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These kind of words: number agreement in the species noun phrase in international academic English

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These kind of words:
Number agreement
in the species noun phrase
in International Academic English

Those kind and these kind, for *that* and *this* kind, or those and these *kinds*, seem almost too common errors to be mentioned here.

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These kind of words:
Number agreement
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Prof. dr Gijsbert J. Rutten

This book is dedicated to Helen
for giving me the time and the space

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And finally, thanks to my late colleague Janet Whitcut, who knew nothing of this study but who was the unwitting instigator of it.

The quotation on the half-title page is taken from Gertrude Payne's *Everyday Errors in Pronunciation, Spelling, and Spoken English* (1911).

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List of abbreviations and symbols

*	Denotes an unacceptable/ungrammatical phrase or sentence
?	Denotes a questionable phrase or sentence
*?	Denotes a phrase or sentence of uncertain status
†	Denotes a truncated example
A	Academic American
ACAD	Academic prose
ACAD†	Academic prose (truncated example)
ACE	Australian Corpus of English
AJL	<i>Asian Journal of International Law</i>
ALS	<i>Asian Journal of Law and Society</i>
B	British Business person
BLC	<i>Bilingualism: Language and Cognition</i>
BNC	British National Corpus
BNC 2014	British National Corpus 2014
BtU	Bridging the Unbridgeable
CAC 2020	Cambridge Academic Corpus 2020
CB	<i>COBUILD</i>
CL	Clause
COBUILD	Collins Birmingham University International Language Database
COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American English
CONV	Conversation
CUP	Cambridge University Press
D	Determiner
DET	Determiner
DK	Don't know
DP	Determiner Phrase
E	Editor/writer/translator etc.
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
F	Female
FICT	Fiction
ftn.	Footnote
GEN	Genitive
GloWbE	Corpus of Global Web-Based English

XIV

HTML	Hypertext Markup Language
HUGE	Hyper Usage Guide of English
ICE-GB	British component of the International Corpus of English
IFC	Instructions for Contributors
IJC	<i>International Journal of Law in Context</i>
JCL	<i>Journal of Child Language</i>
KP	Case Particle
KWIC	Key Word in Context
L	Linguist
LCO	<i>Language and Cognition</i>
LE	Linking Element
LL	Log-likelihood
LOB	Lancaster–Oslo–Bergen
LST	<i>Legal Studies</i>
M	Male
MLA	Modern Language Association
MP	Member of Parliament (UK)
MP	Minimalist Program
ms(s)	Manuscript(s)
MV	Modal Verb
N	No
N1	First Noun (= Species Noun)
N2	Second Noun
NC	Non-count
NCTE	National Council of Teachers of English
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NLP	Natural language processing Neurolinguistic programming
NomPostD	Post-determiner
NNS	Non-native speaker
NS	Native speaker
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
O-P	Object of a Preposition
O-V	Object of a Verb
P	Preposition
PL	Plural
PM	Pre-modifier
pmw	Per Million Words
PN	Pronoun

PoS	Part of Speech
PostD	Post-determiner
PP	Prepositional Phrase
R	Respondent
R&D	Research and development
S	Student
SEO	Senior executive officer
SEU	Survey of English Usage
SG	Singular
SKT	<i>sort/kind/type</i>
SN	Species Noun
SN	Size Noun
SNP	Species Noun Phrase
SUBJ	Subject
T	Teacher
TN	Type Noun
UK	United Kingdom
UM	Unmarked (for number)
US	United States (of America)
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase
Y	Yes

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

As a professional copy-editor, I am the person who gives a final polish to the printed text of an academic book or a journal paper. I am the one who implements the publisher's style guide, the one who changes *prioritise* to *prioritize* – or vice versa depending on the publisher – the one who checks all the cross-references, the footnotes and the bibliography, and the one who, it is hoped, helps authors to avoid saying things that they did not intend to say. I am also the one who makes numerous other, visible or non-visible (to the author), changes to a text, changes that often reflect grammar or idiom. For example, in a text presented as British English, I might change (1a) to (1b):

(1a) The organised nature and the pattern should be considered **in light of** all pirate attacks, and not just those committed by each pirate group, although there is certainly sufficient organisation within each group.

(AJL_1300026)¹

(1b) The organised nature and the pattern should be considered **in *the* light of** all pirate attacks, and not just those committed by each pirate group, although there is certainly sufficient organisation within each group.

In an academic paper, I might change (2a) to (2b):

(2a) Some of **this data is** already in analysis-friendly form, such as social network information (...), diurnal activity patterns (...), reputation (...), or Facebook “likes” (...).

(LCO_1400030)

(2b) Some of ***these data are*** already in analysis-friendly form, such as social network information (...), diurnal activity patterns (...), reputation (...), or Facebook “likes” (...)

But what motivates these changes? What emboldens me, and other copy-editors throughout the English-speaking world, to change texts written by adult, educated, native and non-native expert users of academic English? The answer is sometimes to be found in the authority of a usage guide.² For example, on *in light of*, in *Fowler's*

1 The form of the source of the quotations, here “[AJL_1300026]” is explained in §5.4.1.

2 See Lukač and Stenton (2023, p. 280) for an analysis of how copy-editors and proof-readers approach this problem with the use of *data*.

Dictionary of Modern English Usage (2015), historically probably the most influential of all usage guides,³ Jeremy Butterfield, the editor of its fourth edition, has this to say:

2 in light of, in the light of. Both phrases work as complex prepositions meaning ‘in view of; with the help of knowledge accorded by some fact’ ... The shorter form is the standard in NAmer. English, but is also used in BrE, where the longer form is more common. ...
(Butterfield, 2015, p. 479)⁴

On *data*, Sidney Greenbaum and Janet Whitcut’s *Longman Guide to English Usage* (1988), one of my personal favourites (not least because I agree with most of what it contains), has:

Although **data** is strictly a plural (from the rarely used singular *datum*), it is now coming to be used as an aggregate singular noun: *All this data is new.* This usage is avoided by careful writers of British English, but is better established in American English and everywhere in the field of data processing. It is still safer to treat the word as a plural, at least in formal writing ...
(Greenbaum and Whitcut, 1988, p. 184)

These, and many other, usage guides lay out what their authors believe to be best practice, precisely so that the writers and editors who consult them can avoid using words or phrasing that might lead to misunderstanding or even condemnation by their peers. As Randolph Quirk writes in his ‘Introduction’ to Greenbaum and Whitcut: “In this book, the authors offer expert guidance on points of English where any of us can feel uncertainty, where any of us can go wrong” (Quirk, 1988, p. x). Such usage guides have been published since at least 1770 (see §1.2 below), and form an important part of this study.

I referred above to visible and non-visible changes that I make in a manuscript which I’m editing. By non-visible I mean a change that the author accepts without comment, and perhaps even without noticing, when checking the proofs. Equally, however, an author might simply reinstate what was in the original manuscript when they return their marked proof. Sometimes, though, I have been in correspondence with an author during which specific changes were discussed and my editorial revision was either accepted or reversed. For example, for the phrase that is the topic of this study – what Biber et al. (1999, p. 255) have termed the ‘species noun’ phrase, e.g. *these kind of things* – I might typically change (3a) to (3b):

3 For example, in his 2009 Oxford World’s Classics reprint of the first edition of 1926, David Crystal says: “No book had more influence on twentieth-century attitudes to the English language in Britain” (2009, p. [vii]). In his introduction to the fourth edition of 2015, Jeremy Butterfield refers to “Fowler’s almost superhuman status as an arbiter of ‘correct’ English” (2015, p. ix).

4 Fowler’s first edition of 1926 notes simply that *in light of* “will not do” (Fowler, 1926, p. 324).

- (3a) **These kind of planning requirements make** it virtually impossible for home occupations (sex services) to apply for, let alone receive, development consent. (IJC_6-2_C***s)⁵
- (3b) **These kinds of planning requirements make** it virtually impossible for home occupations (sex services) to apply for, let alone receive, development consent.

This follows Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988, p. 398) and Butterfield (2015, p. 455). The latter's advice also includes: "Should you wish to avoid a formulation which might be open to criticism, alternatives [i.e. to *these kind of*] available are *these kinds (or sorts) of* and *of this kind (or sort)*". My revision in example (3b) makes all of the variable words plural in *These kinds of planning requirements make*, and is therefore consistent in terms of number agreement. That academic writers are aware of, and sensitive to, the criticism mentioned by Butterfield is apparent in a response I had from an author in 2018 concerning example (4):

- (4) Each of the six cases involved an unmarried woman who had concealed her pregnancy and given birth in secret; all but one had given birth alone and none had given birth with medical assistance. As such, **these were the kind of cases** where the infanticide law was supposed to apply, and where a mental disturbance was likely to be presumed according to social norms in relation to how this offender was understood, and ought to be treated, in light of the circumstances involved.

(LST_1700020)⁶

This example is not quite as straightforward as (3a) and (3b), in that *these* is not a determiner modifying *kind*, as in *these kind of planning requirements*, but is a plural pronoun subject in number agreement with the plural verb *were*; there nonetheless remains a potential number conflict between the singular species noun *kind* and the following plural noun *cases*. According to Biber et al., this number variation between *kind* and *cases* falls within the usage they noted in academic (ACAD) English: "we ... find singular species nouns combining with a following plural noun ... **What sort of things are effects?** (ACAD)" (1999, p. 255).

When I copy-edited the *Legal Studies* (LST) paper from which example (4) is taken, I left this specific phrase as it was, and the copy-edited manuscript went to proof. However, when the author returned her marked proof to me, she raised a query on *these were the kind of cases*: "Is this correct? Should this read: *these were the kind of case?* or *these were the kinds of cases?*?" This author was clearly concerned about

⁵ The asterisks here hide the identity of the author.

⁶ This example is not part of my corpus as it dates from after the period of data collection (see §5.2.1).

the number agreement between the species noun (*kind* vs. *kinds*) and the following noun in the *of*-phrase (*cases*), and this number agreement seemed to take precedence over whatever meaning she had intended. Was there just one or more than one kind of case? In the event I changed the proof to *these were the kinds of cases*, in part because of the use of *six cases* in the preceding sentence, although an argument could also be made for the singular on the basis of the use of *each* in that sentence. During copy-editing I also changed *in light of the circumstances involved* to *in the light of the circumstances involved*, as the paper generally followed British English conventions, and the author accepted this without comment.

I mentioned above that the answer to a usage problem is sometimes to be found in a usage guide. I also, along with most other copy-editors,⁷ make use of dictionaries and grammars, such as the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (1999) by Biber et al. referred to above. Another source of advice for me is a corpus of academic English which I had compiled from the (unedited) text of all the journal papers that I copy-edited between 2006 and 2016.⁸ This corpus thus comprises a set of base-line data that enables me to check and confirm the pronouncements of the usage guides and grammars against an actual body of specific and relevant usage, unedited as it was. The use of this corpus also addresses one of Tieken-Boon van Ostade's (2020) criticisms of Albakry's (2007) newspaper corpus study, where she points out that "[i]f Albakry had wanted to find evidence of the actual *influence* of usage guides, he should have started out from baseline data comprising unedited texts" (2020, p. 206). Similarly, Owen (2020, p. 304) notes that "because of editorial intervention, a corpus study does not always describe what educated writers actually do". He therefore used academic authors' original Microsoft Word documents that had been copy-edited with Track Changes activated so that he could assess the extent of that editorial intervention.

Such is the background to the current study. What actually brought this study into being, however, was a chance online encounter I had with Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade, Professor of English Sociohistorical Linguistics at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics. We were both looking for online information on Janet Whitcut, I because I was trying to trace an old colleague, and Tieken-Boon van Ostade because the Greenbaum and Whitcut usage guide mentioned above was included as part of the data for the project she was leading called 'Bridging the Unbridgeable: Linguists, Prescriptivists and the General Public' (the BtU project). I had previously worked with Tieken-Boon van Ostade when I copy-edited the ms for her book *The Bishop's Grammar: Robert Lowth and the Rise of Prescriptivism* (2011). After some correspondence about what I was then doing, and how I was approaching it, Tieken-

⁷ See e.g. Lukač and Stenton (2023).

⁸ This corpus will be described briefly below.

Boon van Ostade invited me to Leiden to join her research team. I suggested that I could investigate variation in number marking in the species noun phrase in my corpus of academic English and in the historical context of usage guide advice from 1770 to 2010, as found in the BtU Hyper Usage Guide of English (HUGE) database (see §1.3 below). This study thus adopts a socio-historical approach within the context of the BtU project, as it examines the views of linguists, prescriptivists and the general public on a single language topic over a period of 240 years.

1.2 The usage problem

But what exactly is the usage being investigated, and why is it of interest to the usage guide and grammar writers, amongst others? The point of a usage guide is not just that it deals with usage variation, but that it deals with usage problems, and Ilson (1985, pp. 166–167) has suggested that for an instance of usage variation to be seen as a usage problem it must satisfy three criteria (and see Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2020, esp. Chapter 5, for a fuller treatment of this): it must be more than a potential variation, Ilson argues, i.e. the variants must actually occur in speech and/or writing; they must be widespread, and not restricted to a single (regional) variety; and it must be possible to discuss them without causing offence, which is one reason why usage guides rarely include profanities.⁹ It might seem reasonable to add that the usage variants should actually constitute a usage problem in the sense that the use of a variant form might attract criticism, as with the use of *these kind of* mentioned above.

The variation in usage in the species noun phrase is of interest first because, in my career as a copy-editor, this variation was a topic that was often discussed, especially with the editors of volumes of papers contributed by different authors, with a view to adopting a ‘consistent’ usage. Second, the variant forms constitute a topic which is presented in many of the usage guides in HUGE, and has been from the earliest dating from 1770 to the latest from 2010. Third, one variant of the species noun phrase, e.g. *these kind of errors*, has been the topic of previous attitude surveys, including Leonard (1932), Mittins et al. (1970), and within the BtU project itself in the early twenty-first century.

The usage is also of interest because, as shown in the few examples given above, different usages, or usage variants, can be appropriate in different contexts. The usage guides quoted above both contain advice on where a variant usage might be

⁹ For example, none of the four major editions of Fowler’s *Modern English Usage* (1926, 1965, 1996, 2015) contains advice on the use of *fuck*, and neither do the 1998 or 2022 editions of Garner’s *Dictionary of Modern American Usage* / *Garner’s Modern English Usage*, which is presumably what led the publishers of Howard’s *Guide to Good English in the 1980s* (1985) to claim on the front cover flap that “[f]or the first time, there is open advice about *four-letter words*”.

appropriate. Butterfield notes differences in usage between American English and British English with *in (the) light of*, as do Greenbaum and Whitcut in the use of singular *data*. Greenbaum and Whitcut also mention formal writing and careful writers (in contrast to informal writing and speech). They also comment on a usage, singular *data*, that they see as changing over time. Butterfield refers to usages which might be open to (unspecified) criticism, and Quirk comments on the possibility of a usage simply being an error. This last aspect of variant usage, whether “[t]he tacit principle – that among variant usages if one is correct, the other must be wrong – was an invention of codifiers ill at ease with variant customs” (Finegan, 1980, p. 38), will recur throughout this study.

However, if I, as a copy-editor, am going to rely, at least in part, on these usage guides to help me make my editing decisions, a reasonable question must be: How reliable is the advice presented in those guides? As mentioned above, usage variation in the species noun phrase is described in Biber et al.’s *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (1999). This is a modern reference grammar, and in it the term ‘species noun’ describes those nouns that “are used to refer ... to the type of entity or mass expressed by a following *of*-phrase. ... Common species nouns are: *class, kind, make, sort, species, type*” (1999, p. 255). In this study, I concentrate on *kind, sort* and *type*, in phrases such as *these kind of, those sorts of, this type of*, as these are the examples that most commonly feature in the usage guides (see Chapter 3). They are also the most frequent in the corpus that I compiled and that will be the basis for part of this study, the Stenton Corpus (see Chapter 5).¹⁰ Biber et al. continue:

Species nouns combine with countable as well as uncountable nouns. With countable nouns there tends to be agreement in number between the species noun and the following noun (e.g. *that kind of thing* v. *all kinds of things*). But we also find singular species nouns combining with a following plural noun and plural species nouns combining with a following singular noun:

...

I don’t know **what kind of dinosaurs** they all are. (CONV)

...

Thieves tended to target **certain types of car** he said. (NEWS)

...

There is a close relationship between species nouns and determiners. ... The determiner preceding the species noun occasionally agrees with the noun in the *of*-phrase rather than with the species noun (as in *these kind of people*).

(Biber et al., 1999, pp. 255–256)

Biber et al. also list *Differences of this kind are both substantial and early to appear* (ACAD†) (1999, p. 258) as a variant of the phrase that I am investigating, as did

¹⁰ The words *class, make* and *species* between them account for just 7.9% of the examples in the Stenton Corpus, which will be described briefly below and in greater detail in §5.2.

Butterfield above. This confirms that there are both variant forms of the species noun phrase, appropriate in different contexts (i.e. ACADEMIC, CONVERSATION and NEWS; the dagger indicates that the example has been truncated), and that these variants can be used to avoid number conflict. It is not difficult to find instances of these variant forms in use, as shown in examples (5–8) below. All the variants described by Biber et al. are used by adult educated speakers of English in the relatively formal setting of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom Parliament; many of the Members of Parliament in fact read from a prepared script.¹¹

- (5) We do not hear that very often in this Chamber; I welcome **that kind of intervention**.

(Hansard, 4 November 2016¹²)

In (5) there is a singular (SG) species noun (SN), *kind*, preceded by a singular determiner (DET), *that*, and followed by *of* and a singular second noun (N2), *intervention*. This species noun phrase thus shows number agreement between the three of its constituents that can vary for number: *that kind ... intervention*.

- (6) The immigration and asylum chambers of the First-tier Tribunal and the Upper Tribunal have been set up specifically to deal with **these kinds of matters**.

(Hansard, 4 July 2012)

In (6) there is a plural (PL) species noun, *kinds*, preceded by a plural determiner, *these*, and followed by *of* and a plural N2, *matters*. This species noun phrase again shows number agreement in all the constituents that can be marked for number: *these kinds ... matters*.

There are also examples where the number marking of the constituents of the species noun phrase is mixed, as in (7) and (8):

- (7) I often hear Ministers say **these kind of things**.

(Hansard, 5 September 2013)

- (8) Will my noble friend take back to her colleagues the possibility of further work under the integration strategy to ensure that **these kinds of opinion** held in the country are pushed back by views within government?

(Hansard, 15 March 2017)

In (7), there is number agreement between the determiner and the N2, *these ... things*, but not between the determiner and the species noun, *these kind*, nor between the

¹¹ See Kelly (2013) and Caruso et al. (2015) for comments on the making of the Hansard record in the UK and Canada, respectively.

¹² The selection of examples from Hansard will be explained in §2.2. All references to Hansard in this study refer to the United Kingdom.

species noun and the N2, *kind ... things*. In (8), there is number agreement between the determiner and the species noun, *these kinds*, but not between either of those and the N2, *these kinds ... opinion*.

These examples are all from modern times, and the advice from the usage guides above is also taken from modern guides, but number agreement in the species noun phrase, although not specifically referred to in those terms, can be found in the usage guides across the whole period of the HUGE database, from 1770 to 2010, and beyond. Here, I will give just one example from each century. Robert Baker's *Reflections on the English Language*, first published in 1770, is often regarded as the first English usage guide (see e.g. Leonard, 1929, p. 35; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2020, p. 21), and in his second edition of 1779 Baker includes the following entry:¹³

THESE (or *those*) sort of men.—These (or *those*) kind of people.
 One would think this way of speaking must be insufferable to an ear of any delicacy: yet we have many approved authors, who take no care to avoid it.
 ... *Men of this sort* ... is ... much less inelegant ... and what should hinder him from saying *this sort of men*? ...
 (Baker, 1779, pp. 99–100)

In the nineteenth century, Henry Alford, in his *The Queen's English*, published in 1864 and sometimes taken to be the start of the usage guide tradition proper in Britain (see e.g. Busse, 2015) proclaims:

I mean the expression "*these*" or "*those kind of things*." Of course we all see that this is incorrect and indefensible. We ought to say "*this kind of things*," "*that kind of things*."
 (Alford, 1864, pp. 69–70)

In a book that straddles the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, we have Alfred Ayres, in the second edition of his *The Verbalist*, published in 1911 (first edition 1881), commenting:

"*Those kind of apples are best*": read, "*That kind of apples is best*." It is truly remarkable that many persons who can justly lay claim to the possession of considerable culture use this barbarous combination. ...
 A plural pronoun [i.e. determiner] and a singular noun do not go well together.
 (Ayres, 1911, p. 297)

Here, Ayres, although again focusing on the number agreement between the plural determiner *those* and the singular species noun *kind*, adds another constituent to the usage problem by including the verb – *are / is* – in the scope of the number agreement, as also seen in examples (2) and (3) above. In the twenty-first century, in the fifth

¹³ In his first edition Baker included a different problem concerning *these sorts of goods*, which I discuss in §3.4.3.

edition of his *Garner's Modern English Usage*, published in 2022,¹⁴ Bryan Garner writes:

***these kind of; *these type of; *these sort of.** These illogical forms were not uncommon in the 1600s and early 1700s, but by the mid-1700s they had been stigmatized. Today they brand the speaker or writer as slovenly. ... Of course, it's perfectly acceptable to write *these kinds* or *these types* or *these sorts*, as many writers conscientiously do ...
(Garner, 2022, p. 1094)

Note that none of these usage guides focuses on number agreement that includes the second noun (N2), as seen in examples (3), (4), (6), (7), and (8) above. This topic is explored in detail in Chapter 3.

Whilst both Biber et al.'s modern reference grammar and the modern usage guide writers quoted above show similar variant usages, and all describe how different variants may be appropriate in different contexts, it is only the usage guide writers who also evaluate or pass judgement on the different variants: "insufferable to an ear of any delicacy" (Baker, 1779, p. 99); "incorrect and indefensible" (Alford, 1864, p. 69); "this barbarous combination" (Ayres, 1911, p. 297); and "slovenly" (Garner, 2022, p. 1094). These comments take us to the nub of another topic that will recur throughout this study: that of 'value', particularly in relation to judgements being made on the variant usages described, and sometimes on the people who use them, as seen in the quotations from the usage guides above. John Joseph (1987) comments on this in a discussion of the role of education in the maintenance of the standard language, which also echoes the comment made by Finegan above:

The awareness of variants seems inevitably to be accompanied by value judgment. For any number of possible reasons, wherever variants are in competition, one will always be preferred to the other, creating hierarchies which it is the task of language education to inculcate. The canonical form of such education is 'Say *x*, not *y*'.
(Joseph, 1987, p. 16)

Joseph sees differences in the use of value between the usage guide writers and modern grammarians such as Biber et al. He notes that the latter see themselves as part of the tradition of scientific linguistics which, since the early nineteenth century, has "undertake[n] the study of [language] forms without regard to their position on the value hierarchy" (Joseph, 1987, p. 17). In short, they see themselves as "'descriptive,' as against the 'prescriptive' stance which had always characterized the bulk of language study" (1987, p. 17). For Joseph, this is wrong. He continues:

¹⁴ This usage guide was not included in the HUGE database because of its later publication date, but I have included it in my study as the first edition of 1998, then titled *A Dictionary of Modern American English*, is included in HUGE and has a broadly similar approach. I discuss the wider scope of my research into usage guides in §3.2.

The prescriptive–descriptive dichotomy – or better, continuum – reduces essentially to the matter of conscious value judgment. Unfortunately, even if one takes great pains to write a descriptive grammar, readers may impose a prescriptive interpretation on it.

(Joseph, 1987, p. 18)

Deborah Cameron has noted that “[t]his overriding concern with value is the most significant characteristic that separates lay discourse on language from the expert discourse of linguists” (1995, p. x).¹⁵ She adds that “the term ‘prescriptivism’ has a particular value attached to it, a negative connotation that is almost impossible to avoid” (1995, p. 3). More recently, Jacob Rawlins and Don Chapman have questioned this conflict of prescriptivism versus descriptivism as an “untenable binary” or a “false binary” (2020, p. 5), and Joseph has characterised anti-prescriptivism as a “relic of purifying tendencies that we think we have generally moved beyond”, and calls upon his fellow linguists “to recognize our own covert prescriptivism” (2020, p. 28). Cameron (1995, p. 6) has described “the standard notion of linguistic rules as ‘descriptive’ – crudely, ‘natural’ rather than normative – [as] either disingenuous or ... a category mistake”. Here, I take ‘category mistake’ to mean that the idea that ‘descriptivism’ and ‘prescriptivism’ can be used to label two distinct approaches to language study is a serious error, as they are in practice inseparably intertwined, or form a continuum, as seen by Joseph (1987, p. 18; see also Beal, 2004, p. 90, and Straaijer, 2011, p. 262). This is a view that had already been expressed most succinctly by Leonard Palmer: “All descriptions are devised for use; all are in fact ‘prescriptive’” (1972, p. 72, fn. 1). The tensions of this false binary will recur throughout this study.

In another modern reference grammar, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985), Quirk et al. refer to the “general prescriptive tradition” that applies to “formal writing” and that is “embodied ... in usage guides for the general public” (1985, p. 14), and this view of usage guide writers is typical of modern grammarians and linguists (see e.g. Horobin, 2016, Chapter 3; Rankin and Whong, 2020, pp. 81–89). However, this is not necessarily the view that the usage guide writers had of themselves, as I show in Chapter 3.

1.3 The current study

In this study, I investigate the usage of the variant forms of the species noun phrase from a number of different perspectives. I start by looking at how the species noun phrase is described in three modern reference grammars (Chapter 2): Quirk et al.’s *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985),¹⁶ Biber et al.’s *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (1999), and Huddleston and Pullum’s

¹⁵ I show in §3.3 that not all usage guide writers fit into this category of lay people.

¹⁶ In the interests of full disclosure, I was the copy-editor for this grammar.

The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language (2002). These three grammars essentially see the different usages of the species noun phrase as being variants appropriate for different registers, with number agreement between the constituents being the norm for formal writing.

In Chapter 2 I also investigate a number of theoretical approaches which try to account for differences in usage by positing different meanings with different grammatical analyses for the different variants. The first of these approaches takes a diachronic, or historical, view which sees *kind of* in *these kind of N2* not as a noun followed by a preposition, but rather as a particle that has gradually become grammaticalised over time and which thus functions as a post-determiner, i.e. it follows a determiner (*these*) whilst still pre-modifying the N2, and as such has no impact on the number of the preceding determiner or of the following N2. The species noun itself thus cannot function as the head of the noun phrase, and it is the head which would typically determine the number marking of any determiners and of the verb. The determiner and the N2 can therefore show number agreement, and the N2, as head of the noun phrase, can control the number of any verb (see e.g. Denison, 2002, 2005; De Smedt, Brems and Davidse, 2007; Brems and Davidse, 2010; Brems, 2011). Within this analysis, *these kinds of* and *these kind of* are treated not as variant structures but as different structures with different referential meaning in terms of their pragmatic and discourse functions.

A second approach also focuses on the notion of the ‘headedness’ of the species noun phrase, returning to the analysis of DET + SN + *of* + N2. This analysis, however, does not see the species noun as the necessary head of the noun phrase with a following prepositional phrase – *of* + N2 – and thus as controlling or determining number agreement between the determiner and the species noun, along with any following verb. Instead, this approach sees the species noun phrase as a complex or ‘double-headed’ noun phrase, where either the species noun or the N2 can function as the head, and can therefore determine the grammatical number of the noun phrase as a whole, depending on the relative syntactic or lexico-semantic ‘weight’ attached to each of the two nouns (see e.g. Keizer, 2007, Chapter 7; Brems, 2011, Chapter 6).

A third approach sees *these kinds of* and *these kind of* not as variants but as different syntactic structures with different syntactic derivations. In this approach, *kind* in *these kind of* includes a marker on its lexical entry which means that, unlike a noun which is not so marked, it is not assigned the same number value as the determiner and the N2 and is thus not subject to the agreement operation in its derivation (see e.g. Klockmann, 2017a). This analysis makes the species noun a ‘numberless’ noun. In contrast, in the syntactic derivation of *these kinds of*, both *these* and *kinds* (strictly, *this* and *kind*) would not have the numberless marker in their lexical entries, and so would be subject to any agreement operation in their syntactic derivations. These

different derivations are taken to give the two structures different meanings. These various analyses should be particularly helpful in the discussion of the corpus analysis in Chapter 5. Chapter 2 thus presents the views of the linguists.

In Chapter 3, I investigate the treatment of the species noun phrase in the usage guides in the HUGE database, with some additions, as noted above. In this investigation, I generally follow the set of questions raised by Robin Straaijer, who built the database, and who suggests how it might be used:

One aspect of usage problems about which we have questions is their individual histories. *When does a certain usage become problematic, or perceived as such, and when does a certain usage stop being (perceived as) problematic or disputed?* In other words, when do usage problems ‘begin’ and ‘end’? *And which usage problems persist?* Another aspect is the discussion of usage problems in usage guides. Questions are: *Does the discussion of specific usage problems change, and if so, in what way? And are there differences in usage advice for different varieties of English?*

(Straaijer, 2015, p. 2)

Straaijer also asks: “*Why do these things happen? And what is the role of usage guides in these processes?*” (2015, p. 2). These last two questions are more complex, and I return to them in my discussion in Chapter 6. I showed above that the topic of number agreement in the species noun phrase features in usage guides from 1770 to 2022. Of the seventy-seven guides in the HUGE database, forty-seven of them include an entry on the species noun phrase. However, the fact that a usage issue persists in the usage guides does not in itself mean that it is always treated in the same manner, or even that exactly the same aspect of the problem as a whole is highlighted. My analysis of the different entries in the guides is broadly based on Edmund Weiner’s (1988, p. 178) tripartite division of a typical usage guide entry into exemplification, explanation and recommendation, to which I add the notion of value discussed above. As part of this investigation, I analyse the recommendations of the usage guides in order to address Straaijer’s final question: *And are there differences in usage advice for different varieties of English?* Chapter 3 thus includes a discussion of whether there are discernible differences between the British and the American usage guides, the only two varieties systematically collected for the HUGE database, as well as an investigation of any register differences in the recommendations. Having addressed these questions, I then move on to an analysis of whether the treatment of the topic changes over the period of study (1770–2010), i.e. Straaijer’s *Does the discussion of specific usage problems change, and if so, in what way?*

Throughout the period studied, my focus is on the grammar of the species noun phrase, rather than on its meaning. This is the starting point for an investigation into the rationale behind the recommendations of the usage guide writers, and in particular into how they see the role of grammar and the grammarians, and how they see the

relationship between grammar and usage. This includes a discussion of how the usage guide writers themselves understand the notion of prescriptivism, i.e. whether they see themselves as part of Quirk et al.'s "general prescriptive tradition" (1985, p. 14), as mentioned above. Part of this discussion involves whether, as suggested by Pam Peters (2020, p. 616) "[t]he lack of lateral referencing in many usage books ... suggests their remoteness from linguistic research and scholarship, and a reluctance to refer even to the work of other usage commentators". This addresses the comments made above about the innate prescriptivism of the usage guide writers. Chapter 3 thus presents the views of the prescriptivists.

In Chapter 4, I present the results of a survey into attitudes to number variation in the species noun phrase, as shown by a group of people who responded to an online poll using Qualtrics Online Survey Software, between December 2016 and July 2017. I start this chapter by presenting a brief historical sketch of the major surveys of English usage, both in the United States (e.g. Leonard, 1932) and in the United Kingdom (e.g. Mittins et al., 1970), and of the BTU surveys from the second decade of the twenty-first century (e.g. Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2013, 2018, 2020; Ebner, 2017; Kostadinova, 2018a; Lukač, 2018a). I then describe in detail the current survey, including a discussion of two of its more distinctive features: the presentation of the examples in context, and the use of highlighting to identify the feature of interest.

The previous surveys from each of the three periods identified here (1930s, 1960s, 2010s) all include attitudes to number agreement in the species noun phrase. Just as the analysis of the usage guides between 1770 and 2010 enables me to address Straaijer's question of whether the discussion of the species noun phrase in the usage guides changed over time, so in this chapter I investigate whether public attitudes to number agreement in the species noun phrase have changed over time. This also allows me to consider whether the survey respondents have become more accepting of variation over time, as suggested by Christian Mair in his *Twentieth-Century English: History, Variation and Standardization* (2006, §6.2, pp. 183–193).

The survey conducted for the current study is, I believe, unique in that it focuses on only one usage problem (number agreement in the species noun phrase) in only one register (academic writing), in twelve different examples. The use of a substantial language context for the examples (as in example (4) above), rather than a single sentence, as in previous surveys, allows me to test not only whether the respondents found particular usage variations acceptable, but also whether their acceptance of the variation might itself be influenced by the larger context in which it appears. Whilst it can be fairly said that being asked a similar question twelve times does tend to reveal the respondents' boredom threshold, I was hoping that it would lead to some responses which might be seen to vary as the contextual influences on the usage in question vary. Chapter 4 thus presents the views of the first group of the general public.

In my corpus analysis in Chapter 5, I set out to investigate whether the authors in the Stenton Corpus used or avoided the variant structures described in the usage guides (Chapter 3) and in the grammars (Chapter 2). The Stenton Corpus consists of about 12.5 million words of unedited English manuscripts accepted by six academic journals published by Cambridge University Press between 2006 and 2016. In all, the corpus consists of 1,031 papers, written by 1,657 different authors. For some of the analyses the corpus was divided into two separate sub-corpora, one for Law and one for Language, and this enabled the investigation of any sub-register differences.

What differentiates the Stenton Corpus from other corpora of written English currently available is that the papers included in it have not been copy-edited, and they thus represent the usage choices of those 1,657 authors, and not the choices of a much smaller number of copy-editors. Another feature of the corpus is that it does not represent a single regional variety of English. The 1,657 authors were based in fifty-nine different countries at the time of writing, and would have comprised a mix of native and non-native users, writing at a high level of proficiency. I therefore regard the corpus as representing ‘International Academic English’.

For the corpus analysis I generated a series of concordances, i.e. a “display of every instance of a specified word or other search term together with a given amount of preceding and following context” (McEnery and Hardie, 2012, p. 241), to yield all the examples of the species noun phrase, and then sorted and analysed them by working through the concordances, rather than by statistical analyses. In all concordances I looked for two types of prescribed examples: e.g. *this type of error* and *these types of errors*. I also wanted to investigate whether the authors in the Stenton Corpus avoid the variant usage *these kind of error(s)*, as proscribed by the usage guides, or whether, as described by Denison (2002), Keizer (2007), Davidse et al. (e.g. 2008), and Klockmann (2017a), they regard *these kinds of errors* and *these kind of errors* as different structures with different meanings and/or functions. Also investigated is whether, as mentioned by both the usage guides and the reference grammars, the authors make use of the *errors of this kind* variant to avoid a number mismatch in the species noun phrase and in the clause of which it is a constituent.

In the course of this analysis I found a candidate for a further variant of the species noun phrase, not covered in the usage guides or in the grammars: *this error type* and *these error types*. This variant was found in sufficient numbers to be included in the analysis. The identification and inclusion of this further variant allowed me to investigate a broader range of options for number marking in the species noun phrase. Chapter 5 thus presents the views of the second group of the general public.

In my discussion in Chapter 6, I will draw my conclusions on the use of the species noun phrase in International Academic English, based on my analyses of the linguists, the prescriptivists, and the general public, bringing together and commenting on

common threads and themes that have appeared throughout Chapters 2 to 5. I also reflect on some aspects of the study that with hindsight I would have undertaken differently, and on research topics that remain outstanding.

2 The species noun phrase

2.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1, I introduced the variant structures of the species noun phrase, e.g. *these kinds of errors*, *this kind of error*. In this chapter, I will expand the description of those variants, initially with reference to three modern reference grammars: *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985), by Quirk et al.; the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (1999) by Biber et al.; and *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (2002) by Huddleston and Pullum. I start by outlining the variant structures that they discuss, using examples drawn from the Hansard Corpus (§2.2), first those showing number agreement within the species noun phrase (§2.2.1), and then those showing number agreement between the species noun phrase functioning as subject within its clause and the verb of that clause (§2.2.2). Section 2.3 begins with a brief description of the corpora used as evidence by the three grammars, before moving on to how the grammars describe the species noun phrase variants, most of which show number agreement both within the species noun phrase (§2.3.1) and between the species noun phrase and the verb (§2.3.2). Section 2.3.3 addresses those variants where there seems to be a mismatch in number between the species noun and the verb. This section also introduces the concepts of the proximity principle and notional concord, which leads to a discussion of which of the two nouns in the species noun phrase functions as its head, and the implications of this headedness for number agreement with the verb. In the final section of this part of the chapter, I review the status of the one component of the species noun phrase that cannot be marked for number – the preposition *of* (§2.3.4) – and introduce an analysis which depicts *kind of* in e.g. *these kind of N2* not as a species noun followed by a prepositional phrase, but as a post-determiner, with the determiner *these* then agreeing in number with the N2.

Having reviewed the descriptions of the species noun phrase in the three reference grammars, I then introduce a number of theoretical analyses from Denison (e.g. 1998), Keizer (e.g. 2007), Davidse and colleagues (e.g. Davidse et al., 2008), and Klockmann (e.g. 2017a), all of which include the post-determiner analysis introduced in §2.3.4. These analyses describe the species noun phrase in much the same way as the grammars, but adopt a different approach to the anomalous *these kind of errors*. Denison (§2.4.1) introduces a post-determiner analysis for the species noun phrase to account for what he calls this ‘number incongruence’ between the determiner and the species noun. Keizer (§2.4.2) adopts Denison’s post-determiner analysis, but then

reconfigures it as a sub-set of the standard analysis with the prepositional phrase. Davidse and colleagues (§2.4.3) extend, in particular, Denison’s post-determiner analysis, but justify it differently, and include not only number incongruence but also number agreement, by introducing a semantic and pragmatic analysis. Finally, Klockmann (§2.4.4) introduces an analysis which distinguishes between those species nouns which are marked for number, either singular or plural, and those which she characterises as ‘numberless’. These analyses are then given a brief historical context from Curme (1931) (§2.4.5). The chapter concludes with a summary of these various analyses, which will be used throughout the rest of this study, and especially in the corpus analysis in Chapter 5.

2.2 Variation in the species noun phrase

I have already shown in §1.2 that usage guide writers prefer the use of some of the variant forms of the species noun phrase over others. For example, they prefer the use of *these kinds of N2* over *these kind of N2*. I present the views of the usage guide writers in detail in Chapter 3, but I start here by looking at what variation actually exists, i.e. at what variants of the species noun phrase are in use (and see the comments on this by Ilson in §1.2). To do this, I drew on the Hansard Corpus. Hansard is a printed, and more recently presented online, record of all speeches made by Members of Parliament (MPs) and peers in the UK Parliament from 1803 onwards, and I chose it for my analyses because it provides a good mix of adult native and non-native speakers, who often speak from notes or scripts, and whose speeches are edited for the record with only a very light touch (see Kelly, 2013; and see Caruso et al., 2015, on the Canadian Hansard).¹ In short, Hansard provides the language (speech/writing) habits of a large number of people in a relatively formal setting over a long period of time. In 2022, there were 650 MPs eligible to speak in the House of Commons,² and 771 peers in the House of Lords.³ Hansard can thus potentially provide many examples of variant usage of predominantly British English, and can therefore either contribute to or confirm the list of the variants I searched for in the formal register of academic English that makes up the Stenton Corpus (see Chapter 5). This use of Hansard is also practised by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2020; see especially p. 123). The Hansard Corpus is hosted at Brigham Young University in Utah, and contains 1.6 billion words, from 1803 to 2005.⁴ The later examples used in this chapter were

1 And see <<https://hansard.parliament.uk/about>> (last accessed 12 September 2022).

2 See <<https://members.parliament.uk/parties/Commons>> (last accessed 2 September 2022).

3 See <<https://www.statista.com/statistics/877665/house-of-lords-members-by-political-party/>> (last accessed 2 September 2022).

4 See <<https://corpus.byu.edu/>> (last accessed 23 August 2022).

searched directly on the Hansard website.⁵ In this chapter, all references to Hansard relate only to the United Kingdom.

2.2.1 Number agreement within the species noun phrase

Hansard provides examples in which number agreement within the species noun phrase is maintained throughout the phrase, with singular agreement shown in (1) and plural agreement in (2):

- (1) Schools cannot release teachers for **this kind of activity**, because they cannot afford the cover required in the classroom.
(Hansard, 10 December 2013)
- (2) The immigration and asylum chambers of the First-tier Tribunal and the Upper Tribunal have been set up specifically to deal with **these kinds of matters**.
(Hansard, 4 July 2012)

Typically, the species noun phrase (highlighted in bold in the examples) contains a noun (in (1) an N1/species noun (SN): *kind*) preceded by a determiner (DET: *this*) and followed by a prepositional phrase (PP: *of activity*), the PP itself consisting of a preposition (P: *of*)⁶ followed by a second noun (N2: *activity*). In (2) the SN (*kinds*) is plural, as is the preceding DET (*these*), whilst the following PP (*of matters*) also includes a plural N2 (*matters*). Similar examples can be found which include the species nouns *sort* (3) and *type* (4):

- (3) We should not let **these sorts of events** defeat us: France is a beautiful country that many people want – and will continue to want – to visit, and we should not be cowed by **these sorts of threats**.
(Hansard, 18 July 2016)
- (4) My Lords, will the noble Earl give us an assurance that in future when **this type of event** occurs, the Government will publish what has happened so that there is no confusion?
(Hansard, 18 July 2016)

In both examples there is number agreement throughout the species noun phrase: plural in the two species noun phrases in (3) and singular in (4). Examples of the species noun phrase can also be found with the determiners *that* (5) and *those* (6):

⁵ See <<https://hansard.parliament.uk>> (last accessed 23 August 2022).

⁶ This analysis of *of* as a preposition will be challenged in §2.3.4 below.

- (5) We do not hear that very often in this Chamber; I welcome **that kind of intervention**.

(Hansard, 4 November 2016)

- (6) Too often, under the current legislation, people who get into **those sorts of difficulties** or experience **those sorts of events** do not know who to turn to – the local authority, the citizens advice bureau, a friend or even the local MP.

(Hansard, 18 January 2017)

Once again, these examples show number agreement throughout the species noun phrase: singular in (5) and plural in the two species noun phrases in (6). These six examples demonstrate the basic, or canonical, patterns of number realisation within the species noun phrase, as approved of by the usage guides quoted in Chapter 1 and described more fully in Chapter 3.

However, not all the species noun phrases found in Hansard demonstrate this kind of number agreement throughout the phrase. Examples can be found where the determiner and the species noun do not show number agreement, but where the determiner and the N2 do show such agreement, as in (7):

- (7) I often hear Ministers say **these kind of things**.

(Hansard, 5 September 2013)

In (7), the DET *these* and the N2 *things* are marked for plural, whilst the SN *kind* remains singular, or unmarked for number.⁷ This is the kind of example that the usage guide writers who were cited in §1.2 find “insufferable” (Baker, 1779, p. 99) or “illogical” (Garner, 2022, p. 1094). Further examples which do not show number agreement throughout the species noun phrase are shown in (8) and (9):

- (8) Is not the right hon: and gallant Gentleman aware that a Government publication has drawn attention to **this kind of things**; and does he not consider that something more might have been done to prevent the swindling of the labour population?

(Hansard, 4 October 1944)

- (9) However, I rather feel that in this case we might perhaps be considering some kind of way in which perhaps the senior members of the relevant committee of the European Parliament should from time to time be in dialogue with the

⁷ The use of the terms ‘singular’, ‘plural’ and ‘unmarked’ will be discussed below. Note that Klockmann (2017a, p. 298) refers to “the expression of plurality, singularity, and numberlessness on kind-words and N2s”; and see §2.4.4 below.

Select Committees of another place in order precisely to discuss **these kinds of problem**, where the competences are divided but are extremely important.

(Hansard, 27 January 1986)

In (8) the DET *this* and the SN *kind* are both singular but the N2 *things* is marked for plural. In contrast, example (9) includes a plural DET *these* and SN *kinds* with a singular N2 *problem*.

2.2.2 Number agreement beyond the species noun phrase

The potential for number agreement is not, however, restricted to within the species noun phrase. When the species noun phrase functions as the subject of a clause, then the verb in that clause can also show number marking. Example (4), repeated here as (10), and example (11) show singular and plural agreement, respectively:

(10) My Lords, will the noble Earl give us an assurance that in future when **this type of event occurs**, the Government will publish what has happened so that there is no confusion?

(Hansard, 18 July 2016)

(11) Are we quite sure, therefore, that it is safe at this stage to assume that we ourselves are free from blame for tolerating for so long a climate of opinion within which **these kinds of events** – and there are many others – **have occurred**?

(Hansard, 4 July 2000)

In both (10) and (11) the verbs can potentially show either singular or plural number: *occurs/occur* and *has occurred/have occurred*, but in both examples the number marking of the verb matches that of the species noun phrase. Also, in both examples all the words in the species noun phrase which can be marked for number are either singular (*this, type, event* in (11)) or plural (*these, kinds, events* in (12)). But the Hansard Corpus also provides examples where this number agreement is not evident, as in (12):

(12) Given that Ebola vaccines are unlikely to be ready at scale before April and that in the meantime millions could have been infected, does the Minister agree that **these kind of military contributions are** absolutely vital?

(Hansard, 20 October 2014)

In (12) there is plural marking on the DET *these*, the N2 (*military*) *contributions*, and the V *are*, but the SN *kind* remains singular. This is similar to example (7) above, but

with the addition of verb agreement with the species noun phrase subject. Precisely which part of the subject the verb agrees with is discussed below (§§2.3.2–2.3.4).

It should be noted here that there are many verb forms which are not marked for number, and so the issue of agreement with a species noun phrase subject does not always arise. For example, past tense verbs are not marked for number: *this kind of thing **happened**/these kinds of things **happened***. Similarly, modal verbs are not marked for number: *this kind of thing **can** happen/these kinds of things **can** happen*.

Summary

The species noun phrase has a number of variant forms. It can show: number agreement throughout, either singular or plural (examples 1–6); number agreement between the determiner and the N2, but not with the species noun (7); number agreement between the determiner and the species noun, but not with the N2 (8–9); number agreement between the species noun and a verb (10–11); and number agreement between the determiner, the N2 and the verb, but not with the species noun itself (12). In the following sections I look at how this variation is described in three modern reference grammars (§2.3) and in a small number of theoretical analyses (§2.4).

2.3 The modern reference grammars

The three reference grammars used in this study are all, at least in part, corpus-based, and a note on the corpora used will be helpful both here and in the discussion of the Stenton Corpus in Chapter 5, especially as that corpus is restricted to just one formal register: academic English. Quirk et al. (1985) “have ... drawn on ... several important corpora, preeminently: (a) the corpus of the Survey of English Usage (SEU) ... (b) the Brown University corpus ... [and] (c) the ... Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen corpus (LOB)” (1985, p. 33). The SEU was compiled between 1955 and 1985 and contains one million words of “both written and spoken English ... sampling them in a range of genres and contexts” (McEnery and Hardie, 2012, p. 74); the Brown Corpus contains one million words of written text from fifteen categories of American English from 1961 (2012, pp. 9, 97–98); and the LOB corpus data also dates from 1961 and is again one million words in size, from fifteen categories of written British English, and was designed to mirror the Brown Corpus (2012, pp. 9–10, 97–98).

Biber et al. (1999) used the Longman Spoken and Written English (LSWE) Corpus, which contains “over 40 million words of text ... focusing on the four registers of conversation, fiction, news, and academic prose” (1999, p. 24).⁸ Huddleston and Pullum (2002) made use of “the Brown corpus ... the Lancaster/Oslo/Bergen (LOB)

⁸ These registers are abbreviated as CONV, FICT, NEWS and ACAD in the examples; † indicates a truncated example.

corpus ... the Australian Corpus of English (ACE); and the *Wall Street Journal* corpus” (2002, p. 11, fn. 3). ACE, they explain, “matches the Brown and LOB corpora in most aspects of its structure and constituency”⁹ but with data from 1986, and the *Wall Street Journal* corpus contains thirty million words from the period 1987 to 1989.¹⁰

2.3.1 Number agreement within the species noun phrase

The system of number in the English noun phrase presents what is essentially a very simple contrast, that between singular and plural: “The English number system constitutes a two-term contrast: SINGULAR, which denotes ‘one’, and PLURAL, which denotes ‘more than one’. Each noun phrase is either singular or plural” (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 297). Quirk et al. define number agreement as “the relationship between two grammatical units such that one of them displays a particular feature (eg plurality) that accords with a displayed (or semantically implicit) feature in the other” (1985, p. 755), i.e. *this kind* and *these kinds* show number agreement, as seen in examples (1) and (2) above, whilst *these kind*, as seen in example (7) and *this kinds* do not.¹¹ However, this apparent simplicity of singular and plural agreement is immediately complicated by the fact that the species noun phrase contains two nouns, e.g. *kinds* and *matters* in (2). Examples (8) and (9) above show different number marking on the two nouns: *this kind of things* in (8) and *these kinds of problem* in (9). In both examples, the determiners and the species nouns show the same number marking, singular in (8) and plural in (9), but both examples show different number marking on the N2: plural in (8) and singular in (9). Similarly, in *these kind of things* in (7), the N2 *things* carries the same plural number marking as the determiner *these*, but the species noun *kind* is singular. For Quirk et al. it is the species noun that determines the number of the species noun phrase (and see §2.3.3 below), whilst the number of the N2 in the dependent prepositional phrase remains unaffected.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 352) note that “[r]estrictions on the combination of elements within an NP that have to do with number are of two kinds, **agreement** and **selection**” (I will not be dealing with selection, e.g. *one doctor* vs. *two doctors*, in this study), as shown in example (13):

- (13) i a. this book / *this books b. these books / *these book¹²
 (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002, p. 352)

9 See <<http://www.hit.uib.no/icame/ace/aceman.htm#cod>> (last accessed 6 August 2018).

10 See <<https://catalog.ldc.upenn.edu/LDC2000T43>> (last accessed 6 August 2018).

11 The only example of *this kinds* that I found in Hansard was in the phrase “pests of this kinds” (12 March 1917).

12 The asterisk denotes an ungrammatical string.

Huddleston and Pullum note that “there is agreement in [(13)] because *this* and *these* are inflectional forms of a single lexeme *this*: the agreement rule requires the singular form *this* [i.e. with *book*] ..., and the plural form *these* [i.e. with *books*]” (2002, p. 352). For Huddleston and Pullum, then, it is also the noun which determines number marking in the noun phrase. It is this agreement rule that underlies the comments expressed in the quotations from the usage guides cited in §1.2. All the Hansard examples listed above follow this number agreement rule, apart from (7) and (12). However, as noted above, this agreement rule relies on an analysis of the species noun phrase as determiner + species noun + prepositional phrase, with the N2 in the prepositional phrase thereby falling outside the scope of the number determination of the species noun, which determines number only within the noun phrase itself.

Biber et al. (1999) also present a number of examples which follow Huddleston and Pullum’s agreement rule, but they extend the scope of the rule to include the N2, noting that “[s]pecies nouns combine with countable as well as uncountable nouns. With countable nouns there tends to be agreement in number between the species noun and the following noun [i.e. the N2] (e.g. *that kind of thing* v. *all kinds of things*)” (1999, p. 255). This suggests that the determiner, the species noun and the N2 tend to agree in number, as shown in examples (1) to (6) above. But Biber et al. continue: “we also find singular species nouns combining with a following plural noun [i.e. (14)] and plural species nouns combining with a following singular noun [i.e. (15)]” (1999, p. 255):

- (14) I mean, do we want **these kind of people** in our team? (CONV)
- (15) For **these kinds of question** it is necessary that the marked cell populations differ in the expression of the gene. (ACAD†)
- (Biber et al., 1999, pp. 255–256)

Examples (14) and (15) are similar to the Hansard examples (7) and (9) above. But example (14), with its plural determiner and singular species noun, breaks Huddleston and Pullum’s agreement rule in a way that (15) does not. Biber et al. explain this by saying that “[t]here is a close relationship between species nouns and determiners. Singular countable nouns appear to behave like uncountables in these expressions. The determiner preceding the species noun occasionally agrees with the noun in the *of*-phrase [i.e. the N2] rather than with the species noun (as in *these kind of people*)” (1999, p. 256). It should be noted, however, that example (14) is from the conversation part of their corpus, i.e. a less formal register than the academic, which provided example (15). Quirk et al. (1985, p. 249) also note that there tends to be number agreement between the species noun and the N2 if both are countable, but not

if the N2 is uncountable. We are not given any context for example (15), but a similar example can be found in Hansard:

- (16) The hon. Lady asks the right **questions**, and the point of the debate is precisely to flush out **these kinds of question**.
(Hansard 14 May 2019)

The use of plural *questions* earlier in the sentence in (16) might suggest that we are indeed looking at a singular countable use of *question* in the species noun phrase, so (15) (and, of course, (16)) remains a problem for the analyses as given so far.

2.3.2 Number agreement beyond the species noun phrase

As I have shown in §2.2.2 above, number agreement is not restricted to within the (species) noun phrase. Quirk et al. also describe number agreement beyond the noun phrase, and note that “[t]he most important type of concord in English is concord of 3rd person number between subject and verb. The normally observed rule is very simple: [a] singular subject requires a singular verb ... [a] plural subject requires a plural verb” (1985, p. 755).¹³ This is the number agreement shown in examples (10), *this type of event occurs*, and (11), *these kinds of events ... have occurred*. The rule does not, however, account for example (12), *these kind of military contributions are*, unless we adopt the Biber et al. re-classification of *kind* as uncountable, in which case Quirk et al.’s rule holds. However, it is still not possible to say, on the basis of these examples, which of the two nouns in the species noun phrase determines the number of the verb.

Quirk et al. themselves (1985, pp. 764–765), however, regard examples such as (12) as both “informal” and “an idiomatic anomaly”. They consider the similar example (17):

- (17) These/Those sort/kind/type of parties *are* dangerous.
(Quirk et al., 1985, p. 764)

They explain this as “a discrepancy in number between the noun [i.e. the SN] and the determiner *those*, as well as with the verb. Rephrasing can avoid the anomaly” (1985, p. 765), and they list three options:

- (18) Those kinds of parties *are* dangerous.
(19) That kind of party *is* dangerous.

¹³ Baker (2013, p. 607) points out that ‘concord’ is sometimes used for number agreement within the noun phrase, and ‘agreement’ for number agreement that shows up on verbs. As I will be discussing both aspects in this study I will use ‘agreement’ throughout.

- (20) Parties of that kind *are* dangerous.
(Quirk et al., 1985, p. 765)

Examples (18) and (19) resolve the anomaly by adopting number agreement throughout, whilst (20) accommodates the different number marking on the N2 (here *Parties*) and the species noun by moving the species noun to a (dependent) prepositional phrase, *of that kind*, leaving the verb to agree with the only candidate for the subject noun, *Parties*. However, although Quirk et al. find example (17) anomalous, they do offer an explanation for it, and this is presented in the following section.

2.3.3 Number agreement, the proximity principle, and headedness

One of the reasons that Quirk et al. (1985, pp. 764–765) find *These/Those sort/kind/type of parties are dangerous* anomalous derives from their traditional analysis of the species noun phrase, as noted above. They regard it as a noun phrase – *These/Those sort/kind/type* – followed by a prepositional phrase *of parties*, with *sort/kind/type* accordingly being the head of the noun phrase, which importantly, as head, “dictates concord with other parts of the sentence” (1985, p. 1238), including the number of the verb (1985, p. 755). It is this approach which makes the analysis of *Parties of that kind are dangerous* straightforward, as plural *Parties* must be the head of the subject noun phrase, as it determines the plural number agreement with the verb (*are*). However, even though Quirk et al. find *These/Those sort/kind/type of parties are dangerous* anomalous, they do have an explanation for it. This involves the ancillary concept of “notional concord” as being determined by what they call the “principle of proximity” (1985, p. 757). This proximity principle can best be illustrated with an example from a language journal manuscript that I copy-edited (see §1.1), albeit one that is not included in the Stenton Corpus, as it dates from 2018:¹⁴

- (21) Each trial consisted of a salience phase, a centering, and a naming phase (illustrated in Figure 1). In the salience phase, **a pair of target and distractor pictures were simultaneously presented** on a gray background for 3000 ms. In order to reorient the children towards the center of the screen, a flashing red star was presented thereon for 1000 ms during the centering phase. In the naming phase, **the same pair of pictures as in the salience phase was presented** again for 3000 ms and was accompanied by an auditory label.
(JCL_1800025)

In (21), there are two parallel and very similar phrases, shown in bold. The structural analysis of the second string is straightforward:

¹⁴ The manuscripts comprising the Stenton Corpus date from 2006 to 2016 (see §5.2).

(22) [_{NP}the same pair [of pictures] [as in the salience phase]] [_{VP}was presented]

In (22), singular *pair*, as head of the subject noun phrase (*the same pair of pictures as in the salience phase*), determines the singular verb in the verb phrase (*was presented*). The first string is, however, in Quirk et al.'s terms, anomalous:

(23) [_{NP}a pair [of target and distractor pictures]] [_{VP}were simultaneously presented]

In (23), singular *pair* is again head of the subject noun phrase, but this time 'determines' a plural verb: *were ... presented*. The explanation given by Quirk et al. for the type of structure in (23) is that the plural number of the verb is influenced, not by the singular subject noun *pair*, but by the plural noun (N2) *pictures* (part of the prepositional phrase *of target and distractor pictures*), because of its proximity, and that this proximity overrides the number of the head noun. There is no such issue with the other structure (22), as the proximate noun, *phase*, is itself singular.

Biber et al. (1999, p. 189) make a similar point: "[t]he regular pattern of grammatical concord may be disturbed by **proximity**, i.e. the tendency for the verb to agree with a noun which is closer to the verb (typically in a postmodifier) but which is not the head of the subject noun phrase." This then raises the issue of how to identify the head of a species noun phrase, especially one in subject position, i.e. the issue of whether the species noun itself or the N2 should be analysed as the head. On this point, Biber et al. say: "It is not always easy to identify the head of a noun phrase, particularly with quantifying nouns and species nouns" (1999, p. 257). They add: "[s]pecies nouns narrow down the reference of a noun in the same way as the semi-determiner *such*" (1999, p. 258), and they provide the following examples:

(24) To some degree **such** differences of definition may be a function of the extension of the tongue. (ACAD)

(25) **These kinds of** questions cannot be transformed into hypothesis form. (ACAD)
(Biber et al, 1999, p. 258)

The point being illustrated here is that *These kinds of* in (25) can be seen as functionally equivalent to *such* in (24), i.e. that it could be analysed as a single unit including the *of*, rather than the *of* being part of a prepositional phrase with *questions*. Biber et al. continue: "it is not clear how these structures should be analysed. There are indications that species nouns may be felt to be subordinate in much the same way as a determiner. In the following examples, the demonstrative determiner agrees with the noun following *of*. Note also that it is the noun following *of* which controls subject-verb concord in the last example [i.e. (29)]" (1999, p. 258). The examples they give are:

- (26) I hate **these sort of things**. (CONV)
- (27) It does not in any way cause **these sort of problems**. (NEWS†)
- (28) When Giggs gets going he's a handful, particularly when he gets in **those type of crosses**. (NEWS)
- (29) **These kind of decisions** are normally made by the teacher alone. (ACAD†)
(Biber et al., 1999, p. 258)

These examples come from a mix of sources, ranging from informal conversation (26), through the less formal newspapers (27) and (28), to the more formal academic (29).¹⁵ Biber et al. also note that examples like *these sort of things*, but not with *kind* or *type*, do occur in conversation, but the “superficially more grammatical” *these kinds of* is much less frequent and tends to be restricted to academic prose (1999, p. 258). Biber et al.'s analysis of (29) mirrors Quirk et al.'s description of notional concord following the proximity principle, i.e. with the plural number of the verb *are* being determined by plural *decisions* rather than by singular *kind*. On this, Biber et al. say that “[t]he proximity principle often operates together with notional concord. For example, it may reinforce the use of plural concord with quantifying expressions containing *of* plus a plural noun phrase (...). A related case is the occasional use of plural concord with species nouns (*kind of, form of, type of*)” (1999, p. 190):

- (30) All [kind of] people **were** waiting for buses or just standing around. (FICT)
- (31) It remains to be seen what precise [form of] words **are** agreed by the 12 heads of government. (NEWS†)
(Biber et al., 1999, p. 190)

The authors continue: “[p]lural concord in these cases is probably due partly to proximity, and partly to the fact that expressions with species nouns behave in some respects like determiners” (1999, p. 190). This topic is considered further in the following section.

2.3.4 KIND OF as a post-determiner

Biber et al.'s (1999) analysis above treats the species noun + *of* combination as something other than a noun + preposition (“expressions with species nouns behave in some respects like determiners” (1999, p. 190)), and sees the N2 in the species noun phrase as the head noun (“Note also that it is the noun following *of* which controls subject-verb concord” (1999, p. 258)). What this analysis implies is that in e.g. example

¹⁵ Note that Biber et al. (1999, pp. 24–35) themselves do not identify their different registers with these levels of formality; I have added the labels.

(12) above (... *these kind of military contributions are ...*), *kind (of)* can be analysed not as a (species) noun, but as a post-determiner, so-called because it follows the central determiner *these* (1999, p. 259); *kind of* in *these kind of* is thus seen as a second determiner following *these*, with the whole phrase *these kind of* then pre-modifying the noun phrase *military contributions* (and see (40) below). Other examples of a post-determiner include *three* in *my three children*, *first* in *the first day*, and *number* in *a large number of people*. Quirk et al. (1985, pp. 261–264) classify *number* in the last of these as an ‘open-class quantifier’, and note that although *number* looks like the head of the noun phrase, “there are grounds for arguing that the whole expression [i.e. *a large number of*] functions as a determiner” (1985, p. 264). A consequence of this analysis is that the only remaining noun in the species noun phrase is the plural N2 ((*military*) *contributions*), and it is this noun which must therefore act as head of the (species) noun phrase and determine the number of the verb (*are*), as well as that of the (central) determiner *these*.

One issue remains with this analysis: What is the status of *of* in *kind of*? Is it part of the (compound) post-determiner? Huddleston and Pullum (2002) note that, in examples such as *These kind of dogs are dangerous*, “the plural number of the whole NP is determined by that of the oblique *dogs*,¹⁶ but this ... plural number carries over to the demonstrative determiner too” (2002, p. 353). They also note that “[t]he construction is very well established, and can certainly be regarded as acceptable in informal style” (2002, p. 353). In addition, commenting on another use of *kind* and *sort*, Huddleston and Pullum observe: “[i]t is worth noting that there is one place where we can argue that a reanalysis has taken place, with the result that *of* has been incorporated into a unit with a preceding noun. This is with *kind* and *sort*, as in *He kind of lost control*. Here *kind of* is omissible (*He lost control*)” (2002, p. 621). Huddleston and Pullum are here discussing the ‘hedging’ use of *kind*, rather than its use in the species noun phrase, but they argue that *of* has been incorporated into a unit with the preceding noun (*kind of*, *sort of*), and that support for this comes from the omissibility of *kind/sort of*. This argument will be examined in detail in the following section in the context of the species noun phrase and the treatment of e.g. *kind of* as a compound post-determiner in a process of grammaticalisation.

Summary

It would seem that there are a number of factors which may affect how number agreement is marked in the species noun phrase and in the clause of which it is a part. What is most notable about the descriptions given in the three reference grammars is that they are able to account for all the variation shown in §2.2 above, i.e. that

16 For Huddleston and Pullum the “oblique” or “partitive oblique” is the complement of *of*.

none of the variants need be considered ungrammatical or an error. This view will be contrasted with the approach of the usage guides in Chapter 3. In the following section, I investigate some further treatments of, especially, the post-determiner analysis of the species noun phrase.

2.4 The post-determiner hypothesis examined

The central notions of number agreement and headedness, plus the hypothesis that the SN + *of* constructions “behave in some respects like determiners” (Biber et al, 1999, p. 190; cf. §§2.3.3–2.3.4) and can be analysed as particles in a historical process of grammaticalisation (i.e. not a lexical noun + preposition, but as a single unit), have been investigated by a number of twenty-first-century scholars, including Keizer, Davidse and colleagues, and Klockmann (see §§2.4.2, 2.4.3, and 2.4.4, respectively). Some of these scholars are primarily interested in the diachronic analysis of the uses of the species noun phrase, but they also provide many insights into its current use. All these analyses date back to and reference the work of Denison (1998, 2002, 2005, 2011), which I will therefore present here first.

2.4.1 Denison

Denison (1998), who gives a very brief description of partitives¹⁷ in his history of English syntax between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, offers two analyses for the partitive construction *a majority of students*, as shown in (32) and (33):

(32) [a majority] [of students]

(33) [a majority of] [students]
(Denison, 1998, p. 121 (79a–b))

In (32) there is a head noun *majority*, pre-modified by a determiner *a* and post-modified by the prepositional phrase *of students* (cf. *a steak in breadcrumbs*); in (33) there is a head noun *students*, pre-modified by a complex determiner *a majority of* (cf. *a few students*) (Denison, 1998, p. 121). This is a similar explanation to the one given by Biber et al. using the semi-determiner *such* (1999, p. 258; and see the discussion around example (24) in §2.3.3 above). Denison notes that “[32] corresponds to the syntactic origin of the pattern, while there is some semantic support for [(33)], in that *a majority of students* is notionally more likely to be a partitive of *students* than a kind of *majority*” (1998, p. 121), and he offers a test for determining which is the

¹⁷ The term ‘partitive’ is being used here in a general sense to mean a word or phrase by which “reference is made to some part of a whole” (Matthews, 2014, p. 290; see also Quirk et al., 1972, pp. 130–133, §§4.5–4.8), e.g. Denison’s *a majority of* and the species noun phrase *these kinds of*.

better analysis: “The most obvious test of structure is verbal concord: with singular *majority* or with plural *students*?” (1998, p. 121). He continues: “[i]nformal English even permits concord between a plural (notional) head noun [i.e. *ideas, jokes*] and a central determiner [i.e. *These, those*] which, historically speaking, should be the modifier of a singular noun [i.e. *sort*]”,¹⁸ and gives as examples (34) and (35):

(34) *These* sort of ideas

(1788 Betsy Sheridan, *Journal* 42 p. 131)

(35) *those* sort of jokes

(1949 Streatfeild, *Painted Garden* xxiii.256)

(Denison, 1998, pp. 121–122 (83))

Denison claims that “[s]uch examples – Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik have a similar one with *kind of* (1985: 10.43) – give additional support to analysis [(33)] over and above verbal concord, with *sort of* functioning syntactically as a kind of postdeterminer” (Denison, 1998, p. 122). The reference to Quirk et al. is to their analysis of *These/Those sort/kind/type of parties are dangerous* as “an idiomatic anomaly” (1985, p. 765; see §2.3.2).

Denison’s analysis here highlights a feature of number agreement in the species noun phrase that initially seems to be at odds with the descriptions in the reference grammars presented in §2.3, in that the plural determiner with the singular species noun is here given as the norm, with the plural determiner and plural species noun described as “[i]nformal” (1998, p. 121). However, as will be shown in Chapter 3, some of the usage guides also recognise the early use of e.g. *these kind of* from the fourteenth century and *these sort of* from the sixteenth century (see e.g. Burchfield, 1998 [1996], pp. 433, 728; and see §3.6.2).

Denison later (2002, 2005, 2011), provides a three-way analysis of the modern use of what he calls ‘SKT-nouns’ (*sort/kind/type-nouns*) as binomial and qualifying constructions and as a complex post-determiner. The binomial construction, so-called because there are two nouns and therefore two candidates for head of the noun phrase (*majority* and *students* in (32) and (33)), is exemplified in (32) above, and was discussed in §2.3.4. The qualifying construction is what is often called a ‘hedge’ or ‘downtoner’ (cf. Quirk et al., 1985, p. 446, n. [c]), e.g. *He is sort of clever*. This use of the species noun does not feature in the current study, but was also mentioned by Huddleston and Pullum (see §2.3.4).¹⁹ The complex post-determiner use is exemplified in (33) above.

18 The reasoning behind this seemingly counter-intuitive statement is explored in §2.4.5 below.

19 It is not always immediately clear whether a species noun is being used as a qualifying construction, and is therefore outside the scope of this study, but in marginal or disputed cases a useful test is to substitute *type* for *sort* or *kind*, as *type* is not used in this qualifying

Denison remains undecided whether his post-determiner construction is a sub-set of the binomial construction, or a separate construction in its own right, or is in the process of becoming so, in his diachronic analysis. Denison's analysis is made from within a Construction Grammar framework (2002, p. 1; 2011, p. 12), but remains appropriate from a more general perspective. It should also be remembered that for Denison and colleagues their so-called 'SKT-constructions' are not restricted to usage with *this/that/these/those* as determiners, as in the current study. For Denison, the SKT-construction as a whole thus looks like (36), where D signifies a determiner:

- (36) D1 N1 *of*(D2) N2
(Denison, 2002, p. 2 (2))

This is a minor variant of the structure shown in examples (1) and (2) in §2.2 above, with the addition of the 'rare' D2. Denison uses this common structure to suggest how the SKT-constructions can be made up, and how the binomial and post-determiner constructions may differ from each other: "there are possible premodifiers attached to N1 and/or N2"; "a determiner is only rarely attached to N2"; and "the construction as a whole may be postmodified" (Denison, 2002, p. 1). For the binomial constructions, Denison gives example (37), with the constituent structure shown in (38):

- (37) Collagen is *the sort of material* that is found already ... in the dermis of the skin

- (38) [DP [D the] [NP [N sort] [KP of [NP material]]]]
(Denison, 2002, p. 2 (3a–b))

Of (37/38), he says: "N1 [i.e. *sort*] functions as a noun. Either N1 or N1's determiner [i.e. *the*] or premodifier receives full stress, with secondary stress on N2. Premodification of N2 [i.e. *material*] is rare. Apparent premodification of N1 is really premodification of the whole construction. N1 and N2 typically agree in number" (2002, p. 2). There are some labelling differences between this and the examples shown in (1) and (2) in §2.2.1, but it is essentially the same structure.²⁰ Example (39) shows an example of the post-determiner construction, with a suggested analysis given in (40):

- (39) I mean I don't associate you with uh you know one of *these sort of skills like like driving*
(ICE-GB)

or hedging sense: *He is kind/sort/*type of clever* (Denison, 2002, p. 2).

²⁰ Denison (2002) labels the outermost bracket as 'DP' (determiner phrase) where I have used NP, and NP where I have used N, though he makes no use of the DP analysis, and the label makes no further appearance in his subsequent work on SKT-nouns. For Denison, KP is a case particle, i.e. it marks the phrase *of material* as being in the genitive case (see Radford, 2004, p. 439).

- (40) [DP [D these] [[PostD sort-of] [NP [N skills]]] [??]
 (Denison, 2002, p. 2 (5a–b))

Of this post-determiner construction, Denison suggests that it is “[c]ommon only in speech, always singular N1 [i.e. *sort*] and plural N2 [*skills*]. *Sort of/kind of/type of* preceded by plural anaphoric determiners *these/those/all*; are postdeterminers and incompatible with other postdeterminers; are never focal” (Denison, 2002, p. 2). He concludes by saying that “[t]he most noticeable feature of the post-determiner pattern is the agreement mismatch” (2002, p. 3). Denison provides an array of analyses here, including the conclusion that, for example, *these kinds of skills* and *these kind of skills* are neither variant usages, nor correct or incorrect, but are different constructions reflecting different semantic and discourse (i.e. pragmatic) functions. By 2011, Denison is referring to the binomial construction as a ‘referential construction’, for reasons that will become clear in the discussion of Keizer’s (2007) extension of his work below.

2.4.2 Keizer

Keizer’s *The English Noun Phrase: The Nature of Linguistic Categorization* (2007) builds upon and extends Denison’s position. It is a study in particular of “noun phrases which contain two nominal elements which are either juxtaposed or connected by the functional element *of*” (2007, p. 11). Keizer does not refer to *of* as a preposition here, and this will be discussed below (and see §2.3.4 above). As part of her study, she comments on what she too terms the ‘SKT-construction’, and again it must be remembered that the object of the current study, i.e. *this/these/those sort(s)/kind(s)/type(s) of N2*, is a small though, as will be shown, significant subset of Keizer’s study. Keizer’s analysis is based on “the British component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-GB) ... [w]ith just over one million words (500 texts of approximately 2,000 words each) ... every text unit (‘sentence’) in ICE-GB has been syntactically parsed” (2007, p. 4). Of the 500 texts, 300 are spoken and 200 written, and of the 200 written texts, 150 are printed texts, which include “academic writing, non-academic writing, press reportage, instructional writing, persuasive writing and creative writing” (2007, p. 4). Keizer provides a very detailed description of the species noun phrase, and makes a number of statements which are testable against the much larger, but also more register-specific, Stenton Corpus (see §5.2), so I present her findings here in some detail.

Keizer points out that SKT-constructions vary on a number of points (cf. Denison, 2002, p. 1 in §2.4.1):

The construction as a whole may be definite or indefinite, may be preceded by an article, a demonstrative determiner, a quantifier or a possessive pronoun.

...

Both N1 and N2 can occur in the singular and the plural; number agreement between the elements is not required.

...

Both N1 and N2 may be premodified; the construction may also contain a postmodifier.

...

In the large majority of cases, N2 is not preceded by a determiner, not even when it is a singular count noun. In some cases, however, a determiner – usually the indefinite article [–] does occur with N2.

(Keizer, 2007, p. 152).²¹

This is very similar to Denison’s analysis given above. On the basis of these points, she identifies three distinct types of SKT-construction, which she claims differ syntactically, semantically and pragmatically. She labels these constructions ‘referential’, ‘qualifying’ and a ‘third kind’, relating them to Denison’s binomial/referential, qualifying and post-determiner analyses, respectively. In these three functions, the species noun is viewed either as a full lexical noun (referential), as a modifier (qualifying),²² or as a post-determiner (third kind). For this syntactic analysis to work, Keizer also has to distinguish the noun (referential) and post-determiner uses semantically and pragmatically. About the referential function, she says: “overall reference of these constructions is to a particular sort/kind/type of entity, specified by N2” (2007, p. 153). More fully:

In the referential construction both N1 and N2 function as nouns: they have lexical content, and the content of both nouns helps to restrict the reference of the construction as a whole. Thus, logically speaking, in a construction like *that type of quality* ... N2 may be said to denote a particular abstract entity (*quality*), with N1, *type*, restricting the denotation of the construction as a whole to a particular type of quality only.

(Keizer, 2007, p. 155)

For an example of this referential construction, Keizer gives (41):

- (41) whatever it is we shall not have *that kind of quality*, if we do not have uh a prosperous economy founded on a quality work-force ...

(Keizer, 2007, p. 155 (5b))

²¹ Keizer makes a further point about stress, but that of course relates only to the spoken part of her corpus and will not feature here.

²² As in my discussion of Denison’s work in §2.4.1, this qualifying or ‘hedging’ function will not feature in the current study.

Keizer adds that “[w]here the referential SKT-construction is used referentially it may either introduce a (potential) discourse topic or refer back to an existing discourse topic. In the latter case, the determiner used is typically a demonstrative one” (2007, p. 155), as in (42):

- (42) I didn’t expect to get *that sort of reaction*
(Keizer, 2007, p. 156 (6a))

Keizer notes that, in such expressions:

the elements *sort(-of)/kind(-of)/type(-of)*, in combination with the demonstrative determiners, indicate an anaphoric relation between N2 and an earlier use of this noun in the immediate linguistic context. This relation is not a relation between two referential expressions (or NPs), indicating a shared (sets of) entities, but between the nominal elements used to refer to these entities, indicating a shared property.

(Keizer, 2007, p. 171)

She acknowledges that “N2 typically has more specific lexical content and that N1 depends on N2 for its reference”, but that nonetheless N1 “functions as the head ... [and] determines the overall reference of the construction” (2007, p. 155).

For Keizer, as for Denison, the only candidates for post-determiner status are SKT-constructions where *sort/kind/type* are singular, preceded by a plural determiner, and followed by a plural N2. Indeed, “[b]eing part of a fixed unit, the N1s *sort, kind* and *type* cannot occur in the plural. The resulting constructions would be grammatical, but could only be interpreted as referential constructions” (2007, p. 175). She adds that in these examples “*sort/kind/type* do not refer to any specific, identifiable sort, kind or type of entity; instead these elements serve to indicate that the predication expressed in these sentences does not (necessarily) apply to all the individual members denoted by N2, but to a subset characterized by a complex of properties present in the direct discourse situation” (2007, p. 170). She notes that, for example, *all* and *those* “do not perform their usual functions, of universal quantifier or demonstrative determiner, respectively, with regard to the first noun (*sort, kind*), but instead seem to take the whole *N1-of-N2* sequence in their scope” (2007, pp. 154–155). It is this referential restriction that leads to the post-determiner analysis: “One possible analysis of these constructions is therefore one in which this restriction on the set denoted by N2 is achieved by means of a postdeterminer in the form of *sort/kind/type*” (2007, p. 154). This is shown in example (43):

- (43) And then we can also use the same feedback to help them to produce *those kind of pitch changes* in their speech
(Keizer, 2007, p. 154 (4b))

Keizer notes that the post-determiner SKT-constructions “do not easily allow for a modifier to precede N1; that is to say, the corpus does not contain any such cases” (2007, p. 173). She also provides some invented examples, shown in (44–47; and see §2.4.3 below, and see Appendix G5 for examples from the Stenton Corpus), which she claims would be unacceptable or questionable, as indicated by ‘*’ and ‘?’, respectively. The use of both markers indicates uncertainty:

(44) *?these ill-defined sort of problems

(45) *?those general kind of changes

(46) *?these common type of questions

(47) *all possible sort of aspects

(Keizer, 2007, p. 173 (53))

She explains that “we would ... expect these constructions to be unacceptable, since adjectives cannot occur between two determiners” (2007, p. 173), and *sort/kind/type* are being analysed as (post-)determiners in this construction. So, for Keizer, as for Denison, *these sorts of* and *these sort of* have different functions, and different analyses. However, just as Denison was tentative in his complex post-determiner analysis (see §2.4.1), Keizer then goes on to question her post-determiner hypothesis, on the basis of some challenging examples. She notes that N2 is obligatory, in the sense that species noun phrases without an N2 are unacceptable, e.g. **these sort of*, **those kind of*, but that this unacceptability differentiates these examples from other (complex) post-determiners, which can be found without N2, for example *the other*, *those two*. But she does provide an example, (48), where both the N2 and *of* can be omitted:

(48) They won’t last long, mate, *these type* never do.

(Keizer, 2007, p. 174 (56))

However, examples such as (48) are compatible with the referential SKT-construction. Keizer notes: “[a]lthough the corpus does not contain examples of constructions in which N2 is left unexpressed, the referential SKT-construction does allow for N2 to be omitted. For such constructions to be felicitous, the *sort/kind/type* referred to must be retrievable from the discourse setting: it may be explicitly mentioned in the text, as in [(49)]”:

(49) Have you ever tried this type of dish?- No, *this type* I have never had before.

(Keizer, 1992, p. 307, cited in Keizer, 2007, p. 160 (20a))

Example (48), Keizer argues, “undermines the case for a complex determiner. After all, if *of* forms part of the postdeterminer, we would expect the element *of* to be present regardless of whether N2 is expressed” (2007, pp. 174–175). Her solution is to regard *of* in such examples not as part of a complex determiner, but as a “separate linking element, required in those cases where a postdeterminer consisting of a nominal element (*sort, kind, type*) is followed by another noun” (2007, p. 175). This would give the constituent structure for (50) as shown in (51):

(50) the way that I would approach *those sort of things*

(51) [_{NP} [_{Det} those] [[_{NomPostD} sort] [_{LE} of] [_N things]]]²³
(Keizer, 2007, p. 175 (58a–58a’))

This analysis would cover those cases where there is no N2, and would also explain why, in such cases, there is no *of*, because there is nothing to link. Having made this step, Keizer is then able to re-classify the ‘third kind’ of SKT-construction, not as a post-determiner, but as a sub-set of the referential construction:

An alternative way of dealing with the problematic cases discussed in the previous section is to regard SKT-constructions of the third kind not as a separate category (i.e. postdeterminer constructions) but as a subset of the referential construction (see also Denison 2002, 2005; Denison and Keizer, in prep.). The constructions in question can be seen as non-prototypical representatives of the referential construction; ... there is number agreement between the determiner and N2, while semantically, N2 has developed a higher degree of referentiality, at the expense of N1 – changes which have brought about a partial shift of headedness from N1 to N2.

(Keizer, 2007, p. 181)²⁴

In Keizer’s analysis, then, the anomalous number of the N1 signals a change in the locus of the head of the species noun phrase from the species noun itself to the N2. This re-analysis also fits in with the diachronic approach to the SKT-construction adopted by both Keizer and Denison (and see §2.4.5 below for more on this).

As is shown in the following section, Davidse and colleagues take Denison’s post-determiner hypothesis in a different direction.

2.4.3 Davidse and colleagues

Davidse and her colleagues (Brems, 2003, 2004; De Smedt, Brems and Davidse, 2007; Davidse, Brems and De Smedt, 2008; Davidse, 2009; Brems and Davidse, 2009, 2010; Brems, 2010, 2011) adopt and expand on the analyses given by Denison

23 NomPostD = post-determiner; LE = linking element.

24 Denison and Keizer’s paper ‘Sort-of constructions: grammar and change’, referenced as in preparation here, was never completed (Evelien Keizer, p.c., 10 March 2018)

and by Keizer.²⁵ These studies again show an interest in a diachronic analysis, but De Smedt et al. (2007) and Davidse et al. (2008) provide an “analysis of synchronic data” (Brems and Davidse, 2010, p. 183). These two papers, as well as Brems (2011), will be the focus of this section. In what follows, ‘they’ and ‘the authors’ will be used to refer collectively to this group of scholars, with specific references given as appropriate.

The aim of these scholars is to avoid the “a posteriori or ad hoc explanations” (Brems, 2011, p. 28), as they see them, of the perceived species noun phrase variation in e.g. Quirk et al. (1985) and Biber et al. (1999), as described in §2.3 above, and to replace these ad hoc explanations with a “systematic, formally motivated classification of their different uses” (De Smedt et al., 2007, p. 226). The authors describe what they call size nouns (SNs) and type nouns (TNs), and distinguish not the three types of structure described by Denison and by Keizer, but five: head, modifier, post-determiner, qualifier and quantifier (Davidse et al., 2008, p. 141). On to this they introduce the notion of ‘layering’, i.e. an analysis in which the elements of the NP form an objective–subjective continuum from right to left, and “correlate[] subjectification²⁶ with leftward movement in the NP” (2008, p. 141). Again, their analyses are performed within a Construction Grammar framework. Davidse et al. use “mainly data from the Times subcorpus of the COBUILD corpus” (2008, p. 143), whilst Brems uses the Collins WordbanksOnline corpus (2011, p. 364, fn. 6).

For the purposes of the current study, I concentrate on the type nouns and on their head and post-determiner analyses, together with a post-modifier analysis given by Davidse et al. (2008, p. 144). Davidse et al. say that “[t]he main lexical meaning of type nouns in Present-day English is their ‘subtype’-meaning” (2008, p. 143), as exemplified in (52), where they see *kind* functioning as the head:

(52) I really can’t stand **that kind of dog**.

(CB – UK spoken)

(Davidse et al., 2008, p. 144 (5))

The other “lexically full type noun” (2008, p. 144) functions as a post-modifier, as in example (53):

²⁵ Keizer and Davidse and colleagues seem largely unaware of each other’s work, although their work is similar in many respects. Keizer (2007) does not include any references to Davidse and colleagues, and I can find only one reference to Keizer in all of the latter’s publications listed, and this is to an unpublished paper dated 2001.

²⁶ This “subjectification ... is ‘from meanings situated in the described ... external or internal situation’ to ‘meanings situated in the textual situation’” (Davidse et al., 2008, p. 162, citing Traugott, 1988, p. 409). They also note that “subjectification and grammaticalization often go hand in hand” (2008, p. 165, fn 12, citing Traugott, 2010). I understand this to mean a move from deictic to textual referential meaning.

(53) As they were strolling along, with Towser ahead, they saw what they supposed was **another dog of a different kind**, come out of the brush ...

(<http://www.threerivershms.com/bch9.htm>)²⁷

(Davidse et al., 2008, p. 144 (4))

Davidse et al. do not say anything further about this post-modifier use.²⁸ Of example (52) they say: “It contains two nouns used with their full lexical weight [i.e. *kind* and *dog*], designating subordinate and superordinate types of entities. ... The reference of the construction as a whole is determined by the head [i.e. *kind*], and is thus to the subordinate subtype, e.g. the maligned variety of dog” (2008, p. 144). This “generic reference, i.e. to the whole subclass” is “the crucial semantic feature distinguishing the lexical head use of type nouns from all their pre-head uses”²⁹ (2008, p. 144). An additional finding of Davidse et al.’s study is the use of adjectives before the type noun used as the head of the NP. Basing their analysis on the entire COBUILD corpus (56 million words) in order to try to achieve some statistically significant measures, they found that the “qualitative adjectives” *new*, *wrong* and *special* (e.g. *a new type of drug dependant*) and the “postdeterminer adjectives” *same*, *another*, *other*, *certain* and *particular* (e.g. *Like any other kind of wave*) were strong or very strong collocates (2008, pp. 145–146; and see Appendix G5).

The other use of the type noun that I am interested in is Davidse et al.’s post-determiner construction, a term also used by Denison (1998, 2002) and by Keizer (2007). However, Davidse et al. argue that, whereas Denison’s post-determiner analysis is largely based on the number incongruence in, for example, *these sort*, and that he remains uncertain as to whether the post-determiner use is distinct from the binomial use, i.e. where the species noun is the head noun, in their analysis “postdeterminer uses of type nouns can also be delineated systematically” (2008, p. 151). Davidse et al. illustrate this with two examples, (54) and (55):

(54) Proteroglyphs: ... Obvious examples of **this type of snake** are the cobras, ...

(<http://venomous.com/physiology.html>)

²⁷ As these examples show, Davidse et al. also took some of their examples from the Internet, or from other sub-corpora of the COBUILD corpus “if they provided clearer illustrations” (2008, p. 143).

²⁸ Note that by ‘post-modifier use’ they mean that the modifying phrase, in this case *of a different kind*, follows the noun it modifies, *dog*. This must be strictly differentiated from the term ‘post-determiner use’, adopted by, for example, Denison (and see §2.3.4 above).

²⁹ By “pre-head uses” here, Davidse et al. mean the use of a species noun when the N2 functions as head of the noun phrase. In the area of interest to me, this means the post-determiner use.

(55) It's a very selfish thing to do erm leaving your family and everything else to cope with everything. So mm really you know it's quite a he always came across as **that sort of man** anyway I didn't like him.

(CB – UK spoken)

(Davidse et al., 2008, pp. 151–152 (24–25))

Here, Davidse et al. see *type* in (54) as a head, and *sort* in (55) as a post-determiner. A simpler structural analysis of the kind criticised by Brems as “defined almost exclusively on formal grounds, i.e. the specific incongruous concord pattern; the only functional gloss given is that of ‘anaphoric discourse use’” (2011, pp. 292–293) might see *this type of snake* in an anaphoric relation with *Proteroglyphs* (in (54)), and *that sort of man* in an anaphoric relation with *selfish* (in (55)), i.e. as having a similar structure, and therefore a similar structural analysis, so it is worth looking closely at how Davidse et al. explain their distinction:

In [(54)], the NP *this type of snake* realizes generic reference; its determiner *this* points back into the discourse to identify the species *Proteroglyphs* as its antecedent. ... By contrast, in [(55)] the determiner complex *that sort of* as a whole points back to the property ‘selfish’ which characterizes the person referred to. The same anaphoric meaning can be expressed by other determiner complexes such as predeterminer *such + a* ...; compare *he always came across as such a man*.

(Davidse et al., 2008, p. 152)

On this use of *such*, see also the discussion around example (24) in §2.3.3. Davidse et al. continue:

The generalization expressed by postdeterminer type nouns differs from the generic reference realized by type noun heads in that, firstly, the generalization is created in the phoric relation itself and, secondly, it is tied to specific instances, which gives it an ad hoc and local character. The referents of binominal constructions, by contrast, are subclasses and types that are part of ‘the world’s inherent structure’ (Langacker 2002:3).³⁰

(Davidse et al., 2008, p. 152)

Brems adds, on the post-determiner use, that “the speaker includes not only the examples previously mentioned but also any other instances covered by that generalization” (2011, p. 298; see also De Smedt et al., 2007, p. 241). Here, Davidse et al. also provide two tests for the post-determiner use: the substitution of *such a*, e.g. *he always came across as such a man*; and the introduction of the determiner *a* in front of the N2, e.g. *he always came across as that sort of a man* (2008, p. 152). These two tests will be helpful in my corpus analysis in Chapter 5.

³⁰ By ‘phoric relation’ here, Davidse et al. are referring to the Hallidayan concept of ‘phoricity’, i.e. “[reference] to something already present in the verbal or non-verbal context” (see e.g. Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014, p. 116).

2.4.4 Klockmann

In a different approach, presented within the Minimalist Program (MP), Klockmann also makes a number of statements about what she calls “periphrastic expressions of genericity (*this kind of dog*)”,³¹ and introduces the concept of what she terms the ‘numberless’ noun. In her analysis, Klockmann refers to both Denison (2002) and Keizer (2007).³²

Till now we have considered kind-words which are capable of morphologically expressing singular and plural. However, some kind-words seem to lack number altogether. In this section, we discuss such “numberless” kind-words. Note that the morphosyntactic pattern we discuss in this section has been termed “kind-constructions of the third kind” by Keizer (2007: 154) and categorized as a postdeterminer or complex determiner in Denison (2002).

(Klockmann, 2017a, pp. 325–326)

The motivation for Klockmann’s analysis, i.e. to accommodate her *kind*-words as ‘semi-lexical’ within the Minimalist Program, will not be my main focus here, but her analyses do produce a number of testable statements that are of interest to the current study.³³

Klockmann’s starting point is that *kind*-words, i.e. *kind*, *sort* and *type*, follow what she calls the ‘*kind*-generalisation’: “if they and the N2 carry number, that number must match” (2017a, p. 276), again echoing the analyses of Denison, Keizer, and Davidse and colleagues. She goes on to test this hypothesis with different types of N2s: “mass nouns, singular and plural count nouns, indefinite singular nouns, and *pluralia tantum*³⁴ nouns” (2017a, p. 276). The *kind*-generalisation thus includes *this kind of rabbit* and *these kinds of rabbits*, and excludes *this kind of rabbits* and *these kinds of rabbit* (2017a, p. 276). Klockmann does not restrict herself to phrases with *this/that/these/those*, but also includes e.g. *what kind of idiot* and *another type of plan*. These additional phrases will not be included any further here. Klockmann’s data is based primarily on the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), “but judgments, examples from the literature, and examples from the Internet are also used” (2017a, p. 298). In addition to the canonical examples she lists, she also finds

31 This expression is taken from <<https://heidiklockmann.wordpress.com>>. In her major work she refers to “genericity or kind-reference” (2017a, p. 343).

32 I could find no references to the work of Davidse and her colleagues.

33 In Klockmann’s analysis, the lexical ‘core’ of a word is its root in the lexicon. This is typically “not specified ... for [its] category”, e.g. noun, verb or adjective, which is instead “acquire[d] ... in the syntax, according to the context [it is] embedded in”. Semi-lexicality thus arises “when a root is also specified in the lexicon for a syntactic feature” (2017a, pp. 6–7), i.e. when a root shows both lexical and functional properties.

34 *Pluralia tantum* are “nouns, like *oats* or *trousers*, which appear only in a plural form” (Matthews, 2014, p. 307).

examples of mass nouns (i.e. N2) with a singular *kind*-word, mass nouns with a plural *kind*-word, abstract nouns (i.e. N2) with a singular *kind*-word and abstract nouns with a plural *kind*-word. On the basis of these examples she comes to the conclusion that “number matching is not enforced when the N2 is numberless” (2017a, p. 299). Klockmann does not specify how she distinguishes between mass and abstract nouns, but she did find in COCA examples of what she calls “massified” count nouns (2017a, p. 300). Massified count nouns are nouns which appear to be count, e.g. *fan*, *basket*, *investigation*,³⁵ but which can be “‘massified’ in some way” (2017a, p. 300) such that they do not match in number with the *kind*-word. These examples “are dependent on the context for their acceptability, and without the preceding context[] ... would be judged ungrammatical” (2017a, p. 299). She gives an example with *fan* (56):

- (56) The use of window and whole-house fans can minimize very effectively the heat gain from the sun, lights used in the home, appliances, etc. **Both types of fan** are very inexpensive.
 (COCA: MotherEarth 1993)
 (Klockmann, 2017a, p. 300 (100))

In [*b*]oth types of *fan*, *fan* in this analysis is not singular but massified, based on its anaphoric reference to *window and whole-house fans* in the preceding sentence. This leads Klockmann to conclude that massified nouns are numberless, and we have already seen that the *kind*-generalisation does not apply to numberless nouns.

Klockmann’s third category of exceptions is the one most obviously of interest for the current study. She notes that a singular demonstrative with a singular N1 (i.e. species noun) and a plural N2 is ungrammatical:

- (57) **this kind of rabbits*
 (Klockmann, 2017a, p. 326 (204a))

In contrast, plural demonstratives with a singular N1 and a plural N2 are grammatical:³⁶

- (58) And I think there’s a real mean-spiritedness in him, in which **these sort of remarks** come out.
 (COCA: NPR_Weekend 1995)
 (Klockmann, 2017a, p. 326 (207))

Klockmann concludes from this that “[t]he ungrammaticality of [(57)] ... appears to stem from the specification of singular number on the demonstrative, and not from

35 Of these three words, *basket* and *fan* are listed as exclusively count in COBUILD; *investigation* is listed as variable, i.e. both count and uncount (s.v. *investigate*).

36 Klockmann also gives examples with the definite article, the wh-determiner, *some*, *any* and possessives, but these will not be investigated further here.

anything in the form of the kind-word itself. A simple explanation for these facts would be that the kind-word, despite appearances, is not actually singular; rather, it is numberless” (2017a, p. 327).³⁷ She also notes that “the kind-word seems to be invisible to [verbal] agreement” (2017a, p. 330) when the *kind*-word is numberless, and gives an example where she has added the ungrammatical variant, as in (59):

(59) But the truth is **those type of novelties are** / ***is** far overrated.

(COCA: LiteraryRev 2006)

(Klockmann, 2017a, p. 330 (235))

Klockmann is then able to revise her initial ‘*kind*-generalisation’ as follows: “[w]hen both the kind-word and N2 are count, they must bear identical number features” (2017b, p. 8). She then continues with some more complex/testing examples. The first concerns *pluralia tantum* nouns. She notes that *pluralia tantum* can combine with both singular and plural *kind*-words, as in (60–61):

(60) This kind/type/sort of jeans rips easily.

(61) These kinds/types/sorts of jeans rip easily.

(Klockmann, 2017a, p. 315 (175–176, modified from 2017b, p. 11 (42–43))

Notwithstanding these invented examples, in COCA she finds the demonstratives used only with singular *kind*-words, as in (62):

(62) People are always surprised to find out that – that that kind of quality and **that type of goods** are made in southern Louisiana.³⁸

(COCA: CBS_SunMorn 1995)

(Klockmann, 2017a, p. 315 (174))

What is notable about these examples is that they are the only ones Klockmann lists of *pluralia tantum* with singular *kind*-words, and that none of her examples of *pluralia tantum* with plural *kind*-words includes a demonstrative. Whether this is a feature of the examples in the corpus or an accident of selection is not made clear. In any case, Klockmann does not comment on it.

Klockmann also investigates the use of the indefinite article *a/an* in the *kind*-construction, as in example (63):

37 Schermer and Broekhuis (2021) have identified a similar distinction in Dutch, between ‘two types of subject’ (*twee typen subject*) and ‘two types of subjects’ (*twee typen subjecten*), where singular *subject* is said to be used ‘anumerically’ (*anumeriek*) and plural *subjecten* ‘numerically’ (*numeriek*). These two forms are described as having different meanings, which are determined contextually, and also permit the re-allocation of the head from N1 to N2.

38 Note that *that kind of quality* in (62) is not part of the analysis because *quality* is not a *plurale tantum*. See also the discussion of the number of *goods* in §4.4.3.

(63) It's not research, like Dr. Lantos was talking about, but it's a moral experiment for the parents in **this kind of (a) situation**.

(COCA: CNN_King 1990)

(Klockmann, 2017a, p. 317 (178))

Klockmann's model predicts that such a usage should be found with both singular and plural *kind*-words, but her invented examples suggest that this is not the case, with (64) being labelled ungrammatical:

(64) *These sorts of a rug

(Klockmann, 2017a, p. 321 (194c))

However, she again notes that this ungrammaticality can be circumvented “[g]iven [...] enough context” (2017b, p. 13), as in (65), although she also notes that “not all speakers accept this”:

(65) I was interested in portraying that a sexual life for a woman isn't necessarily compartmentalized; it flows in and out of **the other kinds of a woman** that she is – a worker, a lover, a mother, a daughter, a friend – all those dimensions are woven into one another.

(COCA: America 1994)

(Klockmann, 2017a, p. 322, fn. 33 iv)

Here, though not an example including a demonstrative, *the other kinds of a woman* has this time cataphoric reference to *a worker, a lover, a mother, a daughter, a friend*, which is presented parenthetically (and see the note on parentheticals in Appendix G6). Another example of cataphoric parenthesis is what Klockmann calls the “reverse order” (2017a, pp. 307–309), based on an analysis of what she terms “a meaningless plural” (2017a, p. 305). For an example she gives (66):

(66) **These types of bonds, Kennedy bonds**, supposedly would be issued in the '50s or '60s

(COCA: Fox_Beck 2009)

(Klockmann, 2017a, p. 305 (130))

In this example, *types* is a meaningless plural as the context shows that it refers to a single type of bond: *Kennedy bonds*. This, Klockmann says, is “in line with the claim that its plural morphology is not a true indication of plurality” (2017a, p. 305). Her analysis is supported by the reverse order variants shown in the invented example (67):

(67) **Bonds of this type / *these types**, Kennedy bonds, supposedly would be issued in the '50s or '60s.

(Klockmann, 2017a, p. 308 (145))

On the basis of this, example (66) is seen not as a counter-example to the semi-lexicality of the *kind*-word, but in support of it as a 'meaningless plural'.

Klockmann concludes her analysis with a discussion of the role of *of* with the *kind*-noun. She notes that "[t]he English *kind*-construction requires *of* regardless of ... what it combines with" (2017b, p. 14), as in examples (68–70):

(68) *This kind water, *this type soap, *this sort sand

(69) *This kind rabbit, *this type car, *this sort rug

(70) *This kind a rabbit, *this type a car, *this sort a rug

(Klockmann, 2017b, p. 14 (53–55))

This leads her to conclude that "*of* ... is not a preposition mediating between DPs, but may also be a nominal marker" (2017a, p. 294).

So, for Klockmann, *kind of* in *these kind of* is not a post-determiner, as with the earlier analyses from Denison, Keizer, and Davidse et al., but a variant of *kind* in the lexicon. The lexicon is "a list of all the words in a language and their idiosyncratic linguistic properties" (Radford, 2004, p. 460). These *kind*-words are then "roots which carry functional feature(s), in this case, a [kind] feature" (Klockmann, 2017a, p. 290), which essentially makes it invisible to Agree.³⁹ As Agree is a process which would normally determine the number of a noun as singular or plural during a syntactic derivation, it therefore follows that the *kind*-word is indeed 'numberless'.

2.4.5 A historical perspective

I showed in §2.4.1 above that Denison (1998, p. 121) makes the comment that, in phrases such as *these sort of ideas* and *those sort of jokes*, "historically speaking, [the central determiner: *these, those*] should be the modifier of a singular noun", and not of the "(notional) [plural] head noun [*ideas, jokes*]". To the modern reader, this sounds counter-intuitive. Butterfield (2015, p. 455), in his fourth edition of Fowler's (1926) usage guide, notes that: "Beginning in the 14c., phrases of the type *these kinds of trees*, though themselves continuing in standard use, produced a strangely ungrammatical variant: *these kind of trees*." Although Butterfield's comment seems

³⁹ 'Agree' is a process in Minimalism for computing congruence, used here to refer to the relation between e.g. *these* and *kinds* in terms of their realisation of number marking, i.e. they are both plural (Matthews, 2014, pp. 13, 73; and see Radford, 2004, Chapter 8, for a detailed discussion of a much broader application of this).

to be the more intuitively appealing, a little historical background can help to explain what both authors agree is a common usage.

Curme's historical description of the evolution of the phrase (1931, pp. 544–547) may shed some light on this. At the end of the Old English period (circa 1150), the equivalent phrase was:

- (71) *alles cynnes deor*
 every kind.GEN animals
 ‘animals of every kind’

Here, *cynnes* was a genitive form which was always used before the main noun (*deor*). Later, *cynnes* lost its genitive ending, and became *kin*, but it retained the same meaning, as in (72):

- (72) *al kin deer*
 ‘animals of every kind’

According to Curme, in this period *kin* was replaced by *kind*, which was seen as the governing noun which was followed by a dependent *of*-genitive, as in (73):

- (73) *al kynde of fisshis*
 ‘every kind of fish’

Subsequently, *kind of* was treated as a compound attributive adjective, and as a consequence the number of any demonstrative used before *kind of* was governed by the following, head noun, and so we get (74):

- (74) *These kind of men annoy me.*

Curme (1931, p. 545) also notes that “[a]t the present time this construction is still used in England in colloquial speech ... [i]n America it is now largely confined to popular speech”.⁴⁰

2.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have discussed how the system of number can be realised in the variants of the species noun phrase (§2.2), and how three modern reference grammars present an essentially traditional approach to number agreement in the species noun

40 For Curme (1931, p. vi), “Good English varies according to the occasion, just as our dress varies according to the occasion. ... Loose colloquial English, as often described in this book, is frequently as appropriate as a loose-fitting garment in moments of relaxation. ... In this book also the language of the common people is treated. It is here called ‘popular speech’ since the common grammatical term ‘vulgar’ has a disparaging meaning which arouses false conceptions.”

phrase, based on the ‘agreement rule’, with the DET + N1/SN + *of* + N2 showing number agreement between the DET, the N1/SN and the N2, and with the N1/SN being the head of the NP (§.2.3). However, these grammars also note that the number of the DET sometimes co-varies with the N2, especially when DET and N2 are marked for plural and the N1/SN is seen as singular, possibly as the result of the N1/SN being ‘re-classified’ as non-count. This ‘anomalous’ usage is generally seen as informal, or restricted to speech, and can be avoided by adopting the variant *N2 of this kind*, where *of this kind* functions as a post-modifier. Although the N1/SN, as head of the NP, would generally determine number agreement with any verb, apparent exceptions to this might be explained by ‘notional concord’ determined by the ‘proximity principle’. Biber et al. (1999) note that species nouns can behave in some respects like determiners, and that in such cases the N2 could function as the head of the NP. Huddleston and Pullum (2002) introduce another possible re-analysis, with *of* being incorporated into a unit with the preceding N1/SN, but present this only in a hedging sense.

A number of theoretical analyses of the construction presented in this chapter were shown to distinguish between *these kinds of* and *these kind of* on the basis of a distinction between *kinds* as a species noun and *kind of* as a post-determiner. In §2.4.1, Denison analyses *these kinds of N2* in the traditional manner as a ‘binomial’ DET + N1/SN + PP, but *these kind of N2* as a ‘post-determiner’ DET + POST-DET + N2, on the basis of both its semantics and number agreement between a verb and the plural DET/N2. In the binomial construction, either the N1/SN or the N2 could function as the head of the NP, but in the post-determiner construction only the N2 could function as the head, with the post-determiner *kind of* being analysed as in a process of grammaticalisation.

Keizer, in §2.4.2, refers to SKT-constructions, which she shows do not need number agreement between N1 and N2. She also notes that, although both the N1/SN and the N2 can be pre-modified, the N2 is not usually preceded by a determiner. Keizer too describes the N1/SN as either referential (Denison’s binomial) or as a post-modifier (her ‘third kind’), and she identifies the referential use partly on semantic and partly on contextual grounds. In her view, the N1/SN remains the head of the NP. As with Denison, Keizer sees the post-determiner use only where the N1/SN is singular and where the DET and N2 are both plural. Indeed, in the post-determiner use the N1/SN cannot occur in the plural, as by definition that would make the species noun phrase referential. Keizer notes that, in the post-determiner construction, the N1/SN is not likely to be pre-modified (other than by the DET). Keizer extends her post-determiner analysis by suggesting that in this construction *of* is not a preposition, but an (optional) separate linking element, as noted by Huddleston and Pullum (§2.3). This then leads her to re-analyse her post-determiner construction as a sub-set of the

referential construction, albeit one in which the head of the NP can shift from the N1/SN to the N2.

Davidse and colleagues again see the main use of the species noun phrase as referential, with the N1/SN as the head of the NP, arguing that this headedness is what distinguishes the referential use from other uses (§2.4.3). They also comment on the restricted set of adjectives that collocate with this use of the N1/SN. Unlike Denison and Keizer, however, Davidse and colleagues do not restrict their post-determiner construction analysis to those examples where there is a number mismatch between the N1/SN and the DET + N2. They describe the difference in terms of different referential analyses, and introduce syntactic tests with *such a* and *a* to differentiate the referential and post-determiner analyses.

Finally, in §2.4.4, Klockmann starts from the assumption that, in a species noun phrase, if both the N1/SN and the N2 are marked for number, then they must carry the same number, a statement very much in line with the previous analyses. However, noting examples where this is not the case, she introduces a three-way number distinction between singular, plural and numberless nouns. If a noun (N1/SN) can be characterised as numberless, then it does not fail to match its number with the N2, or indeed the DET; number matching is simply irrelevant: any seeming conflict of number can generally be explained by reference to the (previous) linguistic context. Klockmann also notes that the interpretation of number on the N1/SN can be influenced by parenthetical explanations, which may be present in the following linguistic context. Klockmann introduces what she calls ‘reverse order’ species noun phrases (*bonds of this type*). She treats *of* not only as a preposition but also as a ‘nominal marker’, similar to Keizer’s separate linking element. By introducing the concept of the numberless noun, Klockmann is able to avoid the two distinct referential vs. post-determiner analyses posited by Denison, Keizer, and Davidse et al.

All these analyses and insights should be helpful in my descriptions of the usage guides in Chapter 3 and of the usage survey in Chapter 4, and especially so in my corpus analysis in Chapter 5. Unfortunately, as will be shown in Chapter 5, the potential of the post-determiner hypothesis could not be followed up in the corpus analysis because of a lack of examples of this variant, with only six out of a total of 1,145 examples of the species noun phrase (cf. §5.5.2: THIS TYPE OF N2).

3 The usage guides

3.1 Introduction

The Bridging the Unbridgeable (BtU) project (cf. §§1.1, 4.2.3) focused on three groups of contributors to the debate on variation in usage: the linguists, the prescriptivists and the general public. I presented the views of the linguists on number agreement in the species noun phrase, and in the clause of which it is a constituent, in Chapter 2, and I will explore the views of two sections of the general public in Chapters 4 and 5. In this chapter, I investigate the views of the prescriptivists. In the BtU project, ‘prescriptivists’ is a catch-all term generally used to describe the work of the usage guide writers, and it has been chosen because such writers provide advice on what to say – their prescriptions – and on what not to say – their proscriptions. As a group they are often contrasted with ‘descriptivists’ (cf. §1.2); in the terms of the BtU project this means the linguists, who tend to see their role as accurately describing what people actually say or write, and the circumstances in which they might use any different variants, rather than as providing advice, or even judgements, on those variants. However, it was suggested in §1.2 that this prescriptive/descriptive binary is more of a convenience than a categorisation. It suggests a difference in attitude and approach, and, as Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 6; and see §2.3) point out, there is in practice no reason why the linguists’ reference grammars and the usage guides “should not agree on what they say about the topics they both treat”. Peters (2020, p. 616) comments that whilst e.g. a (large) descriptive reference grammar will aim for comprehensiveness, in a prescriptive approach, such as that of the usage guide writers, “only selected elements of the language are considered, those on which judgments may be brought to bear”. These judgements can be seen in the quotations from the usage guides given in §1.2, and I will show in the analysis of the guides in this chapter that such judgements are indeed an important part of their advice. Another criticism of usage guides is not that they are prescriptive – that is to be expected – but that the analyses they provide and the advice they give are simply wrong. A classic example of this is Pullum’s (2009) excoriation of Strunk and White’s *The Elements of Style* (1959–2014), a usage guide which nonetheless continues to be widely used, especially in the United States. I will investigate in this chapter whether Pullum’s criticisms can be applied to the usage guides in this study.

Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2020, pp. xi–xii) draws a useful distinction between prescriptivists as a group of writers and ‘prescriptivism’ as an activity. The latter she sees as a “further stage in the English standardisation process” (2020, p. xi), following

selection, acceptance, diffusion, maintenance, elaboration of function, codification and prescription, a process first set out in Milroy and Milroy (1985, pp. 22–28) and later extended to include legitimisation and historicisation (2012, pp. 171–172).

In this chapter, I will address two separate lines of enquiry in my analyses of the usage guides. The first arises from an observation made by Peters (2020, p. 616): “The lack of lateral referencing in many usage books (Peters and Young 1997, pp. 317–319) suggests their remoteness from linguistic research and scholarship, and a reluctance to refer even to the work of other usage commentators”, and this view lies behind much of the criticism of usage guide writers, such as that by Pullum above. This is an important topic, as it helps to establish whether the usage guide writers are working in isolation, believing in “a transcendental norm of correct English” to which we should all aspire, as seen by Milroy and Milroy (2012, p. 31), or whether they in fact are aware of a professional body of research and writing which they can both learn from and contribute to. For example, Burchfield, editor of the third edition of *Fowler’s Modern English Usage* (1996), probably the best-known usage guide (see e.g. Crystal, 2009, p. vi), comments on Fowler’s intellectual “isolation . . . from the mainstream of the linguistic scholarship of his day” (1998 [1996], p. vii), whilst the quotation from Ayres (1882) in §3.3.2 below suggests someone who is immersed in the scholarly language activity of his time. After describing the usage guides selected for this study (§3.2), I then investigate Peters’s claim in detail for those guides (§3.3). I show that, in contrast to what Peters (2020) and also Peters and Young (1997) found, there is a good deal of recognition and acknowledgement of the work of other language professionals, including grammarians and lexicographers and other usage guide writers, throughout the period of study (§3.3.2). This part of the chapter is based on an analysis which looks at the usage guides as a whole. Following on from this, I investigate this lateral referencing in the usage guide entries for the species noun phrase (§3.3.3).

The line of enquiry focuses more specifically on how the usage guide writers in this study treat the usage issue of number agreement in the species noun phrase (§3.4.2), and in the clause of which it is a constituent (§3.4.3). This part of the investigation addresses a series of questions posed by Straaijer (2015). These include:

When does a certain usage become problematic, or perceived as such, and when does a certain usage stop being (perceived as) problematic or disputed? In other words, when do usage problems ‘begin’ and ‘end’?

[W]hich usage problems persist?

Does the discussion of specific usage problems change, and if so, in what way?

[A]re there differences in usage advice for different varieties of English?
(Straaijer, 2015, p. 2)

These questions are addressed in a number of studies made within the BtU project, most notably in Ebner (2017), Kostadinova (2018a), and Lukač (2018a), whilst Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2020) includes a review of the project as a whole.¹ In this study I take a slightly different approach in that I focus on a single topic in the usage guides, that of number agreement in the species noun phrase, to try to determine whether there is any coherence in the approach of the guides as a whole, both synchronically and diachronically (§3.4). I investigate whether there is any difference in the advice given for different varieties and registers of English (§3.5), and I also investigate whether and how the usage guides change their views over time, with an analysis of selected guides for which I have multiple editions (§3.6). This approach enables me to address all the questions from Straaijer’s list above, albeit on only this one topic. But first I need to describe the usage guides that I am analysing.

3.2 The usage guides in this study

The HUGE database (cf. §1.3) contains seventy-seven usage guides, dating from 1770 (Baker) to 2010 (Heffer; Lamb; Taggart). Straaijer (2018) and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2020, esp. pp. 47–61) describe the creation of the HUGE database, including the criteria they used for the selection of what they considered to be a usage guide. This use of the HUGE database in the current study means that I was spared the difficulty of this decision.² Tieken-Boon van Ostade gives additional information on the breakdown of the usage guides in her Figures 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 (2020, pp. 50–58), including many guides not in HUGE. My Figure 3.1 overleaf shows the distribution of these seventy-seven guides by date. The dates used are those of the guides which are included in HUGE, which are not necessarily the first editions of those guides (see Appendix A1 for a note on editions).

Straaijer (2018, p. 12, fn. 3) has estimated that between 250 and 300 usage guides dealing with British and/or American English have been published since 1770, whilst Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2020, pp. 48–50) has calculated that nearly 350 guides were published between 1770 and 2010. Garner (1998, pp. 709–719) includes a list of “more than 350 books ... on English usage”, and by his fifth edition this had grown to “more than 500” (2022, pp. 1249–1261), though he notes that not all of these would be recognised as usage guides in the sense of HUGE, so HUGE should be seen as a reasonably representative sample of the guides available. There is a fairly even spread of guides in HUGE from the early nineteenth century to the late twentieth, with a spurt around the 1980s/1990s/2000s, reflecting the relative accessibility of the usage

1 A list of publications arising from the BtU project can be found at <<https://bridgingtheunbridgeable.com/publications/>> (last accessed 2 June 2023).

2 This difficulty will appear in the discussion of especially Peters and Young’s (1997) work below (cf. §3.3: SUMMARY).

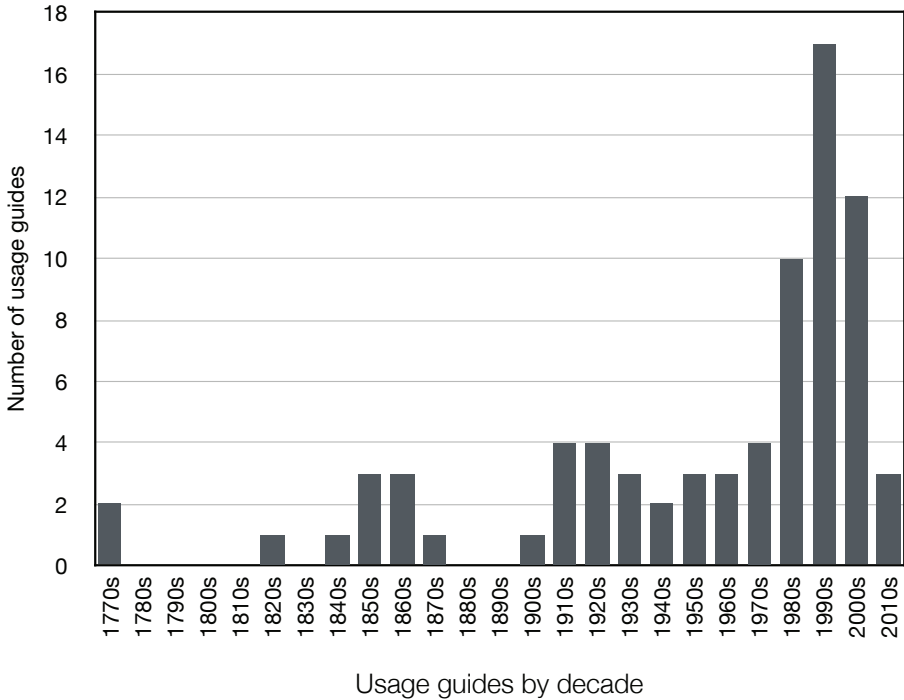


Figure 3.1 The distribution of the usage guides in HUGÉ by date

guides for the HUGÉ project, with the drop in numbers in the 2010s reflecting the time of the creation of the HUGÉ database (see Straaijer, 2014; 2015, pp. 6–7). There is also one early guide (in two different editions in HUGÉ) from the late eighteenth century. It should be noted that there are six decades which are not represented in HUGÉ.³ Notwithstanding this, Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2020, p. 54) was able to conclude that “coverage of the eighteenth ... and nineteenth centuries ... is as complete as we could hope for”.

Figure 3.2 shows the number of usage guides in HUGÉ which do (Yes) and do not (No) include an entry on number agreement in the species noun phrase. The usage guides themselves do not use the wording ‘species noun phrase’, as the term ‘species noun’ was not introduced until Biber et al. (1999, p. 255) (see §1.1). In fact, the usage guides tend not to use a specific term for this construction at all, instead listing it as e.g. a numbered paragraph (e.g. “CXVI. SORTS”; Baker, 1770), under e.g. *those sort* (White, 1870), or simply under e.g. *kind* (Fowler, 1926). Table 3.5 in §3.4.2: EXPLANATION below includes the various technical terms used in the usage

³ This is in part due to one of the limitations of the procedure for compiling the database being that the books had to be destroyed in order to digitise them, and this ruled out access to some titles (Straaijer, 2014).

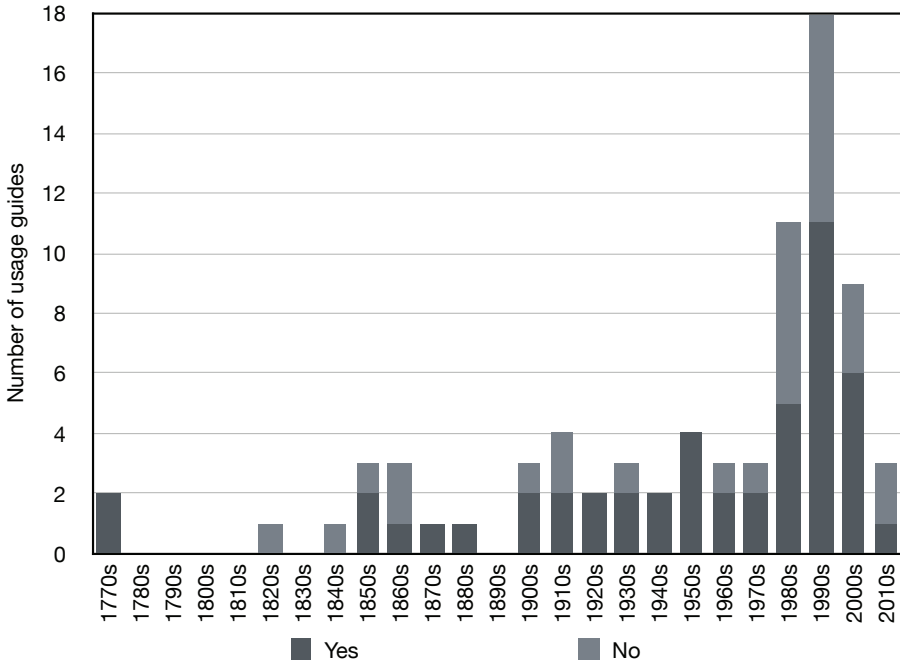


Figure 3.2 The usage guides in HUGE which do (Yes) or do not (No) include an entry on the species noun phrase

guide entries when discussing this topic. Figure 3.2 shows that forty-eight (62%) of the usage guides in HUGE do include a discussion of this topic in some form or other,⁴ and that twenty-nine do not. The proportion of ‘Yes/No’ does not appear to vary very much by decade over the period of study, from the very beginning in the late eighteenth century to the very end in the early twenty-first century, with a peak in the 1990s. Number agreement in the species noun phrase does therefore seem to be a usage issue which has persisted over the whole of the period covered in HUGE, which addresses the first two questions raised by Straaijer (see §3.1).

A list of the forty-seven usage guides investigated for this study is given in Appendix A1. Following Anderwald’s (2020, pp. 75, 89) interpretation of Labov’s (1972) ‘Principle of Accountability’, I also list in Appendix A2 those usage guides which do not include an entry on e.g. *these kind of*, and it will be important to bear in mind throughout this study that there are also these twenty-nine guides that did not feel it necessary to include an entry on number agreement in the species noun phrase, and that these also span nearly the whole of the period, from 1829 (Anonymous)

⁴ This number was reduced to forty-seven after I removed Brown’s (1851) *Grammar of English Grammars* from the study as I do not consider it to be a usage guide.

to 2010 (Lamb), as shown in the upper part of the bars in Table 3.2. In the list in Appendix A1, the dates given, and on which Figures 3.1 and 3.2 are based, are largely those found in HUGE. Where I have used different dates, this is generally because I had access to an earlier, typically first, edition of one of the usage guides in HUGE, or to a later edition, as well as to the HUGE edition itself. This sometimes has the effect of positioning a usage guide in an earlier decade. For example, I was able to find a first edition, dated 1906, of Vizetelly's *Desk-Book of Errors in English*, in addition to the 1920 second edition in HUGE. Sometimes, finding an earlier edition meant that a usage guide was positioned in an earlier century, as with Ayres' *The Verbalist*, where I had access to an 1882 first edition in addition to the 1911 revised edition in HUGE. Generally, I was able to access digital editions of these usage guides via the Internet Archive⁵ or via the HathiTrust Digital Library,⁶ and I also had access to some print editions in the Cambridge University Library in the UK.⁷ This meant that, in addition to accessing the resources of the HUGE database, I was in some cases able to extend those resources to include earlier or later editions. All editions bar two⁸ were searchable electronically, and in addition to the search functions in HUGE, I was able to access the full text of the editions listed in Appendix A1, both singly and collectively, using the search functions in Adobe Acrobat XI Professional.

Using these other editions is helpful for two reasons. First, whilst HUGE allows us to see that a treatment of the species noun phrase is included in usage guides published throughout the period, as shown in Figure 3.2, study of earlier and later editions can add to this by showing that whilst e.g. Howard in his *Good English Guide: English Usage in the 1990s* (1993; part of HUGE) included an entry on the species noun phrase, in a subsequent edition, his *Guide to Good English in the 21st Century* (2002), he did not include it. Conversely, Garner, in the first edition of his *Dictionary of Modern American Usage* (1998; part of HUGE) does include an entry on the species noun phrase, and in his fifth edition, now called *Garner's Modern English Usage* (2022), he continues to treat it in much the same way. Similarly, Ebbitt and Ebbitt, in their sixth edition of *Writer's Guide and Index to English* (1978; part of HUGE) do mention the species noun phrase, but it was first included, with a similar treatment, in the first edition of 1939, written by Perrin and called *Index to English: A Handbook of Current Usage and Style*. These two strands together – the usage guides in HUGE, and earlier and later editions – can thus yield a fuller understanding of the persistence of the species noun phrase as a usage guide issue over time. For example, the BtU project was unable to source Perrin's 1939 edition, and this led to difficulty in

5 <<https://archive.org>>.

6 <<https://www.hathitrust.org>>.

7 <<https://www.lib.cam.ac.uk>>.

8 Perrin (1939, 1956), which are in my private possession.

establishing the time-line of some usage problems for them (see e.g. Tiekens-Boon van Ostade, 2020, p. 67, fn. 13). I have therefore based my analyses on the first editions wherever possible, as this should make it easier to plot any differences in the approach of the usage guides over time (and see §3.6 below where I present some case studies which trace the evolution of the treatment of the species noun phrase over time in the different editions of some of the guides).

Howard (2002) therefore stands out as the only author in the forty-seven usage guides in this study to delete mention of the species noun phrase in a later edition. However, since I was able to obtain a copy of Howard's (1985) *A Guide to Good English in the 1980s* in 2023, this seems to not be the case at all, as it also does not include an entry on the species noun phrase. It seems that the *Guide to Good English in the 1980s* (1985), *The Good English Guide: English Usage in the 1990s* (1993; part of HUGE) and *A Guide to Good English in the 21st Century* (2002), all by Godfrey Howard, are not three editions of the 'same' book, but two different books: (1985 and 2002) and (1993). The 1993 book was published by Pan Macmillan, and makes no reference to the 1985 book. The 2002 book was published by Duckworth, and mentions the "[o]riginal edition" published by Pelham in 1985, but not the 1993 edition. Further to this, the main text of the 1985 edition takes up pages 10–223 (i.e. 214 pages), that of the 2002 edition pages 11–223 (213 pages), whilst that of the 1993 edition takes up pages 1–418, i.e. it is roughly twice as long, whilst also being a slightly larger format. It would seem, then, that the species noun phrase entry was included in the 1993 edition simply because there was more space.

Another topic arising from the different editions is that of authorship/editorship, and how this is reflected in the continuity of the treatment of the species noun phrase, another of Straaijer's questions. One aspect of the usage guides that quickly becomes apparent from a study of HUGE is that the forty-seven guides identified do not simply represent the views of forty-seven different authors. For example, before his 1926 usage guide, H.W. Fowler co-authored *The King's English* (1906) with his brother, F.G. Fowler. Gowers (1965) edited a second edition of Fowler (1926), and there is a third edition, edited by Burchfield (1996), and a fourth edition edited by Butterfield (2015). This fourth edition is not included in HUGE because it is too recent, but Butterfield was also the author of *The Oxford A–Z of English Usage* (2007), which is included in HUGE. Gowers also has his own usage guide, *Plain Words: A Guide to the Use of English* (1948). Greenbaum and Whitcut also have their own usage guide, the *Longman Guide to English Usage* (1988), but they had earlier revised Gowers's *Plain Words* (1948) for its third edition (1986),⁹ and Whitcut also revised Partridge's *Usage and Abuse: A Guide to Good English* (1947) for a new edition (1999).

9 Strictly speaking, they did not revise Gowers's (1948) edition, but a combination of his 1948 title and his 1951 *The ABC of Plain Words* as *The Complete Plain Words* (1954);

Cameron (1995, p. 239, fn. 3) has described this kind of (co-)authorship of several volumes as a “rather cosy relationship” and suggests that this may explain why many, especially modern, usage guides seem to exhibit a consensual approach to a topic, determined by “a few individuals [who] have played a disproportionate part in compiling the texts”. Knowledge of authorship/editorship can thus help to shed light both on the persistence of a usage issue and on the continuity of the treatment of it. Along with this continuity of authorship, it should also be noted that Oxford University Press published thirteen of the forty-seven usage guides in this study,¹⁰ from Fowler and Fowler (1906) to Butterfield (2007). Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2020, esp. Chapter 4) similarly refers to the existence of networks of authors and publishers of usage guides. This consensual approach might also be a product of the usage guide writers’ familiarity with each other’s work, and this is the topic of the next section.

3.3 Lateral referencing in the usage guides

3.3.1 Introduction

I showed in §3.1 above that Peters (2020) regards the lack of lateral referencing in the usage guides in her study as “suggest[ing] their remoteness from linguistic research and scholarship, and a reluctance to refer even to the work of other usage commentators” (2020, p. 616). If this is indeed the case, then it might suggest that the usage guide writers were more reliant on introspection and intuition (or, of course, on their own research) for their analyses, resulting in what is often described as *ipse dixit* commentary, i.e. the “right to pass their own judgments on usage” (2020, p. 619). Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2020, p. 15; see also pp. 154–161), referring to Peters’s earlier statement on this (2006, p. 761), questions Peters’s conclusion, noting from her own research on the HUGE database that “this is not as general a characteristic of usage guides as Peters suggests”. It should, however, also be noted that Lukač (2018a, p. 107) has questioned the usefulness of lateral referencing to the readers of the usage guides, so its absence may not reveal a lack of the practice of lateral referencing so much as the absence of its mention. Notwithstanding this, in this section I investigate whether the forty-seven usage guides in this study do refer to external sources, and in particular whether they refer to other usage guides. In order to do this I initially consider the whole text of the usage guides (§3.3.2), before moving on to a discussion of lateral referencing in their entries on the species noun phrase (§3.3.3).

Fraser revised this for the second edition of 1973, and Rebecca Gowers, the author’s great-granddaughter, also revised the 1954 edition for her fourth edition of 2014.

¹⁰ These were sometimes published under the imprint of the Clarendon Press.

3.3.2 *Lateral referencing in the usage guides as a whole*

Lateral referencing, by which I mean a reference to a named source, is first made explicit in Ayres' *The Verbalist* (1882). In his 'Prefatory Note' he says:

The curious inquirer who sets himself to look for the learning in the book is advised that he will best find it in such works as George P. Marsh's "Lectures on the English Language," Fitzedward Hall's "Recent Exemplifications of False Philology," and "Modern English," Richard Grant White's "Words and Their Uses," Edward S. Gould's "Good English," William Mathews' "Words: their Use and Abuse," Dean Alford's "The Queen's English," George Washington Moon's "Bad English," and "The Dean's English," Blank's 'Vulgarisms and Other Errors of Speech,' Alexander Bain's "English Composition and Rhetoric," Bain's "Higher English Grammar," Bain's "Composition Grammar," Quackenbos' "Composition and Rhetoric," John Nichol's "English Composition," William Cobbett's "English Grammar," Peter Bullions' "English Grammar," Goold Brown's "Grammar of English Grammars," Graham's "English Synonymes," Crabb's "English Synonymes," Bigelow's "Hand-book of Punctuation," and other kindred works.

(Ayres, 1882, pp. 3–4)

This long list already suggests a broad range of external references to other works on the English language, including one usage guide familiar from the current study: Alford's *The Queen's English* (1864).¹¹ Other guides which specifically refer to similar works as the source of their authority are Treble and Vallins (1936), Perrin (1939), Partridge (1947), Gowers (1948), Vallins (1951), Evans and Evans (1957), Wood (1962), Swan (1980), Bryson (1984), Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988), Gilman (1989), Howard (1993), Mager and Mager (1993), Wilson (1993), O'Conner (1996), Trask (2001), Brians (2003), Peters (2004), and Sayce (2006). These references are typically to be found in the Prelims and Bibliographies of the usage guides. In all, twenty-one of the forty-seven usage guides in this study do refer to external sources. This means, of course, that twenty-six of them do not, and there remain a further thirty usage guides in HUGE that are not part of this study, so it is not possible from this study to generalise about lateral referencing in the usage guides in HUGE as a whole. Instead, it can simply be said that nearly half of the guides included in this study do include such references. It should be borne in mind, however, that I did not read the whole of each usage guide when searching for references; that would constitute a research topic in its own right. It may therefore be the case that there are more guides which do include such lateral references.

¹¹ Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2020, pp. 31–33) has pointed out that Hurd (1847) "listed ... a three-page overview of 'Authorities consulted'", so this pre-dates Ayres, but Hurd is not included in this study as he does not comment on number agreement in the species noun phrase.

In addition to checking for these external sources, I also investigated whether the later usage guides in this study referred to any of the earlier guides in this study. As I had each of the forty-seven guides available as a searchable pdf file, I was able to do this using Adobe Acrobat XI Professional's search function, which makes it possible to search multiple files for the same string. I could thus make forty-seven searches on the set of the forty-seven guides. The results might seem surprising, given the conclusions of Peters and Young (1997). Only fifteen of the forty-seven usage guides were not cited by at least one other guide in this study, and twelve of those fifteen were published during or after the 1990s, so the opportunities for their being cited in later guides were fewer. In total then, twenty-two guides refer to external sources, and thirty-four guides refer to other guides in this study. A list of all the citations, including the specific guides referred to, is given in Appendix B. Table 3.1 lists the guides which are cited by other guides (first column), together with the number of guides citing them (second column) and the total number of citations in those guides (third column). The fourth and fifth columns will be discussed below.

As can be seen in Table 3.1, the numbers vary quite widely, with Payne (1911), Bailie and Kitchin (1979), Weiner and Delahunty (1993), and Sayce (2006) being cited just once, whilst Fowler (1926) is cited 2,290 times in twenty-seven different guides. The bottom of the table lists the fifteen guides which are not cited by any of the other guides in this study. Baker (1770) is both the earliest guide in this study and the earliest guide to be cited by another guide in this study. In fact Baker is cited by two other guides: Gilman (1989) and Peters (2004), a total of 82 times (see Appendix B1 for the details). The most recent guide cited by another is Sayce (2006): only once by Taggart (2010). The authors cited by the most different guides were: Fowler (1926), who is cited in twenty-seven of the other guides; Fowler and Fowler (1906), in seventeen; Partridge (1947), in sixteen; Gowers (1948), in sixteen; and Alford (1864), in twelve. Apart from Alford, this list reads like a roll-call of the major twentieth-century British usage guides. In terms of individual citations, i.e. including multiple citations in any one later guide, the most frequently cited were: Fowler (1926), cited 2,290 times; Evans and Evans (1957), 386 times; Morris and Morris (1975), 363 times; Gowers (1965), 290 times; and Partridge (1947), 285 times. Of Fowler's 2,290 citations, 792 were in Gilman (1989). Evans and Evans were cited 343 times by Gilman; Morris and Morris 347 times; Gowers 138 times; and Partridge 127 times, so it can be seen that Gilman (1989) accounts for many of these individual citations, which is perhaps unsurprising given the historical overview taken by that guide.

Looking at the practice of lateral referencing from a different perspective, it is also possible to identify which of the usage guides were making the citations. Of the forty-seven guides in this study, thirty-two cite other guides in this study. These are the guides shown in the first column of Table 3.1, with the number of different guides in

Table 3.1 Lateral referencing in the usage guides in this study

Usage guide cited	Number of other guides citing [e.g. Baker, 1770]	Total number of citations	Number of other guides cited [e.g. by Baker, 1770]	Total number of citations
Baker (1770)	2	82	–	–
Alford (1864)	12	130	–	–
White (1870)	7	245	1	9
Ayres (1882)	3	155	2	39
Fowler and Fowler (1906)	17	111	1	16
Vizetelly (1906)	2	158	3	17
Turck Baker (1910)	2	11	–	–
Payne (1911)	1	1	–	–
Fowler (1926)	27	2290	1	1
Krapp (1927)	5	108	1	1
Treble and Vallins (1936)	3	10	2	8
Perrin (1939)	4	93	2	2
Partridge (1947)	16	285	5	89
Gowers (1948)	16	132	4	22
Vallins (1951)	4	5	4	53
Vallins (1953)	1	4	6	89
Evans and Evans (1957)	8	386	4	96
Nicholson (1957)	4	26	3	34
Wood (1962)	3	9	5	35
Gowers (1965)	9	290	4	48
Morris and Morris (1975)	6	363	4	50
Bailie and Kitchin (1979)	1	1	–	–
Swan (1980 1983)	2	4	–	–
Weiner (1983)	3	8	2	2
Bryson (1984)	4	171	7	136

Usage guide cited	Number of other guides citing [e.g. Baker, 1770]	Total number of citations	Number of other guides cited [e.g. by Baker, 1770]	Total number of citations
Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988)	4	25	–	–
Gilman (1989)	4	151	21	2719
Howard (1993)	2	2	9	73
Weiner and Delahunty (1993)	1	1	3	3
Wilson (1993)	3	5	9	16
Burchfield (1996)	3	49	11	586
Garner (1998)	1	29	29	316
Allen (1999)	–	–	7	298
Trask (2001)	–	–	6	7
Peters (2004)	–	–	12	425
Pickett et al. (2005)	–	–	1	3
Sayce (2006)	1	1	2	8
Butterfield (2007)	–	–	1	1
Taggart (2010)	–	–	2	2

The following guides were not cited by other guides in this study: Baker (1779), Anon (1856 [500]), Anon (1856 [Live]), Carter and Skates (1990), Marriot and Farrell (1992), Mager and Mager (1993), Ayto (1995), O'Conner (1996), Allen (1999), Trask (2001), Brians (2003), Peters (2004), Pickett et al. (2005), Butterfield (2007), and Taggart (2010)

The following guides did not cite other guides in this study: Baker (1770), Baker (1779), Anon (1856 [500]), Anon (1856 [Live]), Alford (1864), Turck Baker (1910), Payne (1911), Baillie and Kitchin (1979), Swan (1980 1983), Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988), Carter and Skates (1990), Marriot and Farrell (1992), Mager and Mager (1993), Ayto (1995), and Brians (2003)

this study cited by them shown in the fourth column, and the total number of citations shown in the fifth column. The fifteen guides which do not cite other guides are listed at the bottom of Table 3.1. The first five of these are unsurprising, as they are also the earliest five guides in the study and so they had much less opportunity to cite earlier guides. The remaining ten guides, which span the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, had more opportunities to cite other guides but chose to not do so, perhaps for the reason cited in Lukač (2018a, p. 107), as referred to above.

The first guide to cite an earlier guide in this study is White (1870), who cites Alford (1864) nine times. The most recent guide to cite an earlier guide is in fact one of the latest guides in HUGE: Taggart (2010), who cites Bryson (1984) and Sayce (2006) once each. Of the thirty-three guides which do cite other guides, again the number of citations, and the number of different citations, vary. Gilman (1989) cites twenty-one different guides altogether a total of 2,719 times; Burchfield (1996) cites eleven guides 586 times; Peters (2004) cites twelve guides 425 times; Garner (1998) cites twenty-eight guides 384 times; and Allen (1999) cites seven guides 298 times. The complete list of figures, again including details of the specific guides referred to, presented in date sequence, can be found in Appendix B2. One aspect of these figures that again needs to be borne in mind is that they include only those cross-references to the other guides dealt with in this study; the total number of references to other usage guides, including other guides in the HUGE database, will likely be many more than this. An analysis of the lateral referencing in all seventy-seven usage guides in the HUGE database would thus make an interesting project, but one that is beyond the scope of the current study.

It can be seen from the list in Appendix B2 that there are differences in the nature of these lateral references. For example, whilst Gilman (1989) has an average of 130 cross-references for each of his twenty-one lateral references (i.e. 2,719/21), Garner (1998) has an average of only 14 cross-references for each of his twenty-eight lateral references. This reflects the fact that Garner has nine lateral references that he cites only once each, and this in turn reflects the fact that many of his lateral references are included in a very extensive ‘Timeline of books on usage’ section (1998, pp. 709–719). Gilman, by contrast, cites only two of his twenty-one lateral references just once, again reflecting Gilman’s historical survey approach.

3.3.3 *Lateral referencing within the species noun phrase entries*

As well as lateral referencing between the usage guides generally, it is possible to look at lateral referencing specifically in the guides’ entries on the species noun phrase, and this may help to shed some light on whether there is a consensual approach to the topic, as has been suggested by Cameron (1995, p. 239, fn. 3; and see §3.2 above). To do this, I looked at references both to external sources and to other usage guides in this study, but I will comment on them separately. Table 3.2 overleaf lists those guides which do cross-refer to other usage guides or to other sources. There are (only) twelve guides which include lateral referencing within their species noun phrase entries, and again it should be noted that this means that there are thirty-five guides which do not include any such references, three times as many. These thirty-five guides are listed at

the bottom of Table 3.2. Those guides which do include lateral referencing are listed in date sequence in the first column in Table 3.2, where the second column shows any cross-references to other usage guides in this study, whilst the third column shows cross-references to other sources. The names of the guides and references are included in the table, as this data cannot be found in Appendix B. The other sources are listed in the References.

Table 3.2 Lateral referencing in the usage guide entries for the species noun phrase

Usage guide	Cross-references to other usage guides in this study	Cross-references to other source
Fowler (1926)		<i>OED</i>
Treble and Vallins (1936)	MEU [Fowler, 1926]	<i>OED</i>
Perrin (1939)		<i>OED</i> , Jespersen (1933)
Partridge (1947)	Alford (1870, third edition)	<i>OED</i>
Vallins (1953)	Vallins (1951)	
Nicholson (1957)		<i>OED</i>
Wood (1962)	Fowler (1926)	
Gowers (1965)		<i>OED</i>
Gilman (1989)	Baker (1779) Alford (1866 [1864 2nd edn]) White (1870) Ayres (1881) Fowler (1926) Gowers (1965) Howard (1980) Bryson (1984) Chambers (1985) [Davidson]	Lowth (1762) Murray (1795) Webster (1804) Brown (1851) Hodgson (1889) Leonard (1929) Jensen et al. (1935) Phythian (1979) <i>OED</i> Jespersen (1909–1949)
Burchfield (1996)		<i>OED</i>
Allen (1999)		<i>OED</i>
Peters (2004)	Gowers (1965)	

Usage guides in this study which do not include lateral referencing in their entries for the species noun phrase: Baker (1770), (1779), Anon (1856 [500]), Anon (1856 [*Live*]), Alford (1864), White (1870), Ayres (1882), Fowler and Fowler (1906), Vizetelly (1906), Turk Baker (1910), Payne (1911), Krapp (1927), Gowers (1948), Vallins (1951), Evans and Evans (1957), Morris and Morris (1975), Bailie and Kitchin (1979), Swan (1980), Weiner (1983), Bryson (1984), Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988), Carter and Skates (1990 [1988]), Marriott and Farrell (1992), Howard (1993), Mager and Mager (1993), Weiner and Delahunty (1993), Wilson (1993), Ayto (1995), O’Conner (1996), Garner (1998), Trask (2001), Brians (2003), Pickett et al. (2005), Sayce (2006), Butterfield (2007), and Taggart (2010).

Apart from Gilman (1989), which as we have already seen (§3.3.2) provides a historical overview of the treatment of the species noun phrase in other usage guides, only five of the usage guides include a cross-reference to another usage guide in this study in their entries for the species noun phrase. Two of these guides (Treble and Vallins, 1936; Wood, 1962) cross-refer to Fowler (1926), whilst a third (Peters, 2004) refers to Gowers (1965), the second edition of Fowler (1926). Of the other sources, nine of the twelve guides refer to the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*. Both Fowler (1926) and Gowers (1965) were also published by Oxford University Press. Only one of the twelve guides (Vallins, 1953), does not refer to a reference source published by Oxford.

Summary

In §§3.3.2–3.3.3, I have investigated the claim made by Peters (2006; 2020) and Peters and Young (1977) that usage guides lack lateral referencing to other language reference books. Given the number of examples of lateral referencing shown in Tables 3.1 and 3.2, it would seem that Peters’s conclusion that “external reference points were few” (2006, p. 762; 2020, p. 617) may have been more a reflection of the forty usage books¹² in her study (Peters and Young, 1997) than a general feature of usage guides. Even focusing on the sixteen usage guides in the current study published between 1950 and 1995, the period studied by Peters and Young (1997, pp. 325–326), shows considerable lateral referencing, as can be seen in Tables 3.1 and 3.2, and in Appendices B1 and B2. Given Tieken-Boon van Ostade’s (2020, p. 154) conclusion that “drawing on secondary references is ... clearly not unusual at all”, as noted above, the question then arises of why the results of the current study and those of Peters and Young (1997) are so different. I noted above that whilst twenty-one guides in the current study included lateral references, twenty-six did not. A comparison of the forty guides used in the Peters and Young study (1997, pp. 325–326) reveals that only ten of them also appear in the current study. So, Peters and Young looked at thirty guides that I did not use, and I looked at thirty-seven guides that they did not use. Their list also included six guides published in Australia, as well as those published in the UK and the US, as in the current study. Tieken-Boon van Ostade was also using the HUGE database for her findings, so the different conclusions may be no more than a reflection of differences in the source material. Notwithstanding that, there clearly is a section of the usage guide writers who are aware of both other professional work on language and the work of other usage guide writers (and see §3.4.4 below for a further example of this).

¹² Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2020, p. 55) has pointed out that Peters and Young do not distinguish between a usage guide and a style guide as strictly as in the HUGE project.

In the following sections I investigate what the usage guide writers in this study have to say about number agreement in the species noun phrase, and in particular whether they present a (more or less) unified approach.

3.4 Number agreement in the species noun phrase

3.4.1 Introduction

As noted in §1.2, the point of a usage guide is not just that it deals with usage variation, as is the case with the reference grammars discussed in §2.3, but that it deals with usage problems. I have already shown (see §3.2) that twenty-nine of the usage guides in this study do not include an entry on the species noun phrase, and so they do not regard it as a problem on a par with what they do include. However, not even all the forty-seven usage guides that do include an entry on number agreement in the species noun phrase do regard it as a problem. For example, Partridge (1947, pp. 167–168) states that “*these or those kind of things*, pedantically judged incorrect, is a justifiable English idiom”. Evans and Evans, in their *Dictionary of Contemporary American Usage* (1957, p. 263), start their entry on ‘kind of’ with the observation that “[t]he use of singulars and plurals in expressions involving *kind of* is complicated only in the sense that there are several constructions all of which are equally acceptable”. Similar views can be found in Vallins (1951, p. 46), though he was later to change his mind (1953, pp. 216–217), in Pickett et al. (2005, p. 272), and in Gilman (1989, p. 576). Their comments suggest that these usage guide writers are aware of a usage ‘canon’ on which they feel obliged to comment (see Vorlat, 1996): even when they do not think that a particular feature constitutes a usage problem, they nonetheless recognise that there is (a section of) the reading public who do see it as such and who therefore expect to find it discussed in a usage guide.

Notwithstanding the authors just cited, many usage guide writers do present number variation in the species noun phrase as a usage problem, and an indication that this is what we might expect can be seen in the titles of some of the usage guides, which often include words such as *mistakes*, *errors* or *good English*: Anon (1856) *Five Hundred Mistakes of Daily Occurrence in Speaking, Pronouncing, and Writing the English Language, Corrected*; Marriott and Farrell (1992) *Chambers Common Errors in English*; Sayce (2006) *What Not to Write: A Guide to the Dos and Don'ts of Good English*. Other guides with similar titles include Ayres (1882), Vizetelly (1906), Turck Baker (1910), Payne (1911), Partridge (1947), Vallins (1951, 1955), Howard (1993), Ayto (1995),¹³ O’Conner (1996), and Trask (2001), i.e. guides from most of the period covered in HUGE.

¹³ Ayto’s *Good English!* was first published in 1995 as *The Oxford School A–Z of English*,

Figure 3.2 above shows that the issue of number agreement in the species noun phrase is a matter of concern for many of the usage guide writers throughout the period covered in HUGE, and I now address whether the forty-seven usage guides in this study are addressing the same, or at least a similar, issue. Weiner, author of a usage guide in HUGE (see below), also contributed to a Festschrift for Robert Burchfield, in which he considers that “[a] good usage guide entry requires three things: exemplification, explanation, and recommendation” (1988, p. 178). For an example of this, I will start with Weiner’s own usage guide, *The Oxford Guide to English Usage* (1983), and his entry for ‘kind of, sort of’:¹⁴

(1) *A kind of, a sort of* should not be followed by *a* before the noun, e.g. *a kind of shock*, not *a kind of a shock*. (2) *Kind of, sort of* etc., followed by a plural noun, are often treated as plural and qualified by plural words like *these, those*, or followed by a plural verb, e.g. *They would be on those sort of terms* (Anthony Powell). This is widely regarded as incorrect except in informal use: substitute *that* (etc.) *kind* (or *sort*) *of* or *of that kind* (or *sort*), e.g. *this kind of car is unpopular* or *cars of this kind are unpopular*. (3) *Kind of, sort of* used adverbially, e.g. *I kind of expected it*, are informal only.
(Weiner, 1983, p. 113)

For this study, I am interested only in issue (2). In Weiner’s entry, the exemplification of the usage problem (the proscription) is provided by “*They would be on those sort of terms*”, i.e. a plural determiner (*those*) followed by a singular species noun (*sort*) and a plural N2 (*terms*); the explanation is in two parts: “*Kind of, sort of* etc., followed by a plural noun, are often treated as plural and qualified by plural words like *these, those*, or followed by a plural verb”, and “This is widely regarded as incorrect except in informal use”. Weiner’s recommendation (the prescription) is “substitute *that* (etc.) *kind* (or *sort*) *of* or *of that kind* (or *sort*), e.g. *this kind of car is unpopular* or *cars of this kind are unpopular*”. The explanation itself is split, and is stated in terms of both grammar and register, i.e. there is a mismatch of grammatical number in the exemplification, which would typically be regarded as incorrect (i.e. in writing or formal speech), but which would be considered acceptable in informal language. There is no suggestion in Weiner that the three parts of the entry should appear in any particular sequence, and, as he notes (1988, p. 178), the three parts are not always discrete and easily identifiable. Note also that Weiner’s (1) and (3) do not follow his strictures, and it mustn’t be assumed that all the entries in this study will show Weiner’s tripartite structure. For example, Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2015, p. 63) has shown that in *Five Hundred Mistakes Corrected* (Anon, 1856) the author adopts this structure in only 113 of the 499 entries.¹⁵ It can be seen that Weiner’s analysis,

and was renamed in 2005.

14 Note again that no technical term is introduced for this topic (and cf. Table 3.5 below).

15 Tieken-Boon van Ostade points out that entry number 450 was skipped between pages 66

including that of the variability of the number of the species noun, closely resembles the analyses given in the modern reference grammars (cf. §2.3).

For my initial analysis, I start in §3.4.2 by considering what the usage guide authors regard as the problem, in terms of number agreement within the species noun phrase, by investigating their EXEMPLIFICATION. I will then move on to what they consider to be the better alternatives or variants (i.e. RECOMMENDATION), and then on to why the original exemplification is considered to be a problem (i.e. EXPLANATION). I then consider the problem of number agreement between the subject species noun phrase and the verb (§3.4.3). This part of the study will close with a look at how some of the usage guide writers provide a more general explanation of the variation in usage in terms of grammatical attraction and proximity (§3.4.4), as introduced in the reference grammars in §2.3. Consideration of whether the usage guide writers think that the variation is register- or region-specific, e.g. Weiner's "incorrect except in informal use" and Butterfield's "standard in NAmer. English" (2015, p. 479; see §1.1 above), is given in §3.5.

3.4.2 *Number agreement within the species noun phrase*

EXEMPLIFICATION

Gilman (1989, pp. 576–578) provides a useful historical account of the treatment of variation in number agreement in the species noun phrase in usage guides, listing forty examples from printed works between 1595 and 1986. Many of his examples are of the form *these/those + kind/sort + of + N2.PL*, i.e. a plural determiner (*these/those*) followed by a singular species noun (*kind/sort*) plus *of* followed by a (plural) second noun, e.g. *those sort of terms*. This accurately characterises the usage issue for most of the writers in HUGE, as illustrated from Weiner above. This number mismatch is seen as a usage problem precisely because there is variation in usage between e.g. *these kinds of* and *these kind of*. I will show that, for many of the usage guide writers, this mismatch in number between plural *these* and singular *kind* is not a case of usage variation, as it was for some of the analyses shown in Chapter 2, but instead shows a usage error (and see EXPLANATION below for more on this).

I showed in Chapter 2, on the grammar of number in the species noun phrase, that there are several sites, or loci, in the species noun phrase, and in the clause of which it is a constituent, where number can be identified, either as singular or unmarked, or as plural.¹⁶ These are:

and 67.

16 I have not included here the possibility of a subsequent pronoun with anaphoric reference to an antecedent species noun phrase. This features only in Evans and Evans (1957, p. 263): *this kind of tree is nice if you like it* vs. *these kind of trees are nice if you like them*.

This/That/These/Those + kind/kinds/sort/sorts/type/types + of
 + N2.SG/N2.PL + V.SG/V.PL

i.e. DET + SN + *of* + N2 + V

In this section, I will concentrate on the phrase up to and including the N2, with those examples including the verb being analysed below in §3.4.3. In twenty-five of the forty-seven usage guides, the examples used to show the error are of the type highlighted by Gilman: DET.PL + SN.SG + *of* + N2.PL. These include examples from Baker (1779, p. 99: *these sort of men*) to Taggart (2010, p. 57: *these kind of films*). In these twenty-five guides, there are eighteen examples with *these* vs. seventeen with *those*, and twenty-one examples with *kind* vs. fourteen with *sort*. There are just two examples with *type*. The choice of N2 shows no particular pattern, apart from eight examples including *people* and seven including *things*, presumably as a reflection of the authors making up their own examples, rather than examples being taken from citation files or a corpus (this last option was not available to many of the guides in this study because of their dates of publication), or of examples being copied from edition to edition or within a publishing house, e.g. Oxford University Press. A full list of the examples from the usage guides is given in Appendix C1. Table 3.3 extracts from Appendix C1 the different structures presented, with the dates of their earliest and latest presentation, and the number of different usage guides using this variant. In the table the structures are presented in frequency order; the bold numbers in brackets link the examples to the entries in Appendix C1.

Table 3.3 Exemplification in the species noun phrase entries

Exemplification	Earliest source Latest source	Number of guides using this variant
[6] DET.PL + SN.SG + <i>of</i> + N2.PL e.g. <i>these sort of men</i>	Baker (1779) Taggart (2010)	25
[2] DET.PL + SN.SG e.g. <i>these kind</i>	Vizetelly (1906) Morris and Morris (1975)	5
[3] DET.PL + SN.SG + <i>of</i> e.g. <i>those kind of</i>	Nicholson (1957) Trask (2001)	5
[1] SN.SG + <i>of</i> e.g. <i>kind of</i>	Marriott and Farrell (1992)	1
[4] DET.SG + SN.SG + <i>of</i> + N2 e.g. <i>this sort of paper</i>	Sayce (2006)	1
[5] DET.PL + SN.PL + <i>of</i> + N2.SG e.g. <i>these types of car</i>	Sayce (2006)	1

It can be seen from Table 3.3 that the preferred exemplifications – [6], [2], and [3] – all contain number conflict between the determiner and the species noun, i.e. exactly the variant highlighted in the reference grammars in §2.3. Sayce (2006) is singular in showing an example with no number conflict, [4], and in showing number conflict between the determiner plus species noun and the N2, [5]. I will show in the EXPLANATION section below why these examples are used.

RECOMMENDATION

To return to Gilman’s historical overview (1989, p. 576), he says: “what most of the handbooks and usage books say: use *this* or *that* with singular *kind* or *sort* and follow *of* with a singular noun; use *these* or *those* with plural *kinds* or *sorts* and follow *of* with a plural noun.” I showed above and in Appendix C1 that the canonical error form of the species noun phrase (the proscription) is e.g. *these kind of*, which is presented as a mismatch of number between the plural determiner and the singular species noun *kind/sort/type*. It is therefore to be expected that the recommended form (the prescription) given in the usage guides would be e.g. *this kind of* and *these kinds of*. In this section I investigate whether this is actually the case. Some writers, perhaps oddly, give no recommendations at all: Fowler and Fowler (1906), Vizetelly (1906), Fowler (1926),¹⁷ Partridge (1947), Gowers (1948, 1965), and Vallins (1951) fall into this category, sometimes on the basis that the error is simply too obvious to need either illustration or explanation (see e.g. the quotation from Payne, 1911, on the half-title page of this book). For some usage guide writers, if the species noun phrase contains a plural N2, e.g. *cars*, then an alternative structure should be used, e.g. *cars of this kind*, where *cars* is seen as the N2 (see e.g. Marriott and Farrell, 1992, Weiner, 1983, and Weiner and Delahunty, 1993). I return to this point below, and see the discussion in §2.3.

I pointed out in the section on EXEMPLIFICATION above that the species noun variant *type* did not feature very much in the exemplifications in the usage guides, and this is also the case with the recommendations. Only Wilson (1993), O’Conner (1996), and Sayce (2006) include *type*. O’Conner (1996) lists *type* alongside similar examples with *kind* and *sort*. Wilson (1993) does not include *type* in his entry on *these kind of*, *these sort of* (p. 436), but in a separate entry covering *kind*, *manner*, *sort*, *style*, *type*, *way*¹⁸ (pp. 262–263), illustrating it with *this type of book*, *these types of airplanes* and

¹⁷ It should be noted that Nicholson (1957), unlike Gowers (1965), does not follow Fowler in this regard, and does list some recommendations, and so can be seen as less of a clone of Fowler (1926) than is Gowers. This conclusion is, however, at odds with that of Tiekens-Boon van Ostade in her analyses of Nicholson (see e.g. 2020, pp. 142, 157, 159, 207), a consequence of differences in approach to the topic.

¹⁸ Wilson’s *That manner of chatter* and *this way of writing* and *style* are not included in this study, as explained in §1.2.

those types of sand. Sayce (2006, pp. 61–63), however, takes a noticeably different stance on this: “Avoid using ‘kind of’, ‘sort of’ and ‘type of’ unnecessarily. When you do use them, note that ‘type’ has a more formal, technical meaning than ‘kind’ and ‘sort’, which are more informal terms.”¹⁹ This explains Sayce’s untypical entries in Table 3.3: she is more concerned with the choice of species noun than with number agreement. Sayce’s claim about *type* is investigated in the corpus analysis in Chapter 5 (see §5.5.4).

Perhaps not surprisingly, given the proscriptions in the usage guides as shown in their exemplifications, their recommendations focus on ‘full’ agreement. Some authors list simply the determiner and the species noun, with either singular or plural agreement, or both, whilst others include the N2 and the verb. The complete list of recommendations is shown in Appendix C2. Here, Table 3.4 extracts from Appendix C2 the different structures presented, with the dates of their earliest and latest presentation, and the number of different usage guides using this variant. In the table the structures are presented in frequency order; the bold numbers in brackets link the examples to the entries in Appendix C2.

Table 3.4 Recommendation in the species noun phrase entries

Recommendation	Earliest source Latest sources	Number of guides using this variant
[5] DET.SG + SN.SG + <i>of</i> + N2.SG e.g. <i>this kind of thing</i>	Alford (1864) Taggart (2010)	19
[9] DET.PL + SN.PL + <i>of</i> + N2.PL e.g. <i>these kinds of pears</i>	Anon (1856 [500]) Butterfield (2007)	12
[6] DET.SG + SN.SG + <i>of</i> + N2.PL e.g. <i>this kind of things</i>	Alford (1864) Brians (2003)	6
[1] DET.SG + SN.SG e.g. <i>that sort</i>	Anon (1856 [Live]) Mager and Mager (1993)	5
[8] DET.PL + SN.PL + <i>of</i> + N2.SG e.g. <i>these kinds of food</i>	Carter and Skates (1990) Taggart (2010)	4
[2] DET.PL + SN.PL e.g. <i>those sorts</i>	Anon (1856 [Live]) Mager and Mager (1993)	3
[3] DET.SG + SN.SG + <i>of</i> e.g. <i>this kind of</i>	Trask (2001)	1
[4] DET.PL + SN.PL + <i>of</i> e.g. <i>these kinds of</i>	Trask (2001)	1
[7] DET.PL + SN.SG + <i>of</i> + N2.PL e.g. <i>these kind of trees</i>	Evans and Evans (1957)	1

¹⁹ In June 2019 I contacted Kay Sayce (now Powell) on this, and she informed me that her entry was based on thirty years’ work as an editor, particularly of scientific materials.

As can be seen in Table 3.4, the most frequent prescriptions – [5] and [9] – show number agreement throughout the phrase, but we can also see more variants being considered acceptable, including those with mixed number, as in [6], [8], and [7]. Despite this variation, it should be noted that all the recommendations show number agreement between the determiner and the species noun, apart from [7]. So in practice, the usage guide writers as a whole largely agree that e.g. *these kind of* is wrong, and clearly prefer number agreement between the determiner and the species noun. However, once the N2 is included in their recommendations, they present a number of alternatives, i.e. a number of variant usages. A further point is that some of the usage guide writers question their own grammatical recommendations. These are marked with an initial ‘?’ in Appendix C2 and when they appear in the text, and are used in examples from Baker (1779), Alford (1864), and Treble and Vallins (1936; and see EXPLANATION below for more on this).

Some of the usage guides also include the variant *men of this sort* (see sections [16], [17], and [18] in Appendix C2). In comparison with the examples shown in Table 3.4, this phrase shows remarkably little variation, from Baker’s (1779) *men of this sort* to Allen’s (1999) *demergers of this kind*. With this variant, the N2 (i.e. *men*, *demergers*) is always plural, whilst the determiner and the species noun are singular. The one exception to this is given in Ayto (1995), who in addition to *sausages of this kind* also lists *sausages of these kinds*, with all the constituents showing plural number. None of the usage guides lists what would seem to be the obvious alternative to *these kind of N2.PL*, i.e. *N2.PL of these kind*, i.e. maintaining a number mismatch between the determiner and the species noun. With this variant, then, there is always number agreement between them. Another aspect of the usage guides’ treatment of the *N2.PL of this kind* variant is the frequency of *that* as the determiner. Whilst many guides include *that/those* as an alternative to *this/these* in the ‘standard’ species noun phrase, i.e. *those kinds of* (see above), of the fifteen guides which include the *N2 of this kind* variant, only five include *that* in the variant *of that kind*. This lack of variation in the determiner is discussed briefly in Appendix G3.

EXPLANATION

In their book *Authority in Language*, Milroy and Milroy (2012, p. 31) make the claim that usage guide writers²⁰ very often “make no attempt whatever to explain why one usage is correct and another incorrect: they simply take it for granted that the proscribed form is *obviously* unacceptable and illegitimate”, and that, for some usage guide writers, the problem is indeed so self-evident that it doesn’t need explanation (see Payne, 1911, p. 46, cited above for an example of this). In this section, I investigate

²⁰ Milroy and Milroy here refer to writers in “[t]he correctness tradition”, which includes usage guide writers.

whether Milroy and Milroy accurately reflect the explanations of number agreement in the species noun phrase in the usage guides in this study.

The practice of not explaining the problem/variation, at least on the topic of the species noun phrase, could be seen as a reflection of the professional background of some of the authors,²¹ and seems to have started with Fowler and Fowler (1906), where two examples are listed without comment, albeit under the heading ‘Vulgarisms and Colloquialisms’, but Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2015, p. 63) identifies a similar feature in the much earlier *Five Hundred Mistakes ... Corrected* (1856). Mager and Mager (1993) have two entries, ‘kind’ (p. 205) and ‘these’ (p. 380), where they also provide exemplification but no explanation.

It is certainly the case, as suggested by Milroy and Milroy, that some of the usage guides, both older and more recent, present the lack of number agreement in the species noun phrase as simply ‘wrong’, ‘incorrect’ or an ‘error’: “it would be wrong in me to say” (Baker, 1770, p. 115; 1779, p. 60); “[i]f it sounds wrong to you, you’re right” (O’Conner, 1996, p. 31); “we all see that this is incorrect” (Alford, 1864, p. 69); “so it would be incorrect” (Brians, 2003, p. 202); “another very common error” (Anon, 1856 [*Live*], p. 86); “[a] very common but nonetheless irritating error” (Morris and Morris, 1975, p. 596). Other guides taking this approach are Vizetelly (1906, p. 211) and Howard (1993, p. 235). These are indeed very bald statements of the usage problem, but some usage guides do provide more explanation, presenting the lack of number agreement as a grammatical problem: “considered grammatically incorrect” (Fowler, 1926, p. 551).²² Others in this vein include Partridge (1947, p. 167) and Nicholson (1957, p. 303).²³ This is perhaps not surprising given the description of the problem as one of grammar (see below). However, there is also some indication, from a number of guides, that this (grammatically) incorrect usage may nonetheless be acceptable in registers other than formal writing, and I return to this topic of register variation below (see §3.5.2).

Some usage guides focus on the singular/plural contrast in *these kind of*, and their explanation is often, but not always, couched in grammatical terms, but the words ‘grammatical/ungrammatical’ themselves are not always used. Krapp (1927, pp. 585–586) is the first to do so: “The nouns *sort, kind*, being grammatically singular, require a singular form in the preceding adjective pronoun.”²⁴ Treble and Vallins (1936, p. 167), Trask (2001, p. 168), and Butterfield (2007, p. 147) provide a similar explanation,

21 Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2020, pp. 73–76ff.) includes a useful discussion of the expertise of the usage guide authors in HUGE, and see comments on “lay writers” in §1.2.

22 Fowler is here quoting the *OED*.

23 It should be noted in this context that Partridge is also quoting the *OED* and lists Fowler as one of his sources, and that Nicholson is an American edition of Fowler, though with some differences, as shown above.

24 I address the topic of the metalanguage for the word classes below (and see Table 3.5).

with Butterfield noting that the variant “is technically ungrammatical. This is because *these* is plural and needs to agree with a plural noun”. Butterfield’s “technically ungrammatical” suggests the notion of a cline of grammaticality, whilst Allen (1999, p. 363) has the similar “this ... is ungrammatical on a normal interpretation”. I revisit this view of a cline of grammaticality/acceptability, and of the tension between grammar and usage, in the survey analysis in §4.4.3.

As with the examples given above, most of the grammatical explanations specify the contrast of singular and plural, even when they do not use the term ‘grammatical’; “a noun in the singular number will not allow its adjective to be in the plural” (Anon, 1856 [500], p. 23); “[n]ouns in the singular require demonstrative adjectives also in the singular” (Vizetelly, 1906, p. 211); “[a] plural pronoun and a singular noun do not go well together” (Ayres, 1911, p. 297). There are many more in this vein. These last three examples also raise the topic of how to describe what I have been calling the determiner. Various terms are used for this in the usage guides, as shown in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Metalanguage in the species noun phrase entries

Metalanguage for ‘determiner’	Usage guide(s)
adjective	Baker (1779) Anon (1856 [500]) Anon (1856 [<i>Live</i>])
adjective pronoun	Krapp (1927)
demonstrative	Wilson (1993)
demonstrative adjective	Vizetelly (1906) Treble and Vallins (1936) Wood (1962)
demonstrative pronoun	Morris and Morris (1975)
pronoun	White (1870) Ayres (1911) Baillie and Kitchin (1979)
qualifier	Evans and Evans (1957)

Many of the usage guides do not specify the word class of the determiner, but instead rely simply on the contrast of singular and plural: “A mixture of singular and plural forms sometimes happens in an informal style” (Swan, 1980, §427);²⁵ “the incongruous combination of plural *these* and singular **sort**” (Greenbaum and Whitcut, 1988, p. 398). Some do not mention even singular and plural: “*This* and *that* are used with *kind*; *these* and *those* with *kinds*” (Turck Baker, 1910, p. 181). This lack of a common metalanguage in the explanations may of course be a concession to

²⁵ The question of informal style is addressed in §3.5.2 below.

the envisaged readership of the guides, who would not necessarily be assumed to be familiar with works on grammar.

As well as the term ‘ungrammatical’, ‘illogical’ also makes an appearance in the explanations:²⁶ “*sort* has been used collectively, preceded (illogically) by *these* or *those*” (Burchfield, 1998 [1996], p. 728); “[t]hese are illogical forms” (Garner, 1998, p. 653). Krapp (1927, p. 586), in contrast, recognises that these forms may be logical, but he does not regard them as grammatical: “in justification it might be said that *sort*, *kind* are collective nouns, logically plural, and therefore not unreasonably preceded by plural forms of the demonstrative adjective. This reasoning, nevertheless, can not make *these* or *those sort*, *kind* unquestioned good grammatical English.” Other terms used to indicate the ungrammaticality of mixed number include ‘irregular’: “This use of a plural qualifier and a plural verb with the singular *kind of* is formally irregular” (Evans and Evans, 1957, p. 263),²⁷ and here again we have the qualification “formally”. Finally, we find ‘incongruous’, as also seen in Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988, p. 398) above: “this incongruous combination” (White, 1870, p. 168).

In addition to these grammatical descriptions, some usage guide writers make the same point, but essentially in terms of semantics. Baker (1770, 1779) addresses a slightly different issue in terms of the meaning of the N2 *goods* (“though these Swords are so many different Objects, they make but one sort of Goods”; 1770, p. 115), but in his recommendation he nonetheless exemplifies number agreement between the determiner and the species noun. Turck Baker (1910, p. 181) bases her explanation on the referential semantics of *kind*: “when referring to only one kind, in strict usage, *this* or *that kind* should be employed, unless different kinds are meant.” Morris and Morris (1975, p. 596) take a similar approach: “If there are a number of things, all of one kind, the proper usage is *this kind*. If the things are of several different kinds, the proper usage is *these kinds*”. Ayto (1995, p. 171) voices a similar conclusion: “Use *this kind of sausage* ... if you’re referring to just one kind ... and *these kinds of sausages* ... if you’re referring to more than one kind”.²⁸

I have shown above that some of the usage guide writers, whilst providing examples that they consider to be grammatical, nevertheless remain unsure about whether their examples represent ‘good’ English. These were marked with a ‘?’, by Baker (1779), Alford (1864), and Treble and Vallins (1936). Comments include: “We have many ungrammatical expressions, which cannot well be avoided, without a stiffness” (Baker, 1779, pp. 99–100); “We confess, it is not so agreeable to the ear to say ‘*This*

²⁶ See Weiner (1988, pp. 178–179) for a list of commonly used arguments.

²⁷ Evans and Evans do not regard *these kind of* as an error, and note that it “must ... be recognized as standard English” (p. 263).

²⁸ Ayto also accepts *these kinds of sausage* to refer to more than one kind. I showed in the section RECOMMENDATION above that Ayto is unusual in his use of a plural *these kinds in sausages of these kinds*.

kind of entertainments,’ *‘That sort of experiments;’* but it would be easy to give the sentence a different form, and say ‘Entertainments of this kind;’ ‘Experiments of that sort;’ by which the requisitions of grammar would be satisfied, and those of euphony too” (Anon, 1856 [*Live*], p. 86); “It must be confessed that the phrases, *‘this kind of things,’* *‘that sort of things,’* have a very awkward sound” (Alford, 1864, p. 71); “is awkward and unidiomatic, but is at least grammatical” (Treble and Vallins, 1936, p. 167).

3.4.3 *Number agreement between the species noun phrase and the verb*

I have shown in the previous section how the usage guide writers have treated number agreement within the species noun phrase, using Weiner’s (1988, p. 178) classification of exemplification, recommendation and explanation. Here, I analyse what those writers have to say about number agreement between the subject species noun phrase and the verb. The number of guides that include this variant is relatively small, and so all three aspects of their entries are discussed in this one section. There are just ten guides which include the verb in their exemplification of the problem of number agreement, and all agree on what that problem is. The earliest and latest examples are given here: *these kind of entertainments are* (Anon, 1856 [*Live*], p. 86); *these kind of questions are* (Butterfield, 2007). In these examples, and those given in the other guides, we have a plural determiner (*these*) with a plural N2 (*entertainments, questions*) and a plural verb (*are*), together with a singular species noun (*kind*). The complete list of examples can be seen in section [7] of Appendix C1.

The guides are more varied when they show their recommendations. The complete list of these can be seen in Appendix C2, sections [10]–[15] and [18]. Here, Table 3.6 extracts from Appendix C2 the different structures presented, with the dates of their earliest and latest presentation, and the number of different usage guides using this example type.²⁹ In the table the structures are presented in frequency order; the bold numbers in brackets link the examples to the entries in Appendix C2.

More guides list recommendations which include the verb (=17; see Appendix C2, sections [10]–[15], [18]) than list exemplifications which include the verb (=12; see Appendix C1, sections [7], [9]). Also, Baker (1779) is unsure about the status of his two examples, as indicated by the question mark preceding his name (C2, [11], [12]). Evans and Evans (1957) offer a number of alternatives; it was Evans and Evans who were quoted in §3.4.1 as saying that “there are several constructions all of which are equally acceptable” (1957, p. 263). Another thing to note from the table is the variation in number of the different constituents in the examples.

²⁹ Note that the number of guides making recommendations is greater than the number of guides including the verb in their exemplifications.

Only two of the variants – [10] and [14] – show number agreement across all the constituents, singular and plural, respectively. All the other examples show a mix of number of some kind, including that between the determiner and the species noun in [13]. The verb agrees in number with the species noun in [10], [11], [14], and [15], and with the N2 but not with the species noun in [12], [13], and [18].

Table 3.6 Number agreement between the subject species noun phrase and the verb in the usage guide entries

Recommendation	Sources: Earliest Latest	Numbers
[10] DET.SG + SN.SG + <i>of</i> + N2.SG + V.SG e.g. <i>this sort of thing interests</i>	Treble and Vallins (1936) Butterfield (2007)	13
[14] DET.PL + SN.PL + <i>of</i> + N2.PL + V.PL e.g. <i>these kinds of trees are</i>	Evans and Evans (1957) Pickett et al. (2005)	6
[11] DET.SG + SN.SG + <i>of</i> + N2.PL + V.SG e.g. <i>this sort of men is</i>	?Baker (1779) Ebbitt and Ebbitt (1978)	5
[18] N2.PL + <i>of</i> + DET.SG + SN.SG + V.PL e.g. <i>cars of this kind are</i>	Weiner (1983) Weiner and Delahunty (1993)	4
[15] DET.PL + SN.PL + <i>of</i> + N2.SG + V.PL e.g. <i>these kinds of tree are</i>	Evans and Evans (1957) Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988)	2
[12] DET.SG + SN.SG + <i>of</i> + N2.PL + V.PL e.g. <i>this sort of men are</i>	?Baker (1779)	1
[13] DET.PL + SN.SG + <i>of</i> + N2.PL + V.PL e.g. <i>these kind of men are</i>	Evans and Evans (1957)	1

The explanations offered in the usage guides for those examples which include the verb tend to focus on the number agreement between the species noun and the verb. For example, Evans and Evans (1957, p. 525) observe: “*Type* is always followed by a singular verb, and *types* by a plural verb, regardless of the form of the noun [i.e. the N2] used”. Pickett et al. (2005, p. 272) have: “the plural *kinds* requires the plural *these* or *those*, and the verb must also be plural”. Ebbitt and Ebbitt (1978, p. 542) are the only ones to specifically refer to the transfer of the head of the species noun phrase from the species noun to the N2: “there is a strong tendency to treat the plural object of *of*, rather than *kind* or *sort*, as the head of the construction and to use plural demonstratives and verbs.”³⁰

30 Baker (1779, p. 100) comments on a mismatch of number: “In the first [example], what seems a noun of number [i.e. a plural] is followed by a verb singular; in the last, a noun singular is followed by a verb plural. As for me, I should prefer the first.” However, all of the copies of this edition I have checked include a broken character in his example, so it is difficult to confirm his analysis.

3.4.4 *Attraction and proximity*

In §2.3.3 I introduced the concepts of notional concord and the proximity principle, which Quirk et al. (1985, p. 757) used to explain the anomaly, as they saw it, of e.g. *These/Those sort/kind/type of parties are dangerous*. Here, their analysis would typically see singular *sort/kind/type* as the head of the species noun phrase and therefore determining the (singular) number of the verb. The plurality of the verb *are* in their example is explained by the proximity of the plural noun *parties*, which attracts plural marking onto the verb. Some of the usage guide writers in this study offer a similar explanation of this variant, even though they tend to view it as an error. The first to do this is Alford (1864, p. 69), in his explanation for the use of the “incorrect and indefensible” *these kind of things*:

Now in the inaccurate way of speaking of which I treat, it is evident that this same tendency, to draw the less important word into similarity to the more important one, is suffered to prevail over grammatical exactness. We are speaking of “*things*” in the plural. Our pronoun “*this*” really has reference to “*kind*,” not to “*things*,” but the fact of “*things*” being plural, gives a plural complexion to the whole, and we are tempted to put “*this*” into the plural.

(Alford, 1864, p. 71)

Alford (1864, p. 70) provides a lengthy explanation of this tendency, which he labels “an idiomatic usage called *attraction*”, based on his analysis of Classical Greek. This is directly analogous to Quirk et al.’s (1985, p. 757) “principle of proximity” (see §2.3.3), and is an explanation for this ‘ungrammatical’ usage which also features in a number of the other usage guides. Alford’s argument is quoted at length, although not in full, in Partridge (1947, p. 168), and continues to appear in Whitcut’s revised edition of Partridge (1999, p. 172). A similar argument is made in Perrin (1939, p. 352),³¹ Vallins (1953, pp. 200, 216–217), Allen (1999, p. 363), and Pickett et al. (2005, p. 272), whilst Fowler’s (1926, p. 312) “inchoate compound” can also be read as something similar.³² Attraction is used as an explanatory concept for a number of other usage problems throughout the period of study. Proximity also features as an explanatory concept in some of the usage guides, but not in any of the entries on the species noun phrase. Table 3.7 overleaf shows which usage guides in this study use either ‘attraction’ or ‘proximity’, or both, as explanatory concepts in some of their

31 This approach is maintained in Ebbitt and Ebbitt’s sixth edition (1978, p. 542): “there is a strong tendency to treat the plural object of *of*, rather than *kind* or *sort*, as the head of the construction and to use plural demonstratives and verbs.”

32 Fowler says “*Those kind of* is a sort of inchoate compound = *those-like* (cf. *such*, = *so-like*). I am taking ‘inchoate’ to mean ‘in an initial or early stage’, as in a historical sense (*OED*, 1989, s.v. *inchoate* a.). Gowers, in his second edition (1965, p. 320), repeats Fowler, but the comment is dropped in Nicholson’s American edition (1957, p. 303).

entries. Cross-checking the entries in Table 3.7 with the list of “Who cites whom?” in Appendix B2, we can see the extent to which the usage guide writers listed in the table were familiar with the work of earlier writers in the table. This is shown in the third column of Table 3.7, where it can be seen that, for example, Alford (1864) is referenced by seven of the nineteen guides listed. Fowler (1926) is again the guide referenced most often. This is another very specific example of lateral referencing between the usage guides (cf. §§3.3.2–3.3.3 above), again showing that (some of) the usage guide writers had an awareness of the work of other writers on language.

However, whilst explanations in terms of attraction and proximity are quite widespread throughout the period of this study, they are not always used to condone the usage, and so should not be taken to imply that they are always used in support of usage over grammar. Some guides do point out that such attraction can nonetheless lead to error: “[b]ut such attraction is not right” (Fowler and Fowler, 1906, p. 60); “[p]roximity agreement may pass in speech and other forms of unplanned discourse; in print it will be considered an error” (Gilman, 1989, p. 57). Gilman also notes in passing that “[i]nstances do ... sneak past the eyes of copy editors and proofreaders” (1989, p. 57). Treble and Vallins (1936, p. 16) and Wilson (1993, p. 21) put forward similar views on the errors of attraction.

Summary

In terms of the exemplification, recommendation and explanation of number agreement in the species noun phrase, the usage guides have been consistent throughout the period of study: the problem (the exemplification or proscription) is one of mixed number, particularly between the species noun and the determiner, e.g. *these kind*. The solution (the recommendation or prescription) frequently offered is to fix the number, to either *these kinds* or *this kind*; if this is not appropriate, then an acceptable variant with the second noun positioned at the beginning of the phrase is e.g. *N2.PL of this kind*. The problem is often presented as one of grammar, with grammar requiring number agreement (i.e. Huddleston and Pullum’s agreement rule; see §2.3.1). However, it is also recognised that the ungrammatical variants are nonetheless quite common in usage, and this ‘anomalous’ usage can be explained with reference to attraction and proximity. It is to this anomalous usage that we now turn.

Table 3.7 'Attraction' and 'proximity' as explanatory concepts in the usage guide entries

Attraction	Proximity	Citations to earlier guides
Alford (1864)		
White (1870)		Alford (1864)
Fowler and Fowler (1906)		White (1870 1882)
Turck Baker (1910,)		
Fowler (1926,)	Fowler (1926)	Fowler and Fowler (1906)
Treble and Vallins (1936)	Treble and Vallins (1936)	Fowler and Fowler (1906) Fowler (1926)
Partridge (1947)		Alford (1864) Fowler and Fowler (1906) Fowler (1926)
Gowers (1948)		Alford (1964) Fowler and Fowler (1906) Fowler (1926) Partridge (1947)
Vallins (1951)		Fowler and Fowler (1906)
Vallins (1955)		Fowler (1926) Partridge (1947) Gowers (1948)
Nicholson (1957)		Fowler and Fowler (1906) Fowler (1926) Gowers (1948)
Wood, 1962)		Fowler and Fowler (1906) Fowler (1926) Partridge (1947) Nicholson (1957)
Gowers (1965)	Gowers (1965)	Fowler and Fowler (1906) Fowler (1926) Partridge (1947)
	Gilman (1989)	Alford (1864) White (1870) Fowler and Fowler (1906) Turck Baker (1910) Fowler (1926) Treble and Vallins (1936) Partridge (1947) Gowers (1948) Vallins (1951) Nicholson (1957) Wood (1962) Gowers (1965) Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988)

Attraction	Proximity	Citations to earlier guides
Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988)		
Wilson (1993)	Wilson (1993)	Fowler (1926) Partridge (1947) Gowers (1948) Nicholson (1957) Gowers (1965) Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988) Gilman (1989)
Burchfield (1996)	Burchfield (1996)	Alford (1864) White (1870) Fowler and Fowler (1906) Fowler (1926) Partridge (1947) Gowers (1948) Gowers (1965) Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988) Gilman (1989) Wilson (1993)
Garner (1998)		Alford (1864) White (1870) Fowler and Fowler (1906) Turck Baker (1910) Fowler (1926) Treble and Vallins (1936) Partridge (1947) Gowers (1948) Vallins (1951) Nicholson (1957) Wood (1962) Gowers (1965) Gilman (1989) Wilson (1993) Burchfield (1996)
	Peters (2004)	Alford (1864) Fowler and Fowler (1906) Fowler (1926) Partridge (1947) Gowers (1948) Gowers (1965) Gilman (1989) Burchfield (1996) Garner (1998)
	Pickett et al. (2005)	Fowler (1926)

3.5 Different varieties and registers

One of the questions raised by Straaijer (2015, p. 2; see §3.1 above) is whether the usage guides give different advice for different varieties of English. In §3.5.1 below I investigate whether there are any British and American differences, as these are the only two varieties systematically covered in the HUGE database. In §3.5.2 I look at whether there are any register differences.

3.5.1 *British and American variation*

In his historical survey of usage guides, Gilman (1989, p. 576) says, of number agreement in the species noun phrase: “We will tell you first what most of the handbooks and usage books say: ... But we will warn you second that this advice applies only to American English”. Peters (2004, p. 307) notes that “[o]bjections to *these kind* have been stronger in the US than in the UK ... [y]et its frequency in American English is probably not very different from that of British English”. It is the purpose of this section to investigate these claims. Only four of the forty-seven usage guides in this study identify themselves as dealing with American English:

Evans and Evans (1957) *Dictionary of Contemporary American Usage*
 Nicholson (1957) *Dictionary of American-English Usage*
 Wilson (1993) *Columbia Guide to Standard American English*
 Garner (1998) *Dictionary of Modern American Usage*.³³

All four of these guides were published in the second half of the twentieth century. These titles in themselves would seem to suggest that there may be differences (i.e. variation) between British and American usage, at least as perceived by their writers. Another approach to deciding whether a usage guide deals with British or American English is to use its place of publication – Britain or America – and this is the approach taken by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2020). An analysis of the publication details of the usage guides in this study (see Appendix A) reveals that, of the forty-seven guides, twenty were published in America between 1856 and 2005, and twenty-seven were published in Britain between 1770 and 2010. These guides are shown in date sequence in Table 3.8 overleaf, where it can be seen that guides were published in both countries throughout the period of study. However, an important question remains: Does being published in America necessarily mean that a guide is dealing

³³ This title continued (without *Dictionary of*) with the second (2003) and third (2009) editions, but for the fourth (2016) and fifth (2022) editions it was changed to *Garner’s Modern English Usage* (and see §3.6.5 for a note on whether Garner’s advice changed).

with ‘American English’, as opposed to aspects of the English language being used in America?^{34,35} Beal (2004) explains that:

Of course, American English had been developing ever since the first English-speaking colonists arrived at the beginning of the seventeenth century. ... The contact between the various regional dialects of the English-speaking colonists and the languages of the Native Americans and of other European colonists would also have been influencing the separate development of English in America for many years before the Revolution. However, it is only after America’s political independence from Britain³⁶ that American English, or ‘American’, begins to be ‘ascertained’ and ‘fixed’ according to its own standards set out in works such as Webster’s *Compendious Dictionary* (1806) and *American Dictionary* (1832).³⁷
(Beal, 2004, p. 210)

It would seem, then, that whilst the concept of an ‘American English’ might have been alien to Baker (1770; 1779), published in London, it would not necessarily have been unknown to the other usage guide writers, post-1865, and especially those published in America. For example, Bailey’s *Speaking American* (2012) is sub-titled *A History of English in the United States*, but in his ‘Preface’ he refers to “American English” (pp. xiii–xvi). He also refers to English beginning “the process of Americanization” in Chesapeake Bay four centuries ago (pp. xiii–xiv). In his ‘Introduction’, he refers both to “English in America” (pp. 5, 6, 11, 15) and to “the English of America” (p. 10), but also again to “American English” (pp. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13), and he also notes the coining of the term “Americanism” in 1781 (p. 12). All of these terms are then used throughout the book. In the usage guides quoted in this section, the writers also refer to ‘English in America’, ‘Americanism’ and ‘American English’, but do any of these necessarily imply that there must be a distinction between what is being said about the use of English in America, and the use of English in Britain?

The first usage guide in this study to refer to American English is White (1870, p. 8), published in New York, in a general comment on his approach, but Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2020, pp. 31–36) has identified Hurd (1847), published in Philadelphia, and also part of HUGE but not used in the current study, as the first American usage guide. Hurd claims to include “[the] English language peculiar to the different states

34 A similar problem in the compilation of a corpus is discussed in §5.2.3.

35 In principle, of course, this question could have been phrased about British English.

Typically, American English usage guides are viewed as reflecting how American English “differentiate[s] itself from usage in England” (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2020, p. 33).

36 This happened in 1776 (see Palmowski, 2008, p. 702), and is what Machan (2009, p. 222) calls “the originary moment of American English”. The American Revolutionary War continued until 1783 (Palmowski, 2008, p. 702).

37 Beal’s abbreviated titles of Webster’s dictionaries are potentially misleading. Their full titles are *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language* and *An American Dictionary of the English Language*, so neither of them is making a claim to be dealing specifically with ‘American English’.

of the Union” (1847, p. [iii]), and he also includes a three-page list under the heading of “Americanisms”, i.e. “those words and phrases which are used only in this country” (1847, pp. 122–124).³⁸

Table 3.8 Place of publication of the usage guides in this study

US	Date	UK
	1770	Baker
	1779	Baker
Anonymous [500]	1856	
Anonymous [Live]		
	1864	Alford
White	1870	
Ayres	1881	
Vizetelly	1906	Fowler and Fowler
Turck Baker	1910	
Payne	1911	
	1926	Fowler
Krapp	1927	
	1936	Treble and Vallins
	1947	Partridge
	1948	Gowers
	1951	Vallins
Evans and Evans	1957	
Nicholson		
	1962	Wood
	1965	Gowers
Morris and Morris	1975	
Ebbitt and Ebbitt	1978	
	1979	Baillie and Kitchin
	1980	Swan
	1983	Weiner
	1984	Bryson
	1988	Greenbaum and Whitcut
Gilman	1989	

³⁸ This again demonstrates one of the consequences of working with a smaller number of usage guides.

US	Date	UK
Carter and Skates	1990	
	1992	Marriott and Farrell
Mager and Mager Wilson	1993	Howard Weiner and Delahunty
	1995	Ayto
O’Conner	1996	Burchfield
Garner	1998	
	1999	Allen
	2001	Trask
Brians	2003	
	2004	Peters
Pickett et al.	2005	
	2006	Sayce
	2007	Butterfield
	2010	Taggart

Apart from Gilman (1989) and Peters (2004) quoted above, the only usage guide writers who mention specifically American usage in the species noun phrase are Evans and Evans (1957), Wilson (1993), and Pickett et al. (2005). Of these, Evans and Evans (*Dictionary of Contemporary American Usage*) and Wilson (*Columbia Guide to Standard American English*) include *American* in their titles, and all but Peters were published in America. However, not all of them specifically mention American English. Evans and Evans (1957) refer to “American handbooks” (p. 263), and then: “Both constructions [*this kind of man is dangerous* and *this kind of men is dangerous*] are formally correct but the second ... is not heard in the United States”; “In the United States a plural noun is generally preferred ... but both forms are standard, literary English”; “not used in the United States today”; and “historically justifiable but seldom heard in the United States today” (p. 263). Wilson (1993) refers to “American English” (p. 436), and to “Edited American English”, “conservative American commentary”, “conservative American standards”, “American Edited English standards”, and “Standard-using Americans” (pp. 262–263, 436), and ends by saying that “for many Standard-using Americans, failures on these structures are powerful shibboleths” (p. 436), but he also mentions that “American Conversational and Informal uses clearly display a full range of combinations of singulars and plurals” (p. 263). Pickett et al. (2005, p. 272) refer to “a traditional bugbear of American grammarians”.

Analysis of the exemplifications and recommendations listed in Appendix C nonetheless suggests that attitudes to number variation in the species noun phrase are very similar in the guides published in US and the UK, as shown in Table 3.9. When place of publication in the lists of recommendations in Appendix C2 is included, it can be seen that there is a mix of American and British publications throughout. In this Appendix, I have labelled usage guides as UK or US based solely on their place of publication. There is no evidence of a systematic difference in the advice on number agreement in the species noun phrase between British and American usage guides throughout the period of study.³⁹

Table 3.9 Recommended variants for the species noun phrase in usage guides published in the US and the UK

Usage guides published in the US	Recommendations	Usage guides published in the UK
Anon (1856 [<i>Live</i>]) Turck Baker (1910) Payne (1911) Krapp (1927) Evans & Evans (1957) Nicholson (1957) Morris & Morris (1975) Carter & Skates (1990) Mager & Mager (1993) Wilson (1993) O'Conner (1996) Garner (1998)	[1] DET.SG + SN.SG (+ <i>of</i>) (+ N2.SG) e.g. <i>this kind (of) (thing)</i>	Alford (1864) Vallins (1955) Wood (1962) Baillie & Kitchin (1979) Swan (1980) Bryson (1984) Howard (1993) Ayto (1995) Allen (1999) Trask (2001) Sayce (2006) Taggart (2010)
Anon (1856 [<i>500</i>]) Anon (1856 [<i>Live</i>]) White (1870) Turck Baker (1910) Evans & Evans (1957) Morris & Morris (1975) Mager & Mager (1993) Wilson (1993) O'Conner (1996) Garner (1998) Brians (2003)	[2] DET.PL + SN.PL (+ <i>of</i>) (+ N2.PL) e.g. <i>these kinds (of) (things)</i>	Alford (1864) Wood (1962) Baillie & Kitchin (1979) Bryson (1984) Ayto (1995) Burchfield (1996) Allen (1999) Trask (2001) Butterfield (2007)
White (1870) Evans & Evans (1957) Brians (2003)	[3] DET.SG. + SN.SG + <i>of</i> + N2.PL e.g. <i>this kind of things</i>	?Alford (1864) Wood (1962) Baillie & Kitchin (1979)
Carter & Skates (1990) Wilson (1993)	[4] DET.PL + SN.PL + <i>of</i> + N2.SG e.g. <i>these kinds of thing</i>	Ayto (1995) Taggart (2010)
Evans & Evans (1957)	[5] DET.PL + SN.SG + <i>of</i> + N2.PL e.g. <i>these kind of things</i>	

³⁹ It must be remembered, however, that this study includes only forty-seven of the seventy-seven guides in the HUGE database. Kostadinova's study for the BtU project lists 199 guides for American English alone (2018a, pp. 259–270).

Usage guides published in the US	Recommendations	Usage guides published in the UK
Anon (1856 [<i>Live</i>]) Turck Baker (1910) Nicholson (1957)	[6] N2.PL + <i>of</i> + DET.SG + SN.SG e.g. <i>things of this kind</i>	Baker (1779) Treble & Vallins (1936) Vallins (1955) Wood (1962) Bailie & Kitchin (1979) Swan (1980) Ayto (1995) Allen (1999)
Evans & Evans (1957) Ebbitt & Ebbitt (1978) Carter & Skates (1990) O'Conner (1996) Garner (1998) Pickett et al. (2005)	[7] N2.PL + <i>of</i> + DET.PL + SN.PL e.g. <i>things of these kinds</i>	Ayto (1995)
	[8] DET.SG + SN.SG + <i>of</i> + N2.SG + V.SG e.g. <i>this kind of thing is</i>	Treble & Vallins (1936) Weiner (1983) Greenbaum & Whitcut (1988) Marriott & Farrell (1992) Weiner & Delahunty (1993) Sayce (2006) Butterfield (2007)
	[9] DET.SG + SN.SG + <i>of</i> + N2.PL + V.SG e.g. <i>this kind of things is</i>	?Baker (1779) ?Treble & Vallins (1936)
	[10] DET.SG + SN.SG + <i>of</i> + N2.PL + V.PL e.g. <i>this sort of things are</i>	?Baker (1779)
Evans & Evans (1957) Ebbitt & Ebbitt (1978) Carter & Skates (1990) O'Conner (1996) Pickett et al. (2005)	[11] DET.PL + SN.PL + <i>of</i> + N2.PL + V.PL e.g. <i>these kinds of things are</i>	Greenbaum & Whitcut (1988)
Evans & Evans (1957) O'Conner (1996)	[12] DET.PL + SN.PL + <i>of</i> + N2.SG + V.PL e.g. <i>these kinds of thing are</i>	Greenbaum & Whitcut (1988)
Evans & Evans (1957)	[13] DET.PL + SN.SG + <i>of</i> + N2.PL + V.PL e.g. <i>these kind of things are</i>	
	[14] N2.PL + <i>of</i> + DET.SG + SN.SG + V.PL e.g. <i>things of this kind are</i>	Weiner (1983) Greenbaum & Whitcut (1988) Marriott & Farrell (1992) Weiner & Delahunty (1993)

3.5.2 Register variation

I showed in §3.4 above that, for many usage guide writers, the criticism of expressions such as *these kind of N2* was made largely on grammatical grounds, to the extent in some cases of supporting a grammatical form over a meaningful one. Here, I want to look at the circumstances in which the use of the ‘ungrammatical’ *these kind of N2* might nonetheless be acceptable. Baker comments that the form “is often ... used ... by many of our Writers” (1770, p. 115), and that “many approved authors ... take no care to avoid it” (1779, pp. 99–100). At the other end of the time-scale of this study, Taggart (2010, p. 57) says that “educated television presenters have ... been heard to say [it]”.⁴⁰ It would therefore seem that, despite 240 years of criticism, these ungrammatical forms continue in use. Might that use be widespread?

In the views of the usage guide writers analysed here, the answer to this question is ‘yes’; the use of the ungrammatical forms is indeed claimed to be widespread throughout the period of study. For example, in addition to Baker cited above, we also find “these kind, those sort, etc.: [s]uch expressions, though common” (Vizetelly, 1906, p. 211), “*these or those kinds* is frequently used” (Turck Baker, 1910, p. 181), “usages that are common [e.g. *those kind of things*]” (Gowers, 1965, p. 594), “common [i.e. *these kind*]” (Morris and Morris, 1975, p. 596), “exceedingly common in colloquial contexts [e.g. *these kind of smells*]” (Burchfield, 1998 [1996], p. 433),⁴¹ “*these kind* ... often encountered” and “undoubtedly common” (Butterfield, 2007, pp. 91, 147).⁴²

But whilst this use of the ‘ungrammatical’ form is common in the sense of frequent, it is apparently not common in the sense of “associated with the language of the uneducated and the poor” (Ilson, 1985, p. 167). White (1870, p. 168) refers to “[m]any persons who should, and who, perhaps, do, know better”, and there are also comments such as “persons ... of considerable culture” (Ayres, 1882, p. 207), “used today by educated people” (Evans and Evans, 1957, p. 263), “well-spoken people easily slip into” (Wood, 1962, p. 218), and “even educated persons” (Morris and Morris, 1975, p. 596).

The allegedly ungrammatical form is said to be often heard in speech: “found in the talk of us all” (Alford, 1864, p. 69), “fairly common ... in colloquial speech” (Krapp, 1927, p. 586), “[t]he construction is common in speech” (Ebbitt and Ebbitt, 1978, p. 542), “common in conversation” (Gowers, 1966 [1954] p. 188),⁴³ “often

⁴⁰ Taggart makes many remarks critical of television presenters and their ilk (2010, pp. 8, 37, 57, 88, 90, 97, 118, 123, 124), and she undoubtedly falls into what Straaijer (2018, p. 29) describes as a ‘subgenre’ of usage guides in the twenty-first century, one “much more loosely structured and meant ... for entertainment as much as for instruction”, as seen in the title and Taggart’s adopted persona: *Her Ladyship’s Guide to the Queen’s English*.

⁴¹ This is partly repeated in Butterfield (2015, p. 455) and in Allen (1999, p. 363).

⁴² These are repeated in the second edition (2013).

⁴³ This is repeated in both the second and third editions and in Gowers (2015 [2014]).

heard colloq[uially]” (Nicholson, 1957, p. 586), “often heard in speech” (Wood, 1962, p. 131), “sometimes used ... in conversational English” (Swan, 1980, §565.1), “common in speech” (Greenbaum and Whitcut, 1988, p. 398), “British English and American Conversational and Informal uses” (Wilson, 1993, p. 263), “very common in speech” (Trask, 2001, p. 168), and “mostly found in speech” (Peters, 2004, p. 553).

But the ungrammatical form is also found in writing, as claimed by Baker above (1770, p. 115): “our best writers have the popular expression” (Alford, 1864, second edition, p. 77), “numerous examples of its use by esteemed writers” (Ebbitt and Ebbitt, 1978, p. 542), “could be found in good authors” (Gowers, 1962 [1954] p. 188),⁴⁴ “a long history in literary English” (Evans and Evans, 1957, p. 263), and “tends to appear in ... writing” (Peters, 2004, p. 307).

If the ungrammatical form is indeed widespread, this can lead to its acceptance, in some contexts at least: “easy to forgive when they deserve forgiveness, i.e. in hasty talk” (Fowler, 1926, p. 312),⁴⁵ “a justifiable English idiom” (Partridge, 1947, p. 168), “sanctified by long usage” (Vallins, 1953, p. 216), “must ... be recognized as standard English” (Evans and Evans, 1957, p. 263), “[i]n conversation we may tolerate them” (Wood, 1962, p. 218), “acceptable in colloquial speech” (Bailie and Kitchin, 1979, p. 167), “in informal use” (Weiner, 1983, p. 113),⁴⁶ “perfectly acceptable in speech” (Ayto, 1995, p. 171), and “should now be used only in informal contexts” (Burchfield, 1998 [1996], p. 728).⁴⁷ These judgements would seem to confirm a prediction from Alford (1864, p. 71) that “this may be one of those cases where ultimately the inaccuracy will be adopted into the language” (and see the comments by Mair, 2006, in §4.4.2).

That the ungrammatical usage is considered acceptable in informal language is perhaps supported by those who still disprefer it, and who often refer to an unspecified third party in support: “usually considered ... wrong” (Vizetelly, 1906, p. 211), “careful speakers and writers ... prefer” (Krapp, 1927, p. 646), “public opinion ... condemns it ... it is as well to humour the purists” (Gowers, 1954, p. 188),⁴⁸ “modern usage bans it” (Nicholson, 1957, p. 586), “best excluded from written English” (Wood, 1962, p. 131), “strong objection to it continues” (Ebbitt and Ebbitt, 1978, p. 542), “better avoided in written English” (Bailie and Kitchin, 1979, p. 167), “[s]ome people ... prefer to avoid it” (Swan, 1980, §565.1), “usually avoided in a formal style” (Swan, 2005, §551.2, p. 543), “widely regarded as incorrect” (Weiner, 1983, p. 113),⁴⁹ and “you may sometimes be faulted by those who prefer ...” (Wilson, 1993, p. 263).

44 This is repeated in both the second and third editions and in Gowers (2015 [2014]).

45 This is repeated in Nicholson (1957, p. 303), and again in Gowers (1965, p. 320).

46 This is repeated in Weiner and Delahunty (1993, p. 144).

47 This is repeated in Butterfield (2015, p. 763).

48 This is repeated in both the second and third editions and in Gowers (2015 [2014]).

49 This is repeated in Weiner and Delahunty (1993, p. 144).

Here we see a glimpse of another aspect of the analysis which is sometimes found in the guides: the deference not to the grammarians but to the purists, as noted by Gowers (1954, p. 188) above. For now, it seems that, whilst e.g. *these kind of N2* is regarded as ungrammatical, it can nonetheless be tolerated in informal writing and in speech. As Quirk et al. (1985, p. 14) remark: “[the usage guide] objections may persuade some to avoid certain usages, at least in their formal writing.” Hill (1980, p. 255, citing Marckwardt, 1973, p. 138) points out that “attitudes towards words are a part of their history, and ... the user of them has the right to know what the attitudes are, and who holds them”. This is what Joseph is referring to when he talks about the value attached to expressions (1987, pp. 16–18; cf. §1.2).

Summary

The answers, then, to Straaijer’s (2015, p. 2) question “[A]re there differences in usage advice for different varieties of English?” would seem to be ‘No’ in terms of regional variation, i.e. American English vs. British English, but ‘Yes’ in terms of register variation, with number discord acceptable in speech and in informal writing, but with number agreement preferred in formal writing. At the beginning of this chapter I include a quotation from Cameron (1995, p. 239, fn. 3) about how many, especially modern, usage guides seem to exhibit a consensual approach to a topic, determined by “a few individuals [who] have played a disproportionate part in compiling the texts”. The footnotes in this section showing how often comments in one usage guide are picked up and repeated in others, typically later editions, would seem to bear this out. This is a topic which I will investigate in more depth in the next section.

3.6 Changes over time: some case studies

3.6.1 Introduction

In this section, I use case studies to see whether it is possible to identify any changes in the presentation of the entries on the species noun phrase in specific usage guides over time. In order to do this, I study those guides which have been available in a number of editions over a period of several years. This is one of the benefits of having access to different editions of a usage guide, as well as to those guides in HUGE (see §3.2), as this can facilitate investigation of whether specific authorial attitudes change or remain static over time, as has been shown in many of the footnotes to §3.5.2 above. This, of course, is in addition to whether the approach to a topic in the usage guides in general changes over time, which was part of the investigation in §3.4 above.

Those guides for which I have multiple editions are shown in Table 3.10. These are not all the editions of the various guides, simply those that I had access to for

this study, i.e. the guides in HUGE plus the ones I was able to source locally and electronically (cf. §3.2 above).

Table 3.10 The usage guides in this study with multiple editions

Usage guides	Editions available (HUGE editions in bold)	Date range (years)
Baker	1770, 1779	9
Alford	1864 , 1864, 1870	6
Ayres	1882, 1911	29
Vizetelly	1906, 1920	14
Fowler	1926, 1965, 1996 , 2015 (1906 , 1908, 1957, 1999 , 2008)	89 (109)
Turck Baker	1910, 1938	28
Perrin	1939, 1956, 1965, 1978 , 1990	51
Partridge	1947 , 1999	52
Gowers	1948 , 1973, 1986, 2014	66
Swan	1980 1984, 2005	21
Bryson	1984 , 2002 2001	17
Gilman	1989 , 2002	13
Weiner (and Delahunty)	1983 , (1993)	10
Garner	1998 , 2016, 2022	24
Brians	2003 , 2022	19
Butterfield	2007 , 2013	6

The guide with the longest publishing history in this study is Fowler's *Modern English Usage*, with its four major editions published in 1926, 1965 (revised by Gowers), 1996 (Burchfield), and 2015 (Butterfield) (and see Appendix A1 for more details). In this study, I also have access to H.G. Fowler's earlier work with his brother F.G. Fowler in *The King's English* (1906),⁵⁰ to an American adaptation of the 1926 edition (*Dictionary of American-English Usage*; Nicholson, 1957), and to a pocket edition (*Pocket Fowler's Modern English Usage*; Allen, 1999, 2008). These additional editions are shown in parentheses in Table 3.10. They were all published by Oxford University Press. In addition, Butterfield edited the *Oxford A–Z of English Usage*

⁵⁰ The two brothers also started to work together on what was to become *Modern English Usage*, but F.G. Fowler died in 1918, when it was only part completed (McMorris, 2001, pp. 109–111). HUGE has a second edition dated 1922.

(2007, 2013), which was not used in this analysis (see §3.6.2 below). I will therefore start this section with a review of whether the approach to number agreement in the species noun phrase in the ‘Fowler’⁵¹ family can be seen to change over the period of 109 years. I will then investigate the multiple editions of Gowers (1948–2014), Perrin (1939–1990), Garner (1998–2022), and Alford (1864–1970).⁵²

3.6.2 Fowler (1926–2015)

In his preface to the second edition, Gowers notes that he has “been chary of making any substantial alterations except for the purpose of bringing [Fowler] up to date” (1965, p. ix), whereas Burchfield states that “[Fowler’s] book has been largely rewritten in this third edition” (1998 [1996], p. xi). Tellingly, Burchfield sees this as a rewrite of the 1926 first edition, not of the 1965 edition (1998 [1996], pp. viii–ix; and see comments on Gowers below).⁵³ Butterfield claims that his fourth edition “has been thoroughly revised and updated” (2015, p. vii) from the third edition, although he also referred to the first and second editions (2015, p. ix).⁵⁴ Nicholson notes that “*American-English Usage* is an adaptation of M[odern]E[n]glishU[sage], not a replacement. AEU is a simplified MEU, with American variations, retaining as much of the original as space allowed” (1957, p. v).⁵⁵ Allen (1999, p. v) explains that his *Pocket* edition “is based mainly on Burchfield’s 1996 edition (with revisions published in 1998)” (1999, p. v). Butterfield (2007, p. iv) makes no claim to be based on Fowler and so will not be considered further in this discussion.

The first edition of Fowler (1926) includes a relatively short entry on number agreement in the species noun phrase:

kind, n. The irregular uses—*Those k. of people*, *k. of startled*, *a k. of a shock*—are easy to avoid when they are worth avoiding, i.e. in print; & nearly as easy to forgive when they deserve forgiveness, i.e. in hasty talk. *Those k. of* is a sort of inchoate compound, = *those-like* (cf. *such*, = *so-like*); *k. of startled* = *startled*, *like*, or *startled-like*. A *k. of a shock* is both the least criticized & the least excusable of the three.
(Fowler, 1926, p. 312)

51 Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2020, pp. 2, 19 fn. 2) comments on how *Modern English Usage* came to be referred to as simply ‘Fowler’, with *Fowler* becoming an entry in the *OED* in 2017. See also Busse and Schröder (2010) on this topic.

52 Alford might seem an odd choice, as the three editions span only six years, but this will be explained below.

53 Straaijer (2017) is an insightful analysis of thirty-three published reviews of Burchfield’s third edition, from which he states that “it was generally perceived as a descriptivist take on a classic prescriptivist work” (2017, p. 186).

54 Straaijer (2016) analyses how much Butterfield’s fourth edition differs from the three previous editions on the basis of a survey of nine usage topics.

55 And see fn. 17 above.

Here, Fowler identifies *Those kind of people* (exemplification or proscription) as ‘irregular’, but does not feel it necessary to provide the preferred form (recommendation or prescription), nor does he provide any explanation as to why it might be irregular. This follows on from Fowler and Fowler (1906, p. 331; 1908, p. 331), who list *those sort of girls* and *Those sort of writers* without comment, under the heading ‘Vulgarisms and colloquialisms’. Gowers (1965, p. 320) largely follows Fowler (1926), again noting that *those kind of people* is an ‘irregular’ use. Burchfield (1998 [1996], p. 433) follows the earlier editions but characterises *these kind of men* as ‘illogical’. Butterfield (2015, p. 455) continues with the ‘illogical’ description of *these kind of trees*, but adds that it is also a “strangely ungrammatical variant”. Allen (1999, p. 363) also adopts the ‘ungrammatical’ description of *these kind of houses*, but adds that it is “ungrammatical on a normal interpretation” (and see §3.4.2: EXPLANATION above). Nicholson (1957, p. 303), in her presentation of usage in America, follows Fowler (1926) in calling *Those kind of people* ‘irregular’.

In terms of providing examples of the acceptable variants (recommendation or prescription), i.e. those listed in §3.4.2: RECOMMENDATION (and see Table 3.4 and Appendix C2), Nicholson (1957, p. 303) is the first to do so, with her *this kind of tree*, again suggesting that she is not a simple clone of Fowler (1926) (and see fn. 17). Gowers (1965, p. 320) and Burchfield (1998 [1996], pp. 433–434) provide no such recommendation. Allen (1999, p. 363) is the first British edition of Fowler to provide recommended variants, with *these sorts of ways*, and *demergers of this kind*, an approach also taken by Butterfield (2015, p. 455) with *these kinds* (or *sorts*) of and *of this kind* (or *sort*), thus becoming the first major UK edition to do so. It has therefore taken eighty-nine years of the British edition to move from a simple example of the problem (exemplification) to adding a recommendation of preferred usage.

There has been more movement in the commentary on why the user should avoid one variant and use another (explanation). We have already seen comments such as ‘irregular’ and ‘ungrammatical’. However, as shown in the quotation above, Fowler (1926, p. 312) adds that the irregular uses are “easy to forgive when they deserve forgiveness, i.e. in hasty talk”, and describes *Those kind of* as “a sort of inchoate compound” (see §3.4.4, fn. 32). Nicholson (1957, p. 303) repeats the first of these comments, whilst Gowers (1965, p. 320) repeats them both. Burchfield (1998 [1996], p. 433) notes that *these kind of* “is now exceedingly common in colloquial contexts”. Butterfield (2015, p. 455) repeats Burchfield, but also quotes the *OED* in support of the inchoate compound analysis, which is simplified to “the feeling that *kind of* was equivalent to an adj. qualifying the following noun” (and see §2.4 for more on this analysis). But Butterfield also acknowledges that some (unspecified) people might be critical of this variant: “[s]hould you wish to avoid a formulation which might be open to criticism” (2015, p. 455). This follows Allen (1999, p. 363) noting that when *kind*

of is followed by a plural noun, “many purists insist on making *kind* or *sort* plural as well, e.g. *these kinds* [or *sorts*] *of houses*” (and see §3.5.2 above). Burchfield (1998 [1996], pp. 433, 728) also introduces a historical explanation for the construction’s irregular use, noting the early use of e.g. *these kind of* from the fourteenth century and *these sort of* from the sixteenth century (and see §2.4.5 on this).

It seems then, that ‘Fowler’ has slowly and gradually moved from the unacceptable variant being irregular/illogical/ungrammatical, though also common in speech, i.e. in an informal register, to offering a historical explanation as to why it might be so common. Latterly, Fowler adds references to unspecified third-party critics (“might be open to criticism”) and to the ‘purists’ who might also criticise such usage. It thus seems to follow a trajectory, also seen across other usage guides, of moderating its criticism of the lack of number agreement in *these kind of* by explaining how it could be considered to be an acceptable grammatical construction, whilst still advising against its usage in more formal registers. However, given that these recommendations also appear in the first edition of 1926, this is hardly evidence of ‘Fowler’ becoming more accepting of the usage over time.

3.6.3 Gowers (1948–2014)

Another guide with a long publishing history is Gowers. First published in 1948 as *Plain Words: A Guide to the Use of English*, it was re-published in 1954, together with *The ABC of Plain Words* (1951) as *The Complete Plain Words*. A second edition, revised by Fraser, appeared in 1973, with a third edition, revised by Greenbaum and Whitcut, in 1986. A fourth edition, revised by Gowers’s great-granddaughter Rebecca Gowers, was published in 2014. In Fraser’s second edition he aimed to respect and update the original (1973, pp. iii–viii), and Greenbaum and Whitcut aimed to produce a similarly respectful update of Fraser (1986, pp. v–vii). In contrast, Rebecca Gowers is critical of the approach both of Fraser and of Greenbaum and Whitcut, and her fourth edition “disregards the third and second, and instead directly revises the first” (2015 [2014], p. xix). Notwithstanding these (dis)respectful revisions, the text of interest for this study has been remarkably consistent. In the 1954 edition, Gowers notes of e.g. *those kind of things* that it is “common in conversation, and instances of it could be found in good authors”, but that “public opinion generally condemns it”, and goes on to say that “even now it is as well to humour the purists” (1954, p. 188). This is essentially repeated in all three further editions.

3.6.4 Perrin (1939–1990)

Perrin (1939, 1956, 1965, 1978, 1990), like Fowler and Gowers, has been revised a number of times by different people. The first edition (1939, p. 352) already explains

that in the species noun phrase the number of the determiner tends to agree with the “principal noun of the construction”, i.e. the N2, rather than with the species noun, and comments that it is “[o]nly the vigilance of editorial copy readers” that stops this variant appearing more in writing. The fourth edition (1968 [1965]), revised by Dykema and Ebbitt, follows this approach but adds more explanation, and also notes that this comment applies to “General and Formal writing”: “As singular nouns, they [i.e. *kind/sort/type*] are expected to take singular demonstrative adjectives” (1968 [1965], p. 231). But they also continue to note that “in speech and Informal writing” (“colloquially” in 1939) the determiner and N2 agree (“usually agree” in 1939), and where the 1939 edition has “only colloquial and vulgate standing”, that of 1968 ([1965], p. 232) has “is still felt by many to be Nonstandard”, again with a reference to an unspecified third party (the purist argument). In addition, where (1939) refers to “the vigilance of editorial copy readers”, (1968 [1965]) revises this to “the *unnodding* vigilance of editorial copy readers” (emphasis added). Here, again, the usage guide writers are presenting language professionals other than themselves, in this case the copy-editors, as the prescriptivists. Where the 1939 edition included a lateral reference to the *OED* and Jespersen (1933), the 1968 [1965] edition adds lateral references to Fries (1940), Curme (1931), and Bryant (1962). The sixth edition (1978), revised by Ebbitt and Ebbitt, clarifies this approach by explaining the non-agreement use in terms of the headedness of the species noun phrase, and notes that it is common in both speech and writing, but adds that “strong objection to it continues” and ends with a recommendation showing two examples with number agreement between the determiner, the species noun, the N2 and the verb. This sixth edition drops Curme (1931) from its list of lateral references, and substitutes Copperud (1970). In all, over time Perrin takes a consistent approach, and a similar approach to Fowler, in that a usage variant which had been criticised is explained both grammatically and in terms of its register use, and again the latest edition advises against its use in formal registers to avoid upsetting the purists.

3.6.5 *Garner (1998–2022)*

Garner is included in this section not because his usage guide has seen several editions over a long period, but because it has been through five editions in the relatively short space of twenty-four years. During this time it also underwent a change of title, from *A Dictionary of Modern American Usage* (1998) to *Garner's Modern American Usage* (2003, 2009) to *Garner's Modern English Usage* (2016, 2022). This brings it into line with another major Oxford University Press usage guide: *Fowler's (Dictionary of) Modern English Usage* (1926, 1965, 1996, 2015). Fowler, however, took eighty-

nine years to reach its fourth edition. The text in Garner, like that in Gowers, remains remarkably consistent between the first and fifth editions. The first edition includes:

These are illogical forms that, in a bolder day, would have been termed illiteracies. Today they merely brand the speaker or writer as slovenly. They appear most commonly in reported speech ... Of course, it's perfectly acceptable to write *these kinds* or *these types* or *these sorts*, as many writers conscientiously do ...

(Garner, 1998, p. 653)

This text is essentially repeated in the 2016 (p. 906) and 2022 (p. 1094) editions. Garner provides exemplification, together with a value judgement (“slovenly”; “illiteracies” is dropped in the later editions), but there is no explanation other than “illogical”, although he does add a historical note in these later editions: “These illogical forms were not uncommon in the 1600s and early 1700s, but by the mid-1700s they had been stigmatized” (2022, p. 1094).⁵⁶ So, apart from the addition of some historical context, there has been no change in Garner’s approach to this topic over the five editions.

3.6.6 Alford (1864–1870)

Having looked at some guides with longer publishing histories, I now turn to a guide with a very short history. Alford published three editions in just six years (1864, 1864, 1870), having presented his views on usage first in periodical form in *Good Words* (1863). Alford is also one of the usage guides most frequently cited by other guides in this study (cf. §3.3.2 above), and the guide that gave the earliest explanation of proximity and attraction as explanations for the ‘ungrammatical’ *these kind of* (cf. §3.4.4). In this short space of time, Alford revises his entry on the species noun phrase to make it less value-laden and more descriptive/explanatory. This is best shown in the opening sentences of his entries for the 1864 first edition and the 1870 third edition:

Let me further illustrate this tendency of nations by another usage, not so nearly become idiomatic, and certainly not to be recommended, but still almost inevitable, and sometimes found in the talk of us all. I mean the expression “*these*” or “*those kind of things*.” Of course we all see that this is incorrect and indefensible. We ought to say “*this kind of things*,” “*that kind of things*.” Now, seeing that we all know this, and yet are all sometimes betrayed into the inaccuracy, it becomes an interesting inquiry ... why this should be so.

(Alford, 1864, pp. 69–70)

Let me further illustrate this tendency of nations by another usage now almost become idiomatic, and commonly found in the talk of us all. I mean

⁵⁶ A similar comment was also added to the 2016 edition (p. 906). I did not have access to the editions dated 2003 and 2009, so this historical context may have been added earlier.

the expression “*these*” or “*those kind of things*.” At first sight, this seems incorrect and indefensible. It would appear as if we ought to say “*this kind of things*,” “*that kind of things*.” ~~Now, seeing that we all know this, and yet are all sometimes betrayed into the inaccuracy;~~ It becomes then an interesting inquiry ... why this should be so.

(Alford, 1870, pp. 97–98)

In these extracts I have highlighted the changes with underlining and strike-through, but it is notable that, in the third edition, Alford presents a less dogmatic, more cautious, approach, rather than the outright condemnation of the first edition of a mere six years earlier.⁵⁷

Summary

One of the most notable aspects of this investigation of those few guides where some revision can be seen over time, is that we have a usage variant which is a staple of the usage guides (an ‘old chestnut’; see Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2020, pp. 24–27), where the variant is described as widespread, and whose use can be explained in grammatical terms, and yet its use is advised against for fear of annoying those people who don’t like it, i.e. the purists. It would seem that being a canonical entry in a usage guide can become self-fulfilling. It should also be remembered, though, that Hill (1980, p. 255, citing Marckwardt, 1973, p. 138) points out that “attitudes towards words are a part of their history, and ... the user of them has the right to know what the attitudes are, and who holds them” (and cf. §3.5.2 above).

3.7 Concluding remarks

This chapter concerns the work of the prescriptivists, as identified in the Bridging the Unbridgeable (BtU) project. In this case these are the writers of usage guides, who are part of the BtU investigation alongside the linguists (see Chapter 2) and the general public (see Chapters 4 and 5). In particular, I set out to investigate two major issues with usage guides and their writers. The first concerns their apparent dislocation from the mainstream of linguistic thought (Peters, 2020, p. 616) – as evidenced by the lack of lateral referencing in the usage guides – and the consequent conclusion that they somehow ‘make up’ a “transcendental norm of correct English” as they go along (Milroy and Milroy, 2012, p. 31). A contrasting view, though not a refutation, is provided by Huddleston and Pullum’s (2002, p. 6) comment that there is in practice no reason why the linguists’ reference grammars and the usage guides “should not agree on what they say about the topics they both treat”. The first part of this chapter investigated Peters’s claim, the second part whether Huddleston and

⁵⁷ Alford’s work was widely reviewed, and he received much correspondence about it, and the contributions of these to his revisions is being considered in Stenton (in preparation).

Pullum's comment is appropriate for the treatment of number agreement in the species noun phrase in the usage guides in this study.

On the topic of lateral referencing, it was found that nearly half of the forty-seven guides in this study (22/47) do in fact refer to external sources, in the form of grammars, dictionaries, and other commentaries (§3.3.2). Further, thirty-four of those forty-seven guides refer to other guides in this study. Because of the way these figures were collected, they probably under-estimate the scale of this lateral referencing, in that I didn't read the whole text of the guides, and so only picked up those references that I was specifically looking for. These findings are more in line with those of Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2020, pp. 15, 153–161; cf. §§3.3.1, 3.3.3) than Peters (2020) and Peters and Young (1997, pp. 317–319), and an explanation for the difference in the findings is suggested in §3.3.3: Summary. When the scope of this lateral referencing was restricted to the text within the usage guide entries on the species noun phrase, it was much less in evidence, as only twelve guides included external references in their entries (§3.3.3).

The second part of the chapter (§§3.4–3.6) dealt with what the usage guides say about number agreement within and beyond the species noun phrase. The context for this part of the investigation lies in a set of questions raised by Straaijer (2015). These are:

When does a certain usage become problematic, or perceived as such, and when does a certain usage stop being (perceived as) problematic or disputed? In other words, when do usage problems 'begin' and 'end'?

[W]hich usage problems persist?

Does the discussion of specific usage problems change, and if so, in what way?

[A]re there differences in usage advice for different varieties of English?
(Straaijer, 2015, p. 2)

It was found that the usage in question – e.g. *these kind of* – has been the subject of usage guide writers' attention from the very earliest guides in the HUGE database (Baker, 1770; 1779) to the very latest (Taggart, 2010), and indeed beyond the period covered by HUGE, to include Butterfield (2015) and Garner (2022). So the answers to Straaijer's questions on the beginning, ending and persistence of number agreement in the species noun phrase are that it has persisted from the beginning of the usage guide tradition to today, and remains ongoing. One note of caution, of course, is that there are twenty-nine usage guides in HUGE which do not comment on the species noun phrase at all.

The second major question posed by Straaijer concerns the discussion of the usage problem in the usage guides, and whether it changes over time. To address

this question I looked at how the topic was presented in the forty-seven guides, using Weiner's (1988, p. 178) tripartite classification of exemplification, explanation and recommendation. Most of the guides focused on the same topic in their exemplification (i.e. their proscriptions): that of the apparent conflict of number between a plural determiner and a singular species noun, e.g. *these kind*. Where the guides differed was the extent to which they included more context, i.e. the second noun (N2), e.g. *those type of cars*, and/or the verb, e.g. *these kind of questions are*.

In their recommendations (i.e. prescriptions) of preferred usage, most guides again focused on number agreement between especially the determiner and the species noun: *this kind* and *these kinds*, and again any differences lay in whether they included the N2 and/or the verb: *this sort of thing interests* and *these kinds of trees are*. However, there were also some recommendations with mixed number: *this sort of men is* and *these kinds of tree are*, so not all guides find the number mismatch beyond the determiner and the species noun to be a problem. In general, though, there was much support for number agreement between the determiner and the species noun, but more acceptance of number variation with the N2 and the verb. In terms of their explanations, the usage guide writers were again agreed that the problem was one of grammar, and in particular of the conflict of number between the plural determiner and the singular species noun. Although this conflict was couched in many different forms, it was always about a grammatical mismatch of number marking.

As noted above, Huddleston and Pullum don't accept that there is any necessary conflict between a reference grammar and a usage guide in terms of what they say about a particular topic, and it is indeed the case that the exemplifications, recommendations and explanations in the usage guides studied on this topic do match the descriptions and explanations given in the reference grammars studied in Chapter 2. The main differences are found not in the analyses, but in the contexts in which those analyses are expressed. The reference grammars, not surprisingly, present their analyses within the system of the grammar of English as a whole; the usage guides, equally unsurprisingly, present their analyses within a system of value, i.e. what is good or bad about a particular usage variant, and when it should and shouldn't be used. This is, after all, why non-specialists turn to usage guides for advice: if you use this phrase in this context then you may be criticised by those who believe that they are in a position to do so.⁵⁸

There was also agreement in the approaches of the reference grammars and the usage guides in their use of the concepts of attraction and proximity in order to explain

⁵⁸ Pullum has more recently noted (2023, p. 12): "Descriptive linguists and prescriptive usage writers are not rivals within a unitary study of the English language; they represent two different cultures. And use of empirical methods is not what distinguishes between them."

the “anomaly” (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 765; cf. §§2.3.2–2.3.3) or the “incorrect and indefensible” usage (Alford, 1864, p. 69; cf. 3.4.4), i.e. a singular determiner could be pluralised by a plural N2 and/or plural verb. In these analyses, the N2 is effectively functioning as the head of the noun phrase, with the number of the N2 controlling the number of the determiner, but with the species noun remaining singular. Table 3.7 showed that these principles feature widely in the usage guides. In practice, this could be seen as an acknowledgement of the post-determiner hypothesis (cf. §2.4), but this aspect of the analysis of number incongruence in the species noun phrase is not taken up by any of the usage guides, so there was no opportunity to test this post-determiner hypothesis as put forward by e.g. Denison (cf. §2.4.1).

To try to address Straaijer’s question of whether the approach of the usage guides changed over time, I conducted an analysis of some of those guides which have appeared in several editions over a period of years. Here again the discussion is seen not to change very much, even over the 109 years that the various editions of Fowler have been published. However, whilst the exemplifications and recommendations have changed little over the period of the study, what has changed a little is that the explanations of the irregular uses have become more prominent, with slightly more emphasis being given to register variation (see below), although this does not always imply greater acceptance. So, there is no evidence here that the treatment of the usage problem changed much over time, as might have been expected following Mair (2006, pp. 183–193; and see §4.4.2 in the current study).

Straaijer’s final question concerned whether there was different advice in the usage guides for different varieties of English. To address this question, I first looked for differences in the analyses of those guides published in the United States and those published in the United Kingdom, but could find no systematic differences. Guides from both countries covered all variants throughout the period of the HUGE database. The guides were, however, much more forthcoming in their advice for different registers of English. They were more inclined to accept, or at least to acknowledge, the use of mixed number, e.g. *these kind of* in the contexts of informal speech and informal writing. At the same time, there is also an acknowledgement that its common use is not in practice restricted to these informal registers, with “many approved authors” (Baker, 1779, pp. 99–100) and “esteemed writers” (Ebbitt and Ebbitt, 1978, p. 542) found to have used it.

It would therefore seem to be the case that, for the usage guides in this study, there is evidence that they do make use of lateral referencing, and that, in general, the usage guides studied in this chapter and the reference grammars studied in Chapter 2, do tend to agree in their analyses of the topic of number agreement in the species noun phrase, albeit from different perspectives.

4 The survey

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3 I set out what the usage guide writers thought on the topic of number agreement in the species noun phrase, especially in terms of their proscriptions, prescriptions and explanations, the last of these based in part on their knowledge of other professional writers on language, including other usage guide writers. In this chapter I want to present the results of a survey of the attitudes of a group of members of the public as determined by an online poll, before moving on in Chapter 5 to an analysis of a corpus compiled to reveal the actual usage of a large group of academic authors.

In the context of the historical scope of the current study, surveys of usage and of attitudes to usage are a relatively recent research activity (see e.g. Leonard, 1932, p. 95), and the distinction between these two types of survey is not always an easy one to make. After a brief historical sketch of the major surveys of English, both in the US and in the UK (§4.2), I will describe in detail the current survey (§4.3), including its most distinctive features: the use of multiple examples of the same usage topic, i.e. number agreement in the species noun phrase, and the presentation of those examples in context. I also include a brief description of the respondents. I then present the results of the current survey: first as a set of stand-alone results, then in comparison to the results of the previous surveys reviewed earlier in the chapter (§4.4). The chapter ends with some concluding remarks (§4.5).

4.2 Surveys: a brief review

As noted above, the distinction between a usage survey and an attitude survey is not always clear, and this will be discussed in detail in my analysis of Leonard (1932) in §4.2.1. Gilman, in his usage guide chapter titled ‘A brief history of English usage’, makes mention of three “survey[s] of opinion” (1989, p. 10a): Leonard (1932), which Gilman refers to as “the first” (1989, p. 10a), Crisp (1971), which he describes as a replication of Leonard (1932), and Mittins et al. (1970). The Leonard and Crisp surveys were carried out in the United States; that of Mittins et al. in the United Kingdom, though it should be noted that, whilst Mittins et al. confined themselves to British respondents (1970, pp. 5–6), Leonard’s study included both American and British respondents (1932, pp. 219–221).

Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Ebner (2017), in their overview of how “highly frequent usage problems can be analyzed as to their current acceptability” (2017,

p. 1), also refer to surveys in the US by Hairston (1981), Albanian and Preston (1998), and Gilsdorf and Leonard (2001), but comment that “for Great Britain only one usage attitude study focusing on Standard British English could be identified, *Attitudes to English Usage* (Mittins et al., 1970)” (2017, §2). It is, however, not clear from Mittins et al. whether they restricted themselves to respondents from Great Britain or from the whole of the United Kingdom, i.e. including Northern Ireland. Ebner (2017) also notes surveys by Bryant (1962) for American English and by Sandred (1983) for Scots, both of which feature in her study (Ebner, 2017, p. 93), and she also refers to studies by Peters (1998a, 2001), Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2013), and Queen and Boland (2015). Ebner herself conducted a usage survey on British English (2017, esp. Chapters 7–9), whilst Kostadinova conducted a parallel study of American English (2018a, esp. Chapter 7). Both of these surveys were part of the Bridging the Unbridgeable project (see §4.2.3 below).

In her ‘Foreword’ to Leonard (1932), Weeks refers to “[o]lder studies of usage” (1932, p. xvi), but these are not specified. Aiken (1934, p. 291) also notes that “[o]f making English surveys there is no end, but English surveys having real importance are possibly not so common”, but again these surveys are not listed. Mittins et al. (1970, p. 4) mention “earlier enquiries of this kind”, but once again they do not provide any further details.

As noted above, Sandred (1983) surveys Scots rather than Standard English. I regard Bryant (1962) as a usage survey rather than an attitude survey (see Bryant, 1962, p. xix, where she refers to “the dependable evidence available – not only that from the various scholarly dictionaries, from the treatises of linguists, and from articles in magazines featuring English usage, but also that from some 900 fresh investigations undertaken especially for use in this book”). Ebner herself later in her study refers to Bryant as “a corpus study” (2017, p. 115). I have consequently not included these two surveys in the current study. Queen and Boland’s (2015) focus on a very specific register (e-mails) makes it unsuitable for comparison with the current study, which is also register-specific, but which is based on a different, academic, register, so I will not consider it any further here either.

Peters’s Langscape project (esp. 1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2001) is potentially of interest as she does have a section on number agreement (1999), but that includes only subject–verb number and anaphoric pronoun reference, so again is not directly comparable with the current study.¹ Peters did, however, report that “American respondents showed a stronger preference for formal agreement” (1999, p. 7), and I was able to investigate whether that also holds true for the current study (see §4.4).

¹ Only one usage guide included anaphoric pronoun reference to a species noun phrase; see §3.4.2, fn. 16.

Kostadinova (2018a, p. 58) concludes that “[t]he most notable studies of attitudes towards usage in English include Leonard (1932), Marckwardt and Walcott (1938), Mittins et al. (1970), and Crisp (1971)”,² and Ebner (2017, p. 98) also regarded Leonard (1932) as “one of the earliest usage attitude studies [she] could identify”. Based on the above, in this study, for comparative purposes, I will therefore focus on Leonard (1932; including Marckwardt and Walcott, 1938; see §4.2.1 below) and Mittins et al. (1970; see §4.2.2 below) for a historical perspective, before looking at the more recent surveys carried out within the Bridging the Unbridgeable project (§4.2.3 below). All these studies also have the advantage that they included the topic of the current study: number agreement in the species noun phrase, e.g. *these kind of*.

Ebner (2018b, p. 27, §4) offers an appealing explanation for the relative lack of surveys in Great Britain. Basing her approach on Milroy (2000, p. 61) and Cameron (1995, pp. 93, 107), and quoting Halliday (1992, p. 72), she posits that, whilst ethnicity can be seen as a defining issue in the standard language in the United States, in Great Britain that issue was and remains social class. Halliday refers to ‘classism’ in this connection, and suggests that, whilst it is now considered acceptable to show up, for example, sexism and racism, overtly commenting on classism would pose a threat to a social order based on capitalism. Halliday (see e.g. 2002, pp. 118–119; 2013, p. 15) had for a long time been working towards a Marxist theory of language, and there would be much here to investigate, but that remains beyond the scope of the current study. In what follows, then, I will concentrate on attitudes to number agreement in the species noun phrase over time, as investigated by Leonard (1932, together with Marckwardt and Walcott, 1938; cf. §4.2.1 below), by Mittins et al. (1970; cf. §4.2.2), and by the Bridging the Unbridgeable project (cf. §4.2.3), before presenting the current survey (§4.3).

4.2.1 *The Leonard (1932) survey*

In the Foreword to what is generally regarded as the earliest modern survey of English usage, Leonard’s *Current English Usage* (1932), Weeks distinguishes between two major types of survey:

To ascertain the actual English usage ... of educated people, two types of survey can be made. One tabulates the forms of expression and punctuation found in the work of the better contemporary authors. The other secures from these and other educated persons statements as to the forms of expression and punctuation they would employ in given sentences.

(Weeks, 1932, p. xiii)

² I was unable to access Crisp (1971) because of the closure of the University Library in Cambridge during the 2020–2022 coronavirus pandemic. My references to Crisp are therefore based on Kostadinova (2018a, esp. pp. 60–61).

These two types are often known as ‘usage surveys’ and ‘attitude surveys’, respectively. However, and as noted above, in practice they are often quite difficult to tease apart. As expressed by Weeks, any survey in which respondents give an opinion would be classed as an attitude survey, which is how Weeks describes the Leonard study (1932, p. xiii), but Leonard himself instructed his respondents to “[s]core, please, according to your observation of what is actual usage rather than your opinion of what usage should be” (1932, p. 97), thereby positioning his study as a usage survey.

In what they described as a “tentative and preliminary account” of what was to become Leonard’s 1932 ‘usage study’, Leonard and Moffett describe the 1932 study as an attempt to “find out what various judges have observed about the actual use or non-use by cultivated persons of a large number of expressions usually condemned in English textbooks and classes” (1927, p. 345). At the same time, they acknowledged the difficulty of that undertaking: “The judgments are no doubt influenced in considerable part by the feelings and logical preconceptions of the persons reporting; but these also are important facts” (1927, p. 359).

This conflict also surfaced in contemporary reviews of the Leonard survey, with Bentley (1933, p. 62) noting that “[i]t is quite misleading ... when the authors of the report use repeatedly words or terms which indicate that they regard the votes of the ‘judges’ as opinions or judgments rather than as observations”. Krapp (1933, p. 46) observed that the Leonard survey’s purpose was “the strictly practical one of finding some basis of decision with respect to a number of forms of current English about the standing of which there may be reasonable ground for difference of opinion”, i.e. an attitude survey. W.E. Leonard (1933, p. 57), who was himself a contributor to the Leonard survey, felt that “Bentley’s criticisms are theoretically sound”. He continued: “I was troubled, both when S. A. L. [i.e. S.A. Leonard] was preparing the questionnaires and when I looked over the returns, by the distinction to be kept between personal approval of a usage and appraisal of the usage *per se* as in one or another of the four categories” (1933, pp. 57–58; the four categories will be described below). W.E. Leonard did, however, maintain that this problem did not invalidate the survey.

Other critics of the Leonard study include Lloyd (1939), Russell (1939), and Larsen (1940). The later dates of these three reviews reflect that the authors were reviewing not just the Leonard study itself but also the later re-visiting of it by Marckwardt and Walcott’s *Facts about Current English Usage* (1938). Both the original Leonard study and the later one by Marckwardt and Walcott were carried out under the auspices of the National Council of Teachers of English in the United States, and were intended to be of benefit to practising teachers to enable them to form judgements on the information given in the dictionaries, grammars and usage guides that they used for reference. Marckwardt and Walcott’s view of the Leonard study is

therefore of some consequence: “The first significant fact to remember, then, is that *Current English Usage* deals primarily not with usage itself but with opinion about the usage of words and expressions usually questioned or condemned in grammars and handbooks” (1938, pp. 2–3). Marckwardt and Walcott then set out the purpose of their own study as “to supplement the survey of opinion, which forms the basis of the Leonard monograph, with a survey of the recorded usage of the same 230 items” (1938, p. 15). This they did by analysing a number of “convenient and authoritative” reference works, including the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1933 [1928]), Webster’s *New International Dictionary* (1934, second edition), Horwill’s *Dictionary of Modern American Usage* (1935), Hall’s *English Usage* (1917), and the grammars of Jespersen (1928–1931) and Curme (1931; 1935) (Marckwardt and Walcott, 1938, pp. 16–17). The Marckwardt and Walcott study is then clearly a survey of usage according to the definition set out by Weeks above, albeit at one remove, as all of the sources they list are themselves usage surveys of one sort or another. The Marckwardt and Walcott study thus made no direct use of respondents, in contrast to the Leonard study, and so it would seem that Weeks’s distinction is sound, and that she was correct in her categorisation of the Leonard study as an attitude survey. It is worth noting, however, that the Leonard study was completed by his associates after his untimely death in a boating accident, and so he may not have seen or endorsed this categorisation (Leonard, 1932, p. xxi).

The Leonard survey presented respondents with a list of 230 different “items of usage” (1932, p. 99) and asked them “to indicate what seemed to them to be the norm of usage among educated people generally” (1932, p. 96). When doing this, the respondents were asked to place each usage into one of four categories, or registers:

1. Formally correct English ... ‘Literary English’.
2. Fully acceptable English for informal conversation, correspondence, and all other writing of well-bred ease ... ‘standard, cultivated colloquial English’.
3. Commercial, foreign, scientific, or other technical uses ... ‘trade or technical English’.
4. Popular or illiterate speech ... ‘naïf, popular, or uncultivated English’.

(Leonard, 1932, p. 97)

In a footnote to their paper, Leonard and Moffett (1927, p. 345, fn. 1) wrote: “An additional category, ‘technical English,’ was tried but found of no value for this study”. As this would seem to contradict the 1932 survey (see ‘3’ above), I take it to mean that it was originally intended as a separate category.

One example of an item of usage, of interest for the current study, was “Don’t get *these* kind of gloves” (1932, p. 129), in which the problem lay in the apparent number conflict between plural *these* and singular *kind*. This example was presented as a single sentence (cf. §4.3.3 below) with the word *these* highlighted (cf. §4.3.4). The survey was based on the assumption that “allowable usage is based on the actual practice of cultivated people” (1932, p. 95); in this case the respondents were 229 linguists, teachers, authors, editors, businessmen, and members of the Modern Language Association (MLA) (1932, p. 96; and see §4.4.2: LEONARD (1932) below for more on the MLA). Apart from their occupations, we don’t know anything further about the respondents. This lack of sociolinguistic data was addressed in the later Bridging the Unbridgeable (BtU) surveys (see §4.2.3 below). The results of the Leonard survey, and of the Marckwardt and Walcott (1938) follow-up study, will be discussed in §4.4.2 below.

4.2.2 *The Mittins et al. (1970) survey*

Another attitude survey, generally taken to be the first of its kind in the United Kingdom (see §4.2 above), is Mittins et al.’s *Attitudes to English Usage* (1970), and this survey was again undertaken for the benefit of teachers (1970, p. 3), under the auspices of the University of Newcastle upon Tyne Institute of Education English Research Group. The authors were clear that they were conducting a survey of attitudes, and the explanatory note to their respondents included:

We are interested in varying attitudes to these usages in different situations.
We are not seeking opinions on what is ‘right’ or ‘wrong’, nor are we asking
about your own practice in speech or writing.
(Mittins et al, 1970, p. 5)

As in the Leonard (1932) survey, the four chosen situations in Mittins et al. (1970, p. 4) reflected register differences: “Informal Speech, Informal Writing, Formal Speech, Formal Writing.” These do not relate directly to Leonard’s categories, and this mismatch of categories between surveys will prove to be a recurring problem when trying to compare the results of the various surveys described in this chapter.

The 457 respondents to the Mittins et al. survey included school teachers and examiners, together with teacher-trainees, lecturers in further and higher education, business managerial staff and staff in sales, advertising or public relations, writers, civil service administrators, and members of the professions (1970, pp. 5–6). For their study, Mittins et al. did have an age breakdown of their respondents but were unable to use it in their analysis because of time constraints (1970, pp. 18–19, 21–23). One example Mittins et al. included, which is of interest for the current study, was:

These sort of plays need first-class acting.
(Mittins et al., 1970, pp. 9, 84–85)

As with the Leonard (1932) study, the example was presented as a single sentence, with the words *These sort of plays* highlighted, and again the point at issue was the apparent number conflict between *These* and *sort*. The Mittins et al. study is clearly an attitude study, and these attitudes were analysed mainly quantitatively, but, as pointed out by Ebner (2018a, p. 139), the authors also made a qualitative analysis, although this was included in their results “only ... sporadically”. The results of the Mittins et al. survey will be discussed in §4.4.2 below.

4.2.3 *The Bridging the Unbridgeable (BtU) surveys*

More recent attitude surveys have been undertaken within the Bridging the Unbridgeable (BtU) project at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics in the Netherlands. These have been reported in Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2013, 2018, 2020), Ebner (2014, 2017, 2018a), Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Ebner (2017), Kostadinova (2018a, 2018b), and Lukač (2018a, 2018b). The sub-title of the BtU project is ‘Linguists, Prescriptivists and the General Public’ (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2020, p. xii), and the project as a whole was interested in “the interplay – or lack of it – between different groups of people concerned with language use: linguists, language professionals like editors, text writers, translators and teachers, and the general public” (2020, p. 41). The BtU project as a whole aimed to investigate this by adopting a three-pronged approach: the prescriptivists were represented in analyses of a database of usage guides prepared specifically for the project, the HUGE database (see §3.2 for a description of this); the linguists were represented in corpus analyses comprising selected usage guides (see e.g. Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2020, esp. Chapter 4) and also by modern grammarians (see e.g. Ebner, 2017, p. 10); and the general public were represented in surveys and in interviews (see below). In this description of the BtU project, I will concentrate on the surveys.

One of the objectives of the BtU project was to replicate (parts of) the Mittins et al. (1970) survey, and so a series of online polls was carried out repeating all of the Mittins et al. examples (see Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2020, p. 20, fn. 19). The project was also intended to expand on the Mittins et al. survey by adopting a more rigorous sociolinguistic approach (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2013, p. 3). In order to do this, a “new method to elicit attitudes to questions of usage” was developed (2013, p. 11). This new method aimed to expand the reach of the surveys to engage previously neglected groups of respondents, including “exploring the Web as a means for eliciting data for analysis” (2013, p. 11; see also Lukač, 2018a, pp. 20–22).

Percy (2009, 2010) has demonstrated that parts of the general public have had a voice on matters of usage since the eighteenth century, through letters and articles in periodicals such as the *Monthly Review* and the *Critical Review*, whilst Drake (1977) notes that *The Galaxy*, *The Nation*, *Round Table* and *Godey's* all published letters on usage during the nineteenth century, to which list Crystal (2018, pp. 90–106) adds *Punch*. So various sections of the public have had a voice for at least as long as usage guides have been published (i.e. since 1770; cf. §1.2). However, one of the aims of the BtU project has been to extend the range of that voice not only by including members of the public from a number of different backgrounds but also by systematically seeking their views on a large scale, and by asking the respondents to comment on particular usages via interviews and online polls. Some usage guides, for example the *Harper Dictionary of Contemporary Usage* (Morris and Morris, 1975) and the *American Heritage Guide to Contemporary Usage and Style* (Pickett et al., 2005) had also established ‘usage panels’, generally of those people considered to be expert users of the language who could be called upon “to reach a verdict on whether the usage problems discussed could be considered acceptable or not, and consequently to offer readers guidance on whether it would be advisable to use a particular form or construction” (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2020, p. 168). Tieken-Boon van Ostade, however, did not accept that these panel members were in any way representative of the general public (2020, p. 172).

Part of Ebner’s (2017) study dealt with “the current attitudes of the English general public towards specific usage problems” (2017, p. 8), and with comparing these attitudes to those found in earlier studies, typically not including the wider public. In doing this, she hoped to “identify the true attitudes of members of the general public towards usage problems” (2017, p. 9). Kostadinova (2018a), however, strikes a more cautious note, picking up on a point made by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2013, p. 4; and see §4.3.4 below):

While it should be borne in mind that speakers’ attitudes are merely reports on speakers’ ideas about language, rather than their actual attitudes (which are notoriously hard to tap into), reported attitudes can nevertheless reveal something about what speakers think about the use of specific features. In other words, it may be difficult to find out what speakers’ actual attitudes are, but it is less problematic to find out the attitudes speakers think they are expected to have. In the context of attitudes influenced by prescriptive language ideology, this is important to keep in mind.

(Kostadinova, 2018a, p. 208)

This is an important issue that I will return to in §4.4.5 below.

Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2013) provides a list of the type of questions designed to draw out the public’s views on disputed usages:

The web form contained the following instructions:

We are interested in what you think about this sentence. Is it acceptable in English today, would you use it yourself? If so, where and when? If not, why not? If you think the sentence is unacceptable, why would that be the case? Do you ever hear (or see) people using it? What kind of people? Do you object to anyone using it?

Please tell us about all this in a short piece of text in the box below, which we will be able to use in our research about attitudes to usage. Thank you!
(Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2013, p. 5)

In order to facilitate comparison with the Mittins et al. (1970) survey, the four registers used in that earlier survey were maintained (cf. §4.2.2 above), but, in keeping with the ethos of the BtU project, ‘netspeak’ (i.e. “internet usage or chat language, texting”) was added, following Hedges (2011), and a further option, ‘unacceptable under any circumstances’, was added at the request of the early respondents (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2020, p. 148, fn. 13). The register preferences were therefore extended over previous surveys:

- ok in informal speech
 - ok in informal writing
 - ok in formal speech
 - ok in formal writing
 - ok in netspeak (internet usage or chat language, texting ...)
 - unacceptable under any circumstances
- (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2013, p. 5, Figure 1)

As mentioned in §4.2.2 above, these variations in how register differences are presented do make it more difficult to compare responses across surveys and over time. Marckwardt and Walcott (1938, pp. 50–51) had earlier found that actual usage was much less conservative than suggested by the Leonard (1932) attitude survey (cf. §4.4.2 below). An expected finding of the BtU project was that the level of acceptability of many of the usage items would have increased over time, reflecting a general tendency noted in Mair (2006, §6.2, pp. 183–193; and see Peters and Young, 1997), especially when sociolinguistic variables such as age and gender are taken into account. One of the aspects of usage that I will be investigating is whether there is any evidence in the more recent BtU surveys and in the current survey for any increased acceptability of variation in number agreement in the species noun phrase, a usage topic which has featured in all the previous surveys considered here.

4.3 The current survey

4.3.1 *Hosting and promoting*

To gain further insight into attitudes to number agreement in the species noun phrase,³ I organised an online survey using Qualtrics Online Survey Software.⁴ The survey was designed and analysed as an attitude survey, in that it sought the views of the respondents on whether the examples were appropriate for use in a particular context: academic journals. There is thus no comparison of attitudes to different registers, as in the Leonard (1932), Mittins et al. (1970), and BtU studies, although some respondents did comment on register variation (see §4.4.5). The usage survey part of my study lies in an analysis of a corpus of academic journal writing, the Stenton Corpus (see §1.3 for a description of this), and this will be the subject of Chapter 5.

The current survey was intended to ascertain attitudes towards a selection of species noun phrase expressions of mixed number agreement (see Chapter 2). The survey was promoted on the Bridging the Unbridgeable blog on 6 December 2016 and 14 February 2017, at the ‘Life after HUGE?’ symposium in Leiden on 9 December 2016, and in *English Today* in June 2017 (Stenton, 2017), as well as on Linguist List and ResearchGate on 19 April 2017. The survey examples all came from the Stenton Corpus, and were chosen to represent different aspects of number agreement in the species noun phrase, as exemplified in §2.2. The full examples are listed and described in Appendix D, with their shortened forms given below (§4.3.2). I used the similar, single-sentence, example from Mittins et al. (1970, pp. 9, 84–85; cf. §4.2.2 above), as also used in the BtU survey, to introduce the current survey:

These sort of plays need first-class acting.

This Mittins et al. example was used as it is very simple, and because I would be able to compare the results from my respondents with those from Mittins et al., and also from the Leonard (1932) (see §4.2.1 above) and the online BtU surveys (§4.2.3). I took the data from the current survey in mid-July 2017, when the number of respondents had tailed off. There were 102 responses in total.

The examples in the survey were presented in context, i.e. the linguistic context, rather than context of use or social context. This is sometimes referred to as ‘co-text’ (Matthews, 2014, p. 78; and see §4.3.3 below). This context typically included the sentence before and the sentence after the featured usage. This presentation is in

3 As noted in §§2.3.1 and 2.3.2, this covers both number agreement within the species noun phrase and number agreement between the species noun phrase and the verb.

4 See <<https://www.qualtrics.com/uk/core-xm/survey-software/>> (last accessed 17 July 2023).

contrast with previous surveys, including the Leonard (1932), Mittins et al. (1970), and online BtU ones, which all presented their examples in a single sentence, and this was intended to reveal whether the text beyond the immediate sentence had any impact on the respondents' attitudes to the usage in question. I show in §4.4.4 below that this was indeed the case for some of the respondents, and this inclusion of the context is discussed further in §4.3.3 below. I also highlighted the usage in question within the example, as in the Leonard (1932), Mittins et al. (1970), and some of the BtU surveys. This use of highlighting has been criticised, and I address these criticisms in §4.3.4 below.

4.3.2 Survey examples and questions

The survey examples, apart from the introductory one from Mittins et al. (1970, pp. 9, 84–85), were all taken from the manuscripts included in the Stenton Corpus (see Chapter 5), and as presented they had not been professionally copy-edited. Once submitted and accepted, the copyright of these manuscripts passed to Cambridge University Press, who in turn granted me permission to use them anonymously for analysis. All examples featured a version of the determiner + species noun + *of* + N2 structure as in *these kind of plays* (see §2.2 for a presentation of the variant structures in the species noun phrase).⁵ The short examples, i.e. with just the phrases of interest, are listed here in order of presentation.⁶ The full examples in context are listed in Appendix D:

- [1] these type of representative arrangements [must ... be constructed] [IJC_10-1]⁷
- [2] these kind of overt social cues [JCL_09-08-088]
- [3] this kind of language data [offers] [LCO_1400019]
- [4] these types of death [IJC_1600005]
- [5] these types of devoicing [occur] [JCL_08-08-081]
- [6] this type of error [... was observed] [JCL_09-10-086]
- [7] this type of fisheries [AJL_1400034]

⁵ The N2 OF THIS TYPE variant was not included because, as I show in §5.5.2, the examples of this variant in the Stenton Corpus were all of the same form, i.e. there was no number variation. The THIS N2 TYPE variant had not been identified at the time of the survey.

⁶ I have used brackets for these survey example numbers to distinguish them from examples elsewhere which use parentheses. These same bracketed numbers will be used throughout this chapter for ease of reference.

⁷ The form of the source of the quotations, here “[IJC_10-1]” will be explained in detail in §5.2.1.

- [8] these types of gesture [are ... involved] [JCL_1500062]
 [9] that type of goods [AJL_1600003]
 [10] these types of knowledge [inform] [JCL_1600005]
 [11] these kinds of law [IJC_11-1-***]⁸
 [12] this type of passives [has ... been reported] [JCL_1200051]

Not all of these examples contain an error, in the sense of a conflict of number agreement (see e.g. [6] above). Appendix D includes a presentation of the structure of the examples, with notes on the potential number agreement problem for each example. This was part of the rationale for investigating whether there is any gradience in the responses to the examples (see §4.4.3 below; see also §4.3.4 on the problem that highlighting raises with this issue). A consequence of the examples being taken from academic papers which had not yet been copy-edited (see §1.3 and §5.2) is that there remains the possibility that the examples in context contain other potential errors (and see the discussion of this topic by Quirk and Svartvik, 1966, p. 13, in §4.3.4 below). These other potential errors were not highlighted or indicated in any way.

The number of similar examples, twelve in all (plus the introductory example from Mittins et al., 1970, pp. 9, 84–85), and their presentation in context, are distinctive aspects of the current survey, and this approach has not, to the best of my knowledge, been used in previous surveys. These features were designed to facilitate investigation of two aspects of number variation in the species noun phrase: whether there is a cline of acceptability, or gradience, in the responses, and whether the context influenced those responses. However, both of these aspects of the survey could also be seen as potential drawbacks in maintaining the interest and concentration of the respondents. Quirk and Svartvik (1966), working within the Survey of English Usage at University College London, long ago pointed out the difficulties caused, for example, by fatigue:

[W]hile requiring a method that provided a reasonable wealth of data, we insisted that it must not fatigue the informants by reason of either excessive duration or monotony of form. Fatigue is, of course, particularly liable to invalidate the direct-question type of inquiry, where, after exercising their judgment on acceptability a few times with some confidence, informants commonly complain (or reveal) that their feeling for such distinctions is seriously impaired.

(Quirk and Svartvik, 1966, p. 15)

Comments from some of the respondents to the current survey did indeed suggest that fatigue, or boredom, was an issue (“My response is a shot in the dark after I died of

⁸ The asterisks hide the identity of the author of this file.

boredom ...”, R79⁹), and some of these comments will be presented in §4.4.5 below. Previous surveys, Leonard (1932) for one, have included many more examples, but in each case they were single-sentence examples of different usage problems. I discuss this issue more fully in §4.4.3 below.

As mentioned in §4.3.1 above, the context included the sentence before and the sentence after the featured usage, as shown for [1] below, unless the species noun phrase was itself in the first or last sentence in a paragraph.

- [1] In addition, in a support model, an individual is also free to appoint one or more representatives to make decisions for them, if that is what the individual desires. However, legislation surrounding **these type of representative arrangements** must also be constructed in a way that respects the rights in the CRPD and ensures that the individual can challenge the actions of the representative and can make changes to the arrangement, including revoking the designation of a particular representative.

[IJC_10-11]

For example [1], I expected that the respondents would find the mixed number marking on *these type* unacceptable, in line with the reference grammars cited in Chapter 2 and the usage guides analysed in Chapter 3.

In the survey, the examples were introduced by a statement of whether they were from a language journal or a law journal, and their date, which was not their date of publication, but the date on which the manuscript was sent out by the journal editors for copy-editing. This initial information was followed by a series of questions and instructions on how to approach the survey:

[1] This example is from a law journal (2013):

Would you find this acceptable in an academic paper?

The possible answers were YES/NO/DON'T KNOW. If the respondent answered either YES or DON'T KNOW, they were told:

Please go on to the next example.

The next instruction was:

If NO, please revise the phrase in bold in the box below.

This procedure, to ask the respondents to provide an alternative, has not generally been used in previous surveys. Albanian and Preston (1998; see §4.2 above) asked their respondents, for instance, to “write the sentence you would use in writing or very formal speech situations” (1998, p. 33), but these free responses were subsequently

9 R79 refers to a survey respondent. Appendix E gives details of all the respondents.

coded by student fieldworkers against a list of “expected corrections” (1998, p. 33). The final instruction in the current survey was:

Please add any other comments in the box below.

Ebner (2017, p. 131) has suggested that “providing the participants with the opportunity to comment on each question ... allows for greater insight into what participants think about specific usages”. I will show in §4.4.4 below that this was indeed the case in the current study.

4.3.3 Contextualising the examples

To the best of my knowledge, this is the first survey to concentrate on a single usage variant with multiple examples, presented in context, i.e. in a linguistic context. The context was included to discover if the text beyond the immediate sentence had any influence on attitudes to the usage in question. Ebner (2014, pp. 3–4) and Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Ebner (2017, §4.4) discuss the importance of context in surveys and usage guide treatments of the so-called ‘dangling participle’, e.g. “*Pulling the trigger, the gun went off unexpectedly*” (from Mittins et al., 1970, pp. 9, 86–88). Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Ebner (2017, §4.4) noted that “the comments made by the questionnaire respondents highlight the importance of the context. Reading a sentence like the Mittins one in isolation, one will certainly wonder who pulled the trigger, while contextual information would have made this clear.” Peters (2004, p. 138) also comments on the function of what she terms the “context of discourse”: “Castigation of ‘dangling’ constructions almost always focuses on sentences taken out of context. In their proper context of discourse, there may be no problem.”

A consequence of what both Peters and Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Ebner are saying here is that the inclusion of the context of an example could potentially change the attitude of a respondent, by for example eliciting an ‘acceptable’ instead of an ‘unacceptable’ response to a survey question (“... ties in better with the previous sentence”; R113). Another usage guide, Gilman (1989), which presents a historical approach to the treatment of usage problems in usage guides, also comments on the use of context in resolving potential ambiguity in the use of *actual*:

Copperud’s [1970] objection to *actual* lies in a single quoted sentence: ‘The stocks were sold at prices above actual market prices.’ The trouble with this example is that it lacks its preceding context. In a majority of instances of the use of *actual* in our files, it contrasts with some other adjective, either stated or implied.

(Gilman, 1989, p. 23)

Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2020, p. 167) comments that “[q]uite a few [survey] informants indicated that they thought the [example] sentence confusing or unclear,

and one of them, an 84-year-old retired British teacher, noted that the sentence was difficult to understand out of context”. It is therefore surprising that context hasn’t been included more often in attitude surveys.¹⁰ However, including the context does not necessarily imply that the respondents would read it all. With the target phrase highlighted (see §4.3.4 below) in a considerable amount of context, together with a large number (=12) of similar examples, there could be a tendency for the respondents to skip the context and concentrate on only the highlighted text. This could account for the different amounts of time needed by the respondents to complete the survey (see §4.4 below) and could also account for some of their comments (see §4.4.5). My assumption, however, is that, with the context of the example being shown, the respondents might be more likely to find the example acceptable, in the sense of my survey question: “Would you find this acceptable in an academic paper?”

4.3.4 Highlighting the examples

I highlighted the usage in question within the example (see [1] in §4.3.2 above), following the practice of Mittins et al. (1970), but this use of highlighting to identify the usage has been criticised. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2013, p. 4) points out that one of the difficulties with highlighting the phrase of interest is that the respondents “would be biased against features which they knew, however dimly, to clash with accepted standard practice”. This notion of bias was also discussed by Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Ebner (2017, §2), and by Ebner (2017, p. 98; 2018a, pp. 139, 140, 148), with Ebner pointing out that a particular respondent’s comment “emphasizes the methodological advantage of not highlighting the usage problems” (2018a, p. 148). The comment Ebner quoted, made by a student, was: “Seems pretty correct to me all round and no real comments!” (2018a, p. 148).

This in itself is, of course, an interesting response to a survey example. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2013) noted of her respondents on the example *Their errors will likely be in their use of style words* that “many failed to see *likely* as a potential usage problem” (2013, pp. 5, 7), given that the form was not highlighted, and again this is an interesting response. In reporting on the same survey in 2020, Tieken-Boon van Ostade commented that “many people ... failed to identify what usage problem they were asked to comment on. There would therefore be something to be said for highlighting the issue tested after all” (2020, p. 168). In contrast, Ebner (2017, p. 111) took the view that “consciously highlighting the investigated items no longer seems to fit the contemporary research undertaking as awareness [i.e. of the problem being investigated] is becoming an increasingly important factor”, and, as mentioned above in §4.2.3, Kostadinova (2018a, p. 208) warned of the danger of discovering

¹⁰ Kostadinova (2018a) does include the context, but then greys it out so that it is unreadable (see her Figure 4.2 on p. 121 for an example of this).

only “the attitudes speakers think they are expected to have”. This would suggest that in the examples in my study the respondents would see a potential number conflict highlighted and so ‘correct’ it. Labov (1975, pp. 97–98) provides an early example of a similar problem from his fieldwork in Philadelphia, where he noted that speakers insisted that they had never heard a particular construction (positive *anymore* sentences, as in *John is smoking a lot anymore*), but were nonetheless observed to use that very construction themselves (cited in Sampson and Babarczy, 2014, p. 80). The Leonard (1932) survey highlighted the item in question, as did the Mittins et al. (1970) survey, and when this latter survey was replicated as part of the BtU project, “[i]t was kept as it was, with the usage problems being highlighted as in the original” (Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Ebner, 2017, p. 3).

For the current study, one of the factors contributing to the decision to highlight the phrase of interest was that, as noted above (§4.3.2), the Stenton Corpus, which was the source of the examples (see §5.2), is made up of texts which had not yet been copy-edited, and so were more likely to contain what could be seen as errors in addition to the phrase of interest. Indeed, a number of respondents who commented on the examples indicated that they would have liked to make more substantial revisions to the text as a whole (e.g. “... this isn’t the only bit of rewriting I would do!”, R100; “What a text!!”, R124; and see §4.4.4 below). Ebner (2017, p. 110) comments on a similar dilemma as revealed in the Albanian and Preston (1998) survey: “Despite the advantage of obtaining unbiased judgments, Albanian and Preston also had to deal with participants identifying and correcting other parts of the stimuli sentences.” Quirk and Svartvik (1966), as part of their investigation into grammaticality vs. acceptability, noticed a similar problem with examination papers:

We have experimented with the use of examination papers containing the conventional questions which require comments on sentences with various kinds of ill-formedness, and we have found that if a sentence contained one common deviation (let us say, a ‘dangling’ participle), this would be duly noticed and dutifully condemned, but that if a sentence contained a ‘dangling’ participle and in addition a ‘split infinitive’, an informant might notice and condemn only the latter.

(Quirk and Svartvik, 1966, p. 13)

In part because the topic of interest in my survey was so specific – a single usage issue – and in part because it was presented in (an un-copy-edited) context, I decided that it was more helpful to highlight the phrase than not.

What the above discussion indicates, I think, is not that highlighting should or shouldn’t be used, or indeed that context should or shouldn’t be included. We simply don’t know the consequences of either approach. Perhaps we need to recognise that different approaches to the two topics might yield different results, insights and/or

interpretations. For example, is a respondent who simply doesn't see a potentially problematic usage more or less reliable than one who finds a highlighted usage acceptable? In both cases they would not 'correct' it. What are needed here are parallel studies in one of which the issue is highlighted/presented in context, while in the other it is not, but that is for a later study. Parallel studies would also, however, introduce more variables in the results, again making comparisons across different studies potentially more difficult.

A different approach to this problem of recognition of the phrase of interest was introduced in the surveys conducted by Ebner (2017) and Kostadinova (2018a). They both used post-survey interviews to help gain insight into their respondents' judgements. Ebner hoped to "obtain an insight into the affective, behavioural and cognitive components of usage attitudes" (2017, p. 132). For Kostadinova, the main purpose of the interview was to "allow respondents to reflect on the survey, as well as to communicate thoughts and observations they may have felt were impossible to address in the survey" (2018a, p. 121). These interview sessions were very labour-intensive, which in itself imposes limits both on the number of respondents (63 for Ebner; 79 for Kostadinova) and on their geographical spread, making it an informative but restricted tool. Interviews were not used in the BtU replication of the Mittins et al. (1970) survey, nor are they used in the current survey, at least in part because the identities of the online respondents were unknown.

4.3.5 The survey respondents

Of the 102 people who responded to the survey, 72 provided (some) personal data. These are not large numbers, especially when compared with some of the earlier surveys (see §4.2 above), although it is comparable to the number of respondents to the online BtU survey. Ebner (2017, p. 177) notes that one of the limitations of an online survey is that "it is known that online questionnaires are prone to a self-selection bias (...). This bias is also indicative of specific traits shared by the respondents, such as a general interest in language or eagerness to make one's opinion public." Perhaps because of this inevitable self-selection process, my respondents do indeed seem to form a somewhat small homogeneous group, more like the respondents in Leonard (1932) and Mittins et al. (1970) than those in the BtU surveys. This homogeneity may also be a consequence of how the survey was promoted, i.e. on various media that would be used by language professionals (see §4.3.1 above). Nevertheless, I will show in Table 4.4 in §4.4.3 below, by analysing the responses at two different time-points, why I think my respondents contribute a reliable result.

At the end of the survey I asked the respondents to provide some personal details:

Thank you for completing this acceptability survey. Now we just need some details about you.

Are you a native speaker of English?

YES/NO

If ‘yes’, which variety do you write in? For example: British, American, Indian.

OPEN

If ‘no’, which variety do you write in? For example: British, American, Indian.

OPEN

What is your main occupation?

OPEN

How old are you?

OPEN

What is your gender?

MALE/FEMALE/PREFER NOT TO SAY

These questions were chosen in response to Tieken-Boon van Ostade’s comments on the need to introduce more sociolinguistic rigour into attitude surveys (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2020, pp. 203–205; and see §4.2.3 above). For example, both Ebner (2018a) and Kostadinova (2018b) demonstrated that age and sex were factors in the acceptability ratings of some of the usage variants in their studies. As can be seen from the list above, education was not included in the current study. For this survey, I did not perform any statistical analyses, and there were no apparent patterns when the respondents were grouped by language variety, occupation, age or gender, so I didn’t find that respondents using American English showed a stronger preference for formal agreement, as noted by Peters (1999, p. 7; cf. §4.2 above). A detailed description of the respondents is given in Appendix E. In the next section, I will provide an analysis of how the respondents approached the survey, before presenting the results.

4.4 The survey results

Qualtrics records both the amount of time that the respondents spent on the survey and how much of the survey they completed. Given that the time figures range from 31 seconds to just under 23 hours, there would seem to be an issue with how the respondents signed off from the survey, so the figures may not be entirely reliable; nonetheless, some patterns do emerge, as shown in Figure 4.1.

Seventy-two respondents completed the survey (i.e. they are recorded as completing 100%), at a time of between about 4 minutes (216 seconds) and about 23

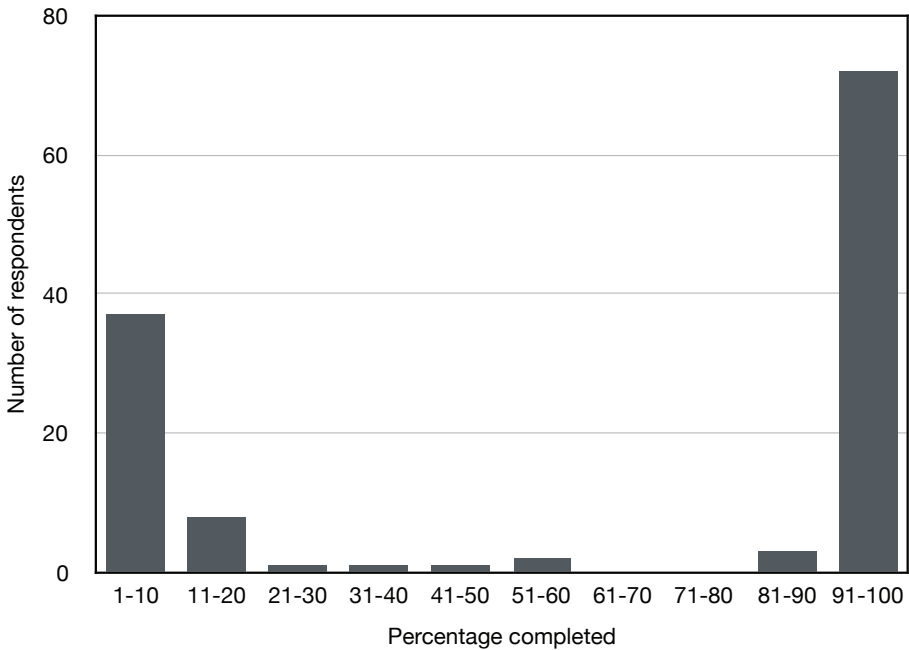


Figure 4.1 Percentage of the survey completed by the respondents

hours (81,759 s), but with most of those (=59) spending no more than 30 minutes on it. These are by definition the same 72 respondents who provided personal data. At the other end of the scale, 23 respondents completed just 2% of the survey, suggesting that they looked at it and decided not to continue. This number also includes me checking on the progress of the survey, but failing to log in as an administrator, which also accounts for some of the gaps in the numbering of the respondents in Appendix E, and why the numbering runs from 2 to 125, even though there were only 102 respondents. My logging in also contributes to the size of the 1–10 column in Figure 4.1. A number of respondents (=14) logged off at 9%, which was the time it took them to answer the first question only, perhaps because they realised that the thirteen examples might not be substantially different and so simply lost interest (e.g. “... after I died of boredom”, R79). Ebner (2017, p. 124) notes that “[t]he length of a survey can have an immense influence on the success of the data collection”. Between these two ends of the scale (i.e. 2%–9% and 100%), there were relatively few respondents (=16) who completed between 15% and 85% of the survey.

4.4.1 Results of the current survey

The list below shows the number of respondents voting Y(ES), N(O) and D(ON'T) K(NOW) in response to the question "Would you find this acceptable in an academic paper?" (see §4.3.2 above). These results are also illustrated in Figure 4.2. These numbers are followed in the list by the T(otal) number of respondents for that example, and then by the percentage of the highest vote, which was always Y or N. Figure 4.3 shows the percentage of respondents who voted Y, N and DK for each example. These percentages are used in my discussion of a potential cline of responses in §4.4.3 below. The short forms of the examples are given in the list below, apart from the introductory example from Mittins et al. (1970) which is given in full (I will comment on the Mittins et al. example in §4.4.2 below, together with similar examples from the earlier and later surveys); the full forms are listed in Appendix D. In the following discussion I have retained the original example numbers throughout, for clarity.

These sort of plays need first-class acting.¹¹

(from Mittins et al., 1970, pp. 9, 84–85)

Y = 19; N = 75; DK = 8; T = 102 [N = 74%]

[1] these type of representative arrangements [must ... be constructed]

Y = 9; N = 79; DK = 0; T = 88 [N = 90%]

[2] these kind of overt social cues

Y = 8; N = 70; DK = 2; T = 80 [N = 88%]

[3] this kind of language data [offers]

Y = 65; N = 13; DK = 1; T = 79 [Y = 82%]

[4] these types of death

Y = 54; N = 21; DK = 4; T = 79 [Y = 68%]

[5] these types of devoicing [occur]

Y = 70; N = 6; DK = 3; T = 79 [Y = 89%]

[6] this type of error [... was observed]

Y = 77; N = 1; DK = 0; T = 78 [Y = 99%]

[7] this type of fisheries

Y = 36; N = 39; DK = 2; T = 77 [N = 51%]

¹¹ This example from Mittins et al. was not included in the results below, as examples [1] and [2] show a similar number conflict.

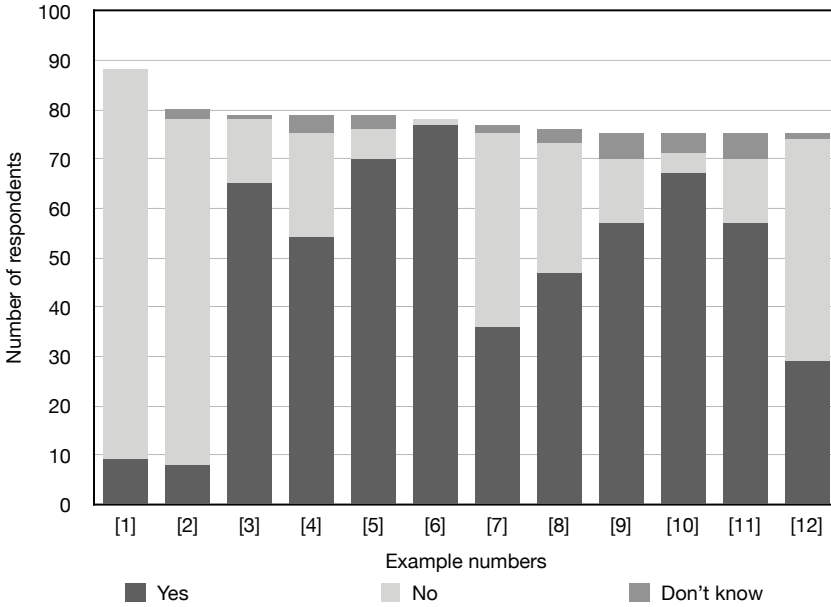


Figure 4.2 Number of respondents who voted 'Yes', 'No' and 'Don't know' for each example

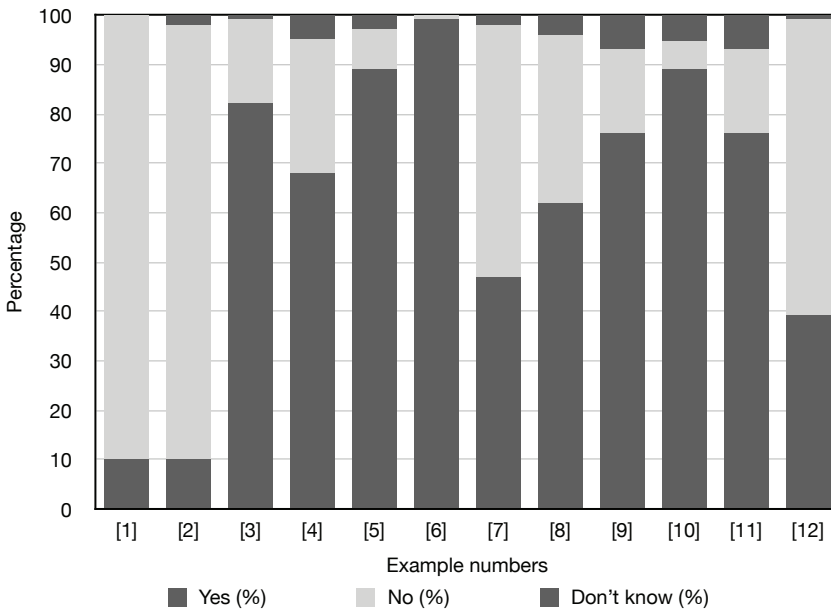


Figure 4.3 Percentage of respondents who voted 'Yes', 'No' and 'Don't know' for each example

- [8] these types of gesture [are ... involved]
Y = 47; N = 26; DK = 3; T = 76 [Y = 62%]
- [9] that type of goods
Y = 57; N = 13; DK = 5; T = 75 [Y = 76%]
- [10] these types of knowledge [inform]
Y = 67; N = 4; DK = 4; T = 75 [Y = 89%]
- [11] these kinds of law
Y = 57; N = 13; DK = 5; T = 75 [Y = 76%]
- [12] this type of passives [has ... been reported]
Y = 29; N = 45; DK = 1; T = 75 [N = 60%]

The first thing to note here, and which is apparent from Figure 4.2, is that, after the first response, i.e. to the example from Mittins et al. (1970), the number of responses drops from 102 to 88 for example [1], then gradually reduces to 75 for examples [9] to [12]. I have already suggested that this may be due to either fatigue or simply to boredom (see §4.3.2 above). It was for this reason that Kostadinova (2018a, p. 209) simplified her (single sentence) examples, and, as noted above, Ebner (2017, p. 124) likewise had concerns about the length of a survey. Some comments from the respondents on this aspect of the survey are given in §4.4.5 below. The examples also cover a wide range of responses, as can be seen in Figure 4.3, from 99% Y ([6]) to 90% N ([1]), with just one example, [7], being more evenly split at 51% N:47% Y.

Those respondents who chose Y(ES) or D(ON'T) K(NOW) were then asked to move on to the next question, whilst those who responded N(O) were asked: "If NO, please revise the phrase in bold in the box below" and then "Please add any other comments in the box below". In practice, this last option was also open to the other respondents, some of whom did comment (see §4.4.5 below). In retrospect, there was no good reason not to guide all respondents to these last options. A detailed analysis of these results is given in §4.4.2 below.

Having briefly described the results from the current survey, I now want to look at the results from the previous surveys described in §§4.2.1–4.2.3 above. These will be assessed principally in terms of their reported attitudes to the examples which include the species noun phrase. The example used in Leonard (1932) and Marckwardt and Walcott (1938) was *Don't get these kind of gloves*, whilst both the Mittins et al. (1970) and BtU surveys used the example that was also used to introduce the current study: *These sort of plays need first-class acting*. As there was only one example containing the species noun phrase in each of the previous surveys, there will be no opportunity to discuss gradience in these studies (see §4.4.3 below).

4.4.2 Comparison of survey results

As mentioned above, there have been three previous surveys which have tested the acceptability of an apparent mismatch of number in the species noun phrase: Leonard (1932; plus Marckwardt and Walcott, 1938), Mittins et al. (1970), and Tieken-Boon van Ostade's BtU surveys (2013, 2020). I shall present their results in turn below, and then compare them with the results from the current survey.

LEONARD (1932)

The Leonard survey (see §4.2.1 above) tested *Don't get these kind of gloves*. This was ranked by the respondents at 198 out of 230 different examples of questionable usages, with 1 being the most acceptable and 230 the least acceptable. It was classed as 'disputable', meaning that at least 75% of the judges disapproved of it. Leonard commented:

The linguists ranked this higher [i.e. more acceptable] than did any other group of judges. The editors placed it, by unanimous consent, at the very bottom of the list of usages; the English and speech teachers rated it nearly as low. Evidently this expression is not at present acceptable as cultivated English in the United States.

(Leonard, 1932, p. 129)

In their follow-up survey, Marckwardt and Walcott (1938) comment on how Leonard (1932) was an attitude survey and not a usage survey; that the term 'disputable' itself was "not appropriate in the description of a linguistic fact"; and that it served only to highlight the "extreme variation of opinion" (1938, p. 33). In their own usage survey they found that "106 of the 121 items, which according to a survey of opinion seemed to be disputable [i.e. Leonard (1932)], are, on the basis of recorded fact, actually in cultivated use today" (1938, p. 49). This number included *Don't get these kind of gloves*. Marckwardt and Walcott comment that this demonstrates "how much more conservative a survey of opinion about language is apt to be than the facts of the language actually warrant" (1938, pp. 50–51), and this perhaps again lends weight to Kostadinova's warning about discovering only "the attitudes speakers think they are expected to have" (2018a, p. 208; see §4.2.3 above).

In Table 4.1 overleaf, I present the detailed results of Leonard from his Appendix F (1932, pp. 222–223) and the 'Summary Sheet of Ballots – Grammatical Usage Study' (1932, tip-in¹²). Although Leonard used four categories in his questionnaire (see §4.2.1 above), the results were distilled into just three different categories for the analyses: formal, colloquial and illiterate.¹³ This change alone drew much

¹² The tip-in is a long folded page added at the end of the book.

¹³ By 'illiterate' here Leonard means "naïf, popular, or uncultivated English" (1932, p. 97;

contemporary criticism of the accuracy and interpretation of the results (see e.g. Bentley, 1933, pp. 61–62, and the discussion in §4.2.1 above).

Table 4.1 Results from the Leonard (1932) survey: percentage of respondents who found the example acceptable in the different registers¹⁴

Group	Formal	Colloquial	Illiterate
Editors / Authors	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	47 (98%)
Linguists	1 (4%)	10 (36%)	17 (61%)
Business men	0 (0%)	1 (4%)	22 (96%)
Teachers (NCTE, MLA, Speech)	11 (9%)	34 (28%)	77 (63%)
Totals	12 (5%)	46 (21%)	163 (74%)

From Table 4.1, it can be seen that, although the linguists were indeed among the most accepting of the usage at 4%, together with the teachers at 9%, overall only 5% of the respondents found it acceptable in a formal register. As shown in the table, the three sets of teachers are grouped together in Leonard (1932, p. 221), although their results are presented separately in the Summary Sheet. The MLA website suggests that its members may not be representative of the school teachers who Leonard was writing for, and may not be directly comparable to the NCTE teachers and the speech teachers in the table. Broadly speaking, it would seem that the NCTE addressed the practical needs of language teachers, whilst the MLA was also concerned with academic research into language teaching. It is not clear from Leonard whether the Speech teachers refers to speech-language pathologists/speech therapists or to teachers who prepare students to give public speeches.¹⁵ In fact, if the three figures are separated out, for ‘Formal’:‘Colloquial’:‘Illiterate’, we find Speech 0:6:8; NCTE 0:5:45; MLA 11:23:24. The MLA figures do seem to distort the other teacher groups, with 19% of the MLA members finding the usage acceptable in formal English; that is nearly five times the rate of the linguists who found it acceptable, which does not seem to support Leonard’s own characterisation of the results.

see §4.2.1 above).

14 I have conflated the two groups of Editors and Authors so that the results can be more easily compared with the current survey. In fact, the two sets of results were almost identical, with 96% of the Authors and 100% of the Editors finding the usage illiterate.

15 For more on this distinction see <https://learn.org/directory/category/School_Administration/Teacher_Education_for_Specific_Subjects/Speech_Teacher.html> (last accessed 18 March 2022).

MITTINS ET AL. (1970)

The Mittins et al. survey (see §4.2.2 above) included the example *These sort of plays need first-class acting*, which they found had a “percentage acceptance-rate” of 29% across all four registers (1970, p. 13). In their discussion of the results, the authors comment:

Our respondents were on the whole not disposed to accept the usage at all readily. With only 29 per cent acceptances, it ranked 37th of the fifty items. Students, though twice as lenient as any other group, averaged only 45 per cent approval. The ‘spread’ between Informal Speech and Formal Writing was about average, but—with groups separately and together—the widest gap was between Informal Speech (53 per cent general acceptability) and Informal Writing (33 per cent). It is interesting to note that of our 457 respondents fewer than sixty claimed to accept in Formal Writing a construction authorized in the works of Shakespeare and other ‘classic’ writers of English.

(Mittins et al., 1970, p. 85)

Although Mittins et al. do not provide a breakdown of their figures, as Leonard (1932) had done, from their narrative of the results it can be seen that less than 13% of their respondents (<60/457) found the usage acceptable in formal writing. This is more than Leonard’s 5%, and may indeed represent a shift in acceptability over the intervening four decades of the sort that Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2020, p. 137; and see below) was expecting to find. The next section reveals what she did find.

THE BRIDGING THE UNBRIDGEABLE (BTU) SURVEY

In the BtU study reported in Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2013, 2020; and see §4.2.3 above), the examples from the Mittins et al. (1970) survey were repeated, but this time in an online poll with a much smaller number of respondents. This means that the example *These sort of plays need first-class acting* was again included. The results for this example are shown in Figure 4.4 overleaf.¹⁶

The 86 votes are spread over five registers, but only 5% of respondents found the sentence an acceptable usage in formal writing, with 24% finding it ‘unacceptable under any circumstances’. An additional 8% found the usage acceptable in formal speech; Mittins et al. (1970) did not provide a comparable figure. In general, the usage was found acceptable in some circumstances/register by 75% of the respondents. This would seem to be much higher than the results from both Leonard (1932) and Mittins et al. (1970), and on the face of it would seem to support the contention that the usage as a whole, as opposed to the usage in a particular register, had become more acceptable

¹⁶ It should be noted that this poll remains open and, as of 28 November 2023, had eighty-six responses. Online <<https://bridgingtheunbridgeable.com/2012/08/24/7th-usage-poll-2/>>.

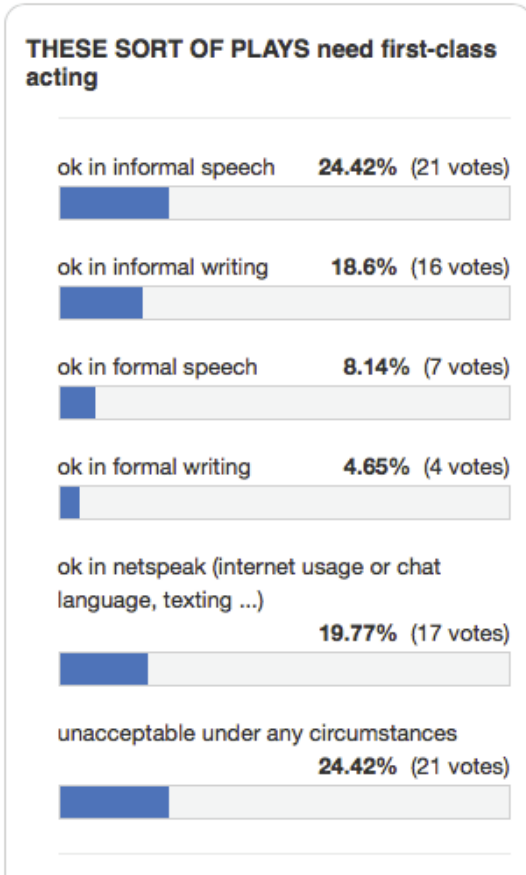


Figure 4.4 Results for *These sort of plays need first-class acting* from the BtU survey

between the plural determiner *these* and the singular species nouns *kind* and *sort*. But, as was shown in Chapter 2, these aren't the only words in the example sentences that can be marked for number. In both example sentences – *Don't get these kind of gloves* and *These sort of plays need first-class acting* – the N2s *gloves* and *plays* are marked for plural. Further, in *These sort of plays need first-class acting* the verb *need* is also marked for plural. None of these studies investigated whether this additional plural marking had an effect on the respondents' decision-making. This is likely a consequence of all three studies choosing to highlight only the determiner (Leonard)

over time. However, although we have no comparable survey data for this example in registers, Mittins et al. do point out that with students it had an average acceptability rating of 45%, and that for informal speech the figure for the whole group was 53%. Marckwardt and Walcott (1938, pp. 50–51) commented that their usage survey results showed that Leonard's attitude survey results were much more conservative than actual usage, as represented in reference books (see §4.2.1 above). Again, it is difficult to draw direct comparisons over time, even with surveys that were intended specifically for that purpose, a problem arising in part from the unknown heterogeneity of the respondents in the online BtU survey.¹⁷

In the results of the three studies summarised above, there is an at least implicit assumption that the respondents were reacting to the mismatch of number

¹⁷ Ticken-Boon van Ostade (p.c.) has pointed out that 83 represents the number of responses, not necessarily the number of different respondents, and the same is true, of course, for the current survey.

or only the species noun phrase (Mittins et al. and the BtU studies), an approach also followed in the current study.

COMPARISON WITH THE CURRENT SURVEY

As mentioned in §4.3.2 above, the Mittins et al. (1970) example was also used to introduce the current survey, both as a simple example to start the survey, and to provide a direct comparison with the earlier surveys. In the current survey the results for this example were:

These sort of plays need first-class acting.

Y = 19; N = 75; DK = 8; T = 102 [N = 74%]¹⁸

These results are broadly in line with those from Mittins et al. (1970), which showed 29% acceptance (i.e. 71% N(O)) overall, but only 13% acceptance (87% N(O)) in formal writing. This result would therefore seem to be at variance with the assumption made in many modern attitude surveys that acceptance rates would tend to increase over time. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2020), for example, writes about the acceptability of the flat adverb (i.e. *did it quicker/ go slow*):

... it is surprising to see a decrease of acceptability of the flat adverb in the course of time rather than an increase, as would be expected in view of the process of colloquialisation which, according to Mair (2006), characterised the development of the English language in the course of the twentieth century. According to this process, one would expect features which used to be considered only relatively acceptable in informal registers to have become more widely acceptable in other registers as well. This is indeed what we found for quite a few of the Mittins et al. features whose acceptability we looked at after 40 to 50 years' time (see also Ebner 2017).
(Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2020, pp. 137–138)

But not, it seems, for *these sort of plays*. Table 4.2 shows the three sets of results for this example, plus the result from Leonard (1932) for comparison.

Table 4.2 Comparison of results from the four surveys

Survey	Overall acceptability	Acceptability in formal writing
Leonard (1932)	c. 26%	5%
Mittins et al. (1970)	29%	< 13%
BtU survey	75%	5%
Current survey	19%	19%

¹⁸ See §4.4.1 above for an explanation of the symbols used in these results.

Table 4.2 shows that overall acceptability of the number-mismatched species noun phrase has remained quite stable between 1932 and the present, at 19–29%. The one exception to this is the result from the BtU survey at 74%. In a formal register, the level of acceptability ranges from 4–5% for the BtU and Leonard surveys to 13–19% for the Mittins et al. and the current surveys.

There seem to be three processes at work here. One is the issue of more general acceptability over time; another is the usage being accepted in more (formal) registers over time; and a third is that of any greater acceptability of the usage over time being a reflection of the different composition of the survey respondents. However, these are not so much discrete categories as interweaving tendencies. Here, I want to look at one of these: whether the nature of the respondents may have affected the results in the various surveys. I have shown that, whilst 75 of the respondents to the current survey found the Mittins et al. example unacceptable, 19 found it acceptable. Sixty-eight of these 94 respondents (72%) provided personal details. I classified these respondents into one or more of six occupational groups, as follows:

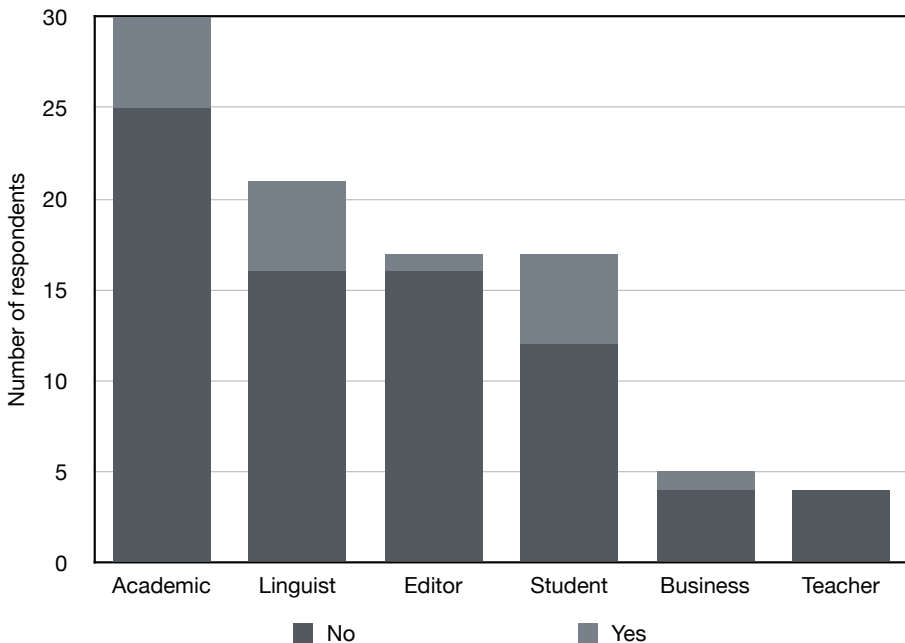
- A academic
- B businessperson
- E editor/writer/translator, etc.
- L linguist
- S student
- T teacher

These are not exclusive categories, so that for example a PhD student in linguistics would be classified as S, A, L. I have counted undergraduates as S, but PhDs as S as well as A (for the full list see Appendix E). So, for the 68 respondents for whom I have personal information, 56 found the example unacceptable (NO) and 12 found it acceptable (YES). How the different groups voted is illustrated in Table 4.3 and Figure 4.5, and is discussed below.

These responses total 94, which is a result of some of the 68 respondents being classified in more than one category, and should not be confused with the total number of different respondents, which was also 94. For all occupational groups, the NO votes outweighed the YES ones, sometimes substantially. The teachers voted NO at 100%, but there were only four of them. The one group that stands out is the editors, who voted NO at 16:1. It was also the editors in Leonard's (1932) survey who placed it "at the very bottom of the list" (1932, p. 129). All other groups in the current study were between 2:1 and 5:1.

Table 4.3 Analysis of the respondents' acceptability judgements on the Mittins et al. example in the current survey

Group	Total responses	'No' responses	'Yes' responses
Academics	30	25 (83%)	5 (17%)
Linguists	21	16 (76%)	5 (24%)
Editors	17	16 (94%)	1 (6%)
Students	17	12 (71%)	5 (29%)
Businesspeople	5	4 (80%)	1 (20%)
Teachers	4	4 (100%)	0 (0%)

**Figure 4.5 Analysis of the respondents' acceptability judgements on the Mittins et al. example in the current survey**

Overall, then, for Leonard (1932) more than 75% of the respondents found the usage unacceptable; for Mittins et al. (1970), 71% did so; and in the current survey 74% found the Mittins et al. example unacceptable. This would seem to show remarkable consistency over a period of nine decades, albeit from a relatively consistent respondent base. The one different figure was from the repeat of the Mittins et al. survey carried out online by the BtU group, at 26%, but as mentioned we don't know anything about the make-up of this last group, who also had more response categories to choose from.

Other surveys carried out within the BtU project also showed an increasing acceptance of some usage features over time (see Ebner, 2017, pp. 367–371, §10.3; Kostadinova, 2018a, pp. 243–250, Chapter 8; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2020, pp. 137–138). However, none of these included the example of interest for this study, and the increased acceptance may well have reflected a widening of the notion of the general public (see §4.2.3 above).

As well as investigating whether there has been a change in the acceptability of the number-mismatched species noun phrase over time, I was also interested in whether there was any gradience in the responses to the current survey (cf. §4.3.2 and §4.4.1 above). This was not possible with the earlier surveys as they used each usage topic in only one example. The potential for gradience is therefore reported in the next section.

4.4.3 *Support for a cline of acceptability*

I mentioned above (§4.3.2) that one of the issues I was interested in was whether there was any gradience or ‘gradient acceptability’ in the responses to the different examples, i.e. whether “sentences that share the same or similar structures differ to varying degrees in acceptability” (Francis, 2022, p. 1). What may be judged unacceptable in one (linguistic) context may nonetheless be found to be acceptable in another. This was in large part the reason for including the example sentences in context (see §4.3.3). Here, I am trying to bridge the rating vs. ranking methods for acceptability testing (see e.g. Mohan, 1977, p. 138; Levelt et al., 1977, p. 88), in the sense that, although each example was rated as acceptable or unacceptable, usage as a whole over the twelve examples could also be seen as ranked, i.e. with some examples seen as either more or less acceptable than others. This might seem to be at odds with Pullum’s statement that:

Faced with an instruction to select the grammatical form from a list like this:

these kind of things
these kinds of thing
these kinds of things
these kind of things

a speaker of English will display complete bewilderment.
(Pullum, 1974, pp. 68–69)

but that comment was made in the context of distinguishing the role of ‘performance factors’ from the “grammatical processes and constraints operating in number agreement” (Pullum, 1974, p. 68). Gradience in this sense has not been investigated in earlier surveys, and indeed could not be, as in those surveys each usage problem was presented in only one example sentence.¹⁹ Instead, the earlier surveys demonstrated

¹⁹ Note that gradience as used here is different from Kostadinova’s ‘recognition level’

ranking between the different usage problems (see Ebner, 2017, Chapter 4, for a discussion of this in five usage surveys). To investigate gradience I have therefore ranked the twelve examples from the Stenton Corpus used in the current survey by their acceptability ratings, as shown by their highest percentage responses. These are listed, together with their structural descriptions, in Table 4.4 overleaf.²⁰ The percentage rankings are also illustrated in Figure 4.6 overleaf.

I mentioned above (§4.4) that, although the total number of respondents was small at 102, I thought that my results were nonetheless reliable. In support of this, it is helpful to compare the figures from 23 January 2017, when there were only 28 respondents, with the final figures. These are shown in Table 4.5 overleaf, again ranked by percentage. What this comparison in Table 4.5 shows is that there is a large degree of similarity between the two sets of responses, with most examples being similarly rated, and no example moving from YES to NO or vice versa. Given that the 28 respondents were a sub-set of the 102, this may not be entirely surprising, but it does show that scaling up the numbers of respondents did not substantially affect the rankings, suggesting that the relatively low number of respondents compared to some other surveys need not be a handicap in the current survey.

What the ranking shows is that the most acceptable example ([6]) is the one where all the variable elements (determiner, species noun, N2, verb) show the same number, in this case singular. This has an approval (YES) rating of 99%. The one dissenting voice (R79, m, 73, BrE ns, retired psychologist²¹) preferred *these types of error*. This response seems odd, as only one type of error is specified in the text (*word order incorrect*; see Appendix D), and there is a contrastive singular anaphoric pronoun *that* later in the same sentence, which was not revised. However, plural *errors* occurs both later in the same sentence and in the previous and following sentences, perhaps suggesting that context did play a role, albeit a misleading one in this case. This topic will be considered further in §4.4.5 below.

The two examples which were least acceptable ([1] at 90% NO and [2] at 88% NO) were the only two examples where there was a number mismatch between the determiner and the species noun: *these kind* and *these type*. The other nine examples ([5], [10], [3], [9], [11], [4], [8], [7], [12]) all had number agreement between the determiner and the species noun, though not necessarily also with the N2 and/or the verb. The question then arises as to whether there were any further patterns evident in these responses.

(2018a, pp. 241–242).

20 I comment on the number marking of the N2 in Appendix G4.

21 See Table E1, Appendix E, for a complete list of the respondents and their details.

Table 4.4 Examples ranked by their acceptability ratings

[6]	this type of error [... was observed] Y = 77; N = 1; DK = 0; T = 78 [Y = 99%] DET.SG + type.SG + of + N.SG/NC [+ V.SG]
[5]	these types of devoicing [occur] Y = 70; N = 6; DK = 3; T = 79 [Y = 89%] DET.PL + type.PL + of + N.NC [+ V.PL]
[10]	these types of knowledge [inform] Y = 67; N = 4; DK = 4; T = 75 [Y = 89%] DET.PL + type.PL + of + N.NC [+ V.PL]
[3]	this kind of language data [offers] Y = 65; N = 13; DK = 1; T = 79 [Y = 82%] DET.SG + kind.SG + of + N + N.PL/NC [+ V.SG]
[9]	that type of goods Y = 57; N = 13; DK = 5; T = 75 [Y = 76%] DET.SG + type.SG + of + N.PL [no V]
[11]	these kinds of law Y = 57; N = 13; DK = 5; T = 75 [Y = 76%] DET.PL + kind.PL + of + N.SG/NC [no V]
[4]	these types of death Y = 54; N = 21; DK = 4; T = 79 [Y = 68%] DET.PL + type.PL + of + N.SG/NC [no V]
[8]	these types of gesture [are ... involved] Y = 47; N = 26; DK = 3; T = 76 [Y = 62%] DET.PL + type.PL + of + N.SG/NC + [V.PL]
[7]	this type of fisheries Y = 36; N = 39; DK = 2; T = 77 [N = 51%] DET.SG + type.SG + of + N.PL [no V]
[12]	this type of passives [has ... been reported] Y = 29; N = 45; DK = 1; T = 75 [N = 60%] DET.SG + type.SG + of + N.NC/PL [+ V.SG]
[2]	these kind of overt social cues Y = 8; N = 70; DK = 2; T = 80 [N = 88%] DET.PL + kind.SG + of + ADJ + ADJ + N.PL [no V]
[1]	these type of representative arrangements [must ... be constructed] Y = 9; N = 79; DK = 0; T = 88 [N = 90%] DET.PL + type.SG + of + ADJ + N.PL [+ V.UM]

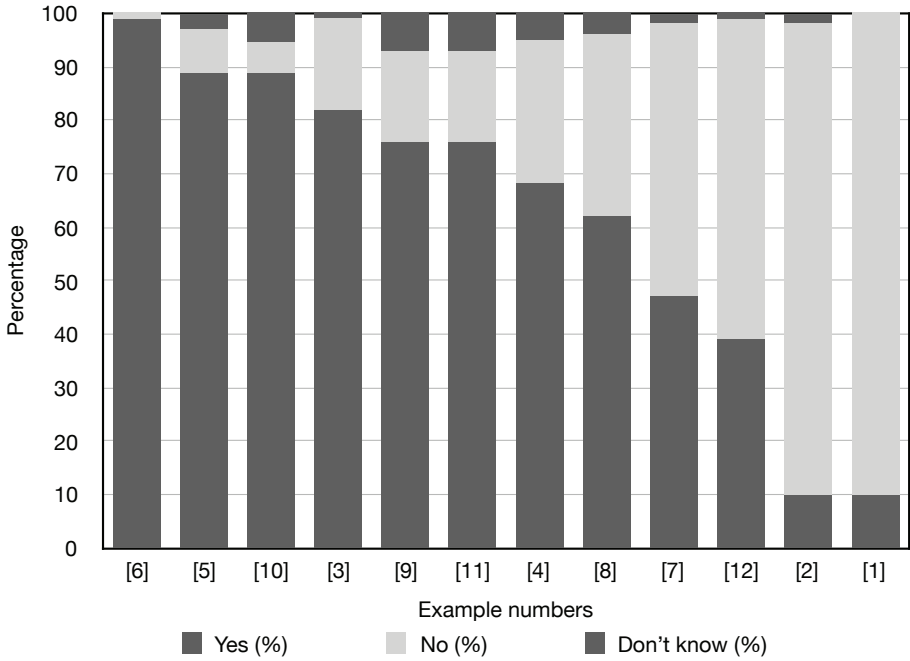


Figure 4.6 Respondents' example ratings ranked by acceptability

Table 4.5 Comparison of the responses in the current survey at two different time-points

Example	102 responses	28 responses
[6]	Y = 99%	Y = 100%
[5]	Y = 89%	Y = 82%
[10]	Y = 89%	Y = 73%
[3]	Y = 82%	Y = 82%
[9]	Y = 76%	Y = 73%
[11]	Y = 76%	Y = 73%
[4]	Y = 68%	Y = 76%
[8]	Y = 62%	Y = 53%
[7]	Y = 51%	Y = 50%
[12]	N = 60%	N = 53%
[2]	N = 88%	N = 82%
[1]	N = 90%	N = 89%

The three examples with the highest acceptability rating (below [6]) were [5] at 89%, [10] at 89% and [3] at 82%:

[5] these types of devoicing [occur]

[10] these types of knowledge [inform]

[3] this kind of language data [offers]

The first two of these examples include an N2 which is typically not marked for number: *devoicing* and *knowledge*. Whilst *devoicing* is not listed, *knowledge* is labelled as ‘uncount’ in the *Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (COBUILD; 2018, ninth edition [1987]), chosen for reference since it provides extensive grammatical information as an EFL dictionary. The *OED* contains no number information for *devoicing* (s.v. *devoice*), but does include some senses of *knowledge* with a plural form (s.v. *knowledge*). An analysis of the Stenton Corpus reveals that *knowledge* vs. *knowledges* scores 4957:15; *devoicing* vs. *devoicings* scores 147:00. All fifteen examples of *knowledges* came from six law papers. It therefore seems reasonable to categorise both *devoicing* and *knowledge* as being typically unmarked for number, as in examples [5] and [10]. This being the case, in these examples there is no number conflict for the respondents to object to. However, some respondents did not find these examples acceptable, and suggested revised wordings. For example [10], *these types of knowledge [inform]*, the respondents’ suggested revisions were:

this type of knowledge informs²² (=2)

knowledge of this kind informs (=1)

knowledge of such things (=1)

The three singular versions are a little puzzling, as two different types of knowledge are referred to in the preceding context (see Appendix D). It would therefore seem possible that these respondents regarded the number of the N2 *knowledge* and the verb *informs* as more dominant than that of the determiner and the species noun, i.e. that they regard the N2 as the head of the species noun phrase (see §2.3.3). Only four respondents commented on the example, but the two who preferred *this type of knowledge* (R118, f, 21, AmE nns, student; R124, f, 59, AmE ns, editor) didn’t comment further. The other two (R52, m, 74, AmE ns, retired linguist; R113, 55, BrE ns, translator) both found example [10] acceptable, but nevertheless went on to comment that “‘knowledge’ is never plural in form (another collective)” (R52) and

²² One of the two respondents did not, in fact, change the verb form, but the verb was not included in the instruction to “please revise the phrase in bold” (see §4.3.2). In retrospect, this was an error on my part.

“Sounds OK as there is no plural form of knowledge (is there?)” (R113), which again perhaps lends credence to the idea that the N2 *knowledge* was seen as the head of the species noun phrase for these respondents. One respondent (R100, f, 51, BrE ns, writer) introduced the N2 *of this kind* variant, which was not included in any of the twelve examples in this survey, but was mentioned in the grammars (see Chapter 2) and the usage guides (see Chapter 3). As noted in §3.4.2, this variant tends to be used only in the singular/unmarked form.

Of the other two respondents who commented, R100, who preferred *knowledge of this kind informs*, said “No loss to sense and much more elegant”; R3 (m, 69, BrE ns, editor), who preferred *knowledge of such things*, said: “You can know about different things in different ways, but the knowing itself is one and the same thing – there aren’t different types of it.” This last comment and rephrasing manages to avoid any potential number conflict by post-modifying *knowledge* with *of this kind*, and this use of *such* as a means of avoiding potential number conflict in a species noun phrase was noted by Biber et al. (1999, p. 258; and see example (24) in §2.3.3).

In the case of example [5], *these types of devoicing [occur]*, the preferred revisions were:

- this type of devoicing (=4)²³
- devoicings like these (=1)
- such devoicing occurs (=1)

Here again, the preceding context specifies two different types, or ‘contexts’ of devoicing (see Appendix D), so it is puzzling that four respondents wanted to change the species noun phrase to singular throughout. The only respondent who said NO and who gave an explanation (R114, m, 60, BrE ns, translator) commented: “It would appear that there’s only one type involved.” The other comments both centred on whether there was more than one type of devoicing being discussed: “I find this acceptable if it refers to more than one type of devoicing, but unacceptable if it refers to only one type” (R90, m, 57, BrE ns, accountant); and “My ‘yes’ is dependent on accepting ‘types’ here, but I think it’s the wrong word in this context. The author should have written something like ‘such examples of devoicing’” (R3, m, 69, BrE ns, editor). Here again the respondents have adopted the use of *such*, and *like*, to avoid any potential number conflict.

The third example in this group, [3] *this kind of language data [offers]*, includes the N2 *data*. This is listed in *COBUILD* as either an uncount or plural noun, especially when not being used in a computing context. The *OED* notes:

²³ Again, the verb was not included in the re-phrasings.

The use of *data* as a mass noun became increasingly common from the middle of the 20th cent., probably partly popularized by its use in computing contexts, in which it is now generally considered standard (compare sense 2b and the recent uses cited at datum *n.* 1b, some of which are ambiguous as to grammatical number). However, in general and scientific contexts it is still sometimes regarded as objectionable.

(*OED*, s.v. *data*)

The use of *data* with a singular or plural verb is also a staple of the usage guides.²⁴ It too attracted comments in the current survey, and these will be examined in §4.4.4 below. Overall, then, for these three examples there was no number conflict to reject.

The remaining examples ([9], [11], [4], [8], [7], [12]) are in many respects the most revealing. Setting aside example [9] for the moment, if we look again at the ranking, we find that where there is plural number agreement between the determiner and the species noun ([11], [4], [8]), then it doesn't seem to matter if the N2 is singular; the phrase as a whole remains acceptable to the respondents, albeit by a declining majority. However, the 'tipping point' occurs where there is singular number agreement between the determiner and the species noun, but where the N2 is plural ([7], [12]), although [7] is quite finely balanced. Example [9] on the surface looks as though it ought to belong with examples [7] and [12], i.e. with a singular determiner and species noun and a plural N2:

[9] that type of goods [no V]

[7] this type of fisheries [no V]

[12] this type of passives [has ... been reported]

Example [9] includes the N2 *goods*, which is listed as a plural noun in *COBUILD*. The *OED* includes:

In the sense of 'personal property, possessions, *esp.* movable property'.

(a) In *singular*. Now *rare*.

(b) In *plural* with *plural* agreement.

(c) In *plural* with *singular* agreement. *Obsolete*.

(*OED*, s.v. *good* B III 9 a).

Quirk et al. (1972, p. 169, §4.55) treat *goods* as a *plurale tantum*.²⁵ Later (1985, p. 301, §5.77), they add that "[t]hey [i.e. *pluralia tantum*] have plural concord". This position

²⁴ See Lukač and Stenton (2023) for a recent survey of the attitudes of copy-editors and proof-readers to the number of *data*.

²⁵ A *plurale tantum* is a noun which appears only in a plural form, often with a specific meaning (see Matthews, 2014, p. 307; Aarts et al., 2014, pp. 310–311); and see Klockmann's (2017a, p. 276) analysis in §2.4.4.

is also taken in Biber et al. (1999, p. 290, §4.5.5D). However, Huddleston and Pullum (2002) note that:

These [i.e. “plurals denoting aggregates of entities”] are cover-terms for sets of entities of unlike kind: the plurality of the entities again matches the plural form, while their heterogeneity prevents counting. The aggregate nature of the denotation is comparable to that of the non-count singulars given in [6] above [e.g. *furniture*], and the difference in number between the singular and plural forms is difficult to explain in general terms.

(Huddleston and Pullum, 2002, p. 343)

There would thus seem to be an argument for treating *goods* as ‘not plural’, even though it would appear to carry plural marking, and this is the approach taken in Baker’s usage guide (1770, p. 115; cf. §3.4.2). This also seems to be the view of the (few) respondents who commented on example [9]. Of the seven respondents who did comment, only three mentioned the number of *goods*, and none of those three found it unacceptable. Overall, then, most of the respondents seem content to treat *goods* as non-plural, despite its apparent plural marking.

Given this potential difficulty with the grammatical number of *goods*, it is surprising that an entry for *goods* does not feature more often in the usage guides. In the seventy-seven guides in the HUGE database, only twelve include a note on *goods*, and only six of those comment on its number: Anon (1856 [*Live*]), Turck Baker (1910), Evans and Evans (1957), Follett (1966), Sutcliffe (1994), and Peters (2004). These guides all treat *goods* as plural, apart from Follett (1966, p. 149), who notes that it is “plural in form and meaning ... [but] tend[s] to be forced into the singular”.

If, then, *goods* is interpreted as ‘not plural’, and possibly even as singular, its position in the cline is explained: there is no number conflict to correct. Given that assumption, on the evidence of the responses gathered in the current survey, it does seem possible to identify gradience in the decisions of the respondents, and therefore to posit a cline of acceptability of number variance in the species noun phrase, as follows:

MOST ACCEPTABLE is where the determiner, the species noun, the N2 (and the verb) all share the same number (pattern [i] below).

LEAST ACCEPTABLE is where there is a number mismatch between the determiner and the species noun [iii].

IN BETWEEN are those examples where the determiner and species noun match in number, but where they don’t match the number of the N2 [ii]. This group can itself be sub-divided, so that:

MORE ACCEPTABLE is where the determiner and species noun match for number, and the N2 is not marked for number or is singular (as I have shown, these two are not always easy to distinguish) [iia]

LESS ACCEPTABLE is where the determiner and species noun are singular, and the N2 is plural [iib].

Examples of these patterns are listed below in order of acceptability:

[i] this type of error [... was observed]

[iia] these kinds of law

these types of gesture

[iib] this type of fisheries

[iii] these kind of overt social cues

This cline closely matches the treatment of the species noun phrase in the usage guides (see the examples listed in Appendices C1 and C2). The usage guides overwhelmingly identified pattern [iii] as the problem, with 66 out of 78 examples in 39 different guides highlighting THESE KIND (and see Appendix G6 for a note on *of* here). In terms of the usage guide recommendations, 107 out of 128 examples in 39 different guides showed pattern [i] as the preferred variant; 21 examples showed pattern [ii], with 8 examples of [iia] and 13 of [iib]. There were no examples of pattern [iii]. There is thus a very similar approach to number agreement in the species noun phrase between the usage guide writers and the respondents to the current survey. It would also seem, in their practice at least, that the respondents of the current survey do not subscribe to the post-determiner analysis of *kind of* offered by e.g. Denison, as described in §2.4.1.

4.4.4 The respondents' revisions

The survey respondents were asked to provide an alternative to those examples which they found unacceptable (i.e. if they answered NO; see §4.3.2 above). These revisions can be seen as the respondents' equivalents to the recommendations/prescriptions made in the usage guides (cf. §3.4.2). Here, I investigate those examples where the majority response was NO, starting with the example with the highest NO response, [1]. This is shown below together with an analysis of its number assignment.

[1] **these type of representative arrangements** [must ... be constructed]

Y = 9; N = 79; DK = 0; T = 88 [N = 90%]

DET.PL + type.SG + of + ADJ + N.PL [+ V.UM]

In [1] there is a plural determiner (*these*), followed by a singular species noun (*type*), a plural N2 (*arrangements*) and a verb (*must ... be constructed*) which is unmarked for number.²⁶ The 79 respondents who voted NO offered the following alternatives (it should be noted that the respondents were specifically asked to revise the phrase in bold; see §4.3.2 above):

- these types of representative arrangements (=44)
- this type of representative arrangements (=19)
- this type of representative arrangement (=17)
- this type of arrangement (=1)
- these types of arguments (=1)
- representative arrangements of this type (=2)²⁷

The preferred option was thus for all three parts of the species noun phrase, i.e. the determiner, the species noun and the N2, to show the same number marking, either all plural (=44) or all singular/unmarked (=17). Next was for the determiner and species noun to have the same number marking (singular), but for the N2 to remain plural (=19). I would also include *this type of arrangement* as all singular, with *representative* being omitted as irrelevant to the issue in question or an error; similarly with *these types of arguments* as all plural, with the substitution of *arguments* possibly being an error. There were also two respondents who avoided the number conflict by using *arrangements of this type*, a variant which was listed in both the grammars (§2.3) and some of the usage guides (§3.4), but which was not included in the survey, which concentrated on the THIS KIND OF variant. The revisions can thus be conflated as follows:

- these types of representative arrangements (=45)
- this type of representative arrangements (=19)
- this type of representative arrangement (=18)
- representative arrangements of this type (=2)

What seems to be the case here is a preference for number agreement across the (three parts of the) species noun phrase, either all plural or all singular (45 + 18 = 63), then for agreement between the determiner and the species noun as singular but with a plural N2 (=19), and then for the two revisions to post-modification of

²⁶ Whether *representative* is treated as an adjective or a nominal does not affect the analysis here (and see Appendix D for this example in context).

²⁷ Where the respondents included the verb, it was unchanged.

the N2 with *of this type*. The constant here, however, is that in every case (=84)²⁸ there is number agreement between the determiner and the species noun. Where there is number agreement between the determiner and the N2 (45 + 18 = 63), this also includes number agreement with the species noun, and there are no examples of number agreement between the determiner and the N2 which do not also include the species noun.

A similar pattern emerges with the other majority NO examples. All the revisions, including those of the respondents who voted NO when the majority voted YES, can be seen in Appendix D, together with some notes on their preferences. In each case the pattern was similar to that seen for [1] above, i.e. a preference for:

number agreement across the three parts of the species noun phrase (either singular/unmarked or plural)

number agreement between the determiner and the species noun (with the N2 being either singular/unmarked or plural)

rephrasing as e.g. *N2 of this type* (with the N2 being either plural or singular/unmarked for number)

In every case bar one, there was number agreement between the determiner and the species noun, and in the one exceptional case the respondent offered no further comment. These responses are very much in line with those seen in the previous section. This is perhaps not surprising, as these analyses essentially give two views of the same examples from the same group of respondents. It also follows that these responses are again broadly in line with the recommendations of the usage guide writers. None of the respondents mentioned a usage guide, or indeed any other reference material, but this may be in part because they were not specifically asked to do so. In a similar survey carried out in 2020 and reported on in Lukač and Stenton (2023), respondents were asked about their reference choices, and they provided a large number, from the very specific (Fowler's *Modern English Usage*, first edition) to the very general (colleagues, Google, Internet), but by far the most popular reference was the *Chicago Manual of Style*, whose 'Grammar and Usage' section was written by Bryan Garner, who is also the author of a usage guide (Garner, 1998) which is included in this study. The Lukač and Stenton survey was, however, directed specifically at copy-editors and proof-readers.

In addition to those respondents who voted YES or NO, there were also the D(ON?T)K(NOW)s. In total, there were only 30 DK responses, which came from 21 respondents. Of those 21, 18 completed 100% of the survey questions. The number of DKs per respondent ranged from 1 (=9), 2 (=4), and 3 (=3) to 4 (=2). Relatively few of the

²⁸ There are more re-phrasings than respondents as some respondents listed more than one.

DKS included a comment, possibly because they were not encouraged to (see §4.3.2 above), but of the five respondents who did comment, four of the comments were on the number of the N2: *grounds*, *law*, *gesture* and *data*. These and other comments will be investigated in the next section.

4.4.5 *The respondents' comments*

The survey respondents were also invited to comment on the examples and their revisions to them. This in practice tended to restrict the comments to those who found an example unacceptable (i.e. those who voted NO), but in some cases other respondents commented as well. Respondents were asked to comment as I was interested in the reasons why they found an example acceptable or not, and in particular whether register or context played a part in their decisions. In practice, the number of responses was too small to draw any conclusions from, so here I will simply present some of the responses which I found interesting and which could usefully be investigated further. The analyses presented here will focus on whether the respondents addressed the grammar or the meaning of the example sentences, or whether, as seen above, they preferred to rewrite the example (SYNTAX VS. SEMANTICS VS. REWRITES); on whether they considered that the example might not be appropriate for an academic journal, but might be perfectly acceptable in a more informal context (REGISTER); and on whether the linguistic context of the example as presented influenced their decision-making (CONTEXT).

SYNTAX VS. SEMANTICS VS. REWRITES

For this analysis, I allocated each comment to one of three broad categories: syntax, semantics and rewrites. This categorisation arose from analysing the comments, and was not decided upon in advance. The categories themselves broke down into sub-categories, so that, for example, 'syntax' would include:

- number agreement of DET + SN + N2
- number agreement of DET + SN
- number agreement of SN + N2
- number of N2

'semantics' would include:

- meaning of N2
- meaning of SN
- context

and ‘rewrites’ includes the various rephrasing mentioned above. Examples of each of these responses are given in Table 4.6. The numbers in parentheses show the number of responses in that category; the numbers in brackets refer to the survey examples.

The numbers of comments in each category were broadly comparable: syntax (=44), semantics (=41) and rewrites (=30). The comments on syntax were fairly evenly distributed between number agreement between the determiner, and/or the species noun, and/or the N2 (=24) and the number of the N2 itself (=20). For the latter, most comments were on whether *data* (=12) and *goods* (=3) should be treated as singular or plural (cf. §4.4.3 above); the rest (=5) were on whether *gesture*, *knowledge*, *law* and *passive* could be treated as mass nouns, i.e. as unmarked for number. The remainder of the syntax comments dealt with whether there should be number agreement between the determiner and the species noun (=11), between the determiner, the species noun and the N2 (=8), and between the species noun and the N2 (=5). There were no comments on number agreement between the determiner and the N2. This seems to be a common feature of the analyses of the current survey. The semantics comments were generally about whether the N2 was referring to one or more than one type of N2 (=31); a further nine comments drew on the linguistic context in support of treating the N2 as referring to one or to more than one. A single comment referred to the choice between *kind* and *type*: “I prefer the word ‘type’ instead of the word ‘kind’ in this context” [3] (R69, m, 80, AusE ns, editor; this chimes in with Sayce’s, 2006, pp. 61–63, comments about the use of *type* in §3.4.2: RECOMMENDATION). The third group is somewhat heterogeneous in that it includes those comments which suggest that the example would be better if more or less substantially rewritten (=30).

REGISTER

Previous surveys have included register as a variable, typically asking respondents in which register an example would be appropriate, e.g. informal/formal speech or writing. For the current survey, the respondents had been told that all of the examples came from just one formal register – academic writing – but there were nonetheless a few register-specific comments from the respondents. I include just two of these below for illustration, with emphasis added in bold:

Nouns and demonstrative adjectives must agree in number and gender, particularly in a **formal** context such as this. In **speech**, ‘these sort ...’ is not uncommon.

[1] (R50, m, 68, BrE ns, writer)

Since you said it was for a **journal**, I would make these changes but if it were more **informal**, my sense is data is being re-analyzed almost as a non-count or perhaps singular w/o a plural.

[3] (R54, m, 67, AmE ns, professor)

Table 4.6 Examples of the respondents' comments by category

Categories		Examples of respondents' comments	
Syntax (44)	Number agreement (24)	DET + SN (11)	"The pluralization of sort/kind with a plural demonstrative is mandatory in my dialect." [2] (R77, 18, AmE ns, student)
		DET + SN + N2 (8)	"If plural marking, then in every position in the syntagma." [7] (R56, f, 29, BrE nns, lecturer)
		SN + N2 (5)	"Hmm. singular 'type' seems to accord better with singular 'fishery'. [7] (R125, BrE ns, translator)
	Number of N2 (20)	singular/plural (15)	"This is because data has lost plurality for me." [3] (R45, m, 29, AmE ns, student) "It squeaks in, as there is not a singular form for 'goods'. [9] (R3, m, 69, BrE ns, editor) "It looks as if 'law' is used here in a rather generic sense. Perhaps in that case the singular is fine." [11] (R62, f, 64, BrE nns, professor)
		mass (5)	"'Data' being a mass noun here." [3] (R92, f, 21, BrE ns, student)
Semantics (41)	One or more types (31)		"Would not be acceptable if it refers to deaths of only one type." [4] (R122, m, 57, BrE ns, accountant)
	Context (9)		"Again, I sense that technically it should be 'this type of passive', but it sounds OK as it is, and 'passives' ties in better with the previous sentence. Better continuity." [12] (R113, f, 55, BrE ns, translator) "'Representative' reduces the agreement problem for me." [1] (R124, f, 59, AmE ns, editor)
	SN (1)		"I prefer the word 'type' to the word 'kind' in this context." [3] (R69, m, 80, AmE ns, editor)
Rewrite (30)		"This is ambiguous. The preceding passage covers (seemingly) two types of death. If the phrase in question seeks to make a differentiation between the two, all well and good. But to make a 'positive' differentiation? In favour of, or for or against, which type? After several attempts I have bamboozled myself :-(." [4] (R89, m, 63, BrE ns, proof-reader)	

CONTEXT

I have already suggested that context seems to have played a part in the respondents' decision-making (see §4.4.4 above). Here, I want to see whether it was explicitly mentioned by them. Only 14 of the 102 respondents did comment, so again I will simply list a few representative examples

[1] these type of representative arrangements

Here, unlike the earlier example (these type of plays), it seems that the context holds more genera. I took the earlier example to be concerned with many plays of the same type. Here, it looks like we're dealing with many types.

(R51, m, 65, AmE ns, professor: NO)

[8] These types of gesture are

We are speaking of two types of non-representational gesture. 'These types of gesture' is correct.

(R87, m, 78, BrE ns, retired teacher: YES)

[The previous sentence starts with *Of the non-representational gestures, the two ...* (see Appendix D).]

[12] This type of passives has

Again, I sense that technically it should be 'this type of passive', but it sounds OK as it is, and 'passives' ties in better with the previous sentence. Better continuity.

(R113, f, 55, BrE ns, translator: YES)

It would seem, then, that some of the respondents were sufficiently influenced by the context in making their assessment to comment on it, although the numbers are small. Nine out of the twelve examples were commented on, perhaps suggesting that other respondents were similarly influenced, but did not comment, especially if they voted YES or DK. The alternative, of course, is that they were simply unaware of the contextual influence. It would be helpful in a repetition of this survey to encourage the YES and DK voters to comment as well, and to see if they were indeed overtly aware of the context in their decision-making.

4.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, continuing the practice of the Bridging the Unbridgeable (BtU) project, I presented the first part of my investigation into the third group studied in that project: the general public. I did so by conducting an online attitude survey of

what respondents thought about a set of examples featuring number variation in the species noun phrase. The examples were all drawn from manuscripts in the Stenton Corpus of International Academic English, which were intended for publication in a number of academic journals.

I started by describing the distinction between an attitude survey and a usage survey (§4.2), and then presented three previous attitude surveys: those of Leonard (1932; cf. §4.2.1) in the US; Mittins et al. (1970; cf. §4.2.2) in the UK; and the BtU surveys (2013–2020; cf. §4.2.3), in particular their online survey which was by definition not limited to any one region. In all three surveys, I was primarily interested in the responses to just two examples: *Don't get these kind of gloves* (Leonard, 1932) and *These sort of plays need first-class acting* (Mittins et al., 1970; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2013, 2020). The latter example was also used to introduce the current survey. The focus of these examples was to ascertain whether the respondents objected to the apparent mismatch of number between the determiner (*these, These*) and the species noun (*kind, sort*). The responses to these examples in the earlier surveys and in the current one also enabled me to take a diachronic perspective on the attitudes of the general public to number agreement in the species noun phrase over a period of eighty-one years (cf. §4.4). In particular, I investigated whether there had been an increase in acceptability over time, as might have been expected following the argument of Mair (2006).

The current survey introduced a number of procedural innovations. First of all, it tested the same usage topic – number agreement across the species noun phrase – with multiple examples, thirteen in all (§4.3.2). Secondly, those examples were presented in context, rather than as a single sentence (§4.3.3). A third aspect of the current survey, highlighting the usage in question (§4.3.4), has been criticised and might appear to be falling out of favour in usage surveys. The number of similar examples was extremely useful in terms of analysing the responses and in providing the basis for the suggestion of a cline of acceptability (§4.4.3). The use of the extended context for the examples was successful in that, judging by the comments of some of the respondents, it might have been influential in the making of the acceptability judgements, leading to a rise in the percentage of the respondents who found the examples acceptable in a formal context. Both of these issues require further specific investigation. One aspect of these procedural innovations, however, is that they didn't seem to have had much impact on the overall response to the usage issue being tested, in that, apart from the BtU survey, the acceptability of the usage in formal writing has remained more or less consistent for nine decades.

With regard to the first issue, the acceptability rate over time, it was found that overall there had been no substantial change in the acceptability of *Don't get these kind of gloves/These sort of plays need first class acting* (cf. §4.4). Leonard (1932)

found 26% acceptability; Mittins et al. (1970) found 29% acceptability; and the current survey found 19% acceptability, albeit only in formal writing as that was the only register considered. The outlier here is the BtU survey, in which the usage was found to be acceptable in some registers by 75% of the respondents. The results were slightly different for levels of acceptability in a formal context: Leonard (1932) found 5% acceptability; Mittins et al. (1970) found less than 13% acceptability; the BtU survey 5%; and the current survey 19%.

In terms of the current survey, and especially its contextual basis, a major finding was that I could indeed identify gradience in the responses, which leads to the positing of a cline of acceptability, as shown in §4.4.3 above. Broadly speaking, the results suggest that respondents find most acceptable those examples where there is number agreement between the determiner and the species noun, and they find least acceptable those examples where there is a number mismatch between the determiner and the species noun. Those examples which included number agreement/disagreement fell between these two poles. This analysis was, perhaps not surprisingly, supported by those survey respondents who provided a re-phrasing of the species noun phrase (cf. §4.4.4), as this was looking at the same material by the same people, but from a different viewpoint.

This cline of acceptability closely matches the treatment of the species noun phrase in the usage guides (see the examples listed in Appendices C1 and C2). Also, as noted in the ‘Concluding remarks’ for Chapter 3 (cf. §3.7), the usage guide explanations in terms of the mismatch of grammatical number also tie in closely with the descriptions of the modern reference grammars in Chapter 2.

The next chapter features the second part of the contribution of the general public, in the form of a group of academic authors. It also provides the usage component of the survey by investigating a corpus of writing: the Stenton Corpus of International Academic English.

To add a final note on procedure, there were a number of matters that arose during the course of this online attitude survey, in part because it was the first component of the current study to be addressed. The survey was initially intended as a pilot study, to be followed by an attitude survey of all the 1,657 authors whose manuscripts were included in the Stenton Corpus (cf. §5.2.3). However, once the survey had been closed and the data collected and analysed, it became clear that the larger undertaking would make a study in itself, and was well beyond the scope of the current study. However, given the findings of the current survey (see above), in particular the establishing of a cline of acceptability, and the attitudes revealed in the survey, especially their links with the reference grammars described in Chapter 2 and the usage guides analysed in Chapter 3 (as well as with the corpus analysis to be seen in Chapter 5), this need not be viewed negatively. The particular survey procedures that could be refined are:

including within the survey examples of the species noun variants OF THIS KIND OF N2 and THIS N2 KIND;

using the examples in context with some respondents and single-sentence examples with others;

highlighting the species noun phrase with some respondents, both those with context-based examples and those with single-sentence examples, and not highlighting with others;

asking all of the respondents to comment on the examples;

gathering more data on the respondents in the different groups in a manner that would be susceptible to statistical analysis.

This, I believe, would make an interesting project for further research.

5 The corpus analysis

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2, I showed how modern reference grammars analyse number agreement in the species noun phrase (SNP), and in the clause of which it is a constituent. In Chapter 3, I analysed the exemplifications (proscriptions), recommendations (prescriptions), and explanations of the variant usages of the species noun phrase presented by the usage guide writers between 1770 and 2010. In Chapter 4, I investigated the acceptability judgements of respondents to an attitude survey of academic usage of the species noun phrase. In this chapter, I analyse a corpus of academic writing to determine how the variants of the species noun phrase are actually used in a sample of manuscripts submitted for publication to a number of academic journals. This is therefore the second part of my investigation into the views of the general public, and constitutes the usage survey. I start by describing how the corpus that I have used – the Stenton Corpus, which was also the source of the examples in Chapter 4 – was compiled, and how the various concordance files were extracted from it (§§5.2, 5.3), before presenting my analyses (§§5.4, 5.5). Specifically, I investigate whether the academic authors in the Stenton Corpus tend to avoid the variant *these kind of N2*, as proscribed in the usage guides, or whether, as described by Denison (2002), Keizer (2007), Klockmann (2017a), and others, they in practice treat *these kinds of N2* and *these kind of N2* not as variant usages but as different structures with different functions (see §2.4). In the course of the analysis, I will present a further variant of the species noun phrase, not covered in the usage guides and the grammars – *this N2 kind* – and investigate how this variant is used by the authors to avoid number mismatch in the species noun phrase (§§5.4, 5.5). Also investigated is whether, as mentioned in both the usage guides and the reference grammars, the authors make use of the *N2 of this kind* variant to avoid a number mismatch in the species noun phrase. As part of the investigation, I look at the relative frequencies of the three variant forms (§5.5.2), and at number agreement of the species noun phrase as subject with the verb in the clause (§5.5.3). These investigations also aim to shed light on what the academic authors in practice treat as the head of the species noun phrase, a topic discussed in §2.3.3. The concluding remarks (§5.6) will present an overview of the use of the species noun phrase by the academic authors in the Stenton Corpus.

5.2 The Stenton Corpus

The corpus used for this study – the Stenton Corpus – is what McEnery and Hardie (2012, p. 11) term an “*opportunistic corp[us]*”, in that it consists of “nothing more nor less than the data that it was possible to gather for [this] specific task”. In this case, the corpus consists of 1,031 unedited manuscripts (mss) accepted for publication in six academic journals published by Cambridge University Press (CUP), in Cambridge, England, over the period 2006 to 2016. Once submitted and accepted, the copyright of these mss passed to CUP, who in turn granted me permission to use them anonymously for analysis. Whether the fact that the mss were published in England makes it a corpus of British English is discussed below (§5.2.3). This corpus was also the source of the examples used in the survey described in Chapter 4. The mss comprising the corpus are discussed in detail below.

5.2.1 The journals

The manuscripts in the corpus were submitted for publication to the following six journals, listed with the dates of mss received, number of mss, and word counts in parentheses:

Asian Journal of International Law

(AJL: 2011–2016; 104 mss; 749,000 words)

Asian Journal of Law and Society

(ALS: 2013–2014; 21 mss; 179,000 words)

International Journal of Law in Context

(IJC: 2007–2015; 219 mss; 1.65 million words)

Bilingualism: Language and Cognition

(BLC: 2009–2011; 48 mss; 397,000 words)

Journal of Child Language

(JCL: 2006–2016; 555 mss; 7.93 million words)

Language and Cognition

(LCO: 2013–2016; 84 mss; 674,000 words)

There are thus three Law journals (the Law sub-corpus) and three Language journals (the Language sub-corpus). The total word count of the corpus is 11.58 million. The Law sub-corpus contains 2.58 million words (22% of the whole corpus), and the Language sub-corpus 9 million words (78% of the whole corpus). The breakdown of the corpus by journal is shown in Figure 5.1, whilst the breakdown by sub-corpora is shown in Figure 5.2. What Figures 5.1 and 5.2 make clear is that the Stenton Corpus is weighted quite heavily towards the Language sub-corpus, and also quite heavily

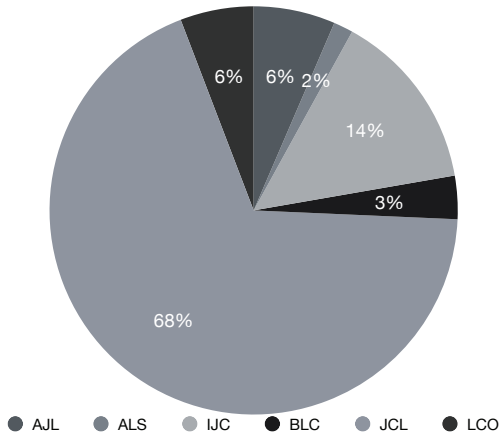


Figure 5.1 Journals by word count

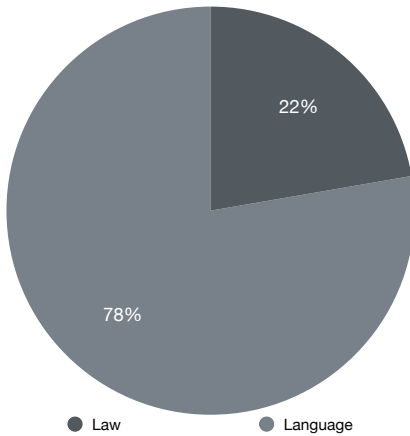


Figure 5.2 Law and Language sub-corpora by word count

towards one journal – JCL – and these are aspects of this ‘opportunistic’ corpus that will be kept in mind in the analyses that follow.

The corpus figures were all arrived at with the help of Sketch Engine (see §5.3 below).¹ I also loaded the corpus files into two freely available concordance programs: AntConc² and CasualConc.³ AntConc calculated a total of 12.88 million words and CasualConc 13.54 million words. Averaging these three totals yields a word count of 12.7 million, and this is the figure that I will use when discussing the corpus more generally. However, when investigating any sub-corpora differences, because of their different sizes I will use either percentages or normalised frequencies per million words based on the Sketch Engine figures (see McEnery and Hardie, 2012, pp. 48–51). To

1 Sketch Engine generates ‘token’ counts for the six sub-corpora, which total 18,340,688. There is a note on the Sketch Engine Corpus info[rmation] page that lists the six .zip files that make up the Stenton Corpus: “The number of tokens is only an estimate. The exact number depends on the corpus configuration. Lines such as <john> are interpreted either as tokens or as structures based on the corpus configuration. Thus, the sum of the values specified in this column may not be exactly the same as the value specified in the list of corpora.” The value specified in the list of corpora is 11,571,305, which is given as the ‘Word’ count on the Corpus info page, and which is more in line with AntConc and CasualConc (see fnns. 2 and 3). I will use this ‘Word’ figure in my analyses.

2 AntConc 3.4.3m (Macintosh) 2014; Tcl 8.5 & Tk 8.5 (8.5.9) © 1987–2017. Online <<https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconcl/>> (last accessed 8 July 2022).

3 CasualConc 2.0.6 (201702025) © 2014–2017. Online <<https://sites.google.com/site/casualconcl/download/>> (last accessed 8 July 2022).

put these figures into some perspective, the first electronic corpus – the Brown Corpus – compiled in the early 1960s, contained 1 million words (Baker, 2010, p. 59; and see §2.3 for the corpora used by the reference grammars), whilst the GloWbE corpus (Corpus of Global Web-based English) currently contains “about 1.9 billion words”.⁴ The most pertinent aspects of the Stenton Corpus for this study are that it consists of manuscripts that have been submitted and accepted for publication, but that have not been copy-edited (see §5.2.2 below), and that it does not reflect a single regional variety of English (see §5.2.3 below).

5.2.2 *The manuscripts*

The Brown Corpus (cf. §5.2.1 above) is described as containing “Edited American English” (Baker, 2010, p. 59). The 1,031 manuscripts in the Stenton Corpus are not edited, in the sense that they are not copy-edited. The mss were reviewed by the journals’ editorial boards, sent out for blind peer review, and subsequently revised by the authors and re-submitted. All six journals’ ‘Instructions for Contributors’ (IFCs) include something like the following advice:

Authors, particularly those whose first language is not English, may wish to have their English-language manuscripts checked by a native speaker before submission. This is optional, but may help to ensure that the academic content of the paper is fully understood by the editor and any reviewers.⁵

Beyond that, the journal IFCs remind authors that “Spelling should be consistent – either British English or American English throughout”,⁶ but specify no more than that. Once the revised mss were approved by the journal editorial boards, they were sent to Stenton Associates⁷ for copy-editing, and for subsequent proof-reading and proof collation. I thus had access to each ms at several different stages in its production, i.e. unedited ms, copy-edited ms, unmarked page proofs and marked page proofs. The versions of the mss used in the Stenton Corpus are the unedited mss as received from CUP, and had not, to our knowledge, been professionally copy-edited. This last

4 Online <<https://www.english-corpora.org/glowbe/>> (last accessed 8 July 2022). In this context, a billion is one thousand million.

5 *Asian Journal of International Law*, Notes for Contributors and House Style, 24 April 2017. Online <<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/asian-journal-of-international-law/information/instructions-contributors>> (last accessed 8 July 2022). In October 2020, the journal added this note: “We list a number of third-party services specialising in language editing and/or translation, and suggest that authors contact as appropriate.” This advice was not formally given when the mss for this study were collected.

6 *Language and Cognition*, Instructions for Contributors, 30 January 2017. Online <<https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-file-manager/file/575abd7e32fa8bf21d8bd276/LCO-ifc.pdf>> (last accessed 8 July 2022).

7 Stenton Associates, of which I was a partner, specialised in academic journal copy-editing.

point is also the conclusion that we drew from working on the mss, in terms of both structural and content issues, for example missing references, examples not numbered in sequence, a mix of British and American spelling and idiom, incomplete sentences, etc. (and see §1.1). This absence of copy-editing is a major difference between the Stenton Corpus and many other corpora of written English.⁸ The significance of this aspect of the Stenton Corpus is that it avoids what Rawlins and Chapman (2020, p. 10) refer to as “one of the weaknesses of corpus research – many of the texts in the corpora have been edited, thereby giving the attitudes and practices of copy-editors an outsized influence in the published language”.⁹

The mss files in the Stenton Corpus have also not been ‘tidied up’ in any way. This is in line with Sinclair’s “major principle of respecting and trusting the integrity of the complete text as the basis for linguistic description, analysis and theory building”, as reported by Carter (2004, p. 5). McEnery and Hardie (2012) also comment on this:

... the common process of deleting pictures, tables and other non-paragraph material from corpus texts is clearly a much grosser violation of the text than introducing annotation can conceivably be. Yet this is a violation that a great majority of corpora, including the Bank of English, have carried out and will in all likelihood continue to carry out. Given that such deleted items may materially alter the interpretation of the remaining text, it is curious that such a violation has been overlooked.

(McEnery and Hardie, 2012, p. 155)

Following this approach, the mss in the Stenton Corpus still contain, for example, headings, footnotes, references, tables and figures, so any examples of the species noun phrase that occur in these parts of the text will be captured in the corpus search. The issue of introducing annotation, raised by McEnery and Hardie above, is addressed below in the section on Sketch Engine (§5.3).

5.2.3 *The authors*

In terms of the overall number of authors in the Stenton Corpus, there are 1,687 listed for the 1,031 manuscripts. Some authors wrote for more than one journal (for example, one IJC author also wrote for ALS, and several JCL authors also wrote for BLC (=20) or for LCO (=7)), so in order to arrive at the number of unique authors in the corpus,

⁸ Jonathon Owen notes that at Brigham Young University in Utah there is a Faculty Editing Service [now called the Faculty Publishing Service], of which he says: “The purpose of the Faculty Editing Service is to clean up manuscripts before they are submitted to academic journals, so the editing done by the interns and their supervisors at the Faculty Editing Service is probably lighter than what would normally be found in manuscripts edited by publishers” (2020, p. 294). The interns are “probably all students in the editing minor” course at the university (2020, p. 294). The service is now (April 2021) a paid-for service, similar to that referenced in fn. 5 above. I am not aware of this service being offered at other institutions, and the addition to the information in fn. 5 would seem to support this.

⁹ See Lukač and Stenton (2023) for a survey of copy-editors and proof-readers.

an author who contributed to more than one journal was counted only once. This resulted in a total of 1,657 different authors, with 337 different authors writing for the Law journals and 1,320 different authors writing for the Language journals. Although these absolute numbers look very different, when the figures are normalised there are 131 authors per million words in the Law sub-corpus, and 147 authors per million words in the Language sub-corpus. Looking at these figures slightly differently, each Law author contributed an average of 7,656 words to the sub-corpus, whilst each Language author contributed an average of 6,818 words to the sub-corpus, so the two sub-corpora are broadly comparable in terms of authorship.¹⁰

As mentioned above (§5.2.2), one aspect of the Brown Corpus is that it presents one regional variety of English: American English. What this typically means is that the texts making up the corpus were published in the United States, or were written by native speakers of American English; similarly, for the LOB Corpus, set up to provide a British English comparison corpus to the Brown Corpus,¹¹ the texts making up this corpus were published in the United Kingdom, or written by native speakers of British English. Although all six journals in the Stenton Corpus were published in the UK, the language variety of the Stenton Corpus is much more difficult to determine. As noted above (§5.2.2), contributors to the journals used in the Stenton Corpus were advised to use either British or American spelling, but this in itself is not a sufficient basis for allocating the mss to either British or American English. This was a problem recognised by the team at Lancaster University when they were preparing the British National Corpus 2014 in collaboration with Cambridge University Press.¹² The compilers of the corpus noted that, whilst a published text by a single author could be identified as being written by a native speaker of British English, other types of publication were identified as being British English if they were, for example, published in the UK, or if the website source had a .uk ending. The primary concern of the BNC 2014 compilers was in not identifying any source material as British English based on the spelling practice followed in it, as this would lead to circularity, in that patterns of e.g. British spelling would be determined by analysing texts which had been selected on the basis of their British spelling.¹³

10 The log-likelihood value of +3.69 shows the differences to be non-significant (see fn. 26 below).

11 According to Baker (2010, p. 59), the Brown corpus “was followed by a corpus-building project which took place over the 1970s, with the aim of building a British equivalent of the Brown corpus, using texts from 1961 as the creators of Brown had done. This project involved collaboration between Lancaster University, the University of Oslo and the Norwegian Computing Centre for the Humanities at Bergen, and the resulting corpus was therefore known as LOB (Lancaster Oslo-Bergen). LOB followed the same sampling framework as Brown, also having a million words from fifteen genres of writing (consisting of 500 samples each of about 2,000 words).”

12 See <<http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/bnc2014/>> (last accessed 5 July 2022).

13 Róisín Knight, personal communication, 3 November 2015.

The mss used for the Stenton Corpus were all produced for publication in the UK, but the only information that is available about the authors is their institutional affiliation at the time the ms was submitted, for example “Behavioural Science Institute, Radboud University Nijmegen – the Netherlands”, and this clearly in itself does not imply that the author was Dutch. There is no information about the nationality, age or gender of the authors, and none on their native language(s). To try to off-set this lack of information, I compiled a list of the affiliations by country of all listed authors.¹⁴ The list contains 2,261 affiliations¹⁵ in fifty-nine countries.¹⁶ The details are set out in Appendix F, Table F3. Seven of the countries listed in Table F3 fall within what Trudgill and Hannah (2017, p. 12, Map 1.1) call “[n]ative English-speaking areas” (Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, the UK and the USA), and a further eight countries fall within their “second-language varieties of English” (ESL) (2017, pp. 128–145) (Bangladesh, India, Kenya, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore and Sri Lanka). This list does not demonstrate that the authors based in these countries were native or non-native speakers of any particular variety of English, but it does indicate that at that time they were working in an at least partly English-speaking environment. Appendix F gives a detailed break-down of the authors, including numbers of contributing authors per journal (Table F1), numbers of papers contributed per journal (Table F2), and the country of institutional affiliation by journal (Table F3).

For the Stenton Corpus as a whole, four of the seven native English-speaking areas provided the most authors: the United States (686), the United Kingdom (309), Canada (149), and Australia (143). New Zealand provided 11 authors, Ireland 8, and South Africa 6. The eight ESL countries between them provided a total of 52 authors, with Singapore providing the bulk of those at 36. The seven native English-speaking areas thus provided 59% (1322/2261¹⁷) of the authors by affiliation, with the ESL areas providing a further 2% (52/2261). In addition, several other countries provided more than 1% (23 authors), in some cases many more than the native English-speaking areas: Germany (116), the Netherlands (96), Italy (64), France (57), Israel (57), Spain (49), Belgium (38), China (38), Hong Kong (31), Denmark (30), and Finland (24). These eleven countries between them provided 27% (600/2261) of the authors by affiliation. The remaining thirty-six countries provided fewer than 23 authors each, with thirty-two of them each providing fewer than 10. These thirty-six countries

14 133 authors did not list an affiliated institution. These institutions would have appeared in the published versions of the mss, but not always in the mss as submitted for copy-editing.

15 The number of affiliations is different from the number of (different) authors as the affiliations are based on the mss; some authors contributed to more than one ms, and so appear more than once, and some list more than one affiliation.

16 The countries are listed as the authors chose to present them, and so include, for example, Hong Kong, Palestine and Taiwan.

17 This refers to the number of affiliated authors (see Table F3 in Appendix F).

together provided 12% (270/2261) of the authors by affiliation. The Language sub-corpus includes authors from forty-nine of the fifty-nine countries listed, whilst the Law sub-corpus includes authors from thirty-seven of the fifty-nine.

What these figures demonstrate is that it is simply not possible, on the basis of the information provided, to determine which variety of English these authors represent, nor even, of course, whether they are native or non-native speakers. I have therefore not assigned the mss in the Stenton Corpus to the variety of British English, both because of this lack of detailed information about the authors, and notwithstanding the fact that all of the mss were published in England. Instead, following Trudgill and Hannah (2017), I have chosen to label the language of the Stenton Corpus ‘International Academic English’.¹⁸ One consequence of referring to the language in this way, as pointed out by Mauranen (2012, p. 69), is that “[t]here are no native speakers of *academic* language”, and consequently there is no need to try to investigate any potential differences between native and non-native writers in the Stenton Corpus. International Academic English is therefore being treated in this study as a register of Standard English, used by authors world-wide to exchange information and ideas.

5.3 Generating the concordances in Sketch Engine

The 1,031 manuscripts comprising the Stenton Corpus were uploaded to the Cambridge English Corpus section of Sketch Engine for analysis.¹⁹ Various codes were automatically added to the texts as they were uploaded, including part-of-speech (PoS) tags. These were not used in the analyses below, as a pilot concordance showed them not to be 100% reliable. In addition, Sinclair (2004, p. 18) has commented on the potential pitfalls of using categories designed for clause analysis in the analysis of corpora. Once the files had been uploaded, a search was made for examples of the species noun phrase, e.g. *THIS TYPE OF*.²⁰ Figure 5.3 shows the initial search screen.

As I was not looking for just a single word in the corpus but for a string of words of variant forms (e.g. *this type of, these kinds of*), the syntax of the search is important. Although I am looking for a phrase, the initial ‘Query type’ is ‘simple’, as shown in Figure 5.3: ‘*this|that|these|those*’. This is because the phrasal aspect of the species noun phrase is accounted for in the specification of the ‘Filter context’, described below. The use of the pipe symbol, ‘|’, in the search string means that the search will

¹⁸ Mauranen (2012, p. 1) and Crystal (2017, p. 206) prefer “English as a *lingua franca*”, but both of them are writing in the context of spoken academic English. Clearly, I can make no observations about International Academic English as a variety of English on the basis of a study of just one set of usage variants.

¹⁹ Online <<https://www.sketchengine.eu>> (last accessed 8 July 2022).

²⁰ *THIS TYPE OF* in small capitals will be used throughout this chapter as a shorthand for the variations *this / that / these / those kind(s) / sort(s) / type(s) of; OF THIS TYPE = of this / that / these / those kind(s) / sort(s) / type(s)*.

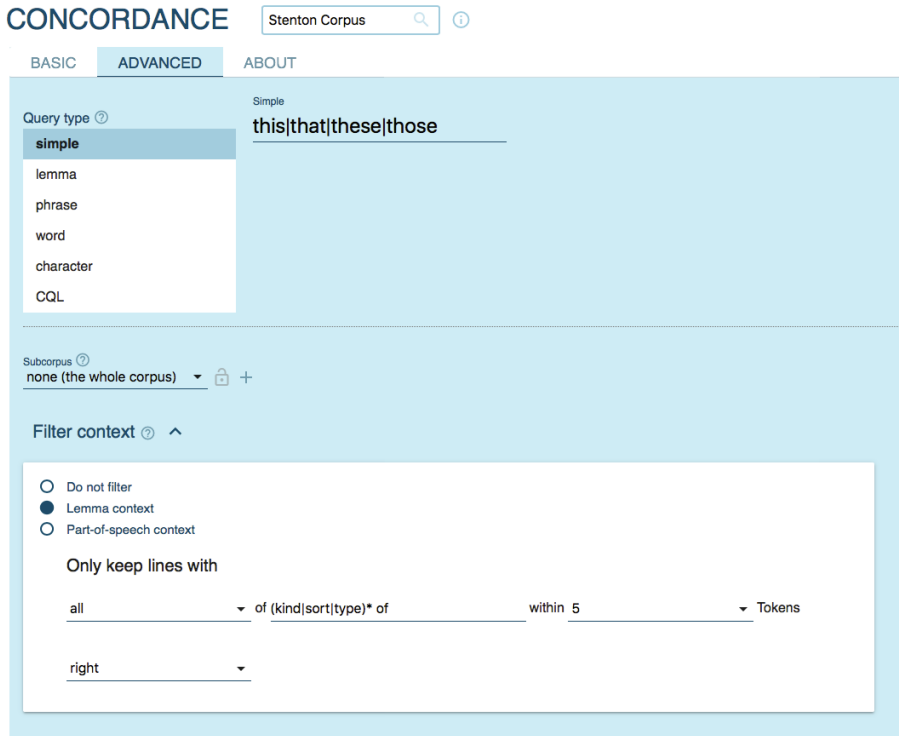


Figure 5.3 The Sketch Engine initial search screen for THIS TYPE OF

include *this* or *that* or *these* or *those*. I have selected ‘Subcorpus’/‘none (the whole corpus)’ as at this stage I want to search the whole of the Stenton Corpus, rather than, for example, the Law or the Language sub-corpus. The ‘Filter context’ restricts the selection of ‘this|that|these|those’ to only those strings that also include ‘kind’, ‘sort’ or ‘type’. In this context, presenting this search string within parentheses and separated by the pipe symbol again means that either *kind* or *sort* or *type* will be found (e.g. *this kind*), whilst the asterisk shown in the search string substitutes for any letter immediately following any of the forms within the parentheses. In principle, the asterisk will pick up any letter(s) following *kind*, *sort* and *type*, e.g. *typed*, but in practice the other constraints restrict the search to the plural forms *kinds*, *sorts* and *types* (e.g. *these kinds*, *those types*). The ‘of’ restricts the search to those strings which also include [space +] *of* immediately following the species noun (e.g. *this kind of*, *those sorts of*). The *of* that appears before the parentheses in Figure 5.3 is part of the instruction “all of ... within” and is not part of the search string itself. Finally, setting the ‘Filter context’ to ‘within 5 Tokens right’ will also retrieve those strings where the species noun is separated from the determiner by one or more pre-modifiers (e.g. *two*

different in these two different types of). This search string does not include the noun (N2) following the *of*. The inclusion of the N2 is achieved in the specification of the concordance (see below). Figure 5.4 shows the first page of the concordance retrieved by the search string in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.4 shows a ‘key word in context’ (KWIC) concordance. The search term is centred and highlighted (e.g. *This* in line 1). The filter context terms are also highlighted (e.g. *this type of* in line 2). By setting the ‘context size’ for this search to 60 characters to the left and to the right of the search term (this is not shown in Figure 5.3 as it is specified elsewhere), the concordance includes a line of about 120 characters. ‘Context size’ is defined as “the width of the concordance window in number of characters ... (including positional attributes)” (Thomas, 2016, p. 44); the rider in parentheses in Thomas’s description explains why, if you try to count the context, you will not find exactly 120 characters. In practice, this context is sufficient to include the second noun (N2; e.g. *those types of associations* in line 4), and any of its pre-modifiers (e.g. *this type of express non-justiciable language* in line 13), although it is not always sufficient to include a verb for those examples where the species noun phrase functions as subject (e.g. *this type of legislation can be used* in line 5). In Figure 5.4, the ‘</s><s>’ characters are some of the tags, or HTML codes, generated by Sketch Engine when the files are uploaded, and mark the end/beginning of sentences, respectively. These tags were manually deleted after the concordance was exported from Sketch Engine and imported into a Word file for manual analysis (see below). The ‘file#0’ etc. on the left of each concordance line uniquely identifies the source file, i.e. it is not an example number generated for this concordance. It thus identifies the original file if needed for further reference, for example to check for a verb that is not included in the context to the right of the search term. Given that the items of interest for this study occur largely in the right-hand part of the concordance line, the question might arise as to why I didn’t set the context to, for example, 20 characters to the left and 100 characters to the right, as this would be more likely to include any verbs that would follow a species noun phrase functioning as subject. The reason that I didn’t do so is that the longer context to the left is often useful in confirming that a string is actually an example of a species noun phrase (see below), and in providing an antecedent text referent for the species noun phrase.

The concordance in Figure 5.4 nevertheless does include some strings that are not examples of the species noun phrase, in what seems to be a duplication of some lines. In line 3, for example, *this* is not a determiner but a pronoun, and is not part of a species noun phrase: the concordancing program included pronominal *this* in line 3 because of its proximity to *types of*. Line 3 does, however, include a species noun phrase – *those types of associations* – which is included again in the concordance as line 4. Lines 5 and 6 show a similar relationship, with *that* in line 5 being not a

determiner but a subordinating conjunction, itself introducing a species noun phrase – *this type of legislation* – which is included as line 6. Because of this inclusion in the concordance of lines which are not examples of the species noun phrase, the first task was to remove those examples. This was achieved by exporting the Sketch Engine concordance as a text file, then importing it into Word and manually deleting those examples, e.g. line 7 in Figure 5.4: ... *a reminder that different types of norms*

Another type of duplication occurs because of the nature of academic journal papers. It is quite possible that the same or a similar sentence could occur in the Abstract, the Introduction, the body of the text and the Conclusion. For example, the following two near-identical examples (see the underlined phrases) from the same file would seem to come from an Introduction and a Conclusion, respectively:

- (1) ... Second, we predict that the overall use of lead-in labels should be predictive of low vocabulary, as **these types of labels** require an additional effort on the part of the child to search the environment for what the mother is referring to. ... [file#940|JCL]
- (2) ... we predicted that the overall use of lead-in labels should be predictive of low vocabulary, as **these types of labels** require an additional effort on the part of the child to search the environment for what the mother is referring to. ... [file#940|JCL]

In fact, in this case, the first example comes from an untitled introductory section, whilst the second comes from the Discussion section. Both of these, and other similar examples, were included in the corpus, again following the practice of Sinclair (2004, p. 191) regarding the integrity of the text.

The layout of the Word file was set to mirror that of the on-screen concordance, and this Word file was then used for a manual analysis, i.e. reading through the concordance line by line. The advantage of this type of presentation and manual analysis, instead of asking Sketch Engine to search for and flag any statistically significant patterns, is that unexpected patterns may come to light, or at least patterns that question a conventional analysis (see Sinclair, 1991, p. 44), and in fact one such pattern did emerge (see §5.4.1 below). One disadvantage of this approach is that those patterns might not be statistically significant; another is that the analysis can take a very long time, especially if there are hundreds, or even thousands, of examples. However, unexpected and lower-frequency items are often interesting and sometimes revealing, as will be illustrated in the following section.

5.4 Analysing the concordances: some preliminaries

This presentation of the results of the corpus analyses starts with some examples of the different species noun phrase variants. The analyses presented in Chapter 2 provided three canonical examples of number agreement (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 765; and see §2.3):

(3a) Those kinds of parties *are* dangerous.

(3b) That kind of party *is* dangerous.

(3c) Parties of that kind *are* dangerous.

Similar examples are also recommended (prescribed) in many of the usage guides surveyed in Chapter 3 (e.g. Allen, 1999, p. 363; and see §3.4.2):

(4a) this kind of house

(4b) these kinds of [houses]

(4c) [houses] of this kind

The canonical (3a) and (3b) were also the most approved of example types in the usage survey in Chapter 4 (cf. §4.4.2). The search string shown in Figure 5.3 would pick up examples (3a–b) and (4a–b), but not (3c) and (4c), so I also ran a second search for these variants. I therefore worked with two separate concordances.

As I have shown in Chapters 2 and 3, both the grammars and the usage guides offer advice on how to avoid the proscribed *these kind of*. Allen (1999, p. 363) gives examples (4b) and (4c) as “[a]lternatives”, whilst Quirk et al. (1985, pp. 764–765) refer to *These/Those sort/kind/type of parties* as an “idiomatic anomaly”, and suggest that rephrasing, as shown in examples (3a)–(3c) above, can “avoid the anomaly”. The ‘problem’ of number agreement in the species noun phrase is seen as that, in practice, writers, and especially speakers, seem to vary the number marking on the determiner (*this*), the species noun (*kind*), the second noun (*car*) and the verb (*is*), for example using *these kind of cars are unpopular*, with singular *kind*, but plural *these, cars* and *are*. One of the aims of this chapter is to determine the extent to which the academic authors in the Stenton Corpus follow this usage guide advice, either knowingly or unwittingly.

5.4.1 THIS N2 TYPE *as an additional variant of the species noun phrase*

What I was looking for in the concordances were examples of both the prescribed (e.g. *these kinds of, of this kind*) and the proscribed (e.g. *these kind of*)²¹ variants. As expected, I found examples of both THIS TYPE OF and OF THIS TYPE, as shown in (5a) and (5b), respectively. I have used examples featuring the N2 *error(s)* in this section to make it easier to identify the other varying forms:

(5a) **This type of error** resembles ... [file#171|BLC]²²

(5b) **Errors of this kind** are ... [file#162|BLC]

However, in manually checking the concordances, I identified another potential pattern:

(6) ..., **this error type** was included ... [file#572|JCL]

Should (6) also be treated as a variant of the species noun phrase? It includes a determiner (*this*), a species noun (*type*) and an N2 (*error*), but not the preposition *of*. Example (6), repeated below as (7a), can easily be transformed into a canonical species noun phrase, like (5a) and (5b). These transformed examples are shown in (7b) and (7c):

(7a) ..., **this error type** was included ... [file#572|JCL]

(7b) ..., **this type of error** was included ...

(7c) ..., **errors of this type** were included

Examples like (6) occur relatively frequently in the Stenton Corpus, with 105 similar instances, including plural examples in which the number of the verb matches that of the determiner and the species noun, but not that of the N2 *error* (see §5.5.3 below):²³

(8a) ..., **these error types** were ... [file#507|JCL; file#572|JCL]

(8b) ... **those error types** that lead ... [file#572|JCL]

21 There are no specifically proscribed variants of the OF THIS KIND species noun phrase, as this is generally offered as a prescribed alternative to *these kind of*, for use with a plural N2 (see §3.4.1).

22 The text in brackets shows the file number (as shown in Figure 5.4), plus the name of the journal (as shown in §5.2.1).

23 Note that *error* in *this error type* is still being labelled N2, even though it is positioned before the species noun.

Also, the N2 can be pre-modified (see Appendix G5), with the same agreement pattern as above, i.e. plural determiner, species noun and verb but singular N2:

(9) ... **those two error types** are recognized. [file#734|JCL]

It would seem that in (9) it is the species noun (*types*) that is being pre-modified by *two*, as *error* remains unmarked for number. Quirk et al. (1972, p. 914; 1985, pp. 1331–1332, §17.105) provide some support for this position in their discussion of pre-modification in the noun phrase, where “certain postmodifying *of*-phrases correspond ... to noun premodifiers” (1972, p. 914).²⁴ They use the examples shown in (10):

(10) The question of partition ~ The partition question

Quirk et al. continue: “plural nouns [i.e. in the *of*-phrase] usually become singular” (1972, p. 914). Is it therefore possible to have a variant of the species noun phrase that does not include the preposition *of*? Keizer (2007, p. 174; see §2.4.2), in analysing what she calls the ‘SKT-construction’, noted that “[it] is clearly not possible for N2 to be omitted”, and also that “leaving out both *of* and N2 does not seem to be an option either”. However, in her corpus she did find examples such as the one in (11):

(11) They won’t last long, mate, *these type* never do.
(Keizer, 2007, p. 174 (56))

This led her to conclude that the *of* in the species noun phrase is not part of what she terms a “complex postdeterminer” (i.e. *type of*), but is in fact a “separate linking element”, for which there is simply no need “when N2 is left unexpressed” (2007, p. 175). If, instead of being unexpressed, the N2 is positioned before the species noun, then similarly there is no need for the ‘linking element’ *of* (and see Sinclair, 2004, p. 18; 1991, pp. 81–98, for a similar proposition).

More recently, Fontaine and Schönthal (2019, 2020), following Fawcett (2000, pp. 304, 306), analyse *of* in the nominal group as what they call a “selector element” (e.g. 2020, p. 200); similarly, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 394) treat *of* as a “generalized marker of a structural relationship between nominals”. In these analyses, the inclusion or omission of *of* permits the writer/speaker to adjust which noun they wish to position as head of the noun phrase, i.e. it allows the writer/speaker to distinguish between a referential head (N2 *error* in (5a) above) and a syntactic head (species noun *type* in (6) above). It also potentially allows the writer/speaker to adjust the number marking of the different nouns.

²⁴ Quirk et al. discuss this in the context of prepositional phrase post-modifiers generally, but I have restricted the analysis to *of*-phrases in the context of my discussion of the species noun phrase.

It could, however, be suggested that e.g. *these sentence types* is not a variant of the species noun phrase at all, but simply a compound noun (*sentence types*) preceded by a determiner (*these*), albeit a compound of which the second noun is always *type(s)*, and weight might be given to this argument in that the examples are restricted to the Language sub-corpus. There is certainly an argument to be made for this analysis. Both Biber et al. (1999, pp. 589–591) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002, pp. 448–451) note that for a compound noun (or ‘composite nominal’ [Huddleston and Pullum] or ‘noun modifier + noun head’ [Biber et al.]), the primary stress would be on the first noun, and that would indeed be the case with e.g. *these sentence types*. Huddleston and Pullum also provide diagnostic tests for the composite nominal, in which the two nouns “can enter separately into relations of coordination and modification” (2002, p. 449), so that *two London colleges* can be coordinated to become *various London and Oxford colleges*, or *various London schools and colleges*, and it can be modified to become *two south London colleges* or *two London theological colleges*, thereby demonstrating the separability of the composite noun structure.

There are no such examples of coordination within this structure in the Stenton Corpus, but there are twenty examples which include modification, with only seven different modifiers: *two, three, four, different, same, initial* and *particular*. All bar *initial* are defined in *COBUILD* in terms of number, and all of those bar *particular* are defined in terms of plural number. The example from the Stenton Corpus with *particular* is the only one to also include a singular determiner and species noun: *this particular sentence type*. The N2, i.e. the noun other than the species noun, is always singular. This would suggest that the plural determiner in all the other examples is modifying either the species noun, or the compound noun: e.g. *these two word types*. This would seem to lend support to the analysis of e.g. *these sentence types* as simply a determiner plus compound noun, rather than as a species noun phrase. However, Biber et al. (1999, pp. 589–590) do note that “the division between a noun compound and a sequence of noun modifier + noun head is in actuality a cline”, and they identify an example – *family member* – with a partitive relation where “[*member*] identifies parts of [*family*]” (1999, p. 591). In terms of the examples of interest for this study, e.g. *these sentence types*, the determiner + species noun identifies a sub-set of the N2 *sentence*. For the current study, therefore, whilst acknowledging that e.g. *these sentence types* may not be unequivocally analysed as a variant of the species noun phrase, it is at least an alternative to the species noun phrase in the sense of providing an option for different number marking, i.e. on the determiner, the species noun and the N2. With that caveat, I have decided to include this construction in my study. The inclusion of this additional construction as a variant thus necessitated the generation

of a third concordance, to ensure that I gathered all the examples in the corpus, rather than just those that were picked up in the generation of the first two concordances.²⁵

In the usage guides consulted for this study, Garner (1998, p. 664; 2022, p. 1120) is one of only two to highlight the use of the species noun phrase without *of*, as shown in example (12):

- (12) Councilman Mike Tassin also opposed the project, saying this *type person* [...] does not match others already in the area.

In this case Garner advises revision to *this type of person*. Evans and Evans (1957, p. 525) also list examples of this structure, again only with *type*:

- (13) this type car, that type person

They comment that “[t]his construction does not appear in written English but is too widespread in speech to be called anything but standard” (1957, p. 525), i.e. standard in American English. There are no examples of this structure in the Stenton Corpus.

There are, however, two further possible variants of the species noun phrase, highlighted in bold in (14) and (15):

- (14) ... these were the most frequent types of utterances, and close to 80% of all **tokens** of single-word transitive verbs in the input ***were of this type***. ... [file#810|JCL]
- (15) ... The second type of territorial legislation provides a concurrent alternative to the personal laws. **Of this type**, the most far reaching ***one is*** optional civil marriage and divorce laws, which exists alongside the religious personal laws. ... [file#353|IJC]

In (14) the canonical structure *tokens of this type were* is transformed to place the verb before the species noun, whilst (15) can be seen as a transformation of *this type of one is*. However, there are only two examples like (14) and only one like (15) in the Stenton Corpus, and there are no examples of a pronoun (e.g. *one*) as N2 in the other variants. These potential variants were therefore not considered any further here, but should be noted for inclusion in a subsequent study with a larger or different corpus.

On the basis of the arguments given above, I prepared concordances for three variants of the species noun phrase: THIS TYPE OF N2, N2 OF THIS TYPE and THIS N2 TYPE. These will be described in the following section.

²⁵ This potential additional variant of the species noun phrase also emphasises the usefulness of a manual concordance analysis (see §5.3).

5.5 The corpus data

5.5.1 *Frequency of the species noun phrase in the corpus*

The Stenton Corpus of International Academic English contains a total of 1,145 examples of a species noun phrase variant distributed in 501 of its 1,031 manuscripts, so about half of the mss in the corpus contain at least one example. There are 321 examples in the Law sub-corpus and 824 examples in the Language sub-corpus. The corpus as a whole thus contains 99 examples of the species noun phrase per million words (pmw). However, the Law sub-corpus is much smaller than the Language sub-corpus, at 2.58 million to 9 million words (see Figure 5.2 in §5.2.1 above). When these frequency figures for the number of examples are normalised per million words to accommodate the different sizes of the two sub-corpora, the Law sub-corpus is shown to include 124 examples per million words, whilst the Language sub-corpus includes 92 examples per million words, yielding a ratio of 1.3:1, i.e. for each time the species noun phrase occurs in the Language sub-corpus, it occurs 1.3 times in the Law sub-corpus. Put slightly differently, despite there being many more examples in the Language sub-corpus, the species noun phrase is 1.3 times more likely to occur in the Law sub-corpus. This difference can be tested for statistical significance using the online log-likelihood (LL) calculator hosted by the University of Lancaster Department of Linguistics and Modern English Language.²⁶ The result, i.e. +20.73, shows that the difference in sub-corpora frequency is indeed significant. The following section will examine in more detail the figures for the three main variants of the species noun phrase: *THIS TYPE OF N2*, *N2 OF THIS TYPE* and *THIS N2 TYPE*.

5.5.2 *Relative frequencies of the three variants*

As noted above, in the corpus as a whole, there are 1,145 examples of the species noun phrase. These are made up of 847 examples of *THIS TYPE OF N2*, 193 examples of *N2 OF THIS TYPE*, and 105 examples of *THIS N2 TYPE* phrases. These are shown in Figure 5.5 as percentages of the 1,145 total. For the Law sub-corpus, there are 266 examples of *THIS TYPE OF N2* and 55 examples of *N2 OF THIS TYPE*. There are no examples of the *THIS N2 TYPE* in the Law sub-corpus. These numbers are shown in Figure 5.6 as percentages of the 321 examples in the Law sub-corpus. For the Language journals, there are 581 examples of *THIS TYPE OF N2*, 138 examples of *N2 OF THIS TYPE*, and 105 examples of *THIS N2 TYPE*, i.e. all the examples of *THIS N2 TYPE* are in the Language sub-corpus.

²⁶ This online calculator is hosted at <<https://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html>>. See McEnergy and Hardie (2012, pp. 48–53) on this use of the log-likelihood test. In this study, I am following the practice of Lukač (2018a, p. 125) in setting the minimum key value to 15.13, corresponding to $p < 0.0001$ (the 0.01% level, or 99.99th percentile).

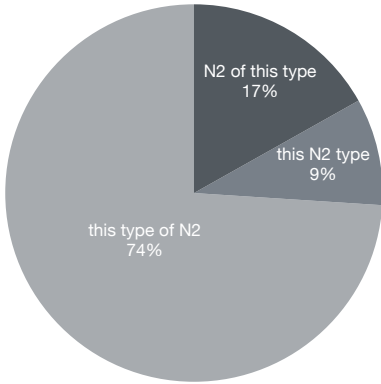


Figure 5.5 The Stenton Corpus

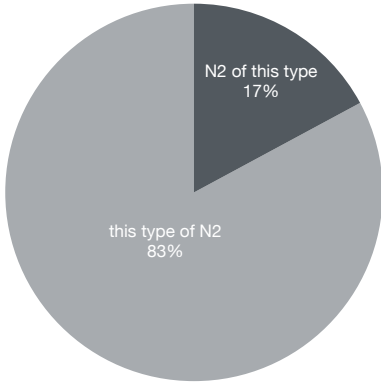


Figure 5.6 The Law sub-corpus

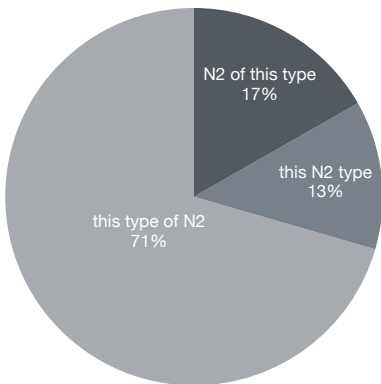


Figure 5.7 The Language sub-corpus

These numbers are shown in Figure 5.7 as percentages of the 824 examples in the Language sub-corpus. When these figures are normalised per million words, we find a ratio in favour of the Law sub-corpus, 1.6:1 for the THIS TYPE OF N2 examples, and 1.4:1 for the N2 OF THIS TYPE examples. These ratios remain unchanged if the THIS N2 TYPE examples are removed from the calculations. These numbers thus show that, despite their lower frequencies, these two variants are more likely to occur in the Law sub-corpus than in the Language sub-corpus, although only the THIS TYPE OF N2 variant is significantly so.

THIS TYPE OF N2

As can be seen from Figure 5.5, THIS TYPE OF N2 is by far the most frequent of the species noun phrase variants, accounting for 847 of the 1,145 examples (74%). This is also the variant most commonly commented on in the usage guides (see §3.4.1), with their general exemplification (proscription) of *these kind of* as an error, and their recommendation (prescription) of *these kinds of* instead. It is also this variant that was the basis for the attitude survey in Chapter 4. Of these 847 examples, 604 included a singular species noun, and 243 included a plural species noun. I therefore created two sub-concordances to analyse these examples, one listing singular *kind/sort/type*, and one listing plural *kinds/sorts/types*, in order to more easily identify examples of number conflict between the determiner and the species noun, e.g. *these kind of*, as it is this number conflict which is the focus of the usage guide proscriptions. Of the 604 examples of THIS TYPE OF with singular

kind/sort/type, only six include a plural determiner, and all six occur with a plural N2, as shown in (16), which also includes a pre-modifier (*representative*) of the N2. This pattern was also noted in the usage guide of Peters (2004, p. 508; and see §3.4.1):

- (16) ... However, legislation surrounding **these type of representative arrangements** must also be constructed in a way that respects the rights in the CRPD and ensures that the individual ... [file#174|IJC]²⁷

This is clearly a minority use, but it should be noted that four of the six files which included these instances also contained other examples of the species noun phrase, generally of the same variant, whilst one of them, file#870, contained examples of all three species noun phrase variants, one of only nine files in the whole corpus to do so. What is particularly notable about these three examples in file#870 is that the three species noun phrase variants are used in three different clause functions. Example (17) shows THIS TYPE OF N2 as the object of a preposition (O-P: *for*), (18) shows N2 OF THIS TYPE as the object of a verb (O-V: *could use*), and (19) shows THIS N2 TYPE as subject of the verb (V: *are*):

- (17) ... Prosodic information is often assumed to be a useful basis **for this type of discrimination**, although no systematic studies of the prosodic cues available to infants have been reported. ... [file#870|JCL]
- (18) ... However, there is reason to doubt that infants **could use distributional information of this type** as the initial source of information for discriminating sentences. ... [file#870|JCL]
- (19) ... then, perhaps, provide a foundation for distinguishing wh- questions from declaratives on distributional grounds, as we have found that **those sentence types are** prosodically similar in infant-directed speech, as they are in adult-directed speech. ... [file#870|JCL]

Hoey (2005, p. 43) refers to this type of patterning, where syntactic variants are used in different clause functions, as ‘colligation’, which he traces back via Halliday (1959, p. 46) to Firth (1957, p. 13),²⁸ and Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Kostadinova (2015) also report colligational patterns in the use of *have went* in American English. However, only nine files in the Stenton Corpus include all three variants, and eight of those do not show such a three-way split of variant and function, so this is not something that can be pursued in the current study.

²⁷ See also §4.4.4, fn. 27 on this example.

²⁸ And see Gries (2015, p. 507; also Stefanowitsch and Gries, 2003) on a comparable collexeme analysis as part of a collocation analysis within Construction Grammar.

There were no examples of singular *this/that* with plural *kinds/sorts/types*. File#479 initially looks as though it contains such an example, i.e. (20), but it features a compound determiner linked by *and (this and other)*, and so plural *types* would be expected to follow this:

- (20) ... Further longitudinal study with additional children will be needed to more fully explore the extent of ***this and other types of individual variation***. ...
[file#479|JCL]

On the basis of this analysis, it would seem that the proscriptions of the usage guide writers against the use of e.g. *these kind of N2* have been successful, in that there are only six examples of it in the whole of the Stenton Corpus of International Academic English (see above), with both sub-corpora almost exclusively featuring number agreement between the determiner and the species noun. However, it is not possible to say from the current study whether this reflects the academic authors following the strictures of the usage guide writers (and the advice in the reference grammars cited in §2.3), or the usage guide writers representing the practices of these academic authors (amongst others), or indeed both of these. This topic will be discussed further in §5.6 below. *These kind of N2* was also the least favoured variant in the attitude survey, with up to 90% of respondents finding it unacceptable.

Unfortunately, this lack of examples of e.g. *these type of N2* vs. *these types of N2* also means that I cannot test the Denison/Keizer Construction Grammar post-determiner hypothesis or Klockmann's Minimalist Program derivational hypothesis, both of which view *these types of* and *these type of* not as variant structures, nor as grammatical/ungrammatical structures, but as different structures, which in Denison's case reflect different semantic and discourse functions (see §2.4.1), and which for Klockmann reflect different syntactic derivations which themselves reflect different features in the lexicon and therefore represent different meanings (see §2.4.4). As noted in §2.4.2, Keizer's corpus didn't contain any examples of e.g. *these kind of* either; the examples she gives are invented.

N2 OF THIS TYPE

Of the 193 examples of the N2 OF THIS TYPE variant species noun phrase, all show number agreement between the determiner and the species noun, whether the N2 is singular (21)²⁹ or plural (22):

²⁹ In (21) the N2 is labelled singular rather than unmarked for number as it is preceded by the indefinite article *a*.

- (21) ... **A warning of this sort** can boost the ICC's deterrent effect, as demonstrated by the example from the DRC discussed in the previous section. ... [file#29|AJL]
- (22) ... **Participants of this kind** do not meet the threshold of the mental elements required for accessorial liability—but they would be liable for a number of offences ... [file#6|AJL]

Only 10 of the 193 examples show a plural determiner and species noun (5%), 8 of which are in the Language journals:

- (23) ... they referred to objects that were in the presence of the mother and infant at the time of the labeling utterance, since only **references of these types** allow for the infant to focus on the labeled object. ... [file#940|JCL]

This plural variant is not mentioned in the reference grammars (see §2.3), and Ayto (1995, p. 171; see also §3.4.2) is the only usage guide to list it. As with the THIS TYPE OF N2 variant, it would seem that the academic authors in both sub-corpora again satisfy the prescriptions of the usage guides for number agreement between the determiner and the species noun, but again we don't know who is following whom here.

THIS N2 TYPE

The 105 examples of the THIS N2 TYPE variant are all from the Language sub-corpus, as shown in Figure 5.7 above, and all show number agreement between the determiner and the species noun, either singular (24) or plural (25); the N2s are always singular or unmarked for number:

- (24) ... **This control type** was carried over to the non-cognate set in order to maintain consistency. ... [file#125|BLC]
- (25) ... Mayan children can acquire **these complement types** by analyzing the adult speech they hear. ... [file#400|JCL]

This variant of the species noun phrase does not feature in the usage guides, but it should be noted that the authors again observe number agreement between the determiner and the species noun.

Summary

In total, then, of all 1,145 examples of the three variant structures, only 6 do not follow number agreement between the determiner and the species noun. This being the case, the question might arise as to why the feature is discussed at such length, or indeed at all, in the usage guides. I will return to this topic briefly in Chapter 6.

5.5.3 Number agreement with the verb

Previous sections have concentrated on number agreement within the species noun phrase, i.e. between the determiner, the species noun and the N2. Here, I investigate number agreement with a clause element outside the species noun phrase: the verb. Of the three clause functions filled by the species noun phrase – O-P, O-V and SUBJ (see §5.5.2 above) – only that of subject is relevant to the investigation of number agreement with the verb, as it is the number of the subject that either determines or co-varies with the number of the verb (see Quirk et al., 1985, p. 755, and §2.3.2 above). In this section, therefore, I again treat the THIS TYPE OF examples and the THESE TYPES OF examples as separate concordances, as I expect to find that they would typically co-vary with singular and with plural verbs, respectively.

THIS TYPE OF N2

In the THIS TYPE OF N2 concordance, there are 280 examples of the species noun phrase as subject. These include 92 examples in the Law sub-corpus and 188 examples in the Language sub-corpus. The normalised frequencies (cf. §§5.2.1, 5.5.1 above) are 36 per million words (pmw) for Law and 21 pmw for Language, and the log-likelihood calculation of +16.48 shows that THIS TYPE OF N2 as SUBJ is statistically more likely to appear in the Law than in the Language sub-corpus. These 280 examples overwhelmingly show singular number agreement throughout (272/280, or 97%), i.e. on the determiner, the species noun, the N2 and the verb, as shown in example (26):

- (26) ... **This type of argument was advanced** by Ukraine against Romania in the Black Sea case. ... [file#0|AJL]

There are only two examples with a plural determiner, eight with a plural N2, and two with a plural verb, and two of those examples include all three, hence only eight examples which show plural. The two examples with plural agreement throughout, apart from the species noun, are shown in (27) and (28):

- (27) ... **These kind of planning requirements make** it virtually impossible for home occupations (sex services) to apply for, let alone receive, development ... [file#309|IJC]
- (28) ... As **these kind of utterances were** the most frequent ones in the data, and, in addition, other single-word sentence frames also had high percentages of ... [file#810|JCL]

These are also the only examples where the species noun does not co-vary with the verb, and so it would seem that here the authors are presenting the N2 as the head of

the species noun phrase. This follows Quirk et al.'s (1985, p. 1238) statement that the head "dictates concord with other parts of the sentence", including the number of the verb in the verb phrase (VP) (1985, p. 755; and see §2.3.2 above), and they may also support the analysis that the determiner can be seen as modifying the N2 rather than the species noun (cf. §2.4). Of the other examples which include a plural N2, four have a verb marked for singular, as in (29):

- (29) ... but rather to be adjectival passives. *This type of passives has also been reported* to be unproblematic ... [file#619|JCL]

and it would seem that here the author is presenting the singular species noun as the head of the phrase, with its anaphoric reference to the single type of *adjectival passives* in the preceding sentence. The final two examples with a plural N2 include a verb which is unmarked for number, so it is simply not possible to assign headship. What these examples show is that the authors in the Stenton Corpus prefer number agreement throughout the species noun phrase functioning as subject, but that in those few cases where they do not, they have the option of marking either the species noun or the N2 as the head of the phrase by adjusting the marking on the verb and/or the N2.

THESE TYPES OF N2

In the THESE TYPES OF N2 concordance, there are 99 examples of the species noun phrase as subject. These include 27 examples in the Law sub-corpus and 72 examples in the Language sub-corpus. The normalised frequencies (cf. §§5.2.1, 5.5.1 above) are 11 pmw for Law and 8 pmw for Language, and the log-likelihood calculation of +1.36 shows that this difference is not significant. In this concordance, the norm is plural number throughout, i.e. on the determiner, the species noun, the N2 and the verb, as shown in example (30).

- (30) ... somewhat differing patterns of conceptual categorization and construal, and that, in the case of bilinguals and second language learners, **these types of conceptualization differences have** the potential to transfer across languages – or, more precisely, the conceptual distinctions ... [file#131|BLC]

Where this is not the case, it is either because the N2 is either singular or unmarked for number, as in (31), or because the verb is unmarked for number, as in (32) where it functions as a modal auxiliary:

- (31) ... I will argue throughout the article that **these two sorts of representation are** harmful because of the exclusions and inequalities they sustain both for the individuals (actual applicants ... [file#184|IJC])

- (32) General and TPP-specific criticisms of ISDS often focus on its potential negatives without taking into account the potential benefits that **these types of provisions can provide** for investors and, in turn, for governments seeking to encourage inbound foreign investment and ... [file#59|AJL]

There are no examples with a singular determiner, no examples with a singular N2, and none with a singular verb. In terms of identifying the head of the species noun phrase, note that example (31) also includes the species noun pre-modifier *two* (see Appendix G5), which contributes to the plurality of the species noun phrase as a whole. As well as this use of *two*, the determiner (*these*) and the species noun (*sorts*) are both plural, whilst the N2 (*representation*) is unmarked, but the verb (*are*) is also plural, so the number of the verb is showing agreement with the determiner and the species noun, and not with the N2. There are 20 such examples in the THESE TYPES OF concordance, and all show the same number marking. There are no distinctions in the use of the THIS TYPE OF and the THESE TYPES OF variants between the Law and Language sub-corpora.

N2 OF THIS TYPE

In the N2 OF THIS TYPE concordance, there are 86 examples of the species noun phrase as subject. These include 28 examples in the Law sub-corpus and 58 examples in the Language sub-corpus. The normalised frequencies (cf. §§5.2.1, 5.5.1 above) are 11 pmw for Law and 6 pmw for Language, and the log-likelihood calculation of +4.789 shows that this difference is not significant. Only three of the examples include a plural determiner (all *these*), and those three also include a plural N2, a plural species noun and a plural verb, so the number is consistent throughout. The remaining 83 examples include a singular determiner and species noun, but the number of the N2 is variable, either singular, plural or unmarked, as shown in (33), (34), and (35), respectively:

- (33) ... **a gesture of this type is classified** as an observer viewpoint gesture, because of the hand representing a whole entity. ... [file#1029|LCO]
- (34) ... **Participants of this kind do not meet** the threshold of the mental elements required for accessorial liability—but they would be liable for a number of offences ... [file#6|AJL]
- (35) ... **Understanding of this sort**, however, **develops** only gradually. ... [file#495|JCL]

With this variant, the singular N2 examples, as in (33), all featured the indefinite determiner *a/an*. This is the only variant that includes this. When the N2 is singular, the verb is either singular (=10), as (33), or unmarked (=10) for number. In the plural

N2 examples, as in (34), the verb is either plural (=31) or unmarked (=16). In the unmarked examples, as in (35), the verb is either singular (=13) or unmarked (=7). There are thus no examples which show a conflict of number.

In terms of the headedness of this variant, when the verb is plural the N2 is also plural or unmarked and, apart from the three examples mentioned above, the determiner and species noun in these examples are singular, so for the majority of them the N2 is taken as the head. In those examples where the N2 is singular or unmarked for number, the verb was also either singular or unmarked, as were the determiners and species nouns, so headship remains unclear.

This seems to be the opposite of those examples of the *THESE TYPES OF* variant, where it was the DET + SN that was being taken as the head. However, what both variants have in common is that it is the N which is not part of the prepositional phrase – *of representation* in (35) and *of this kind* in (36) – that functions as head. This will be discussed further in §5.6.

THIS N2 TYPE

The final variant is the *THIS N2 TYPE*. Of the 105 examples in the Stenton Corpus, 35 function as subject (33%). All of the N2s in this variant are unmarked for number (cf. §5.5.2). The determiners, species nouns and verbs, however, all show variable number. When the species noun is singular (=16), the determiner is singular and the verb is either singular (=11) or unmarked for number (=5). When the species noun is plural (=18), the determiner is plural and the verb is either plural (=14) or unmarked for number (=4). The following examples show singular determiner + species noun with singular verb (36) and with an unmarked verb (37), and plural determiner and species noun with plural verb (38) and unmarked verb (39):

- (36) ... **This control type was carried over** to the non-cognate set in order to maintain consistency. ... [file#125|BLC]
- (37) ... **This event type allowed** the investigation of potential differences in the distribution of attention allocated to the agent and the action in the ... [file#964|LCO]
- (38) ... However, **these error types were** also relatively rare, and **were observed** in only half the children with SLI. ... [file#507|JCL]
- (39) ... **These word types demonstrated** varying levels of phonological and conceptual similarity between L1 and L2. ... [file#470|JCL]

With this variant, then, when the determiner, species noun, N2 and verb are all either singular or unmarked for number, it is not possible to determine whether it is the

species noun or the N2 that is functioning as the head of the clause. However, when the determiner, the species noun and the verb are all marked for plural (=14), then the authors are presenting the species noun as the head of the clause.

Summary

In all the variants presented above, there was an overwhelming tendency to avoid number mismatch between the species noun phrase and the verb, either by marking all of the elements to agree in number, or by the verb not being marked for number, thereby avoiding number conflict. In those cases where there is not number agreement throughout, there tends to be agreement between the N2 and the verb, perhaps as a result of the authors wanting to mark the N2 as the head of the species noun phrase. In these cases too, however, number conflict is still avoided.

5.5.4 kind vs. sort vs. type

I noted in §3.4.2 that the usage guide writers tend to focus on the species nouns *kind* and *sort*. Gilman (1989, p. 577) comments that “although it is seldom mentioned by the handbooks, *type* has fallen into the same sort of pattern: *And in America we don't do those type of things*”. Allen (1999, p. 363) notes that “[t]he issues raised here seem to occur less often in practice with the third alternative, *type of*”. Sayce (2006, pp. 61–63) adds the comment: “When you do use them, note that ‘type’ has a more formal, technical meaning than ‘kind’ and ‘sort’, which are more informal terms.” Sayce’s observation was based on thirty years’ work as an editor, particularly of scientific materials (cf. §3.4.2, fn. 19), and although it is not directly relevant to the topic of number agreement, in this section I address whether Sayce’s comment applies to the writing of the academic authors in the Stenton Corpus.

The figures for the corpus as a whole, shown in Table 5.1 overleaf, do indeed show a preference for *type* (=721), over *kind* (=309), over *sort* (=115): a ratio of 63:27:10%. These figures are based on the number of species noun phrases in the whole corpus: 1,145. A similar pattern appears in both the Law sub-corpus, with its 321 examples: *type* (=138), *kind* (=125), *sort* (=58) (a ratio of 43:39:18%), and in the Language sub-corpus, with its 824 examples: *type* (=576), *kind* (=190), *sort* (=58) (a ratio of 70:23:7%). Sayce’s comment does therefore seem to apply to the use of the species noun phrase in the Stenton Corpus, and more strongly in the Language than in the Law sub-corpus. The normalised frequencies³⁰ are also shown in the table.

30 These frequencies were again calculated using the online log-likelihood (LL) calculator hosted by the University of Lancaster Department of Linguistics and Modern English Language (cf. §5.5.1).

Table 5.1 Relative frequencies of *kind*, *sort* and *type*

Corpus	Species noun phrases	Species nouns		
		<i>type</i>	<i>kind</i>	<i>sort</i>
Stenton Corpus i.e the whole corpus (11.58 mw)	1145 (99 pmw)	721 (62 pmw)	309 (27 pmw)	115 (10 pmw)
Law sub- corpus (2.58 mw)	321 (124 pmw)	138 (54 pmw)	125 (48 pmw)	58 (23 pmw)
Language sub- corpus (9.00 mw)	824 (92 pmw)	576 (64 pmw)	190 (21 pmw)	58 (6 pmw)
	Log-likelihood	type vs. kind	type vs. sort	kind vs. sort
Stenton Corpus		169.50	489.29	168.70
Law sub- corpus		0.64 (ns)	33.63	25.11
Language sub- corpus		203.72	490.96	74.02
Law vs. Language		type	kind	sort
		3.72 (ns)	47.98	42.60

The normalised frequency figures for the whole corpus are *type* = 62 pmw, *kind* = 27 pmw and *sort* = 10 pmw. For the Law sub-corpus, the normalised frequencies are: *type* = 54 pmw, *kind* = 48 pmw, *sort* = 23 pmw. For the Language sub-corpus, the normalised frequencies are: *type* = 64 pmw, *kind* = 21 pmw, *sort* = 6 pmw. What these figures again show is that, overall, *type* is more frequent than *kind*, which is more frequent than *sort*, and the log-likelihood calculations show these frequency differences to be significant. In the sub-corpora, *type* is 1.2 times more frequent in the Language than in the Law sub-corpus; *kind* is 2.3 times more frequent in the Law than in the Language sub-corpus; and *sort* is 3.8 times more frequent in the Law than in the Language sub-corpus. Log-likelihood calculations show that the differences in the frequency of *type* are not significant, but the differences in frequency of both *kind* and *sort* are significant. In the Stenton Corpus as a whole, then, *type* is used significantly more often than both *sort* and *kind*, whilst *kind* is used significantly more often than *sort*. In the Law sub-corpus, there is no significant difference in the use of *type* and *kind*, but both are used significantly more often than *sort*. In the Language sub-corpus, *type* is used significantly more often than both *sort* and *kind*, whilst *kind* is used

significantly more often than *sort*. The main difference then between the Law and the Language sub-corpora is that in the Language sub-corpus there is a clear distinction between the frequency of use of *type*, then *kind*, then *sort*, as in the corpus as a whole. In the Law sub-corpus, however, there is no significant difference in the frequency of use of *type* and *kind*, although *type* is the more frequent. Comparing the use of *type*, *kind* and *sort* between the two corpora, we find that there is no significant difference in the frequency of use of *type* between the Law and Language sub-corpora. Both *kind* and *sort* are significantly more frequent in the Law than in the Language sub-corpus.

Whilst the usage guide writers tend to focus on *kind* and *sort*, Biber et al. (1999, pp. 256–257) found a preference for *type* in the academic writing in their corpus. This latter preference is strongly echoed in the Stenton Corpus, with a general preference for the use of *type* over *kind* over *sort*. The only exception to this pattern is in the Law sub-corpus, with the OF THIS TYPE examples favouring *kind* over *sort* over *type*. This choice of species noun clearly warrants further investigation.

Further data on the relative frequencies of the constituents of the species noun phrase is given in Appendix G, including the relative frequencies of the species nouns in the three variants of the species noun phrase (Appendix G1), the relative frequencies of the singular vs. plural species nouns (Appendix G2), the relative frequencies of the determiners (Appendix G3), and the number of the N2 (Appendix G4).

5.6 Concluding remarks

The data analysed in this chapter comes from the Stenton Corpus (§5.2), a corpus of about 12.5 million words (cf. §5.2.1), based on a collection of 1,031 manuscripts on the subjects of Law and Language by 1,657 different authors, submitted for publication in academic journals published by Cambridge University Press (§§5.2.1–5.2.3). The corpus was searched and the concordances generated in Sketch Engine (§5.3). The corpus analysis introduced some innovations with respect to the use of unedited text in a formal register, that of written International Academic English (§5.2.2), and the identification of a further variant of the species noun phrase – THIS N2 TYPE (§5.4) – a variant which is not treated in either the usage guides or the modern reference grammars, although its inclusion can be questioned (§5.4.1). The use of unedited text is significant as the texts more directly represent the choices of the 1,657 authors, rather than, as in the case of the Stenton Corpus, the choices of the two copy-editors responsible for editing them. The identification of a further variant of the species noun phrase, in addition to the two established variants – THIS TYPE OF N2 and N2 OF THIS TYPE – is important because it further increases the range of options available to those authors for number marking in the species noun phrase. In fact, other potential variants were also identified, but there were too few examples of them to be included

in this study. This lack of examples limits a number of potentially interesting aspects of the analyses, and it seems that a much bigger corpus would be needed to investigate these properly.

The main aim of the analysis was to investigate whether these academic authors in practice followed the advice of the usage guides, as described in Chapter 3, and avoided the use of the proscribed variant *these kind of*, i.e. the use of a plural determiner (e.g. *these*) with a singular species noun (e.g. *kind*). The main findings are summarised below, first those on the corpus as a whole and then those on some sub-corpora differences. Discussion of these results then follows.

- [i] Examples of the species noun phrase were found in 501 of the 1,031 manuscripts. There were 1,145 examples in total. There were more examples in the Language than in the Law sub-corpus (824 vs. 321), but they were statistically more frequent in the Law than in the Language sub-corpus.
- [ii] THIS TYPE OF N2 was the most frequent variant, followed by N2 OF THIS TYPE and THIS N2 TYPE (847 vs. 193 vs. 105). There were more examples of each variant in the Language sub-corpus (THIS N2 TYPE appeared only in the Language sub-corpus), but THIS TYPE OF N2 was statistically more frequent in the Law sub-corpus.
- [iii] The THIS KIND OF N2 examples overwhelmingly showed number agreement throughout the species noun phrase, with only six examples of *these kind of N2*.
- [iv] All the N2 OF THIS TYPE examples showed number agreement between the determiner and the species noun.
- [v] All the THIS N2 TYPE examples showed number agreement between the determiner and the species noun.
- [vi] The THIS TYPE OF N2 variant as subject overwhelmingly showed number agreement throughout, i.e. including the verb (272/280).
- [vii] The THESE TYPES OF N2 variant as subject largely showed number agreement throughout (79/99). In the twenty examples where there was not full agreement, the N2 or the verb was unmarked for number, so there was no number conflict.
- [viii] In the N2 OF THIS TYPE variant as subject there were no examples of a conflict of number.
- [ix] In the THIS N2 TYPE variant as subject, all of the N2s were unmarked for number, and there were no examples of a conflict of number.

There were relatively few significant sub-corpora differences:

- [x] The main difference was that all the THIS N2 TYPE examples came from the Language sub-corpus.
- [xi] Despite this, the species noun phrase was statistically more frequent in the Law sub-corpus.
- [xii] The THIS TYPE OF N2 variant was statistically more frequent in the Law sub-corpus.
- [xiii] The THIS TYPE OF N2 variant as subject was also statistically more frequent in the Law sub-corpus.
- [xiv] On the use of *type* vs. *sort* vs. *kind*, in the corpus as a whole, *type* was used significantly more often than both *sort* and *kind*, whilst *kind* was used significantly more often than *sort*.
- [xv] In the Law sub-corpus, there was no significant difference in the use of *type* and *kind*, but both were used significantly more often than *sort*.
- [xvi] In the Language sub-corpus, *type* was used significantly more often than both *sort* and *kind*, whilst *kind* was used significantly more often than *sort*.
- [xvii] There was no significant difference in the frequency of use of *type* between the Law and Language sub-corpora, but both *kind* and *sort* were significantly more frequent in the Law than in the Language sub-corpus.

It would, I believe, take a much larger corpus, and perhaps one with more subject areas than Law and Language, to determine if any of the differences noted above might be genre differences.

Given that the number of examples like the proscribed *these kind of* was so small as to be negligible, it would seem that the academic authors in the Stenton Corpus did follow the proscriptions of the usage guides, and indeed the guidance of the modern reference grammars described in Chapter 2. However, it is of course simply not possible on the basis of a corpus analysis to say that the academic writers avoided the proscribed uses *because of* the advice in the usage guides. For that we would need to undertake a survey of the authors on their use of reference materials. Further, it is equally likely that the usage guide writers themselves based their proscriptions/prescriptions on the usage of groups such as these academic writers. An analysis of the citation sources used in the seventy-seven usage guides in HUGE as examples of both 'good' and 'bad' usage would be a useful and revealing topic, but once again this was beyond the scope of the current study.

However, to say that the academic authors avoided the overt number conflict of e.g. *these type of* does not mean that they did not have options in how to present different number choices in the species noun phrase. Example (40) shows one such choice, with plural N2 (*errors*) and verb (*were found*) but singular determiner and species noun (*this kind*):

- (40) ... Only **6 errors of this kind**, however, **were found** in the combined corpora of the 7 children Pine & Lieven (1997) analyzed. ... [file#924|JCL]

The THIS N2 TYPE variant, which was used exclusively in the Language sub-corpus and exclusively with the species noun *type*, also permits differences in number marking without number conflict, with singular/unmarked *complement* and plural *these ... types appear* in example (41):

- (41) ... Table 4 lists the contexts where **these complement types appear** in seven Mayan languages. ... [file#400|JCL]

The authors may also emphasise the number of a species noun phrase in other ways, for example with a number pre-modifier of the species noun, e.g. *two* in (42) (and see Appendix G5 for more examples of this):

- (42) ... This matching allowed us to reduce the effects of factors other than familiarity when **these two verb types were compared**. ... [file#736|JCL]

Equally, authors had the option of emphasising the singularity of an N2 using the OF THIS TYPE variant with the indefinite article *a*, as in (43):

- (43) ... **A warning of this sort can boost** the ICC's deterrent effect, as demonstrated by the example from the DRC discussed in the previous section. ... [file#29|AJL]

This option was not available in any of the other species noun phrase variants. It would therefore seem that authors had a number of options available to them, not just to avoid overt number conflict but also to specify number, options which these academic authors did make use of, and these options will be considered further in Chapter 6.

These are the main findings of this chapter, but frequency data on some other aspects of the species noun phrase can be found in Appendix G. These include: the relative frequencies of the species nouns in the three variants (G1); the relative frequencies of the singular and plural species nouns (G2); the relative frequencies of the determiners (G3); the number of the N2 in the three variants (G4); the pre-modifiers used with the species nouns (G5); and parenthetical specifications of the species noun phrase (G6).

As noted above, some of my initial findings warrant further investigation with a larger or different corpus. This would include verifying THIS N2 TYPE as a species noun phrase variant, as well as investigating patterns such as “close to 80% of all *tokens ... were of this type*” (§5.4.1, example (14)) and “*Of this type, the most far-reaching one is ...*” (§5.4.1, example (15)). There is also scope for further investigation into the use of a pronoun as N2; the co-variance of the N2 with the same (or similar) word in context; which of the two nouns – the species noun or the N2 – typically functions as the head of the species noun phrase; colligation restrictions on species noun phrase variants; and (*these*) *type of* as a post-determiner. However, in order to maintain the authenticity of the corpus, it would need to be compiled from original manuscripts as submitted for publication, rather than those which have been copy-edited. This would necessarily involve the co-operation of a large publishing house, as with the current study.

6 Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

At the end of this study, have we actually learnt anything about number agreement in the species noun phrase? I set out to examine how three groups of people – the linguists, the prescriptivists and the general public – both practise and consider number agreement in the species noun phrase in English, in phrases like *this type of error*, *these sorts of errors*, *these kind of errors* and *errors of this kind*, where *type(s)*, *sort(s)* and *kind(s)* are the species nouns. The main focus of the study was on this variation in number marking in the species noun phrase in a corpus of academic English writing in the historical context of usage guide advice from 1770 to 2010. These usage guide writers – the prescriptivists – are included in the BtU project’s Hyper Usage Guide of English (HUGE) database. In particular, I investigated whether and how the variant typically criticised and proscribed in many of these usage guides – *these kind of N2*¹ – with its mix of plural determiner and singular species noun, is used by the authors in the Stenton Corpus of International Academic English, or whether those authors prefer the prescribed variants which show number agreement between their constituents – *this sort of N2*, *these types of N2*, *N2 of this kind*. In addition to the practices of the general public as represented by the academic authors in the Stenton Corpus, I also carried out an online survey of a self-selecting group of respondents to determine their attitudes to the variant forms of the species noun phrase. These variant forms were established by reference to the third group of people in the BtU project – the linguists – represented here by three major late-twentieth-century reference grammars, and by a number of studies describing those variants from several theoretical standpoints.

The topic of number agreement in the species noun phrase was chosen for this study because this was a usage issue that frequently arose during my career as a copy-editor, particularly when I was working on books with a number of chapters contributed by different authors. In these books, both the academic editors and I were keen to establish a consistent approach to this and other usage variants. The idea of analysing this usage across a broader range of authors arose out of an initially informal corpus that I was then in the process of compiling from the manuscripts of papers submitted to Cambridge University Press for publication in some of their law and language journals. Having these papers in unedited manuscript form in a small corpus was a useful reference source during my copy-editing since it enabled me to check the

¹ N2 here and elsewhere indicates the second noun in the phrase, the species noun itself being the N1.

practice of a large group of authors on a number of usage and stylistic issues, which I could then compare with the advice I found in the usage guides, dictionaries and grammars that I was also using for reference. Once formalised as the Stenton Corpus of International Academic English, this corpus was used to provide a set of baseline data for the current study as a whole (and see Tiekens-Boon van Ostade, 2020, p. 206, for more on this use of baseline data).

The HUGE database of seventy-seven usage guides was established as a basis for the investigations carried out within the BtU project (see especially Ebner, 2017, Kostadinova, 2018a, Lukač, 2018a, and Tiekens-Boon van Ostade, 2020).² Access to the text of these seventy-seven usage guides, a huge increase on the half-dozen or so of my own guides, enabled me to make a much more systematic analysis of the position of those usage guides on the topic of number agreement in the species noun phrase, and of how their advice might be reflected in the usage of the authors in the Stenton Corpus.

The addition of an online attitude survey into what members of the public thought about the variant forms of the species noun phrase provided more evidence of modern attitudes to those variants. However, comparing the results of the current survey with those from three earlier surveys, published in the 1930s, the 1970s and the 2010s, also enabled me to take a historical perspective on the variant usages. The expectation in this comparison, following the argument presented in Mair (2006, esp. §6.2) that English became more colloquial over the course of the twentieth century, was that the general public would have become more accepting of usage variations over time.

This concluding chapter brings together the results from these different strands of the current study. In fact, it proved to be the case that there was a great deal of harmony in how these three groups of people studied – the linguists, the prescriptivists and the general public – in practice viewed number agreement in the species noun phrase. The results from my analyses of the three groups will be considered in more detail below, but first, given this harmony in the views of the three groups studied, it is important to comment on why the variant forms of the species noun phrase are considered to be a usage problem. First, as mentioned above, in my career as a copy-editor, this variation was a topic which was often discussed, especially with the academic editors of volumes of papers contributed by different authors, with a view to adopting a ‘consistent’ usage. Second, the variant forms are a topic presented in many of the usage guides in HUGE, and have been from the earliest dating from 1770 to the latest from 2010. Third, one variant of the species noun phrase, e.g. *these kind of errors*, has been the topic of previous attitude surveys, including Leonard (1932), Mittins et al. (1970), and within the BtU project itself in the twenty-first century.

2 A list of publications arising from the BtU project can be found at <<https://bridgingtheunbridgeable.com/publications/>> (last accessed 2 June 2023).

In this study, the grammarians were found to present a description based on the ‘agreement rule’, which sets out that, in formal writing at least, the number marking on the determiner and the species noun should match, i.e. *this kind* and *these kinds*. They also noted that in informal writing and conversation this rule was often not followed, and that e.g. *these kind* was commonly used. The usage guide writers studied generally presented a similar analysis, recommending *this kind* and *these kinds* and criticising *these kind*, but they were typically more judgemental than the linguists in their evaluations and less inclined to tolerate what they saw as the ungrammatical variants. This is perhaps to be expected in guides which are consulted by readers and writers precisely because they are unsure of what is considered to be best practice. Those members of the general public who took part in the survey also proved to be intolerant of the ungrammatical *these kind* variant, again preferring *this kind* and *these kinds*. The academic writers showed similar preferences in that they provided only six instances of the *these kind* variant out of a total of 1,145 examples. All the groups studied were, however, more tolerant of number variation when the second noun (N2) and the verb were included in their examples, e.g. *these kinds of problem* and *these kind of military contributions are*. In essence, then, the usage guide writers and the linguists seemed to agree on how number is and should be realised in the species noun phrase, and the general public seemed to follow the pronouncements of the usage guide writers. However, a more detailed look at the data showed that this practice was not as clear-cut as it might have seemed.

6.2 The linguists

In Chapter 2, following a presentation of the different structures featuring the variant forms of the species noun phrase (§2.2), I presented the views of the linguists, as evidenced by the descriptions provided in three modern reference grammars (§2.3), and by a number of theoretical analyses which aimed to extend these descriptions (§2.4). The reference grammars presented an essentially traditional approach to number agreement in the species noun phrase, based on the ‘agreement rule’, with the determiner (DET), the species noun (SN), and the second noun (N2) in the *of*-phrase showing number agreement between these three constituents, e.g. *that kind of thing* and *these kinds of things*. In these examples, the species noun (*kind(s)*) is seen as the head of the noun phrase, with a following prepositional *of*-phrase. As the head, it governs, or determines, any number marking on the verb when the species noun phrase functions as the subject of a clause: e.g. *Those kinds of parties are dangerous*. However, the grammars consulted also noted that the number of the determiner sometimes co-varied with the number of the N2, especially when the DET and N2 were both marked for plural and the species noun was seen as singular, or as

unmarked for number: e.g. *these kind of questions*. This is analysed by them as the result of the species noun being re-classified from count to non-count. This anomalous usage was seen by the grammarians as informal, or restricted to speech – a register variant – whilst the number mismatch could be avoided by adopting the variant *N2 of this kind*, where the N2 can be marked for plural and where *of this kind* functions as a post-modifier to the N2: e.g. *questions of this kind*. Under this analysis there is therefore no number conflict between the determiner and the species noun, nor between the determiner and the N2.

Although the species noun, as head of the noun phrase in e.g. *these kind of N2*, would generally determine number agreement with any verb, apparent exceptions to this can be found in, e.g. *Those kind of parties are dangerous*, where the species noun *kind* is singular but the verb *are* is plural. This is explained by some authors in terms of the ancillary concepts of ‘notional concord’ and ‘proximity’, i.e. the number of the verb is determined by the number of the noun closest to it (*parties*) by ‘attraction’, rather than by the syntax of the clause. In such cases the N2 (*parties*) functions as the head of the noun phrase, and thus also determines the plural number of the determiner (*Those*). Here, *kind of* behaves like a (post-)determiner, i.e. it follows another, central determiner (*Those*), and the whole phrase (*Those kind of*) then pre-modifies the N2 *parties*.³

This distinction between a species noun being followed by a prepositional *of*-phrase and *kind of* functioning as a post-determiner underlies the theoretical studies discussed in the second part of Chapter 2 (§2.4). Although the descriptions differed in detail, at least in part because of their different theoretical orientations, fundamentally two of the main variants described in the reference grammars – *these kinds of* and *these kind of* – were analysed not as grammatical vs. ungrammatical, nor as register variants, but as different structures with different meanings. In these analyses, singular *kind* was re-classified as an uncount or mass noun, or treated as numberless in a three-way system of singular vs. plural vs. numberless. Unfortunately, these potentially interesting approaches could not be tested in the current study because of a lack of examples of e.g. *these kind of* in the Stenton Corpus: only six examples out of a total of 1,145 (0.5%) (and cf. §6.5 below). For the linguists, then, an initially straightforward analysis of *these kinds of* vs. *these kind of* being grammatical vs. ungrammatical was expanded and explained in terms of both grammar (proximity, numberlessness) and register (formal vs. informal).

3 This analysis of *kind of* as a post-determiner clearly does not apply to the variant *N2 of this kind*, which must therefore be seen as a separate structure in these analyses.

6.3 The prescriptivists

In Chapter 3, I presented two analyses of the usage guides in the HUGE database of the Bridging the Unbridgeable (BtU) project (§3.2). The first analysis addresses a common criticism of such guides, i.e. that they are often compiled by lay writers who show no appreciation of the work of professional linguists, nor indeed of other language scholars. Such usage guide writers are sometimes seen as making up their rules as they go along, hence the somewhat negative connotations of calling them the ‘prescriptivists’ in both the present study and the context in which it was conducted. This view is exemplified in what Peters (2020, p. 616) sees as “[t]he lack of lateral referencing in many usage books”. I showed in §3.3 that neither of these claims holds for the guides used in this study, in that many of the usage guide writers did refer to grammars and dictionaries, and indeed to other usage guides. This matches the finding of Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2020, pp. 15, 153–161). Also of note here was that the usage guide writers themselves were often critical of especially earlier grammarians and lexicographers.

The second analysis of the usage guides addressed a set of questions raised by Straaijer, who compiled the HUGE database, on the life-cycle of usage guide topics (§§3.4–3.6). These were:

When does a certain usage become problematic, or perceived as such, and when does a certain usage stop being (perceived as) problematic or disputed? In other words, when do usage problems ‘begin’ and ‘end’? And which usage problems persist? Another aspect is the discussion of usage problems in usage guides. Questions are: Does the discussion of specific usage problems change, and if so, in what way? And are there differences in usage advice for different varieties of English?

(Straaijer, 2015, p. 2)

I showed that number agreement in the species noun phrase was a topic that had featured in the usage guides in this study from the first (Baker, 1770, 1779) to the last (Taggart, 2010), and continued to be covered in more recent guides (Butterfield, 2015; Garner, 2022), so it certainly persisted. This does not, however, imply that all the usage guides in HUGE saw this as a usage problem. Of the seventy-seven usage guides in HUGE, forty-seven (61%) saw it as a sufficient problem to include a section on it. For those forty-seven guides, the presentation of the variant usages remained consistent over the years, especially in what was seen as the main problem (the exemplification or proscription), i.e. the number mismatch in e.g. *these kind of N2*. Typically, in the usage guides, this proscription is matched with a prescription, or recommendation, of the preferred variant, and sometimes with an explanation of why the proscription is to be avoided. It should be noted, though, that whilst these

forty-seven guides did include a section on the species noun phrase, not all of them saw it as a problem. Four of the guides, whilst recognising that their readers might expect to find a treatment of the different variants, nonetheless found all those variants acceptable in standard usage.

Most of the guides that did find some variants problematic highlighted the seeming mismatch of number between the determiner and the species noun in e.g. *these kind* as the problem (exemplification or proscription), preferring instead *these kinds* and *this kind* (recommendation or prescription). This ties in with the agreement rule presented in the reference grammars (cf. 6.2 above). Also linking the usage guides with the reference grammars was the observation that the ungrammatical variants are more likely to be found in informal writing and in speech, with more formal registers preferring number agreement. I could find no differences in the usage guides between British and American English, the two varieties that feature in the HUGE database. However, as was the case with the reference grammars, once the discussion moved beyond the determiner and the species noun, more variation in number marking was found to be acceptable. For example, various usage guides accepted *this kind of things*, *these kinds of food* and *these kind of trees*, all with mixed number marking. When the species noun phrase functions as the subject of a clause, and number marking on the verb becomes relevant, we again find a number of variants that were judged to be acceptable. For example, *this sort of men is*, *cars of this kind are*, *these kinds of tree are*, *this sort of men are* and *these kind of men are* all feature in one or more of the usage guides as examples of acceptable usage. A number of the usage guides also used the concepts of proximity and attraction in their explanations of some of these variant forms.

Insofar as there have been changes in the discussion over the years, an analysis of those guides which have been through multiple editions (§3.6) showed that the later editions offered a little more in the way of explanation and description of the problem, and of the use of the variants in different contexts, but this description and explanation was also a feature of some of the earlier editions. There was thus no evidence from the guides as a whole that the number-mismatched usage had become more acceptable over time. However, based on the findings of this study, the usage guides could usefully include more advice on the options available for avoiding apparent number conflict, as practised by the authors in the Stenton Corpus (cf. §5.6).

In general, then, the usage guides considered *these kinds of N2* to be more appropriate in more formal writing and speaking, whilst *these kind of N2* was acknowledged to be common in conversation and in informal writing, i.e. a register difference. This was also the view taken in the descriptions presented in the modern reference grammars analysed in Chapter 2 (cf. §6.2 above). It would thus seem that the analysis of number variation in the species noun phrase could be seen as one of those examples where

Huddleston and Pullum's observation (2002, p. 6) that there is in practice no reason why the linguists' reference grammars and the usage guides "should not agree on what they say about the topics they both treat" was broadly borne out.

6.4 The general public: the attitude survey

The third set of people in this study was the general public, and they were also represented by two different groups. The first included those who chose to take part in an online survey of their attitudes to number variation in the species noun phrase, and who are discussed here; the second comprised those authors who submitted papers to a number of academic journals published by Cambridge University Press, who are discussed below in §6.5.

In Chapter 4 I presented the results of an attitude survey on the acceptability of a number of short texts which included a species noun phrase, e.g. *these sort of plays*, *this type of error*, whose component parts sometimes showed a seeming mismatch of number. This survey introduced a number of procedural innovations. To the best of my knowledge, this was the first study to investigate attitudes to just one usage topic – number agreement in the species noun phrase – using multiple examples, instead of the more typical practice of using just one example of each of a number of topics, a feature of the three earlier surveys reviewed in that chapter (§4.2). The survey was also innovative in presenting each example in a substantial, typically three-sentence, context, instead of as a single sentence. This was to allow the respondents to use contextual clues in their determination of whether an example was acceptable to them. It was expected that having this context available might result in more people finding an example acceptable, as they would be able to resolve any indeterminacy of meaning they might find in a short single-sentence example.

The respondents were asked about the acceptability of twelve example sentences in context, each of which included a variant of the species noun phrase. They overwhelmingly favoured 'traditional' number agreement between the determiner and the species noun, e.g. *this type of error* (99% accepted), and equally overwhelmingly rejected the ungrammatical *these type of representative arrangements* (90% rejected), and these respondents were therefore in broad agreement with the descriptions given in the reference grammars, and with the prescriptions given in most of those usage guides which included an entry on the species noun phrase (§4.4).

However, it was the responses to the examples between these two extremes that resulted in an unexpected finding: the judgements of the respondents demonstrated gradience, which can be observed in a cline of acceptability. Examples from this cline are listed below in order of acceptability (cf. §4.4.3):

[i] this type of error [... was observed]

[iia] these kinds of law

these types of gesture

[iib] this type of fisheries

[iii] these kind of overt social cues⁴

In [i] the determiner and the species noun (and the N2 and the verb) show the same number marking. In [ii] the determiner and the species noun match for number, but do not match the number of the N2. Within this group, examples with a plural determiner and plural species noun, and an N2 that is either plural or unmarked for number, are rated as more acceptable [iia]; those examples with a singular determiner and singular species noun and a plural N2 are rated as less acceptable [iib]. In [iii] there is a mismatch of number between the determiner and the species noun. The procedural innovations in this survey can therefore be considered successful in that they contributed to the determination of this cline of acceptability on the part of these respondents. This result should be useful for further studies of this kind.

In addition, I was able to show, in a comparative analysis of earlier surveys from the 1930s and the 1970s (cf. §4.4.2), that the negative attitude towards the mismatched usage has remained largely consistent over a period of nine decades. This finding suggests that, for this usage and for those people, there had been no increase in general acceptability over time. This finding contrasts with the argument of Mair (2006, see esp. pp. 187–193, 199, 204) that the level of acceptability of usage variants would be expected to increase over time, as was indeed attested by various studies within the BtU project in a range of registers.

6.5 The general public: the corpus analysis

In my work as a copy-editor I was fortunate in having access to a large number of academic journal manuscripts before they had been copy-edited (§5.2). A corpus of these manuscripts thus allowed me to investigate the writing habits of 1,657 different authors, rather than the editing practices of the much smaller number of copy-editors who would have been responsible for the published papers (in this case, just two copy-editors). The corpus was also analysed as two sub-corpora: those papers submitted to law journals and those submitted to language journals published by Cambridge University Press (CUP). These manuscripts comprise a corpus of about 12.5 million words: the Stenton Corpus of International Academic English. Once submitted and

⁴ See Straaijer (p.c., 24 February 2024) in Appendix G6 for a further comment on this example.

accepted, the copyright of these manuscripts passed to CUP, who in turn granted me permission to use them anonymously for analysis. When analysing this corpus, I was able to identify a candidate for a further variant of the species noun phrase: *this N2 type*. This variant helped to increase the number of options available to the authors for using mixed number marking in the species noun phrase.

Analysis of this corpus showed that the preferences of these authors in their use of expressions containing the species noun phrase closely matched the descriptions from the modern reference grammars, the prescriptions of the usage guide writers, and the attitudes of the survey respondents (§5.5), i.e. a preference for the use of e.g. *these kinds of N2*, and avoidance of e.g. *these kind of N2*. The main findings are listed below (the differences in the two sub-corpora, Law and Language, are given in Chapter 5):

- [i] THIS TYPE OF N2 was the most frequent variant, followed by N2 OF THIS TYPE and THIS N2 TYPE (847 vs. 193 vs. 105).
- [ii] The THIS KIND OF N2 examples overwhelmingly showed number agreement throughout the species noun phrase, with only six examples of *these kind of N2*.
- [iii] All the N2 OF THIS TYPE examples showed number agreement between the determiner and the species noun.
- [iv] All the THIS N2 TYPE examples showed number agreement between the determiner and the species noun.
- [v] The THIS TYPE OF N2 variant as subject overwhelmingly showed number agreement throughout, i.e. including the verb (272/280).
- [vi] The THESE TYPES OF N2 variant as subject largely showed number agreement throughout (79/99).
- [vii] In the N2 OF THIS TYPE variant as subject there were no examples of a conflict of number.
- [viii] In the THIS N2 TYPE variant as subject, all of the N2s were unmarked for number, and there were no examples of a conflict of number.

Given that the number of examples like the proscribed *these kind of N2* was so small as to be negligible (6 out of 1,145 examples or 0.5%), it would seem that the academic authors in the Stenton Corpus did follow the proscriptions of the usage guide writers, and indeed the guidance of the modern reference grammars described in Chapter 2. However, on the basis of this study, it remains impossible to say whether the academic writers avoided the proscribed uses *because of* the advice in the usage guides. For that

we would need to undertake a survey of the authors on their use of reference materials (see e.g. Lukač and Stenton, 2023, for an example of this). Further, it is equally likely that the usage guide writers themselves based their proscriptions and prescriptions on the usage of groups such as these academic writers. This would also be the case with the reference grammars and their use of corpora to support their analyses (cf. §2.3).

6.6 Reflections on the current study

Now that the study is complete, it is time to reflect on what could, and should, have been done differently, or indeed better. In §2.4.5, in the chapter on grammar, I presented, very briefly, the views of Curme (1931) on the historical development of what became known as the species noun phrase (Biber et al., 1999). This was, I believe, a useful note given the comments made by Denison (§2.4.1) on the analysis of *kind of* as a post-determiner, and also in terms of the comments made in some of the usage guides in Chapter 3 (e.g. Butterfield, 2015) about how preferences for number marking in the species noun phrase have changed over time. This is a topic that could usefully be extended in order to shed more light on both the historical and modern analyses.

One topic that could shed more light on the analysis of the usage guides in Chapter 3 is that of lateral referencing (§3.3). This could usefully be extended to cover the whole text of all the seventy-seven usage guides in HUGE. This should yield a much fuller picture of the sources of the ‘technical’ information available to the usage guide writers from other, especially contemporary, works on language. This could be supplemented by a survey of their citation sources, to include those authors cited as either good or bad examples. This broad approach could also sit alongside those studies of individual usage guides, which present a detailed analysis of typically one or two authors on a wide range of topics (for a recent example of this, see Ticken-Boon van Ostade, 2023). These two approaches would help to demonstrate the degree to which these usage guide authors were a part of their linguistic community, rather than working in isolation.

The survey chapter (Chapter 4), could usefully be improved in a number of ways. First, in the context of the current study, it would be interesting to have the views of the authors whose work was included in the corpus analysis in Chapter 5 (and cf. §4.5 on this). This could be based on the model adopted in Lukač and Stenton (2023), who surveyed copy-editors and proof-readers world-wide. Second, it should include all the variants of the species noun phrase, i.e. including the new variant identified in the corpus analysis, and possibly others. Third, all of the respondents should be encouraged to comment on how and why they responded as they did. All of these aspects would then help to refine the notion of a cline of acceptability (§4.4.3).

For the corpus analysis (Chapter 5), the consequences of not finding a significant number of the post-determiner variant – e.g. *these kind of words* – of which there were only six examples out of a total of 1,145, cannot be over-stated. For example, do these numbers suggest that the analyses discussed in §2.4 are inappropriate or misguided? If e.g. *these kinds of N2* and *these kind of N2* are indeed different syntactic structures with different semantic and/or pragmatic implications, would it not be reasonable to expect to find examples of both in a substantial corpus of carefully prepared academic texts? Or, is the corpus itself somehow skewed? My starting assumption, based in part on forty years of copy-editing, would be that there would be more variation in an un-copy-edited corpus than one in which all the texts had been through some sort of copy-editing process. There is also the finding of the new *this N2 type* variant. Was this being used to avoid the mixed number of the *these kind of N2* variant? If so, why was it found only in the Language sub-corpus? These are important questions that need to be addressed. Perhaps a much larger corpus, or a number of corpora representing different registers, would be a useful next step in the analysis, to try to determine where the problem lies. For example, within the Cambridge English Corpus (cf. §5.3) there are the 500 million words in the Journal genre of the Cambridge Academic Corpus, i.e. a larger corpus of similar texts to the Stenton Corpus, or the vast 1.5 billion words of the Cambridge International Corpus, a corpus which contains many different registers, including spoken English. Either or both of these would provide a useful extension to the current study. However, such corpora, to the best of my knowledge, do not meet the requirement of the Stenton Corpus in being composed only of un-copy-edited texts, although the Cambridge Academic Corpus does contain a (relatively small) number of spoken texts, student essays, interviews, etc., which would meet this criterion.

Another aspect of the analysis that might become clearer with a larger corpus is the use of different species noun variants in different sentence functions (colligation; cf. §5.5.2). A further aspect of the corpus analysis that could be improved would be to extend the context of the species noun phrase, perhaps to paragraph level, in order to try to determine contextually the number assignment of the various elements, along with the use of pre-modifiers and parentheticals. This would enable a more rigorous analysis of number assignment, and therefore a better understanding of how these authors utilise the number marking options available to them. And, of course, it would be useful to broaden the scope of the investigation with a comparative survey using a different, and less formal, register.

6.7 Closing remarks

In proscribing e.g. *these kind of N2* and in prescribing e.g. *these kinds of N2*, all the groups analysed in this study – the linguists, the prescriptivists and the general public – do seem to be of the same opinion. This being the case, the question that must arise is: Why do the usage guides keep including it as a usage problem? Vorlat (1996; cf. §3.4.1 above) has suggested that there is a usage canon which the usage guide writers feel obliged to include, even if they themselves don't feel a particular usage to be a problem. The authors of twenty-nine of the usage guides in the HUGE database were found to not feel any need to include a section on the species noun phrase, and four of the forty-seven guides that did include it state that the variant usages do not cause any problems. If we then take into account the level of lateral referencing between the usage guides described in this study (cf. §3.3), this usage canon might begin to explain the similarities in their contents and the continuity of its treatment, from 1770 to 2010 and beyond.

There remain, for me, three areas of especial interest for further study. The first is whether gradience and the cline of acceptability would also be found in attitudes to other usage problem variants. The second is whether adopting a larger or a different corpus would yield sufficient instances of the *these kind of* examples to be able to test the post-determiner analyses of Denison (2002; cf. §2.4.1) and others, and in particular whether contextual, semantic or pragmatic factors had an influence on their use. The third is an investigation of the system of number in the English species noun phrase, and whether it constitutes a two- or a three-term system (singular vs. plural or unmarked vs. singular vs. plural), or indeed whether different noun phrases ('nominal groups' in their analyses) show evidence of different systems of number, as suggested in Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 369), and how in practice writers allocate number marking throughout the phrase, and the clause of which it is a constituent. Further investigation could also be made on the status of International Academic English as a genre. This is not a topic that could be addressed meaningfully in this study of just one set of usage variants, but the Stenton Corpus, and others like it, could certainly offer further possibilities.

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- THOMAS, James (2016 second edition [2015]) *Discovering English with Sketch Engine: A Corpus-based Approach to Language Exploration*. Brno: Versatile.
- TIEKEN-BOON VAN OSTADE, Ingrid (ed.) (1996) *Two Hundred Years of Lindley Murray*. Münster: Nodus Publikationen.
- TIEKEN-BOON VAN OSTADE, Ingrid (2011) *The Bishop's Grammar: Robert Lowth and the Rise of Prescriptivism in English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- TIEKEN-BOON VAN OSTADE, Ingrid (2013) Studying attitudes to English usage: investigating prescriptivism in a large research project. *English Today* 29(4) 3–12.
- TIEKEN-BOON VAN OSTADE, Ingrid (2015) *Five Hundred Mistakes Corrected: an early American English usage guide*. In Marina DOSSENA (ed.) *Transatlantic Perspectives on Late Modern English* (pp. 55–71). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- TIEKEN-BOON VAN OSTADE, Ingrid (ed.) (2018) *English Usage Guides: History, Advice, Attitudes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- TIEKEN-BOON VAN OSTADE, Ingrid (2020) *Describing Prescriptivism: Usage Guides and Usage Problems in British and American English*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- TIEKEN-BOON VAN OSTADE, Ingrid (2023) Usage guides as a text type. In Joan C. BEAL, Morana LUKAČ and Robin STRAAIJER (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Linguistic Prescriptivism* (pp. 159–174). Abingdon: Routledge.
- TIEKEN-BOON VAN OSTADE, Ingrid and EBNER, Carmen (2017) Prescriptive attitudes to English usage. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics*. Online <<http://linguistics.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.001.0001/acrefore-9780199384655-e-271>> (last accessed 18 September 2023).
- TIEKEN-BOON VAN OSTADE, Ingrid and KOSTADINOVA, Viktorija (2015) *Have went* – an American usage problem. *English Language and Linguistics* 19(2) 293–312.

- TRASK, R.L. (2001) *Mind the Gaffe: The Penguin Guide to Common Errors in English*. London: Penguin Books (for a note on editions see Appendix A1).
- TRAUGOTT, Elizabeth Closs (1988) Pragmatic strengthening and grammaticalization. In S. AXMAKER, A. JAISER and H. SINGMASTER (eds) *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society: General Session and Parasession on Grammaticalization* (pp. 406–416). Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- TRAUGOTT, Elizabeth Closs (2010) (Inter)subjectivity and (inter)subjectification: a reassessment. In Kristin DAVIDSE, Lieven VANDELANOTTE and Hubert CUYCKENS (eds) *Subjectification, Intersubjectification and Grammaticalization* (pp. 29–74). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- TREBLE, H.A. and VALLINS, G.H. (1936) *An A.B.C. of English Usage*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (for a note on editions see Appendix A1).
- TRUDGILL, Peter and HANNAH, Jean (2017 sixth edition [1982]) *International English: A Guide to Varieties of English around the World*. London: Routledge.
- TURCK BAKER, Josephine (1910) *The Correct Word: How to Use It. A Complete Alphabetic List*. Chicago, IL: Correct English Publishing Company (for a note on editions see Appendix A1).
- VALLINS, George Henry (1951) *Good English: How to Write It*. London: Pan Books (for a note on editions see Appendix A1).
- VALLINS, George Henry (1953, 1955) *Better English*. London: Pan (for a note on editions see Appendix A1).
- VALLINS, George Henry (1960, 1961) *The Best English*. London: Andre Deutsch (for a note on editions see Appendix A1).
- VIZETELLY, Frank H. (1906, 1920) *A Desk-book of Errors in English: Including Notes on Colloquialisms and Slang to be Avoided in Conversation*. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Company (for a note on editions see Appendix A1).
- VORLAT, Emma (1996) Lindley Murray's prescriptive canon. In Ingrid TIEKEN-BOON VAN OSTADE (ed.) *Two Hundred Years of Lindley Murray* (pp. 163–182). Münster: Nodus Publikationen.
- WEBSTER, Noah (1804) *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language ... Part Second. Containing a Plain and Comprehensive Grammar*. New York: E Duyckinck. [cited in Gilman (1989)]
Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language (1934, second edition). Springfield, MA: Merriam.
- WEEKS, Ruth Mary (1932) Foreword. In Sterling Andrus LEONARD, *Current English Usage* (pp. xiii–xx). Chicago, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.
- WEINER, E.S.C. (1983) *The Oxford Guide to English Usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (for a note on editions see Appendix A1).

- WEINER, Edmund (1988) On editing a usage guide. In E.G. STANLEY and T.F. HOAD (eds) *Words: For Robert Burchfield's Sixty-fifth Birthday* (pp. 171–183). Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- WEINER, E.S.C. and DELAHUNTY, Andrew (1993) *The Oxford Guide to English Usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (London: BCA) (for a note on editions see Appendix A1).
- WHITE, Richard Grant (1870) *Words and Their Uses, Past and Present. A Study of the English Language*. New York: Sheldon and Company (for a note on editions see Appendix A1).
- WILSON, Kenneth G. (1993) *The Columbia Guide to Standard American English*. New York: Columbia University Press (for a note on editions see Appendix A1).
- WOOD, Frederick T. (1962) *Current English Usage: A Concise Dictionary*. London: Macmillan (for a note on editions see Appendix A1).

Appendix A1

The usage guides

This is a list of the forty-seven usage guides in HUGE that contain an entry on the species noun phrase. They are listed in date sequence, with publication details, and a note on any other editions that I was able to access. I also include a small quotation to give a flavour of the writer's approach. For more on these guides, see §3.2.

BAKER, Robert (1770) *Reflections on the English Language, in the Nature of Vaugelas's Remarks on the French; Being a Detection of Many Improper Expressions Used in Conversation, and of Many Others To Be Found in Authors. To Which Is Prefixed a Discourse Addressed to His Majesty*. London. Printed for J. Bell, in the Strand.

As HUGE. This is the first edition. Some first editions are titled *Remarks on the English Language*, as is the second edition.

“THIS Plural is often improperly used, not only in common Discourse, but by many of our Writers, instead of the Singular, *Sort*.” (p. 115)

BAKER, Robert (1779 second edition [1770]) *Remarks on the English Language, in the Manner of Those of Vaugelas on the French; Being a Detection of Many Improper Expressions Used in Conversation, and of Many Others To Be Found in Authors*. London. From the press of the Etheringtons; for John Bell, at the British Library, in The Strand.

As HUGE. This is the second edition of Baker (1770).

“One would think this way of speaking must be insufferable to an ear of any delicacy: yet we have many approved authors, who take no care to avoid it.” (pp. 99–100)

ANONYMOUS (1856 [500]) *Five Hundred Mistakes of Daily Occurrence in Speaking, Pronouncing, and Writing the English Language, Corrected*. New York: Daniel Burgess & Co.

As HUGE. This is the first edition.

“... say, *these kinds*; a noun in the singular number will not allow its adjective to be in the plural.” (p. 23)

ANONYMOUS (1856 [Live]) *Live and Learn: A Guide for All, Who Wish to Speak and Write Correctly: Particularly Intended as a Book of Reference for the Solution of Difficulties Connected with Grammar, Composition, Punctuation, etc.*,

etc. with Explanations of Latin and French Words and Phrases of Frequent Occurrence in Newspapers, Reviews, Periodicals, and Books in General; Containing Examples of One Thousand Mistakes of Daily Occurrence, in Speaking, Writing, and Pronunciation; together with Detailed Instructions for Writing for the Press, and Forms of Articles in the Various Departments of Newspaper Literature. New York: Garrett & Company.

As HUGE. This is the first edition.

“Never say, ‘Those *sort* of persons’—a very common expression.” (p. 50)

ALFORD, Henry (1864) *The Queen’s English: Stray Notes on Speaking and Spelling.* London: Strahan & Co. / Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co.

ALFORD, Henry (1864 second edition [1864]) *A Plea for the Queen’s English: Stray Notes on Speaking and Spelling.* London: Strahan / Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co.

ALFORD, Henry (1870 third edition [1864]) *The Queen’s English: A Manual of Idiom and Usage.* London: Strahan & Co. / Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co.

HUGE has the 1864 first edition. I also used the second edition of 1864 and the third edition of 1870, which has been “revised and considerably enlarged” (p. v).

“... another usage, not so nearly become idiomatical, and certainly not to be recommended, but still almost inevitable, and sometimes found in the talk of us all.” (1864, first edition, p. 69)

“... another usage now almost become idiomatic, and commonly found in the talk of us all.” (1864, second edition, p. 75; 1870, third edition, p. 98)

WHITE, Richard Grant (1870) *Words and Their Uses, Past and Present. A Study of the English Language.* New York: Sheldon and Company.

As HUGE. This is the first edition.

“Many persons who should, and who, perhaps, do, know better, are in the habit of using this incongruous combination, ...” (p. 168)

AYRES, Alfred (1882 [1881]) *The Verbalist: A Manual Devoted to Brief Discussions of the Right and the Wrong use of Words and to Some Other Matters of Interest to Those Who Would Speak and Write with Propriety.* New York: D. Appleton and Company.

AYRES, Alfred (1911 [1881]) *The Verbalist: A Manual Devoted to Brief Discussions of the Right and the Wrong use of Words and to Some Other Matters of Interest to Those Who Would Speak and Write with Propriety.* New York: D. Appleton and Company.

HUGE has a third edition dated 1911. This 1911 edition is a “New and revised edition, much enlarged”. The imprint page has copyright dated 1881, 1896 (D. Appleton and

Company) and 1909 (Frank E. Tremain). The “Preface to Revised Edition” is dated 1896. The “Preface to First Edition” is dated 1881. I therefore expect the 1911 edition to be the same as the 1896 edition, i.e. a second edition. The 1882 edition’s imprint page has copyright dated 1881. The “Prefatory Note” has the same text as the “Preface to the First Edition” in the 1911 edition. I am therefore taking this 1882 edition to be the same as the 1881 first edition.

“It is truly remarkable that many persons who can justly lay claim to the possession of considerable culture use this barbarous combination.” (1882, p. 207; 1911, p. 297)

FOWLER, H.W. and FOWLER, F.G. (1906) *The King’s English*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. HUGE has a second edition dated 1922. The Preface has “In this edition new examples have been added or substituted here and there” (1922, p. iv), as in the second edition of 1908. There is a third edition dated 1934 in Cambridge University Library. I used the first edition (1906).

“VULGARISMS AND COLLOQUIALISMS” (1906, p. 331; 1908, p. 331)

VIZETELLY, Frank H. (1906) *A Desk-book of Errors in English: Including Notes on Colloquialisms and Slang To Be Avoided in Conversation*. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

VIZETELLY, Frank H. (1920 [1906]) *A Desk-book of Errors in English: Including Notes on Colloquialisms and Slang To Be Avoided in Conversation*. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

HUGE has a 1920 edition labelled “A revised edition” on the title page, and the imprint page shows copyright 1906 and 1920. I used the first edition of 1906, and checked the 1920 edition.

“Such expressions, though common, are now usually considered altogether wrong.” (1906, p. 211; 1920, p. 211)

TURCK BAKER, Josephine (1910) *The Correct Word: How To Use It. A Complete Alphabetic List*. Chicago, IL: Correct English Publishing Company.

HUGE has a 1938 edition, which has on the imprint page “New edition 1938”, “Copyright, 1938”. The 1910 edition has “Copyright 1910” on the imprint page. There is no Preface or Introduction, so I used the 1910 edition, and checked to see if there were any differences in the 1938 edition.

“*This* and *that* are used with *kind*; *these* and *those* with *kinds*; ...” (1910, p. 181; 1938, p. 181)

PAYNE, Gertrude (1911) *Everyday Errors in Pronunciation, Spelling, and Spoken English*. San Francisco: Ricardo J. Orozco.

As HUGE. This is the first edition.

“Those kind and these kind, for *that* and *this* kind, or those and these kinds, seem almost too common errors to be mentioned here.” (1911, p. 46)

FOWLER, H.W. (1926) *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

As HUGE. The 2009 edition in HUGE is a facsimile re-issue of the 1926 first edition text, “With an Introduction and Notes by David Crystal”. I used this as the 1926 edition. Gowers (1965) is a lightly revised second edition; Burchfield (1996) is a much revised third edition, with further revisions in 1998 (quotations in this study are listed as (1998 [1996])); Butterfield (2015) is a lightly revised fourth edition. Allen (1999) is a pocket edition. Nicholson (1957) is an adapted American edition of 1926. For all of these see below.

“The irregular uses ... are easy to avoid when they are worth avoiding, i.e. in print; & nearly as easy to forgive when they deserve forgiveness, i.e. in hasty talk.” (1926, p. 312)

KRAPP, George Philip (1927) *A Comprehensive Guide to Good English*. Chicago and New York: Rand McNally & Co.

As HUGE. This is the first edition.

“Though much can be said for such constructions from the point of view of logic and something from the point of view of use, careful speakers and writers nevertheless prefer to use *kind* and *sort* as singulars.” (1927, pp. 645–646)

TREBLE, H.A. and VALLINS, G.H. (1937 [1936]) *An A.B.C. of English Usage*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

As HUGE. This is the first edition, “reprinted with corrections”.

See also Vallins (1951) and (1955) below.

“These sort of things interest me ... is definitely ungrammatical, ... But both OED and MEU deal leniently with the fault ...” (1936, p. 167)

PERRIN, Porter G. (1939) *An Index to English: A Handbook of Current Usage and Style*. Chicago, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company.

DYKEMA, Karl W. and EBBITT, Wilma R. (1968 fourth edition [1965] [1939]) *An Index to English*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company.

EBBITT, Wilma R. and EBBITT, David R. (1978 sixth edition [1939]) *Writer's Guide and Index to English*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company.

EBBITT, Wilma R. and EBBITT, David R. (1990 eighth edition [1939]) *Index to English*. New York: Oxford University Press.

HUGE has Ebbitt and Ebbitt (1978), which is the sixth edition of Perrin (1939). I have printed copies of Perrin (1939), Dykma and Ebbitt (1968), and Ebbitt and Ebbitt (1990), which are not searchable, but I also checked Ebbitt and Ebbitt (1978).

“Only the vigilance of editorial copy readers keeps the construction from being as general in writing as in speech.” (1939, p. 352)

“The construction is common in speech, and there are numerous examples of its use by esteemed writers ... but strong objection to it continues.” (1978, p. 542)

PARTRIDGE, Eric (1947) *Usage and Abusage: A Guide to Good English*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

PARTRIDGE, Eric (1999 [1947]) *Usage and Abusage: A Guide to Good English*, new edition edited by Janet Whitcut. London: Penguin Books.

As HUGE. This is the first UK edition. The 1947 edition has “First published March 1947”, “Second Impression (Revised) June 1947”. In the Foreword; it says “This book first appeared in the United States of America, where it is now in its third edition, in October, 1942”. There are many versions of this book, by Hamish Hamilton, Guild Publishing, and Penguin, possibly among others. The Foreword to the fifth edition of 1957 includes the note “To increase its usefulness and to bring this guide up to date, much new matter has been added in the fifth edition. On the other hand, much inessential detail has been removed” (p. 5). I have checked up to the sixth edition of 1965, published by Hamish Hamilton, which has the same text as the 1947 edition for the species noun phrase. There is also a 1999 Penguin new edition, revised by Janet Whitcut, which I checked at Cambridge University Library.

For Whitcut see also Gowers (1948) and Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988) below.

“It must be confessed that the phrases, ‘this kind of things’, ‘that sort of things’, have a very awkward sound; and we find that our best writers have the popular expression, *These kind, those sort*.” (1947, p. 168)

“... *these* or *those kind of things*, pedantically judged incorrect, is a justifiable English idiom; ...” (1999, p. 172)

GOWERS, Ernest (1948) *Plain Words: A Guide to the Use of English*. London: HMSO.

GOWERS, Ernest (1962 [1954]) *The Complete Plain Words*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

GOWERS, Ernest (1973 second edition [1954]) *The Complete Plain Words*, revised edition by Sir Bruce Fraser. London: HMSO.

GOWERS, Ernest (1986 third edition [1954]) *The Complete Plain Words*, revised edition by Sidney Greenbaum and Janet Whitcut. London: HMSO.

GOWERS, Ernest (2015/2014 [1954]) *Plain Words: A Guide to the Use of English*, revised and updated by Rebecca Gowers. Penguin Books.

HUGE has the 1948 first edition. There are several editions of this book. HMSO published *Plain Words* from 1948 and *The ABC of Plain Words* from 1951 together as *The Complete Plain Words* (1954), which was also published by Penguin in 1962. There is a second edition of *The Complete Plain Words* (1973), revised by Bruce Fraser, and a third edition, revised by Sidney Greenbaum and Janet Whitcut (1986), both published by HMSO, and an edition titled *Plain Words* (2014/2015), revised and updated by Rebecca Gowers, published by Particular Books/Penguin Books. Ernest Gowers was also the editor of the 1965 second edition of Fowler (1926); see above. Greenbaum and Whitcut also produced their own usage guide for Longman (see Greenbaum and Whitcut, 1988, below), and see Partridge (1947) above for Whitcut.

“The use of the plural *these* or *those* with the singular *kind* or *sort* is common in conversation, and instances of it could be found in good authors. But public opinion generally condemns it. ... even now it is as well to humour the purists ...” (1954, p. 188)

“... common in conversation, and instances of it could be found in good authors. But it has not yet established itself as a permissible idiom in good writing, and until it does so it is as well to humour the purists ...” (1973, p. 131; 1986, p. 134)

“... commonly heard in conversation, and instances of the use of the plural *these* or *those* with the singular *kind* or *sort* can be found in good authors. ... the phrase ... used to be among the shibboleths by which it was supposed to be possible to distinguish those who were instructed in their mother tongue from those who were not. ... But even now it is as well to humour the purist ...” (2015, pp. 195–196)

VALLINS, George Henry (1952 [1951]) *Good English: How To Write It*. London: Pan Books.

VALLINS, George Henry (1953) *Better English*. London: Pan.

VALLINS, George Henry (1955 [1953]) *Better English*. London: A. Deutsch.

VALLINS, George Henry (1961 [1960]) *The Best English*. London: Andre Deutsch.

HUGE has the 1951 first edition. HUGE also has the 1960 edition of *Better English*. The imprint page has “First published 1953”, “New, enlarged and revised edition first published 1955”, “Second impression July 1960”. I used this edition, but listed as 1955. I also used a first edition of *The Best English* (1960) for cross-checking. Vallins was also author of Treble and Vallins (1936) above.

“Only *this* and *that*, which have the plural *these* and *those* when they qualify plural nouns, are exceptions to this providential accident of language; and they never raise any difficulty.” (1951, p. 46)

“A construction sanctified by long usage, in which, by attraction of *things*, ‘sort of things’ becomes a plural collective. But it is easy to satisfy grammar by eliminating the attraction: ...” (1953, pp. 216–217)

EVANS, Bergen and EVANS, Cornelia (1957) *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Usage*. New York: Random House.

As HUGE. This is the first edition.

“The use of singulars and plurals in expressions involving *kind of* is complicated only in the sense that there are several constructions all of which are equally acceptable.” (1957, p. 263)

NICHOLSON, Margaret (1957) *A Dictionary of American-English Usage: Based on Fowler's Modern English Usage*. New York: Oxford University Press.

As HUGE. This is the first edition of an American adaptation of Fowler (1926).

“The irregular uses ... are easy to avoid when they are worth avoiding, i.e. in print; & nearly as easy to forgive when they deserve forgiveness, i.e. in hasty talk.” (1957, p. 303)

WOOD, Frederick T. (1962) *Current English Usage: A Concise Dictionary*. London: Macmillan.

The HUGE 1970 edition is a reprint of the 1962 first edition. I used this as 1962.

“... often heard in speech, and we should perhaps be tolerant of it as a colloquialism, but it is best excluded from written English.” (1962, p. 131)

GOWERS, Ernest (1965 second edition [1926]) *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage by H.W. Fowler*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

As HUGE. This is the second edition of Fowler (1926), revised by Ernest Gowers. Note that on the cover this is called *Fowler's Modern English Usage*. Gowers was also the author of Gowers (1948), above.

“The irregular uses ... are easy to avoid when they are worth avoiding, i.e. in print; and nearly as easy to forgive when they deserve forgiveness, i.e. in hasty talk.” (1965, p. 320)

MORRIS, William and MORRIS, Mary (1975) *Harper Dictionary of Contemporary Usage*. New York: Harper & Row.

As HUGE. This is the first edition.

“A very common but nonetheless irritating error on the part of even educated persons ... *These kind* is sloppy and wrong.” (1975, p. 596)

BAILIE, John and KITCHIN, Moyna (1988 [1979]) *The Essential Guide to English Usage*. London: Chancellor.

HUGE has this as 1988. It was first published in 1979 as *The Hamlyn Guide to English Usage*, republished in 1988 by Chancellor. These seem to be the same text, so I used the 1988 HUGE edition as the 1979 first edition.

“It seems to be generally agreed that the phrase *those kind of things* is acceptable in colloquial speech but better avoided in written English.” (1979, p. 167)

SWAN, Michael (1980) *Practical English Usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

SWAN, Michael (2005 third edition [1980]) *Practical English Usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

1980 is as HUGE. This is the first edition. I also have the third edition (2005). Swan’s dedication in both editions is: “To John Eckersley, who first encouraged my interest in this kind of thing” (1980, p. v; 2005, p. v).

“A mixture of singular and plural forms sometimes happens in an informal style ... Some people feel that this structure is incorrect, and prefer to avoid it.” (1980, §§427, 565)

“This structure is often felt to be incorrect, and is usually avoided in a formal style.” (2005, §551)

WEINER, E.S.C. (1983, reprinted with corrections) *The Oxford Guide to English Usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

This is listed in HUGE as Burchfield, Weiner and Hawkins (1984) *Oxford Guide to the English Language*. This is a combination of three parts: ‘The English Language’ (1984) by Burchfield; ‘Oxford Guide to English Usage’ (1983) by Weiner; ‘Dictionary’ (1981) by Hawkins. For my purposes, it is the same text as Weiner (1983), and I used this as the first edition. Weiner is also one of the authors of Weiner and Delahunty (1993) below.

“This is widely regarded as incorrect except in informal use: ...” (1983, p. 113)

BRYSON, Bill (1984) *The Penguin Dictionary of Troublesome Words*. London: Guild Publishing/Penguin Books.

As HUGE. This is the first edition. I also have the third edition (2002 [2001]), published as *Troublesome Words* by Penguin Books.

“There should be what grammarians call concord between *kind* and *kinds* and their antecedents.” (1984, p. 87)

“*Kind* and *kinds* and their antecedents should always enjoy what grammarians call concord.” (2002, p. 111)

GREENBAUM, Sidney and WHITCUT, Janet (1988) *Longman Guide to English Usage*. Harlow: Longman.

As HUGE. This is the first edition. For Whitcut, see also Partridge (1947) and Gowers (1948) above. For Greenbaum, see also Gowers (1948) above.

“In formal writing, one should write *this kind, that sort* ... and not *these kind, those sort*, although the incongruous combination of plural *these* and singular *sort* ... is common in speech.” (1988, p. 398)

GILMAN, E. Ward (ed.) (1989) *Webster's Dictionary of English Usage*. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster.

GILMAN, E. Ward (ed.) (2002) *Merriam-Webster's Concise Dictionary of English Usage*. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster.

1989 is as HUGE. This is the first edition. I also have the 2002 edition, based on and abridged from the 1989 edition.

“We will tell you first what most of the handbooks and usage books say: ... But we will warn you second that this advice applies only to American English, and that it presents an unrealistically narrow set of options. Real usage—even in American English—is much more varied and much more complex.” (1989, p. 576)

CARTER, Bonnie and SKATES, Craig (1990 second edition [1988]) *The Rinehart Guide to Grammar and Usage*. Fort Worth, TX: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

As HUGE. This is the second edition. The first edition was published in 1988, but I have not been able to access it.

“NONSTANDARD: These kind of flowers bloom twice a year.” (1990, p. 123)

MARRIOTT, Sarah and FARRELL, Barry (1992) *Chambers Common Errors in English*. Edinburgh: Chambers.

As HUGE. HUGE (1999) is a reprint of the first edition of 1992.

“Modern usage recommends. ... *This kind of book is ... Books of this kind are ...*” (1992, p. 56)

HOWARD, Godfrey (1985) *A Guide to Good English in the 1980s*. London: Pelham Books.

HOWARD, Godfrey (1993) *The Good English Guide: English Usage in the 1990s*. London: Macmillan.

HOWARD, Godfrey (2002) *A Guide to English in the 21st Century*. London: Duckworth.

1993 is as HUGE. This is the first edition. Howard also produced the *Guide to Good English in the 1980s* (1985) and *A Guide to Good English in the 21st Century* (2002). I have checked both of these. For an explanation of how these three guides relate to each other, see §3.2.

“Both words are clearly singular, so it should be ‘*this kind of argument*’, ‘*that sort of person*’. ... But even good writers slip into phrases, such as ‘*those kind of arguments ...*’, ‘*these sort of people*’. ... All that can be said is that, in writing at least, that kind of thing is wrong.” (1993, p. 235)

MAGER, Nathan H. and MAGER, Sylvia K. (1993 second edition [1974]) *Prentice Hall Encyclopedic Dictionary of English Usage* (revised by John Domini). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

As HUGE. This is the second edition, revised by John Domini. The first edition seems to be dated from 1974/1975 (see ‘How to use this book’, p. vii), as *The Encyclopedic Dictionary of English Usage*, which I have not been able to access

“*This kind, these kinds.*” (1993, p. 380)

WEINER, E.S.C. and DELAHUNTY, Andrew (1993 second edition [1983]) *The Oxford Guide to English Usage*. Oxford University Press (London: BCA).

As HUGE. This is the second edition of Weiner (1983). The species noun phrase text is the same as Weiner (1983). The imprint page states that this is the second edition of the *The Oxford Miniguide to English Usage*. The HUGE edition (1994) is a BCA re-issue of the first edition (1993). Weiner is also the author of Weiner (1983) above.

“This is widely regarded as incorrect except in informal use: ...” (1993, p. 144)

WILSON, Kenneth G. (1993) *The Columbia Guide to Standard American English*. New York: Columbia University Press.

As HUGE. This is the first edition.

“Best advice: for publication and Oratorical or Formal use, stay as close to the conservative patterns as possible, and at other levels be aware that you may sometimes be faulted by those who use and prefer the conservative patterns.” (1993, p. 263)

AYTO, John (1995) *Good English!* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

HUGE has this as a second edition (2002), but it is a re-published title, first published as the *Oxford School A–Z of English* (1995).

“It’s perfectly acceptable in speech to use the plural *these* and *those* with the singular **kind** and **sort**, but in writing you should avoid them.” (1995, p. 171)

BURCHFIELD, R.W. (1996 third edition [1926]) *The New Fowler’s Modern English Usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

BUTTERFIELD, Jeremy (2015 fourth edition [1926]) *Fowler’s Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

As HUGE. Burchfield is a revised (1998) third edition (1996) of Fowler (1926). Quotations in this study are listed as (1998 [1996]). The (2000) edition in HUGE is the US publication date. When published in 1996 it was called *The New Fowler’s Modern English Usage*. The title was changed to *Fowler’s Modern English Usage* in 2004. The fourth edition (2015), edited by Jeremy Butterfield, is a lightly revised version of

1998, now called *Fowler's Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. Butterfield is also the editor of Butterfield (2007) below.

“This illogical type is now exceedingly common in colloquial contexts ...
The type *these/those sort of* should now be used only in informal contexts.”
(1998, pp. 433, 728; 2015, pp. 455, 763)

O'CONNOR, Patricia T. (1996) *Woe Is I: The Grammarphobe's Guide to Better English in Plain English*. New York: Riverhead Books.

As HUGE. This is the 1998 paperback edition of the first edition (1996).

“You've probably heard sentences like this one: *I hate these kind of mistakes!* If it sounds wrong to you, you're right.” (1996, p. 31)

GARNER, Bryan A. (1998) *A Dictionary of Modern American Usage*. New York: Oxford University Press.

GARNER, Bryan A. (2003 second edition [1998]) *Garner's Modern American Usage*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

GARNER, Bryan A. (2009 third edition [1998]) *Garner's Modern American Usage*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

GARNER, Bryan A. (2016, fourth edition [1998]) *Garner's Modern English Usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

GARNER, Bryan A. (2022, fifth edition [1998]) *Garner's Modern English Usage*. New York: Oxford University Press.

(1998) as HUGE. This is the first edition. I also used the fourth and fifth editions, but was unable to access the second and third editions

“These are illogical forms that, in a bolder day, would have been termed illiteracies. Today they merely brand the speaker or writer as slovenly. They appear most commonly in reported speech, but sometimes not ...”
(1998, p. 653)

“These illogical forms were not uncommon in the 1600s and early 1700s, but by the mid-1700s they had been stigmatized. Today they brand the speaker or writer as slovenly. They appear most commonly in reported speech, but sometimes not ...” (2022, p. 1094)

ALLEN, Robert (ed.) (1999) *Pocket Fowler's Modern English Usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

As HUGE. This is the first edition, but note that it is edited by Allen, not Burchfield. There is a second edition (2008) in Cambridge University Library.

“This type is now very common in colloquial contexts: ...” (1999, p. 363; 2008, p. 384)

TRASK, R.L. (2001) *Mind the Gaffe: The Penguin Guide to Common Errors in English*. London: Penguin Books.

As HUGE. This is the first edition.

“Though very common in speech, ... never acceptable in formal writing.” (2001, p. 168)

BRIANS, Paul (2003) *Common Errors in English Usage*. Wilsonville, OR: William James & Co.

As HUGE. This is the first edition. There is a revised second edition (2009) and a revised and expanded third edition (2013), and a website <<https://brians.wsu.edu/common-errors-in-english-usage/>>.

“Only if ‘kind’ itself is pluralized into ‘kinds’ should ‘this’ shift to ‘these’: ‘You keep making these kinds of mistakes!’” (2003, p. 202)

PETERS, Pam (2004) *The Cambridge Guide to English Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

As HUGE (2006). This is a reprint of the first edition (2004).

“... tends to appear in interactive writing and live speech. Objections to *these kind of* have been stronger in the US than the UK, where Gowers (1965) felt it was one of the ‘sturdy indefensibles’.” (2004, p. 307)

PICKETT, Joseph P., et al. (2005) *The American Heritage Guide to Contemporary Usage and Style*. Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin.

As HUGE. This is the first edition.

“... has been a traditional bugbear of American grammarians. By and large, British grammarians have been more tolerant.” (2005, p. 272)

SAYCE, Kay (2006) *What Not To Write: A Guide to the Dos and Don'ts of Good English*. London: Words at Work.

As HUGE. This is the first edition.

“It’s best to use all three words [i.e. *kind/sort/type*] with ‘this’ or ‘that’ rather than ‘these’ or ‘those’.” (2006, p. 63)

BUTTERFIELD, Jeremy (ed.) (2007) *Oxford A–Z of English Usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

BUTTERFIELD, Jeremy (ed.) (2013 second edition [2007]) *Oxford A–Z of English Usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

2007 is as HUGE. Butterfield is also the author of the fourth edition (2015) of Fowler (1926) (see Burchfield, 1996, above).

“The ungrammatical *these kind* has been used since the 14th century, but although often encountered today it should be avoided.” (2007, p. 91)

TAGGART, Caroline (2010) *Her Ladyship's Guide to the Queen's English*. London: National Trust.

As HUGE, which has a 2012 reprint. This is the first edition.

“Yet educated television presenters have also been heard to say *these kind of films*, when either *this kind of film* ... or, less probably, *these kinds of film* ... is correct.” (2010, p. 57)

Appendix A2

The usage guides not included in this study

This is a list of the usage guides in HUGE that do not include any advice on the species noun phrase, again listed in date sequence.

- ANONYMOUS (1829, second edition [1826]) *The Vulgarities of Speech Corrected: With Elegant Expressions for Provincial and Vulgar English, Scots, and Irish; for the Use of Those Who Are Unacquainted with Grammar*. London: Printed for F.C. Westley, 165, Strand.
- HURD, Seth T. (1847) *A Grammatical Corrector; or, Vocabulary of the Common Errors of Speech: Being a Collection of Nearly Two Thousand Barbarisms, Cant Phrases, Colloquialisms, Quaint Expressions, Provincialisms, False Pronunciation, Perversions, Misapplication of Terms, and Other Kindred Errors of the English Language, Peculiar to the Different States of the Union. The Whole Explained, Corrected, and Conveniently Arranged for the Use of Schools and Private Individuals*. Philadelphia, PA: E. H. Butler & Co.
- BROWN, Gould (1851) *The Grammar of English Grammars, with an Introduction Historical and Critical; the Whole Methodically Arranged and Amply Illustrated; with Forms of Correcting and Parsing, Improprieties for Correction, Examples for Parsing, Questions for Examination, Exercises for Writing, Observations for the Advanced Student, Decisions and Proofs for the Settlement of Disputed Points, Occasional Strictures and Defences, an Exhibition of the Several Methods of Analysis, and a Key to the Oral Exercises: to Which Are Added Four Appendixes, Pertaining Separately to the Four Parts of Grammar*. New York: Samuel S. & William Wood.
- GOULD, Edward S. (1867) *Good English; or, Popular Errors in Language*. New York: W.J. Widdleton.
- MOON, G. Washington (1868) *The Bad English of Lindley Murray and Other Writers on the English Language, a Series of Criticisms*. London: Hatchard and Co; New York: Pott and Amery.
- HALL, J. Leslie (1917) *English Usage: Studies in the History and Uses of English Words and Phrases*. Chicago, IL and New York: Scott, Foreman and Company.
- STRUNK, William, Jr. (1918) *The Elements of Style*. New York.
- HORWILL, H.W. (1935) *A Dictionary of Modern American Usage*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- FOLLETT, Wilson (1966) *Modern American Usage: A Guide*. London: Longmans, Green & Co.
- DE MELLO VIANNA, Fernando et al. (eds) (1977) *The Written Word*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- VERMES, Jean C. (1981) *Secretary's Modern Guide to English Usage*. West Nyack, NY: Parker Publishing Company.
- ALLEN, R.E., EDMONDS, D.J. and SYKES, J.B. (1984) *The Oxford Dictionary for Writers and Editors*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- CRYSTAL, David (1984) *Who Cares about English Usage?* Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- DEAR, I.C.B. (1990 [1986]) *Oxford English: A Guide to the Language* (Special edition for IBM United Kingdom Limited). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- RANDALL, Bernice (1988) *Webster's New World Guide to Current American Usage*. New York: Webster's New World.
- DE VRIES, Mary A. (1991) *The Complete Word Book: The Practical Guide to Anything and Everything You Need to Know about Words and How to Use Them*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- BOOHER, Dianna (1992 [1988]) *Good Grief, Good Grammar*. New York: Fawcett.
- BLAMIRE, Harry (1994) *The Queen's English*. London: Bloomsbury.
- SUTCLIFFE, Andrea J. (ed.) (1994) *The New York Public Library Writer's Guide to Style and Usage*. New York: A Stonesong Press Book; HarperCollinsPublishers.
- CUTTS, Martin (1995) *The Plain English Guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- AMIS, Kingsley (1998 [1997]) *The King's English: A Guide to Modern Usage*. London: HarperCollinsPublishers.
- STILMAN, Anne (1997) *Grammatically Correct: The Writer's Essential Guide to Punctuation, Spelling, Style, Usage and Grammar*. Cincinnati, OH: Writer's Digest Books.
- BURT, Angela (2002 second edition [2000]) *The A to Z of Correct English*. Oxford: How To Books.
- BATKO, Ann (2004) *When Bad Grammar Happens to Good People: How to Avoid Common Errors in English*. Edited by Edward Rosenheim. Franklin Lakes, NJ: Career Press.
- FOGARTY, Mignon (2008) *Quick and Dirty Tips for Better Writing*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.
- HEFFER, Simon (2010) *Strictly English: The Correct Way to Write ... and Why It Matters*. London: Random House Books.
- LAMB, Bernard C. (2010) *The Queen's English: And How to Use It*. London: Michael O'Mara Books.

Appendix B1

The usage guides: Who is cited by whom?

I investigated whether the later usage guides in this study referred to any of the earlier guides. As I had each of the forty-seven guides available as a searchable pdf file, I was able to carry out this search using Adobe Acrobat Professional XI's search function, which makes it possible to search multiple files for the same string. I was thus able to make forty-seven searches on the forty-seven guides as a whole. The results are presented in two parts: first 'Who is cited by whom?' (B1) and then 'Who cites whom?' (B2). For more on the topic of lateral referencing, and why it matters, see §3.3.

Baker (1770) is cited in 2 guides, a total of 82 times:

Gilman (1989) x 80 (i.e. 80 times)

Peters (2004) x 2.

Baker (1779) is not cited.

Anon (1856) [500] is not cited.

Anon (1856 [*Live*]) is not cited.

Alford (1864) is cited in 12 guides, a total of 130 times:

White (1870) x 9

Ayres (1882) x 4

Vizetelly (1906) x 6

Partridge (1947) x 17

Gowers (1948) x 1¹

Gilman (1989) x 68

Howard (1993) x 1

Burchfield (1996) x 13

O'Conner (1996) x 3

Garner (1998) x 1

Allen (1999) x 3

Peters (2004) x 4

White (1870) is cited in 7 guides, a total of 245 times:

Ayres (1882) x 35

Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 16

Vizetelly (1906) x 8

¹ When an author is cited just once, it often, but not always, means that it is an entry in a list of references.

Gilman (1989) x 171

Burchfield (1996) x 4

Garner (1998) x 10

Allen (1999) x 1

Ayres (1882) is cited in 3 guides, a total of 155 times:

Vizetelly (1906) x 3

Gilman (1989) x 151

Garner (1998) x 1

Fowler and Fowler (1906) are cited in 17 guides, a total of 111 times:

Fowler (1926) x 1

Treble and Vallins (1936) x 1

Partridge (1947) x 11

Gowers (1948) x 3

Vallins (1951) x 3

Vallins (1953) x 2

Evans and Evans (1957) x 1

Nicholson (1957) x 4

Wood (1962) x 2

Gowers (1965) x 4

Bryson (1984) x 4

Gilman (1989) x 3

Howard (1993) x 4

Burchfield (1996) x 14

Garner (1998) x 15

Allen (1999) x 9

Peters (2004) x 3

Vizetelly (1906) is cited in 2 guides, a total of 158 times:

Gilman (1989) x 154

Garner (1998) x 4

Turck Baker (1910)² is cited in 2 guides, a total of 11 times:

Gilman (1989) x 7

Garner (1998) x 4

Payne (1911) is cited in 1 guide a total of 1 time:

Garner (1998) x 1

Fowler (1926) is cited in 27 guides, a total of 2,290 times:

Krapp (1927) x 1

Treble and Vallins (1936) x 7

2 I searched on 'Turck Baker' and 'Baker', and then filtered out the references to Baker (1770, 1779).

- Perrin (1939)
 Partridge (1947) x 45
 Gowers (1948) x 15
 Vallins (1951) x 42
 Vallins (1953) x 47
 Evans and Evans (1957) x 60
 Nicholson (1957) x 28
 Wood (1962) x 23
 Gowers (1965) x 39
 Morris and Morris (1975) x 37
 Weiner (1983) x 1
 Bryson (1984) x 67
 Gilman (1989) x 792
 Howard (1993) x 42
 Weiner and Delahunty (1993) x 1
 Wilson (1993) x 5
 Burchfield (1996) x 482
 O'Conner (1996) x 1
 Garner (1998) x 130
 Allen (1999) x 229
 Trask (2001) x 2
 Peters (2004) x 157
 Pickett et al. (2005) x 3
 Sayce (2006) x 5
 Butterfield (2007) x 1
- Krapp (1927) is cited in 5 guides, a total of 108 times:
- Perrin (1939) x 1
 - Partridge (1947) x 15
 - Vallins (1953) x 1
 - Gilman (1989) x 78
 - Garner (1998) x 13
- Treble and Vallins (1936) are cited in 3 guides, a total of 10 times:
- Vallins (1953) x 1
 - Gilman (1989) x 8
 - Garner (1998) x 1
- Perrin (1939) is cited in 4 guides, a total of 93 times:
- Partridge (1947)
 - Morris and Morris (1975) x 7

Gilman (1989) x 46 + 35³

Garner (1998) x 5

Partridge (1947) is cited in 16 guides, a total of 285 times:

Gowers (1948) x 3

Vallins (1951) x 2

Vallins (1953) x 26

Evans and Evans (1957) x 27

Wood (1962) x 4

Gowers (1965) x 1

Morris and Morris (1975) x 3

Bryson (1984) x 19

Gilman (1989) x 127

Howard (1993) x 12

Wilson (1993) x 3

Burchfield (1996) x 8

Garner (1998) x 41

Allen (1999) x 6

Trask (2001) x 1

Peters (2004) x 2

Gowers (1948) is cited in 16 guides, a total of 132 times:

Vallins (1951) x 6

Vallins (1953) x 12

Evans and Evans (1957) x 8

Nicholson (1957) x 2

Wood (1962) x 4

Morris and Morris (1975) x 3

Bryson (1984) x 24

Gilman (1989) x 44

Howard (1993) x 3

Wilson (1993) x 1

Burchfield (1996) x 5

O'Conner (1996) x 1

Garner (1998) x 7

Allen (1999) x 3

Peters (2004) x 6

Sayce (2006) x 3

Vallins (1951) is cited in 4 guides, a total of 5 times:

Weiner (1983) x 1

3 The second figure is for citations of Ebbitt and Ebbitt's fifth edition.

Gilman (1989) x 1
 Weiner and Delahunty (1993) x 1
 Garner (1998) x 2

Vallins (1953) is cited in 1 guide, a total of 4 times:

Garner (1998) x 4

Evans and Evans (1957) are cited in 8 guides, a total of 386 times:

Gowers (1965) x 5
 Bryson (1984) x 12
 Gilman (1989) x 343
 Howard (1993) x 2
 Wilson (1993) x 2
 O'Conner (1996) x 1
 Garner (1998) x 18
 Peters (2004) x 3

Nicholson (1957) is cited in 4 guides, a total of 26 times:

Wood (1962) x 2
 Gilman (1989) x 15
 Wilson (1993) x 1
 Garner (1998) x 8

Wood (1962) is cited in 3 guides, a total of 9 times:

Bryson (1984) x 3
 Gilman (1989) x 1
 Garner (1998) x 5

Gowers (1965) is cited in 9 guides, a total of 290 times:

Gilman (1989) x 138
 Howard (1993) x 5
 Weiner and Delahunty (1993) x 1
 Wilson (1993) x 1
 Burchfield (1996) x 50
 O'Conner (1996) x 1
 Garner (1998) x 19
 Allen (1999) x 47
 Peters (2004) x 28

Morris and Morris (1975) are cited in 6 guides, a total of 363 times:

Bryson (1984) x 7
 Gilman (1989) x 4 + 343⁴
 Wilson (1993) x 1
 Burchfield (1996) x 1 + 3

4 The second figure is the citations for 'Harper'.

Garner (1998) x 2 + 1

Peters (2004) x 0 + 8

Bailie and Kitchin (1979) are cited in 1 guide, a total of 1 time:

Garner (1998) x 1

Swan (1980) is cited in 2 guides, a total of 4 times:

Gilman (1989) x 3

Garner (1998) x 1

Weiner (1983) is cited in 3 guides, a total of 8 times:

Howard (1993) x 2

Garner (1998) x 3

Peters (2004) x 3

Bryson (1984) is cited in 4 guides, a total of 171 times:

Gilman (1989) x 166

Howard (1993) x 2

Garner (1998) x 2

Taggart (2010) x 1

Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988) are cited in 4 guides, a total of 25 times:

Gilman (1989) x 1 + 20⁵

Wilson (1993) x 1

Burchfield (1996) x 2

Trask (2001) x 1

Gilman (1989) is cited in 4 guides, a total of 151 times:

Wilson (1993) 0 + 1⁶

Burchfield (1996) 0 + 2

Garner (1998) 1 + 6

Peters (2004) 0 + 141

Carter and Skates (1990) are not cited.

Marriott and Farrell (1992) are not cited.

Howard (1993) is cited in 2 guides, a total of 2 times:

Garner (1998) x 1

Trask (2001) x 1

Mager and Mager (1993) are not cited.

Weiner and Delahunty (1993) are cited in 1 guide, a total of 1 time:

Garner (1998) x 1

Wilson (1993) is cited in 3 guides, a total of 5 times:

Burchfield (1996) x 1 + 1⁷

5 The second figure is the citations for 'Longman'.

6 The second figure is the citations for 'Webster's'.

7 The second figure is the citations for 'Columbia'.

Garner (1998) x 2

Trask (2001) x 1

Ayto (1995) is not cited.

Burchfield (1996) is cited in 3 guides, a total of 49 times:

Garner (1998) x 7

Trask (2001) x 1

Peters (2004) x 41

O'Conner (1996) is not cited.

Garner (1998) is cited in 1 guide, a total of 29 times:

Peters (2004) x 29

Allen (1999) is not cited.

Trask (2001) is not cited.

Brians (2003) is not cited.

Peters (2004) is not cited.

Pickett et al. (2005) is not cited.

Sayce (2006) is cited in 1 guide, a total of 1 time:

Taggart (2010) x 1

Butterfield (2007) is not cited.

Taggart (2010) is not cited.

Appendix B2

The usage guides: Who cites whom?

Baker (1770) has no citations.

Baker (1779) has no citations.

Anon (1856 [500]) has no citations.

Anon (1856 [*Live*]) has no citations.

Alford (1864) has no citations.

White (1870) cites:

Alford (1864) x 9

Ayres (1882) cites:

Alford (1864) x 4

White (1882) x 35

Fowler and Fowler (1906) cite:

White (1882) x 16

Vizetelly (1906) cites:

Alford (1864) x 6

White (1870) x 8

Ayres (1882) x 3

Turck Baker (1910) has no citations.

Payne (1911) has no citations.

Fowler (1926) cites:

Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 1

Krapp (1927) cites:

Fowler (1926) x 1

Treble and Vallins (1936) cite:

Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 1

Fowler (1926) x 7

Perrin (1939)⁸ cites:

Fowler (1926) x 1

Krapp (1927) x 1

Partridge (1947) cites:

Alford (1864) x 17

Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 11

Fowler (1926) x 45

⁸ I don't have a pdf version of Perrin, so any citations were taken from his list of references.

Krapp (1927) x 15

Perrin (1939) x 1

Gowers (1948) cites:

Alford (1864) x 1

Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 3

Fowler (1926) x 15

Partridge (1947) x 3

Vallins (1951): cites:

Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 3

Fowler (1926) x 42

Partridge (1947) x 2

Gowers (1948) x 6

Vallins (1953) cites:

Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 2

Fowler (1926) x 47

Krapp (1927) x 1

Treble and Vallins (1936) x 1

Partridge (1947) x 26

Gowers (1948) x 12

Evans and Evans (1957) cite:

Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 1

Fowler (1926) x 60

Partridge (1947) x 27

Gowers (1948) x 8

Nicholson (1957) cites:

Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 4

Fowler (1926) x 28

Gowers (1948) x 2

Wood (1962) cites:

Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 2

Fowler (1926) x 23

Partridge (1947) x 4

Gowers (1948) x 4

Nicholson (1957) x 2

Gowers (1965) cites:

Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 4

Fowler (1926) x 39

Partridge (1947) x 1

Evans and Evans (1957) x 5

Morris and Morris (1975) cite:

Fowler (1926) x 37

Perrin (1939) x 7

Partridge (1947) x 3

Gowers (1948) x 3

Bailie and Kitchin (1979) has no citations.

Swan (1980) has no citations.

Weiner (1983) cites:

Fowler (1926) x 1

Vallins (1951) x 1

Bryson (1984) cites:

Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 4

Fowler (1926) x 67

Partridge (1947) x 19

Gowers (1948) x 24

Evans and Evans (1957) x 12

Wood (1962) x 3

Morris and Morris (1975) x 7

Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988) has no citations.

Gilman (1989) cites:

Alford (1864) x 68

White (1870) x 171

Ayres (1881) x 151

Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 3

Vizetelly (1906) x 154

Turck Baker (1910) x 7

Fowler (1926) x 792

Krapp (1927) x 78

Treble and Vallins (1936) x 8

Perrin (1939) x 46 + 35⁹

Partridge (1947) x 127

Gowers (1948) x 44

Vallins (1951) x 1

Evans and Evans (1957) x 343

Nicholson (1957) x 15

Wood (1962) x 1

Gowers (1965) x 138

9 The second figure is for citations to Ebbitt and Ebbitt's 1972 fifth edition.

Morris and Morris (1985 [1975]) x 4 + 343¹⁰

Swan (1980) x 3

Bryson (1984) x 166

Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988) x 1 + 20¹¹

Carter and Skates (1990) has no citations.

Marriott and Farrell (1992) has no citations.

Howard (1993) cites:

Alford (1864) x 1

Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 4

Fowler (1926) x 42

Partridge (1947) x 12

Gowers (1948) x 3

Evans and Evans (1957) x 2

Gowers (1965) x 5

Weiner (1983) x 2

Bryson (1984) x 2.

Mager and Mager (1993) have no citations.

Weiner and Delahunty (1993) cite:

Fowler (1926) x 1

Vallins (1951) x 1

Gowers (1965) x 1

Wilson (1993) cites:

Fowler (1926) x 5

Partridge (1947) x 3

Gowers (1948) x 1

Evans and Evans (1957) x 2

Nicholson (1957) x 1

Gowers (1965) x 1

Morris and Morris (1985 [1975]) x 1

Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988) x 1

Gilman (1989) x 0 + 1¹²

Ayto (1995) has no citations.

Burchfield (1996) cites:

Alford (1864) x 13

White (1870) x 4

Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 14

10 The second figure is for citations to Harper.

11 The second figure is for citations to Longman.

12 The second figure is for citations to Webster's.

- Fowler (1926) x 482
 Partridge (1947) x 8
 Gowers (1948) x 5
 Gowers (1965) x 50
 Morris and Morris (1988 [1984]) x 1 + 3
 Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988) x 2
 Gilman (1989) x 0 + 2
 Wilson (1993) x 1 + 1¹³
- O'Conner (1996) cites:
 Alford (1864) x 3
 Fowler (1926) x 1
 Gowers (1948) x 1
 Evans and Evans (1957) x 1
 Gowers (1965) x 1
- Garner (1998) cites:
 Alford (1864) x 1
 White (1870) x 10
 Ayres (1881) x 1
 Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 15 + 4¹⁴
 Turck Baker (1910) x 4
 Payne (1911) x 1
 Fowler (1926) x 130
 Krapp (1927) x 13
 Treble and Vallins (1936) x 1
 Perrin (1939) x 5
 Partridge (1947) x 41
 Gowers (1948) x 7
 Vallins (1951) x 1
 Vallins (1953) x 4
 Evans and Evans (1957) x 18
 Nicholson (1957) x 8
 Wood (1962) x 5
 Gowers (1965) x 19
 Morris and Morris (1985 [1975]) x 2 + 1
 Bailie and Kitchin (1979) x 1
 Swan (1980) x 1
 Weiner (1983) x 3

13 The second figure is for citations to Columbia.

14 The second figure is for citations to *The King's English*.

Bryson (1984) x 2
Gilman (1989) x 1 + 6
Howard (1993) x 1
Weiner and Delahunty (1993) x 1
Wilson (1993) x 2
Burchfield (1996) x 7

Allen (1999) cites:

Alford (1864) x 3
White (1870) x 1
Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 9
Fowler (1926) x 229
Partridge (1947) x 6
Gowers (1948) x 3
Gowers (1965) x 47

Trask (2001) cites:

Fowler (1926) x 2
Partridge (1947) x 1
Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988) x 1
Howard (1993) x 1
Wilson (1993) x 1
Burchfield (1996) x 1

Brians (2003) has no citations.

Peters (2004) cites:

Alford (1864) x 4
Fowler and Fowler (1906) x 3
Fowler (1926) x 157
Partridge (1947) x 2
Gowers (1948) x 6
Evans and Evans (1957) x 3
Gowers (1965) x 28
Morris and Morris (1975) x 0 + 8
Weiner (1983) x 3
Gilman (1989) x 0 + 141
Burchfield (1996) x 41
Garner (1998) x 29

Pickett et al. (2005) cite:

Fowler (1926) x 3

Sayce (2006) cites:

Fowler (1926) x 5

Gowers (1948) x 3

Butterfield (2007) cites:

Fowler (1926) x 1

Taggart (2010) cites:

Bryson (1984) x 1

Sayce (2006) x 1

Appendix C1

Exemplification in the usage guides

This list shows all the examples used to identify the error in the usage guide entries, organised by how much context they include, and then by date. The guides are also identified by place of publication (and see §3.4.2).

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| [1] | SN.SG + <i>of</i> | |
| | <i>kind of</i> | Marriott and Farrell (1992) [UK] |
| | <i>sort of</i> | Marriott and Farrell (1992) [UK] |
| [2] | DET.PL + SN.SG | |
| | <i>these kind</i> | Vizetelly (1906) [US] |
| | <i>those sort</i> | Vizetelly (1906) [US] |
| | <i>those kind</i> | Payne (1911) [US] |
| | <i>these kind</i> | Payne (1911) [US] |
| | <i>these sort</i> | Krapp (1927) [US] |
| | <i>these kind</i> | Krapp (1927) [US] |
| | <i>these sort</i> | Wood (1962) [UK] |
| | <i>those sort</i> | Wood (1962) [UK] |
| | <i>these kind</i> | Morris and Morris (1975) [US] |
| [3] | DET.PL + SN.SG + <i>of</i> | |
| | <i>those kind of</i> | Nicholson (1957) [US] |
| | <i>those sort of</i> | Nicholson (1957) [US] |
| | <i>these sort of</i> | Bailie and Kitchin (1979) [UK] |
| | <i>those sort of</i> | Bailie and Kitchin (1979) [UK] |
| | <i>these kind of</i> | Wilson (1993) [US] |
| | <i>these sort of</i> | Wilson (1993) [US] |
| | <i>these kind of</i> | Garner (1998) [US] |
| | <i>these type of</i> | Garner (1998) [US] |
| | <i>these sort of</i> | Garner (1998) [US] |
| | <i>these kind of</i> | Trask (2001) [UK] |
| | <i>these sort of</i> | Trask (2001) [UK] |
| [4] | DET.SG + SN.SG + <i>of</i> + N2 | |
| | <i>this sort of paper</i> | Sayce (2006) [UK] |
| | <i>this kind of paper</i> | Sayce (2006) [UK] |

[5] DET.PL + SN.PL + *of* + N2.SG

these types of car Sayce (2006) [UK]

[6] DET.PL + SN.SG + *of* + N2.PL

these sort of men Baker (1779; but not (1770) [UK]
these kind of pears Anon (1856 [500]) [US]
those sort of persons Anon (1856 [Live]) [US]
these kind of things Alford (1864) [UK]
those kind of things Alford (1864) [UK]
those sort of men White (1870) [US]
those sort of people Ayres (1882) [US]
those kind of people Ayres (1882) [US]
those sort of girls Fowler and Fowler (1906) [UK]
those sort of writers Fowler and Fowler (1906) [UK]
these kind of books Turck Baker (1910) [US]
those kind of people Fowler (1926) [UK]
those sort of ideas Perrin (1939) [US]
these kind of things Gowers (1948) [UK]
those kind of people Nicholson (1957) [US]
those kind of people Wood (1962) [UK]
these kind of chocolates Wood (1962) [UK]
those kind of people Gowers (1965) [UK]
those kind of things Gowers (1965) [UK]
these kind of cars Swan (1980) [UK]
these kind of cigarettes Swan (1980) [UK]
those sort of terms Weiner (1983) [UK]
these sort of things Bryson (1984) [UK]
those kind of arguments Howard (1993) [UK]
these sort of people Howard (1993) [UK]
those sort of terms Weiner and Delahunty (1993) [UK]
these kind of sausages Ayto (1995) [UK]
those sort of things Ayto (1995) [UK]
these kind of mistakes O'Conner (1996) [US]
these kind of houses Allen (1999) [UK]
these sort of houses Allen (1999) [UK]
these kind of chocolates Brians (2003) [US]
these sort of questions Butterfield (2007) [UK]
these kind of films Taggart (2010) [UK]

[7] DET.PL + SN.SG + *of* + N2.PL + V.PL

<i>these kind of entertainments are</i>	Anon (1856 [<i>Live</i>]) [US]
<i>those sort of experiments are</i>	Anon (1856 [<i>Live</i>]) [US]
<i>those kind of apples are</i>	Ayres (1882) [US]
<i>these kind of people are</i>	Krapp (1927) [US]
<i>these sort of things interest</i>	Treble and Vallins (1936) [UK]
<i>these kind of marks have</i>	Perrin (1939) [US]
<i>those sort of cars are</i>	Swan (1980) [UK]
<i>those kind of books are</i>	Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988) [UK]
<i>these kind of flowers bloom</i>	Carter and Skates (1990) [US]
<i>these kind of men have</i>	Burchfield (1996) [UK]
<i>these kind of questions are</i>	Butterfield (2007) [UK]

The list below contains the examples in those usage guides that do not regard the variant as an error.

[8] DET.PL + SN.SG + *of* + N2.PL

<i>these kind of things</i>	Partridge (1947) [UK]
<i>those kind of things</i>	Partridge (1947) [UK]
<i>these kind of trees</i>	Evans and Evans (1957) [US]
<i>those kind of objections</i>	Gilman (1989) [US]
<i>these sort of fares</i>	Peters (2004) [UK]
<i>these kind of films</i>	Pickett et al. (2005) [US]
<i>these sort of films</i>	Pickett et al. (2005) [US]

[9] DET.PL + SN.SG + *of* + N2.PL + V.PL

<i>these sort of things go on</i>	Vallins (1955) [UK]
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Appendix C2

Recommendation in the usage guides

This list shows all the examples used to identify the prescribed forms in the usage guide entries, organised by how much context they include, and then by date. The guides are also identified by place of publication (and see §3.4.2).

[1] DET.SG + SN.SG

<i>that sort</i>	Anon (1856 [<i>Live</i>]) [US]
<i>that kind</i>	Payne (1911) [US]
<i>this kind</i>	Payne (1911) [US]
<i>this sort</i>	Krapp (1927) [US]
<i>that sort</i>	Krapp (1927) [US]
<i>this kind</i>	Krapp (1927) [US]
<i>that kind</i>	Krapp (1927) [US]
<i>this kind</i>	Morris and Morris (1975) [US]
<i>this kind</i>	Mager and Mager (1993) [US]

[2] DET.PL + SN.PL

<i>those sorts</i>	Anon (1856 [<i>Live</i>]) [US]
<i>these kinds</i>	Morris and Morris (1975) [US]
<i>these kinds</i>	Mager and Mager (1993) [US]

[3] DET.SG + SN.SG + *of*

<i>this kind of</i>	Trask (2001) [UK]
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[4] DET.PL + SN.PL + *of*

<i>these kinds of</i>	Trask (2001) [UK]
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[5] DET.SG + SN.SG + *of* + N2.SG

<i>this kind of thing</i>	Alford (1864) [UK]
<i>that kind of thing</i>	Alford (1864) [UK]
<i>this kind of book</i>	Turck Baker (1910) [US]
<i>that kind of book</i>	Turck Baker (1910) [US]
<i>this sort of thing</i>	Vallins (1955) [UK]
<i>this kind of tree</i>	Evans and Evans (1957) [US]
<i>this kind of tree</i>	Nicholson (1957) [US]
<i>this kind of bird</i>	Nicholson (1957) [US]
<i>that kind of person</i>	Wood (1962) [UK]
<i>that kind of thing</i>	Bailie & Kitchin (1979) [UK]

<i>that sort of car</i>	Swan (1980) [UK]
<i>this kind of cigarette</i>	Swan (1980) [UK]
<i>this sort of thing</i>	Bryson (1984) [UK]
<i>this kind of food</i>	Carter and Skates (1990) [US]
<i>this kind of argument</i>	Howard (1993) [UK]
<i>that sort of person</i>	Howard (1993) [UK]
<i>this kind of apple</i>	Mager and Mager (1993) [US]
<i>this kind of dog</i>	Wilson (1993) [US]
<i>that sort of dilemma</i>	Wilson (1993) [US]
<i>this type of book</i>	Wilson (1993) [US]
<i>that type of house</i>	Wilson (1993) [US]
<i>this kind of sausage</i>	Ayto (1995) [UK]
<i>that kind of mistake</i>	O'Conner (1996) [US]
<i>this kind of hat</i>	O'Conner (1996) [US]
<i>this sort of cigar</i>	O'Conner (1996) [US]
<i>this kind of china</i>	O'Conner (1996) [US]
<i>this kind of challenge</i>	Garner (1998) [US]
<i>this type of incident</i>	Garner (1998) [US]
<i>this kind of house</i>	Allen (1999) [UK]
<i>this type of car</i>	Sayce (2006) [UK]
<i>this kind of film</i>	Taggart (2010) [UK]

[6] DET.SG + SN.SG + *of* + N2.PL

? <i>this kind of things</i>	Alford (1864) [UK]
? <i>that kind of things</i>	Alford (1864) [UK]
<i>that sort of men</i>	White (1870) [US]
<i>this kind of trees</i>	Evans and Evans (1957) [US]
<i>this kind of chocolates</i>	Wood (1962) [UK]
? <i>that kind of things</i>	Bailie and Kitchin (1979) [UK]
<i>this kind of chocolates</i>	Brians (2003) [US]

[7] DET.PL + SN.SG + *of* + N2.PL

<i>these kind of trees</i>	Evans and Evans (1957) [US]
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[8] DET.PL + SN.PL + *of* + N2.SG

<i>these kinds of food</i>	Carter and Skates (1990) [US]
<i>those sorts of gravel</i>	Wilson (1993) [US]
<i>those types of sand</i>	Wilson (1993) [US]
<i>these kinds of sausage</i>	Ayto (1995) [UK]
<i>these kinds of film</i>	Taggart (2010) [UK]

[9] DET.PL + SN.PL + *of* + N2.PL

<i>these kinds of pears</i>	Anon (1856 [500]) [US]
<i>these kinds of books</i>	Turck Baker (1910) [US]
<i>those kinds of books</i>	Turck Baker (1910) [US]
<i>these sorts of things</i>	Bryson (1984) [UK]
<i>these kinds of apples</i>	Mager and Mager (1993) [US]
<i>these kinds of studies</i>	Wilson (1993) [US]
<i>those sorts of poems</i>	Wilson (1993) [US]
<i>these types of airplanes</i>	Wilson (1993) [US]
<i>these kinds of sausages</i>	Ayto (1995) [UK]
<i>those sorts of things</i>	Burchfield (1996) [UK]
<i>these sorts of ... fellowships</i>	Burchfield (1996) [UK]
<i>these kinds of mistakes</i>	O'Conner (1996) [US]
<i>those kinds of hats</i>	O'Conner (1996) [US]
<i>those types of cars</i>	O'Conner (1996) [US]
<i>these kinds of stories</i>	Garner (1998) [US]
<i>these kinds of activities</i>	Garner (1998) [US]
<i>these kinds of houses</i>	Allen (1999) [UK]
<i>these sorts of ways</i>	Allen (1999) [UK]
<i>these kinds of mistakes</i>	Brians (2003) [US]
<i>these kinds of books</i>	Butterfield (2007) [UK]
<i>those kinds of ideas</i>	Butterfield (2007) [UK]

[10] DET.SG + SN.SG + *of* + N2.SG + V.SG

<i>This sort of thing interests</i>	Treble and Vallins (1936) [UK]
<i>this kind of man is</i>	Evans and Evans (1957) [US]
<i>that kind of book is</i>	Ebbitt and Ebbitt (1978) [US]
<i>this kind of car is</i>	Weiner (1983) [UK]
<i>that kind of book is</i>	Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988) [UK]
<i>this kind of flower blooms</i>	Carter and Skates (1990) [US]
<i>this kind of book is</i>	Marriott and Farrell (1992) [UK]
<i>this kind of car is</i>	Weiner and Delahunty (1993) [UK]
<i>that type of car is</i>	O'Conner (1996) [US]
<i>this sort of thing seems</i>	Garner (1998) [US]
<i>this kind of film is</i>	Pickett et al. (2005) [US]
<i>this type of paper is</i>	Sayce (2006) [UK] [UK]
<i>this kind of question is</i>	Butterfield (2007) [UK]
<i>that kind of fabric [does]</i>	Butterfield (2007) [UK]

- [11] DET.SG + SN.SG + *of* + N2.PL + V.SG
?This sort of men is Baker (1779) [UK]
That kind of apples is Ayres (1882) [US]
?This sort of things interests Treble and Vallins (1936) [UK]
this kind of men is Evans and Evans (1957) [US]
that sort of men deserves Ebbitt and Ebbitt (1978) [US]
- [12] DET.SG + SN.SG + *of* + N2.PL + V.PL
?This sort of men are Baker (1779) [UK]
- [13] DET.PL + SN.SG + *of* + N2.PL + V.PL
these kind of men are Evans and Evans (1957) [US]
- [14] DET.PL + SN.PL + *of* + N2.PL + V.PL
these kinds of trees are Evans and Evans (1957) [US]
those kinds of books are Ebbitt and Ebbitt (1978) [US]
those kinds of books are Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988) [UK]
these kinds of flowers bloom Carter and Skates (1990) [US]
these sorts of cigars disgust O'Conner (1996) [US]
these kinds of films are Pickett et al. (2005) [US]
- [15] DET.PL + SN.PL + *of* + N2.SG + V.PL
these kinds of tree are Evans and Evans (1957) [US]
those kinds of book are Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988) [UK]
those kinds of china break O'Conner (1996) [US]
- [16] N2.PL + *of* + DET.SG + SN.SG
men of this sort Baker (1779) [UK]
entertainments of this kind Anon (1856 [*Live*]) [US]
experiments of that sort Anon (1856 [*Live*]) [US]
books of this kind Turck Baker (1910) [US]
books of that kind Turck Baker (1910) [US]
things of this sort Treble and Vallins (1936) [UK]
people of this kind Vallins (1955) [UK]
birds of this kind Nicholson (1957) [US]
chocolates of this kind Wood (1962) [UK]
things of that kind Bailie and Kitchin (1979) [UK]
cars of that sort Swan (1980) [UK]
sausages of this kind Ayto (1995) [UK]
demergers of this kind Allen (1999) [UK]

[17] N2.PL + *of* + DET.PL + SN.PL

sausages of these kinds Ayto (1995) [UK]

[18] N2.PL + *of* + DET.SG + SN.SG + V.PL

cars of this kind are Weiner (1983) [UK]

books of that kind are Greenbaum and Whitcut (1988) [UK]

books of this kind are Marriott and Farrell (1992) [UK]

cars of this kind are Weiner and Delahunty (1993) [UK]

Appendix D

The survey examples in context

Below is a summary of the attitude survey results. This includes the examples in context, followed by a statement of the problems that I expected the respondents to note and perhaps revise. There is then an overview of the responses received for each example, and a list of the respondents' preferred revised phrasing, where this was given. The information provided here forms the basis of my interpretation presented in Chapter 4. Abbreviations used: Y = Yes, N = No, DK = Don't Know, T = Total number of respondents for each example, and the percentage in brackets shows the highest response. The source of each example is given in brackets at the end of the example. These are explained in §5.2.1 (and see §4.3.2).

Extract 1

- [1] In addition, in a support model, an individual is also free to appoint one or more representatives to make decisions for them, if that is what the individual desires. However, legislation surrounding **these type of representative arrangements** must also be constructed in a way that respects the rights in the CRPD and ensures that the individual can challenge the actions of the representative and can make changes to the arrangement, including revoking the designation of a particular representative.

[IJC_10-11]

The problem

Here there is a number conflict between the determiner *these* and the species noun *type*. In the highlighted phrase, *representative* can be seen either as an adjective or as a singular noun in apposition. To complicate matters, *representatives* is used as a plural noun in the preceding context, and *representative* twice as a singular noun in the following context; also, *arrangement* is used a singular noun in the following context.

The survey results

- [1] DET.PL + type.SG + of + ADJ/N.SG + N.PL
these type of representative arrangements [must ... be constructed]
Y = 9; N = 79; DK = 0; T = 88 [N = 90%]

The respondents' preferred phrasing

these types of representative arrangements (= 45)

this type of representative arrangements (= 19)

this type of representative arrangement (= 18)

representative arrangements of this type (= 2)

Notes

Here we have a preference for number agreement across the (three parts of) the species noun phrase ($45 + 18 = 63$), then with agreement between the determiner and the species noun as singular but with a plural N2 (19), and then the two revisions to *of this type* etc. In every case (84) there is number agreement between the determiner and the species noun (see also comments in §4.4.4).

Extract 2

- [2] Gaze and pointing are common examples of social-pragmatic cues, but previous research has suggested that pragmatic assumptions may not always be based on **these kind of overt social cues** (...). Instead, some pragmatic assumptions may be based on subtler inferences about how and why speakers communicate (...).

[JCL_09-08-088]

The problem

In this example there is a number conflict between the determiner *these* and the species noun *kind*. Plural *cues* is also used in the preceding context. The N2 *cues* is here further distanced from the species noun by two adjectives (*overt social*). The respondents were told that “(…)” indicated a deleted reference.

The survey results

- [2] DET.PL + kind.SG + of + ADJ + ADJ + N.PL
 these kinds of ... cues
 Y = 8; N = 70; DK = 2; T = 80 [N = 88%]

The respondents' preferred phrasing

these kinds of ... cues (= 47)
 this kind of ... cues (= 17)
 this kind of ... cue (= 5)
 overt social cues of this kind (= 6)

Notes

The respondents showed a preference for number agreement across the (three parts of) the species noun phrase (47 + 5 = 52), then for agreement between the determiner and the species noun as singular but with a plural N2 (17), and then the six revisions to *of this type* etc. In every case (80) there is number agreement between the determiner and the species noun.

Extract 3

- [3] Generally, **this kind of language data** offers an exciting new resource for texts that call for analysis by linguistics experts. Discourse analysis typically aims at a better understanding of how discourse works (which, undoubtedly, is an important aim in itself), particularly with respect to communication and (in Critical Discourse Analysis) with respect to manipulation. Verbal protocol data represent a fundamentally different text type (in comparison to everyday usage) that indicates how language may be used for a purpose that is not primarily communicative.

[LCO_1400019]

The problem

In this example, the sentence containing the species noun phrase was the first sentence in the paragraph, so no preceding context was given. There is no number conflict between the determiner *this* and the species noun *kind*, but there is potential conflict between the N2 *data* and the verb *offers* if *data* is seen as a plural form. If *data* is seen as singular or non-count, then there is no number conflict with the verb, and further, there is number agreement with both the determiner and the species noun. There is also the use of *data*, this time with the plural verb *represent*, in the final sentence.

The survey results

- [3] DET.SG + kind.SG + of + N + N.SG/PL/NC [+ V.SG]
 this kind of language data [offers]
 Y = 65; N = 13; DK = 1; T = 79 [Y = 82%]

The respondents' preferred phrasing

- these kinds of language data offer (= 8)
- this type of language data (= 1)
- these kind of language data offer (= 1)
- language data as the one mentioned (= 1)

Notes

The preference here is for number agreement across the (three parts of) the species noun phrase ($8 + 1 = 9$), if we allow that *data* can be treated as singular or plural. The preference here would seem to be for plural. Unusually, we then have lack of number agreement between the determiner and the species noun (1), and one rewrite. Here, unusually, the verb was also changed from singular to plural. There was one informant who suggested a change from *kind* to *type* (see also comments in §4.4.3).

Extract 4

- [4] If Honneth's second level of recognition requires the equal recognition of individuals as bearers of equal rights, why should the deceased's family, any group that identifies with the deceased, or the wider public, be afforded additional rights to those that accrue where a death occurred in circumstances not involving the use-of-force by the state? The answer is that there are objective reasons that justify a positive differentiation to be made in the aftermath of **these types of death**. A death that occurs in circumstances involving the coercive use of force by the state brings into sharp focus the inevitable inequality that exists in having coercively empowered institutions and individuals who exercise the state's monopoly on the lawful use of force over others.

[IJC_1600005]

The problem

Here we have number agreement between the determiner *these* and the species noun *types*. The problem then becomes whether *death* is a singular or non-count noun, and whether the phrase as a whole refers to one or more than one type of death. Although *death* is not used in the plural in the example, but is used twice more, it does seem that more than one type is referred to.

The survey results

- [4] DET.PL + type.PL + of + N.SG/NC
 these types of death [no V]
 Y = 54; N = 21; DK = 4; T = 79 [Y = 68%]

The respondents' preferred phrasing

these types of deaths (= 12)
 this type of death (= 7)
 this type of deaths (= 1)
 deaths of this type (= 2)

Notes

Here we have a preference for number agreement across (the three parts of) the species noun phrase (12 + 7 = 19), then for agreement between the determiner and the species noun as singular but with a plural N2 (1), and then the two revisions to *of this type* etc. In every case (22) there is number agreement between the determiner and the species noun. The number of preferred phrasings is greater than the total number of NOs as one respondent gave more than one option (see also comments in §4.4.3).

Extract 5

- [5] Vowels other than high vowels devoice as well, and vowels are also sometimes devoiced in contexts containing voiced consonants. However, **these types of devoicing** occur at a much lower rate (...) and will not be considered here.
[JCL_08-08-081]

The problem

In this example there is number agreement between the determiner *these* and the species noun *types*, with the N2 *devoicing* unmarked for number and a plural verb *occur*. Although *devoice* is used only as a verb in the context, the previous context suggests that there is more than one type.

The survey results

- [5] DET.PL + type.PL + of + N.NC + V.PL
these types of devoicing occur
Y = 70; N = 6; DK = 3; T = 79 [Y = 89%]

The respondents' preferred phrasing

this type of devoicing (= 4)
such devoicing [occurs] (= 2)

Notes

There is a preference for number agreement across the (three parts of) the species noun phrase (4), then two rewrites. In every case but the rewrites (4) there is number agreement between the determiner and the species noun.

Extract 6

[6] We demonstrate this by examining children's errors involving word order in detail. As Figure 2 shows, **this type of error** (word order incorrect) for SOV sentences was observed 16.2% of the time (WO error: 6.1%, FQ-WO error: 10.1%), whereas that for OSV sentences was observed 42.9% of the time (WO error: 9.6%, FQ-WO error: 33.3%) as in Figure 3, suggesting that the errors involving word order in OSV are the main source of difficulties in this experiment. Among them, FQ-WO errors in OSV were remarkably frequent (33.3%).

[JCL_09-10-086]

The problem

This example shows number agreement between the determiner *this* and the species noun *type*, and with *error*, which could be either singular or non-count. There is further number agreement with the verb *was observed*, although this is separated from the species noun phrase. There is therefore nothing to correct, and only one respondent rephrased it, presumably in response to the plural use of *errors* both before and after the highlighted sentence.

The survey results

[6] DET.SG + type.SG + of + N.SG/NC ... V.SG
 this type of error ... was observed
 Y = 77; N = 1; DK = 0; T = 78 [Y = 99%]

The respondent's preferred phrasing

these types of error [= 1]

Notes

See comments in §4.4.3.

Extract 7

- [7] Turning now to a rather innovative area of cooperation—Central Asia’s inland fisheries—where we shall examine first, the general international rules on cooperation and the sustainable development of inland fisheries; second, the relative importance of **this type of fisheries** in the region and the need for coordinated management among the various states of Central Asia; and third, the institutional mechanism established in the context of the FAO for international cooperation, including a summary analysis of the Central Asian and Caucasus Regional Fisheries and Aquaculture Commission (CACFish).
[AJL_1400034]

The problem

Here there is number agreement between the determiner *this* and the species noun *type*, with a plural N2 *fisheries*; *fisheries* is also used twice in the plural in the preceding context.

The survey results

- [7] DET.SG + type.SG + of + N.PL
this type of fisheries
Y = 36; N = 39; DK = 2; T = 77 [N = 51%]

The respondents’ preferred phrasing

this type of fishery (= 28)
these types of fisheries (= 11)
fisheries of this type (= 2)

Notes

The respondents preferred number agreement across the three parts of the species noun phrase (28 + 11 = 39), and then the two revisions to *of this type* etc. In every case (41) there is number agreement between the determiner and the species noun.

Extract 8

[8] Of the non-representational gestures, the two most frequently produced types were the discursive and the framing gestures. **These types of gesture** are directly involved with the narrative activity in their role as discourse cohesive and framing devices, whereas the interactive and word searching gestures aid with the performance of dialogue (see Table 3).

[JCL_1500062]

The problem

In this case there is number agreement between the determiner *these* and the species noun *types*, with *gesture* being either singular or non-count, and the verb phrase *are ... involved* being plural. Plural *gestures* is used three times in the preceding and following context.

The survey results

[8] DET.PL + type.PL + of + N.SG/NC + V.PL
 these types of gesture are ... involved
 Y = 47; N = 26; DK = 3; T = 76 [Y = 62%]

The respondents' preferred phrasing

these types of gestures (= 24)
 this type of gesture (= 3)
 this type of gestures (= 1)
 these gesture types (= 2)

Notes

The preference here is for number agreement across the (three parts of) the species noun phrase (24 + 3 = 27), then, with only a single respondent, for agreement between the determiner and the species noun as singular but with a plural N2, and then the two rewrites. In every case (30) there is number agreement between the determiner and the species noun.

Extract 9

[9] It thus appears that the restriction on the registration of geographical names as trademarks should not be taken as an absolute prohibition. Given this, if ground (d) of Section 6(1) is interpreted as an absolute restriction on the registration of geographical names, this would surely fall short of the accepted norms pertaining to geographical names and distinctiveness in other jurisdictions. In such a case, the provision of the Trademarks Act would be found to run contrary to Bangladesh's obligation under the provisions of the Paris Convention which permits the ground for denying registration of a geographical name only when it denotes the place of origin of **that type of goods**.

[AJL_1600003]

The problem

In this example, the sentence including the species noun phrase is the last in the paragraph, so I included two sentences before it for context. There is number agreement between the determiner *that* and the species noun *type*, with the number of *goods* being problematic but seemingly marked for plural. There seem to be no contextual clues.

The survey results

[9] DET.SG + type.SG + of + N.PL
 that type of goods [no V]
 Y = 57; N = 13; DK = 5; T = 75 [Y = 76%]

The respondents' preferred phrasing

those types of goods (= 5)
 that type of good (= 4)
 goods of that type (= 3)

Notes

There was a preference for number agreement across (the three parts of) the species noun phrase (5 + 4 = 9), and then the two revisions to *of this type* etc. In every case (12; for this example, one respondent who voted NO did not provide an alternative) there is number agreement between the determiner and the species noun (see also comments in §4.4.3).

Extract 10

[10] We should emphasise that while our network is trained to generate sequences of phonemes, it is not only a model of word production. Its predictions about the next phoneme express general phonotactic constraints it has learned about the exposure language and knowledge of the forms of specific words, as well as knowledge of the mapping from meanings to word forms; **these types of knowledge** inform its predictions even when the network is not given a word meaning as input. When the network is given a word meaning, it does function as a simple model of word production, but we are not attempting to model the production process in any detail; we are not interested in reproducing patterns of error, timing data, priming effects and so on.

[JCL_1600005]

The problem

In this example, there is no number conflict between the plural determiner *these* and the species noun *types*, with *knowledge* being non-count, and with a plural verb *inform*; *knowledge* is used twice in the preceding context, seemingly referring to two different types.

The survey results

[10] DET.PL + type.PL + of + N.NC + V.PL
 these types of knowledge inform
 Y = 67; N = 4; DK = 4; T = 75 [Y = 89%]

The respondents' preferred phrasing

this type of knowledge informs (= 2)
 knowledge of this kind informs (= 2)

Notes

Here there is a preference for number agreement across the (three parts of) the species noun phrase (2), and then the two revisions to *of this type* etc. In every case (3; one of the rewrites showed avoidance of the determiner) there is number agreement between the determiner and the species noun (see also comments in §4.4.3).

Extract 11

[11] Hence it recognises law in each of the four categories it identifies and in their combinations. It makes no judgment about the general value or validity of any of **these kinds of law**, treating this as a matter for decision in particular contexts. But such valuations are juristically fundamental.

[IJC_11-1-***]

The problem

This example includes a plural determiner *these* and species noun *kinds*, with a singular or non-count use of *law*. Interesting contextual pressure is supplied by *any of*, which can be followed by singular or plural, but, when followed by the determiner *this/that/these/those* in the Stenton Corpus, the noun following the determiner was plural 64 times and singular just once.

The survey results

[11] DET.PL + kind.PL + of + N.SG/NC

these kinds of law [no V]

Y = 57; N = 13; DK = 5; T = 75 [Y = 76%]

The respondents' preferred phrasing

these kinds of laws (= 9)

this kind of law (=1)

law of this kind (= 3)

Notes

Here we have number agreement across the three parts of the species noun phrase (9 + 1 = 10), and then the two revisions to *of this type* etc. In every case (13) there is number agreement between the determiner and the species noun.

Extract 12

[12] Importantly, the passives that children produced in an RC context were claimed not to constitute true verbal passives, but rather to be adjectival passives. **This type of passives** has also been reported to be unproblematic for English-speaking children with SLI, and since adjectival passives do not require any movement it has been concluded that children with SLI have problems with A-movement and therefore, adjectival passives are easier than true actional passives (...). Hebrew-speaking children with SLI did not make any complementizer omissions, suggesting that school-aged children with SLI do not have problems projecting a fully-fledged clause structure.

[JCL_1200051]

The problem

This example shows number agreement between the determiner *this* and the species noun *type*, and with the verb *has*, but not with the N2 *passives*. The context provides six further plural *passives*.

The survey results

[12] DET.SG + type.SG + of + N.PL + V.SG
 this type of passives has ... been reported
 Y = 29; N = 45; DK = 1; T = 75 [N = 60%]

The respondents' preferred phrasing

this type of passive has ... (= 34)
 these types of passives (= 6)
 these types of passive (= 2)
 passives of this type (= 3)

Notes

The preferences here are for number agreement across (the three parts of) the species noun phrase (34 + 6 = 40), then, though with only two respondents, for agreement between the determiner and the species noun as plural but with a singular N2, and then the three revisions to *of this type* etc. In every case (45) there is number agreement between the determiner and the species noun. It should be noted that *COBUILD* marks the grammar sense of *passive* as uncount, or as part of the phrase *the passive*. However, *COBUILD* is potentially confusing here, as it conflates the meanings of 'the passive voice' and 'a passive form of a verb', which are distinguished in the *OED* (sv *passive*, B., n., 1. a., b.); the latter pluralises, the former does not.

Appendix E

The survey respondents

As noted in §4.3.5, there were 102 responses to the survey. Of these 102, 72 different people (71%) provided (some) personal data asked for in a series of questions:

Thank you for completing this acceptability survey. Now we just need some details about you.

Are you a native speaker of English?

YES / NO

If 'yes', which variety do you write in? For example: British, American, Indian.

OPEN

If 'no', which variety do you write in? For example: British, American, Indian.

OPEN

What is your main occupation?

OPEN

How old are you?

OPEN

What is your gender?

MALE / FEMALE / PREFER NOT TO SAY

Their responses are listed below in Table E1 overleaf, together with my assignment of their occupational group, chosen from:

- A academic
- B businessperson
- E editor/writer/translator, etc.
- L linguist
- S student
- T teacher

These are not exclusive categories, so that for example a PhD student in linguistics would be classified as S, A, L. I have counted undergraduates as S, but PhDs as S as well as A. The numbering of the respondents runs from 2 to 125, even though there were only 102 of them. The gaps are accounted for by my logging in to check on progress (see §4.4).

Table E1 Personal data of the survey respondents

R	Age	Sex M(ale) F(emale)	NS Y(es) N(o)	Language variety	Occupation
2	49	M	Y	New Zealand	Relationship manager for an NGO [B]
3	69	M	Y	B(ritish)	Music editor and writer of language articles in equal measure [E]
6	28	F	N	B	SEO copywriter and community manager; used to [be] an English teacher; otherwise doctoral student of English philology [E,T,A,S,B,L]
8	31	F	N	B	PhD student in psycholinguistics [A,S,L]
38	32	F	Y	Canadian	Linguist [A]
39	40	M	N	B	Librarian (previously researcher in linguistics) [A,L,B]
40	?	M	Y	A(merican)	Professor [A]
41	38	F	Y	B	Administrator [B]
42	35	M	Y	Indian	Copy editor [E]
43	56	F	Y	A	University professor [A]
44	23	F	Y	B	PhD student [A,S]
45	29	M	Y	A	PhD student in linguistics [A,S,L]
46	65	F	Y	B	Retired academic [A]
47	41	M	N	Canadian	Professor of psycholinguistics [A,L]
48	60+	F	Y	B/A	Linguist [L]
49	44	F	Y	A	Professor of applied linguistics [A,L]
50	68	M	Y	B	Writer [E]
51	65	M	Y	A	Linguistics professor (syntax speciality) [A,L]
52	74	M	Y	A	Linguist (retired) [L]
53	29	F	Y	Canadian	Linguistics professor [A,L]
54	67	M	Y	A	Professor of linguistics [A,L]
55	70	M	Y	A	Retired (formerly, teaching linguistics, Spanish, English as a second language, etc. [A,L,T])
56	29	F	N	B	University lecturer [A]
57	42	F	N	B	Teacher of English linguistics [A,L]
58	26	F	N	B	PhD student [A,S]

R	Age	Sex M(ale) F(emale)	NS Y(es) N(o)	Language variety	Occupation
59	28	F	N	A	PhD candidate, research assistant [A,S]
60	26	F	N	B	PhD student [A,S]
61	26	?	N	A	Linguistics student [S,L]
62	64	F	N	B	Associate professor in linguistics [A,L]
63	63	M	Y	Canadian	Professor of Arabic linguistics [A,L]
64	72	M	Y	B	Retired university don [A]
65	27	F	N	B/A	PhD student [A,S]
66	32	F	N	A	PhD research fellow (linguistics) [A,S,L]
67	54	M	N	B	Professor [A]
68	75	F	Y	Australian	Academic editing [E]
69	80	M	Y	A	English language editor of academic texts [E]
70	46	F	Y	A	Researcher [A]
71	74	M	Y	A	Retired professor of linguistics [A,L]
72	55	M	Y	Australian	Linguist / translator [L,E]
73	29	F	N	A	Student [S]
74	31	M	Y	A	Postdoc [A]
75	48	F	Y	Irish	Lecturer [A]
76	37	F	N	B	PhD student [A,S]
77	18		Y	A	Undergraduate student; majoring in linguistics [S,L]
78	76	F	N	A	Retired linguist [L]
79	73	M	Y	B	Retired psychologist [A]
80	77	M	Y	A	Professor of computer science [A]
81	69	M	N	B	Retired [?]
82	75	F	Y	A	Retired software R & D ... lots of NLP [A]
83	?	F	Y	B	Teacher [T]
87	78	M	Y	B	Retired ex-EFL teacher [T]
89	63	M	Y	B	Legal proofreader [E]
90	57	M	Y	B	Accountant [B]
92	21	F	Y	B	Student [S]
93	35	M	Y	A	Editor [E]

R	Age	Sex M(ale) F(emale)	NS Y(es) N(o)	Language variety	Occupation
94	64	F	Y	B	Translator / editor [E]
96	30	F	N	B	Linguistics student [S,L]
97	24	F	N	A	Student of linguistics [S,L]
100	51	F	Y	B	Writer [E]
101	47	F	N	A	Math-related services (translating, editing, teaching, ...) [E]
112	63	F	Y	A	Translating, editing, teacher of English [E,T]
113	55	F	Y	B	Translator / editor [E]
114	60	M	Y	B	Translator and language editor [E]
115	22	F	N	B	Student [S]
116	62	M	N	?	Publisher [E]
117	23	F	N	A	Student [S]
118	21	F	N	A	I'm still at university, but I work at a Center Parcs [S]
119	62	F	N	B	University professor [A]
122	57	M	Y	B	Accountant [B]
123	67	M	Y	A	Retired state worker [B]
124	59	F	Y	A	Scientific editor [E]
125	?	?	Y	B	Translator [E]

As mentioned above, 72 respondents replied to most of these questions. From those who did provide personal data, the breakdown for age and gender is shown in Figure E1; age and native vs. non-native speaker is shown in Figure E2 overleaf; and age and variety of English is shown in Figure E3 overleaf. The numbers in these three figures do not always tally, as not all respondents answered all the questions. Three respondents declined to provide their gender (R61, 26, AmE ns, linguistics student; R77, 18, AmE ns, linguistics student; R125, ??, BrE ns, translator), and three declined to give their age (R40, M, AmE ns, professor; R83, F, BrE ns, teacher; R125).

From Figure E1 it can be seen that, for the younger age groups (>49) women predominate (14:2), and for the older age groups (60+), men do so (18:11), but broadly speaking there is a mix of female and male respondents. Figure E2 shows that, again broadly speaking, there is a mix of native and non-native speakers across most age groups, though there are no non-native speakers in both the youngest (0–19) and oldest (80–89) groups, nor in the age group 50–59. It should, of course, also be

noted that in both the 0–19 and 80–89 groups there is only one respondent. Figure E3 shows that, overall, British English speakers slightly outnumber American English ones (33:27), but for those age groups with more than one speaker, there is a mix of British and American English speakers, with a few speakers of other varieties, as shown in Table E1.

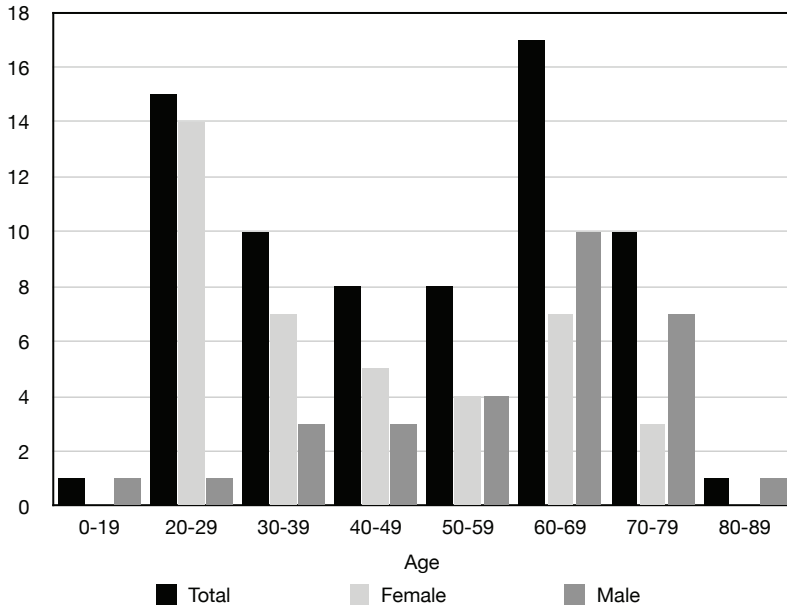


Figure E.1 Survey respondents by age and gender

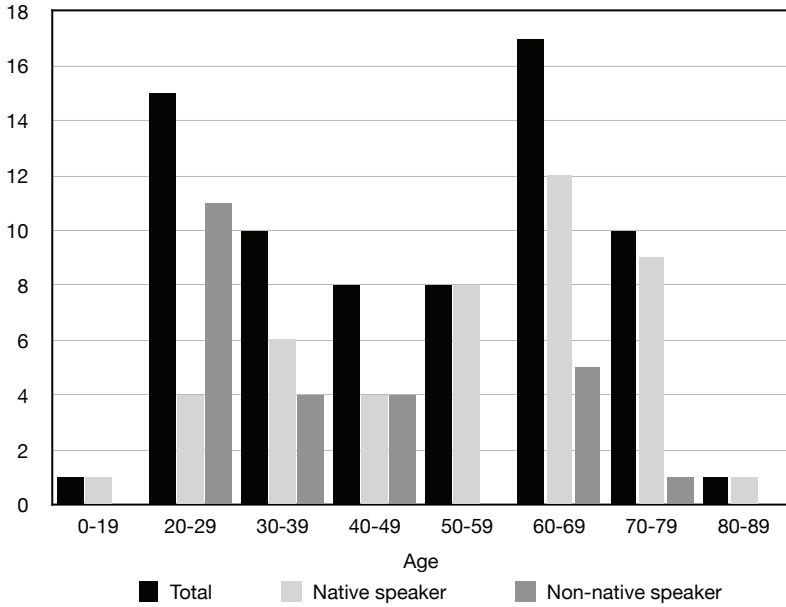


Figure E.2 Survey respondents by age and native vs. non-native speaker

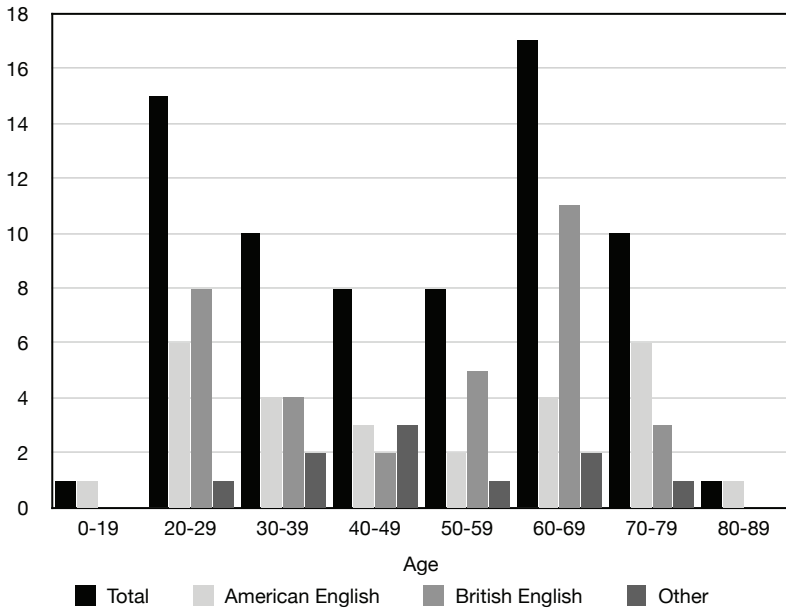


Figure E.3 Survey respondents by age and language variety

Appendix F

The journal authors

Six journals contributed manuscripts to the Stenton Corpus: for the Law sub-corpus the journals were *Asian Journal of International Law* (AJL), *Asian Journal of Law and Society* (ALS), and *International Journal of Law in Context* (IJC); for the Language sub-corpus the journals were *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* (BLC), *Journal of Child Language* (JCL), and *Language and Cognition* (LCO). In terms of the overall number of authors in the Stenton Corpus, there are 1,687 listed for the 1,031 manuscripts. Some authors wrote for more than one journal (for example, one IJC author also wrote for ALS, and several JCL authors also wrote for BLC (=20) or for LCO (=7)), so in order to arrive at the number of unique authors in the corpus, an author who contributed to more than one journal was counted only once. This resulted in a total of 1,657 different authors, with 337 different authors writing for the Law journals and 1,320 different authors writing for the Language journals. The number of authors writing for each journal are shown in Table F1 (and see §5.2.3).

Table F1 Number of authors writing for each journal

Law journals	Authors	Different authors
AJL	85	85
ALS	29	29
IJC	224	223
Law total	338	337
Language journals		
BLC	110	110
JCL	1,068	1,041
LCO	171	169
Language total	1,349	1,320
Journals total	1,687	1,657

Typically, the authors contributed to one, two or three mss, but in three cases an author contributed to more than ten mss (13, 13, 16). Table F2 shows the range of figures.

Table F2 Number of manuscripts contributed by the authors by journal

Papers	AJL	ALS	IJC	BLC	JCL	LCO	Totals
One	82	27	190	85	821	156	1361
Two	3	1	26	15	135	9	189
Three		1	6	6	55	3	71
Four			1		8		9
Five				1	12		13
Six				2	5		7
Seven					2		2
Eight							
Nine				1	1		2
Ten							
Eleven							
Twelve							
Thirteen					2		2
Fourteen							
Fifteen							
Sixteen						1	1
Totals	85	29	223	110	1041	169	1657

In the case of the 1,031 manuscripts comprising the Stenton Corpus, the only information that is available about the authors is their institutional affiliation at the time the mss were submitted, for example, “Behavioural Science Institute, Radboud University Nijmegen – the Netherlands”. There is no information about the nationality, age or gender of the authors, and none on native languages. Table F3 shows the affiliations by country of all listed authors. Note that there are 2,261 listed affiliations, as some authors listed more than one or contributed to more than one manuscript. Fifty-nine countries are listed, but 133 authors did not give an affiliated institution. The countries are listed as the authors chose to present them, and so include, for example, Hong Kong, Palestine and Taiwan.

Table F3 Journal authors by country of institutional affiliation

Country	Law journals				Language journals				All
	AJL	ALS	IJC	Total	BLC	JCL	LCO	Total	Total
Australia	35	3	24	62	3	76	2	81	143
Austria	1		1	2			1	1	3
Bangladesh	1	1		2					2
Belgium	5		1	6		26	6	32	38
Brazil			1	1			1	1	2
Cambodia	2			2					2
Canada	1		13	14	9	125	1	135	149
Chile						1		1	1
China	11	6		17	1	20		21	38
Colombia							2	2	2
Cuba							1	1	1
Denmark			1	1		28	1	29	30
Ecuador						1		1	1
Estonia						3		3	3
Finland						23	1	24	24
France	1	1	1	3	3	47	4	54	57
Germany	1	1	1	3	3	88	22	113	116
Greece					1	5	5	11	11
Hong Kong	3	1	1	5		26		26	31
Hungary						8	1	9	9
India	4			4					4
Indonesia	1			1					1
Iran						2		2	2
Ireland			2	2		6		6	8
Israel			14	14	4	35	4	43	57
Italy	1	2	3	6		53	5	58	64
Japan		1	1	2	1	18		19	21
Kazakhstan	1			1					1
Kenya						2		2	2
Korea	1	1		2		5		5	7
Kuwait						4		4	4

Country	Law journals				Language journals			All	
Lithuania						1		1	1
Mexico						4		4	4
Morocco							1	1	1
Nepal						7		7	7
Netherlands	5	2	7	11	68	10	89	96	
New Zealand	2	1	3		8		8	11	
Nigeria		1	1					1	
Norway	1	1	1	3	16		16	19	
Pakistan	1		1					1	
Palestine	1		1					1	
Philippines	3		3					3	
Portugal		1	1	1	5		6	7	
Russia					3	2	5	5	
Serbia				2			2	2	
Singapore	26	1	4	31	1	4	5	36	
Slovakia					1		1	1	
Slovenia					6		6	6	
South Africa		1	1		4	1	5	6	
Spain	3	1	4	14	28	3	45	49	
Sri Lanka	2	1	3					3	
Sweden		1	1	1	2	2	5	6	
Switzerland	3	3	6		7	3	10	16	
Taiwan	1		1		7	1	8	9	
Thailand					1		1	1	
Turkey					6		6	6	
UK	21	2	107	130	14	152	13	179	309
Uruguay							1	1	1
USA	3	7	26	36	42	535	73	650	686
UNKNOWN	29	2	52	83		42	8	50	133
Totals	170	31	265	466	111	1509	175	1795	2261

Appendix G1

Appendix G includes some additional data on further aspects of the constituents of the species noun phrase: G1 shows the relative frequencies of the three species nouns; G2 shows the relative frequencies of the singular and plural species nouns; and G3 shows the relative frequencies of the determiners. G4 focuses on the number of the N2; G5 focuses on the pre-modifiers used with the species nouns; and G6 looks at some examples of parenthetical specification of the reference of the species nouns.

Relative frequencies of the three species nouns

I noted in §5.5.4, in Table 5.1, that in the Stenton Corpus as a whole *type* is used significantly more often than either *sort* and *kind*, whilst *kind* is used significantly more often than *sort*. In the Law sub-corpus, there is no significant difference in the use of *type* and *kind*, but both are used significantly more often than *sort*. In the Language sub-corpus, *type* is used significantly more often than both *sort* and *kind*, whilst *kind* is used significantly more often than *sort*. The main difference between the Law and the Language sub-corpora is that in the Language sub-corpus there is a clear distinction between the frequency of use of *type*, then *kind*, then *sort*, as in the corpus as a whole. In the Law sub-corpus, however, there is no significant difference in the frequency of use of *type* and *kind*, although *type* is the more frequent.

Comparing the use of *type*, *kind* and *sort* between the two corpora, we find that there is no significant difference in the frequency of use of *type* between the Law and Language sub-corpora. Both *kind* and *sort* are significantly more frequent in the Law than in the Language sub-corpus. These relationships are shown more simply in Table G1 below:

Table G1 Relative frequency of *type* vs. *kind* vs. *sort*

Corpus	<i>type</i> >	<i>kind</i> >	<i>sort</i>
Law:	<i>type</i> <i>kind</i>	>	<i>sort</i>
Language:	<i>type</i> >	<i>kind</i> >	<i>sort</i>

In this Appendix I want to expand this analysis to see if there are any discernible differences in the three main variants of the species noun phrase: THIS TYPE OF N2, N2 OF THIS TYPE and THIS N2 TYPE. Log-likelihood calculations are used to determine significance; the corpus size here means the number of the variant examples.

The figures for the three variants of the species noun phrase in the whole corpus are as follows:

THIS TYPE OF N2: *type* (= 536), *kind* (= 239), *sort* (= 70) T = 845
63% vs. 28% vs. 8%

N2 OF THIS TYPE: *type* (= 88), *kind* (= 65), *sort* (= 40) T = 193
46% vs. 34% vs. 21%

THIS N2 TYPE: *type* (= 105), *kind* (= 0), *sort* (= 0) T = 105
100% vs. 0% vs. 0%

For this TYPE OF N2, *type* is used significantly more frequently than both *kind* and *sort*, whilst *kind* is used significantly more than *sort*. For N2 OF THIS TYPE, the frequency differences are not significant. For THIS N2 TYPE, not surprisingly, *type* is used significantly more frequently than both *kind* and *sort*.

For the Law sub-corpus the figures for the two variants used are:

THIS TYPE OF N2: *type* (= 128), *kind* (= 93), *sort* (= 45) T = 266
48% vs. 35% vs. 17%

N2 OF THIS TYPE: *type* (= 11), *kind* (= 30), *sort* (= 14) T = 55
20% vs. 55% vs. 26%

For THIS TYPE OF N2, there is no significant difference in the frequency of use of *type* and *kind*, whilst both *type* and *kind* are used significantly more than *sort*. For N2 OF THIS TYPE, the frequency differences are not significant.

For the Language sub-corpus:

THIS TYPE OF N2: *type* (= 405), *kind* (= 149), *sort* (= 27) T = 581
70% vs. 26% vs. 5%

N2 OF THIS TYPE: *type* (= 77), *kind* (= 35), *sort* (= 26) T = 138
56% vs. 25% vs. 19%

THIS N2 TYPE: *type* (= 105), *kind* (= 0), *sort* (= 0) T = 105
100% vs. 0% vs. 0%

For THIS TYPE OF N2, *type* is used significantly more frequently than both *kind* and *sort*, whilst *kind* is used significantly more than *sort*. For N2 OF THIS TYPE, *type* is used significantly more frequently than both *kind* and *sort*, whilst the frequency differences between *kind* and *sort* are not significant. For THIS N2 TYPE, *type* is obviously used significantly more frequently than both *kind* and *sort*.

What we find overall, then, for THIS TYPE OF N2, is that in the corpus as a whole *type* is significantly more frequent than both *kind* and *sort*, whilst *kind* is significantly

more frequent than *sort*. This is also true of the Language sub-corpus, whereas in the Law sub-corpus there is no significant difference in the frequency of use of *type* and *kind*, though they are both used significantly more frequently than *sort*.

For N2 OF THIS TYPE, in the corpus as a whole the frequency differences are not significant. The Law sub-corpus also follows this pattern, but in the Language sub-corpus *type* is used significantly more frequently than both *kind* and *sort*, with the frequency differences between *kind* and *sort* being not significant.

As for THIS N2 TYPE, it is used only in the Language sub-corpus, and always with *type*.

Appendix G2

Relative frequencies of the singular vs. plural species nouns

In §5.5.4 I investigated the relative frequencies of the three species nouns – *kind*, *sort* and *type* – in the species noun phrases in the Stenton Corpus. Here, I want to extend that investigation a little to look at the relative frequencies of the singular and plural variants of these species nouns taken as a group. For the corpus as a whole, there are 824 examples of the singular and 321 examples of the plural: 73:28%. Log-likelihood calculations show that this is a significant preference for the singular.

For the three different variants of the species noun phrase, the overall numbers are:

THIS TYPE OF SG:PL 604:243 (72:28%)

OF THIS TYPE SG:PL 183:10 (95:5%)

THIS N2 TYPE SG:PL 40:65 (38:62%)

These figures show a significant preference for the singular for the first two variants, THIS TYPE OF and OF THIS TYPE, and a non-significant preference for the plural for the THIS N2 TYPE variant.

For the Law sub-corpus as a whole the figures are SG:PL 252:69 (79:22%), showing a significant preference for the singular. For the two variants found in this sub-corpus, the figures are:

THIS TYPE OF SG:PL 197:67 (75:25%)

OF THIS TYPE SG:PL 55:2 (97:4%)

These figures again show a significant preference for the singular in both variants.

For the Language sub-corpus as a whole, the figures are SG:PL 585:239 (71:29%), showing a significant preference for the singular. For the three variants found in this sub-corpus the figures are:

THIS TYPE OF SG:PL 407:174 (70:30%)

OF THIS TYPE SG:PL 130:8 (94:6%)

THIS N2 TYPE SG:PL 40:65 (38:62%)

These figures again show a significant preference for the singular with the THIS TYPE OF and OF THIS TYPE variants, but a non-significant preference for the plural with the THIS N2 TYPE variant.

Overall, then, in the use of the species noun phrase in the Stenton Corpus, there is a preference for the use of the singular species noun over the plural (72:28%), and that preference is maintained in both sub-corpora (Law 79:22%; Language 71:29%). That singular preference is also shown overall with the THIS TYPE OF variant (72:28%), and is again maintained in the two sub-corpora (Law 75:25%; Language 70:30%). The OF THIS TYPE variant shows a very strong preference for singular overall (95:5%), and again that preference is maintained in the two sub-corpora (Law 97:4%; Language 94:6%). The only variant to show a preference for the plural is THIS N2 TYPE, which occurs only in the Language sub-corpus (SG:PL 38:62%), and this helps to explain why the overall preference for the singular in the Language sub-corpus is slightly lower than that for the Law sub-corpus (Law:Language 79:71%).

Appendix G3

Relative frequencies of the determiners

Having briefly investigated the relative frequencies of the three species nouns in the species noun phrases in the Stenton Corpus in Appendix G2, here I want to investigate, again briefly, the relative frequencies of the two determiners: *this/these* vs. *that/those*. For the corpus as a whole, there are 1,096 examples of *this/these* and 49 examples of *that/those*: 96:4%. Log-likelihood calculations perhaps not surprisingly show that this is a significant preference for *this/these*.

For the three different variants of the species noun phrase, the overall numbers are:

THIS TYPE OF	<i>this:that</i> 821:26 (97:3%)
OF THIS TYPE	<i>this:that</i> 180:13 (93:7%)
THIS N2 TYPE	<i>this:that</i> 95:10 (90:10%)

These figures again show a significant preference for *this/these* over *that/those* in all three variants.

For the Law sub-corpus as a whole the figures are 302:19 (94:6%) for *this:that*, again showing a significant preference for *this/these*. For the two variants found in this sub-corpus, the figures are:

THIS TYPE OF	<i>this:that</i> 250:16 (94:6%)
OF THIS TYPE	<i>this:that</i> 50:5 (91:9%)

These figures again show a significant preference for *this/these*.

For the Language sub-corpus as a whole the figures are 791:33 (96:4%) for *this:that*, showing a significant preference for *this/these*. For the three variants found in this sub-corpus, the figures are:

THIS TYPE OF	<i>this:that</i> 564:17 (97:3%)
OF THIS TYPE	<i>this:that</i> 128:10 (93:7%)
THIS N2 TYPE	<i>this:that</i> 95:10 (90:10%)

These figures again show a significant preference for *this/these* over *that/those*.

This analysis thus shows a very strong preference for *this/these* over *that/those*, both overall and in the two sub-corpora, and for all three variants, most easily seen in the percentage figures; Biber et al. (1999, pp. 274–275) include a discussion of similar findings. Might this preference be contextually determined? Both *this* and *that*

are listed as “referentially equivalent to a previous noun phrase” in Quirk et al. (1972, p. 702). Quirk et al. (1985) state that *this/these* can have both anaphoric and cataphoric reference, but that *that/those* can have only anaphoric reference. It is unlikely, therefore, that the preference for *this/these* over *that/those* in the species noun phrase can be accounted for in terms of anaphoric vs. cataphoric reference. However, Quirk et al. also refer to *this/these* as “‘near’ demonstratives” and *that/those* as “‘distant’ demonstratives” (1985, p. 375; see also 1972, p. 217). Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 1504) refer to “proximal *this* and distal *that*”, whilst Biber et al. (1999, p. 274) also refer to “proximate” and “distant” forms. It seems possible, therefore, that the preference for *this/these*, and especially singular *this*, in the species noun phrases in the Stenton Corpus, is based on a usage meaning something like ‘which has been recently mentioned’ (see also the notes on parentheticals in Appendix G6). This aspect of the referential anaphoric meaning of *this*, however, is not immediately relevant to the analysis of number in the species noun phrase, but remains a topic for future study.

Appendix G4

Number of the N2 in the three variants

The final constituent of the species noun phrase that can potentially vary in its number marking is the N2, again in all three variants: THIS TYPE OF N2, N2 OF THIS TYPE and THIS N2 TYPE. In this part of Appendix G I briefly investigate whether the number of the N2 varies with the number of the species noun and its determiner.

For the THIS TYPE OF N2 examples, there are 847 in total: 604 of these are singular THIS TYPE OF and 243 are plural THESE TYPES OF. These will be investigated separately in this section, followed by N2 OF THIS TYPE (193) and THIS N2 TYPE (105).

THIS TYPE OF (604 examples) and THESE TYPES OF (243 examples)

For the singular THIS TYPE OF overall, the N2 is singular or unmarked for number in 574 examples, and plural in 30, a ratio of 95:5%. Log-likelihood calculations perhaps not surprisingly show a significant preference for the singular or unmarked N2. (The separate ratios for the Law and Language sub-corpora are very similar, at 97:3% and 95:5%, respectively.)

For the plural THESE TYPES OF overall, the N2 is plural in 192 examples, and singular or unmarked for number in 51 examples, a ratio of 79:21%. Log-likelihood calculations show a significant preference for the plural N2. (The separate ratios for Law and Language are 72:28% and 82:18%, respectively, both showing a strong tendency to the plural, but with a slightly less strong tendency in the Law sub-corpus.)

There is no significant difference between the frequency of use of a singular or unmarked N2 in the singular species noun phrase, and the use of a plural N2 in the plural noun phrase.

N2 of this type (193 examples)

For the 193 OF THIS TYPE examples, overall 185 are singular OF THIS TYPE, and 8 are plural OF THESE TYPES. For the singular OF THIS TYPE, 76 examples include an N2 which is singular or unmarked for number,¹⁵ and 109 include a plural N2. This difference is not significant. For the plural OF THESE TYPES examples, 1 includes an N2 which is singular or unmarked for number, and 7 include a plural N2, again a not significant difference.

¹⁵ Unusually, the N2 in this variant can be pre-modified by the singular determiner *a/an*, thereby marking the N2 as unarguably singular.

It would seem, therefore, that the authors in the Stenton Corpus are equally comfortable using a singular/unmarked or a plural N2 within either a singular or plural species noun phrase. What must be remembered here, of course, is that the N2 precedes the species noun, and so there is no number conflict even when a singular species noun follows a plural N2.

THIS N2 TYPE (105 examples)

For the third species noun phrase variant, THIS N2 TYPE, all of the 105 N2s are singular or unmarked for number, whether the species noun is singular or plural, as shown in §5.5.2: THIS N2 TYPE. This variant occurs only in the Language sub-corpus. There is thus no number mismatch in the examples of this variant in the Stenton Corpus.

Summary

There are some notable findings in this section. There is a huge preference for a singular/unmarked N2 with the singular THIS TYPE OF variant, and a large preference for a plural N2 with THESE TYPES OF, both of these showing a tendency towards number agreement between the N2 and the species noun. The OF THIS TYPE/OF THESE TYPES variants are more balanced, with a plural N2 being favoured, but not strongly. It is suggested that the unique potential to use a singular determiner, *a/an*, with the singular OF THIS TYPE variant might counteract a tendency for number agreement between the species noun and the N2. Finally, the THIS N2 TYPE/THESE N2 TYPES variants were notable in that all of the examples in the corpus feature an N2 which is singular/unmarked for number. This again suggests that this variant has the potential for the avoidance of number conflict in those species noun phrases where a plural determiner and species noun is the preferred choice.

Appendix G5

Pre-modification of the species noun

In the Stenton Corpus, there is a relatively small number of instances of the species noun phrase in which the species noun itself is pre-modified: 113 out of a total of 1,145 examples (10%). Example (G1) shows modification of singular *type*, and (G2) shows modification of plural *types*, both from the Law sub-corpus.

(G1) ... Consider an example of **this *second type of clausal configuration***:

“[w]omen now have the freedom and security to enjoy lovemaking without the fear of forced procreation” ... [file#321|IJC]

(G2) ... Nonetheless, the distinction between **these *two types of narratives*** is more complex than what might appear. ... [file#181|IJC]

The Law sub-corpus contains fewer examples of species noun pre-modification than the Language sub-corpus: 17:96. The normalised frequencies are 10 pmw for the corpus as a whole, 7 pmw for the Law sub-corpus, and 11 pmw for the Language sub-corpus. However, the differences in these normalised frequencies are not significant.

In both sub-corpora there are more examples with the plural species noun than with the singular: Law 12:5; Language 81:15. Further, in the Law sub-corpus, all the examples with a plural species noun are of the THESE TYPES OF N2 variant. In the Language sub-corpus, 64 of the 81 plural species noun are of the THESE TYPES OF N2 variant.

In the 113 examples, there are only 19 different pre-modifiers, listed here with the number of examples of each in parentheses: *two* (=55), *different* (=18), *three* (=8), *same* (=7), *particular* (=5), *four* (=3), *latter* (=3), *other* (=2), *second* (=2), *distinct* (=1), *first* (=1), *general* (=1), *initial* (=1), *new* (=1), *several* (=1), *specific* (=1), *third* (=1), *traditional* (=1), and *various* (=1). Of these, *first*, *general*, *latter*, *particular*, *second*, *third* and *traditional* are used only with singular species nouns, and *different*, *distinct*, *four*, *initial*, *new*, *other*, *several*, *specific*, *three*, *two* and *various* are used only with plural species nouns; *same* is the only pre-modifier used with both singular and plural species nouns. Apart from *new*, *general* and *traditional*, all these pre-modifiers can be said to carry some kind of contrastive number meaning, either distinguishing between two or more of the same type or distinguishing two or more in sequence.

However, the numbers of examples of the different pre-modifiers are again too small to generalise from.

Davidse et al. (2008, pp. 145–146) also present a small list of “qualitative adjectives” and “postdeterminer adjectives”, which overlap with the list above (see §2.4.3), and Klockmann (2017a, p. 308, Table 2) includes a similar list of pre-modifiers (see §2.4.4), but, as noted in §5.5.2: THIS TYPE OF N2, the lack of examples of *these type of* in the Stenton Corpus means that their findings are difficult to compare with the current study.

Appendix G6

Parentheticals

One aspect of species noun pre-modification is that, in addition to the pre-modifiers themselves, the scope of the reference of the species noun is sometimes spelt out parenthetically, as in (G3) and (G4) (emphasis added; and see Appendix G3 for a note on the anaphoric vs. cataphoric reference of the determiners):

(G3) ... Still, in some circumstances **this kind of political control** – *that is, bargaining among coalition partners over security/civil-liberties policy* – will prevent ... [file#248|IJC]

(G4) ... There is, however, evidence that none of **these three kinds of similarity** (*verb identity, overlap in argument structure, and semantic similarity*) operates in syntax ... [file#431|JCL]

In both examples, the parenthetical structure is made explicit, with dashes in (G3), which also includes the explicit parenthetical introduction *that is*, and with parentheses in (G4). In both examples, there is also pre-modification, of the N2 in (G3) with *political*, and of the species noun in (G4) with *three*. This is clearly a topic worth pursuing, and see Klockmann (2017a, p. 304) (§2.4.4) for more examples. Straaijer¹⁶ has raised the issue of whether, in examples such as *these kind of overt social cues* (cf. §§4.3.2, 4.4.1, 4.4.3), the distance of the N2 (*cues*) from the *of* would have any effect of the number marking of the N2. This is not a topic that I was able to pursue in this study because of a lack of examples of N2 pre-modification, but it would again be a topic for further investigation in a larger corpus.

¹⁶ Robin Straaijer (p.c., 24 February 2024).

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Samenvatting in het Nederlands

These kind of words: *Number agreement in the species noun phrase in International Academic English*

Overzicht

In deze studie wordt één enkel onderwerp in het Engels taalgebruik onderzocht, namelijk dat van de getalsovereenkomst in naamwoordelijke constituenten die twee substantieven bevatten met één hoeveelheidsaanduidend substantief (English: *species noun phrase*, hierna SNP), bijvoorbeeld *this kind of thing* vs. *these kinds of things* vs. *these kind of things* vs. *things of this kind*. Deze en andere varianten van de SNP worden vanuit een aantal verschillende perspectieven bestudeerd. Ten eerste is er de benadering door professionele taalkundigen, in de vorm van drie van de meest gezaghebbende moderne beschrijvende grammatica's, en een aantal moderne theoretische benaderingen die de variatie in vorm proberen te verklaren binnen hun verschillende modellen. De tweede benadering is die van de schrijvers van taaladviesboeken, die door taalkundigen vaak beschouwd worden als amateurs of leken. De taaladviesboeken in deze studie zijn geschreven tussen 1770 en 2010 en opgenomen in de Hyper Usage Guide of English (HUGE) database, die werd ontwikkeld binnen het project Bridging the Unbridgeable (BtU), geleid door Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade bij het Leiden University Centre for Linguistics in Nederland tussen 2011 en 2016 (zie bijv. Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2020). Ten derde verzamelt deze studie de meningen van het grote publiek over het gebruik van de verschillende varianten van de SNP. Dat neemt hier de vorm aan van een onderzoek naar de attitudes van respondenten met behulp van een online vragenlijst, plus een analyse van een corpus van academische teksten, bestaande uit niet-gecorrigeerde manuscripten die zijn ingediend bij een aantal tijdschriften op het gebied van de rechtswetenschap en de taalkunde, gepubliceerd door Cambridge University Press. Dit onderzoek past daarmee binnen het BtU-project, waarvan de ondertitel luidt 'Linguists, Prescriptivists and the General Public'. De schrijvers van de taaladviesboeken vervullen daarbij de rol van de prescriptivisten.

De hoofdfocus van het onderzoek ligt dus op de variatie in getalsaanduidingen in de SNP in een corpus van academisch Engels, zowel in de historische context van taaladviesboeken van 1770 tot en met 2010, als in de context van hedendaagse attitudes ten opzichte van het gebruik van de variante vormen. In het bijzonder wilde ik onderzoeken of en hoe de in veel taaladviesboeken bekritiseerde gemengde

variant, met een meervoudig *these* en een enkelvoudig zelfstandig naamwoord *kind* – zoals in *these kind of errors* – wordt gebruikt door de auteurs in het speciaal en met toestemming van de uitgever voor dit onderzoek samengestelde Stenton Corpus of International Academic English, of dat die auteurs de voorkeur gaven aan de voorgeschreven varianten die getalsovereenkomst tussen de zinsdelen laten zien, bijvoorbeeld *this sort of error*, *these types of errors*, *errors of this kind*. Er blijkt een grote mate van harmonie te bestaan tussen hoe deze drie groepen mensen – de taalkundigen, de prescriptivisten en het grote publiek – in de praktijk aankijken tegen getalsovereenkomst in de SNP.

De resultaten van mijn analyses van de drie groepen worden hieronder besproken, maar eerst is het, gezien deze harmonie in de opvattingen van de drie bestudeerde groepen, belangrijk om iets te zeggen over waarom de verschillende vormen van de SNP als een gebruiksprobleem worden beschouwd. Ten eerste was deze variatie in mijn carrière als redacteur een onderwerp dat, vooral onder redacteurs van bundels met artikelen van verschillende auteurs, vaak werd besproken met het oog op een ‘consequent’ gebruik. Ten tweede is deze variatie een onderwerp dat in veel taaladviesboeken van de HUGE database aan bod komt, van de vroegste uit 1770 tot en met de laatste uit 2010. Ten derde is één variant van de soortelijke voornaamwoordgroep, bijvoorbeeld *these kind of errors*, het onderwerp geweest van eerdere attitudeonderzoeken, waaronder Leonard (1932), Mittins et al. (1970), en aan het begin van de eenentwintigste eeuw in het BtU-project zelf. Een deel van deze studie gaat daarom na of de varianten van de soortelijke voornaamwoordgroep het verdienen om besproken te worden als een gebruiksprobleem.

De taalkundigen

In hoofdstuk 2 presenteer ik, na een uiteenzetting van de verschillende structuren van de verschillende vormen van de soortelijke naamwoordgroep (§2.2), de opvattingen van de taalkundigen, zoals die blijken uit de beschrijvingen in drie moderne grammatica’s (§2.3), en uit een aantal theoretische analyses die tot doel hebben deze beschrijvingen uit te breiden (§2.4). De grammatica’s presenteren een in essentie traditionele benadering van getalsovereenkomst in de zelfstandig naamwoordelijke bijzin, gebaseerd op de ‘congruentieregel’, waarbij de drie zinsdelen, de determinator, het soortelijk zelfstandig naamwoord en het tweede zelfstandig naamwoord (N2) in de *of*-groep getalsovereenkomst vertonen, bijvoorbeeld *that kind of thing* en *these kinds of things*. In deze voorbeelden wordt het zelfstandig naamwoord *kind(s)* gezien als het hoofd van de naamwoordelijke groep, met een daaropvolgende *of*-voorzetselgroep. Als hoofd regelt of bepaalt het soortelijk zelfstandig naamwoord een eventuele getalsaanduiding op het werkwoord wanneer het fungeert als het onderwerp

van een zin, bijvoorbeeld *Those kinds of parties are dangerous*. De geraadpleegde grammatica's merken echter ook op dat het getal van de determinator soms gelijk is aan dat van de N2, vooral wanneer de determinator en de N2 beide gemarkeerd zijn voor meervoud en het soortelijk zelfstandig naamwoord als enkelvoud wordt gezien of als ongemarkeerd voor getal, bijvoorbeeld *these kind of questions*. Dit wordt door de taalkundigen geanalyseerd als het resultaat van herclassificering van het soortelijk zelfstandig naamwoord van telbaar naar niet-telbaar. Dit afwijkende gebruik wordt door de grammatici gezien als informeel, of als kenmerkend voor gesproken taalgebruik – een registervariant. De mismatch in getal kan overigens vermeden kan worden door de variant *N2 of this kind* te gebruiken, waarbij de N2 gemarkeerd kan worden voor meervoud en waar *of this kind* functioneert als een post-modificator van de N2, bijvoorbeeld *questions of this kind*. Bij deze analyse is er dus geen getalsconflict tussen de determinator en het soortelijk zelfstandig naamwoord, noch tussen de determinator en de N2.

Hoewel het soortelijk zelfstandig naamwoord, als hoofd van de naamwoordelijke groep in bijvoorbeeld *these kind of N2*, over het algemeen de getalsovereenkomst met het werkwoord zou moeten bepalen, zijn hierop duidelijke uitzonderingen te vinden, zoals bijvoorbeeld in *Those kind of parties are dangerous*, waar het zelfstandig naamwoord *kind* enkelvoud is, maar de werkwoordvorm *are* meervoud. Dit wordt door sommige auteurs verklaard met behulp van de nevenconcepten 'notionele overeenstemming' en 'nabijheid', d.w.z. het getal van het werkwoord wordt bepaald door het getal van het zelfstandig naamwoord dat er het dichtst bij staat (*parties*) door 'aantrekking', in plaats van door de syntaxis van de bijzin. In dergelijke gevallen fungeert de N2 (*parties*) als het hoofd van de naamwoordgroep, en bepaalt deze dus ook het getal van de determinator (*Those*). *Kind (of)* gedraagt zich hier als een (post)determinator, aangezien het volgt op een andere, centrale determinator *those*, en de hele zin pre-modificeert dan de N2 *parties*.

Dit onderscheid tussen een soortelijk zelfstandig naamwoord dat gevolgd wordt door een *of*-voorzetselzin en *kind of* functionerend als een post-determinator ligt ook ten grondslag aan de theoretische studies die besproken worden in het tweede deel van hoofdstuk 2 (§2.4). Hoewel de beschrijvingen in detail verschillen, op zijn minst gedeeltelijk vanwege de specifieke theoretische oriëntaties, worden in wezen twee van de belangrijkste varianten die in de grammatica's worden beschreven – *these kinds of* en *these kind of* – niet geanalyseerd als grammaticaal vs. ongrammaticaal, noch als registervarianten, maar als verschillende structuren met verschillende betekenissen. In deze analyses wordt enkelvoudig *kind* geherclassificeerd als een ontelbaar zelfstandig naamwoord, of behandeld als getalloos in een driewegsysteem van enkelvoud vs. meervoud vs. getalloos. Helaas konden deze potentieel interessante benaderingen niet in de huidige studie worden getest vanwege een gebrek aan voorbeelden in het

Stenton Corpus: ik vond slechts zes voorbeelden van constructies als *these kind of* op een totaal van 1.145 (0,5%). Voor de taalkundigen wordt een aanvankelijk eenvoudige analyse van *these kinds of* vs. *these kind of* als grammaticaal vs. ongrammaticaal dus uitgebreid en uitgelegd in termen van zowel grammaticale constructie (nabijheid, nummerloosheid) als register (formeel vs. informeel).

De prescriptivisten

In hoofdstuk 3 presenteer ik twee analyses van de gebruiksgidsen in de HUGE-database van het Bridging the Unbridgeable-project (§3.2). De eerste analyse gaat in op veelgehoorde kritiek op zulke gidsen, namelijk dat ze vaak zijn samengesteld door leken die geen waardering hebben voor of kennis van het werk van professionele taalkundigen of andere taalwetenschappers. Zulke schrijvers van taaladvies worden soms gezien als mensen die maar gaandeweg hun regels verzinnen, vandaar de ietwat negatieve connotatie bij de benaming ‘prescriptivisten’, zowel in dit onderzoek als in de context waarin het werd uitgevoerd. Deze opvatting wordt geïllustreerd door wat Pam Peters (2020 [vertaald uit het Engels]) ziet als “het gebrek aan kruisverwijzingen in veel taaladviesboeken”. In §3.3 laat ik zien dat geen van beide beweringen opgaat voor de gidsen die in dit onderzoek zijn gebruikt, omdat veel van de schrijvers ervan expliciet verwijzen naar grammatica’s en woordenboeken, en zelfs naar andere taaladviesboeken. Opmerkelijk is ook dat de schrijvers van taaladviesboeken zelf vaak kritisch zijn over met name eerdere grammatici en lexicografen.

De tweede analyse van de taaladviesboeken gaat in op een aantal vragen die Robin Straaijer, samensteller van de HUGE-database, stelde over de levenscyclus van specifieke taalkwesties (§§3.4–3.6). Deze vragen zijn:

Wanneer wordt een bepaald gebruik problematisch, of als zodanig ervaren, en wanneer houdt een bepaald gebruik op problematisch of betwist te zijn? Met andere woorden, wanneer ‘beginnen’ en ‘eindigen’ gebruiksproblemen? En welke gebruiksproblemen blijven bestaan? Een ander aspect is de discussie over gebruiksproblemen in gebruiksgidsen. Vragen zijn: Verandert de bespreking van specifieke gebruiksproblemen, en zo ja, op welke manier? En zijn er verschillen in gebruikadviezen voor verschillende variëteiten van het Engels?

(Straaijer, 2015 [vertaald uit het Engels])

Ik laat zien dat getalsovereenkomst in de SNP een onderwerp is dat in de taaladviesboeken in deze studie voorkomt vanaf het eerste (Baker, 1770, 1779) tot het laatste (Taggart, 2010), en daarna (bijv. Butterfield, 2015; Garner, 2022), dus als taalkwestie is het probleem zeker blijven voortbestaan. Dit betekent echter niet dat alle taaladviesboeken in de HUGE database het als een gebruiksprobleem zien. Van de zevenenzeventig gebruiksgidsen in HUGE zien zevenenveertig (61%) het als een

voldoende groot probleem om er een paragraaf aan te wijden. Voor die zevenenveertig gidsen is de presentatie van de varianten door de jaren heen consistent gebleven, vooral in wat wordt gezien als het belangrijkste probleem, namelijk de getalsmatige mismatch in bijvoorbeeld *these kind of N2*. In de taaladviesboeken wordt het gebruiksgebod of -verbod meestal gekoppeld aan een voorbeeld van de voorkeursvariant, en soms aan een uitleg van waarom de onderhavige constructie moet worden vermeden. Hoewel deze 47 gidsen een sectie bevatten over de SNP, moet echter worden opgemerkt dat ze dit niet allemaal als een probleem zien. Vier van deze gidsen erkennen dat hun lezers misschien verwachten dat de verschillende varianten worden besproken, maar ze vinden ook dat al deze varianten acceptabel zijn in standaard taalgebruik.

De meeste gidsen die bepaalde varianten wel problematisch vinden, benadrukken de schijnbare mismatch in getal tussen de determinator en het soortelijk zelfstandig naamwoord, zoals in bijvoorbeeld *these kind*, en geven in plaats daarvan de voorkeur aan *these kinds* en *this kind*. Dit sluit aan bij de overeenstemmingsregel in de grammatica's. Een verdere overeenkomst tussen de taaladviesboeken en de grammatica's is de observatie dat de ongrammaticale geachte varianten vaker voorkomen in informeel geschreven of gesproken taalgebruik, terwijl in formelere registers de voorkeur wordt gegeven aan getalovereenkomst. Ik kon hierbij geen verschillen vinden tussen de taaladviesboeken van de twee in de HUGE database meest voorkomende varianten van het Engels: Brits en Amerikaans. Echter, net als bij de grammatica's blijkt dat zodra de discussie verder gaat dan de determinator en het zelfstandig naamwoord, er meer variatie in getal acceptabel is. Verschillende taaladviesboeken accepteren bijvoorbeeld *this kind of things*, *these kinds of food* en *these kind of trees*, allemaal met een gemengde getalsaanduiding. Wanneer de SNP als onderwerp van een zin fungeert en het getal van het werkwoord relevant wordt, vinden we opnieuw een aantal varianten die acceptabel worden geacht. Bijvoorbeeld, *this sort of men is*, *cars of this kind are*, *these kinds of tree are*, *this sort of men are* en *these kind of men are* komen allemaal voor in één of meer van de taaladviesboeken als voorbeelden van acceptabel taalgebruik. Een aantal van de taaladviesboeken gebruikt ook de begrippen nabijheid en aantrekking in hun uitleg van sommige van deze varianten. Voor zover de discussie in de loop der jaren is veranderd, laat een analyse van die gidsen waarvan er meerdere edities zijn uitgegeven zien dat de latere edities iets meer beschrijving en uitleg van het probleem bieden (§3.6), alsmede van het gebruik van de varianten in verschillende contexten. Deze beschrijving en uitleg komen echter ook voor in sommige eerdere edities. Er is dus geen bewijs in de gidsen als geheel dat het onjuiste gebruik van grammaticaal getal in de geanalyseerde constructie in de loop van de tijd acceptabeler is geworden.

In het algemeen beschouwen de taaladviesboeken *these kinds of N2* dus als meer geschikt voor zowel formeel geschreven als gesproken taalgebruik, terwijl *these kind*

of N2 gebruikelijk is in informele teksten en in conversaties – een registersverschil dus. Dit is ook het standpunt in de beschrijvingen in de moderne grammatica's die in hoofdstuk 2 geanalyseerd werden. Het lijkt er dus op dat de analyse van getalsvariatie in de SNP gezien kan worden als één van de voorbeelden waar de observatie van Huddleston en Pullum (2002 [vertaald uit het Engels]) in grote lijnen klopt, en dat er in de praktijk geen reden is waarom de grammatica's van de taalkundigen en de taaladviesboeken "het niet eens zouden zijn over wat ze zeggen over de onderwerpen die ze beide behandelen".

Het grote publiek: het attitudeonderzoek

De derde groep in dit onderzoek wordt gevormd door het grote publiek, dat hier wordt vertegenwoordigd door twee verschillende groepen, te weten diegenen die ervoor kozen om deel te nemen aan een online enquête over getalsvariatie in de SNP, en daarnaast een groep taalgebruikers bestaande uit auteurs die artikelen ter publicatie hadden ingediend bij een aantal academische tijdschriften uitgegeven door Cambridge University Press.

In hoofdstuk 4 presenteer ik de resultaten van een attitudeonderzoek naar de aanvaardbaarheid van een aantal korte teksten die een SNP bevatten, bijvoorbeeld *these sort of plays, this type of error*, waarvan de samenstellende delen soms een schijnbare mismatch in getal vertonen. Dit overzicht introduceert een aantal procedurele vernieuwingen. Voor zover ik weet, is dit het eerste onderzoek dat aan de hand van meerdere voorbeelden taalattitudes ten opzichte van slechts één taalkwestie – getalsovereenkomst in de zelfstandige naamwoordgroep – onderzoekt, in plaats van slechts één voorbeeld van elk van een aantal onderwerpen te gebruiken, wat de meer gebruikelijke praktijk is en ook het geval was in de drie eerder besproken onderzoeken in dit hoofdstuk (§4.2). De enquête is ook vernieuwend omdat elk voorbeeld wordt gepresenteerd in een substantiële context, meestal bestaande uit drie zinnen, in plaats van als één losstaande zin. Dit was om de respondenten in staat te stellen contextuele aanwijzingen te gebruiken bij het bepalen of een voorbeeld voor hen aanvaardbaar was. De verwachting was dat deze context ertoe zou kunnen leiden dat meer mensen een voorbeeld aanvaardbaar zouden vinden, omdat ze in staat zouden zijn om eventuele onduidelijkheid over de betekenis in een voorbeeld van een enkele, losse zin op te lossen.

De respondenten werd gevraagd naar de aanvaardbaarheid van twaalf voorbeeldzinnen in context, die elk een variant van de SNP bevatten. Ze bleken een overweldigende voorkeur te hebben voor de 'traditionele' getalsovereenkomst tussen de determinator en het zelfstandig naamwoord, bijvoorbeeld *this type of error* (99% aanvaard), en even overweldigend verwierpen ze de ongrammaticale *these type of*

representative arrangements (90% verworpen). De respondenten waren het dus in grote lijnen eens met de beschrijvingen in de grammatica's, en met de voorschriften in de meeste van die taaladviesboeken die een item over de SNP bevatten (§4.4).

Het waren echter de reacties op de voorbeelden tussen deze twee uitersten die een onverwachte bevinding opleverden: de oordelen van de respondenten vertonen een gradiënt, die kan worden opgevat als een glijdende schaal van acceptabiliteit. Voorbeelden uit deze lijn worden hieronder opgesomd in afnemende volgorde van acceptabiliteit (cf. §4.4.3):

[i] this type of error [... was observed].

[iia] these kinds of law
these types of gesture

[iib] this type of fisheries

[iii] these kind of overt social cues

In [i] hebben de determinator en het zelfstandig naamwoord (en ook de N2 en het werkwoord) dezelfde getalsmarkering. In [ii] komen de determinator en het eerste zelfstandig naamwoord in getal overeen, maar niet met de N2. Binnen deze groep worden voorbeelden met een determinator en soortnaamwoord in het meervoud, en een N2 die meervoudig of ongemarkeerd voor getal is ([iia]) als meer acceptabel beoordeeld, terwijl voorbeelden met een determinator en soortnaamwoord in het enkelvoud, en een meervoudige N2 ([iib]) juist als minder acceptabel worden beoordeeld. In [iii] is er een verschil in getal tussen de determinator en het zelfstandig naamwoord. De procedurele innovaties in dit onderzoek kunnen daarmee als succesvol worden beschouwd in die zin dat ze hebben bijgedragen aan het vaststellen van deze glijdende schaal van acceptabiliteit bij de respondenten. Dit resultaat kan nuttig zijn voor verdere studies van dit type.

Bovendien laat ik in een vergelijkende analyse van eerdere enquêtes uit de jaren 1930 en 1970 (zie §4.4.2) zien dat de negatieve houding ten opzichte van de mismatch in het gebruik over een periode van negen decennia grotendeels onveranderd is. Deze bevinding staat in contrast met de door Mair (2006) geformuleerde verwachting dat de acceptatiegraad van gebruiksvarianten in de loop der tijd zal toenemen, wat ook bevestigd lijkt te worden in verschillende studies binnen het BtU-project.

Het grote publiek: de corpusanalyse

In mijn werk als redacteur had ik het geluk toegang te hebben tot een groot aantal voor publicatie geaccepteerde manuscripten van wetenschappelijke tijdschriften vóórdát ze geredigeerd waren (§5.2). Deze manuscripten vormen samen een corpus van ongeveer

12,5 miljoen woorden: het Stenton Corpus of International Academic English. Het corpus werd onderverdeeld in twee subcorpora: de artikelen die bestemd waren voor publicatie in juridische tijdschriften enerzijds en taalkundige tijdschriften anderzijds, allemaal gepubliceerd door Cambridge University Press (CUP). Na indiening en acceptatie ging het auteursrecht van deze manuscripten over naar CUP, die mij op haar beurt toestemming gaf om de tekst in geanonimiseerde vorm te gebruiken voor analyse. Dit corpus stelde mij in staat om het taalgebruik van 1.657 verschillende auteurs te onderzoeken, in plaats van de redactiepraktijken van het veel kleinere aantal redacteuren dat verantwoordelijk zou zijn geweest voor de gepubliceerde artikelen (in dit geval slechts twee redacteuren). Bij het analyseren van dit corpus kon ik een nieuwe mogelijke variant identificeren van de SNP: *this N2 type*. Deze variant vergroot van het aantal opties voor de auteurs voor het gebruik van gemengde getalsmarkering in de SNP.

Analyse van dit corpus laat zien dat de voorkeuren van deze auteurs in hun gebruik van constructies die de SNP bevatten nauw aansluiten bij de beschrijvingen uit de moderne grammatica's, de voorschriften van de schrijvers van de taaladviesboeken en de uitslag van de enquête (§5.5), d.w.z. een voorkeur voor het gebruik van bijvoorbeeld *these kinds of N2*, en het vermijden van bijvoorbeeld *these kind of N2*. De belangrijkste bevindingen staan hieronder (de verschillen in de juridische en taalkundige subcorpora worden in hoofdstuk 5 besproken):

- [i] THIS TYPE OF N2 is de meest voorkomende variant, gevolgd door N2 OF THIS TYPE en THIS N2 TYPE (847 vs. 193 vs. 105).
- [II] De THOSE KIND OF N2-voorbeelden vertonen overwegend getalsovereenkomst in de gehele SNP, met slechts zes voorbeelden van *these kind of N2*.
- [iii] Alle voorbeelden van de constructie N2 OF THIS TYPE vertonen getalsovereenkomst tussen de determinator en de SNP.
- [iv] Alle voorbeelden van THIS N2 TYPE vertonen getalsovereenkomst tussen de determinator en de SNP.
- [v] De THIS TYPE OF N2-variant als onderwerp van de zin vertoont doorgaans getalsovereenkomst, d.w.z. inclusief het werkwoord (272/280).
- [vi] Bij de THESE TYPES OF N2-variant als onderwerp van de zin zien we over het algemeen getalsovereenstemming (79/99).
- [vii] In de N2 OF THIS TYPE-variant als onderwerp van de zin is getalsconflict niet aangetroffen.

[viii] In de THIS N2 TYPE-variant als onderwerp van de zin zijn alle N2's ongemarkeerd voor getal, en er komt getalsconflict niet voor.

Gezien het feit dat het aantal voorbeelden van het voorgeschreven *these kind of N2* verwaarloosbaar klein is (6 van de 1.145 voorbeelden of 0,5%), lijkt het erop dat de academische auteurs in het Stenton Corpus zich houden aan de voorschriften van de schrijvers van de taaladviesboeken en ook aan de richtlijnen van de moderne grammatica's die in hoofdstuk 2 zijn beschreven. Het blijft echter onmogelijk om op basis van dit onderzoek te zeggen of de academische schrijvers de niet-toegestane vormen van gebruik vermeden *vanwege* het advies in de taaladviesboeken. Daarvoor zouden we een enquête moeten houden onder de auteurs over hun gebruik van referentiemateriaal (zie bijvoorbeeld Lukač en Stenton, 2023, voor een voorbeeld hiervan). Het is evengoed mogelijk dat de samenstellers van adviesboeken zich baseren op het taalgebruik van hun voorschriften en regels baseren op het gebruik van groepen zoals deze academici. Dit zou ook het geval zijn met de grammatica's en hun gebruik van corpora om hun analyses te ondersteunen (zie §2.3).

Conclusies en slotopmerkingen

Alle groepen die in deze studie zijn geanalyseerd – taalkundigen, prescriptivisten en het grote publiek – lijken dezelfde mening te zijn toegegaan als het gaat om het verbieden van bijvoorbeeld *these kind of N2* en het voorschrijven van *these kinds of N2*. De vraag die zich dan opdringt, is waarom de taaladviesboeken deze taalkwestie blijven opnemen als een gebruiksprobleem. Bijna dertig jaar geleden opperde Emma Vorlat al dat er een gebruikscanon is waarvan de schrijvers van taaladviesboeken zich verplicht voelen die op te nemen, zelfs als ze van mening zijn dat een bepaalde kwestie geen probleem (meer) is. De auteurs van negenentwintig van de gebruiksgidsen in de HUGE-database bleken het niet nodig te vinden om een paragraaf op te nemen over de SNP, en vier van de gidsen die dat wel hebben gedaan, stellen dat de gewraakte vormen geen problemen opleveren. Als we daarnaast rekening houden met het niveau van kruisverwijzingen tussen de gebruiksgidsen die in deze studie zijn beschreven, kan het bestaan van deze gebruikscanon mogelijk een verklaring bieden voor de overeenkomsten in hun inhoud en de continuïteit van hun behandeling, van 1770 tot 2010 en daarna.

Er blijven voor mij drie gebieden over die van bijzonder belang zijn voor verder onderzoek. Ten eerste zou onderzocht moeten worden of we ook een glijdende schaal van acceptabiliteit vinden bij andere gebruiksproblemen. Ten tweede vraag ik me af of het gebruik van een groter of zelfs gewoon een ander corpus voldoende exemplaren van *these kind of* voorbeelden zou opleveren om de post-determinator analyses te

kunnen testen, en in het bijzonder of contextuele, semantische of pragmatische factoren invloed hebben op het gebruik. Ten derde is er reden voor een onderzoek naar het getalssysteem in de Engelse SNP om te bepalen of het een twee- of drietallig systeem is (enkelvoud vs. meervoud of ongemarkeerd vs. enkelvoud vs. meervoud), en of verschillende nominale groepen daarin verschillende getalssystemen tonen, zoals gesuggereerd in Halliday en Matthiessen (2014, p. 369), en daarnaast hoe schrijvers in de praktijk getalsmarkering toekennen aan de gehele SNP en de zin deze voorkomt. Er zou ook verder onderzoek gedaan kunnen worden naar de status van Internationaal Academisch Engels als genre op zich. Dit is geen onderwerp dat zinvol kon worden behandeld in deze studie naar slechts één set gebruiksvarianten, maar het Stenton Corpus en andere vergelijkbare corpora zouden in dit opzicht zeker verdere mogelijkheden kunnen bieden.

Curriculum vitae

Adrian Stenton was born in Liverpool, England, on 6 November 1951. Following his secondary-school education, he spent a year in Kenya with Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), teaching in a local self-help (*harambee*) secondary school in Karatina. On his return to the UK, he went to study education at the New University of Ulster in Coleraine, Northern Ireland, before switching to English language and linguistics in his second year. Upon completing his BA, he continued his studies at Guy's Hospital Medical School in London, where he obtained an MSc in Human Communication. Between 1974 and 1978 he was first a research assistant and then lecturer in English language and linguistics at the Hatfield Polytechnic (now part of the University of Hertfordshire), working on clause relations within the paragraph in technical and scientific writing. This research contributed to publications by Eugene Winter (in a special issue of *Instructional Science*, 1977) and Michael Hoey (*On the Surface of Discourse*, 1983) as well as, more pertinently, to the decision to include a significant amount of context in the attitude survey in the current study – an innovation in the field, as argued in Chapter 4 of this thesis. Collaboration with Alex de Joia at Hatfield subsequently led to their joint publication *Terms in Systemic Linguistics: A Guide to Halliday* in 1981. After doing further research in linguistics with Dick Hudson at University College London, he was appointed as an EFL dictionary editor at Longman publishers. In 1984, he became a freelance copy-editor, setting up the company Stenton Associates with his partner Helen, to oversee projects from manuscript to print. He thus contributed to the publication of Quirk et al.'s groundbreaking *Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Longman, 1985) as his first major copy-editing job. In addition, he was an editorial consultant for the *BBC English Dictionary* (HarperCollins, 1992) and for the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (Cambridge University Press, 1995). More recently, he specialised in copy-editing academic journal articles for Cambridge University Press, which eventually led to the compilation of the Stenton Corpus of International Academic English, used in this study, as detailed in Chapter 5. Having enrolled as an external PhD candidate at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics at the end of 2016, he retired from his job as copy-editor in 2022. After obtaining his PhD degree he plans to write a linguistic biography of Henry Alford, author of one of the usage guides featuring in this study: *The Queen's English: Stray Notes on Speaking and Spelling* (1864).

