TESIS DE DOCTORADO

CHANGES IN ARGUMENT STRUCTURE: IMPERSONAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN MIDDLE AND EARLY MODERN ENGLISH, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO VERBS OF DESIRE

A CORPUS-BASED STUDY

Noelia Castro Chao

ESCUELA DE DOCTORADO INTERNACIONAL (EDIUS)

PROGRAMA DE DOCTORADO EN ESTUDIOS INGLESES AVANZADOS: LINGÜÍSTICA, LITERATURA Y CULTURA

SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

2020

USC
UNIVERSIDADE
DE SANTIAGO
DE COMPOSTELA

DECLARACIÓN DE LA AUTORA DE LA TESIS

Changes in argument structure: Impersonal constructions in Middle and Early Modern English, with special reference to verbs of Desire. A corpus-based study.

Dña. Noelia Castro Chao

Presento mi tesis, siguiendo el procedimiento adecuado al Reglamento, y declaro que:

1) *La tesis abarca los resultados de la elaboración de mi trabajo.*
2) *En su caso, en la tesis se hace referencia a las colaboraciones que tuvo este trabajo.*
3) *La tesis es la versión definitiva presentada para su defensa y coincide con la versión enviada en formato electrónico.*
4) *Confirmo que la tesis no incurre en ningún tipo de plagio de otros autores ni de trabajos presentados por mí para la obtención de otros títulos.*

En Santiago de Compostela, 15 de enero de 2020.

Fdo. Noelia Castro
Chao

AUTORIZACIÓN DE LAS DIRECTORAS Y TUTORA DE LA TESIS

Changes in argument structure: Impersonal constructions in Middle and Early Modern English, with special reference to verbs of Desire. A corpus-based study.

Dña. María Teresa Fanego Lema (Directora), Dña. Nuria Yáñez Bouza (Codirectora) y Dña. María Paloma Núñez Pertejo (Tutora)

INFORMA/N:

Que la presente tesis, se corresponde con el trabajo realizado por Dña. Noelia Castro Chao, bajo nuestra dirección, y autorizamos su presentación considerando que reúne los requisitos exigidos en el Reglamento de Estudios de Doctorado de la USC, y que como directoras y tutora de esta no incurre en las causas de abstención establecidas en Ley 40/2015.

En Santiago de Compostela, 15 de enero de 2020.

Fdo. María Teresa Fanego Lema

Fdo. Nuria Yáñez Bouza

Fdo. María Paloma Núñez Pertejo

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

USC
UNIVERSIDADE
DE SANTIAGO
DE COMPOSTELA

ABSTRACT

The class of English verbs of Desire, as defined in Levin (1993), comprises verbs such as *hunger*, *long*, *lust* and *thirst*, whose syntax and semantics have undergone important changes in the course of their histories. Their argument structure involves a Desirer and a Desired, and all four verbs are attested in earlier English as impersonal verbs, that is, verbs capable of occurring in constructions characterised by the lack of a subject marked for the nominative case (e.g. c1000, *Þa cwæð he, me* ***þyrst*** 'Then he said, I am thirsty').

The impersonal construction decreased in frequency between 1400 and 1500, and effectively went out of use at some point during the 16th century, with a few fossilised units such as *methinks* surviving slightly longer. The loss of the impersonal construction brought about profound changes in the grammar of English in general and in the grammar of verbs of Desire in particular, whose development from impersonal to personal use seems to have been highly verb specific, showing a great amount of lexical variation, as suggested by prior research and confirmed by the present study.

In this thesis, I explore the development of *long* (< OE *langian*), *lust* (< ME *lusten*) and *thirst* (< OE *þyrstan*) in earlier English, based on a comprehensive survey of the entries in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED; http://www.oed.com/) and the *Middle English Dictionary* (MED; Kurath, Kuhn & Lewis 1952–2001) and on corpus data retrieved from *Early English Books Online Corpus 1.0* (EEBOCorp 1.0, 1470s–1690s; 525 m. words, Petré 2013). The results obtained reveal that by Early Modern English times the only verb which still displays impersonal uses is *lust*, whereas *thirst* and *long* are no longer attested impersonally.

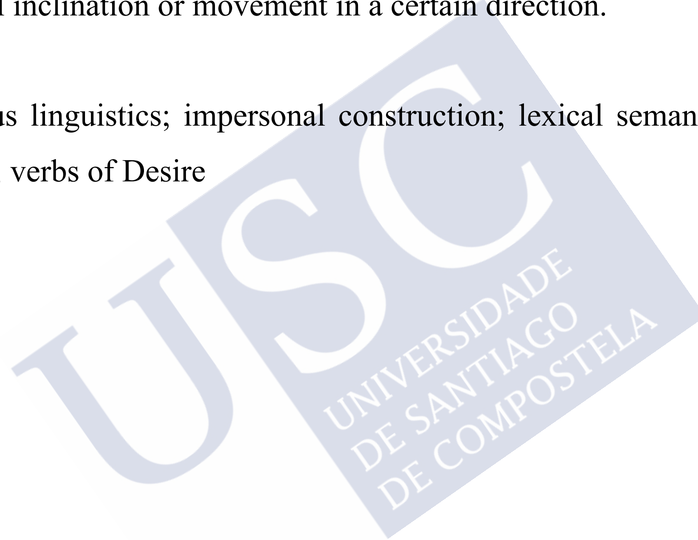
Over the centuries examined, five different personal patterns were employed as substitutes for the impersonal construction, namely patterns with prepositional complements (e.g. 1517, *ye* ***longe*** *for euerlastynge lyfe*), with clausal complements (e.g. 1655, *he* ***lusted*** *to Rule and Reign as god in the world*), with zero complements (e.g. 1548, *Thou shalt not* ***long*** *or* ***lust***), with NP complements (e.g. 1542, *They …* ***thyrsted*** *innoce~t bloud*) and with adverbial complements (e.g. 1525, *we sholde wyllyngely and gladly* ***longe*** *therfore*). Out of these, the first three have

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

survived into Present-day English, whereas NP and adverbial complements tend to disappear in the course of Early Modern English, being largely superseded by prepositional complements.

The hypothesis is put forward that the development just described, in particular the obsolescence of NP complements, results from the interaction between the lexical semantics of verbs of Desire, which profile a Desired participant as the Endpoint of the Desirer's direction of attention, and the semantics of patterns with prepositional complements, which can be interpreted as an extension of an Intransitive Motion construction taking an oblique Goal (e.g. PDE, *The boy ran to the house*). From this perspective within the Construction Grammar framework, the pattern with a prepositional complement is interpreted as enabling the construal of the Desired as a metaphorical Goal, and the conceptualisation of the emotion of desire itself as a metaphorical inclination or movement in a certain direction.

Keywords: corpus linguistics; impersonal construction; lexical semantics; semantic change; syntactic change; verbs of Desire



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisors, Teresa Fanego and Nuria Yáñez-Bouza, for their invaluable help over all these years. They always generously provided me with all the guidance and support to improve, not only the quality of my thesis, but also my academic and personal skills. Their readiness and promptness in correcting the different drafts of this thesis have greatly facilitated the writing process, and their thought-provoking comments and suggestions have made this piece of research possible.

I am also indebted to Prof. Graeme Trousdale for kindly welcoming me at the University of Edinburgh for a three-month research stay. I benefited greatly from his lectures on Construction Grammar, which inspired several of the ideas I develop in this thesis. In addition, the fruitful discussions with my PhD colleagues there enriched my interpretation of the data, and their enthusiasm and commitment certainly increased my passion for Linguistics.

Thanks are also due to my family and friends, especially to my parents, Julio and Concha, and to my sister, Azucena, for their unfailing support and understanding during my PhD years and throughout my entire life. I also wish to thank my companion, Mohamed, my PhD colleagues in Santiago and the members of the Research Unit for *Variation, Linguistic Change, and Grammaticalization*, most specially my tutor Paloma Núñez Pertejo.

For generous financial support, I am grateful to the following institutions: the Spanish Ministry of Education (grants FPU2014/03208 and EST17/00514), the European Regional Development Fund, the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities (grant FFI2017-86884-P) and the Regional Government of Galicia (Directorate General for Scientific and Technological Promotion, grants ED431D 2017/09 and ED431B 2017/12).

Santiago de Compostela, January 2020.

USC
UNIVERSIDADE
DE SANTIAGO
DE COMPOSTELA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES xv

LIST OF FIGURES xvii

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xix

1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. THE FUNCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH IMPERSONAL CONSTRUCTIONS 7

2.1. Definition and terminology 7

2.2. From Jespersen (1961[1927]) to Allen (1986, 1995) 13

2.3. Trousdale (2008), Möhlig-Falke (2012), Miura (2015) 18

2.4. Overview of impersonal constructions and their structural patterns in earlier English 22

2.4.1. Competing personal patterns 25

2.5. The function of impersonal constructions in earlier English 27

3. THE NATURE OF VERB MEANING AND CONSTRUCTIONAL MEANING 31

3.1. Verb meaning 31

3.2. Constructional meaning and the issue of perspective 36

3.3. The semantic domain of Physical Sensation 42

3.4. The semantic domain of Emotion 43

4. THE CLASS OF VERBS OF DESIRE 49

4.1. Verbs of Desire: Selection 51

4.2. Verbs of Desire in the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (HTOED) 53

4.3. A fine-grained semantic characterisation of verbs of Desire 57

4.4. The syntactic patterning in PDE of verbs of Desire vs. Psych-verbs 62

5. DATA AND METHODOLOGY 65

5.1. Corpus 65

5.1.1. *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) 65

5.1.2. *Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership* (EEBO-TCP) 66

5.1.3. *Early English Books Online Corpus 1.0* (EEBOCorp 1.0) 67

5.2. Data selection 68

5.3. Data retrieval 72

5.4. Database design 75

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

6. *LUST* 87
6.1. Origin and development 87
6.2. Overview of complementation patterns with *lust* 90
6.2.1. *Lust* in impersonal patterns 90
6.2.2. *Lust* in personal patterns 93
6.3. *Lust* in the EModE period 95
6.3.1. Impersonal patterns in EModE 97
6.3.2. Personal patterns in EModE 99
6.3.2.1. Patterns with clausal complements 102
6.3.2.2. Patterns with zero complements 107
6.3.2.3. Prepositional patterns 111
6.3.2.4. Patterns with NP complements 113
6.4. Summary and conclusions 114

7. *THIRST* 119
7.1. Origin and development 119
7.2. Overview of complementation patterns with *thirst* 123
7.2.1. *Thirst* in impersonal patterns 123
7.2.2. *Thirst* in personal patterns 125
7.3. *Thirst* in the EModE period 127
7.3.1. Personal patterns in EModE 129
7.3.1.1. Prepositional patterns 133
7.3.1.2. Patterns with zero complements 143
7.3.1.3. Patterns with NP complements 148
7.3.1.4. Patterns with clausal complements 150
7.4. Summary and conclusions 153

8. *LONG* 157
8.1. Origin and development 157
8.2. Overview of complementation patterns with *long* 160
8.2.1. *Long* in impersonal patterns 160
8.2.2. *Long* in personal patterns 163
8.3. *Long* in the EModE period 165
8.3.1. Personal patterns in EModE 167
8.3.1.1. Prepositional patterns 170
8.3.1.2. Patterns with clausal complements 177
8.3.1.3. Patterns with zero complements 181
8.4. Summary and conclusions 183

9. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS 185

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

9.1. *Lust* 186
9.2. *Thirst* 188
9.3. *Long* 190
9.4. Factors I: Loss of impersonal patterns in the history of English 191
9.5. Factors II: Development of impersonal verbs of Desire 193
9.6. Suggestions for further research 197

REFERENCES 199

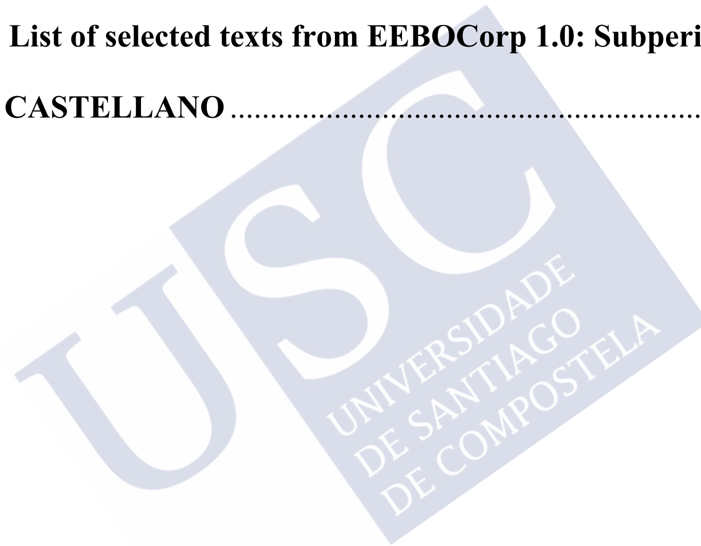
APPENDIX I. List of selected texts from EEBOCorp 1.0: Subperiod 1 (1500–1549) ...209

APPENDIX II. List of selected texts from EEBOCorp 1.0: Subperiod 2 (1550–1599)..217

APPENDIX III. List of selected texts from EEBOCorp 1.0: Subperiod 3 (1600–1649) 227

APPENDIX IV. List of selected texts from EEBOCorp 1.0: Subperiod 4 (1650–1700).237

RESUMEN EN CASTELLANO 245



USC
UNIVERSIDADE
DE SANTIAGO
DE COMPOSTELA

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Semantic features of the Proto-agent and Proto-patient roles (adapted from Dowty 1991: 572) 35
Table 2: Levin's (1993: 194–195) class of verbs of Desire as recorded in the OED and the MED 51
Table 3: The OE, ME and EModE forms of the English impersonal verbs of Desire under study 53
Table 4: Semantic properties of the SoA denoted by verbs of Desire 59
Table 5: Semantic features of the Desirer in PDE 59
Table 6: Semantic features of the Desired in PDE 60
Table 7: 50-year subperiods covering the EModE period (1500–1700) 68
Table 8: Number of texts and wordcount summary per 50-year subperiod 69
Table 9: List of forms and spellings attested in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) for *lust* in EModE 73
Table 10: List of forms and spellings attested in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) for *thirst* in EModE 73
Table 11: List of forms and spellings attested in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) for *long* in EModE 73
Table 12: Range of annotated variables and values in this study 76
Table 13: Frequency distribution of *lust* in EModE by 50-year subperiod and subject domain (raw figures and percentages) 95
Table 14: Distribution of morphosyntactic properties of impersonal patterns with *lust* in EModE (raw figures) 97
Table 15: Frequency of personal patterns of *lust* in EModE by 50-year subperiod (raw figures and percentages) 100
Table 16: Formal realisation of the Desirer with *lust* in EModE (raw figures and percentages) 101
Table 17: Formal realisation of clausal complements with *lust* in EModE (raw figures and percentages) 103
Table 18: Patterns with zero complements with *lust* in EModE (raw figures and percentages) 108
Table 19: Frequency distribution of *thirst* in EModE by 50-year subperiod and subject domain (raw figures and percentages) 127
Table 20: Frequency of personal patterns of *thirst* in EModE by 50-year subperiod (raw figures and percentages) 129
Table 21: Formal realisation of the Desirer with *thirst* in EModE (raw figures and percentages) 132
Table 22: Frequency distribution of *long* in EModE by 50-year subperiod and subject domain (raw figures and percentages) 166

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

TABLE 23: FREQUENCY OF PERSONAL PATTERNS OF *LONG* IN EMODE BY 50-YEAR SUBPERIOD (RAW FIGURES AND PERCENTAGES).. 167
TABLE 24: FORMAL REALISATION OF THE DESIRER WITH *LONG* IN EMODE (RAW FIGURES AND PERCENTAGES).. 169
TABLE 25: RANGE OF (IM)PERSONAL PATTERNS OF VERBS OF DESIRE IN EMODE.. 185

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Lexical profiling of the near-synonymous verbs *rob* and *steal* (adapted from Goldberg 1995: 45) ... 33
Figure 2: The force-dynamic relationship between Initiator and Endpoint (after Croft 1991: 173) . 34
Figure 3: Constructional profiling of the PDE ditransitive construction + *kick* (adapted from Goldberg 1995: 54) ... 37
Figure 4: The two-way causal relation of verbs of Emotion (adapted from Croft 1991: 219) ... 44
Figure 5: The conceptual domain of Human Experience: Physical Sensation, Mental Experience and Existential Experience (after Möhlig-Falke 2012: 54) ... 54
Figure 6: HTOED first-level major division 'The mind' ... 55
Figure 7: HTOED second-level category of 'Will' ... 56
Figure 8: Classification of the category of 'Desire' in the HTOED ... 56
Figure 9: Wordcount (millions of words) per decade in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1473–1700) ... 68
Figure 10: The Michigan EEBO-TCP interface: 'Basic Search' and 'Bibliographic Search' tools ... 70
Figure 11: Sample entry in Michigan EEBO-TCP's 'Bibliographic Search': Text metadata ... 71
Figure 12: Sample entry in Michigan EEBO-TCP's 'Basic Search' ... 72
Figure 13: Diachronic evolution of verb senses with *lust* in EModE (raw figures and relative frequencies) ... 96
Figure 14: Diachronic distribution of personal patterns of *lust* in EModE (raw figures and relative frequencies) ... 100
Figure 15: Relative frequency of the prepositions governed by *lust* in EModE by 50-year subperiod (raw figures and relative frequencies) ... 112
Figure 16: Diachronic evolution of verb senses of *thirst* in EModE ... 128
Figure 17: Diachronic distribution of personal patterns of *thirst* in EModE (raw figures and relative frequencies) ... 130
Figure 18: Relative frequency of the prepositions governed by *thirst* in EModE by 50-year subperiod (raw figures and relative frequencies) ... 134
Figure 19: The intransitive motion construction (after Goldberg 1995: 78) ... 140
Figure 20: The move-attention construction: Constructional profiling of the prepositional use of *thirst* in EModE ... 140
Figure 21: Relative frequency of patterns with zero complements and adjectival constructions with *thirst* in EModE (raw figures and relative frequencies) ... 146

FIGURE 22: THE TRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTION: CONSTRUCTIONAL PROFILING OF THE USE OF *THIRST* IN PATTERNS WITH NP COMPLEMENTS IN EMODE (AFTER GOLDBERG 1995: 117)........ 149
FIGURE 23: DIACHRONIC DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONAL PATTERNS OF *LONG* IN EMODE (RAW FIGURES AND RELATIVE FREQUENCIES) 168
FIGURE 24: RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF THE PREPOSITIONS GOVERNED BY *LONG* IN EMODE BY 50-YEAR SUBPERIOD (RAW FIGURES AND RELATIVE FREQUENCIES)........ 172
FIGURE 25: THE MOVE-ATTENTION CONSTRUCTION: CONSTRUCTIONAL PROFILING OF THE USE OF *LONG* IN PATTERNS WITH ADVERBIAL COMPLEMENTS IN EMODE 175
FIGURE 26: DIACHRONIC DISTRIBUTION OF (IM)PERSONAL USES OF VERBS OF DESIRE *LUST*, *THIRST* AND *LONG* FROM OE TO EMODE BASED ON THE OED AND THE MED ENTRIES 192

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC = accusative case

ACC/DAT = accusative/dative case

AdvP = adverbial phrase

B&T = Bosworth & Toller's *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*

DAT = dative case

DLPS = University of Michigan's *Digital Library Production Service*

EEBO = *Early English Books Online*

EEBOCorp 1.0 = *Early English Books Online Corpus 1.0*

EEBO-TCP = *Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership*

EModE = Early Modern English

GB Theory = Government and Binding Theory

GEN = genitive case

HTOED = *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*

ME = Middle English

MED = *Middle English Dictionary*

NOM = nominative case

NO PROP = unexpressed proposition (after Allen 1995)

NP = noun phrase

NP_2 = intervening NP

OBJ = object

OBJ = objective case

OBJ_2 = second object

OBL = oblique case

OE = Old English

OED = *Oxford English Dictionary*

OV = Object – Verb

OVS = Object – Verb – Subject

PDE = Present-day English

PL = plural

PP = prepositional phrase

PRED = predicate

S1 = Subperiod 1 (1500–1549)

S2 = Subperiod 2 (1550–1599)

S3 = Subperiod 3 (1600–1649)

S4 = Subperiod 4 (1650–1700)

sem = semantics

SG = singular

SoA = State of Affairs

SOV = Subject – Object – Verb

STC = *Short-Title Catalogue*

SUBJ = subject

SUBJ = subjective case

SVO = Subject – Verb – Object

syn = syntax

TCP = *Text Creation Partnership*

ToE = Target of Emotion

To-inf = *to*-infinitive

V = verb

VO = Verb – Object

V2-rule = Verb-Second rule

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aims of the study

The present thesis explores the historical development of verbs of Desire in earlier English, based on a comprehensive survey of the entries in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED; http://www.oed.com/) and the *Middle English Dictionary* (MED; Kurath, Kuhn & Lewis 1952–2001) and on corpus data from the Early Modern English period (1500–1700; henceforth EModE). In Present-day English (henceforth PDE), the class of verbs of Desire includes items such as *ache*, *crave*, *hope* or *yearn* which, as defined in Levin (1993: 194–195), form a syntactically coherent class insofar as they express the first argument, i.e. "the person that desires something", as the subject of the clause, whereas the second argument, i.e. "the thing desired", is expressed either as a direct object, in (1), or as the object of a preposition, in (2) (Levin 1993: 194; examples from Levin 1993: 194–195).

(1) Dorothy **needs** new shoes

(2) Dana **longs** for a sunny day

Several verbs of Desire (e.g. *hunger*, *long*, *lust*, *need* or *thirst*) have been found to alternate between impersonal and personal use in Old (c. 500–1100) and/or Middle English (1100–1500; henceforth OE and ME, respectively), as illustrated in examples (3) and (4) below.

(3) Mi leoue swete lefdi, to þe me **longeð** swuðe.
'My beloved sweet lady, I feel a great desire for you'
[OED, a1250 in C. Brown *Eng. Lyrics 13th Cent.* (1932) 6]

(4) Ich **langy** so swiþe after Gorloys his wifue.
'I have such a great desire for Gorloys's wife'
[MED, c1300 Lay.Brut (Otho C.13) 18918]

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

Example (3) represents an impersonal construction which lacks a grammatical subject controlling verbal agreement. Example (4), by contrast, represents a personal construction with a grammatical subject, *ich*, controlling verbal agreement. In both examples, the person that desires something has the semantic role of Experiencer, which in (3) is syntactically realised by an objective pronoun, *me*, whereas in (4) it is realised by a subjective pronoun, *ich*, representing the "animate being inwardly affected by an event or characterized by a state" (Traugott 1972: 34; see also Möhlig-Falke 2012: 31, fn. 12; Miura 2015: 6). According to McCawley (1976: 201), in impersonal constructions the Experiencer may be said to denote a human being who is "unvolitionally involved in the state of affairs" expressed by the verb, and who cannot, therefore, be conceptualised as the Causer of the event or process. The thing desired in (3) and (4) represents a Target of Emotion (henceforth ToE), which refers to something to which attention is directed (see Möhlig-Falke 2012: 92; also Allen 1995: 144); the ToE is syntactically realised by the PP *to þe* in (3) and the PP *after Gorloys his wifue* in (4).

In English, the impersonal construction is known to have started to disappear in the late ME period between 1400 and 1500 (van der Gaaf 1904: 142; Allen 1995: 279–283), with marginal impersonal instances being recorded until about 1600 (e.g. a1556, *Let hym come when hym* ***lust***, OED s.v. *lust*, v. †2.; see also Visser 1963: §§3–43; Traugott 1972: 130–131; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 14–15). Thus, the EModE period, with which this study is specifically concerned, is of interest from a historical point of view since impersonal verbs were in the process of readjusting their argument structure to the new possibilities of the grammatical system of English. The EModE period, however, has received comparatively little attention in previous studies, and the focus has largely been on the wide variety of factors which have been claimed to bring about the loss of impersonal patterns during OE and ME. This has given rise to an extensive literature on the topic which includes classical works in historical linguistics dating back to the early 20th century (e.g. van der Gaaf 1904; Wahlén 1925; Jespersen 1961[1927]: Part III, §§11.2–11.8), as well as later publications like McCawley (1976), Elmer (1981), Fischer & van der Leek (1983, 1987), von Seefranz-Montag (1984), Ogura (1986), Denison (1989, 1990, 1993), Allen (1986, 1995), Fischer (1992: 234–239), Anderson (1997), Haugland (2006), Malak (2008), Trousdale (2008), Loureiro-Porto (2005), Möhlig-Falke (2012), Light & Wallenberg (2015) and Miura (2015).

After the loss of impersonal patterns, impersonal verbs adopted a very idiosyncratic range of syntactic uses, some of which co-existed already in OE with impersonal patterns, as has been

shown in previous work (e.g. Fischer & van der Leek 1983; Allen 1995: 286–287). In fact, it has been claimed that "the loss of impersonal patterns proceeded over the respective verbs in a very gradual and seemingly unsystematic manner, in that individual verbs developed in different syntactic ways" (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 3–4). In this light, the overall aim of the present study is to elucidate the path of development followed by formerly impersonal verbs of Desire after the general loss of impersonal constructions. In particular, the verbs *lust*, *thirst* and *long* are taken as case studies of the formerly impersonal members in Levin's class which in PDE have prepositional uses (e.g. PDE, *pregnant women* ***lusting*** *for pickles and ice cream*, *Lexico's Dictionary* s.v. *lust* verb). The main aims of this thesis may be summarised as follows:

1) To determine the time when the selected formerly impersonal verbs of Desire effectively ceased to be recorded with impersonal constructions.
2) To provide a diachronic overview of the personal syntactic patterns which came to replace impersonal constructions with these verbs from late ME onwards.
3) To describe the syntactic and semantic properties of the arguments of each individual verb studied.
4) To reflect upon factors which have been claimed to affect the loss of impersonal patterns in the history of English.
5) To assess which factors may have influenced the direction of the development of impersonal verbs of Desire after they started to appear in personal use.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

The analysis of verbs of Desire presented here consists of two major parts. First, the relevant entries in the OED and the MED will be examined, which allows us to outline the main syntactic and semantic properties of the three verbs under study —*lust*, *thirst*, *long*— in the course of their history, paying special attention to the late ME period, which is when impersonal constructions are said to lose productivity. Secondly, an empirical investigation of linguistic data will be conducted on the basis of a dataset extracted from *Early English Books Online Corpus 1.0* (1500–1700; henceforth EEBOCorp 1.0; Petré 2013). Thereby, I intend to take up the call made in previous studies for the need for "a large corpus-based study of not just Old and Middle English but also early Modern English" (Miura 2015: 9), which, as mentioned above, is a period that has received comparatively little attention in the literature on impersonal

verbs and constructions, and that can thus shed more light on the matter (see also Fischer & van der Leek 1983: 337; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 235).

1.2. Outline of the study

The structure of the thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 begins with the definition of *impersonalhood* and of the terminology adopted in this study. Sections 2.2 and 2.3 provide an overview of the development of impersonal constructions in earlier English as well as the main hypotheses put forward in the literature about their disappearance. Section 2.4, for its part, outlines the main structural patterns of impersonal constructions in earlier English, and Section 2.5 focuses on their main functions.

Chapter 3 describes the framework for the analysis of the interaction between verb meaning and constructional meaning, based mainly on work by Fillmore (1982, 1986), Langacker (1987), Dowty (1991), Croft (1991, 2012) and Möhlig-Falke (2012).[1] In particular, whereas Section 3.1 focuses on aspects related to the nature of verb meaning, Section 3.2 is concerned with constructional meaning within Goldberg's (1995, 2006) model of Construction Grammar as well as the issue of perspective. Sections 3.3 and 3.4 pay attention to the semantic domains of Physical Sensation and Emotion, respectively, both of which are relevant for the discussion of the origin and development of verbs of Desire.

Chapter 4 contextualises the class of verbs of Desire. In Section 4.1, I discuss the criteria followed for the selection of the three verbs under study among Levin's class of Desire, and Section 4.2 is devoted to the classification of verbs of Desire in the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth HTOED). Section 4.3 provides a fine-grained semantic characterisation of this class of verbs in the light of the framework introduced in Chapter 3, and Section 4.4 looks at the syntactic patterning of verbs of Desire in PDE.

Chapter 5 is concerned with the data sources and methodology used in this study, including a description of the corpus in Section 5.1, the method of data selection in Section 5.2 and the method of data retrieval in Section 5.3. The design of the database and the range of variables analysed are covered in Section 5.4.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 present the analysis of the three selected verbs of Desire in EModE data: Chapter 6 focuses on *lust*, Chapter 7 on *thirst* and Chapter 8 on *long*. The first part in each

[1] For a comprehensive account of Möhlig-Falke (2012), see Méndez-Naya (2013).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

chapter looks at the origin and development of the corresponding individual verb, whereas the second part considers the range of complementation patterns as documented in the OED and the MED entries and previous studies, considering both impersonal and personal patterns. The third part presents the empirical analysis as attested in the data drawn from EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700), discussing each of the morphosyntactic patterns that came to replace impersonal constructions with each of the verbs selected.

Chapter 9 revisits the findings obtained for each of the verbs investigated, summarising the main conclusions reached in relation to objectives (1)–(5) outlined above.

USC
UNIVERSIDADE
DE SANTIAGO
DE COMPOSTELA

2. THE FUNCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH IMPERSONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

2.1. DEFINITION AND TERMINOLOGY

The so-called impersonal verbs and constructions have been an attractive topic of investigation in English historical linguistics. A variety of terms have been used in the literature to refer to these constructions and to the verbs that occur in them, which has led to considerable terminological confusion, as aptly discussed in an oft-quoted paper by Méndez-Naya & López-Couso (1997). Some of these labels are *experiencer constructions*, *impersonal*, *nominativeless*, *quasi-impersonal* or *subjectless*, among others. Furthermore, as will become clear in this chapter, this terminological maze actually reflects an underlying conceptual lack of consensus over what an impersonal construction is. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the terminological imprecision surrounding impersonal verbs and constructions, as well as to present the conception of *impersonal* adopted in my research.

Despite the variety of labels employed in the literature, the one most commonly found is no doubt *impersonal*, which is employed by classical authors (e.g. van der Gaaf 1904; Jespersen 1961[1927]) and also in later approaches (e.g. Lightfoot 1979; Fischer & van der Leek 1983; Möhlig-Falke 2012; Miura 2015). The term *impersonal*, however, may be applied with a different meaning, namely: 1) to a group of verbs (*impersonal verbs*) which are defined in semantic terms; 2) to a construction defined on syntactic grounds (*impersonal construction*) where the so-called impersonal verbs are commonly found (for discussion, see in particular Méndez-Naya & López-Couso 1997: 186).

With regard to impersonal verbs in particular, the specific semantic and syntactic criteria invoked to define what is *impersonal* vary greatly from scholar to scholar. From a semantic perspective, some authors define impersonal verbs as belonging to two different categories: 1) verbs denoting natural phenomena, such as OE *rignan* ‘rain’ or *sniwan* ‘snow’ (i.e. Weather verbs, Denison 1993: 66); 2) verbs referring to events and activities in which there is an Experiencer “unvolitionally/unself-controllably” involved in the situation (McCawley 1976:

194). The latter group comprises OE verbs belonging to conceptual domains as varied as Cognition (*(ge)þyncean* ‘to seem, appear’), Emotion (e.g. *(ge/of)hrēowan* ‘to feel sorrow/pity; rue, repent’), Existential Experience (*(be/ge/gebe/ā-) limpan* ‘to happen, befall’) or Physical Sensation (e.g. *acan* ‘to ache, cause pain, suffer pain’) (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 85–86).

Opinions vary also regarding the membership of Weather verbs into the impersonal category. For example, authors such as van der Gaaf (1904: 1, in Méndez-Naya & López-Couso 1997: 186; see also Miura 2015: 6) or Mustanoja (1960: 433) consider Weather verbs as the most genuine members of the class of impersonals. In contrast, authors like Fischer & van der Leek (1983: 346, fn. 8) exclude them from this category on the grounds that they do not fit their semantic definition of impersonal verb:

> The term ‘impersonal’ verbs refers to a class of verbs which have a common semantic core: they all express a physical or mental/cognitive experience which involves a ‘goal’, in this case an animate ‘experiencer’, and a ‘source’, i.e. something from which the experience emanates or by which the experience is effected […]. (Fischer & van der Leek 1983: 346)

From the above definition it may be inferred that Fischer & van der Leek understand as impersonal those two-place predicates which have the semantic frame <Experiencer Source (or Cause)>. This view differs from the definition adopted by Allen (1995: 21), who views as impersonal those predicates which subcategorise for an Experiencer, without necessarily having a Source in their semantic frame; hence, impersonal verbs are labelled by Allen as *experiencer verbs* (1995: 21).[2]

Apart from these semantic characterisations, the label *impersonal* has also been used to refer to a group of verbs capable of occurring in the impersonal construction. In this respect, Anderson (1986: 167) defines impersonal verbs as follows:

> Let us define an IMPERSONAL verb as one which can appear in predications which are finite but which, unlike in other such predications in the language, shows no variation in person/number: the verb is always in the form associated with the ‘third person singular’.

[2] It needs to be noted that Allen’s (1995: 21) category of *experiencer verbs* comprises predicates which subcategorise for non-nominative Experiencers in OE, but which developed nominative Experiencers in ME. By contrast, predicates which did not develop nominative Experiencers are excluded from the category and are labelled *Dative Object verbs*. This is the case, for instance, of OE *cweman* ‘to please’ (> ME *quēmen*).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

With regard to the syntactic constructions where impersonal verbs occur, Fischer & van der Leek (1983: 347) point out that the label *impersonal verb* may not be suitable because so-called impersonal verbs did not occur exclusively in impersonal constructions, but were also found in constructions with a grammatical subject. Consider in this regard the verb *sceamian* 'to cause/feel shame about something', which could have the Experiencer either in nominative or non-nominative case: *he*-NOM *sceamode NP*-GEN 'he was ashamed of himself' vs. *him*-DAT *sceamode NP*-GEN (Allen 1995: 20–21). Möhlig-Falke (2012) also resorts to syntactic criteria in order to define the class of impersonal verbs, and thus she decides to exclude Weather verbs from her study on the grounds that they do not clearly exhibit the syntactic behaviour which she considers criterial for the class. As she notes (2012: 80), these typically occur in constructions with a formal *(h)it* subject (e.g. example (5); see also Allen 1995: 59–64), and they are only rarely found in impersonal patterns proper (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 81, 110, fn. 1).

(5) Þæt þridde wæs þæt hit **hagolade** seofon niht, dæges & nihtes, ofer
the third was that it hailed seven nights day and night over
ealle Romane.
all Romans
'the third was that it hailed seven nights, day and night, over all Romans'
[Example adapted from Denison (1993: 67), my emphasis]

In this thesis, the label I will adopt is that of *impersonal verb*. This is the term used in the recent studies on impersonals which are taken as a starting point for the present investigation, namely Möhlig-Falke (2012) and Miura (2015). It thus helps to unify the account provided here with previous research, without contributing to the already existing terminological confusion. Even if some scholars do not consider the label to be suitable (see e.g. Visser 1963: §29), here it serves the purpose of distinguishing between verbs which show impersonal uses throughout their history and those which do not. In order to define the notion of *impersonal verb*, I will resort to both syntactic and semantic criteria. From a syntactic perspective, the label *impersonal verb* will be applied to predicates which are found in impersonal patterns in earlier English, even if these alternate with constructions other than the impersonal (cf. Fischer & van der Leek 1983: 347). This allows us to account for the fact that verbs like OE *þyrstan* are found in both impersonal (e.g. c1000, *Þa cwæð he, me*-DAT ***þyrst***, OED s.v. *thirst*, v. †1.; see Chapter 7, Section 7.2) and personal constructions with a nominative subject (e.g. c950, *Cuoeð ic*-NOM ***ðyrsto***, OED s.v. *thirst*, v. 2.). In turn, the label *personal verb* will be used to refer to verbs

which are only found in impersonal constructions and do not alternate between impersonal and personal use throughout their history. From a semantic perspective, the term will be applied to verbs which subcategorise for an Experiencer (after Allen 1995: 20*ff*), but not necessarily a Stimulus or Cause, as suggested by Fischer & van der Leek (1983: 346). This allows us to include impersonal verbs such as OE *hyngrian*, which may occur in impersonal patterns without taking a Stimulus or Cause argument (e.g. OE, *& þa he fæstæ feowertig daga & feowertig nægta æfter þon hine*-ACC [=Experiencer] ***hyngrade*** 'and then he fasted during forty days and forty nights [and] afterwards he hungered [i.e. he was hungry]').[3]

Turning now to the notion of *impersonal construction*, there also exists variation in the literature as to the criteria adopted for its definition. In the strictest sense of the term, *impersonal construction* would refer to clauses where there is no personal argument (e.g. OE, *Rinð* '[it] rains');[4] however, it is most often extended to clauses which do have personal arguments, but which lack a nominative subject proper (e.g. OE, <u>*Him*</u> *ofhreow ðæs mannes* 'He was sorry for the man'). It may also be extended to constructions which have a nominative subject which is non-referential (e.g. OE, <u>*Hit*</u> ***gelamp*** *ða æt þære mæssan, þæt man rædde þæt godspell, hu þæt wif wearð gehæled* 'it happened that at Mass the man read the Gospel [of] how the woman was healed'). In this regard, Denison (1993: 62) points out that:

> [t]he term impersonal is even more [controversial] and is notoriously misused. The strictest syntactic definition of impersonalness would apply only to clauses (presumably subjectless ones) whose verbs have no personal argument at all. The term is often extended, however, to subjectless clauses whose verbs do have personal arguments. A further extension brings in clauses which do have a subject but whose subject is not a (characteristically) personal one for that verb. And the widest usage employs 'impersonal' for any verb which *can* appear in any of the previously mentioned clause types, even when it is being used 'personally'. (emphasis in original)

In spite of this variability, there seems to be agreement as to two of the main syntactic features which define impersonal constructions, namely the invariable inflection of the verb for the third-person singular and the lack of a nominative argument controlling verbal agreement (Méndez-Naya & López-Couso 1997: 188). Fischer & van der Leek (1983: 347), for instance,

[3] Example quoted from Méndez-Naya & López-Couso (1997: 188), my emphasis and translation.

[4] The examples in this paragraph are all quoted from Méndez-Naya & López-Couso (1997: 188), my emphasis and translation.

rely on these two syntactic criteria for their definition of impersonal, and so does Möhlig-Falke (2012: 6). More specifically, Möhlig-Falke uses the term *impersonal construction* to refer to a number of morphosyntactic patterns which comply with the following formal features:

1) The predicate verb is invariably marked for third-person singular, independent of the person and number coded by any of its nominal arguments.
2) A nominative argument controlling verbal agreement (i.e. a grammatical subject) is missing.
3) If it is encoded at all, the first argument appears in accusative or dative case in OE and in object case in ME.
4) If more than one nominal argument is encoded, the second one is in genitive case, it appears as a prepositional phrase, or it is a clausal complement, most commonly a *þæt*-clause or a non-finite clause.

Notice also that Möhlig-Falke emphasises the fact that, in her view, *impersonalhood* is a property of morphosyntactic patterns rather than of verbs. As she puts it:

> […] *impersonalhood* is here considered to be a property of morphosyntactic patterns but not of individual verbs. A certain number of verbs in Old and Middle English are capable of being *used* in one or more impersonal patterns, but they may also occur in various personal patterns. Therefore, whenever the term *impersonal verb* is used for the sake of convenience, this is to be understood as a short for *verbs capable of impersonal use.* (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 14, italics in the original)

In spite of the general agreement on the two formal characteristics specified above (i.e. that the verb should be inflected for the third-person singular and the lack of an argument in the nominative case), scholars adopt different positions when it comes to the consideration of other formal features, such as the presence or absence of a formal subject *(h)it*. Thus, authors like Mitchell (1985: 1025, in Méndez-Naya & López-Couso 1997: 189) or Miura (2015) classify as impersonal both constructions with a formal subject *(h)it* and constructions with no expressed grammatical subject; for example (6):

(6) I am free To wedde, a goddes half, wher it **liketh** me.
I am free to wed on God's half where it-NOM pleases me-OBJ
'I am free to marry, for God's sake, where it pleases me.'
[MED, (c1395) Chaucer CT.WB.(Manly-Rickert) D.50; example adapted from Miura (2015: 6)]

Miura (2015: 6–7) refers to the construction above as "impersonal construction with formal *it*", and she argues that it would not be profitable for her to exclude it from investigation on the grounds that a good number of verbs alternate between impersonal constructions proper (i.e. without a grammatical subject) and impersonal constructions with formal *(h)it*, while some others appear exclusively in the latter. By contrast, authors like Visser (1963: §§3–64), Anderson (1986: 168) or Fischer & van der Leek (1983: 347, 363) draw a distinction between the two. In the case of Fischer & van der Leek, their definition of *impersonal* states that only clauses without a grammatical subject qualify as impersonal, from which it follows that constructions with formal *(h)it* are rather treated as personal (see Fischer & van der Leek 1983: 363; but cf. Méndez-Naya & López-Couso 1997: 189; see also Path III in Section 2.4.1 below). Following a similar criterion, Möhlig-Falke (2012: 13) excludes constructions with formal *(h)it* because "the pronoun OE *hit*/ME *it* is morphologically ambiguous with regard to nominative and accusative case (singular, neuter) and can therefore be interpreted (and usually is) as a grammatical subject in nominative case that controls verbal agreement". Therefore, constructions with the OE pronoun *hit* (and its reflex in ME *(h)it*) contradict criterion 2) postulated above for the definition of impersonals.[5]

In this thesis, I will follow Fischer & van der Leek (1983) and Möhlig-Falke (2012) in adopting a formal definition of impersonal construction, considering as impersonal only those constructions which lack a grammatical subject, be it referential or not. Also excluded are constructions where there is no personal argument at all (i.e. OE, *Rinð* '[it] rains'; see Section 2.1); these are of little relevance when dealing with verbs of Desire, which have an Experiencer

[5] Möhlig-Falke's (2012: 13) patterns with formal *(h)it* include both *(h)it-constructions* (i.e. patterns involving a formal subject *(h)it* controlling verbal agreement; see examples (5) and (6) above) and *(h)it-extraposition* (i.e. patterns involving a formal *hit* followed by a complement clause; e.g. OE, *Forðæm hit* ***gebyreð*** *oft þæt God nylle ... nan unaberendlice broc him an settan* 'Therefore it happens oftentimes that God … does not wish to set on him any unbearable affliction', 2012: 167; see also Miura 2015: 7). Both of these are excluded from her category of *impersonal construction*.

as an obligatory argument: e.g. ME, *to þe* <u>*me*</u> [=Experiencer] ***longeð*** (see Chapter 1). Constructions with formal *(h)it* (e.g. (5) and (6) above) are also left out from investigation, contrary to Miura (2015: 6–7). The main motivation for this is that were we to consider this kind of contructions *impersonal*, we would also have to classify as *impersonal* verbs those which appear only in constructions with formal *(h)it*, but which are never found in impersonal constructions with an accusative or dative (or ME objective) Experiencer (e.g. *itch*, as in *it itches* vs. *?me itches*, see OED s.v. *itch*, v.[1] 1.). In this regard, it needs to be taken into account that, whereas patterns with formal *(h)it* survive in the English language to the present day (see Section 2.4.1 below), patterns with oblique Experiencers start to disappear between 1400 and 1500 (see Chapter 1). Thus, given the disparity in their historical development, it does not seem adequate to subsume verbs restricted to formal *(h)it* under verbs occurring without a grammatical subject, because the changes undergone by the former may have little or nothing to do with the changes undergone by the latter. Patterns with formal *(h)it* will rather be grouped here under the term *personal*, which will be applied to constructions that do involve a grammatical subject controlling verbal agreement, whether referential or not.

2.2. FROM JESPERSEN (1961[1927]) TO ALLEN (1986, 1995)

Various hypotheses have been put forward to try to explain the causes which might have led to the disappearance of impersonal constructions in the English language. Most notably, Jespersen's (1961[1927]) reanalysis hypothesis has dominated the discussion throughout the 20th century and, in spite of the criticism it has received, it has remained a major topic of discussion in the works of Fischer & van der Leek (1983) and Allen (1986, 1995), among many others. In what follows, an outline of the proposals by Jespersen (1961[1927]), Lightfoot (1979), Fischer & van der Leek (1983, 1987) and Allen (1986, 1995) is provided, as these are here taken as representative of the major explanations offered for the diachronic development of the impersonal construction in English.

According to Jespersen (1961[1927]: 208–210), the Experiencer argument in impersonal expressions underwent a process of reanalysis as a result of the syncretism of forms brought about by the simplification of the case system. Examples (7a)–(7d) below represent the hypothetical stages postulated by Jespersen (1961[1927]: 209) in order to account for the changes involved, which include, first, the richly inflected sentence in (7a), representative of OE; second, the syncretism of case forms in the nominative and the dative represented in (7b),

corresponding to early ME; and, third, the structural ambiguity in (7c), which eventually led to a confusion about which constituent functioned as subject and which as object of the clause. This structural ambiguity arose in OVS patterns with two NPs, like (7c), probably representative of late ME, and it eventually cancelled the possibility to place the oblique Experiencer before the verb once word order became rigidified (Fischer & van der Leek 1983: 338–339). Thus, by the EModE period the Experiencer was reanalysed as a subject, as represented in example (7d), which shows a morphologically marked pronoun *he* as the unambiguous subject of the clause.

(7)
a. þam cynge **licodon** peran
the king-DAT/SG liked-PL pears-NOM/PL
'pears pleased the king'

b. the king **liceden** peares
the king-SG liked-PL pears-PL
'pears pleased the king'

c. the king **liked** pears
'pears pleased the king/the king liked pears'

d. he **liked** pears

According to Jespersen (1961[1927]: 208), the "natural" outcome was for the Experiencer to be reanalysed as subject mainly due to "the greater interest taken in persons than in things, which caused the name of the person to be placed before the verb". Aside from this psychological explanation, Jespersen's account indirectly bears on the deep morphosyntactic transformations which the English language underwent during ME, namely the simplification of the case system, which has been dated in the 12th and 13th centuries (Allen 1995: 184–185, 213, 441) and the rigidification of word order, dated in the mid-15th century (Fischer *et al.* 2000: 162–163; see also Möhlig-Falke 2012: 19, 216).[6]

[6] With regard to the rigidification of word order, it should be noted that this process was slower and more gradual than it has been commonly assumed. Thus, while VO order became predominant around the mid-15th century, OV order still remained productive in prose texts until the first half of the 16th century (Fischer *et al*. 2000: 164). In verse, however, it continued to be used as late as the 19th century (Fischer *et al*. 2000: 139).

The reanalysis hypothesis, however, has been challenged on the basis of empirical data giving evidence that impersonal patterns remained productive even after the changes outlined above were completed (see e.g. Fischer & van der Leek 1983; Allen 1986, 1995). Allen (1986) in particular notes that Jespersen's claim cannot be upheld if we take into account that sentences such as (7a)–(7c) with two nominal NPs are actually highly infrequent in OE and ME for the impersonal verb *līcian* (> ME *līken*) (see Allen 1986: 378). Thus, it is not likely that the loss of case marking played a role, since case distinctions on pronouns remained clear in the majority of cases and formal ambiguity did not arise as a rule (see also Fischer & van der Leek 1983: 339, 346*ff*). Notice, crucially, that ME personal pronouns retain the subjective/objective case distinction in the majority of cases (Allen 1986: 378; e.g. *ic/mē*, *hē/him*, *wē/us*, etc.).[7] In addition, case distinctions were more pervasive in ME than in PDE, since the ME second-person plural form *ge* still maintained the distinction between *ge* 'ye' (subjective) and *eow* 'you' (objective) (Allen 1986: 378, fn. 2).

Jespersen's account served as the basis for Lightfoot's (1979), the latter within the framework of Government and Binding (GB) Theory. Broadly speaking, Lightfoot argues that after the syncretism of forms in the nominative and dative case took place, the preposed object had to be reanalysed as subject as a result of the change of word order from SOV to SVO (Lightfoot 1979: 235–239; see also Denison 1993: 79). In line with the assumptions in his theoretical model, Lightfoot also contends that the reanalysis of the dative Experiencers as nominative subjects brought about the fixation of a new *parameter*[8] in children's grammar in the 12th century (Lightfoot 1991: 67; see also Möhlig-Falke 2012: 16–17). However, later work by Fischer & van der Leek (1983, 1987) and Allen (1995), among others, has provided new empirical data which contradict Lightfoot's proposal, mainly because the impersonal construction has been found to be productive beyond the 12th century, i.e. the time Lightfoot estimated for the change in parameter setting. In particular, Allen (1995: 250) finds impersonal constructions being extended to new verbs as late as the 13th and even late 14th centuries.

[7] The neuter pronoun *(h)it* may also be said to retain case distinctions in the ME period, since the old dative form *him* is used "as an alternative to accusative *it* all through the sixteenth century" (Barber 1997: 150).

[8] A term used in GB Theory for the specific types of variation that a general principle of grammar, or abstract rule, manifests in different languages (see Crystal 2008 s.v. *parameter*). For example, the position of heads in phrases is determined by a *parameter* establishing whether a particular language is head-initial (e.g. English) or head-final (e.g. Japanese).

Fischer & van der Leek's (1983, 1987) later work on impersonals is, like Lightfoot's, cast in the mould of GB Theory. One of their main concerns is to advance a new theory relating the loss of the impersonal construction to the loss of so-called lexically-assigned case, in favour of structurally-assigned case. In OE, as in other richly inflected languages, nominal cases had two different kinds of functions within the system of transitivity. On the one hand, they could be assigned lexically (i.e. semantically) according to the subcategorisation frame of a particular lexical head (e.g. OE, *Helpað earmum*-DAT *hæfenleasum*-DAT 'Help the poor and the needy', Fischer *et al.* 2000: 42; see also Möhlig Falke 2012: 35). On the other hand, nominal cases could also be assigned structurally (i.e. syntactically) to mark syntactic functions such as subject or object (e.g. OE, *Gregorius hine*-ACC *afligde* 'Gregory put him to flight', Fischer *et al*. 2000: 41). The lexically-assigned cases were the dative and the genitive, and the structurally assigned cases were the nominative and the accusative (Fischer & van der Leek 1987: 112; Allen 1995: 156). In this light, Fischer & van der Leek (1983, 1987) point out that impersonal verbs lost the ability to assign the two lexical cases (i.e. dative and genitive) semantically, and that the only cases they could assign after the breakdown of the inflectional system were the structural cases (i.e. nominative and accusative). This process had a syntactic as well as a semantic basis: whether a verb could appear in impersonal constructions or not was ultimately influenced by the information contained in the lexical entry. Eventually, impersonal patterns became unproductive because the loss of lexically-assigned case prevented the dative and the genitive cases from being assigned to two of the verb's participants at the same time, and also because the grammatical system of ME required that at least one of the verb's participants be assigned case structurally (see Fischer & van der Leek 1983: 366; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 215).

Allen's proposal (1986, 1995) similarly takes the loss of lexically-assigned case as the main cause for the demise of the impersonal construction. Also worthy of mention is Allen's claim (1995) about the exact grammatical status of the initial constituent in impersonal patterns. Broadly speaking, her hypothesis is that the Experiencer in impersonal constructions had properties of both subject and object, and that it was this hybrid status which subsequently led to the re-interpretation of oblique Experiencers as nominative subjects. The traditional account assumes that the Experiencer in impersonal patterns is in fact an object which is topicalised, being fronted to pre-verbal position (see e.g. Jespersen 1961[1927]: 208; see also Möhlig-Falke 2012: 41). In Jespersen's (1961[1927]: 208) words, the "shifting" from impersonal to personal use captures the fact that "what was formerly the object has become the subject of the same

verb". Allen, however, as also Elmer (1981: 51) and von Seefranz-Montag (1983: 527–528), proposes that the Experiencer in OE impersonal constructions was already a subject, only that it showed morphological properties typical of objects rather than of subjects. In other words, impersonal constructions were not 'subjectless' proper, but rather had a subject with a particular object-like morphological marking. In this view, the fact that the Experiencer received nominative case in the course of ME may be seen just "as a final step toward 'full' subjecthood" (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 41).

Allen relies on the assumption that the morphological property of nominative case marking is not criterial for the category of subject in OE. That is, the grammatical relation of subject is not necessarily defined by nominative case because, under certain circumstances, subjects could also receive non-nominative case (1995: 3). This is further supported by the fact that the Experiencer in impersonal patterns shared a range of properties with more prototypical subjects, such as high topicality, reference to an animate or agentive participant, preverbal position or control of *Coordinate Subject Deletion* (CSD,[9] Allen 1995: 50–59, 112*ff* and *passim*). Allen's main argument in favour of the subject interpretation is the ability of *Preposed Dative Experiencers*[10] to control the syntactic process of CSD. According to her account, Preposed Dative Experiencers in OE are capable of controlling this syntactic process in the same way as prototypical subjects, as in example (8) below with the impersonal verb *lystan* 'to desire', where the subject of the second conjunct clause is omitted because it is coreferential with the Preposed Dative Experiencer of the preceding clause, i.e. *hi*. Given that Preposed Dative Experiencers control CSD more frequently than regular dative objects, this is taken to prove that in OE they behaved far more like subjects than objects.

(8) Þa **lyste** hi þæs & hine genam
then desired her-ACC that-GEN & it-ACC took
'then she desired that and [she] took it'
[(COE) GD I (C) 4.30.33; adapted from Allen (1995: 112)]

[9] *Coordinate Subject Deletion* (CSD), as extensively discussed by Allen (1995: 50–59, 112*ff* and *passim*), makes reference to the requirement that "the subject of a coordinated clause cannot be omitted unless it is coreferential with the subject of the preceding conjunct" (1995: 50).

[10] *Preposed Dative Experiencer* is the label which Allen (1986, 1995) adopts to refer to the initial argument of person in impersonal patterns (see e.g. 1995: 21–22).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

All in all, we can see that while Jespersen explains the demise of impersonal patterns in terms of the morphological and syntactic changes that the English language underwent during ME, other authors like Fischer & van der Leek (1983, 1987) and Allen (1986, 1995) resort to factors which bear on the lexical assignment of case marking. Yet some authors, like Elmer (1981), von Seefranz-Montag (1984) or Allen herself (1986, 1995), believe that reanalysis was due to the fact that oblique Experiencers already showed some subject properties in OE, which led to the assignment to them of nominative (or ME subjective) case marking, so that they ultimately acquired the morphology of more prototypical subjects. On the other hand, it is also noteworthy that, while much of the research conducted on the impersonal construction has focused on the causes and factors bringing about its loss, more recent research has shown greater interest in the interaction between the semantics of impersonal verbs and the semantics of the construction(s) in which they occur, as is the case in Möhlig-Falke (2012) and Miura (2015). In addition, some of these recent accounts have also put forward new hypotheses to explain the loss of impersonal constructions, in particular Trousdale (2008) and Möhlig-Falke (2012). In the following section, these recent analyses are reviewed.

2.3. Trousdale (2008), Möhlig-Falke (2012), Miura (2015)

Möhlig-Falke's (2012) monograph focuses primarily on the OE period. The empirical data of her study comprise a group of 47 verbs which are documented in impersonal use in the database of the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (DOEC). As already mentioned in Section 2.1 above, Weather verbs (e.g. *sniwan* 'to snow', *þunrian* 'to thunder') are excluded from her analysis, since evidence for them in true impersonal use (i.e. without a grammatical subject) is very scarce in OE (see Möhlig-Falke 2012: 81, 110, fn. 1). With the purpose of complementing the DOEC database, Möhlig-Falke makes use of data from the OED and the MED, which allow her to provide a diachronic outlook beyond the OE period into the ME and EModE periods. This diachronic outlook traces the syntactic development of impersonal verbs after they cease to appear in impersonal use, and suggests that the impersonal construction did not decline in late OE, but was even analogically extended to 63 new verbs between 1200 and 1500 (cf. Möhlig-Falke 2012: 15, 209*ff*). Some of these verbs were already documented in OE, although only in personal use (e.g. *gladen* 'to rejoice'). Some others were either formed in ME (e.g. *happenen* 'to occur') or borrowed from French (*chauncen* 'to happen') or Scandinavian (*semen* 'to appear').

Möhlig-Falke's investigation adopts a theoretical model that is primarily cognitive, combining assumptions rooted in Frame Semantics (Fillmore 1982), Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991) and Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2006) with the functional model of Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) and their typology of semantic roles, all of this with the purpose of accounting for the interaction between lexical semantics and the semantics of the constructions in which these verbs occur. Möhlig-Falke shows that the 47 verbs documented in OE in impersonal use are more heterogeneous than it had been previously recognised in the literature (e.g. Elmer 1981) and that they may denote a variety of semantic domains, namely Availability and Nonavailability (e.g. *behōfian*, *beþurfan* 'to have need of, require, want something'), Benefaction (e.g. *framian* 'to do, perform; avail, do good'), Cognition (e.g. *(ge)swefnian* 'dream'), Emotion (e.g. *hrēowan* 'to feel sorrow/pity; rue, repent'), Existential Experience (e.g. *(ge)limpan* 'happen, befall'), Motion (e.g. *(ge)nealæcan* 'approach, draw near'), Ownership and Appropriateness (e.g. *becuman* 'come to, belong to, be entitled to') or Physical Sensation (e.g. *(a)þreotan* 'be tiresome, displease, disgust').

In spite of the great differences between these semantic domains, they all share a number of characteristics which enabled their use in the impersonal construction in OE. For instance, all of these verbs show a low degree of transitivity, codifying events in which an Initiator is not clearly discernible (see Möhlig-Falke 2012: 86). In terms of a scalar conception of transitivity, such as Hopper & Thompson's (1980), these verbs fall in the periphery of the prototype of the transitive event; hence, they do not entail a relationship between participants that involves total affectedness (1980: 261), such that a highly agentive participant acts on an entity that is highly affected by some sort of change of state. The analysis of empirical data allows Möhlig-Falke to argue, as McCawley (1976) and Fischer & van der Leek (1983) had already suggested, that the nuclear function of the OE impersonal construction is to express a shift of perspective by backgrounding the nominative argument that controlled the *State of Affairs* (henceforth SoA; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 56; see Chapter 3). It is for this reason that the impersonal construction is argued to have great similarities with the middle voice, whose function was described by Kemmer (1993) as that of codifying inherently dynamic events which are low in transitivity (on this see Section 2.5 below).

Although Möhlig-Falke's primary interest does not aim at identifying the reasons for the replacement of the impersonal construction by personal patterns, she proposes the hypothesis that there may exist a connection between the demise of the impersonal construction and the

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

so-called Verb-Second (V2) rule (see 2012: 216–217). The V2-rule requires that the verb be placed in second position in main clauses, and that it be preceded by another clause constituent, regardless of its function as subject, object or adjunct, or of its information-structure status as an (un)marked topic or marked focus (Los 2009: 99). The V2-rule was characteristic of Germanic languages, in many of which it is still present today. In English, however, it disappeared between the late 14th century and the first half of the 17th century (Los 2009: 108). The loss of this grammatical requirement paved the way for dramatic changes in the information structure of English clauses, and also for the rigidification of word order as SVO in PDE, with the subject of the clause being restricted to preverbal position (though not necessarily initial position, e.g. PDE, *This morning they spoke to the ten men*). As a consequence, impersonal constructions ceased to be functionally advantageous or syntactically possible, since the oblique argument codifying the Experiencer typically occurred in preverbal position and 'clashed' with the subject slot (e.g. OE, *Me hyngrede* 'I hungered [i.e. I was hungry]') (see Möhlig-Falke 2012: 217).

Turning now to Trousdale (2008), published a few years earlier than Möhlig-Falke (2012), he examines the loss of the English impersonal construction from the perspective of grammaticalisation theory (Hopper & Traugott 2003[1993], among many others) and its re-conceptualisation in the light of Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2006; also Croft 2001). Trousdale starts from the empirical data provided by Elmer (1981) and Allen (1995) and puts forward the hypothesis that the demise of the impersonal construction is a result of a large-scale readjustment of the taxonomy of the TRANSITIVE construction. This taxonomy is seen as comprising various schemas and subschemas, which subsume the impersonal construction, and which show different degrees of similarity to the prototype of TRANSITIVE construction, referred to by Trousdale as *Type T*. This is represented by prototypical examples such as OE *he*-NOM *acwealde [þone dracan]*-ACC 'he killed the dragon', where the subject *he* has the semantic role of Agent.

According to Trousdale, in the course of the history of English "the loss of the impersonal construction is tied in with the increased productivity and schematicity of the transitive construction" (2008: 302). This increased schematicity eventually led to the possibility of "a wider range of subject types […] [and] a wider range of thematic relations between the verb and its arguments" (*ibid.*: 311). That is, it became possible to use the TRANSITIVE construction for events or SoA that deviated from the prototype, so that it could develop new grammatical

functions by allowing Experiencer subjects and, generally, a wider range of subject types (witness, for instance, PDE clauses such as *The hotel forbids dogs* or *The tent sleeps six*, in which the subject does not represent a prototypical Agent). As a consequence, the impersonal construction becomes marginalised, with the TRANSITIVE construction taking over the expression of the experiences previously expressed by impersonal patterns, and bringing about the acquisition on the part of the Experiencer of the grammatical properties associated with more prototypical Agents, such as subject marking.

We can conclude this brief review of the most recent literature on the impersonal construction with Miura's (2015)[11] analysis of one of the semantic domains identified by Möhlig-Falke (2012) as capable of impersonal use, namely Emotion. While considerable attention has been devoted to the syntax and definition of impersonal constructions, less attention has been given to the semantic aspects which define the boundaries between impersonal and non-impersonal verbs. This is the primary goal of Miura's investigation, which aims to offer a study in lexical semantics inspired, in a more or less eclectic way, in Croft (1991), Levin (1993) and Landau (2010). Her overarching purpose is to provide semantic explanations for why apparently near-synonymous verbs vary as to their capability to appear in impersonal constructions in ME. For example, the Emotion verb *līken* could be used impersonally (e.g. c1425, *Me*-OBJ ***liketh*** *not to lye* 'I do not like to lie'), while the near-synonymous *lŏven* could not (e.g. c1475, *I*-SUBJ ***loue*** *well to make mery* 'I love much to make merry').

The period examined is ME and the data are extracted from the illustrative quotations of the MED entries. In order to compile a list of verbs of Emotion, Miura resorts to the HTOED which, combined with previous studies and historical dictionaries, allows her to identify a list of (im)personal verbs belonging to the semantic categories of 'Anger', 'Fear', 'Hatred/enmity', 'Humility', 'Mental pain/suffering', 'Pity/compassion' and 'Pleasure/enjoyment'. The examples are analysed paying attention to a number of syntactic and semantic factors, such as causation, stativity, animacy of the Target of Emotion (ToE; Section 1.1), relative duration of the emotion involved or availability of Experiencer-subject passive constructions and the conative alternation (Miura 2015: 232). Her careful examination of data allows her to conclude that causation and aspect play an important role in drawing boundaries between impersonal and

[11] For a comprehensive account of Miura (2015), see Méndez-Naya (2016).

non-impersonal verbs. Also, she finds that impersonal verbs are in fact linked to so-called *Psych-verbs* in the history of English, a connection which has not always been acknowledged in previous research. Overall, Miura's study suggests that impersonal and personal verbs may be systematically distinguished on a semantic basis, which, on a more general level, lends support to the idea that the syntactic patterns in which a verb is found are closely connected to the verb's lexical meaning (e.g. Levin 1993).

2.4. OVERVIEW OF IMPERSONAL CONSTRUCTIONS AND THEIR STRUCTURAL PATTERNS IN EARLIER ENGLISH

This section offers an overview of the impersonal patterns that can be identified in earlier stages of English, based on the account provided in Möhlig-Falke and on her definition of the notion of *impersonal* (2012: 6). As already pointed out in Section 2.1, the definition of *impersonal* adopted here is primarily syntactic, and refers to a range of morphosyntactic patterns which exhibit the following characteristics: 1) the predicate verb is invariably marked for third-person singular; 2) a nominative argument is missing; 3) if it is encoded at all, the first argument appears in accusative or dative case in OE and in objective case in ME; and 4) if more than one nominal argument is encoded, the second one is in genitive case, is expressed in the form of a prepositional phrase or is a clausal complement, most commonly a *þæt*-clause or a non-finite clause. In what follows, I list the main impersonal patterns in OE identified by Möhlig-Falke (2012: 5–12) as conforming to this definition.[12] I also adapt her illustrative examples, which she collected from DOEC.

1) Only one (pro)nominal argument which is marked for accusative, a case form that is ambiguous between accusative and dative case (henceforth, accusative/dative) or dative case; for example (9):

(9) ... Me **hyngrede**, and ge me nawuht
me-ACC/DAT hungered and you-NOM me-ACC/DAT nothing
ne sealdun etan.
not gave eat
'I was hungry, and you did not give me anything to eat'

[12] The list provided comprises only seven basic impersonal patterns. It should be noted, however, that other minor patterns were also possible, although for the purpose of the present study it is not necessary to list all of them here. For a full account the reader is referred to Denison (1993: 66–73) and Möhlig-Falke (2012: 6–12).

2) Two (pro)nominal arguments, one marked as accusative, accusative/dative or dative case, and the other marked as genitive case; for example (10):

(10) ðætte oft ðone geðyldegestan **scamað**
that often the-ACC most patient-ACC feels shame
ðæs siges
the-GEN victory-GEN
'so that often the most patient one is ashamed of the victory'

3) One (pro)nominal argument marked as accusative, accusative/dative or dative case, and another one expressed as a prepositional (or as an adverbial) complement; for example (11):

(11) men **sceamað** for godan dædan
men-ACC/DAT feels shame for good-ACC/DAT deed-ACC/DAT
swyðor þonne for yfelan dædan
more than for evil-ACC/DAT deed-ACC/DAT
'men are more ashamed of good deeds than of evil deeds'

4) One (pro)nominal argument marked as accusative, accusative/dative or dative case, and another one expressed as a non-finite clause; for example (12):

(12) Me **gedafenæð** to wyrcenne his weorc
me-ACC/DAT befits to make his work-ACC
'it befits me to do his work'

5) One (pro)nominal argument marked as accusative, accusative/dative or dative case, and another one expressed as a finite clausal complement, typically a *þæt*-clause; for example (13):

(13) ... ðu goda cyningc, **licað** ðe
you-NOM good-NOM king-NOM, pleases you-ACC/DAT
wel þæt Apollonius ... þus heonon fare ...?
well that Apollonius thus from here go
'good King, does it please you well that Apollonius ... departs from here thus ...?'

6) No (pro)nominal argument, only a finite clausal complement, typically a *þæt*-clause; for example (14):

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

(14) Æfter ðissum **gelamp** þæt micel manncwealm becom
After this-DAT happened that great-NOM pestilence-NOM came
ofer ðære romaniscan leode
over the-DAT Roman-DAT people-DAT
'after this it happened that a great pestilence came over the Roman people'

7) No (pro)nominal or clausal argument is involved. This pattern is restricted to a small number of Weather verbs, as in (15) (see Section 2.1 above):

(15) Nap nihtscua, norþan **sniwde** ...
grew dark night-shade-NOM from north snowed
'the shades of night grew dark, it snowed from the north'

In relation to the number of arguments of impersonal constructions, Denison (1993: 66–73) provides a useful classification which helps us re-categorise the seven basic patterns identified above into three different groups of verbs. One is zero-place impersonals, referring to verbs which occur with no arguments (e.g. *sniwan* 'snow' in example (15) above). These are distinguished from one-place impersonals, which occur with a single NP argument (e.g. *hyngrian* 'hunger' in example (9) above), or two-place impersonals, which occur with two arguments (e.g. *līcian* 'to please, be pleased, like' in example (13)).

Finally, with respect to the different formal realisations of the two possible arguments in an impersonal construction, Möhlig-Falke (2012: 119–143) presents eight different possibilities, which I briefly summarise here.

The first argument may be realised as:

1) A (pro)noun in accusative, accusative/dative or dative case (e.g. example (9) above).
2) A prepositional phrase with *tō* (e.g. example (16) below, adapted from Möhlig-Falke 2012: 126):[13]

[13] The realisation of the first participant by a prepositional phrase with *tō* is highly infrequent in general, and, apparently, Latin interference plays a part (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 126).

(16) ... larow ne <u>to ðe</u> **gibyreð** forðon
teacher-NOM not to you-ACC/DAT concerns because
ðæt we dead ... sie
that we dead-NOM be
'teacher, does it not concern you that we may die?'

3) A so-called *zero* argument (i.e. the nonrealisation of the first argument; e.g. example (14)).

Notice that a further distinction may be drawn between patterns with an expressed argument of person, which are labelled as *impersonal-accusative/dative patterns* (e.g. example (9) above), and patterns with an unrealised argument of person, which are in turn labelled as *impersonal-zero patterns* (e.g. example (14); Möhlig-Falke 2012: 13, 120). The latter are "only sparsely found in the ME records up to the early 14th century and are lost afterward" (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 14).

On the other hand, the second argument in impersonal constructions may be realised as:

1) A zero argument (e.g. example (9)).
2) A finite complement clause, most commonly introduced by *þæt* 'that' or *hwat* 'what' (e.g. example (13)).
3) A non-finite complement or infinitive clause, either bare or with *tō* (e.g. example (12)).
4) A genitive complement (e.g. example (10)).
5) A prepositional or adverbial complement (e.g. example (11)).

Finite complement clauses are the most common realisation in OE impersonal patterns, either with an expressed or an unexpressed argument of person (i.e. respectively, impersonal-accusative/dative and impersonal-zero patterns), followed by zero and non-finite complements (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 128, 134).

2.4.1. Competing personal patterns

The impersonal construction, as already pointed out in this thesis (see Chapter 1), began to disappear between about 1400 and 1500: impersonal patterns decreased in frequency, and a number of impersonal verbs disappeared from the language (e.g. ME *bōten* 'avail', *reusen* 'repent' or *thinken* 'seem, appear', Möhlig-Falke 2012: 15) and were sometimes replaced by

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

other non-impersonal verbs in PDE (e.g. ME, *me reweþ* '[there] is regret [to] me' vs. PDE, *I regret*). Yet, a good many other verbs survived beyond the EModE period (e.g. *ache*, *ail*, *hunger* or *thirst*, Möhlig-Falke 2012: 205) and, although the traditional account assumes that the Experiencer of these verbs was reanalysed as subject in all cases, several studies have pointed out that impersonal verbs in fact developed along five different syntactic paths, which offered themselves as alternative forms of expression (see Fischer & van der Leek 1983: 365–366; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 217–218; cf. Lightfoot 1979: 230; von Seefranz-Montag 1984: 526). Interestingly, the selection and conventionalisation of each of these syntactic alternatives was "highly verb-specific and depended on the semantics of the individual verb, particularly on the relationship holding between the two involved participants […]" (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 217). In the paragraphs that follow, I adapt Möhlig-Falke's account to the context of the verbs of Desire examined in this thesis (see 2012: 217–218; see also Fischer & van der Leek 1983: §2).

Path I: The Experiencer argument is interpreted as subject and the Stimulus argument, if expressed, is encoded as object. This path corresponds to so-called Experiencer-subject constructions (Fischer & van der Leek 1983: 352–354) and it is the most common path of change for impersonal verbs (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 218). It is the path followed by *hunger*, *like*, *need* or *thirst* (e.g. PDE, *She likes money*, Fischer & van der Leek 1983: 363).

Path II: The Experiencer is interpreted as object and the Stimulus is encoded as the subject of the clause. This path corresponds to so-called Experiencer-object constructions in Croft (1991: 219), or Cause-subject constructions in Fischer & van der Leek (1983: 349–352). This is the path followed by *ail* or *please* (e.g. PDE, *Her decision pleased me*, Fischer & van der Leek 1983: 363).

Path III: The impersonal verb was used in an *(h)it*-extraposition construction in which the Experiencer was encoded as the (prepositional) object and the Stimulus was encoded as an extraposed clausal complement. The place of the subject was occupied by a non-referential subject *(h)it* and the clausal complement was displaced to post-verbal position. This path was followed by *please* or *seem* (e.g. PDE, *It seemed to him that the weather would not last*, Fischer & van der Leek 1983: 363).

Path IV: The impersonal verb was used in middle-reflexive patterns where the Experiencer was expressed both as the subject and as a co-referential reflexive pronoun. The reflexive pronoun may be said to be pleonastic in that it is semantically redundant (e.g. 1584, *They rate the goods without reason as they lust themselues*, OED s.v. *lust*, v. †3. †c.). This syntactic use declines towards the end of the ME period (Lange 2007: 137–144), and it is found with verbs like OE *sceamian* (> ME *shāmen*), ME *lusten*, *reuen* and *wonderen* (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 222).

Path V: The impersonal verb was used in passive or adjectival patterns with a form of *to be* or *to become* combined with a past participle or a related adjective. The Experiencer was encoded as the subject of the clause and the Stimulus could be introduced as an optional adjunct. Verbs that appear in passive or adjectival patterns include *hunger*, *please* or *thirst* (e.g. PDE, *I am not quite pleased with your looks*, OED s.v. *please*, v. 4. a.; see also Möhlig-Falke 2012: 223–225).

2.5. THE FUNCTION OF IMPERSONAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN EARLIER ENGLISH

Early scholars such as van der Gaaf (1904) and Jespersen (1961[1927]) paid little attention to the ultimate function served by impersonal patterns, as they were concerned primarily with the motivations for their eventual loss. In the 1970s, however, McCawley (1976) put forward some insightful hints on the semantics of impersonals, and hence on the question of what the function(s) of impersonal constructions are, by comparison with other syntactic patterns. She argued that the essential characteristic of Experiencer arguments is that the person referred to is "unvolitionally/unself-controllably" involved in the situation (1976: 194). In particular, she claimed that the OE nominative/dative distinction has a semantic basis, because the nominative stands for Agent and the dative stands for Recipient (see *ibid*.: 201). Thus, the codification of the Experiencer in the dative case allowed to codify the human participant as a Recipient rather than an Agent, with the result that the process was conceived of as spontaneous and uncontrolled, rather than volitionally controlled by a Causer or Doer. Following from this, the OE impersonal construction is seen as having a distinct function in the OE syntactic and semantic system, so that any account of the demise of impersonal patterns requires the consideration of the syntax-semantics interface, a view that has subsequently been endorsed in whole or in part by Fischer & van der Leek (1983: 355) and, more recently, by Möhlig-Falke (2012: 68).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

Möhlig-Falke (2012: 68) in particular argues that the OE impersonal construction had a "special perspectival function in that it foregrounded a dative argument of person and backgrounded a nominative subject that controlled verbal agreement". In this view, the nuclear function of the impersonal construction in OE is:

> to syntactically express a shift of perspective on an inherently transitive SoA by (1) suppressing, or backgrounding, the nominative subject representing the entity that controlled the SoA, and (2) foregrounding the Goal-endpoint of the SoA as the primary 'locus of action.' (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 231)

In other words, the controller of the process is backgrounded, and the expression of the first participant as an accusative or dative phrase morphologically marks it as the Goal of the event or process denoted by the verb (see also Pishwa 1999: 139). In this regard, it has been suggested that the OE impersonal construction shows similarities to the middle (or mediopassive) voice (see in particular von Seefranz-Montag 1984: 525; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 69, among others). In fact, von Seefranz-Montag (1984: 525) suggests that impersonal constructions are distributed complementary to mediopassive (as well as reflexive) constructions in various Indo-European languages. For example, in late Latin the loss of mediopassive constructions leads to a relative increase in the use of impersonal constructions, from which it follows that mediopassive constructions must be semantically equivalent to impersonal constructions, with the latter taking over the functions expressed by the former.

In an important monograph, Kemmer (1993: 1–3) characterises the middle voice as a category that has typological validity and which finds different means of expression across the grammatical systems of different languages. Some languages express the middle voice by lexical means, whereas others have morphological or syntactic mechanisms to encode this conceptual category (see Möhlig-Falke 2012: 69). Kemmer's conceptual analysis captures the fact that middle events have a common semantic core in that the participant expressed as subject is primarily conceived of as an affected entity in the process (see Kemmer's notion of *subject-affectedness*, 1993: 3). For instance, *the book* in *The book sells well* is first and foremost the entity that undergoes the process of selling. Notice further that it is the only participant which is syntactically expressed, whereas the Agent or Initiator of the process is left unexpressed. It is in this regard that middle constructions may be said to be functionally close to OE impersonal constructions, as they both involve an event or process for which there is "no conceivable CAUSER", and which is conceptualised as unvolitional (McCawley 1976: 201).

Middle events may be said to have reduced transitivity in that the process does not extend from one participant to another (see Möhlig-Falke 2012: 71). Given that the only participant being expressed in *The book sells well* is the affected entity *the book*, the Initiator or Causer of the process is inevitably left out of the scene. By contrast, in a prototypical transitive clause two distinct participants are syntactically expressed as subject and object (e.g. *He broke the vase*; see Hopper & Thompson 1980), such that they represent two distinct entities which are maximally opposed: the action is directed from one highly agentive one (i.e. the Agent *He*) to another that is highly affected by the action performed by the Agent (i.e. the Patient *the vase*).

USC
UNIVERSIDADE
DE SANTIAGO
DE COMPOSTELA

3. THE NATURE OF VERB MEANING AND CONSTRUCTIONAL MEANING

3.1. Verb meaning

The semantic analysis of verbs of Desire proposed in this thesis is inspired by Möhlig-Falke's (2012: 79*ff*) cognitive-functional analysis of OE impersonal verbs, which combines, among others, the models of Fillmore (1982, 1986), Langacker (1987), Dowty (1991) and Croft (1991, 2012). Goldberg's (1995, 2006) model of Construction Grammar further allows us to account for the variant argument realisations in which individual verbs are found.

In order to arrive at a precise characterisation of verbs of Desire, aspects related to the nature of verb meaning along with the semantic nature of verbal arguments are addressed in this section. In turn, aspects related to constructional meaning are addressed in Section 3.2, with a focus on the relationship between verb meaning and the syntactic constructions in which verbs may occur.

The issue of verb meaning involves the study of the nature of the events or states of affairs denoted by verbs. The term *State of Affairs* (SoA; Dik 1997: 51; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 83; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 56), briefly introduced in Chapter 2, refers to a verb as "something that can be said to occur, take place, or obtain in some world; it can be located in time and space; it can be said to take a certain time (have a certain duration); and it can be seen, heard, or otherwise perceived" (Dik 1997: 51).

Within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics, Fillmore (1982) states that the speaker's knowledge of the meaning of verb lexemes consists not only of a definition of its basic meaning, but also of a complex system of concepts forming what is called a verb's *semantic frame*. The semantic frame of a verb is conceived by Fillmore as "characterizing a small abstract 'scene' or 'situation', so that to understand the semantic structure of the verb it is necessary to understand the properties of such schematized scenes" (Fillmore 1982: 115). The semantic frame is assumed to be part of speakers' knowledge about the nature of verbal predicates and,

more specifically, the semantic frame of a given verb includes the following three dimensions (see Möhlig-Falke 2012: 59–60):

(a) The number of participants that are profiled by the verb, as well as the semantic roles they represent. Profiled participants are syntactically expressed by obligatory arguments.
(b) The semantic properties of the SoA which are lexically expressed, such as dynamicity, control and causation.
(c) The circumstances typically associated with a SoA, such as space and time. These are syntactically expressed as optional adjuncts or as prepositional complements.

As part of the specification of lexical entries, verbs determine which participants of their semantic frame are obligatorily represented as "focal points within the scene" designated by the verb (Goldberg 1995: 44). This is known as the *lexical profile* of verbs (*verbal profile* in Croft 2012: 206), and it includes those participant roles which are given a significant degree of "salience" by virtue of their relative degree of prominence (Fillmore 1977: 97*ff*). Langacker defines *profile* as:

> The entity designated by a semantic structure. It is a substructure within the base that is obligatorily accessed, functions as the focal point within the objective scene, and achieves a special degree of prominence […]. (Langacker 1987: 491)

The notion of profile allows us to distinguish among individual verbs that have analogous meanings, but which show differences with regard to profiling. For instance, a pair of near-synonymous verbs such as *rob* and *steal* have in common that they both denote processes whereby an entity takes something without permission, and with no intention to return it (see *Lexico's Dictionary* s.v. *steal*, verb). However, they are crucially distinguished by the number and type of lexically profiled participants: in the case of *rob*, the verb profiles the semantic roles of Target and Thief, whereas *steal* profiles the Goods and the Thief instead. This variation in semantic profiling is formalised by Goldberg as shown in Figure 1 below (1995: 45), where the boldface signals the profiled participant roles. This difference in profiling is reflected in their differing syntactic realisations, which are exemplified in (17) and (18) below, where it can be seen that the profiled participants are expressed by direct grammatical relations, while unprofiled participants are expressed by optional syntactic elements.

rob <**Thief Target** Goods>
steal <**Thief** Target **Goods**>

Figure 1: Lexical profiling of the near-synonymous verbs *rob* and *steal* (adapted from Goldberg 1995: 45)

(17) Jesse robbed the rich (of all their money)
Thief **Target** Goods

(18) Jesse stole money (from the rich)
Thief **Goods** Target

Turning now to dimension (b) above —i.e. the semantic properties that can characterise SoA— three properties stand out in the context of this thesis, namely *dynamicity*, *control* and *causation* (see Möhlig-Falke 2012: 56). The property of dynamicity is related to whether a given SoA changes over time —i.e. whether it represents a process, as in examples (19) and (20) below (examples adapted from Möhlig-Falke 2012: 58)— or whether, by contrast, there is an absence of change in the SoA described by the verb —i.e. it is a state, as in example (21) (see Croft 1991: 63). The property of control relates to whether any of the participants intentionally initiates or stops the SoA, a property that is observable only in animate or human participants. According to the feature of control, processes can be controlled, as in example (19), or uncontrolled, as in example (20), which is therefore perceived as arising spontaneously. In the case of states, the focus is generally laid on the state itself rather than the entity that controls it.

(19) The girl bounced the ball around the room [process, controlled]

(20) He grieved sorely [process, uncontrolled]

(21) The boy is afraid [state]

The property of causation[14] relates to whether any of the participants is primarily responsible for bringing about the SoA, so that in a causative SoA an external force can be identified which causes a certain event, regardless of whether it exhibits the feature of control or not. Compare in this regard examples (22)–(25) (see Möhlig-Falke 2012: 58).

[14] For a detailed discussion of the concept of *causation* and its different types, see Croft (2012: 199–205).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

(22) His condition quickly worsened [uncontrolled uncaused process]

(23) This new illness worsened his condition [uncontrolled caused process]

(24) The woman looked at the sky [controlled uncaused process]

(25) The clown pleased the children [controlled caused process]

From the point of view of causation, SoA can be further characterised in terms of the event structure they display, with respect in particular to so-called *force-dynamic relations* (Talmy 1985). A force-dynamic (causal) theory of argument realisation is based on the assumption that it is possible to describe variant syntactic argument structures with reference to the type of asymmetric relation holding between an *Initiator* —that is, the participant who is responsible for initiating and controlling the SoA— and an *Endpoint* —that is, the participant to which the SoA is directed and which suffers its effects (Croft 1991: 166–167; 2012: 197–208; also Croft *et al*. 1987: 184). Figure 2 below illustrates the verbal segment of the so-called *causal chain*,[15] which represents the transmission of force taking place between the participants in the SoA (Croft 1991: 162). The force-dynamic relationship can be either physical (e.g. *Sarah* [=Initiator] *broke the window* [=Endpoint]) or mental (e.g. *Sarah* [=Initiator] *convinced me* [=Endpoint] *(to go to the party*); see Croft 1991: 166–167, 2012: 199; Talmy 1985).

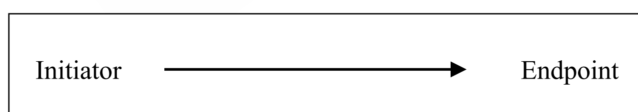


Figure 2: The force-dynamic relationship between Initiator and Endpoint (after Croft 1991: 173)

The causal structure of SoA is closely intertwined with the semantic properties of the participants involved in it. In order to provide a semantic characterisation of participant roles, Dowty (1991: 576) puts forward the concept of Proto-role, which rests on the assumption that semantic roles are prototypically structured as categories formed by clusters of semantic features. Dowty (1991: 551) further introduces the *Argument Selection Principle*, postulating that the argument that shows the greatest number of so-called Proto-agent properties will be

[15] Cf. the related term *action chain* in Langacker (1991: 283).

encoded as subject, whereas the argument showing the greatest number of Proto-patient properties will be encoded as direct object. The semantic clusters of features that characterise the Proto-agent and Proto-patient roles are displayed in Table 1. Except for Property 2, the properties on the left may be understood broadly as counterparts of the properties on the right.[16] Notice that the semantic properties of dynamicity, control and causation identified for the classification of SoA correlate with Proto-patient property 1 and Proto-agent properties 1 and 3, respectively.

	Proto-agent	**Proto-patient**
1.	Volitional involvement in the event or state	Undergoes change of state
2.	Sentience (and/or perception)	Incremental Theme
3.	Causing an event or change of state in another participant	Causally affected by another participant
4.	Movement (relative to the position of another participant)	Lack of movement (relative to the position of another participant)
5.	Exists independently of the event named by the verb	Does not exist independently of the event, or not at all

Table 1: Semantic features of the Proto-agent and Proto-patient roles (adapted from Dowty 1991: 572)

With regard to three-place predicates, Dowty points out that the non-subject argument with the greatest number of Proto-patient properties will be encoded as direct object, while the non-subject argument with the fewest Proto-patient properties will surface as an oblique or prepositional complement (see *Corollary 2*, Dowty 1991: 576). This corollary allows Dowty to discuss three-place predicates taking oblique Goal and Source arguments (e.g. PDE, *John put the lamp <u>on the table</u>* [=Goal, oblique]; PDE, *John removed the lamp <u>from the box</u>* [=Source, oblique], Dowty 1991: 578; see further Hopper & Thompson 1980: 263; Levin 1993: 49–55). Dowty gives an explanation in this respect:

[16] In relation to Table 1, an incremental Theme is "an NP that can determine the aspect of the sentence, since the parts of the event correspond to parts of the NP referent that are affected by the action; the event is 'complete' only if all parts of the NP referent are affected (or effected)" (Dowty 1991: 588; cf. Hopper & Thompson's *affectedness of object*, 1980: 252–253). An example of incremental Theme would be, for instance, the NP in the sentence *mow <u>the lawn</u>*, where the telic aspect of the event of mowing can be inferred from "whether the grass on the lawn is all tall, partly short, or all short" (Dowty 1991: 267).

> Though the traditional 'Source' and 'Goal' are not really defined by any P-entailments [i.e. Proto-patient properties], it nevertheless follows from the second corollary in 32 [i.e. *Corollary 2*] that Theme arguments will be direct objects, while traditional Sources and Goals are obliques in many cases [...], because Themes have more P-Patient entailments than these other arguments. (Dowty 1991: 578)

In relation to two-place predicates taking prepositional objects (e.g. *be afraid of NP*, *rely on NP*, *suffer from NP*, etc.), Dowty does not go into much detail in his explanation of their connection to the *Argument Selection Principle* (see 1991: 576, fn. 17). In this thesis, it will be argued that Dowty's *Corollary 2* may be fruitfully extended to the prepositional use of two-place verbs such as those just mentioned, on the grounds that the oblique argument, as shall be explained in Chapter 4 in relation to verbs of Desire, may likewise be defined by few or no Proto-patient properties, displaying a low degree of affectedness.

3.2. CONSTRUCTIONAL MEANING AND THE ISSUE OF PERSPECTIVE

Goldberg's (1995, 2006) model of Construction Grammar is concerned with the nature of verb meaning and its relation to sentential meaning. A central assumption of this model of grammar is that the basic sentences of the English language are all instances of *constructions* which are considered to consist of form-meaning correspondences, having existence independent of the particular verbs which instantiate them (Goldberg 1995: 1). Goldberg (1995: 3) also speaks of *argument structure constructions*, a term which encompasses all those syntactic patterns which provide the language with "the basic means of clausal expression". In Construction Grammar, a given construction is recognised if the characteristics it shows are not predictable from other constructions in the grammar, from the lexical items contained in it or if it "occurs with sufficient frequency" (Goldberg 2006: 5); see Goldberg's quote in this regard:

> C is a construction iff_{def} C is a form-meaning pair $<F_i\ S_i>$ such that some aspect of F_i or some aspect of S_i is not strictly predictable from C's component parts or from other previously established constructions. (Goldberg 1995: 4)

The term *participant role* refers to the semantic roles that are lexically profiled by verbs, whereas the term *argument role* refers to the semantic roles provided by the syntactic construction (Goldberg 1995: 43). It is necessary to emphasise the difference between both types of roles, since there exists significant confusion in the literature as to what is a participant and what is an argument role. It often happens that the term *argument* is indistinctly applied to

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

both types of roles, leaving the question open as to what is a semantic or a syntactic phenomenon (cf. Hilpert 2014: 27, 47). Following Goldberg, in the present study participant roles will be considered to be lexically profiled, while argument roles are seen to be profiled by constructions, as signalled by the boldface in Figure 3.

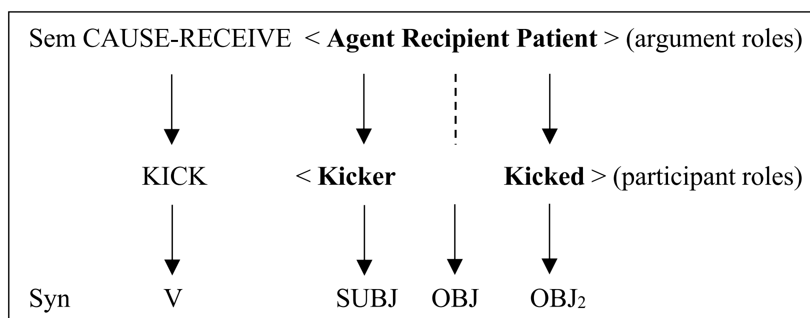


Figure 3: Constructional profiling of the PDE DITRANSITIVE construction + *kick* (adapted from Goldberg 1995: 54)

The arguments that are constructionally profiled are those which are linked to a direct grammatical relation. By contrast, arguments linked to oblique grammatical relations are considered to be unprofiled (Goldberg 1995: 48*ff*). The DITRANSITIVE construction profiles the argument roles <**Agent Recipient Patient**>, which are fused with the participant roles of *kick* <**Kicker Kicked**>. The structure above yields examples such as PDE *Joe kicked Bill the ball*. The participant roles of *kick* are conceived of as more specific instances of the abstract argument roles Agent and Patient profiled by the construction, respectively. This is possible due to the *Semantic Coherence Principle*, which states that "two roles are semantically compatible iff [i.e. if and only if] one role can be construed [i.e. conceptualised] as an instance of the other" (Goldberg 1995: 56). Accordingly, in the previous example the Kicker fuses with the Agent argument due to the fact that the former can be plausibly construed as a more specific instance of the latter, insofar as the Kicker acts volitionally on a Patient (i.e. the Kicked). In addition, according to Goldberg (1995: 53), the so-called *Correspondence Principle* states that "each participant role that is lexically profiled and expressed must be fused with a profiled argument role of the construction". However, there exist exceptions to this principle in cases in which the verb profiles three participant roles, while the syntactic construction profiles only two. For instance, in the PDE sentence *I put the keys* <u>*in the pocket*</u> [=Put-place, oblique] the verb profiles three participant roles <**Putter Put-place Puttee**> (Goldberg 1995: 52), but the CAUSED-MOTION construction profiles only two <**Cause Theme** Goal>. This leads to the expression of the Put-place participant as an oblique Goal, which is constructionally unprofiled. In view of

this, Goldberg (1995: 53) also further states that the *Correspondence Principle* “allows for one participant role to be linked to a nonprofiled argument role in cases in which the verb lexically profiles three participant roles”.

Argument roles relate to specific grammatical relations (e.g. subject or object), and they are generally more abstract than participant roles (e.g. Agent, Patient, Theme or Goal). These highly general labels can be seen as inadequate for describing the participant roles of particular verbs, because they tend to overlook the semantic differences involved among individual predicates. They may also be seen as insufficient for “providing an account of the semantic motivation for argument structure” (Croft 2012: 22). Consequently, scholars such as Dowty (1991) and Goldberg (1995) have adopted specific semantic roles for individual predicates, corresponding to what we will call participant roles (e.g. Kicker or Kicked), whereas more general labels are kept for the argument roles of constructions (see e.g. Goldberg 1995: 43). Further, the framework in Dowty (1991) introduced in the preceding section can be fruitfully employed to distinguish between the semantic properties of participant and argument roles, with a view to accounting for the different interpretations received by the participants of individual verbs in particular syntactic constructions (see for discussion Goldberg 1995: 116*ff*; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 63–65).

As regards the relationship between participant and argument roles, there exist a number of ways in which both types of roles can match each other. Going back to the case of the verb *kick* in Figure 3 above, for instance, the construction here adds an argument role which is not profiled by the verb, namely the Recipient, which is provided by the construction rather than the verb. This phenomenon is signalled by the discontinuous line in the figure. The implication of this is that there is a mismatch between the participant roles of the verb and the argument roles of the construction, with consequences for the semantic interpretation of the sentence. The ideal situation is one in which the verb’s participant roles exactly match the argument roles of the construction, in which case an unmarked sentence such as PDE *John broke a leg* results; notice that here the Breaker and the Broken are in direct correspondence with the Agent and the Patient roles of the TRANSITIVE construction, respectively. It may also be the case that a certain participant role matches with an unprofiled argument role, which generally results in its syntactic expression by an optional syntactic element, as in PDE *Hanna sent a postcard (to her family)*. Here, *postcard* represents the profiled Patient, while the unprofiled Sendee finds expression only by means of the prepositional optional element *to her family*, because the

TRANSITIVE construction does not profile a Recipient role. Additionally, it is not uncommon that a construction leaves a participant role wholly unexpressed, as in PDE *The bread cuts easily*, where the Agent role is omitted by the middle-construction pattern. In fact, four different types of phenomena may be differentiated whereby a participant role may be left unexpressed by a construction, including *shading*, *cutting*, *role merging* and *(in)definite null complements* (Fillmore 1986: 96). The account provided in Goldberg (1995: 56–59) is reproduced in (1)–(4) below, with slight adjustments (see also Möhlig-Falke 2012: 63–64).

1) **Shading** occurs when a participant role is "put in the shadows", so that it ceases to be profiled or conceptually salient. This process may also be called *deprofiling*, and it is observed in passive constructions such as PDE *The letter was written (by Mariah)*, where the deprofiled Agent *Mariah* is either syntactically omitted or optionally expressed by the adjunct phrase *by Mariah*.

2) **Cutting** is observed when a participant is left unexpressed, in much the same way as shaded participants, although a crucial difference exists in that a cut participant cannot be optionally expressed by an adjunct phrase. This process corresponds to the middle-construction pattern abovementioned (i.e. PDE, *The bread cuts easily*). Given that the Agent cannot be expressed by an optional *by*-phrase, it can figuratively be said to be 'cut out' (i.e. completely removed) from the scene (cf. **The bread cuts easily by Sarah*).

3) **Role merging**. A given participant may be merged with another one so that both are fused in a single argument role, which is in turn connected with a single grammatical function. This process is observed, for instance, in the intransitive use of inherently reflexive verbs (e.g. PDE, *He is washing*), where the subject *He* conflates both the Agent and the Patient participant roles (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 64).

4) **Null complements**. According to Fillmore (1986: 96), there are two different types of unexpressed roles. One of them is termed *indefinite null complement*, comprising cases where the identity of the unexpressed role is unknown or irrelevant in the context of the utterance (cf. Levin 1993: 33). For instance, in a sentence like (26) below, the object of *drink* is left unexpressed because to clarify the identity of what has been drunk is irrelevant.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

Indefinite null complements of this type are conceptually nonsalient, that is, they have no special prominence and are generally unprofiled by the verb. Further, they are not necessarily retrievable from the context (or co-text), as exemplified in (27), where, even though it is implied that *Chris* drove from somewhere, the identity of the Source role need not be inferable to either the speaker or addressee (examples taken from Goldberg 1995: 58–59).

(26) After the operation to clear her esophagus, Pat ate and drank all evening.

(27) Chris drove across the country.

Another type of unexpressed participant is termed *definite null complement* (cf. the term *null instantiation* in Hilpert 2014: 44–45). This type is exemplified in (28) and (29) below (taken from Goldberg 1995: 59), with the square brackets signalling the slot where the unexpressed role would appear. Definite null complements, unlike the indefinite null complement above, represent profiled participants which are conceptually salient, but which may be omitted when they are clearly recoverable from the co(n)-text. Thus, examples (28) and (29) imply that the Blamed and the Won participants, respectively, are contextually known to both speaker and addressee in spite of the fact that they are elided in this particular type of syntactic pattern.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

(28) Chris blamed Pat [ ]

(29) Jo won [ ]

According to Fillmore (1986: 96), one way to distinguish between indefinite and definite null complements is to assess whether “it would sound odd for a speaker to admit ignorance of the identity of the referent of the missing phrase”. It would certainly sound odd in (29) to admit that *Jo won* without knowing what it is that (s)he won. By contrast, in (26) it would not sound odd to wonder what *Pat ate and drank*.

We turn now to the discussion of the issue of perspective, which allows us to describe the different functions performed by syntactic constructions. It has been frequently argued that different syntactic constructions encode alternative conceptualisations of the same SoA (Lakoff 1987; Langacker 1987). It is a feature of basic cognitive functioning that the mind imposes this conceptual organisation in order to modify the perspective or position "from which a scene is viewed, with consequences for the relative prominence of its participants" (Langacker 1987: 117; see also Fillmore 1977: 87, 97). The issue of perspective is ultimately grounded in the domain of visual perception, in which it is possible to perceive a physical object from different perspectives: i.e. front/back, top/bottom, left/right, etc., so that any type of complex scene may be alternatively observed from the perspective of one participant or another, with consequences for the relative degrees of proximity and salience assigned to each of the elements involved (compare e.g. *The girl is in front of the tree* vs. *The girl is behind the tree*; see Croft & Cruse 2004: 59).

Variations in perspective operate in a similar manner as far as linguistic predications are concerned, a phenomenon that is manifested at different levels of grammatical structure. For example, perspective is reflected on the system of transitivity when a transitive event may be alternatively expressed by an active or a passive construction. In the active counterpart, the SoA is viewed from the perspective of the Initiator, whereas in the passive it is rather viewed from the perspective of the Endpoint (see Langacker 1987: 120; Seoane 2000: 25; 2009[2006]: 370–371; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 193). Perspective plays a role also in the linear organisation of information structure, since different sentence components may be said to be foregrounded or promoted to a priviledged syntactic position when they are selected as topic, and backgrounded or demoted when they are selected as focus (Traugott 2006: 339). Shifts of perspective also involve a change in the cognitive alignment into *foreground* —i.e. the substructure which is perceived as 'standing out' and which constitutes the viewpoint from which the scene is viewed— and *background* —i.e. the remainder of the scene against which the foreground is singled out (Langacker 1987: 120, 124). For instance, it may be recalled that the function of the OE impersonal construction has been described as a shift of perspective whereby a dative argument of person was foregrounded and a nominative argument controlling verbal agreement was backgrounded (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 68; see Chapter 2). This allows Möhlig-Falke (2012: 74) to argue that the impersonal construction had a function in the OE system of transitivity:

"it had a perspectival function linking it [i.e. the impersonal construction] with the concepts of the middle voice on the one hand […] and subjectivity on the other […]".

3.3. THE SEMANTIC DOMAIN OF PHYSICAL SENSATION

The present section, and Section 3.4 below, pay attention to the semantic domains which are relevant for the discussion of verbs of Desire in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. Verbs of Physical Sensation, which are linked to the verbs of Emotion discussed in Section 3.4, "involve a Feeler as primary participant, that is, an animate and prototypically human being who is sentient and affected by an internal process of perception" (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 87). The participant role of Feeler constitutes a more concrete instantiation of the Experiencer role. Physical sensations generally take place wholly within the Feeler himself or herself, and they are commonly associated with a physical change of state, such as coldness, hunger, pain, sickness, thirst or tiredness (*ibid.*).

Three different participants are involved in the semantic frame of physical-sensation verbs: the Feeler (Experiencer), the Body-part (Location) and the Cause (Stimulus), with individual verbs profiling different parts of this semantic frame (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 88–89). For instance, the PDE verb *itch* profiles the relationship between the Feeler and the Body-part (e.g. PDE, *My eyes* [=Body-part] *are itching (me)* [=Feeler]). The subject of this verb encodes the Body-part element and, in transitive use, the object encodes the Feeler of the state, which is in turn the possessor of the Body-part (Levin 1993: 224–225). In constrast, the PDE verb *hurt* profiles the relationship between the Cause and the Feeler when used transitively (e.g. PDE, *She* [=Cause] *hurt John* [=Feeler] *in the leg* [=Body-part]); in this case, the Body-part element is lexically defocused, being thus expressed by an optional syntactic element (see Section 3.2 above). It can, nonetheless, be alternatively expressed as an object when the verb has a non-agentive interpretation, in which case the Feeler functions as subject (e.g. PDE, *Teresa* [=Feeler] *hurt her ankle* [=Body-part]; see Levin 1993: 226).

Given that physical sensations tend to be located within a particular part of the body, they may be said to be linked to the Location schema (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 88). This implies that the Body-part constitutes a more concrete instantiation of a locative type of role. The parts of the body where physical sensations can be located show great variation, according to the circumstances in which the SoA occurs. Some physical sensations are located in the head (e.g.

PDE, *My head is pounding*), the mouth (e.g. PDE, *My mouth is burning*) or the back (e.g. PDE, *My back hurts*; see Levin 1993: 224–227).

With regard to the semantic feature of dynamicity, verbs of Physical Sensation may be dynamic when they denote a process taking place between an Initiator and an Endpoint (e.g. PDE, *Mary* [=Initiator] *hurt John* [=Endpoint] *in the leg*), or non-dynamic when they denote a state, in which case only the Endpoint pole of the chain can be identified (e.g. PDE, *My eyes* [=Endpoint] *are itching*). Verbs of Physical Sensation are also characterised by a lack of intention and control on the part of the Feeler. Thus, in an example like PDE *My back aches*, the Feeler is not responsible for initiating or controlling the SoA, and the event is rather conceptualised as arising spontaneously. With regard to the feature of causation, two differentiated types of verbs can be distinguished: on the one hand, there are causative verbs which profile a Cause or Initiator (e.g. *burn*, *hurt* or *injure*; e.g. PDE, *The explosion* [=Cause] *injured several people*); on the other, there are verbs which do not have a Cause in their profile, with the result that no external force can be identified which inititates the SoA (e.g. *ache*, *hunger*, *itch* or *thirst*; PDE, *My legs ached*; see Möhlig-Falke 2012: 89).

3.4. The semantic domain of Emotion

As already noted, the semantic domain of Emotion is linked to the domain of Physical Sensation. The reason for this is that emotions are frequently, though not necessarily, accompanied by physical symptoms (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 90). The emotion of love, for instance, may go along with a pounding in the heart; the emotion of shame may go along with blushing. It also happens that verbs of Emotion may develop figurative extensions of physical-sensation meanings (e.g. *hunger* or *thirst*; see e.g. OED s.v. *thirst*, v. 3.). Verbs of Emotion typically encode two arguments, including, firstly, a human participant and, secondly, some sort of *emotional correlative*[17] or Stimulus. The primary human participant constitutes an instantiation of the semantic role of Experiencer, and it is prototypically a human being who is "sentient of and affected by a process of perception that is accompanied by a change of state within himself or herself" (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 90).

[17] This is a semantically neutral term used by Möhlig-Falke to make reference to the second argument of verbs of Emotion, irrespective of the different semantic properties associated with them. It is a rough translation of hers for Kailuweit's (2002) term G. *Empfindungskorrelat* (in Möhlig-Falke 2012: 92, 111, fn. 9).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

Verbs of Emotion are inherently dynamic, and they typically encode a process taking place between an Initiator and an Endpoint. In terms of force-dynamics, they exhibit a particular type of causal structure in that the semantic link existing between the two entities is bidirectional. That is, the human participant —i.e. the Experiencer— may be an Initiator who directs his or her attention towards a second entity, but it may also be an Endpoint of an emotional reaction caused by another animate or inanimate entity, or some property of it, which is in turn seen as responsible for triggering the process either intentionally or by virtue of its mere existence. This two-way causal relation is represented in Figure 4.

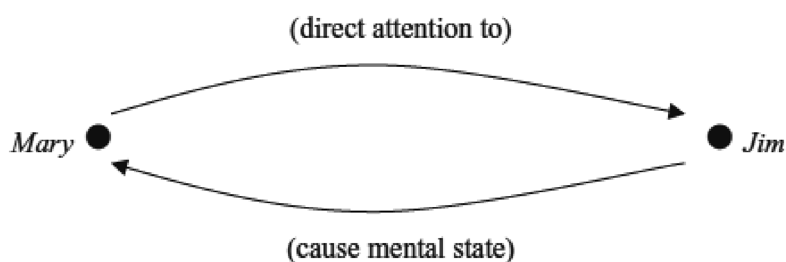


Figure 4: The two-way causal relation of verbs of Emotion (adapted from Croft 1991: 219)

In this light, Croft (1991: 219) argues that, on the level of cognition, neither of the two participants involved is a prototypical Initiator nor a prototypical Endpoint. From the perspective of the first part of the relation, *Mary* represents the Initiator of the SoA, with *Jim* representing an unaffected Endpoint (e.g. PDE, *Mary likes John*). From the perspective of the second part of the relation, the same participant *Mary* becomes an Endpoint that is affected by the Initiator *Jim*, who intentionally does something to induce a mental state on her (e.g. PDE, *John pleases Mary*; see also Pishwa 1999: 133). Notice that each conceptualisation bears on the semantic properties of control and causation of the SoA, as well as on the properties of the participants themselves, which vary with regard to the features of volition (Proto-agent Property 1), causation (Proto-agent Property 3), change of state (Proto-patient Property 1) or causal affectedness (Proto-patient Property 3).

This bidirectional relation is largely responsible for the variation observed in the syntactic patterning of verbs of Emotion. It is a well-known fact that in all languages there are alternative grammatical constructions for the description of cognitively-based emotions (Croft 1991: 219; Kemmer 1993: 131–132; Wierzbicka 1999: 276). This phenomenon has been observed, for instance, in the history of English in the particular case of the impersonal verb *hrēowan* ‘to feel

sorrow/pity; rue, repent'. With this verb, the Experiencer argument has been found to alternate between nominative and accusative or dative case marking, with the nominative case being chosen when it represents an intentional Initiator, as in example (30) below, whereas the dative Experiencer was chosen when it represented the affected Endpoint of a spontaneous process, as in example (31) (see Allen 1986: 403–405, 1995: 144–149; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 91, 219–220). This yielded a contrast between the personal construction in (30) and the impersonal construction in (31).

(30) ... forðæmðe <u>hie</u> ne magon ealneg <u>ealla</u> on ane tid
therefore <u>they-NOM</u> not can always <u>all-ACC</u> on one time
Experiencer/Initiator Rued
emnsare **hreowan** [...]
equally bitterly repent
'therefore they cannot always repent all [sins] at one time equally bitterly […]'
[CP [2109 (53.413.27)]; example adapted from Möhlig-Falke (2012: 91)]

(31) ... se munuc feoll to þæs halgan weres fotum
the monk-NOM fell to the-GEN holy-GEN man-GEN feet-DAT
[and] <u>him</u> swiðe **hreow**, <u>ðæt he swa dysiglice dyde</u> ...
and <u>him-DAT</u> greatly rued <u>that he so foolishly did</u>
Experiencer/Endpoint Rued
'the monk fell to the holy man's feet and rued sorely what he had done so foolishly'
[GD 2 (C) [0383 (19.143.20)]; example adapted from Möhlig-Falke (2012: 91)]

Alternative syntactic realisations have similarly been reported for the personal use of the impersonal verb *like* in EModE, a member of Levin's (1993) class of Psych-verbs. Thus, as the formerly impersonal *like* became established in the personal construction, it could alternate between Experiencer-subject and Experiencer-object constructions such as (32) and (33) below, respectively, until the verb eventually settled into an Experiencer-subject pattern in PDE usage (examples from Trousdale 2008: 310, my emphasis; see also Elmer 1981: 110–113; Allen 1986: 383; Miura 2015: 181, 185; Castro-Chao 2018).

(32) her name is Buckle, a Sharpsheare woman: if you **like** of it, I would thinke of haueing of her; for I haue no body aboute me (1633)

(33) these two, trauelinge into east kent, resorted vnto an ale house there, being weried with traueling, saluting with short curtisey, when they came into the house, such as thei sawe sitting there, in whiche company was the parson of the parish; and callinge for a pot of the best ale, sat down at the tables ende: the lykor [i.e. liquor, beverage] **liked** them so well, that they had pot vpon pot (1567)

In (32), the Experiencer represents the Initiator of the SoA (*you*), whereas in (33) it represents the Endpoint (*them*). Thus, the examples above show that in EModE it was possible for the same verb to profile both parts of Croft's two-way causal relation, and also that the Experiencer participant could receive different interpretations as either Initiator or Endpoint depending on the different syntactic constructions in which it was found (see further Croft 1991: 222). This idea is expressed by Croft as follows:

> If a mental state can be expressed as either a subject-experiencer form or an object-experiencer form in a given language, then the subject-experiencer version is interpreted as implying more volition or direction of attention to the stimulus than the object-experiencer version. The reason for this is that the subject is conceptualized as having control, or at least more control, over the state of affairs denoted by the verb; in mental state verbs, this means more control in directing one's attention to the stimulus. (Croft 1991: 219)

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

In English, it is also common for pairs of near-synonymous verbs to profile one of the two parts of the two-way causal relation, so that the variant conceptual content is expressed by two semantically-related but distinct lexical units. Compare for instance the Emotion verb *like* (e.g. PDE, *Mary* ***likes*** *Jim*) with *please* (e.g. PDE, *Jim* ***pleases*** *Mary*). In the first case, the first part of the two-way causal relation 'direct attention to' is profiled, since the SoA is brought about because the Initiator *Mary* directs her attention to the second participant. In the case of *please*, however, it is the second part of the relation 'cause mental state' that is profiled, since it is *Jim* that is conceived of as responsible for initiating or causing an emotional state on *Mary*.

To conclude this chapter, it is also interesting to note that, depending on the degree to which the properties of intention and control are observable in the Stimulus argument (*Jim* in Figure 4), the second participant of verbs of Emotion may be alternatively perceived as a Cause —i.e. "something from which the experience emanates or by which the experience is effected" (Fischer & van der Leek 1983: 346)— or as a ToE —i.e. something to which attention is directed (see Möhlig-Falke 2012: 92; Allen 1995: 144). Thus, if the Stimulus represents the Initiator of the process, then it needs to be interpreted as a Cause, as in PDE *Jim* [=Cause/Initiator] *pleases Mary*; but, by contrast, if it has more properties of an Endpoint, it

must then be interpreted as an instance of a ToE, as in PDE *Mary likes Jim* [=ToE/Endpoint]. The term *Stimulus*, which is here considered as more neutral than Cause or ToE, will be adopted in the present study when it becomes necessary to refer to the second argument of verbs of Emotion regardless of the different semantic features associated with the verb's participants.

USC
UNIVERSIDADE
DE SANTIAGO
DE COMPOSTELA

4. THE CLASS OF VERBS OF DESIRE

As pointed out in Chapter 1, the aim of this thesis is to offer an analysis of the development of verbs of Desire during the EModE period (1500–1700). This chapter, therefore, gives an overview of this class of verbs, prior to the corpus-based treatment of the three selected verbs of Desire presented in Chapters 6 (*lust*), 7 (*thirst*) and 8 (*long*).

The label *verbs of Desire* is adopted from Levin's monograph (1993: 194–195) on English lexical organisation and diathesis alternations in PDE. She identifies the class of verbs of Desire as a semantically coherent class which, in PDE, exhibits a specific syntactic behaviour, on the assumption that "the behaviour of a verb, particularly with respect to the expression and interpretation of its arguments, is to a large extent determined by its meaning" (1993: 1). The class of verbs of Desire consists of the twenty verbs listed below, which are further subdivided into *want* verbs, if they are transitive (e.g. PDE, *Dorothy* ***needs*** <u>*new shoes*</u>), and *long* verbs, if intransitive taking a prepositional complement (e.g. PDE, *Dana* ***longs*** <u>*for a sunny day*</u>; see Section 1.1). The prepositions in parenthesis relate to prepositional use in PDE.

(a) ***Want*** **verbs**: *covet*, *crave*, *desire*, *fancy*, *need*, *want*.

(b) ***Long*** **verbs**: *ache (for)*, *crave (for)*, *dangle (after)*, *fall (for)*, *hanker (after/for)*, *hunger (for)*, *hope (for)*, *itch (for)*, *long (for)*, *lust (after/for)*, *pine (for)*, *pray (for)*, *thirst (after/for)*, *wish (for)*, *yearn (after/for)*.

Some members of the class of Desire are of native origin from OE (e.g. *ache*, *fall*, *hunger*, *long*, *need*), whereas others were coined in the ME and EModE periods (e.g. *lust*, *fancy*), or are loans from Old Norse or French (e.g. *want* or *pray*, respectively). Some of these verbs conveyed the sense 'to desire' already in OE (e.g. *thirst*), whereas others developed this particular sense in the ME period (e.g. *crave* or *itch*). Several verbs of Desire acquired the sense 'to desire' by semantic extension from other existing verb senses; for instance, *itch* develops the sense 'to desire' by extension of the original sense of physical sensation 'to have or feel an irritation of

the skin' (e.g. PDE, *the bite* ***itched*** *like crazy* [physical sensation] vs. *Paul was* ***itching*** *to get outside* [desire], *Lexico's Dictionary* s.v. *itch* verb; see also OED s.v. *itch*, v.[1] 1. and 2.). Other verbs of Desire originated in the domain of Physical Sensation, such as *ache*, *hunger*, *pine* or *thirst*. Wierzbicka (1999: 276) notes that it is not uncommon cross-linguistically that cognitively based feelings are described with reference to bodily sensations.

Verbs of Desire have often been treated along with other verbs of Emotion, such as *like* or *please*, and are in fact subsumed under the same class by Elmer (1981), Krzyszpień (1990; in Miura 2015) or Möhlig-Falke (2012: 90–93). Krzyszpień includes Desire/Longing verbs such as OE *langian* 'to long for, desire' and *lystan* 'to desire' within the group of verbs denoting emotional experiences. Elmer (1981: 37), for his part, recognises the set of OE verbs of Please/Desire as comprising OE verbs that express the sense 'to desire' (e.g. *langian* or *lystan*) together with verbs of Emotion which do not express this notion (e.g. *līcian* 'to please, be pleased, like'). Along similar lines, Allen (1995) does not distinguish between OE *langian* and *lystan* and verbs such as *hrēowan* 'to feel sorrow/pity; rue, repent' or *sceamian* 'to cause/feel shame about something', which do not express desire either; all of these are included under the overarching label *experiencer verbs* (Allen 1995: 21; see Chapter 2).

Other scholars, in contrast, argue that verbs of Desire need to be discussed separately from other verbs of Emotion. For instance, Levin (1993: 192) singles out verbs of Desire from what she terms *Psych-verbs* (i.e. psychological verbs; see Levin 1993: 188–189; Landau 2010: 3*ff*) on the basis of their syntactic behaviour in PDE.[18] Miura (2015: 54), for her part, excludes verbs of Desire from what she considers the lexical field of Emotion on the grounds that the HTOED subsumes verbs of Desire under the category of 'Will' and 'Mental capacity' rather than 'Emotion'. As far as the present study is concerned, I follow Levin (1993) and Miura (2015) in considering verbs of Desire as a class of verbs separate from verbs of Emotion (i.e. Psych-verbs in Levin 1993) on the grounds that in PDE they display different syntactic features (see Section 4.4 below).

The remainder of this chapter is organised as follows. Section 4.1 explains the individual verbs of Desire selected for the purposes of the present study. Section 4.2 presents the semantic classification of verbs of Desire in the HTOED. Section 4.3 provides a fine-grained semantic characterisation based on the framework introduced in Chapter 3 of this thesis, while Section

[18] According to Levin (1993: 188–193; see also Landau 2010: 13*ff*; Miura 2015: 37), Psych-verbs are generally used to express psychological states, including items such as *delight*, *fear*, *hate*, *like*, *please, regret* or *rejoice*.

4.4 focuses on the syntactic patterning of verbs of Desire in PDE, particularly in comparison to Levin's class of Psych-verbs.

4.1. Verbs of Desire: Selection

This section is concerned with the criteria followed for the selection of individual verbs for analysis, among Levin's class of Desire as detailed in the opening lines of this chapter. As will become apparent later, several members of Levin's class are attested in impersonal use throughout the OE and ME periods (see Möhlig-Falke 2012: 207; Miura 2015: 244). Table 2 shows a classification of the class of verbs of Desire according to their (non-)occurrence in impersonal use, together with their date of origin as recorded in the electronic editions of the OED and the MED.

	Date of first attestation		
	OE	**ME**	**EModE**
Personal	*crave (for)** *fall (for)* *hope (for)* *itch (for)** *pine (for)** *wish (for)*	*covet* *desire* *pray (for)*? Fr	*dangle (after)*? *fancy*? *hanker (after/for)*
Impersonal	*ache (for)** *hunger (for)** *long (for)* *need*? *thirst (after/for)** *yearn (after/for)*	*lust (after/for)* *want* ON	

Table 2: Levin's (1993: 194–195) class of verbs of Desire as recorded in the OED and the MED

* the verb develops the sense 'to desire' by semantic extension
? the verb is not attested in the sense 'to desire' in the OED and/or the MED
Fr loan verb from French
ON loan verb from Old Norse

In order to identify the verbs which had impersonal uses in earlier English, I relied on the evidence provided in the entries and quotations of the OED, which were checked against the data provided in the electronic edition of the MED. Specifically, the OED and MED were searched for entries containing the labels *impers(onal)*. It should be borne in mind that these dictionaries use a definition of *impersonal* that is different from the one I have adopted in this thesis. In the present study, the label is applied exclusively to syntactic constructions lacking a grammatical subject controlling verbal agreement (see Chapter 2), a criterion that excludes patterns with a formal subject *(h)it* such as *Hit rinð* 'it rains'. By contrast, the OED and the

MED classify as impersonal, not only patterns without a grammatical subject but also patterns with a formal subject *(h)it*, such as (34) below.

(34) It **nediþ** þe to take kepe to alle þese þingis
it needs you-ACC/DAT to take keep to all these things
'It is necessary for you to take care of all these things'
[OED, a1400 tr. Lanfranc *Sci. Cirurgie* (Ashm.) (1894) 85/5 (*MED*)]

Consequently, verbs such as *itch* are labelled *impersonal* in the OED, but they are never really documented in impersonal patterns without a grammatical subject (see e.g. OED s.v. *itch*, v.[1] 1.). In other cases, in spite of the fact that the label is contained in the dictionary entries, it is applied to verb senses unrelated to the notion of desire which is of interest here. This happens in the case of *ache*, *fall*, *need* or *want* (see e.g. OED s.v. *ache*, v. 1. †b.). In the case of *want*, the OED records impersonal instances only occasionally in its sense of 'to lack' (s.v. *want*, v. †2.); the same applies to the MED (s.v. *wanten* v. 3.).

Thus, although eight out of the twenty verbs in Levin's list are labelled impersonal in the OED and the MED —i.e. *ache*, *hunger*, *long*, *lust*, *need*,[19] *thirst*, *want* and *yearn*— the number of verbs documented in genuine impersonal use —as understood in this thesis— in the sense 'to desire' amounts to only four, namely ***hunger***, ***long***, ***lust*** and ***thirst***. It should be noted that the impersonal use of *hunger* and *thirst* in the sense 'to desire' is documented in the MED, but not in the OED (see MED s.v. *hungren* v. 1. (c); *thirsten* v. 2. (a)). Thus, the OED documents impersonal use with these verbs only in the literal senses 'to feel hunger/thirst' (see OED s.v. *hunger*, v. †1.; *thirst*, v. †1.). As shall be discussed in detail in Chapters 6–8, these four verbs (i.e. *hunger*, *long*, *lust* and *thirst*) have in common that they take prepositional uses in PDE, thus forming part of Levin's sub-class of *long* verbs (e.g. PDE, *Mary* ***longs*** *for a sunny day*, Levin 1993: 195; see Section 4.3). The verbs selected as the main object of study here are *long*, *lust* and *thirst*; Table 3 shows their OE and ME main forms.[20] The verb *hunger* is not examined further in this thesis due mainly to time limitations, but also because it is very close in origin

[19] For a comprehensive survey of the history and development of *need* and its semantic predecessors see Loureiro-Porto (2005), where an in-depth analysis of the impersonal uses of this verb is provided as well (see 2005: 115–120).

[20] The OE form of *lust* is not included in Table 3 because this verb comes into use in the ME period (cf. Table 2 above).

and development to the near-synonymous verb *thirst*.[21] For instance, *hunger* shares with *thirst* that their emotion sense ‘to desire’ was formed by extension from the physical-sensation senses ‘to feel hunger’ and ‘to feel thirst’, respectively (see OED s.v. *hunger*, v. 3. and *thirst*, v. 3.).

OE	ME	EModE
langian	*lǒ̄ngen*	*long*
--	*lusten*	*lust*
þyrstan	*thirsten*	*thirst*

Table 3: The OE, ME and EModE forms of the English impersonal verbs of Desire under study

4.2. Verbs of Desire in the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (HTOED)

Langacker (1987: 147) defines the notion of *conceptual domain* as a cognitive entity, such as “mental experiences, representational spaces, concepts, or conceptual complexes”, which is represented by a variety of lexical fields. The lexical field of Desire pertains to the conceptual domain of Emotion which, at the same time, is comprised in the wider domain of Mental Experience. The latter, according to Möhlig-Falke (*ibid.*), is the conceptual domain most frequently linked with impersonal use, together with that of Possession. In English, Mental Experience includes a variety of mental processes, such as liking, hating or desiring, all of which may be said to take place wholly within the mind of an Experiencer (cf. Biber *et al.* 1999: 362–363). Mental Experience is in turn subsumed into the wider domain of Human Experience, which conflates the domains of Physical Sensation, Mental Experience and Existential Experience, as represented in Figure 5.

[21] A preliminary analysis of *hunger* has in fact been accepted for presentation at the upcoming 21 ICEHL (*International Conference on English Historical Linguistics*, Leiden, 8–12 June 2020).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

Human Experience

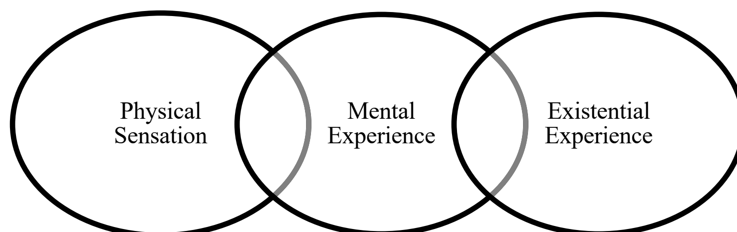


Figure 5: The conceptual domain of Human Experience: Physical Sensation, Mental Experience and Existential Experience (after Möhlig-Falke 2012: 54)

In order to arrive at a semantic characterisation of verbs of Desire, I have carried out an analysis of dictionary senses based on the relevant entries in the OED and the MED, which has been complemented with semantic classifications adopted from the HTOED. As is well known, the HTOED provides a taxonomic classification of the majority of senses and lemmas in the OED, and is arranged hierarchically into structured conceptual fields containing lists of synonyms. These allow us not only to see how verbs of Desire are semantically characterised in the context of other words of similar meaning (see Kay 2012: 41), but also to understand and define, on the one hand, the semantic properties of verbs of Desire and, on the other, their classification into conceptual domains.

In the semantic classificatory system of the HTOED, three major divisions are recognised, deriving ultimately from the three main subdivisions of Human Experience mentioned above: 1) ‘The external world’; 2) ‘The mind’; and 3) ‘Society’. Of these, verbs of Desire fall in the category ‘The mind’, broadly corresponding to the abovementioned domain of Mental Experience. The category is further subdivided into the semantic fields shown in Figure 6.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

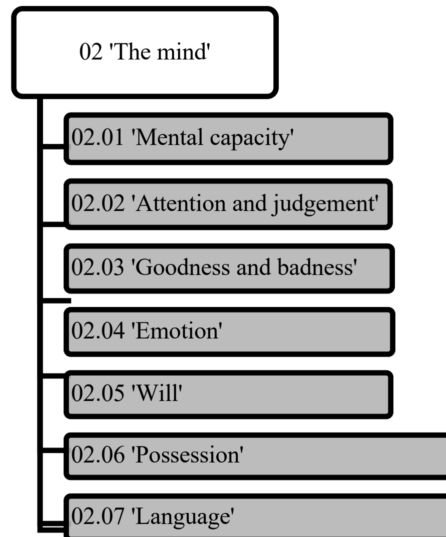


Figure 6: HTOED first-level major division 'The mind'

Within this hierarchy, verbs of Desire are subsumed in the category of 'Will' (02.05). As pointed out by Miura (2015: 54), the HTOED's classification of verbs of Desire deserves to be compared with the class of Psych-verbs in Levin (1993: 188–193). Whereas verbs of Desire are included in the category of 'Will', many of the semantically-related Psych-verbs fall in the category of 'Emotion' (cf. for instance the HTOED classification of the Psych-verbs *amuse*, *love* or *relish*). The category of 'Will' is further subdivided into subfields as shown in Figure 7, with the category of 'Desire' represented as comprised under 'Wish or inclination' (02.05.03). In other words, 'Desire' starts off from 'The mind' and is then sub-classified as 'Will' at the second level in the hierarchy, and as 'Wish or inclination' at the third level, as displayed in Figure 8 (see 02.05.03-07).[22]

[22] It should be noted that Figure 8 omits some levels in the hierarchy for reasons of space; hence numbers are not consecutive.

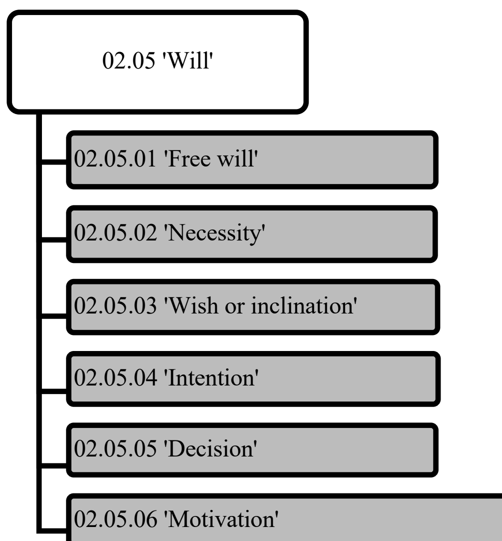


Figure 7: HTOED second-level category of ‘Will’

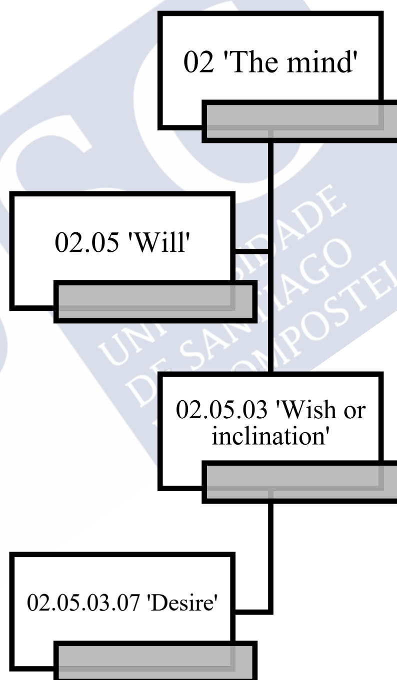


Figure 8: Classification of the category of ‘Desire’ in the HTOED

The HTOED category of ‘Desire’ comprises lexical items as varied as *appetite*, *desiderate* or *will*, and its members do not always coincide with Levin’s class of verbs of Desire. Out of Levin’s list of twenty verbs, the following fifteen items are included in the HTOED’s category: *ache*, *covet*, *crave*, *dangle*, *desire*, *hanker*, *hunger*, *itch*, ***long***, ***lust***, *pine*, ***thirst***, *want*, *wish* and *yearn*. Notice here the presence in this list of the three selected verbs for analysis in this thesis, highlighted in boldface. On the other hand, a few verbs in Levin’s list, such as *fall* or *need*, are classified instead into the ‘Necessity’ category (Figure 7, 02.05.02); *fancy* is ascribed to the

category ‘Emotion’ (Figure 6, 02.04); *hope* to the category ‘Mental capacity’ (Figure 6, 02.01) and *pray* to the category ‘Language’ (Figure 6, 02.07). Notice, though, that the three verbs investigated here (i.e. *long*, *lust* and *thirst*), all fall in the category of ‘Desire’ in both Levin and the HTOED.

Some interesting hypotheses may be drawn from the HTOED classification of verbs of Desire. For instance, from the classification as verbs of ‘Will’, it can be inferred that verbs of Desire pertain to a human being’s faculty of (free) will. Thus, the SoA depicted by verbs of Desire needs to be defined with special reference to the feature of control discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis. By the same token, the person that desires something (i.e. the Desirer) needs to be considered in the light of Dowty’s property of volition (Proto-agent Property 1). Furthermore, from the classification of Desire as a type of ‘Wish or inclination’ it can be deduced that the meaning of verbs of Desire lends itself to a figurative interpretation as an inclination or a (metaphorical) type of movement towards something. That is, the notion of desire may be understood as a process whereby an entity metaphorically inclines or moves towards a desired object, an idea that we shall return to in the chapters that follow.

4.3. A FINE-GRAINED SEMANTIC CHARACTERISATION OF VERBS OF DESIRE

This section provides a semantic characterisation of verbs of Desire in the light of the framework introduced in Chapter 3. As pointed out by Levin (1993: 194), verbs of Desire characteristically take two semantic arguments. One of them corresponds to “the person that desires something” (Levin 1993: 194), which denotes the semantic role of Desirer, constituting a more specific instance of the semantic role of Experiencer (i.e. “the participant experiencing an emotional event [...] [which] is prototypically a human being sentient of and affected by a process of perception, [and] which is accompanied by a change of state within himself or herself” (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 90; see also Miura 2015: 6).

The second argument corresponds to the thing that is desired, denoting the semantic role of Desired, which is understood here as an instantiation of the semantic role of ToE (also often referred to as Cause, Object of Emotion, Stimulus or Theme; see Levin 1993: 189 and the discussion in Chapter 3). Example (35) below illustrates the semantic frame <**Desirer Desired**>, where the subject *Mary* represents the semantic role of Desirer, or the person that desires something, while the prepositional phrase *for a sunny day* represents the semantic role

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

of Desired, or the thing that is desired by the subject *Mary* (example taken from Levin 1993: 195; see Section 4.1 above).

(35) Mary **longs** for a sunny day

An analysis of the lexical semantics of verbs of Desire yields the following picture: they encode a dynamic relationship between an Initiator —i.e. *Mary*— and an Endpoint —i.e. *a sunny day*. They profile the first part of Croft's two-way causal relation introduced in Figure 4 (Chapter 3), namely that of 'direct attention to', rather than 'cause mental state'. This implies that *Mary* feels the emotion of desire because she directs her attention towards the fact that *a sunny day* is missing from her current experience, and not because there is an external force that triggers or causes a change of state in her. Thus, verbs of Desire roughly correspond to what Croft (1991: 217) has termed *mental activity verbs* (e.g. *think (about)*, *wonder (about)*, etc.), which are characterised by an assignment of the Experiencer to subject position on the grounds that it is "engaging in an activity over which he or she has some volition or control; hence the experiencer is the initiator of the action" (*ibid.*; see also Kemmer 1993: 136). The lack of causation also entails that the Desired lacks the feature of causation altogether (Proto-agent Property 3), since the feeling of desire is not directly caused by the existence of *a sunny day*, or by any property of it. Hence, the Desired is better interpreted as a ToE (or Endpoint) rather than a Cause (or Initiator) (see Allen 1995: 144; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 92; Chapter 3), which is to be compared with other causative verbs of Emotion which rather profile a Cause: e.g. *Classical music* [=Cause] *pleases me* (Miura 2015: 38; see further Croft 1991: 166–167).

The SoA denoted by these verbs may also be said to possess the feature of control. Given that the Desirer represents a volitional type of Experiencer, it may also be said to be non-prototypical, since Experiencers have generally been characterised by a lack of volition. For instance, Dowty (1991: 577) defines Experiencers as "sentience without volition or causation" (see also Pishwa 1999: 138). This definition only partly accounts for the semantic features of Desirers, which are sentient without causation, in agreement with Dowty's observation, but do have volition, contrary to Dowty's view. With regard to the feature of causation, it is lacking due to the fact that *a sunny day* does not induce the mental state on *Mary*, and *Mary* does not cause a change of state on *a sunny day* either. Hence, the causative relation between *Mary* and

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

a sunny day is inherently defocused. Table 4 below summarises the semantic properties of the SoA denoted by verbs of Desire.

Property	**Yes/No**
Dynamicity	✓
Control	✓
Causation	✗

Table 4: Semantic properties of the SoA denoted by verbs of Desire

Regarding the semantic properties of the verb's participants, it can be observed that both the Desirer and the Desired show some non-prototypical features. As already explained, the Desirer constitutes the Initiator which, in terms of Dowty's Proto-role properties (see Table 1, Chapter 3), exhibits the feature of volitionality (Proto-agent Property 1), a property typically associated with Initiators (cf. Pishwa 1999: 140); yet, at the same time, it lacks the feature of causation (Proto-agent Property 3), which is also typically associated with Initiators, given that the effects of *Mary*'s inner state do not causally extend to a second participant in any physically perceptible manner. In addition, the Desirer shows the Proto-patient feature of change of state (Proto-patient Property 1), a feature typically associated with Endpoints rather than Initiators, since *Mary* undergoes an internal change of state as a result of the emotion; this means that, paradoxically, *Mary* becomes the affected entity in a process that she herself initiates (see in this connection Pishwa 1999: 138–140). With regard to the feature of sentience (Proto-agent Property 2), it is noteworthy that the Desirer shows variation between [+sentient] and [-sentient] (e.g. 1866, *This <u>man</u>* [+sentient] *longed for her* [...] vs. 1816, *As the cold <u>grave</u>* [-sentient] *that longeth for its coffin*, OED s.v. *long*, v.[1] 6. a.). The features displayed by the Desirer are shown in Table 5 below.[23]

	Proto-agent	**Proto-patient**
1.	[+volitional]	[+change of state]
2.	[+/-sentience]	[-incremental Theme]
3.	[-causation]	[-causal affectedness]
4.	[-movement]	[-lack of movement]
5.	[+independent existence]	[-lack of independent existence]

Table 5: Semantic features of the Desirer in PDE

[23] Recall that the feature of (lack of) movement does not refer to independent movement, but to movement relative to the position of another participant (see Table 1, Chapter 3).

Turning now to the Desired, this participant represents an Endpoint. However, notice that the Desired is not physically affected by the SoA in the way prototypical Endpoints are, since they lack the feature of causal affectedness (Proto-patient Property 3). In addition, the Desired possesses the feature of independent existence (Proto-agent Property 5) —a property typically associated with Initiators rather than Endpoints— since *a sunny day* has existence in and of itself independently of the event named by the verb, even if it is implied that the Desired is lacking from the Desirer's experience at the time of the utterance. Notice that the Desired contrasts with the Desirer only with regard to the features of volition (Proto-agent Property 1) and of change of state (Proto-patient Property 1).

	Proto-agent	**Proto-patient**
1.	[-volitional]	[-change of state]
2.	[+/-sentient]	[-incremental Theme]
3.	[-causation]	[-causal affectedness]
4.	[-movement]	[-lack of movement]
5.	[+independent existence]	[-lack of independent existence]

Table 6: Semantic features of the Desired in PDE

Regarding Dowty's Proto-role properties, the Desired lacks all of the Proto-patient properties, which means that it exhibits a very low degree of affectedness (see Hopper & Thompson 1980: 262). In other words, the Desired does not undergo a change of state (Property 1), it is not an incremental Theme (Property 2), it is not causally affected by another participant (Property 3), it does not lack movement (relative to the position of another participant; Property 4) and it does not lack independent existence of the event named by the verb (Property 5) —i.e. it does have existence of its own. At the same time, the Desired lacks most of the Proto-agent properties too, since it is not volitionally involved in the event (Property 1), it may or may not be sentient (e.g. 1866, *This man longed for her* [+sentient] [...] vs. 1816, *As the cold grave that longeth for its coffin* [-sentient]), OED s.v. *long*, v.[1] 6. a.), it does not cause an event or change of state on another participant (Property 3) and it does not move (relative to the position of another participant; Property 4). The only Proto-agent property the Desired invariably possesses is that of independent existence (Property 5).

In view of this, it may be concluded that the features of the Desired stand in contrast with the properties of highly transitive events, in which the Endpoint is highly affected by the action denoted by the verb. In addition, Desirer and Desired are not clearly differentiated in terms of semantic properties, contrary to the participants of highly transitive events, which tend to be

clearly distinguishable in semantic terms —e.g. the Agent *he* of the transitive construction *He broke the vase* is volitional and unaffected, whereas the Patient *the vase* is unvolitional and affected; cf. Kemmer's property of *Distinguishability of participants*, 1993: 73). This, together with the fact that the process denoted by verbs of Desire is not effectively carried-over or transferred from one participant to another (see Hopper & Thompson 1980; Langacker 2000: 30), indicates that verbs of Desire are semantically low in transitivity. Further, this explains why they were sometimes capable of impersonal use in OE, since, according to Möhlig-Falke, OE impersonal verbs are characterised by being "low in transitivity in that they involve neither a prototypical initiator (i.e., one that is in control of the SoA and intentionally involved in bringing it about) nor a prototypical endpoint (i.e., one that is physically highly affected)" (2012: 195; see Chapter 2, Section 2.5).

From a semantic perspective, verbs of Desire differ significantly from Levin's class of Psych-verbs (1993: 188–193). Both verb classes have in common that they denote emotional experiences undergone by a human participant, and hence they are equally subsumed in the conceptual domain of Mental Experience, or more specifically that of Emotion. Nonetheless, a comparison between, for instance, the PDE verb *desire* and the Psych-verb *like* yields a picture of contrast. Whereas *desire* admits the insertion of adverbs like *deliberately* or *purposefully*, which convey a marked sense of intention and purpose (e.g. PDE, *they ought to pass any Bill deliberately* ***desired*** *by the nation*), *like* does not seem to admit the insertion of such adverbs so readily (e.g. *?Bill deliberately* ***liked*** *the nation*; cf. Allen 1995: 330; Croft 2012: 200). This may be due to the fact that *desire* expresses a feeling that is controlled and volitionally initiated by the primary human participant, whereas *like* expresses a feeling that overwhelms the Experiencer in a more spontaneous or uncontrolled manner (see Pishwa 1999: 133). Furthermore, this means that, even if the two predicates express the first part of Croft's two-way causal relation (i.e. 'direct attention to'; see Figure 4 in Chapter 3), they still vary in the degree to which the Experiencer is in control of volitionally triggering the emotion itself. This is in keeping with the fact that the HTOED classifies verbs of Desire under the category of 'Will', while Psych-verbs such as *like* are subsumed under the category of 'Emotion' (see Section 4.2 above).[24]

[24] The HTOED generally subsumes the Psych-verb *like* under the category 'Emotion'. However, in specific uses it is subsumed under the category 'Will', like *desire* itself, as is the case, for instance, of the use in subordinate

4.4. The syntactic patterning in PDE of verbs of Desire vs. Psych-verbs

This section outlines the syntactic patterning of verbs of Desire in PDE, based on Levin (1993: 194–195). The primary human participant of verbs of Desire —i.e. the Desirer— is regularly expressed as the subject of the clause in so-called Experiencer-subject constructions (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1). Verbs of Desire do not show variation with regard to the syntactic expression of the Desirer, since all members of the class occur in Experiencer-subject constructions. They do show variation, nonetheless, as to the syntactic expression of the Desired which, as already mentioned, may be expressed as a direct object in PDE —*Dorothy* ***needs*** *new shoes*, corresponding to *want* verbs— or a prepositional object —*Dana* ***longs*** *for a sunny day*, corresponding to *long* verbs (Levin 1993: 194–195).

With regard to the syntactic patterning of verbs of Desire, it is noteworthy that some of these have developed adjectival patterns in PDE (see Path of development V in Chapter 2). Hence, their regular Experiencer-subject verbal use has become historically replaced by patterns with copula verbs *be*, *become*, *seem*, etc. plus a past participle form or a related adjective as complement. It is necessary to draw a distinction here between what Croft (1991: 216) has termed *process passives*, which allow an agentive *by*-phrase (e.g. PDE, *The window was broken by Mary*) from so-called *stative* or *adjectival passives* (e.g. PDE, *Mary was surprised at John*). An important distinction between the two is that, whereas the process passives express the Experiencer by an adjunct *by*-phrase, the stative passives use one of a variety of oblique expressions, which do not necessarily express an Agent (e.g. PDE, *Mary was pleased with John's performance*); further examples of stative passives are given in (a) below.[25] There is a further type of construction which takes a related adjective as complement, rather than the past participle form of the verb, exemplified in (b) below (see Wierzbicka 1999: 302); the adjective may be morphologically or etymologically related to the verb (e.g. *hungry* vs. *to hunger* or *thirsty* vs. *to thirst*).

---

clauses introduced by *as* (e.g. PDE *She..suspected that Mary would do as she* ***liked*** *as soon as Mrs. Tipton's eyes were closed*, OED s.v. *like*, v.[1] II. 5.).

[25] The distinction between process and stative passives on the basis of the presence or absence of an agent *by*-phrase can be considered as a general tendency, but needs to be handled with care when it comes to using it as a diagnostic for process passive status, for there exist cases where prepositions other than *by* can introduce Agent-like phrases (e.g. *about*, *at*, *over* or *to*; on this see Quirk *et al*. 1985: 169).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

a) She was amazed/ashamed/disgusted/surprised; e.g. PDE, *She was amazed at the quality of the photographs*.
b) He was afraid/angry/happy/hungry/sad/thirsty; e.g. PDE, *She was happy with the results*.

It should be pointed out that in the present study the term *adjectival construction* comprises only Croft's stative passives as in (a), alongside patterns with a related adjective as in (b). By contrast, process passives are excluded because these differ from adjectival constructions in that they present the SoA as a process rather than a state. In terms of force-dynamics, however, process passives share with adjectival constructions —i.e. stative passives and patterns with a related adjective— that they all serve to background the Initiator and foreground the Endpoint of the SoA as clause subject (see Langacker 1987: 120; Seoane 2000: 25, 2009[2006]: 370–371; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 193).

The feature of stativity also distinguishes adjectival constructions from the active use of verbs, since adjectival constructions usually correlate with a stative interpretation of the SoA while the active use of verbs often (though not always) correlates with an active interpretation: e.g. PDE, *She was worried about the children* [stative interpretation] vs. *She worried about the children* [active interpretation]. As Wierzbicka puts it:

> These adjectives and quasi-participles present the experiencer's "emotion" as a state. In some cases, however, there is also a verbal mode of expression, which implies a more active attitude on the part of the experiencer:
> She worried/grieved/rejoiced (archaic).
> (Wierzbicka 1999: 302)

The semantic difference between adjectival constructions and the active use of verbs bears on the fact that a predicate that takes the form of an adjective instead of a verb generally involves the "absence of a change over time [i.e. dynamicity] in the state of affairs described by the concept" (Croft 1991: 63); hence the stative interpretation of adjectival constructions.

Turning now to Levin's class of Psych-verbs, these stand in clear contrast with verbs of Desire as far as the syntactic expression of arguments is concerned (1993: 188–193). For the sake of comparison, the main characteristics of Levin's class of Psych-verbs are sketched in what follows. Psych-verbs generally express two arguments, namely an Experiencer and a Stimulus (Levin 1993: 189), showing notable differences as to the syntactic expression of Experiencers. Thus, class members such as *fear*, *hate* or *like* express the Experiencer as the

subject of the clause in Experiencer-subject constructions. These correspond to *admire* verbs (e.g. PDE, *The children* [=Experiencer, subject] ***liked*** *that the clown had a red nose*). However, verbs such as *amuse*, *vex* or *worry* express the Experiencer as the object of the clause, which rather correspond to *amuse* verbs (e.g. PDE, *The clown* ***amused*** *the children* [=Experiencer, object]). This type of variation, as mentioned, is not observed in Levin's class of Desire.

On the other hand, a few Psych-verbs may, similarly to verbs of Desire, express the Stimulus in a prepositional phrase, in which case the Stimulus can either be expressed as a prepositional object in an Experiencer-subject construction, corresponding to *marvel* verbs (e.g. PDE, *Megan* ***marveled*** *at the beauty of the Grand Canyon* [=Stimulus, prepositional object]); or as subject in an Experiencer-object construction, corresponding to *appeal* verbs (e.g. PDE, *This painting* [=Stimulus, subject] ***appeals*** *to Malinda*). It is also noteworthy that sometimes the same verb enters the so-called *causative alternation* (Levin 1993: 26–32), so that members such as *thrill* or *worry* may alternatively be found in Experiencer-subject constructions as members of the *marvel* subclass, or in Experiencer-object ones as members of the *amuse* subclass: e.g. respectively, PDE *you* [=Experiencer, subject] *don't have to* ***worry*** *over getting that knock on the door* vs. *Something else* ***worried*** *me* [=Experiencer, object]. Argument alternations of this type, however, are not observed with verbs of Desire (see Levin 1993: 194–195).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

5. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

5.1. CORPUS

5.1.1. *Early English Books Online* (EEBO)

Early English Books Online (henceforth EEBO) is a Proquest/Chadwyck-Healey subscription database which contains works printed between 1473 and 1700. As described on its website, EEBO provides access to digitised images of over 125,000 items, it was first launched in 1998, and contains page images of almost every work printed in England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and British North America, as well as works in English printed elsewhere.[26]

More than 200 libraries worldwide have contributed to this comprehensive collection, which has become indispensable for Anglo-American studies. The collection has been used for research in a wide range of fields such as education, English literature, fine arts, history, linguistics, mathematics, music, philosophy, science and theology. Amongst the authors included in these collections are Edmund Spenser, Thomas More or William Shakespeare.

Over the course of the EEBO project, short-title catalogues served as a means for the selection of texts. In fact, EEBO's history is closely related to Pollard & Redgrave's *Short-Title Catalogue (1475–1640)* and Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue (1641–1700)* and their revised editions, as well as to the *Thomason Tracts (1640–1661)* collection and the *Early English Books Tract Supplement*. Together, these bibliographic sources may be said to largely represent the history of English thought, from the first book that was ever printed in English through to 1700.

The records accessible in EEBO constitute scanned or filmed page images drawn from the titles contained in these catalogues. Hence, the catalogues serve as a main guide not only for the selection of contents, but also for the bibliographical descriptions that accompany the EEBO digital images. It is for this reason that, even to this day, EEBO records share a number of characteristics with these predecessor catalogues, such as the dates covered in EEBO (i.e. 1473–

---

[26] The information in this section is taken from the *Early English Books Online*'s official website (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/marketing/about.htm>; last accessed November 2019).

1700), which correspond to the dates covered in the Pollard & Redgrave and Wing short-title catalogues, as well as the *Thomason Tract* and *Early English Books Tract Supplement*. The catalogues have also influenced the design of the database itself and the way its contents are presented; for instance, as an inheritance of these historical sources, EEBO currently provides bibliographic information such as the text's STC[27] number or the location of alternative copies of printed works.

5.1.2. *Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership* (EEBO-TCP)

The *Text Creation Partnership* (TCP) started in 1999 as a collaboration between the University of Michigan Library, Bodleian Libraries at the University of Oxford, ProQuest and the Council on Library and Information Resources. It was introduced as a means to produce transcriptions of early print texts, which were previously accessible to the general public only through digitised page images. At the time of preparing this thesis, the TCP has transcribed about 73,000 texts which can be found in the collections *Early English Books Online-TCP* (EEBO-TCP), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online-TCP* and *Evans Early American Imprints-TCP*.[28]

EEBO-TCP is the consortium responsible for originally transcribing the millions of scanned page images offered by ProQuest's EEBO (see Section 5.1.1 above). Thus, while the EEBO corpus represents the works in digital images, the TCP encodes electronic text editions which may be accessed for multiple research purposes. As explained on the EEBO's website, the project is meant to produce "fully-searchable, TEI-compliant SGML/XML" electronic text editions, giving preference to the first editions of works written in English. The work is jointly funded by more than 150 libraries, and the entirety of the TCP-transcribed texts is expected to be released in the public domain in 2021.[29] The project of EEBO-TCP is still in expansion, and it is subdivided into two different phases: Phase I (c. 25,000 texts), which is already complete

[27] In the Pollard & Redgrave's *Short-Title Catalogue* (STC), each item was assigned a number, which corresponds to what is now reproduced in EEBO's bibliographical descriptions under the label *STC number*.

[28] See the TCP's official website at <https://textcreationpartnership.org> (last accessed November 2019). See also <https://textcreationpartnership.org/tcp-texts/eebo-tcp-early-english-books-online/> (last accessed November 2019).

[29] Since 2017, EEBO is also available online as part of the suite of BYU corpora (<https://www.english-corpora.org/eebo/>; last accessed November 2019), which offers a wide variety of search tools (Davies 2017).

and available to the public since January 2015; Phase II (c. 35,000 texts as of 2019), which is still in expansion and is available only to authorised users at partner institutions.

The EEBO-TCP initiative offers access to the electronic text editions created by the TCP through a number of online platforms, like the one hosted by the University of Michigan Library (henceforth Michigan EEBO-TCP), among other institutions.[30] The Michigan EEBO-TCP interface may be found at <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup/> (last accessed November 2019), and it provides easy access to citations and particular words or phrases, allowing users to perform searches on full texts from the EEBO database. It also allows subscribers to conduct sophisticated Boolean and proximity searches, with the interface homepage displaying the search tools 'Basic Search', 'Boolean Search', 'Proximity Search' and 'Bibliographic Search', some of which have been used in the present research as part of the method of data selection (see Section 5.2 below).

5.1.3. *Early English Books Online Corpus 1.0* (EEBOCorp 1.0)

EEBOCorp 1.0 (Petré 2013) is a 525-million-word corpus covering the period 1473–1700, based on a selective offline conversion of EEBO. This corpus largely reproduces the database provided by EEBO and it includes all texts in EEBO Phase I, although with no genre, wordcount balance or codification for text type or subject domain. It excludes non-English as well as posthumous texts, and it also filters out translations from works by long-deceased authors even if they are not posthumous from the point of view of the translator. Even though EEBOCorp 1.0 does not provide its data coded for text type or subject domain, this information can be gleaned from the texts themselves, which are provided as plain-text files organised into folders by decades. Text types and domains are highly diverse, as the corpus contains data from almost every work printed in English, as already pointed out above. The following Figure 9 provides the wordcount per decade in millions of words, as provided in the EEBOCorp 1.0 corpus documentation.[31]

---

[30] Other platforms hosting the EEBO-TCP texts include the University of Chicago (<https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/EEBO/>; last accessed November 2019) or the Oxford University Digital Library (<https://ota.ox.ac.uk/tcp/>; last accessed November 2019).

[31] I am very grateful to Peter Petré (University of Antwerp) for giving me access to this corpus, and for kindly responding to my queries regarding the corpus contents and metadata.

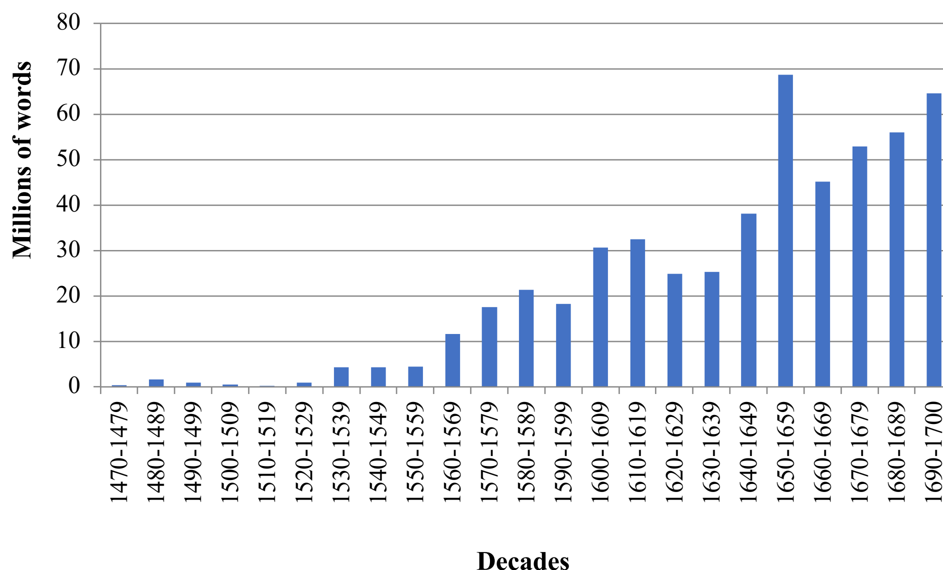


Figure 9: Wordcount (millions of words) per decade in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1473–1700)

5.2. DATA SELECTION

The data collected in the present investigation have been entirely drawn from EEBOCorp 1.0. Given the large size of the corpus (525 million words), EEBOCorp 1.0 is not always ideal for research on frequent items due to the high number of hits retrieved, especially when homonymous forms are involved. To give a practical example related to my work, the first search I run for EModE *long* on the full corpus database yielded as many as 160,106 hits, corresponding to the verb itself as well as to the homonymous adjective and adverb *long*. For the purposes of this study, it would not be feasible to filter as great a number of examples manually, so, as an alternative solution, I opted for carrying out a random selection of texts. The purpose was to compile a set of subcorpora of comparable size so as to be able to reduce the number of retrieved examples, as well as to perform a comparative diachronic study comparing four different 50-year subperiods, which cover the EModE period from 1500 to 1700 (see Chapter 1, Section 1.1). The time range for each of the four 50-year subperiods is displayed in Table 7 below, and Table 8 shows the number of compiled texts and the wordcount summary.

Subperiod	Time span
Subperiod 1 (S1)	1500–1549
Subperiod 2 (S2)	1550–1599
Subperiod 3 (S3)	1600–1649
Subperiod 4 (S4)	1650–1700

Table 7: 50-year subperiods covering the EModE period (1500–1700)

Subperiod	No. of texts	No. of words
S1 (1500–1549)	201	5,004,310
S2 (1550–1599)	226	4,997,385
S3 (1600–1649)	230	5,003,071
S4 (1650–1700)	234	4,929,518
Total	891	19,934,284

Table 8: Number of texts and wordcount summary per 50-year subperiod

The random selection of texts adds up to c. 5 million words per 50-year subperiod, and it makes up a total of c. 20 million words for the entire EModE period. It excludes texts written in verse either in their entirety or in part, as well as repeated editions of the same text reprinted years apart. Thus, I was able to solve one of the major weaknesses of EEBO, namely the existence of frequent *duplicate* examples resulting from different editions, which the researcher then needs to filter manually. As regards verse texts, the reason for excluding them from the selection lies in the bias that versification introduces in syntactic structure due to the interference of questions of meter. As Allen (1986: 379) puts it, "considerations of meter are likely to distort the syntax in poetry", which makes it difficult to determine the effect of the metrical factor on the choice of variant syntactic patterns. It is important to note that EEBOCorp 1.0 does not include metadata relating to versification; therefore, I had to resort to external sources of information on individual texts, a task which greatly benefited from the Michigan EEBO-TCP interface (see Section 5.1.2). This platform provided me with an alternative source of metadata whereby I was capable of detecting not only versified texts, but also lines of verse contained within larger prose texts.[32] The procedure I used is based on the 'Basic Search' and 'Bibliographic Search' tools, shown in Figure 10 below and explained in the following paragraphs.

[32] Lines of verse contained within prose texts are especially difficult to detect, especially when transcribers do not place verses on separate lines of text, and the layout cannot thus be used as a visual aid for discrimination.

Figure 10: The Michigan EEBO-TCP interface: 'Basic Search' and 'Bibliographic Search' tools

As a first step, I resorted to the 'Bibliographic Search' option to introduce the title of each text, selecting on the dropdown menu the filter for 'title'. This allowed me to access the metadata available for texts, paying special attention to whether the full titles of texts contain information on versification (e.g. 1508, *The ballade of ane right noble victorius & myghty lord Barnard Stewart lord of Aubigny erle of Beaumont ... be Maistir Willyam Dunbar ....*). By the same token, the 'subject terms' assigned to texts (when available) commonly describe versified texts as "poem(s)" or "poetry", which likewise provide us with useful information on versification. Yet, this last criterion needs to be handled with caution, as these labels are not directly controlled by EEBO-TCP, but are rather adapted from the catalogues from which EEBO derives historically. Another source which turns out useful is the examination of tables of contents, wherein chapter headings often provide information on versification by means of brief descriptions as "poem(s)", "poetry", "song(s)", "ballad(s)", "verse(s)" or other related terms. The metadata displayed on a sample entry from Michigan EEBO-TCP's interface is shown in Figure 11 below.

Figure 11: Sample entry in Michigan EEBO-TCP's 'Bibliographic Search': Text metadata

As a way of refining my selection criteria, I have also made use of the 'Basic Search' option (see Figure 10 above). This search tool allowed me to easily match lines of verse by using the filter for 'verse' from the dropdown menu (see Figure 12 below),[33] an option that is not available on the 'Bibliographic Search' screen. In addition, I made use of the search bar for keying in an <a> character, which allowed me to retrieve all lines of verse in a given text which contain an <a> character in them. That is, the combination of the search criteria 'verse' plus <a> results in a match to all of those lines of text which are transcribed as 'verse' and contain one or more <a> characters, a method that is taken as a means for disregarding versified texts under the assumption that it is highly probable that any such text contains at least one line of verse with an <a> character in it. In those cases where no verse lines were matched, texts were included in the selection; conversely, whenever there was one or more lines matching the search criteria, the text was excluded from the corpus.

[33] For this suggestion, I am grateful to the Support Service of the University of Michigan's *Digital Library Production Service* (DLPS), contacted through the Michigan EEBO-TCP's homepage.

Figure 12: Sample entry in Michigan EEBO-TCP's 'Basic Search'

Summarising the procedure so far, the task of discriminating verse texts from prose texts turned out to be not an easy one. The metadata provided either by EEBOCorp 1.0 or the Michigan EEBO-TCP cannot be relied on as a sole guide to versified texts; hence, a combination of search criteria had to be applied in order to carry out the selection on a more solid basis. The procedure resorts to a combination of the metadata accessible from the Michigan EEBO-TCP together with the searching possibilities offered by the interface. On the one hand, the metadata accessed through the 'Bibliographic Search' option served to glean information on versification, filtering those texts that are described as "poetry" (or related terms). On the other hand, the 'Basic Search' tool allowed to match verse lines containing an <a> character in any particular text, which made it possible to restrict the search to verse lines only, as well as to detect lines of verse within larger prose compositions. The full list of texts under scrutiny in this thesis is given in Appendices I–IV.

5.3. DATA RETRIEVAL

After preparing the data subcorpus, the next step was to retrieve the dataset of examples for analysis. The selected software tool is *AntConc*, a concordance program developed by Laurence Anthony (Anthony 2019). *AntConc* provides a user-friendly interface with a wide range of functions that permit the analysis of KWIC concordancers, distribution plots, clusters and N-grams, collocates, word frequencies and keywords. The tools that I have used are

'Concordance' and 'Word List'. In a first step, the selected corpus files were uploaded to the software tool and a word frequency list was generated in order to identify the array of forms and spellings attested in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) for each of the three verbs studied. The list of attested spellings was then checked against the spellings provided in the OED (see e.g. OED s.v. *long*, v.[1] Forms). Tables 9–11 display the list of forms and spellings attested in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) for *lust*, *thirst* and *long*, respectively, once false positives were excluded from the dataset.

	Lust
S1 (1500–1549)	lost, loste, losteth, lust, luste, lusted, lustes, lusteth, lustethe, lusts, lustie, lustis, lusty, lustyd, lustye, lustyng, lustynge
S2 (1550–1599)	lost, loste, lust, luste, lusted, lustes, lusteth, lusting, lusts, lusty
S3 (1600–1649)	lost, lostes, lust, lusted, lustes, lusteth, lusts, lusting
S4 (1650–1700)	lost, lust, luste, lusted, lusteth, lusting, lusts

Table 9: List of forms and spellings attested in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) for *lust* in EModE

	Thirst
S1 (1500–1549)	thirst, thirste, thirsted, thirsting, thirstinge, thriste, thristeth, thrust, thruste, thrusted, thrustinge, thryst, thryste, thrysteth, thurst, thurste, thursted, thursteth, thyrst, thyrste, thyrsted, thyrsteth, thyrstethe
S2 (1550–1599)	thirst, thirste, thirsted, thirsteth, thirsting, thirstyng, thrist, thristing, thrust, thrusted, thrusteth, thurstyng, thyrst, thyrste, thyrsted, thyrsteth, thyrstyng, thyrstynge, thurst
S3 (1600–1649)	thirst, thirsted, thirsteth, thirsting, thirsts, thrust, thrusts
S4 (1650–1700)	thirst, thirsted, thirsteth, thirsting, thirstings, thirsts, thrust

Table 10: List of forms and spellings attested in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) for *thirst* in EModE

	Long
S1 (1500–1549)	lang, long, longe, longed, longeth, longing, longyng, longynge, longes
S2 (1550–1599)	lang, long, longe, longed, longeing, longes, longeth, longing, longinge, longyng, longynge, lonyng
S3 (1600–1649)	loned, long, longed, longeth, longing, longings, longs
S4 (1650–1700)	long, longed, longeth, longing, longings, longs

Table 11: List of forms and spellings attested in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) for *long* in EModE

In a second step, the complete list of attested spelling variants was entered in the KWIC concordance tool, making use of the 'Advanced' search tab, whereby a multiple search is run with all variant forms in one go. The output produced by *AntConc* is provided in a TXT file. Given that the corpus is not annotated, I imported the hits to an *MS Word* document to facilitate the analysis and sifting process. The final dataset was then transferred to an *MS Excel* spreadsheet for encoding and further examination.

During the process of manual sifting, hits of the said spelling variants which did not function as a verb were naturally removed from the dataset (e.g. the adjective *long* in example (36) or the noun *lust* in example (37)), as well as examples of homonymous verbs like the verb *long* 'to be the business of; to pertain' in example (38) below (see OED s.v. *long*, v.[3] †3.).

(36) for he hath **longe** nayles on his feet and grete as it were hornes o oxen.
[1500, *Than is there an* … D00000998400990000]

(37) and the Assertors thereof, will be prostituted to satisfie the **lusts** of the Enemies of the Commonwealth.
[1660, *A petition presented by* ... D00000084481140000]

(38) Thom~s sayd I take god to record it was neuer myne entent to displeas ye kynge or to take any thynge yt **longeth** to his ryght & honoure […]
[1520, *Here begynneth the lyfe* ... D00000199486700000]

The concordance for EModE *lust* yielded a total of 5,025 examples, of which only 273 were identified as valid instances of the impersonal verb. As for EModE *thirst*, the concordance search yielded a total of 1,693 examples, 304 of which were positive hits. EModE *long* yielded 10,745 instances and 341 positive hits. This totals 918 tokens for analysis in this thesis (Chapters 6, 7 and 8).

It should also be noted that all repeated instances or direct quotes of Biblical verses (e.g. *They shall not hunger nor* ***thirst****; neither shall the heat nor sun smite tham*, Isaiah 49:10; *If ony man* ***thyrsteth****, let him come to me & dryncke*, John 7:37; in D00000998371030000, dated 1542) have been excluded from the dataset, so that they do not bias the frequency counts of the syntactic patterns they instantiate.

It also needs to be mentioned that the dataset of examples gathered by this method has been contrasted with the OED and MED entry quotations, which were used as a means to obtain a preliminary overview of the syntactic and semantic properties of each of the investigated verbs, not only in EModE, but also in OE and ME. As Miura (2015: 60) observes:

> […] the information available from these dictionary entries [i.e. the OED and the MED, among others] provides an initial overview of the history of the verbs concerned and serves as a good background for a more extensive corpus-based investigation […].

In addition to the OED and the MED, I have also checked Bosworth & Toller's *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (B&T) whenever further information was required, especially for the translation of OE examples. In connection to the translation of OE and ME examples, it needs to be mentioned that, unless otherwise stated, translations are all mine. Glosses are provided only for examples from OE; for ME examples, however, only the translation is given, with the exception of instances which have a structure that is very close to PDE, which are left untranslated (e.g. c1400, *I **longe** for loue*, OED s.v. *long*, v.[1] 6. a.). As for the examples from the EModE period, they have generally not been translated on the assumption that they are usually intelligible to the general modern reader (see e.g. 1548, *The Frenche nacion..**thrusted*** [i.e. desired] *for the blood..of the poore Brytones*, OED s.v. *thirst*, v. 3.). Occasionally, EModE examples may be translated when it is deemed relevant to highlight some particularity. As for PDE examples, unless otherwise stated, they are extracted from the *iWeb Corpus* (Davies 2018).

5.4. DATABASE DESIGN

This section describes the variables which have guided the analysis of the dataset retrieved from EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700). The variables under consideration are expected to throw light on the following aspects: 1) the range of (im)personal syntactic patterns in which each of the verbs studied occurs; 2) the syntactic and semantic properties of verb arguments; 3) the factors which have been claimed to affect the loss of impersonal patterns in the history of English; and 4) the factors which may have influenced the direction of the development of impersonal verbs of Desire after they started to appear in personal use (cf. the objectives of the thesis presented in Section 1.1).

The range of variables analysed and the values assigned to each of them are listed in the following paragraphs. Variables (1) and (2) describe aspects related to the corpus; variables (3)–(5) relate to the construction in which the investigated verbs occur; and variables (6)–(10) relate to the syntactic and semantic properties of verb arguments.

Before we delve into the discussion of variables, Table 12 provides a preliminary overview of the closed variables in (1)–(10), as well as their associated values. It should be noted that all parameters include a value 'Other' which is not listed in the table, but which has always been considered in order to classify the instances whose categorisation is not possible due to difficulties of interpretation, usually because they lack the morphosyntactic information needed for an unambiguous classification (e.g. 1535, *thou shall not **lust** or concupisce [Illegible_Word]*

desire, in D00000998394710000; 1538, *Blyssed are they whiche hongre and* ***thruste*** *g [Illegible_Word] ousnes for they shall be fylled*, in D00000998412360000).

Variable	Values
A. Corpus-related variables	
1) Subperiod	S1 (1500–1549), S2 (1550–1599), S3 (1600–1649), S4 (1650–1700)
2) Subject domain	Biology, General prose, History, Law, Literature, Medicine, Philosophy, Politics, Religion
B. Construction-related variables	
3) Type of complementation pattern	Impersonal, personal (adverbial, clausal, NP complement, prepositional, zero complement)
4) Main or subordinate clause	Main clause, subordinate clause (finite or non-finite)
5) Type of subordinate clause	Adverbial clause, *ed*-clause, finite complement clause, infinitive clause, *ing*-clause, relative clause
C. Argument-related variables	
6) Formal realisation of the Desirer/Feeler	Noun, pronoun
7) Formal realisation of the Desired	Noun, pronoun
8) Preposition	*after*, *for*, *in*, *unto*, *with*
9) Personal pronoun of the Desirer/Feeler	First-person singular, second-person singular, third-person singular, first-person plural, second-person plural, third-person plural
10) Proto-role properties of the verb's participants	Property 1: 'volitional', 'undergoes change of state' Property 2: 'sentient', 'incremental Theme' Property 3: 'causation', 'causal affectedness' Property 4: 'movement', 'lack of movement' Property 5: 'independent existence', 'lack of independent existence'

Table 12: Range of annotated variables and values in this study

<u>A. Corpus-related variables</u>

1) **Subperiod**. As explained in Section 5.2, in this thesis I will consider the entire EModE period (1500–1700), which is subdivided into four 50-year subperiods. In order to trace diachronic change, the examples are annotated according to the subperiod in which they occur.

- S1 (1500–1549)
- S2 (1550–1599)
- S3 (1600–1649)
- S4 (1650–1700)

2) **Subject domain**. This variable considers the subject domain in which the source text is found. Given that EEBOCorp 1.0 does not provide this classification, a number of classificatory labels have been devised specifically for the purposes of this research based on the information gleaned from the text files themselves.[34] The nine labels are listed below. The category 'General prose' comprises text types such as manuals of style or biographies which are not clearly classifiable into any other subject domain (cf. Biber *et al.* 1999: 34–35).

- Biology
- General prose
- History
- Law
- Literature
- Medicine
- Philosophy
- Politics
- Religion

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

B. Construction-related variables

3) **Type of complementation pattern**. This parameter considers the syntactic construction in which the verb occurs, namely impersonal patterns and personal patterns, the latter with five subcategories.

- **Impersonal patterns**, as in (39).

(39) bearynge awaye the soule as hym **lusteth** to corporall plesures and voluptyes [1529, *The assaute and co[n]quest* … D00000998485630000]

[34] It should be noted that these labels have not been applied to all the texts included in the corpus; rather, they have been used for the classification of the retrieved examples in terms of the subject domain in which they occur.

- **Personal patterns.**
    - Adverbial, as in (40).

(40) How be yt sythe ye **longe** so sore therfore
[1529, *A dyaloge of syr* … D00000998406990000]

- Clausal, as in (41).

(41) For I **long** to see you
[1584, *The artes of logike* … D00000244733640000]

- NP complement, as in (42).

(42) thou **thursted** our helth & saluacyon
[1514, *The fruyte of redemcyon* … D00000998435410000]

- Prepositional, as in (43).

(43) your Souls will **long** for it
[1690, *The sirenes, or, Delight* … D00000135308090000]

- Zero complement, as in (44).

(44) Which thi~g the lawe doth but vtter only and helpyth vs not yee requiryth impossyble thinges of vs. The law whe~ it co~maundeth that thou shalt not **lust** geveth the not power so to do but da~nenith the because thou canst not so doo.
[1528, *That fayth the mother* … D00000998406070000]

4) **Main or subordinate clause**. This parameter considers the occurrence of verbs in main or subordinate clauses. If the verb occurs in a subordinate clause, it is further annotated as finite or non-finite.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

- Main clause, as in (45).

(45) He that byleueth in me shall neuer **thyrste**
[1533, *The answere to the* … D00000998480920000]

- Subordinate clause, which can be of two subtypes.
    - Finite subordinate clause, as in (46).

(46) Because that in Christ there is all that a soul can **long** for
[1660, *A sermon by Hugh* … D00000998670600000]

- Non-finite subordinate clause, as in (47).

(47) Agein, our aduersarie the deuill **thirsting** our damnation, lyeth in wayt for men
[1569, *A Postill, or, Exposition* … D00000381607250000]

5) **Type of subordinate clause**. When the verb occurs in a subordinate clause, this parameter specifies the type of clause involved; both functional (i.e. adverbial, complement, relative) and formal (i.e. *ed*-clause, infinitive clause, *ing*-clause) subtypes have been coded in the database.

- Adverbial clause, as in (48).

(48) Whan I **thyrsted** ye gaue me drynke
[1526, *De immensa dei misericordia* … D00000998454550000]

- *Ed*-clause, as in (49).

(49) otherwise this day of the Lord which we have described, however desired and **longed** after, will be darkesse to you
[1649, *Ouranon Ourania, the shaking* … D00000121814920000]

- Finite complement clause, as in (50).

(50) Yet some wyll saye, they **longe**, and desyre, after the deades felowshyp
[1544, *An homilie of Saint* … D00000998394670000]

- Infinitive clause, as in (51).

(51) whosoever looketh on a woman to **lust** after her, hath committed Adultery already with her in his heart
[1698, *A practical treatise concerning* … D00000123796210000]

- *Ing*-clause, as in (52).

(52) I Am comen agayne now lokynge and **longynge** for the laste messe of this moste delicate and swete feaste
[1534, *A playne and godly* … D00000998375060000]

- Relative clause, as in (53).

(53) But he that **lusteth** to put in writynge, what bloudde hathe bene shedde
[1539, *The exposition and declaration* … D00000998400200000]

C. Argument-related variables

6) **Formal realisation of the Desirer/Feeler**. This variable looks at whether the first argument (i.e. the Desirer or Feeler, depending on the verb sense involved; see Chapter 3) is realised by a noun or a pronoun. Results regarding this parameter, alongside variable (7) below, serve to determine the relative 'weight' of the arguments of the verb, which in previous studies has been considered as a significant factor in the historical development of impersonal verbs and constructions (see Allen 1995: 99*ff*).

UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

- Noun, as in (54).

(54) For that is the greateste thynge that <u>louers</u> **longe** for
[1533, *The answere to the* … D00000998480920000]

- Pronoun, as in (55).

(55) <u>yee</u> worketh and **lusteth** agenst the lawe
[1535, *An confortable exhortation of* … D00000998394710000]

7) **Formal realisation of the Desired**. When the second argument is expressed at all, this variable distinguishes between the realisation of the head of the NP as a noun or as a pronoun, regardless of whether it occurs as part of an NP object or as the object of a preposition.

- Noun, as in (56) and (57).

(56) Where are these mansayers, which daily **thyrst** inoce~t <u>bloud</u>
[1542, *A newe pathway vnto* … D00000998371060000]

(57) Lorde God, so doutles my soule **thursteth** for <u>desyre</u> of the
[1539, *An epitome of the* … D00000998548110000]

- Pronoun, as in (58).[35]

(58) Howe gredely haue I **longed** after <u>the</u>?
[1539, *An epitome of the* … D00000998548110000]

[35] No instances have been found of a pronominal Desirer realising an NP object.

8) **Preposition**. If the second argument occurs as a prepositional object, this variable codes the type of preposition heading the PP.

- *after*, as in (59).

(59) if it **lusteth** after wantonnesse, you shall find those that fit
[1621, *Pauls complaint against his* … D00000998384050000]

- *for*, as in (60).

(60) The Lords Love freely opens unto all you that in tenderness and simplicity **thirsts** for his lving presence
[1660, *The morning-watch, or* … D00000120739720000]

- *in*, as in (61).

(61) Too catch the soule with couetousnesse, hee **thrusteth** in hurtfull commoditie
[1576, *A sermon preached before* … D00000998517060000]

- *unto*, as in (62).

(62) This the Apostle intends by its being present with us; it is present with me, that is, alwayes, and for its own end, which is to **lust** unto sin
[1675, *The nature, power, deceit* … D00000093786480000]

- *with*, as in example (63).

(63) he may surfet with his owne meates, he may **lust** with his owne wife, he may offende with his owne gifts, his owne honor may make him proud
[1591, *The first sermon of* ... D00000998486990000]

9) **Personal pronoun of the Desirer/Feeler**. If the first argument (i.e. the Desirer/Feeler) is realised as a personal pronoun, this variable documents the person and number of the pronoun involved.

- First-person singular, as in (64).

(64) I **thurste**
[1514, *The fruyte of redemcyon* … D00000998435410000]

- Second-person singular, as in (65).

(65) Likewise (saide he) muste thou also punisshe and chastise thy silfe yf so thou **luste** to serve god
[1529, *An exhortation to the* … D00000998455470000]

- Third-person singular in the three grammatical gender forms, as in (66)–(68).

(66) he **longeth** and murneth for the delyueraunce of the synnefull fleshe
[1535, *An confortable exhortation of* … D00000998394710000]

(67) to se a wilde Aegiption with one eye in his forehead, whom shee **longed** to see
[1576, *A petite pallace of* … D00000998372550000]

(68) it **longs** for things hurtful and rejects wholsome food
[1674, *The harmony of the* … D00000092688570000]

- First-person plural, as in (69).

(69) we **long** for health
[1667, *The worthy communicant,* or … D00000132989100000]

- Second-person plural, as in (70).

(70) If ye **long** to heare it, whereby ye maie beware of light credence hereafter, thus it is
[1567, *A defence of priestes* … D00000998476050000]

- Third-person plural, as in (71).

(71) bysyde this I saye they shall […] **thurste** styll after god
[1533, *The answere to the* … D00000998480920000]

10) **Proto-role properties of the verb's participants**. The verb's participants were annotated according to Dowty's (1991) Proto-role features (see Table 1, Chapter 3), for both Proto-agent and Proto-patient properties. Based on these semantic factors, it is possible to identify the semantic properties of the participants involved in the event denoted by the verb, and also to distinguish between the properties of the participants themselves and the properties of the arguments profiled by syntactic constructions. Where no examples are provided for Dowty's Proto-role properties, it is either because no unambiguous instances have been found in the corpus, or because further discussion is required in order to ascertain its applicability, as we shall see in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

- Property 1.
    - 'volitional', as in (72); on the volitional interpretation of the Desirer see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.

(72) that if a man or woman be coupled with an infydell and the infydel depart, the other is free to mary where they [+volitional] **lust**
[1536, *An exposycyon vpon the* … D00000998400370000]

- 'undergoes a change of state', as in (73); on the affectedness of the Feeler see Chapter 3.

(73) *he* [+change of state] shall not **thirst** for euer
[1586, *Detection of Ed. Glouers* … D00000998494030000]

- Property 2.
    - 'sentient', as in (74).

(74) And surely there is no dowte but that Tyndale [+sentient] hym selfe hath **longed** long
[1533, *The second parte of* … D00000998400120000]

- 'incremental Theme'

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

- Property 3.
    - ‘causation’
    - ‘causal affectedness’

- Property 4.
    - ‘movement’
    - ‘lack of movement’

- Property 5.
    - ‘independent existence’, as in (75).

(75) Like as the Hert **longeth** for the sprynges of waters [+independent existence]
[1574, *Certaine select prayers gathered* … D00000998361720000]

- ‘lack of independent existence’

The above factors (1)–(10) will constitute the organisational framework of the data analysis for the research in this thesis. As Miura points out, a combined approach like the one taken here “is advisable in view of the common understanding that a single property cannot sufficiently motivate the syntactic behaviour of a class of verbs” (Miura 2015: 46; see also Levin 1993: 16–17). Other aspects which have also been annotated, although not as part of closed variables like the ones above, are the following:

- **NP collocates**, as in (76).

(76) Bow not myn hart to **luste** after euell
[1539, *An epitome of the* … D00000998548110000]

- **Collocation with adjuncts** such as *at liberty*, *continually*, *daily*, *fore*, etc., as in (77). Sometimes these adjuncts, when combined with verbs of Desire, may be taken as indicative of the semantic properties of verbs (cf. Miura 2015: 101–102).

(77) For the fleshe **lusteth** continualy agenst the sprite
[1535, *An confortable exhortation of* … D00000998394710000]

- **Coordination with other predicates**. If the verb occurs in coordination with another predicate, the example is annotated indicating the specific predicate with which it co-occurs; e.g. *burn* in example (78).

(78) A certaine man there mentioned, vehemently burning and **thirsting**
[1625, *The infallible true and* … D00000222360820000]

6. *LUST*

This chapter explores the historical development of the verb *lust* in the EModE period, a member of the class of verbs of Desire as defined in Levin (1993: 194–195; see Chapter 4). Section 6.1 offers an overview of the origin and development of the verb based on the dictionary entries of the OED and the MED, and on the previous literature. Section 6.2 summarises the complementation patterns historically documented with this verb, also based on the dictionary entries and previous studies, considering both impersonal and personal uses. Subsequently, an account of the impersonal and personal complementation patterns attested in EModE is provided in Section 6.3, followed in Section 6.4 by a summary of the main conclusions extracted from my study.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

6.1. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

In this section, I look at the origin and development of *lust*, from ME *lusten.* The MED first attests *lust* in c1175, although the original text dates presumably from the OE period, as shown in example (79) below. In the OED, however, the first documentation is dated as late as the 13th century (see also Miura 2015: 62, 183).[36]

(79) Swa he mare lufe hæfð to ... Gode swa him **lust** swiðor þe lufe.
so he more love has to God so him-OBJ pleases more the love
'The more love he has towards ... God, the more he desires the love.'
[MED, c1175 (?OE) *Bod.Hom.*(Bod 343) 118/8; translation from Miura (2015: 62)]

---

[36] As Miura (2015: 183) points out, in example (79) there exists morphological ambiguity in the reading of the post-verbal NP *þe lufe*, representing the Desired, as either subject or object. That is, the NP may be seen to act as an object in an impersonal pattern or as a subject in an OVS personal one. However, she notes, the latter analysis is less likely if we consider that *lust* —similarly to the related verb *list*— is never found in her ME data with the Desired as subject.

The etymology of *lust* prior to the ME period is uncertain. According to the OED, *lust* derives from the noun *lust* ‘pleasure, delight’, a word inherited from Germanic (OED s.v. *lust*, v. Etymology; see also Hoad 1996 s.v. *lust*, n.). The MED, however, states that *lust* derives from both the ME noun *lust* (< OE *lust*) and the OE verb *lystan* ‘to desire’ (< OE *lystan*), the most frequent verb in OE impersonal patterns with genitive or prepositional complements (i.e. Allen’s *Type N*, 1995: 70–71). This is probably because the noun *lust* and OE *lystan* both come from the same Old Germanic root **lust*- (see Hoad 1996 s.v. *lust*).

The connection between the verbs *lust* and *list* has been repeatedly argued about in the literature. For instance, Möhlig-Falke (2012: 83) regards forms in *lust*- and *list*- (< OE *lustian* and *lystan*, respectively) as variants of the same lexical verb in OE. Van der Gaaf (1904: 74) similarly points out that ME *lusten* should be considered as the Southern form of ME *listen*. Along similar lines, both the OED and the MED, even though they present independent entries for each verb (i.e. OED s.v. *lust*, v. and *list*, v.[1]), acknowledge that it is sometimes doubtful whether forms in *lust*- should be associated with one entry or the other, since *lust* has commonly been recorded in the sense of *list* in dialects of ME and occasionally in the 16th century (OED s.v. *list*, v.[1] Etymology). It is for this reason that examples included in the entry for *lust* may belong to *list* and vice versa (see for instance OED s.v. *list*, v.[1] 1. a. c1175 *Lamb. Hom.* 103). In this regard, van der Gaaf (1904: 74) claims that:

> In fact, we may safely say, that after Chaucer’s time *lust* formed part and parcel of Standard English and certainly down to the middle of the 16th century *lust* and *list* were used indiscriminately. (italics in the original)

Miura (2015: 62) also understands ME *lusten/listen* as variant forms of the same verb. However, in spite of their common origin, she decides to treat both verbs as separate lexical items on the grounds that the OED and the MED give independent entries for each of them. In addition, she points out that, whereas the earliest documentation of *lust* in the OED is from the early 13th century, *list* is documented from OE times. However, it is noteworthy that Miura’s summary of the syntactic structures attested with each verb shows that both have similar syntactic behaviour (2015: 175, 185). Yet, in the present study I will follow Miura’s distinction of forms *lust*- and *list*-, also on the grounds that the OED and the MED give them separate entries.

Regarding their semantics, we must acknowledge that EModE *lust* and *list* are very similar semantically, since both verbs are very close to verbs of ‘wanting’ (see e.g. OED s.v. *list*, v.[1]

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

2.). However, *lust* may also involve sexual appetite (OED s.v. *lust*, v. 4. b.), a sense that is never attested in the history of *list*. From an analysis of the OED and MED entries, three different senses have been identified for *lust*.

(i) 'To desire, choose, wish, to have a desire', illustrated in (80) below. The MED first records this sense in c1175 (?OE) (see example (79) above, s.v. *lusten* v. 1. (d)).

(80) He that **lust** to see examples, let him search their lives.
[OED, 1563 *2nd Tome Homelyes* Holy Ghost ii, in J. Griffiths *Two Bks. Homilies* (1859) ii. 463]

(ii) 'To have a carnal desire', as in (81). The OED first records this sense in 1526 (s.v. *lust*, v. 4. b.).

(81) Whosoever eyeth a wyfe, **lustynge** affter her, hathe committed advoutrie with her alredy in his hert.
[OED, 1526 *Bible* (Tyndale) Matt. v. f. vj]

(iii) 'To please, delight', as in (82). The OED first records this sense in c1230 and only until c1430 (s.v. *lust*, v. †1.), though in my data from EEBO it is still marginally attested in S1, as discussed in Section 6.3.2.1 below.

(82) Hare muchele vnþeaw, þet bereð ham ase beastes to al þet ham **lusteð**
'their very bad behaviour, which leads them as beasts to all that pleases them'
[OED, c1230 *Hali Meid.* 34]

The Desirer is typically human,[37] whereas the Desired shows variation between, on the one hand, inanimate (e.g. 1530, *I **luste** or longe for a <u>thyng</u>* [...], OED s.v. *lust*, v. 4. a.) or animate referents (example (81)) and, on the other, concrete (also example (81)) or abstract referents (e.g. 1898, *The..Spaniards **lusting** for their <u>destruction</u>*, OED s.v. *lust*, v. 4. a.). The general meaning 'to desire' (i) seems to have been the sense most commonly denoted by *lust* until the mid-16th century (van der Gaaf 1904: 74–75), although later, under the influence of the noun

[37] The Desirer may also refer to abstract personified concepts (e.g. 1530, *Goo..and bestowe that moneye on what soeuer thy <u>soule</u> **lusteth** after*, OED s.v. *lust*, v. 4. a.).

lust 'pleasure, delight', the verb develops the specialised sense 'to have a carnal desire' (ii), which gains ground from the mid-16th century onwards and survives up to the present day, though as a low-frequency usage (e.g. PDE, *he really* ***lusted*** *after me in those days*, *Lexico's Dictionary* s.v. *lust* verb). With regard to the sense 'to please, delight' (iii), it does not seem to extend beyond the 15th century according to the OED (but cf. Section 6.3.2.1 below). The more general sense 'to desire' (i) is now usually expressed by PDE verbs such as *choose*, *desire* or *wish*, which are used in this study for glossing examples with *lust* from earlier English. In PDE, the general sense 'to desire' (i) can also be designated by the expression *to have a lust*, with the homonymous noun *lust* replacing the verb for the expression of the notion of desire (e.g. PDE, *I* ***have a lust*** *for all things great in this world*). Parallel to the semantic specialisation undergone by this verb since the mid-16th century, a process of semantic pejoration seems to have been at work as well, since the specialised sense 'to have a carnal desire' (ii) often involves intense moral reprobation (cf. OED s.v. *lust*, n. 4.). This may be related to the close connection of the verb with religious discourse, a context in which it has become closely associated with the notion of sin and moral transgression.

6.2. Overview of complementation patterns with *lust*

6.2.1. *Lust* in impersonal patterns

Judging from the OED, the MED and previous studies, the impersonal use of *lust* is first documented in the 12th century and is last attested in the mid-16th century (see OED s.v. *lust*, v. †2.). A detailed look at the comprehensive MED entry reveals, however, that two of the examples, dated c1175 and a1225 (MED s.v. *lusten* v. 1. (a) and (d); see also example (79) above), are marked by the MED as occurring in works possibly composed in the late OE period. In light of this, it could thus be said that there is some evidence of the impersonal use of *lust* already in OE; but this evidence is scanty, when compared to usage with the near-synonymous *list*, which has been amply recorded in impersonal use from OE times[38] (see Visser 1963: §§29, 325–326; Elmer 1981: 63–65; Allen 1995: 250–251, 286, 441–442; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 209, in particular her Figure 7.2).

[38] E.g. OE, *þegnas…**gelyste** gargewinnes* 'the warriors were eager to win' (Elmer 1981: 64, 166; see also OED s.v. *list*, v.[1] 1.).

In impersonal use, *lust* may be found with a (pro)nominal Desirer in the objective case in combination with five different types of complements representing the semantic role of Desired: 1) Desired as NP complement; 2) Desired as clausal complement; 3) Desired as prepositional complement; 4) Desired as adverbial complement; and 5) Desired as zero complement. These are described below and exemplified with instances from the OED and the MED entries (see also Miura 2015: 175, especially her Table 5.30).

1) **Desired as NP complement**, as shown in (83).[39]

(83) (=79) Swa he mare lufe hæfð to ... Gode swa him **lust** swiðor þe lufe.
so he more love has to God so him-OBJ pleases more the love
'The more love he has towards ... God, the more he desires the love.'
[MED, c1175 (?OE) *Bod.Hom.*(Bod 343) 118/8; translation from Miura (2015: 62)]

2) **Desired as clausal complement**, which can be realised by a bare infinitive clause, as in (84), or a *to*-infinitive clause, as in (85).

(84) Þam kinge **luste** slepe.
'The king desired [to] sleep'
[MED, c1275 (?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9)30253]

(85) He..hath no suche hongre þat Him **luste** to ete any flesshe of lombes nor of othir beestis.
'He has no such hunger as to desire to eat any flesh of lambs or of any other beasts'
[MED, a1500 *Chartier Treat.Hope (Rwl A.338) 170/9]

A variant of patterns with clausal complements can be found in subordinate clauses where a proposition is omitted but retrievable from the preceding co(n)-text, as in (86) below.

(86) Do as thee **lust** the terme of al thy lyf.
'Do as it pleases you for the duration of all your life'
[MED, (c1395) Chaucer CT.WB.(Manly-Rickert) D.820]

[39] Note that the impersonal construction with NP complements is not identified in Möhlig-Falke's list of OE impersonal patterns (2012: 5–15; see Chapter 2 in this thesis).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

This pattern can be observed in the language since OE and ME times, for instance with the OE verb *līcian* (e.g. OE, *... þe estað heom silfum swa heom betst* ***licað*** ... 'who himself lives in luxury, as pleases him best', Möhlig-Falke 2012: 144, 205, my emphasis) or the ME verb *listen* (e.g. ME, *as me* ***listeth*** 'as [it] pleases me', Elmer 1981: 117, my emphasis and translation). Notice that the ellipted material could easily be added without affecting the meaning or the grammaticality of the clause: *as thee* ***lust*** *[to do]* in example (86) above. Examples like these will be termed *impersonal NO PROP* (short for "unexpressed proposition"), after Allen (1995: 86, 257–258, 275–277), and they are predominantly realised by subordinate clauses introduced by *as* and *when*.

3) **Desired as prepositional complement**. The prepositions attested include *after* and *of*, as in (87) and (88), respectively.[40]

(87) Ure lustes beoreð us ofte to þing þet us **luste** efter
our lusts carry us often to thing that us-OBJ longed after
'Our lusts often lead us to the thing that we longed for'
[MED, c1230 (?a1200) *Ancr.*(Corp-C 402)]

(88) Hem **lusteth** of no ladi chiere
them-OBJ desires of no lady's countenance
'They do not desire the countenance of a lady'
[MED, (a1393) Gower CA (Frf 3)5.2577]

4) **Desired as adverbial complement**, as in (89) below.

(89) Hi sete adoun & ete faste, for hem **luste** wel þerto.
'They sat down and ate fast, for they longed greatly for it'
[MED, c1300 SLeg.Brendan (Hrl 2277:Horst.)127]

5) **Desired as zero complement**, as shown in (90).

(90) By cause of heete him **lustiþ** myche
by cause of heat him-OBJ lusts much
'because of the heat he feels a great longing'
[MED, c1475 (1392) **MS Wel.564* (Wel 564)]

[40] I thank Ayumi Miura for generous help with the interpretation of example (88).

6.2.2. *Lust* in personal patterns

Judging from the OED, the MED and previous studies, the personal use of *lust* first emerged in the late 14th century (c1390; see e.g. MED s.v. *lusten* v. 2. (a)), which is about two centuries after the impersonal use of this verb is first documented in the 12th century. This suggests that in its initial stages *lust* must have been restricted to impersonal use alone. In addition, this also implies that personal constructions emerge at a time when the loss of case distinctions was at an advanced stage, whereas the fixation of word order must have been at an intermediate stage (see Chapter 2). As regards the expression of the Desired argument, six different types of complementation patterns may be found with *lust* in personal use, corresponding to Paths I, III, IV and V in Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1. These are: 1) patterns with clausal complements; 2) passive patterns; 3) *(h)it*-extraposition patterns; 4) prepositional patterns; 5) middle-reflexive patterns; and 6) patterns with NP complements. In what follows, these are listed and exemplified with instances from the OED and the MED entries (cf. Miura 2015: 185, especially her Table 5.34).

1) **Patterns with clausal complements**, in which the Desired is expressed by a *(for) to*-infinitive in (91) and (93), a bare infinitive in (92) and a *that*-complement clause in (94). According to the OED, complementation by an infinitive or a *that*-complement clause is only occasional (s.v. *lust*, v. 4. a.).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

(91) He was for-hungred & **lust** to eten.
'He was starved and desired to eat'
[MED, (c1390) Chart.Abbey HG (LdMisc 210) 353]

(92) No creature shal **luste** play
'No creature shall desire to play'
[MED, a1400 *Cursor* (Trin-C R.3.8) 22601]

(93) Ho that **lust** for to loke..on this boke..
[MED, a1500 *Ho that lust* (Clare 5) 1]

(94) I have **lusted** earnestly, and endeavoured carefully..that these little books..might stand instead of many bigger books
[OED, 1761 L. Sterne *Life Tristram Shandy* IV. xxii. 142]

As mentioned in connection with impersonal uses, a variant of patterns with clausal complements can be found in subordinate clauses where a proposition is left understood, as in (95) below, with the square brackets indicating where the unexpressed role should appear. These will be termed as *personal NO PROPs*, in parallel to Allen's (1995) *impersonal NO PROPs* explained above.

(95) No sauce but salt, or as a man **luste** [ ].
'No condiment but salt, or as a man pleases [to have]'
[MED, c1450 Hrl.Cook.Bk.(2) (Hrl 4016)102]

2) **Passive patterns**, in which a form of *to be* is combined with the past participle form of the verb, as in (96) below. The Desirer is encoded as the subject of the clause and the Desired could be introduced as an optional adjunct (see Path V, Chapter 2; also Chapter 4, Section 4.4).

(96) I was mined of god with me, And i am **lusted**
I was reminded of God with me and I-SUBJ am pleased
'I was reminded of God with me, and I am pleased.'
[MED, a1400 *NVPsalter* (Vsp D.7) 76.3; translation from Miura (2015: 187)]

3) ***(H)it*-extraposition patterns**, in which the Desirer is encoded as the object and the Desired is encoded as an extraposed clausal complement. The place of the subject is occupied by a non-referential subject *(h)it* and the clausal complement is displaced to post-verbal position, as in (97) below (see Path III, Chapter 2).

(97) He thanked hem..þat it **lusted** hem so to sende unto him.
'He thanked them.. that it pleased them to so send for him'
[MED, (1427) Proc.Privy C.3.234]

4) **Prepositional patterns**, in which the Desired is expressed by a prepositional complement, as shown in (98) and (99). The range of prepositions heading prepositional complements includes *after*, *for*, †*in* and †*unto*.[41]

[41] Example (99) is a zero-relative clause, with *Any thing* as the antecedent and *unto* 'governing' the zero relative itself; i.e. *Any thing [Ø] it lusts unto*.

(98) If we be an hungred, we **lust** <u>for bread</u>.
[OED, 1563 *2nd Tome Homelyes* Rogation Wk. ii, in J. Griffiths *Two Bks. Homilies* (1859) ii. 492]

(99) So barbarous a place which dares do <u>Any thing</u> it **lusts** <u>unto</u> without regard Of laws or hospitality.
[OED, a1701 C. Sedley *Tyrant of Crete* ii. iv]

5) **Middle-reflexive patterns**, in which the Desirer is expressed by means of the subject and a co-referential reflexive pronoun. The reflexive pronoun may be said to be pleonastic in that it is semantically redundant, as in (100) below (see Path IV, Chapter 2).

(100) To giue them licence to liue as they **lust** <u>them selues</u>.
[OED, a1568 R. Ascham *Scholemaster* (1570) i. f. 13]

6) **Patterns with NP complements**, in which the Desired is expressed by a (pro)nominal NP complement, as shown in (101).

(101) The Spirit and the flesh are contraries, and they **lust** <u>contrary things</u>.
[OED, 1653 R. Sanderson *Serm. Newport* 4]

6.3. *LUST* IN THE EMODE PERIOD

Table 13 below displays the overall frequency of *lust* in my EModE data as documented in the subcorpus extracted from EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) distributed by 50-year subperiod and subject domain.

Subject domain	S1 (1500–1549)	S2 (1550–1599)	S3 (1600–1649)	S4 (1650–1700)	Total
Religion	128 (90.14)	46 (77.97)	30 (81.08)	32 (91.43)	236 (86.45)
General Prose	8 (5.63)	10 (16.95)	4 (10.81)	1 (2.86)	23 (8.42)
History	6 (4.23)	--	1 (2.70)	2 (5.71)	9 (3.30)
Philosophy	--	2 (3.39)	1 (2.70)	--	3 (1.10)
Law	--	--	1 (2.70)	--	1 (0.37)
Politics	--	1 (1.69)	--	--	1 (0.37)
Biology	--	--	--	--	--
Literature	--	--	--	--	--
Medicine	--	--	--	--	--
Total	142 (100)	59 (100)	37 (100)	35 (100)	273 (100)
(row %)	52.01	21.61	13.55	12.82	100

Table 13: Frequency distribution of *lust* in EModE by 50-year subperiod and subject domain (raw figures and percentages)

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

The searches for this verb yielded 273 tokens. It can be observed in the table that the overall frequency of *lust* notably decreases in the course of the EModE period from 52.01% of occurrences in S1 (142 tokens) to 12.82% in S4 (35 tokens), a diachronic picture which reflects its status as a low-frequency verb in PDE (see OED s.v. *lust*, v. Frequency (in current use)). It can also be seen that *lust* is predominantly found in religious and biblical contexts (86.45%, 236 tokens) a tendency that remains consistent across the four subperiods. In contrast, the frequency in the other subject domains is anecdotal overall, with some domains showing no attestations, such as Biology, Literature and Medicine, while some other domains show subperiods with no data, like Philosophy, Law and Politics. In this regard, it should be noted that religious discourse is generally characterised by the use of archaic language, which is highly dependent on Latin (see e.g. Görlach 1993[1991]: 164–165), and that may have played a role in the frequency rates.

The historical development of verb senses illustrated in Figure 13 below reflects the process of semantic specialisation undergone by this verb during EModE. Thus, the specific sense 'to have a carnal desire' (sense (ii) in Section 6.1) may be seen to rise steadily as the more general sense 'to desire' (i) decreases in parallel. The sense 'to please' (iii) is more marginal, and it is attested only in S1 (on this verb sense see Section 6.3.2.1 below).

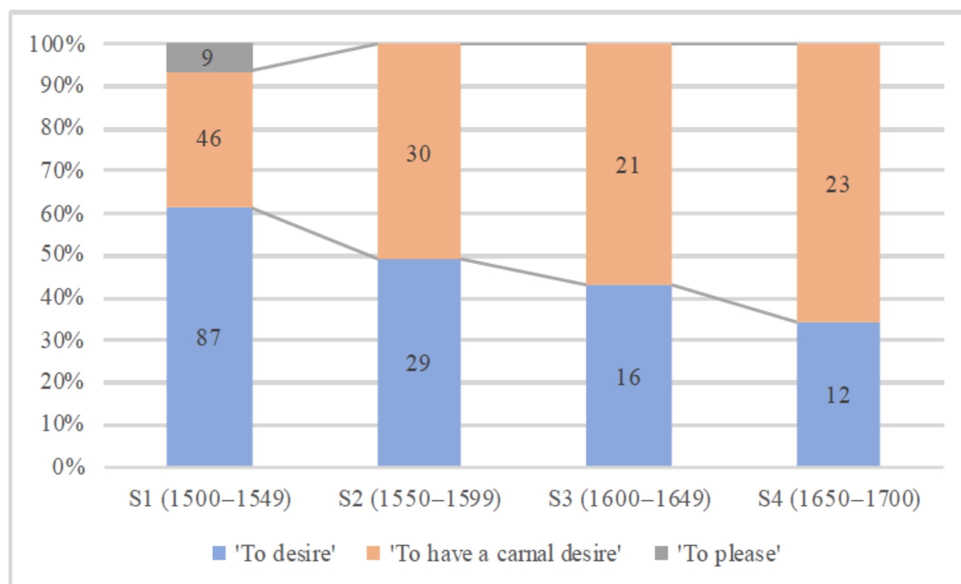


Figure 13: Diachronic evolution of verb senses with *lust* in EModE (raw figures and relative frequencies)

In the data from the EModE period, impersonal use amounts to only 2.93% of the total occurrences (8 tokens out of 273). Crucially, all the instances are attested in the earliest period S1 (1500–1549), roughly coinciding with the last attestation available in the OED, from a1556 (s.v. *lust*, v. †2.). In addition, although personal patterns start to be recorded only since the 14th century in the MED, in the EModE period they already represent 97.07% of instances (265 tokens out of 273); this may be taken as an indication that the shift from impersonal to personal use must have become complete during the time-span between the 14th century —when personal patterns first emerge (see Section 6.2.2)— and the mid-16th century —when impersonal patterns cease to be recorded (see Section 6.2.1).

The remainder of this section presents the results of the morphosyntactic and semantic analysis of *lust.* Section 6.3.1 provides an overview of the impersonal patterns attested in the EModE corpus, while Section 6.3.2 focuses on personal patterns.

6.3.1. Impersonal patterns in EModE

In the following paragraphs, I examine the morphosyntactic properties of the impersonal patterns of *lust* as attested in my subcorpus of EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700). The discussion looks, first, into the formal realisation of the Desirer argument as a noun or a pronoun, and, secondly, into the different realisations of the Desired argument, mainly as a clausal complement. Table 14 below provides the figures for each of the realisations of the verb's arguments. Notice that the realisations of the Desired by an NP, a PP, an AdvP or a zero complement, which are all documented in the historical dictionaries (cf. Section 6.2.1), are unattested in the EModE data, which is why they are not displayed in the table.

	Main clause	**Subordinate clause**				
Desired		**Desirer**				
		Noun	**Pronoun**			
			me	*thee*	*him*	Total
NO PROP	--	--	1	1	6	8
Total	--	--	1	1	6	8

Table 14: Distribution of morphosyntactic properties of impersonal patterns with *lust* in EModE (raw figures)

The data in Table 14 show that, with regard to the formal realisation of the Desirer argument, impersonal patterns have been attested only with the pronominal forms *me* (example (102)), *thee* (example (103)) and *him* (examples (104) and (105)).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

(102) Is it not lawful for me to do as me **lusteth** with mine owne goodes?
[1549, *The booke of the* ... D00000999002540000]

(103) and that thou mayst be fre to vse thy wordes as the **lusteth**
[1536, *An exposycyon vpon the* ... D00000998400370000]

(104) And as folyshenes, whan hym **lusteth**, confoundeth the wyttes of the wyse, so weakenes, where god setteth to his hande, worketh wonders
[1539, *An exhortation to styrre* ... D00000998400250000.txt]

(105) the husbande (as saynte Paule sayth) hath not power ouer his owne bodye, to vse it as him **lusteth**
[1542, *On Saynt Andrewes day* … D00000219982820000]

It should be clarified that in this study instances with nominal Desirers have been generally counted as personal. The reasons for this are two: 1) nouns are uninflected for case in the data for the period examined here; and 2) the rigidification of word order was well advanced by the EModE period (see Chapter 2). It thus seems reasonable to assume that uninflected nominal Desirers in preverbal position functioned as grammatical subjects in the period of study. It is also noteworthy that, with regard to the second-person plural pronouns *ye/you*, although these retain case distinctions for the most part of the 16th century (Barber 1997: 149), no instances have been found where the originally objective *you* form represents the Desirer of an impersonal pattern (i.e. *?you lusteth*, to be compared with example (103) above).

As regards the Desired argument, impersonal patterns are wholly restricted to NO PROP constructions, which are realised by subordinate clauses introduced by *as* or *when*. The fact that impersonal constructions are confined to this syntactic context suggests that the degree of productivity of the construction must have been very limited in the early 16th century. In addition, impersonal patterns show a low degree of subject variation, with the third-person masculine pronoun *him* being strongly favoured (75%, 6 tokens out of 8). It may be that these NO PROPs constitute a remnant of an impersonal pattern which was previously at work, but which in EModE remains only in this syntactic context preceding the total obsolescence of impersonal patterns with this verb.[42]

[42] For similar observations on other impersonal verbs such as *think* 'to seem, appear', which survived longer in fossilised units such as *methinks*, see López-Couso (1996).

Followings Allen's (1995: 86) conception of NO PROP constructions as an "unexpressed proposition" (see Section 6.2.1), examples like (102)–(105) may be said to imply that 'X lusts [i.e. desires] to do something', rather than that 'X lusts [i.e. desires] something', or simply that 'X feels lust [i.e. feels desire]'. However, this last interpretation does not seem possible if we take into account that the notion of desire entails two participants —i.e. Desirer and Desired (see Chapter 4)—, such that the second argument needs to be, if not expressed, at least understood. Hence, an example like (103) above yields the paraphrase *and that thou mayst be fre to vse thy wordes as the lusteth [to use them]*.

6.3.2. Personal patterns in EModE

In the following paragraphs, the discussion focuses on the historical development of the personal patterns documented with *lust* in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700), which vary in the number and nature of the arguments expressed. The complementation patterns attested include, in order of frequency: 1) patterns with clausal complements; 2) patterns with zero complements; 3) prepositional patterns; and 4) patterns with NP complements, respectively illustrated in examples (106)–(109). Notice that the realisation of the Desired by a zero complement is not documented in the historical dictionaries (see Section 6.2.2).

(106) Likewise (saide he) muste thou also punisshe and chastise thy silfe yf so <u>thou</u> **luste** <u>to serve god</u>
[1529, *An exhortation to the* ... D00000998455470000]

(107) <u>Thou</u> shalt not desire or **lust**
[1548, *Catechismus, that is to* … D00000998449220000]

(108) Not to look upon the wine when it giveth his colour in the glasse; his meaning is, <u>we</u> should not **lust** vehemently <u>after it</u>
[1628, *A sermon against drunkennes* ... D00000222874350000]

(109) but rather that he shoulde **luste** <u>those thynges that lawes allow</u>
[1538, *The epistle that Iohan* ... D00000998408250000]

Table 15 below shows the raw frequencies for each of the documented personal complementation patterns, with percentages in brackets. In parallel, Figure 14 provides the relative frequencies distributed across the four 50-year subperiods under analysis.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

Complementation pattern	S1 (1500–1549)	S2 (1550–1599)	S3 (1600–1649)	S4 (1650–1700)	Total
Clausal	68 (50.75)	21 (36.21)	7 (18.42)	5 (14.29)	101 (38.11)
Zero	32 (23.88)	21 (36.21)	16 (42.11)	22 (62.86)	91 (34.34)
Prepositional	29 (21.64)	16 (27.59)	14 (36.84)	7 (20)	66 (24.91)
NP	5 (3.73)	--	--	1 (2.86)	6 (2.26)
Other	--	--	1 (2.63)	--	1 (0.38)
Total	134 (100)	58 (100)	38 (100)	35 (100)	265 (100)

Table 15: Frequency of personal patterns of *lust* in EModE by 50-year subperiod (raw figures and percentages)

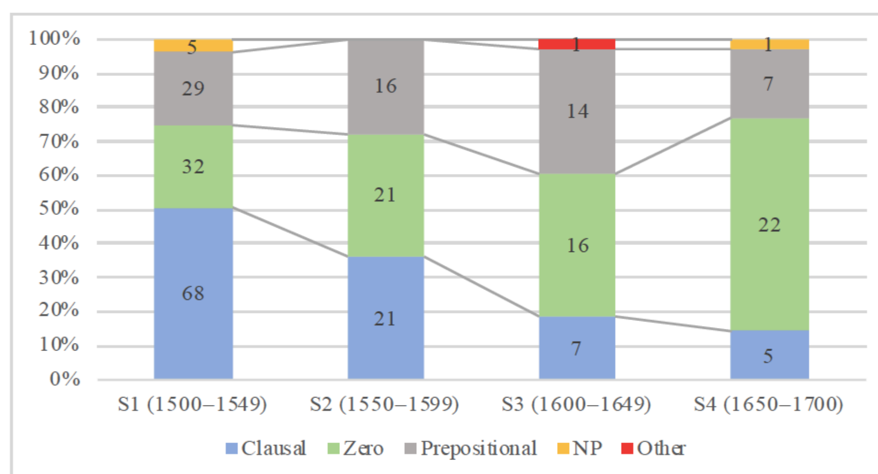


Figure 14: Diachronic distribution of personal patterns of *lust* in EModE (raw figures and relative frequencies)

The overall relative frequencies show that clausal complements are the most frequent pattern, at 38.11% (101 tokens), followed by zero complements, at 34.34% (91 tokens). Prepositional patterns show a lower frequency at 24.91% (66 tokens), while patterns with NP complements constitute the smallest percentage at 2.26% (6 tokens). The diachronic evolution across subperiods reveals crucial differences. Zero complements show a steady increase, rising from 23.88% of the instances in S1 (32 tokens) to 62.86% in S4 (22 tokens). In turn, clausal complements show a parallel decrease over time, from the earliest supberiod —when they clearly dominated in frequency at 50.75% (68 tokens)— to the final subperiod at 14.29% (5 tokens). In the late 16th century, clausal complements undergo a marked decline from 36.21% in S2 (21 tokens) —the same frequency as zero complements— to 18.42% in S3 (7 tokens) — i.e. less than half the frequency of the pattern with zero complements. For their part, patterns with prepositional complements remain constant except for the small increase from 27.59% in S2 (16 tokens) to 36.84% in S3 (14 tokens), standing below zero complements and clausal complements in S1 and S2, but only below zero complements in S3 and S4. As far as patterns with NP complements are concerned, these are modestly represented in S1 (3.73%, 5 tokens),

unattested in S2 and S3, and occur again anecdotally in S4 (2.86%, 1 token). Overall, we may conclude that the data unveil a considerable contrast between 50-year subperiods, especially in connection with the diachronic development of clausal, zero complements and prepositional complements, which show sharp shifts in frequency in S2 (1550–1599) and S3 (1600–1649) — i.e. clausal complements lose their initial predominant position, zero complements become prevalent and prepositional complements rise to second position.

Table 16 below provides the frequencies for the formal realisation of the Desirer. The realisation of the Desired argument will be dealt with in Sections 6.3.2.1–4. Note that the figures provided in Table 16 only include finite clauses where a grammatical subject is overtly expressed, a criterion that naturally excludes non-finite clauses without an overt subject as well as imperative clauses (e.g. 1655, *the fleshly or natural man in the Saint unsubdued cannot bear, but hath its reluctancy against **lusting** to envy*). The count of pronominal Desirers includes personal as well as relative and interrogative pronouns.

Complementation pattern	Noun	Pronoun	Total
Clausal	8 (8)	92 (92)	100 (100)
Zero	47 (55.29)	38 (44.71)	85 (100)
Prepositional	10 (24.39)	31 (75.61)	41 (100)
NP	--	3 (100)	3 (100)
Total	65 (28.38)	164 (71.62)	229 (100)

Table 16: Formal realisation of the Desirer with *lust* in EModE (raw figures and percentages)

The data above show that pronominal Desirers are generally favoured, with 71.62% of total instances (164 tokens). Thus, patterns with clausal and prepositional complements clearly prefer pronominal Desirers, which respectively represent 92% and 75.61% of total instances (92 and 31 tokens). Regarding the very few NP complements attested (3 tokens), Desirers are exclusively pronominal. All this contrasts sharply with the complementation pattern involving zero complements, with which nominal Desirers predominate in 55.29% of cases (47 tokens).

Out of the 164 tokens of pronominal Desirers, 146 correspond to personal pronouns (i.e. neither relative nor interrogative forms). These are, in order of frequency:[43] *they* (23.97%, 35 tokens), *he* (22.60%, 33 tokens), *thou* (14.38%, 21 tokens), *ye/you* (13.70%, 20 tokens), *we* (10.96%, 16 tokens), *it* (10.27%, 15 tokens), *I* (3.42%, 5 tokens) and *she* (0.68%, 1 token). The

[43] The percentage of personal pronouns is calculated according to the total number of personal pronouns, i.e. 146 tokens, excluding from the count relative and interrogative forms which do add to the counts in Table 16.

attested personal pronouns are considered as declinable (e.g. *we/us*, *they/them*, etc.), including here the second-person plural forms *ye/you*, which were used interchangeably for the most part of the 16th century (Barber 1997: 149), which is when the alternation between impersonal and personal use was still possible. As for the neuter pronoun *it*, it is also counted as declinable because it has the old dative form *him* "as an alternative to accusative *it* all through the sixteenth century" (Barber 1997: 150; see Chapter 2, fn. 7).

6.3.2.1. Patterns with clausal complements

In patterns with clausal complements, a (pro)nominal argument (in the subjective case) expresses the semantic role of Desirer, and a clausal complement expresses the semantic role of Desired (see Section 6.2.2). According to the MED, personal patterns with clausal complements are first attested with *lust* in the 14th century (s.v. *lusten* v. 2. (a)). Likewise, in Miura's (2015: 185) survey of ME verbs of Emotion, ME *lusten* features most prominently in patterns with infinitive complements (9 out of 18 total attestations). However, Figure 14 above shows that the ME situation documented in Miura is paralleled by EModE *lust* only during the early 16th century; thereafter, clausal complements sharply decrease in frequency as zero and prepositional patterns take the lead. In the following paragraphs, I examine the morphosyntactic properties of clausal complements as attested in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700).

The clausal argument expressing the Desired has been found to be realised either by NO PROPs (example (110)) or by *to*-infinitive clauses (example (111)). The realisations by a bare infinitive, a *for to*-infinitive or a *that*-complement clause documented in the historical dictionaries are unattested in my data. Table 17 provides the figures and percentages for each of the realisations in the corpus.

(110) What reason is it that myne enimy shulde put me in prison at his pleasure and there diet me and handyll me as he **lusteth**
[1528, *The obedie[n]ce of a* ... D00000998406010000]

(111) Honour is offered vs, and suche honour vndoubtedly as neuer came to our nation, if we **lust** to take it.
[1539, *An exhortation to styrre* ... D00000998400250000]

Desired	**S1 (1500–1549)**	**S2 (1550–1599)**	**S3 (1600–1649)**	**S4 (1650–1700)**	**Total**
NO PROP	48 (70.59)	18 (85.71)	3 (42.86)	1 (20)	70 (69.31)
To-inf	20 (29.41)	3 (14.29)	4 (57.14)	4 (80)	31 (30.69)
Total	68 (100)	21 (100)	7 (100)	5 (100)	101 (100)

Table 17: Formal realisation of clausal complements with *lust* in EModE (raw figures and percentages)

The category of NO PROPs yields the highest number of instances (69.31%, 70 tokens out of 101), followed by *to*-infinitive complements (30.69%, 31 tokens). These two variants show some differences with regard to the realisation of the Desirer argument; thus, NO PROPs are found with nominal Desirers in just 2 out of 70 cases, whereas the variant with a *to*-infinitive occurs with nominal Desirers in 6 out of 31 cases; hence, the construction with a *to*-infinitive accounts for 6 out of the 8 nominal Desirers in patterns with clausal complements (see Table 16). From a diachronic perspective, it is noteworthy that the variant with NO PROPs predominates in the two subperiods of the 16th century (i.e. S1 and S2), whereas the variant with *to*-infinitives does so in the two subperiods of the 17th century (i.e. S3 and S4), although at a much lower raw frequency (4 tokens in each subperiod). Thus, NO PROPs increase in S2 at 85.71% (18 tokens), but their relative frequency decreases dramatically in S3 at 42.86% (3 tokens) and 20% in S4 (1 token). In parallel, *to*-infinitives decrease abruptly after S1 to 14.29% in S2 (3 tokens), but they rise to 57.14% in S3 (4 tokens) and 80% in S4 (4 tokens).

In the variant with NO PROPs, *lust* has been found once in a construction with the reflexive pronoun *himself*, as shown in example (112) below (see OED s.v. *lust*, v. †3. †c.). Here, *himself* occurs in the subject slot of the subordinate clause *as himselfe lusteth*. This usage is attested in the history of English, but survives only as dialectal (cf. OED *himself* pron. A. I. 3. a.).

(112) In a word, a Liberty for every man, to doe what is right in his owne eyes, or as himselfe **lusteth**, provided that He will take part with the Parliament
[1648, *A vindication of King* ... D00000998253380000]

Personal NO PROP constructions are also noteworthy in that some of them occur in fused relative constructions in which "the referent of the (overt or understood) subject of the matrix clause is given the freedom to choose" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1075); they are illustrated in (113) and (114) below (cf. Castro-Chao 2019). This subtype of NO PROP construction is labelled *the free choice construction* by Huddleston & Pullum, and it is to be understood "as if it had a clausal complement" (e.g. PDE, *She can go wherever she wants [to go]*; see also Biber *et al.* 1999: 1047; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1526*ff*; Faya 2013: 217–218). Example (114),

for instance, yields the paraphrase 'whatsoever pleases them [to do]', with the elided clausal complement in brackets. It is noteworthy that fused relative constructions in my data sometimes exhibit SOV order, as in (113) and (114) below, where the objective Desirer pronoun may be fronted and placed before the verb, following the fused relative pronoun which functions as subject (cf. Elmer 1981: 117; cf. also Path II, Chapter 2). In this use, the verb denotes the sense 'to please'; hence the paraphrase in (113) 'every man has his free will to do what pleases him [to do]'; cf. Figure 13 above). Notice that the sense 'to please' is attested in the OED only until the 15th century (see Section 6.1 above); however, in the data here studied, this sense 'to please' can in fact be found until about a century later. This type of fused relative construction shares with the impersonal NO PROPs (e.g. *to do as me lusteth*) that the Desirer takes the objective form and occupies preverbal position. It could thus be said that SOV fused relative constructions represent an intermediate stage in the development from the impersonal NO PROP (i.e. *to do as me lusteth*) to the personal variant with *lust* (e.g. *handyll me as he lusteth*).

(113) Then love I my most enimie Now when we saye every man hath his fre will to doo what him **lusteth**
[1528, *The obedie[n]ce of a* ... D00000998406010000]

(114) What so euer them **lusteth**, that proudly and stubburnly they dare do
[1539, *An epitome of the* ... D00000998548110000]

As can be seen in (113), the Desirer (i.e. *every man*) indeed has a free choice to do what he deliberately chooses to do, which in this example is explicitly signalled by the phrase *his fre will*. This implication of freedom of choice has also been noted by Allen (1995: 339), who points out that the personal NO PROP with *please* entails that "the Experiencer […] is in control of the action of the main clause […].", so that in a sentence like *I'll stay as late as I please*, the subject *I* is given the freedom to stay for as long as he or she wishes to stay, emphasising that the Experiencer is in control of the event.

Hence, in terms of the semantic properties of the verb's arguments, the analysis of personal NO PROP constructions shows that the Desirer of *lust* has a high degree of volitional involvement in the SoA. By the same token, in example (110) above the referent of the subject *he* [*myne enimy*] is given the freedom to choose to imprison and manipulate the referent of the object *me* [Jesus Christ] *at his pleasure* [i.e. at his will]. Likewise, in example (112) above the sentence states that *every man* is given the *Liberty to doe what is right in his owne eyes*, which

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

amounts to doing what he *himselfe lusteth* [i.e. wishes] to do volitionally and intentionally. The same happens in the NO PROP construction in (115) below, where the Desirer *they* is said to be *free to mary* where they choose to marry.

(115) Paule sayth to the Corinthyans that if a man or woman be coupled with an infydell and the infydel depart, the other is <u>free</u> to mary <u>where they **lust**</u>
[1536, *An exposycyon vpon the* … D00000998400370000]

In view of this, a question that arises is whether the volitional interpretation of the Desirer is attributable to the NO PROP construction itself, or whether, by contrast, it is specified by the lexical semantics of *lust* (see Chapter 4). If we compare example (115) above with (116) below, it becomes apparent that the volitional interpretation of the Desirer is not confined to NO PROP constructions, since in the prepositional construction with *lust* in (116) the Desirer (*hys hert*) is interpreted as volitional as well. This is reflected in the use of the phrase *at lybertye* expressing freedom of choice. In this particular case, the Desirer is even actively involved in bringing about the feeling of desire itself, probably by willfully directing his attention towards the desired object (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.3).

(116) it is impossible for hym to keape the comma~deme~tes or that <u>hys hert</u> shuld be loose or <u>at lybertye</u> to **lust** <u>after them</u>
[1528, *That fayth the mother* … D00000998406070000]

The fact that the Desirer receives a volitional interpretation across different constructions entails that the feature of volition is assigned at the lexical level. This ties in with the observation made in Chapter 4 that the Experiencer of verbs of Desire is non-prototypical in that it is volitional, contrary to the general conception of Experiencers as "sentience without volition or causation" (Dowty 1991: 577; see also see also Pishwa 1999: 138).

Turning now to the semantic properties of the Desired, the analysis of examples suggests that its properties have some particularities in patterns with clausal complements. Compare, for instance, examples (117)–(119) below. Example (117) illustrates the pattern with a clausal complement, whereas (118) and (119) instantiate, respectively, patterns with prepositional and NP complements.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

(117) that which was totally cross and destructive to him, as fixed in that selfish spirit or single state of natural perfection, wherein he **lusted** to Rule and Reign as god in the world
[1655, *The retired mans meditations* … D00000078965530000]

(118) For we begynne to couet and **lust** for pleasant thynges, lo~g before we know whether God wyll gyue them vnto vs, or no.
[1548, *Catechismus, that is to* … D00000998449220000]

(119) (=109) but rather that he shoulde **luste** those thynges that lawes allow
[1538, *The epistle that Iohan* … D00000998408250000]

In example (117), the clausal complement, *to Rule and Reign as god in the world*, refers to an event which has existence only in an unrealised future time, whereas in (118) the prepositional complement, *for pleasant thynges*, makes reference to an entity which has existence in and of itself, in spite of the fact that it is implied to be absent from the Desirer's immediate reality (on this see Chapter 4). The same may be said of the NP complement in (119), *those thynges that lawes allow*, whose referent has existence of its own as well.

Within Dowty's (1991) framework, it may be said that these different complementation patterns correlate with differences in the Proto-agent or Proto-patient properties associated with the verb's arguments. For instance, the Proto-agent feature of causation is potentially present in the Desirer of (117) (Property 3), but not in the Desirer arguments of (118) or (119), since the Desirer in (117) intends to cause an event to come into existence as a result of the emotion of desire. In other words, in (117) the intention is to bring about an event (i.e. *to Rule and Reign as god in the world*) which does not have existence independently of the emotion, whereas in (118) and (119) the Desirer merely directs attention to an entity without the intention of causing any effect on it. This ties in with the Proto-patient property of independent existence (Property 5), since the Desired of (117), unlike the Desired arguments of (118) or (119), lacks existence independent of the event named by the verb, in compliance with Dowty's Proto-patient Property 5. In terms of force-dynamics, patterns with clausal complements may be said to entail a potential causal relation between the Initiator and the Endpoint in that the Desired in (117) is potentially affected, or effected, by the SoA initiated by the Desirer.

A conclusion which may be drawn from this is that patterns with clausal complements with *lust* are functionally distinct from constructions with (pro)nominal complements. In view of this, the decline of clausal complements observed in Table 15 and Figure 14 may not have been

due to mere replacement by prepositional patterns, which is the pattern with two arguments that remains frequent after clausal complements decline. Instead, it is possible that, parallel to the verb becoming more specialised in meaning (see Figure 13), the functional space occupied by clausal complements was eventually taken over by verbs which convey more general meanings. In fact, Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1075) identify a small class of verbs, including *choose*, *like*, *please*, *want* and *wish*, which in PDE share the same types of clausal complementation as EModE *lust* (e.g. PDE, *do it in your own way just as you* ***please***; PDE, *For we still sin or we* ***wish*** *to sin*). This applies to the EModE period as well (e.g. 1594, *Your Honor shall repose you here to night, And earlie as you* ***please****, begin your taske*; 1560, *Ionah fainted, and* ***wished*** *in his heart to dye*, OED s.v. *please*, v. II. 6. e. and *wish*, v. 1. a. (d)). On these grounds, it might be profitable to consider in future work whether the frequency of this class of verbs increases in parallel to the decline of *lust* in patterns with clausal complements, so as to determine whether *lust* is in fact replaced by these verbs in this syntactic context.

6.3.2.2. Patterns with zero complements

In patterns with zero complements, a (pro)nominal argument (in the subjective case) expresses the semantic role of Desirer, whereas the Desired is left unexpressed (see Section 6.2.2). Since *lust* is a two-place predicate with the semantic frame <**Desirer Desired**>, it would therefore be expected to occur most frequently in clauses with two explicit arguments. This is the case in S1, when clausal patterns are the preferred option; however, from the late 16th century onwards, zero complements rise and become prevalent (see Table 15 and Figure 14).

In the following paragraphs, I examine the morphosyntactic properties of patterns with zero complements as attested in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700), looking especially at the properties of the Desired argument as a zero complement, as well as at the presence or absence in the clause of an additional PP functioning as an adjunct modifier. Examples (120)–(122) illustrate zero complements with *lust*.

(120) (=44) Which thi~g the lawe doth but vtter only and helpyth vs not yee requiryth impossyble thinges of vs. The law whe~ it co~maundeth that thou shalt not **lust** geveth the not power so to do but da~nenith the because thou canst not so doo. [1528, *That fayth the mother* … D00000998406070000]

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

(121) the whole nature of ma~ is damnyd in that y^ hert **lusteth** co~trary to y^ will of God
[1528, *That fayth the mother* ... D00000998406070000]

(122) For the fleshe **lusteth** continualy agenst the sprite
[1535, *An confortable exhortation of* ... D00000998394710000]

The Desired is left unexpressed in all three (120)–(122) above. In (120), there are no adjunct PPs in the clause, and the verb denotes a '[s]ensuous appetite or desire, considered as sinful or leading to sin' (OED s.v. *lust*, n. 3.). In example (121), an adjunct PP is introduced headed by the preposition *contrary to*.[44] Likewise, a PP adjunct is present in (122), but in this particular case it forms part of the fossilised expression *the flesh lusts against/contrary to the spirit*, which expresses the meaning 'the body has carnal desires contrary to the spirit'. Together with the variant *the spirit lusts against/contrary to the flesh*, this expression accounts for 39.57% of total uses in patterns with zero complements (36 tokens out of 91).

Table 18 below shows the figures for patterns with zero complements with no adverbial elements, and the figures for patterns with adjunct PPs, including the fossilised expression mentioned above. The adjunct PPs attested are headed in all cases by the prepositions *against* and *contrary to*.

Adjunct	**S1 (1500–1549)**	**S2 (1550–1599)**	**S3 (1600–1649)**	**S4 (1650–1700)**	**Total**
No adjunct	13 (40.63)	6 (28.57)	7 (43.75)	11 (50)	37 (40.66)
against-PP	7 (21.88)	14 (66.67)	9 (56.25)	10 (45.45)	40 (43.96)
contrary to-PP	12 (37.50)	1 (4.76)	--	1 (4.55)	14 (15.38)
Total	32 (100)	21 (100)	16 (100)	22 (100)	91 (100)

Table 18: Patterns with zero complements with *lust* in EModE (raw figures and percentages)

It is relevant to point out that PP adjuncts headed by *against/contrary to* are not documented in the OED or the MED entries examined for *lust*. The same applies to the fossilised expression *the flesh lusts against/contrary to the spirit* and its variants. Similar uses, however, are documented with the near-synonymous verb *covet* (e.g. c1386, *The flessh* **coueiteth** agayn [sic]

[44] *Contrary to* is analysed here as a complex preposition. For further information on the analysis of similar combinations (e.g. *instead of, out of*, etc.) see Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 616; also Biber 1999: 75).

<u>*the spirit*</u>, defined as 'to lust' in the OED s.v. *covet*, v. †4. a.). In my corpus data, *lust* appears in coordination with *covet* on two occasions, as in (123) below.[45]

(123) where as the flesh <u>coueteth</u> & **lusteth** agaynst the spiryte
[1538, *Co[m]mon places of Scripture* ... D00000239970610000]

The high frequency overall of patterns with zero complements may be partly due to the frequency of the said formulaic expression, which is typical of the religious domain, where *lust* was becoming increasingly common (see Table 13, especially the 'Total' for Religion). Thus, the frequency of this formulaic expression increases from 37.50% in S1 (12 tokens out of 32) to 40.91% in S4 (9 tokens out of 22). In this connection, it seems appropriate to make reference to Bybee's (2010) notion of productivity, and how it is to be distinguished from the notion of frequency. According to Bybee (2010: 94, 195), the fact that the token frequency (i.e. raw frequency) of a given pattern is high does not necessarily contribute to the general productivity of the construction at issue (see also Bybee 1985, among others). Instead, productivity may be said to be a function, not of how many times a sequence is recorded in the corpus, but of how many different types of lexical items can be inserted in the slots of a given pattern (i.e. type frequency). On these grounds, we can infer that patterns with zero complements are not highly productive if we take into account that the range of nouns available in subject function is considerably narrow. There are only 7 different noun types, which add up to a total of 47 tokens (see Table 16), 31 of which correspond to *flesh* and 5 to *spirit*; the type/token ratio, which is 0.15, is therefore very low. It thus appears that, although zero complements with *lust* are found with high frequency in the EModE period, the likelihood that the pattern may have been used at the time to produce novel utterances is limited.

The frequency of use of zero complements may also be connected to the context of religious discourse, which favours the understanding of the object of desire as referring by default to the notion of sin. In other words, it is conceivable that the second argument is frequently left unexpressed on the grounds that it is known to both speaker and addressee that it refers to sin. For instance, example (120) above (*thou shalt not **lust***) may be felicitously paraphrased as 'thou shalt not **lust** [after sin/to sin]', with the second argument being retrievable

[45] Compare analogous collocations with a different complement type in 1653 <u>*The Spirit and the flesh*</u> *are contraries, and they **lust*** <u>*contrary things*</u> (OED s.v. *lust*, v. †3. †d.).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

from the religious co(n)-text in which the verb is used (cf. Möhlig-Falke 2012: 130). Following Fillmore's (1986: 96) classification of unexpressed participant roles (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2) the unexpressed Desired would represent what he terms a *definite null complement*, that is, an unexpressed argument corresponding to a lexically profiled participant which is conceptually salient, but which can be omitted when easily recoverable from the co(n)-text.

Another question worthy of note is that in patterns with zero complements the verb may co-occur with an emphatic reflexive pronoun (3 tokens in S2). For instance, example (124) below shows the use of the reflexive pronoun *them selues*, which is semantically redundant in that it does not encode a semantic role different from the subject pronoun *they* (see Traugott 1992: 215; Biber *et al.* 1999: 344; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 188; see also pattern 5 in Section 6.2.2). These are classed here as middle-reflexive patterns (Path IV, Chapter 2), where the Desirer is expressed both as the subject and as a co-referential reflexive pronoun. According to the OED, the history of this syntactic use with *lust* expands only from a1568 to 1584 (s.v. *lust*, v. †3. †c.), with just 3 instances documented. One other instance is recorded with ME *lusten* in Miura (2015: 185, especially her Table 5.34).

(124) Or yf any man wyll entre at them otherwyse then they **lust** them selues, by what lawe or ryght it be, they turne to thornes and bryers
[1536, *A godly and necessarye* ... D00000998537350000]

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

Middle-reflexive patterns are discussed in connection with impersonal constructions by Möhlig-Falke (2012: 187–192; also Ogura 1990, 2003). More specifically, middle-reflexive constructions have been said to share with impersonal patterns the function of expressing so-called middle events (Kemmer 1993), that is, events where the primary participant represents both the Initiator and the Endpoint of an inherently dynamic SoA. In middle events, the process denoted by the verb does not extend to a second participant (e.g. PDE, *Ben shaved*), and, as Möhlig-Falke (2012: 71–72) points out, the properties of middle-reflexive patterns "quite strikingly recall properties that have been noted for the OE impersonal construction" in that they both may be used to emphasise an emotion taking place wholly within the mind of an Experiencer (compare c1380, [...] *me shameþ for to begge* vs. 1526, *And so he shameth hymselfe*, OED s.v. *shame*, v. 2. and 4. †b., respectively). Considering the functional connection between impersonal constructions and reflexive uses, it seems likely that the occurrence of

middle-reflexive constructions with *lust*, even if marginal, is connected to the capacity of this verb to appear in impersonal patterns.

6.3.2.3. Prepositional patterns

In prepositional patterns, a (pro)nominal argument (in the subjective case) expresses the semantic role of Desirer, while a prepositional complement expresses the semantic role of Desired (see Section 6.2.2). According to the OED, this pattern is found with *lust* from the 16th century onwards. In the following paragraphs, I examine the morphosyntactic properties of the prepositional patterns attested in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700), looking at the realisation of the Desired argument either as a noun or a pronoun, as well as at the range of prepositions heading the prepositional complement.

The Desired is realised by a noun in 68.18% of cases (45 tokens out of 66) and by a pronoun in 31.82% of cases (21 tokens). The prepositional phrases found are headed primarily by the preposition *after* (59 tokens; example (125)), and to a much lesser extent by *for* (5 tokens; example (126)), *unto* (1 token; example (127)) and *with* (1 token; example (128)). Figure 15 shows their relative frequency across subperiods.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

(125) yf my harte hathe **lusted** after my neyghbours wyfe
[1543, *The golde[n] boke of* ... D00000998461650000]

(126) (=118) For we begynne to couet and **lust** for pleasant thynges, lo~g before we know whether God wyll gyue them vnto vs, or no.
[1548, *Catechismus, that is to* ... D00000998449220000]

(127) (=62) This the Apostle intends by its being present with us; it is present with me, that is, alwayes, and for its own end, which is to **lust** unto sin.
[1675, *The nature, power, deceit* ... D00000093786480000]

(128) (=63) he may surfet with his owne meates, he may **lust** with his owne wife, he may offende with his owne gifts, his owne honor may make him proud
[1591, *The first sermon of* ... D00000998486990000]

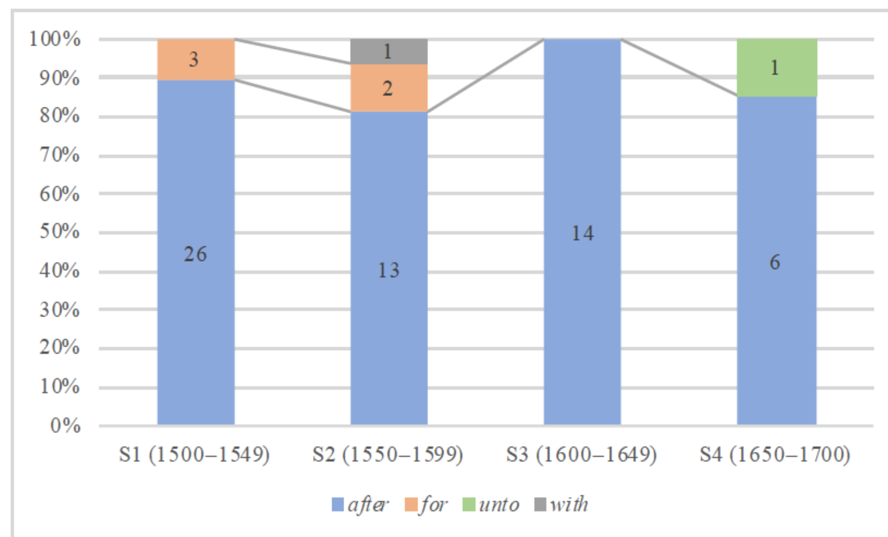


Figure 15: Relative frequency of the prepositions governed by *lust* in EModE by 50-year subperiod (raw figures and relative frequencies)

As can be observed in the data, the preposition *after* is the most frequent collocation, a trend that remains stable throughout the period. The preposition *for* is attested only 3 times in S1, 2 in S2 and then disappears at the turn of the 17th century. *Unto* is attested once in S4, and so is *with* in S2.

Example (129) below is an instance of prepositional passive realised by an *ing*-clause, which functions as postmodifier in NP structure (see e.g. Biber 1999: 937; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1265). Two additional instances of prepositional passives with *lust* are documented in the OED, one of them with the Desirer explicit in a *by*-phrase (1634, *Societie with that sex, is much* ***lusted*** *after* <u>*by all inflamed Asiatiques*</u>, s.v. *lust*, v. 4. b.; also †1. a.).

(129) <u>euerye thinge</u> beinge **lusted** <u>for</u> was lawefull: and beinge lawefull if they coulde doe
[1570, *The hatefull hypocrisie, and* ... D00000998375750000]

As happens with middle-reflexive patterns (see Section 6.3.2.2), passives have often been discussed as functional alternatives to impersonal constructions, by virtue of their ability to express a shift of perspective which "backgrounds 'the initiator' and foregrounds 'the endpoint of a dynamic process'" (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 193; cf. Chapter 4). In other words, passive patterns resemble impersonals in that they both offer the possibility to demote the Desirer from subject function and focus on the lack of control on the part of the Experiencer, which is perceived as the affected entity. It is because of these evident similarities that the expansion

and increase in passive patterns in ME has been argued to have contributed to the eventual loss of impersonal constructions in the history of Engligh (von Seefranz-Montag 1984: 525; see also Seoane 2006; but cf. Light & Wallengberg 2015; Miura 2015: 187). However, the limited occurrence of the passive pattern in my data (1 example alone) precludes us from making any firm claims about the productivity of passive constructions with *lust* in the EModE period.

6.3.2.4. Patterns with NP complements

In patterns with NP complements, a (pro)nominal argument (in the subjective case) expresses the semantic role of Desirer and an NP complement expresses the semantic role of Desired (see pattern 6 in Section 6.2.2). According to the OED, this pattern is only found in the 17th century (see OED s.v. *lust*, v. †3. †d.).

In the data from EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700), the NP expressing the Desired is nominal in all cases (6 tokens), as illustrated in (130) and (131) below.

(130) he forbade to **lust** and couet another mannes wyfe in thy harte
[1536, *An exposycyon vpon the* ... D00000998400370000]

(131) For who soeuer **lusteth** or desyreth in herte any thyng whiche is his neyghbours, is condemned by the law
[1548, *The harvest is at* ... D00000998447910000]

In example (130), the verb *lust* is coordinated with its near-synonym *covet* 'to desire', and in (131) with *desire* itself. Both verbs are amply recorded with NP complements in EModE (see OED s.v. *covet*, v. 1. a. and *desire*, v. 1. a.).

Some comments are in order as to the frequency and diachronic development of NP complements, since these are very infrequent overall. Considering the evidence available, their history seems to be brief and limited to the 16th and 17th centuries. It is possible that NP complements developed at the start of the EModE period as an alternative to prepositional complements for the (pro)nominal expression of the Desired. NP complements, however, seem to have been rapidly dismissed (see Table 15 and Figure 14), which may be due to the fact that the Desired does not show any of the Proto-patient properties postulated by Dowty as contributing to the syntactic function of object (see Chapters 3 and 4), and would thus be more eligible as prepositional than as NP object (cf. Dowty 1991: 578).

6.4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this section is to summarise the main conclusions to be drawn from the data analysis. With regard to the diachronic development of impersonal patterns, these have been recorded up to the first half of the 16th century. Considering that impersonal patterns have been said to decrease in frequency between 1400 and 1500, with marginal instances being found until about 1600, the findings in this study are in broad agreement with the account provided in the literature.

In connection with the occurrence of impersonal patterns after 1500, Lightfoot (1979: 229) points out that "it is more accurate to date the final obsolescence [of impersonal constructions] from the mid-sixteenth century", on the grounds that impersonal instances have been found in the works written by Sir Thomas More between 1520 and 1534.[46] This claim, however, is not supported by the particular case of *lust*, since the occurrence of this pattern during the EModE period is marginal and restricted to NO PROP constructions such as *as him lusteth* or *when him lusteth*, showing a significant degree of fossilisation and a low degree of subject variation. The overall evidence, rather, is in keeping with Traugott's (1972: 130–131) observation that 16th-century examples are only residual, and represent either "conscious archaisms" or idiomatic expressions (see also Allen 1995: 279–283, 441–442; López-Couso 1996; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 14–15).

As for the formal realisation of arguments, the fact that pronominal Desirers are generally favoured with this verb may follow from the fact that they are typically human beings, and "human beings are more likely to be referred to by pronouns than are things" (Allen 1995: 333). The overall high frequency of pronominal Desirers may also be related to the general concern in religious discourse with the individual's thoughts and actions, which leads to human beings often becoming the topic of discourse. Worthy of mention is also McCawley's (1976: 198) observation that verbs that denote emotions are more likely to take pronominal Experiencers insofar as they denote "the 1st person's inherently subjective experience" (see also Allen 1986: 378). On this assumption, since *lust* denotes an emotion, it would be expected to take first-person pronouns in the majority of cases. Note though that first-person pronouns are among the least frequent variants in the corpus, from which it follows that McCawley's claim cannot be

[46] Visser (1963: §43) provides examples such as: Wks. 1557, 7 A5 *me* ***nedeth*** *not to bost*; 1 B8 *me* ***lyst*** *not frendly on them loke* (my emphasis).

upheld in the present case study (see Section 6.3.2 on the range of personal pronouns attested in personal use).

The examination of whether arguments of *lust* are nouns or pronouns also allows us to draw some conclusions about which arguments have greater weight and the implications this may have for the development of *lust* as a predominanlty Experiencer-subject verb (cf. Allen 1995: 147*ff*) —with the exception of the SOV fused relative constructions discussed in Section 6.3.2.1. In this regard, we should recall that 'weight' refers to the length or complexity of constituents, such that pronouns like *I*, *he* or *it* can be considered to be lighter (i.e. shorter and simpler) than an NP like *the book* (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 68). Therefore, in compliance with the principle of end-weight (Quirk *et al*. 1985: 1361–1362), pronominal Experiencers are more likely to occupy sentence-initial position due to the fact that they are lighter constituents. The Desired argument, by contrast, is more likely to appear in sentence-final position, since it is coded by heavier (i.e. longer and more complex) constituents such as PPs or clausal complements. It seems plausible that, due to the heaviness of the Desired relative to the Desirer, the constituent order of sentences favoured the interpretation of Desirers as subject during the transition from impersonal to personal use, once word order became fixed as SVO. That is, given that the Desirer was the constituent that was most frequently placed in prototypical subject position (i.e. in front of the verb), it became the best candidate for 'subjecthood' once the subject was assigned pre-verbal position. The Desired, conversely, became more eligible as object than subject because it was more frequently placed in post-verbal position. From a semantic perspective, this may have been further prompted by the fact that Desirers exhibited the greatest number of Proto-agent properties compared to the Desired (on this see Chapter 4, especially Tables 5 and 6).

Considering the overall predominance of pronominal Desirers, some insights can be gained also with regard to the factors that have been claimed to affect the loss of impersonal patterns in the history of English. As explained in Chapter 2, the reanalysis hypothesis formulated by Jespersen (1961[1927]: 208–209) rests on the assumption that the SVO personal use developed from OVS sentences resembling OE *þam cynge licodon peran*, where there are two nominal NPs representing the roles of Experiencer and Stimulus which eventually became morphologically ambiguous due to the loss of case inflections. As an objection to this claim, Allen (1986) points out that the reanalysis cannot have started from this sentence type if we

take into account that clauses with two nominal NPs were highly infrequent in ME data for the impersonal verb *like* (Allen 1986: 378; see also Fischer & van der Leek 1983: 351).

In line with Allen's argument, if ambiguous case marking were the reason for the interpretation of Desirers as subjects in the case of *lust*, we would expect a large proportion of examples to have two nominal NPs at the start of the EModE period, that is, about two centuries after the shift to personal use is supposed to have started in the 14th century (see Sections 6.2.2 and 6.3). However, the data examined in this study contain mostly pronouns for the expression of the Desirer argument, which are always declinable, thus making the distinction between subjective and objective Desirers clear. In addition, with regard to the Desired argument, since it is most commonly introduced by a preposition, it is unambiguously marked as an object in the majority of cases as well (cf. Allen 1986: 378, fn. 3). Furthermore, we have seen that NO PROPs are the construction type where impersonal constructions survive the longest with this verb; it may also be remembered that NO PROPs have the Desirer realised by a pronoun in the great majority of cases in both impersonal and personal use. It thus seems doubtful that the reinterpretation of Desirers as subjects in NO PROPs may have been triggered by the ambiguity caused by a lack of case distinctions.

Another conclusion which may be drawn from this case study concerns the historical origin of *lust*. As pointed out in Section 6.1, it is uncertain whether *lust* constitutes a conversion from the noun *lust* 'pleasure, delight' or a reflex of the OE verb *lystan* 'to desire'. The diachronic perspective taken here sheds some light on this issue insofar as it unveils tendencies that may have been overlooked. The data analysis has shown that in the 16th century *lust* largely mirrors the syntactic behaviour of the near-synonymous *list* (< OE *lystan*). A similar picture emerges in Miura (2015: 175, 185) for ME *listen* (see further Elmer 1981: 114–118). Thus, in the EModE data the impersonal use of *lust* is always found in subordinate clauses which have a parallel with impersonal patterns also documented with *list* from OE (e.g. ME, *as me* ***listeth*** 'as [it] pleases me', Elmer 1981: 117, my translation; see also OED s.v. *list*, v.[1] 1. b.; Chapter 6, Section 6.2.1). Likewise, in personal use *lust* is frequently found in personal constructions with NO PROPs, which are documented with *list* about two centuries earlier than with *lust* (e.g. c1320, *Þy wyl be ydo, ryȝt as þou* ***lest*** 'let your will be done, just as [it] pleases you', OED s.v. *list*, v.[1] 2. b.).

From a semantic perspective, *lust* resembles *list* in that *lust* had the general meaning 'to desire' predominantly until the mid-16th century (van der Gaaf 1904: 74–75; see also Section

6.1, sense (i)). This coincides with the datings for some of the most crucial syntactic changes undergone by this verb in EModE. Hence, judging from the evidence available, it seems plausible that *lust* entered the language as a variant of *list*, closely echoing the syntactic and semantic uses of its OE ancestor *lystan* during the 16th century. Thereafter, *lust* becomes less frequent in the original sense 'to desire' (sense (i)), eventually becoming established in the specialised meaning 'to have a carnal desire' (sense (ii)), probably under the influence of its formal and semantic relationship to the noun *lust* 'pleasure, delight' (sense (iii)). From a syntactic perspective, the verb *lust* progressively starts to deviate from *list*, such that *lust* eventually loses the ability to be used impersonally, it decreases dramatically in personal constructions with NO PROPs and it also develops personal prepositional uses which are rarely attested with *list* (see Miura 2015: 185, especially the column 'PP' in her Table 5.34).

To conclude, the evidence gathered in this study shows that the EModE period witnesses crucial changes in both the meaning and the argument structure of *lust.* During the 16th and 17th centuries, not only does the verb undergo a process of semantic specialisation, but it also becomes less frequent in patterns with clausal complements, a situation which stands in contrast with the picture provided in Miura (2015: 185) for the ME period, when clausal complements constitute the most frequently attested constructional variant. In parallel, zero complements become surprisingly common in spite of the fact that *lust* is a two-place predicate, so that the unexpectedly high frequency of patterns with zero complements cannot be attributed to the lexical semantics of *lust.* Instead, as noted above, it may be partly attributable to the existence of the idiomatised expression *the flesh lusts against/contrary to the spirit* and its variants, which is typical of the religious domain in which the verb *lust* became increasingly common. Perhaps it is also attributable to the fact that religious discourse is prone to the use of definite null complements (Fillmore 1986: 96), that is, participants which are left unexpressed while being conceptually salient, as in the case under discussion, where the object of desire can readily be inferred to refer to the notion of sin.

USC
UNIVERSIDADE
DE SANTIAGO
DE COMPOSTELA

7. *THIRST*

This chapter explores the historical development of the verb *thirst* in the EModE period, a member of the class of verbs of Desire as defined in Levin (1993: 194–195; see Chapter 4). Following the procedure for the study of *lust*, Section 7.1 offers an overview of the origin and development of the verb based on the dictionary entries of the OED and the MED, and on the previous literature. Section 7.2 outlines the complementation patterns historically documented with this verb, also based on the dictionary entries and previous studies, and including both personal and impersonal uses. Subsequently, an account of the complementation patterns attested in EModE is provided in Section 7.3, followed in Section 7.4 by a summary of the main conclusions extracted from my analysis.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

7.1. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

In this section, I explore the origin and development of *thirst*, from OE *þyrstan* (> ME *thirsten*), and provide a discussion of the event structure associated with each of the different senses of *thirst*, in order to arrive at a fine-grained differentiation of their nature.

The OED first attests *thirst* in c893, shown in (132), and two different senses have been identified for this verb in the OED and the MED entries, namely (i) ‘To feel or suffer thirst’ and (ii) ‘To desire, to have a desire’.

(132) Þu þe **þyrstende** wære monnes blodes.
thou-NOM thyself thirsting were man-GEN blood-GEN
‘you yourself were thirsting for human blood’
[OED, c893 tr. Orosius *Hist.* ii. iv. §10]

(i) ‘To feel or suffer thirst’. The OED first records this sense in c897. In OE, this is the most frequent sense in impersonal constructions, as in (133) below (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 237–

239; see also OE, *Hine* ***ðyrste*** *hwylum* 'sometimes he-ACC thirsted', Allen 1995: 72, my emphasis).[47]

(133) Ðeah ðæt folc **ðyrste** ðære lare.
though that people-ACC thirsted the-GEN knowledge-GEN
'Although people were thirsty for knowledge'
[OED, c897 K. Ælfred tr. Gregory *Pastoral Care* ii. 30]

In sense (i), *thirst* pertains to the conceptual domain of Physical Sensation, showing the semantic frame <**Feeler** Needed> (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 89; see also Allen 1995: 71). The boldface indicates that the only lexically profiled participant is the Feeler, which corresponds to the human being that undergoes the physical experience. The Needed, however, even if it is a conceivable entity in the semantic frame of this verb, is lexically unprofiled because it is "conceptually nonsalient in being unknown or unspecific" (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 89; cf. Allen 1995: 71).

The semantic properties that characterise the SoA in the physical-sensation sense are: 1) lack of dynamicity —i.e. the SoA is conceptualised as a state rather than a process, in which only the Endpoint end of the chain is profiled; 2) lack of control —i.e. the Feeler is not in control of intentionally starting or stopping the SoA; and 3) lack of causation —i.e. no external force can be identified that causes the SoA (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.1). Thus, in terms of force-dynamics the SoA is conceptualised as non-initiated, with the dynamic relation between the Initiator and the Endpoint being lexically defocused. The Feeler is conceived of as a semantic Endpoint rather than an Initiator, which, on the one hand, is unvolitionally involved in the process (i.e. it lacks Dowty's Proto-agent Property 1; Chapter 3) and, on the other, is affected by a change of state within himself or herself (Proto-patient Property 1). The Feeler therefore represents a prototypical Experiencer, in that it lacks volition as well as causation (see Dowty 1991: 577; Pishwa 1999: 138; cf. Chapter 4). As for the Needed, it does not represent an Initiator either, since it lacks the properties of volition (Proto-agent Property 1) and causation (Proto-agent Property 3). It thus appears that the only conceivable Initiator is the state of dehydration itself caused by the lack of the Needed —i.e. water or any other drinking liquid in

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

[47] Since OE *folc* in example (133) is a neuter noun, *ðæt folc* might in principle be parsed as nominative rather than accusative; but, as made clear by B&T (s.v. *þyrstan*), in this example it represents the accusative, to accord with the predominant syntactic patterning attested for the verb in OE.

its place— rather than any of the verb's participants. The Needed, nonetheless, may be seen as potentially responsible for stopping the SoA in the hypothetical event that it were provided to the Feeler —i.e. in order to quench his/her thirst.

Sense (i) is often used in figurative contexts, especially in religious Christian texts where the symbol of water represents salvation and eternal life. It is for this reason that in example (134) below the sense 'to feel thirst' is figuratively interpreted as 'to feel thirst for spiritual salvation; to feel spiritual thirst'.

(134) Thei that **thirsten** schulen drynke hise richessis
'those that feel thirst [i.e. thirst for spiritual salvation] should drink His [i.e. Jesus's] richness'
[MED, a1425 (c1395) *WBible(2)* (Roy 1.C.8) Job 5.5]

(ii) 'To desire, to have a desire'. This sense is a development of sense (i) 'to feel thirst', which means that *thirst* concurrently belongs to the domains of Physical Sensation and Mental Experience (see Chapter 4, Section 4.2). Surprisingly, the OED's first attestation is dated c893 (see example (132) above), four years earlier than the original sense 'to feel thirst', which indicates that the process of semantic change must have happened very early in the history of the verb (see OED s.v. *thirst*, v. 3.). Sense (ii) 'to desire' is exemplified in (135)–(137).

(135) Mi soule **thirstide** to thee; my fleisch **thirstide** to thee ful many foold.
'My soul thirsts [i.e. desires] for you; my flesh thirsts for you in very many ways'
[OED, 1388 Wyclif *Psalms* lxii. 2 [lxiii. 1]]

(136) It is not necessary to teach men to **thirst** after power.
[OED, 1791 E. Burke *Appeal New to Old Whigs* 119]

(137) I entered, **thirsting** for the shade which it promised.
[OED, 1858 G. MacDonald *Phantastes* 56]

Sense (ii) represents an extension from the original domain of Physical Sensation to the target domain of Emotion. Notice, nonetheless, that both verb senses concurrently belong to the wider domain of Human Experience (see Figure 5, Chapter 4), which is reflected in the fact that they both equally involve an experience undergone by a sentient human participant (i.e. an Experiencer). Being a member of the class of verbs of Desire, the semantic frame of sense (ii)

is interpreted as <**Desirer Desired**>, with the boldface signalling the participants that are lexically profiled; this entails that the process of semantic extension involves a change in the verb's valency from one in sense (i) to two in sense (ii).

The Desirer is typically human, though it may also refer to abstract personified concepts (e.g. 1388, *Mi soule* ***thirstide*** *to thee* [...]) or inanimate entities when referring to "parched ground or plants" (1820, *I bring fresh showers for the* ***thirsting*** *flowers*, OED s.v. *thirst*, v. 2.). As regards the Desired, it shows variation between, on the one hand, animate (personified) referents (example (135)) and inanimate referents (examples (136) and (137)) and, on the other, concrete (examples (135) and (137)) and abstract referents (example (136)), the concrete referents occurring mainly in figurative contexts, such as (137). Also in accordance with other verbs of Desire, the verb profiles the first part of Croft's two-way causal relation 'to direct attention to' (see Figure 4 in Chapter 3), and the semantic properties that characterise the SoA are 1) dynamicity —i.e. the SoA involves a change of state which presupposes a dynamic relationship between an Initiator and an Endpoint; 2) control —i.e. one of the participants, namely the Desirer, is in control of intentionally initiating or stopping the SoA; and 3) lack of causation —i.e. no external force can be identified that causes the SoA.

On the level of cognition, it can be recalled from Chapter 4, Section 4.3 that the Desirer represents a non-prototypical Initiator in that it shows properties of both an Initiator and an Endpoint; that is, on the one hand, it is intentionally involved in starting the emotion (Proto-agent Property 1), but, on the other, it lacks the feature of causation (Proto-agent Property 3) and it is affected by a change of state within himself or herself (Proto-patient Property 1). Notice that Desirers share with the Feeler of Physical Sensation (i.e. sense (i) above) that they both show the feature of change of state, although they differ notably with regard to the property of volition, which is present in the Desirer but lacking in the Feeler. Another significant difference abovementioned is that, whereas the physical-sensation sense profiles only one pole of the causal chain (i.e. the Endpoint), the Emotion sense profiles both poles of Initiator and Endpoint.

In PDE, the verb *thirst* has become widely replaced by the adjectival construction *to be thirsty* (e.g. PDE, *the Guides* ***were*** *hot and* ***thirsty***, *Lexico's Dictionary* s.v. *thirsty* adjective; see also Möhlig-Falke 2012: 15, 224), also found with the adjective *athirst* from the 14th until the 19th century (see OED s.v. *athirst*, adj. 1. and 2.). The OED first attests this adjectival use in the sense 'to feel thirst' in OE (*Lindisfarne Gospels* c715–720, *Ic* ***wæs ðyrstig*** *and ge saldon me dringe* 'I was thirsty and you gave me drink', s.v. *thirsty*, adj. 1. a.), but already in OE

þurstig could also be used for the expression of emotion (e.g. c888, *forþam hio hiora simle* ***bið þurstegu*** 'because she herself was forever thirsty', OED s.v. *thirsty*, adj. 2. a.).

The use of this verb is generally low in frequency and, when used, it more typically conveys the emotion rather than the physical-sensation sense (e.g. PDE, *an opponent* ***thirsting*** [i.e. desiring] *for revenge*, *Lexico's Dictionary* s.v. *thirst* verb). The use of the verb in the sense 'to feel thirst' has become archaic in PDE, and it is closely connected with religious discourse, becoming widely replaced by the adjectival construction for the expression of this meaning, as already mentioned (i.e. PDE, *the Guides* ***were*** *hot and* ***thirsty***). As to the expression of the sense 'to desire', in PDE it seems to be more common as compared to the sense 'to feel thirst', but it has likewise become a stylistically-marked alternative to the more neutral adjectival construction (see Möhlig-Falke 2012: 224). My study here will be primarily concerned with the EModE verb *thirst*, although attention will also be paid to the development of adjectival constructions, insofar as they are relevant for the discussion of the evolution of the verb itself. In addition, my analysis addresses both senses (i) and (ii) above. Although sense (i) 'to feel thirst' does not pertain to the notion of desire, it is closely connected to it from a historical perspective. It is thus deemed of interest to investigate both verb senses and to ascertain the relationship they bear to the different complementation patterns in which *thirst* occurs.

7.2. Overview of complementation patterns with *thirst*

7.2.1. *Thirst* in impersonal patterns

According to the OED, the MED and previous work in the literature, *thirst* is amply recorded in impersonal use already in OE (see Visser 1963: §§29, 379; Elmer 1981: 60; Allen 1995: 71–72). According to Möhlig-Falke, impersonal use with *thirst* is documented up to c1450 (2012: 206, her Figure 7.1); the MED gives one example from a slightly later date (a1500), although the actual date of composition might be ?a1400 (MED s.v. *thirsten* v. 1. (b)). In impersonal patterns, *thirst* may be found with a (pro)nominal Desirer in the accusative or dative case (or accusative/dative; also ME objective case)[48] in combination with three different types of complements representing the Stimulus:[49] 1) Stimulus as genitive or prepositional complement;

[48] On the realisation of the first argument of OE *þyrstan* in the sense 'to feel thirst', see Möhlig-Falke (2012: 122).

[49] The label *Stimulus* is adopted here in order to generalise over the semantic differences of participants between senses (i) 'to feel thirst' and (ii) 'to desire' (see Chapter 3).

2) Stimulus as zero complement; and 3) Stimulus as NP complement. These are described below and exemplified with instances from the OED and the MED entries.

1) **Stimulus as genitive or prepositional complement**, as shown in (138) and (139), respectively (see also Lightfoot 1979: 233; Denison 1993: 95). The only preposition attested is *for*. According to Möhlig-Falke (2012: 132), the pattern with genitive complements is only rarely found in OE, and "it is used metaphorically to express the emotion of desire rather than the physical sensation of thirst".

(138) (=133) Đeah ðæt folc **ðyrste** ðære lare.
though that people-ACC thirsted the-GEN knowledge-GEN
'Although people were thirsty for knowledge'
[OED, c897 K. Ælfred tr. Gregory *Pastoral Care* ii. 30]

(139) Him **thrystede** for þe hele of manes soule.
'He thirsted [i.e. desired] for the healing of man's soul'
[MED c1440 Bonav.Medit.(3) (Thrn)207]

2) **Stimulus as zero complement**, as shown in (140) (cf. Allen's *Type O* pattern, 1995: 71–72; see also Denison 1993: 95). This complementation pattern was the predominant construction with the physical-sensation sense in OE. According to Möhlig-Falke (2012: 130), this is because "[t]hese verbs [i.e. verbs of Physical Sensation] do not profile a Stimulus in their semantic frames, because the Stimulus is unspecific or unknown" (see Chapter 6, Section 6.2.1).

(140) Þa cwæð he, me **þyrst**.
Then said he me-ACC/DAT thirst
'Then he said, I am thirsty'
[OED, c1000 *West Saxon Gospels: John* (Corpus Cambr.) xix. 28]

3) **Stimulus as NP complement**. This complementation pattern is documented only once in the subordinate construction shown in (141).

(141) […] Ȝiff þatt iss þatt te **þirrsteþþ**.
if that is that you-OBJ thirsts
'if that is what you desire'
[OED, ?c1200 *Ormulum* (Burchfield transcript) l. 14603]

7.2.2. *Thirst* in personal patterns

The present section is concerned with the personal uses historically found with this verb. Judging from the OED, the MED and previous studies, the personal use of *thirst* first emerged in the OE period. As already explained on various occasions in this thesis, after impersonal patterns began to decrease in frequency between 1400 and 1500, a range of possibilities emerged for the subsequent development of formerly impersonal verbs. With *thirst* in particular, the path of development corresponds both to Paths I and V (see Chapter 2), broadly matching to Experiencer-subject and adjectival constructions (see Chapter 4), respectively. The personal use of *thirst*, however, is never found in Experiencer-object patterns (i.e. Path II).

According to Möhlig-Falke (2012: 159, 162), whereas OE *þyrstan* alternated between accusative or dative (or accusative/dative) and nominative case-marked Desirers already in OE (see also Elmer 1981: 115; Allen 1995: 72), personal uses were comparatively less frequent than impersonal uses (2012: 218). In addition, personal uses were found predominantly in texts which are to some extent influenced by Latin (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 162, 231, 234). This view is in keeping with the information available in the OED, which shows documentation of personal use in the Old English *Orosius* (s.v. *thirst*, v. 3.; see also B&T s.v. *þyrstan*).

The Stimulus is attested in four different types of personal complementation patterns, namely: 1) prepositional patterns; 2) patterns with NP complements; 3) patterns with zero complements; and 4) patterns with clausal complements. These are listed below and exemplified with instances from the OED and the MED entries.

1) **Prepositional patterns**, in which the Stimulus is expressed by a prepositional complement, as shown in (142). The range of prepositions heading prepositional complements includes *after*, *for*, †*in*, †*of*, †*to*, †*unto* and †*with*. In OE, the Stimulus was rather expressed by a genitive case-marked phrase, which is shown in (143); these, as Allen (1995: 218) points out, were later replaced by prepositional complements in the majority of cases in PDE.

(142) My soule **þristide** in þee […].
'My soul thirsted [i.e. desired] for thee'
[MED, (a1382) WBible(1) (Bod 959) Ps.62.2]

(143) (=132) Þu þe **þyrstende** wære monnes blodes.
thou-NOM thyself thirsting were man-GEN blood-GEN
'You yourself were thirsting for human blood'
[OED, c893 tr. Orosius *Hist.* ii. iv. §10]

2) **Patterns with NP complements**, in which the Stimulus is expressed by a (pro)nominal NP complement, as shown in (144).[50]

(144) Eadge biðon ða ðe hyncgrað & **ðyrstas** soðfæstnisse.
blessed are those who hunger & thirst righteousness
'Blessed are those who desire righteousness'
[OED, c950 *Lindisf. Gosp.* Matt. v. 6]

3) **Patterns with zero complements**, in which the Stimulus argument is left unexpressed, as shown in (145).

(145) Cuoeð ic **ðyrsto**.
says I-NOM thirst
'I said I thirst [i.e. I am thirsty]'
[OED, c950 *Lindisf. Gosp.* John xix. 28]

4) **Patterns with clausal complements**, in which the Stimulus is expressed by a *(for) to*-infinitive clause, as shown in (146) and (147).

(146) brennynde in loue so fulliche þat þei schal **þrusten** [vr. throust] for-to dyen.
'burning in love so completely that they shall wish to die'
[MED, c1390 ?Hilton Qui Habitat (Vrn) 90/7]

(147) Þou..**thristist** sore a ryche man to be.
'You greatly desire to be a rich man'
[MED, a1450 (1412) Hoccl.RP (Hrl 4866) 237]

[50] With regard to example (144), it needs to be noted that in the Northumbrian paradigm of *beon*, *biðon* is the present indicative plural form; cf. *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE) s.v. *bēon*.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

7.3. *THIRST* IN THE EMODE PERIOD

Table 19 shows the occurrences of *thirst* across subperiods and across subject domains in the EModE data as documented in the subcorpus extracted from EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700).

Subject domain	S1 (1500–1549)	S2 (1550–1599)	S3 (1600–1649)	S4 (1650–1700)	Total
Religion	111 (94.07)	51 (73.91)	59 (72.84)	32 (88.89)	253 (83.22)
General prose	4 (3.39)	9 (13.04)	1 (1.23)	4 (11.11)	18 (5.92)
History	--	8 (11.59)	8 (9.88)	--	16 (5.26)
Politics	1 (0.85)	--	9 (11.11)	--	10 (3.29)
Medicine	2 (1.69)	--	3 (3.70)	--	5 (1.64)
Law	--	1 (1.45)	1 (1.23)	--	2 (0.66)
Biology	--	--	--	--	--
Literature	--	--	--	--	--
Philosophy	--	--	--	--	--
Total	118 (100)	69 (100)	81 (100)	36 (100)	304 (100)
(row %)	38.82	22.70	26.64	11.84	100

Table 19: Frequency distribution of *thirst* in EModE by 50-year subperiod and subject domain (raw figures and percentages)

The search for this verb yielded a total of 304 tokens. The data show that the overall frequency of *thirst* decreases notably in the course of the two centuries, with 38.82% of occurrences found in S1 (118 tokens) and 11.84% in S4 (36 tokens), a diachronic picture that reflects its status as a low-frequency verb in PDE usage. It can also be observed that *thirst* was largely restricted to the religious domain already in EModE (83.22%, 253 tokens), consistently so across all subperiods, in parallel to the case of *lust* (Chapter 6). The domains General prose and History document some instances in S2: 13.04% and 11.59% of total instances, respectively (9 and 8 tokens). General prose further shows 11.11% in S4 (4 tokens). Also, notice that History shows 9.88% in S3 (8 tokens), and Politics 11.11% (9 tokens). The frequency in the remaining subject domains and periods is anecdotal, showing few —i.e. Medicine and Law— or no attestations at all —i.e. Biology, Literature and Philosophy (i.e. parallel to the low frequencies for *lust* in Table 13, Chapter 6).

Figure 16 below shows the evolution of verb senses of *thirst* in the course of EModE. As might be expected, taking into account the development of the verb in PDE (see Section 7.1 above), sense (ii) 'to desire' expands from 54.24% of uses in S1 (64 tokens) to 66.67% in S2 (46 tokens), while sense (i) 'to feel thirst' decreases from 44.92% (53 tokens) to 33.33% (23 tokens) in the same subperiods. In S4, however, sense (ii) loses ground at 55.56% (20 tokens), a value that is surprisingly close to that of S1, at 54.24%. This finding may be accounted for by

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

the increased occurrence of the verb in religious texts in S4 —which rises from 72.84% of uses in S3 (59 tokens) to 88.89% in S4 (32 tokens), as shown in Table 19 above— since in religious discourse sense (i) frequently occurs in the type of figurative context shown in example (134) above (i.e. *Thei that thirsten schulen drynke hise richessis*, 'those that feel thirst [i.e. thirst for spiritual salvation] should drink His [i.e. Jesus's] richness', MED).

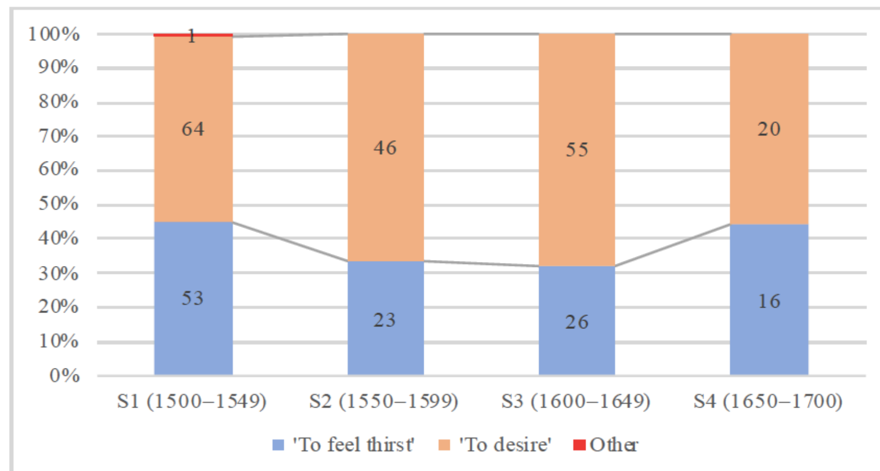


Figure 16: Diachronic evolution of verb senses of *thirst* in EModE

In the EModE data examined, *thirst* has been attested in personal use only. Thus, the impersonal patterns that were predominant in OE (Section 7.2.2) turn out to be unattested in the materials investigated here. This finding stands in contrast with the verb *lust* (Chapter 6), which has been found to retain impersonal uses in the first half of the 16th century, though only marginally. In light of the fact that Möhlig-Falke (2012: 206) and the MED attest impersonal uses with *thirst* until the (late) 15th century, finding (marginal) impersonal uses as well for this verb at the beginning of the EModE period was a possibility; however, their sheer absence in my corpus suggests that the shift from impersonal to personal must have been well advanced by the end of the 15th century.

The remainder of this section presents the results of the corpus-based analysis of *thirst*, with a focus on the personal complementation patterns attested and their syntactic and semantic properties.

7.3.1. Personal patterns in EModE

The personal patterns documented in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) vary in the number and nature of the arguments expressed, as well as in the verb senses with which they are typically associated, although they invariably represent Experiencer-subject constructions, in compliance with the data available in the OED, the MED and previous studies. Among the patterns outlined in Section 7.2.2, the complementation types attested include, in order of frequency: 1) prepositional patterns; 2) patterns with zero complements; 3) patterns with NP complements; and 4) patterns with clausal complements, respectively illustrated in examples (148)–(151).

(148) how can you indure to **thirst** after the destruction of so sweete a countrie
[1595, *A discourse of the* ... D00000998426230000]

(149) If they hunger, wee must not thinke too much to feede them; if they **thirst**, to giue them drinke
[1623, *The cleansing of the* ... D00000221752460000]

(150) Olde hatred **thirsteth** alwayes new reuenge
[1560, *Orations of Arsanes agaynst* ... D00000381607180000]

(151) We **thirste** intirely to heare the pure gospell frely & & faithfully preached
[1544, *A present consolation for* ... D00000998395470000]

Table 20 below shows the raw frequencies for each of the documented personal patterns, with percentages in brackets. In parallel, Figure 17 provides the relative frequencies distributed across the four 50-year subperiods under analysis.

Complementation pattern	S1 (1500–1549)	S2 (1550–1599)	S3 (1600–1649)	S4 (1650–1700)	Total
Prepositional	44 (37.29)	33 (47.83)	51 (62.96)	19 (52.78)	147 (48.36)
Zero	52 (44.07)	23 (33.33)	25 (30.86)	16 (44.44)	116 (38.16)
NP	16 (13.56)	10 (14.49)	--	--	26 (8.55)
Clausal	4 (3.39)	3 (4.35)	5 (6.17)	1 (2.78)	13 (4.28)
Other	2 (1.69)	--	--	--	2 (0.66)
Total	118 (100)	69 (100)	81 (100)	36 (100)	304 (100)

Table 20: Frequency of personal patterns of *thirst* in EModE by 50-year subperiod (raw figures and percentages)

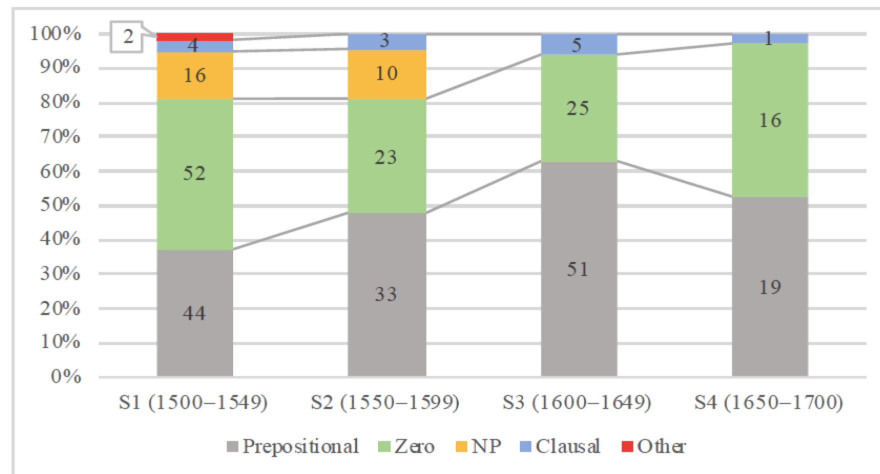


Figure 17: Diachronic distribution of personal patterns of *thirst* in EModE (raw figures and relative frequencies)

The relative frequencies show that there is an overall predominance of prepositional patterns in the EModE period (48.36%, 147 tokens), consistently so except in S1, when they stand in second position after zero complements. Zero complements show the second highest frequency at 38.16% (116 tokens), followed at a distance by NP complements, at 8.55% (26 tokens). Patterns with clausal complements constitute the smallest proportion of occurrences at 4.28% (13 tokens). The diachronic evolution across subperiods reveals crucial differences. Prepositional patterns represent 37.29% of instances in S1 (44 tokens), that is the second highest percentage, but then rise to the highest frequency at 47.83% in S2 (33 tokens) and 62.96% in S3 (51 tokens); in S4 they decrease to 52.78% (19 tokens), yet standing as the most frequent pattern in this subperiod. In spite of this decline in S4, the overall tendency is for prepositional patterns to increase, since the relative frequency in this last subperiod still remains higher than in all previous periods and higher than the frequency in the other patterns. The reverse trend can be observed in patterns with zero complements, which are the most common alternative in S1 at 44.07% (52 tokens), but steadily decrease to 33.33% in S2 (23 tokens) and 30.86% in S3 (25 tokens). Like prepositional patterns, in S4 the progression turns direction, this time upwards to 44.44% (16 tokens), a percentage which is similar to S1 (44.07%). Notice also that zero complements remain as the second most frequent pattern throughout EModE, except for S1, when they constitute the most frequent option. With regard to NP complements, these have some presence in S1 and S2, respectively at 13.56% (16 tokens) and 14.49% (10 tokens), but they completely disappear in S3 and S4. The evolution of patterns with clausal complements seems rather constant across subperiods, remaining among the lowest proportions of use

throughout EModE between 3% and 6%, although, overall, there is a slight decrease from 3.39% in S1 (4 tokens) to 2.78% in S4 (1 token).

The data unveil a contrast between the 16th (S1 and S2) and the 17th centuries (S3 and S4), especially in connection with the diachronic development of NP complements, which cease to be recorded between S2 (1550–1599) and S3 (1600–1649). Further, it can be observed that S4 constitutes an exception to the steady increase of prepositional patterns from S1 to S3; that is, S4 is the only subperiod where prepositional patterns represent a value that is below the percentage of the preceding subperiod, a finding that is paralleled by a relative increase of zero complements, which had been in steady decline also from S1 to S3. This finding may be accounted for by the fact that in S4 *thirst* becomes increasingly specialised in the religious domain. In this regard, recall from Table 19 above that the religious domain represents an increase of use at 88.89% in S4 (32 tokens), in contrast to the lower proportions of S2 and S3, at 73.91% and 72.84% (respectively 51 and 59 tokens). As already hinted at, this may be because in religious contexts the verb frequently appears in the sense 'to feel thirst' in figurative contexts, as in (152) below, which may have affected the increase of zero complements insofar as the sense 'to feel thirst' does not profile a second argument (see Section 7.1).

(152) (=134) Thei that **thirsten** schulen drynke hise richessis
'those that feel thirst [i.e. thirst for spiritual salvation] should drink His [i.e. Jesus's] richness'
[MED, a1425 (c1395) *WBible(2)* (Roy 1.C.8) Job 5.5]

Table 21 below provides the frequencies for the formal realisation of the Desirer, which will be dealt with in detail in the sections that follow. Note that the figures provided in Table 21 only include finite clauses where a grammatical subject is overtly present, a criterion that excludes non-finite clauses without an overt subject, as well as imperative clauses (e.g. 1644, *when God will save and preserve us: and that is in few words: study righteousnesse, seeke righteousnesse,* ***thirst*** *after righteousnesse*, in D00000118798780000). The count of pronominal Desirers in Table 21 includes personal as well as relative and interrogative pronouns.

Complementation pattern	Noun	Pronoun	Clause	Total
Prepositional	33 (30.84)	73 (68.22)	1 (0.93)	107 (100)
Zero	6 (5.61)	94 (87.85)	7 (6.54)	107 (100)
NP	3 (15.79)	16 (84.21)	--	19 (100)
Clausal	1 (10)	9 (90)	--	10 (100)
Total	43 (17.70)	192 (79.01)	8 (3.29)	243 (100)

Table 21: Formal realisation of the Desirer with *thirst* in EModE (raw figures and percentages)

The data provide evidence that pronominal Desirers are generally favoured with *thirst*, representing 79.01% of total instances (192 of 243 tokens). Whereas patterns with NP and clausal complements are only attested with (pro)nominal Desirers, prepositional and zero complements admit a further variant, namely Desirers realised as a nominal relative clause, illustrated in (153) below. Nominal Desirers, for their part, are illustrated in (150) above, *Olde hatred*, and pronominal Desirers in (149) and (151), respectively *they* and *we*. It becomes apparent that there exist some differences among complementation patterns as regards the formal realisation of the Desirer. For instance, prepositional patterns are highly frequent with pronominal Desirers, at 68.22% (73 tokens), but the preference for pronominal Desirers is substantially more marked in patterns with zero, NP and clausal complements, at 87.85% (94 tokens), 84.21% (16 tokens) and 90% (9 tokens), respectively.

(153) whoso beleue in me shall neuer **thirst**
[1535, *An apolgye made by* ... D00000998556640000]

With regard to personal pronouns, the attested forms are the following, in order of frequency and out of the 132 total tokens:[51] *he* (37.12%, 49 tokens), *I* (15.91%, 21 tokens), *we* (15.91%, 21 tokens), *they* (15.15%, 20 tokens), *thou* (9.85%, 13 tokens), *ye/you* (5.30%, 7 tokens) and *it* (0.76%, 1 token). As in the case of *lust* (see Section 6.3.2), the attested personal pronouns are always declinable (e.g. *we/us*, *they/them*, etc.), and no instances have been found where the originally objective *you* form represents the Desirer of an impersonal pattern (i.e. *?you thirsteth*).

[51] Parallel to the study of *lust* (Chapter 6), the percentage of personal pronouns is calculated relative to the total number of personal pronouns, i.e. 132 tokens, excluding from the count relative and interrogative pronouns which do add to the counts in Table 21.

7.3.1.1. Prepositional patterns

Prepositional patterns are regularly associated with the emotion sense 'to desire' rather than 'to feel thirst'. Thus, in prepositional use a (pro)nominal argument (in the subjective case) expresses the role of Desirer, while a prepositional complement expresses the role of Desired (see Section 7.2.2). According to the MED, this pattern is found with *thirst* from the 12th century onwards. See also the earlier instance identified in Möhlig-Falke (2012: 162), shown in (154) below.

(154) Min sawl on ðe swyðe **þyrsteð** ...
my-NOM soul-NOM on you-ACC/DAT greatly thirsts
'my soul greatly thirsts for you'
[PPs [0130 (62.2)]; adapted from Möhlig-Falke (2012: 162)]

In the following paragraphs, I examine the syntactic and semantic properties of the prepositional patterns attested in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700). The discussion looks especially at the realisation of the Desired, as well as at the range of prepositions heading the prepositional complement. Some observations will also be made with regard to the most common collocate nouns.

The Desired is realised by a noun in the majority of cases, at 79.59% (117 tokens out of 147; examples (155), (156) and (159)) and by a pronoun in 17.69% of cases (26 tokens; examples (157) and (158)). This stands in sharp contrast with the most common form of the Desirer, which was shown to be predominantly pronominal (68.22%; see Table 21 above). The prepositional phrase expressing the Desired has been attested with the prepositions *after* (104 tokens; example (157)), *for* (37 tokens; examples (155) and (159)), *in* (5 tokens; example (156)) and *unto* (1 token; example (158)). The preposition *to*, the earliest preposition attested in the MED, is unattested in the EModE data examined (see s.v. *thirsten* v. 2. (a)). Figure 18 shows the relative frequency of prepositions across the 50-year subperiods of EModE.

(155) yf any man **thyrste** for the trueth & reade the scripture by hym selfe desyringe God to open ye dore of knowlege vnto hi~ God for his truethes sake will & must teach hym.
[1528, *The obedie[n]ce of a* ... D00000998406010000]

(156) his owne maysters the archeretykes them selfe, **thyrsted** in the desyre of some other thyng besyde god
[1533, *The answere to the* ... D00000998480920000]

(157) They were so farforth blessed in christ that thei hungred & **thyrsted** after it.
[1536, *A path way i[n]to* ... D00000998437310000]

(158) Why doth Christe cal so many as **thyrste** vnto hym
[1549, *The castell of comforte* ... D00000998448370000]

(159) Wherfore whosoeuer inwardly greued for hys syn, doth hunger and **thirst** for righteousnes
[1570, *The aunswer of Iohn* ... D00000998539030000]

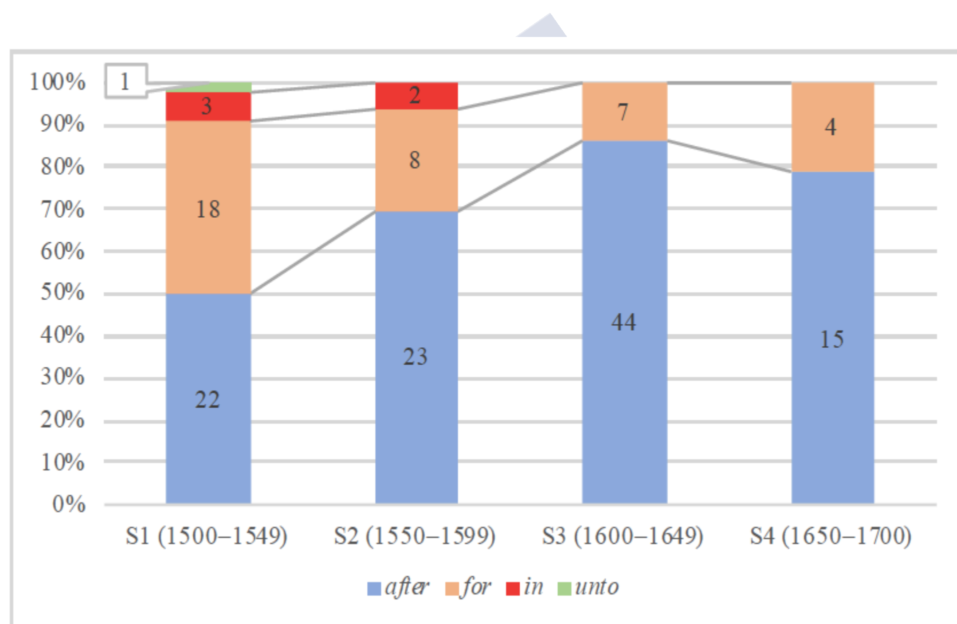


Figure 18: Relative frequency of the prepositions governed by *thirst* in EModE by 50-year subperiod (raw figures and relative frequencies)

The preposition *after* is the most frequent collocation, showing an increase from 50% in S1 (22 tokens of 44) to 69.67% in S2 (23 tokens of 33) and to 86.27% in S3 (44 tokens of 51), thus representing 70.75% (104 tokens) of the total instances of this pattern. The second most frequent preposition is *for*, attested in 40.91% of instances in S1 (18 tokens), decreasing to 13.73% in S3 (7 tokens), and then rising to 21.05% in S4 (4 tokens); *for* represents 25.17% of the total instances of prepositional use (37 tokens). The preposition *in* is marginally attested in 6.82% of the instances in S1 (3 tokens) and 6.06% in S2 (2 tokens), and then it disappears from S3 onwards. The preposition *unto* is attested only once in S1 (2.27%). It is remarkable that the

least common prepositions *in* and *unto* are, after the preposition *to*, the earliest forms in the MED. This suggests that a significant change has taken place from ME to EModE with respect to the prepositions governed by this verb.

Regarding the preposition *after* in particular, 3 of the 104 instances have a bare preposition, that is, a preposition that accompanies the verb but which does not take an explicit object, as shown in (160) below (cf. Möhlig-Falke 2012: 101 on a similar use involving OE *ge-hagian* 'to suit, please').

(160) And he ment not that they sholde neuer whan they had ones receyued hym, **thurste** nor hunger after in this present worlde
[1533, *The answere to the* ... D00000998480920000]

One instance has also been found of the Desired expressed by means of a locative adverb introduced by the preposition *after*, as shown in (161).

(161) that a man shall by his fayth be fully satysfyed in this wreched worlde, and neuer hunger nor **thyrste** after here
[1533, *The answere to the* ... D00000998480920000]

In addition, in examples (157), (160), (161), (162) and (163) it can be observed that the prepositional use of *thirst* may be found in coordination with *hunger*, a collocation attested in 35 tokens, adding to 23.81% of the overall prepositional uses. This idiomatic collocation frequently combines with the head noun *rightneousness* as complement (16 tokens, e.g. (159) above and (162) below), which suggests that it must have become idiomatised to a certain extent, at least in religious discourse. This may be related to the high frequency of the Biblical verse reproduced in (163) below, containing the said combination. It needs to be noted that all repeated instances or direct quotes of this Biblical verse (10 tokens) have been excluded from the count, so that all 16 instances mentioned above —of the collocation of *hunger* and *thirst* with *righteousness*— represent uses outside strict Biblical language, as illustrated in examples (159) and (162).

(162) hee exhorted to hunger and **thirst** ofter righteousnes
[1604, *Disce vivere* ... D00000215144840000]

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

(163) Blessed be they that <u>hungre</u> and **thyrst** after <u>ryghtuousnes</u>, for they shalbe satisfyed. [1549, *The booke of the* ... D00000999002540000; Mathew 5:6, Old Testament]

Regarding the collocational patterns observed in the subject position, some aspects are worthy of note. In subject function, there are 13 different types of nouns which comprise 33 tokens (see Table 21), 26 of which correspond to *man* (11 tokens), *soul* (10 tokens), *heart* (3 tokens), *flesh* (1 token) and *spirit* (1 token). The type/token ratio thus indicates that the amount of lexical variation is relatively low, at 0.39%. With regard to the nouns *soul*, *heart*, *flesh* and *spirit*, it is noteworthy that these refer to the Desirer through a process of metonymy, whereby the Desirer is identified through reference to an attribute associated with the human participant involved. The occurrence of these nouns is strongly connected with prepositional patterns, since they are wholly unattested in patterns with NP complements, while in patterns with zero complements there is a single attestation of the lexical head *man*; the more common head noun *soul*, however, is unattested in all other patterns of complementation.

In identifying the emotion of desire with a part of the body, the nouns *heart* and *flesh* deserve special comment. In example (164) below, for instance, the body-part subject *a criste~ mans herte* expresses the Desirer together with a location component, since reference to the Desirer's heart serves, on the one hand, to refer to the human participant and, on the other, to figuratively locate the emotion in a specific part of the body. Thus, the metonymic process brings about a location function that is analogous to the function played by the body-part subjects found with verbs of Physical Sensation (e.g. *My eyes* [=Body-part (Location)] *are itching (me)*; see Chapter 3). Through this process, a link is established between the conceptual domain of Emotion and that of Location (cf. Möhlig-Falke 2012: 88). The location function of body parts becomes evident in the roughly equivalent use of the adverbial phrase *in myne hert* in example (165) below, with the EModE verb *desire*.

(164) <u>A criste~ mans herte</u> is with ye will of God wyth the lawe & co~manndementes of God and ho~greth a~d **thursteth** after strength to fullfyll the~ [1528, *That fayth the mother* ... D00000998406070000]

(165) but not to **desyre** <u>in myne hert</u> is as vnpossible vnto me as is to chose whether I will ho~gyr or thrust and yet so the lawe requireth. [1534, *The Newe Testament dylygently* ... D00000201897770000]

Example (164) contrasts with example (165) in that the latter, with *desire*, expresses the body part by means of an optional adjunct, whereas *thirst* expresses the body part as an obligatory argument, in spite of the fact that it does not form part of the lexical profile of this verb in neither of its two senses (see Section 7.1). The same applies to the collocation of *lust* with the noun *flesh* in the fossilised expression *the flesh lusts against/contrary to the spirit* and its variants (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2.2), or with the noun *heart* in examples such as (166) further down below. The introduction of a body-part subject may be further accounted for in semantic terms. Thus, in replacing the Desirer with a part of the body, the emotion is attributed to a third-person entity rather than to a first-person entity, and this replacement brings about an unvolitional interpretation of the SoA (but cf. the use of the noun *heart* in examples such as (166) with *lust* further down below). In other words, due to the fact that the body part lacks the feature of volition in and of itself (Proto-agent Property 1), the volitional nature of the argument of person may be defocused. If we recall that the function of impersonal constructions has been depicted as one of backgrounding a (nominative) subject so that the event or process is conceptualised as uncontrolled, uncaused and spontaneous (see Chapter 2), there might be a functional connection between body-part subjects and impersonal constructions in that they both serve to background the Initiator of the SoA. This leads to the tentative conclusion that body-part subjects with *thirst* may have been introduced as a compensatory device for the expression of the spontaneous-event meaning formerly expressed by impersonal patterns. Möhlig-Falke (2012) has observed similar phenomena whereby an aspect of meaning that was previously expressed syntactically comes to be expressed by lexical means, which she explains as follows:

> When the emotion verbs lost the option to express a shift of perspective by means of the IMPacc/dat construction [i.e. the impersonal construction], the differences in perspective and the degrees of control exhibited by the Desirer over the emotional process were sometimes transferred to the lexical level. (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 226)

The discussion turns now to the semantic properties of the verb's arguments. In relation to the Proto-agent feature of volition (Property 1), it should be noted that it seems to be especially prominent in the Desirer of examples such as (162) above, since *thirst* functions as complement to the directive verb *exhort*, which impels the Desirer to a deliberate feeling of desire. This is in contrast with the examples with body-part subjects discussed above, but it is in accordance

with the discussion of examples such as (116) in Chapter 6 with the verb *lust*, repeated below as (166). Both (162) and (166) give support to the hypothesis presented in Chapter 4 that the Desirer represents a non-prototypical Experiencer in that it exhibits the feature of volition (i.e. Dowty's Proto-agent Property 1), contrary to the general understanding that Experiencers are "sentience without volition or causation" (Dowty 1991: 577; see also Pishwa 1999: 138; Chapter 4).

(166) (=116) it is impossible for hym to keape the comma~deme~tes or that hys hert shuld be loose or at lybertye to **lust** after them
[1528, *That fayth the mother* … D00000998406070000]

Turning now to the discussion of the Desired argument, consider examples (167) and (168) below. These two instances may be contrasted in that in (167) the complement corresponds to a drink noun linked to the domain of Physical Sensation, whereas in (168) the complement corresponds to a noun that is wholly unrelated to the latter domain, namely *strength*. Notice, however, that both sentences can equally be translated in the emotion sense 'to desire'. It thus seems that in (167) there exists a mismatch between the lexical level and the semantic interpretation of the sentence as a whole, since the lexical level links with the domain of Physical Sensation, while the semantic interpretation of the sentence as a whole links with the domain of Emotion in the meaning 'let us thirst [i.e. desire] for this drink'.

(167) Wherfore my deare frendes thys breade let vs specially hungre for, and this drinke let vs **thurst** for.
[1542, *On Saynt Andrewes day* ... D00000219982820000]

(168) I ca~ not do the will of God and **thurst** after strength
[1528, *That fayth the mother* ... D00000998406070000]

Thirst is found to collocate with drink nouns in 24.49% of the total instances of prepositional use (36 of 147 tokens). Although the interpretation of (167) as 'let us thirst [i.e. desire] for this drink' may in principle be attributed to the extended sense of the verb 'to desire' (see Section 7.1), there is an alternative hypothesis posited in Möhlig-Falke (2012) which deserves our attention. Möhlig-Falke (2012: 132) points out that, when the OE verb *þyrstan* occurs in impersonal patterns with a genitive complement (e.g. OE, *swa me hyra swyðor* ***þyrsteð*** 'the more severely I thirst for them', my emphasis), the metaphorical meaning 'to desire' arises

from the use of the verb in this particular pattern, as opposed to impersonal constructions with a zero complement. She further notes that, following Goldberg's (1995: 54–55) approach to the interaction between verbs and constructions, the second participant may be attributable to the syntactic construction itself rather than to the verb's semantic profile. Following up Möhlig-Falke's remark, the semantic interpretation of (167) might likewise be derived, not only from the semantics of the verb and the lexical items involved in it, but also from the interaction of the lexical level and the semantics of the prepositional construction itself.

In accordance with this hypothesis, the prepositional construction exemplified in (167) and (168) is interpreted in the present study as an instance of a construction in the Construction Grammar sense of the term, that is, as a form-meaning pair. As we shall see, this allows us to better understand the diachronic development of prepositional patterns which, as shown in Table 20 and Figure 17, become predominant for the (pro)nominal expression of the Desired, while NP complements become superseded in the course of the period. It also helps us to account for why *thirst* may sometimes govern complements denoting literal location, as in example (161) above.

I propose that the construction in question be labelled the MOVE-ATTENTION construction, conveying the meaning 'move attention' and specifying an oblique complement as represented in Figure 20 below. At the same time, the MOVE-ATTENTION construction is interpreted as a metaphorical extension of an INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction taking an oblique Goal (e.g. PDE, *The boy ran to the house* [=Goal, oblique]; see Goldberg 1995: 78, 115; Huber 2017: 20–23), as represented in Figure 19 below, with boldface indicating the profiled roles (see Goldberg 1995: 78).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

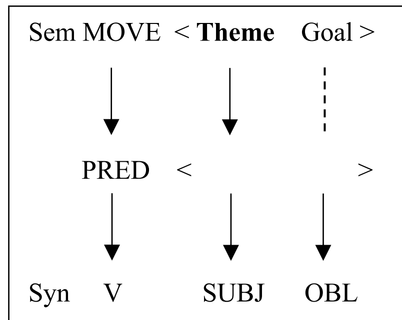


Figure 19: The INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction (after Goldberg 1995: 78)

Metaphorical extension link:
‘Movement as movement of attention’

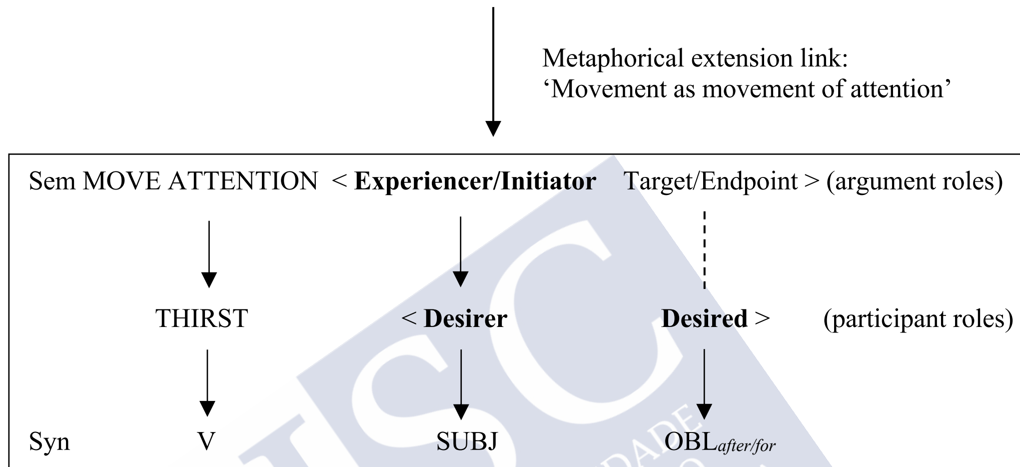


Figure 20: The MOVE-ATTENTION construction: Constructional profiling of the prepositional use of *thirst* in EModE

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

Semantically, the MOVE-ATTENTION construction codes a metaphorical movement of attention being directed from the Desirer to the Desired, whose source is the literal change of location coded by the INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction. The MOVE-ATTENTION construction is related to the INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction by a metaphorical extension link, with the relationship between both constructions being one of ‘movement as movement of attention’ (cf. Goldberg 1995: 88–89).

The MOVE-ATTENTION construction inherits some of its syntactic and semantic specifications from the INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction, such as the intransitive nature whereby only the Experiencer argument is constructionally profiled. The Target argument, in contrast, is constructionally unprofiled in that it is represented by an oblique type of relation.[52]

[52] Recall in this respect that, according to Goldberg (1995: 48*ff*), the arguments that are constructionally profiled are those which are linked to direct grammatical relations. For their part, arguments linked to oblique grammatical relations are considered to be unprofiled (see Chapter 3).

This is paralleled by the Goal argument of the INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction, which is constructionally unprofiled as well, as indicated by the discontinuous lines in both figures. In addition, the MOVE-ATTENTION construction inherits from the INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction the fact that the Target is construed as an Endpoint to which attention is directed.

The reason why I posit the existence of the MOVE-ATTENTION construction as distinct from the INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction lies in the view that the syntactic and semantic specifications of the MOVE-ATTENTION construction cannot be fully predicted from the INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction alone (cf. in this respect Goldberg 1995: 4; 2006: 5; Chapter 3). For instance, the conceptualisation of the Experiencer of *thirst* as a volitional Initiator cannot be derived from the Theme argument of the INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction, which may be either volitional (e.g. PDE, *He* [volitional] *went into France*) or unvolitional (e.g. PDE, *The craft* [unvolitional] *moved into the hangar*; examples from Huber 2017: 21).

There are a few other observations that can be extracted from Figures 19 and 20 above. It may be seen that the prepositional use of *thirst* involves the expression of a semantically-required role —i.e. the Desired— by means of a constructionally unprofiled and syntactically optional element —i.e. the oblique Target of the MOVE-ATTENTION construction. This may be better understood by alluding to the fact that a mismatch exists between the number of participant roles profiled by the verb and the number of argument roles profiled by the construction. In this regard, it may be recalled from Chapter 3 that, according to Goldberg (1995: 53), the *Correspondence Principle* states that "each participant role that is lexically profiled and expressed must be fused with a profiled argument role of the construction". However, she also notes that this principle "allows for one participant role to be linked to a nonprofiled argument role in cases in which the verb lexically profiles three participant roles" (e.g. PDE, *I put the keys in the pocket* [=Put-place, oblique]). This deviation with regard to three-place predicates such as *put* (<**Putter Put-place Puttee**>) is here extended to the two-place predicate *thirst* <**Desirer Desired**> on the grounds that the Desired similarly represents a lexically-profiled participant being expressed by an oblique —i.e. constructionally unprofiled— argument.

The relationship between the MOVE-ATTENTION and the INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction also helps us gain some insights into the interaction between the semantic properties of the role of Desired and the semantics of the MOVE-ATTENTION construction. For instance, the fact that the Target argument of the MOVE-ATTENTION construction is construed as an extension of the

Goal of the INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction is in accordance with the fact that the Desired constitutes an instance of a ToE, rather than a Cause (see Chapter 4). This also ties in with the fact that the HTOED's classification, as already pointed out in Chapter 4, suggests that verbs of Desire encode an underlying metaphor of an inclination or movement towards the desired object. From the constructionist perspective adopted here, it seems plausible that it is the semantics of the MOVE-ATTENTION construction that 'coerces' the interpretation of *thirst* as a metaphorical inclination, such that the Desired is construed as an Endpoint to which metaphorical motion is directed. This is also in accordance with the fact that verbs of Desire inherently encode the first part of Croft's two-way causal relation —i.e. 'direct attention to' (1991: 219; see Chapters 3 and 4).

In terms of Dowty's Proto-role properties, notice that the Desired shares with Goals that they both lack the majority of Proto-patient properties (cf. Dowty 1991: 578; Chapter 3), so that neither the Desired nor Goals undergo a change of state (Property 1), they are not incremental Themes (Property 2), they are not causally affected (Property 3) and they do not lack independent existence (Property 5) —i.e. they do have existence of their own (see Chapter 4). Property 4 of lack of movement (relative to the position of another participant) represents an exception in that the Desired originally lacks this feature, but, once the Desired is construed as a metaphorical Goal, it consequently acquires this property, being interpreted as lacking metaphorical movement, only relative to the Desirer's direction of attention, in the same way that Goals lack movement relative to the position of the Theme.

As already mentioned, the semantic parallel between the Desired and Goals ties in with the fact that a prepositional phrase with *after* may be followed by a locative adverb in example (161) above; this syntactic realisation might be seen as an inheritance of the source construction in which Goals indeed function as literal directional elements. This interpretation further accounts for the possibility for this verb to collocate with the prepositions *to* and *unto* in ME (see MED s.v. *thirsten* v. 2. (a)), which are found to express movement when they head the Goal argument of verbs of Motion such as *go* or *come*, among others (e.g. 1768, *We came unto a gentle place*, OED s.v. *unto*, prep. and conj. 1. a.).[53] As shown in Figure 18 above, with *thirst*

[53] The reader might wonder whether the motion meaning of the MOVE-ATTENTION construction might as well be attributed to the motion semantics of prepositions themselves, rather than to the syntactic construction. In this connection, in Chapter 8 it will be explained that there exist instances in which the entailed meaning of the sentence differs from the meaning of the lexical items instantiating the construction, in which case the meaning of the

these prepositions are later replaced by *after* and *for*, which may likewise head the Goal complements of verbs such as *go* (e.g. 1661, *Mr Mabbot..is shortly to goe for Ireland*, OED s.v. *for*, prep. and conj. 12. a.) and *come*, among others (e.g. 1653, *The rest of his traine came after him*, OED s.v. *after*, adv., prep., and conj. B. I. 1.). In the MED, *thirst* is even found in coordination with the Motion verb *run*: c1450, [...] *thanke hym for his feruente desyre wharewith alle þe dayes of his lyffe he* ***thrystede*** *ande ranne after the* 'thank him for his fervent desire with which every day of his life he desired and ran after you' (s.v. *thirsten* v. 2. (a)).

7.3.1.2. Patterns with zero complements

Patterns with zero complements are regularly associated with the physical-sensation sense 'to feel thirst' rather than 'to desire'. Thus, in patterns with zero complements only a single (pro)nominal argument (in the subjective case) expresses the Feeler (see Section 7.2.2). In the OED, zero complements are attested since the OE period (s.v. *thirst*, v. 2.). The following paragraphs illustrate zero complements with *thirst* (see examples (169)–(172)) and examine their syntactic properties as attested in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700), looking especially at the formal realisation and the semantic properties of the Feeler argument.

(169) By thys worde of neuer **thyrstynge**, he meneth euerlastyng saluacyo~
[1533, *The answere to the* ... D00000998480920000]

(170) If ony man **thyrsteth**, let him come to me & dryncke
[1542, *A Christmas bankette garnyshed* ... D00000998371030000]

(171) That he shall from henceforth neyther honger nor **thirst** and that God hath wyped awaye all teares from his eyes
[1545, *A mysterye of inyquyte* ... D00000998364590000]

(172) Who so euer drynketh of this water (wherby vndoubtedly he dyd meane outward thinges, and al mans help) shal **thyrst** againe
[1555, *A godlye and learned* ... D00000998378230000]

construction seems to be non-compositional, being determined at the constructional rather than the lexical level of prepositions.

It can be observed that the verb denotes physical sensation in all (169)–(172), although a figurative interpretation arises from the Biblical context in which the verb is used: i.e. the verb's meaning may be paraphrased as 'to feel spiritual thirst', an interpretation that is explicitly stated in (169) in the main clause *he meneth euerlastyng saluacyo~* following immediately after *thyrstynge*, by way of clarification.

With regard to the syntactic form of the Feeler, it was shown in Table 21 that it is realised by a noun in 5.61% of cases (6 tokens out of 107; *ony man* in example (170)), by a pronoun in 87.85% of cases (94 tokens; *he* in example (171)) and a nominal relative clause in 6.54% (7 tokens; *Who so euer drynketh of this water* in example (172)). In example (171), it can be observed further that *thirst* occurs in coordination with the verb *hunger* (20 tokens out of 107). Similarly to prepositional patterns discussed in the previous section, the high frequency of this combination with *hunger* suggests that it must have become idiomatised to a certain extent, at least in religious discourse. Likewise, with zero complements it might also be related to the occurrence of the collocation in another highly frequent Biblical verse reproduced in (173) below. It should be noted, as already explained, that all repeated instances or direct quotes of the Biblical verse in question (10 tokens in the data for *thirst*) have been excluded from the count, so that all 20 instances of the collocation of *thirst* and *hunger* represent uses outside strict Biblical language, as in the example illustrated in (174).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

(173) They nether honger nor **thirst** anye, more neyther doth the sun or any heat fal vpon them for the lambe which is in ye mids of the thron, gouerneth the~, and ledeth them ...
[1550, *The flour of godly* ... D00000227186340000; Revelation 7:16–17, New Testament]

(174) I should neuer haue beene verily satisfied, except thou hadst truely hungred and **thirsted**
[1612, *Supplications of saints A* ... D00000998387670000]

Turning now to the semantic properties of participants, examples (175) and (176) below suggest that the Feeler is unintentionally involved in starting or stopping the process, so that it receives an unvolitional interpretation (i.e. it lacks Proto-agent Property 1), in contrast to the Desirer of prepositional patterns discussed in the preceding section. This is implied in example (175), for instance, where the physical sensation of *thirst* is depicted as unvolitional and uncontrolled by establishing a comparison with a desire that is so intense that it turns out to be as uncontrollable

as the physical sensation itself. The lack of volition is implied as well in example (176), where the uncontrolled physical sensation is contrasted with a deliberate and controlled desire to drink.

(175) but not to desyre in myne hert is as vnpossible vnto me as is to chose whether I will ho~gyr or **thrust** and yet so the lawe requireth.
[1534, *The Newe Testament dylygently* ... D00000201897770000]

(176) He **thyrsteth** but seldome, yet he desyreth to drynke
[1539, *The castel of helthe* ... D00000223316240000]

The unvolitional interpretation of the Feeler is attributable to the lexical semantics of the verb, rather than to the constructions in which it appears. It has already been mentioned that Feelers lack the feature of volition (Proto-agent Property 1), and that they exhibit the semantic property of change of state (Proto-patient Property 1) (see Section 7.1), so that they represent the Endpoint rather than the Initiator of the SoA. Thus, in contrast to the Desirer, the Feeler represents a prototypical Experiencer in that it lacks the features of volition and causation, in compliance with Dowty's remark that Experiencers are "sentience without volition or causation" (1991: 577; see also Chapter 4).

Insofar as the Feeler of patterns with zero complements represents an Endpoint, it may be said that the use of *thirst* in this type of complementation comes closer to PDE unaccusative verbs like *burn*, *fall* or *grow*, whose subject represents the Endpoint of a change of state, than to unergative verbs like *run*, *shout* or *talk*, whose subject represents the Initiator of the process (see e.g. van Gelderen 2018: 45*ff*).

With regard to the unexpressed Needed, in terms of Fillmore's (1986: 96) typology of null complements (see Chapter 3), this role represents an indefinite null complement. What this means is that the Needed is not semantically required to complete the verb's sense (see also Levin 1993: 33), a fact which may be deduced from the fact that in none of the examples above is it necessarily retrievable or inferable from the co(n)-text. Thus, the reason for this participant to be left unexpressed in patterns with zero complements is that it is conceptually nonsalient within the semantic frame of the verb, hence being excluded from the verb's semantic profile.

From a diachronic perspective, it was mentioned in Section 7.1 that zero complements with the verb *thirst* became superseded by the adjectival construction *to be thirsty*, especially, but not only, in the sense 'to feel thirst' (see Möhlig-Falke 2012: 15, 224). Example (177) illustrates the adjectival construction as attested in the EModE data examined.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

(177) beholde my ua~ts shal drink whe~ ye shal **be** ful **thirsty**: beholde my ua~ts shalbe glad whe~ ye shal be ashamed.
[1531, *The prophete Isaye* ... D00000998988300000]

The adjectival construction exemplified here uses the copula verb *to be* together with the adjective *thirsty*, which is etymologically related to the verb *thirst*[54] (see Möhlig-Falke 2012: 218; also Chapter 4). Figure 21 below shows the EModE frequency of adjectival patterns across subperiods relative to patterns with zero complements, only including the sense 'to feel thirst' (95 tokens). The use of adjectival constructions in the sense 'to desire' is excluded from the count because, for the purposes of comparison with patterns with zero complements, only the sense 'to feel thirst' is of interest. It should be noted, nonetheless, that adjectival patterns in the sense 'to desire' are generally less frequent in the corpus (11 tokens out of 106) and account for just 10.38% of uses of the construction; these are exemplified in (178) below.

(178) Here are they, that **being** hongry and **thyrsti** [i.e. desiring] for righteousnes, do suffer persecution for the same
[1554, *The humble and vnfained* … D00000998465610000]

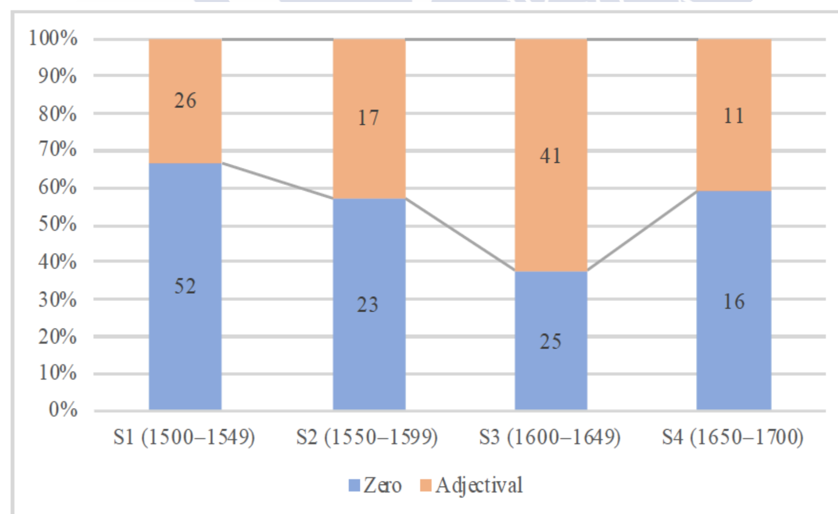


Figure 21: Relative frequency of patterns with zero complements and adjectival constructions with *thirst* in EModE (raw figures and relative frequencies)

Figure 21 also reveals that the adjectival construction shows an increase in frequency from 33.33% in S1 (26 tokens out of 78) to 42.5% in S2 (17 tokens out of 40) and to 62.12% in S3

[54] Note, however, that the adjective *thirsty* is a derivative from the noun *thirst* rather than from the verb (see OED s.v. *thirsty*, adj. Etymology).

(41 tokens out of 66), a finding which foreshadows the later development of adjectival patterns in PDE. In S4, however, adjectival patterns change their progression and recede to 40.74% (11 tokens out of 27), a finding that is in compliance with the frequencies shown in Figures 16 and 17 for the same subperiod, which come to a halt in that the progression from S1 to S3 unexpectedly declines in S4 (cf. also Figure 14, Chapter 6 on *lust*).

It has already been explained that adjectival constructions, like passive patterns, serve to background the Initiator and foreground the Endpoint of the SoA (see Chapter 4; also Croft *et al*. 1987: 184). In other words, the Initiator may be left unexpressed, as in example (177) above, where the Desirer is conceptualised as an Endpoint rather than an Initiator. The expression of the Initiator in a *by*-phrase, which is typical of process passives, is unattested in adjectival patterns, which is indicative of the fact that the construction receives a stative interpretation which renders the agentive *by*-phrase semantically unacceptable.

On the other hand, adjectival constructions differ from patterns with zero complements mainly in terms of aspect and force dynamics. Thus, whereas adjectival patterns place the focus on the resulting state, leaving the dynamic relation between Initiator and Endpoint in the background —e.g. PDE, *The boulder is broken*, where the resulting state is focused over the process of breaking (Croft 1991: 170)—, patterns with zero complements conversely denote processes which place the focus on the dynamic relation holding between both participants —e.g. PDE, *The boulder broke*, where both the resulting state and the process of breaking are focused, involving a causal connection between the Breaker (i.e. the Initiator) and the Broken (i.e. the Endpoint).

Another point of divergence between the adjectival construction *to be thirsty* and patterns of *thirst* with zero complements is that, whereas the subject of the verb *thirst* may encode either a volitional or an unvolitional participant (e.g. PDE, *The girl* [=unvolitional/Endpoint] *grieved sorely* vs. PDE, *The boys* [=volitional/Initiator] *shouted*; cf. Section 7.3.1.1), the subject of adjectival patterns prototypically denotes an unvolitional non-agentive entity (e.g. PDE, *Joe* [=unvolitional/Endpoint] *is afraid*; see Chapter 4). In terms of force dynamics, what this implies is that patterns with zero complements vary as to which of the two poles of the chain —i.e. Initiator or Endpoint— is foregrounded to subject position. Adjectival patterns, by contrast, prototypically background a controlling Initiator, with the Endpoint being systematically foregrounded as the subject of the clause.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

In this light, one may hypothesise that the reasons why adjectival patterns historically superseded zero complements with *thirst* in the sense 'to feel thirst' are two. Firstly, as argued in Section 7.1, the SoA denoted by *thirst* in this sense is inherently non-initiated; that is, the Initiator of this verb is conceptually nonsalient, and the verb lexically defocuses the dynamic relation between Initiator and Endpoint (cf. Möhlig-Falke 2012: 71, 198, 227). Consequently, the type of SoA expressed by *thirst* is better expressed by adjectival constructions which assign a stative interpretation to the SoA than by patterns with zero complements which conceptualise the event as a process. Secondly, as also claimed in Section 7.1, the Feeler of this verb is inherently unvolitional (i.e. it lacks Proto-agent Property 1) and affected by a change of state (Proto-patient Property 1), two properties that match with an adjectival construction in which the subject prototypically represents the Endpoint rather than the Initiator of the SoA.

7.3.1.3. Patterns with NP complements

Patterns with NP complements are regularly associated with the Emotion sense 'to desire' rather than 'to feel thirst', just like the prepositional patterns (Section 7.3.1.1) and unlike patterns with zero complements (Section 7.3.1.2). Thus, in patterns with NP complements a (pro)nominal argument (in the subjective case) expresses the role of Desirer, while a (pro)nominal NP complement expresses the role of Desired (see Section 7.2.2). In the OED, this complementation type is attested since the OE period. In the following paragraphs, I examine the syntactic properties of NP complements as attested in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700), looking especially at the syntactic and semantic properties of the Desired argument. Some observations will be made also with regard to the most common collocate nouns.

The Desired is always realised by a noun (26 tokens; examples (179) and (180)). This stands in contrast with the realisation of the Desirer, which, as shown in Table 21, turns out to be overwhelmingly pronominal (84.21%, 16 tokens out of 19; example (179)), while noun-headed phrases occur only 3 times (15.79%; example (180)).

(179) They were mansears & **thyrsted** <u>innoce~t bloud</u>
[1542, *The new pollecye of* ... D00000998448540000]

(180) (=150) Olde hatred **thirsteth** alwayes <u>new reuenge</u>
[1560, *Orations of Arsanes agaynst* ... D00000381607180000]

NP complements with *thirst* are comparatively infrequent, although they are considerably represented with this verb during the 16th century (see Table 20 and Figure 17). Judging from the historical evidence available, this pattern is found already in OE (see OED s.v. *thirst*, v. †4.), and it probably existed in competition with patterns with prepositional (or genitive) complements for the (pro)nominal expression of the Desired (see OED *thirst*, v. 3.). In my EModE data, however, NP complements go out of use after the 16th century, although the OED lists attestations until the early 18th century (e.g. 1718, *He seeks his keeper's flesh, and* ***thirsts*** *<u>his blood</u>*, s.v. *thirst*, v. †4.).

In order to examine the relationship between participant and argument roles in patterns with NP complements, Figure 22 below provides the constructional profiling of the TRANSITIVE construction, with the boldface signalling the profiled roles (cf. Goldberg 1995: 117; see also Möhlig-Falke 2012: 63). Notice that the semantics of the TRANSITIVE construction can be roughly characterised as a 'transitive scene'; according to Goldberg (1995: 117), the meaning of this construction needs to be characterised in such broad terms in order to account for the wide range of semantic extensions it may have. Goldberg further depicts the semantics of this construction as formed by only two abstract Proto-roles, namely the Proto-agent and Proto-patient roles, to which "a family of related meanings" can be assigned, with "the prototypical 'transitive scene' […] being the central sense." (1995: 118; see also Hopper & Thompson 1980).

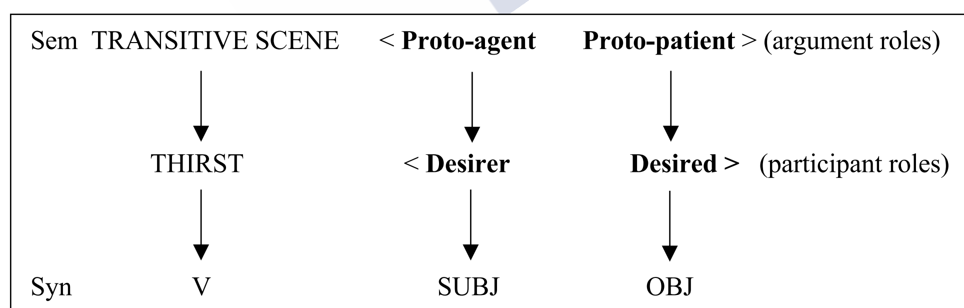


Figure 22: The TRANSITIVE construction: Constructional profiling of the use of *thirst* in patterns with NP complements in EModE (after Goldberg 1995: 117)

In the TRANSITIVE construction with *thirst*, the participant roles of Desirer and Desired are construed as instantiations of the maximally abstract roles of Proto-agent and Proto-patient, respectively. From a semantic perspective, the TRANSITIVE construction involves two clearly distinct participants which are involved in an action that is effectively carried over or transferred

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

from one entity to another (see Hopper & Thompson 1980: 251; also Chapter 4). That is to say, a prototypically transitive action presupposes a causative relation which extends from an Initiator to an Endpoint in a physically perceptible manner, a relation which, as explained in Chapter 4, does not exist in the semantic profile of verbs of Desire. Hence, the lexical semantics of verbs of Desire may be said to diverge from the semantics of the TRANSITIVE construction in that verbs of Desire involve an Initiator directing attention to an unaffected Endpoint, whereas the TRANSITIVE construction involves an Agent acting on a Patient that is highly affected by the action denoted by the verb.

In this light, as hinted at in the analysis of the prepositional patterns, it may be hypothesised that the reason that patterns with NP complements are abandoned in the EModE period is that the Desired does not show any of the Proto-patient properties postulated by Dowty (1991) as contributing to the assignment to the syntactic function of object.

7.3.1.4. Patterns with clausal complements

Patterns with clausal complements are regularly associated with the emotion sense 'to desire' rather than 'to feel thirst'. Thus, in clausal patterns a (pro)nominal argument (in the subjective case) expresses the semantic role of Desirer and a clausal complement expresses the semantic role of Desired (see Section 7.2.2). In the OED and the MED, personal patterns with clausal complements are recorded since the 14th century (see e.g. MED s.v. *thirsten* v. 2. (a)). In my EModE data, they are attested in the four subperiods, though only marginally, especially in the late 17th century, when only one attestation is found (see Table 20 and Figure 17). In the following paragraphs, I examine the syntactic properties of clausal complements in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700), with a focus on the syntactic and semantic properties of the Desired.

The Desired may be realised by a bare infinitive (example (181)) or a *to*-infinitive clause (example (182)). It is worth noting that the occurrence in (181) is a nonce occurrence, and that it has not been documented in historical dictionaries. By contrast, the realisation by a *for to*-infinitive, which is also documented in historical dictionaries (see example (146)) is not found in the corpus.

(181) For this exposicyo~ myghte be good ynough, & yet myght **Thryste** <u>in those wordes teache the thynge that we speke of [Illegible_Word]</u>
[1533, *The answere to the* ... D00000998480920000]

(182) (=151) We **thirste** intirely to heare the pure gospell frely & faithfully preached
[1544, *A present consolation for* ... D00000998395470000]

From a functional perspective, in parallel to the clausal complements of *lust* (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2.1), the clausal complements of *thirst* denote a complex event which exists only in an unrealised future time. For instance, in example (183) below it becomes evident that for *men* to desire *their cytie and temple to be restored*, the *cytie and temple* are implied not to be restored at the present moment. This stands in contrast with patterns with (pro)nominal complements, such as the prepositional construction in (184) below, where *money* makes reference to an entity which has existence in and of itself, in spite of the fact that it is implied to be absent from the Desirer's immediate reality (see Chapter 4).

(183) men **thirsting** so feruently their cytie and temple to be restored
[1545, *The exposicion of Daniel* ... D00000998435970000]

(184) the world being more earnestly set in these dayes to **thirst** after money, the~ to desire the shedding of mens blood
[1588, *A consolatory letter to* ... D00000998518420000]

Within Dowty's (1991) framework, it may be said that the different syntactic realisations correlate with differences in the Proto-agent or Proto-patient properties of verbal arguments, since the Proto-agent feature of causation is potentially present in the Desirer of (183) (Property 3), but not in the Desirer of (184). On the other hand, the Proto-patient property of independent existence (Property 5) may be said to be lacking in the Desired of (183), but not in the Desired of (184) (cf. the parallel discussion on the clausal complementation of *lust* in Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2.1).

Example (183) exemplifies a variant of clausal patterns involving the surface sequence NP + *to*-infinitive clause (1 token). Herein, the NP *their city and temple* intervenes between the main clause verb *thirst* and the *to*-infinitive clause *to be restored*. As Fanego points out (1992: 97–98), the syntax of this kind of structure has been the object of considerable attention and controversy in linguistic theory.[55] Broadly speaking, two main semantic types of verb can be

[55] For a detailed discussion of the controversy surrounding the analysis of NP + infinitive structures, the reader is referred to Fanego (1992: §7.3.1). The structure and interpretation of these structures is also discussed in Warner (1982: 33*ff*).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

found in this syntactic structure: one in which the intervening NP (henceforth NP$_2$) is a semantic argument of the matrix verb —e.g. PDE, *Paul persuaded John to kiss Mary*— and one in which the NP$_2$ is a semantic argument of the subordinate clause verb —e.g. PDE, *They wanted him to be a spy* (see Quirk *et al.* 1985: §16.41; Fanego 1992: 97–98). In the latter case, there is no general agreement on whether NP$_2$ is in constituency with the *to*-infinitive clause —i.e. *They wanted [him to be a spy]*— or whether, by contrast, it has been raised to object status within the matrix clause —i.e. *They wanted [him] [to be a spy]*.[56] If considered part of the *to*-infinitive clause, the clause conforms with a monotransitive pattern, the object of which cannot be turned into a passive subject: **He was wanted to be a spy* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: §§16.41, 16.64; see also Fanego 1992: 103); in contrast, if an NP$_2$ is viewed as object within the matrix clause, the clause conforms with a complex-transitive pattern having three differentiated syntactic arguments —i.e. *[They] knew [him] [to be a spy]*, which may yield the passive *He was known to be a spy*. Alongside the test of passivisation, other standard tests for Raising of NP$_2$ to object status include reflexivisation and objective case marking (for a detailed discussion of these see Fanego 1992: 99*ff*).

Example (183) constitutes a particular case in that the *to*-infinitive clause is passivised, so that the NP$_2$ corresponds to the object rather than the subject of the subordinate clause verb *restore* (cf. Fanego 1992: 100 for similar instances). Semantically, the NP$_2$ does not seem to bear a relationship with *thirst*, since (183) yields the paraphrase 'men desiring that their city and temple be restored', rather than '*men desiring their city and temple that it be restored' (see in this respect Quirk *et al*. 1985: §16.64; Fanego 1992: 98). In other words, what men desire is not the city and temple in and of themselves, but the city and temple to be restored, with the emotion being concerned with the entire *to*-infinitive clause. Hence, in example (183) the NP$_2$ may reasonably be said to be controlled by the subordinate clause verb *restore* rather than by the matrix verb *thirst*. Syntactically, it also seems reasonable to view the NP$_2$ as forming a constituent with the *to*-infinitive clause —i.e. *[men]* ***thirsting*** *so feruently [their cytie and temple to be restored]*—, rather than as a three-place structure —i.e. [men] thirsting so feruently [their cytie and temple] [to be restored]—, because elsewhere the verb *thirst*, whether in the corpus or in the OED and the MED, is generally attested only as a two-place (i.e.

[56] As is well known, Raising of NP$_2$ (also Subject-to-Object-Raising) makes reference to a syntactic process whereby the NP$_2$ is moved out of the lower clause into the matrix, while being semantically controlled by the lower verb rather than by the matrix.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

monotransitive) predicate, and not as a three-place one. It is true that the MED gives an additional instance of *thirst*, (185) below, which is comparable to (183) because the verb is followed by a PP and a *to*-infinitive clause. However, also in this example, as the paraphrase in the MED makes clear, the only likely interpretation of *thirst* is as a two-place predicate subcategorising an infinitive clause with an overt subject —i.e. 'men are desirous [for their kings to speak freely]'.

(185) It is trewe that the eeres of men ben all-wey **thristyng** to hir kynges to speke fre.
[MED, a1500 (a1450) Ashmole SSecr.(Ashm 396) 37/10]

7.4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has presented an analysis of the diachronic development of *thirst* in the EModE period (1500–1700). In the following paragraphs, I summarise the main conclusions that are drawn from it.

All in all, the evidence gathered in this case study shows that the EModE period witnesses important changes in the argument structure of *thirst*. From the 16th to the 17th centuries, *thirst* becomes established in prepositional use for the (pro)nominal expression of the Desired, in accordance with its PDE usage, whereas NP complements become marginalised. Zero complements remain at the second highest frequency in most of the period, except for the first half of the 16th century, when they constitute the most frequent option. Patterns with clausal complements remain highly infrequent. In parallel, EModE witnesses the steady replacement of the verb *thirst* by an adjectival construction with a copular verb plus the etymologically-related adjective *thirsty*, in the physical-sensation sense 'to feel thirst'. Given that the sense 'to feel thirst' is predominantly found with *thirst* in patterns with zero complements, it seems likely that the decline of zero complements in S2 and S3 (see Table 20 and Figure 17) relates to the increase in frequency, over the same subperiods, of the adjectival construction for the expression of that same meaning (see Figure 21).

The data have shown that *thirst* is always attested in Experiencer-subject patterns, and never in Experiencer-object ones (cf. Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2.1). There exist some syntactic factors which may have affected the development of *thirst* as an Experiencer-subject verb. For instance, the examination of whether the arguments of *thirst* are nouns or pronouns (see Table 21) allows us to draw some conclusions about which arguments have greater weight, and the implications this may have for the reanalysis of the Desirer as a syntactic subject once

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

impersonal constructions were lost (cf. Allen 1995: 147*ff*). We saw in the discussion of *lust* (Chapter 6) that, in compliance with the principle of end-weight, pronominal Desirers are more likely to occupy sentence-initial position due to the fact that they are lighter, whereas the Desired is more likely to appear in sentence-final position because it is usually coded by heavier (i.e. longer and more complex) constituents such as NPs, PPs or clausal complements. This is likewise applicable to the case of *thirst*, given that Desirers are predominantly pronominal as well, whereas the Desired is predominantly nominal. We could thus argue that the relative weight of Desirers and Desired may have affected the constituent order of sentences so that, during the transition from impersonal to personal use during the (late) 15th century, the Desirer became the argument most frequently placed in prototypical subject position (i.e. in front of the verb) and, consequently, became the best candidate for 'subjecthood' once word order became rigidified in the mid-15th century (see Chapter 2).

Another factor which may have played a role is of a semantic nature. As explained in Section 7.1, the Desirer of *thirst* exhibits the feature of volition (Proto-agent Property 1), as shown by the fact that it may occur as complement to the directive verb *exhort* (see example (162) above), which triggers in the Desirer a deliberate feeling of desire. It may also show the feature of potential causation (Proto-agent Property 3) in patterns with clausal complements (see Section 7.3.1.4 on clausal complementation). This shows that the Desirer exhibits the highest number of Proto-agent properties compared to the Desired, which helps us better understand why *thirst* always occurs in Experiencer-subject constructions. As Croft points out, a correlation exists between Experiencer-subject patterns and volitional Experiencers, so that "the subject-experiencer version is interpreted as implying more volition or direction of attention to the stimulus than the object-experiencer version" (1991: 219; see Chapter 3).

Considering the overall predominance of pronominal Desirers, some insights can be gained also as to the factors that have been claimed to affect the loss of impersonal patterns in the history of English. Given that the pronouns attested with *thirst* are always declinable in the data examined, the distinction between subjective and objective Desirers seems to have been sufficiently clear even after the inflectional system broke down. That is, the data for *thirst* further confirm the hypothesis that the syntactic scenario which may have led to ambiguity during the transition from impersonal to personal use is not frequent in EModE, parallel to the observations drawn with the verb *lust* (see Chapter 6). Furthermore, in the case of *thirst* it needs to be pointed out that, unlike the case of *lust*, the shift from impersonal to personal use, which

takes place in the (late) 15th century, becomes complete at a time when the simplification of the case system and the rigidification of word order were already at an advanced stage. This diminishes the chances that formal ambiguity arose during the process of reanalysis, as Jespersen's (1961[1927]: 208–209) hypothesis suggests. In addition, if we consider that the most frequent syntactic pattern —i.e. the prepositional pattern— involves pronominal Desirers twice as frequently as nominal Desirers —i.e. respectively 68.22% vs. 30.84%—, the chances that the reanalysis of Desirers started from clauses with two morphologically ambiguous NPs are further diminished. Notice, too, that prepositional uses are attested in the MED since the 12th century (Section 7.3.1.1) —i.e. before the transition from impersonal to personal use became complete with this verb in the (late) 15th century.

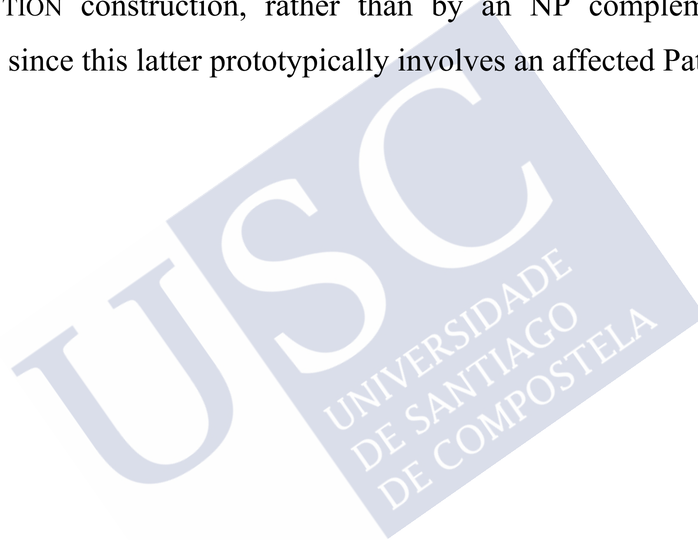
There is yet another observation to make with regard to the formal realisation of Desirers. It may be recalled from the analysis of the verb *lust* that McCawley (1976: 198) put forward a hypothesis for why verbs of Emotion often have pronominal Experiencers (Section 6.4). Specifically, she argues that the reason behind Experiencers' tendency to be pronominal is that verbs of Emotion denote "the 1st person's inherently subjective experience" (see also Allen 1986: 378). This claim however is not upheld by the particular case of *thirst*, since first-person pronouns are far less frequent than the third-person masculine singular pronoun *he* (see Section 7.3.1 on the range of personal pronouns attested in personal use).

From a diachronic perspective, a question that remains to be addressed concerns why the Desired came to be expressed by an oblique type of relation rather than by a direct type of relation. With regard to the development of prepositional patterns, it was displayed in Figure 17 that these show a general increase during EModE, with a slight decline in S4. NP complements, by contrast, become clearly marginalised towards the end of the period. This historical development may be better understood with reference to the following aspects:

1) Verbs of Desire lend themselves readily to be conceptualised as a metaphorical inclination or movement towards something. That is, verbs of Desire inherently code a semantic relation of directing attention towards the desired object, which may be conceptualised as metaphorical motion (on this see Chapter 4, Sections 4.2 and 4.3). This may have rendered the verb *thirst* eligible to be increasingly expressed by a construction type that is ultimately rooted in the domain of Motion —i.e. the MOVE-ATTENTION construction—, which allows the expression of the Desired as a metaphorical Goal.

2) As hinted at in Chapter 3, Dowty's *Corollary 2* (1991: 576) may be fruitfully extended to the prepositional use of verbs of Desire on the grounds that the Desired, like the Goal, lacks the majority of Proto-patient properties. It might be that the lack of Proto-patient properties of the Desired somewhat contributes to the increasing coding of this argument as a prepositional rather than a direct object, with the result that the verb diachronically disfavours direct objects altogether.[57]

3) Given that the Desired shares with Goals the fact that they both exhibit low-transitivity properties, the semantic parallel between the two as unaffected entities may have prompted the expression of the Desired by means of a prepositional complement in the MOVE-ATTENTION construction, rather than by an NP complement in a TRANSITIVE construction, since this latter prototypically involves an affected Patient.


USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

[57] Recall that, according to Dowty (1991: 578), with three-place predicates taking oblique Goal and Source complements, the non-subject argument with the greatest number of Proto-patient properties is encoded as direct object, while the non-subject argument with the fewest Proto-patient properties surfaces as an oblique or prepositional complement (see Chapter 3).

8. *LONG*

This chapter explores the historical development of the verb *long* in the EModE period, a member of the class of verbs of Desire as defined in Levin (1993: 194–195; see Chapter 4). Following the procedure for the analysis of *lust* and *thirst*, Section 8.1 offers an overview of the origin and development of the verb based on the dictionary entries of the OED and the MED, as well as previous work. Section 8.2 summarises the complementation patterns historically documented with this verb, also based on the dictionary entries and previous studies, and considering both impersonal and personal uses. Then, an account of the personal complementation patterns attested in EModE is provided in Section 8.3, followed in Section 8.4 by a summary of the main conclusions extracted from my analysis.

8.1. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

EModE *long*, from OE *langian* (> ME *lŏngen*), is a native formation, derived by conversion from the adjective *long* (see OED s.v. *long*, v.[1] Origin). According to the OED, it is first attested in early OE, as shown in (186) below.

(186) Hu lustbærlice tida on ðæm dagum wæron...
how pleasant times on those-DAT days-DAT were
þæt us nu æfter swelcum **longian** mæge swelce þa wæron
that us-ACC now after such-DAT long may as then were
'What pleasant times were in those days... that we may now long for such [times] as then were'
[OED, eOE tr. Orosius *Hist.* (BL Add.) (1980) ii. v. 48]

Long is found in impersonal use already in OE, and its historical development has been examined in several studies including Visser (1963), Elmer (1981), Allen (1995) or Möhlig-Falke (2012). From the OED and MED entries, it can be observed that *long* has a complex history and sense development. The OED lists three different entries for this verb, namely *long*, v.[1] 'to long for, desire', †*long*, v.[2] 'to summon' and *long*, v.[3] 'to belong to'. For the present purposes, only the lexical entry *long*, v.[1] will be taken into account, since it is the only entry

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

comprising senses related to the notion of desire. The remaining entries will be considered as homonyms which are not necessarily related to *long*, v.[1] 'to long for, desire' either in meaning or historical development (cf. Möhlig-Falke 2012: 111, fn. 5). The following examples illustrate all three lexical entries abovementioned (see also Möhlig-Falke 2012: 52, 85).

(i) OED s.v. *long*, v.[1] 'To long for, desire'.

(187) Vs **langis** eftire a thynge of the warld
[OED, a1500 (‣c1340) R. Rolle *Psalter* (Univ. Oxf. 64) (1884) cxxxix. §9. 468]

(188) I..**longed** for an opportunity to retrieve my honour.
[OED, 1748 T. Smollett *Roderick Random* II. xliv. 68]

(ii) OED s.v. †*long*, v.[2] 'To summon'.

(189)

Him	com	to Godes	æncgel	and	cwæð	þæt he	sceolde
he-ACC	come	to God-GEN	angel	and	said	that he-NOM	should
þe	him	to **langian** […]					
you-ACC	him-DAT	to summon'					

'God's angel came to him and said that he had to summon you to him'
[OED, OE Ælfric *Lives of Saints* (Julius) (1881) I. 226]

(iii) OED s.v. *long*, v.[3] 'To belong to'.

(190) I have got lands, And half Northumberland '**longs** to me
[OED, 1844 M. A. Richardson *Local Historian's Table Bk.* II. 24]

The first entry *long*, v.[1] includes a total of ten senses and subsenses, which indicates that this verb form is also highly polysemous. This broad range of senses and subsenses is summarised in (1)–(4) below, grouped into two main branches according to whether they express senses relating to duration or distance (branch I) or to emotional or physical condition (branch II). Senses included in branch I stem from the sense 'to grow long', which is found already in OE (see B&T s.v. *langian* 'To grow long'),[58] but ceases to be recorded in the course of the 16th

[58] B&T separate branches I and II into two different lexical entries, corresponding respectively to s.v. *langian* 'To grow long' and s.v. *langian v. impers. with acc. of pers.* 'To cause longing, desire, discontent, or pain in a person'.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

century (see OED s.v. *long*, v.[1] †I. 1.). The present study will be concerned with branch II only, on the grounds that it contains the senses related to the notion of desire that is of interest here, and also because, as Möhlig-Falke claims, the sense 'to desire' is the only one found in impersonal constructions with OE *langian* (2012: 152, fn. 13).

Branch †I. Senses relating to duration or distance.

1) 'To grow/extend longer in duration'.

(191) The days **longyth** fro equinoccium forth, and the nyghtes shortith.
[OED, a1500 (▸ 1422) J. Yonge tr. *Secreta Secret.* (Rawl.) (1898) 245 (*MED*)]

2) 'To put far away; to go far away'.

(192) Hit shold not be lawfull to..cast downe houses bilded or to **longe**-away fro the seid place
'It should not be lawful to raze down houses built or to separate [them] from the said place'
[OED, a1475 in A. Clark *Eng. Reg. Godstow Nunnery* (1906) ii. 416; cf. MED *lŏngen* v.(2) 1. (b) 'To separate (buildings from associated property)']

Branch II. Senses relating to emotional or physical condition.

3) 'To desire'.

(193) Freud **longed** for public recognition for his hard-won ideas
[OED, 1985 J. N. Isbister *Freud* iv. 186]

Sometimes with an implication of carnal desire (cf. *lust*, Section 6.1)

(194) (=4) Ich **langy** so swiþe after Gorloys his wifue.
'I have such a great desire for Gorloys's wife'
[MED, c1300 Lay.Brut (Otho C.13) 18918]

Surprisingly, however, B&T *Supplement* gives one entry alone, suggesting that both lexical entries may be merged into a single one, namely s.v. *langian*, 'To grow long' and 'To cause longing'.

4) ‘To grow weary’

(195) Let vs not wearie in doing good, and he addes to the promise, we shall reape the frute of our good deeds in our owne tyme, if we **long** not, but goe forward ay to the end.
[OED, 1606 W. Arthur & H. Charteris *Rollock’s Lect. 1st & 2nd Epist. Paul to Thessalonians* (1 Thess.) xxiii. 297]

Thus, to summarise the above, the present study will be concerned solely with the OED entry *long*, v.[1] ‘to long for, desire’, and, within that, only the senses contained in branch II which relate to emotional or physical condition will be taken into account.

As with the other verbs of Desire examined in this thesis, the semantic frame of this family of senses is interpreted as <**Desirer Desired**>, with boldface signalling the lexically profiled participants (cf. Möhlig-Falke 2012: 92). The Desirer of *long* is typically, but not necessarily, human (e.g. *Freud* in example (193), but cf. 1816, *As the cold grave that* ***longeth*** *for its coffin*, OED s.v. *long*, v.[1] 6. a.), whereas the Desired shows variation between inanimate (e.g. example (193)) or animate referents (e.g. example (194)), as well as between concrete (e.g. example (187)) or abstract referents (e.g. example (188)). In PDE, the verb sense is described in the OED as ‘to have a strong wish or desire’ (e.g. PDE, *She* ***longed*** *for a little more excitement*, *Lexico’s Dictionary* s.v. *long*[2] verb). It survives mainly in prepositional usage, and it is slightly higher in frequency than the verbs *lust* and *thirst* discussed in the preceding chapters (see OED s.v. *long*, v.[1] Frequency (in current use)). As regards the development of the homonymous verb †*long*, v.[2] ‘To summon’, this form did not survive into PDE, being last recorded in the 13th century (c1275); whereas *long*, v.[3] ‘To belong to’ survives in the present day in the sense ‘to belong’, but only in regional use: 1937, *De first 'oman I* ***longsta*** *was Mistress Martha Leonard* (see OED s.v. *long*, v.[3] 1.).

8.2. Overview of complementation patterns with *long*

8.2.1. *Long* in impersonal patterns

According to the OED, the MED and previous studies, *long* has been recorded in impersonal use since OE times until the first half of the 16th century (see Visser 1963: §§29, 33, 679; Elmer 1981: 118–121; Allen 1995: 85, 272; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 52, 152, fn. 13, 206–207). The surveys in Elmer (1981: 118) and Allen (1995: 228–229) further suggest that the impersonal construction with *long* was restricted to the combination of a (pro)nominal Desirer in the

accusative or dative case (i.e. ME objective case) and either one of two options for the expression of the Desired: a genitive case-marked (pro)nominal phrase or a clausal complement. However, the diachronic picture that emerges from the OED and the MED entries is notably broader in scope, since five different types of complements are documented representing the Desired: 1) prepositional or genitive complement; 2) adverbial complement of direction; 3) zero complement; 4) clausal complement; and 5) NP complement. These are described below and exemplified with instances from the OED and the MED.

1) **Desired as prepositional** (examples (196), (198) and (199)) **or genitive complement** (example (197)) (see further Visser 1963: §679; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 240, 276–277). The range of prepositions documented includes *after* (196), *to* (198), *into* (199) and *for*.

(196) (=186) Hu lustbærlice tida on ðæm dagum wæron...
how pleasant times on those-DAT days-DAT were
þæt us nu æfter swelcum **longian** mæge swelce þa wæron
that us-ACC now after such-DAT long may as then were
'What pleasant times were in those days... that we may now long for such [times] as then were'
[OED, eOE tr. Orosius *Hist.* (BL Add.) (1980) ii. v. 48]

(197) Ah hine ðæs heardost **langode** hwanne he of ðisse
Ah he-ACC this-GEN very earnestly longed when he of this-DAT
worlde moste
world-DAT might
'He very earnestly longed for the time when he might leave this world'
[OED, OE *Blickling Homilies* 227; translation from B&T s.v. *hearde* adv.]

(198) Mi leoue swete lefdi, to þe me **longeð** swuðe.
'My beloved sweet lady, I feel a great desire for you'
[OED, a1250 in C. Brown *Eng. Lyrics 13th Cent.* (1932) 6]

(199) Into ermonie..now **longeþ** me
'Now I long [to go] to Ermonie'
[MED, c1330 (?a1300) Tristrem (Auch)763; on this usage see MED s.v. *lŏngen* v.(1) 1. (c): with *(in)to*, 'to long [to go] to a place'][59]

[59] *Ermonie* refers to the homeland of the hero featured in the 13th-century romance *Sir Tristrem*.

2) **Desired as adverbial complement of direction**, as in (200) and (201). In this construction type, the verb may be paraphrased as 'to yearn/long to go', with a verb of motion implied (see OED s.v. *long*, v.[1] †5.).

(200) Þiss ȝife ȝifeþþ Haliȝ Gast.. Forr aȝȝ hemm **langeþþ** heþennwarrd
This gift gives Holy Ghost..for always them-DAT longs hence
& upp till heoffness blisse.
and up to heaven-GEN bliss
'The Holy Ghost gives this gift... for they always long [to go] hence and up to heaven's bliss'
[MED, c1175 Orm.(Jun 1) 5490]

(201) Me **longeð** heoneward
'I yearn [to go] hence'
[OED, c1225 (‣ ?c1200) *St. Katherine* (Royal) (1981) 876]

3) **Desired as zero complement**, as shown in (202) (see further Visser 1963: §29; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 130, 240).

(202) Þa **longede** swuðe Luces þon kinge ære he mare
then longed greatly Luces the-ACC king until he more
wuste of þan lauerd Criste.
knew of the-DAT lord Christ-DAT
'then King Luces yearned very much until he knew more about the Lord Jesus Christ'
[MED, c1275 (?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9) 10124]

4) **Desired as clausal complement**, realised by a *(for) to*-infinitive clause in (203) and (204), a *that*-complement clause in (205), a bare infinitive in (206) and a finite clause introduced by *till* in (207) (see further Visser 1963: §33; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 134).

(203) Hire **longuede** with hire broþer to speke.
'She longed to speak with her brother'
[MED, c1300 SLeg. (LdMisc 108) 198/14]

(204) Forte come to toune, nout him ne **longeþ**.
'He does not at all wish to come into town'
[MED, a1350 (1307) Execution Fraser (Hrl 2253) 74]

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

(205) Somdel hem **longede** ..Þt heuene cloue ofte atwo to sauy eiþer side.
‘They very much wished that heaven split often into two to save either side’
[MED, a1350 (?c1280) SLeg.Prol.CV (Ashm 43) 45]

(206) I wil fiȝte wyþ þat heþene kyng..ne **langed** me neuere more do þyng þat toched mannes dede.
‘I will fight with that pagan king.. I do not wish to ever do a thing pertaining to the actions of men’
[MED, c1380 Firumb.(1) (Ashm 33) 219]

(207) him **longeth** Til he the water passed were
‘He desires that he was past the river’
[OED, a1393 Gower *Confessio Amantis* (Fairf.) v. l. 3688 (*MED*)]

5) **Desired as NP complement**, with a nominal head, as in (208), or a pronominal head, as in (209).

(208) Hom **longeþ** tramtris þe trewe,
‘He, Tramtris, desires the truth’
[MED, c1330 (?a1300) Tristrem (Auch) 1275]

(209) Philomen..Gan..grace to beseke To seen her sustyr that her **longeth** so.
‘Philomen began to beg for grace to see her sister, which she desires so much’
[MED, a1450 Chaucer LGW (Tan 346) 2286]

8.2.2. *Long* in personal patterns

This section is concerned with the personal uses historically found with this verb. After impersonal constructions began to disappear, *long* followed Path I of development (see Chapter 2), and thus it occurred in Experiencer-subject constructions (e.g. c1400, *I* [=Experiencer, subject] ***longe*** *for loue*, OED s.v. *long*, v.[1] 6. a), and never in Experiencer-object constructions (i.e. *?love* ***longs*** *for me*). According to the OED and the MED, personal patterns (in the sense ‘to desire’) did not develop until the first half of the 13th century (also Elmer 1981: 119–120; Allen 1995: 228; Mölig-Falke 2012: 219). The transition from impersonal to personal use thus seems to take place from the early 13th century, when personal patterns begin to appear in the OED and the MED records, until the early 16th century, when impersonal patterns cease to be recorded in the OED (s.v. *long*, v.[1] II. †4.). The analysis of the dictionary entries identifies four different types of complementation patterns, namely: 1) patterns with clausal complements; 2)

prepositional patterns; 3) patterns with zero complements; and 4) patterns with adverbial complements of direction. These are listed and exemplified below.

1) **Patterns with clausal complements**, in which the Desired is expressed by a *(for) to*-infinitive clause, as shown in (210) and (211). Parallel to impersonal uses with clausal complements such as (207), personal *long* can also take a finite complement clause introduced by *till*, as in (212).

(210) Þe cwen..**longede** for to seon þis meiden.
'the queen longed to see this maid'
[OED, c1225 (?c1200) St.Kath.(1) (Einenkel) 1556]

(211) Þat child..**longuede** swiþe sore With þat..Maide to speke and beo.
'The child longed very much to speak and be with that young woman'
[OED, c1300 *11000 Virgins* (Laud) l. 105 in C. Horstmann *Early S.-Eng. Legendary* (1887) 89 (*MED*)]

(212) My hart euen **longeth** till I may so fully satisfy By this my death that their decree
'My heart truly wishes that my death may fully satisfy their decree'
[OED, 1581 T. Newton tr. Seneca *Thebais* i, in T. Newton et al. tr. Seneca *10 Trag.* f. 41v]

2) **Prepositional patterns**, in which the Desired is expressed by a prepositional complement, shown in (213)–(216). The range of prepositions heading prepositional complements includes †*after* (213), †*into* (214), †*to* (215), *for* (216), †*at* and †*of*.

(213) Non monnis wif after **lonke**, Ne of is þinc to hauen wid wronke
'Do not desire a man's wife, nor to have his property unlawfully'
[MED, a1275 Hawe on god (Trin-C B.14.39) 9]

(214) Þen þe moþer Neomy **langed** in to hyr land agayn […].
'then the mother Neomy longed [to go] to her land again'
[MED, c1450 (a1425) MOTest.(SeldSup 52) 4490]

(215) So **longid** this lady with lust to the Temple
'So did this lady long with delight [to go] to the Temple'
[MED, c1540 (?a1400) Destr.Troy (Htrn 388) 2914]

(216) He **longed** for day, and it being come...hee quietly left his Lodging.
[OED, 1632 W. Lithgow *Totall Disc. Trav.* x. 480]

3) **Patterns with zero complements**, in which the Desired is left unexpressed, as shown in (217).

(217) This maide **longede** sore [...]
'This maid had a great longing'
[OED, c1300 *Life & Martyrdom Thomas Becket* (Harl. 2277) (1845) l. 45]

4) **Patterns with adverbial complements of direction**, shown in (218) and (219).[60] Parallel to the impersonal use in (200) and (201) above (Section 8.2.1), in this construction type the verb may be paraphrased as 'to yearn/long to go', with a verb of Motion implied (cf. OED s.v. *long*, v.[1] †5.).

(218) For therat I **lang** moche
'For I greatly long [to go] there'
[OED, c1500 *Melusine* (1895) 72]

(219) The man had an high harte and sore **longed** vpwarde, not risyng yet so fast as he had hoped.
'The man had a proud heart and yearned sorely [to move] upwards, not rising yet as fast as he had hoped'
[OED, 1548 *Hall's Vnion: Richard III* f. xxvij]

8.3. *LONG* IN THE EMODE PERIOD

Table 22 shows the occurrences of *long* across the four 50-year subperiods and across subject domains in my EModE data as documented in the subcorpus extracted from EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700).

[60] For the use of *thereat* as a complement of direction with verbs of Motion, see the OED (s.v. *thereat*, adv. 1. b.) and the MED (s.v. *thĕ̄r-at* adv. 1. (c) and 2. (b)); for instance 1517, *He* ***cast*** *a stonne ther att* 'he threw a stone in that direction' (OED).

Subject domain	S1 (1500–1549)	S2 (1550–1599)	S3 (1600–1649)	S4 (1650–1700)	Total
Religion	108 (80)	48 (70.59)	37 (50.68)	51 (78.46)	244 (71.55)
General prose	23 (17.04)	10 (14.71)	25 (34.25)	11 (16.92)	69 (20.23)
History	1 (0.74)	6 (8.82)	8 (10.96)	--	15 (4.40)
Politics	1 (0.74)	1 (1.47)	--	3 (4.62)	5 (1.47)
Philosophy	--	1 (1.47)	2 (2.74)	--	3 (0.88)
Law	--	--	--	--	--
Biology	2 (1.48)	--	--	--	2 (0.59)
Medicine	--	1 (1.47)	1 (1.37)	--	2 (0.59)
Literature	--	1 (1.47)	--	--	1 (0.29)
Total	135 (100)	68 (100)	73 (100)	65 (100)	341 (100)
(row %)	39.59	19.94	21.41	19.06	100

Table 22: Frequency distribution of *long* in EModE by 50-year subperiod and subject domain (raw figures and percentages)

The search for this verb yielded a total of 341 tokens. Just like *lust* and *thirst*, the overall frequency of *long* decreases in the course of the period from 39.59% of occurrences in S1 (135 tokens) to 19.06% in S4 (65 tokens), a frequency already constant since S2; it is worth noting, however, that *long* does not decrease as much as *lust* or *thirst* —cf. Table 13 in Chapter 6 and Table 19 in Chapter 7—, a development which foreshadows the fact that the PDE frequency of *long* is also higher than that of *lust* or *thirst*, as pointed out in Section 8.1 above. In addition, the figures for *long* show that its use was largely restricted to the religious domain in EModE (71.55%, 244 tokens), parallel to the findings for *lust* and *thirst*. The domains of General prose and History respectively represent 20.23% (69 tokens) and 4.40% (15 tokens), with the domain of General prose being second in frequency after Religion. Occurrences in the remaining subject domains —i.e. Politics, Philosophy, Law, Biology, Medicine and Literature— are anecdotal, with few or no attestations.

In the EModE data, *long* has been found to occur in personal use only. Thus, like the verb *thirst* (Chapter 7), but unlike *lust* (Chapter 6), impersonal patterns are unattested with this verb. If we take into account the chronology of the shift from impersonal to personal use, which must have taken place between the early 13th and the early 16th centuries (see Section 8.2.2), it would have been possible for impersonal uses of *lust* to be found at least in the early subperiods of the EModE period, but this is not the case. This suggests that the impersonal uses documented in the OED for the 16th century were most probably already marginal by that time.

8.3.1. Personal patterns in EModE

The personal complementation patterns documented in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) vary in the number and nature of the arguments expressed, although they all represent Experiencer-subject constructions, in compliance with the data available in the OED, the MED and previous studies. The order of frequency of the various patterns outlined in Section 8.2.2 is as follows: 1) prepositional patterns; 2) patterns with clausal complements; 3) patterns with zero complements; and 4) patterns with adverbial complements, respectively illustrated in examples (220)–(223).

(220) The .xlvi. is that ye **longe** for euerlastynge lyfe with all your mynde & inward desyre.
[1517, *Here begynneth the rule* ... D00000998462170000]

(221) These folke do not **longe** to eate & drynke to lyue the lenger, but **longe** to lyue to eate and drynke the lenger.
[1533, *The answere to the* … D00000998480920000]

(222) Thou shalt not **long** or lust. For as sainct Paule saith. The lawe was not gyuen to the iust ma~, nor doth forbid any thing but synne only.
[1548, *Catechismus, that is to* ... D00000998449220000]

(223) How be yt sythe ye **longe** so sore therfore
[1534, *A playne and godly* … D00000998375060000]

Table 23 below shows the raw frequencies for each of the documented personal patterns, with percentages in brackets, and Figure 23 provides the relative frequencies distributed across the four 50-year subperiods under analysis.

Complementation pattern	**S1 (1500–1549)**	**S2 (1550–1599)**	**S3 (1600–1649)**	**S4 (1650–1700)**	**Total**
Prepositional	69 (51.11)	42 (61.76)	49 (67.12)	43 (66.15)	203 (59.53)
Clausal	54 (40)	25 (36.76)	22 (30.14)	20 (30.77)	121 (35.48)
Zero	7 (5.19)	1 (1.47)	2 (2.74)	2 (3.08)	12 (3.52)
Adverbial	5 (3.70)	--	--	--	5 (1.47)
Total	135 (100)	68 (100)	73 (100)	65 (100)	341 (100)

Table 23: Frequency of personal patterns of *long* in EModE by 50-year subperiod (raw figures and percentages)

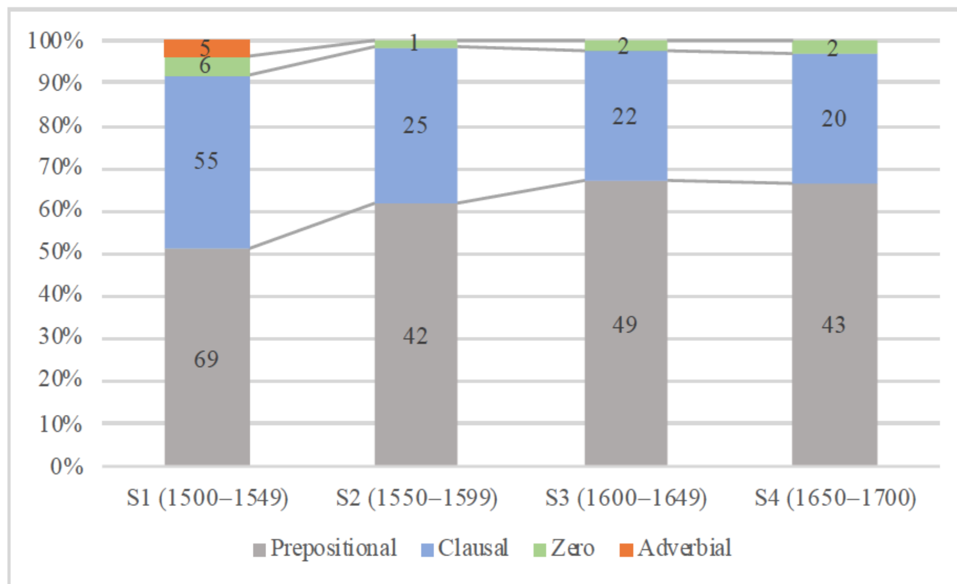


Figure 23: Diachronic distribution of personal patterns of *long* in EModE (raw figures and relative frequencies)

The relative frequencies show that there is an overall predominance of prepositional patterns (59.53%, 203 tokens), which remain as the most frequent pattern throughout the entire period. From this it can be inferred that prepositional patterns were well established already in the early 16th century, a finding which merits comparison with the data for *lust* (Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2), where prepositional uses rank third in frequency until the 17th century, and with the data for *thirst*, where prepositional patterns become predominant from the second half of the 16th century onwards. For their part, patterns with clausal complements constitute the second most frequent use at 35.48% (121 tokens), and this trend remains constant in the four subperiods. Patterns with zero and adverbial complements are at the opposite end of the spectrum, showing very low frequencies at 3.52% and 1.47% (respectively 12 and 5 tokens). Crucially, patterns with NP complements are unattested in this case study, which stands in contrast with the data for *lust* (Chapter 6) and *thirst* (Chapter 7). Regarding diachronic tendencies, the following observations are worthy of mention:

1) Prepositional patterns show a slight tendency to increase, from 51.11% in S1 (69 tokens) to 61.76% in S2 (42 tokens) and 67.12% in S3 (49 tokens); in S4, however, they remain stable at 66.15% (43 tokens), although a slow progression seems to be still at work, as the value of S4 still remains higher than that of S2 (61.76%). The change in frequency in the

S4 subperiod is to be compared with the parallel changes undergone by *thirst* in the same subperiod (see Table 20 and Figure 17).

2) The increase of prepositional patterns goes hand in hand with a relative decrease of clausal complements, which represent a notable percentage of uses in S1 and S2, respectively at 40% (54 tokens) and 36.76% (25 tokens), but decrease slightly to 30.14% in S3 (22 tokens) and remain stable at 30.77% in S4 (20 tokens) —i.e. around 8% lower than the value of S1 (40%).

3) Zero complements remain at a low proportion throughout the entire period, at 5.19% in S1 (7 tokens), 1.47% in S2 (1 token), 2.74% in S3 (2 tokens) and 3.08% in S4 (2 tokens) —cf. the rise of zero complements with *lust* (Table 15 and Figure 14). Yet, it appears that, like clausal patterns, the overall tendency is for zero complements to decrease, since the percentages in S2 (1.47%), S3 (2.74%) and S4 (3.08%) are all lower than in S1 (5.19%).

In comparison with the verbs analysed in the preceding chapters, it is remarkable that patterns with NP complements are never attested with this verb. This is in keeping with the information provided by the historical dictionaries, which do not show any attestations of the personal use of *long* taking NP complements (see Section 8.2.2, but cf. impersonal patterns with NP complements in Section 8.2.1). It thus seems reasonable to assume that the lack of NP complements in my corpus is not due to chance, and may rather be seen as a reflection of a systematic tendency for the personal use of this verb to take prepositional rather than direct objects for the (pro)nominal expression of the Desired.

Table 24 below provides the frequencies for the formal realisation of the Desirer with *long*. The realisation of the Desired will be dealt with in Sections 8.3.1.1–3.

Complementation pattern	**Noun**	**Pronoun**	**Total**
Prepositional	56 (33.94)	109 (66.06)	165 (100)
Clausal	22 (20.37)	86 (79.63)	108 (100)
Zero	3 (27.27)	8 (72.73)	11 (100)
Adverbial	--	5 (100)	5 (100)
NP	--	--	--
Total	81 (28.03)	208 (71.97)	289 (100)

Table 24: Formal realisation of the Desirer with *long* in EModE (raw figures and percentages)

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

The case study of *long* confirms the general tendency for Desirers to be expressed as pronouns (71.97%, 208 tokens) rather than nouns (28.03%, 81 tokens) (cf. Chapters 6 and 7 for *lust* and *thirst*, respectively). Pronominal Desirers are illustrated in (220), (222) and (223) above (respectively *ye*, *thou* and *ye*) and nominal ones in (221) (*these folke*). Yet, in spite of the overall preference for pronominal Desirers, it should be noted that there exist important differences among complementation patterns as to the realisation of this argument. For instance, prepositional patterns are in comparison the complementation pattern that takes the lowest number of pronominal Desirers, which represent 66.06% of prepositional uses (109 tokens) — that is 13.57% less than clausal patterns, at 79.63% (86 tokens), and 6.67% less than patterns with zero complements, at 72.73% (8 tokens). For their part, patterns with adverbial complements are the only type that is found with pronominal Desirers exclusively (5 tokens), although the absence of nominal Desirers in this case might be accidental, due to the overall low frequency of the construction in the corpus.

The attested personal pronouns are the following, in order of frequency of the 149 total of tokens:[61] *I* (35.57%, 53 tokens), *he* (24.83%, 37 tokens), *they* (13.42%, 20 tokens), *we* (11.41%, 17 tokens), *ye/you* (6.71%, 10 tokens), *she* (3.36%, 5 tokens), *thou* (3.36%, 5 tokens) and *it* (1.34%, 2 tokens). As already pointed out in the previous analyses of *lust* and *thirst*, all personal pronouns are counted as declinable (e.g. *we/us*, *they/them*, etc.). With regard to the originally objective second-person plural *you*, all the examples found seem to illustrate personal rather than impersonal use, mainly because the verb always shows plural agreement (e.g. *?you longeth* vs. 1630, *But you* ***long*** *to haue him in agen*, in D00000998449550000).

8.3.1.1. Prepositional patterns

In prepositional use, a (pro)nominal argument (in the subjective case) expresses the role of Desirer, while a prepositional complement expresses the role of Desired. Although the OED and the MED document this pattern since the 13th century, prepositional complements are found in the impersonal variant already in OE (see Section 8.2.1 above). Möhlig-Falke (2012), for

[61] Parallel to the analyses of *lust* and *thirst*, the percentage of personal pronouns is calculated relative to the total number of personal pronouns, namely 149, excluding from the count relative and interrogative pronouns, which do add to the counts in Table 24.

instance, documents 171 instances of prepositional —by the side of adverbial— complements in impersonal use (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 140), and she quotes two illustrative examples of these, which are shown in (224) and (225) below.

(224) Þa ongan me **langian** for minre hæftnyde ...
then began me-ACC long for my-DAT custody-DAT
'Then I began to long for my custody'
[LS 35 (VitPatr) [0139 (330)]; adapted from Möhlig-Falke (2012: 141)]

(225) ... ac him on hreþre ... æfter deorum men
but him-DAT on heart-DAT after dear-DAT man-DAT
dyrne **langað** ...
inwardly long
'but he feels a longing in the heart ... inwardly for the dear man'
[Beo [0528 (1876); adapted from Möhlig-Falke (2012: 182)]

In the following paragraphs, I examine the syntactic and semantic properties of the prepositional patterns attested in personal constructions in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700). The discussion looks especially at the realisation of the Desired, and at the range of prepositions heading the prepositional complement. In addition, the analysis includes a discussion of patterns with adverbial complements. These are discussed here for practical purposes mainly, because they do not occur with sufficient frequency to be devoted a section of their own; in addition, they share some functional properties with prepositional complements, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

With prepositional patterns, the syntactic form of the Desired is nominal in the majority of cases, with 64.53% of occurrences of nouns (131 tokens out of 203; example (226)) as compared to 34.48% of pronouns (70 tokens; example (227)). There are, in addition, 2 instances of finite clauses acting as the object of the preposition (0.99%; example (228)). The fact that the Desired is nominal in the majority of cases stands in contrast with the realisation of the Desirer, which, as shown in Table 24, is preferably realised by a pronoun (66.06%). Figure 24 shows the relative frequency of the two prepositions attested (*for* and *after*) across the four 50-year subperiods.

(226) thy sprite sigheth morneth and **longeth** after strength to do it
[1528, *That fayth the mother* … D00000998406070000]

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

(227) for thou arte the God of my helthe and sauetie, and daylye do I **longe** <u>for the</u>.
[1539, *An epitome of the* … D00000998548110000]

(228) he desyred or **longed** <u>for whan he wakened</u>
[1527, *The noble lyfe a[nd]* … D00000998563430000]

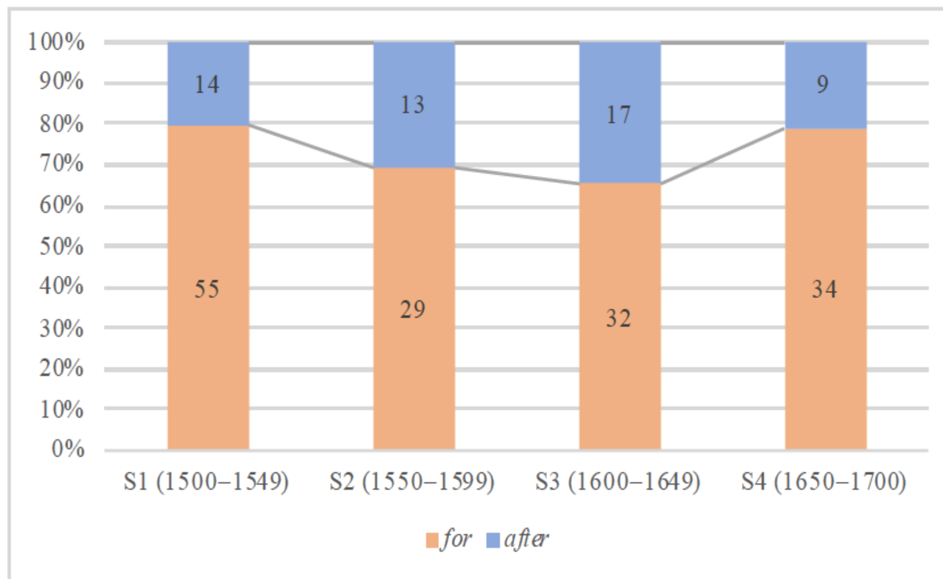


Figure 24: Relative frequency of the prepositions governed by *long* in EModE by 50-year subperiod (raw figures and relative frequencies)

The preposition *for* is the most frequent collocation, representing 73.89% of the total instances of prepositional use (150 tokens out of 203; examples (227) and (228)). In S1, the preposition *for* accounts for 79.71% of instances (55 tokens out of 69), with a decrease to 69.05% in S2 (29 tokens out of 42) and to 65.31% in S3 (32 tokens out of 49); in S4, however, the frequency rises again to 79.07% (34 tokens out of 43). The second most frequent preposition is *after*, at 26.11% overall (53 tokens; example (226)).

In the data for *long*, the prepositional passive occurs in three instances, like (229) below. Here, the Desired is turned into the subject of a passive clause, with the Desirer being optionally expressed as a passive Agent introduced by *of* (for the variant expression of the passive Agent in ME see e.g. Mustanoja 1960: 441–442); these passive structures are all found with *for*-phrases, with the preposition in stranded position —i.e. located next to the verb rather than the complement.

(229) France Englond and diuerse parties of Germanie be right fertyle and pleasaunt londes and gretly desyered & **longed** for of ye turke.
[1545, *The exposicion of Daniel* ... D00000998435970000]

Passive patterns were also attested with *lust* (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2.3). As already explained, passives have been interpreted by Möhlig-Falke (2012: 193) as functional alternatives to impersonal constructions, namely by virtue of their ability to express a shift of perspective which "backgrounds 'the initiator' and foregrounds 'the endpoint of a dynamic process'" (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 193). The limited occurrence of passive patterns in my data does not allow to make any firm claims about the productivity of passive constructions with this verb, but, in view of their functional connection with impersonal patterns, it seems likely that their occurrence is somewhat connected to the ability of this verb to be used in impersonal constructions in earlier English.

A variant of the passive construction above which is also attested in the data are *-ed* participle clauses (6 tokens) in which the preposition appears in stranded position too, such as (230) below. These occur with the preposition *for* in 5 cases in S1, S2 and S3, and with *after* in only 1 case in S3.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

(230) bringe him in againe at your daye so sore **longed** for
[1546, *The refutation of the* ... D00000998436390000]

Before we turn to the discussion of adverbial complements, a comment needs to be made with regard to the semantic properties of participants in prepositional patterns. It will be recalled that the Desirer has been said to be volitional (see Chapter 4), and thus to be a non-prototypical Experiencer insofar as Experiencers have been commonly understood as "sentience without volition or causation" (Dowty 1991: 577). In this connection, parallel to the case of *thirst* (Chapter 7, Section 7.3.1.1), an example has been found in which the verb occurs as complement to the verb *exhort* (see example (231) below), which entails that the Desirer, i.e. *all true Christians*, is impelled deliberately to the feeling of desire, being volitionally involved in starting the SoA. By the same token, in the pattern with an adverbial complement in (232) further down, the verb collocates with the adverb *wyllyngely*, which shows not only that the Desirer receives a volitional interpretation, but also that such interpretation is consistent in both construction types alike —i.e. in patterns with prepositional complements in (231) and in patterns with adverbial complements in (232).

(231) Last of all, let this serue to exhort all true Christians to liue godly in this present life, & alwayes to look for, yea, and **long** for death
[1619, *The patriarchs portion or* … D00000998495310000]

Turning now to patterns with adverbial complements, the analysis yields five instances where the verb takes an adverbial rather than a prepositional complement, as exemplified in (232) below. In all five cases, the adverbial complement is realised by the adverb *therefore* 'for that (thing, act, etc.); for that, for it' (OED s.v. *therefore* | *therefor*, adv. and n.), which suggests that the construction was fossilised by this time, and that its productivity must have been limited in EModE. The adverb *therefore* expresses different senses of the preposition *for*, and it has also been found expressing the Goal of predicates implying some sort of purpose, such as *come* in the sense of 'to come for this purpose': e.g. a1500, *Herfor and therfor and therfor I* ***came****, And for to praysse this prety woman* (MED s.v. *thĕ̄r-for(e* adv. 2. (b)).

(232) we sholde wynne this vertue that we sholde not onely strongly suffre deth and pacyently whan our tyme cometh or yf hit were put vnto vs for y^ faith of chryst: vut also we sholde wyllyngely and gladly **longe** therfore [i.e. for that/it] desyrynge to be departed out of this vale of wretchydnes y^ we may reygne in y^ heuenly cou~tree with god & his holy sayntes.
[1525, *Here is co[n]teyned the* … D00000998459980000]

The OED (s.v. *long*, v.[1] 6. a.) provides evidence that *long* can also occur in collocation with the related compound adverb *thereat* 'at the place, there', which is, however, not attested in my corpus data (on the adverb see OED s.v. *thereat*, adv. 1. a.; MED s.v. *thĕ̄r-at* adv. 1. (a), (b)). The OED documents example (233) below with *thereat*, and example (234) with the directional *vpwarde*.

(233) (=218) For therat I **lang** moche
'For I greatly long [to go] there'
[OED, c1500 *Melusine* (1895) 72]

(234) (=219) The man had an high harte and sore **longed** vpwarde [...]
'The man had a proud heart and yearned sorely [to move] upwards [...]'
[OED, 1548 *Hall's Vnion: Richard III* f. xxvij]

The adverb *thereat* most commonly denotes location 'at the place; there' (e.g. 1297, […] *þe king him sulf was þerate* 'the king himself was there [i.e. at that place]'), but, as mentioned in

fn. 60 above, it could also be used as a complement of direction with verbs of Motion in the meaning 'to that place; to there' (e.g. 1517, *He* ***cast*** *a stonne* *ther att* 'he threw a stone in that direction', OED s.v. *thereat*, adv. 1. b.; see also MED s.v. *thĕ̄r-at* adv. 1. (c) and 2. (b)). The patterns with *therefore* attested in my data might be related to the construction with directional complements in (233) and (234) on the grounds that in both cases the Desired finds expression as an AdvP rather than as a PP. In this light, it seems reasonable to hypothesise that the adverbial complement with *therefore* in (232) allows the conceptualisation of the Desired as a metaphorical Goal (or Endpoint) in the same way that the directionals in (233) and (234) denote the Goal of literal directed motion. By the same token, the construction with *therefore* may be connected to the construction with prepositional complements in (214) and (215) —which likewise denote the Goal of literal directed motion— by virtue of the MOVE-ATTENTION construction meaning 'move attention', which is ultimately rooted in the INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction meaning 'to move' (see Chapter 7). As already explained, the MOVE-ATTENTION construction is related to the INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction by a metaphorical extension link, which allows to conceptualise 'movement as movement of attention'.

The variant of the MOVE-ATTENTION construction with an adverbial rather than a prepositional complement is represented in Figure 25 below, to be compared with Figure 20 in Chapter 7 (cf. also the literal use of the INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction with an adverb of direction: PDE, ***Run*** *forward and grab the bag of gems from the low pedestal to open the exit*).

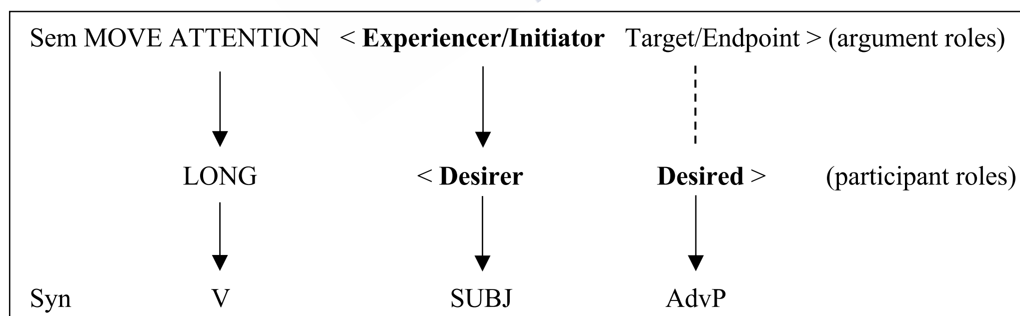


Figure 25: The MOVE-ATTENTION construction: Constructional profiling of the use of *long* in patterns with adverbial complements in EModE

The existence of the MOVE-ATTENTION construction is necessary to account for why an infinitive of motion has to be implied in the pattern with directional adverbs (i.e. 1548, *The man had an high harte and sore* ***longed*** *vpwarde* [i.e. 'yearned [to move] upwards'; see example (234)). Note that the OED treats this pattern as an incomplete version of a construction with an

explicit verb of Motion (see s.v. *long*, v.[1] †5.; also *shall*, v. III. 24; cf. Visser 1963: §178). It is possible that the implied motion meaning is determined at the level of the construction, which conveys the notion of movement in spite of the fact that it is not explicitly expressed at the lexical level (cf. Chapter 7, fn. 53).

The adverbial complements of direction in (233) and (234) may be a development of the directional complements found in impersonal use, shown in (235) below. The latter are attested in the MED since the 12th century (s.v. *lǒngen* v.(1) 2. (b)), which is over three centuries earlier than the personal variant, according to the OED data (see example (233) above).

(235) (=201) Me **longeð** <u>heoneward</u>
‘I yearn [to go] hence’
[OED, c1225 (▸?c1200) *St. Katherine* (Royal) (1981) 876]

Adverbial complements of literal direction, however, are not attested in my EModE corpus, either in impersonal or in personal use. This ties in with the fact that, as already mentioned, by the EModE period, the pattern with adverbial complements is already fossilised and only marginally attested in S1 (see Table 23 and Figure 23). It is also in keeping with the fact that the OED last documents directionals in 1548 (example (234) above).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

According to Visser (1963: §178), the type of construction with an AdvP of direction, which he conflates with the variant with PPs, constituted an established pattern of English from OE until EModE with modal auxiliary verbs such as *dare*, *must* or *should* —e.g. 1557, *these folke that are in religioun* ***shall*** *<u>out</u>*; 1884, *he must <u>to Westminster</u>* (my emphasis). According to him, the pattern was idiomatic and fully productive for a long period of the history of English. In fact, recent research on motion expressions in the history of English (Fanego 2017: 45–46; Huber 2017: 176–178; see also Visser 1963: §§178–180 and Fanego 1992: 25–26) has shown that the pattern with directional phrases was available in English since OE times and well into the 16th century with English pre-modals (*can*, *dare*, *may*, *might*, *mote* ‘be allowed, must’, *must*, *mun* ‘may, must’, *shall*, *should*, *will*, *would*), and with several Middle English verbs of intention and determination such as ME *amen* (< OF *aesmer*) ‘to plan, intend’, ME *atlen* (< ON **ahtil-*) ‘to intend, plan, to advance’, ME *entenden* (< OF *entendre*) ‘to intend’, ME *listen* (< OE *lystan*) ‘to desire’, ME *menen* (< OE *mænan*) ‘to intend, plan, mean’ and ME *purposen* (< OF *proposer*), among others. These verbs have in common that they “refer to a future world-state relative to the time reference” of the utterance (Noonan 1985: 92). *Long*, like its close synonym

list 'to desire', clearly belongs here as well, hence its ability to sometimes govern a directional phrase.

8.3.1.2. Patterns with clausal complements

In patterns with clausal complements, a (pro)nominal argument (in the subjective case) expresses the semantic role of Desirer, and a clausal complement expresses the semantic role of Desired (see Section 8.2.2). In the OED and the MED, personal patterns with clausal complements are attested since the 13th century, thus earlier than suggested in Elmer's survey of impersonal verbs, in which clausal complements in personal use are said to date as from the 14th century (1981: 119). In the following paragraphs, I examine the properties of clausal complements as attested in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700).

With regard to the syntactic form of the Desired, the realisation by a *for to*-infinitive illustrated in (236) below is found only once (0.83%). The predominant realisation of the Desired is by means of a *to*-infinitive clause, illustrated in (237) (95.87%, 116 tokens out of 121). Another much less frequent alternative is to express the Desired by finite clauses introduced by *till/until*; this is 3.31% of cases (4 tokens). For instance, example (238) registers two occurrences of *long* taking a complement clause *till thy corn be in the barn* in one case, and *till thou be in heaven* in the other. In the corpus, complement clauses of this type are introduced by *till* in 3 cases in S4, and by *until* in one case in S2.[62]

(236) The parfyte louer **longeth** for to be In presence of his loue both nyght & daye
[1525, *Here is co[n]teyned the* … D00000998459980000]

(237) And therfore wept he te~derly & **longyd** to lyue lenger
[1529, *The supplycacyon of soulys* … D00000998400190000]

(238) Thou **long'st** till thy corn be in the barn; And Christ **longs** till thou be in heaven.
[1668, *The husbandmans calling* ... D00000113808040000]

[62] In the historical dictionaries, the variant with *till* is the only form attested either in impersonal or in personal use (e.g. 1581, *My hart euen* ***longeth*** *till I may so fully satisfy By this my death that their decree*).

The data in Table 23 and Figure 23 have shown that clausal complements are the second most common pattern with *long* in EModE. This is to be compared with the OE data for *langian* in Allen (1995: 89) and Möhlig-Falke (2012: 134), who find that clausal complementation was in fact quite infrequent in the OE impersonal paradigm of this verb. This means that an important change may have taken place as *long* became established in the personal construction, with the ME period witnessing an increase in clausal complementation which may have led to the higher frequency attested in EModE, and to clausal complements surviving until PDE; e.g. PDE, *And I* ***long*** *<u>to go out in the world beyond</u>!*

The syntactic use in (238) echoes the analogous structures shown in Sections 8.2.1 and 8.2.2 —i.e. the impersonal (207) and the personal (212). Chronologically, the OED indicates that this is a comparatively recent development, since it is attested only in the 14th century in impersonal use and from the 16th century in personal use (see respectively OED s.v. *long*, v.[1] †4. and 6. †b.). When it functions as a subordinator, *till* is characterised in the OED as expressing a temporal semantic relation: 'to the time that; up to (the point) when; until'. The clause introduced by *till*, thus, expresses "the continuance of the action or state expressed by the principal clause up to the time expressed by the subordinate clause, and usually implying that at that time such action or state ceases and a different or opposite one begins" (OED s.v. *till*, prep., conj., and adv., B. 1. a. and d.; MED s.v. *til* conj. 1a.; see also Quirk *et al*. 1985: 533–534). In other words, *till* serves to introduce adverbial clauses of time which place a temporal Endpoint on the SoA being encoded by the matrix verb. This is true also for the conjunction *until*, which is used as an equivalent of *till* in the same temporal sense (see OED s.v. *until*, prep. and conj. B. conj. a.).

The conjunctions *till/until* are prototypically associated with adverbial subordination. Crucially, however, their use with the predicate *long* deviates from their original function in that they instead introduce a participant that is lexically profiled by the verb, namely the Desired. Thus, although clauses with *till/until* generally function as clause adjuncts which are part of the clause periphery (e.g. 1598, *Forbeare <u>till this companie be past</u>* [=clausal adjunct of time], OED s.v. *till*, prep., conj., and adv. B. 1. a.), their function in clauses with *long* comes closer to that of a complementiser which introduces an obligatory argument that is syntactically and semantically required to complete the sense of the verb, as illustrated in example (238) above —1668, *Thou* ***long'st*** *<u>till thy corn be in the barn</u>* [=clausal complement]. It is for this reason that, in example (238), the function of the subordinator *till* is considered equivalent to

that of the declarative complementiser *that*, thus yielding the paraphrase 'I long that thy corn be in the barn', with the *that*-clause equally expressing the Desired argument.

López-Couso & Méndez-Naya (2015) have dealt extensively with this kind of phenomena whereby subordinators shift from the domain of adverbial subordination to the domain of complementation over the history of English. In their many corpus-based studies on the topic (López-Couso 2007; López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 1998, 2001, 2012a, 2012b, 2014), they have traced this development with subordinators like *as if*, *as though*, *but*, *if*, *lest*, *like* and *though*, paying special attention to the category of so-called *minor declarative complementisers* (1998) "which over time have come to realize a subsidiary function as equivalents (or near-equivalents) of the major declarative complementizers *that* and zero in certain specific contexts" (2015: 188). The case of *till/until* under discussion here may be seen as yet another illustration of this process, because it complies with the fact that their origin as adverbial subordinators extends beyond the domain of adverbial subordination to become a near-equivalent of the major declarative complementiser *that*.

There exist a number of criteria which López-Couso & Méndez-Naya (2015: 190–193) have alluded to in order to account for the complement function of clauses introduced by minor complementisers. Among them, there is the criterion that complement clauses introduced by these conjunctions can be readily replaced by more prototypical types of clausal complements, whether finite or non-finite, and "without any perceptible change in meaning" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 962): e.g. PDE, *It seemed **that/as if** he was trying to hide his true identity* (*ibid.*, my emphasis). Another criterion López-Couso & Méndez-Naya take into consideration is that some of the original semantic features of adverbial subordinators tend to be retained when they come to function as complementisers. This is the case, for instance, of the adverbial subordinator *lest*, which originally introduced clauses of negative purpose expressing a future event which is not desired, as in e.g. PDE, *Earthen moulds were being hastily erected **lest** an attack should be launched that night* (adapted from Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1108, my emphasis). The original component of unrealised futurity is then transferred onto the complement structures in which *lest* is found with the predicate *fear*, which likewise refers to something which may happen in an unrealised future time, as in e.g. […] *I ferid **lest** the Kinges Highnes wolde as they saide take displeasure inough towarde me for the only refusal of the othe* (López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 2015: 193).

Interestingly, the abovementioned criteria can be extended to the case of *till/until*-clauses in a number of ways. Thus, *till/until*-clauses may be replaced with more prototypical types of complements, whether finite or non-finite, and without any perceptible change in meaning. For instance, they might be replaced, as already suggested, by a finite *that*-complement clause: 'I long that thy corn be in the barn', or by a non-finite *to*-infinitive clause with an explicit subject: 'They long for thy corn to be in the barn'. *Till/until*-clauses are further related to *to*-infinitive clauses in that they both serve to express an unrealised object of Desire which, in terms of Dowty's Proto-role properties, shows Proto-patient property 5 of lack of independent existence (cf. Sections 6.3.2.1 and 7.3.1.4). That is, the complement proposition is in both cases implied to be non-factual, existing only as an unrealised future idea in the Desirer's mind. If we return to our example (238), the Desirer *thou* wishes to bring about an event (i.e. *till thy corn be in the barn*) which did not have existence prior to the emotion of desire, just like the Desirer *he* in (237) wishes to bring about the hypothetical event expressed in the more prototypical complement clause, i.e. *to lyue lenger* in the future. In this respect, it is noteworthy that, as observed in the case of *lust* (Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2.1), the lack of independent existence sets clausal complements apart from nominal complements in that the latter rather refer to entities which do have existence in and of themselves, even if the Desired is implied to be lacking from the Desirer's current experience (e.g. PDE, *Mary* ***longs*** *for a sunny day* [+independent existence]; on this see Chapter 4).

Additionally, the lack of independent existence, and the consequent implication of unreality, are further reflected in the use of the subjunctive mood in example (238), realised by the plain form *be* in the complement clause. This grammatical feature, as is well known, further harmonises with the ideas of unrealised futurity and non-factuality associated with the clausal Desired argument (see e.g. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1009; cf. also Noonan 1985: 95–98). The implication of unrealised futurity is also in line with Noonan's observation that verbs which denote desire are among those whose complement "has a future time reference relative to the time reference" of the matrix verb (1985: 92). That is, the sentence *thou* ***long'st*** *till thy corn be in the barn* implies that *thy corn* is not in *the barn* at the time when the Desirer experiences the feeling of longing.

On the other hand, some of the original features of the adverbial function of *till/until*-clauses seem to be retained when they come to function as complements, as predicted by López-Couso & Méndez-Naya's criteria explained above. Thus, the originally adverbial meaning of

time, which places a temporal Endpoint on the SoA, may be said to be carried over to the complementation domain if we take into account that *till/until*-clauses express an Endpoint also in the domain of Emotion. In other words, the conceptualisation of the Desired as the Endpoint of the Desirer's attention may be seen as parallel to the original Endpoint function expressed by *till/until*-clauses in the domain of time (i.e. 1598, *Forbeare till this companie be past* [=Endpoint], OED s.v. *till*, prep., conj., and adv. B. 1. a.). In more general terms, such an interpretation may be seen to provide support for Noonan's claim that "when a form functions as a complementizer and something else its meaning outside the complement system will likely be related to its use in complementation" (1985: 104; see also López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 2015: 196).

It can thus be concluded that the case of *till/until* provides further illustration that adverbial subordinators may indeed extend their functions beyond their original domain. Once they acquire the derived function of complementiser, they lose the syntactic and semantic independence they possess in the adverbial context, and come to introduce lexically-governed arguments of the verb, while carrying over some of their original traits into the complementiser function. This and similar developments are related to the category continua postulated by Kortmann (1997: 58; in López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 2015: 189) between the categories of complementiser, adverbial subordinator and relativiser. Hence, it is the fact that adverbial subordinators lie at the meeting point between these categories that facilitates their eventual shift from one category to another.

8.3.1.3. Patterns with zero complements

Patterns with zero complements consist of a single (pro)nominal argument (in the subjective case) expressing the Desirer, while the Desired participant is left unexpressed (see Section 8.2.2). The OED and the MED document this pattern since the 14th century. In the following paragraphs, I examine the syntactic and semantic properties of patterns with zero complements as attested in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700), illustrated by examples (239) and (240) below.

(239) So lo~ge as thou seist thy sinne & mornest & consentest to ye lawe & **longest** (thoughe thou be never so weke) yet the spyryte shall kepe the in all te~ptacions [1528, *That fayth the mother* ... D00000998406070000]

(240) I knew a pore woma~ with childe which **longed** and beinge overcome~ of her passio~ eate flesh on a fredaye which thinge she durst not confesse in the space of xviij. yeres
[1528, *The obedie[n]ce of a* ... D00000998406010000]

According to the OED, in patterns with zero complements *long* means 'to feel strong desire; to be restless or impatient with yearning' (OED s.v. *long*, v.[1] 6. †b.). With regard to Fillmore's (1986: 96) classification of unexpressed participant roles (see Chapter 3), it is worth discussing whether zero complements with *long* entail a definite or an indefinite null complement. Consider in this respect example (240) above, where it may be seen that the antecedent subject *a pore woma~ with childe* feels a longing for something which is unexpressed but which needs to be inferred from the co(n)-text. Hence, it may be inferred that what the woman desires is to eat, which is what ultimately leads her to sin when she finally yields to eating *flesh on a fredaye*. In this light, one may conclude that zero complements with *long* represent Fillmore's category of definite null complements, rather than indefinite ones, because they involve a participant that is lexically profiled —i.e. the Desired— but which is being left unexpressed on the grounds that it may be understood from the co(n)-text.

Zero complements with *long* are thus similar to zero complements with *lust* (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2.2), since in both cases they involve the omission of a lexically profiled participant. The main motivation for this is that the notion of desire entails in and of itself that the emotion be directed towards an object of desire. It may be for this reason that the predicate *long* may occur in coordination with *lust* in a construction with a zero complement where the Desired is understood to refer to sin from the religious context in which the verb is used: 'Thou shalt not **long** [after sin/to sin]' (see example (241) below, where *long* occurs in coordination with *lust* in a construction with a zero complement). Recall in this respect the analogous paraphrase with *lust*: 1528, [...] 'thou shalt not **lust** [after sin/to sin]' (see example (120) in Section 6.3.2.2). This stands in contrast with the zero complements of *thirst* (Chapter 7, Section 7.3.1.2), which involve an indefinite null complement which, by contrast, is not retrievable from the co(n)-text. In this last case, unlike *lust* or *long*, the zero complement is thus attributable to the lexical meaning inherently encoded by the verb in this pattern (i.e. 'to feel thirst'), which conceptually requires only the presence of a Feeler. This may further explain the fact that *long* is never found in coordination with *thirst* in patterns with zero complements, whereas it does appear in coordination with *thirst* when a prepositional complement follows, as in example (242) below.

(241) (=222) Thou shalt not **long** or <u>lust</u>. For as sainct Paule saith. The lawe was not gyuen to the iust ma~, nor doth forbid any thing but synne only.
[1548, *Catechismus, that is to* ... D00000998449220000]

(242) the sprite **longeth** & <u>thursteth</u> for stre~gth to do ye will of God.
[1528, *That fayth the mother* … D00000998406070000]

8.4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has presented the analysis of the diachronic development of *long* in the EModE period (1500–1700). We have seen that impersonal constructions are not attested in any of the four subperiods, while personal constructions exhibit a range of complementation patterns which are predominantly represented by prepositional and clausal patterns. Prepositional complements are documented in impersonal use already in OE, and in EModE they become the most frequent variant in personal use, showing a slight tendency to increase in the course of the period.

A construction that is functionally-related to prepositional patterns has been found taking adverbial complements realised by the adverb *therefore*, which expresses different senses of the preposition *for* 'for that (thing, act, etc.); for that, for it'. In the data examined, this type of adverbial complement is attested only in the early 16th century, and shares with PPs that they both serve to express the Desired as a metaphorical Goal (or Endpoint) of the Desirer's direction of attention. It might well be related to other (im)personal constructions with adverbial complements of direction which are not attested in my corpus data, but which are documented in the OED (e.g. 1548, *The man had an high harte and sore* ***longed*** *<u>vpwarde</u>* [i.e. 'yearned [to move] upwards'], example (234) above) and the MED (e.g. c1225, *me* ***longeð*** *<u>heoneward</u>* 'I yearn [to go] hence', example (235)). As pointed out above, the construction with a directional complement constituted an established pattern of English since OE times and well into the 16th century, with a group of English verbs which refer to a future world-state relative to the time reference of the utterance (for instance, the English pre-modals *shall*, *should*, *will*, *would*, etc.). The verb *long* seems to have patterned with this group, as suggested by its ability to subcategorise for adverbial complements of direction. This constructional pattern became obsolete at some point during the 17th century (Fanego 2017), so that all the matrix predicates involved can now code direction only if an infinitive of motion is explicit: e.g. *I will go to England*, *I intend to go into the room*, *I long to go hence*, etc.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

As regards clausal patterns with *long*, they tend to decrease in the course of EModE. They are realised by *to*-infinitive clauses in the great majority of cases, although, more sporadically, the Desired may also be expressed by a finite clause introduced by *till/until*. The fact that the adverbial subordinators *till/until* act as complementisers illustrates a functional shift from the original domain of adverbial subordination to the domain of complementation.

For their part, patterns with zero complements are the least frequent syntactic variant throughout the four subperiods of EModE, and show a tendency to decrease. The unexpressed argument represents a definite null complement in that it involves a participant which is lexically profiled —i.e. the Desired— but is left unexpressed because it is retrievable from the co(n)-text.

With respect to the formal realisation of the arguments of *long*, as osberved with the verbs *lust* and *thirst*, the Desirer is pronominal in the majority of cases, while the Desired is predominantly nominal. *Long*, however, presents an interesting difference with respect to the other two predicates examined here in that with *long* first-person pronouns constitute the most frequent pronominal option (35.57%). In this regard, therefore, it is the only verb that complies with McCawley's (1976: 198) hypothesis that verbs of Emotion are more likely to take pronominal Experiencers because they denote "the 1st person's inherently subjective experience". In other words, the corpus data suggest that, in the case of *long*, the reason that Desirers are predominantly pronominal may lie in the fact that the SoA most frequently pertains to a first-person participant, a difference in behaviour which clearly deserves further investigation in comparison to the other two verbs studied (*lust* and *thirst*).

Last, as pointed out in earlier chapters of this dissertation, the formal realisation of the Desirer has implications for Jespersen's hypothesis that the loss of inflectional case marking played a role in the reanalysis of Experiencers as subjects. Since Desirers are pronominal in the majority of cases, it does not seem likely that clauses with *long* became morphologically ambiguous during the shift to personal use, which took place between the early 13th and the early 16th centuries with this verb (see Sections 8.2.2 and 8.3). In addition, if we consider that prepositional patterns, the most frequent use by far, take pronominal Desirers twice as frequently as nominal Desirers —i.e. respectively 66.06% vs. 33.94%—, the chances that the reanalysis of Desirers started from clauses with two morphologically ambiguous NPs are further diminished.

9. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter offers a discussion of the main findings and conclusions to be drawn from the research carried out in this thesis. This study examined the development of the impersonal verbs *lust* (Chapter 6), *thirst* (Chapter 7) and *long* (Chapter 8), taken as case studies of the impersonal verbs of Desire which have developed personal prepositional uses (i.e. Levin's sub-class of *long* verbs). The overall aim has been to identify how these verbs evolved during the two centuries after they started to appear in personal use; that is, from 1500 to 1700.

To this purpose, a total of 918 examples have been retrieved from EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) for qualitative and quantitative analysis. For the sake of comparison, Table 25 below displays the range of syntactic patterns attested in the corpus with each individual verb.

Verb of Desire	Impersonal	Personal				
		Prepositional	Clausal	Zero	NP	Adverbial
lust	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗
thirst	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗
long	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓

Table 25: Range of (im)personal patterns of verbs of Desire in EModE

It can be observed that there exists variation across the three verbs. The only verb which displays impersonal uses in EModE is *lust*, whereas *thirst* and *long* are never found in this pattern. With regard to personal patterns, the variants attested with all verbs are prepositional, clausal and zero complements, whereas NP complements are attested with *lust* and *thirst* only, and adverbial complements only with *long*. In the MED, however, adverbial complements are documented with *lust* as well (see Chapter 6, Section 6.2.1). In what follows, I will revisit the most important findings drawn for each individual verb. I also provide answers to the objectives posited in Chapter 1, which are repeated here for convenience.

1) To determine when the selected formerly impersonal verbs of Desire effectively ceased to be recorded with impersonal constructions.

2) To provide a diachronic overview of the personal morphosyntactic patterns which came to replace impersonal constructions with these verbs from late ME onwards.
3) To describe the syntactic and semantic properties of the arguments of each individual verb studied.
4) To reflect upon factors which have been claimed to affect the loss of impersonal patterns in the history of English.
5) To assess which factors may have influenced the direction of the development of impersonal verbs of Desire after they started to appear in personal use.

Sections 9.1–3 below summarise the findings obtained for *lust*, *thirst* and *long*, respectively, and are thus concerned with objectives (1)–(3) above. Section 9.4 deals with factors which have been claimed to affect the loss of impersonal patterns in the history of English, and it thus addresses objective (4). Section 9.5 focuses on factors which may have influenced the direction of the development of impersonal verbs of Desire after they started to appear in personal use, and it is therefore concerned with objective (5). Lastly, Section 9.6 provides suggestions for further research.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

9.1. *LUST*

The development of EModE *lust*, from ME *lusten*, is covered in Chapter 6. We have seen that the history of *lust* prior to the ME period is uncertain, and that the OED traces it back to the noun *lust* 'pleasure, delight'. The MED, by contrast, relates it to both the noun *lust* and the OE impersonal verb *lystan* 'to desire'. The present study has followed Miura (2015: 62) in considering EModE *lust* as a form distinct from *list* on the grounds that the OED and the MED provide different entries for each of these verbs.

According to the OED, the MED and previous studies, the impersonal use of *lust* is first documented in the 12th century, although in texts which are presumably composed in OE, and it is last attested in the mid-16th century. The personal use of *lust* is known to have emerged in the 14th century, which is about two centuries after its impersonal use is first documented. This suggests that in its initial stages *lust* must have been restricted to impersonal use only, and that the shift from impersonal to personal use must have taken place in a time-span of about two hundred years between the 14th century and the mid-16th century, at a time when the loss of

case distinctions and the fixation of word order were already at an advanced stage (see Chapter 2).

The search for *lust* in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) yielded a total of 273 tokens, including both impersonal and personal uses (see Table 25 above). Its overall frequency decreases in the course of EModE, and it is predominantly found in religious and biblical contexts. The historical development of verb senses shows that *lust* underwent a process of semantic specialisation in these two centuries, signalling a tendency to shift from the general sense 'to desire' to the more specialised sense 'to have a carnal desire'.

Impersonal patterns are less frequent than personal patterns, and, crucially, all the impersonal instances are attested in the first half of the 16th century. Furthermore, impersonal patterns with *lust* show a significant degree of fossilisation, since they are found exclusively in NO PROP constructions introduced by *as* and *when*. They are also characterised by a low degree of subject variation in that the Desired argument is predominantly expressed by the third-person masculine singular pronoun *him*, from which we can infer that the degree of productivity of the construction by the early 16th century must have been limited.

Regarding personal patterns, as just noticed, they far outnumber the impersonal uses in the data examined. The evidence gathered has shown that the EModE period witnesses crucial changes in the argument structure of this verb. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the verb becomes less frequent in patterns with clausal complements, while zero complements become common in spite of the fact that *lust* is a two-place predicate. The unexpectedly high frequency of zero complements might be at least partly attributable to the presence of the idiomatised expression *the flesh lusts against/contrary to the spirit* and its variants, which is typical of the religious contexts in which *lust* became increasingly frequent. It might also be the case that religious discourse somewhat favours that the object of desire be left understood as implicitly referring to the notion of sin. For their part, prepositional patterns constitute the third most common use overall and, from a diachronic perspective, they remain constant except for a small increase around 1600. As to NP complements, these stand out for their rare occurrence, with the majority of examples being attested in the early 16th century; this leaves prepositional complements as the preferred alternative for the (pro)nominal expression of the Desired.

Some conclusions may be drawn with regard to the historical origin of the verb. The diachronic perspective adopted here unveils a tendency for *lust* to mirror the syntactic behaviour of the near-synonymous verb *list* (< OE *lystan*), especially in the 16th century. Thus, in the

EModE data the impersonal use of *lust* is always found in subordinate clauses, which have a parallel with impersonal patterns also documented with *list* from OE (e.g. OE, *eal þaet hine* ***lysteþ*** 'all that he likes', Elmer 1981: 117, my translation; see also OED s.v. *list*, v.[1] 1. b.; Allen 1995: 288; Chapter 6, Section 6.2.1). Likewise, in personal use *lust* is frequently found in personal constructions with NO PROPs, which are documented with *list* about two centuries earlier than with *lust* (e.g. c1320, *Þy wyl be ydo, ryȝt as þou* ***lest*** 'let your will be done, just as you please', OED s.v. *list*, v.[1] 2. b.; see also Elmer 1981: 117). From a semantic perspective, *lust* resembles *list* in that *lust* codes the general meaning 'to desire' until the mid-16th century (see OED s.v. *lust*, v.; van der Gaaf 1904: 74–75), although later, under the influence of the noun *lust* 'pleasure, delight', the verb develops the specialised sense 'to have a carnal desire', which gains ground from the mid-16th century onwards and survives in PDE as a low-frequency usage (e.g. PDE, *he really* ***lusted*** *after me in those days*, *Lexico's Dictionary* s.v. *lust* verb).

Given that this shift in meaning coincides with the dating for some of the most crucial syntactic changes undergone by this verb in EModE, it seems plausible that *lust* entered the language as a variant of *list*, closely echoing the syntactic and semantic uses of its OE ancestor *lystan* until the turn of the 17th century. Thereafter, *lust* becomes less frequent in the original sense 'to desire', and subsequently established in the specialised meaning 'to have a carnal desire', probably under the influence of the formal and semantic relationship it bears to the noun *lust* 'pleasure, delight'. Likewise, the verb *lust* progressively starts to deviate syntactically from *list*, so that *lust* ends up losing the ability to be used impersonally, decreases dramatically in personal constructions with NO PROPs, and also develops prepositional uses which are rarely attested in the personal use of *list* (see Miura 2015: 185, especially the column 'PP' in her Table 5.34).

9.2. *THIRST*

Chapter 7 focuses on the development of EModE *thirst*, from OE *þyrstan* (> ME *thirsten*). The OED first attests *thirst* in the OE period in two different senses: one pertaining to the domain of Physical Sensation, namely 'to feel thirst', and another one pertaining to the domain of Emotion, namely 'to desire'. The latter sense 'to desire' constitutes an extension of the former sense 'to feel thirst'.

In PDE usage, the verb *thirst* has become widely replaced by the adjectival construction *to be thirsty*, especially, but not only, in the sense 'to feel thirst'. PDE usage of this verb is

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

generally low in frequency and, when used, it more typically conveys the emotion rather than the physical-sensation sense, surviving only as an archaic and stylistically-marked alternative to the adjectival construction *to be thirsty*.

According to the OED, the MED and previous studies, *thirst* alternates between impersonal and personal uses since the OE period, and impersonal uses are attested until the (late) 15th century, which suggests that the shift from impersonal to personal use must have become complete by the end of the 15th century, when the simplification of the case system and the rigidification of word order were already at an advanced stage (see Chapter 2).

The search in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) yielded a total of 304 tokens, illustrative of personal use exclusively (see Table 25 above); in other words, impersonal patterns are unattested in the data under scrutiny. In parallel to *lust*, the data show that *thirst* is restricted to the religious domain and that its overall frequency decreases dramatically in the course of the EModE period. As regards the evolution of verb senses, the sense 'to desire' increases at the expense of the sense 'to feel thirst', which is in line with the more frequent PDE use of the verb (e.g. PDE, *an opponent* ***thirsting*** [i.e. desiring] *for revenge*, *Lexico's Dictionary* s.v. *thirst* verb). The personal patterns documented vary not only in the number and nature of the arguments expressed, but also in the verb senses with which they are typically associated. Thus, zero complements regularly correlate with the physical-sensation sense 'to feel thirst', whereas prepositional, clausal and NP complements correlate with the emotion sense 'to desire'. The relative frequencies of complementation patterns show that prepositional complements constitute the most frequent use, and that the overall diachronic tendency is for this pattern to increase during EModE. Zero complements constitute the second most frequent pattern overall, but they show a tendency to decrease until the early 17th century. They remain as the second most frequent pattern throughout EModE, except for the first half of the 16th century, when they constitute the most frequent option. Crucially, zero complements become gradually replaced by the adjectival construction *to be thirsty*, especially for the expression of the sense 'to feel thirst', and especially so during the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century. As to NP complements, it stands out that, whereas in the 16th century they show a considerable frequency, in the 17th century they are unattested; this means that the verb becomes established in prepositional use for the (pro)nominal expression of the Desired. For their part, patterns with clausal complements remain infrequent throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

9.3. *LONG*

Chapter 8 explores the historical development of the verb *long*, from OE *langian* (> ME *lǒngen*). *Long* is found in impersonal use since OE, and has a complex history and sense development. Out of the three different entries listed in the OED, only *long*, v.[1] 'to long for, desire' has been examined here, in particular the branch of senses related to the notion of desire. According to the OED, the MED and previous studies, *long* has been recorded in impersonal use since the OE period and until the first half of the 16th century, whereas personal patterns (in the sense 'to desire') develop during the first half of the 13th century. This implies that the transition from impersonal to personal use must have taken place between the early 13th century and the early 16th century, when the simplification of the case system and the rigidification of word order were already at an advanced stage.

The search for this verb in EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) yielded a total of 341 tokens, and although its overall frequency decreases in the course of the period, it does not decrease as much as that of *lust* or *thirst*. Like *thirst*, in the EModE data *long* has been found to occur in personal use only, with impersonal patterns being unattested with this verb (see Table 25 above). Personal constructions exhibit a range of complementation patterns in which prepositional and clausal complements predominate. Prepositional complements constitute the most frequent variant, and show a slight tendency to increase over the two centuries. A functionally-related construction has been identified in which the verb takes an adverbial rather than a prepositional complement, and which is always realised by the adverb *therefore*, expressing different senses of the preposition *for* 'for that (thing, act, etc.); for that, for it' (OED s.v. *therefore* | *therefor*, adv. and n.). This type of adverbial complement has only been attested in the early 16th century, and it shares with PPs that they both serve to express the Desired as the metaphorical Goal (or Endpoint) of the Desirer's direction of attention. It may be related as well to other constructions with adverbial complements of direction which are not attested in the corpus examined, but which are documented in the OED (e.g. 1548, *The man had an high harte and sore* ***longed*** *vpwarde*, s.v. *long*, v.[1] II. †5.; see example (219)/(234)). As for patterns with clausal complements, these constitute the second most frequent use, but their diachronic tendency is to decrease during the EModE period. They are realised by *to*-infinitive clauses in the great majority of the documented instances, and, more sporadically, by finite complement clauses introduced by *till/until*. The use of *till/until* as complementisers illustrates a functional shift of the two subordinators *till/until* from their original domain of adverbial subordination

into the domain of complementation. As far as patterns with zero complements are concerned, they constitute the least frequent variant with this verb, and their percentages remain low during the two centuries, showing a tendency to decrease.

9.4. Factors I: Loss of impersonal patterns in the history of English

The findings obtained in this thesis confirm some of the accounts given in the literature with regard to the dates of disappearance of impersonal constructions. Impersonal patterns have been said to decrease in frequency between 1400 and 1500, with marginal instances still found until about 1600. Given that impersonal instances have been recorded with just one of the three verbs under scrutiny (i.e. *lust*; see Table 25), and that the recorded instances are marginal and confined to the first half of the 16th century, the evidence from the corpus can be said to be in broad agreement with the general account provided in previous work.

The findings, however, do not provide support for Lightfoot's (1979: 229) claim that "it is more accurate to date the final obsolescence [of impersonal constructions] from the mid-sixteenth century". In the particular case of *lust*, the occurrence of impersonal patterns into EModE is largely due to its persistence in fossilised structures like *as him lusteth* and *when him lusteth*, which do not constitute instances of real productivity of the construction. Rather, my results are said to be in line with Traugott's (1972: 130–131) observation that 16th-century examples are only marginal, and represent either "conscious archaisms" or idiomatic expressions (see also Allen 1995: 279–283, 441–442; López-Couso 1996; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 14–15).

Insofar as the impersonal verbs investigated lose their impersonal use at different points in time, the findings are also in agreement with the observation made in previous studies that the development from impersonal to personal use is highly verb specific, so that

> [t]he loss of the various impersonal patterns shows a great amount of lexical variation, and some verbs lose their capacity for impersonal use earlier than others so that it is hardly possible to pinpoint any particular subperiod during which the impersonal construction came to be generally unacceptable in early English. (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 19; see also Allen 1995: 287)

Thus, in our data *lust* retains impersonal uses until the first half of the 16th century, but neither *thirst* nor *long* are documented in any pattern of impersonal use after 1500 (see Table 25). With regard to the quotations in the OED and the MED entries, there is also considerable variation

insofar as they suggest that the shift becomes complete between the 14th and the 16th century with *lust*, by the 15th century with *thirst* and between the 13th and 16th centuries in the case of *long*. Consider in this regard Figure 26 below, which shows the datings of the (im)personal uses of each individual verb as attested in the OED and the MED entries.

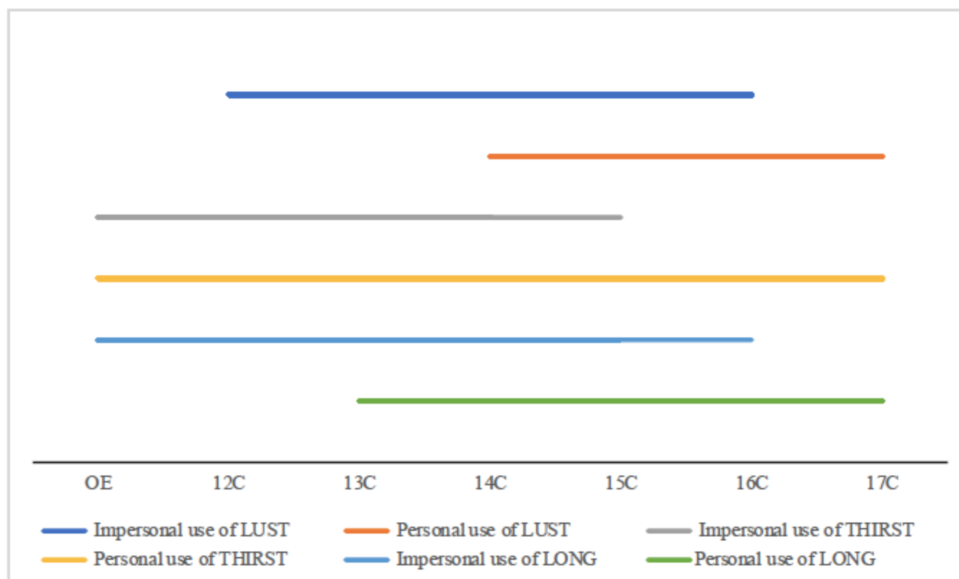


Figure 26: Diachronic distribution of (im)personal uses of verbs of Desire *lust*, *thirst* and *long* from OE to EModE based on the OED and the MED entries

Notice, in addition, that the OED and the MED datings suggest that the shift from impersonal to personal use does not necessarily coincide with the morphological changes which have frequently been resorted to in the literature for the explanation of the demise of impersonal constructions, namely the loss of case inflections and the rigidification of word order (cf. Allen 1995: 441–442). Recall, in relation to this, that the simplification of the case system has been dated in the 12th and 13th centuries (Allen 1995: 184–185, 213, 441) and the rigidification of word order in the mid-15th century (Fischer *et al.* 2000: 162–163; see also Möhlig-Falke 2012: 19, 216; see Chapter 2, Section 2.2). Thus, *lust* acquires personal uses in the 14th century, when only the loss of case inflections was at an advanced stage; *thirst* occurs in personal use since the OE period, but impersonal constructions cease to be recorded in the (late) 15th century, when both the loss of case inflections and the rigidification of word order were at an advanced stage. For its part, *long* acquires personal uses in the 13th century, when only the loss of case inflections was well on its way. Consider the following observation made by Allen with respect in particular to the loss of morphological distinctions:

> […] while the most important morphological changes which affected these [i.e. impersonal] constructions were complete by the middle of the thirteenth century in most parts of the country, the introduction of nominative Experiencers did not take place with many verbs until the early fourteenth century, and the 'impersonal' constructions flourished during the period when the morphological distinctions were being lost and well beyond this period. (Allen 1995: 442)

Turning now to the role which, according to some hypotheses, has been played by the loss of case distinctions on the demise of English impersonal constructions, Chapter 2 gave an account of the well-known reanalysis hypothesis as formulated by Jespersen (1961[1927]: 208–210); this rests on the assumption that the SVO personal use developed from OVS sentences of the OE type *þam cynge licodon peran*, where there are two nominal NPs representing the roles of Experiencer and Stimulus, and where morphological ambiguity is supposed to have arisen once case distinctions were lost. As an objection to this claim, Allen (1986) points out that the reanalysis of the Experiencer as grammatical subject cannot have originated from this sentence type if we take into account that clauses with two nominal NPs were highly infrequent in the OE and ME data for the impersonal verb *like* (Allen 1986: 378).

In keeping with Allen's line of argumentation, if ambiguous case marking had really been the reason for the interpretation of Experiencers (i.e. Desirers) as subjects in the case of verbs of Desire, we might expect to find a large proportion of examples with two nominal NPs at the start of the EModE period, that is, roughly one century after verbs of Desire cease to be recorded in impersonal use, according to the OED and the MED (see Figure 26 above). However, the data here examined contain mostly pronouns for the expression of the Desirer with all three verbs investigated. In addition, pronouns are always declinable, especially during the 16th century; this renders the distinction between subjective and objective Desirers unambiguous in the majority of cases. Hence, the EModE data show overall that the syntactic scenario which is supposed to have brought about the reanalysis is not frequent in EModE. On the assumption that the situation was paralleled during the preceding centuries while the shift from impersonal to personal use took place (Figure 26 above), this finding casts doubt on the role of the loss of inflectional case marking in the demise of the impersonal construction with the verbs investigated.

9.5. Factors II: Development of impersonal verbs of Desire

A number of factors have been identified in this thesis which may have affected the development of verbs of Desire once they begin to appear in personal constructions. In this

regard, two major questions need to be addressed, namely: 1) why did verbs of Desire develop as Experiencer-subject verbs?; and 2) why did verbs of Desire develop prepositional uses, so that governing NP complements ceased to be a possibility for them in the course of EModE?

In relation to the first question, the hypothesis put forward here is that the realisation of Desirers as pronouns acted as a factor influencing the ordering of constituents in the clause. That is, in light of the fact that Desirers are predominantly realised by pronouns, as our corpus data clearly demonstrate, while the Desired, conversely, is preferably realised by nouns, we could argue that the relative weight of the verb's arguments had an influence on the information structure of the clause so that Desirer pronouns, which are lighter than nouns, were more frequently placed in pre-verbal position in order to comply with the principle of end-weight. Hence, once word order became fixed as SVO in the mid-15th century, the Desirer, rather than the Desired, became the best candidate for 'subjecthood' because it was predominantly placed in pre-verbal position. This syntactic factor would account for the fact that the verbs of Desire *thirst* and *long* tend to occur in Experiencer-subject constructions (e.g. c1400, *I* [=Experiencer, subject] ***longe*** *for loue*, OED s.v. *long*, v.[1] 6. a), while they never occur in Experiencer-object constructions (*?love* ***longs*** *for me*) or in *(h)it*-extraposition constructions in which the Experiencer is encoded as (prepositional) object rather than subject (*?it* ***thirsts*** *(to) me to …*; cf. Elmer 1981: 114, 119). The verb *lust* constitutes an exception to this tendency, as it is found in Experiencer-object constructions in the corpus, although only occasionally and confined to SOV fused relative constructions (e.g. 1539, *What so euer them* [=Experiencer, object] ***lusteth*** 'whatsoever pleases them [to do]'; see example (114) in Section 6.3.2.1). The MED records two further instances in a *(h)it*-extraposition construction (e.g. (1427), *He thanked hem..þat it* ***lusted*** *hem so to sende unto him* 'He thanked them.. that it pleased them to so send for him', s.v. *lusten* v. 1. (c); see example (97) in Section 6.2.2).

The tendency of *thirst* and *long*, verbs of Desire, to appear in Experiencer-subject constructions contrasts with the tendency observed in the semantically related Psych-verb *like*, which in EmodE does appear in Experiencer-object constructions (e.g. *the lykor* ***liked*** *them* [=Experiencer, object] 'the liquor pleased them') as well as in *(h)it*-extraposition constructions (e.g. *yt wyll* ***lyke*** *ye* [=Experiencer, object] *to wryte to my lord how carefull and myndfull I have byn of him* 'it will please you to write to my Lord about how careful and considerate I have been of him', Trousdale 2008: 310, my emphasis and translation; see Chapter 3). A factor which might account for these syntactic differences concerns the semantic nature of the Experiencer

argument. It has been explained in Chapter 4 that the Experiencer of verbs of Desire may be considered to be volitional. This is corroborated by the corpus data in two ways: (i) the verb *thirst* occurs as complement of the verb *exhort*, which highlights that the Desirer can choose between experiencing a feeling of desire or not (e.g. 1604, *hee exhorted to hunger and* ***thirst*** *ofter righteousnes*, example (162) in Chapter 7); and (ii) the verb *long* likewise occurs as complement of the verb *exhort* (example (231), Chapter 8) and collocates with adverbs such as *willingly* (e.g. 1525, *vut also we sholde wyllyngely and gladly* ***longe*** *therfore*, example (232)). This is indicative of a conceptualisation of the emotion as controlled and volitionally initiated by the Desirer. Conversely, the Experiencer of *like* does not seem to be so clearly volitional in EModE sentences such as *the lykor* ***liked*** *them*, in which the emotion seems to overwhelm the Experiencer in a more spontaneous and unvolitional manner. It may thus be hypothesised that the reason why *thirst* and *long* do not alternate between Experiencer-subject, Experiencer-object and *(h)it*-extraposition constructions in EModE —in the same way as *like* does— is that the Desirer shows the Proto-agent feature of volition (see Chapter 4), which leads to its selection as subject rather than object. Nonetheless, the fact that *lust*, contrary to *thirst* and *long*, does appear in Experiencer-object and *(h)it*-extraposition constructions clearly deserves further investigation.

With regard to the second question above about why NP complements became superseded by prepositional complements, there is one factor which concerns the interaction between the lexical semantics of verbs of Desire and the semantics of patterns with prepositional complements. It was mentioned in Chapter 4 that the lexical meaning of verbs of Desire is apt to be conceptualised as a metaphorical inclination or movement towards something (see the HTOED's category of 'Wish or inclination' 02.05.03, Figure 7). This semantic nuance may have facilitated that verbs of Desire came to be increasingly expressed by a prepositional construction which is ultimately rooted in the domain of Motion, namely the MOVE-ATTENTION construction. This construction conveys the meaning 'move attention' (i.e. 'direct attention') and it is interpreted as a metaphorical extension of an INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction taking an oblique Goal (e.g. PDE, *The boy ran to the house* [=Goal, oblique]). Thus, the semantics of the INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction enables the conceptualisation of 'movement as movement of attention' via a metaphorical extension link (see Chapter 7).

From a syntactic perspective, the existence of the MOVE-ATTENTION construction allows us to better understand the fact that the Desired argument is expressed by an oblique more often

than by a direct grammatical relation. From a constructionist perspective (Goldberg 1995: 48*ff*), this may be viewed as a mismatch between the number of participant roles profiled by verbs of Desire —i.e. <**Desirer Desired**>— and the number of argument roles profiled by the MOVE-ATTENTION construction —i.e. <**Experiencer** Target>—, so that a semantically-required role —i.e. the Desired— comes to be expressed by means of a constructionally unprofiled and syntactically optional element —i.e. the oblique Target argument of the MOVE-ATTENTION construction. Recall in this regard Möhlig-Falke's (2012: 132) hypothesis that the semantic interpretation of OE impersonal patterns with OE *þyrstan* taking a genitive complement (e.g. OE, *swa me hyra swyðor* ***þyrsteð*** 'the more severely I thirst for them') may be attributable to the syntactic construction itself rather than to the verb's semantic profile (see Chapter 7). We can account in the same way for the fact that EModE *thirst* occurs with complements denoting literal location (e.g. 1533, *that a man shall by his fayth be fully satysfyed in this wreched worlde, and neuer hunger nor* ***thyrste*** *after here*, example (161), Chapter 7), as also *long*, which has been documented governing complements of direction in the OED and the MED (e.g. c1540 (?a1400), *So* ***longid*** *this lady … to the Temple* 'So did this lady long … [to go] to the Temple', example (215), Chapter 8).

From a semantic perspective, the MOVE-ATTENTION construction also helps us gain further insight into the semantic properties of the role of Desired. Particularly, the fact that the arguments of the MOVE-ATTENTION construction —i.e. Experiencer and Target— are construed as extensions of the Theme and Goal of the INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction ties in with the fact that the Target argument represents an unaffected Endpoint, just like Goals. Along similar lines, the Desired also represents an unaffected Endpoint which lacks the majority of Proto-patient properties, just like Goals. This low degree of affectedness may facilitate the fusion of the Desired with the oblique Target of the MOVE-ATTENTION construction, being encoded as a prepositional rather than a direct object —when expressed as a (pro)nominal argument. Recall in this connection that, according to Dowty's *Corollary 2* (1991: 576; Chapter 3), the non-subject argument with the fewest Proto-patient properties will surface as an oblique or prepositional complement, while the non-subject argument showing the greatest number of Proto-patient properties is rather encoded as direct object. NP complements, therefore, must have become disfavoured due to the fact that the TRANSITIVE construction entails a higher degree of affectedness of the object, which runs contrary to the semantic nature of the Desired as an unaffected Endpoint.

Thus, from a diachronic perspective, the MOVE-ATTENTION construction allows us to better understand the fact that NP complements tend to be ousted by prepositional complements in the course of EModE with both *lust* and *thirst*. Recall in this respect that NP complements virtually cease to be recorded beyond the early 16th century with *lust*, and from the late 16th century with *thirst*. This historical development may then be interpreted as an effect of the factors explained above, namely that 1) verbs of Desire are lexically apt to be conceptualised as a metaphorical inclination or movement towards something; 2) patterns with prepositional complements constitute an instance of the MOVE-ATTENTION construction, which is an extension of an INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction taking a prepositional Goal; and 3) the Desired argument is construed as a metaphorical Goal, both of which show a low degree of affectedness. As a result, verbs of Desire are suitable to be increasingly expressed by a prepositional construction which allows for the Desired to be construed as a metaphorical type of Goal.

9.6. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

To conclude the research carried out in this thesis, this section outlines some of the paths which might be fruitfully pursued in order to expand the findings presented so far.

For instance, it may be of interest to extend the period of study to the (late) ME period, since a large corpus-based investigation of ME *lusten*, *thirsten* and *longen* would provide a more robust empirical basis than the dataset from the OED and MED entries. It would also be of interest to expand the corpus to at least double the size of what has been examined here. EModE *lust*, *thirst* and *long* are essentially low-frequency verbs, which, in addition, became largely restricted to the religious domain in the course of the period; taking this into account, it would be relevant to enlarge the database in terms of genres, as this would enable us to retrieve a larger number of examples from other domains, such as History, Law, Philosophy, etc. This might throw light on whether or not differences can be detected in the uses and functions of verbs of Desire depending on the type of discourse and genre.

The study could also be extended to other (non-)impersonal members of Levin's class of Desire, such as *desire* itself, *crave*, *hope*, *hunger* or *yearn* (1993: 194).[63] This would allow us to assess whether these verbs are syntactically and/or semantically coherent from a diachronic

[63] As already noted in Chapter 4, fn. 21, a preliminary analysis of *hunger* will be presented at the 21 ICEHL Conference to be held in Leiden on 8–12 June 2020.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

perspective, and also whether they show any notable differences in comparison to the verbs investigated in this dissertation. A comparison could also be made between impersonal and non-impersonal verbs of Desire, following the framework of Miura's (2015) study in lexical semantics of ME (im)personal verbs of Emotion. On the other hand, taking into account that PDE verbs of Desire fall into two different classes depending on whether they express the Desired as an NP or as a prepositional complement, a comparison can also be made between those verbs which became prepositional in PDE and those that did not, bearing in mind that verbs such as *desire* show the reverse development to the verbs investigated here in that in their historical development they abandon prepositional uses in favour of NP complements (e.g. 1549–62, *My soule* ***desireth*** *after thee*, OED s.v. *desire*, v. 2. †b.; see also Visser's list of prepositional verbs based on data from the OED, 1963: §§398–399).

Last, with regard to role of the MOVE-ATTENTION construction as posited in the data analysis, a corpus-based study of ME and EModE would throw light on whether this construction can be found with verbs other than the three case studies under scrutiny. Candidates for analysis would include, a priori, verbs entailing some sort of purpose, such as *aim* or *intend* when governing prepositions like *at* or *to*: e.g. 1603, *A man is to aime* [i.e. direct attention to] *at excellencie* [...] (OED s.v. *aim*, v. 7. b.); 1589, *They were the first that entended* [i.e. directed attention to] *to the obseruation of nature and her works* (OED s.v. *intend*, v. III. †8. a.). These verbs may sometimes entail motion, as shown by Fanego (2017: 45–46) and Huber (2017: 176–180): e.g. 1646, *Hee is at Newcastle and intends* [i.e. intends to go to] *for France* (OED s.v. *intend*, v. †6. †b.). The MOVE-ATTENTION construction is also found with verbs of Perception such as *gape* (e.g. 1672, *The greedy appetites of those who haue been so many years gaping* [i.e. directing attention to, desiring] *after this profit*, OED s.v. *gape*, v. 4. a.; see also Levin 1993: 187), and verbs of Nonverbal expression like *sigh* (e.g. 1604, *Many Spaniards..sigh* [i.e. direct attention to, desire] *for Spaine, having no discourse, but of their countrie*, OED s.v. *sigh*, v. 2. a.; see also Levin 1993: 219). A corpus-based study could thus clarify how the MOVE-ATTENTION construction correlates with these various verb classes, among others.

REFERENCES

PRIMARY SOURCES

Anthony, Laurence. 2019. *Antconc* (version 3.5.8) [Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. <https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/> (continuous access between 2015 and 2019).

B&T = Bosworth, Joseph & T. Northcote Toller (eds.). 1898. *An Anglo-Saxon dictionary*. 1921. *Supplement* by T. Northcote Toller. 1972. *Revised and enlarge addenda* by Alistair Campbell. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Electronic edition available at: <http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz> (continuous access between 2015 and 2019).

Crystal, David. 2008. *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*, 6th edn. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Davies, Mark. 2018. *The 14 Billion Word iWeb Corpus*. <https://corpus.byu.edu/iWeb/> (continuous access from 2018 to 2019).

DOE = Cameron, Angus, Ashley Crandell Amos & Antonette diPaolo Healey (eds.). 2018. *Dictionary of Old English: A–I Online*. <https://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/> (last accessed December 2019).

DOEC = *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*. 2009. Compiled by Antonette diPaolo Healey with John Price Wilkin and Xin Xiang. Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project. <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doecorpus/> (last accessed December 2019).

EEBO = Davies, Mark. 2017. *Early English Books Online*. SAMUELS project. <https://www.english-corpora.org/eebo/> (last accessed December 2019).

EEBOCorp 1.0 = Petré, Peter. 2013. *Early English Books Online Corpus 1.0*. Leuven: KU Leuven.

Hoad, T. F. (ed.). 1996. *The concise Oxford dictionary of English etymology*, 1st edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

HTOED = Kay, Christian, Jane Roberts, Michael Samuels & Irené Wotherspoon (eds.). 2009. *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary: With additional materials from A*

Thesaurus of Old English, 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Electronic edition available at: <https://www.oed.com/thesaurus> (continuous access between 2017 and 2019).

Lexico's Dictionary. <https://www.lexico.com/en> (continuous access between 2015 and 2019).

MED = Kurath, Hans, Sherman M. Kuhn & Robert E. Lewis (eds.). 1952–2001. *Middle English Dictionary*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Online edition available at Frances McSparran *et al.* (ed.). 2000–2018. *Middle English Compendium*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary> (continuous access from 2018 to 2019).

OED = *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. <https://www.oed.com> (continuous access from 2015 to 2019).

SECONDARY SOURCES

Allen, Cynthia L. 1986. Reconsidering the history of *like*. *Journal of Linguistics* 22(2). 375–409.

Allen, Cynthia L. 1995. *Case marking and reanalysis: Grammatical relations from Old to Early Modern English.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Anderson, John. 1986. A note on Old English impersonals. *Journal of Linguistics* 22(1). 167–177.

Anderson, John. 1997. Subjecthood and the English impersonal. In Raymond Hickey & Stanisław Puppel (eds.), *Language history and linguistic modelling: A festschrift for Jacek Fisiak on his 60th birthday: Language and history*, vol. 1 (Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 101), 251–263. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Barber, Charles. 1997. *Early Modern English*, 2nd edn. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Biber, Douglas, Stig Johansson, Geoffrey Leech, Susan Conrad & Edward Finegan. 1999. *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. Harlow, England: Longman.

Bybee, Joan L. 1985. *Morphology: A study of the relation between meaning and form* (Typological Studies in Language 9). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Bybee, Joan L. 2010. *Language, usage and cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Castro-Chao, Noelia. 2018. Impersonal constructions in Early Modern English: A case study of *like* and *please*. In María Ferrández San Miguel & Claus-Peter Neumann (eds.), *Taking*

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

stock to look ahead: Celebrating forty years of English Studies in Spain, 177–184. Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de la Universidad de Zaragoza.

Castro-Chao, Noelia. 2019. Changes in argument structure with special reference to verbs of Desire: A case study of *lust*. *Research in Corpus Linguistics* 7. 129–154.

Croft, William. 1991. *Syntactic categories and grammatical relations. The cognitive organization of information*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Croft, William. 2001. *Radical construction grammar: Syntactic theory in typological perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Croft, William. 2012. *Verbs: Aspect and causal structure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Croft, William, Hava Bet-Zeev Shyldkrot & Suzanne Kemmer. 1987. Diachronic semantic processes in the middle voice. In Anna Giacalone Ramat, Onofrio Carruba & Giuliano Bernini (eds.), *Papers from the 7th International Conference on Historical Linguistics* (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 48), 179–182. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Croft, William & D. Alan Cruse. 2004. *Cognitive linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Denison, David. 1989. Auxiliary + impersonal in Old English. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 9(1). 139–166.

Denison, David. 1990. The Old English impersonals revived. In Sylvia Adamson, Vivien A. Law, Nigel Vincent & Susan Wright (eds.), *Papers from the 5th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics: Cambridge, 6–9 April 1987* (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 65), 111–140. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Denison, David. 1993. *English historical syntax: Verbal constructions* (Longman Linguistics Library). London & New York: Longman.

Dik, Simon C. 1997. *The theory of Functional Grammar*, *Parts 1 & 2.* 2nd rev. edn. by Kees Hengeveld. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Dowty, David R. 1991. Thematic proto-roles and argument selection. *Language* 67(3). 547–619.

Elmer, Willy. 1981. *Diachronic grammar: The history of Old and Middle English subjectless constructions* (Linguistische Arbeiten 97). Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Fanego, Teresa. 1992. *Infinitive complements in Shakespeare's English. Synchronic and diachronic aspects*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

Fanego, Teresa. 2017. *The trolley rumbled through the tunnel*: On the history of the English Intransitive Motion Construction. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 38. 29–73.

Faya-Cerqueiro, Fátima. 2013. Courtesy markers in requests: The case of *pray* and *please* in Late Modern English. PhD thesis, University of Santiago de Compostela.

Fillmore, Charles J. 1977. Topics in Lexical Semantics. In Roger W. Cole (ed.), *Current issues in linguistic theory*, 76–138. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Fillmore, Charles J. 1982. Frame semantics. In Linguistic Society of Korea (ed.), *Linguistics in the morning calm*, 111–138. Seoul: Hanshin.

Fillmore, Charles J. 1986. Pragmatically controlled zero anaphora. *Berkeley Linguistics Society* (BLS) 12. 95–107.

Fischer, Olga. 1992. Syntax. In Norman Blake (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the English language*, vol. II: *1066–1476*, 168–289. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fischer, Olga & Frederike C. van der Leek. 1983. The demise of the Old English impersonal construction. *Journal of Linguistics* 19(2). 337–368.

Fischer, Olga & Frederike C. van der Leek. 1987. A 'case' for the Old English impersonal. In Willem F. Koopman, Frederike van der Leek, Olga Fischer & Roger Eaton (eds.), *Explanation and linguistic change* (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 45), 79–120. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Fischer, Olga, Ans van Kemenade, Willem Koopmann & Wim van der Wurf. 2000. *The Syntax of Early English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goldberg, Adele E. 1995. *Constructions. A Construction Grammar approach to argument structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Goldberg, Adele E. 2006. *Constructions at work: The nature of generalization in language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Görlach, Manfred. 1993[1991]. *Introduction to Early Modern English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Reprinted, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press].

Haugland, Kari E. 2006. Old English impersonal constructions and the use and non-use of nonreferential pronouns. PhD thesis, University of Bergen.

Hilpert, Martin. 2014. *Construction Grammar and its applications to English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Hopper, Paul J. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56(2). 251–299.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

Hopper, Paul J. & Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003[1993]. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Huber, Judith. 2017. *Motion and the English verb. A diachronic study*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Huddleston, Rodney & Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge grammar of the English language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jespersen, Otto. 1961[1927]. *A Modern English grammar on historical principles. Part III: Syntax (Second volume)*. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard. [Reprinted, London: George Allen & Unwin].

Kailuweit, Rolf. 2002. Pragmatische Gründe syntaktischer Flexibilität?—'Psych-verbs' im Spanischen und in anderen romanischen Sprachen. In Alberto Gil & Christian Schmitt (eds.), *Actas de la sección Grammatik und Pragmatik im Spanischen del XIII. Deutscher Hispanistentag*. *Leipzig 8.-11.III 2001*, 57–90. Bonn: Romanistischer Verlag.

Kay, Christian. 2012. Developing the *Historical Thesaurus of the OED*. In Kathryn Allan & Justyna A. Robinson (eds.), *Current methods in historical semantics* (Topics in English Linguistics 73). Berlin & New York: Mouton the Gruyter.

Kemmer, Suzanne. 1993. *The middle voice* (Typological Studies in Language 23). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Kortmann, Bernd. 1997. *Adverbial subordination: A typology and history of adverbial subordinators based on European languages*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Krzyszpień, Jerzy. 1990. *A diachronic analysis of English impersonal constructions with an experiencer*. Krakow: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, fire, and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Landau, Idan. 2010. *The locative syntax of experiencers* (Linguistic Inquiry Monographs 50). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Langacker, Ronald W. 1987. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Vol. I: Theoretical prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Langacker, Ronald W. 1991. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Vol. II: Descriptive application*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Langacker, Ronald W. 2000. *Grammar and conceptualization*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Lange, Claudia. 2007. *Reflexivity and intensification in English. A study of texts and contexts.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Levin, Beth. 1993. *English verb classes and alternations: A preliminary investigation*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.

Light, Caitlin & Joel Wallenberg. 2015. The expression of impersonals in Middle English. *English Language and Linguistics* 19(2). 227–245.

Lightfoot, David W. 1979. *Principles of diachronic syntax* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 23). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lightfoot, David W. 1991. *How to set parameters: Arguments from language change*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

López-Couso, María José. 1996. On the history of *methinks*: From impersonal construction to fossilised expression. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 17. 153–169.

López-Couso, María José. 2007. Adverbial connectives within and beyond adverbial subordination: The history of *lest*. In Ursula Lenker & Anneli Meurman-Solin (eds.), *Connectives in the history of English* (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 283), 11–29. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

López-Couso, María José & Belén Méndez-Naya. 1998. On minor declarative complementizers in the history of English: The case of *but*. In Jacek Fisiak & Marcin Krygier (eds.), *Advances in English historical linguistics*, 161–171. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

López-Couso, María José & Belén Méndez-Naya. 2001. On the history of *if*- and *though*-links with declarative complement clauses. *English Language and Linguistics* 5(1). 93–107.

López-Couso, María José & Belén Méndez-Naya. 2012a. On the use of *as if*, *as though* and *like* in Present-day English complementation structures. *Journal of English Linguistics* 40(2). 172–195.

López-Couso, María José & Belén Méndez-Naya. 2012b. On comparative complementizers in English: Evidence from historical corpora. In Nila Vázquez (ed.), *Creation and use of historical English corpora in Spain*, 311–333. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

López-Couso, María José & Belén Méndez-Naya. 2014. The use of *if* as a declarative complementizer in English: Some theoretical and empirical considerations. In Alejandro

Alcaraz-Sintes & Salvador Valera-Hernández (eds.), *Diachrony and synchrony in English corpus linguistics* (Linguistic Insights Series 181), 85–107. Bern: Peter Lang.

López-Couso, María José & Belén Méndez-Naya. 2015. Secondary grammaticalization in clause combining: From adverbial subordination to complementation in English. *Language Sciences* 47, 188–198; special issue on *What happens after grammaticalization? Secondary grammaticalization and other late stage processes*, Tine Breban & Svenja Kranich (eds.).

Los, Bettelou. 2009. The consequences of the loss of verb-second in English: Information structure and syntax in interaction. *English Language and Linguistics* 13. 97–125.

Loureiro-Porto, Lucía. 2005. *The semantic predecessors of* need*: From Old to Early Modern English*. PhD thesis, University of Santiago de Compostela.

Malak, Janusz. 2008. *Derivational conspiracy: The demise of subjectless clauses in English*. Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego.

McCawley, Noriko A. 1976. From OE/ME 'impersonal' to 'personal' constructions: What is a 'subject-less' S? In Sanford B. Steever, Carol A. Walker & Salikoko S. Mufwene (eds.), *Papers from the parasession on diachronic syntax*, 192–204. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society.

Méndez-Naya, Belén. 2013. Review of Ruth Möhlig-Falke, *The early English impersonal construction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2012). *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 114(3). 365–371.

Méndez-Naya, Belén. 2016. Review of Ayumi Miura, *Middle English verbs of emotion and impersonal constructions: Verb meaning and syntax in diachrony* (Oxford Studies in the History of English. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). *English Language and Linguistics* 21(1). 155–161.

Méndez-Naya, Belén & María José López-Couso. 1997. What is really meant by *impersonal*? On *impersonal* and related terms. *Atlantis. Journal of the Spanish Association for Anglo-American Studies* 19. 185–192.

Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English syntax*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Miura, Ayumi. 2015. *Middle English verbs of emotion and impersonal constructions: Verb meaning and syntax in diachrony* (Oxford Studies in the History of English). New York: Oxford University Press.

Möhlig-Falke, Ruth. 2012. *The early English impersonal construction: An analysis of verbal and constructional meaning* (Oxford Studies in the History of English). New York: Oxford University Press.

Mustanoja, Tauno F. 1960. *A Middle English syntax. Part I: Parts of speech.* Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.

Noonan, Michael. 1985. Complementation. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, vol. II: *Complex constructions*, 42–140. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ogura, Michiko. 1986. *Old English 'impersonal' verbs and expressions* (Anglistica 24). Copenhagen: Roskilde & Bagger.

Ogura, Michiko. 1990. What has happened to the impersonal constructions? *Neophilologische Mitteilungen* 91(1). 31–55.

Ogura, Michiko. 2003. 'Reflexive' and 'impersonal' constructions in medieval English. *Anglia* 121. 535–556.

Pishwa, Hanna. 1999. The case of the 'impersonal' construction in Old English. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 20(1–2). 129–151.

Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech & Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. New York: Longman.

Seoane, Elena. 2000. The passive as an information-rearranging device in Early Modern English. *Studia Neophilologica* 72(1). 24–33.

Seoane, Elena. 2006. Information structure and word order change: The passive as an information-rearranging strategy in the history of English. In Ans van Kemenade & Bettelou Los (eds.), *The handbook of the history of English*, 360–391. Oxford: Blackwell.

Talmy, Leonard. 1985. Force dynamics in language and thought. *Chicago Linguistic Society* (CLS) 21(1). 293–337.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1972. *A history of English syntax: A transformational approach to the history of English sentence structure* (Transatlantic Series in Linguistics). New York & London: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1992. Syntax. In Richard M. Hogg (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the English language*, vol. I: *The beginnings to 1066*, 168–289. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2006. The semantic development of scalar focus modifiers. In Ans van Kemenade & Bettelou Los (eds.), *The handbook of the history of English*, 335–359. Oxford: Blackwell.

Trousdale, Graeme. 2008. Words and constructions in grammaticalization: The end of the English impersonal construction. In Susan M. Fitzmaurice & Donka Minkova (eds.), *Studies in the history of the English language IV*, 301–326. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

van der Gaaf, Willem. 1904. *The transition from the impersonal to the personal construction in Middle English* (Anglistische Forschungen. Heft 14). Heidelberg: C. Winter.

van Gelderen, Elly. 2018. *The diachrony of verb meaning: Aspect and argument structure*. New York: Routledge.

Van Valin, Robert D. Jr. & Randy J. LaPolla. 1997. *Syntax. Structure, meaning and function*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Visser, Fredericus T. 1963. *An historical syntax of the English language. Part 1, Syntactical units with one verb*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

von Seefranz-Montag, Ariane. 1984. 'Subjectless' constructions and syntactic change. In Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Historical syntax* (Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 23), 521–553. Berlin, New York & Amsterdam: Mouton Publishers.

Wahlén, Nils. 1925. *The Old English impersonalia. Part I: Impersonal expressions containing verbs of material import in the active voice*. Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag.

Warner, Anthony. 1982. *Complementation in Middle English and the methodology of historical syntax.* London: Croom Helm.

Wierzbicka, Anna. 1999. *Emotions across languages and cultures: Diversity and Universals* (Studies in Emotion and Social Interaction). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

USC
UNIVERSIDADE
DE SANTIAGO
DE COMPOSTELA

APPENDIX I. List of selected texts from EEBOCorp 1.0: Subperiod 1 (1500–1549)[64]

50-year subperiod	Author	Date	File name
S1 (1500–1549)	Agapetos.	1529	D00000998401000000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Alesius, Alexander, 1500–1565.	1538	D00000998548930000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Alesius, Alexander, 1500–1565.	1544	D00000998445520000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Andrew, Laurence, fl. 1510–1537.	1527	D00000998563430000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Anon.	1511	D00000998396100000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Anon.	1520	D00000199486700000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Anon.	1522	D00000998560390000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Anon.	1525	D00000230933900000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Anon.	1526	D00000998467770000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Anon.	1538	D00000998412360000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Anon.	1538	D00000998444080000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Anon.	1540	D00000998400090000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Anon.	1546	D00000998461710000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Aristotle.	1547	D00000998401630000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Askham, Anthony, fl. 1553.	1548	D00000201801890000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Augustine, Saint, Bishop of Hippo.	1548	D00000998361540000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Bale, John, 1495–1563.	1543	D00000998364630000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Bale, John, 1495–1563.	1545	D00000998364590000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Bale, John, 1495–1563.	1546	D00000998364260000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Becon, Thomas, 1512–1567.	1541	D00000998453120000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Becon, Thomas, 1512–1567.	1542	D00000998371030000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Becon, Thomas, 1512–1567.	1542	D00000998371060000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

[64] The repetition of authors in S1 (1500–1549) and S2 (1550–1599) is due to the scarcity of texts in EEBOCorp 1.0 in the 16th century (see Figure 9 in Chapter 5).

S1 (1500–1549)	Becon, Thomas, 1512–1567.	1542	D00000998448540000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Becon, Thomas, 1512–1567.	1549	D00000998448370000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Becon, Thomas, 1512–1567.	1549	D00000998453220000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Benedict, Saint, Abbot of Monte Cassino.	1517	D00000998462170000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Bodrugan, Nicholas.	1548	D00000998386150000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Bomelius, Henricus, 1500?–1570.	1529	D00000998496880000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Boorde, Andrew, 1490?–1549.	1547	D00000998467070000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Boorde, Andrew, 1490?–1549.	1547	D00000998514130000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Brinkelow, Henry, d. 1546.	1542	D00000998422930000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Broke, Thomas.	1548	D00000998446330000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Bucer, Martin, 1491–1551.	1549	D00000998417320000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Bullinger, Heinrich, 1504–1575.	1543	D00000998461650000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Bullinger, Heinrich, 1504–1575.	1544	D00000998503060000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Bullinger, Heinrich, 1504–1575.	1548	D00000998405440000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Calvin, Jean, 1509–1564.	1548	D00000998428840000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Calvin, Jean, 1509–1564.	1549	D00000998464180000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Capito, Wolfgang, 1478–1541.	1539	D00000998548110000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Catharine Parr, Queen, consort of Henry VIII, King of England, 1512–1548.	1547	D00000998445960000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Catholic Church.	1534	D00000998412330000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Catholic Church. Pope (1513–1521: Leo X)	1520	D00000331431830000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Catholic Church. Pope (1513–1521: Leo X)	1520	D00000998931090000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Champneys, John, fl. 1548.	1548	D00000998447910000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Chertsey, Andrew.	1502	D00000998447080000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Church of England.	1538	D00000998443940000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Church of England.	1549	D00000999002540000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Clere–Ville, Bartholomé de.	1518	D00000998408340000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Confraternity of St. John (Beverley, England)	1520	D00000998525550000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Cousin, Gilbert, 1506–1567.	1543	D00000998454620000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S1 (1500–1549)	Coverdale, Miles, 1488–1568,	1537	D00000998427700000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Coverdale, Miles, 1488–1568.	1537	D00000998430500000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Coverdale, Miles, 1488–1568.	1542	D00000998413070000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Cox, Leonard, fl. 1572.	1532	D00000998408280000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Cranmer, Thomas, 1489–1556.	1547	D00000998456500000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Cranmer, Thomas, 1489–1556.	1548	D00000998449220000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Cyprian, Saint, Bishop of Carthage.	1534	D00000998444710000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Elyot, Thomas, Sir, 1490?–1546.	1533	D00000229191530000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Elyot, Thomas, Sir, 1490?–1546.	1533	D00000998364020000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Elyot, Thomas, Sir, 1490?–1546.	1539	D00000223316240000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Privy Council.	1533	D00000998365240000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Privy Council.	1549	D00000998459230000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Privy Council.	1549	D00000998533050000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1485–1509: Henry VII).	1504	D00000331509950000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1485–1509: Henry VII).	1504	D00000331509970000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1509–1547: Henry VIII)	1509	D00000998443120000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1509–1547: Henry VIII)	1513	D00000998570630000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1509–1547: Henry VIII)	1541	D00000998450080000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1509–1547: Henry VIII)	1542	D00000998448610000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1509–1547: Henry VIII)	1543	D00000998456700000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1509–1547: Henry VIII)	1543	D00000998456740000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1509–1547: Henry VIII)	1543	D00000998459020000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1547–1553: Edward VI)	1547	D00000998449490000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1547–1553: Edward VI)	1548	D00000998449870000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1547–1553: Edward VI)	1548	D00000998459060000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1547–1553: Edward VI)	1549	D00000223384970000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1547–1553: Edward VI)	1549	D00000331510510000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1547–1553: Edward VI)	1549	D00000998450000000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1547–1553: Edward VI)	1549	D00000998459090000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1547–1553: Edward VI)	1549	D00000998459110000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1547–1553: Edward VI)	1549	D00000998459120000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1547–1553: Edward VI)	1549	D00000998459160000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1547–1553: Edward VI)	1549	D00000998459190000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England.	1527	D00000998565480000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England.	1534	D00000998572460000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England. Sovereign (1509–1547: Henry VIII)	1528	D00000998444260000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England. Sovereign (1509–1547: Henry VIII)	1529	D00000998458800000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	England. Sovereign (1509–1547: Henry VIII)	1529	D00000998476620000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Erasmus, Desiderius, d. 1536.	1526	D00000998449560000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Erasmus, Desiderius, d. 1536.	1526	D00000998454550000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S1 (1500–1549)	Erasmus, Desiderius, d. 1536.	1529	D00000998455470000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Erasmus, Desiderius, d. 1536.	1531	D00000230370370000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Erasmus, Desiderius, d. 1536.	1534	D00000998374830000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Erasmus, Desiderius, d. 1536.	1534	D00000998374920000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Erasmus, Desiderius, d. 1536.	1534	D00000998375060000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Fisher, John, Saint, 1469–1535.	1509	D00000998413300000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Fisher, John, Saint, 1469–1535.	1509	D00000998413410000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Fisher, John, Saint, 1469–1535.	1521	D00000998413430000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Fisher, John, Saint, 1469–1535.	1526	D00000998453470000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Fisher, John, Saint, 1469–1535.	1532	D00000998413510000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Fitzherbert, John, d. 1531.	1530	D00000998475070000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Fox, Edward, 1496?–1538.	1531	D00000998431390000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Franciscan Convent (Ipswich, England)	1517	D00000998457630000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Frith, John, 1503–1533.	1533	D00000998413830000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Frontinus, Sextus Julius.	1539	D00000998384340000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Gardiner, Stephen, 1483?–1555.	1546	D00000998386110000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Gardiner, Stephen, 1483?–1555.	1546	D00000998386180000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Geuffroy, Antoine.	1542	D00000998406860000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Gilby, Anthony, c1510–1585.	1548	D00000998388680000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Góis, Damião de, 1502–1574.	1533	D00000998518910000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Guevara, Antonio de, Bp., d. 1545?	1537	D00000998392360000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Guild of Our Lady of Scala Coeli (Boston, Lincolnshire, England)	1515	D00000998424620000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Harrison, James, fl. 1547.	1547	D00000998395630000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Hart, Henry, fl. 1549.	1549	D00000998453100000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Henley, Walter de.	1508	D00000998438390000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Hereford Cathedral. Porch and Chantry Chapel.	1518	D00000998457400000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Hooper, John, d. 1555.	1547	D00000998399390000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Hooper, John, d. 1555.	1547	D00000998399400000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Hooper, John, d. 1555.	1549	D00000998451180000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Hooper, John, d. 1555.	1549	D00000998451250000.txt

S1 (1500–1549)	Hospital of St. Katherine (Lincoln, England)	1510	D00000998438260000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Hospital of the Holy Ghost (Rome, Italy)	1520	D00000998468320000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	John Chrysostom, Saint, d. 407.	1542	D00000998435070000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	John Chrysostom, Saint, d. 407.	1544	D00000998394670000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Johnson, John, professor of holy divinite.	1535	D00000998394710000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Jonas, Justus, 1493–1555.	1546	D00000998556560000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Joye, George, d. 1553.	1543	D00000998556260000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Joye, George, d. 1553.	1531	D00000998988300000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Joye, George, d. 1553.	1534	D00000998395480000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Joye, George, d. 1553.	1535	D00000998407120000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Joye, George, d. 1553.	1535	D00000998556640000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Joye, George, d. 1553.	1541	D00000998404310000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Joye, George, d. 1553.	1543	D00000998395350000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Joye, George, d. 1553.	1543	D00000998404800000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Joye, George, d. 1553.	1544	D00000998395470000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Joye, George, d. 1553.	1545	D00000998435970000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Joye, George, d. 1553.	1546	D00000998436390000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Joye, George, d. 1553.	1548	D00000998361200000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Joye, George, d. 1553.	1549	D00000998556680000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Laet, Jaspar, fl. 1530–1544.	1544	D00000998445710000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Langton, Christopher, 1521–1578.	1545	D00000998449760000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Latimer, Hugh, 1485?–1555.	1537	D00000229284190000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Latimer, Hugh, 1485?–1555.	1548	D00000998439700000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Latimer, Hugh, 1485?–1555.	1549	D00000998439570000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Leland, John, 1506?–1552.	1549	D00000998441100000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Lemaire de Belges, Jean, b. 1473.	1539	D00000998404770000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Longland, John, 1473–1547.	1536	D00000998394690000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Longland, John, 1473–1547.	1538	D00000998394700000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Mandeville, John, Sir.	1503	D00000998400990000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Melanchthon, Philipp, 1497–1560.	1548	D00000998399910000.txt

S1 (1500–1549)	More, Thomas, Sir, Saint, 1478–1535.	1529	D00000998400190000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	More, Thomas, Sir, Saint, 1478–1535.	1529	D00000998406990000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	More, Thomas, Sir, Saint, 1478–1535.	1533	D00000998400120000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	More, Thomas, Sir, Saint, 1478–1535.	1533	D00000998480920000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Morison, Richard, Sir, d. 1556.	1539	D00000998400250000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Morison, Richard, Sir, d. 1556.	1539	D00000998400400000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Morley, Henry Parker, Lord, 1476–1556.	1539	D00000998400200000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Nausea, Friedrich, d. 1552.	1533	D00000998420790000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Nicolls, Philip.	1548	D00000998399010000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Ochino, Bernardino, 1487–1564.	1549	D00000998486470000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Osiander, Andreas, 1498–1552.	1537	D00000998399980000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Osiander, Andreas, 1498–1552.	1548	D00000998559550000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Patten, William, fl. 1548–1580.	1548	D00000998494120000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Paynell, Thomas.	1529	D00000998485630000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Paynell, Thomas.	1534	D00000998394130000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Pedersen, Christiern, 1480?–1554.	1533	D00000998420820000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Plutarch.	1528	D00000998460380000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Plutarch.	1543	D00000998401620000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Plutarch.	1545	D00000998401650000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Ponet, John, 1516?–1556.	1549	D00000998410330000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Rastell, John, d. 1536.	1530	D00000998402120000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Rich, Richard, Sir, 1496?–1567.	1548	D00000229223130000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Ryckes, John.	1525	D00000998462490000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	San Pedro, Diego de, fl. 1500.	1543	D00000998445850000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	San Pedro, Diego de, fl. 1500.	1548	D00000998461470000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Sarcerius, Erasmus, 1501–1559.	1538	D00000239970610000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Sargy, J.	1518	D00000998468300000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Schweizerischer Evangerlischer Kirchenbund.	1548	D00000998435250000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S1 (1500–1549)	Simon, anchorite of London Wall.	1514	D00000998435410000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	St. Thomas's Hospital (London, England)	1515	D00000998473950000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Starkey, Thomas, d. 1538.	1536	D00000998403240000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Sturm, Johannes, 1507–1589.	1538	D00000998408250000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Taverner, Richard, 1505?–1575.	1542	D00000219982820000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Taverner, Richard, 1505?–1575.	1542	D00000998467120000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Terence.	1534	D00000998535510000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Tunstall, Cuthbert, 1474–1559.	1539	D00000998538860000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Tyndale, William, d. 1536.	1526	D00000998410870000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Tyndale, William, d. 1536.	1528	D00000998406010000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Tyndale, William, d. 1536.	1528	D00000998406070000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Tyndale, William, d. 1536.	1534	D00000201897770000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Tyndale, William, d. 1536.	1536	D00000998400370000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Tyndale, William, d. 1536.	1536	D00000998437310000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Tyrone, Con Bacagh O'Neill, Earl of, c1484–1559.	1542	D00000998458750000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Velthoven, Adrian.	1520	D00000998575500000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Walshe, Edward.	1545	D00000998408130000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Watson, Henry, fl. 1500–1518,	1511	D00000998410140000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Watson, Henry, fl. 1500–1518.	1510	D00000998414820000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Watson, Henry, fl. 1500–1518.	1518	D00000998366870000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Whitford, Richard, fl. 1495–1555?	1535	D00000998406590000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Xenophon.	1532	D00000998437880000.txt
S1 (1500–1549)	Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni Francesco, 1470–1533.	1525	D00000998459980000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

APPENDIX II. List of selected texts from EEBOCorp 1.0: Subperiod 2 (1550–1599)

50-year subperiod	Author	Date	File name
S2 (1550–1599)	Achelley, Thomas.	1572	D00000998510910000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Ambrose, Saint, Bishop of Milan, d. 397.	1561	D00000998359750000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Anon.	1557	D00000998544740000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Anon.	1559	D00000998440570000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Anon.	1566	D00000998379000000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Anon.	1579	D00000998377700000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Anon.	1581	D00000215007270000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Anon.	1581	D00000256035640000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Anon.	1591	D00000216808420000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Anon.	1591	D00000998542690000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Anon.	1596	D00000215011440000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	António, Prior of Crato, 1531–1595.	1585	D00000998360530000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Archdeacon, Daniel.	1588	D00000998528960000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Arnauld, Antoine, 1560–1619.	1594	D00000232095140000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Augustine, Saint, Bishop of Hippo.	1550	D00000998440930000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Augustine, Saint, Bishop of Hippo.	1557	D00000221056170000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Avila y Çuñiga, Luis de, 1500–1564.	1555	D00000998360930000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Bacon, Francis, 1561–1626.	1599	D00000998369990000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Baker, Humfrey, fl. 1557–1587.	1568	D00000998402710000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Baley, Walter, 1529–1592.	1587	D00000998504760000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Barrow, Henry, 1550?–1593.	1589	D00000242512860000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Becon, Thomas, 1512–1567.	1550	D00000227186340000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Bedfordshire (England)	1585	D00000234413270000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S2 (1550–1599)	Bèze, Théodore de, 1519–1605.	1565	D00000998375590000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Blagrave, John, d. 1611.	1590	D00000998384310000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Blagrave, John, d. 1611.	1597	D00000220445820000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Blundeville, Thomas, fl. 1561.	1574	D00000998403870000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Boazio, Baptista.	1591	D00000216635090000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Bodonius, Stephanus.	1570	D00000227778130000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Bogaert, Arnould.	1553	D00000998558170000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Bonner, Edmund, 1500?–1569.	1555	D00000220920770000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Bradford, John, 1510?–1555.	1555	D00000998449150000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Brasbridge, Thomas, fl. 1590.	1578	D00000221426200000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Bredwell, Stephen.	1586	D00000998494030000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Breton, Nicholas, 1545?–1626?	1597	D00000998453160000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Broughton, Hugh, 1549–1612.	1590	D00000998424480000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Broughton, Hugh, 1549–1612.	1590	D00000998424770000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Bulkley, Edward, d. 1621?	1588	D00000998425630000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Bunny, Edmund, 1540–1619.	1589	D00000998480620000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Burghley, William Cecil, Baron, 1520–1598,	1572	D00000998571480000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Burton, William, d. 1616.	1591	D00000221617180000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Carrillo de Mendoza y Pimentel, Diego, 16th/17th cent.	1588	D00000998500170000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Casimir, Johann, Pfalzgraf bei Rhein, 1543–1592.	1579	D00000998361980000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Chaderton, Laurence, 1536?–1640.	1584	D00000202125180000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Chaloner, Thomas, Sir, 1561–1615.	1584	D00000998519340000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Chandieu, Antoine de, 1534–1591.	1583	D00000202291350000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Church of England.	1579	D00000331430800000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Church of England. Diocese of Lincoln. Bishop (1570–1584 Cooper).	1571	D00000244040910000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Church of England. Diocese of Lincoln. , Bishop (1570–1584: Cooper)	1580	D00000229142540000.txt

S2 (1550–1599)	Church of England. Diocese of London. Bishop (1570–1577: Sandys)	1571	D00000998520030000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Church of England. Diocese of Salisbury. Bishop (1559–1571: Jewel)	1569	D00000229157460000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Church of England. Province of Canterbury. Archbishop (1559–1575: Parker)	1563	D00000998476610000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Church of England. Province of Canterbury. Archbishop (1575–1583: Grindal)	1577	D00000228842590000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Church of England. Province of Canterbury. Archbishop (1575–1583: Grindal)	1580	D00000243999050000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Churchyard, Thomas, 1520?–1604.	1579	D00000998407650000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Chute, Anthony, d. 1595?	1593	D00000998544430000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Chute, Anthony, d. 1595?	1595	D00000222208470000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Cicero, Marcus Tullius.	1550	D00000998466140000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Cicero, Marcus Tullius.	1561	D00000998436700000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Cicero, Marcus Tullius.	1569	D00000998480450000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	City of London (England).	1562	D00000449203550000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	City of London (England).	1568	D00000449203560000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Clarke, Thomas, seminarie priest of the English college at Rheims.	1594	D00000998541880000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Condé, Louis, Prince de, 1530–1569.	1562	D00000998376900000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Cooper, Thomas, 1517?–1594.	1580	D00000998534440000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Corporation of London. Court of Common Council.	1577	D00000331426100000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Corporation of London. Court of Common Council.	1586	D00000246393040000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Corporation of London. Court of Common Council.	1587	D00000998564410000.txt

S2 (1550–1599)	Corporation of London. Lord Mayor (1567: Martin)	1567	D00000242260600000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Corporation of London. Lord Mayor.	1550	D00000231523290000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Corte, Claudio.	1584	D00000998361660000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Cranmer, Thomas, 1489–1556.	1550	D00000998449330000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Cranmer, Thomas, 1489–1556.	1556	D00000998466000000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Curteys, Richard, 1532?–1582.	1573	D00000998516490000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Danyel, John.	1576	D00000230848310000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Dares, Phrygius.	1553	D00000998462080000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Davis, John, 1550?–1605.	1595	D00000222702280000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Dee, John, 1527–1608.	1599	D00000998451390000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Dent, Arthur, d. 1607.	1582	D00000236049830000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Devon (England)	1595	D00000236037030000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Dorcastor, Nicholas.	1554	D00000998472020000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Elidad.	1574	D00000998513540000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Eliot, John.	1589	D00000998561530000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales.	1555	D00000224109680000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales.	1559	D00000331426700000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales.	1584	D00000236844450000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Commissioners of Customs.	1550	D00000998443980000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1553–1558: Mary I)	1553	D00000331508920000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1553–1558: Mary I)	1553	D00000331508950000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1553–1558: Mary I)	1554	D00000331508990000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1553–1558: Mary I)	1554	D00000331509000000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1553–1558: Mary I)	1554	D00000331509040000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1553–1558: Mary I)	1555	D00000331508210000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1553–1558: Mary I)	1556	D00000331508240000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1553–1558: Mary I)	1557	D00000331508230000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1553–1558: Mary I)	1557	D00000331508270000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1553–1558: Mary I)	1558	D00000331508290000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1553–1558: Mary I)	1558	D00000331508320000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1553–1558: Mary I)	1558	D00000331508420000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1558–1603: Elizabeth I)	1558	D00000331508890000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1558–1603: Elizabeth I)	1559	D00000228410480000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1558–1603: Elizabeth I)	1559	D00000331508910000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1558–1603: Elizabeth I)	1571	D00000229191120000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1558–1603: Elizabeth I)	1578	D00000998503510000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Escalante, Bernardino de, 16th cent.	1579	D00000998375100000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Evans, Lewis, fl. 1574.	1570	D00000998375750000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	F. K.	1580	D00000200720290000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Fenner, Dudley, 1558?–1587.	1584	D00000998377390000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Fenner, Dudley, 1558?–1587.	1584	D00000244733640000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Fielde, John, d. 1588.	1581	D00000998527680000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Finch, Richard, minister of East Ham.	1590	D00000237285960000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Fit John, John.	1577	D00000998529600000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Flacius Illyricus, Matthias, 1520–1575.	1552	D00000998476870000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S2 (1550–1599)	Flacius Illyricus, Matthias, 1520–1575.	1564	D00000998537350000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Fletcher, Giles, 1549?–1611.	1591	D00000998380820000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Foulweather, Adam.	1591	D00000998489790000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Foxe, John, 1516–1587.	1579	D00000998521650000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	France. Sovereign (1560–1574: Charles IX)	1573	D00000998538250000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Fulke, William, 1538–1589.	1581	D00000998529000000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Furio Ceriol, Fadrique, d. 1592.	1570	D00000998413960000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Galis, Richard.	1579	D00000999003450000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Gardiner, Stephen, 1483?–1555.	1551	D00000241374980000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Gascoigne, George, 1542?–1577.	1576	D00000998414360000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Gascoigne, George, 1542?–1577.	1576	D00000998523520000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Gifford, George, 1547/8–1600.	1582	D00000399610680000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Gifford, George, 1547/8–1600.	1593	D00000998414160000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Godet, Giles.	1565	D00000399607000000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Goeurot, Jean.	1550	D00000998451510000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Golding, Arthur, 1536–1606.	1576	D00000998517060000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Golding, Arthur, 1536–1606.	1576	D00000998524150000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Goslicki, Wawrzyniec, 1530–1607.	1598	D00000998424420000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Gough, John, fl. 1561–1570.	1570	D00000998539030000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Grassi, Giacomo di.	1594	D00000998391430000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Greene, Robert, 1558?–1592.	1592	D00000998549550000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Grindal, Edmund, 1519?–1583.	1564	D00000998392020000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Grocers' Company (London, England)	1592	D00000998444480000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Guillemeau, Jacques, 1550?–1613.	1587	D00000998502180000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Guise, François de Lorraine, Duc de, 1519–1563.	1562	D00000998544610000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Gybson, Thomas, fl. 1583.	1584	D00000230632240000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	H. B., fl. 1588.	1588	D00000998518420000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	H. R. fl. 1585–1616.	1592	D00000998460950000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Hacket, Roger, 1559–1621.	1591	D00000998541980000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Haddon, Walter, 1516–1572.	1565	D00000998477170000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S2 (1550–1599)	Harding, Thomas, 1516–1572.	1565	D00000237424030000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Haslop, Henry.	1587	D00000998478170000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Hay, George, d. 1588.	1563	D00000998357910000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Hemmingsen, Niels, 1513–1600.	1569	D00000381607250000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Hennot, John de.	1566	D00000998480790000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Hill, Thomas, b. c1528.	1574	D00000998528290000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Hill, Thomas, b. c1528.	1577	D00000998539890000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Holland, Henry, 1555 or 6–1603.	1590	D00000998398920000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Hooker, John, 1526?–1601.	1584	D00000998379010000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Hotman, François, 1524–1590.	1573	D00000998399810000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Hudson, John, M.A., Oxon.	1584	D00000998517750000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Hutchins, Edward, 1558?–1629.	1593	D00000238163920000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	I. B., gentleman.	1572	D00000998362190000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	I. D.	1597	D00000228643910000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Jeninges, Edward.	1590	D00000998447870000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Jewel, John, 1522–1571.	1564	D00000998368960000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Kellwaye, Simon.	1593	D00000998448950000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Leech, John, 1565–1650?	1590	D00000238479020000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Leslie, John, 1527–1596.	1572	D00000998411920000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Leslie, John, 1527–1596.	1572	D00000232973360000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	L'Espine, Jean de, ca. 1506–1597.	1577	D00000998424310000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	L'Espine, Jean de, ca. 1506–1597.	1590	D00000998544200000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Lever, Thomas, 1521–1577.	1550	D00000238507250000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Lever, Thomas, 1521–1577.	1550	D00000998439480000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Lever, Thomas, 1521–1577.	1550	D00000998556330000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Lewkenor, Lewis, Sir, d. 1626.	1595	D00000998426230000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Lingham, John.	1584	D00000231211030000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Lodge, Thomas, 1558?–1625.	1596	D00000202296230000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Lopes, Duarte.	1597	D00000998444750000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Lupton, Thomas.	1589	D00000221372730000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Lyly, John, 1554?–1606.	1584	D00000246551240000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Marescot, Michel, 1539–1605.	1599	D00000998484750000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Melanchthon, Philipp, 1497–1560.	1550	D00000998552810000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Moore, Philip, fl. 1564–1573.	1564	D00000998456490000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S2 (1550–1599)	Morton, Thomas, of Berwick.	1597	D00000238928840000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Mote, Humphrey.	1585	D00000998481580000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Mulcaster, Richard, 1530?–1611.	1581	D00000998481690000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Mulcaster, Richard, 1530?–1611.	1582	D00000998481670000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Munday, Anthony, 1553–1633.	1584	D00000998481820000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Nicholas, Thomas, b. c1532.	1577	D00000998521310000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Norden, John, 1548–1625?	1596	D00000998485530000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Norden, John, 1548–1625?	1597	D00000998485580000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Northampton, Henry Howard, Earl of, 1540–1614.	1574	D00000998369290000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Norton, Thomas, 1532–1584.	1560	D00000381607180000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Norton, Thomas, 1532–1584.	1570	D00000998569160000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Parker, Matthew, 1504–1575.	1567	D00000998476050000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Parsons, Robert, 1546–1610.	1593	D00000998380560000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Pasquill, of England, Cavaliero.	1589	D00000998494440000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Pettie, George, 1548–1589.	1576	D00000998372550000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Phillips, John, fl. 1570–1591.	1581	D00000202424870000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Ponet, John, 1516?–1556.	1553	D00000998544330000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Ponet, John, 1516?–1556.	1554	D00000998465610000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Rainolde, Richard, d. 1606.	1563	D00000998403180000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Rastell, John, 1532–1577.	1566	D00000254720250000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Rogers, John, fl. 1560–1580.	1579	D00000998358910000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Salter, Thomas.	1579	D00000998374550000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Scotland.	1599	D00000214272460000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Serres, Jean de, 1540?–1598.	1570	D00000998361120000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Smith, Henry, 1550?–1591.	1591	D00000998398780000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Smith, Henry, 1550?–1591.	1591	D00000998486990000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Standish, John, 1507?–1570.	1556	D00000998367970000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Stubbes, John, 1543–1591.	1579	D00000998531300000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Stubbes, Phillip.	1592	D00000214323130000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	T. C., fl. 1579.	1579	D00000233039090000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Thémines, Pons de Lauzière, marquis de, c1553–1627.	1593	D00000998492430000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Tomson, Laurence, 1539–1608.	1570	D00000998482580000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S2 (1550–1599)	Top, Alexander.	1597	D00000998382350000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Tunstall, Cuthbert, 1474–1559.	1558	D00000998467910000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Udall, John, 1560?–1592.	1588	D00000998365720000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Vermigli, Pietro Martire, 1499–1562.	1550	D00000998543510000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Verstegan, Richard, c1550–1640.	1576	D00000998514020000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Verstegan, Richard, c1550–1640.	1589	D00000998518460000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Watson, Thomas, 1513–1584.	1558	D00000998358870000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Wedderburn, Robert, c1510–ca. 1557.	1550	D00002149985700000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Werdmüller, O.	1555	D00000998378230000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Westminster (London, England). Steward.	1564	D00000331511770000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Whitgift, John, 1530?–1604.	1572	D00000998571780000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Whitgift, John, 1530?–1604.	1589	D00000998501610000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Willet, Andrew, 1562–1621.	1592	D00000998548470000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	William I, Prince of Orange, 1533–1584.	1568	D00000998376540000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Wingfield, Henry.	1551	D00000998393960000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Wither, George, 1540–1605.	1585	D00000998376720000.txt
S2 (1550–1599)	Wright, Leonard, b. 1555/6.	1590	D00000998385530000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

USC
UNIVERSIDADE
DE SANTIAGO
DE COMPOSTELA

APPENDIX III. List of selected texts from EEBOCorp 1.0: Subperiod 3 (1600–1649)

50-year subperiod	Author	Date	File name
S3 (1600–1649)	A. T., fl. 1631.	1631	D00000998389970000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Abernethie, Thomas, fl. 1638–1641.	1638	D00000998362450000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Ainsworth, Henry, 1571–1622?	1608	D00000221217420000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Andrewes, Lancelot, 1555–1626.	1618	D00000998360410000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Anon.	1607	D00000998455840000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Anon.	1612	D00000998387090000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Anon.	1613	D00000998430620000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Anon.	1615	D00000331497950000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Anon.	1620	D00000331434050000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Anon.	1623	D00000998464730000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Anon.	1625	D00000998367400000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Anon.	1639	D00000221708580000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Anon.	1642	D00000082564380000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Archer, John, 17th cent.	1642	D00000084470050000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Argyll, Archibald Campbell, Marquis of, 1598–1661.	1645	D00000121660760000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Bacon, Francis, 1561–1626.	1604	D00000201758360000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Balcanquhall, Walter, 1586?–1645.	1623	D00000998363780000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Balmford, James, b. 1556.	1623	D00000998364930000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Band, R. fl. 1612	1612	D00000998387040000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Barker, Andrew, fl. 1609.	1609	D00000998402300000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Barlow, William, d. 1613.	1609	D00000201799290000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Barlow, William, d. 1625.	1618	D00000998366890000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S3 (1600–1649)	Basil I, Emperor of the East, c812–886.	1638	D00000998540550000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Batten, William, Sir, d. 1667.	1630	D00000221481560000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Bedell, William, 1571–1642.	1628	D00000998490280000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Bell, Thomas, fl. 1593–1610.	1608	D00000998373610000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Bernhard, Duke of Saxe–Weimar, 1604–1639.	1638	D00000221513420000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Bewick, John, d. 1671.	1644	D00000118798780000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Bignon, Jérôme, 1589–1656.	1605	D00000220383200000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Blague, Thomas, d. 1611.	1603	D00000998495610000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Boazio, Baptista.	1600	D00000216557090000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Bohemia (Zeme). Snem.	1620	D00000998385330000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Bolton, Edmund, 1575?–1633?	1629	D00000998419890000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Bolton, Robert, 1572–1631.	1630	D00000220663810000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Bonoeil, John.	1620	D00000998457830000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Bonoeil, John.	1622	D00000998447590000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Booker, John, 17th cent.	1646	D00000079517480000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Boyd, Zacharie, 1585?–1653.	1639	D00000227841490000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Boys, John, 1571–1625.	1610	D00000221055270000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Bradford, William, 1588–1657.	1622	D00000998459940000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Brayne, John.	1649	D00000079113500000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Brereton, Henry.	1614	D00000998494040000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Breton, Nicholas, 1545?–1626?	1607	D00000201908250000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Breton, Nicholas, 1545?–1626?	1618	D00000998404460000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Brinsley, John, fl. 1581–1624.	1615	D00000998495250000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Brinsley, John, fl. 1633.	1622	D00000998423620000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Broughton, Richard.	1603	D00000998495460000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Buonaccorsi, Andrea.	1607	D00000221604760000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Bure, Anders, 1571–1646.	1632	D00000998559290000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Burton, Henry, 1578–1648.	1628	D00000998426700000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Caddell, Peter.	1632	D00000221689950000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Calderwood, David, 1575–1650.	1636	D00000998535220000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Callis, Robert, fl. 1634.	1647	D00000079163870000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Carleton, George, 1559–1628.	1626	D00000215562510000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S3 (1600–1649)	Carpenter, Nathanael. 1589–1628?	1627	D00000221695600000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Caudry, Thomas.	1606	D00000215681640000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Caylie, Mathew.	1623	D00000221752460000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Chaloner, Edward, 1590/91–1625.	1625	D00000221770930000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Chudleigh, James, d. 1643.	1643	D00000081077600000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Church of England.	1630	D00000230312080000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Church of England. Diocese of Chichester. Bishop (1628–1638: Montagu)	1631	D00000230245680000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Church of England. Diocese of Ely. Bishop (1609–1619: Andrewes).	1613	D00000526332190000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Church of England. Diocese of London. Bishop (1610–1611: Abbot)	1611	D00000221351740000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Church of England. Province of Canterbury. Archbishop (1611–1633: Abbot)	1632	D00000223722380000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Church of England. Province of York. Archbishop (1628–1631: Harsnett)	1629	D00000998368220000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Church of Scotland. General Assembly. Commission.	1648	D00000121803850000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Clarke, Samuel, 1599–1682.	1642	D00000078806400000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Codrington, Robert, 1601–1665.	1642	D00000126030100000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Cooper, John, fl. 1626.	1615	D00000214683070000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Cooper, Thomas, fl. 1626.	1619	D00000331434030000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Corbet, Edward, d. 1658.	1642	D00000121747600000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Cork, Richard Boyle, Earl of, 1566–1643.	1642	D00000126075640000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Corporation of London.	1620	D00000221342280000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Cotta, John, 1575?–1650?	1625	D00000222360820000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Cotton, Robert, Sir, 1571–1631.	1627	D00000222373820000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Council for New England.	1622	D00000998456990000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Counseil for Virginia (England and Wales)	1610	D00000998426160000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S3 (1600–1649)	Courtney, Thomas, 17th cent.	1642	D00000124338030000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Cowling, Nicholas.	1648	D00000118829460000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Cowper, William, 1568–1619.	1606	D00000998499070000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Cowper, William, 1568–1619.	1612	D00000200417160000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Cranford, James, d. 1657.	1642	D00000126527830000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Cromwell, Oliver, 1599–1658.	1649	D00000118828650000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Culpeper, Thomas, Sir, 1578–1662.	1621	D00000998447770000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Dale, Elizabeth, Lady.	1624	D00000331498030000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Dekker, Thomas, c1572–1632.	1630	D00000222832610000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Demetrius, Charles.	1612	D00000998388720000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Dent, Daniel.	1628	D00000222874350000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Digges, Dudley, Sir, 1583–1639.	1611	D00000998410850000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Dighton, Thomas, fl. 1618–1619.	1619	D00000214944600000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Donne, John, 1572–1631.	1622	D00000202117320000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Donne, John, 1572–1631.	1624	D00000214982060000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Downame, George, d. 1634.	1602	D00000998457330000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Downame, George, d. 1634.	1607	D00000998457450000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Draxe, Thomas, d. 1618.	1608	D00000998455280000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Draxe, Thomas, d. 1618.	1608	D00000998499170000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Du Chesne, Joseph, c1544–1609.	1605	D00000998455960000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Dugdale, William, Sir, 1605–1686.	1645	D00000084884010000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Duppa, Brian, 1588–1662.	1644	D00000081191330000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Edwards, Thomas, 1599–1647.	1644	D00000118765710000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	England and Wales.	1642	D00000124337720000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	England and Wales. Army.	1648	D00000121702720000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	England and Wales. Legation (France)	1615	D00000998365460000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1603–1625: James I)	1614	D00000202134000000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1603–1625: James I)	1614	D00000202134430000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1603–1625: James I)	1617	D00000202135120000.txt

S3 (1600–1649)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1603–1625: James I)	1618	D00000202136090000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1603–1625: James I)	1620	D00000998367840000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	English covenanter.	1648	D00000998252580000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Epictetus.	1610	D00000998374540000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Essex, Robert Devereux, Earl of, 1566–1601.	1600	D00000222928860000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Eye-witnesse admirably preserved by the gracious and mighty hand of God in that day of trouble.	1644	D00000118760890000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Fitz–Geffry, Charles, 1575?–1638.	1637	D00000998379480000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Fludd, Robert, 1574–1637.	1631	D00000998381610000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Forbes, John, Captain.	1631	D00000230607160000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, 1584–1647.	1629	D00000998385450000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, 1584–1647.	1642	D00000126076390000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	French Gent.	1620	D00000998502520000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Fuller, Thomas, 1608–1661.	1643	D00000078886800000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Fuller, Thomas, 1608–1661.	1647	D00000121821570000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Gainsford, Thomas, d. 1624?	1618	D00000998385650000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Garetson, Mr.	1627	D00000998468440000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Gedde, Walter.	1615	D00000998387550000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Gentleman well deserving that hath suffered much in those warres.	1638	D00000221509120000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Gentleman, Tobias.	1614	D00000998387960000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Gildas, 516?–570?	1638	D00000998389200000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Gillespie, George, 1613–1648.	1637	D00000998388800000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Gillespie, George, 1613–1648.	1647	D00000121803780000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Glemham, Thomas, Sir, d. 1649.	1644	D00000079294450000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Goodwin, Thomas, 1600–1680.	1637	D00000998390190000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Gordon, James, 1541–1620.	1614	D00000998494640000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Guild, William, 1586–1657.	1637	D00000998536800000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S3 (1600–1649)	Gurnay, Edmund, d. 1648.	1631	D00000998561310000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Habington, William, 1605–1654.	1641	D00000121769170000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Hamond, Walter, fl. 1643.	1643	D00000121814370000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Hamor, Ralph, d. 1626.	1615	D00000998417220000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Harward, Simon, fl. 1572–1614.	1607	D00000998396640000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Hayne, Thomas, 1582–1645.	1607	D00000998396470000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Hayward, John, D.D.	1603	D00000998396840000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Hayward, John, Sir, 1564?–1627.	1604	D00000998396880000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Hayward, John, Sir, 1564?–1627.	1613	D00000998396580000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Henderson, Alexander, 1583?–1646.	1638	D00000201778900000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Henderson, Alexander, 1583?–1646.	1638	D00000998359170000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Heylyn, Peter, 1600–1662.	1643	D00000079339290000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Hill, Henry, 1643?–1707.	1646	D00000081602130000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Hippocrates.	1610	D00000381608090000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Ireland. Lord Deputy (1622–1629: Falkland)	1624	D00000998367110000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Jackson, John, 1600–1648.	1628	D00000998371620000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Jackson, John.	1641	D00000081640890000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Jackson, Thomas, d. 1646.	1624	D00000998371760000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	James I, King of England, 1566–1625.	1609	D00000220449160000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	James, Thomas, 1573?–1629.	1625	D00000998434020000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Jocelin, fl. 1200.	1625	D00000998424890000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Johnson, Thomas, d. 1644.	1630	D00000998448440000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Jonson, Ben, 1573?–1637.	1625	D00000998448780000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	L. T. A., fl. 1592.	1605	D00000998400910000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Laud, William, 1573–1645.	1625	D00000998440070000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Laud, William, 1573–1645.	1626	D00000998386400000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Learned and Judicious Divine.	1638	D00000998380160000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Lover of Englishmens freedomes.	1649	D00000082516000000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Malvezzi, Virgilio, Marchese, 1595–1653.	1637	D00000998471640000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Markham, Gervase, 1568?–1637.	1630	D00000202408950000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Markham, Gervase, 1568?–1637.	1634	D00000998472030000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S3 (1600–1649)	Marshall, Stephen, 1594?–1655.	1641	D00000124265300000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Mason, Francis, 1566?–1621.	1613	D00000998495200000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Mason, John, 1586–1635.	1620	D00000998455590000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Mede, Joseph, 1586–1638.	1637	D00000998388530000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Meres, Francis, 1565–1647.	1634	D00000998566970000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Monipennie, John.	1612	D00000998494600000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Monlas, John.	1633	D00000998380930000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Morton, Thomas, 1564–1659.	1608	D00000998402420000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Mun, Thomas, 1571–1641.	1621	D00000998369520000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Munday, Anthony, 1553–1633.	1610	D00000998397230000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Nichols, Philip.	1626	D00000998457590000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Nicholson, Samuel, fl. 1600–1602.	1602	D00000998497800000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Nixon, Anthony.	1607	D00000998457770000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Owen, Thomas, 1557–1618.	1610	D00000221225440000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Pagitt, Ephraim, 1574/5–1647.	1639	D00000381607370000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Parker, Henry, 1604–1652.	1642	D00000126036980000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Perkins, William, 1558–1602.	1601	D00000998391930000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Polyander à Kerckhoven, Johannes, 1568–1646.	1610	D00000998366960000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Preston, John, minister of East Ogwell.	1619	D00000998495310000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Proctor, Thomas, fl. 1621.	1621	D00000998460390000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Prynne, William, 1600–1669.	1630	D00000998558630000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Prynne, William, 1600–1669.	1636	D00000998562670000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Pym, John, 1584–1643.	1642	D00000124271080000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	R. C., fl. 1602.	1602	D00000998502610000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Reynolds, Edward, 1599–1676.	1638	D00000998475200000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Rigby, Alexander, 1594–1650.	1641	D00000126530020000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Robinson, John, 1575?–1625.	1625	D00000998461910000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Rogers, John, of Chacombe.	1618	D00000998358930000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Ross, Alexander, 1591–1654.	1641	D00000116971960000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Ross, Alexander, 1591–1654.	1645	D00000121810750000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Rous, Francis, 1579–1659.	1616	D00000998358640000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S3 (1600–1649)	Royal College of Physicians of London.	1636	D00000998387080000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Rushworth, John, 1612?–1690.	1645	D00000087693910000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Saltmarsh, John, d. 1647.	1639	D00000231019130000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Sanderson, Robert, 1587–1663.	1647	D00000126029830000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Scott, Thomas, 1580?–1626.	1623	D00000215014230000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Scott, Thomas, 1580?–1626.	1624	D00000215034970000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Sedgwick, John, 1600/1601–1643.	1624	D00000214280390000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Smith, John, 1580–1631.	1620	D00000998464530000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Smith, Miles, d. 1624.	1602	D00000215061380000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Sorocold, Thomas, 1561–1617.	1612	D00000998387670000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Stafford, Anthony.	1635	D00000215094210000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Sutcliffe, Matthew, 1550?–1629.	1625	D00000998467260000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Sutton, Christopher, 1565?–1629.	1604	D00000215144840000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Symmons, Edward.	1644	D00000118324720000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Symmons, Edward.	1648	D00000998253380000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Taylor, Jeremy, 1613–1667.	1644	D00000087128730000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Taylor, Thomas, 1576–1632.	1625	D00000199468030000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Taylor, Thomas, 1576–1632.	1628	D00000998468420000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Teellinck, Willem, 1579–1629.	1621	D00000998384050000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Tillinghast, John, 1604–1655.	1637	D00000998387890000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Tourneur, Cyril, 1575?–1626.	1605	D00000998466980000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Trinity House (London, England)	1621	D00000331497490000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Tuke, Thomas, d. 1657.	1607	D00000998468400000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Tuke, Thomas, d. 1657.	1617	D00000998370950000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	University of Oxford. Chancellor (1630–1641: Laud)	1634	D00000998369260000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Ussher, James, 1581–1656.	1648	D00000082594810000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Vicars, John, 1579/80–1652.	1643	D00000121788670000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Vincent, Philip, b. 1600.	1638	D00000998563150000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	W. S.	1642	D00000126075040000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Walker, George, 1581?–1651.	1641	D00000078405520000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Ward, Samuel, 1577–1640.	1618	D00000998387990000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Ward, Samuel, 1577–1640.	1621	D00000215310870000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S3 (1600–1649)	Welstead, Robert, 1571/2–1651.	1630	D00000998390560000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Willet, Andrew, 1562–1621.	1603	D00000998496610000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Williams, Roger, 1604?–1683.	1644	D00000118779820000.txt
S3 (1600–1649)	Worshipful Company of Shipwrights (London, England)	1612	D00000998492480000.txt

APPENDIX IV. List of selected texts from EEBOCorp 1.0: Subperiod 4 (1650–1700)

50-year subperiod	Author	Date	File name
S4 (1650–1700)	Adis, Henry.	1660	D00000998670200000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Albemarle, George Monck, Duke of, 1608–1670.	1660	D00000998671040000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Alcoforado, Francisco.	1675	D00000120280720000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Alsop, Vincent, 1629/30–1703.	1678	D00000119910940000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anderson, Henry, b. 1651/2.	1681	D00000136174910000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1659	D00000112547190000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1659	D00000120165320000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1660	D00000998703580000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1660	D00000998703610000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1660	D00000998703670000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1660	D00000998704330000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1664	D00000121441050000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1665	D00000121470260000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1670	D00000093089390000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1670	D00000120060430000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1675	D00000093623400000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1676	D00000117717080000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1679	D00000119947700000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1688	D00000118621840000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1688	D00000133265060000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1690	D00000123871100000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1690	D00000196204770000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1694	D00000267592620000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Anon.	1698	D00000522119200000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S4 (1650–1700)	Arwaker, Edmund.	1687	D00000124925690000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Ascham, Antony, d. 1650.	1650	D00000077523170000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Atkyns, Richard, 1615–1677.	1660	D00000114138650000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Atkyns, Richard, 1615–1677.	1669	D00000115108730000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Atwood, William, d. 1705?	1690	D00000266403250000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Bagshaw, Edward, d. 1662.	1660	D00000998672480000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Barba, Alvaro Alonso, b. 1569.	1674	D00000120109740000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Barbon, Praisegod, 1596?–1679.	1660	D00000084481140000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Barclay, Robert, 1648–1690.	1672	D00000092882690000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Barclay, Robert, 1648–1690.	1676	D00000125343700000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Baron, John, 1669/70–1722.	1699	D00000123861140000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Barrow, John, 17th cent.	1664	D00000112708440000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Barton, Nathaniel, b. 1616.	1654	D00000122665240000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Bates, William, 1625–1699.	1674	D00000092688570000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Bayly, Thomas, d. 1657?	1651	D00000078698080000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Beech, William.	1650	D00000107760510000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Bentley, Richard, 1662–1742.	1696	D00000119638750000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Bergice, Dan.	1692	D00000184264360000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Blount, Thomas Pope, Sir, 1649–1697.	1692	D00000205533510000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Bohun, Edmund, 1645–1699.	1693	D00000135014660000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne, 1627–1704.	1686	D00000124949430000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne, 1627–1704.	1687	D00000124948220000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Boyer, P. 1619–c1700.	1691	D00000267336060000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Boyle, Robert, 1627–1691.	1678	D00000092964720000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Bramhall, John, 1594–1663.	1658	D00000121164380000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Brathwaite, Richard, 1588?–1673.	1659	D00000112730840000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Bridges, John, Colonel.	1660	D00000998670790000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Bristol, George Digby, Earl of, 1612–1677.	1660	D00000112758470000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Brunel, Antoine de, 1622–1696.	1670	D00000093005550000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S4 (1650–1700)	Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of, 1628–1687.	1668	D00000116177120000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Burrough, Edward, 1634–1662.	1658	D00000106183750000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Butler, Samuel, 1612–1680.	1672	D00000125304000000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Calamy, Edmund, 1600–1666.	1658	D00000122634640000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Calder, Robert, 1658–1723.	1677	D00000093043290000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Care, Henry, 1646–1688.	1680	D00000118749080000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Care, Henry, 1646–1688.	1688	D00000136871360000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Cargill, Donald, 1619?–1681.	1681	D00000136825890000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Cellier, Elizabeth, fl. 1680.	1688	D00000112259560000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Chamberlen, Peter, 1601–1683.	1650	D00000121123640000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Chandler, Samuel.	1691	D00000125372840000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Charles II, King of England, 1630–1685.	1660	D00000998704290000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Charles II, King of England, 1630–1685.	1660	D00000998704490000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Charleton, Walter, 1619–1707.	1661	D00000121488180000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Charters, Alexander, d. 1650.	1650	D00000122659350000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Chilcot, William, 1663/4–1711.	1698	D00000123796210000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Child, Josiah, Sir, 1630–1699.	1693	D00000119640640000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Clarke, John, 1609–1676.	1652	D00000122204900000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Clarke, Samuel, 1599–1682.	1665	D00000121488490000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Cock, Thomas.	1676	D00000120333670000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Coelson, Lancelot, 1627–c1687.	1668	D00000112290410000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Compton, Henry, 1632–1713.	1699	D00000125302140000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Conold, Robert.	1676	D00000119981680000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Crisp, Stephen, 1628–1692.	1658	D00000106766530000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Croft, Herbert, 1603–1691.	1679	D00000118873880000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Curate, Jacob.	1692	D00000125344530000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Dangerfield, Thomas, 1650?–1685.	1679	D00000120045040000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Davenant, Charles, 1656–1714.	1695	D00000119643210000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Davies, James, fl. 1657–1709.	1679	D00000093444810000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	De Laune, Thomas, d. 1685.	1683	D00000133266200000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Deacon, John, 17th cent.	1657	D00000122203890000.txt

S4 (1650–1700)	Denham, John, Sir, 1615–1669.	1651	D00000122777120000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Dodson, William.	1665	D00000133043410000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Dodwell, Henry, 1641–1711.	1697	D00000123857070000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Donaldson, James, fl. 1697–1713.	1697	D00000123859420000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Drake, William, Sir.	1661	D00000112488320000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Dubourdieu, Jean, 1652–1720.	1685	D00000133443410000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Dugard, William, 1606–1662.	1661	D00000998280960000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Dunton, John, 1659–1733.	1689	D00000118705580000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Dymock, Cressy.	1651	D00000122643140000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Eachard, John, 1636?–1697.	1671	D00000117802110000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	East India Company.	1695	D00000196203680000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Ellis, Clement, 1630–1700.	1692	D00000197313600000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Ellwood, Thomas, 1639–1713.	1694	D00000197314720000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Ellwood, Thomas, 1639–1713.	1699	D00000119643270000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Elys, Edmund, c1634–c1707.	1693	D00000196370580000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Elys, Edmund, c1634–c1707.	1695	D00000196369530000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	England and Wales. Sovereign (1689–1694: William and Mary)	1689	D00000124846910000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Englishman.	1689	D00000118699060000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Erard, Claude, 1646–1700.	1699	D00000135296950000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Evelyn, John, 1620–1706.	1659	D00000121023210000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Everard, Giles.	1659	D00000122652890000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	F. A.	1662	D00000116923310000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Fairfax, Thomas Fairfax, Baron, 1612–1671.	1660	D00000998281240000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Fell, Lydia.	1676	D00000126768850000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Fell, Philip, 1632/3–1682.	1676	D00000126765980000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Filmer, Robert, Sir, d. 1653.	1653	D00000998624910000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Fisher, Samuel, 1605–1665.	1656	D00000998625160000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Fitzgerald, R.	1684	D00000135918170000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Flavel, John, 1630?–1691.	1678	D00000120339420000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Fowler, Edward, Bishop of Gloucester, 1632–1714.	1691	D00000195791110000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S4 (1650–1700)	Fox, Margaret Askew Fell, 1614–1702.	1667	D00000121440450000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	France.	1689	D00000136599180000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	G. T.	1681	D00000118713120000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Gataker, Thomas, 1574–1654.	1654	D00000998625260000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Gauden, John, 1605–1662.	1661	D00000998281570000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Gee, Richard.	1695	D00000522119220000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Gentleman then residing in Rome.	1689	D00000118752980000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Gerbier, Balthazar, Sir, 1592?–1667.	1650	D00000125698500000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Glanvill, Joseph, 1636–1680.	1668	D00000120683520000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Goodman, John, 1625/6–1690.	1684	D00000135940170000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Gother, John, d. 1704.	1687	D00000135941310000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Grantham, Thomas, 1634–1692.	1691	D00000184094150000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Greaves, Thomas.	1656	D00000107409990000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Greene, Thomas, 1634?–1699.	1665	D00000998276620000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Gregory, Francis, 1625?–1707.	1697	D00000184214570000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Guthrie, James, 1612?–1661.	1661	D00000112952770000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Halley, George, 1655/6–1708.	1698	D00000195370830000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Hamilton, William, gent.	1660	D00000998669760000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Hammond, John, d. 1707.	1655	D00000119981990000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Hannott, James.	1692	D00000195373050000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Harrison, Thomas.	1695	D00000195375710000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Hartlib, Samuel, d. 1662.	1652	D00000122755230000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Harvey, Gideon, 1640?–1700?	1686	D00000124898220000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Hearty lover of his prince and country.	1681	D00000118651840000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Henchman, Richard, d. 1672.	1660	D00000998670990000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Hesilrige, Arthur, Sir, d. 1661.	1659	D00000122264680000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Higgons, Thomas, Sir, 1624–1691.	1661	D00000114706250000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Horneck, Anthony, 1641–1697.	1678	D00000120130690000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Horneck, Anthony, 1641–1697.	1690	D00000135308090000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Howe, John, 1630–1705.	1689	D00000124839930000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Howe, John, 1630–1705.	1698	D00000135060400000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Howgill, Francis, 1618–1669.	1655	D00000107414350000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S4 (1650–1700)	Howgill, Francis, 1618–1669.	1659	D00000122064020000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Hubberthorn, Richard, 1628–1662.	1659	D00000122274530000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Hutchins, Anthony.	1657	D00000121165070000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Hutchinson, Richard, Esq.	1694	D00000522119230000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Ireland.	1697	D00000183676330000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Ireland. Lord Lieutenant (1661–1669: Ormonde)	1664	D00000998277930000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	J. W.	1665	D00000998292780000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Keith, George, 1639?–1716.	1671	D00000120336310000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Keith, George, 1639?–1716.	1700	D00000195791940000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Kettlewell, John, 1653–1695.	1693	D00000098636630000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Kiffin, William, 1616–1701.	1660	D00000998703560000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Lambert, John, 1619–1683.	1660	D00000998703720000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Langbaine, Gerard, 1656–1692.	1685	D00000124969340000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Lawrence, Thomas, A.M.	1664	D00000113426630000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Lowndes, William, 1652–1724.	1695	D00000182115670000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Marshall, William, 17th cent.	1670	D00000126736200000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Massachusetts. General Court.	1659	D00000122722750000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Merret, Christopher, 1614–1695.	1670	D00000093865960000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Moore, John, 1646–1714.	1692	D00000135404000000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Musgrave, Christopher, fl. 1621	1688	D00000107677690000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Newcastle, Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of, 1624?–1674.	1667	D00000114669950000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Norfolk, Henry Howard, Duke of, 1655–1701.	1685	D00000118622430000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Norris, John, 1657–1711.	1685	D00000124984860000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Orrery, Roger Boyle, Earl of, 1621–1679.	1660	D00000998704190000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Owen, John, 1616–1683.	1669	D00000114672480000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Owen, John, 1616–1683.	1675	D00000093786480000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Peachi, John, fl. 1683.	1694	D00000099810880000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Peachi, John, fl. 1683.	1694	D00000099811160000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Penington, Isaac, 1616–1679.	1659	D00000107592220000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Penington, Isaac, 1616–1679.	1663	D00000112435790000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S4 (1650–1700)	Penn, William, 1644–1718.	1672	D00000120059810000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Percy, James, 1619–1690?	1680	D00000118771280000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Peters, Hugh, 1598–1660.	1660	D00000998670600000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Petty, William, Sir, 1623–1687.	1662	D00000132921880000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Philipps, Fabian, 1601–1690.	1681	D00000124941250000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Pidou de Saint–Olon, Monsieur 1646–1720.	1695	D00000082278790000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Pomroy, John.	1653	D00000998624990000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Porrée, Jonas.	1669	D00000082509230000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Prideaux, Humphrey, 1648–1724.	1688	D00000136384430000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Rapin, René, 1621–1687.	1680	D00000124900730000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Reading, John, 1588–1667.	1660	D00000998669920000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Robinson, Thomas, Sir.	1684	D00000133553550000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Scotland.	1679	D00000093984970000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Sedley, Charles, Sir, 1639?–1701.	1691	D00000125305520000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of, 1621–1683.	1675	D00000120014780000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Sharp, John, 1645–1714.	1674	D00000120300030000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Sherlock, William, 1641?–1707.	1685	D00000118752060000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Smith, William, d. 1673.	1659	D00000112527560000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Smith, William, d. 1673.	1660	D00000120739720000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	South, Robert, 1634–1716.	1663	D00000082490310000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	South, Robert, 1634–1716.	1694	D00000182127320000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Spencer, John, 1601–1671.	1655	D00000112528810000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Steele, Richard, 1629–1692.	1668	D00000113808040000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Stirling, Mary Vanlore Alexander, Countess of, d. c1660.	1654	D00000122645230000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Sturgion, John.	1661	D00000998671100000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Taylor, Jeremy, 1613–1667.	1667	D00000132989100000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Tenison, Thomas, 1636–1715.	1689	D00000124883400000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Theobald, Francis, Sir, d. 1670.	1667	D00000132873030000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Thomas, William, 1593–1667.	1661	D00000132867310000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Thompson, Nathaniel, d. 1687.	1682	D00000124907650000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Thomson, George, 17th cent.	1666	D00000120756990000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

S4 (1650–1700)	Tindal, Matthew, 1653?–1733.	1694	D00000119576760000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Tindal, Matthew, 1653?–1733.	1697	D00000119576690000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Toland, John, 1670–1722.	1698	D00000123870320000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Tombes, John, 1603?–1676.	1660	D00000998671550000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Tombes, John, 1603?–1676.	1661	D00000998669990000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Trefusis, James, Gent.	1693	D00000522119190000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Vane, Henry, Sir, 1612?–1662.	1655	D00000078965530000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Vane, Henry, Sir, 1612?–1662.	1660	D00000998672270000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	W. P.	1657	D00000112434090000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	W. R. 1584–1660.	1657	D00000122704990000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Wake, William, 1657–1737.	1696	D00000078405690000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Wake, William, 1657–1737.	1700	D00000183989000000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Walwyn, Mary.	1691	D00000522119170000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Ward, Seth, 1617–1689.	1666	D00000121498190000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Webb, John, 1611–1672.	1669	D00000082540740000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	West, Thomas, of Hertford.	1664	D00000998290110000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	West, Thomas, of Hertford.	1664	D00000998290210000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	White, Thomas, 1593–1676.	1654	D00000112588580000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Whitehead, George, 1636?–1723.	1664	D00000998290230000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Wilkins, John, 1614–1672.	1653	D00000123799990000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Wilkins, John, 1614–1672.	1669	D00000121447520000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	William III, King of England, 1650–1702.	1688	D00000124909200000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	William III, King of England, 1650–1702.	1688	D00000124942750000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Williams, Daniel, 1643?–1716.	1688	D00000124974730000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Williams, Daniel, 1643?–1716.	1688	D00000133251110000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Williams, John, 1636?–1709.	1683	D00000124951960000.txt
S4 (1650–1700)	Williams, John, 1636?–1709.	1683	D00000124971290000.txt

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

RESUMEN EN CASTELLANO

Esta tesis doctoral, compuesta por nueve capítulos y cuatro apéndices, examina el desarrollo histórico de la clase de verbos de Deseo en Inglés Medio Tardío (1300–1500) y Moderno Temprano (1500–1700), con mayor énfasis empírico en los siglos XVI y XVII. En inglés actual, los verbos de Deseo, tal como se definen en Levin (1993: 194–195), engloban predicados como *hunger*, *long*, *lust* o *thirst*, que en estadios anteriores de la lengua inglesa podían utilizarse en la llamada *construcción impersonal*. Se entiende aquí por *construcciones impersonales* estructuras como las citadas en (1)–(3) (véase la Sección 2.1):

(1) norþan **sniwde**
from north snowed
'it snowed from the north'
[OE, Sea 0008 (31); adapted from Möhlig-Falke (2012: 8)]

(2) Me **liketh** nat to lye
me-OBJ pleases not to lie
'I do not like to lie'
[MED, c1425 (a1420) Lydg. TB (Aug A.4) 4.1815; adapted from Miura (2015: 2)]

(3) ðætte oft ðone geðyldegestan **scamað** ðæs siges
that often the-ACC most patient-ACC feels shame the-GEN victory-GEN
'so that often the most patient one is ashamed of the victory'
[OE, CP (Cotton) 0074 (33.226.18); adapted from Möhlig-Falke (2012: 7)]

Las construcciones ejemplificadas en (1)–(3), frecuentes en Inglés Antiguo (c500–100) e Inglés Medio (1100–1500), comparten la característica de que contienen un verbo flexionado para la tercera persona del singular, pero carecen de un sujeto gramatical en caso nominativo que concuerde con el verbo. En inglés, la construcción impersonal ha desaparecido y ha sido reemplazada por construcciones personales con un sujeto nominativo (e.g. Inglés Medio, *hym nedde* '[there] was need [to] them' > inglés actual, *they needed*) o por patrones sintácticos con un sujeto no referencial como el llamado *dummy it* (e.g. ejemplo (1) antes mencionado, Inglés Antiguo, *sniwde* 'snowed' > inglés actual, *it snowed*), entre otros.

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

Como se explica en el Capítulo 2, las propuestas más conocidas sobre los motivos del devenir histórico de las construcciones impersonales inglesas, como las de Jespersen (1961[1927]), Lightfoot (1979, 1991), Fischer & van der Leek (1983, 1987) y Allen (1986, 1995), ligan la pérdida de las construcciones impersonales a las profundas transformaciones morfosintácticas experimentadas por la lengua inglesa entre los períodos Inglés Antiguo Tardío e Inglés Moderno Temprano, entre otras la simplificación de la flexión de caso (que dio lugar a la identidad formal de nominativo y dativo) o la fijación del orden de palabras SVO en las oraciones declarativas, y el consiguiente requisito de un sujeto expreso. Sin embargo, propuestas más recientes, como la de Möhlig-Falke (2012), analizan la construcción impersonal desde un prisma cognitivo-funcional, centrándose en las funciones de perspectiva (*perspectival functions*; véase la Sección 3.2) y en las conexiones con la llamada *voz media* (*middle voice*), tal y como la describe Kemmer (1993). Por otra parte, la propuesta expuesta por Trousdale (2008) apunta hacia una posible conexión entre la desaparición de la construcción impersonal y un reajuste a gran escala de la taxonomía de construcciones transitivas, lo cual dio lugar a la aceptación en la lengua inglesa de “a wider range of subject types […] [and] a wider range of thematic relations between the verb and its arguments” (Trousdale 2008: 311). Por su parte, Miura (2015) se ocupa de la construcción impersonal con especial referencia a la semántica de los verbos impersonales de Emoción. En particular, Miura trata de establecer una diferenciación semántica entre verbos de Emoción que muestran usos impersonales en Inglés Medio (e.g. *līken*; véase el ejemplo (2) antes citado) y verbos de Emoción que se emplean únicamente en uso personal (e.g. *lŏven*; c1475, *I*-SUBJ ***loue*** *well to make mery* ‘I love much to make merry’, Miura 2015: 2).

Como se ha dicho, el proyecto que aquí se presenta aborda el estudio de los verbos de Deseo, en concreto los verbos *long* (< OE *langian*), *lust* (< ME *lusten*) y *thirst* (< OE *þyrstan*); de ellos se ocupan los Capítulos 6, 7 y 8 respectivamente. La investigación se plantea como un estudio de corpus, y lleva a cabo un análisis cuantitativo y cualitativo que resulta imprescindible a la hora de confirmar o refutar las hipótesis planteadas en los estudios mencionados más arriba en relación con los factores que han conducido a la desaparición de las construcciones impersonales en la lengua inglesa (véase Möhlig-Falke 2012: 235; Miura 2015: 9).

El corpus diacrónico analizado es el *Early English Books Online Corpus 1.0* (EEBOCorp 1.0; Petré 2013) (véase el Capítulo 5 sobre metolodología). Dadas las grandes dimensiones de este corpus (525 millones de palabras), he recopilado a partir de él una muestra de 891 textos,

que ascienden aproximadamente a 20 millones de palabras, teniendo en cuenta varios registros (e.g. religión, historia, textos legales, medicina, etc.). Los textos seleccionados, que se relacionan en los cuatro apéndices de la tesis, datan todos ellos del período Inglés Moderno Temprano (1500–1700), y se han subdividido en cuatro subperíodos que permiten llevar a cabo un estudio diacrónico de los verbos objeto de análisis: Subperíodo 1 (1500–1549), Subperíodo 2 (1550–1599), Subperíodo 3 (1600–1649) y Subperíodo 4 (1650–1700). Para la extracción de ejemplos he utilizado el programa de concordancias *AntConc* (Anthony 2019) y los datos obtenidos se han archivado y organizado mediante herramientas del paquete ofimático *Microsoft Office* (*MS Word* y *MS Excel*). Los datos y ejemplos obtenidos a partir de EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) se han contrastado y completado con la información obtenida del *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) y el *Middle English Dictionary* (MED). También se ha hecho uso del *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (HTOED) a fin de elaborar el perfil y características semánticas de los verbos de Deseo, en contraposición con los de otra clase estrechamente relacionada con ellos, la clase de los llamados *Psych-verbs* (es decir, verbos que expresan un estado psicológico, como *amuse* o *love*, Levin 1993: 188–193).

Teniendo en cuenta las propuestas previas sobre el desarrollo de las construcciones impersonales, los objetivos de esta tesis doctoral, expuestos inicialmente en el Capítulo 1 y de nuevo en el Capítulo 9 de conclusiones, han sido los siguientes: 1) determinar el momento en el que las construcciones impersonales dejan de utilizarse con los tres verbos estudiados (i.e. *long*, *lust*, *thirst*); 2) examinar la frecuencia y el desarrollo diacrónico de los distintos patrones morfosintácticos que reemplazaron a las construcciones impersonales a partir del Inglés Medio Tardío en adelante; 3) ofrecer una descripción y formalización precisas de las propiedades sintácticas y semánticas de los argumentos subcategorizados por cada uno de los tres verbos analizados; 4) reflexionar sobre los distintos factores que inciden en el reemplazo de las construcciones impersonales por patrones de carácter personal; y 5) aislar los factores que explican el desarrollo sintáctico de los verbos estudiados una vez que éstos han adquirido uso personal.

Los ejemplos extraídos de EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700), una vez comprobados manualmente, ascienden a un total de 918, que se han analizado cualitativa y cuantivamente. Con respecto a la datación de la desaparición de las construcciones impersonales, los datos disponibles en el OED y en el MED sugieren que los verbos analizados retuvieron usos impersonales hasta los siglos XV y XVI. Este dato concuerda con las fechas propuestas en

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

estudios precedentes sobre el tema para la desaparición de las construcciones impersonales, esto es, entre los años 1400 y 1500 (van der Gaaf 1904: 142; Allen 1995: 279–283). Sin embargo, los resultados obtenidos en EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) ponen de manifiesto que tales usos impersonales eran marginales en Inglés Moderno Temprano, hasta el punto de que solo *lust* está documentado en mis datos de los siglos XVI y XVII como verbo impersonal, pero no así los otros dos verbos estudiados, *long* y *thirst*; y cabe destacar que los datos se limitan solamente a la primera mitad del siglo XVI. Por otra parte, es de interés señalar que la información del OED y el MED sugiere que la desaparición de las construcciones impersonales no coincide cronológicamente con los procesos morfológicos y sintácticos a los que a menudo se ha atribuido ese fenómeno (e.g. van der Gaaf 1904; Jespersen 1961[1927], entre otros). En este sentido, cabe recordar que la simplificación de la flexión de caso se ha datado en los siglos XII y XIII (Allen 1995: 184–185, 213, 441) y la fijación del orden de palabras a mediados del siglo XV (Fischer *et al.* 2000: 162–163; véase también Möhlig-Falke 2012: 19, 216).

Con respecto al verbo *lust* en particular (véase el Capítulo 6), el OED, el MED y estudios previos documentan su uso impersonal desde el siglo XII —en textos que podrían remontarse al Inglés Antiguo— hasta mediados del siglo XVI. En cuanto a su uso personal, este se inicia en el siglo XIV, es decir, dos siglos más tarde que el impersonal. Así pues, en sus orígenes *lust* estaba restringido a uso impersonal.

Los ejemplos obtenidos de EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) para el verbo *lust* suman un total de 273, e incluyen tanto usos impersonales como personales. La frecuencia global del verbo disminuye a lo largo del período estudiado, y su empleo se observa fundamentalmente en textos bíblicos y religiosos. Desde el punto de vista semántico, *lust* experimenta un proceso de especialización, desde su sentido inicial de 'to desire' al significado más específico 'to have a carnal desire'. Desde el punto de vista sintáctico, los patrones impersonales son menos frecuentes que los personales y se documentan tan solo en la primera mitad del siglo XVI. Este resultado concuerda con las fechas propuestas en estudios precedentes para la desaparición de las construcciones impersonales, esto es, entre los años 1400 y 1500. A partir de 1600, la construcción impersonal con *lust* queda restringida a expresiones tales como *as him lusteth* o *when him lusteth* (e.g. a1556, *Let hym come when hym* ***lust***, OED s.v. *lust*, v. †2; véase también Visser 1963: §§3–43; Traugott 1972: 130–131; Möhlig-Falke 2012: 14–15), las cuales muestran un importante grado de fosilización y, por lo tanto, no pueden considerarse ejemplos de productividad real de la construcción.

Con respecto al uso personal, el verbo *lust* experimenta grandes transformaciones en su estructura argumental a lo largo del Inglés Moderno Temprano. Durante los siglos XVI y XVII la frecuencia del patrón con complementos clausales (e.g. 1539, *Honour is offered vs, and suche honour vndoubtedly as neuer came to our nation, if we* ***lust*** *to take it*, ejemplo (111)) desciende de modo drástico, mientras que los patrones sin complemento (e.g. 1528, *The law whe~ it co~maundeth that thou shalt not* ***lust***, ejemplo (120)) se vuelven más frecuentes. Este incremento no era previsible, pues *lust*, en su condición de verbo de Deseo, subcategoriza un segundo argumento (el denominado *Desired*; cf. Dowty) que es requerido semánticamente para completar el sentido del verbo, pero que en el patrón sin complemento queda implícito. El tercer patrón a mencionar es la construcción preposicional (e.g. 1548, *For we begynne to couet and* ***lust*** *for pleasant thynges*, ejemplo (118)/(126)). Desde una perspectiva diacrónica, este último patrón se mantiene constante a lo largo del período, mientras que los patrones con un objeto directo apenas sobreviven más allá de la primera mitad del siglo XVI (e.g. 1536, *he forbade to* ***lust*** *and couet another mannes wyfe in thy harte*, ejemplo (130)). Esto implica que los complementos preposicionales reemplazan a los objetos directos en la expresión del segundo argumento de *lust*, es decir, del *Desired*.

Refiriéndonos ahora al verbo *thirst* (Capítulo 7), este tiene dos acepciones, una que denota la sensación física de sed (‘to feel thirst’) y otra que se refiere a la emoción de deseo (‘to desire’). Este último significado ‘to desire’ surge como una extensión metafórica del primero, ‘to feel thirst’ (véase OED s.v. *thirst*, v. 3.). En inglés actual, el verbo *thirst* se ha visto reemplazado por la construcción adjetival *to be thirsty* (e.g. PDE, *the Guides* ***were*** *hot and* ***thirsty***), especialmente a efectos de la expresión del significado ‘to feel thirst’ (si bien *thirst* mantiene aún su lugar, frente a la construcción adjetival, en contextos arcaicos y estilísticamente marcados (véase Möhlig-Falke 2012: 224).

Según el OED, el MED y estudios precedentes, *thirst* alterna entre usos impersonales y personales ya desde el período de Inglés Antiguo. El uso impersonal se documenta hasta finales del siglo XV, de modo que la transición a uso personal debe de haberse completado antes de esa fecha. Los ejemplos obtenidos de EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) ascienden a 304, e incluyen únicamente usos personales. Al igual que *lust*, *thirst* aparece fundamentalmente en textos bíblicos y religiosos, y su frecuencia tiende a disminuir a lo largo del Inglés Moderno Temprano. En cuanto a su semántica, los datos muestran que el sentido ‘to desire’ se hace más frecuente, al tiempo que paralelamente el sentido ‘to feel thirst’ se vuelve menos común, una

tendencia que concuerda con el hecho de que, en la actualidad, 'to desire' es el significado habitual del verbo (e.g. *an opponent* ***thirsting*** [i.e. desiring] *for revenge*, *Lexico's Dictionary* s.v. *thirst* verb). Desde el punto de vista sintáctico, los patrones personales difieren con respecto al número y naturaleza de los argumentos expresados, así como con respecto al significado con el que aquellos se asocian. Por ejemplo, los patrones sin complemento se relacionan con la sensación física de 'to feel thirst' (e.g. 1542, *If ony man* ***thyrsteth*** [i.e. feels thirst], *let him come to me & dryncke*, ejemplo (170)). En cambio, los patrones preposicionales se asocian con el significado de deseo propiamente dicho, 'to desire' (e.g. 1570, *Wherfore whosoeuer inwardly greued for hys syn, doth hunger and* ***thirst*** [i.e. desire] *for righteousnes*, ejemplo (159)), al igual que los patrones con un objeto directo (e.g. 1542, *They* ... ***thyrsted*** [i.e. desired] *innoce~t bloud*, ejemplo (179)) o con un complemento clausal (e.g. 1544, *We* ***thirste*** [i.e. desire] *intirely to heare the pure gospell frely & faithfully preached*, ejemplo (151)). El estudio diacrónico de los datos muestra que los patrones preposicionales son los más frecuentes, con tendencia a aumentar a lo largo del período. Los patrones sin complemento se sitúan en segunda posición, pero tienden a disminuir a lo largo del período examinado, y son reemplazados gradualmente por la construcción adjetival *to be thirsty*, especialmente para expresar el significado 'to feel thirst', durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVI y la primera mitad del XVII. Por su parte, los patrones con un objeto directo están documentados tan solo en el siglo XVI. Tal y como sucedía con el verbo *lust*, a lo largo del Inglés Moderno Temprano los complementos preposicionales sustituyen a los objetos directos en la expresión del argumento *Desired*.

El verbo *long* (Capítulo 8) se encuentra en uso impersonal desde el Inglés Antiguo hasta la primera mitad del siglo XVI. Las construcciones personales (en el sentido 'to desire') no están documentadas hasta la primera mitad del siglo XIII, lo cual implica que la transición a uso personal tuvo lugar entre la primera mitad del siglo XIII, cuando surgen los patrones personales, y la primera mitad del siglo XVI, cuando las construcciones impersonales dejan de existir. Los ejemplos de EEBOCorp 1.0 (1500–1700) son un total de 341, e incluyen solamente usos personales, como ocurría con el verbo *thirst*. La frecuencia de *long* disminuye a lo largo del período, aunque en menor medida que en el caso de *lust* o *thirst*. Los patrones de complementación en uso personal incluyen esencialmente patrones preposicionales (e.g. 1528, *thy sprite sigheth morneth and* ***longeth*** *after strength to do it*, ejemplo (226)), patrones clausales (e.g. 1529, *And therfore wept he te~derly &* ***longyd*** *to lyue lenger*, ejemplo (237)), patrones sin complemento (e.g. 1528, *I knew a pore woma~ with childe which* ***longed*** *and beinge overcome~*

of her passio~ eate flesh on a fredaye …, ejemplo (240)) y patrones con un complemento adverbial (e.g. 1525, *we sholde wyllyngely and gladly* ***longe*** *therfore*, ejemplo (232)). Los patrones preposicionales son los más frecuentes y tienden a aumentar con el paso del tiempo. Desde una perspectiva funcional, los patrones adverbiales están relacionados con los preposicionales, ya que ambas construcciones permiten conceptualizar el participante *Desired* como una Meta o Destino metafórico al que se dirige la atención del participante Experimentante o *Desirer*.

Una de las hipótesis centrales que se proponen en este estudio para explicar el desarrollo de los verbos examinados tiene que ver con la naturaleza direccional de los complementos preposicionales (véanse en especial los Capítulos 7 y 8, así como el Capítulo 9 de conclusiones). Tal y como se ha señalado anteriormente, los complementos preposicionales tienden a reemplazar diacrónicamente a los patrones que contienen objetos directos. Esto podría deberse a la interacción entre la semántica léxica de los verbos de Deseo, en los que el segundo participante (*Desired*) representa un *Endpoint* o punto final al que se dirige la atención del *Desirer*, y la semántica de la construcción preposicional, que rige un complemento en caso oblicuo representando una Meta o Destino metafórico. La construcción preposicional se interpreta aquí como una extensión de la construcción de Movimiento Intransitivo (*Intransitive Motion construction*) en la que el segundo argumento representa una Meta o Destino literal (Ingl. *Goal*), como en *The boy ran to the house* (véase Goldberg 1995: 78, 115). Bajo este supuesto, que se encuadra en el marco de la Gramática de Construcciones (Goldberg 1995, 2006), se propone la posibilidad de que el desarrollo de la construcción preposicional se deba a que esta permite que el *Desired* se conceptualice como una Meta o Destino metafórico, lo que, por otra parte, desemboca en una interpretación de la emoción de deseo como una inclinación o movimiento figurado hacia el objeto deseado (e.g. 1528, *yf any man* ***thyrste*** [i.e. is inclined to] *for the trueth*, ejemplo (155)). Asimismo, la construcción con un objeto directo se pierde porque la conceptualización semántica del *Desired* como un *Endpoint* o punto final —el cual no resulta afectado en el proceso designado por el verbo— no concuerda con la semántica de la construcción transitiva, que implica un objeto Paciente que sí resulta claramente afectado, como es el caso de *the vase* en la cláusula transitiva *He broke the vase* (véase Hopper & Thompson 1980).

Referencias bibliográficas

Allen, Cynthia L. 1986. Reconsidering the history of *like*. *Journal of Linguistics* 22(2). 375–409.

Allen, Cynthia L. 1995. *Case marking and reanalysis: Grammatical relations from Old to Early Modern English.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Anthony, Laurence. 2019. *Antconc* (version 3.5.8) [Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. <https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/> (continuous access between 2015 and 2019).

Dowty, David R. 1991. Thematic proto-roles and argument selection. *Language* 67(3). 547–619.

EEBOCorp 1.0 = Petré, Peter. 2013. *Early English Books Online Corpus 1.0*. Leuven: KU Leuven.

Fischer, Olga & Frederike C. van der Leek. 1983. The demise of the Old English impersonal construction. *Journal of Linguistics* 19(2). 337–368.

Fischer, Olga & Frederike C. van der Leek. 1987. A 'case' for the Old English impersonal. In Willem F. Koopman, Frederike van der Leek, Olga Fischer & Roger Eaton (eds.), *Explanation and linguistic change* (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 45), 79–120. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Fischer, Olga, Ans van Kemenade, Willem Koopmann & Wim van der Wurf. 2000. *The Syntax of Early English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goldberg, Adele E. 1995. *Constructions. A Construction Grammar approach to argument structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Goldberg, Adele E. 2006. *Constructions at work: The nature of generalization in language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hopper, Paul J. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56(2). 251–299.

HTOED = Kay, Christian, Jane Roberts, Michael Samuels & Irené Wotherspoon (eds.). 2009. *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary: With additional materials from A Thesaurus of Old English*, 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Electronic edition available at: <https://www.oed.com/thesaurus> (continuous access between 2017 and 2019).

USC UNIVERSIDADE DE SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

Jespersen, Otto. 1961[1927]. *A Modern English grammar on historical principles. Part III: Syntax (Second volume)*. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard. [Reprinted, London: George Allen & Unwin].

Kemmer, Suzanne. 1993. *The middle voice* (Typological Studies in Language 23). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Levin, Beth. 1993. *English verb classes and alternations: A preliminary investigation*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.

Lexico's Dictionary. <https://www.lexico.com/en> (continuous access between 2015 and 2019).

Lightfoot, David W. 1979. *Principles of diachronic syntax* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 23). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lightfoot, David W. 1991. *How to set parameters: Arguments from language change*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

MED = Kurath, Hans, Sherman M. Kuhn & Robert E. Lewis (eds.). 1952–2001. *Middle English Dictionary*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Online edition available at Frances McSparran *et al.* (ed.). 2000–2018. *Middle English Compendium*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary> (continuous access from 2018 to 2019).

Miura, Ayumi. 2015. *Middle English verbs of emotion and impersonal constructions: Verb meaning and syntax in diachrony* (Oxford Studies in the History of English). New York: Oxford University Press.

Möhlig-Falke, Ruth. 2012. *The early English impersonal construction: An analysis of verbal and constructional meaning* (Oxford Studies in the History of English). New York: Oxford University Press.

OED = *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. <https://www.oed.com> (continuous access from 2015 to 2019).

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1972. *A history of English syntax: A transformational approach to the history of English sentence structure* (Transatlantic Series in Linguistics). New York & London: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Trousdale, Graeme. 2008. Words and constructions in grammaticalization: The end of the English impersonal construction. In Susan M. Fitzmaurice & Donka Minkova (eds.),

Studies in the history of the English language IV, 301–326. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

van der Gaaf, Willem. 1904. *The transition from the impersonal to the personal construction in Middle English* (Anglistische Forschungen. Heft 14). Heidelberg: C. Winter.

Visser, Fredericus T. 1963. *An historical syntax of the English language. Part 1, Syntactical units with one verb*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.