

A Study of Present-day English Usage Leonard Survey Re-examined

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I INTRODUCTION

The monograph, *Current English Usage*, is the result of a study initiated by Sterling A. Leonard. It was completed after his death and published by the Publication Committee of the National Council of Teachers of English in 1932. The study appeared in what may be called its initiatory stage in an article by Leonard and Moffett, entitled "Current Definitions of Levels in English Usage," and published in the *English Journal* for May, 1927 (pages 345-359). The purpose of the study is set forth in the following statement which appeared at the outset of the article:

This study was an attempt to find out what various judges have observed about the actual use or non-use by cultivated persons of a large number of expressions usually condemned in English textbooks and classes.

Current English Usage, which appeared five years later, in 1932, was an enlargement¹ of the earlier project, employing the same method and having the same purpose in view.

The Leonard Survey is the study of gathered opinions about the usage of words and expressions usually questioned or condemned in grammars and textbooks. And it is not a survey of the facts of the English usage but of opinions about the standing of various debatable items. The guiding principle of the survey is indicated succinctly in the statement that "allowable usage is based on the actual practice² of cultivated people rather than on rules of syntax or logic." He examined the actually written and spoken English. His report provides evidence to demonstrate the discrepancy between the actual usage and rules of the grammar.

In 1938, six years after the appearance of *Current English Usage*, *Fact About Current English Usage* was published by Albert H. Marckwardt and Fred G. Walcott. Analyzing the Leonard Survey, they pointed out that Leonard and his associates had made a survey of the opinions about usage rather than the facts of usage and that this appeal to opinions might be said to have had decisive results in less than one-half³ of the cases submitted to the judges. Their purpose was to supplement the survey of opinions, which formed the basis of the Leonard monograph, with a survey of the recorded usage; so that they attempted to make their analysis as objective as possible.

The purpose of their investigation, as its authors tell us,⁴ is to make the Leonard

Survey, which is based upon the subjective impression, more objective. The Leonard Survey, which is to be explained briefly in the next section, is the study of the gathered opinions of debatable words and expressions, which were submitted to the jury consisting of linguistic specialists, authors, teachers of English, teachers of speech and the like. But their preoccupied idea of 'grammar' had more or less influence on their opinions in their judging the words and expressions.⁵ It is obvious that the result of their opinions is the sum of subjective opinions and lacks objectivity. To make the Leonard Survey complete, it is required to give it objectivity. The purpose of the present investigation is to make the Leonard Survey still more objective by supplementing the opinions with those of the recorded usage.

The other point which we must bear in mind is that the Leonard Survey was made in the early 1930's. We find that English has been changing for about thirty years. Fries states in his survey that "as a matter of fact even the language of our better magazines and public addresses has, during the last generation, moved away from the formal toward the informal."⁶ Thus, the article *an* was used before a noun beginning with the sounded *h*, as in 'A Tale of Two Cities is *an* historical novel.' (Established 1 in the linguists' ranking of the Leonard Survey and *Literary* by the Marckwardt-Walcott Survey), but today we should say '*a* historical novel.' Again, the use of *sure* as an adverb, as in "'Will you go?" "*Sure*"' was the debatable usage (Disputable 133 in the linguists' ranking of the Leonard Survey and *Dialect* by the Marckwardt-Walcott Survey), but now it is a standard colloquialism in the United States. Thus language has been changing from the formal to the obsolete and from the nonstandard to the standard respectively. Constant change—in pronunciation, in grammatical structure, in word meaning—is, as far as we know, the normal condition of every language.⁷ The other purpose of this investigation, therefore, is to find out what changes in English usage have been made during the past thirty years.

II THE LEONARD SURVEY

It will make the purpose of this investigation more comprehensive to explain the method which Leonard and his colleagues adopted.

The following technique was employed in "getting a consensus of expert opinion."⁸ The words and expressions whose standing might be questionable amount to 230 items, which are divided into two groups, Ballot I and Ballot II. A list of 102 items, Ballot I, was submitted to 229 judges. They were, both British and American, 30 linguists, 30 editors, 22 authors, 19 business men, about 128 teachers of English and speech. The other 128 items, Ballot II, were submitted only to the same linguists and teachers to whom Ballot I was submitted. The judges were asked to place the various words and expressions into one of four categories according to their observation of what actual usage is rather than their opinions of what usage ought to be.⁹

The following is a part of the instruction to the judges as they appeared on the ballot:

The following list of expressions represents an attempt to present one or more examples from each of the levels or regions of usage suggested by Dr. Murray in the preface to the *New English Dictionary*. We hope, by getting a consensus of expert opinion on the classification of these expressions, to clarify and define more precisely the categories themselves.....

Score, please, according to your observation of what is actual usage rather than your opinion of what usage should be. For example, if you detest *like* as a conjunction, but observe it as a standard literary use, you should mark it 1....

Finally, please do not mark according to your own definitions of the categories or terms below.... for the purposes of this study use the definitions offered here....

Key Number	Definition of Terms
1.	Formally correct English, appropriate chiefly for serious and important occasions, whether in speech or writing; usually called "Literary English."
2.	Fully acceptable English for informal conversation, correspondence, and all other writing of well-bred ease; not wholly appropriate for occasions of literary dignity: "standard, cultivated, colloquial English."
3.	Commercial, foreign, scientific, or other technical uses, limited in area of comprehensibility; not used outside their particular area by cultivated speakers: "trade or technical English."
4.	Popular or illiterate speech, not used by persons who wish to pass as cultivated, save to represent uneducated speech, or to be jocose; here taken to include slang or argot, and dialect forms not admissible to the standard or cultivated area; usually called "vulgar English," but with no implication necessarily of the current meaning of vulgar: "naïf, popular, or uncultivated English."

The various ratings are tabulated and results are presented in *Current English Usage* in three lists. The first of them is the ranking of 230 items of both Ballot I and II, according to the vote of the linguists. The second is the ranking of 102 items of Ballot I according to the vote of all the judges. The third is the ranking of all the items of both ballots, Ballot I and II, according to per capita vote of the whole group of judges.

Items are arranged in the order of their acceptability. The rank indicating most complete approval is No. 1 and that indicating most complete disapproval is No. 230. The items are divided into three groups, indicated as "Established," "Disputable," and "Illiterate." The "Established" items, which the judges agreed upon as being either literary or cultivated colloquial English, are those approved by at least 75 per cent of the judges and disapproved by not more than 25 per cent. The "Disputable" items, which are placed in a middle group, are those approved by fewer than 75 per cent, and disapproved by more than 25 per cent. The "Illiterate" items, as uncultivated or popular English, are those approved by fewer than 25 per cent of the judges and disapproved by more than 75 per cent.

As a matter of course there are found some differences between the ranking by the linguists and that by the vote of the whole group. In this investigation the items are arranged in the order of the acceptability of all the judges.

The following table is the combination of two rankings given in *Current English Usage*, that of the linguists and the per capita vote of the whole group. Seventy-one out of the 230 test expressions are rated as "Established" by both groups. Also these two groups agree in condemning thirty-eight expressions as "Illiterate." Of the remaining 121 expressions, 64 are rated as "Disputable" by both groups, but 57 expressions are left in doubt and both groups could not agree on their status.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF RANKING
IN THE CURRENT ENGLISH USAGE BALLOTS

I.	Expressions rated "Established" by both groups.....	71 items
IIa.	Expressions rated "Established" by the linguists and "Disputable" by the vote of the whole group	36 items
IIb.	Expressions rated "Disputable" by the linguists and "Established" by the vote of the whole group	6 items
IIc.	Expressions rated "Disputable" by both groups	64 items
IId.	Expressions rated "Disputable" by the linguists and "Illiterate" by the vote of the whole group	10 items
IIe.	Expressions rated "Illiterate" by the linguists and "Disputable" by the vote of the whole group	5 items
III.	Expressions rated "Illiterate" by both groups	38 items
	Total	230 items

III THE METHOD OF THIS INVESTIGATION

One of the purposes of this investigation is to supplement the survey of the judges' opinions, which formed the basis of the Leonard monograph, with that of the recorded usage; that is, to make the Leonard Survey more objective. The other is to show how the results of the present-day judgement of usage are different from those obtained thirty years ago. To attain these purposes, authoritative dictionaries and grammars which record the facts are used as the materials, from which we can get evidence of the actual usage. When we recognized the continuous change of linguistic usage, it is necessary to limit the materials to be used. Therefore the authoritative materials, which are used for this investigation, are those published after 1955. Moreover, as there is, in some cases, difference of usage between England and America, the materials published in both countries are duly selected. Besides *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1966), *Webster's New World Dictionary* (1966), *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (1967), *The Random House Dictionary* (1966) and *A Dictionary*

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of *Slang and Unconventional English* (1961), the following usage-dictionaries are used.

Those published in England are:

Fowler's Modern English Usage, the second edition; 1965

Current English Usage, by Frederick T. Wood; 1962

Those published in America are:

American English Usage, by Margaret Nicholson; 1957

A Dictionary of Contemporary American Usage, by Bergen Evans and Cornelia Evans; 1957

Writer's Guide and Index to English, the fourth edition, by Porter G. Perrin; 1965

Current American Usage, by Margaret Bryant; 1962

Modern American Usage, by Wilson Follett; 1966

A Glossary for College English, by Martin Stevens and Charles H. Kegel; 1966

Some of the test expressions in the Leonard Study present syntactical issues. For example, No. 90 in the linguists' ranking is designed to raise the question of the use of the singular verb in place of the plural verb (There *was* a bed, a dresser, and two chairs in the room.). The point in question here is the grammatical matter of verb *to be* in respect of number. In such cases dictionaries are not the satisfactory sources, and grammars must be used for us to find the actual usage. The following grammars are used.

A Handbook of English Grammar, by R. W. Zandvoort; 1957

Present-Day English Syntax, by G. Scheurweghs; 1959

A Modern English Grammar, by K. Schibsbye; 1965

Modern American Grammar and Usage, by J. N. Hook and E. G. Mathews; 1956

The 230 test expressions, divided by Leonard into the three groups, "Established," "Disputable," or "Illiterate" on the basis of the combination of the ranking of the linguists and that of the per capita vote of the whole group, are examined one by one in the order shown by Leonard by consulting the dictionaries and grammar books mentioned above. When the expression is found recorded in one or more authorities, it is placed in one of the following six categories, *Literary English*, *General English*, *Colloquial English*, *Slang*, *Dialect* or *Archaic*.

All English expressions are roughly divided into Standard and Nonstandard English according to the so-called cultural levels. Standard English is subdivided into *Literary English*, *General English* and *Colloquial English* and Nonstandard English into *Slang*, *Dialect* and *Archaic*. Notice must be taken that all these sub-categories are functional varieties.

Literary English is typically used in serious writings, such as textbooks, reference works, scientific and scholarly treaties, philosophical and critical essays, literature (exclusive of dialogue), and magazines edited for a rather limited, highly educated audience, and in addresses on solemn or formal occasions and lectures to special audience. In *Literary English* the grammar is conservative, the vocabulary learned,

the mood subdued, and there are no contractions and few ellipses. *General English* is used both in written and spoken forms. Its typical uses are found in writings, such as business letters and advertising, newspaper columns, magazine articles, and literature for general circulation, and other writings intended for the general public and in conversation such as talks to generic audiences. In it the words are more familiar, often lively and colourful; the sentences somewhat shorter with few clauses. Contractions, ellipses, and personal references appear. *Colloquial English* is found in familiar conversation of educated people, and in writings that are conversational in nature, such as personal letters, diaries and the like. It is the usual language within the family circle and among close friends. It is sometimes used by public speakers when the occasion is not formal and they feel sure of the sympathy of audience. As a matter of course differences between British usage and American usage might be found. A certain *General* expression is found only in the United States, or in Britain, then it is labeled as *General English in the United States*, or *in Britain* respectively. It is so with *Literary English* and *Colloquial English*.

Slang is not appropriate for public affairs. It is heard in conversation at home, with friends, or on the job. *Dialect* includes words and expressions used in limited regions but not in the entire area. Dialects are appropriate to conversation and informal writings but are usually not Standard English. *Archaic* means that words and expressions are old-fashioned and no longer used in Standard English, and these expressions would probably be understood, but would seem strange. Most archaic words are found in poetry.

In this connection, a brief explanation of the Marckwardt-Walcott Survey should be given to compare their judgement with ours. They place an item under one of the following categories, *Literary English*, *American Literary English*, *Colloquial English*, *American Colloquial English*, *Dialect*, or *Archaic*. The points open to question about their method are the term of *Literary English* and the way of placing items in this category. Their judgement mostly depends on the *Oxford English Dictionary* and if there is at least one citation from the nineteenth century, the expression is considered *Literary English*. According to their judgement the expression, "You are older than me." is *Literary English*. Because its evidence, which is found in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is "OD. 6b, 1606-1804. Shakespear, Richardson, Byron cited." We must bear in mind that the meaning of *Literary English* in their survey is very different from that in our investigation. Their *Colloquial English* means that words and expressions are to be found in spoken or informal written rather than in formal written English. As for *Dialect* and *Archaic*, they say that "since the *Oxford Dictionary* recorded only dialectical words or expressions that had formerly been in general use, not those that had begun as dialect and remained so, the same qualification must apply to what is listed as dialect here; any words or expressions for which no citations after 1800 were found in the *Oxford Dictionary* were listed as *Archaic* unless one of the other sources indicated that they were still in present use."¹¹

Compared with the Leonard Survey, which is no doubt subjective, the present investigation is objective. But however we may attempt to make the analysis as objective as possible, it must be admitted that there be some tinge of subjectivity in assigning one of the labels to the item under consideration.

In each case the expression is quoted in full with the questionable point italicized. The abbreviations which are used in the present investigation are as follows:

- L followed by a number indicates the ranking in the ballot of the linguists.
WG followed by a number indicates the ranking in the ballot of the whole group of judges.
MW followed by following abbreviations indicates the judgement of the Marckwardt-Walcott Survey.

LE—Literary English	ALE—American Literary English
CE—Colloquial English	ACE—American Colloquial English
Dial—Dialect	Arch—Archaic
//—Not recorded.	

The following abbreviations indicate the judgement of the present investigation.

LE—Literary English	GE—General English
CE—Colloquial English	Dial—Dialect
Arch—Archaic	//—Not recorded

IV THE “ESTABLISHED” USAGE

The seventy-one items which were ranked as “Established” by the linguists and the per capita vote of the whole group in the Leonard Survey are respectively examined by using authorities.

1. A Tale of Two Cities is *an* historical novel.
L 1, WG 2: MW Established as hyper-urbanisms: Arch
2. It was *I* that broke the vase, father.
L 2, WG 1: MW Established as hyper-urbanisms: GE
3. Why *pursue* a vain hope?
L 3, WG 7: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
4. *One* rarely enjoys *one's* luncheon when *one* is tired.
L 4, WG 6: MW Established as hyper-urbanisms: GE in Britain
5. The invalid was able *partially to raise* his body.
L 5, WG 9: MW Established as hyper-urbanisms: LE
6. It *behooves* them to take action at once.
L 6, WG 3: MW Established as hyper-urbanisms: LE
7. I *had rather* go at once.
L 7, WG 30: MW LE: GE
8. *In this connection*, I should add.....

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- L 8, WG 11: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
9. This is a man...I used to know. (Omitted relative)
L 9, WG 19: MW LE: GE
10. You *had better* stop that foolishness.
L 10, WG 28: MW LE: GE
11. Each person should of course bear *his or her* share of the expense.
L 11, WG 10: MW Established as hyper-urbanisms: LE
12. Galileo discovered that the earth *moved*.
L 12, WG 29: MW LE: GE
13. This hat is *not so large as* mine.
L 13, WG 4: MW Established as hyper-urbanisms: GE
14. My position in the company was satisfactory from every *point of view*.
L 14, WG 13: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
15. He toils *to the end that* he may amass wealth.
L 15, WG 12: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
16. *In the case* of students who elect an extra subject, an additional fee is charged.
L 16, WG 17: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
17. The defendant's case was *hurt* by this admission.
L 17, WG 21: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
18. I *for one* hope he will be there.
L 18, WG 20: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
19. This is the chapter *whose* contents cause most discussion.
L 19, WG 22: MW LE: GE
20. *Under these circumstances*, I will concede the point.
L 20, WG 15: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
21. I have no prejudices, and *that* is the cause of my unpopularity.
L 21, WG 32: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
22. You may ask *whomsoever* you please.
L 22, WG 5: MW Established as hyper-urbanisms: LE
23. The honest person is to be *applauded*.
L 23, WG 18: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
24. He stood *in front of* the class to speak.
L 24, WG 23: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
25. *This much* is certain.
L 25, WG 24: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
26. He did *not do as well as* we expected.
L 26, WG 33: MW LE: GE
27. He has no fear; nothing can *confuse* him.
L 28, WG 35: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
28. "You just had a telephone call." "Did *they* leave any message?"
L 31, WG 58: MW LE: CE

29. I was attacked by one of *those* huge police dogs.
L 32, WG 38: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
30. The women were *all dressed up*.
L 33, WG 45: MW LE: GE
31. This was the *reason why* he went home.
L 34, WG 49: MW LE: GE
32. Take two *cups* of flour.
L 36, WG 25: MW Established as colloquially technical: GE
33. I *drove* the car around the block.
L 38, WG 39: MW Established as colloquially technical: GE
34. He doesn't do it *the way* I do.
L 39, WG 31: MW LE: GE
35. The New York climate is *healthiest* in fall.
L 40, WG 71: MW LE: GE
36. I felt I could walk no *further*.
L 41, WG 50: MW LE: GE
37. One is not *fit* to vote at the age of eighteen.
L 42, WG 36: MW LE: GE
38. Our catch was *pretty* good.
L 43, WG 34: MW LE: GE
39. We have made some progress *along these lines*.
L 44, WG 26: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
40. The catcher stands *back of* the home plate.
L 45, WG 44: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE in U. S.
41. My colleagues and I *shall* be glad to help you.
L 46, WG 8: MW Established as hyper-urbanisms: LE
42. I went immediately into the banquet room, *which* was, I found later, a technical error.
L 47, WG 64: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
43. That will be *all right*, you may be sure.
L 48, WG 27: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
44. I can hardly *stand* him.
L 51, WG 54: MW LE: GE
45. Jane was *home* all last week.
L 52, WG 46: MW CE: CE
46. I'd *like* to make a correction.
L 53, WG 40: MW LE: CE
47. I've absolutely *got* to go.
L 54, WG 72: MW LE: GE
48. We can expect the commission *to at least protect* our interest.

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- L 55, WG 48: MW LE: GE
49. That's a dangerous curve; you'd better go *slow*.
L 56, WG 52: MW LE: CE
50. There are some *nice* people here.
L 57, WG 41: MW LE: CE
51. *Will* you be at the Browns' this evening?
L 58, WG 42: MW LE: GE
52. Have you *fixed* the fire for the night?
L 59, WG 47: MW ACE: CE in U. S.
53. I don't know *if* I can.
L 60, WG 65: MW LE: GE
54. If it *wasn't* for football, school life would be dull.
L 63, WG 68: MW LE: CE
55. His attack on my motives made me *peevish*.
L 64, WG 37: MW Established without grammatical problems: GE
56. We *taxied* to the station to catch the train.
L 65, WG 59: MW Established as colloquially technical: GE
57. He stopped to *price* some flowers.
L 70, WG 51: MW LE: GE
58. He worked with much *snap*.
L 71, WG 69: MW LE: CE
59. This room is *awfully* cold.
L 72, WG 70: MW CE: CE
60. *You* had to have property to vote in the eighteenth century.
L 76, WG 57: MW LE: GE
61. The kind of apples you mean *are* large and sour.
L 77, WG 61: MW CE: CE
62. The real *reason* he failed *was because* he tried to do too much.
L 80, WG 66: MW LE: GE
63. Harry was a little shaver about *this* tall.
L 83, WG 74: MW LE: GE
64. I didn't speak to my uncle by long distance: I couldn't *get through*.
L 84, WG 62: MW Established as colloquially technical: GE
65. *They* had numerous strikes in England in 1860.
L 85, WG 67: MW CE: GE
66. He *laoned* me his skates.
L 99, WG 63: MW ALE: GE in U. S.
67. They went *way* around by the archard road.
L 103, WG 73: MW ACE: CE in U. S.
68. The banker *loaned* me \$200 at 6%.

- L 104, WG 74: MW Established as technical: GE in U. S.
69. *Pikes Peak* is in Colorado.
L 105, WG 75: MW Established as technical: GE
70. The sailors *laid* out along the yards.
L 106, WG 76: MW Established as technical: GE
71. Is your insurance sufficient *coverage* for your house?
L 107, WG 77: MW Established as technical: GE

V THE "DISPUTABLE" USAGE

These words and expressions which the editor of the Leonard Survey labeled "Disputable" are those about which the judges were unable to agree.

A. LINGUISTS, "ESTABLISHED": WHOLE GROUP "DISPUTABLE"

72. We *got home* at three o'clock.
L 27, WG 79: MW CE: GE
73. This is *a large works* near the bridge.
L 29, WG 89: MW LE: GE
74. *As regards the League*, let me say....
L 30, WG 81: MW LE: GE
75. This book is velueless, that one has more to recommend it. (Comma splice)
L 35, WG 89: MW LE: GE
76. *None* of them *are* here.
L 37, WG 84: MW LE: GE
77. We will *try and get* it.
L 49, WG 99: MW LE: CE
78. We cannot discover *from whence* this rumor emanates.
L 50, WG 103: MW LE: Arch
79. *In hopes of* seeing you, I asked....
L 61, WG 100: MW LE: LE
80. *It* says in the book that....
L 62, WG 101: MW CE: CE
81. We *only* had one left.
L 66, WG 96: MW LE: GE
82. My *viewpoint* on this is that we ought to make concession.
L 67, WG 85: MW LE: GE
83. Factories were *mostly* closed on election day.
L 68, WG 82: MW LE: GE
84. He moves mighty *quick* on a tennis court.
L 69, WG 93: MW LE: CE

85. It is *me*.
L 73, WG 124: MW CE: GE
86. *Who* are you looking for?
L 74, WG 131: MW GE: CE
87. A treaty was concluded *between the four powers*.
L 75, WG 112: MW LE: GE
88. I have a *heap* of work to do.
L 78, WG 104: MW CE: CE
89. I *felt badly* about his death.
L 79, WG 88: MW Dial: CE
90. Invite *whoever* you like to the party.
L 81, WG 111: MW LE: GE
91. Drive *slow* down that hill
L 82, WG 97: MW LE: CE
92. I will go, *providing* you keep away.
L 86, WG 105: MW LE: LE
93. I have *got* my own opinion on that.
L. 87, WG 114: MW LE: CE
94. He made a *date* for next week.
L 88, WG 115: MW ACE: CE
95. My father walked very *slow* down the street.
L 89, WG 83: MW LE: CE
96. There *was* a bed, a dresser, and two chairs in the room.
L 90, WG 121: MW LE: CE
97. They invited my friend and *myself*.
L 91, WG 109: MW LE: CE
98. It is now *plain and evident* why he left.
L 92, WG 106: MW CE: CE in U. S.
99. I wish I *was* wonderful.
L 93, WG 113: MW LE: CE
100. I've no doubt *but what* he will come.
L 94, WG 110: MW CE: CE
101. What was the reason for *Bennet making* that disturbance?
L 95, WG 94: MW LE: GE
102. *Can* I be excused from this class?
L 96, WG 150: MW LE: GE
103. Haven't you got *through* yet?
L 97, WG 122: MW CE: GE
104. *Everyone* was here, but *they* all went home early.
L 98, WG 78: MW LE: CE

105. My *folks* sent me a check.
L 100, WG 90: MW CE: CE
106. He came *around* four o'clock.
L 101, WG 107: MW ALE: CE in U. S.
107. If it had been *us*, we would admit it.
L 102, WG 135: MW CE: CE

B. LINGUISTS, "DISPUTABLE": WHOLE GROUP, "ESTABLISHED"

108. That clock must be *fixed*.
L 108, WG 60: MW ACE: GE in U. S.
109. My contention has been *proven* many times.
L 109, WG 43: MW LE: LE
110. *One* rarely likes to do as *he* is told.
L 111, WG 16: MW LE: GE in U. S.
111. He never works *evenings* or *Sundays*.
L 112, WG 55: MW ALE: GE in U. S.
112. The Rock Island *depot* burned down last night,
L 114, WG 53: MW ALE: GE in U. S.
113. He went *right* home and told his father.
L 118, WG 56: MW ALE: GE

C. BOTH GROUPS, "DISPUTABLE"

114. Sam, who was then in town, was with me *the three or four first* days.
L 110, WG 120: MW LE: GE
115. They have *gotten* a new car this year.
L 113, WG 98: MW ALE: GE in U. S.
116. Sitting *in back of* John, he said, "Now guess what I have."
L 115, WG 123: MW ACE: CE in U, S.
117. I took it to be *they*.
L 116, WG 125: MW Dial: CE
118. I *guess* I'll go to lunch.
L 117, WG 108: MW ACE: CE in U. S.
119. He could write *as well* or *better than* I.
L 119, WG 118: MW //: CE
120. I *expect* he knows his subject.
L 120, WG 144: MW CE: CE
121. I *can't seem to* get this problem right.
L 121, WG 102: MW LE: CE in U. S.
122. I was pretty *mad* about it.
L 122, WG 126: MW ACE: CE
123. *Either* of these *three* roads is good.

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- L 123, WG 157: MW LE: GE
124. You are older than *me*.
L 124, WG 159: MW LE: CE
125. What are the chances of *them* being found out?
L 125, WG 178: MW CE: GE
126. There is *a big woods* behind the house.
L 126, WG 116: MW CE: GE in U. S.
127. I know it to be *he*.
L 127, WG 127: MW //: CE
128. Do you *wish* for some ice cream?
L 128, WG 95: MW LE: GE
129. Intoxication is *when* the brain is affected by certain stimulants.
L 129, WG 171: MW //: Slang
130. *Neither* of your reasons *are* really valid.
L 130, WG 154: MW LE: GE
131. He *dove* off the pier.
L 131, WG 91: MW ALE: GE in U. S.
132. Trollope's novels have already begun to *date*.
L 132, WG 142: MW LE: GE
133. Will you go? *Sure*.
L 133, WG 141: MW Dial: CE in U. S.
134. He is *kind of silly*, I think,
L 134, WG 148: MW CE: CE
135. I *will probably* come a little late.
L 135, WG 117: MW LE: GE
136. That was the reason for *me leaving* school.
L 136, WG 145: MW CE: CE
137. I'll swear that was *him*.
L 138, WG 155: MW CE: CE
138. Well, that's *going some*.
L 139, WG 179: MW ACE: Slang
139. *Leave* me alone or else get out.
L 140, WG 128: MW LE: GE
140. Of two disputants, the *warmest* is generally in the wrong.
L 141, WG 161: MW LE: CE
141. It was *good and cold* when I came.
L 142, WG 182: MW ACE: CE in U. S.
142. We haven't *but* a few left.
L 143, WG 156: MW //: CE
143. In the collision with a Packard, our car naturally got the *worse* of it.
L 144, WG 119: MW LE: Slang

144. I wouldn't have said that if I had thought it *would have* shocked her.
L 145, WG 143: MW //: //
145. *Yourself* and your guests are invited.
L 146, WG 164: MW Dial: CE
146. The man was *very amused*.
L 147, WG 140: MW LE: GE
147. Such *naif* action seem to me absurd.
L 148, WG 86: MW LE: Arch
148. It seems to be *them*.
L 149, WG 169: MW CE: CE
149. *Everybody* bought *their* own ticket.
L 150, WG 166: MW LE: GE
150. *Say*, do you know who that is?
L 151, WG 151: MW ACE: CE in U. S.
151. I suppose that's *him*.
L 152, WG 162: MW CE: CE
152. I *can't help but* eat it.
L 153, WG 133: MW LE: GE in U. S.
153. There is a row of beds with a curtain *between each bed*.
L 155, WG 158: MW LE: GE
154. If I asked him, he would *likely* refuse.
L 156, WG 136: MW ALE: Dial
155. John didn't do so *bad* this time.
L 157, WG 160: MW ACE: CE
156. Cities and villages are being stripped of all they contain *not only, but* often their very inhabitants.
L 158, WG 92: MW //: //
157. *Everybody's else* affairs are his concern.
L 159, WG 80: MW LE: Arch
158. It *don't* make any difference what you think.
L 160, WG 165: MW ACE: Dial
159. I read in the paper *where* a plane was lost.
L 161, WG 182: MW CE: CE
160. That boy's mischievous behavior *aggravates* me.
L 162, WG 146: MW CE: CE
161. Yes, our plan worked just *fine*.
L 165, WG 129: MW Dial: CE
162. The fire captain with his loyal men *were* cheered.
L 166, WG 153: MW LE: CE
163. The Britain look at this differently *than* we do.
L 168, WG 137: MW LE: GE

164. *Most* anybody can do that.
L 169, WG 147: MW ACE: CE in U. S.
165. It is *liable* to snow tonight.
L 170, WG 149: MW LE: CE
166. They went in *search for* the missing child.
L 171, WG 168: MW //: //
167. John was *raised* by his aunt.
L 170, WG 138: MW ALE: GE in U. S.
168. Martha *don't* sew as well as she used to.
L 174, WG 175: MW ACE: Dial
169. He *most* always does what his wife tells him.
L 175, WG 163: MW ACE: CE in U. S.
170. My experience on the farm help me *some*, of course.
L 177, WG 180: MW ACE: CE in U. S.
171. It's *real* cold today.
L 178, WG 152: MW ALE: CE in U. S.
172. His presence was valueless *not only*, but a hindrance as well.
L 179, MW 172: MW //: //
173. We don't often see sunsets *like* they have in the tropics.
L 180, WG 174: MW LE: CE
174. She leaped off *of* the moving car.
L 182, WG 173: MW Dial: Dial
175. It is only a little *ways* farther.
L 184, WG 170: MW ALE: CE
176. It looked *like* they meant business.
L 185, WG 177: MW ACE: CE
177. The child was weak, *due to* improper feeding.
L 187, WG 134: MW ALE: GE in U. S.
- D. LINGUISTS, "DISPUTABLE": WHOLE GROUP, "ILLITERATE"
178. They *eat* (et) dinner at twelve o'clock.
L 137, WG 184: MW CE: GE in Britain
179. *Aren't* I right?
L 154, WG 185: MW CE: CE in Britain
180. The stock market collapse left me *busted*.
L 163, WG 192: MW ACE: Slang
181. *Neither* author nor publisher *are* subject to censorship.
L 164, WG 195: MW LE: CE
182. Don't get *these* kind of gloves.
L 167, WG 198: MW CE: CE
183. I suppose I'm wrong, *ain't* I?

- L 172, WG 191: MW CE: CE
184. It *sure* was good to see Uncle Charles.
L 176, WG 187: MW ACE: CE in U. S.
185. I am older than *him*.
L 181, WG 203: MW CE: CE
186. She *sung* very well.
L 183, WG 186: MW LE: Arch
187. Do it *like* he tells you.
L 186, WG 190: MW LE: CE

E. LINGUISTS, "ILLITERATE": WHOLE GROUP, "DISPUTABLE"

188. The dessert was made with *whip* cream.
L 191, WG 181: MW //: Slang
189. Now just *where* are we *at*?
L 192, WG 180: MW ALE: CE
190. The kitten mews whenever it *wants* in.
L 193, WG 167: MW ACE: CE in U. S.
191. *Reverend Jones* will preach.
L 196, WG 176: MW LE: Slang
192. *The data* is often inaccurate.
L 204, WG 139: MW ALE: GE in U. S.

VI THE "ILLITERATE" USAGE

These are the words and expressions which the judges considered beyond the pale of standard English.

193. John *had awoken* much earlier than usual.
L 188, WG 199: MW LE: Dial
194. I haven't *hardly* any money.
L 189, WG 209: MW Arch: Slang
195. The engine was hitting *good* this morning.
L 190, WG 196: MW Arch: CE
196. A woman *whom* I know was my friend spoke next.
L 194, WG 193: MW LE: CE
197. He *drunk* too much ice water.
L 195, WG 206: MW Arch: Dial
198. All came except *she*.
L 197, WG 207: MW Arch: Slang
199. The *party* who wrote that was a scholar.
L 198, WG 189: MW Arch: Dial

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200. My uncle John *he* told me a story.
L 199, WG 197: MW Arch: Arch
201. He *begun* to make excuse.
L 200, WG 216: MW CE: Dial
202. I *calculate* to go soon.
L 201, WG 200: MW ACE: CE in U. S.
203. This is *all the further* I can read.
L 202, WG 188: MW Arch: Dial
204. That *ain't* so.
L 203, WG 217: MW Dial: Slang
205. He looked at me and *says*.
L 205, WG 214: MW CE: Slang
206. I must go and *lay* down.
L 206, WG 213: MW Dial: Slang
207. *Ain't* that just like a man?
L 207, WG 210: MW Dial: Slang
208. Both leaves of the drawbridge *raise* at once.
L 208, WG 194: MW ALE: Slang
209. The people *which* were here have all gone.
L 209, WG 202: MW Dial: Arch
210. I *have drank* all my milk.
L 210, WG 204: MW Arch: Arch
211. *That there* rooster is a fighter.
L 211, WG 221: MW Dial: Slang
212. The old poodle was *to no sense* agreeable.
L 212, WG 183: MW //: //
213. One of my brothers *were* helping me.
L 213, WG 205: MW //: Slang
214. I enjoy wandering *among* a library.
L 214, WG 201: MW LE: //
215. A light *complected* girl passed.
L 215, WG 211: MW ACE: Dial
216. I want *for you to come* at once.
L 216, WG 208: MW //: Dial
217. He won't *leave* me come in.
L 217, WG 226: MW ACE: Slang
218. There was *a* orange in the dish.
L 218, WG 228: MW //: Dial
219. It was dark when he *come* in.
L 219, WG 218: MW Dial: Dial

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220. You *was* mistaken about that, John.
L 220, WG 222: MW Dial: Dial
221. I wish he *hadn't of* come.
L 221, WG 229: MW ACE: Slang
222. *Hadn't* you *ought* to ask your mother?
L 222, WG 212: MW CE: Slang
223. My cold *wa'nt* any better next day.
L 223, WG 227: MW Dial: //
224. If John *had of* come, I needn't have.
L 224, WG 223: MW ACE: Slang
225. I had hardly *laid* down again when the phone rang.
L 225, WG 219: MW Dial: Slang
226. He did *noble*.
L 226, WG 230: MW //: Slang
227. Somebody *run* past just as I opened the door.
L 227, WG 224: MW Dial: Dial
228. Just *set* down and rest awhile.
L 228, WG 225: Dial: Dial
229. The neighbors took turns *setting* up with him.
L 229, WG 220: MW Dial: Dial
230. They *swang* their partners in the reel.
L 230, WG 215: MW LE: Dial

VII CONCLUSION

The results of the present survey are most conveniently presented in the tabulation forms. Table II, III and IV show the status in recorded usage, of the words or expressions divided into the three categories, "Established," "Disputable," or "Illiterate" in the Leonard Survey.

TABLE II
STATUS OF "ESTABLISHED" EXPRESSIONS IN RECORDED USAGE

Leonard	Standard					Nonstandard			NR	Total			
	LE	LEB	LEUS	GE	GEB	GEUS	CEB	CEUS	Slang		Dial	Arch	NR
Established	5			50	1	3	9	2			1		71
					70					1			71

LEGEND : LEB--LE in Britain
GEB--GE in Britain
CEB--CE in Britain
NR--Not Recorded

LEUS--LE in the United States
GEUS--GE in the United States
CEUS--CE in the United States

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TABLE III
STATUS OF "DISPUTABLE" EXPRESSIONS IN RECORDED USAGE

Leonard	Standard									Nonstandard			NR	Total
	LE	LEB	LEUS	GE	GEB	GEUS	CE	CEB	CEUS	Slang	Dial	Arch	NR	
A. L--Est. WG--Dis.	2			14			17		2			1		36
B. L--Dis. WG--Est.	1			1		4								6
C. Both--Dis.				12		6	23		10	3	4	2	4	64
D. L--Dis. WG--Ill.					1		5	1	1	1		1		10
E. L--Ill. WG--Dis.					1	1			1	2				5
	3			27	2	11	45	1	14	6	4	4	4	121
	103									14			4	121

TABLE IV
STATUS OF "ILLITERATE" EXPRESSIONS IN RECORDED USAGE

Leonard	Standard									Nonstandard			NR	Total
	LE	LEB	LEUS	GE	GEB	GEUS	CE	CEB	CEUS	Slang	Dial	Arch	NR	
Illiterate							2		1	15	14	3	3	38
	3									32			3	38

These three tables can be put together in the following table,

TABLE V
PROPORTIONS OF STANDARD AND NONSTANDARD EXPRESSIONS
IN RECORDED USAGE

	Standard	Nonstandard	Total
Established	99% (70 items)	1% (1 item)	100% (71 items)
Disputable	85% (103 items)	12% (14 items)	97% (117 items)
Illiterate	8% (3 items)	84% (32 items)	92% (35 items)

In this table, the NR items, which are 4 in Table III and 3 in Table IV, are excluded. Therefore of "Disputable" usage, Standard and Nonstandard amount to 97 per cent. The remaining 3 per cent, that is 4 words and expressions are not recorded in any authorities and can not be labeled as any of categories in the present investigation. Of "Illiterate" usage, Standard and Nonstandard amount to 92 per cent. The remaining 8 per cent, which is 3 items, can not be labeled, One of the "Established" items in the Leonard Survey becomes Nonstandard in the present investigation. That is, the percentage of Standard English in the "Established" items is 99 per cent and that of Nonstandard English is only one per cent. Of the "Disputable" usage in the Leonard Survey, Standard English amounts to 85 per cent and Nonstandard English

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12 per cent in the present investigation. And of the "Illiterate" items Standard English amounts to 8 per cent and Nonstandard English 84 per cent. The most striking feature of this table is the high proportion of Standard English to "Disputable" usage in the survey of opinion. 103 of the 121 items, which according to the survey of opinions are "Disputable," are on the basis of recorded fact, Standard English. When the jury judged the words and expressions which are condemned in grammars and textbooks, their preoccupied idea 'grammar' had more or less influence on their opinions. That is, the survey of opinions about language is apt to be more conservative than the fact of the language.

The following three Tables show the difference of the distribution between the Marckwardt-Walcott Survey and ours:

TABLE VI
STATUS OF "ESTABLISHED" EXPRESSIONS
IN THE MARCKWARDT-WALCOTT SURVEY AND THE PRESENT SURVEY

M-W	Standard							Nonstandard			NR	Total		
	LE	LEB	LEUS	GE	GEB	GEUS	CE	CEB	CEUS	Slang	Dial		Arch	NR
Hyper-urbanisms	5			2	1							1		9
Without gram. problems				18		1								19
Technical				3		1								4
Colloq. tech				4										4
LE				22			5			1				28
AIE						1								1
CE				1			3							4
ACE									2					2
	5			50	1	3	8		2	1		1		71
				69							2			71

TABLE VII
STATUS OF "DISPUTABLE" EXPRESSIONS
IN THE MARCKWARDT-WALCOTT SURVEY AND THE PRESENT SURVEY

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M-W	Standard									Nonstandard			NR	Total
	LE	LEB	LEUS	GE	GEB	GEUS	CE	CEB	CEUS	Slang	Dial	Arch	NR	
LE	3			22		2	16		1	2		4		50
ALE				1		7	2		2		1			13
CE				4		2	17	1	1					25
ACE						1	5		8	2	2			18
Dial							4		1		1			6
Arch														
NR							3			2			4	9
	3			27		12	47	1	13	6	4	4	4	121
	103									14			4	121

TABLE VIII

STATUS OF "ILLITERATE" EXPRESSIONS
IN THE MARCKWARDT-WALCOTT SURVEY AND THE PRESENT SURVEY

M-W	Standard									Nonstandard			NR	Total
	LE	LEB	LEUS	GE	GEB	GEUS	CE	CEB	CEUS	Slang	Dial	Arch	NR	
LE							1				2		1	4
ALE										1				1
CE										2	1			3
ACE									1	3	1			5
Dial										5	5	1	1	12
Arch							1			2	3	2		8
NR										2	2		1	5
							2		1	15	14	3	3	38
	3									32			3	38

Table VI shows that one of the Standard expressions in the Marckwardt-Walcott Survey has changed to Nonstandard in the present investigation. It is No. 1. The other 70 items remain Standard English. In the Table VII, 95 items are Standard in both surveys. But 11 items, which are Nos. 78, 138, 143 147, 154, 157, 158, 168, 180, 186, 191, have changed from Standard to Nonstandard and 5 items, which are Nos. 89. 117, 133, 145, 161, from Nonstandard to Standard. 1 item, No. 174, is Nonstandard in both surveys. In the Table VIII, 2 items, Nos. 196, 202, which are Nonstandard in the survey of opinions, are Standard in the Marckwardt-Walcott survey and the present investigation. 10 items, Nos. 193, 201, 205, 208, 215, 217, 221,

222, 224, 230, have changed from Standard to Nonstandard and 1 item, No. 195, from Nonstandard to Standard. And 18 items are still Nonstandard.

TABLE IX

PROPORTION OF STANDARD AND NONSTANDARD EXPRESSIONS
IN THE MARCKWARDT-WALCOTT SURVEY AND THE PRESENT SURVEY

MW	STANDARD	NONSTANDARD	TOTAL
STANDARD	72% (166 items)	10% (23 items)	82% (189 items)
NONSTANDARD	3% (6 items)	8% (19 items)	11% (25 items)
	75% (172 items)	18% (42 items)	93% (214 items)

In this table, the NR items, which are 9 in the Table VII and 7 in the Table VIII, are excluded. They amount to 7 per cent. This table shows that 185 of 230 items, that is 80 per cent, retain their status. But 29 of 230 items have changed their status from Standard to Nonstandard or from Nonstandard to Standard. That is, the percentage of items which have changed status during about thirty years is 13 per cent. From this table we can see that change of language during so brief a period as thirty years is greater than we expected.

1. Albert H. Marckwardt and Fred Walcott, *Fact About Current English Usage* (New York : Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1938), p. 2.
2. Sterling A. Leonard, *Current English Usage* (Chicago : Inland Press, 1932), p. 95
3. Marckwardt and Walcott, *ibid.* p. 13.
4. *Ibid.* pp. 13—15.
5. As for simple futurity *I will*, in *I will probably come a little late*, it is the disputable expression, No. 135 in linguists' ranking. But this is not true so far as it concerns the actual usage.
6. Charles C. Fries, *American English Grammar* (New York : Appleton-Century Company, 1940), p. 9.
7. Clarence L. Barnhart, *The American College Dictionary* (New York : Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1950), p. xxvii.
8. Quoted from the instruction to the judges.
9. *Current English usage*, p. 98.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
11. *Fact About Current English Usage*, p. 19.