

It-construction with Psychological Verbs from ME Onwards

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This article is an attempt to explore the origin of the 'it-construction' with psychological verbs in PE, by relating it to the ME impersonal construction. The data of impersonal sentences are collected from *OED* and *MED* and it is argued that the 'it-construction', specifically the 'it + comp' construction, is a causative-transitive construction descended from the impersonal. Furthermore, it is confirmed that when it comes to expressing mental and emotional states, the passive (whose active counterpart is the 'it-construction') supplanted the impersonal after the disappearance of the latter from English, as von Seeffrantz-Montag's (1984) contention suggests that the impersonal and the passive seem to have occurred in complementary distribution.

1. Introduction

1.1 Psychological verbs

Psychological conditions, i. e., mental and emotional conditions, can be represented in a variety of constructions,¹ especially in such constructions as (i) the passive, or (ii) intransitive and/or transitive constructions (henceforth in/transitive) with psychological verbs, as in the following instances:

(i) passive²

- (1) (a) You must have *been very disappointed* by the election results. (J. Archer, *The Prodigal Daughter*, p.96)
- (b) You're going to be surprised by your mother's appearance. (T. Williams, *The Glass Menagerie*, xi)
- (c) William's mother *was worried* by his lateness.
(*National Geographic*, July, 1992, p.118)

(ii) in/transitive

- (2) (a) Deborah *marveled* at his wife's learning.
(Segal, *Acts of Faith*, p.264)

- (b) It is not that we *fear* new competition.
(*Newsweek*, Feb. 21, 1994, p.45)

In my 1989 article psychological verbs (henceforth PVs) are classified into two categories depending on whether they are used in the passive (Type 1 or PV-1) or in the in/transitive construction (Type 2 or PV-2). In this paper we will make a modification to accommodate another type of verb which occurs both in the passive and in the in/transitive and which we will label as Type 3 or PV-3.

(iii) passive and in/transitive

- (3) (a) Virginia *was thrilled* by the news.
(J. Archer, *Kane and Abel*, p.323)

- (b) She *thrilled* at the sight of his lean nakedness.
(F.M.Stewart, *The Mephisto Waltz*, p.73)

Typical and frequently-used verbs of each sub-class are as follows (A comprehensive list of PVs is provided in Appendix I) :

- Type 1: amaze, annoy, astonish, awe, baffle, confuse, deject, disappoint, disgust, displease, dull, frustrate, irk, perplex, satisfy, shame, stun, surprise, tickle, upset, vex, etc.
- Type 2: abhor, dread, fear, joy, lament, like, list, loathe, long, lust, marvel, pity, reck, remember, repent, rue, sorrow, think, wonder, etc.
- Type 3: anger, bother, delight, embarrass, frighten, grieve, please, puzzle, rejoice, scare, weary, worry, etc.

1.2 The 'it-construction'

As opposed to passive sentences, 'it-constructions' with PVs-1 or PVs-3, as shown below, are also available for expressing the same cognitive meaning, though there may be some stylistic and pragmatic differences involved.

- (4) (a) *It astonished the people* to see a charity boy tearing through the streets pell-mell. (Dickens, *Oliver Twist*, vi)
- (b) *It distressed Ann* to be observed dining in silence.
(D. Dunne, *The Two Mrs. Grenvilles*, p.195)
- (c) *It frightens me* terribly the way she just drifts along.
(T. Williams, *The Glass Menagerie*, iv)
- (d) *It grieves me* that you have to learn the facts of life and politics this late in the game. (I. Wallace, *The Man*, p.572)
- (e) I love you so much *it scares me* and *amazes me* that you go out everyday and risk everything to provide us with all that we have. (*Reader's Digest*, June, 1991, p.39)
- (f) *It worried Mr. Baverstock* that she took the news so calmly. (J. Archer, *As the Crow Flies*, p.530)

The following PVs used in the 'it-construction' are collected from numerous novels, plays, and magazines (Of course many more may have escaped the researcher's eyes, but at least they are authentic examples, not a linguist's intuitive choice and are sufficient enough to show that the 'it-construction' is a productive one.):

amaze, amuse, anger, annoy, astonish, baffle, bother, delight, depress, disturb, distress, embarrass, fret, frighten, frustrate, gall, gladden, grieve, haunt, interest, irk, mystify, offend, pain, please, puzzle, reck, rejoice, sadden, scare, shame, surprise, thrill, trouble, vex, worry

In summation, PVs-1 and PVs-3 can occur in the passive and the 'it-construction', while PVs-2 cannot.³ The following table shows in what construction they are capable of occurring:

Table 1
PVs used in the passive, in/transitive
and/or 'it-construction'

	pass	in/trans	it
Type 1	+	-	+
Type 2	-	+	-
Type 3	+	+	+

1.3 The 'it-construction' and the impersonal

The 'it-construction' with PVs is an interesting but intriguing construction, in that it is reminiscent of what is called the impersonal construction with *it* as an expletive subject, which was prevalent in earlier English, especially in Middle English (ME) and early Modern English (ModE) as in the following instances cited from *OED* or *MED*:

- (5) (a) *It lykede him* to take flesh and blood. (?a1425 *Mandev.*)
- (b) *It repentith me* that Y made hem. (a1425 *WBible*)
- (c) *It werieth* and *lothith me* to kepe it. (a1500 *Decip. Cler*)
- (d) *It pitieth* and *rueth every good man...* to remember the same. (c1555, *Harfsfield*)
- (e) *It shameth* and *irketh me* to abide such thyngs as this world doth. (1577, *St. Augustine's Man*)

The verbs were supposedly used 'impersonally' (or 'quasi-impersonally', the distinction being somewhat unclear), and yet the constructions went into disuse as it is claimed that 'most of the constructions [i.e., the type 'hit wlateþ me' + infinitive or clause] ... are obsolete now. Only a few of them are still occasionally met with, especially in archaic style" (Visser, 1963:

§57).

Despite the claim of the near obsolescence of the impersonal sentences, the 'it-construction' we are concerned with seems to be fairly productive in Present-day English (PE), if not as prolific as the passive. Furthermore, the construction seems to be the active counterpart of the corresponding passive, as can be seen from the pair sentences below. (It does not mean, however, that all the PVs occurring in the passive also appear in the 'it-construction',⁴ as it is evident from the fact that the number of PVs used in the 'it-construction' is much smaller than that of PVs used in the passive.)

(6) *It always annoyed Bob to see me roll up my sleeves.*

(J. Archer, *ibid*, p.382)

cf. *Bob was always annoyed to see me roll up my sleeves.*

(7) *It may interest you to know that, . . .* (*ibid*, p.345)

cf. *You may be interested to know that, . . .*

Let us now consider the behavior of such verbs as *grieve*, *irk*, and *please* which were typically used in the impersonal construction in Middle English⁵ as in the following examples cited from *OED* or *MED*:

(8) (a) *Sore hit greueþ me þi fare, þat I þe se make suche care.*

(a1400 *Cursor M.*)

(b) *It schulde yrken vs to lyfe.* (a1425 *Paul. Epist.*)

(c) *It has plesyd hym to yeve me so long live that I may see you.* (c1450 *Ponthus*)

Moreover, these verbs entered the 'it-construction' in Modern English as follows:

(9) (a) *It really grieves me to have you be so naughty.*

(1852 Mrs. Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*)

- (b) *It irks me*...that the partner of her iniquity should not...stand on the scaffold by her side.
(1850 Hawthorne, *Scarlet L.*, iii)
- (c) *It pleased Silas* to abide there still. (1611 *Bible, Acts xv. 34*)

If the sentences (8a) - (8c) of the 'it-construction' in ME are impersonal in nature, then are the sentences (9a) - (9c) of apparently the same structure, except for the complements, not impersonal sentences as the *OED*'s definitions suggest? If the impersonal construction became obsolete as is claimed by Visser and other scholars, what kind of structure should this be? What is the difference between the impersonal sentences of frequent occurrence for expressing psychological states in ME and the 'it-construction' with PVs in PE? Isn't there any continuation from the older impersonal construction to the modern 'it-construction'?

We will attempt to unravel these questions in the succeeding sections. In the next section we will review some previous studies on the impersonal constructions, from which the modern 'it-construction' appears to be descended.

2. A review of some previous studies on the impersonal

Impersonal constructions were conveniently utilized for expressing psychological conditions in ME as well as in OE. Kellner (1956: §338) refers to some impersonal verbs as "those verbs which express states or actions of the human mind..." Noriko McCawley (1976: 194) specifies the seven semantic ranges that the impersonal verbs cover, one of them being "emotional experiences." Von Steffens-Montag (1984: 524) identifies "impersonal constructions with oblique experiencer arguments [as] a productive syntactic device to encode expres-

sions of a specific semantic class: verbs denoting physical, emotional and mental experiences,” Ogura (1986: 13) says that “some verbs which express mental affection are used impersonally.” This does not mean that impersonal constructions are only identified with psychological expressions, but other significations such as “needs and obligations, possession and sometimes perceptions and abilities, existence and happenstance . . .” can be conveyed through the constructions as well (von See Franz-Montag, *ibid*:524).⁶ Nevertheless, there is no denying the fact that a number of impersonal verbs were employed for expressing mental and emotional states, as Visser’s lists of impersonal verbs suggest.⁷ Psychological verbs are used in impersonal constructions for this semantic range.

Structurally, impersonal constructions are classifiable into two types: one is the ‘(pro)noun + V’ type such as *me irks*, *him shames*, *me wondreth*, etc., while the other is the ‘it + V + (pro)noun’ type such as *it irks me*, *it shames him*, *it wondreth me*, etc. (Visser, §29, §57).

We will trace the historical development of the two constructions by referring to some foregoing studies, especially to Visser’s, which provides us with a concise but comprehensive overview of the construction by dealing with it from Old English through Middle English.

2.1 ‘Me shames’ type

There has been disagreement concerning the nomenclature of this construction. Almost every scholar who deals with impersonals seems to mention the inappropriateness of the terminology. With such a variety of names,⁸ it does not seem to make too much difference which term to employ, but I will

adopt the traditional name 'subjectless impersonal' for the 'me shames' type and refer to the second type as 'it-impersonal'.

Denison (1993: 62) adopts Fisher and van der Leek's (1983) definition to describe the impersonal as follows: "an impersonal construction is a subjectless construction in which the verb has 3 SG form and there is no nominative NP controlling verb concord; an impersonal verb is a verb which can, but need not always, occur in an impersonal construction."

Visser (§30) says that "this construction is not infrequently accompanied by a complement, in the form of a noun or pronoun in the genitive..., or by a preposition (*for, of, æt, to, etc.*) + noun..." and refers to "the complement in the form of a (pro) noun in the genitive [as] Causative Object, as in the majority of cases it expresses the cause or the occasion of the action or state denoted by the verb it qualifies."

Not only was this construction accompanied by a pronominal complement or by a prepositional phrase, but it also took such complementizers as *that*-clause or infinitive. As Visser (§32-§33) says, "The complement of the phrase of the type 'me hriwþ' often takes the form of a *that*-clause" and "beside the type *him scamede* + *that*-clause Old and Middle English knew the type *him scamede* + infinitive."

Although Visser does not seem to be certain whether these complements are causative objects or not, he argues that "the probability of this clause [i.e., *that*-clause] not being a causative complement, but the subject, is slight." However, in regard to the status of the infinitive, he says, "Whether the infinitive was apprehended at the time as a causative object or a subject is as hard to ascertain as in the case of the *that*-clause,..." Nevertheless, as we will see later, Visser seems to suggest that

the complements in question had the character of a causative object.⁹

This construction fell into disuse and became obsolete about the end of the 15th century according to van der Gaaf (1904: §170). Visser (§43), however, points out the presence of this construction in St.Th.More's works in the 16th century, and Lightfoot (1979: 229-230) concludes that "it is more accurate to date the final obsolescence from the mid sixteenth century." Görlach (1991: 106) offers a more precise date, saying, "impersonal constructions with the verbs *ail*, *chance*, *list*, *please*, and *think* sounded archaic by 1600, and were obsolete by 1660."

The obsolescence of this construction can be attributed to various reasons. One of the reasons, which is crucial to our discussion, is "the simultaneous occurrence of two rival constructions, (a) the type with *it* and (b) the 'personal' type, ... the one not conforming to the more usual sentence pattern (with a subject before the verb) had to give way and eventually abandoned the field" (Visser, §35). As Denison (1993: §5.4) aptly summarizes, from Jespersen (1954: 208-210) on, a number of scholars seem to take more or less the same stand and explain the phenomenon in what has been called a 'reanalysis' approach. Lightfoot (*ibid*: 230), for instance, says, "many impersonals developed a dummy *it* subject, and, most interestingly, the pre-verbal NP became re-analyzed as a subject, taking on nominative form."¹⁰

2.2 'It shames me' type

This type of constructions appeared in late Old English and survived 'me irks' types until they too became obsolete except with some tenacious PVs such as *please*, *grieve* and *irk*, which

have lingered up to PE, as we saw in §1. Let us quote Visser (§57) :

In late Old English there appeared beside it [i.e., the type 'me wlateþ'¹¹ + infinitive or clause] the type 'hit wlateþ me' + infinitive or clause (e.g. 'hit wlateþ me to behealdenne hit'). That this construction had a longer life than the older one is perhaps due to the fact that the word (*h*)it before the verb rendered it more comfortable to the normal sentence pattern with a subject preceding the verb.... Most of the constructions illustrated in this section are obsolete now.

With regard to 'it' before the verb, Visser (§57) disagrees with "grammarians who call it the 'provisional' or 'anticipatory' subject and what follows after the verb the 'logical' subject," by saying, " [they] do so from a semantic point of view." Visser continues:

They seem to lose sight of the fact that originally such collocations as 'him wlateþ' (= 'he feels disgusted') and 'him gelustfullaþ' (= 'he is glad or happy') were complete utterances, and that what was added (whether in the form of a noun in the genitive, a noun preceded by a preposition, an infinitive or a clause) had the character of a causative complement ('him wlateþ: ðæs ætes: for ðisum mete : þæt ic swa þince: to tellenne hit'). This character remained when 'him wlateþ' became preceded by *it*.

Notice Visser's statement that complements accompanying this construction, including an infinitive or a *that*-clause, had a causative character, as we already mentioned above.

Visser (§57) lists the following verbs occurring in this construction. Those that are italicized are psychological verbs and those that are asterisked are now obsolete: *abhor*, accord, **agasten*, *anoyen*, *befit*, become, behave, **berisan*, **besitten*, *bolden*, boot, chance, *delite*, **downen*, *dullen*, fallen, **forthinken*, fortunen, **ganen*, *greven*, **happen*, happenen, *irken*, *liken*, *listen*, *lothen*, **lukkan*, *neden*, **ofthinken*, **payen*, *pleasen*, *profiten*, *repairen*, *repenten*,

rewen, *semen*, *sitten*, *thinken*, *tickle*, *vexen*, **werien*, *wlaten* [Italics and asterisks are mine.]

We will treat the following currently-used PVs from Visser's list, disregarding the obsolete verbs. The modern forms are provided in parentheses: *abhor*, *delite* (delight), *greven* (grieve), *irken* (irk), *liken* (like), *listen* (list), *lothen* (loathe), *pleasen* (please), *repenten* (repent), *rewen* (rue), *thinken* (think), *tickle*, *werien* (weary). The verbs *dull* and *vex* are omitted from this research because of a dearth of examples. (*dull*: two examples only from Chaucer; *vex*: one example).

In addition to the verbs that Visser enumerates, we will include in our investigation the PVs which are defined as being used 'impersonally' in *OED* or in *MED* or in other studies on impersonals, plus the verb *fear* which apparently behaves like an impersonal, if not actually defined as an impersonal verb. They are: *anger*, *annoy*, *displease*, *dread*, *fear*, *joy*, *long*, *lust*, *marvel*, *pity*, *reck*, *rejoice*, *remember*, *shame*, *wonder*. The verb *fear* is included as an impersonal verb in this list, due to the semantic and syntactic resemblance to other impersonal verbs,¹² in addition to the apparent inconsistency of the definitions among *OED*, *MED* and other literature.¹³

These PVs will be further grouped as follows according to type:

Type 1: annoy, displease, irk, shame, tickle

Type 2: abhor, dread, fear, joy, like, list, loathe, long, lust,
marvel, pity, reck, remember, repent, rue, think, wonder

Type 3: anger, delight, grieve, please, rejoice, weary

2.3 Further subcategorization

Summarizing Visser's arguments on the structural patterns of impersonal sentences, Ogura (1986: 24) proposes the following

subcategorization of verbs employed 'impersonally':

- (i) impersonal with Dat¹⁴ and without *hit*
- (ii) impersonal with *hit* and without Dat
- (iii) impersonal with both Dat and *hit*

'Impersonal with Dat' can be identified with the 'me shames' type construction, while 'impersonal with *hit*' is equal to the 'it shames me' type. Ogura's subcategorization and the data gathered from *OED* and *MED* in the next section enable us to classify PVs used impersonally as follows:

Table 2
Classification of PVs according to
the type in which they occur

	(i) Dat	(ii) it	(iii) Dat/it
Type 1	—	displease, tickle	annoy, irk, shame
Type 2	dread, long	abhor, joy, pity	fear, like, list, loathe, lust marvel, reckon, remember repent, rue, think, wonder
Type 3	—	delight, weary	anger, grieve, please, rejoice

3. The data

In this section we will examine how PVs were actually used impersonally, whether in the subjectless impersonal or in the it-impersonal. Since the identity of the construction in question has yet to be unraveled, it may not be appropriate at this point to refer as the impersonal to the sentences of the 'it-construction' occurring in Modern English, especially after the mid 17th century, because by this time impersonal sentences had supposedly gone out of use. However, for the sake of convenience we will

adhere to the term for the time being.

The examples are cited from *OED* and *MED*. I had misgivings that there might arise an imbalance of data between the ME period and the ModE period because the citations from *MED* are limited to the period of time before 1500, in addition to the fact that the *MED* examples are incomplete due to the fact that only volumes A to S are available at present. In fact, a disproportionate amount of data has been gathered for the 15th century, compared to the adjoining centuries, but this will not hinder our attempt to discover the overall developmental tendency of the construction in question. The general inclination of the development of the construction seems to be fairly evident from the data that we have gathered from *OED* and *MED* and will serve the purpose of our present research, in attempting to discover the transition of the impersonal to the 'it-construction'. Of course a complete perusal of all the works produced during the period of our concern would be most desirable, but the data from *OED* and *MED* might be considered as what is called in statistics 'random sampling'.

Data has been collected for each verb of our classification in §2 and is included in Appendix II. The lead figures indicate the dates of the appearance of the sentences.¹⁵ 'C' means *circa*, 'a' stands for *ante*. The names of the authors or the works, if anonymous, are in parentheses. The dates of the 'it-construction' with an infinitival and clausal complement, which is our main concern in this article, are in block letters. The letters O or M after the parentheses indicate that the instances are taken either from *OED* (O) or from *MED* (M). A few examples taken from Visser's list are indicated as 'Visser'.

PVs such as *like*, *please*, and *think* occurred so frequently as to

yield such formulaic expressions as "Like it your Grace," "Please it your Holiness," "as me thinketh," "as vs thought," etc. These set-phrases will be omitted from the data because they may not be considered to be productive constructions any more, in that many of them no longer take such complements as infinitives or *that*-clauses. Furthermore, the citations of such verbs as *like*, *rew*, or *think* are so numerous to cite that redundant examples, which appeared in the same structural pattern recurrently within the same span of time, (i. e., within the same century), have to be left out.

4. Data analysis

4.1 Structural patterns

Impersonal verbs appear in a variety of structures as can be seen from the data in Appendix II. These impersonal sentences are sub-categorized as follows, depending on the structure of the complement, with abbreviated forms in parentheses:¹⁶

(i) 'me shames' type

(a) (pro)noun + V (p+ \emptyset)

eg: His fote ful tite he til him tite; *Him schamed*, it was wel sene.

(b) (pro)noun + V + NP (p+np)

eg: *Me rewith* the deth of hyr for his sake.

(c) (pro)noun + V + PP (p+pp)

eg: *Me shames with* my lygame!

(d) (pro)noun + V + Comp (p+to, p+that, p+wh)

eg: *Me shamed* at that tyme *to* have more ado with you.

Hym shameþ þat hys lynage is so lowe.

(ii) 'it shames me' type

(a) it + V + (pro)noun (it+ \emptyset)

eg: But I bewrekyn, *it rewith me*.

(b) it + V + (pro)noun + NP (it+np)

eg: *It salle rew* *him þat* res þat he to Jone has done.

- (c) it + V + (pro)noun + PP (it+pp)
 eg: I lothe his villainye, or *it lotheth me* of his villainye.
- (d) it + (pro)noun + V + Comp (it+p+to, it+p+that)
 eg: *Hit me greueth þat þov feinst þe.*
- (e) it+V+ (pro)noun+Comp (it+to, it+that, it+wh, it+if)
 eg: *It shameth and irketh me* to abide such thyngs.
It shameþ the þat men vpon thi visage see.

Note that the constituent order of each structural pattern does not necessarily reflect the actual word order of the examples and there are some sentences of aberrant word order, not conforming to the pattern.

In fact, it may not be appropriate to make generalizations on the structural patterns, irrespective of the periods in which they occurred, because the instances of earlier English may belong to a different type of grammar from those of later English. As will be discussed in the next section, earlier English had a characteristic of topic-salient grammar with less-rigid TVX word order, compared to the agent-oriented modern syntax with fixed SVO word order.¹⁷

These structural patterns, therefore, should be interpreted as ones to show what elements comprise the structural patterns, regardless of their exact constituent order, and are likely to represent the most typical sentence patterns.

The following charts give us a visual idea of the development of the patterns of the impersonal sentences in the data. Each pattern in its abbreviated form is provided in the slot of each century from 1200 to 1800. The choice of the year 1200 instead of 1100, which is widely acknowledged to be the beginning of the ME period, is due to the scarcity of data in the 12th century and the relative lack of importance of the century to the focus of our chief concern, which lies around the transition from late ME to

early ModE.

If the infinitive is not preceded by *to*, occurring as the bare infinitive, the preposition is enclosed in parentheses in the charts. Likewise, if a clausal complement *that* is absent, it is in parentheses as well. If the infinitive is accompanied by an archaic form *for to*, it is represented as *to* in the charts for simplicity's sake. An old form *þat* is also substituted by the modern form *that*.

The frequency of the occurrence of the patterns used in the same span of time. (i.e., in the same century), is not taken into consideration because of our fear that the balanced data between the ME period and the ModE period is not necessarily available, as already mentioned in §3. In addition, it is my belief that the most sophisticated statistics do not exactly bespeak the true generalization of a particular linguistic phenomenon.

The verbs *dread* and *long*, which occurred only in the subjectless impersonal construction, are omitted because they have nothing to do with the 'it-construction' that we have concerned ourselves with; therefore they are not crucial to this research.

Chart 1 and Chart 3 are placed on the same page in the interest of clarity of layout, and also due to our assumption that PVs-1 and PVs-3 may exhibit a somewhat similar pattern because they share a causative meaning by occurring in the passive and the 'it-construction' in PE.

4.2 Charts

Chart 1

PVs-1 used in the impersonal construction

	1200	1300	1400	1500	1600	1700	1800
annoy		p+that It+to it+ø					
displease		it+ø	It+that	it+ø	it+ø		
irk			it+ø p+ø p+pp	It+to It+that	It+to It+that	it+pp it+ø	It+to It+that
shame	p+ø p+that p+pp	p+to p+ø p+that	p+to p+pp p+ø p+that It+that	It+to	It+to		It+to
tickle		it+ø			It+to		It+wh

Chart 3

PVs-3 used in the impersonal construction

	1200	1300	1400	1500	1600	1700	1800
anger	it+ø		p+pp p+np	It+to		It+to	It+wh
dellight			it+ø it+p+to	It+to			
grieve	it+ø it+p+that	p+ø p+that it+np	it+ø it+p+to	It+to	It+to It+that		It+to
please		it+ø	It+to it+ø p+ø p+to	It+to	It+to		It+to
rejoice			it+ø p+to	it+ø	it+ø	It+that	it+ø
weary		It+to	It+to				

Chart 2

PVs-2 used in the impersonal construction

	1200	1300	1400	1500	1600	1700	1800
abhor				It+to	It+ø		
fear			p+pp	It+to	It+that	It+(that)	
joy		It+ø	It+pp	It+that	It+to	It+that	
like	p+ø It+p+that It+ø p+to	It+that p+ø It+to It+ø	It+to It+ø, p+that p+np, p+to It+pp, p+pp	It+ø p+pp	p+np	p+ø	
list	p+ø p+pp p+(to)	p+np p+ø	p+ø, p+pp It+ø, p+to It+to	p+to p+(to)	It+to p+(to)		p+(to)
loathe	p+to	p+ø p+to	p+NP p+ø, p+to p+pp, It+ø It+to	It+pp It+to			
lust	p+(to) p+ø	p+(to) p+pp	p+(to) It+to, p+to	p+ø p+np			
marvel		p+pp, p+ø p+wh, p+np It+pp	p+pp It+that p+wh, p+that	It+wh			
plty				It+to	It+pp	It+to	It+to
reck	p+ø	p+to, It+ø p+wh p+pp	p+pp p+to, p+ø It+to, p+np	It+np(?)	It+ø It+np(?)		It+ø
remember		p+pp It+pp	It+ø, p+pp It+that p+np, p+ø p+that				It+that
repent		p+that It+ø	It+that p+ø, It+ø p+that p+pp	It+pp	It+that	It+to	It+(that) It+ø
rue	p+that It+ø	p+that It+ø p+np p+pp It+np	p+pp It+p+that It+if, p+that It+ø, p+np It+p+if, p+ø	p+to It+to			
think	p+ø p+that It+ø It+that	p+ø p+that It+to p+pp, p+to	p+np It+ø	p+(that) p+if p+np	p+that		
wonder		p+that p+pp, p+wh	p+ø	It+ø	It+to		

4.3 Some observations

What strikes us first is the process of subjectivalization, which seemed to have been nearly complete around 1500¹⁸ except for a few verbs, (i.e., *like*, *list*, and *think*), which were so prevalent as to be used idiomatically in the subjectless impersonals up to PE. Most of the subjectless impersonals seemed to have gone out of use by around 1500, after which the *it*-impersonals appeared exclusively, indicating that subjectivalization, (i.e., the placement of *it* as an expletive subject), was approaching its completion. This is particularly evident in such verbs as *anger*, *fear*, *irk*, *loathe*, *marvel*, *reck*, *repent*, *shame*, and *wonder*. They entered the 'it-construction' from subjectless impersonals, the predominant structure during the ME period, by around 1500.

Secondly, we can remark the increase of the 'it + V + NP + comp' construction (henceforth 'it+comp'), from which the 'it-construction'¹⁹ in PE appears to be descended. As far as PVs-1 and PVs-3 are concerned, the 'it+comp' construction seems to have established itself after 1500, ousting impersonal constructions after they had begun to make a conspicuous increase in the preceding century. This is especially true of PVs-3, all of which had entered the 'it+comp' by 1500, though it must be mentioned that the construction coexisted with subjectless impersonals in the 15th century. There are sporadic occurrences of the 'it+comp' for such verbs as *annoy* and *weary* in the 14th century, but they seem to be too scarce to be called a productive construction.

PVs-2 show a more complicated developmental pattern, their history not being as monolithic as that of PVs-1 or PVs-3. Many of the verbs, however, began to appear in the 'it+comp' construction in the 15th century,²⁰ existing hand in hand with

impersonals, although they were still outnumbered by these impersonals. In the 16th century the 'it+comp' became dominant, with the recession of impersonals, and this occurred even more so in the 17th century. The 18th and 19th centuries show the scarcity of the occurrence of the construction, which presumably reflects the fact that PVs-2 finally settled into the personal (i.e., in/transitive) construction. Unlike PVs-1 and PVs-3, which almost completely entered the 'it+comp', there are occasional occurrences of impersonals for PVs-2 such as *like* or *list* even after the supposed demise of impersonals, but they are idiomatic fixed phrases, and thus no longer productive constructions.

In summation, the 'it+comp' construction with PVs began to increase in late ME, especially after 1500, when it firmly established itself, ousting impersonals. The construction with PVs-2, however, began to decrease in the 18th and 19th centuries, when they began to enter the personal construction.

It may stand to reason not to be meticulous about the date 1500 simply because the date is widely accepted as demarcating the ME period from the ModE period. Although the demarcation of the two periods is quite arbitrary, the fact that there is a sudden increase in the frequency of the 'it+comp' construction sometime after 1500, especially as shown in Chart 2, together with the fact that the subjectless construction disappeared around the same time, is convincing evidence that some radical linguistic shift seems to have taken place around this period.

In this section we have seen the development of the 'it-construction', especially the 'it+comp' construction, from ME to ModE and discovered that somewhere around the year 1500 the construction seems to have begun to gain ground. In the next

section we will delve into this linguistic shift from a theoretical viewpoint in more detail.

5. Subjectivalization and transitivization

In §4 we observed that the 'it+comp' construction seems to have been on the increase during the late ME period, especially after 1500. Now I would like to make a hypothesis that the shift had to do with transitivization, or more specifically causativization, together with subjectivalization. Subjectivalization had preceded or was co-occurring with transitivization, which was occurring in late ME and early ModE, and seems to have accelerated the shift to transitivization.²¹

5.1 Subjectivalization

By 1500 most of the impersonal verbs had begun to be used in 'personal' constructions (e.g., *I like...*, or *He thinks...*etc.), or in constructions with *it* as a dummy subject (e.g., *It likes you...* or *It thinketh me...*, etc.), whether with or without an infinitival or clausal complement. Then gradually the latter type of construction began to be supplanted by the 'it+comp' construction, which increased in frequency, especially after 1500, as we have just seen in §4.

Subjectivalization was in progress during the ME period as Traugott (1972: 129-130) points out:

The so-called 'impersonal' sentences continued in currency throughout ME, but subjectivalization or at least pseudo-subjectivalization came to be required by more and more verbs; by NE [i.e., ModE] the construction was almost totally lost except for a few fixed expressions like *Methinks that* (but not **Him thinks that*).

Subjectivalization is generally acknowledged to have been instigated by a loss of inflection, and induced the transition from

the TVX²² to the rigid SVO sentence pattern (von Seeffranz-Montag, 1984: 526-527; Matsumoto, 1991: 23-24). The topic-salient TVX syntax, which placed the topic at the head of the sentence, had comparatively less-rigid word order, while SVO had a rigid word order.²³ SVO, an agent-oriented syntax, made the role of agent more salient and the degree of agentivity higher, thus helping to reinforce the process of causative-transitivization that had been in progress.²⁴

5.2 Transitivity

Causative-transitivity²⁵ was taking place in ME. As Traugott (ibid: 120-21) states, "It is often said the ME was a period when extensive 'transitivity' took place – that is, many verbs that had not allowed objectivization came to do so.... Many of the instances of 'transitivity' involve causatives...."

Nakao and Koma (1990: 100-101) define 'transitivity' as "an activity transferred toward an object by an agent, which, at an advanced stage of the development, forces the object to do something or to attain a certain condition." They further state that "transitive verbs, with the degree of transitivity intensified, become causative verbs" (ibid: 104).

Kellner (1956: 208-213) enumerates examples of intransitive verbs which acquired causative meaning. From Middle English, Kellner offers "the following list, taken from Caxton," which "will show the progress in that development [i.e., causativization] in the second half of the fifteenth century." *Cease* (causative) = stop, *learn* = teach, *lose* = ruin, *sit* = set, *tarry* = delay, etc.

From Modern English come the following verbs: *cease* (causative) = stop, *decrease* = lessen, *fall* = let fall, *fear* = frighten, *fly* = cause to fly, *learn* = teach, *lose* = ruin, *perish* = kill/slay, *remember*

= remind, *run* = cause to run, *sit* = seat, *stand* = set/put, etc.

Fear and *remember* are the only PVs which Kellner provides as examples of intransitive verbs used causatively. We can, however, show that other PVs possessed causative meaning during the ME and early ModE periods, although they subsequently lost this signification. Many PVs of Type 2, which are used in/transitively in PE, used to possess causative meaning and occurred in such causative constructions as the passive and/or the reflexive, along with the non-causative use of the impersonal and/or the in/transitive. A typical Type 2 verb *repent*, for instance, appeared in as many as five constructions (including the passive and the reflexive). Each construction was capable of expressing the same cognitive meaning, with stylistic or pragmatic variations possibly involved. Examples from *OED* or *MED* are as follows:

- (10) (a) <passive> They that be confession *are* censed and
repented...shulde not loke backwards...
(a1450 *Knt. Tour. L.*)
- (b) <reflexive> *I repent me* that the Duke is slaine.
(1594 Shaks. *Rich. III. I. iv. 285*)
- (c) <it-impersonal> *It sal repent vs* full sore and we ryde
forthiere. (c1440 *Morte Arth.*)
- (d) <subjectless
impersonal> But aftyrward *me repentede* sone therfore.
(c1430 Chaucer, *CT. WB.*)
- (e) <in/transitive> Well, Ile *repent*, and that suddenly.
(1596 Shaks. *I Henry IV. III. iii. 6*)

Other PVs-2 exhibit a similar pattern in their developmental history, occurring in multiple constructions, as can be seen from the table below.²⁶ Since such verbs as *like* and *reck* did not appear in the passive in spite of their occurrence in the reflexive, they have been left out. In the headline of the table

below the causative subsumes the passive and reflexive. The occurrence of the passive presupposes the existence of the active sentence, which is of course the causative.

Table 3 ²⁷

**PVs-2 used in the causative, impersonal
and in/transitive constructions**

	pass	refl	it-impers	s-impers	in/trans
abhor	?	-	0	-	+
dread	0	0	-	0	+
fear	0	0	0	0	+
joy	0	0	0	-	+
list	0	-	0	0	+
loathe	?	-	0	0	+
lust	0	0	0	0	+
marvel	0	0	0	0	+
pity	?	-	0	-	+
remember	0	0	0	0	+
repent	0	0	0	0	+
rue	?	-	0	0	+
wonder ²⁸	0	0	0	0	+

Notice that all of the PVs-2 in this list occurred in passive and/or reflexive constructions, in which the verbs possessed causative meaning.

PVs-2, however, discarded their causative meaning ²⁹ for some reason and became established in in/transitive constructions only in Modern English. There is no knowing at this point what made PVs-2 abandon their causative meaning and settle into the in/transitive, but the fact remains that at some stage during the ME period and early ModE period, PVs-2 carried the meaning of causation. It is, therefore, possible to conclude that PVs-2 were used causally in the 'it+comp' until they subse-

quently disappeared, which means that the 'it+comp' was a causative-transitive, no longer an impersonal construction.

By the same token, a number of PVs-1 showed an interesting historical behavior by allowing themselves to occur in multiple constructions during ME, just like PVs-2 did. PVs-1 showed, so to speak, a reverse development thereafter, as opposed to the development of PVs-2, by retaining only their causative meaning over the course of time, and forsaking their in/transitive use. PVs-3, on the other hand, have preserved both their causative and in/transitive uses, which appears to be similar to a kind of a combinative development of PVs-1 and PVs-2. The following table illustrates how PVs-1 and PVs-3 behaved historically:

Table 4

PVs-1 and PVs-3 used in the causative, impersonal and in/transitive constructions

PV-1

	pass	refl	it-impers	s-impers	in/trans
annoy	+	0	0	0	0
displease	+	0	0	-	0
irk	+	-	0	0	0
shame	+	0	0	0	0
tickle	+	-	0	-	-

PV-3

	pass	refl	it-impers	s-impers	in/trans
anger	+	0	0	0	+
delight	+	+	0	-	+
grieve	+	0	0	0	+
please	+	+	0	0	+
rejoice	+	0	0	0	+
weary	+	-	0	-	+

In brief, it may be concluded that the 'it-construction', with the verb gaining causative meaning, shifted its character from the impersonal to the causative-transitive construction.

5.3 The origin of the 'it-construction'

So far, we have argued that the increase of the 'it+comp' construction during late ME, especially after 1500, had to do with causative-transitivization, together with subjectivalization. These developmental stages, from the impersonal to the 'it+comp' construction, can be represented as follows:

1st stage (pro) noun + V + (causative obj.)

eg: *me repents* ...

2nd stage It+V+ (pro) noun + (causative obj.) [Subjectivalization]

eg: *it repents me* ...

3rd stage It + V [+ cause] + NP + comp [Causativization]

eg: *it repents me to/that* ...

We consider that the pattern 'it + (pro)noun + V + Comp', though it may suggest a transitory stage, belongs to the second stage rather than the third, in that the word order of the pattern did not abide by the rigid SVO syntax. In fact, as already stated, the first and second stages belong to TVX grammar, while the third stage pertains to SVO syntax. This may be supported by McCawley's (1976: 201) statement: "I suggest that the so-called 'impersonal' to 'personal' transition in late ME was actually a very natural consequence resulting from the change of one grammatical system to another."

In addition, at the third stage, PVs possessed a causative meaning, whereas the same meaning had been conveyed through a causative object in earlier stages, with no causative meaning involved in the verbs, because as shown in footnote 4, impersonal verbs were neither transitive nor intransitive. As far as causative

meaning is concerned, a sort of meaning shift seems to have taken place from the causative object to the causative verb. This can be explained by the inherent meaning involved in emotional and mental states: “Emotions intrinsically involve a causative relation, in which two arguments are assumed to be present, namely, that which evokes its emotions (or what inspires emotions in a person or animate being) and that which has its emotions evoked or inspired” (Taketazu, 1989: 49). If this should be the case, it may not have been unnatural if the role of the causative NP was replaced by the function of the causative verb in terms of semantics.

The arguments we have presented so far suggest that the ‘it-construction’, specifically the ‘it+comp’ construction in PE, is descended from the impersonal construction and this will be the answer to one of the questions we posed in §1.

Because the ‘it+comp’ and the passive are considered to be related, as already mentioned in §1, there must be some kinship between the impersonal and the passive as well. This topic will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

6. The impersonal and the passive

A hypothesis was proposed that “the impersonal construction was supplanted by the passive construction as a psychological predicate” (Taketazu: 50). I would now like to further substantiate this hypothesis, first empirically, and then theoretically.

6.1 The first citations from *OED* or *MED*

In PE, as we mentioned in §1, the ‘it+comp’ construction and the passive with a complement (‘pass+comp’) seem to correspond. That is to say, as some dictionaries define the meaning of the following sentence pairs as synonymous, the ‘it+comp’ is an

active counterpart of the 'pass+comp', even though there are some PVs which are passivized but do not enter the 'it+comp' construction.

- (11) (a) *It rejoices me* to hear of your success.
(b) *I am rejoiced* to hear of your success.
- (12) (a) *It puzzles me* about what to do.
(b) *I am puzzled* about what to do.

Historically, the period when the 'it+comp' was gaining ground after 1500 seems to coincide with the time when "the passive construction with psychological verbs...was firmly established and began to be productive during the period of early Modern English." (ibid: 52)

Let us now compare the dates of the first citations of the 'it+comp' and the 'pass+comp' for each verb from *OED* or *MED* to see if the two constructions really began to establish themselves around the same period. The first citations of the 'pass+comp' sentences from *OED* or *MED* are provided in Appendix III. Since there are some verbs for which the 'pass+comp' sentences are not attested in the dictionaries, the first occurrences of the passive sentence, instead of the 'pass+comp' sentence, are cited as the second choice. The dates of their occurrence are in parentheses, implying that they are not necessarily optimal instances. Verbs such as *dread* and *long*, which were not used in the 'it+comp' and verbs such as *like*, *reck*, and *think*, which did not enter the passive, are omitted from the list. The following table shows the dates when the first instances of 'it+comp' and the 'pass+comp' (or the mere passive) were used:

Table 5

The dates of the first citations of the 'it+comp'
and the 'pass+(comp)' constructions from *OED* or *MED*

PV-1	it+comp	pass+(comp)
annoy	1382	1297
displease	a1500	1548
irk	c1530	1588
shame	a1500	c1387
tickle	1661	?
PV-2		
abhor	1534	?
fear	1503	c1380
joy	c1590	1617
list	a1470	?
loathe	a1500	?
lust	c1427	(a1400)
marvel	a1425	1523
pity	1515	?
remember	?a1425	1509
repent	a1425	(a1450)
rue	?a1400	?
wonder	1627	(a1400-50)
PV-3		
anger	1592	c1440-a1500
delight	c1430	c1300
grieve	a1450	1747 (c1440) ³⁰
please	1433	c1400
rejoice	1774	1567
weary	c1386	(1667)

(?: potential existence)

From the table it can be observed that the period in which the 'it+comp' and the 'pass+comp' (or pass) occurred was roughly from the late ME period to the early ModE period, and that the first occurrences of the two constructions seem to be approx-

imately within the same century for many of the verbs. This suggests that their appearances can be assumed to have occurred during the same period. The proximity of the dates of the simultaneous occurrences, which seems to be *too close to be accidental*, suggests that they are corresponding constructions, from which the previously cited instances in PE such as (11) and (12) are supposedly derived.

With such exceptional verbs as *rejoice* and *weary*, where a wide gap in occurrence is found, an appropriate explanation cannot be offered for the discrepancy of the dates at the moment, but one possibility is that authentic examples did not appear in the texts or simply escaped the eyes of the lexicographers.

If the 'it+comp' construction is considered to be a descendant of the impersonal and the 'it+comp' is related to the passive, then it may not be unreasonable to assume that the impersonal has semantically something to do with the passive.

6.2 Complementary distribution

Our empirical claim may be confirmed by N. McCawley's (1976: 197) theoretical arguments that "*reflexive, passive, and impersonal are used by the three languages [i.e., English, Japanese, Russian] for the same purpose of signaling that the human is unvolitionally involved in the state of affairs.*"

In the same vein, von See Franz-Montag (1984: 525) argues for the complementary distribution of the impersonal and the passive constructions:

Impersonal constructions seem to be distributed complementary to semantically equivalent or similar 'personal' types of verb constructions such as reflexive and (medio)passive. . . . In late Latin, e.g., the loss of synthetic mediopassives led to a temporary increase in impersonal constructions. The reduction or loss of 'subjectless' sentences in the individual Indo-European languages, on the other hand, was brought

about by the interaction of four processes.

- 1) the introduction of *formal subjects*, esp. in Germanic and French;
- 2) the *reanalysis* of oblique experiencers as nominative subjects, esp., in English;
- 3) the creation of a 'personal' *reflexive* in Germanic, Romance and Slav-ic;
- 4) the extension of a new (analytical) *passive*, esp., in English.

Notice especially the fourth process, in which the new and analytical passive in English is attributed to the cause of the reduction or loss of 'subjectless' sentences. What is amazing is that in Latin, the reverse transition took place from the loss of the passive to the increase in impersonal constructions. Later in the article von Seeffranz-Montag further states (ibid: 531) :

The change in verb valence connected with the process of 'personalization' from DAT/ACC-verb-NOM/GEN/PP/inf/clause to NOM-verb-ACC/PP...entailed in many cases characteristic morphosyntactic changes like transformations to periphrastic, often passive constructions (...*I am ashamed/annoyed/disgusted/horrified/amused (+pp)*)
...

Furthermore, Fisher (1992: 239) reinforces the contention, saying:

The semantic notion formerly expressed by the impersonal proper now found its expression in different surface forms. In some cases this was done...by using passive and adjectival constructions such as *I am ashamed, he was sorry* for the older constructions *me sceamaþ* and *me hreoweþ*.

In sum, if the passive and the impersonal constructions function equivalently or similarly in terms of semantics, as McCawley, von Seeffranz-Montag and Fisher explicitly indicate, and if the 'it+comp' construction in PE, which corresponds to the passive, is supposedly descended from the impersonal, then the hypothesis I made seems to be substantiated: the passive and the impersonal constructions are semantically related to each other when it comes to expressing mental and emotional conditions, and the passive took over the role that the impersonal had played after

the impersonal *made an exit* from the stage of English history. ³¹

7. Summary

Psychological conditions can be represented in such constructions as the passive or in/transitive among others. Psychological verbs (PVs) are classifiable into the following three groups according to the construction type they occur in: (i) PV-1 (occurring in passive), (ii) PV-2 (in/transitive) and (iii) PV-3 (passive and in/transitive). 'It-construction' (i.e., the active counterpart of the passive) is also available for expressing mental and emotional states in Modern English. However, the 'it-construction' with PVs in ModE is puzzling and perplexing since structurally it is similar to impersonal sentences with *it* as a formal subject in ME, and yet it has been claimed that impersonal constructions became obsolete by the early ModE period. We will attempt to explore how the modern 'it-construction' is linked to impersonal constructions in Middle English.

In §2 we reviewed some previous studies on impersonal constructions, which are found to be utilized for expressing psychological conditions. Structurally, impersonals are classified into two types: (i) 'me shames' type and (ii) 'it shames me' type; the latter survived the former type, which is said to have gone out of use by the mid-seventeenth century. Impersonal verbs were accompanied by what Visser calls a causative object, which expresses the cause or the occasion of the action or state denoted by the verb it qualifies. Visser lists some 13 PVs (*abhor, delite, greven, irken, liken, listen, lothen, pleasen, repenten, rewen, thinken, tickle, werien*) which occurred in the 'it shames me' type construction. To Visser's list are added 15 verbs used impersonally (*anger, annoy, displease, dread, fear, joy, long, lust, marvel,*

pity, reckon, rejoice, remember, shame, wonder) found in *OED*. The verbs listed are further classified according to Ogura's categorization (Table 2).

In §3 examples of impersonals are collected from *OED* and *MED* and are listed in chronological order (Appendix II).

In §4 the collected data was analyzed. Depending on the structure of the complement, impersonal constructions were grouped into several structural types and the charts (Charts 1-3) were constructed to graphically illustrate the shift of the structural patterns.

From the charts the following observations can be made:

- (i) Subjectivalization, i.e., the placement of *it* as an expletive subject, seems to have reached its near completion by around 1500. To put it another way, subjectless impersonals went into disuse and the 'it-construction', especially the 'it+comp' construction, began to appear and this shift holds particularly true of such verbs as *irk, loathe, repent, and shame*.
- (ii) Charts 1 and 3 show the establishment of the 'it+comp' construction sometime after 1500, following its sporadic appearance in earlier centuries, especially in the late ME period, coexisting with impersonals.
- (iii) Likewise, in Chart 2 the 'it+comp' construction showed an abrupt increase after 1500 with the recession of impersonals, compared to the relative scarcity of the construction before 1500.

From these observations the following hypotheses may be drawn:

- (i) Some radical linguistic shift seems to have taken place around the period from late ME to early ModE.
- (ii) The shift had to do with subjectivalization and transitivity, or more specifically causativization.

In §5 the hypotheses we have just made were substantiated. Subjectivalization was in progress during the ME period and impersonals (*Me repents...*) began to be replaced by personal construction (*I repent...*) or by the 'it-construction' (*It repents me...*). The latter further developed into the 'it+comp' construction (*It repents me to/that ...*), which can be considered to be a causative construction.

Extensive transitivity (or causativization) was also in progress throughout the ME period. Nakao and Koma argue that transitive verbs turn causative, with their transitivity intensified. Kellner gives us numerous examples of causative verbs which were derived from intransitive verbs in ME and EModE.

Evidence was provided that many of the PVs-2 behaved as causative verbs in ME (Table 3). PVs-1 and PVs-3 showed a similar, if not identical, behavior to PVs-2 in ME and EModE, and subsequently developed into the forms that they now exhibit (Table 4). It may be possible to conclude that the 'it+comp' construction, which began to gain solid ground after 1500, shifted its character from the impersonal to the causative construction.

In §6 the relationship of the 'it+comp' and the passive was examined. In PE the following sentence pair is acknowledged to be synonymous (that is, they correspond by sharing the same cognitive meaning): *It rejoices me to hear of your success; I am rejoiced to hear of your success*. Historically, the period when the 'it+comp' was gaining ground seems to have coincided with the time when the passive was on the increase. A comparison was made of the dates of the first citations of the 'it+comp' and the 'pass+comp' for each verb cited from *OED* and *MED*. The

results show that the first occurrences of the 'it+comp' and the 'pass+comp' seem to be roughly within the same century for many of the verbs, apparently indicating that both constructions originated during the same period.

In conclusion, we have argued that the 'it+comp' construction is descended from the impersonal, with the verbs acquiring a causative meaning, and that the 'it+comp' and the passive, which correspond to each other, began to establish themselves roughly around the same period. We can thus draw the conclusion that our hypothesis is substantiated: the impersonal was replaced by the passive with PVs semantically when expressing mental and emotional conditions. This conclusion is further confirmed by certain theoretical contentions, particularly by von Steffrenz-Montag, that the impersonal and the passive seem to be found in complementary distribution.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviated forms used throughout this article are as follows:

OE: Old English
ME: Middle English
PE: Present-day English
ModE: Modern English
pass: passive
in/transitive: intransitive and/or transitive
refl: reflexive
s-impers: subjectless impersonal
it-impers: it-impersonal
it + comp: it + complement
pass + comp: passive + complement
p: pronoun
c: circa
a: ante
Dat: dative
Acc: accusative
PV: psychological verb
V: verb
NP: noun phrase
PP: prepositional phrase
COMP: complement
TVX: Topic-Verb-X
SVO: Subject-Verb-Object
OED: Oxford English Dictionary
MED: Middle English Dictionary
O: OED
M: MED

Notes

1 Mental and emotional conditions can be represented in a variety of predicates. Not only the passive and the in/transitive, but also other forms such as reflexive verbs, adjectives, 'V+N' constructions (*Have some pity on her*, *Cats have a dread of water*, etc.), and 'preposition+N' constructions (*He looked around his cubicle in astonishment*, *To his utter surprise*, *Arthur Eaton did not move*, etc.) are available. Historically, impersonal constructions were utilized as well, as will be discussed in §2.

2 It is claimed by a number of linguists that this type of passive is not a passive in the exact sense of the term, but an adjectival construction, in

that the predicates behave like an adjective, especially when the agentive phrase is absent or the agent is preceded by a preposition other than *by*. However, we consider this to be the passive for two reasons: firstly, morphologically the verb is a past participle form, and secondly, a syntactically corresponding active sentence can be formed. The term 'semi-passive' (Quirk et al, 1985: §3.76) may be an appropriate concession, but for the sake of convenience we adhere to the term 'passive'.

3 The fact that the PVs-2 can be used in such passive sentences as "The snake *is feared* by the girl," or "The invention *was marveled* at by the scientists," etc. does not mean that it is identical in nature with passives with PVs-1 or PVs-3. Passives with PVs-1 or PVs-3 take an 'Experiencer' subject which is regularly [+human] as in "The girl *is frightened* by the snake," while passives with PVs-2 take 'Cause', 'Source', or 'Agent' subjects which can be [-human]. In other words, PVs-2 cannot occur in passive sentences in which the subject NP is [+human].

4 Not all PVs-1 and PVs-3 are capable of appearing in the 'it-construction'. Some verbs seem to be incompatible with the construction. On the other hand, the verb *ail* seems to be a rare exception to this class of verbs. It can occur in an active sentence with causative meaning, often in the 'it-construction' (as in *It ails me greatly...*), but it cannot be passivized unlike most other transitive verbs. This seems to suggest that the verb, which used to occur in the impersonal construction, has inherited the characteristics of the impersonal, in that not only is it frequently used in the 'it-construction', but also it is similar to the transitive verb by taking an object and to the intransitive verb for the reason that it cannot be passivized.

5 As Ogura (1986: 7) states, the term 'impersonal verbs' can be misleading, because they can be used in 'personal' constructions as well. In this sense, Ogura proposes the phrase 'verbs used impersonally', not 'impersonal verbs'. *Grieve*, *irk*, and *please* also occurred in personal constructions as well.

6 Von Seeffranz-Montag continues that these are "processes and situations, in which a person is *unvolitionally / unselfcontrollably* (McCawley, 1976: 194) involved."

7 Out of 83 impersonal verbs used in the subjectless construction that Visser cites (§29), some 30 of them are associated with mental and emotional conditions. As for the verbs used in quasi-impersonal constructions with the expletive *it*, 21 out of 41 verbs are psychological verbs (Visser: §57). This seems to suggest that the impersonal verbs came in handy for psychological expressions.

Let us remind ourselves that the German language also employs the impersonal as well as reflexive constructions for psychological expressions.

Among the impersonals are *es graut mir vor ihr* (it dreads me for her = I am afraid of her), *es ärgert mich* (it annoys me = I am annoyed), *es betrübt mich* (it grieves me = I am grieved), *es reut mich* (It repents me = I repent), *es wundert mich* (it wonders me = I am surprised), etc. For further cross-linguistic evidence such as French or Icelandic, see von Seeffranz-Montag (1984).

8 The following are the terms used by scholars to refer to 'me shames' type: *impersonal* is used by van der Gaaf, Jespersen, Curme, Visser, Traugott and Denison; *subjectless impersonal* by Lightfoot; *subjectless construction* by McCawley and Elmer; 'impersonal' by Ogura.

9 Lightfoot (1979: 233) quotes Butler's (1975: 232-3, 235) classification of impersonals into four types: (i) they may take no complement; (ii) they may take a 'causative object', usually in the genitive or with a preposition; (iii) they may take a *that* clause; or (iv) an infinitival complement. It follows that Butler does not seem to consider the infinitival or clausal complement as a causative object.

10 Denison (1993: 83) says that N. McCawley (1976), for instance, "casts doubt on Jespersen's reanalysis theory."

11 Ogura (1986: 23) suspects that the construction with the verb *wlatian* is of Visser's own manufacture by saying, "His example of *wlatian* in the latter type, however, is not recorded in *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English (MC)* and I have not been able to trace it in ME."

12 The presence of the c1425 example, apparently a subjectless impersonal, suggests that the verb *fear* was used impersonally.

13 The following table shows inconsistencies of the identity of impersonal verbs.

Table 6
Inconsistency of the definition of the impersonals

	OED	MED	Visser	Nakao
PV-1				
displease	-	x	-	x
tickle	-	?	x	x
PV-2				
fear	-	-	-	-
joy	(x)	-	-	-
pity	x	-	-	-
PV-3				
delight	-	-	x	x
rejoice	-	x	-	-
weary	-	?	x	x

x: impersonal, (x): quasi-impersonal

-: non-impersonal, ?: volumes t-z are uncompiled

14 As far as this 'Dat' is concerned, Ogura states a few lines below in the same paragraph that henceforth she is going to use Dat/Acc instead of Dat when generalizing these patterns.

15 When there is a discrepancy in terms of the date between *OED* and *MED*, we solved the problem by using the *MED* date. However, it must be noted that many of the *MED* dates indicate the dates of the manufacture of manuscripts by posterior scribes, not necessarily the dates of the actual creation of the works.

16 Abbreviations are as follows:

p: pronoun

ø: no complement

V: (psychological) verb

NP: noun phrase

PP: prepositional phrase

Comp: complement

17 There are quite a few marginal examples in terms of typology such as follows:

(1) With þis swerd, þat sore grevyht me, my childe I sle and spylle his blood. (a1475 *Ludud C.*) M

cf. So doth my lord and *that me greueth soore.* (c1395 Chaucer) M

(2) I drede me of som thing. *That shal repent vs euerichoon.*

(a1450 *Gener.* (1)) M

cf. As he withinne his herte caste. *Which him repenteth* ate laste. (Gower) O

(3) Þe bargayne I made þare, þat rewes me nowe fulle sare.

(c1440 *York Mystery*) M

cf. Gyue me grace for to etchewe to do þat þing þat me shulde rewe. (c1375 *Lay Folks Mass Bk*) O

These examples would be subsumed under the pattern 'that+V+(pro) noun'. However, as Elmer argues (1981: 105), their status is so ambiguous, being either the impersonal or the causative, that they are omitted from this research. Apparently they show a stage of transition from TVX to SVO and seem to deserve a more comprehensive analysis in another paper.

18 Nakao and Koma (1990: 136) claim that the fixed SVO word order was established by the middle of the 15th century.

19 The term 'it-construction', which has been used somewhat loosely and ambiguously so far, subsumes the ME impersonal (i.e., it-impersonal) and the ModE transitive (i.e., 'it+comp') constructions, as will be fully discussed in the succeeding sections.

20 The verb *think* is an exception to this generalization. The verb appeared in the 'it+comp' construction as early as in the 13th and 14th centuries and the construction went into disuse thereafter, unlike other

PVs-2. This may be explained by the fact that the verb carried the meaning 'seem', not 'think'. The ME verb *þinken* with the meaning 'seem', now obsolete, was used impersonally. (The cognate verb with the meaning 'think' in ME was *þenken*. Van der Gaaf (1904: §84) says, "It is impossible to treat *þinken* (< OE *þynkan*) apart from *þenken* (< OE *þencan*), because these verbs strongly influenced each other, both phonetically and syntactically.") The examples of c1290 and c1386 involve the 'seem' meaning, which was compatible with the impersonal construction. The verb carried no causative meaning in it. Therefore, the 'it+comp' construction in which the verb *think* occurred was not a causative construction despite our argument in the next section that the 'it+comp' is a causative construction.

Interestingly enough, Elmer's (1981: 134) chart clearly shows the replacement of *think* by *seem* with regard to the 'it-construction' after the 14th century. It is not surprising, therefore, that *think* did not appear in the 'it-construction' after the 15th century in Chart 2. For more detailed discussions on the ME history of the verb *þinken*, see van der Gaaf (1904: § 84-138) .

21 Nakao and Koma (1990: 101) say something to the effect that "the general development of intensifying transitivity in English is, from another perspective, a process of personalization [i.e., subjectivization], which is manifested in the personalization of the impersonal construction."

22 T stands for topic, V for verb and X for any arbitrary noun phrase except for T (Matsumoto, 1991: 23). Von Steffens-Montag employs the term SVX instead of SVO.

23 In light of this, the debate over the status of the oblique experiencer argument of impersonal sentences in terms of the grammatical relation seems to be irrelevant.

24 With respect to the correlation between transitivity and agency, Hopper & Thompson (1980: 252) states, "It is obvious that participants high in Agency can effect a transfer of an action in a way that those low in Agency cannot."

25 The employment of this somewhat awkward terminology is due to my intention to distinguish the transitive use of PVs-2 and the causative use of PVs-1 and PVs-3, which evolved through what is called 'transitivity'. What actually happened was 'causativization', but we adopt the generally used term 'transitivity' to combine it with the term 'causative'.

26 Van der Gaaf (1904: §171) makes an interesting comment on the linguistic milieu of this period as follows:

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may, with regard to English syntax, be called a period of confusion. The process of evolution was, as we have seen, steadily going on; new constructions were making their appearance—at first only sporadically, but little by little they

gained a firm footing, and became recognized idioms. At the same time the older forms continued to be used, so that in many cases the same thought might be expressed in two ways which, in point of form, were diametrically opposed to each other.

Von Seeffranz-Montag (1984: 528) makes a similar observation:

During the intermediary stage between the 14th and 16th c., between a TVX- and a rigid SVX-syntax, the various structural alternatives for impersonal expressions coexisted as variants in a language in flux....

Also see footnote 28.

27 Abbreviations of Table 3 are as follows:

pass: passive

refl: reflexive

it-impers: it-impersonal

s-impers: subjectless impersonal

in/trans: in/transitive

+ : presence in PE

- : non-occurrence

o: obsolete

? : potential occurrence because of the presence of the corresponding active.

These abbreviations are also applicable to Table 4.

28 Van der Gaaf (§171) argues that the impersonal use of *wonder* is a misusage on a mistaken analogy, together with such verbs as *dread*, *marvel*, etc. He mentions, "It is not surprising that during the two centuries the struggle was going on between A [i.e., subjectless impersonal] and D [i.e., personal] constructions, mistakes were occasionally made, i.e. A constructions were sometimes employed where they were entirely out of place."

29 Von Seeffranz-Montag (1984: 531) says, "The reanalysis of two-argument verb constructions according to the transitive pattern, which often contains an agentive subject, brought about the reduction of 'causative' components in the semantics of those verbs: *like* changed from 'please' to 'like', ..., *remember* [lost] its meaning of 'make so. think of sth'." Her argument may be true of what we call PVs-2, but it does not hold for PVs-1 nor PVs-3, both of which have retained their causative meanings, as will be discussed below.

30 An earlier citation of the passive without an infinitival or clausal complement is available for the verb *grieve* to fill the occurrence gap between the 'it+comp' and the 'pass+comp'.

31 It is a shame that von Seeffranz-Montag (1984) was not referred to in the 'impersonal-passive transition' hypothesis of my 1989 paper. However, I reached my hypothesis using my own line of reasoning (ibid: 48-50) and I am gratified that my hypothesis seems to be confirmed by her contentions.

32 Beth Levin's (1993: 188-195) lists of 'Psych-Verbs' and 'Verbs of Desire' are partly utilized.

33 The verb *reck* appears in such sentences as "What recks it them ?" or "What recks it us ?" Although they are seemingly idiomatic constructions, they are included in the Appendix despite our stated principle to eliminate idiomatic expressions. Because of their ambiguous status, their structural patterns are provided with a question mark.

34 As van der Gaaf comments on the impersonal use of *remember*, the impersonal constructions may not only be a linguistic phenomenon but also a stylistic variation, which can be attributed to an individual writer's idiosyncracies. Van der Gaaf says (1904: §173): "One of Chaucer's peculiarities is that he frequently employs *remembren* as a type A verb [i.e. subjectless impersonal verb]. ... Although, as we see both these constructions [i.e. reflexive and in/transitive] are used very frequently by Chaucer, still they are outnumbered by the A construction, ... this use of *remembren* is one of the peculiarities of Chaucer's language; *it does not appear to occur anywhere else.*"

35 ??? indicates the potential existence of passive sentences because of the occurrence of corresponding active sentences.

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* In addition to *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) and *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press) as sources of data, a number of dictionaries and glossaries, too numerous to mention here, were also consulted.

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Appendix I A List of Psychological Verbs used in PE ³²

PV-1 (passive)

abash, absorb, addict, addle, affect, afflict, affront, aggravate, aggrieve, agitate, alarm, amaze, amuse, animate, annoy, appall, appease, assuage, assure, astonish, astound, awe, baffle, bamboozle, bedaze, bedazzle, bedevil, befuddle, beguile, beleaguer, bemuse, besot, bewilder, bewitch, bore, bug, calm, captivate, chafe, chagrin, charm, cheer, concern, confound, confuse, console, consternate, content, convince, cow, craze, daunt, daze, dazzle, deject, demoralize, depress, derange, devil, disappoint, discomfit, discompose, discontent, disconcert, discourage, disenchant, disgruntle, disgust, dishearten, disillusion, disinterest, dismay, dispirit, displease, disquiet, dissatisfy, distract, distress, disturb, divert, dizzy, dull, dumbfound, ease, elate, electrify, embitter, embolden, enamour, enchant, encourage, enervate, engross, enrage, enrapture, enthrall, entrance, exacerbate, exalt, exasperate, excite, exhilarate, fascinate, faze, flabbergast, flatter, flurry, frenzy, frustrate, fuddle, gratify, harass, harrow, hearten, horrify, hurt, hypnotize, immerse, impress, incense, inebriate, infatuate, inflate, infuriate, inspire, inspirit, interest, intimidate, intoxicate, intrigue, invigorate, irk, jar, lacerate, mesmerize, mollify, mortify, move, muddle, mystify, nerve, nettle, nonplus, oblige, oppress, outrage, overjoy, overwhelm, pain, perplex, perturb, plague, possess, preoccupy, prepossess, provoke, rack, rage, rattle, ravish, reassure, relieve, repel, repulse, rile, satiate, satisfy, shame, shatter, shock, solace, spellbind, stagger, sting, stir, stump, stun, stupefy, surfeit, surprise, tempt, terrify, terrorize, thunderstrike, tickle, torment, touch, unfaze, unhinge, unnerve, unruffle, unsettle, uplift, upset, vex

PV-2 (in/transitive)

abhor, abominate, ache, adore, apprehend, begrudge, bemoan, bethink, bewail, care, condole, covet, crave, deplore, desire, despair, detest, doubt, dread, envy, exult, fancy, fear, fume, glory, grudge, hanker, hate, hope, joy, lament, languish, like, list, loathe, long, lust, marvel, mind, miss, mourn, muse, pine, pity, rage, reck, reel, regret, remember, repent, repine, resent, rouse, rue, shudder, sorrow, sympathize, think, thirst, want, wish, wonder, yearn

PV-3 (passive and in/transitive)

agonize, anger, anguish, boggle, bother, delight, determine, embarrass, enthuse, frazzle, fluster, fret, frighten, gall, gladden, gloom, grieve, harden, inflame, irritate, madden, miff, mope, nauseate, obsess, offend, pacify, panic, peeve, petrify, pique, please, puzzle, rankle, rejoice, revolt, ruffle, sadden, scare, sicken, sober, soothe, spook, startle, thrill, tire, tranquilize, trouble, weary, worry

Appendix II PVs used impersonally

PV-1

annoy

- ?a1325 Moche me anueþ þat mi dribil druiþ And mi wrot wet. (*Elde makiþ me*) O
 1382 It anoyzede vs, ȝhe, for to lyue. (Wyclif) O
 1388 It began to anoye the puple of the weie and trauel. (ibid) O

displease

- 1393 If it schulde him nought displese. (Gower) O
 a 1500 It displeaseth me mekell, that ever I come hedir. (*Gesta Rom*) O
 1596 Let it not displease thee good Bianca,... (Shaks) O
 1603 My mirth it much displeas'd, but pleas'd my woe. (ibid)
 1611 Bvt it displeased Ionah exceedingly, and he was very angry. (*Bible*) O

irk

- a 1425 It schulde yrken vs to lyfe. (*Paul. Epist.*) M
 c 1450 Irked me with this, and ese was me leuere. (*Parl. 3 Ages*) M
 c 1450 He was so wayke & so feble þat hym yrkid to liff. (*Alph. Tales*) M
 c 1450 Hur irkid so with hur syn at sho hangid hur selfe. (ibid) M
 c1530 It yrketh me to looke vppon the place agayne nowe... (More) O
 1552 It irked them that they should pay tribute. (Latimer) O
 1577 It shameth and irketh me to abide such thyngs as this world doth.
 (*St. Augustine's Man*) O
 1600 This towne is so durtie, that it would irke a man to walke the
 streets. (J. Pory tr. *Leo's Africa*) O
 1646 Mony times it irks us that we had them, and now have them not.
 (P. Bulkeley) O
 1721 Then it irked him of his theft. (Strype) O
 1742 It irks me while I write. (Shenstone) O
 1813 It irks not me to die. (Byron) O
 1850 It irks me...that the partner of her iniquity should not...stand on the
 scaffold by her side. (Hawthorne, *Scarlet L.*) O

shame

- a 1225 Ofte comen tiðinde to Vortiger þan kinge; þer-fore him ofte scomeded,
 & his heorte gromede. (Lay, *Brut*) M
 a 1225 Ful swiMē us mæi scomien...þat heo sculle senden sonden after
 gauale to ure londe. (ibid) M
 c 1250 Of þine sinnes me mai somen and of þine redes. (*Body & S.*) M
 c 1390 To asken help thee shameth in thyn herte. (Chaucer) M
 a 1400 His fote ful tite he til him tite; Him schamed, it was wel sene. (*Cursor
 M.*) M
 a 1400 þe fende þe fleþ ...whan þou shryuest..Hym shameþ þat he ys ouer-
 come. (Mannyng, *HS*) M

- a 1425 Delve may Y not, and me shameþ for to begge. (Wycl. *Serm.*) M
 a 1450 Me shames with my lyghame ! (*Yk. Pl.*) M
 a 1450 Allas, for syte why myght y synke, so shames me sore. (ibid) M
 c 1450 Hym schameþ þat hys lynage is so lowe. (Walton, *Boeth*) M
 a 1470 Me shamed at that tyme to have more ado with you. (Malory *Wks*) M
 a 1500 No more þan it shameþ the þat men vpon thi visage see. (*Sidrak & B.*) M
 1577 It shameth and irketh me to abide such thyngs... (*St. Augustine's Man*) O
 1652 It shamed that noble Nation to pay Tribute, who were wont to command it. (Needham tr. *Selden's Mare Cl.*) O
 1847 It does not shame me to acknowledge. (Lytton) O
- tickle**
 c 1386 It tickleth me aboute myn herte roote. (Chaucer) O
 1661 It tickles me to think How like an Ass he'll look. (Sir Samuel Tuke) Visser
 1865 It tickles my brain How the deuce I'm to pitch ye in again. (Tester) O

PV-2**abhor**

- 1534 It shall abhorre hys hearte to think on them. (More) Visser
 1541 It abhorreth me to expresse his beastly luyng. (Elyot) O
 1565 It would abhorre any honest mans eares to heare of it. (J. Hall) O
 1604 I cannot say Whore; It do's abhorre me, now I speake the word. (Shaks.) O

dread

- c 1230 Smit him se luđerliche þet him laði & drede to snecchen eft toward te. (*Ancr.*) M
 c 1250 Wat dret yw folk of litle beliaue? (*Old Kent. Serm.*) O
 1340 Me dret more þe wordle þanne god. (*Ayenb.*) M
 1386 Sore may him drede. (Chaucer) M
 a 1425 Me dredeth evere mo...that his fader carte amys he dryve. (ibid) M

fear

- c 1425 I beseche 3ow þat 3e wille þenke on my lord of Caunterbury, for me feryþ sore of hym. (*Stonor*) M
 1503 It fereth me sore for to endyte. (Hawes) O
 1646 It feareth me besides, that God is punishing our present Sins. (*Burd. Issach. in Phenix.*) O
 1813 It fearis me muckil ye haif seen Quhat good man never knew. (Hogg) O

joy

- a 1400 The syxte grace of shryfte to neuene Hyt ioyeþ all þe court of heuene. (Mannyng, *HS*) O
 c 1450 But more it Joyes me, Jason, of þi just werkes.... (*Destr. Troy*) O

- c 1590 It joys me that such men...should lay *their liking* on this base estate.
(Greene) O
- 1651 It joyes mee to heere thy soule prospereth. (Cromwell in *Ellis Orig. Lett*) O
- 1703 It joys my heart that I have found you. (Rowe) O
- like**
- a 1225 Likien swa me liken, nulle ich þe nauere swiken. (*Lay. Brut*) M
- a 1225 Hit þe liked wel þat þu us adun læidest. (*ibid*) M
- c 1230 Let lust ouergan, & hit te wule eft likin. (*Ancr.*) M
- a 1300 Vre louerd...ðo him likede to ligten her on erðe, (*Bestiary*) M
- c 1300 Hit ne likede nouȝt seint Thomas þat holi churche...Scholde...In þe kingus warde beon i-do. (*Sleg. Becket*) M
- c 1385 Whan it was doon, hym liked wonder wel. (Chaucer) M
- a 1393 It scholde wel myn herte like Of pacience forto hier. (Gower) M
- c 1395 I am free To wedde, a goddes half, wher it liketh me. (Chaucer) M
- a 1402 Hit likeþ þou nouȝt to here þese wordes. (*Trev. Dial. MC*) M
- ?a 1425 In the whiche land it lykede him to take flesch & blood. (*Mandev.*) M
- c 1440 Me likez þat sir Lucius launges aftyre sorowe. (*Morte Arth.*) M
- a 1450 Sen þai wrange haue wroght, my likes to lat þam go. (*Yk. Pl.*) M
- c 1450 It liket well the lordys...Of his wit & his wordes. (*Destr. Troy*) M
- c 1450 We will...reward yow...wyth swiche plente þat it shal yow leke.
(Capgr.) M
- a 1470 Syth hit lyke you to take so symple an offyce. (*Malory Wks.*) M
- a 1500 Of that syght lykyd hym full yll. (*Tundale*) M
- a 1500 If it like you, ȝe may defend þe Cite. (*Gesta Rom.*) M
- a 1500 Whan it lyketh þe lorde to axe water. (*Rule Serue Ld.*) M
- 1535 The kyng had commanded...That euery one shulde do as it lyked him. (*Coverdale Esther*) O
- 1577 To give his roiall consent to such statutes as him liketh of. (*Harrison*) O
- 1627 How that way may like you, that I know not. (*E.F. Hist. Edw. II*) O
- 1784 *There they are free, And howl and war as likes them, ...* (Cowper) O
- a 1850 I rode sullenly Upon a certain path that liked me not. (Rossetti) O
- list**
- ?c 1200 He...sezȝde þatt himm lisste þa Wel etenn off an appell. (*Ormin*) M
- ?c 1200 Whanne hiss fasste forþedd wass, þa lisste himm affterr fode.
(*Ormin*) M
- c 1385 Loue if thee list, for I loue and ay shal. (Chaucer) M
- c 1393 If that the list to wite, In a Cronique...it is write. (Gower) M
- c 1395 Hir liste nat appalled for to be. (Chaucer) M
- ?a 1425 ȝif him liste to go preuyly with fewe men for to ben vnknown.
(*Mandev.*) M

- ?a1425 Schape þy cloute with þi scheres as þe liste aftir þe quantite of þe wounde. (*MS Htm.*) M
- a 1425 Evere wors...am I, and so mot dwelle While it yow list. (Chaucer) M
- a 1470 Thou arte in my daungere, whethir me lyste to save the or sle the. (*Malory Wks*) M
- a 1470 Hit lyst me to be fedde in Kynge Arthures courte. (*ibid*) M
- a 1475 That it lyst you of me sympilest to take here humanite. (*Ludus C.*) M
- c 1491 Somme whan they sholde slepe thenne hem list wake and pray. Some whan they sholde wake and pray thenne hem lust to slepe. (*Chast. Goddes Chyld*) O
- 1584 Me list...This idle task on me to undertake. (Peele) O
- 1590 When him list the prouder lookes subdew. (Spenser) O
- a 1618 When it listeth him to call them to an account. (Raleigh) O
- 1633 When me list to sadder tunes apply me. (P. Fletcher) O
- 1808 When at need Him listed ease his battle-steed. (Scott) O

loathe

- c 1230 Smit him se luðerliche þet him laðie & drede to snecchen eft to-ward te. (*Ancr.*) M
- 1303 To þenke on hem, forsoþe me loþys. (R. Brunne) O
- a 1400 To helpe hem at nede certys me loþys. (*Mannyng HS*) M
- c 1400 He wil greue vs alle...That vs lotheth þe lyf. (*PPlB*) M
- a 1450 Derfely for dole why ne were I dede? Me lathis my liff. (*Yk.Pl.*) M
- c 1450 Ho doutid no deth...ffor hit laithit hir les þen on lyue be. (*Destr. Troy*) M
- c 1460 Sell I must nedis myne aray, wher me list or lothe. (Beryn) M
- a 1500 Me lothith of my lif. (*Leg. Cross*) M
- a 1500 Com and take thi money to me of trust commended...from hensfurth it werieth and lothith me to kepe it. (*Descip. Cler*) M
- 1530 I lothe his villanye, or it lotheth me of his villanye. (Palsgr.) O
- 1581 It would have loathed me to have rehearsed the same in this place. (J. Bell) O
- 1596 It lotheth me to make mention of this cruelty. (Danett tr. *Comines*) O

long

- ?c 1200 Forr a33 hem langeþþ heþennwarrrd & upp till heoffnesse blisse. (*Ormin*) M
- a 1225 Swiðe þe longeð after laðe spelle. (*Lay. Brut*) M
- a 1225 Swa swiðe me longeð þat ne mai i noht libben after þere faire Ygærne. (*ibid*) M
- c 1250 Him eft þarto no3t ne longeþ. (*Owi & N*) M
- 1297 me longeþ him to see. (Rob. Glouc.) Visser
- c 1300 Hire longuede with hire broþer to speke. (*SLeg*) M
- a 1350 Hem longede more after our lord. (*SLeg. Prol. CV*)

- a 1375 Sore has me longed to se þi freli face. (*WPal.*) M
 a 1393 This worthi kniht...Tok ore on honde, and sore him longeth Til he the water passed were. (Gower) M
 a 1393 Of tho pointz me longeth To wite plainly what thei meene. (*ibid*) M
 a 1400 þare-efter now mi langes sare. (*Cursor M*) M
 c 1400 And euer me longed ay more and more. (*Pearl*) M
 ?a 1425 His luf me langes full sare to lere. (*Ihesu pi swetnes*) M
 a 1500 Oure enmys..ere glad..for vs langis eftire a thyng of the world & noght eftire ihu crist. (Rolle, *Psalter*) M
 a 1500 Sore me longis launcelot to se. (*Morte Arth.*) M

lust

- a 1225 þam kinge luste slepe. (*Lay. Brut*) M
 c 1225 Al his hird þat was iwuned forto...don al as ham luste. (*SWard*) M
 a 1250 þeonne þouht ich gon a wei, uor me luste slepen. (*Ancr.*) M
 c 1390 Whon þe lust speke with me. (*Jos. Arim.*) M
 a 1393 Hem lusteth of no ladi chiere. (Gower) M
 c 1395 Do as thee lust the terme of al thy lyf. (Chaucer)
 a 1400 Me lust no lenger lyue. (*Cursor M*) M
 c 1410 A zeman had he and seruantes nomoo At þat tyme, for him lust ryde soo. (Chaucer) M
 1427 He thanked hem... þat it lusted hem so to sende unto him. (*Proc. Privy C.*) M
 c 1450 Vp stert Mars; hym lust not to slepe. (Chaucer) M
 a 1500 He...hath no suche hongre þat Him luste to ete any flesshe of lombes nor of othir beestis. (*Chartier Treat. Hope*) M
 a 1553 Let hym come when hym lust. (Udall) O
 1555 As thoughe me lusteth ware lawe. (W. Watreman) O

marvel

- c 1380 Garyn, me meruaylleþ myche of þe... (*Firumb*) M
 c 1390 But zit me merueyles ouer al þat God let mony mon croke and elde. (*Whon Men beop*) M
 a 1393 So that the more me merueilleth What thing it is mi ladi eilleth. (Gower) M
 a 1393 So that it me nothing merueilleth...of love that thee eilleth. (*ibid*) M
 ?a 1400 Me meruailles of my boke; I trowe he wrote not right. (Mannyng) M
 a 1400 Marye, me merueileþ þe þat seest þe hezenes of þis tre. (*Cursor M*) M
 c 1400 Muche meruaillede me on what more thei growede. (*PPL.C.*) M
 a 1425 It meruailles me þat þou standes so still. (*Nicod.*) M
 c 1425 Him meruayles What zē thenken and what zow ayles. (*Ld.Troy*) M
 a 1438 Me merueylyth mech of þis woman, why sche wepith & cryith so. (*MKempe*) M
 a 1450 Me merueilles mykel... þat þou dar bere þe so heye... (Mannyng) M

- 1496 Me meruaylleth moche why Cryste taught more that...man. (*Dives & Paup.*) O
 1567 It dois merwell me Quhat causit hes the Lordis... (*Satiri. Poems Reform.*) O

pity

- 1515 It wold petye ony mannys hert to here the shrykes and cryes. (in *Archæologia*) O
 1535 Thy seruauntes haue a loue to hir stones. and it pitieth them to se her in the dust. (Coverdale) O
 c1555 It pitieth and rueth every good man...to remember the same. (Harpfield) O
 c 1616 It pitieth me for Laodicea that lost so much cost. (S.Ward) O
 1737 It would pity one's heart to observe the change. (Whiston) O
 1835 The poor creatures...slipped about in a way that it pitied you to see them. (Marryat) O

reck

- a 1230 ʒef ha beoð neh, o godes half; ʒef feor, me ne recche. (*Ancr.*) M
 c 1300 Luyte heom wolde rechche to leosen heore ordre so. (*SLeg. Becket*) O
 c 1300 Horn ihc schal þe fecche, Wham so hit recche. (Horn) M
 c 1330 Me no rek whider y go. (*Harrow. H.*) M
 a 1393 Him ne roghte What thing he stal, ne whom he slowth. (Gower) M
 c 1395 What rekketh me of youre auctoriees? (Chaucer) M
 a 1400 Littel roght þam of his manance. (*Cursor M.*) M
 c 1400 Hym rekeþ right nouht of al þe oþer remenaunt. (*PPLC*) M
 c 1430 Hym roughte nat in armes for to sterve In the defence of hyre. (Chaucer) M
 c 1450 Him ne roughte nothing to be slayn. (ibid) M
 c 1450 He fil in wanhope as him neuere rouȝte. (*Bi a forest*) M
 c 1450 It shulde no thing recche thee to haue the berkyng of howndes. (*Pilgr. LM*) M
 a 1500 Now, therof a leke what rekys vs? (*Towneley Pl.*) O
 a 1592 What recks it us, though George-a-Greene be stout. (Greene)³³ O
 1634 Of night, or loneliness it recks me not. (Milton) O
 1637 What recks it them ? What need they? (ibid)³³ O
 1869 Little it recked us and helped them less that they were... (Blackmore) O

remember³⁴

- c 1390 At euery tyme that me remembreth of the day of dome, I quake. (Chaucer) M
 c 1395 Whan that it remembreth me Vpon my youthe and on my iolytee, ... (ibid) M
 a 1425 Wel thow woost, if it remembre the, How neigh the deth for... (ibid) M
 a 1425 On tyme ypassed wel remembred me, And present tyme ek koud

- ich wel ise. (ibid) M
- ?a1425 It ne remembreth me nat that evere I was so fre of my thought. (ibid)
- ?a 1425 Yit hym remembreth the somme of thinges that he withholdeth. (ibid) M
- c 1450 What his compleynt was, remembreth me... (ibid) M
- 1484 I am certayne & me remembreth well that the dogge lend to her a loof of brede. (Caxton) O
- 1814 It doth remember me, that I beheld The pair of blessed luminaries move. (Cary) O
- 1831 It may remember you that I undertook...to temporize a little with the Scots. (Scott) O
- repent**
13. Hym repented that he cam there. (*Coer de L.*) O
- a 1400 Me repentith þat euere I fourmyd man. (*Mirk Fest. Revis.*) M
- a 1400 ʒe longe ful sore to haue malees...Ful sore hit shal repente ʒou. (*Cursor M.*) M
- a1425 ...for it repentith me that Y made hem. (*WBible*) M
- c 1430 To hym ʒaf I al that lond...But aftyrward me repentede sone therefore. (Chaucer) M
- c 1440 It sall repent vs full sore and we ryde forthire. (*Morte Arth.*) M
- a 1450-1509 Hym repented that he cam there. (Rich. (Brunner)) M
- a1456 Hit shall repent yow all that ye will nat let me speke nowe with the Kyng. (Shirley) M
- a 1470 Sir knight, me repentis of youre sykenes. (*Malory Wks*) M
- 1560 It shall not repent them of yⁱ service. (Daus tr. *Sleidence's Comm.*) M
- 1606 It repented him that he let go Demetrius. (G. Woodcocke) O
- 1717 It can never repent us to endeavour to tread in the Steps. (Entertainers) O
- 1819 It doth repent me: words are quick and vain. (Shelley) O
- 1878 Will it not one day in heaven repent you ? (Swinburne) O
- rue**
- c 1200 Himm reoweþþ þatt he dwelleþþ her Swa swiþe lange onn eorþe. (*Ormin*) M
- a 1225 Hecnieð mine lare; no scal hit eou reouwe nauere. (*Lay Brut*) M
- c 1300 Sorest him rev þat he nuste ʒwat hire name was (*SLeg.*) M
- c 1300 Ich þe wolle segge, ac euere hit wole þe reuwe. (*Lay Brut (Otho)*) M
- c 1390 Me reweth sore of hende Nicholas. (Chaucer) M
- c 1390 Sith I see that thow wolt here abyde...God woot, it reweth me. (ibid.) M
- a 1400 Iudas stode among þe folk...Quen þat he saght þar was no soigne... þan him reued of his res. (*Cursor M*) M
- a 1400 O mi sinnes me reues sare. (ibid) M
- ?a1400 It salle rewe him þat res þat he to Jone has done. (Mannyng) M

- c 1400 Sore hit me rwez þat ever I made hem myself. (*Cleanness*) M
 c 1412 It rewiþ me if I yow haue disesyð (Hoccleve)
 a 1425 Me rewes sore þat I missayd þe Iis. erday. (*Ywain*) M
 c 1425 Alas, me rewes of Priamus. (*Ld. Troy*) M
 c 1425 The terme is gon now of treus; Some it likes and some it reus.
 (ibid.) M
 a 1450 It schal me rewe If I se þe make mornynge more. (*Castle Persev.*) M
 c 1450 Fore þat he tase more þen þe worthe, hym schalle rew sore.
 (*Okure þrow*) M
 a 1475 But I bewrekyn, it rewith me soore. (*Siege Troy*) M
 a 1500 Me Rewith the deth of hyr for his sake. (*Morte Arth.*) M
 1534 Bio, me rueth so long to haue be thrall. (*More*) Visser
 1548 It would haue rued any good huswiues heart, to haue beholden
 ye...murder. (Patten) O
 c 1555 It pitieth and rueth every good man...to remember the same.
 (Harpsfield) O

think

- c 1200 ziff himm þinkeþ god, he ma33 þe zifenn heoffness blisse. (*Ormin*) O
 c 1200 Hemm þuhhte þatt he mihte ben Helysew þe profete. (ibid) O
 c 1200 Itt him þuhhte swiþe god. (ibid) O
 a 1225 Hit þuhte here ech sunderlepes þat it was his landes speche. (*Trin.*
Coll. Hom.) O
 a 1300 Vs thoght scam þe to bide. (*Cursor M.*) O
 a 1300 Me walde þink þat hit ware myne. (ibid) O
 c 1325 þouh þe þinke, hit greue þe. (*Spec. Gy Warw*) O
 c 1386 Hym thoughte þat his herte wolde breke. (Chaucer) O
 c 1386 Thanne is it wysdom, as it thynketh me To maken vertu of neces-
 sitee. (ibid) O
 a 1393 So that him thenketh of a day A thousand year, ... (Gower) O
 a 1400 þis think me ane of þe grettest meruailes. (Maundev.) O
 a 1400 þanne wolde hem thinken gretter delyt. (ibid) O
 c 1430 Al þat y dide, it pouȝte me swete. (*Hymus Virg.*) O
 a 1450 That lyffe hym thought no-thing longe. (*Morte Arth*) O
 1530 But my think theye hurt purgatorye sore. (Crome) O
 c 1572 Me thinke if then their cause be rightly scande. (Gascoigne) O
 1577 Adding what him thinketh good of his owne knowledge. (Harrison) O
 1635 Him thought that in his depth of sleepe he saw A Souldier arm'd.
 (Heywood) O

wonder

- a 1330 Me wondreþ ... þat þou comest nouȝt to do batayl. (*Roland & V.*) O
 c 1330 Vs wondreþ at ȝowre nurture of pris, þat swylke vilenie in þe now
 lys. (R. Brunne) O

- c 1394 Me wondreþ ...whi þat thei ne preche. (*PPLC*) M
 c 1400 Þof þow wylne to þe wer, wonders vs noght. (*Destr. Troy*) O
 1558 But how they durst presume it wonders me therefore. (G. Cavendish) O
 1627 It wonders me to hear the desperate inference. (W. Sclater) O

PV-3

anger

- ?c1200 Swa we don itt wiþþ unnskill þatt itt maʒʒ anngrenn oþre. (*Ormin*) M
 c 1440 Me angers at Arthure and att his hathell bierns. (*Morte Arth.*) M
 c 1450 Me meruells full mekill of your manyne þrete, And angers me full
 euyll your angard desyre. (*Destr. Troy*) M
 1592 T' would anger him To raise a spirit in his Mistresse circle. (Shaks.) O
 c 1735 It anger'd Turenne...To see a footman kick'd that took his pay.
 (Pope) O
 1809 It angers me when people...depreciate the Spaniards. (Southey) O

delight

- a 1425 And ay the more that desir me biteth To love hire best, the more it
 me deliteth. (Chaucer) M
 c 1430 To rede forth hit gan me so delite. (ibid) M
 1533 yet hath it delyted...hym to laye these fawtes to the clergyes face.
 (More) Visser

grieve

- c 1225 And tah hit þunche oðre men þat ha drehen harde, hit ne greueð
 ham nawt, ah þuncheð ham softe. (*Hali Meid*) M
 c 1290 Hit me greueth þat þov feinst þe. (*S. Leg*) Visser
 a 1375 For i so wrongely haue wrougt to wite him, me greues. (*Wpat.*)
 c 1380 Wel sore him greuede þat þe kyng was angred for ys sake.
 (*Firumb.*) O
 c 1395 So dooth my lord and that me greueth soore. (Chaucer) M
 a 1400 Sore hit greueþ me þi fare, þat I þe se make suche care. (*Cursor M*) M
 a 1450 and he be so lef. To part from hir it wold him gref... (*Syr Gener.*) M.
 c 1440-1550 If ze be angrede for þe luffe of mee, It greves me wondir-sare.
 (*Eglam.*)
 a 1470 Whan kynge Bors saw tho knyghtes put on bak, hit greved hym
 sore. (Malory *Wks.*) M
 1530 It greveth me to se hym in this case. (Palsgr.) O
 1600 How it greues me to see thee weare thy heart in a scarfe. (Shaks.) O
 1611 It griueth me much for your sakes, that the hand of the Lord is
 gone out against me. (*Bible*) O
 1657 Pare off the rinde, which is so beautiful, as it grieves us to rob the
 fruit of such an ornament. (R. Ligon) O
 1836 Much did it grieve the friends of that gentleman to see him. (W.

Irving) O

1852 It really grieves me to have you be so naughty. (Mrs. Stowe, *Uncle Tom' s C.*) O

please

1388 If it plesith the kyng, power be *ȝouun* to the Jewis. (Wyclif) O

1431 *ȝif* it better plese the seid Thomas Chaucer to haue seid estate, .. (Doc in *Flasdieck Origurk*) M

a 1450 God yeuith and sendithe where hym plesithe. (*Knt.Tour Landry*) Visser

a 1450 That *ȝe* han Seyd, it plesith me. (*Lovel. Grail*) M

c 1450 Quen vs pleses to play...we rede Of *ȝe* actis of oure auncestours. (*Wars Alex.*) M

c 1450 It has plessyd hym [God] to yeve me so long live that I may see you. (*Ponthus*) M

c 1475 I haue a lytyll dyshes, as yt plesse Gode to sende, ... (*Mankind*) M

c 1475 Yff hyt wold plesse yow to speke with Perkyns... (*Stonor*) M

a 1500 Hit has pleasid my Lord...to receyue me to his mercy. (Leversedge, *Vision*) M

1534 a feaste,...that it pleased hym...to prepare for them. (More) Visser

1598 Wil't please your worship to come in, Sir? (Shaks.) O

1611 It pleased Silas to abide there still. (*Bible*) O

1822 wherefore he follows this plan it has never pleased him to explain. (B'ness Bunsen)

rejoice

c 1440 Avrora...was of so grete beaute *pat* it reioiced all tho that sawe hir. (Scrope, *Othea*) M

c 1450 When she harde the name of Ponthus, itt reioised hir gretly. (*Ponthus*) M

a 1500 Sporte, myrthe, and play Me reioyceth for to see. (*Lo here is*) M

1578 It reioyceth and recreateth the spirites. (Lyte) O

a 1648 This, as it rejoiced the King, so it put him in mind of the Vicissitude of all worldly things. (Ld. Herbert) O

1774 It rejoices me, that the same mode is adopted in this island. (Kames) O

1885-94 Too fair for human art..., It might the fancy of some god rejoice. (R. Bridges) O

weary

c 1386 It weerieth me to telle of his falsenesse. (Chaucer) O

c 1460 It werieth me this mater for to trete. (Sir R. Ros.) O

a 1500 Com and take thi money to me of trust commended...from hensfurth it werieth and lothith me to kepe it. (*Discip. Cder*) M

Appendix III The first citations of the 'pass+(comp) ' sentences from OED or MED

PV-1

- annoy** 1297 King Philip was anuyd...That ther nas of him word non, ... (R. Glouc.) M
- displease** 1548 [He] was sore displeased to se hys master made a jesting stocke. (Hall) O
- irk** 1588 My saule is irked to liue. (A. King tr. *Canisius' Catech.*) O
- shame** c1387 þat ouerplus þat nedy men sholde be susteyned by, þey be not shamed to waste in þe houses of here pride and here lecherie. (Wimbledon, *Serm.*) M
- tickle** ???³⁵

PV-2

- abhor** ???
- fear** c1380 Puple wolde be ferde to dwelle in his service. (Wyclif) O
- joy** 1617 How joied we are that so good event hath followed. (Morryson) M
- list** ???
- loathe** ???
- lust** (a1400) And i am lusted. (*NVPsalter*) M
- marvel** 1523 They are all greatly marueyled...That...ye wolde nat yssue out of your strayte to fight with them. (*LD. Berners Froiss.*) O
- pity** ???
- remember** 1509 I am remembered that I haue often sene Great worldly riches ende in pouertie. (Barclay) O
- repent** (a1450) They that be confession are clensed and repented...shulde not loke backwards... (*Knt. Tour. L.*) M
- rue** ???
- wonder** (a1400-50) þai ware so woundird of þat werke. (*Wars. Alex*) O

PV-3

- anger** c1440-a1500 If ȝe be angrede for þe luffe of mee, It greves me wondir-sare. (*Eglam*) M
- delight** (c1400) So hij ben delited in þat art þat wery ne ben hij neuere. (K. Alex) M
- grieve** 1747 He was grieved to see human nature prostituted to such low and contemptible pursuits. (Doddridge) O
- (c1440) Alexander, than, was greatly greuded at his wordes,... (*PAlex*)

- please** c1400 I was wel plesed...To see the botoun fair and swote,
(*Rom. Rose*) O
- rejoice** 1567 I am reioysit at my hart, To se his godlie face. (*Gude & Godlie*) O
- weary** (1667) Till God at last Wearied with their iniquities, withdraw
His presence from among them. (Milton) O

要旨

本稿は、現代英語における心理動詞を述語とする It 構文の起源を、中英語 (1100-1500) の非人称構文に遡って求めようとする試みである。Visser や OED など、非人称動詞として定義されているもののうち、心理状態をあらわす動詞の例文を OED と MED から収集し、補語のタイプにもとづいてその発達過程を分析した。それによると、It 構文は後期中英語以降、特に1500年以降 (初期近代英語) になって、it+comp 型の構文として発達し始めていることがわかった。

また中英語は、語尾屈折の消失に伴う主語化や、動詞の他動化・使役化が進行した時期で、話題を文頭に置く比較的緩やかな語順の TVX 型から、主語+動詞+目的語という語順の厳格な、動作主に重きをおく SVO 型へという文法変化が起こった。そういった文法変化のなかで、It 構文はそれまでの TVX 型の非人称構文から SVO 型の使役・他動構文に変化・発達したということを論じた。

さらに、it+comp 構文と、対応関係にある受け身+comp 構文の初出例を OED と MED から集め、両構文が発達したのが、ほぼ同時期の後期中英語から初期近代英語であることを明らかにした。現代英語の it+comp 構文が中英語の非人称構文に由来しているということ、また初期近代英語で生産的になった受け身構文と it+comp 構文の発達の時期がほぼ一致しているということが明らかになったのであるから、「心理状態の表現手段として、受け身構文は、中英語で衰退した非人称構文に代わって、初期近代英語で生産的な構文として発達した」という仮説 (Taketazu, 1989) を立証することができたと思う。これは、「非人称構文と受け身構文とが相補分布の関係に生じたようである」という、von Seeffranz-Montag の説 (1984) によっても裏付けられる。

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