *Cease* in the *OED*

Sense	Examples	Complements
I. Intransitive		
1.a. Of persons and other agents: To stop, give over, discontinue, desist (from […] an action); to come to the end or to an intermission of a state or condition of "being, doing, suffering." […]	1768: Sisters, cease, the work is done. (T. Gray Fatal Sisters)	[– Ø]
	1832: Fold our wings, And cease from wanderings. (Tennyson Lotos-eaters: Choric Song ii)	[– *from* NP]
1.b. Const. inf. with to.	1712: I'll… either cease to live or cease to love! (Pope Sappho)	[– *to*-inf.]
	1876: An excommunicate king had ceased to be a Christian. (J.R. Green Short Hist. Eng. People)	
1.c. with pr. ppl. expressing the action […] This construction coincides with [3. b.]		
2. Of actions, feelings, phenomena, etc.: To come to an end, be at an end. Formerly often conjugated with the auxiliary be; but some of the examples may be rather pass. of [3]	1879: The influx of Germans on the Rhine must cease. (J.A. Froude Cæsar)	[– Ø]

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3.a. To leave off, discontinue (one's own action; formerly also, one's anger or other passions)	1894: He appealed to those present who had ceased their connextion with their Union […] (Westm. Gaz.)	[– NP]
3.b. with vbl. n. as obj. The vbl. n. represents an earlier pr. ppl.: see [1. c.]	1860: Throughout the entire measurement the snow never ceased falling. (J. Tyndall Glaciers of Alps)	[– –*ing* clause]
3.c. Mil. cease fire […]		
3.d. Campanology: To bring (a peal) to an end; to let (a bell) down.	1901: Ceasing in order, letting the bells down together […] (H.E. Bulwer Gloss. Techn. Terms Bells&Ringing)	[– Ø]

If four obsolete cases are ignored, the *OED* lists three main senses of *cease.* Senses 1 and 2 are very closely related, as can be seen in the explanations of the senses. The first sense is "of persons and other agents" whereas the second one is "of actions, feelings, phenomena, etc." To simplify the analysis of the senses of *cease* I have decided to combine these two closely related senses into one that covers both. Sense 3 is distinct from the first two ones in that it is transitive and related to a different kind of complementation, namely the patterns [– NP] and [– –*ing* clause], which are not found in the examples of the first two senses. The sub-senses of sense 3 include some special meanings related to military (sense 3. c.) and campanology (sense 3.d.). Investigating the corpus data will show whether these special senses are only marginally used. Even though the first two senses and the third sense are syntactically and semantically distinct from each other, one should note that there is some overlap between them – according to the *OED,* senses 1.c. and 3.b. coincide with each other. The difference

seems to be related to the question that whether an *–ing* clause should be interpreted as a present participle or a verbal noun.

The complementation patterns that the *OED* lists are the following five: [– Ø], [– NP], [– *from* NP], [– *to*-inf.], and [– *–ing* clause], the two last ones being sentential complements. According to the *OED,* the patterns [– NP], [– *–ing* clause], and [– Ø] coincide with the transitive meaning of *cease,* while the intransitive meaning is related to the patterns [– *to*-inf.], [– Ø] and [– *from* NP].

4.2. *Cease* in the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*

The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (*OALD*) introduces two senses of *cease:* "to stop happening or existing" and "to stop something from happening or existing", where the only distinction between the meanings is whether it is intransitive or transitive. The complementation patterns included in the example sentences in the *OALD* are [– Ø], [– *to*-inf.], [– NP] and [– *–ing* clause], which are all also listed by the *OED*. However, the pattern [– *from* NP] introduced by the *OED* are not found in the *OALD*. It should be mentioned that the *OALD* does not specify which of the complements are related to the first sense and which to the second sense.

4.3. *Cease* in the *Collins Cobuild Advanced Learner's Dictionary*

In comparison to the *OED* and the *OALD,* the *Collins Cobuild Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (*COBUILD*) divides the meaning of *cease* into three closely-related meanings: "to stop happening or existing", "stop doing something", and "stop something happening or working", and all the three usages of the verb are labeled as formal. The first meaning is related to the pattern [– Ø], the second to [– *to*-inf.] as well as [– *–ing* clause] and the third to [– NP], making the total number of introduced complements four. The complement [– *from* NP] is excluded from the *COBUILD* as well.

4.4. Simplified Senses

As the first two senses introduced in the *OED* are very closely related and the third sense

includes some specialized senses, I have decided to formulate a simplified explanation of the

senses following the twofold distinction found in the *OALD*:

> Sense 1: Of persons, feelings and phenomena: to stop happening, existing or
> doing something
> Sense 2: Of persons and other agents: to stop something from happening or
> existing

In other words, sense 1 is intransitive and sense 2 transitive. These two senses will be referred

to when analysing the data, and if some specialized senses occur in the data they will be

distributed under either of the simplified senses.

4.5. *Cease* in grammars

Huddleston and Pullum (2002), Quirk et al. (1985) and Biber et al. (1999) classify *cease* as an

aspectual verb together with verbs such as *begin*, *start* and *stop* and state that *cease* can be

complemented by a *to*-infinitive or an *–ing* clause. None of the three grammars introduces the

non-sentential constructions [– NP] and [– *from* NP] or the zero-complement [– Ø].

Poutsma's (1904) example sentences include not only the complements introduced so far,

[– *–ing* clause] and [– *to*-inf.], but also [– *from –ing* clause]. Other grammars do not introduce

the construction [– *from –ing* clause], which suggests that it is not frequently found. The

validity of this prediction will be investigated in connection with the analysis of the primary

data.

While Huddleston and Pullum (2002) and Biber et al. (1999) only list the sentential

complements [– *to*-inf.] and [– *–ing* clause] as possible constructions following the verb *cease,*

some grammarians also comment on the choice between the complements. According to

Quirk et al. (1985, 1191), the choice results in a semantic difference. The infinitive refers to

an action that is not necessarily performed but is potential, whereas the *–ing* clause implies the performance of the action. However, Quirk et al. (ibid., 1191–2) specify that the semantic difference might be too subtle to observe in some other kinds of examples. Consider the following sentences, taken from Quirk et al. (ibid.):

(1) (a) Sheila tried <u>to bribe</u> the jailor.
     (b) Sheila tried <u>bribing</u> the jailor.
     (c) Sheila ceased <u>to speak</u>.
     (d) Sheila ceased <u>speaking</u>.

In (a), Sheila possibly only attempted to perform the action, whereas in (b) the action was carried out, the end result remaining unclear, and there is a clear difference in the meanings (ibid.). However, the meanings of (c) and (d) are almost identical because, as Quirk et al. (ibid.) explain, the negative meaning of some verbs, in this case *cease*, cancels or diminishes the possibility of semantic differentiation. Something similar is presented by Declerck (1992, 503), who associates the infinitive with a possible future situation and the gerund with a more general experience. The following example sentences are given as illustration:

(2) (a) I am / would be very interested <u>to meet</u> prof. Chomsky in person.
     (b) I am interested in <u>reading</u> romantic novels.

Poutsma (1904, 620) in turn observes that *cease* acts in the same way as *begin* regarding the choice between the gerund and the infinitive construction – the gerund is used with verbs of physical and mental action, not with verbs describing a state. As a result, the following sentence with the stative verb *exist* is not possible: "*I ceased existing". According to Poutsma (ibid.), the infinitive can be used with both kinds of verbs and is thus the more common option. In his essay on 'infinitivis', Allerton (1988, 21) elaborates the theory and argues that while the infinitive is related to activities that are possibly interrupted, infrequent, and occur at a particular time and place, the gerund is more likely with activities that are continuous, regular and more general regarding time and place.

In addition to Allerton (ibid.), Smith and Escobedo (2001) try to explain the choice of

either the *to*-infinitival or the *–ing* verb complement constructions by means of semantics.
According to the writers, the choice between the two complements is not arbitrary but
somehow "semantically motivated", as certain matrix verbs either prefer one complement
construction over the other or select both with slight semantic differences (ibid.). Smith and
Escobedo (ibid., 560–1) mention *cease* among matrix verbs that take both complement
constructions and try to motivate the choice of one over the other by adopting the viewpoint
of cognitive grammar (CG). According to CG, *to* and *–ing* are motivated by certain schemas
linked to the constructions: the *to*-infinitive is said to involve a so-called source-path-goal
image schema, whereas the *–ing* clause is related to some kind of conceptual overlap (ibid.,
559–61). The following examples are adapted from Smith and Escobedo (ibid.):

> (3) (a) It ceased <u>to rain</u>.
>   (b) It ceased <u>raining</u>.

As a result, when *cease* is complemented by a *to*-infinitive (in [a]) the source-path-goal
schema affects the interpretation of the construction and creates an impression that the
cessation is permanent (ibid., 560). Conversely, when the *–ing* clause complement is chosen
(in [b]), whatever is denoted in the lower clause is likely to resume at some point. Similar
remarks are made by Dirven (1989) and Duffley (1999).

Duffley (1999, 323–8) discusses the matter in a detailed way and categorizes *cease* as a
verb referring to the end of the event and discusses the relation between meaning and function
in constructions with *cease*. Duffley (ibid., 325) notes that *cease* almost always coincides
with the *to*-infinitive, which is unexpected considering that other similar verbs describing the
end of an event (*finish, quit, stop*) are only complemented by an *–ing* clause. According to
Duffley's (ibid., 325–8) analysis, the *to*-infinitive denotes a goal/result situation and thus
describes a transition into a new state of affairs, which might explain why *cease* occurs with
states more often than verbs such as *finish, quit* and *stop.* Duffley (ibid.) argues that with the
to-infinitive, the cessation does *not* have to be permanent but more like a transition into a new

state. The following is a quote from Duffley (ibid., 328):

> The longer the period covered by the cessation, the more appropriate is the notion of a transition to a totally new state of affairs and the greater is the focus on the situation ensuing upon the cessation.

The –*ing* clause, in turn, suggests the termination of some state of affairs that is expressed by the subordinate clause, and usually the cessation happens in the future (Duffley 1999, 327). It will be interesting to see whether the corpus data confirms the remarks recapitulated above.

5 Corpora and research questions

Since the purpose of the study is to describe the complementation of *cease* diachronically, data from two corpora representing three different time periods was chosen. Both corpora include British English texts, and the data covers almost a 300-year-long time period. The present chapter introduces the two corpora used, the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts and the British National Corpus. In addition, the process of data collection is explained.

5.1. The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, version 3.0

The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, version 3.0 (CLMET3.0) was developed by Hendrik De Smet, Jukka Tyrkkö and Hans-Jürgen Diller as a more extensive replacement for the previous versions of the corpus, CLMET and CLMETEV (De Smet 2011). The corpus consists of three sub-parts covering 70-year periods: part 1 (1710–1780), part 2 (1780–1850), and part 3 (1850–1920) (ibid.). For this study, parts 1 and 3 were chosen to be studied to make it possible to detect any possible diachronic changes in the complementation patterns of *cease.* The texts in the corpus include narrative fiction, narrative non-fiction, drama, letters, treatise, and other unclassified texts, which are all represented in all the parts of the corpus. The number of words in part 1 is 10,480,431 and 12,620,207 in part 3, and the texts are by 51 and 91 different authors in each part respectively (ibid.). In addition, the number of texts by a single author is never more than three (ibid.). Unlike the previous versions of the corpus, CLMET and CLMETEV, CLMET3.0 is part-of-speech tagged (ibid.), which makes the search qualities substantially more efficient. In the present study, the names CLMET part 1 and CLMET part 3 will be used whenever referring to the corpus and the different time periods in the CLMET.

After downloading the CLMET the corpus can be searched with the help of various corpus software. All the four inflections of the verb – *cease, ceases, ceased,* and *ceasing –*

were individually retrieved from the corpus. With part 1 of the corpus, a sample of 50 per cent of the tokens was gathered, whereas with part 3, the sample had to be thinned down to 25 per cent due to an unexpectedly large number of hits, especially with the preterite form *ceased.*

5.2. The British National Corpus

The British National Corpus (BNC) was compiled between the years 1991 and 1994 by an academic consortium of Oxford University Press and contains texts from recent decades, more precisely between the years 1960 and 1993 (Burnard 2010). The BNC can be accessed through different interfaces, and the one used in the present study is called the BNCWeb, provided by Lancaster University. The synchronic 100-million-word corpus consists of both written and spoken texts, the written part covering 90 per cent of the corpus material, and the texts are not restricted to any particular variety or subject field but are divided into a number of sub-domains (ibid.).

After 1994, when the process of compiling the corpus was completed, no more texts have been incorporated into the corpus (ibid.), which means that one has to bear in mind that the data in the BNC is already out-dated. To avoid over-representing certain authors, not more than 45,000 words have been obtained from a single author (ibid.). Considering the aforementioned limitation, alongside the extensiveness and the diversity of the corpus, one could argue that the BNC offers data that is fairly representative of Present Day British English.

The BNC, like the CLMET3.0, is a tagged corpus, which enables one to restrict searches to a particular part of speech. The data was retrieved using the search string {cease/V}, which is called a lemma query. The advantage of a lemma query lies in the fact that all the verb forms of *cease* (including *cease, ceases, ceasing,* and *ceased)* are found, excluding any nouns. To restrict the number of tokens and, more importantly, to make the data in the BNC as much comparable to the one in the CLMET, the domain of imaginative

prose in the written section was chosen, and the number of words in the domain is 16,496,408. The search returned 500 hits, and finally, the number of tokens was thinned down to 50 per cent to produce a suitable sample size of 250 hits.
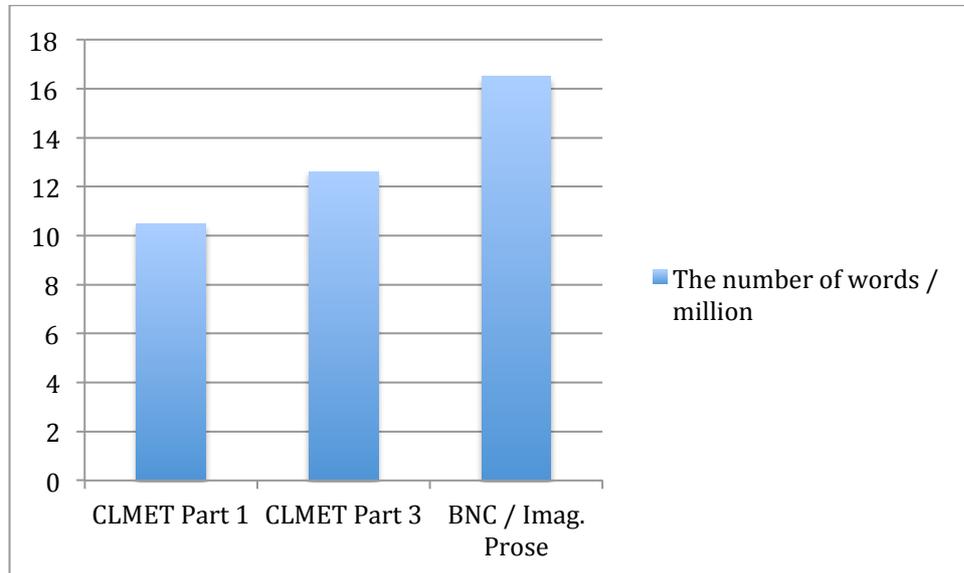
Figure 5.1 The number of words in CLMET part 1, CLMET part 3, and the BNC Imaginative Prose section

5.3. The research questions

To conclude, the final research questions are the following:

i) How is *cease* complemented in British English between the years 1710 and 1993? Are there any discernible diachronic changes in the complementation patterns? Do the changes correspond to the tendencies outlined in the Great Complement Shift?

ii) Do the corpus findings correspond to the information provided by dictionaries, grammars and linguistic principles?

iii) How does semantics affect the choice of the complement, especially concerning the infinitival and gerundial complements?

iv) Is it possible to explain the possible variation in complementation with the help of semantic and structural factors, such as Bolinger's Principle, the Complexity Principle or the

horror aequi principle?

6 *Cease* in the CLMET Part 1

In this chapter I will introduce the findings made when analysing the data from the CLMET part 1, which covers the first sub-part of the CLMET with data from 1710–1780. The CLMET part 1 includes a total of 625 tokens of all the forms *cease, ceases, ceasing,* and *ceased.* To produce a suitable sample, 50 per cent of the tokens with *cease* were analysed, making the number of analysable tokens 312. The following 2 irrelevant tokens were manually excluded from the data, since here *cease* clearly functions as a part of a noun phrase:

> (1) …it is instantly hurried away, and confounded, by that <u>never-ceasing</u> force which actuates every part of matter. (Hume 1779, *Dialogues concerning natural religion*)
> (2) I am doomed to <u>never-ceasing</u> horror and remorse! (Smollett 1753, *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*)

After excluding the tokens above, the number of relevant tokens is 310, and the table below demonstrates the frequencies of all the six different complementation patterns found in the data. Alongside with raw frequencies, normalized frequencies per million words are provided. Normalization was conducted using the method by Biber et al. (1998), where the raw frequency is divided by the total number of the words in the text studied, in this case by 5,240,215.5, which is 50 per cent of the words in the CLMET part 1. After this, the figure is multiplied by a chosen figure, in this case by 1,000,000. According to Biber et al. (1998), normalizing frequencies in corpus linguistics makes it possible to compare frequencies obtained in different-sized corpora, which is especially crucial considering the nature of the present study.

Table 6.1 The complements of *cease* in CLMET Part 1

Complement	cease	ceased	ceases	ceasing	Total	%	NF
[– *to*-inf.]	72	43	21	4	**140**	**45.2**	**26.7**
[– Ø]	57	39	17	13	**126**	**40.6**	**24.0**
[– NP]	22	1	1	0	**24**	**7.7**	**4.6**
[– *–ing* clause]	5	10	0	0	**15**	**4.8**	**2.9**
[– *from –ing*]	3	0	0	0	**3**	**1.0**	**0.6**
[– *from* NP]	2	0	0	0	**2**	**0.7**	**0.4**
Total	161	93	39	17	**310**	**100**	**59.2**
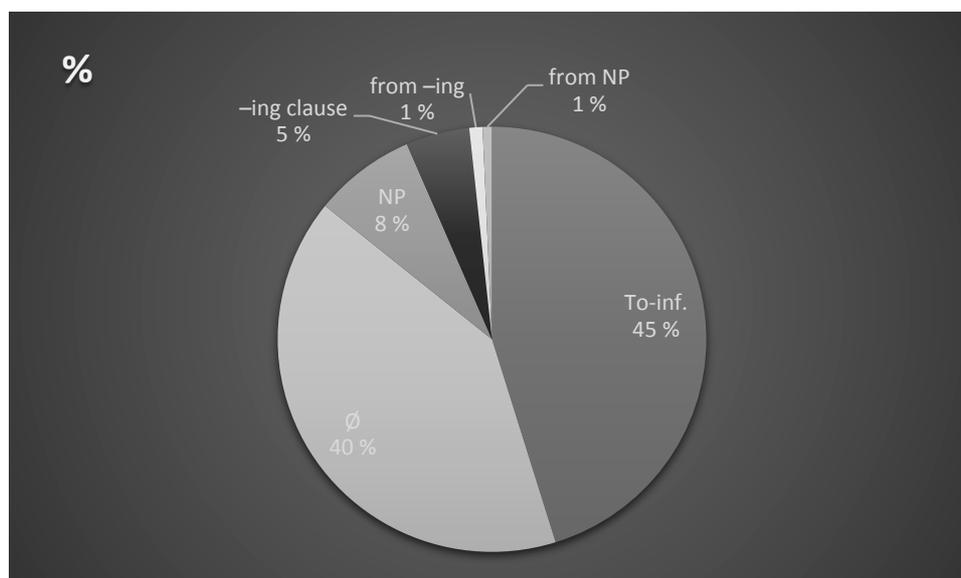
Figure 6.1. The percentages of the complements of *cease* in the CLMET part 1

Table 6.1 and figure 6.1 show that the sentential complement [– *to*-inf.] is the most common complement used with the verb *cease*, and the second most frequent pattern is the zero-complement [– Ø]. In addition, four other patterns were found in the data: the sentential [– *ing* clause] and [– *from –ing*], and the non-sentential [–NP] and [– *from* NP], none of which is nearly as frequent in the data as the *to*-infinitive and the zero-complement. In the following the data will be analysed in more detail and the complements will be divided into two categories: non-sentential and sentential complements. In the analysis the information in the

background literature will be taken into account, including the dictionaries and grammars studied.

6.1. Non-sentential complements

The data in the CLMET part 1 contains three different non-sentential complementation patterns in connection with the verb *cease:* [– Ø], [–NP] and [– *from* NP]. The tokens below exemplify the three patterns:

> (1) … where Hopes and Fears <u>cease</u>, and All are humbled together! (Brooke 1765-70*, The fool of quality*)
> (2) At length his Strength to Faintness worn, / Poor Reynard <u>ceases Flight</u>; ….
> (Fielding 1734, *Don Quixote in England*)
> (3) We are long before we are able to think, and we soon <u>cease from the power of acting</u>. (Johnson 1759, *Rasselas, prince of Abyssinia*)

6.1.1. The zero-complement

The zero-complement, [– Ø], is the most common non-sentential complement and the second most common of all the complements of *cease*. It has the meaning "of persons, feelings and phenomena: to stop happening, existing or doing something", but more precisely the pattern seems to be related to the cessation of a non-human, often an inanimate agent. The following examples illustrate this kind of usage:

> (4) When the loose mountain trembles from on high, / Shall gravitation <u>cease</u>, if you go by? (Pope 1733-34, *An essay on man*)
> (5) Night came on apace, Hostilities <u>ceased</u> on both Sides; the Pirates hung out Lights to prevent, as we supposed, their parting from each other; …. (Brooke 1765-70, *The fool of quality*)

In fact, in 97 of all the 126 tokens (in 77.0%) with the zero-complement, the agent is inanimate. In the remaining 29 cases, the agent is human, making it clear that it is less common to express the cessation of something by a person with the zero-complement as opposed to using the pattern in connection with inanimate agents. According to the *OED,* when the verb *cease* is used in its intransitive sense, it describes the cessation of "persons and

other agents" (see table 4.1, sense 1.a.), and the zero-complement seems to be the preferred pattern with the latter case, *other agents*. This suggests that other complementation patterns than the zero-complement are preferred when the cessation of a human agent is in question.

The sense of the pattern [– Ø] is clearly the non-transitive sense 1 of *cease,* "to stop happening, existing or doing something" and it is well represented in the dictionaries of the background literature studied, making its prevalence in the CLMET part 1 somewhat unsurprising. All the grammars studied only mention the two or three sentential complements [—*ing* clause], [– *to*-inf.] and [– *from –ing* clause], which is quite surprising considering the frequency of the zero-complement in the corpus data.

6.1.2. The noun phrase and the prepositional complement *from* + NP

Compared to the zero-complement, the non-sentential patterns [– NP] and [– *from* NP] are less frequent in the data. The prepositional complement [– *from* NP] is interestingly only introduced by the *OED,* where the most recent example including the pattern dates back to 1832 (see table 4.1., sense 1.a.). In the CLMET part 1, there are only two tokens exemplifying the pattern in the data, one already given (example 3) and the other being the following:

> (6) … they place their happiness, but to make the attainment of it more and more difficult, that they may insensibly remit their ardour, and <u>cease from their pursuit</u>. (Johnson 1740-41, *Parliamentary debates*)

The sense of the pattern is the intransitive sense 1, and with both tokens in (3) and (6) the agent of the cessation is human, as is the case in the *OED* example (see table 4.1., sense 1.a.). Although the number of tokens found is restricted, one could suggest that it is connected with human agents, whereas the zero-complement is the more likely option in the case of inanimate agents. The fact that other sources besides the *OED* do not include the pattern in their example sentences suggests that it is rare and archaic. It is interesting to see whether the more recent data obtained from the CLMET part 3 and the BNC confirms this prediction.

The noun phrase complement is the third most common complementation pattern found with *cease* in the CLMET part 1, and one can clearly see certain noteworthy regularities in the use of the pattern. Consider the tokens below:

> (7) And don't <u>cease your prayers</u> for me, my dear parents; for, perhaps, this new condition may be subject to still worse hazards than those I have escaped;…. (Richardson 1740, *Pamela*)
> (8) … and rising to so great a height as to be quite lost to the view, they <u>cease not their flight</u> till they drop down dead…. (Lennox 1760-1, *The Lady's museum*)

As can be seen, the pattern [– NP] often contains a possessive pronoun, such as *your* and *their*, and in 17 of the 24 tokens (in 70.8%) with [– NP] in the data there is a possessive pronoun present. This is an interesting and significant case of uniformity in the use of the pattern, and the *OED,* unlike the other background sources referred to, does include some information that is in line with the corpus findings. In the *OED* sense 3.a. (see table 4.1.), the transitive sense of *cease* is described as "to leave off, discontinue (one's own action…)", which might reflect the presence of a possessive noun in the noun phrase. One has to note, however, that the information about the possessive pronoun is not explicitly given in the *OED,* but rather hinted at in the explanation and illustrated in an example sentence.

In the remaining seven tokens the noun phrase is often headed by another kind of a pronoun, for example a demonstrative pronoun:

> (9) Ah! cease, Irene, <u>cease those flowing sorrows,</u> / That melt a heart impregnable till now, / And turn thy thoughts, henceforth, to love and empire. (Johnson 1726-49, *Irene*)

However, the pronoun *those* in (9) can be understood as co-referential with the subject *Irene,* although the pronoun is not a possessive pronoun. Instances of a bare noun phrase complement are infrequent in the data and only found in three tokens (see example in [2]), which could imply that the noun phrase complement is mostly used to describe the cessation of a person's own actions or, when another kind of a pronoun is used, the cessation of other more specific actions.

When *cease* is used with the complement [– NP], the sense of the pattern is always the transitive sense 2, "to stop something from happening or existing" and, based on the corpus data, more specifically "to cease one's own actions". In line with the *OED,* both the *OALD* and *COBUILD* mention the pattern in connection with *cease,* whereas the grammars referred to only include sentential complements in their descriptions. As was noted, the dictionaries do not explicitly contain any additional information about the pattern and its possible connection with personal pronouns.

6.2. Sentential complements

In the following two sections the three sentential complementation patterns found in the data, the *to*-infinitive, the *–ing* clause complement and the prepositional *from –ing* clause complement, will be examined with respect to the information provided by the background literature.

6.2.1. The *to*-infinitive

In CLMET part 1, *cease* is clearly most often complemented by the *to*-infinitive, which covers over 45 per cent of all the complementation patterns found with the verb in the data. The pattern *cease + to*-infinitive is present in all the background sources studied and it coincides with the intransitive sense 1 of *cease:* "to stop happening, existing or doing something".

The *to*-infinitive is one of the three possible sentential patterns found with *cease,* and examining the data provides one with four possible explanations for the prevalence of the pattern. Consider the following tokens:

> (10) …because novelty and peculiarity being its only merit, when it <u>ceases to be new</u>, it <u>ceases to have value</u>. (Reynolds 1769-76, *Seven discourses on art*)
> (11) … he told me, that if the levity of my nature had made me <u>cease to love him</u>, he could not have expected endearments should be converted into affronts….
> (Haywood 1744, *The fortunate foundlings*

> (12) … but I will save you the trouble of a father prescription, by following my own regimen, and ceasing to complain. (Griffith 1776, *The story of Lady Juliana Harley*)

As Poutsma (1904, 602) argues, the pattern [– *to*–inf.] can be used with a verb that describes a state (*be* and *have* in [10] and *love* in [11]) and an action (*complain* in [12]). It should be noted that the verb *love* could also be analysed as a verb describing an action rather than a state, but the interpretation depends on the context. In fact, Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1438) analyse *love* as a stative verbs as opposed to a dynamic verb. Huddleston and Pullum (ibid., 119) further discuss the distinction between two types of verb and use the term state vs occurrences. According to Huddleston and Pullum (ibid.), a state exists, whereas an occurrence takes place and involve change, unlike states. In other words, the pattern [– *to*-inf.] can be used with verbs of all semantic types, and this range of usages offers one plausible explanation for the fact that the *to*-infinitive is so frequently found in the data. In 92 cases out of 140 (in 65.7%) the verb is one of physical or mental action, while the remaining 48 tokens (34.2%) contain a verb of state.

The second factor possibly bearing on the choice of the *to*-infinitive as a complement of *cease* seems to be the Complexity Principle, according to which grammatically more explicit elements are more likely to occur in cognitively complex environments (Rohdenburg 1996, 151). According to Ross (2004, 351), from the two sentential complements the *to*-infinitive is more explicit than the gerund, which suggests that in complex environments the former would be a more natural choice. Complexity factors that possibly affect the complementation patterns of *cease* in the CLMET part 1 data include insertions and extractions, which are both, however, relatively infrequent. The data includes one insertion, where an element has been inserted between the verb and its complement, illustrated in the following:

> (13) … every man may know his own condition, his own property, and his own privileges, or it ceases in effect to be law, it ceases to be the rule of government, or the measure of conduct. (Johnson 1740–41, *Parliamentary debates*)

In the example above, it would in fact be quite unlikely to have an *–ing* clause complement, as will be argued in the following section. Cases of extraction that might have affected the choice of the complement are only found in four tokens, given below:

> (14) … *the latter of which* he had long since <u>ceased to hope [*t*]</u>, was sufficient to have overwhelmed even the most phlegmatic person with an excess of joy…. (Haywood 1744, *The fortunate foundlings*)
> (15) How mortifying to love *an object* which one has <u>ceased to esteem [*t*]</u>! (
> (16) Soon after this, the fly-boat here mentioned, (called the Swan,) was separated from them by a violent storm, in all *whose absence*, says our author, the General never <u>ceased to inveigh [*t*]</u> against Master Doughty, terming him a conjurer and a witch…. (David 1773–4, *An historical account of all the voyages round the world, performed by English navigators*)
> (17) … but which those masters themselves, it must be remembered, have taught you to make and *which* you will <u>cease to make [*t*]</u> with correctness…. (Reynolds 1769-76, *Seven discourses on art*)

The *t* in (14)–(17) stands for trace, which marks the environment from where the italicised element has been extracted. All the examples given illustrate what is called relative extraction (Vosberg 2003, 201), and in all four cases the *to*-infinitive is chosen instead of the *–ing* clause complement. Analysing four tokens is undoubtedly not enough to make any generalizations regarding the Complexity Principle and extractions, but it is still worthwhile noting that the principle seems to be in agreement with the corpus findings.

The *horror aequi* principle, according to which superficially similar elements do not preferably occur (near-) adjacently (Rohdenburg 2003, 236), could be seen as a third factor explaining the prevalence of the pattern [*– to*-inf.] in the data. There is only one token in the data where the infinitival *to cease* is complemented by a *to*-infinitive, and another one where the *to*-infinitival complement is followed by the preposition *to*:

> (18) Indifference does not happen in friendships, as it does in passions; and if I was young enough, or feeble enough <u>to cease to love</u> you, I would not for my own sake let it be known. (Walpole 1735-69, *Letters*)
> (19) … his heart, which never <u>ceased to do homage to her virtue</u>, would have sooner suggested to him the only means of being truly happy. (Lennox 1760–1, *The Lady's museum*)

However, when one considers the verb form *ceasing*, which is represented by 17 tokens in the

CLMET part 1, the *horror aequi* principle might affect the selection of the complementation pattern. All the four sentential complements occurring with the form *ceasing* are *to*-infinitives, although in my opinion the *–ing* clause complement could only be used in one of the cases:

> (20) I shall not, therefore, my kind physician, venture upon your recipe, but I will save you the trouble of a father prescription, by following my own regimen, and ceasing to complain. (Griffith 1776, *The story of Lady Juliana Harley*)

The three other cases contain the verb phrases *ceasing to be Bohemian, ceasing to be active* and *ceasing to exist*, which are all stative verbs. I will argue that, for semantic reasons, it does not seem possible for stative verbs to be expressed with an *–ing* clause complement in a construction like this. The matter will be discussed more closely in the following section.

Lastly, another reason for choosing the *to*-infinitive over some other sentential complement might lie in semantics, as Smith and Escobedo (2001) argue. According to them, when *cease* is complemented by the *to*-infinitive, the meaning of the construction is affected by a more general source-path-goal schema connected to the *to*-infinitive (Smith and Escobedo 2001, 560). Duffley (1999, 327) argues, in a similar way, that the *to*-infinitive describes a transition of the state of affairs denoted by the lower clause and describes the transition as "habitual or permanent". This in mind, consider the following examples from the CLMET

part 1:

> (21) *At length* he ceased to mention marriage, but conjured her to consider the snares which would be continually laid, by wicked and designing men, ….
> (Haywood 1744, *The fortunate foundlings*)
> (22) … the General *never* ceased to inveigh against Master Doughty, terming him a conjurer and a witch …. (David 1773–4*, An historical account of all the voyages round the world, performed by English navigators*)
> (23) For thee all thoughts of pleasure I forego, / For thee my tears shall *never* cease to flow: / For thee at once I from the world retire, / To feed in silent shades a hopeless fire. (Cibber 1753, *The lives of the poets of Great Britain and Ireland*)
> (24) Till yesterday that I received your last of January 27, I was very uneasy at finding you still remained under the same anxiety about the rebellion, when it had *so long* ceased to be formidable with us: but you have got all my letters, and are out of your pain. (Walpole 1735-69, *Letters*)

All the examples in (21)–(24) contain a phrase that supports the interpretation that the cessation in the sentences is somewhat permanent, not temporary. In (21), the phrase *at length* could be paraphrased as *endlessly, for ages*, and in (22) and (23), the adverb *never* makes the permanent interpretation explicit, although in cases such as these, the cessation does not actually happen. In fact, the construction [– *to*-inf.] is quite frequently found with *never:* in 15 cases out of all the 140 tokens with the *to*-infinitive (in 10.7%). Other phrases that reinforce the source-path-goal interpretation include *so long* (see [24]) and *any further*.

After analysing all the tokens with the *to*-infinitive complement in the CLMET part 1, the conclusion is that all of them can potentially express permanent cessation, supporting the claims by Smith and Escobedo (2001). It must be noted, however, that in most cases it is impossible to definitely decide whether the cessation is of permanent or temporary nature, but more importantly, the meaning of all the tokens seem to be of *potentially* open-ended nature. Consider the following ambiguous example:

> (25) They were deprived by Constantine of all military command, as soon as they had <u>ceased to lead</u> into the field, under their immediate orders, the flower of the Roman troops; and at length, by a singular revolution, the captains of the guards were transformed into the civil magistrates of the provinces. (Gibbon 1776, *The decline and fall of the Roman Empire*)

The action of leading in the example above can, in my opinion, be interpreted as being either permanently or temporarily suspended, but nevertheless the former interpretation is not prevented in any way.

Allerton's (1988) theory, according to which the *to*-infinitive with a verb like *cease* denotes infrequent actions that occur at a particular time and place, does not seem to be confirmed by the data in the CLMET part 1. Many tokens are ambiguous in this sense, but there are clear examples that run contrary to the arguments by Allerton (ibid.):

> (26) I <u>have ceased to take much delight</u> in physical truth; for what have I to do with those things which I am soon to leave? (Johnson 1759, *Rasselas, prince of Abyssinia*)

(27) Charlotte is fixt in the frost of her resolutions, and I <u>have ceased to address</u> her on my subject. (Pratt 1777, *Charles and Charlotte*)
(28) We are now to inquire, why nations <u>cease to be</u> eminent; and why societies which have drawn the attention of mankind by great examples of magnanimity, conduct, and national success, should sink from the height of their honours, and yield, in one age, the palm which they had won in a former. (Ferguson 1767, *An essay on the history of civil society*)

The tokens in (26)–(28) could be interpreted as expressing general and indefinite situations, rather than as something that occurs at a certain time or a place. To conclude, the semantic prediction made by Allerton (ibid.) does not seem to be reflected in the data at least as clearly as the one made by Smith and Escobedo (2001).

6.2.2. The *–ing* clause and the *from –ing* clause

The complements [– *–ing* clause] and [– *from –ing* clause] are discussed together, as both are quite infrequent in the data: the former pattern is found in 15 tokens and the latter in 3 tokens. The prepositional [– *from –ing* clause] is an interesting pattern as, from all the dictionaries and grammars studied, only Poutsma (1904) introduces it as a possible complement of *cease*. The three tokens with the pattern in the CLMET part 1 are the following:

(29) HERE the wicked <u>cease from troubling</u>: and HERE the weary be at rest. Job. iii. 17. (Richardson 1748, *Clarissa*)
(30) Mrs. Hervey would have read to them the inscription--These words she did read, Here the wicked <u>cease from troubling</u>--But could read no farther. (Richardson 1748, *Clarissa*)
(31) Ah, how much deeper was my Death than that of those in the Tomb, where the Wicked <u>cease from troubling</u>, and where the Weary are at Rest. (Brooke 1765-70, *The fool of quality*)

However, the following remarks must be made: the examples in (29) and (30) come from the same text *Clarissa*, and all three clearly refer to the same original text, apparently originally in the Bible. These remarks admittedly diminish the value of the finding, as the pattern [– *from –ing* clause] does not seem to be used in actual literature of the time. It remains to be seen whether the pattern is used differently and possibly in a more authentic way in the more recent corpus data – or whether it is found at all. The sense of the pattern is the intransitive

sense 1 of *cease,* but due to the lack of data and the formulaic style of all the three tokens it is impossible to analyse the nature of the pattern more specifically.

The *–ing* clause complement is of greater interest in the present study than the prepositional [*– from –ing* clause] discussed above, as it is one of the central research questions of this study to explain the reasons behind the choice between the two major sentential complements: the *to*-infinitive and the *–ing* clause. There might be some structural reasons why the *–ing* clause is chosen over the *to*-infinitive, although one must note that the former is much less frequent in the data than the latter. One structural reason could be the *horror aequi* principle, which explains why language users do not feel comfortable with constructions where formally similar or nearly similar elements are repeated (Rohdenburg 2003, 236). In 4 tokens out of all the 15 in the data the choice of the complement might be affected by the *horror aequi* principle:

> (32) How is it possible for me <u>to cease loving</u> her? (Lennox 1760-1, *The Lady's museum*)
> (33) To discredit the wit of both parents, the Duchess never <u>ceased labouring to restore</u> the House of Stuart, and to mark her filial devotion to it. (Walpole 1735-69, *Letters*)
> (34) She called upon Heaven and earth to revenge her wrongs; saying, she would never <u>cease complaining to God</u>, and the King, for vengeance and justice. (Reeve 1777, *The old English baron*)
> (35) He ought to have known he was a fantastic, foolish, fickle fellow, who would forget his college-attachments the moment they <u>ceased appealing to his senses.</u> (Smollett 1771, *The expedition of Humphrey Clinker*)

In addition to the matrix verb and its complement, the relevant part in the examples in (32) – (35) has been underlined to illustrate the *horror aequi* principle. I will argue that in all the tokens above the *to*-infinitive would have been a possible complement, but the *–ing* clause is a more natural choice for two reasons. Firstly, the infinitival marker *to* with the matrix verb in (32) and with the element following the complement in (33) makes it unlikely to have the verbs *loving* and *labouring* in the same form. Secondly, the preposition *to* in both (34) and (35) resembles the infinitival *to* structurally, making it more natural to have *–ing* clause

complements.

As was noted in connection with the analysis of the *to*-infinitive, Poutsma (1904, 620) argues that *cease* behaves in a similar way to *begin* and does not allow an –*ing* clause complement when the complement expresses a state. In addition, Allerton (1988, 21) suggests that the –*ing* clause and the *to*-infinitive clause both have their own specialised meanings: the former is connected to expressing more general and continuous phenomena, while the latter is used in connection with specific and irregular phenomena. Lastly, as Bolinger's Principle (1968, 127) predicts, a difference in syntax suggests a difference at the semantic level as well.

In all the 15 tokens with the –*ing* clause as the complement, the verb in the lower clause is a verb of mental or physical action:

> (36) Here Miss Dolly <u>ceased reading</u>; and all her hearers sat some little time silent (Fielding 1749, *The governess; or, the little female academy*)
> (37) …but the moment she <u>ceased playing</u>, the knight waked snorting, and exclaimed, 'O cara! what d'ye think, gentlemen? Will you talk any more of your Pargolesi and your Corelli?' (Smollett 1771, *The expedition of Humphrey Clinker*)
> (38) … nor did he <u>cease roaring</u> till Jones had forced him to look up, and to perceive that the battle was at an end. (Fielding 1749, *The history of Tom Jones, a foundling*)

In other words, there are no tokens with a stative verb in the form of an –*ing* clause, although it would be possible to say that *John stopped being annoying* or that *they are capable of existing here*.

Another possibly significant remark is that the pattern [– –*ing* clause] seems to prefer the verb form *ceased* to other verb forms of *cease:* 10 out of 15 cases (66.7%) coincide with *ceased* and the remaining 5 cases (33.3%) with *cease.* As Smith and Escobedo (2001, 556) point out, the –*ing* complement is characterized as denoting some sort of (temporal) overlap with the matrix verb and has been called an "imperfectivizing morpheme or operator". They further argue that with completion verbs, such as *cease* and *stop*, the –*ing* clause complement evokes an interpretation of temporary cessation (ibid., 560). The corpus data partly supports this hypothesis, and partly runs counter to it. Consider the following tokens:

(39) Here Miss Jenny <u>ceased speaking</u>; and Miss Polly Suckling, blushing that she had made any objection to what Miss Jenny had proposed, begged her to begin the fairy tale…. (Fielding 1749, *The governess; or, the little female academy*)

(40) … but being a man of a peaceable and yielding disposition, he could not long maintain the resolution he had taken in her favour, and therefore he <u>ceased opposing</u> the malevolence of his wife. (Smollett 1753, *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*)

(41) With this resolution, therefore, after laying one night at Marseilles, she proceeded on her way in the same fashion as she had done ever since she left Bolognia, and in about six weeks got safely to that great and opulent city, where she took up her lodging at a hotel, extremely fatigued, as it is easy to believe, having *never even for one day* <u>ceased walking</u>…. (Haywood 1744, *The fortunate foundlings*)

In (39), the action in the lower clause (*speaking*) undoubtedly does not cease permanently but rather temporarily, and there are similar tokens in the data with verbs such as *reading, reviling, playing* and *roaring.* However, if one analyses the examples in (40) and (41), the interpretation would likely be that the cessation of *opposing* and *walking* is of a more permanent nature. In (41), the phrase *never even for one day* emphasizes the fact that the cessation of walking is not momentary but more long-term. In fact, when all the 15 tokens with the pattern [– *–ing* clause] are semantically examined, there does not seem to be any clear preference for either meaning, permanent or temporary cessation. Tokens where the cessation can be interpreted as permanent amount to nine tokens in total, whereas the number of tokens with temporary cessation is six. The total number of tokens in the present data is quite small, making it impossible to come to any definite conclusion, but the majority of the tokens seem to express permanent cessation as opposed to the initial prediction by Smith and Escobedo (2001). The semantic analysis by Smith and Escobedo (ibid.) proved more useful in the analysis of the *to*-infinitive, where all 140 tokens with the construction [– *to*-inf.] could potentially be analysed as expressing permanent cessation.

Duffley (1999, 327) analyses the pattern [– *–ing* clause] as having to do with "termination of what exists" rather than a transition into a new state of affairs, and argues that the *–ing* clause often has a future reference. In my opinion, there are as many tokens with

future reference as there are with past or present time reference, which shows a difference between the present data and the data analysed by Duffley (ibid.).

According to the semantic prediction made by Allerton (1988, 21), the difference between the *to*-infinitive and *–ing* clause complement is related to the aspect of specificity versus generality, or irregularity versus regularity of an event. Constructions with the *–ing* clause complement are said to convey general, regular events with no specific time reference, and an analysis of the tokens with the pattern [– *–ing* clause] shows that Allerton's (ibid.) prediction can not be applied to all the tokens. Consider the following authentic example:

> (42) This arietta, however, she no sooner began to perform, than he and the justice fell asleep; but the moment she <u>ceased playing</u>, the knight waked snorting….
> (Smollett 1771, *The expedition of Humphrey Clinker*)

In the example above the event is clearly something specific, rather than general, and happens at a certain point in time, as the phrase *the moment she ceased playing* reveals. Another similar example in the data can be seen in the example in (38), where the phrase *till Jones had forced him to look up* makes the reference to a point in time explicit in a similar way to the phrase in (42). While some of the tokens with the *–ing* clause complement in the CLMET part 1 do express more general events, such as with verbs like *loving, lamenting* and *opposing,* Allerton's (ibid.) semantic description does not seem to be consistently applicable to the present data. The same was noted in connection with the *to*-infinitival complement.

Similarly to the *to*-infinitive, the *–ing* clause complement is analysed in the present thesis as being connected to the intransitive sense of the verb *cease*, and although it is clearly less frequent in the data than the construction [– *to*-inf.] it is introduced by all the background sources studied. It should be pointed out that the *OED* analyses the *–ing* clause complement as a verbal noun and as an object of the verb *cease*, giving the example sentence *[t]hroughout the entire measurement the snow never <u>ceased falling</u>* (1860 J. Tyndall, *Glaciers of Alps*), and Duffley (1999, 323) also analyses the pattern [– *–ing* clause] as transitive and the *–ing* clause

as the direct object of the main verb. Contrary to Duffley (ibid.), Kajita (1967, 31–2) argues that the –*ing* clause originates in the verb phrase, not in the subject phrase of the main sentence. In other words, there is no NP node above representations of the construction [– –*ing* clause]. Similarly, Rosenbaum (1967, 123–4) lists *cease* under the heading "Intransitive Verb Phrase Complementation" and mentions both the *to*-infinitive and the –*ing* clause as possible complements, which would suggest that the –*ing* clause is not analysed as an object of *cease*. According to Rosenbaum (1967, 14), pseudo-clefting can be used as a test in determining whether a verb construction is transitive or intransitive. The following examples are given as an illustration (ibid.)

> (43) (a) what everyone preferred was to remain silent
> (b) *what John tended was to play with his little brother often

If one tries to formulate a similar sentence to the ones in (43) (a)–(b) with the verb *cease* and the –*ing* clause*,* the result would be the somewhat unacceptable sequence **what John ceased was playing with his little brother often*[1], showing that the construction is intransitive. Thus in the present study the approaches by Kajita (1967) and Rosenbaum (1967) are adopted: the –*ing* clause is analysed as a verb and the whole construction as intransitive.

6.3. Overview

After the analysis of both non-sentential and sentential complements of *cease* in the data it can be concluded that the most common complementation patterns are [– *to*-inf.], [– Ø] and [– NP]. The following table describes the division of the complements between the two possible senses of *cease,* sense 1 being the intransitive and sense 2 the transitive meaning.

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[1] To validate this claim, two native speakers were consulted. According to their intuition, this sequence is hardly seen as acceptable.

Table 6.2. The correspondence between the complements and senses in CLMET part 1

Sense 1	Sense 2
[– *to*-inf.], 140 tokens	[– NP], 24 tokens
[– Ø], 126 tokens	
[– *–ing* clause], 15 tokens	
[– *from –ing*], 3 tokens	
[– *from* NP], 2 tokens	
Total: 286 tokens / 92.3%	**Total: 24 tokens / 7.7%**

Due to the fact that the very frequent pattern [– *to*-inf.] coincides with sense 1 and the fact that five complementation patterns out of all the six possible ones express the intransitive meaning of *cease,* sense 1 clearly outnumbers sense 2. It remains to be seen how the percentages, 92.3 and 7.7, possibly change with more recent data.

It was observed that the zero-complement is clearly associated with non-human agents (in 77.0% of all the tokens), whereas the less frequent prepositional pattern [– *from –*NP] seems to favour human agents. The NP complement shows clear regularities in its behaviour, as well: the pattern is frequently accompanied by a possessive pronoun such as *your* and *their* (in 70.8% of all the tokens) and in almost all the remaining tokens by another kind of a pronoun, such as the demonstrative pronoun *those.* I will argue that all of these observations bear on the choice of the complement in the case of *cease*, but none of these is explicitly included in the descriptions by the dictionaries and grammars studied.

One of the most interesting research questions of the present study concerns the semantic reasons for choosing either the *to*-infinitival or the *–ing* clause complement. Poutsma (1904, 602) argues that the former is found with verbs describing both action and state and the later only with action verbs. The analysis of the data seems to confirm Poutsma's (ibid.) argument without any exceptions to the tendency. Smith and Escobedo (2001), in turn,

use cognitive grammar in trying to account for the semantic differences between the *to*-infinitive and the *–ing* clause complements, and with the *to*-infinitive their analysis can be confirmed to a certain degree. With the *–ing* clause, however, the explanation does not seem to have any greater significance. Likewise, Allerton's (1988) semantic description of the two sentential complements seems inapplicable to the analysis of the present data.

Other reasons that were analysed as potentially relevant to the choice between the two sentential complements include the Complexity Principle and the *horror aequi* principle. As the data only includes five tokens that can be analysed from the point of view of the Complexity Principle, it is impossible to make any generalisations, but it must be noted that in all cases where there is an extraction or an insertion, the *to*-infinitive is chosen over the *–ing* clause. The *horror aequi* principle, in turn, seems to affect the choice of the complement to some extent. There are only two tokens in the data that violate the principle, and in five cases (in 3.2%) the choice of the complement is more likely to depend on the *horror aequi* principle than any other principle or semantic explanation.

The third sentential construction found in the data is the prepositional [– *from –ing*], which is quite rare, covering 1.0% of all the complements. Moreover, two of the three tokens come from the same text, and all three clearly originate from the Bible, making the construction less interesting from a structural or semantic point of view. However, it will be worthwhile studying how the complement is represented in the more recent data.

7 Cease in the CLMET Part 3

The present chapter is dedicated to introducing the data and results obtained from the third sub-part of the CLMET with texts dating from 1850 to 1920. After the search procedures described earlier the number of tokens with *cease* in the CLMET part 3 is 1288 tokens in total, and due to the number of hits all the inflections of *cease* were thinned down to 25 per cent, after which the total number of analysable tokens is 321. Quite unexpectedly the form *ceased* is very frequent (NF 62.8) in this sub-part of the corpus when compared to the frequency in the CLMET part 1 (NF 17.7), which partly explains the large number of tokens in this set of data.

The table below presents the raw numbers, percentages and normalized frequencies for all the complementation patterns found in the data, and the normalized frequencies were counted using the method by Biber et al. (1998), where the raw frequency is divided by 3,155,015.75, which is 25 per cent of the words in the CLMET part 3. After this, the figure is multiplied by 1,000,000.

Table 7.1 The complements of *cease* in CLMET Part 3

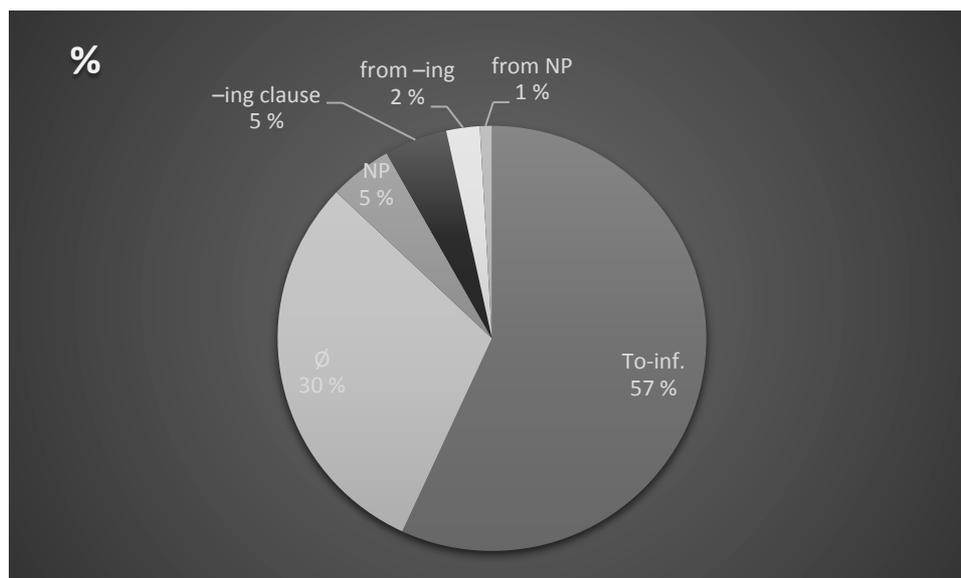| Complement	cease	ceased	ceases	ceasing	Total	%	NF
[– *to*-inf.]	43	109	22	7	**181**	**56.4**	**57.4**
[– Ø]	17	66	8	8	**99**	**30.8**	**31.4**
[– NP]	7	7	0	1	**15**	**4.7**	**4.8**
[– *–ing* clause]	4	11	0	0	**15**	**4.7**	**4.8**
[– *from –ing*]	4	3	1	0	**8**	**2.5**	**2.5**
[– *from* NP]	1	2	0	0	**3**	**0.9**	**0.9**
Total	**76**	**198**	**31**	**16**	**321**	**100**	**101.7**

Figure 7.1 The percentages of the complements of *cease* in the CLMET part 3

Table 7.1 clearly illustrates the fact that the verb *cease* is significantly more frequent in the CLMET part 3 than in the CLMET part 1 data, the normalized frequencies for the verb being 101.7 and 59.2, respectively. The frequencies for all the complementation patterns have become higher, except for the pattern [– NP], the frequency of which is only slightly higher than in the CLMET part 1 (NF 4.6 as opposed to NF 4.8). The order of the complementation patterns from the most frequent to the least frequent remains the same when compared to the earlier CLEMET data, the most common sentential complements being the *to*-infinitive and the *–ing* clause, and the most common non-sentential ones being the zero-complement and the noun phrase.

In the following all the patterns will be analysed, the non-sentential complements being followed by sentential complements.

7.1. Non-sentential complements

The examples below illustrate the three different non-sentential complementation patterns in connection with the verb cease: [– Ø], [–NP] and [– *from* NP]:

> (1) It was true that riots and breaches of the peace <u>ceased</u> while Miss Williams was in the house, and learning and good manners were being fast acquired; ….

(Yonge 1865, *The Clever Woman of the Family*)
(2) The smith <u>ceased his blowing</u>, and began talking to the man who had entered. 'I have walked all the way from Camelton,' said the latter. 'Was obliged to come to-night, you know.' (Hardy 1873, *A Pair of Blue Eyes*)
(3) … and Tom Faggus promised to try his hand, if he came across John on the highway, although he had <u>ceased from business</u>, and was seeking a Royal pardon. (Blackmore 1869, *Lorna Doone, a Romance of Exmoor*)

The following sections will be devoted to analysing the three patterns exemplified in (1)–(3), and analysis of the patterns [– NP] and [– *from* NP] will be combined due to the relative rareness of the latter complementation pattern.

7.1.1. The zero-complement

The pattern [– Ø] is well represented in the CLMET part 3 data, where its normalized frequency is 31.4, while the frequency in the CLMET part 1 is 24.0. However, the relative portion of the zero-complement in relation to all the other complement types in the part 1 data is 40.6 per cent and a much lower 30.8 per cent in the part 3 data, which suggests that some other complement types besides the zero-complement have gained more ground in the present data.

As was argued in the previous chapter, the pattern [– Ø] clearly shows regularity in its semantic characteristics: the pattern usually expresses the intransitive cessation of an inanimate agent. In 84 tokens out of the total 99 (in 84.9%) the agent of the cessation is inanimate, in 13 out of 99 (in 13.1%) human, and in the remaining 2 tokens (in 2.0%) an animate, non-human agent. In the CLMET part 3 the tendency for the zero-complement to be accompanied by an inanimate agent seems to be even more prominent than in the CLMET part 1, where the corresponding percentages are 77%, 23% and 0%. The following example tokens illustrate all the three the agent types:

(4) Our progress, however, was most tediously slow, for the regular east wind had now entirely <u>ceased</u>, and the vento de cima or wind from up river, having taken its place, blew daily for a few hours dead against us. (Bates 1863, *The naturalist on the river Amazons*)

(5) I got her into a cab with me, and we went off to the police station. She talked without ceasing. (Butler 1903, *Way of All Flesh*)

(6) … though the roll of wheels was now added to the rapid beat of the hoofs of the trotting horse. It had turned down over the hillside by the crossroad leading to the upper lodge. Suddenly it ceased. (Kingsley 1901, *The History of Sir Richard Calmady*)

In (4), the agent is the inanimate *the regular east wind,* in (5) the human pronoun *she*, and in (6) pronoun *it*, which in this case refers to an animate, non-human agent, namely a horse.

As was established in the analysis of the CLMET part 1 data, the pattern [– Ø] always coincides with the intransitive sense 1 of *cease*. Although all the dictionaries studied include the zero-complement in their illustrations, none of the dictionaries either explicitly or implicitly states that the zero-complement would be connected with inanimate agents. One could argue that the findings in the CLMET part 3 data further reinforce the interpretations made in connection with the CLMET part 1. It will be interesting to see whether the tendency continues to become more prominent in the most recent data.

7.1.2. The noun phrase and the prepositional complement *from* + NP

Although both the patterns [– NP] and [– *from* NP] are still quite rare in the data, the frequencies for both have become larger since the 18th century: with the noun phrase the growth of the normalized frequency has been from 4.6 to 4.8, and with the prepositional complement, more noticeably, from 0.4 to 1.3. One still has to take into account the small raw frequencies with both of the patterns, due to which it is difficult to make any generalisations.

It was tentatively proposed in the analysis of the CLMET part 1 data that the intransitive pattern [– *from* NP] could be associated with expressing the cessation of a human agent, while the zero-complement is more frequent with non-human agents (see sections 6.1.1. and 7.1.1.). The present data, however, contains tokens with both human and non-human agents:

(7) And Jupiter, when he perceived that even in the night-time they <u>ceased not from trouble and disputation</u>, and that even the courts of law remained open …. (Pater 1885, *Marius the Epicurean*)

(8) So, though now her name had gradually <u>ceased from familiar lips</u>, and from her house and garden walks, her image faded slowly in the thoughts of those who best loved her …. (Craik 1850, *Olive*)

In (7), the agent is *Jupiter*, making the agent clearly human. In (8), the agent is the non-human *her name*, and the token is the only example of the pattern [– *from* NP] being used with a non-human agent in the data. The findings in the present data might not thus support the prediction of the use of human and non-human agents made in section 6.1.1.

In connection with the analysis of the CLMET part 1 data some interesting findings were made regarding the behaviour and semantics of the noun phrase complement. It was previously noted that the pattern [– NP] usually contains a possessive pronoun and occasionally by some other pronoun, while bare noun phrase complements were less frequent. In the light of the findings in the CLMET part 3, one could argue that the prediction seems to be relevant in analysing the present data as well, since the percentage of noun phrases being accompanied by a possessive noun is 73.3, which is slightly higher than in the CLMET part 1 data (70.8%). In the CLMET part 3, there is, however, one token with a bare noun phrase complement:

(9) We mutually agreed to <u>cease fire</u>, and all night we sang and shouted to each other. To cap everything, their band played 'God save the King.' (Carpenter 1915, *The Healing of Nations and the Hidden Sources of their Strife*)

The following are example tokens of the pattern [– NP] with a possessive pronoun:

(10) Silent, like sorrowing children, the birds have <u>ceased their song</u>, and only the moorhen's plaintive cry and the harsh croak of the corncrake stirs the awed hush around the couch of waters, where the dying day breathes out her last. (Jerome 1889, *Three Men in a Boat*)

(11) But as we neared the place I <u>ceased my chatter</u>, and so we went on in silence, each busy with his own thoughts, We did not come in front of Aldobrand's house, but turned out of the main street down a side lane which we guessed would skirt the garden wall. (Falkner 1989, *Moonfleet*)

(12) "Well, don't bother to go down to the dogs; they'll stop in a moment. Fossette won't bite. I'm so sorry she's upsetting the house."… The dogs did soon <u>cease</u>

their altercation. (Bennett 1908, *The Old Wives' Tale*)

If the noun phrases are analysed more closely, it can be seen that they usually refer to some sound, possibly even to a disturbing sound (according to the *OED,* the definition of the word *altercation* is "[t]he action of disputing vehemently or angrily"). Other sound-related words in the NP position include *whimpering, song,* and *wailing,* and 8 out of the total 15 tokens (53.3%) with the pattern [– NP] contain a noun that describes a sound of some kind, either neutral (consider the examples in [10] and [11]) or slightly negative (consider the example in [12] and the words *whimpering* and *wailing*). In the CLMET part 1 data the corresponding figure is a less significant 25%, which might indicate that the tendency is developing diachronically.

Instead of a possessive pronoun, the remaining two tokens contain the demonstrative pronouns *this* and *that:*

> (13) She blushed crimson, and then arose, not without dignity. "I think, Lyle, you go too far; we will cease this conversation." (Craik 1850, *Olive*)
> (14) Lulu, do cease that whimpering; Otto, don't cling to my skirts. (Blind 1885, *Tarantella*)

As was observed in the analysis of the CLMET part 1, the transitive pattern [– NP] is introduced by all the dictionaries studied, but considering the findings about the semantic nature of the pattern, the information provided by the background literature can be seen as insufficient – none of the sources makes any explicit reference to the tendency to have a possessive or a demonstrative pronoun included in the noun phrase complement. Another interesting finding, evidence for which can only be found in the corpus data, is the fact that the noun phrases in the pattern [– NP] usually refer to a sound of some kind. The most recent data from the BNC will be later analysed with respect to the observations already made and possibly reveal whether there is some diachronic change taking place regarding the the tendencies observed.

7.2. Sentential complements

Similarly to the CLMET part 1 data, the present data contains tokens with three different sentential complements: the *to*-infinitive, the *–ing* clause and the *from –ing* clause, the third of which is clearly less frequent than the two other patterns. Next the patterns will be described in depth and all the findings will be linked with the background literature and the corpus findings made based on the CLMET part 1 data.

7.2.1. The *to*-infinitive

As has been noted, the pattern [– *to*-inf.] continues to be the most frequent complementation pattern of the verb *cease.* The normalized frequency of the pattern is 26.7 pmw in the CLMET part 1 and a much higher 57.4 pmw in the CLMET part 3. The relative share of the pattern among all the possible complements of *cease* is, in turn, 45.2% in the CLMET part 1 and 56.3% in the CLMET part 3, showing a less significant but still notable increase.

In the previous chapter, four possible explanations were offered as a suggestion to account for the prevalence of the pattern. To recap, the first remark concerns the semantic qualities of the construction: the *to*-infinitive seems to be possible when the phrase describes either an action (mental or physical) or a state (Poutsma 1904, 602), making the number of possible occurrences of the pattern larger than it would be if the pattern would only prefer one of the verb types, as seems to be the case with the pattern [– *–ing* clause]. In the CLMET part 1 data 65.7% of the verbs describe a physical or mental action, 34.2% being verbs of state, and in the current set of data the corresponding figures are 55.2% and 44.8% in the same order. The following are tokens from the CLMET part 3, illustrating the two semantic types of verbs that can occur with the pattern [– *to*-inf.]: ones with an action verb (15) and ones with a state verb (16):

       (15) We soon <u>ceased to discuss</u> the question of the sacramental or experimental

character of marriage. (Linton 1885, *The Autobiography of Christopher Kirkland*)
(16) All institutions are alike in this, that however useful, and needful even, they
originally were, they not only in the end <u>cease to be so</u>, but become detrimental.
(Spencer 1861, *Essays on education*)

One possible explanation for the increased frequency of the *to*-infinitive in the CLMET part 3

could be the fact that the number of constructions describing a state rather than an action has

risen in the present data. Still there are some other phenomena discernible in the data that

might also account for the large and increasing share of the *to*-infinitives in the data.

The second possible explanation offered in the previous chapter of the thesis is related

to the so-called Complexity Principle, according to which a more explicit construction is

favoured over a less explicit one when there is a complexity factor present in the sentence

(Rohdenburg 1996, 151). How this bears on the complementation of the verb *cease* is related

to the choice between the *to*-infinitive and the *–ing* clause complement, as according to Ross

(2004, 351) the infinitival complement is more explicit than the *–ing* clause complement.

When the CLMET part 3 data is analysed from the perspective of the Complexity Principle,

one has to take into account complexity factors such as extractions and insertions. As is the

case with the CLMET part 1, the environments where the verb *cease* occurs seem to be quite

simple: there are only 3 cases of extraction and 9 insertions in the CLMET part 3 data. The

pattern

[– *to*-inf.] is chosen in 2 out of the 3 extraction contexts, while the third one has the pattern

[– *–ing* clause]. The tokens with the infinitives are given in the following:

(17) To know something in the secret of your own heart, or to tell it, thereby
making it a hard concrete fact, outside yourself, *over which*, in a sense, you <u>cease
to have control [*t*]</u>, are two such very different matters! (Kingsley 1901, *The
History of Sir Richard Calmady*)
(18) As they grew hungry *the rights of property* <u>ceased to be regarded [*t*]</u>. (Wells
1897, *The War of the Worlds*)

Again the *t* represents a trace, and the italicised phrases have been extracted from the lower

clauses, leaving a trace behind. As both tokens in (17)–(18) illustrate, the *to*-infinitive is

chosen over the other possible sentential complement, the –*ing* clause complement. However, if one follows the analysis by Poutsma (1904, 602) and if the semantic properties of the verb *to have* in (17) are taken into account, the –*ing* clause complement would not be possible in the first place in this construction.

Similarly, the complement is always a *to*-infinitive instead of an –*ing* clause with the nine tokens that include an insertion and consequently a complexity factor. In the following example token, as in four other tokens with an insertion, the complement could in my opinion be an –*ing* clause, as well:

> (19) He was thoroughly happy and contented, and never <u>ceased throughout his life to congratulate</u> himself on the fortunate exile which had placed him at Lausanne. (Morison 1878, *Gibbon*)

The remaining four tokens with an insertion have a verb of state in the lower clause, making the complement [– –*ing* clause] in my opinion impossible altogether. Even after taking into account the remarks regarding the semantic qualities of the constructions and the small number of example tokens in the CLMET part 3, it is interesting to observe that the corpus data seems to be consistent with the Complexity Principle.

The third explanation, and possibly the least substantial one in the present analysis, is the so-called *horror aequi* principle, which states that there is a universal tendency according to which structurally similar constructions are usually avoided near-adjacently (Rohdenburg 2003, 236). In connection with the *to*-infinitives, then, one would expect the presence of the preposition *to* or another infinitival marker to promote the presence of the –*ing* clause complement instead of the infinitival one. In the CLMET part 3 data there are only 4 tokens where the *horror aequi* could potentially be operative, three of which do not follow the principle. Consider the following:

> (20) … and are capable of such great modification and variation that at times they almost appear <u>to cease to be instinctive</u>. (Butler 1880, *Unconscious Memory*)
> (21) But the love of which it was the exponent, the flight which it counseled, had

> ceased, to Richard's hearing, to bear relation to that which is earthly, concrete, and of the senses. (Kingsley 1901, *The History of Sir Richard Calmady*)

In (20) the lower verb *be* would be unlikely to be expressed with an *–ing* clause, if one accepts the prediction by Poutsma (1904, 602) and takes into account the corpus findings in the present thesis. In (21), the verb phrase *bear relation* could be analysed as a state verb, as well. In addition, there is an insertion (*to Richard's hearing*), which makes the environment complex. This might further explain why the infinitival complement is chosen regardless of the two structurally similar elements that follow the complement.

The verb form *ceasing* (represented by 16 tokens) is not as frequent in the data as the infinitival form *cease* (represented by 76 tokens)*,* for example, but all the 7 tokens with the verb form *ceasing* being followed by a sentential complement have the *to*-infinitive instead of the *–ing* clause. When one considers the semantic nature of the constructions, in my opinion two of the seven tokens could not be expressed with the construction [*– –ing* clause], whereas the remaining five could semantically be as natural with the *–ing* clause complement as with a *to*-infinitive. Consider the following, for example:

> (22) … and in so regarding them are ceasing to think of this force as comprehensible. (Spencer 1862, *First principles*)

Tokens like the one in (22) could semantically be expressed with the lower verb in the form of an *–ing* clause (*ceasing thinking*), but that would constitute as a violation against the *horror aequi* principle. All in all the principle does seem to affect the choice between the *to*-infinitive and the *–ing* clause complement, but the number of relevant instances in the data are too low to make any generalisations.

The fourth explanation concerns semantics but offers an approach different from Poutsma's (1904, 602). According to Smith and Escobedo (2001, 560) the *to*-infinitive is semantically connected to a general source-path-goal schema which adds a flavour of permanency to constructions used with the *to*-infinitive. Similarly, Duffley (1999, 327) argues

that the *to*-infinitive expresses a permanent transition into a new state of affairs. In analysing the data from CLMET part 1 it was concluded that all the tokens with the *to*-infnitive potentially express permanent as opposed to temporary cessation, and the same kind of interpretation can be arrived at with the CLMET part 3 data. There are two tokens which could be analysed as expressing temporary cessation:

> (23) Previous to the change, the animal <u>almost ceases to feed</u>, and becomes rather inactive, … (Chambers 1852, *Chambers's Edinburgh journal*)
> (24) Wad Hamed then <u>ceased for the time being to exist </u>except in name. (Churchill 1899, *The River War*)

The example in (23) still sounds natural, as the word *almost* modifies the strength of the continuance or length of time. In (24), the cessation is clearly temporary, as the inserted phrase *for the time being* makes explicit. The remaining 179 tokens, however, can be interpreted as being connected to permanent cessation. The adverbial *never* is present in 8 tokens (in 4.4%), while the corresponding relative figure in the CLMET part 1 data is 10.7%.

As was concluded in the previous chapter, Allerton's (1988) interpretation about the *to*-infinitive being connected to infrequent events and specific time and place does not seem to be supported by the corpus data. There are many tokens, as in the CLMET part 1 data, which express something more general. Consider the following example token:

> (25) … and if we <u>cease to dwell </u>on the miscarriages of individual lives or of single generations, we shall plainly receive that the… (Galton 1883, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development*)

The Great Complement Shift (Rohdenburg 2006, 143) predicts that the number of infinitival complements is continuously becoming lower, but comparing the relative shares in the CLMET part 1 and part 3 does not support the claim. The figure has risen from 45.2% to 56.4%, mainly at the expense of the zero-complement. The *–ing* clause complement, in turn, has remained nearly as common in the CLMET part 3 data as it is in the earlier set of data, which is dealt with more closely in the following section.

7.2.2. The *–ing* clause and the *from –ing* clause

The present section combines the analysis of the two similar complements of *cease:* the *–ing* clause complement and the prepositional *from –ing* clause complement. Counter to the tendency known as the Great Complement Shift (Rohdenburg 2006, 143), the frequency of the (directly or indirectly linked) *–ing* clause complement has not become higher in a century as regards the data in the CLMET part 1 and part 3. The normalized frequencies and the relative shares for the pattern [*– –ing* clause] are 2.9 (NF) and 4.8% in the CLMET part 1 and 4.8 (NF) and 4.7% in CLMET part 3, and similarly for the pattern [*– from –ing* clause] 0.6 (NF) and 1.0% in the CLMET part 1, and 2.5 (NF) and 2.5% in the CLMET part 3. The normalized frequencies for both patterns can be expected to have become higher due to the fact that *cease* is more frequent in the present set of data, but comparing the relative shares shows that no significant changes have occurred.

As was noted in the section 6.2.2., the infrequent pattern [*– from –ing* clause] seems to be used in religious contexts and is usually in the same form, directly from the Bible. There are, however, 3 tokens in the data where the lower verb is other than *troubling*, and in (28) the subject of the lower clause is expressed:

> (26) He says that an Esquimaux eats twenty pounds of flesh and oil a day, and in fact, never <u>ceases from devouring</u> until compelled to desist from sheer repletion. (Chambers 1852, *Chambers's Edinburgh journal*)
> (27) … because in life she had preceded Bathsheba in the attentions of a man whom Bathsheba had by no means <u>ceased from loving</u>… (Hardy 1874, *Far from the Madding Crowd*)
> (28) This Kallikrates (probably, in the Greek fashion, so named after his grandfather) evidently made some attempt to start on the quest, for his entry written in very faint and almost illegible uncial is, "I <u>ceased from my going</u>, the gods being against me. Kallikrates to his son." (Haggard 1887, *She*)

It remains to be seen whether the pattern is more frequently found in the 20th century data, but the low frequency of the complement in the present data makes it difficult to analyse the use and sense of the pattern any further.

Although the pattern [– –*ing* clause] is much less frequent in the data than the pattern [– *to*-inf.] it is still worthwhile to investigate the choice between the two complements. Firstly, it is interesting to see whether there are some morpho-syntactic or semantic reasons behind the choice of one complement type over the other. As has already been stated, the patterns are almost identical in meaning, and according to Bolinger's Principle (1968, 127) a difference in structure always means a difference in meaning, as well. Secondly, the previously introduced development known as the Great Complement Shift (Rohdenburg 2006, 143) concerns the rivalry between the –*ing* clause and the *to*-infinitive complements, and the present data can be analysed from the perspective of the principle.

One possible morpho-syntactic reason for having the less common –*ing* clause complement could be the *horror aequi* principle (Rohdenburg 2003, 236), which was found to possibly affect the complementation of *cease* in the CLMET part 1 data in 4 out of 15 (in 26.7%) tokens. In the CLMET part 3, there are 3 tokens where the *horror aequi* principle could be operative:

> (29) Little by little men left off jingling their glasses, women and girls forgot their chatter, and waiters ceased hurrying to and fro. (Blind 1885 *Tarantella*)
> (30) 'Will you cease coming to look for me when I don't know of it?' (Gissing 1893, *The Odd Women*)
> (31) And so, it was not until after dinner that Katherine found herself at leisure to cease taking thought for the morrow. (Kingsley 1901, *The History of Sir Richard Calmady*)

Possibly even more interestingly, the semantic regularity in the use of the pattern seems to be present in the CLMET part 3 data, as well. All the 15 tokens describe the cessation of a mental or physical action, rather than the cessation of a state, which was predicted by Poutsma (1904, 620).

As in the CLMET part 1 data, the pattern [– –*ing* clause] seems to prefer the past tense form of the verb, *ceased,* and occurs with it in 11 out of 15 cases (in 73.3%). This remark could be connected to the analysis by Smith and Escobedo (2001, 550), according to whom

the *–ing* clause complement with verbs like *cease* invokes an idea of temporary cessation. In my opinion, 14 out of 15 tokens in the present data confirm this prediction, while the remaining one is semantically ambiguous in this sense. The token includes the sequence *cease coming to look for me* (see example in [30]), where the choice of the *–ing* clause complement might depend on the avoidance of two, structurally identical elements, rather than semantic factors. The other 14 tokens clearly depict situations where the cessation of the actions, including *discussing, playing* and *speaking,* is temporary. The following example token contains an explicit indicator of the temporary nature of the cessation in question:

> (32) … when the vessel was brought round to the wind and held its own until the motor, by an accident, <u>ceased working</u>. A little later the same air ship met with more signal success. (Bacon 1902, *The Dominion of the Air*)

In (32), the motor *ceased working,* but the sentence following the sequence makes it clear that the cessation is only short-lived.

Duffley (1999, 327) argues that the *–ing* clause is connected to the possibly temporary termination of something denoted in the lower clause and notes that the pattern usually has a future reference. In connection with the CLMET part 1 data, no clear tendency towards any future reference was found, and so is the case with the present set of data, as well. The pattern seems to prefer the verb form *ceased* with a clear past reference, but there are some tokens with an explicit future reference, as well, as the future marker *will* in the example below shows:

> (33) … but now and again you may win a great deal of excellent money if you will only <u>cease playing</u> the moment you have won it. (Butler 1912, *Note-Books*)

It was already concluded in connection with the CLMET part 1 data that Allerton's (1988, 21) description of the *–ing* clause complement being somehow associated with general, regular events with no specific time reference is not supported by the corpus data. There are

clearly a number of tokens with a specific time reference in the present set data, as well (see for example [32]).

7.3. Overview

To conclude, the same three complementation patterns that are the most common ones in the CLMET part 1, that is [– *to*-inf.], [– Ø] and [– NP], are the most frequent complements in the CLMET part 3 as well. The complementation of the verb *cease* has thus remained somewhat similar to how it was in the 18th century, but the pattern [– *–ing* clause] now has the same relative figure (4.7%) as the noun phrase complement, which has lost some of its ground as a complement of the verb *cease.*

The following table describes the division between the two senses of *cease*: the intransitive and the transitive senses.

Table 7.2. The correspondence between the complements and senses in the CLMET part 3

Sense 1	Sense 2
[– *to*-inf.], 181 tokens	[– NP], 15 tokens
[– Ø], 99 tokens	
[– *–ing* clause], 15 tokens	
[– *from –ing*], 8 tokens	
[– *from* NP], 3 tokens	
Total: 306 tokens / 95.3%	**Total: 15 tokens / 4.7%**

It can be seen in the table that the intransitive sense, which is associated with altogether five different complement types, has become more prevalent than the transitive sense, which can be explained by the lowered relative share of the noun phrase complement in the CLMET part 3. The transitive sense covers 7.7% in the CLMET part 1 data, whereas in the present

data the relative share is only 4.7%. It is interesting to see whether the transitive sense of *cease* continues to lose ground and the intransitive sense is even more dominant in the most recent data.

Analysing the CLMET part 3 proved that some of the interesting findings made in connection with the 18th century data are still seen in the complementation of *cease* in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This can be seen especially with the zero-complement: the tendency of the pattern to appear with non-human agents has become even more prominent in the CLMET part 3 than it is in the earlier data. Conversely, the analysis of the pattern [– *from* NP] does not confirm the earlier prediction regarding human agents.

Another finding that continues to be discernible in the corpus data is the behaviour of the pattern [– NP], which was already in the CLMET part 1 data noted to prefer the presence of a possessive pronoun. Altogether 73.3% of the tokens in the present data include a possessive pronoun, while the corresponding percentage is 70.8 in the CLMET part 1. The noun phrase complements in the most recent data will be analysed from this perspective as well, and it remains to be seen whether the tendency associated with the noun phrase complement continues to become even more established.

As has been established, a great deal of this study is devoted to explaining the motivation behind the verb *cease* choosing the *to*-infinitive versus the *–ing* clause complement. Diachronically the infinitive clearly becomes more frequently used, and Poutsma's (1904, 602) description of the behaviour of the two sentential complements seems to be confirmed on the basis of the present data as well: the *to*-infinitive allows both verbs of action and state, whereas the *–ing* clause only appears with verbs of action. The share of *to*-infinitival complements expressing a state, which cannot be expressed with the *–ing* clause complement, is 44.8%, which is clearly higher than the corresponding figure 34.2% in the CLMET part 1 data. In other words, there seems to be an upward trend in the verb *cease*

expressing the cessation of a state rather than an action, which might partly explain the rising frequency of the infinitival complement. On the basis of the Great Complement Shift (Rohdenburg 2006, 143) the increase of the –*ing* clause complement and the decrease of the infinitival complement could be anticipated, but based on the present corpus data, other factors seem to bear on the complementation of the verb *cease.*

Another semantic analysis presented by Smith and Escobedo (2001) is connected to cognitive grammar, and the prediction made is that with verbs like *cease,* the infinitival pattern is semantically connected to permanent cessation, whereas the pattern [– —*ing* clause] expresses temporal cessation. Analysing the CLMET part 3 data quite strongly supports the claim in connection with both of the sentential complements.

Morpho-syntactic features that could be connected to the Complexity Principle and the *horror aequi* principle continue to be quite infrequently represented in the tokens of the CLMET part 3 data, making it difficult to observe the scope of the principles. However, the Complexity Principle seems to often affect the complementation of *cease* whenever there is an insertion or an extraction present in the data: the more explicit *to*-infinitive is chosen more often than the less explicit –*ing* clause complement. In the CLMET part 3 data there is a number of tokens where the choice of the complement type seems to be related to the *horror aequi* principle rather than any other structural or semantic factor, but there are also some tokens that violate the principle, showing that semantics possibly affects the choice of the complement more than morpho-syntactic factors. The same was stated in connection with the analysis of the CLMET part 1 data.

8 *Cease* in the British National Corpus

This chapter is dedicated to introducing the data obtained from the British National Corpus and conducting an analysis of the complement patterns found in the data with a constant attempt to compare the findings with the ones made in connection with the older CLMET data and to apply the previous literature to the corpus findings.

After the search procedures described earlier, the data consists of a reproducible, random selection of 250 hits from the sub-domain of imaginative prose in the BNC. Although the search was performed using a lemma query, there were two irrelevant cases of *cease* in the data, probably due to issues related to electronic part-of-speech tagging. The following are tokens where *cease* is not a verb but a noun:

> (1) On the day after <u>the Cease Fire</u> he had been granted an audience with the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and he had argued his case for the revitalisation of his dream. (CLD 811)
> (2) The shoppers bustled, bells rang <u>without cease</u>, …. (G1V 1178)

The tokens above were excluded, as in (1) *cease* appears in the compound noun *the cease fire*, and in (2) in the fixed expression *without cease*. After the elimination of the two irrelevant cases, the total number of tokens studied in this part of the corpus is 248.

The data also includes tokens where *cease* is followed by an adjunct, as in the following authentic examples:

> (3) Then gasped, and started to laugh as though Father Devlin had made a joke, but ceased <u>abruptly</u> at the stern look on Father Devlin's face. (B1X 2099)
> (4) The wind and rain ceased <u>over the next two days</u>, but giant waves of up to fifteen feet continued to batter the shoreline, flooding and wrecking many homes. (FRS 284)

As has been noted in the previous discussion of complement versus adjunct distinction, adjuncts do not need to be licensed by the matrix verb, they are not obligatory nor do they complete the meaning of the verb (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 219–21). Cases such as (3) and (4) are considered examples of zero-complementation, since the element following the

matrix verb *cease* can be left out or altered without a change in meaning, which clearly proves

that the elements in question are adjuncts. Table 8.1 illustrates the complementation patterns

found with *cease* in a descending order from the most frequent to the least frequent, the

complements being divided into sentential and non-sentential ones.

Table 8.1. The complements of *cease* in the BNC

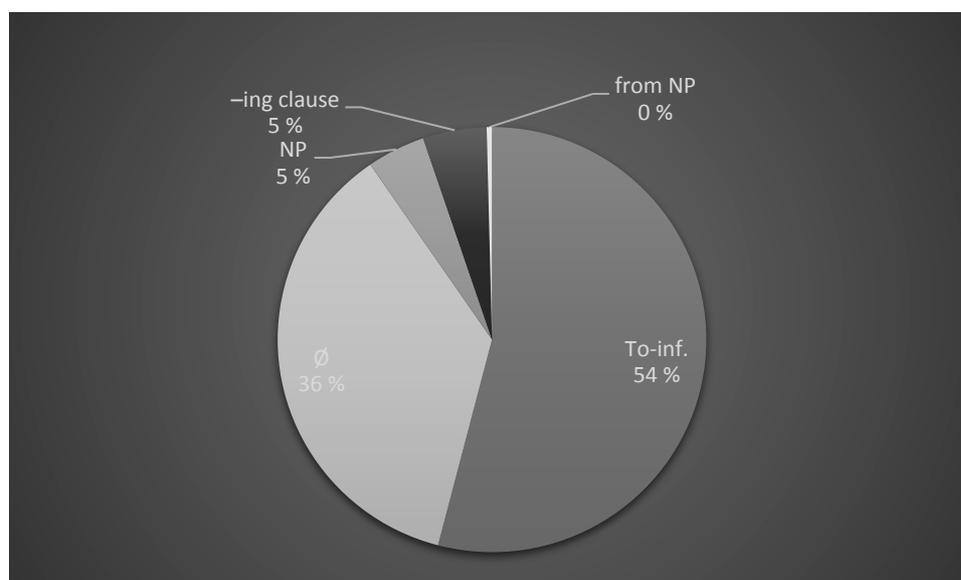| Complement	cease	ceased	ceases	ceasing	Total	%	NF
[– *to*-inf.]	29	86	9	10	134	54.0	16.2
[– Ø]	18	69	2	1	90	36.3	10.9
[– NP]	2	7	0	2	11	4.4	1.3
[– *–ing* clause]	4	8	0	0	12	4.8	1.5
[– *from* NP]	1	0	0	0	1	0.4	0.1
Total	54	170	11	13	248	100	30

Figure 8.1 The percentages of the complements of *cease* in the BNC

As can be seen from the table, the overall frequency of the verb *cease* has quite dramatically

decreased since the 18th century, since the normalized frequencies are 59.2 and 61.3 in the

CLMET part 1 and part 3, respectively. However, the decrease has not been linear as there is

a slight increase in the frequency when one compares the CLMET part 1 and part 3. The

sentential pattern [– *to*-inf.] is by far the most frequently found complement of *cease,* the second most common being the non-sentential pattern [– Ø], and the third most common the [–NP] pattern. The same three patterns are the most frequent ones in the CLMET part 1 and part 3, as well.

If one compares figure 8.1 with figure 7.1 (with CLMET part 3 data), no dramatic changes can be observed regarding the relative shares of the different complements, but if one compares figure 6.1 (with CLMET part 1 data), there are some clear differences. The most noticeable ones concern the lower share of the zero-complement and the higher share of the *to*-infinitive.

In addition, there is one clear difference between the two previous sets of data and the BNC data: the number of complements is here five instead of the earlier six, as there are no occurrences of the *from –ing* complement in the present sample of the BNC. The smaller number of complements could be explained with the decrease in the overall frequency of the verb *cease*.

In the following sections I will give a more detailed account of each complementation pattern separately, the complements being again divided into non-sentential and sentential ones.

8.1. Non-sentential complements

In this part of the analysis I will concentrate on describing the following three non-sentential complements of *cease* found in the data: the zero-complement [– Ø], the noun phrase [– NP], and the prepositional complement [– *from* NP].

8.1.1. The zero-complement

The pattern [– Ø] is the second most frequent complement of *cease* in the data, with a normalized frequency of 10.9. The frequencies in the CLMET part 1 and part 3 are 24.0 and

31.4, respectively, making it clear that the pattern is becoming less common. The zero-complement is present in 90 tokens out of the total of 248 tokens, covering 36.3 per cent of the different complements of *cease*, while the corresponding figures in the CLMET part 1 and 3 are 40.6 and 30.8. The sentences below are examples found in the BNC data:

(1) "Well, well, well, Captain", said Mayor Mutton when <u>the laughter ceased</u> ….
(ALS 185)
(2) Beyond the window, <u>the rain ceased</u>, giving way to sunshine. (AD1 2180)
(3) With a lurch, <u>the vibration ceased.</u> (F9X 1854)
(4) <u>Time ceased</u> for a while for them as they kissed …. (JYF 2615)

The sentences in (1)–(4) illustrate the interesting fact that, when followed by a zero-complement, the subject of the verb *cease* usually denotes a sound, natural phenomenon, movement or an abstract concept. In fact, in 83 tokens out of the total of 90 tokens (in 92.2%) the agent is inanimate. Tokens with a sound-related subject are clearly the most frequent type appearing 26 times in the data (in 28.8% of the zero-complements). Only 7 tokens out of the total of 90 tokens (7.7 % of the zero-complements) have a human agent, such as in the following:

(5) "<u>They</u> must never <u>cease</u>", said Caspar at her side. (GIL 1781)

The same was noted in connection with the CLMET part 1 data, where 77 per cent of the zero-complements were analysed as having an inanimate agent, making the figure for human agents 23%. In the CLMET part 3 the figure for inanimate agents is 84.9% and 13.1% for human agents. One can therefore conclude that in the BNC the preference to have the zero-complement expressing the cessation of an inanimate agent is more distinct than in the CLMET part 1 and part 3 sets of data, which can be considered an interesting diachronic change. Figure 8.1. illustrates the steady increase in the tendency for the zero-complement to be accompanied by an inanimate agent.
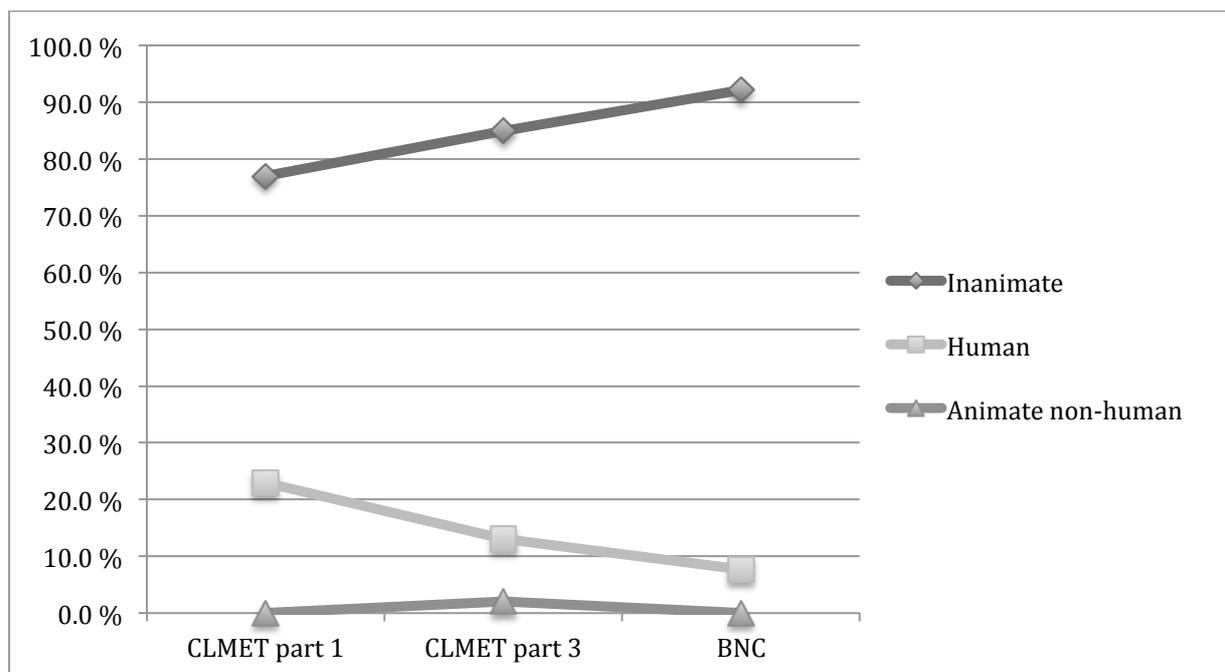
Figure 8.2 The diachronic development of agents accompanying the zero-complement

The zero-complement always coincides with sense 1, which is the intransitive meaning of *cease*. One can thus argue that the pattern *cease* [– Ø] characteristically describes a natural phenomenon, movement, an abstract concept, and in the BNC, especially a sound discontinuing or coming to an end. The zero-complement is listed in the example sentences of both the *OED* and the *OALD*. Even though the pattern [– Ø] is recognized by the *OED* and the *OALD*, neither of the dictionaries comments on the behaviour of the construction, but as can be interpreted from the corpus data, the pattern seems to favour the presence of an agent related to a sound, natural phenomenon, movement or an abstract entity.

8.1.2. The noun phrase and the prepositional complement *from* + NP

The analysis of the less common patterns [– NP] and [– *from* NP] is combined for the sake of convenience, since the noun phrase appears 11 times (4.4%) and the prepositional complement *from* NP only once (0.4%) in the data. When compared to the frequencies in the CLMET part 1 and part 3, both of the constructions have become noticeably less common. In a chronological order, the normalized frequencies for the pattern [– NP] are 4.6, 2.9 and 1.3,

and for the pattern [– *from* NP] 0.4, 0.9 and 0.1. With the noun phrase complement the decrease has been linear, whereas with the prepositional complement the progression has been less steady but nevertheless clearly on the decrease judging by the normalized frequency in the most recent data.

The only token exemplifying the infrequent prepositional complement [– *from* NP] is the following:

(6) 'We shall not <u>cease from exploration</u>'? (GI3 565)

As with the tokens from the previous sets of data, the noun phrase following the preposition *from* expresses an abstract concept or a process of some kind. In the CLMET part 1 and part 3 examples of the nouns in the construction are *business, trouble and disputation* and *the power of acting*. Due to the fact that the *OED* is the only source that includes the prepositional pattern in its entry, it was previously predicted that the construction is rare and archaic. It can be argued that the low frequency in the BNC confirms this prediction. To further test this and see whether the selection of the section of imaginary prose in the BNC affects the results, a lemma search in the form "{cease/V} from" was conducted in the whole corpus. There were 14 hits in total of which 7 (NF 0.14) were in the form *cease* [– *from* NP], making the statement about the rareness of the construction valid.

Although the frequency of the pattern [– NP] in the data is quite low for making any generalizations about its characteristics, there is definitely some regularity in the nature of the tokens. In 7 out of 11 cases (in 63.6%) of *cease* being complemented by a noun phrase there is a possessive pronoun in front of the noun:

(7) … that we talked long after the starlings had <u>ceased their chatter</u> ….
(ADA 511)
(8) "No!" she cried, momentarily <u>ceasing her struggles.</u> (HH1 6262)
(9) "I thought you were Steve", she breathed at last when her tumbled thoughts had <u>ceased their turmoil</u>. (JY4 3817)

The same observation was already made when analysing the CLMET part 1 and part 3 data,

where the noun phrase is accompanied by a possessive or some other pronoun. If one wants to

think hypothetically, the possessive pronoun could easily be inserted in the remaining four

sentences where the pronoun is not actually present. Consider the following, for example:

> (10) At that hour, right across America, all airports <u>ceased operations</u> for two
> minutes' silence. (CAM 2238)

 It would sound very natural so say *all airports ceased their operations*. This applies to all the

four tokens where the possessive pronoun is missing.

There is also possibly some homogeneity in the nature of the NPs, since almost all of

them either directly describe or imply an action and more precisely something that requires

effort (*struggles, exertions, frantic turning, efforts, war-like activities)*.

 When *cease* is complemented by [– NP], the sense of the construction is always the

transitive sense 2, "to stop something from happening or existing". It should be noted that in

the *OED* there is a brief note describing the transitive sense of *cease,* according to which it

has to do with discontinuing one's own action (sense 3.a., the *OED*). One of the example

sentences provided by the *OED* (see table 4.1.) also includes a possessive pronoun, which

supports the observations made on the basis of the corpus findings. In addition to the *OED,*

the *OALD* includes the pattern [– NP] in the example sentences of *cease.* Again, the non-

sentential pattern is entirely ignored by all the grammars studied.

8.2. Sentential complements

In this part of the analysis the most frequent complement [– *to*-inf.] and the other possible

sentential complement [– *–ing* clause] will be investigated. What makes the analysis

interesting is the way different grammarians introduce the two possible sentential

complements of *cease* – a number of differing explanations trying to ascertain the choice

between the complements arise. Comparison to the earlier periods studied will be made, and

as was already noted in the beginning of the present chapter, there are no tokens representing

the rare pattern [– *from –ing* clause] in the present data. The frequency of the pattern is 0.6

and 1.3 in CLMET part 1 and part 3, respectively, which suggests that in a hundred years

there has been a relatively rapid drop in the frequency.

8.2.1. The *to*-infinitive

As is the case with the earlier time periods, the *to*-infinitive is still by far the most common

complement of *cease* in the BNC data and covers 54 per cent of all the complements found.

The frequency of the pattern is 16.2 pmw, while it is 26.7 pmw in the CLMET part 1 and 57.4

pmw in the CLMET part 3. Although the NF has been on the decrease, the relative share has

remained more in line with the earlier periods: the percentages are 45.2% and 56.3% in the

18th century and in the 19th century, respectively. The following tokens including the pattern

[– *to*-inf.] are taken from the data:

> (11) Language itself, he said, would <u>cease to function</u> as it had always
> functioned…. (A08 1367)
> (12) The Commander, <u>having ceased to weep</u>, was sitting on the sofa. (H7A 688)
> (13) Indeed, there is a growing suspicion that Paris and Weimar, and a good many
> other cities, <u>have ceased to exist</u>. (HGS 2459)

The tokens clearly illustrate the way the *to*-infinitive is used with *cease:* the construction can

either refer to an activity (mental and physical), as in sentences (11) and (12), or to a state, as

in (13). There does not seem to be a great difference between the possible types of verbs, as in

59 per cent of the *to*-infinitives there is an action verb, the remaining 41 per cent being verbs

describing a state. It should be noted that especially the construction *cease to exist* frequently

(28 % of all stative verbs in the infinitive) represents the stative meaning. As was mentioned

in section 4.5. about the possible meanings of the *to*-infinitive, the construction is usually

described as having to do with a possible future event or some activity that is likely to be

interrupted and happens at a certain time or place (Allerton 1988, 21). This is, however, not

applicable to all the tokens present in the data. Consider the following examples:

(14) … Suddenly he seemed to realise that the cut on Burun's arm <u>had ceased to bleed.</u> (FSE 2656)
(15) The designation Unbeliever <u>ceases to be mandatory</u> for the Jews. (FYV 3719)
(16) Sounding taken aback, he said, 'You never <u>cease to amaze</u> me. (JY2 2343)

The sentences above illustrate the variety of environments where the *to*-infinitive can be used – in (14), the event is certainly not hypothetical but actual, and with (15) and (16), it would be hard to argue that the sentences refer to any specific point in time or place. On the contrary, they convey events and actions that are quite general. It seems that Poutsma's (1904, 602) prediction of the *to*-infinitive comes closest to the truth, since the data shows that the construction can be used with verbs describing both an action and a state, whereas the *–ing* clause would be restricted to describing actions. The fact that the infinitive can be used with all kinds of verbs must partly explain its frequency in the data.

The sentence in (14) also functions as a good illustration of the nature of *cease* as an NP Movement verb. As Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1194) state, *to*-infinitives can have either a control subject or a raised (or an NP Movement) subject. Subjects in Control constructions are semantically linked to both the higher and the subordinate verb, whereas in NP Movement constructions the subjects are only linked to the subordinate verb. If we consider (14), it is clear that the subject *the cut* has been raised from the subordinate clause and that it is semantically linked to the subordinate verb *to bleed*, not to the higher verb *cease.*

As has already been noted, Smith and Escobedo (2001) interestingly point out that verbs of beginning, continuation and cessation that take both *to*–infinitives and *–ing* clauses as complements select their complements on the basis of semantic differences between the two complement options. When *cease* occurs with the infinitive, the cessation is, according to Smith and Escobedo (ibid.), possibly a permanent one, and with the *–ing* clause something more temporary. Similar remarks have been made by other grammarians, including Dirven (1989) and Duffley (1999). The phenomenon can be seen in practice in most of the tokens in the data:

(17) Those words of Kafka's, which <u>have never ceased to haunt me</u> …. (A08 2112)

(18) His daughter's beauty <u>had never ceased to surprise the chief inspector.</u> (A73 284)

Quite often the word *never* is present the construction, which reinforces the interpretation. However, there are some tokens in the data that, in my opinion, do not imply permanent cessation:

(19) Camille was feeling tired; <u>the idea of going out had ceased to appeal to her</u>, yet the prospect of staying in by herself was too sad to be contemplated …. (G1D 643)

(20) … the licence held in respect of the premises <u>shall cease to have effect</u> while the closure order is in force. (G3J 917)

In (19), it would seem odd that the person in question would never go out again, and in (20), the adverbial clause *while the closure order is in force* serves to prove that the cessation is only temporary. Tokens like the ones in (19) and (20) are still quite rare, and most of the tokens do imply permanent cessation, as Dirven (1989) predicts.

With both verb types the meaning of the construction [– *to*-inf.] is always the intransitive sense 1 of *cease, "*to stop happening, existing or doing something". Considering the number of *to*-infinitives present in the data it is not surprising that all the dictionaries and grammars consulted list the construction as a possible complement of *cease.*

The sentences that contain the *to*-infinitive as a complement are mostly quite simple, and there are for example no passive sentences in the data. However, some factors affecting the choice of the complement were found in the data, including elements that have to do with the Complexity Principle and the *horror aequi* principle. In the following token the insertion of an adverbial phrase functions as a complexity factor:

(21) Scarlet had been willing to admit the truth of her words but had <u>ceased too soon to concentrate</u> …. (G1D 312)

According to the basic assumption the more explicit *to*-infinitive will be chosen over the less

explicit *–ing* clause in a syntactically complex environment (Rohdenburg 1996). The same
applies to extractions, of which four examples could be found in the data. In all the cases of
extraction, which operates as a complexity factor, the more explicit *to*-infinitive is used. The
following token illustrates the point:

> (22) … with *the compassionate yet businesslike speed* that Belinda never ceased
> to admire [t], the paramedic ambulance officers slid Faye on to a stretcher. (H9H
> 3331)

In (22), the phrase *the compassionate yet businesslike speed* has been extracted from the
lower clause, which is called relative extraction (Vosberg 2003, 201).

The *horror aequi* principle might likewise affect the choice of the *to*-infinitive in
environments exemplified by the following tokens:

> (23) 'Well, you don't have to broadcast it,' Luke said, gaining courage from her
> ceasing to shout. (CMJ 2060)
> (24) Without ceasing to play a wide beam of heat back and forth across the
> advancing hordes, Ace checked the power supply of her blaster. (F9X 2568)

If the rules of the *horror aequi* principle are accepted, it would be less likely in both (23) and
(24) for the matrix verbs to be followed by an *–ing* clause. In both sentences, in fact, it would
be possible to have the *–ing* clause if Poutsma's (1904, 602) theory is taken into account. In
the data it seems that whenever the verb *cease* itself is in the form *ceasing*, the following
complement is anything besides the *–ing* clause, but it should be mentioned that in some cases
the construction describes a state, where the *–ing* clause complement would not be expected
in any case.

Although the data contains factors such as complexity and adjacent, formally identical
elements that make the *to*-infinitive the more likely complement of *cease*, they are altogether
quite few. There are several cases where the other possible sentential complement, the *–ing*
clause, could appear just as well:

> (25) She was a nice old soul, but she had once been Sister Hope for twenty years,
> as she never ceased to inform us. (CK0 66)

> (26) 'I will not <u>cease to wrestle</u> for the salvation of your immortal soul.' (FPM 2185)

As Allerton (1998, 11) argues, the use of the infinitive seems to be increasing in British English, which might explain the less clear cases of complement choice with *cease.*

8.2.2. The *–ing* clause

As has been established in the former section, the pattern [– *to*-inf.] is notably more frequent than the pattern [– *–ing* clause] in the data. There are still a number of *–ing* clause complements (4.8 % of all the complements), and its distribution seems quite straightforward on the basis of the data examined. In fact, again all the 12 tokens of *cease* + [– *–ing*-clause] describe a mental or physical action and never a state, which reinforces the theory presented by Poutsma (1904, 602). The construction is found in sentences such as the following:

> (27) … it made eating and doing a little more exciting to know that someone else <u>had just ceased doing</u> these basic human things for ever. (A7J 2129)
> (28) Myles <u>ceased talking</u>. (B1X 1931)
> (29) Isabel elevated her small nose with the hauteur of a young lady who gad attained the lofty age of thirteen, and had therefore <u>ceased climbing</u> walls …. (HH1 23)

Semantically all the constructions with the *–ing* clause coincide with the intransitive sense 1 of *cease*, which means that the complement is in competition with the other sentential complement [– *to*-inf.] that has the same meaning. The construction [– *–ing* clause] is likewise found in all the dictionaries and grammars referred to, but only in Poutsma's grammar there is a comment on the infinitive being the more common complement. Even though the *–ing* clause is exclusively found in a certain kind of an environment, with verbs describing an action of some kind, the relatively small number of occurrences in the data is somewhat surprising. As was mentioned previously in connection with the cognitive grammar theory presented by Smith and Escobedo (2001) and Duffley (1999), the *–ing* clause could imply temporary cessation rather than a permanent transition into a new state of affairs. Based

on the data examined, the *–ing* clause can describe both temporary, (30), and permanent, (31),

ceasing:

> (30) Isabel knew her heart <u>had ceased beating</u> because now it shuddered into
> action again, racing so fast that she began to feel faint. (HH1 3452)
> (31) Millie thought that they would never <u>cease praying.</u> (CK9 1916)

In the first example, the beating of the heart would most likely not cease perpetually, contrary

to the second token, where the word *never* makes the permanency evident (such as in (17.),

where the expression *for ever* has the same kind of function). The token in (31) is an example

of the pattern having a future reference, which according to Duffley (1999, 327) is typical of

the *–ing* clause. There are, however, only two more tokens in the BNC data where the pattern

has a clear future reference. The same finding was made in connection with the CLMET part

1 and part 3 data.

While Bolinger's Principle (1968, 127) seems to be operating in the choice of the *–ing*

clause complement, there are only a few instances in the data where the Complexity Principle

or the *horror aequi* principle affects complementation. The only relevant tokens are the

following:

> (32) Christian stepped in and called on both Seb and Boz <u>to cease fighting</u>.
> (HHC 590)
> (33) … in the case of a notice of disapplication, state that the section is <u>to cease to
> apply</u> to the premises …. (G3J 1441)
> (34) And then <u>ceased trying to erase</u> the distance between them. (FNT 3119)

Although in (32) it would be grammatically correct to have *to fight* instead of *fighting,* the

latter is more likely on the basis of the *horror aequi* principle. In (33) one would expect the

–ing clause and not the *to-*infinitive, which demonstrates that such linguistic principles only

describe tendencies, not absolute truths. The sentence in (34) could likewise be expressed

with the infinitive *to try,* but there the following infinitive *to erase* makes the choice less

likely.

As was already predicted in chapter 4, the sentential pattern [*– from –ing* clause]

presented by Poutsma (1904, 648) is not found in the data. As other grammars or dictionaries do not mention the pattern and it is not found in the data, the pattern could be either rare or dated. As was done in connection with the pattern [– *from* NP], an additional lemma search in the form "{cease/V} from" was conducted in the whole corpus to see whether the choice of the domain affects the results. There were 14 hits in total of which 2 (NF 0.02) were in the form *cease* [– *from* –*ing*], proving that the construction is archaic and rare in British English in the 20th century.

8.3. Overview

The following is a table summarizing the correspondence between the complementation patterns and the two senses of *cease.*

Table 8.2. The correspondence between the complements and senses in the BNC

Sense 1	Sense 2
[– *to*-inf.], 134 tokens	[– NP], 11 tokens
[– Ø], 90 tokens	
[– –*ing* clause], 12 tokens	
[– *from* NP], 1 token	
Total: 237 tokens / 95.6%	**Total: 11 tokens / 4.4%**

The table shows that the senses of the constructions and the complementation patterns correspond each other – the pattern [– NP] is again exclusively found with the transitive sense 2 and the rest of the patterns are related to the intransitive sense 1. What follows is that sense 1 is clearly more common than sense 2. The frequency and the relative share of the noun phrase complement has been decreasing from the 18th century onwards, which quite clearly depends on the decline of the transitive sense 2 of the verb *cease* – in my opinion it would be more natural to argue that structural changes follow semantic changes, rather than arguing the

opposite.

A number of interesting phenomena already found in connection with the CLMET part 1 and part 3 data can be seen in the BNC data as well. These phenomena include the gradually lowering frequency of the zero-complement and its tendency to favour non-human agents. In the BNC data, it was also argued that many of the tokens with the zero-complement describe the cessation of something that requires effort, which was not seen in the analyses of the CLMET part 1 and part 3 – previously the noun phrase complement was noted to be somehow related to phrases expressing sounds.

Other features that seem to continue to characterise the complementation of *cease* include the noun phrase complement favouring the presence of a possessive pronoun, although the percentage of NPs occurring with the pronoun is lower in the BNC than in the CLMET part 1 and part 3. Nevertheless 63.6% of the patterns [– NP] include a possessive pronoun, making it an established tendency.

The non-finite sentential complements of *cease* continue to be the dominant *to*-infinitive and the clearly less frequent *–ing* clause, and the BNC data again seems to confirm the prediction by Poutsma (1904, 602), according to which the former can be used with both verbs of activity (59%) and state (41%), while the latter only seems to coincide with activity verbs. What seems to affect the choice of the complement to some extent, as well, is related to the source-path-goal image schema introduced by Smith and Escobedo (2001, 560–1). In the BNC data, as well as with the earlier sets of data, most tokens seem to follow the principle and the division between permanent versus temporary cessation, but the tendency is clearly not as established as the one related to state versus action verbs.

Other factors that seem to affect the choice between the two patterns include the Complexity Principle (Rohdenburg 2006) and the *horror aequi* principle (Rohdenburg 2003), but the environments where the verb *cease* is used still remain quite simple, making it

difficult to see the principles operating.

The pattern [– *from –ing*], which is marginal in both the CLMET part 1 and part 3 data, is not represented at all in the BNC data, which suggests that the pattern has been gradually disappearing and had already been doing so in the 18th century.

9   Discussion of the Findings

After having looked into the background literature, including the dictionaries the *OED,* the *OALD,* the *COBUILD,* and the various grammars including one by Huddleston and Pullum (2002), Biber et al. (1999) and Poutsma (1904), to name a few, one might picture the complementation of the verb *cease* as a fairly straightforward matter. All the dictionaries studied mention at least the following four complement types: [– *to*-inf.], [– Ø], [– NP], [– *–ing* clause], while some of the grammars studied interestingly only take into account sentential and not non-sentential complements. As regards the sense of the verb, there seems to be a consensus in the background literature to describe *cease* as having two, almost identical senses: intransitive and transitive senses which could be paraphrased as "to stop from happening" and "to stop something from happening". It must be noted that, as seems to be the protocol, the *OED* presents the senses in a much more elaborate way than other dictionaries and offers many closely related senses with their sub-senses.

The background literature, however, raises some questions. Poutsma's (1904) description of the verb *cease* differs from other accounts in a number of ways: it introduces the sentential complement [– *from –ing* clause] not present in any other grammars or dictionaries, and it offers a semantic explanation for the choice between the *to*-infinitive and the *–ing* clause, predicting that state verbs can only occur with the infinitival pattern. Others that try to account for the choice between the two non-finite complements include Allerton (1988), Duffley (1999) and Smith and Escobedo (2001): according to Allerton (1988, 21), the *to*-infinitive is related to infrequent and irregular events and the *–ing* clause in turn to continuous and regular events, whereas Smith and Escobedo (2001) approach the matter from the perspective of cognitive grammar and argue that the distinction between the infinitive and the *–ing* clause is connected to the aspect of permanent versus temporary cessation. Duffley (1999, 327), similarly to Smith and Escobedo (ibid.), approaches the distinction from the

point of view of (potentially) permanent versus temporary cessation, and argues that the *to-infinitive* is related to a possibly permanent transition into a new state of affairs, whereas the *–ing* clause can be used more appropriately in contexts where the some action denoted in the lower clause merely ceases.

The questions that arise are thus the following: are there some complement types in the corpus data that are not introduced in the background literature? Are there, conversely, some complement types that are introduced in the background literature but are not attested in actual language use? And, maybe most interestingly, which semantic prediction regarding the choice between the two non-finite complement types seems to be supported by the corpus data?

The analysis of three different sets of data from different periods of time – from the 18th century, the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and lastly from the 21th century, clearly shows that the complementation of *cease* is a much more complex phenomenon than what could be concluded on the basis of the background literature. The corpus data partly answers the questions raised by the literature and partly arouses new questions. A careful analysis of actual language use reveals some interesting features and clear tendencies in the use of the verb *cease* that are not in any way present in the dictionaries and grammars that describe the sense and complementation of the verb. These features and tendencies will be presented in a summarizing manner in the present chapter, but first some diachronic information about the changes in the complementation of the verb *cease* will be provided, accompanied by some illustrative figures.
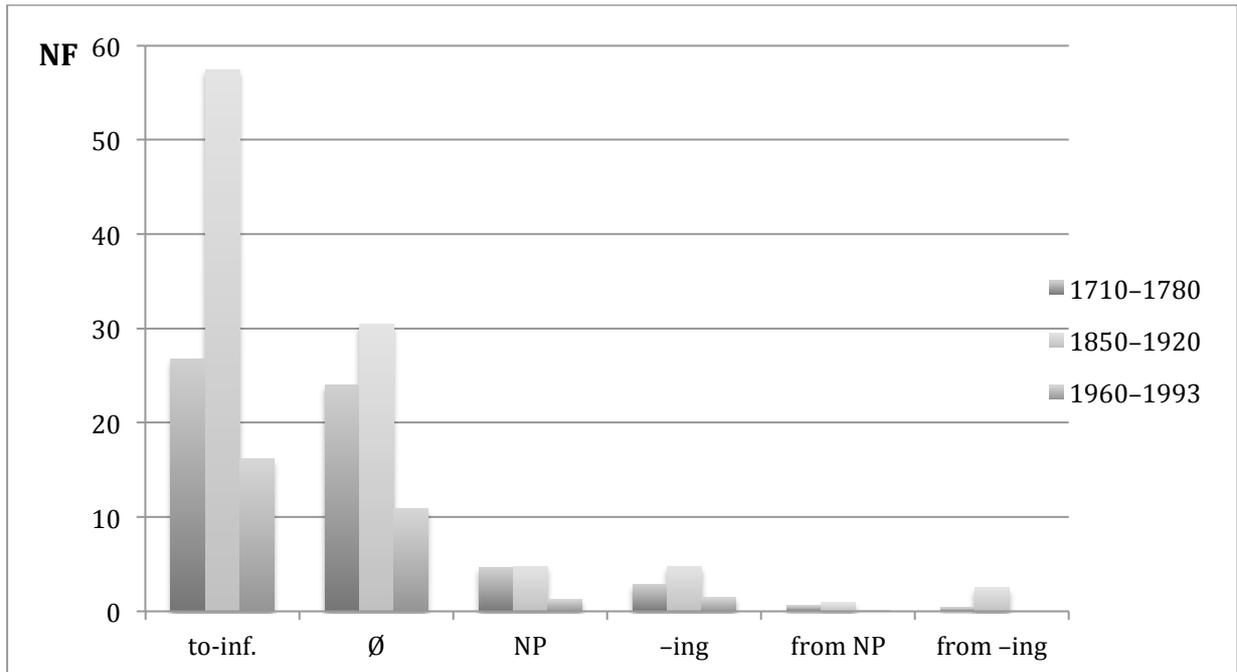
Figure 9.1 The normalized frequencies of the complements of *cease* 1710–1993
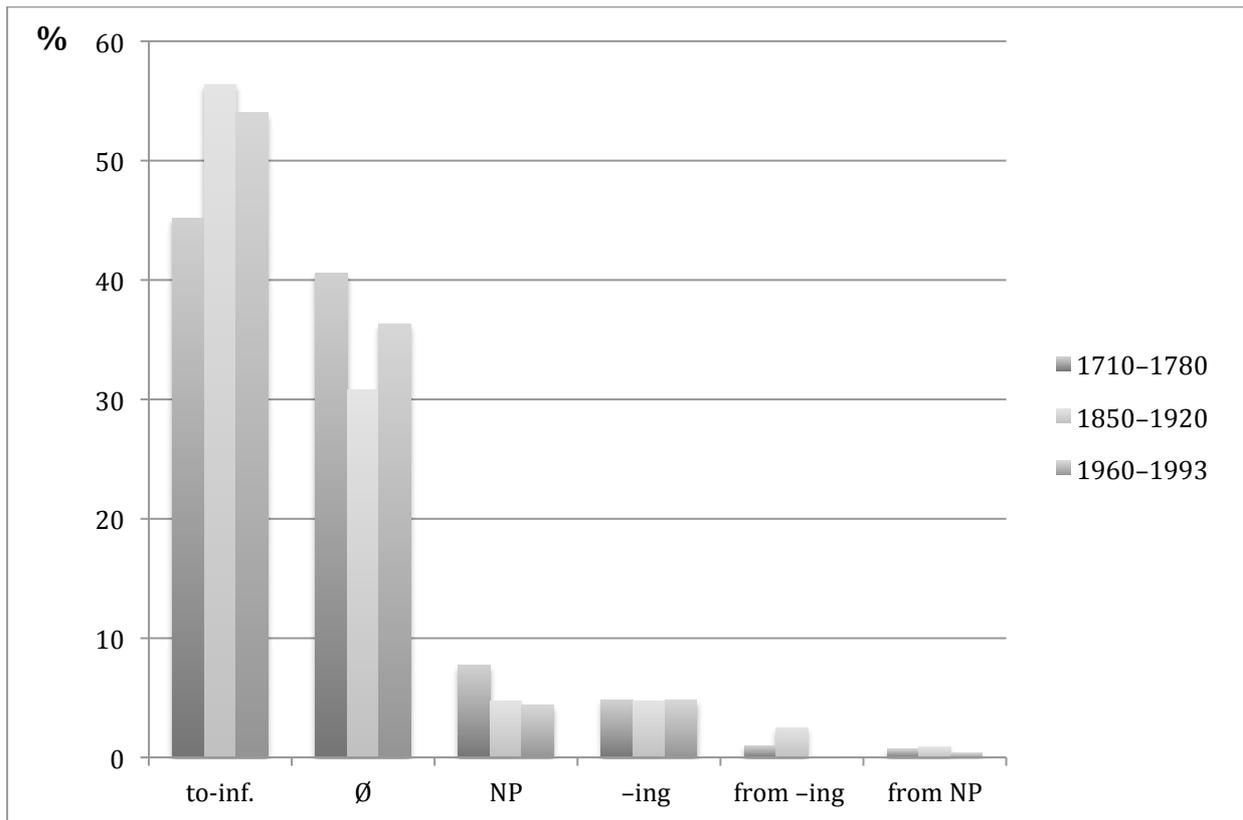

Figure 9.2 The relative shares of the complements of *cease* 1710–1993

Figures 9.1 and 9.1 illustrate the diachronic development of the complementation of *cease* during a 300-year-long time span. Figure 9.1 shows that, for some inexplicable reason,

the frequencies for each pattern are highest during the middle period, the late 19th and early 19th centuries. The order of the complements from the most frequent to the least frequent stays the same diachronically. However, since the normalized frequencies of *cease* differ in each set of data (from 59.2 to 101.7 and lastly to 30 pmw), it would be misleading to only compare the normalized frequencies of the different patterns during the time period. Figure 9.2 illustrates the relative shares of the different complements, showing that the most frequent complement type, the *to*-infinitive, continues to become even more prominent (with a slight peak in the middle period), while the zero-complement slowly becomes less frequent, with a noticeable slump in the relative share between the years 1780 and 1960. It must be noted that the development of the zero-complement over the years has not been linear: when one considers the normalized frequency of the zero-complement between the years 1850 and 1920, there is a clear increase in the frequency, followed by a dramatic drop between in the last time period. The less frequent complement types including the NP complement, the *–ing* clause, the prepositional *from* NP and the *from –ing* clause complement remain marginal compared to the infinitive and the zero-complement, the noun phrase decreasing slightly in frequency and the *–ing* clause remaining somewhat steady in its frequency.

According to the Great Complement Shift (Rohdenburg 2006, 143) the situation between the two non-finite complements could be expected to be somewhat different: the *to*-infinitive should be becoming less prominent at the expense of the *–ing* clause, and the diachronic development of the complementation of *cease* seems to be quite the opposite. With *cease,* the infinitive seems to be steadily gaining ground, while the two most common non-sentential complements, the zero-complement and the noun phrase continue to be less prominent.

This discussion brings one to the possibly most interesting aspect of the present thesis: the attempt to explain why the *to*-infinitive is chosen over, not only the non-sentential

complement types, but also the sentential *–ing* clause complement. After having analysed data from a 300-year-long time period, the question can still not be fully answered, but semantic as well as structural explanations that are directly based on corpus data can be given. What proved to be the most consistent feature when analysing the *to*-infinitive and the *–ing* clause complements is the semantic prediction made by Poutsma (1904, 602) that the *to*-infinitive allows both activity and state verbs (for example *speak* and *exist*), whereas the *–ing* clause only occurs with action verbs (making it impossible to have sequences such as *ceased existing*). It is noteworthy that the corpus data, including over several hundred tokens, confirms this prediction with an accuracy of a 100 per cent, but none of the other grammars or dictionaries studied makes the same observation. Other semantic reasons behind the choice between the *to*-infinitive and the *–ing* clause include theories by Smith and Escobedo (2001) and Allerton (1988, 21), but these tendencies do not seem to be as strong as Poutsma's (ibid.) prediction. Smith and Escobedo (ibid.) approach the issue from the perspective of cognitive grammar and present a division between the complements and permanent versus temporary cessation. The corpus data, throughout the whole time span, partly seems to confirm the prediction, but in each set of data there are tokens that do not follow the tendency. Allerton's (ibid.) description of the two complements, the *to*-infinitive being connected to regular events with clear time reference and the *–ing* clause to infrequent events without any specific time/place reference, is not reflected in the corpus data in any regular way.

Structural or morpho-syntactic reasons do not seem to bear as much on the choice between the two non-finite complements as the semantic reasons presented above. This might be due to the fact that *cease* mostly appears in very simple environments with only a few complexity factors present in all the three sets of data. Although there are not many instances in the whole data where the *horror aequi* principle can be potentially seen as operative, there are some clear cases, especially with the verb form *to cease*, where the choice can possibly

depend on the *horror aequi* principle. Were there not these cases, the number of *–ing* clause complements could be predicted to be even lower. To conclude, Bolinger's Principle (1968, 127) can be regarded as a major basis for studying the complementation of the verb *cease* – according to the principle a difference in structure always hints at a difference in meaning, and the analysis of the corpus data clearly confirms the principle. Semantic reasons can thus be considered most important in explaining the choice between the *to*-infinitive and the *–ing* clause.

As regards the sense of the verb *cease,* the intransitive sense is diachronically becoming more prominent than the already more marginal transitive sense: the progression of the intransitive sense of the verb has been from 92.3% to 95.3% to 95.6%, which might suggest that the expansion of the sense is slowing down.

10 Conclusion

The analysis of the corpus data, dating from the 18th century onwards all the way to the 1990s, reveals that the *to*-infinitive is clearly the most frequently found complement of the verb *cease,* and the complement seems to be gaining even more ground as the main complement of *cease.* The second most common pattern is the zero-complement, which in turn seems to be diachronically on the decrease. Four other types of complementation patterns are present in the data: the *–ing* clause, the noun phrase, as well as the less common prepositional *from* + NP and the *from* + *–ing* clause complement, but the four latter patterns are significantly less frequent than the two former ones. The pattern [*– from –ing* clause] seems to be disappearing from the complementation of the verb *cease* altogether, as there are no tokens exemplifying it in the most recent set of data.

There is a notable amount of correlation between the corpus findings and the information provided by dictionaries and grammars, but one could argue that the background literature does not provide an entirely complete description of the complementation of *cease.* On one hand, the grammars studied do not mention any non-sentential complements, including the commonly found zero-complement, and on the other the background literature lists complements that are only marginally or not at all found in the data. Such complements are the prepositional *from* + *–ing* clause and *from* + NP. There is also clear variation in the descriptions of the two possible sentential complements, the *to*-infinitive and the *–ing* clause. Although all the sources introduce both, there are many predictions regarding the choice between the two complements. The corpus evidence seems to be compatible with Poutsma's (1904, 620) comment on the infinitive being used with both actions and states, and the *–ing* clause being possible only with actions. There is also some similarity between the corpus findings and Smith and Esobedo's (2002), as well as Dirven's (1989) and Duffley's (1999), prediction on the semantics of the infinitive and the *–ing* clause. Therefore it can be

concluded that Bolinger's Principle (1968, 127), according to which a structural difference always suggests a difference in meaning, functions as an important framework for the present study.

There is a clear correspondence between the senses of *cease* and the choice of the complement, and it was discovered that sense 2 is significantly less common than sense 1 and that it only coincides with the pattern [– NP].   The transitive sense seems to be on the decrease if one compares the figures from all the three time periods.

Other, structural factors that seem to have an effect on the complement choice are the *horror aequi* principle (Rohdenburg 2003, 236), and the Complexity Principle (Rohdenburg 1996, 151), which however do not seem to bear as much on the complementation of *cease* as the semantic principles introduced earlier. It can be concluded that the Complexity Principle does not appear to have a great impact on the complementation of *cease,* as the sentences with *cease* seem to be quite simple.

For a future study it would be interesting to take into account more corpus data from earlier centuries and to investigate whether the *to*-infinitive was as clearly the most frequent complement of *cease* as it is today. It would likewise be worth investigating if the prepositional complements *from* + NP and *from* + *–ing* clause were more frequently found in earlier centuries, as there is only one token with the former and no tokens at all with the latter in the present day data. Other possible development regarding the complementation of *cease* is concerned with the division between the two senses: the intransitive and transitive. It remains to be seen whether the transitive sense of *cease* continues to become less frequent.

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