

SOME FACTS ABOUT *ME* AND *I*

Fred W. Householder

This paper is a continuation of Householder(1986), concentrating now on the choices of personal pronouns ("case-assignment") in English, based upon an extensive collection of data from a variety of sources. It is shown that Klima's original scheme of four styles (L_1 , L_2 , L_3 , L_4) can be kept by redefining, with the aim of making L_1 , the editorially approved written style, L_3 the normal colloquial style, L_2 a slightly hypercorrect deviant and L_4 a slightly substandard deviant. Appendices are presented containing many examples of most styles in the ten newly defined environments (increased from seven in the earlier article).

Both traditional and transformational treatments of English suppose that the language has a functional case distinction (between subjective and objective or nominative and accusative/oblique) which appears on the surface only in certain pronouns, primarily interrogative *who/whom*, relative *who/whom*--often assumed to be the same lexical item--, and personal *I/me*, *he/him*, *she/her*, *we/us*, *they/them* and archaic *thou/thee*. Occasionally *whoever* (headless relative) is added, though it is fairly easy to show that occurrences of *whomever* are nearly always incorrect by both traditional and transformational case-assignment rules. Ever since Householder (1971) I have speculated that, at least for some common varieties of English, what we have is not contrast but complementary distribution.

In Householder (1986), while considering Klima's (1964) L_1 , L_2 , L_3 , and L_4 as related to the choice of *who* or *whom* for human object relative clauses (arguing that the standard of written English, both in America and in Britain, is not L_1 , L_2 or L_3 but rather what I called $L_{1\frac{1}{2}}$, in which interrogative *who* is correct, as in "who did he see?" or "I know who he saw", but relative *whom* is more usual than *who*, as in "This is the person whom I described"), I also touched upon the criteria for L_3 and L_4 (which involve a preference for *me*, *him*, *us*, *her* *them* over *I*, *he*, *we*, *she*, *they* in three environments: (1) after the verb *be* -- "It is me", (2) in conjoinings with *and*, *or* etc. -- "Him and me went to town", (3) as demonstrative determiners -- "us three boys went to town") noting the existence of several additional environments where a choice between *me* and *I* has a similar effect. I will here present a revised listing (Table 1) of these environments (essentially all except (a) those where a pronoun is unjoined and immediately adjacent to an invertible auxiliary [do, did, will, would, shall, should, can, could, may, might, am, are, is, was, were, have, has] or before a finite verb, from which the pronoun may be separated by a fairly small list of items, and is always *I*, *we*, *he*, etc. and (b)

where a pronoun is unconjoined and immediately after a verb or preposition, where it is always *him, me, etc.*)

Table 1

	Disjunctive Environments	
	L_4	$L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$
1. After <i>be</i>	It's me.	I want it to be she. I wish me he.
2. <i>and, or</i>	him and me are friends.	Between you and I.
3. (formerly-1986- 2b)	Nobody but us came.	We like him better than she. (i.e. better than we like her.)
4. (3) with preceding adjectives or fol- lowing nominals	Us boys have been talking.	This is hard for poor we.
5. (4a), sole anteced- ent of a relative or prepositional modifier.	Damned be him that cries. More than him I am before knows.	This is for she who cries inno- cence for he of the sad face.
6. (4B) topicalized or left dislocated pronoun	Me, I'd rather go.	She I saw.
7. (5 app.)	We did it, just us.	for us, we sinful ones.
8. (5 del.)	Who's to do it, if not me? A. You bring it. B Not me!	Who did he hate, if not they. A. Who did they see? B. Not I!
9. (absolute)	Us being late, they started anyway.	She looking on, they fixed the car.
10. (exclamatory)	Poor me! More fool him! Me and my luck! me lay down!?	She a beauty? I married?!

(For more examples, see Appendices, I, II, III and IV, which almost obviate discussion.)

These examples give a better idea of the situation than any rules or descriptions I could devise. Of course there will be some that are difficult to categorize, and others that simultaneously belong in two or more of these classes, but generally the task of classification is simple. Most of these, furthermore, are relatively rare. To give an idea how rare, I counted all occurrences of *I, he she,*

we, they and *me, him, her, us, them* in Francis 1981 (1979), a novel of 315 pages in first person narrative with lots of dialog. I counted altogether 6,951 instances (observational error throughout this paper means that the actual numbers are probably 1 to 5% higher) of these pronouns. Of these, 5,726 (82 $\frac{1}{2}$ %) were cases of unconjoined *I, he, we*, etc. preceding the verb or adjacent to the auxiliary, 1,150 (16 $\frac{1}{2}$ %) were unconjoined *me, him, us*, etc. immediately after verb or preposition; in other words, in 99% of the cases, the basic rule given above will work as well as any "case-assignment" rule based on function or structure. There remain 65 examples which conformed to the L_1 rules and 10 which did not. Of these 65, 48 were cases where the $L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$ rule ("In all other cases choose *I, he, they* etc.") would give the same result as L_1 , and nine instances of *me, him, them* etc. which were obviously used to mark low-class characters. All but two of the remainder were conjoinings. Only seven of the ten disjunctive environments turned up in this book, and this is not unusual. In Loos 1951, for instance, only four of the ten occur, one of them only once; the other books of the corpus range from 5 to 8 environments, though the four Shakespeare plays show all ten (one of them, the absolute construction, only once). (See table 2)

In Francis(1981), then, L_1 is unquestionably the prevailing rule, whether due to author or editor; there are no cases of $L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$, and almost all cases of L_4 or L_3 occur in dialog, mainly spoken by low class characters or meant to be humorous. The L_1 is not pure, since interrogative *who* (object) is regular, but always relative *whom* object -- therefore $L_{1\frac{1}{2}}$ (Indeed I have not found an instance of pure L_1 or of Klima's L_2 in any book, American or British, though Jespersen and Haislund (1949, 244) quotes Sweet as saying "many educated people never use *whom* at all", which is a definition of L_2 .) Marsh (1963) shows exactly the same pattern: basically $L_{1\frac{1}{2}}$ with no $L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$ cases and only dialect or humorous L_4 or L_3 , and I think we may suppose that this is the editorial pattern for all publishers of fiction, and exceptions require some argument from the author.

Table 2

In this table there are four numbers in each box. Each box contains the occurrences of a particular environment (numbers 1 to 10 across the top) in a particular text or corpus (Shakespeare to Higgins down the side). The upper numbers in each box are occurrences of the pronoun predicted by L_1 , the lower are other pronouns (L_2 (or $L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$) L_3 and L_4). The left-hand numbers in each box are instances of *I, he, she, we, they* and the righthand ones are example of *me, him, her, us, them*. So the first (upper left) box says that there are eleven cases of environment 1 (predicate after *be*) in the four Shakespeare plays here tabulated, all of which are "subjective" forms, ten "correct" by L_1 , one only by L_2 or $L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$, and no examples of "objective" forms. In environments 9 and 10, only two choices are possible; in 9 we assume that L_1 is "subjective"; in 10 we hesitate to make any choice.

Env.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
L ₁ Shakespeare	10 0	22 11	13 2	5 2	41 9	0 1	3 1	15 6	1 -	- -
L _{2½}	1 0	3 0	10 0	1 0	0 0	4 3	3 1	3 1	- 0	6 5
Twain	0 0 0 12	0 12 0 44	0 2 0 5	0 2 0 8	1 1 0 0	0 0 0 0	3 0 0 2	5 0 0 7	6 - - 1	- - 0 0
Lardner	1 0 0 5	40 5 21 20	1 0 5 2	1 4 1 1	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 1 0	0 1 0 10	4 - - 7	- - 0 3
Loos	3 0 0 8	92 15 28 0	3 8 7 3	19 1 34 0	0 0 1 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	1 0 1 0	0 - - 0	- - 0 0
O'Hara	0 0 0 2	4 3 3 1	1 0 1 1	1 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	1 1 0 0	0 0 0 3	0 - - 0	- - 2 1
Algren	0 0 0 10	5 6 0 13	0 0 0 1	0 5 0 3	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 2	0 - - 0	- - 0 1
Shannon	0 0 0 3	5 4 0 4	0 0 0 4	1 2 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 4	0 2 0 0	1 0 0 2	0 - - 1	- - 0 3
Marsh	0 0 0 2	8 2 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 1 0 1	0 1 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	7 0 1 2	0 - - 1	- - 0 2
Francis	12 0 0 4	25 15 0 1	2 0 0 0	0 0 0 1	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 2	1 2 0 0	8 0 0 1	0 - - 0	- - 0 0
Higgins	0 0 0 11	25 12 1 20	4 3 1 5	1 3 0 5	0 0 0 0	0 0 1 6	3 1 2 13	1 4 0 8	0 - - 2	- - 0 0

Shakespeare is different in many ways from all the other authors in our corpus; presumably he had no critical editor to deal with. Two environments (5=pronoun is antecedent of a relative, and 10=exclamation) occur more frequently in those four plays than in all the other books put together. This is perhaps partly archaism and partly due to the high frequency of dialog. And the proportions of L_{2½} (*I, he, etc.*) and L₄/L₃ (*me, him, etc.*) are quite different from those in any other item in the corpus: 31 L_{2½} and only 10 L₄, with 110 L₁ *I-he* examples and 32 L₁ *me-him* cases. Contrast Higgins 1986, with 45 L₃₋₄ examples, 5 L_{2½} and 15 of *I - L₁*, 14 of *me - L₁*. Clearly both the frequency of L₁ and that of L_{2½} have dropped precipitously. The two purest L₄ texts seem to be Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* and Algren (1956): Algren has 30 L_{4/3} and 11 *me - L₁* with no L_{2½} and only 5 *I-L₁* (all in env. 2), which can more simply be treated as exceptions to a general L₄ rule, while *Huck Finn* shows 79 pure L_{4/3} and 17 *me - L₁* examples, no L_{2½}, and 15 *I-L₁* (mostly in envs. 7, 8, 9). These two also agree on a total absence of object-*who* relative clauses. (Algren has 16 *whom* examples, but none in dialog, Mark Twain has *who* only 5 times and only as subject or anticipating a ("returning") possessive personal

pronoun ; for subject and object human relatives he has *that* 108 times, *which* 18 (mostly non-restrictive) and zero 13 times.) Agreeing with those in scarcity or absence of $L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$ are Higgins 1985 (1975) and Shannon 1984, 1986. At the opposite extreme are the three books by Anita Loos (1975, 1928, 1951) with $L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$ 71 times and 118 $I-L_1$, but $L_{4/3}$ 11 times (8 of them with *be*, 3 after *as* or *than*) and 24 *me* - L_1 . Here the $L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$ rule would be correct 189 times and incorrect only 35. Of these 189, 183 represent only three environments : The types of *between you and I*, *some of we Americans* and *a girl like I*. It is obvious that Loos uses this technique to characterize social-climbing female speech. It is possible that she was influenced to some degree by Ring Lardner, though he is nowhere near as pure a writer of $L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$ as Loos. The selections in Lardner 1957 show examples of both $L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$ and L_4 put into the mouths of various uneducated characters, often baseball players but including some female social climbers as well.

There are 28 examples of $L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$ in four environments with 47 of $I-L_1$ (mostly env. 2) and 48 of L_4 in seven environments with 10 *me* L_1 cases ; with $L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$ as the rule, 75 occurrences would be correctly predicted, and with L_4 58. Like Loos (and unlike anyone else in our corpus), he has a fair number of examples of *who* as relative object (13 *who* to 3 *whom* in Lardner, 17 *who* to 2 *whom* -- incorrectly used -- in Loos), which suggests that perhaps our criteria for $L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$ should simply be added to Klima's for L_2 though perhaps Klima would not agree. Like Loos, and unlike anyone else except Shakespeare, Lardner has "Like I" four times.

Our corpus includes mainly 20th century writers (plus Mark Twain) at one end, and Shakespeare at the other. We have, however, two sources for the intervening period : (1) Jespersen and Haislund 1949 (and Jespersen 1949) for the whole period, including Chaucer as well as Shakespeare and even some Loos, and (2) three early 19th century school grammars (Brown 1852, Comly 1825, Quackenbos 1865). Fowler 1906 is a twentieth century representative of the same tradition (and Strunk and White 1959, p. 42, is similar though mentioning only "X and I" as object). Kilpatrick (1986) continues the tradition. The Jespersen material is evidence for literary use of $L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$ and L_4 ; the school grammars show that teachers regarded them as real living dangers in ordinary speech and writing. And whereas our proposal here is that all are part of one phenomenon, due to a pair of rival rules, both Jespersen and the school grammars take an atomistic approach. In Jespersen and Haislund (hereafter J. and H.), for instance, instances of "X and me", "X and I" etc., are encountered under nine different headings (on pp. 236-7, 237, 256, 264-5, 272, 273, 275, 276-7, and 277), given six different explanations (notional subject, relative attraction, position, rhyme, analogy, Latin influence).

In Comly, Brown and Quackenbos, who all arrange things according to the rule which is broken, these cases appear under only four or five headings : "Subject of the verb must be in the nominative case" (Comly 73, 128, 179, Brown 103, Quackenbos 186) : "object of the verb in the objective case" (Comly

103, 196, Brown 106, Quackenbos 194) "object of a preposition in the objective case" (Comly 123, 128, Brown 107, Quackenbos 194); "a pronoun in apposition with a noun or pronoun must be in the same case" (Comly has the rule [13] but no "X and I" examples; Brown's rule [3] applies, but he too has no "X and I" examples; Quackenbos has rule [6], but again no examples - all they give are our types 5 and 7, not 2, though Jespersen [in J. and H.] has some good ones -- not on 225 under "Apposition", but 236 "Notional Subject"; "be and similar verbs require the same case after as before" (Comly rule 17, but no "and" examples; Brown rule 21, no examples; Quackenbos rule 7, example p. 200, one "you or her"); "a substantive used independently is in the nominative case" (Quackenbos rule [2], example on 251; Comly has rule [25], obs. 3 -- compare rule 14 -- but no examples with "and". Brown has no equivalent rule, except rule 25 for the nominative absolute and some topicalizations, without "and" examples). It is also curious that all three lack the "we boys" category (environment 4). See Appendix II. Jespersen (J. and H.) does not sort his examples by rule, but does presuppose more or less the same (L_1) rules as Brown, Comly and Quackenbos, who differ only on the question of which uses belong to the "independent subjective". Jespersen, too (J. and H.) has somewhat different views, and even allows an independent objective (see "loosely connected Nexus"-239 and "Common case" on 264, "loose or 'absolute' pronouns" on 275-7, exclamatory 277-8). He also implies that at least three L_4 categories (our 1, 3, and 8) are natural in educated speech (i. e. belong to L_3): "It's me", "He's better than me", and A "Who did that?": B "Me". Nevertheless, he treats "it's me" in several places, explaining it each time in a different way: (1) (J. and H. 226 and 253, 254) "relative attraction", (2) "position" with transitive objects (250-5), (3) "phonetic influence" (*me* rhymes with *he*, *she*, *we*) (262-3), (4) a "tendency to let the oblique (object) case prevail" (274).

If we study table I and the examples in appendices I-IV, we can reconsider our original rule proposal and suggest some improvements. Assuming that ordinary educated American speech should be covered by L_3 (altering Klima's specification) and some sort of "low-class" speech by L_4 , but a flawed attempt at L_3 ("social climbing") by L_2 , then we can propose the following definitions and rules.

(1) Klima's L_1 , in order to cover normal modern English (from Shakespeare or slightly earlier to the present) must be redefined as what I specified as $L_{1\frac{1}{2}}$ in Householder (1986) i.e. interrogative *whom* occurs only (and nowadays always) after a preposition -- *to whom?* *with whom?* *of whom?* etc.; *who* serves all other subject or object uses as a human interrogative -- *who did it?* *Who did he see?* *Who was he talking to?* When *whom* occurs in such environments nowadays, it always serves to mark the speaker and his speech as either biblical and archaic or as excessively prissy. For instance, the only interrogative *whom* (not preceded by a preposition) in the Brown University Corpus is the Biblical (AV) quotation "Whom shall I fear?" (Psalm 27.1), which is

repeated three times. And the only other one I can find in either my 1986 corpus or in this one is this: "Whom would you like to have here, Mister Mahoney, if we were to tell you that it very well might be that sort of thing?" put in the mouth of Puttar, a black lawyer who is often characterized by excessively pure L_1 speech. (In George V. Higgins' *A Choice of Enemies* New York: Carroll & Gray publishers, Inc. 1985 (1983) p. 249). Even in the position after a preposition *whom* conveys the same message, as in March 1963 (118) "With whom does the decision rest?" placed in the mouth of an elderly teacher of French whose English is always as correct as her French.

With this modification we may define normal L_1 today as what I called $L_{1\frac{1}{2}}$ in the 1986 article. The special uses of interrogative *whom* just mentioned belong, then, to a hyper- L_1 which we may refer to as L_0 .

(2) Klima's L_2 , which differs from his L_1 only in having *who* as human object pronoun both in questions and in relative clauses, must also be slightly redefined. Essentially we must reassign some of our $L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$ uses to the new L_2 , particularly in environments 2, 4, 5, 6 and 8. Environment 1 with *I* or *he* is simply L_1 , except for the "I want it to be I" case, which has not turned up except in my 19th century grammars. In environment 3, the type of "a girl like I" seems a bit extreme, "I" in environments 7, 9, and 10 is rare, and possibly archaic. Furthermore, most of the examples of Env. 9 are in Twain and Lardner, who seem in other ways to strongly favor L_4 . See the examples in Appendix IV. These forms do not seem to be used to mark excessive correctness or social climbing by anyone in our corpus.

(3) Klima's L_3 was his L_2 plus the "It is me" structure (env. 1) added. If we try to make L_3 into a style usable in ordinary educated communication, we cannot allow it to include the "I" usages of our new L_2 . But we can add to it some other "me" usages from L_4 , partly following Jespersen, mainly 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. "Me" in environment 5 is extremely rare -- and so is "I", so we may simply ignore this structure. Adding Env: 1 to our rule is easy; we simply do not distinguish *BE* from other verbs. To add env. 3, we redefine *as*, *than* and *but* as prepositions (*except*, *excepting* and *besides* are already so counted in any case, and so, for some grammarians, is *like*). But we do not need to do that; our rule "elsewhere, use *me*, *him*, etc." will cover env. 3

(4) Klima's L_4 included *me*, etc. only in environment 2 and 4, in addition to the usages of L_3 and the total rejection of relative *who* and *whom*. This definition we can now leave unchanged. It is these two uses alone that are really stigmatized as low-class. So we have two deviant styles in dialects, L_2 with too much *I* and L_4 with too much *me*. Is there also a real dialect like the one which appears in Lardner, sometimes deviating to L_2 and sometimes to L_4 , saying both "between you and I" and "him and me did it," and both "some of we boys" and "us boys have decided"? All I can say is that it is not used elsewhere in literature. However, I have for several months (from August to New Year's Eve 1986) noted down examples of usage in all these environments

from TV (mainly talk shows) and real life, and can present some figures. As in all this work, the count undoubtedly includes more "errors" than "correct usages", because they are somehow more noticeable. But first, what are the revised rules now needed?

(1) The rules for L_1 remain the same as before, whatever set of "case-marking" rules you happen to fancy, including rules for a "nominative absolute" (environment 9) and probably a "nominative of exclamation" (Env. 10). Most will be government rules, but for Env. 1, 7, 8, and part of 6 we need agreement rules (pronoun in the same case as the co-referential NP which somehow controls it). These will account for all but 41 occurrences in Shakespeare (and perhaps even more in some 19th century writers).

(2) The new L_2 , a non-U or social climbers' variety of educated English, needs the same rule as before: *me, him, them*, etc. (if unstressed, unconjoined and unmodified -- excluding thereby instances of Env. 2, 4, 5, 7 and 9) immediately after prepositions and verbs other than BE, but *I, he, they*, etc. everywhere else. In practice we must perhaps allow some variation with L_1 to account for examples like "between I and him", where "I" is L_2 , but "him" is L_1 . Such examples in our corpus occur only in Lardner, (e.g. *Horseshoes* p. 212 "Her and I went to the dance") and I also heard one on TV in March, 1987.

(3) To redefine L_3 as the modern conversational norm we need only exclude environments 2 and 4 from our previous L_4 , which can be done by eliminating the restriction on coordination and modification. Before all verbs (including auxiliaries) and after auxiliaries -- even if the pronouns are conjoined, modified or (in the case of *we*) modifying head nominals -- use *I, he, we*, etc., elsewhere *me, him, us*, etc.

The specification "immediately before verbs" should perhaps be changed slightly, since quite a few kinds of words and phrases may intervene after *I, he, we* etc. and there is nowhere any tendency to use *me, him, us*, etc. in such cases. The most common items are some temporal, restrictive and intensive adverbs like *now, then, soon, quickly, still, slowly, already, always, never, ever, often, seldom, usually, just, first, really, actually, certainly* and a few quantifier-like items such as *all, both, alone, too* which may follow object pronouns equally well. Indeed, even a long parenthesis may intervene (though none occurred in this corpus), and environment 4 (which favors L_2 (*he*) in some objective environments) never promotes L_4 except in Shakespeare, where special factors seem to have operated.

Now we are ready to look at the spontaneous and television count referred to above. As remarked, I surely overlooked many L_1 ("Correct") examples, as well as some L_2 , L_3 or L_4 ones, but what we recorded seems to confirm our earlier conclusions. Most environments turn up only rarely: I have recorded only one instance of Env. 1 (an L_1 or L_2 "It's I"), though surely some examples of "it was him" or the like passed unnoticed, one of env. 4 (a "correct" L_1 "we three", one env. 5 (in L_2 "for she who...") and no examples of env. 6 or env. 10

(exclamatory). The remaining environments have the following choices: Env. 2 (*and, or, nether - nor -*) 9 L_1 (= L_2), 17 L_2 (*he* instead of *him*) 1 L_1 (= L_3 , "correct" *him*), 9 L_4 ("me and him did it") and six occurrences of the -self compounds, which are available when you wish to avoid a decision ("George and myself"; which works as subject or object). There were a few of these in the corpus, too, (even three in Shakespeare), but not enough to be significant. I would conjecture that they should count as L_2 . In Env. 3 (*than, as, but, except*) there are 2 examples of L_2 (*he* instead of *him*), 7 of L_3 (*him* instead of *he*) and one of $L_1 = L_3$ (*him* "correctly" used). In Env. 7 (apposition) we have one L_2 (*he* for *him*) and 4 L_3 (*him* for *he*); in Env. 8 (deletion, gapping, node-raising) there are 6 cases of L_3 , and in env. 9 (absolute construction) 1 instance of *he* versus 2 of *him*. Finally, the expected prevalence of objective *who* turned up; 10 non-restrictive, 8 restrictive, 1 cleft, but of *whom* 1 nonrestrictive and 2 restrictive. We must note here that in this paper as in the previous one (Householder 1986) I have not counted instances of what Jespersen (1949/1927, 196-201) calls relative concatenation, which he illustrates by "We feed children who we think are hungry" or "We feed children whom we think are hungry", because it is difficult for non-linguists to decide which choice is the real L_1 . Shakespeare and many more recent authors strongly prefer *whom* in these sentences, as if following a rule which says "use *whom* if an NP subject immediately follows", whereas strict literate grammarians (like Brown, Comly and Quackenbos; also Fowler P. 93) insist on *who* on the ground that is the subject of the second finite verb ("are" in this example). Nor have I noted the somewhat less numerous cases of what are called "returning pronouns" by some people, treated by Jespersen (1949/1927, 108-113) under the heading "Relative connective plus personal pronoun: (*that* 110-11, *which* 111-12, *who* 112, zero 112-13), with examples from Middle English on, including several from Shakespeare. We have several examples in our corpora, of which I will quote two, one (with *that*) from Higgins' *A Choice of Enemies* p. 23 (New York; Carroll and Grub, 1983): "Gimme some guy... that his own mother's friendly with the birdies" and one (with *who*) from an overheard conversation: "[She's] an actress who, if it weren't for her, we wouldn't be here now." This last one even has the returning pronoun in a subordinate clause. Higgins' books contain many examples. The reason for excluding such sentences is that there is no possible choice of *whom* instead of *who*. Here as in most of the spoken English uses of *who*, we must bear in mind the improvisational nature of speech. At the time one says *who* he may as yet have no idea how he will finish the sentence; choosing *whom* requires him to complete the sentence with a verb or a preposition to govern it.

We may now be ready to give our conjectures about the nature and use of each of the four varieties (L_1 , L_2 , L_3 , L_4) as here redefined. L_1 seems to be preferred by editors (and authors) of serious formal prose, including (for instance) articles on linguistics. Here there is one slight exception with regard

to the journal *Linguistic Inquiry*, where *who* as human object relative sometimes turns up, particularly in illustrative examples (which generally conform in other ways to L_1 rather than L_2), for instance in Volume 7, number 4 (1976) in articles by Lightfoot (13 examples - he allows zero as an alternative), Zaenen and Pinkham (12 examples), and Cole (6 examples - many others have *that*). But other than *L.I.*, most books and journals, even fiction of all kinds (except occasionally in dialog or first-person narrative) seem to stick closely to L_1 , using L_3 or L_4 only for dialog -- L_4 only for humor or dialect purposes, and L_2 hardly at all, for any purpose (Lardner, Loos and O'Hara are rare exceptions, and probably had arguments with their editors).

L_2 , as we have just noted, though a common variety of mildly pretentious colloquial English is very rare in literature. Certain uses, however, especially in environments 5 ("for she who craves"), 6 ("she whom we know, I saw), 9 ("he being absent") and 10 ("She a beauty?!") are more likely to occur in literature (including advertisements) than in conversation.

L_3 , as revised, is surely the most normal kind of idiomatic English, and, in many cases, is pretty well accepted in literature as well, not bearing any particular stigma, as the others all may.

L_4 , finally, occurs in ordinary conversation surprisingly often, perhaps at an educational level below that of L_2 speakers (and certainly less pretentious sounding), and is freely used in literary dialog to mark the speaker as low-class in some way.

Appendices

Appendix I

Examples Cited by Kilpatrick

- Env. 1. "Who was Bobby Jones? That was *him*." (L_3)
- Env. 2. "led my colleagues and *I* to identify" ($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$)
- "Charges were dropped against *she* and four others" ($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$)
- "a consent agreement between *he* and the board" ($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$)
- "Whether you like *he* or *she*, or not: ($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$)
- "means of support for my mother and *I*" ($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$)
- "raping both *she* and her niece" ($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$)
- "a fight...between *he* and...Rick Rhoden" ($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$)
- "a field goal...caused *he* and... Ron Jaworski to leap into the air" ($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$)
- Env. 4. "The ritual of *we* young bucks having the right to..." $L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$
- Env. 5. "a fine array for *she* sho craves grown-up innocence." ($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$)

- Env. 7. "They each moved out West; *her* to Arizona, *him* to California."
(L₄)

Examples from Strunk and White (42)

- Env. 2. Between you and *I*. They came to meet my wife and *I*.

Examples from Fowler (60-63)

- Env. 1. I am *she*, she *me*, till death and beyond it. -Meredith
... is the first and sole angel visitant *him*
Easterns call Azrael. (also env. 5) -
C. Brontë.. That's *him*.
- Env. 2. Let you and *I* say a few words...- Trollope.
Quite out of reach of you or *I*.-S. Ferrier.
- Env. 3. When such as *her* die. -- Swift.
But there, I think, Lindore would be more eloquent than *me*.-S.
Ferrier.
It is to him and such men as *he* that we owe the change. -- Huxley.
I beheld a man...whom I instantly recognized as *he* to whom I
had rendered assistance. -- Borrow. (also Env. 5).
- Env. 5. (see above examples under Env. 1 and 3 and below under Env. 7.)
- Env. 7. But to behold her mother -- *she* to whom she owed her being.
- Env. 8. She found everyone's attention directed to Mary, and *she* herself
entirely overlooked.-S. Ferrier

Appendix II

Some Examples ["False Syntax"] from Brown, Comly and Quackenbos

- Env. 1. (Brown) I would act the same part, if I were *him*. It could not have
been *her*. It is not *me* that he is angry with. (all L₃) They believed
it to be *I* (L_{2½})
(Comly) It is *me*... It is *him* from whom I have received...favours. It
was not *me* that made the noise. It might have been *him*... (all L₃)
I believed it to be *they*...(L_{2½})
(Quackenbos) Did you suppose it was *me*? If I were you or *her*, I
would... It was my brother you saw, not *me*. I had no idea of its
being *him*. (all L₃)
- Env. 2. (Brown) You and *me* are...concerned. (L₄) My father allowed my
brother and *I* to accompany him. Let that remain a secret between
you and *I* (L_{2½}) (Comly) He and *me* are of the same age. You and *us*
enjoy many privileges. (L₄) He invited my brother and *I*...*He* and
they we know, but...what concord can subsist between those who

commit crimes, and *they* that abhor them? (Quackenbos) *Her* and *me* are going to the fair. Where are *him* and you staying? If I were you or *her*, I would ...(L_4) We will meet you and *he* this evening. Between you and *I*, there is something wrong. ($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$) (Brown) My brother is older than *me*. (L_4) (Comly) They know how to write as well as *him*; but he is a better grammarian than *them*. They are two years older than *us*. (Quackenbos) Few are so industrious as *her*. You...think that you are happier than *us*. (L_4) she will not sing for anybody else but *he*. She whom I loved more than *they* all...($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$)

Env. 4. No examples.

Env. 5. Dennis the gardener, *him* that gave me the tulips, has promised me a piony. *Him* that loiters by the way, may be belated. *Them* that labour, should be rewarded. *Us* who are spared ought to be thankful. (L_4) *He* that is idle reprove sharply. I saw your friend, *he* that was here last winter ($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$) (Comly) *Him* who is careless will not improve. *Them* that oppress the poor...shall come to want. *Her* that is virtuous deserves esteem. Augustus,...*him* who succeeded Julius... is variously described. These books are my friend's, *him* who keeps the library. (L_4) *He* that hath a mind...let him work. I gave my book to James my cousin, *he* who was here yesterday. The estate was left to the eldest sons, *they* that had been to Europe. I am going to see my friends... *they* that we met at the ferry. *They* that honour me I will honour. ($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$) (Quackenbos) *Him* who is too proud to work is esteemed by none. No one...acted more gallantly than *him* who bore the standard... This ring is...as dear...as *her* who gave it (L_4) Who should I trust, if not *he who* I have lived with for years. Let...*he* that wishes to be safe avoid...politics. Notwithstanding the persuasions of my friends and *she* whom I loved...Let all...rejoice, even *he* who has never rejoiced before. ($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$)

Env. 6. (Brown) But *him*, the chieftain of them all, his sword hangs...on the wall. But *me*, whither shall I go? (L_4) *She* I shall...forgive. ($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$) (Comly) *Them* to whom much is given will have much to answer for. (L_4)

He and *they* we know, but who are you. ($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$) (Quackenbos) *Them* that help themselves deserve help! And *her*, the...forest maid, where is she now? (L_4) *He* who is wise in his own conceit I never could tolerate. ($L_{2\frac{1}{2}}$)

Env. 7. (Comly) These books are my friend's, *him* who keeps the library. (L_4). I gave my book to James my cousin, *he* who was here. I am going to see my friends, *they* that we met at the ferry. We should obey the Author of our being, even *He* who has power to reward or punish us.

- (L₄)
Milton visited Galileo, *he* who made discoveries. Will you thus requite me, *I* who have toiled for you? Capt. Grant, *he* that commanded the Vixen, I used to count among my friends. (L_{2½})
- Env. 8. (Brown) "Who fastened the door?" "*Me*" (L₄)
"Who did he inquire for?" "*Thou.*" (L_{2½})
(Comly) "Who made the noise?" "*Me.*" (L₄)
(Quackenbos) "Who interrupted me just now? : "*Me.*" "Which of you tore the curtain?" "Not *me*, but *him.*" It was my brother that you saw, not *me*, (L₄) I mentioned those I had seen, and *she* among the rest. (L_{2½})
- Env. 9. (Brown) *Him* having ended his discourse, the assembly dispersed. *Them* refusing to comply, I withdrew. (Comly) *Her* being absent, the business was attended to by others. They all had liberty to go, *us* only excepted. (Quackenbos) *Him* being away, the work suffers. (L₄)
- Env. 10. (Brown) "O wretched *us!*" "*Thee* too! Brutus my son!" (L₄) (Comly) "Ah! wretched *I*, how ungrateful" "Ah! *we* -- how little concerned!" (L_{2½}) (Quackenbos) "Thrice-blessed *us!*" "Ah miserable *us!*" (L₄)
[Note Comly's rule differs from the other two]

Appendix III

A small sample of Jespersen and Haislund's examples. Page references to J. and H. Author's names as given by them if not given in full.

- Env. 1. (135 quotations: 32 "I" to 103 "me") (a) cleft S's (226-7) Marlowe: Tis not thy wealth, but *her* that I esteem. Shakespeare: It is *thee* I feare. Thackeray: it's not *me* I'm anxious about...it is *I* am at fault. Chaucer: it is *I* that am come down. Malory: it was *I* myself that cam. Gammer: was it *I* that it broke? (i.e. "broke it")
(b) non-cleft (250-5) Greene: Let it be *me*. Roister: That shall not be *I*. Swift: It must be *I*. Galsw: It's only *I*... Yes, it's *me*. Chaucer: it was *she*. Malory: Truly I am *he*. Fuly: Am not I *he* that ye wolde have? Keats: If it was *me*...Shaw: it might have been *me*. James: he was already *me*. O. Henry: I'm *me* without my hair, ain't I? Benson: since we are *us*. Galsw: It's only *us!* Austen: If I was *her*,...Wells: I'm certain it was *her*. Bennett: He became *them*.
(c) existential (256) Hardy: There are only you and *me* now. Kipling: For a sick pearl there is only *me*. Dickens: There'll only be she and *me*.
- Env. 2. (w. *except* 230) Ru: The horror that [no]...other Englishman, except

Byron and *I*, saw. (w. *like* 253) Burns: unregenerate heathen like you or *I*. Huxley: men who, like you and *I*, stand...alone. Stevenson: old bachelors like you and *I*. (w. let ['s] 236-7) Pinero: Let's you and *I* go together. Bunyan: Let thee and *I* talk. Dickens: Don't let you and *I* talk of...Shakespeare: Let Fortune go...not *I*. Tennyson: Let love be blamed...not *she* nor *I*. (between V and infinitive etc. 237-8) Shakespeare: mischief which may make this...thine...and *I*... they foot-licker. Fielding: I would have both you and *she* know ...(for plus infin. 238) Defoe: ...for the parson and *I* to talk over. Huxley...for you and *I* to constitute...(others 238) Bertram Atkey: The strength of Gene and *I* signing. Norris: comes back with you and *I* aboard. (existential 256) Dickens: There'll only be *she* and *me*. (isolated uses) Shakespeare: for thee which myself and *them* bend...or both yourself and *me* cry lost. (phonetic influences) Shakespeare: ...a league between my goodman and *he*. You have seen Cassio and *she*...Green: ...part my love and *I*. Defoe: She came up to Amy and *I*. Goldsmith: give papa and *I*... company. Defoe: in jesting between her and *I*. (notional subject of a verb understood 275) Bennett: who are the guests?... (Only *us* and Charlie. (conjoined subjects 276) Bunyan: Both he and *them* that are with him shoot.

Defoe: The two which appeared, Friday and *me*, were...spirits.

Austin: Anne and *me* are to go. Dickens: Now that we meet, *him* and *me*,...Bennett: You and *her* understand each other. Lewis: Either he or *me* has got to get out. Dickens: you and *me* know what we do.

Env. 3. (preposition and conjunction 227-236) Marlow: I never heard of any man but *he* maligned the order. Shakespeare: That I kiss aught but *he*. My father hath no child but *I*. What stays and I but *they*? Here's none but *thee* and I (also env. 1 and env. 2). Defoe: ...for nobody but *they*. Bunyan: There is none but *us* two here (also 4). Stevenson: There was no one left but *me*. Galsworthy: nobody comes here but *him*. Tennyson: Who should be King save *him*? Chaucer: There every wight save *he*...was...Gammer: Yet shall ye find no other wight save *she*. AV Matthew: All men cannot receive this...save *they* to whom it is given. Shakespeare: nothing in this universe I call save *thou*. Defoe: [this] amazed the whole family except *he* that knew... Sutton Vane: There's no one at all...excepting *we* five...Marlowe: More weight than fits a prince so young as *I* to bear. Shakespeare: for men so old as *we*. Swift: to a creature so inferior as *I*.

Dickens: she will be married to a man as bad as *he*. Shakespeare: is she as tall as *me*? Fielding: you are not so good as *me*. Chaucer:

unto such a worthy man as *he*. Marlowe: ...laugh at such as *we*. Scott: it is not fit for such as *me* to sit...Brontë: Death was not for such as *I*. Swift: while such as her die. Shakespeare: I will detest myself...as well as *she*, and yet no man like *he* doth grieve my heart. Burns: frae any unregenerate heathen like you or *I*. (also 2).

Vizetelly: They, like *we*, were waiting. Shakespeare: my soul hates nothing more than *he*. Defoe: ...terrified a bolder man than *I*. Dickens: a mystery to wiser...men than *he*. Zangwill: ...find a worthier wife than *I*. Fielding: you are younger than *me*. Byron: he seems mightier far than *them*.

- Env. 4. (see also under env. 7) (p. 229) Bunyan: There is none but *us* two here (also env. 1, 3). (p. 238) Beresford: to let us go alone, *we* three (also 7) (p. 253) Wells: how sweet...to be just *us* two together. (existential p. 256) Dickens: There was only *us* two. (phonetic influences p. 272) Pinero: one out of *we* three musketeers. Roseberry: The position of *we* elderly ones. Swift: you think *us* old fellows are fools. (loose or absolute 176) Priestly: *us* old fellows may wish ourselves young. Priestly: *us* girls must stick together.

- Env. 5. (extraposition 224) Marlowe: She whom thine eye shall like, thy heart shall have. Shakespeare: *She*...that you wronged, look you restore.

Dickens: *she* in whom I might have inspired..., I had taugt to be my sister. Stevenson: *She* whose happiness you...desire, you choose to be your victim. (apposition 225-6) Brontë: I heard one of my examiners--*he* of the braided surtout--whisper. (relative attraction 226-7) Shakespeare: *Him* I accuse the city port..has entered. *Him* we serve's away. better than *him* I am before knows me. Steel: their worship of sex and *He* who made it. Allingham: you would be rendering your...debtor *he* who begs... (231) Dickens: every man, including *he* of the mottled countenance. Shakespeare: or hath moe ministers than *we* that draw his knives. (After the verb. 257)

Shakespeare damned be *him* that first cries. Otway: curst be *him* that doubts. (loose or 'absolute' 275-6) Thackeray: ...his mother--*her* who wrote the hymns...comes to the door. Priestly: ...The...thin man, *him* with the eyebrows--he plays the banjo.

- Env. 6. (extraposition 224) Chaucer: *he* that...hath too great presumption, him shall evil betide. Shakespeare: *He* that rewards me, heaven reward him, *he* that retires, I'll take him for a Volsce. Av. John: *he* that is without sin...let him first cast a stone. Mrs. Browning: *we* who call things good..the evil is upon us. Shakespeare: *she* and that friar I saw them at the prison. Brontë: *She* who had been the band.. he treated with...respect. (relative attraction 226-7)

- Shakespeare: *him* you would sound...be assured he closes. Fulq: *He* that hath most nobles...*him* call I the most noble. (common case 264) Shakespeare: *She* I can hook to me. (loose or absolute 275) Bennett: *Him!* he'd lose the war first. (also 8 or 10).
- Env. 7. (apposition 225) Chaucer: For us, *we* sinful folk. ...of us, *we* mendicants. Shakespeare: it kills me, *I* a sheep. ...by Phoebus, *he* that wandering knight. ...with his princess, *she* the fairest... Swift: ...of Leach, *he* that prints...Shelly: Know ye not me, the Titan, *he* who made...Gosse: ...Waken Mary, whom...they found awake, praying, *she* too. (relative attraction 226) ...Haggard: Kallikrates--*him* whom thou sawest dead--was thine ancestor. Hardy: from his Car'line, *she* who had been dead..Stevenson: ... to my lady Shelton--*she* that is to be. (notional subject) Bennett: Let's halve the cost, you and I. Brontë: ...to let us be his friends... Linton and *I*. (loose or 'absolute' pronouns 275) Bennett: *Her!* She's dead. also 8 or 10). Priestly: The...thin man, *him* with the eyebrows, he plays the banjo.
- Env. 8. Env. 3 may have once been a subcase; some of these are also env. 10) (Relative attraction 227) Shakespeare: Praise *him* that got thee, *she* that gave thee suck. (notional subject 237) Tennyson: Let Love be blamed for it, not *she* nor *I*. Shakespeare: Make me...with nothing grieved, and *thou* with all pleased. (after the verb 253-4) Collins: I wish it was *me* you had frightened, and not *her*. Thackeray: It's you are thrashed, and not *us*...Rose Macaulay: It's not *her* you're engaged to, it's *me*. (phonetic influences 264) Scott: "The letter that ye opened." "*Me* opened?" (loose or 'absolute' 275-6) Austen "You must be Cottager's wife." "*Me!*" Dickens: "you are quite a great lawyer?" "*Me*, Master Copperfield!" Thackeray: "I don't know what the world is coming to, or *me* either." Galsworthy: They're hopeless, all three--especially *her*. Hart: other men might, but not *them*. Stevenson: "Who is going to do it?" "Why, you and *me*, sir."
- Env. 9. The nominative absolute construction, for some reason, is not treated by Jespersen and Haislund except for a sub-type on 239-40. However, in Jespersen 1940, 48-65, there are many examples, and others in Jespersen 1949 (1927) 373-4. First a concessive subtype with *and*: Milton: ...choose to live the..richest, and *he* in that...prison left. Nrs, Browning: ...move one man--and *he* my cousin. Fulq: to speak to me of wedlock, and *I* so young. Sheridan: A dead man, and *I* by! Brontë: to watch them growing...reckless..., and *I* not daring to speak. Scott: that I should live to be called so, and *me* a born servant of the house. Bennett: I'm not going to have any woman rummaging about ...and *me* in bed. Onions: half wondering

to see them too, and *he* so pleased. Tarkington: ...saw him go...with her hand on his shoulder, and *he* showing that he like it there. (Jespersen 1940, 48) Lyly: *I* urging him..., he took up a book. Shakespeare: *They* being penitent, ...my purpose doth [not] extend...further. Wells: Look at all you've built up! - *me* helping. Brontë: The most maddening...(him before me...excepted). Mannin: as we strode along, *I* doing my best to keep pace...and *him* reading aloud. Milton: in destroying *I* find ease..., and *him* destroyed...all this will soon follow. (50) Shakespeare: *Thou* betraying me, *I* do betray my nobler part. (55) Fielding: *we* having feed them...they bowed. (57) Phillips: if this thing happened by chance, *I* in the house, you absent. Brontë: *I* once more alone, *I* had to look out. Wells: *They* being dead, their children may discover them. (62) Shakespeare: *we* being strangers here, how darest thou...

- Env. 10. (Loosely connected nexus 239-40) Austen: *She* a beauty! Shakespeare: What? *I* love! *I* sue! *I* seek a wife! Thackeray: *They* dine here, law bless you! McKenzie: *Me* married? Thackeray: *Me* dance! Bennett: and *me* be left all afternoon by myself? *Me* begging, sir! (phonetic influences 264) Scott: "The letter that ye opened." "*Me* opened!" (Loose or absolute 275-8) Austin: *Me!* A poor helpless widow. Dickens: "It's Mr. Noggs that's wanted" "*Me!*" Dekker: Oh miserable *me!* Shakespeare: Ten times happy *me!* Fox: Poor Druids! and poor *us!* Sayers: Lucky *them*, my lord. Bennett: More fool *him!*

Category

- unknown (After the Verb. Predicative 255) Shakespeare: And were *I* any thing but what *I* am, *I* would wish *me* only *he*. This is perhaps a subtype of Env. 1, as if derived from "I would wish *me* to be *he*", though the examples under Notional Subject, 6. 4₂, 237, which *I* have classified under Env. 8 and Env. 2, are somewhat similar, (e.g. Shakespeare: which may make...and *I*...thy foot-licker) except that here it is the notional subject, not the predicate, that is in the "wrong" case.

Appendix IV

Miscellaneous Examples from the Corpus

- Env. 1. Shakespeare (Romeo 1.4.95): This is *she*. Twain (*Finn* 80): to Mrs. Judith Loftus, which is *me*. Lardner (*Alibi Ike* 51): She thinks it's *her* we're sorry for. Loos (*Mouse* 195): it was always *I* who played the temptress. Algren (*Man* 178): It's *me*, Molly-O. O'Hara (*Pal* 89): it was not *me* but the drummer. Marsh (*D.W.* 184): It's *her* that's laying cold. Shannon (*Knave* 85): It was *her* (Mark 32): It musta

- been *him*. Francis (*Whip* 13): It was *she* who was subtly used to being in control. (*Whip* 75): You're *him*. Higgins (*City* 33): It's not *me*, Jess. (*Penance* 60): One of the things...was *me*.
- Env. 2. Shakespeare (2.1.27): Which, of *he* or Adrian for a good wager, first begins to crow? Twain (1): Tom and *me* found the money. Lardner (*Harmony*, 153-4) I and *him's* been roomies...Art told it to *I* an Lefty. Loos (*Brunettes* 203): The money for *he* and Lester to get over. Algren (*Man* 100): The oney honeymoon you en *me'll* ever have. O'Hara (*Pal* 13): Things stood between *she* & *I*. (68): *Her* and the band been with *me* 15 yrs. Marsh (*DW* 20): *He* and J.W. were going to row. Shannon (*Knave* 49): Mary E. and *I* always got along. (Mark 39): Ted and *I* are going. (86): Fight? *Him* and *me*? Francis (*Whip* 95): Charles and *I* met. Higgins (*City* 12): you and *I've* got to start. (*City* 119): *me* and Br'er Fox, we won't say nuffin'. (*Penance* 13): You and *I* have had.. (243): Me and Dottie get up pretty early.
- Env. 3. Shakespeare (*as you* 2.5 3.5): he shall see gross fools as *he*. *Coriolanus* 1.4.14): nor a man that fears you less than *he*. [I.e. less than he fears *him*] (*Romeo* 1.2.14) hath swallowed all my hopes but *she*. Twain (28) try to be better than *him*. (125) Buck looked about as old as *me*...though he was a little bigger than *me*. Lardner (*Love Nest* 176): The others are just as bad as *him*. Loos (*Mouse* 33) has had as many romances as *I*. (36) to run down Hollywood to somebody like *I*. Algren (*Man* 284): B. knows who the peddler is as well as you'r *me*. O'Hara (*Pal* 63) anybody...not excepting *I*. Shannon (*Knave* 75): he looks sane as you or *me*. Francis (*Whip* 47): Two years younger than *I*. Higgins (*City* 211) Some broad that wanted to get laid, same as *me* (*Penance* 299) lesser mortals such as *I*.
- Env. 4. Shakespeare (*Tempest* 2, 1, 190): *We* two my lord will guard...(*Coriolanus* 4.6.94): against *us* brats. (5.3.104) to poor *we* thine enmity's most capital. Lardner (*Golden Honeymoon* 196)...listening to *we* three talk over old times. (*Some like them cold* 307) Fine chance for poor little *me*. Loos (*Mouse* 54): among *we* Film Stars of today... (*Brunettes* 205): ...places for *we* Americans to go...and millions of *we* Americans go. Algren (*Man* 81)...does *us* poor people a favor. (197): ...*us* good guys should get together...O'Hara (*Pal* 85): all *we* singers put on weight. Marsh (*Dead Water* 179): *Us* two chaps took a look, but it warn't thereabouts. Shannon (*Knave* 134) it comes to *us* girls. (Mark 61) of all of *us* big tough homicide cops. Francis (*Whip* 66): we hear things...even *us* dim country bumpkins. Higgins (*City* 37): you guys got analysts, *us* guys got booze. (71) makes them better human beings than *us* pedestrian types (also env. 3) (*Penance* 46) as *we* lawyers like to say.

- Env. 5. Shakespeare (*Romeo* 1.5.18) *She* that makes dainty, she, I'll swear hath corns. (also env. 6). (2.1.14)...for her...son and him, Cupid, *he* that shot so trim. (also env. 7). (*As you* 1.1.46) Ay, better than *him* I am before knows me. (4.1.40-42) *He* that will divide..., it may be said of him... (also Env. 6) Crane (Red Badge 79) The majesty of *he* who dares. Twain (211)...by *them* that's left behind...and *we* that knowed him, knows...Loos (*Brunettes* 243)...in comparison with *he* himself, who never touched it. (also Env. 4) Callow (*Ghost* 20) For *we* who knew and loved M. there will always be a ghost.
- Env. 6. Shakespeare (*Coriolanus* 1.4.28): *he* that retires, I'll take him for a Volsce. (5.2.101) *He* that hath a will to die...fears it not...(also env. 5) (5.6.5): *him* I accuse...hath entered. (*Tempest* 1.2.109): *Me*, poor man, my library was dukedom enough. Shannon (*Knave* 104): *Me*, I'm done...with the priests. (104) *Me*, I'm a very democratic fellow. Higgins (*City* 251): *She*, I've never spoken to her. (270): *Me*, I have to have a good reason. Francis (*Whip* 290) Chico and *I*, we went down. (also 2,7)
- Env. 7. Shakespeare (1,2,285)...save for the son that she did litter here...*he*, that Caliban whom now I keep...(4.1.217) which may make this island thine own, and *I*, thy Caliban, for aye thy foot-licker. (5.1.15): abide all three distracted...but chiefly *him* that you termed...Gonzalo. Twain (75) but husband's going over to see--*him* and another man (also env. 2). (364) We did set him free--*me* and Tom. Lardner (*Mr. and Mrs. Fixit* 337): We have'em to the house for dinner...*they* and their wives. (Love Nest 173) Let's you and *I* have just one. (Shannon: *Mark* 175): He didn't understand, *him* away off on some job. Francis (*Whip* 86) We spent [sc. time]...going round the bars, Chico where..., and *me* with the trainees (also env. 8) Higgins (*Penance* 150): Let's *we* think about that.
- Env. 8. Shakespeare (*Coriolanus* 3.2.83): The soft way which...were fit for thee to use, as *they* to claim. (125): To beg of thee it is my more dishonour than *thou* of them. Twain (100) A. "you've clean missed the point": B. "Who? *Me?*" (281) He couldn't come and *me* miss him. Lardner (*Alibi Ike* 37): actin' like they was Dutch soldiers and *him* Kaiser William. (*The Love Nest* 173): A. "You won't tell on me?" B. "Not I!" Algren (*Man* 18): "Who's the ugliest man?" "*Me.*" O'Hara (*Pal* 9): You...will be the loser and not *me* (*Pal* 77): I [would]...have about 5 lbs. of caviare...etc., but *me* too...lazy to reach for it. (*Pal* 114): was it you slugged him, or *me*(?) (also env. 1). Marsh (*Dead Water* 38): A. "And Dr. Wayne?" B. "Why *he?*" (157): A. "You'd hate it. B. "*I?*" (196): A. "Will she mind?: B. "Not *she*" (148 A. "Was Miss Lot a racing fan?" B. "*Her?* Don't be funny." Shannon (*Mark* 99): A. He might...have knocked you..." B. "Better

- me* than..." (167) : We don't go for that...not *me*, boy! Higgins (*Penance* 268-9) : A. "None that I could think of..." B. "*Me* either."
- Env. 9. Shakespeare (*Romeo* 1.5.4)...lie in one or two men's hands, and *they* unwashed too. Twain (250) : I took and hid it...considerin' the bed a safe place, *we* not bein' used to niggers. (354) : They've stole everything...-and *we* a watching...they stole...a thousand things...and *me* and Silas...on the constant watch. Lardner (*Who Dealt* 278) : It was sweet of her to call, *she* being one of the real people there, and *me*---Shannon (*Mark* 42) : he was nice to everyone, *her* included. Higgins (*Penance* 27) : I am sitting in my box...*me* and Joanna, picking veal out of our teeth...(259) : What can he do? *him* in jail and all. (*City* 69) : he acted cranky, *me* standing there just watching... Compare also Lardner (*Zone of Quiet* 72) I couldn't laugh on account of *she* being there.
- Env. 10. Shakespeare (*Romeo* 1.1.169) O *me*! What pray was here? (1.5.2) : *He* shift a trencher! *he* scrape a trencher! *As you* 2.4.13) The more fool *I*! (Coriolanus 1.1.152) : *I* the great toe! Lardner (*Champion* 114) : *Me* lay down for fifty bucks? Not *me*! (*some like them old* 312) : All I can say is poor little *me*! Shannon (*Mark* 136) : On the front page... *him*! (229) Dear *me*, no! Algren (*Man* 91) : *Me*'n my bedroom eyes! Marsh (*Dead Water* 106) : Silly old *me*! (167) : Dear *me*! O'Hara (*Pal* 6) : *Me* trying to move into society! (110) : But the more fool *I*.

REFERENCES

- Householder, F. W. (1971) *Linguistic Speculations*, New York : Cambridge University Press.
- (1986) 'Some Facts about *Who* and *Whom*', *Language Research* 22, 149-167.
- Klima, E. (1964) 'Relatedness between Grammatical Systems,' *Language* 40, 1-20.

(Grammars)

- Brown, Gould (1852) *The First Lines of English Grammar*, New York : Samuel S. and William Wood.
- Comly, John (1825--first 1821) *English Grammar made easy to the Teacher and Pupil*, Philadelphia : Kimber and Sharpless.
- Cooper, Christopher (1685) *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*, London : Benj.

- Tooke. (Reprint Menston : Scolar Press, 1968)
- Fowler, H. W. and F. G. Fowler (1906) *The King's English*, Oxford at the Clarendon Press.
- Jespersen, Otto (1949) (1927) *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*, Part III Syntax. Second Volume. Copenhagen : Ejnar Munksgaard.
- Jespersen, Otto (1940) *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*. Part V Syntax. Fourth Volume. Copenhagen : Ejnar Munksgaard.
- Jespersen, Otto and Niels Haislund (1949) *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*. Part VII Syntax. Copenhagen : Ejnar Munksgaard.
- Kilpatrick, James (1986) Two columns of *The Writer's Art* (May 11 and July 13), Universal Press Syndicate.
- Mustanoja, Tauno F. (1960) *A Middle English Syntax*, Parts of Speech. Helsinki : Soci t  N ophilologique. (M moires de la Soci t  N ophilologique, XXIII).
- Quackenbos, G. P. (1865) *An English Grammar*, New York : D. Appleton and Co.

(Corpus)

- Algren, Nelson (1956--first 1949) *The Man with the Golden Arm*, Greenwich, Conn. ; Fawcett Publications, Inc.
- Callow, Jessica (1985) 'The Ghost of Tall Trees,' (short story) in *Lost Ladies* (Anthology), 10-20.
- Crane, S. (1951, first 1894) *Red Badge of Courage*, New York : The Modern Library.
- Francis, Dick (1981--first 1979) *Whip Hand*, New York : Pocket Books.
- Higgins, George (1985--first 1975) *A City on a Hill*, New York : Carroll and Graf Publishers, Inc.
- Higgins, George (1986--first 1985) *Penance for Jerry Kennedy*, New York : Carroll and Graf Publishers, Inc.
- Lardner, Ring (1957--first 1915-1928). *The Best Short Stories of Ring Lardner*, New York : Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Loos, Anita (1975--first 1926) *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, New York : Doubleday and Co., Inc.
- Loos, Anita (1928) *But Gentlemen Marry Brunettes*, New York : Boni and Liveright.
- Lous, Anita (1951) *A Mouse is Born*, New York : Doubleday and Co., Inc.
- Marsh, Ngaio (1963) *Dead Water*, Boston : Little, Brown and Co.
- O'Hara, John (1957--first 1940) *Pal Joey*, New York : Bantam Books
- Shakespeare, William. *As You Like It, Coriolanus, Romeo and Juliet, The Tempest*.
- Shannon, Dell (Elizabeth Linington) (1984--first 1962) *Knave of Hearts*, New

York : Mysterious Press.

Shannon, Dell (Elizabeth Linington) (1986--first 1964) *Mark of Murder*, New York : Mysterious Press.

Twain, Mark (S. L. Clemens) (1940--first 1884) *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, New York. Books, Inc.

Department of Linguistics
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana 47405
U.S.A.