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문학 석사 학위 논문

**A Corpus-based Study on  
*Whom* and *Who* in the Preposed PP**

전치된 전치사 구 안  
*Whom*과 *Who*의 코퍼스 기반 연구

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# Abstract

## A Corpus-based Study on *Whom* and *Who* in the Preposed PP

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Piles of researches covered the use of *whom* and *who*, and the differences between them. Most of them argued that not only in the subject position but also in positions that were originally thought of as *whom*-only areas, *who* seems to appear. Nevertheless, scholars such as Jespersen (1969), Sohn (1978), Quirk et al. (1985), Walsh and Walsh (1989), and Bauer (1994) claimed that there still exists an exclusive area for *whom*, and this is known to be a preposed PP. The term refers to a prepositional phrase that has been moved to the front from the following clause behind.

This paper searched for *whom* and *who* in the preposed PP from two big corpora (COHA and COCA spoken data), and compared them to see if *whom* was exclusively used in that position. It turned out that when used

with a preposition, *who* (although not as many as *whom*) could be found to a certain extent. However, in the preposed PP, *whom*-only area, *who* was seldom used and even nonexistent in some prepositional phrase. The result was quite the contrary to that of *whom* and *who* found in the postverbal position. Here, *who* was used as equally as, or even more (with some verbs) than *whom*. In addition, from the data organized by genre, this paper could also find that *whom* itself triggers a formal register.

The possible explanation for such results is that the preposed PP has been a formal register throughout the history. The preposed PP was believed to be a more graceful and perspicuous expression. It has been perceived as more natural, formal, and grammatical than preposition stranding ever since the Middle English.

Accordingly, we can assume that in a formal register like the preposed PP, *whom* is exclusively used because it triggers a formal register, too. Based on those findings, this study concludes that the preposed PP is indeed an exclusive area for *whom*, and that *whom* would last, or at least, it would take a very long time for *who* to finally replace the place of *whom* in the preposed PP.

**Keyword:** *whom*, *who*, preposed PP, sluicing, PP in situ, preposition stranding, pied-piping, formal register

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# Chapter 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

Language is constantly changing even at this moment (Trudgill 2009). It is a linguist's job to figure out the current language usage and based on that, predict what is to come in the near future. If the certain language usage had to change, it would be important to know why this language changes, and in what ways or to what degree it would change.

The issue regarding whether *whom* will survive or not is a very complex matter. It has triggered many linguists to work on the differences between the usage of *whom* and *who*. Some linguists (Aarts 1994, Sweet 1898, and Contemporary Grammarians such as Quirk et al. 1985 and Biber et al. 1999) insist that *who* has been replacing almost all the areas of *whom*. Others (Crystal 1988, Lee 2010, Mair and Leech 2006, and others) raise questions about the claim and argue that there still exists an exclusive area for *whom*. This exclusive area is known to be a preposed PP (Quirk et al. 1985, Lee 2010, Bauer 1994, and so on). Examples of such are given below.

### (1) Preposed PP (COHA)

- a. If you did know to whom I gave the ring, (*Merchant Venice* 1890)
- b. a man to whom a creature clung (*Flute Gods* 1909)

c. To whom directed? (*Italian Father* 1810)

Despite countless literature on *whom* and *who*, the preposed PP has not been looked at in great depth. Although Lee (2010) recently conducted a study regarding this area, the subject has not been studied empirically enough to fully validate if *whom* is exclusively used in the preposed PP or not. In short, previous researches including Lee (2010) never really covered corpus-based analysis in order to figure out if the preposed PP has been an exclusive area for *whom*. The purpose of this paper is to add more light and get more glimpse of the truth as to whether *whom* appears more often immediately after a preposition as apposed to *who* in the preposed PP using data in corpora.

For the analysis, two American corpora COHA and COCA (spoken data) will be looked up. To support the findings, the history of pied-piping and preposition stranding, along with other factors that seem to have influenced the results will be discussed. It is known that the earliest documents exhibit only pied-piping structures and that the stranding option with *wh*-pronouns as relatives was introduced in the Middle English. Pied-piping being a normal feature and preposition stranding being an exceptional feature will play an important role in elucidating why *whom* appears more in the preposed PP than *who*.

## 1.2 Organization of the Study

This paper is divided into 5 chapters. Chapter 1 establishes a brief introduction of the topic. Chapter 2 describes the background of the topic and the objectives of this research. It gives an overview of the long history regarding the usage of *whom* and *who*. Also, it suggests an exclusive area for *whom*. Chapter 3 introduces two corpora used for this study, and summarizes results obtained from the analyses of the two. This chapter is expected to provide a better insight as to whether *whom* is exclusively used in the preposed PP or not. Chapter 4 summarizes significance of the findings, and deals with possible explanations as to why prepositions are more often used with *whom* than *who* in the preposed PP. Finally, Chapter 5 makes suggestions for improvement, and recommendations for future work.

## Chapter 2. Previous Studies and Research Questions

### 2.1 Previous Studies

#### 2.1.1 Controversy over Areas for *Whom* and *Who*

Prescriptive Grammarians have been arguing ever since the 18th century that in cases other than the subject, *whom* is the only correct form to be used. Sapir (1921:156) stated that it would take a couple of hundred years for *whom* to go completely extinct. Mair and Leech (2006), too, in their British National Corpus (BNC) analysis, considered the frequency of *whom* (129 times per million, mainly in texts) significantly high. They also compared occurrences of *whom* in LOB (Lancaster-Oslo/ Bergen Corpus)-Brown Corpus (both made in 1961) and FROWN (Feriburg-Brown)-FLOB (Freiburg-LOB, based on 1992 material), and found out that there was no significant difference in the use of *whom* for 30 years.

In 1986, BBC had a radio program called *English Now*, and it received a lot of letters from its listeners complaining about the misuse of *who* (Crystal 1988). These people would agree that the following sentence *Children need access to someone to whom they can speak in confidence, whom they can trust and who will take what they are saying seriously* represents a correct usage. This episode highlights that there are people who use *whom* based on

their (Prescriptive) grammar.

However, most papers insisted that the straight line between *whom* and *who* is disappearing. For example, they disputed the previous episode with an explanation that the people had to apply Prescriptive Grammar rules because the situation was formal, and in everyday speech situation, they would not use *whom* (Aarts 1994). Sweet (1898) also claimed that many educated people always use *who* but never *whom*. He went on to affirm that the only relatives for general colloquial use are *that* and *who*. What is more, Contemporary Grammarians (Quirk et al. 1985, Biber et al. 1999, and Huddleston and Pullum 2002, and many others) stated that *whom* is already felt dead among the majority of people.

In a recent study done by Lee (2010), this view continues. In his study, he let some native English professors evaluate in 6-level Likert scale sentences that included *whom* and *who*. The result indicated that the average for each sentence was never extreme as fully acceptable (5 points) or completely unacceptable (0 point), but in terms of *whom*, some participants marked it 0 whereas no such cases were found with *who*. In addition, the participants evaluated *who* in the preposed PP, as natural as *whom* (*whom*: 3.25, *who*: 2.875). He asserted that this implies *who* is in general taken to be more natural than *whom*.

Having discussed various perspectives on *whom* and *who*, it is now necessary to move on to the history of *whom* and *who*. The historical overview of *whom* and *who* and their grammatical traditions will give more information as to if there exist any *whom*-only areas.

### 2.1.2 History of *Whom* and *Who*

*Whom* and *who* in the Old English era, originally started off as interrogative pronouns (*hwæm/hwam*, *hwa*). The gender distinction was between masculine/feminine (or animate) *hwa* and neuter (or inanimate) *hwæt* (*what*). To form relative clauses in the Old English, *þe* was used (in combination with a demonstrative, or simply the demonstrative alone) (Brinton 2011).

In the Early Middle English era, interrogative pronouns were used as relative pronouns, too. After the Middle English era, as inflection began to disappear, the accusative case *hwone/hwane/hwæne* got absorbed into the dative case *whom*, and the distinction among the remaining *whom* and *who* also became blurred gradually (Lee 2010). Incorrect use of relative pronouns *whom* and *who*, according to Oxford English Dictionary, traces back to *Stonor Papers*:

(2) I schall both se yow and my Nawnt with Godes Grase, whome evyr preserve yow and yowrs for his mersy.

'I shall see both you and my aunt with God's Grace, who ever preserves you and yours for his mercy.' (*Stonor Papers* 1467 / Aarts 1993:71)

Here, as *God* is a subject of the following sentence *evyr preserve yow and yowrs for his mersy*, the relative pronoun *who* should have been used

instead of *whom*.

Moving on to the grammatical traditions of the 18th and early 19th century treating *whom* and *who*, Lowth (1979:133) argued that *who* should be used as a subject and *whom* should be used as an object. Therefore, he did not mention any possibility of the use of *who* in the following sentence *Horace is an author, whom I am much delighted with*. Murray (1795:107), too, followed his idea that he considered the use of *who* ungrammatical in the following sentence *Our tutors are our benefactors, who we owe obedience to, and who we ought to love*. Likewise, Cobbett (1818:93~112) rejected *who* in *Who, for the sake of his numerous services, the office was given to* and *whom* in *Whom, for the sake of his numerous services, had an office of honour bestowed upon him*.

Strict grammatical traditions of *whom* and *who* became more and more relaxed when the Modern English era came. When a noun is an object of the verb or preposition and is preposed before the sentence, both *whom* and *who* can be used: *Whom/who did you meet?/ Whom/who are you staring at?* This usage is tracked back to the Middle English era:

(3) Who doth he trot withal?

'Who does it trot with?' (*As You Like It* 1603 / Schneider 1996:491)

What is more, *who* can be used instead of *whom* when it is next to the preposition governing it in an independent PP<sup>1</sup>: *You should give them away*.

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<sup>1</sup> In a more syntactic term, this phrase is called sluicing. In syntax, sluicing is a type of ellipsis that occurs in both direct and indirect interrogative clauses. The ellipsis is introduced

To whom/who?/ Arrest? For whom/who?<sup>2</sup> This kind of phrase can also be found in some Early Modern English Literature including *Pride and Prejudice*.

(4) I am going to Gretna Green, and if you cannot guess with who, I shall think you a simpleton. (*Pride and Prejudice* 1894 / Austen)

If there is no movement of PP (this is called PP in situ) in a sentence, both *whom* and *who* can be used as in the following multiple *wh*-question:

(5) Who said what to whom/who?

*Who* can appear as an object of the verb in such sentences, too:

(6) Who is going to marry whom/who?

What we could assume from the overview of the usage of *whom* and *who* so far, is that if not the whole PP is preposed in a sentence, it is possible for *who* to appear even after a preposition governing it. *Who* can

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by a *wh*-expression. Sluicing is known to occur in numerous languages. Refer to Ross (1969), Chung et al. (1995), and Merchant (2001).

<sup>2</sup> In a single-word question, however, only *who* is used: *I met your friend this morning. Oh, who?* (Huddleston and Pullan 2002:465). This was the case in the 19th century too:

a. And so you haven't the courage to tell him? Him! Who?

(*Shaw P* 1898 / Dekeyser 1975:196~197)

also show up before a preposition, as this can be witnessed in a sentence like:

(7) Valentine! Who for, miss?

(*Far from the Madding Crowd* 1906 / Lee 2010:120)

However, *whom* does not seem to appear in this inversed position.

In summary, a considerable amount of literature have been published on the usage of *whom* and *who*, and the fate of *whom* in the future. Various arguments were discussed and the scholars have come up with their own explanations. What they seemed to agree on was that in the Modern English era, *who* can replace most of the *whom* areas. Besides when it is a subject, it looks like *who* has been showing itself more and more in what was originally thought of as the sole areas of *whom*. However, as Jespersen (1969), Sohn (1978), Quirk et al. (1985), Walsh and Walsh (1989), and Bauer (1994) insisted, the use of *whom* seems quite obligatory in the position preceded by a preposition governing it. It can thus be hypothesized that the preposed PP in a sentence is where *whom* is exclusively used.

### **2.1.3 Lee (2010)'s Study**

Lee (2010) took this postulation that preposed PP is an exclusive area for *whom*, and went on further to validate it. He, along with the questionnaire conducted to English native professors, analyzed preposed preposition+*who*

phrases in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). Out of the top 10 most frequent prepositions, he chose 5 prepositions (*to/for/with/by/from*) that he thought would very likely take a person as their objects. The results were as follows:

Table 1. Summarized results from Lee (2010)

Preposition	Construction			
	A	B	C	D
to who (1,203)	26	51	2 (F, S)	2 (S, S)
for who (754)	28	21	0	0
with who (560)	20	23	1 (M)	0
by who (187)	31	18	0	0
from who (168)	17	10	1 (F)	2 (S, F)

Construction A is sluicing. Construction B is PP in situ. Preposed *who* in Construction C was used as an interrogative pronoun while in Construction D, it was used as a relative pronoun. M refers to magazines, F stands for fiction, and S is an initial for spoken data. Here, Construction C and D are the main concern.

As can be seen from the table above, in case of Construction C and D, Lee came up with very few data for *who* in the preposed PP: it was either none, 1, or 2. He concluded that this result was not enough to draw any conclusion since it was not sure whether this few data could be considered as potential for *who* in the preposed PP, or just a plain exception. Based on these, Lee (2010:133) ended his paper presuming "the use of *whom* itself and in the preposed PP would eventually disappear, but it would be

impossible to basically predict how a linguistic phenomenon would change." He thus left the fate of *whom* in doubt.

## 2.2 Research Questions

Throughout the comprehensive literature review from the previous section, it is suggested that there may exist an exclusive area for *whom*, and if it does, it would be a preposed PP.

As mentioned earlier, Lee (2010) made a detailed investigation into this exclusive area. Despite Lee's useful and timely analysis regarding *whom* and *who*, better results would have been yielded if several weaknesses had been resolved.<sup>3</sup>

Firstly, Lee did not compare *who* with *whom* in the same corpus. In

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<sup>3</sup> Also, in terms of the survey conducted to the English speakers, the result would have been more reliable and significantly different, if he had used above-7-level Likert scale. He used 6-level Likert scale ranging from completely unacceptable (0 point) to fully acceptable (5 points) with no middle choice such as *not good*, *not bad*. Typically, people tend not to choose two extreme choices on the edge of Likert scale, so the choices would have been made among just the two on one side, and the two on the other side, with no choice in the middle. This, in turn, could have produced a rather extreme result that needed to be taken with caution.

Likert scale is a type of ordinal data. It assumes that the strength/intensity of experience is linear: the data is ranked. For example, *bad* is better than *very bad*. Usually, 5-level Likert item is used, but many psychometricians advocate 7 or 9 levels. The more level your item is, the more likely it is for the coefficient of correlation of your sample to approach the coefficient of a population (although levels above 9 are not usually recommended). High-level item is more desirable when the number of your sample is relatively small (Dawes 2008).

order to conclude whether *who* is used in the preposed PP as much as *whom* or not, *whom* must be searched for to be compared with. The raw data of *who* in the preposed PP does not say anything about the status of *who* because frequency is a relative concept and should be understood in relation to others. Without knowing how often *whom* is used in what is believed to be an exclusive area for *whom*, it would be hard to draw any precise conclusion for the use of *who*. In this paper, both of them will, therefore, be looked into.

Secondly, Lee's research would have been far more persuasive and convincing if he had taken time trends into consideration. If *who* was taking more and more the place of *whom* in the preposed PP, there should be an increase in the use of *who* and a decrease in the use of *whom* in the preposed PP over time. Analysis of such would allow one to conclude with more certainty whether the preposed PP has been an exclusive area for *whom* or not.

Taking into account these limitations and their potential solutions, this paper will establish the following research questions:

### **Research questions**

1. Is the preposed PP in a sentence really an exclusive area for *whom*?
2. If *whom* is exclusively used in the preposed PP (and not *who*), how can we properly explain the phenomenon?

Since Lee (2010) was not able to draw any conclusion as to whether the preposed PP is an area in which *whom* is exclusively used, this paper will take that as the first research question again and compare preposed preposition+*whom* and preposition+*who* phrases in corpora. To what degree the two differ in frequency and usage will be the focus of this comparison. Time trends will also be observed.

If the results of the corpora analysis show that the preposed PP is indeed where *whom* is used a lot more frequently than *who*, and the difference between the two is significantly great, this paper will then move on to offer some possible explanations to describe why. Several hypotheses will be brought up and discussed later on along with this study's claim.

## Chapter 3. Data Analysis and Results

### 3.1 Data and Method

#### 3.1.1 Data

Two big freely-available corpora (both invented by Mark Davies) were chosen to explore the overall usage of preposed preposition+*whom* and preposition+*who* phrases. Frequencies of each phrase were searched both as a whole, and according to certain time scales. For individual sentence analysis, data obtained from random sampling (provided by each corpus) were scanned through. The corpora used for this research both represent American English. As there may be slightly different preference towards the use of *whom* and *who* among varieties of English, for the sake of uniformity, this paper selected American English corpora and continued analyzing them.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> For instance, New Zealand English prefers *whom* as a verbal object more whereas American English prefers *whom* as a prepositional object more. These two also show a different pattern when it comes to the encroachment of *who* upon *whom*. American English displays a more conservative stage of *whom* (meaning less *who*) in prepositional phrases in contrast to New Zealand English (especially in spoken English). British English seems to be in an intermediate state (Beatriz 2005).

### 3.1.1.1 Corpus of Historical American English (COHA)

The Corpus of Historical American English is the largest structured corpus of historical English. It contains more than 400 million words of text from the 1800s to 2000s (mainly from the Early Modern English to the Modern English era), and its individual genres are fiction, magazines, newspapers and other nonfiction. COHA allows researches on chronological fluctuation in words' frequencies. It also enables researchers to divide text according to different time scales. In order to identify how the use of preposed preposition+*whom* and preposition+*who* phrases changed over time, COHA was chosen. Data will be dealt in several time divisions.

### 3.1.1.2 Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)

The Corpus of Contemporary American English is probably the most widely-used corpus of English. This corpus contains more than 520 million words out of 190,000 texts from 1990 to 2015 (updated by adding 20 million words each year), and is divided among spoken, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers and academic texts. COCA is by far the biggest general corpus for American English. The corpus was selected additionally because COHA lacks data from spoken genre. *Who* is likely to be used more often in spoken environment and therefore preposed preposition+*who* phrases in the spoken portion of COCA were also taken into analysis.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Sweet (1898), Roberts (1954), Klima (1984), Follett (1966), Kaye (1991), and Aarts (1994) were the scholars who highlighted the importance of style, colloquialism, and diglossia

The British National Corpus (BNC) and the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE) offer spoken data too, but the size of each corpus is relatively small compared with COCA (BNC: 10 million words, MICASE: 1.8 million words, and COCA: 78.8 million words). What is more, BNC covers British English, and the period of time both corpora contain data from is relatively short and not recent (BNC: from the 1980s to early 1990s and MICASE: from 1997 to 2002). As a result, it was best to use COCA spoken data among the other alternative spoken corpora.

### 3.1.2 Method

#### 3.1.2.1 Preposition selection

Three most frequent prepositions were selected from COCA (Table 2): *to*, *for*, and *with*. Since the purpose of this analysis is to look at *whom* and *who*, these three prepositions had to be the ones that were most likely to be used with a person.

Table 2. Most frequent prepositions in COCA

Rank	Preposition	Frequency	Rank	Preposition	Frequency
1	of	13,452,315	5	with	3,574,728
2	in	9,173,770	6	on	3,307,923
3	to	5,073,906	7	at	2,348,031
4	for	4,370,856	8	from	2,163,332

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regarding the usage of *whom* and *who*.

This paper did not choose *of* since it is likely that the data of preposition+*of* would produce not only sentences like (8a) but also sentences like (8b).

- (8) a. ... the lovely lady of whom we are concerned.  
b. Brian, a son of whom my daughter is friends with.

Sentence (8b) has a structure of *NP of whom*, and is not what this paper is looking for. Only *of whom* has to be preposed, not the whole NP constituent. It was estimated that this kind of structure would be found quite frequently in both corpora.

Next, *in* is mostly used with a thing. When looked up in COCA, the most frequent one-word-right collocate (pronoun) of *in* was *it*. The number was 26,302, and it was more than four times bigger than that of the second most frequent collocate *them* (6,907). For nouns too, the top 100 most frequent nouns (one-word-right collocate) were all objects. Given this fact, it was thought that the corpora would not produce many preposed *in whom/who* phrases.

For these reasons, *of* and *in* were not picked for this study's analysis.

### 3.1.2.2 Random sampling

Random sampling function provided by COHA was used.<sup>6</sup> 100 samples

were randomly collected for *to/for/with+whom* phrases and *to/for/with+who* phrases. The reason for 100 samples was because the total frequency of *with who* phrases was just 172 in total. The sampling number had to be 100 so that the same number of samples could be extracted from each data to be compared with. For COCA analysis, since the data found for each prepositional phrase was small, just 50 samples were looked through to get the glimpse of a tendency.

## 3.2 Data Analysis

### 3.2.1 Preposition+*Whom/Who* in COHA

Table 3 (next page) shows the overall usage patterns of *to/for/with+whom* and *to/for/with+who* phrases over 200 years of time. Obviously, the use of *to/for/with+whom* phrases is decreasing whereas the use of *to/for/with+who* phrases is increasing. However, *to/for/with+who* phrases are increasing at very low speed, and the frequency of each *to/for/with+whom* phrase is way higher than that of each *to/for/with+who* phrase. *To who* and *with who* phrases do not appear before the 1820s. Also, it is after the 1960s that the frequency of *with who* phrases starts to escalate sharply. What is interesting

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<sup>6</sup> Mark Davies (the creator of COCA and COHA) mentioned that randomizing is carried out via a simple random number generator in SQL Server. It assigns a completely random number to each row of data, and then it just takes the top 100 (or 200, or 500, or 1,000) rows, based on that random value.

in this data is that the frequencies of preposition *to*, *for*, and *with*, when they are used with *who*, they share the same frequency order as in Table 2: *to who* the highest and *with who* the lowest. By contrast, when it comes to preposition+*whom* phrases, though the frequency of *to whom* is likewise the highest, the frequency of *with whom* phrases is almost two times higher than that of *for whom* phrases.

Table 3. *To/for/with+whom* and *to/for/with+who* in COHA (by decade)

Period	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
to whom	101	638	1,152	1,293	1,238	1,188	1,163	1,236	1,117	1,125
to who		3	8	28	27	23	39	67	64	63
for whom	26	128	246	258	277	276	277	298	296	309
for who	6	40	53	81	43	34	31	31	44	24
with whom	34	331	545	543	642	536	541	614	593	533
with who		1		3	2	3	1	5	3	4
Period	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
to whom	914	378	670	623	493	476	416	324	301	266
to who	59	60	50	50	80	56	49	48	62	75
for whom	264	271	263	233	231	267	242	257	303	219
for who	27	25	18	30	26	30	24	33	41	67
with whom	534	500	473	420	384	365	347	326	326	341
with who	4	3	4	4	8	13	19	12	34	49

	to whom	to who	for whom	for who	with whom	with who
Total	15,612	911	4,941	708	8,928	172

Table 4. *To/for/with+whom* and *to/for/with+who* in COHA (by century)

Period	1810-1910	1910-2000	Period	1810-1910	1910-2000	Period	1810-1910	1910-2000
to whom	10,251	5,361	for whom	2,391	2,550	with whom	4,912	4,016
to who	322	589	for who	387	321	with who	22	150

Table 5. Three prepositional phrases in COHA

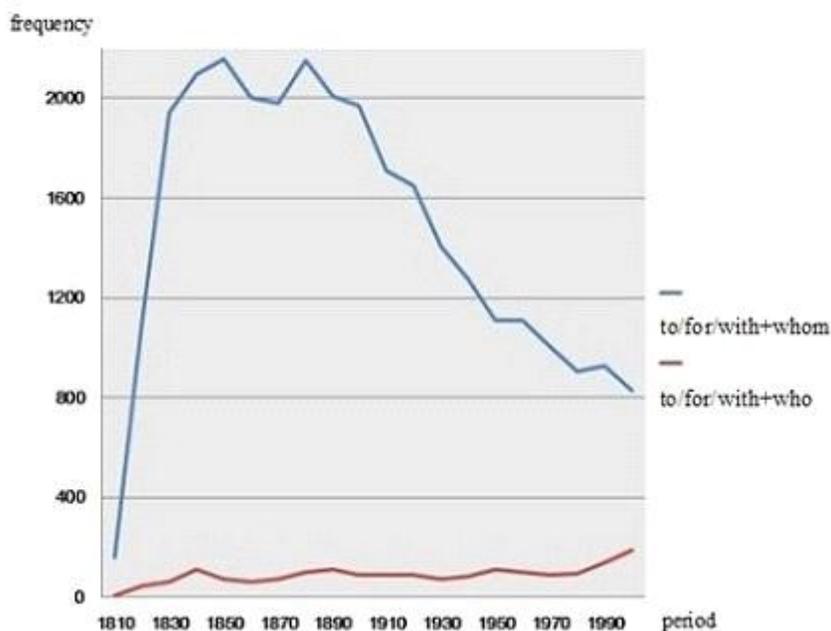
Period	1810-1910	1910-2000	Total
to/for/with+whom	17,554	11,927	29,481
to/for/with+who	731	1,060	1,791

Table 4 and 5 present the same data organized by different time period. In Table 4, it is more apparent that the use of *to/for/with+whom* phrases has dropped, and the use of *to/for/with+who* phrases has risen. A striking result is with *for whom* phrases and *for who* phrases. The use of *for whom* phrases has actually gone up a little bit, while the use of *for who* phrases has declined slightly. This result may be puzzling, yet when all these prepositional phrases are summed up for *whom* and *who* each, as in Table 5, it is clear that there is an apparent trend of decreasing in preposition+*whom* phrases and increasing in preposition+*who* phrases.<sup>7</sup> COHA

<sup>7</sup> The puzzling result of *for whom/who* phrases in Table 4 may be just an exceptional case. As can be seen from Table 3, which is the bigger picture, the general use of *for whom* phrases is falling and the general use of *for who* phrases is rising although during some periods, there have been ups in the use of *for whom* phrases and downs in the use of *for*

frequency data that have been analyzed so far are illustrated in Chart 1.<sup>8</sup>

Chart 1. Overall frequency patterns of *to/for/with+whom* and *to/for/with+who*



From the analysis so far, what the data of preposition+*who* phrases

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*who* phrases.

<sup>8</sup> The use of *to/for/with+whom* rose dramatically from the 1810s to 1830s. Around 1825, America was number one in supplying all kinds of newspaper all over the regions in America. It had the most newspapers in the world. Philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville (1805~1859), who visited America during this period once mentioned that the number of publication was unbelievable and every village had their own newspaper in America. Newspapers as mass media were revolutionized, and the readers started to change from a few limited number of merchants and the elite, to many ordinary people in the 1830s. A typical daily newspaper was covered with ads on their first and last pages. The abrupt change in the use of *to/for/with+whom* may partially be due to this (information from Gang: <http://blog.naver.com/lsb8666/10182753816>).

indicates is that there has been quite a number of preposition+*who* sequence though not as many as preposition+*whom* phrases. What is more, it looks like the frequency of preposition+*who* has been increasing. Now, this data must be interpreted with caution because it is just the plain sequence. It may contain irrelevant data that this paper does not need to take into count. So for this reason, we need to further establish among the data what to count and not to count as a preposed PP of this study's interest.

### 3.2.1.1 Preposed PP criterion

*Whom* and *who* can be used as interrogative pronouns. They can also be used as relative pronouns with or without any preceding antecedents (the latter is similar to *what* in this sense, and is called a free relative). Whatever their usage was, as long as they were posited in the preposed PP inside a sentence, the data was counted. Examples of such are listed below.

- (9) a. To whom it may concern (*NYT-Reg* 1975)  
b. ... Captain had a young deaf and dumb friend and child, for whom he wished to procure an asylum, (*Isabel Sicily a Pilgrimage* 1829)  
c. With whom did you come to town? (*Clinton Brad Shaw* 1835)

What we are interested in is occurrence of PP in which the complement is realized by the form of *whom* or *who*. Cases where a preposition is followed by *who* but where the two do not make up a single constituent

were discarded, together with *who* not functioning as an object.

(10) a. The number depends on who is talking at the moment.

(Brown Corpus E32 1290 / De Haan 2000)

b. I have no idea, as to who might be willing to come in, and no idea as to ... (*NYT-Reg* 1945)

Equally disposed of was PP in situ as *whom* in such phrases is reported to be replaceable with *who* (Lee 2010).

(11) " ... go and report something I did that was against the Law." "Report to whom, Ernest?" "The police," said Detweiler. (*Eighth Day* 1967)

*Whom* can also be seen in an independent PP (or sluicing) as in the sentences below. However, as discussed early on, this, too, is a place where *who* can show up instead (Jespersen 1924). Although syntactically the structure could be regarded as a preposed PP, it is not a *whom*-only area. Accordingly, such data was not counted for this paper's analysis.

(12) a. Indeed, sir ... may I ask with whom? (*Confession Blind* 1856)

b. "So it might be fun." "For whom?" (*Changes* 1983)

Having set the criterion for preposed PP, we will now move on to the results of the scrutinized *whom* and *who* in the preposed PP.

### 3.2.1.2 *To/For/With+whom*

First, regarding *to whom*, only two out of 100 were the sentences that were out of this paper's interest. They are given below.

(13) Engaged, did you say? To whom, dear? (*Bressant* 1873)

(14) What conceded what to whom, how carter and Co. negotiated the ...

(*Time* 1979)

*To whom* in sentence (13) is sluicing. *Whom* in this phrase can be replaced by *who*. *To whom* in sentence (14) is PP in situ, and thus it needs to be excluded as well. Regarding the usage of *whom*, only 11 out of 100 were used as interrogative pronouns. That is, *whom* is mainly used as a relative pronoun with *to*. Some examples of preposed *to whom* phrases are listed below. *Whom* in (15) was used as an interrogative pronoun, and *whom* in (16) was used as a relative pronoun.

(15) a. ... and to whom, if judiciously applied, it would be of the greatest benefit? (*North Am Rev* 1883)

b. Do you know to whom the chateau belongs?

(*Billy Baxters Letters* 1899)

c. ... what the individual does and how he looks rather than to whom he was born. (*Human Society* 1949)

d. To whom shall I have the honor of surrendering?

(*Three Brides Love* 1856)

(16) a. Anthony, who understand and trust each other to the very core and to whom God has given this ineffably beautiful passionate ...

(*Anniversary* 1948)

b. ... the boy with the kind voice and soft blue eyes, to whom I gave Magdalen, but I can't quite make out how that Magdalen and this are one. (*Millibank Roger* 1871)

c. We have now to meet the fiercer passions of men, to whom the word mercy is unknown. (*Captain Kyd the Wizard* 1839)

d. It is the mother to whom we look, for the discharge of these momentous offices. (*Young Maiden* 1840)

e. I will say so to none but you, to whom, alone, I am anxious to justify myself. (*Wilderness Braddocks* 1823)

Given this fact, by simple multiplication by ratio ( $15,612 \times 98/100$ ), it is reasonable to assume that approximately the total frequency of preposed *to whom* phrases found in COHA would be revised to 15,300 out of 15,612.<sup>9</sup> We can see that there is not much difference between the two numbers.

Similarly, in *for whom* sentences, just 4 out of 100 were the sentences not to be counted. They are as follows:

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<sup>9</sup> The number was rounded up to the unit's place. It is an estimated number.

- (17) a. Right for whom? She asked. (*Captive Bride* 1987)
- b. There's no question that Dr. Vernon is trouble ... but for whom?  
Not her parents, that's for certain. (*Mens Health* 2006)
- (18) a. "For us?" "For whom?" "For all of us ... " (*Roderick Hudson* 1876)
- b. Danger? Where? For whom? (*Cetshwayo* 1956)

Sentences (17) show *for whom* in situ phrases.<sup>10</sup> The rest are sluicing. Some examples of preposed *for whom* phrases are provided below.

- (19) for whom, would you vote? (*Houston* 1996)
- (20) a. The difference today is that many students for whom English is a new language are ... (*NYT* 1982)
- b. To the masses of mankind, for whom manifold thwartings of ambitions and wishes are inevitable, (*Atlantic* 1932)
- c. He handed the jeweler for whom he worked a formal written request ... (*Heart Is Lonely Hunter* 1940)

The usage of *whom* in Sentence (19) is an interrogative pronoun. There were, in total, 10 sentences of this sort. Sentences (20) display *whom* as

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<sup>10</sup> These two sentences could be analyzed as sluicing, but this paper viewed them as PP in situ based on the intuition that those two are not entirely independent from the former sentence (or context): something is right for whom, and Dr. Veron is trouble for whom. Only PP as an independent one was counted as sluicing. For example, like the ones in sentences (18).

relative pronouns. *Whom* is mainly used as a relative pronoun with *for*, too.

The estimated total frequency of preposed *for whom* phrases of this paper's interest found in COHA would be hence, 4,743 out of 4,941 by multiplication.

Finally in *with whom* data, every preposed PP was to be counted. There were just two sentences to be thrown out. They are right below.

- (21) a. ... dancing in a cluster, so it was hard to tell who was really with whom. (*Southern Rev* 1993)
- b. ... how she looks, and where she travels, and what she eats and with whom. (*My Life as Man* 1974)

Here, *whom* is in PP in situ functioning as an interrogative pronoun. *Who* can appear in this position.

When it comes to the usage of *whom*, two in (21) were *whom* as interrogative pronouns, and one was *whom* as a free relative as shown below.

- (22) We're a private club. We have a right to choose and associate with whom we please. (*AP* 2002)

*Whom* here is a free relative meaning anyone whom or whomever. Since *with* and *whom* do not form a constituent, this phrase cannot be considered as a preposed PP that originally came from behind. Rather, *with* seems to

be attached more strongly to the verb *associate*.

The remaining 97 sentences were *whom* as relative pronouns. They are sentences like below.

(23) a. ... and the name of the person with whom you spoke.

(*Consumers Research Magazine* 1992)

b. And do you have family in the New York City with whom you could stay if we were to allow you to leave? (*Shattered Silk* 1986)

c. one with whom he likes to ski ... a Chinese girl in Hong Kong.

(*Full Circle* 1984)

Accordingly, the expected total frequency of *with whom* phrases that we are interested in (*whom* in the preposed PP) found in COHA would be 8,749 out of 8,928.

Summing up, all three prepositions, when used with *whom*, more than 97% of their usage (*to whom*: 98%, *for whom*: 96%, and *with whom*: 98%) was in the preposed PP. In addition, *whom* was most frequently used as a relative pronoun after a preposition. The next part of this paper will cover *who*.

### 3.2.1.3 *To/For/With+who*

Contrary to preposition+*whom*, *to who* phrases of 100 random samples

were not preposed at all, and most of the time, *who* functioned as a subject of the following clause except in three cases. These are illustrated below.

(24) ... Dora said. George blinked. "Talk to who?" "You know who," Dora said. (*Enemy Camp* 1958)

(25) He knew all right whether he was getting married or whether he wasn't, and to who, didn't he? (*Back Town* 1952)

(26) "To who?" inquired Gaston, with suppressed agitation.

(*Fairy Fingers* 1865)

The usage of *who* in sentence (24), (25), and (26) is an interrogative pronoun working as an object. *To who* phrases in sentence (24) and (25) are PP in situ while sentence (26) has *who* in sluicing. As it was already heightened, both *whom* and *who* can show up in PP in situ and sluicing structures, and therefore, these three above will not be reckoned.

Mostly, the usage of *who* in *to who* phrases was an interrogative pronoun, but two were free relatives and other two were relative pronouns. The most frequent pattern of *who* as an interrogative pronoun was an *NP as to who ...* pattern (such as the sentence below). *Question*, *doubt*, and *idea* were the top three most frequently-used nouns for *NP*.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Adjacent collocates refer to collocates that occur immediately to the right or left of the keyword. This type of collocation is therefore close to real linguistic structures (Lindquist 2009). Three-word-left collocates of *to who* were investigated to figure out the most frequent antecedents of this pattern. Only nouns were searched so that the results could show only the possible antecedents of the keyword. Antecedents may be farther away, but this case would be so rare.

- (27) a. Then it became a question as to who should go to meet her at the dock. (*Lion Mouse Story* 1906)
- b. Now there is likely to be as much as attention paid to who will be Andropov's successor as to Andropov's success. (*NYT* 1981)
- (28) a. Show her how to group them according to who or what she sees.  
(*Parenting* 1998)
- b. I now am full resolved to take a wife, and turn her out to who will take her in. (*Change Heart*, 1892)
- (29) a. It's pleasant having some one to talk to who can speak your own tongue. (*Princess Aline*, 1895)
- b. None of the people I talked to who lived anywhere near the last address we had for him admitted ever knowing the guy.  
(*Fantasy SciFi* 1998)

*Who* in (27) is an interrogative pronoun functioning as a subject of the following clause. Sentences (28) are *who* as free relatives meaning anyone whom, and anyone who each. In the former sentence, *who* is an object of the following VP *she sees* whereas *who* in the latter is a subject of the following VP *will take her in*. Sentences (29) show *who* as a relative pronoun. Each *who* is a subject of the following VP *can speak your own tongue* and *lived anywhere near the last address we had for him*. Their antecedents are *some one* and *people* respectively. Each *to who* here does

not form a constituent.

In conclusion, although *who* in the sequence of *to who* phrases appeared 911 times in Table 3 earlier, *who* in the exclusive area for *whom* (that is, preposed *to who* phrases) was very hard to find. With that being said, the inferred total frequency of preposed *to who* phrases would be so small, or (less likely but possibly) even nonexistent in COHA.

Similar to *to who*, *who* was used very often as an interrogative pronoun in 100 *for who* samples. However, a marked difference was that there existed a lot of free relative usage of *who* as well. Sentences beneath are the examples of such.

(30) a. For who that fear God, hearing what great things he has done for your soul, do not rejoice and wonder ...

*(Men Centuries European 1948)*

b. That's been going on for who was tapped by the Kremlin for leadership but later murdered by Chechen Islamist in a ...

*(USA Today 2009)*

*Who* in both sentences were used as free relatives meaning people/ those who (in the first sentence) and someone who (in the second sentence). They are subjects of the following clauses, and are definitely not what this paper is searching for.

(31) a. Maryland psychiatrist who served in Vietnam, doesn't believe there

are any indicators for who will perform heroically in times of high stress. (*Good house* 2002)

- b. We helped them plan for who's going to take care of the kids, and we're there for ... (*Redbook* 1999)
- c. The battle for who's going to be the next first lady has started, and it looks like ... (*First Lady* 2007)
- d. You might also show it to young Gillis, and see what he knows about it. Gillis might even give you a name for who got it from Rivers. (*Murder in Gunroom* 1953)

Sentences above show *who* as an interrogative pronoun. *Who* in each sentence is used as a subject of the following clause, and is not composing a constituent with *for*.

(32) "For who?" sneers my daughter. (*Californios* 1974)

(33) "Looking for who?" "Jojohn. Em Jojohn." (*Cry Angels* 1974)

*Who* in sentence (32) and (33) are used instead of *whom*, but they are irrelevant to counting. *For who* phrase in sentence (32) is sluicing, and *who* in sentence (33) is in PP in situ. There were, in total, 9 sentences of PP in situ and sluicing structures.

(34) a. I am indeed the most fortunate of men; for who but my Alice could be so sweet and self-abnegatory as to take upon her own dear little shoulders the burden of responsibilities that ...

(*House an Episode* 1986)

- b. How he for who we hold such high regard was like in a certain story where the hero is ... (*Early Grave* 1964)

Finally, sentences above are what this paper has been seeking. These two reveal *for who* phrases in which *who* was actually used as a substitute for *whom* (here, as a relative pronoun) in the preposed PP. The estimated total frequency of *for who* phrases (*who* in the preposed PP of this paper's interest) would be therefore, 14 out of 708 total PP sequence of *for who* phrases.

Lastly, in 100 random samples of *with who*, three were the phrases with *who* as a substitute for *whom* in the preposed PP. Another important finding was that there existed many sentences of PP in situ and sluicing structures (PP in situ: 10 and sluicing: 11).

*Who* in the preposed PP, which is the focus of this paper's analysis, is provided first.

- (35) a. ... send to the President a little-known quotation from Abraham Lincoln, with who Mr. Nixon in his wartime anguish identifies.

(*Harpers* 1972)

- b. I am sure it has also been a blessing to the universe of individuals with who you share your message in helping them understand their condition, how to live with ... (*Total Health* 2004)

*Who* in (35) was used as a relative pronoun replacing *whom*, and their antecedents are *Abraham Lincoln* and *individuals* each.

- (36) a. Made a deal with who, Daddy? (*Bonnie Clyde* 1967)  
b. I mean I guess everybody on the river knows who puts up with who in that house. (*Seven Days in May* 1962)  
c. What the fuck do I care who fucks with who?  
(*Sincerity Forever* 1990)

(37) With who? There's nobody here. (*Pentimento* 1973)

What can be seen from these sentences is that *who* in *with who* could also be found in PP in situ in (36) and in sluicing structures as in (37) all taking the place of *whom*.

Under are the sentences that used *who* as a relative pronoun (subjective case) and a free relative. In sentence (38a), *who* refers to *a friend* in the former clause and is a subject of the following VP *is a doctor in the D.C. area* ... In sentence (38b), *who* is a subject of the following VP *didn't ride the saw*, and *with* comes from *I ever sawed with*. The two do not form a constituent. The antecedent of *who* here is *the only man*.

- (38) a. I've got a friend I grew up with who's a doctor in the D.C. area, and ... (*Fortune* 1993)  
b. He was about the only man I ever sawed with who didn't ride the saw. (*Other Main-Travelled* 1910)

(39) In the summers I travel. Getting a ride with who I can.

(*Words My Roaring* 2002)

Sentence (39) would be similar to a sentence *I want to fall in love with who I can*. *Who* seems to have come from the ellipsis behind: *I can (fall in love with)*. Therefore, free relative *who* here is not in a constituent with the former preposition *with*.

With all these considered, the calculated total frequency of *with who* phrases (*who* in the preposed PP of this paper's concern) would be 5 out of the total *with who* sequence 172.

So far, this paper compared preposed preposition+*whom* phrases with preposition+*who* phrases. It is evident from the comparison that when *whom* is used with a preposition, most of the time, it is used as a relative pronoun in the preposed PP. *Who*, on the other hand, is often used as an interrogative pronoun (and partially as a free relative), and preposed *who* in *whom* position was very hard to find. Below, preposition+*whom* and preposition+*who* phrases in COHA are summarized.

Table 6. *To/for/with+whom* and *to/for/with+who* in the preposed PP (COHA)

	to whom	for whom	with whom	to who	for who	with who
Preposed PP	15,300	4,743	8,749	0~9	14	5
PP Sequence	15,612	4,941	8,928	911	708	172
Total	28,792/29,481			19~28/1,791		
Ratio	97%			1.3% <sup>12</sup>		

Again, from Table 6, we can see that the number of *whom* used right after a preposition as a prepositional object is huge compared to that of *who*. Also, *whom* was placed in the sheer preposed PP most of the time whereas *who* in the real preposed PP of this study's concern was just above one percent.

### 3.2.2 Preposition+Who in COCA Spoken Data

It was obvious from the previous section that in the preposed PP, *whom* is used a lot more often than *who*. It is undeniable that the gap between the two is huge and that *whom* seems to be used exclusively in the preposed PP. Nonetheless, as for *who*, one could raise a question as to whether the result of *who* was partially due to the genres of COHA. As was pointed out earlier in Chapter 3, COHA consists of only written texts

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<sup>12</sup> The number was rounded up to the first decimal place.

such as fiction, magazines, newspapers and other nonfiction. *Who* may be used more often in spoken environment. This paper, in turn, decided to examine *who* further in COCA spoken data, too. If *who* is found less in the preposed PP even in the spoken data, this would bolster up the results of COHA more firmly.

The spoken language in COCA consists of transcripts of unscripted conversation from radio and TV programs so it may not be fully comparable with private conversations of other spoken corpora (Lindquist 2009).

Table 7. *To/for/with+whom* and *to/for/with+who* in COCA spoken data

	Frequency		Frequency		Frequency
to whom	512	for whom	496	with whom	662
to who	724	for who	302	with who	284

Table 7 provides *to/for/with+whom* phrases and *to/for/with+who* phrases from COCA spoken data. Without doubt, *to/for/with+who* phrases are used a lot more in spoken data from COCA than in written data from COHA in the ratio of 1,310 over 78.8 million words (COCA) versus 1,791 over 406 million words (COHA). Although in total, preposition+*whom* phrases are used a little more than preposition+*who* phrases (compare 1,670 versus 1,310) in COCA spoken data, the gap is not wide and when combined with *to*, *to who* phrases are even more used than *to whom* phrases. The result, to some degree, seems to support the arguments that style and colloquialism affect the use of *who* (Sweet 1898, Roberts 1954, Klima 1984, Follett 1966,

Kaye 1991, Aarts 1994).

Since this paper is concerning *whom* and *who* in the preposed PP, *who* in this data has to be further analyzed. The results obtained from this analysis are followed up next.

### 3.2.2.1 *To who*

Just as the analysis of COHA, data obtained from random sampling function provided by COCA were scanned through, and the sampling number was 50. It turned out that there were no preposed *to who* phrases in the samples. Similar to the data found in the written material of COHA, *who* was most frequently used as an interrogative pronoun.

Four were *who* used in the original position of *whom* (PP in situ), and an *NP as to who ...* pattern was found 13 times, which is similar to *to who* results found in COHA.

(40) a. Nor am I going to give advice to John McCain as to who he ought to choose. (*ABC This Week* 2008)

b. ... but in a survey as to who you would like to have a beer with.

(*FOX O'Reilly* 2004)

(41) so the issue really comes down to who's the more scientifically credential. (*NPR ATC* 2001)

- (42) a. Well, she contradicted herself to in terms of who is selling weapons to who. (*NPR Talk Nation* 1999)
- b. The sequence of events - what happened when, exactly; who did what to who - we still don't know. (*NPR Talk Nation* 2012)
- (43) They should be able to go to who they feel that they can get the most support from. (*ABC Nightline* 1990)

*Who* in (40) is an interrogative pronoun of an objective case while *who* in sentence (41) is an interrogative pronoun of a subjective case. *Who* in sentence (40b) was originally from behind, right after the preposition *with*, and thus it is not in constituent relationship with the preposition *to*.

*Who* in (42) is located in PP in situ, and sentences of this sort will not be counted because, again, as claimed by some scholars previously, PP in situ is not an exclusive position for *whom*.

*Who* in sentence (43) means someone whom. It was used as a free relative. This sentence is interesting in that *who* works both as an object of *they feel* (verb) and an object of *they can get the most support from* (preposition). However, *who* not in constituent relationship with *to*, this data had to be kept out, too.

Summing up, the actual number of *who* used instead of *whom* in the preposed *to who* phrases would be so small, or possibly even nonexistent in the total data of COCA spoken data. Surprisingly, this result is consistent with that of COHA.

### 3.2.2.2 *For who*

A similar pattern emerged for *for who* samples in that *who* was mostly used as an interrogative pronoun. However, unanticipated findings were that *who* in *for who* was more often used as a free relative compared to *who* in *to who*.

There existed one relative *who* with an objective case in the preposed PP to be counted. Examples of *for who* are demonstrated below.

(44) a. Somebody's going to punish me for who I sleep with.

*(NPR The Crisis in Syria, on a Human Level 2012)*

b. ... we live in such a great country where we are allowed to vote for who we want to vote for. *(NPR Tell More 2010)*

c. Everyone sewed a little patch for who was praying for me.

*(ABC Nightline 2008)*

(45) a. What's it for? Music for who? *(NPR ATC 1998)*

b. Too independent for who? *(ABC Nightline 1993)*

(46) People for who communication is easy put that stuff in the positive.

*(CBS Early 2010)*

(47) I really worried more for who he was hitting than who was hitting him, because ... *(CNN Your Health 2000)*

The first three sentences in (44) show the usage of *who* as a free relative meaning anyone/ someone whom (the first two: objective case) and anyone who (the last one: subjective case). *Who* in the first two, was originally next to the prepositions *with* and *for* at the end of each sentence. Then, they have moved to the front without their original prepositions, and so *who* is preposed but not in the preposed PP (*who* does not make up a constituent with the preceding preposition).

*For who* in (45) is PP in situ. There were, in total, three PP in situ sentences. Sentence (46) will be counted as described earlier. Now, with regard to sentence (47), this sentence is a bit tricky. One could analyze *who* here as a free relative meaning anyone/ someone whom, however, this paper analyzed *who* here as an interrogative pronoun. The utterance is from the mother of *he* in the context, and it seems like the mother is not worried about the fact that someone is being hurt by her son, but rather who this person is (she is curious and anxious to know about the person because she thinks her son ever came across anybody that was bigger than him).

Having analyzed the data, it can be estimated that the total frequency of *for who* phrases (*who* in the preposed PP) would be about three out of 302 in COCA spoken data.

### **3.2.2.3 *With who***

Analysis of *with who* samples yielded a surprising result. It was not an

interrogative pronoun that *who* was mainly used as but a relative pronoun and a free relative (subjective case). The result from *with who* samples is identical with the result from *to who* samples in that there was no *with who* found in the preposed PP where *who* was used in spite of *whom*.

(48) a. I slept with who I chose to sleep with. (*Ind Geraldo* 1992)

b. I was afraid with who you were going to come up with.

(*NPR Talk Nation* 1998)

c. ... a lot of that had to do with who she became as she got older.

(*Ind Geraldo* 1996)

(49) a. It was amazing to see who woke up with who in the mornings.

(*CBS 48hours* 2005)

b. by exposing who's having extra marital affairs with who.

(*ABC Hot Topics* 2015)

c. ... Dan Quayle allegedly crafted, was co-sponsored with who?

(*CNN Crossfire* 1992)

(50) TAMRON-HALL I was about ... about to say. WILLIE-GEIST With who? (*NBC Kelly Osbourne is a Fashion Expert, a Talented singer-songwriter and the daughter of one of the most famous rock stars on the planet* 2014)

Each *who* in (48) is not forming a constituent with the prior preposition. Four sentences including sentences (49) are the sentences of PP in situ.

Equally worth noticing is sentence (50) which was the one and only sentence with a sluicing structure (sluicing was not found in *to who* and *for who* data before). As *whom* and *who* are interchangeable in these cases, these sentences were not added to counting.

*Who* in the remaining sentences was used as a free relative. *Who* itself is preposed, but it is not in the preposed PP that was originally from behind: again, *who* and the preposition before it do not compose a constituent.

As a result, the calculated total frequency of *with who* phrases (*who* in the preposed PP of our concern) would be so small, or possibly even nonexistent in the total data of *with who* phrases in COCA spoken data.

The following is the brief outline of the results.

Table 8. *To/for/with+who* in the preposed PP in COCA spoken data

	to who	for who	with who
Preposed PP	0~14	3	0~5
PP Sequence	724	302	284
Total	3~22/1,310		
Ratio	0.9%		

So far, this paper investigated preposition+*who* phrases in COCA spoken data to discover if *who* is more often used in the preposed PP than it is in COHA. The findings suggest that though proportionally, preposition+*who* phrases are more often found in COCA spoken data compared to COHA written data in total, *who* in the preposed PP was even more difficult to be seen in COCA than in COHA. What this may imply is that the preposed

PP is used in a rather formal context as written texts are characterized to be more formal than speech. Thus, formality perhaps affect the frequency of *who* in the preposed PP.

### 3.3 Summary

#### 3.3.1 Summarized Results

This study confirms that in what is believe to be an exclusive area for *whom*, *whom* is most frequently used. The results from COHA analysis (refer back to Table 3, 4, and 5) first showd that the use of *to/for/with+whom* phrases was decreasing whereas the use of *to/for/with+who* phrases was increasing in general over 200 years of time (although *for whom* and *for who* showed a slightly different pattern). Also, the use of *to/for/with+whom* phrases was enormously more frequent than that of *to/for/with+who* phrases (Chart 1).

Table 9. Summarized results from COHA data

	preposed to whom	preposed for whom	preposed with whom	preposed to who	preposed for who	preposed with who
Data	98/100	96/100	98/100	0/100	2/100	3/100
Ratio	98%	96%	98%	0~1%	2%	3%
Average	97%			1.3%		

Second, when *whom* in the preposed PP and *who* in the preposed PP were compared against each other (Table 9) in COHA, the results revealed that *whom* can almost always be found in the preposed PP (97%) building a constituent with *to*, *for*, and *with*. Moreover, its main usage was a relative pronoun. However, *who* was used mainly as an interrogative pronoun, and partially as a free relative, and in the preposed PP replacing *whom*, *who* was none in 100 *to who* samples, two in 100 *for who* samples, and three in 100 *with who* samples. This paper concludes that prepositions prefer *whom* to be used with, and in the preposed PP, *whom* is exclusively used.

Chart 2. Comparison between *to/for/with+whom* and *to/for/with+who* in the preposed PP

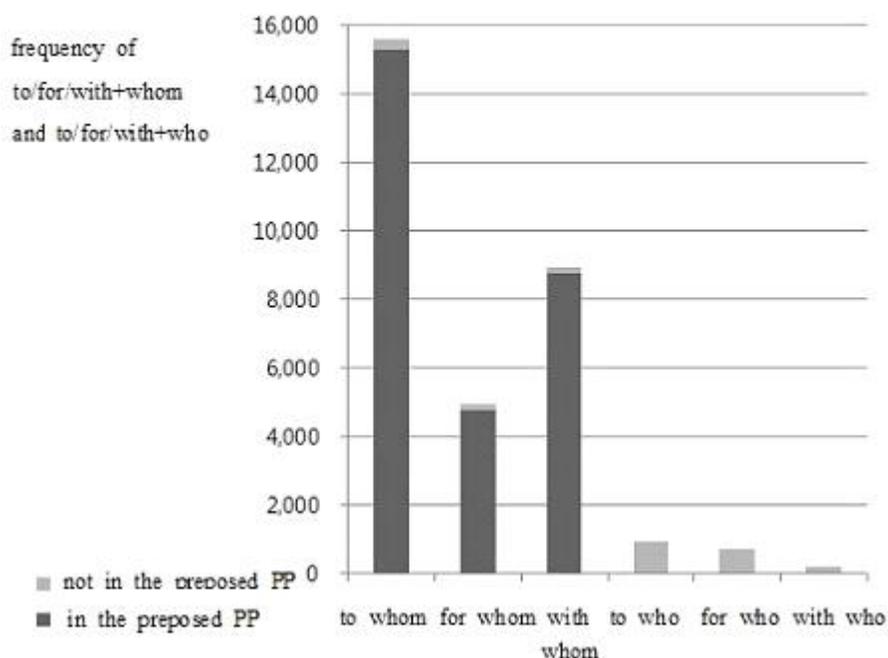


Chart 2 illustrates the difference between *to/for/with+whom* and *to/for/with+who* more obviously. Apparently, the preposed PP is an exclusive area for *whom*. Contrary to *whom*, preposed *to/for/with+who* cases are so rare that they are not even visible in the chart.

### 3.3.2 *Whom* versus *Who*

Now, one might doubt if the results were due to a small total number of *who* in COHA. If the total frequency of *who* was low in the first place, there would have been a low frequency of preposition+*who* phrases to start with. However, that indeed was not the case. The total frequencies for *whom* and *who* found in COHA are as follows.

Table 10. *Whom* and *who* in COHA

	1810~2000
whom	105,445
who	976,482

*Who* is almost 9 times more used than *whom* in COHA (so the results obtained from the COHA analysis are significantly different). What is more, the use of *who* is actually increasing (Table 11). What this indicates is that *who* is not often used with a preposition (unlike *whom*) in general, and even when it is, it does not take up the position of *whom* in the preposed PP.

Table 11. *Who* in COHA (by decade)

Period	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
Frequency	3,185	18,812	37,035	42,565	42,259	44,254	46,808	51,328	52,606	54,115
Period	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Frequency	50,888	58,427	53,269	53,040	54,593	55,190	58,582	63,070	64,459	71,997

Total	976,482
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This finding is further supported by the extra analysis (Table 12). The number of *whom* and *who* in the postverbal position were examined in COHA, and it was clear from the data that after verbs, *who* was used way more often than *whom*. Of course, the data may contain *who* functioning as a subject of the following clause, but still, the number is very large compared with that of *whom*.

Table 12. *Whom* and *who* after verbs (COHA)

whom	1,041
who	20,973

Among verbs, *know* was the most frequent verb that goes along with both *whom* (250) and *who* (6,287). Some examples of *know+whom/who* are shown in Table 13.

Table 13. Examples of *know+whom/who* (COHA)

Examples of know+whom	Examples of know+who
then I know <u>whom</u> he seeks. <i>(Italian Father 1810)</i>	"You know <u>who</u> I mean? Sure you ain't seen him?" <i>(Otherwise Phyllis 1913)</i>
How can you know <u>whom</u> you will pick up? <i>(Harpers 1947)</i>	"Sarah don't know <u>who</u> she loves," <i>(Flame Flower 1972)</i>
This guy didn't even know <u>whom</u> they were looking for. <i>(Mortal Coils 2009)</i>	I simply want to know <u>who</u> I'm dealing with. <i>(Tents Wickedness 1959)</i>
she didn't seem to know <u>whom</u> he was talking about ... <i>(Wonderland 1971)</i>	You know <u>who</u> we ought to take up a collection for? <i>(Tale Mirror 1962)</i>
because I had to spend most of my time? alone and wanted to know <u>whom</u> I was with. <i>(Birth People's Republic 1983)</i>	And I know <u>who</u> he's talking to, I've heard him. <i>(Shadow Boxer 1993)</i>

From the table, we can see that *who* is used exactly as *whom*: *whom* and *who* are both used as an interrogative pronoun and a free relative of objective case. Besides, the frequency of *know+who* is higher in the 2000s (710 out of 6,287, this is approximately 11%) than that of *know+whom* in the 2000s (11 out of 250, that is roughly 4%). What can be inferred from this data is that as some scholars (Walsh and Walsh 1989, Lee 2010, and many others) have argued, in areas other than the preposed PP, it is quite

common for *who* to appear, such as in an object position after the verb, or in preposition stranding<sup>13</sup>.

As explained earlier, formality appears to affect the use of *whom* and *who* as well. This can be further supported by the distribution of *whom* and *who* according to different genres in COCA (Chart 3 and 4).<sup>14</sup>

Chart 3. *Whom* by genre (COCA)

Section	Frequency	Per million	Bar
Spoken	5,517	50.43	
Fiction	9,478	90.35	
Magazine	11,194	101.66	
Newspaper	10,340	97.58	
Academic	12,049	116.50	
Total	48,578		

Chart 4. *Who* after verbs by genre (COCA)

Section	Frequency	Per million	Bar
Spoken	13,701	125.25	
Fiction	10,840	103.34	
Magazine	5,563	50.52	
Newspaper	6,214	58.64	
Academic	2,786	26.94	
Total	39,104		

<sup>13</sup> A relative clause with a preposition in clause-final position. An example would be *This is the journal which their article was published in.*

<sup>14</sup> COCA was selected because it is parsed by genre.

Two charts exhibit quite the opposite results. *Whom* is most often used in academic texts whereas *who* is most often used in spoken environment. On the contrary, *whom* is least often used in spoken environment, and *who* is least often used in academic texts (academic texts are thought to be the most formal context). Despite the smaller total number of *who*, *who* is apparently way more frequent in spoken genre than *whom* (compare 125.25 versus 50.43). It is clear from the charts that *whom* seems to trigger a formal register, and *who* a colloquial register.

Lastly, the result that *who* was hardly used as a substitute for *whom* in the preposed PP in 50 *to/for/with+who* samples from COCA spoken data, together with the results above, corroborate the idea that the preposed PP is a position where *whom* is used exclusively. Also, a tentative conclusion drawn from the corpora analysis, again, would be that *whom* is typically an element of formal written English, and the use of *who* is less formal. With that being said, the preposed PP being an exclusive area for *whom* may be explained by a probable hypothesis that like *whom*, the preposed PP is a formal register, too.

## Chapter 4. Discussions

The results from Chapter 3 showed that when used with a preposition, *whom* was mostly used as a relative pronoun in the preposed PP, compared to *who*. With respect to the first research question in Chapter 1, the findings seem to validate the idea that there exists an exclusive area for *whom*, and it is the preposed PP.

As regards the second research question, why the preposed PP is an exclusive area for *whom*, the results implied that the use of *whom* appears to trigger a formal register, and that the preposed PP seems to have the same register as well. In accordance with this paper's findings, if we look at Biber et al (1999)'s findings concerning genres, we find that the preposed PP was mostly used in academic prose as well. However, they stated that preposition stranding was common in conversation and fiction, but not in news or academic prose. Bergh and Aimo (2000) also came up with a conclusion that, after their investigation into sets of studies regarding preposition stranding, preposition stranding was more frequently found in spoken English than in written English. Subject domains are known to influence preposition stranding, too (Eva 2007).<sup>15</sup>

Further investigation into the relationship between *whom* and the preposed PP will be covered next to fully support this paper's findings, and to

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<sup>15</sup> Two most frequent domains with stranded prepositions were sports and miscellanea (gossip). These are informal subject domains as opposed to formal subject domains such as business and political matters.

provide more information as to why such findings were discovered.

#### **4.1 Pied-piping and Preposition Stranding**

To start with, the preposed PP introduced in this paper is a part of the syntax phenomenon called pied-piping. Pied-piping occurs when a given focused expression is moved taking an entire encompassing phrase with it (Crystal 1997:294). In the preposed PP, the material dragging is a preposition. Pied-piping is very frequent and more flexible in relative clauses than in interrogative clauses (Culicover 1997:183).

The low frequency of *who* in the preposed PP found in this paper's analysis can be understood in terms of registers. Colloquial registers like *who* prefer avoiding pied-piping whereas more formal registers like *whom* prefer selecting pied-piping. In sentences where colloquial registers do not like pied-piping, preposition stranding occurs (Haegeman 1994, Ouhalla 1994, and Radford 2004). Now, one might raise a question as to why or how in the first place, preposition stranding has become an informal register, and pied-piping has become a formal register. This will be dealt in the following section.

## 4.2 Preposed PP and Formality

According to Bergh and Aimo (2000), stranding with different prepositions is attested in contemporary records with Chaucer or even older. For example, Yosuke (2013) argues the possibility of preposition stranding in the Old English. According to him, preposition stranding was possible in two cases. In the Old English, when an object was a noun, the order of a preposition and its object was always P-NP. When the object was a pronoun, the order could be inverted and preposition stranding could take place (illustrated below).

(51) a. and hi ne dorston him fore gebiddan

and they not dared him for pray

'and they dared not pray for him'

(Alc. P. XIX. 226 / Yosuke 2013:153)

b. ... ofdrædd þæt him Godes yrre on becuman sceolde

... afraid that him God's anger on come would

'afraid that God's anger would come on him'

(Alc. P. XXIII. 118 / Yosuke 2013:153)

The other case is when there were relative clauses introduced by the complementizer *þe*.

(52) *þe* relative clauses

and het forbærnan þæt gewrit þe hit on awriten wæs

and ordered burn the writ that it in written was

'and ordered to burn the writ that it was written in'

(Oros, 141, 22 / Yosuke 2013:154)

Grimshaw (1975) found in the Chaucerian material that in *that*-relatives, prepositions were always stranded. When *wh*-pronouns came to be used in relative structures in the Middle English, they were basically similar to *that*-relatives in that both occurred in pied-piping and in stranding although for *that*, stranding was the normal pattern, and for *wh*-pronouns, pied-piping was normal.

As the option of *wh*-relative stranding started to develop in the Middle English, there was an increase in the use of a hybrid structure that contained both pied-piping and stranding in the same clause. This is called a double preposition construction (Bergh 1998), and the pattern was frequent in the Late Middle English and in the first century of the Early Modern English. Some examples are illustrated below.

(53) a. so sawe they comen doun the hylle to hem chauntecler the cock  
and brought on a biere a deed henne of whom reynart had byten  
the heed of.

'so saw they coming down the hill to them Chanticleer the Cock  
and brought on a bier a dead hen of whom Reynart had bitten the  
head off' (*The History of Reynard the Fox* 1481)

b. Behinde the Lunges, towarde the Spondels, passeth Mire or Isofagus, of whom it is spoken of in the Anatomie of the necke.

'Behind the Lungs, toward the Spondyls, passes Mower or Esophagus, of whom it is spoken of in the Anatomy of the neck'

(*A Profitable Treatise of the Anatomie of Mans Body* 1577)

(Bergh and Aimo 2000:303)

As Dekeyser (1990:92) claimed, "the expansion of stranding in Early Modern English seems to be an unassailable fact." In the Early Modern English, stranding became a real alternative to pied-piping, and the following examples could be found.

(54) a. But what saye you to Aristotel, whom ye haue skypte ouer, in the namynge of philosophers?

'But that say you to Aristotel, whom you have skipped over, in the naming of philosophers?' (*The Defence of Good Women* 1540)

b. Trefry told him she whom he spoke of last night lived there retir'd.

(*Oroonoko* 1688)

(Bergh and Aimo 2000:304~305)

However, early grammarians thought that the preposition and NP in a preposed pp form a unit, and viewed the preposition as parallel to Latin case endings. For them, the stranding pattern, seemed to violate the logical

principle of keeping parts of a constituent together. Accordingly, as pointed out by Gorlach (1999:113), the preposition at the end of a sentence was a controversial point among grammarians from the 17th to 19th centuries.

We will move on to discuss further how informal (or colloquial) or ungrammatical preposition stranding was considered in the 18 century normative grammatical tradition in comparison with the preposed PP. Lowth (1979) and his followers looked at end-placed prepositions in preposition stranding as a vernacular idiom. The construction was common in informal conversation but was not regarded as suitable in formal styles (Milroy 1998:95~98). Lowth's followers placed the emphasis on the inelegance of final prepositions as opposed to the "more graceful and more perspicuous" place before the relative (the preposed PP in other words). The criticism is presented here.

(55) The preposition is often separated from the relative as in "Riding is an exercise which I am delighted with." But it is more elegant and perspicuous to place the preposition before the relative as "Riding is an exercise with which I am delighted." (Yanez-Bouza 2008:258)

Likewise, some writers such as Fenning (1771) mentioned that the end position of a preposition in stranding was an exception to the syntactic rules of grammar. Lane (1700) even treated stranding as *transposition*. The term is defined as "placing of words in a sentence out of natural order of construction." Lane, thus looked at preposition stranding as an artificial order of elements in a sentence.

To sum up, stranded prepositions were not deemed of as standard or formal syntax compared to the preposed PP which normative grammarians were advocating at that time. As Coar (1796:129) put it "the preposition would always precede the relative pronoun which it governs." The perspectives of grammarians around the 18 century were formed by the influence of Latin syntax. In Latin syntax, the preposition preceded a word it governed (Beal 2004:110).

Interestingly, preposition stranding was also understood as the reason for using *who* mistakenly in what was then thought to be ungrammatical sentences such as *Who do you speak to?* and *Who civil power belongs to?* Hence, it was advisable to use the preposed PP instead of preposition stranding to avoid such errors and mistakes (Yanez-Bouza 2008:265). Another interesting fact to notice is that although not many, some rhetoricians and grammarians as Campbell (1776) overtly favored preposition stranding for euphony. Priestley (1761:50~51) stated that preposition stranding is natural and it gives vivacity and an easy fall of the voice to the sentence.

Throughout this section, we have seen much historical evidence showing that the preposed PP has become a formal register while preposition stranding has become an informal register. The high frequency of *whom* found in the preposed PP in this study's corpora analysis would be due to the preposed PP being a formal register because *whom*, the formal register, has been used with its preposition in the preposed PP (ever since the Middle English). Clearly, where the preposition is placed affects the formality of the sentence (Ljung and Solve 1992:256).

### 4.3 Other Hypotheses

In order to explain different usage patterns of *whom* and *who* in general, various hypotheses came up. Among them, four will be dealt here briefly. The first explanation uses Prescriptive and Descriptive Grammar rules (Walsh and Walsh 1989). Prescriptive Grammar rules describe *whom* as an object of the verb or preposition, or as a subject of the infinitive. Regarding *who*, Prescriptive Grammar rules describe it as a subjective complement or a subject of the tensed verb. Descriptive Grammar rules, on the other hand, state that *whom* comes right after a preposition, and *who* appears in cases other than that. What the students displayed throughout a fill-in test (choosing either *whom* or *who*) carried out by Walsh and Walsh (1989) can be explained by the interaction of those two grammar rules. The parts where these two grammar rules overlapped each other brought out mixed responses among the students, and the parts where these two rules did not overlap brought out uniform responses.

For instance, in sentences where only one of rules applied, the students filled in either all *who* or all *whom*: *The man \_\_\_ ran the stop sign is dangerous (who 100%)* and *The man to \_\_\_ you were speaking is my math teacher (whom 100%)*. However, in sentences where the two rules overlapped, both *whom* and *who* were used in similar proportion: *That guy \_\_\_ you met last night is a bit nuts (who 60%/ whom 40%)* and *The little*

*girl \_\_\_ you watched eat all the cookies is fat (who 60%/ whom 40%).*<sup>16</sup>

Follett (1966) and Kaye (1991) considered the difference between the use of *whom* and *who* as a diglossic matter. They claimed that the difference was not caused by case or any syntactic factor but was simply due to its plain variants. Diglossia refers to the use of two languages under different conditions in a community. A higher level language is formal (usually used in public documents) and is often spoken among the upper class who stick to Prescriptive Grammar. A lower level language is colloquial. So for example, a sentence like *To whom do you wish to speak?* would be acrolect, a sentence like *Who do you want to speak to?* would be mesolect, and finally, a shortened version like *Whoje* would be basilect. The use of *whom* is, therefore, something that belongs to formal language according to these scholars (Quirk et al. 1985:368).

Klima (1984), too, suggested 4 types of style long ago: L4 (least formal) to L1 (most formal). For instance, L4 and L3 never use *whom*, L2 uses post-verbal and post-prepositional *whom*, but never fronted *whom*. L1 uses *whom* in all conditions. It is these different levels of language that cause differences in the use of *whom* among individuals (Kaye 1991). Kaye thinks the use of *whom* is already dead among mesolect and basilect. Radio announcers not using *whomever* on behalf of their audience (because it may

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<sup>16</sup> This type of clause is called *pushdown relative clause* (in other words, *long distance movement*). It is a type of embedding in which a linguistic constituent that is part of one clause operates indirectly as part of another. When this pushdown relative sentence, by contrast, turns into a question, no such alternative choice is known to be available as in *Who do you think will win?* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:465). Pushdown relative clause can be found back in Chaucer's period, too (Jespersen 1924).

sound somewhat snobbish) is a similar example of this sort (Roberts 1954:80~81). The fate of *whom* is after all a question of how long this higher level language would last.

Lasnik and Sobin (2000) proposed a new theory in which they viewed the use of *who* in interrogative clauses and relative clauses as neutral (like a default). According to them, this default-like *who* is realized as *whom* only in particular situations by what they called *grammatical viruses*. Lee (2009) took the opposite approach and attempted to explain the distribution of *who* (not *whom*, *whom* is a default in this case) in terms of *virus*. These two analyses were brought out mainly because the normal case assignment theory cannot account for the modern-day irregular usage of *whom*.

For example, in a sentence like (looking at a photo) *The person in the purple shorts is me*, since the copular verb seems to require an accusative case for its complement here, one would deem a sentence like *Whom was it?* is possible. However, this is not the case. To sum up, virus theory (Lasnik and Sobin 2000) is a theory that considers *whom* as prestigious and not a property of child language. It describes the distribution of *whom* by basic *whom* rule and extended *whom* rule. One criticism of this theory is that it is too lexically specific and directional that it lacks generality.

Sohn (1978) brought psychology into his paper to account for the differences in the use of *whom* and *who*. He also mentioned that whether it is written English or colloquialism plays an important role. For example, in a sentence like *Who are you waiting for?*, for this sentence to be grammatical, objective case *whom* has to be used. However, our linguistic habituation that a subjective case must come at the beginning of a sentence

makes us fallible to position a subjective case instead. Of course, the speaker realizes that he or she has misused the case at the end of their utterance, but in colloquialism, it is hard to reverse what has been said already. This is the reason why, Sohn insists, there frequently exists anacoluthon (he used this term because sentences like the one above are contradicted in case).

In written English, by contrast, there is no time limit, so you can always revise what you have written already. For this reason, Sohn claims that in written English, relatively fewer case-misused sentences are found. To the following sentence *Shoot at whomever comes up to you*, the same mechanism applies. Our psychology unconsciously forces us to use *whomever* instead of *whoever* because typically after a preposition, there comes an object. A pushdown relative clause, too, a similar conclusion can be made for (Jespersen 1969). Take a look at, for example, the following sentence *I met a man whom I thought was a lunatic*. Our speech instinct leads us to the usage of *whom* because we unconsciously, tend not to use two successive nominatives in one sentence.

Among the four hypotheses described above, Sohn's research is very plausible. It can explain how *who* first appeared in the position of *whom*, and why it is more frequent that *who* mistakenly comes to the front, but not to the position of the preposed PP. That is, our linguistic habituation forces us to use a subjective case at the beginning of a sentence but when after a preposition, this tendency decreases.

## Chapter 5. Conclusion

### 5.1 Summary

Due to lack of empirical research into what was believed to be an exclusive area for *whom*, this paper chose to give an account of *whom* in the preposed PP. It has come up with the empirical data and a possible reason for the widespread use of *whom* in that position. The study set out to determine this area by examining various previous studies, and established that hypothetically, the exclusive area for *whom* is a preposed PP (but not sluicing nor PP in situ). The corpora analysis of *whom* and *who* in the preposed PP was undertaken to assess how exclusively *whom* is used in the preposed PP in contrast to *who*.

The results revealed that preposition+*whom* pattern was far more frequent than preposition+*who* pattern, but that preposition+*who* pattern did exist to some extent. However, after getting ride of irrelevant data such as sluicing, PP insitu, or *who* as a subject of the following clause, this study was able to draw a conclusion that in the preposed PP, *whom* is exclusively used. Further investigation into typical genres in which *whom* was used also produced additional information that *whom* seems to trigger a formal register.

Subsequently, to explain the linguistic phenomenon, historical evidence that the preposed PP, as it was largely affected by Latin syntax, has been a

formal register ever since the Middle English was postulated. It thus appears that *whom* prefers the preposed PP while a more colloquial register *who* does not coincide with the preposed PP.

Despite its exploratory nature, this study offers some insight into the fate of *whom*. An implication is that because of this exclusive area, *whom* would last, or at least it would take a very long time for *who* to finally be a substitute for *whom* in the preposed PP.

## 5.2 Limitations and Further Studies

The findings in this study are subject to several limitations. First, in the corpora analysis, there may have been a few errors in classifying sentences. Since there is no parsing offered from the two corpora, every sentence in the samples had to be sorted out manually based on the author's own intuition and judgment. It is possible that a few errors may have occurred during this process.

Second, it would have been more understandable if more possible explanations could have been given as to why the frequency of *for whom* and *for who* phrases in COHA had a different pattern compared to that of the other two preposition+*whom/who* phrases.

Third, preposition stranding of *whom* and *who* was not covered in the corpora analysis since it was very difficult to obtain data consisting of only preposition stranding in either COHA or COCA.<sup>17</sup> Though occurrences of

preposition stranding, in the matter of formality of *whom* (*whom* frequently occurs with pied-piping but not with preposition stranding) were supported by some researches done by other scholars in Chapter 4, it would have been more comprehensive if this paper could have conducted and included the analysis on its own.

Fourth, the spoken corpus used for this study is COCA. However, as mentioned earlier, the spoken language in COCA may represent rather public speaking. Although it was best to use this corpus due to the several limitations that other spoken corpora had, if there had been a better alternative spoken corpus with private conversations, the results in this study would have been more convincing.

Lastly, the small sample size could matter. This study had no choice but to choose sampling number 100 owing to the total frequency of *with who* phrases in COHA, but yet, the bigger the samples had been, the more representative of the total data the samples could have been.

This research has also thrown up further investigation that needs to be undertaken. It would be interesting if future trials assess Sohn's plausible hypothesis that psychology plays an important role in the use of *whom* and *who*. One potential test would be letting participants create anacoluthon or pushdown relative sentences out of two sentences in different settings (written and colloquial), and to see if they produce more case-accurate sentences in written situation than in spoken situation.

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<sup>17</sup> Even the creator of COCA and COHA (Mark Davies) answered that preposition stranding cannot be searched via the online interface because the corpus is not parsed for syntactic structure (while it is tagged for part of speech).

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## 요약(국문초록)

*Whom*와 *who*의 사용에 관해서는 그동안 많은 논의들이 있어 왔다. 많은 논문들이, *who*의 고유 영역인 주어(를 제외)한, *whom*이 쓰이는 영역 대부분을 *who*가 대체할 수 있다고 주장해오고 있다. 그럼에도 불구하고 일부 학자들 (Jespersen 1969, Sohn 1978, Quirk et al. 1985, Walsh and Walsh 1989, and Bauer 1994)은 *whom*이 독점적으로 쓰이는 고유의 영역이 있다고 보았는데 그것은 바로 전치가 된 전치사 구다.

이 논문은 두 가지 코퍼스 (COHA와 COCA spoken data)를 이용하여 *whom*과 *who*가 들어간 전치된 전치사 구를 찾아 비교해 보았다. 그 결과 전치사+*whom* 패턴은 전치사+*who* 패턴보다 압도적으로 많이 발견되었고, 전치사+*who* 패턴도 어느 정도는 존재한다는 걸 확인할 수 있었다. 하지만 sluicing과 PP insitu 구문 등을 제외하고, *whom*의 고유 영역이라고 여겨지는 전치된 전치사 구 안에서만 사용 빈도를 확인하였을 때는 *who*의 빈도수가 현저히 낮거나 거의 없었음을 확인할 수 있었다. 이는 동사 바로 뒤에서는 *whom*과 비슷하게, 혹은 더 많이 사용되는 *who*의 결과와는 상반되는 것이었다. 또한, *whom* 자체가 *who*에 비해 격식적인 언어사용역을 유발하는 경향이 있을 거라는 것도 둘의 장르 비교를 통해 확인할 수 있었다.

*Whom*의 독점적 사용 영역인 전치된 전치사 구는 역사적 발전 과정을 통해 설명될 수 있다. 전치된 전치사 구는 중세 영어 시대 때부터 전치사 좌초에 비해 격식적이고, 관용적이며, 문법적으로 바르게 받아들여졌다. 이는 전치사가 자신이 지배하는 단어를 앞서는 라틴어 통사의 영향을 많이 받았기 때문이다.

따라서 *whom*이 독점적으로 전치된 전치사 구에서 쓰이는 이유는, 전치된 전치사 구가 *whom*과 마찬가지로 격식적인 언어사용역을 유발하기 때문이라고 유추해 볼 수 있다. 이러한 *whom*의 독점적 사용 영역이 존재하기 때문에, *whom*이 완전히 사라지려면, 혹은 *whom*의 모든 영역이 *who*로 대체 가능하려면 시간이 걸릴 것이다.

**주요어:** *whom*, *who*, 전치된 전치사구, 코퍼스, 동반이동, 전치사 좌초, 언어사용역

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