

Feelings and Form in King Alfred's Psalter

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Abstract

The objective of the paper is to examine the syntax of the Experiencer verbs used in Old English prose translation of the Psalter and see how the constructions relate to the available range of types attested with the relevant verbs in the Old English period. The text of the Paris Psalter was examined in search of the verbs defined as Experiencers in the relevant literature. It turned out that the seventy-three occurrences of Experiencer verbs found in the text represent all major types of constructions in which Experiencer verbs were found in the Old English period. The most important finding of this paper is that the data from the Paris Psalter forced a re-examination of the traditional understanding of the term 'Experiencer verb' used with reference to Old English – from a cover term which subsumes the common properties of certain OE subjectless and impersonal constructions to what it really is – a semantically defined group of verbs which appear with an Experiencer argument.

Keywords: Experiencer verbs, Old English, syntax, Paris Psalter

Abstrakt

Praca poświęcona jest składni czasowników doznaniowych występujących w staroangielskim prozatorskim tłumaczeniu Psalterza w celu porównania występujących tam konstrukcji z pełnym zakresem dostępnych w języku staroangielskim wyrażeń składniowych z czasownikami doznaniowymi. Analiza tekstu Psalterza Paryskiego wykazała, że zawiera on siedemdziesiąt trzy użycia czasowników doznaniowych w znaczeniu w jakim

termin ten funkcjonuje w literaturze przedmiotu w odniesieniu do czasowników staroangielskich. Zbadane konstrukcje reprezentują wszystkie typy konstrukcji poświadczone dla czasowników doznaniowych w języku staroangielskim. Najistotniejszym wnioskiem płynącym z przeprowadzonych badań jest wskazanie na konieczność zrewidowania dotychczasowych definicji staroangielskich czasowników doznaniowych. W dotychczasowej literaturze termin czasowniki doznaniowe funkcjonuje w odniesieniu do wybranych staroangielskich czasowników, wykazujących specyficzne cechy składniowe, podczas gdy w istocie powinien być on zdefiniowany w odniesieniu do własności semantycznych.

Słowa klucze: Czasowniki doznaniowe, staroangielski, składnia, Psalterz Paryski

The Psalter has always been at the centre of medieval spiritual and intercessory life. This special place of the Psalter is perhaps due to the fact that it is primarily a book of human emotions, expressing feelings ranging from despair and grief, through relief and gratitude to happiness and exultation. Therefore, the Psalter is the most frequently translated book of the Bible, but in the Anglo-Saxon period (and for a long time afterwards), it existed in only one rendering – the Paris Psalter, executed by King Alfred the Great (Bately 1982, O’Neill 2001). The objective of this paper is to examine how these different emotions were rendered in terms of form in this translation and how these different forms relate to the available range of structures attested with the relevant verbs in the Old English period. In order to do this I examined the target text in search of verbs listed as Experiencer verbs in the literature on the topic. As can be expected, the older literature, i.e. van der Gaaf (1904), Wahlén (1925) and Visser (1963–73) do not use the term ‘Experiencer verbs’ but discuss the relevant verbs under the headings such as ‘impersonal’ or ‘subjectless’ structures. The more recent sources, such as Elmer (1981), Fischer and van der Leek (1983), Ogura (1986) and Allen (1995) in discussing impersonals appeal to the common syntactic properties of these constructions, since “[m]any impersonal constructions form a subgroup of a more general category of experiencer constructions” (Trousdale 2008, 305). In effect, the terms ‘impersonal verbs’ and ‘Experiencer verbs’ have almost come to be used interchangeably. Consider the passage below in this respect:

We find numerous studies dealing with the history of experiencer verbs in English, including van der Gaaf (1904), Butler (1977), Traugott (1982), Lightfoot (1979, 1981,

1991, 1999), Elmer (1981), Fischer and van der Leek (1983), J. Anderson (1986), Allen (1986, 1995), among others. It has become the common practice to call these verbs 'impersonal verbs', following traditional grammarians like Jespersen (1894) and Visser (1963–1973) ... [T]hese sources provide a long list of examples (Fischer 2010, 67).

The Experiencer verbs listed in these sources were searched for in the target text and the collected data was subsequently analysed against a broader background of the OE Experiencer constructions, which are presented in the first part of this paper (Section 1). In Section 2 I undertake a classification of the Experiencer structures found in the Paris Psalter to see how many of the types available in OE were employed by King Alfred in his translation of Psalms 1–50. The analysis of these data necessitates re-examining the denotation of the term 'Experiencer verb' used with reference to the Old English data. Some tentative conclusions following from the examination of the data are presented in Section 3.

1. Experiencer verbs in Old English

Experiencer verbs express a physical or mental experience which involves a human experiencer (referred to here as Experiencer) and optionally the cause of the experience (referred to as Theme). They appear in the relevant literature under many various terms; for example Fischer and van der Leek (1983) use the terms 'subjectless', 'Cause-subject' and 'Experiencer-subject', while Elmer (1981) calls them Type N, Type I and Type II respectively. For this paper I will adopt Elmer's terminology as more convenient and having 'the advantage of not prejudging grammatical relations' (Allen 1995: 69). By way of introduction, let us consider the examples in (1), (2) and (3) below, which represent each of the three types listed above.

(1) Type N

a.

For ði him ofhreow þæs mannes...
therefore him-DAT pitied the man-GEN
'Therefore, he was sorry for the man.'

<s id="T02190000400" n="192.16">ÆCHom I, 13; B1.1.14 CCOE

b.

for ðæm þinge men lyst ælces þara gooda
for that reason men-ACC desires each-GEN the goods-GEN

þe hi lyst.
 which them-ACC desires
 ‘For that reason men desire each of the goods that they desire.’
 <s id="T06660110500" n="34.88.10"> Bo; B9.3.2 CCOE

(2) Type I

Ðam wife þa word wel licodon,
 the wife-DAT the words-NOM well pleased
gilpcwide Geates;
 boastful-speech-NOM of-the-Gaut
 ‘The woman was well pleased by the boastful speech of the Gaut.’
 <s id="T01370017400" n="639"> Beo; A4.1 CCOE

(3) Type II

Ne wilnege ic ðæs synfullan deaðes,
 not desire I-NOM the sinful death-GEN
 ‘I do not desire the death of the sinful.’
 <s id="T06980002000" n="4.19"> BenR; B10.3.1.1 CCOE

Type N is characterised by the lack of NOM NP and the invariably 3SG form of the verb, i.e. it represents an impersonal structure. The Experiencer is either a DAT (*him* in 1a) or an ACC NP (*men* in 1b), while the Theme is expressed by a GEN NP (*þæs mannes* in 1a and *ælcas þara gooda* in 1b). As for Type I, it is characterised by DAT Experiencers (*ðam wife* in 2) and NOM Themes (*þa word*) which control the form of the verb. In Type II the Experiencer is a NOM NP (*ic* in 3 above) and it controls verbal concord, while the Theme is expressed by a GEN NP (*ðæs synfullan deaðes*).

In addition to these types, the relevant literature recognises subtypes of Types N and II, in which the Theme is left unexpressed (examples 4 and 5 respectively), which are referred to by Allen (1995) as Type O.

(4)

a.
For þam worde se cyning wæs blide
 for the word the king was glad
 & *þehhwæder him sceamode,*
 and yet him-DAT shamed

'Because of the word the king was glad and yet he felt ashamed.'
 <s id="T06750007900" n="5.186.13"> GDPref and 3 (C); B9.5.5 CCOE

b.

Ða he þis sæde, þa sceamode ealle his widerwinnan.
 when he this said, then shamed all his opponents-ACC

'When he said this, all his opponents felt ashamed.'

<s id="T06430058000" n="13.17"> Lk (WSCp); B8.4.3.3 CCOE

(5)

On ðe drihten ic hihte
 in you Lord I hope
na ic sceamige on ecnesse
 not I-NOM will-feel-ashamed in eternity

'Lord, I hope in You. I will not be shamed for ever.'

<s id="T25070104000" n="70.1"> PsGIG (Rosier); C7.8 CCOE

In Type N the Theme can also be expressed by a PP, as shown in (6) below.

(6)

a.

& ne sceamige ænigum men for his ylde,
 and not should-feel-ashamed any man-DAT f o r
 his age

ac do swa him þearf is,
 but do as him needed is

'And no man should be ashamed of his age but should act according to his needs.'

<s id="T04110005100" n="144"> WHom 8c; B2.2.5 CCOE

b.

Ða ongan hine eft langian on his cyþpe,
 then began him-ACC again to-long after his family

'Then he began to miss his family again.'

<s id="T05520004100" n="108"> HomU 20 (BIHom 10); B3.4.20 CCOE

Moreover, there are also types in which the Theme is expressed by a clause, and these are known as PROP types (cf. Allen 1995) and fall into four subtypes, called Type S, DEM, *hit* and PERS, shown in (7)-(10) below.

(7) Type S

a.

Ðuhte *him þæt engel ufan*
 seemed him-DAT that angel from-above
of roderum stigan cwome
 from heavens paths came

‘It seemed to him that the angel came from above from the heavenly paths.’

<s id="T00030015200" n="508"> Dan; A1.3 CCOE

b.

Ða ne licode him, þæt he swilce mihte
 then not pleased them-DAT that he such power
betwux mannum gefremode,
 among men exercised

‘It did not please him that he had exercised such power among men.’

<s id="T03710000800" n="27"> Æ HomM 4 (Ass 5); B1.5.4

... *rofne randwigan, restan lyste;*

stout warriors-ACC to-rest desired

‘Stout warriors desired to rest.’

<s id="T01370050800" n="1792"> Beo; A4.1 CCOE

(8) Type DEM

Ða ofþuhte þæt Mariuse þæm consule, Iuliuses eame,
 then offended that-NOM Marius-DAT the consul-DAT Julius’s un-
 cle-DAT

þæt mon ðæt gewin nolde him betæcan.
 that one that war not-would him entrust

‘Then it offended consul Marius, Julius’ uncle, that he was not put in charge of the war.’

<s id="T06630014400" n="11.124.19"> Or 5; B9.2.6 CCOE

(9) Type hit

Lareow, ne ofþingð hit ðe
 master, not displeases it-NOM you-DAT

gif ic þus wer geceose?
 if I thus man choose

‘Master, does it not displease you if I thus choose a man?’

<s id="T06080020500" n="20.6"> ApT; B4.1 CCOE

- (10) Type PERS
Gif we ðonne scomiað ðæt we to uncuðum monnum
 if we-NOM then feel-ashamed that we to unknown
 men
suelc sprecen,
 so spoke
 'If we are ashamed that we spoke in this way to strangers.'
 <s id="T06560023100" n="10.63.5"> CP; B9.1.3 CCOE

All these types are shown in Charzyńska-Wójcik (2002) to represent variants of the basic 2NP types listed in (1)-(3) above. In particular, in Type N the DAT or ACC Experiencer can be accompanied by a GEN NP (example 1), which can also be left unexpressed (example 4), or expressed by means of a PP (example 6) or a clause (examples 7a and 7c). Additionally, the clausal Theme can be optionally anticipated by an NP or a pronoun in GEN Case, as shown in (11) below.

- (11)
 a.
ac þæs me þincð ðæt þæt bio sio soðe
 but that-GEN me-DAT seems that that is the truth
 & *sio fulfremede gesælð ...*
 and the perfect happiness
 'But it seems to me that it is true and perfect happiness...'
 <s id="T06660095800" n="33.78.10"> Bo; B9.3.2 CCOE
- b.
ah hine ðæs heardost langode
 but him-ACC that-GEN most-strongly desired
hwanne he of ðisse worlde moste.
 when he from this world might
 'He strongly desired to be allowed to leave this world.'
 <s id="T05000010700" n="271"> LS 17.1 (MartinMor); B3.3.17.2 CCOE

As far as subtypes of Type I are concerned, the Experiencer is always in the DAT Case, but the Theme can be expressed by an NP in NOM Case (example 2); or a clause (example 7b). The clausal Theme can additionally be anticipated by a demonstrative or personal pronoun, in which case the structures represent Types DEM and *hit*, illustrated by examples (8) and (9) above.

In Type II the Experiencer is always in the NOM Case but the Theme is either expressed by a GEN NP (example 3) or left out (example 5). Yet another variant of this type is represented by structures where the Theme is expressed by a clause (example 10 above). The last subtype can additionally co-occur with anticipators of the clausal Theme and these invariably appear in the GEN Case, as shown in (12) below.

(12)

gif hi þæs wilniað þæt him heora yfel unwrecen
 if they-NOM that-GEN desire that them their evil unpunished
sie be ðæs gyltes andefne.
 should-be by the sin's proportion
 'If they desire that they should not be punished according to their sin.'
 <s id="T06660160100" n="38.123.18"> Bo; B9.3.2 CCOE

For convenience the types are summarised in Table 1 that follows.

Table 1. Experiencer verb structures in OE (adapted from Charzyńska-Wójcik 2002)

Type	Experiencer	Theme	verb	traditional terminology	reference No
N	DAT/ACC	GEN	3 SG	N	(1)
		PP			(6)
		–		O	(4)
		Clause		S	(7a, c)
		clause + anticipator (personal pronoun in GEN)			(11)
I	DAT	NOM	agrees with	I	(2)
		Clause	NOM Theme	S	(7b)
		clause + anticipator (demonstrative pronoun in NOM)		DEM	(8)
		clause + anticipator (personal pronoun in NOM)		<i>Hit</i>	(9)
II	NOM	GEN	agrees	II	(3)
		-	with NOM	O	(5)
		clause	Experiencer	PERS	(10)
		clause + anticipator (personal pronoun in GEN)			(12)

Having surveyed the range of structures available for OE Experiencer verbs, we can now move on to the Paris Psalter and see which of these structures are attested there.

2. Experiencer verbs in the Paris Psalter¹

There are nine different Experiencer verbs in the Paris Psalter and they appear in seventy-three clauses. The relevant data are listed in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Experiencer verbs in the Paris Psalter

No	verb	Meaning	Occurrences
1.	<i>hreowsian</i>	'to be sorry, grieve'	4.5, 5.5, 31 Introduction, 34.16, 50 Introduction (x2);
2.	<i>hyngrian</i>	'to hunger'	33.10, 49.13;
3.	<i>lician</i>	'to please'	18.13, 24.10, 25.3, 34.14, 35.12, 39.15, 40.1, 43.5 (x2), 49.24;
4.	<i>lystan</i>	'to cause pleasure or desire'	36.22, 40.6, 41.2;
5.	<i>ofhyncan</i>	'to cause displeasure or offence'	36.1;
6.	<i>sceamian</i>	'to feel shame'	6.8 (x2), 21.4, 24.1, 24.3, 24.18, 30.1, 30.19, 30.20, 33.5, 34.4, 34.5, 34.24, 36.18, 39.16;
7.	<i>Rēcan</i>	'care for'	9.33, 48 Introduction;
8.	<i>Dyncan</i>	'to seem, appear'	36 Introduction, 39.11, 43 Introduction, 45.3;
9.	<i>wilnian</i>	'to desire, ask for'	9.30, 10.3, 13.7, 13.9, 14 Introduction, 14.6, 15 Introduction, 16.9, 20.2, 24 Introduction, 24.19, 25.6, 27 Introduction (x2), 33 Introduction, 33.12, 34 Introduction (x2), 34.21, 37.9, 38 Introduction, 40.5, 41 Introduction (x3), 41.1 (x2), 41.13, 50.9;

Let us now see what constructions are represented by these verbs and their individual occurrences, starting with Type N and its subtypes.

Type N, where the Experiencer appears as a DAT or ACC NP and is never accompanied by a NOM NP, is represented in the Paris Psalter by the total of twelve examples featuring three different verbs: *sceamian*, *lystan* and *hyngrian*. The relevant examples

¹ The text of the Paris Psalter will be quoted here after the *Complete Corpus of Old English*, which digitises Bright and Ramsay's (1907) edition.

of *sceamian* appear in the Paris Psalter in two subtypes of Type N: the 2NP variant, with an ACC Experiencer and a GEN Theme (13a); or with the Theme left unexpressed (13b).

(13)

a.

21.4

Hy clypodon to ðe, and hi wurdon for ði gehælde;

they called to you and they were therefore saved

Hi hopedon, and hi þæs ne sceamode.

they hoped and them-ACC of-that not were-ashamed

‘They called You and they were saved; they hoped (in You) and were not ashamed of that.’

b.

36.18

Ne gesceamað hy na on þære ylfan tide;

not will-be-ashamed they-ACC not in the evil time

ac on hungres tide hy beoð gefyllede,

but in hunger’s time they will-be filled

þonne þa synfullan forweorðað.

when the sinful-ones will-perish

‘They will not be ashamed in the evil time and in the time of famine, when the sinful perish, they will be filled.’

The verb *lystan* also appears in the analysed text two in subtypes of Type N, illustrated in (14) below. The first example represents the basic 2NP Type, while in the example in (14b) the Theme is expressed by a clause.

(14)

a.

36.22

Fram Gode byð gereht se weg þæs rihtwisan, and

by God is made-straight the way of-the righteous-one

and

hine lyst his wega and his weorca swiðe.

him-ACC pleases his ways-GEN and his works-GEN

very-much

‘The way of the righteous one is made straight by God. He is pleased by his ways and his works.’

b.

41.2

Mine sawle þyrst and lyst, þæt heo mæge
 my soul-DAT thirsts and desires that it should-be-able
cuman to Gode; for þam he is se libbenda wylle:
 to-come to God because he is the living fountain
 'My soul thirsts and desires to be with God because He is the fountain of life.'

As for *hyngrian*, it appears in the text twice, with both occurrences representing the impersonal type. Importantly, while the non-expression of the Theme is an option with *sceamian*, in the case of *hyngrian* the Theme is never expressed due to purely semantic reasons. The relevant example follows below.

(15)

33.10

þa welegan wædledon, and eodon biddende,
 the rich were-indigent and went asking
and hi hingrode;
 and them-ACC hungered
ac þa þe God seceað, ne aspringeð him nan good.
 but those who God seek not lacks them no good
 'The rich were indigent and had to beg but they were hungry. Those who seek God are not denied any good.'

Moving on to Type I, it is represented in the Paris Psalter by fourteen occurrences with two different verbs: *lician* and *þyncan* and both verbs appear in the same major subtypes of the type. In particular, they both feature in the 2NP subtype, where the Experiencer is DAT and the Theme is expressed by a NOM NP which controls the form of the verb; and in structures where the Theme is expressed by a clause. The only difference between the constructions attested in the Paris Psalter with these two verbs is that while *lician* appears with both finite and non-finite Themes, *þyncan* is limited to finite Themes only. Consider the examples below.

(16)

a.

49.24

Seo ofrung lofes me licað swiðost,
 the sacrifice-NOM of-glory me-DAT pleases most-
 strongly

and me eac swyðost weorþað,
 and me also most-strongly honours

‘The sacrifice of glory pleases me most strongly and it also me most strongly honours.’

b.

39.15

Ac licige þe nu, Dryhten,
 but may-please you-DAT now Lord
ic þe bidde, þæt þu me gearige,
 I you beg that you me should-pardon
and ne lata þu to minum fultume.
 and not delay you to my help

‘Oh, Lord, I beg You: may You find it pleasing to pardon me. Do not delay your help.’

43.5

Ac þin swiðre hand, and þin earm, and þæt leoht
 but your right hand and your arm and the light
þines andwlitan; for þam hy þe þa
 of-your face because they-NOM you-DAT then
licodon, and þe licode mid him to beonne.
 were-pleasing and you-DAT was-pleasing with them to be
 ‘But Your right hand and Your arm, and the light of Your face, for You were pleased
 with them and You were pleased to be with them.’

(17)

a.

39.1

Næs ic on nauht idlum anbide,
 not-was I in not-at-all vain expectation
þeah hit me lang anbid þuhte, ...
 though it-NOM me-DAT long expectation seemed
 ‘My expectation was not in vain, though it seemed to me to have been long.’

b.

45.3

Ure fynd coman swa egeslice to us,
 our enemies came so threateningly to us
þæt us ðuhte, for þam gepune,

that us-DAT seemed because-of that noise
þæt sio eorþe eall cwacode,
 that the earth all quaked
 'Our enemies came so threateningly to us that, because of the noise, it seemed to us
 that the earth quaked.'

There is one verb, *offbyncan*, in the Paris Psalter whose classification into the basic 2NP types is ambiguous as between Type N and Type I. Consider the example below.

(18)

36.1

Ne wundrie ge þæra yfelwillendra, and þæra orsorgra,
 not admire-IMP.PL you the wicked-ones and the prosper-
 ous-ones
ne him na ne onhyriað;
 nor them not-at-all not imitate-IMP.PL
ne eow ne offince,
 nor you-DAT/ACC not should-displease
þeah eow ne sy swa swa him,
 if to-you-PL not is as to-them
þam þe unriht wyrcað.
 to-those who evil perform
 'Do not admire the wicked and the prosperous, do not imitate them. It should not dis-
 please you that you are not as prosperous as are those who perpetrate evil.'

Note that it is impossible to determine whether we are dealing with a subtype of Type I, with the DAT Experiencer and a clausal Theme, or with a subtype of Type N, with the DAT or ACC Experiencer and a clausal Theme, as the form of the Experiencer (*eow*) is morphologically ambiguous between DAT and ACC. If the verb appeared in more examples in the examined text, the remaining instances could provide a clue as to the basic type: if it co-occurred with NOM Themes, it would be clear that we are dealing with Type I. By the same token, if it were accompanied by GEN Themes, the verb would represent Type N. However, no clues of this sort are available in the examined text; worse still, the verb is attested in other texts in both Type N and Type I (Allen 1995, 75; Charzyńska-Wójcik 2002, 51). Therefore, it is impossible to determine what type is represented by the structure given in (18) above.

As for Type II, it is amply represented in the source text by *wilnian*, *sceamian*, *rēcan* and *hreowsian*. Let us start with *wilnian*, which is the most frequently used Experiencer verb in the text, with as many as thirty occurrences, accounting for almost a half of the total number of occurrences of all Experiencer verbs in this text. It shows variation as far as the expression of the Theme is concerned, i.e. it appears with GEN Themes (19a) and with clausal ones, where the clause can be either finite (19b) or non-finite (19c).

(19)

a.

44.13

For þam se cyncg wilnað þines wites,
 because the king-NOM desires your beauty-GEN
for þam he ys Drihten, þin God;
 because he is Lord your God
gebide þe to him, and weorþa hine:
 pray you to him and honour him

‘Because the King desires your beauty, because He is the Lord, your God, you should pray to Him and honour Him.’

b.

10.3

For þam hi wilniað þæs þe hi magon,
 therefore they-NOM desire when they can
þæt hi toweorpen þæt God geteohhad hæfð
 that they should-destroy what God intended has
to wyrccanne: ...
 to do

‘Therefore, when they can, they desire to destroy what God intended to make.’

c.

13.9

Ða þe wilniað fretan min folc swa ænne hlaf;
 those who wish to-devour my nation as a loaf-of-bread
 ‘Those who wish to devour my nation as a loaf of bread.’

As far as *sceamian* is concerned, it has been shown above that not all instances of *sceamian* found in this text classify as Type II. Those which do invariably represent the basic 2NP type, i.e. with NOM Experiencers and GEN Themes, as shown in (20) below. The total number of examples of Type II with *sceamian* in this text is eight.

(20)

24.1

To þe ic hæbbe, Drihten, min mod and mine sawle;
 to you I have Lord my mind and my soul
Drihten, min God, to þe ic hopige,
 Lord my God in you I have-confidence
and ic þæs næfre ne sceamige.
 and I-NOM this-GEN never not will-be-ashamed
 'Lord, I direct my mind and my soul to You. Lord, my God, I trust in You and I will never be ashamed of that.'

Next comes *rēcan* with two occurrences in the text, both representing Type II: one in the basic 2NP Type, shown in (21a) below, with the other occurrence suppressing the Theme, quoted in (21b) below.

(21)

a.

48 Introduction

And eac he lærde þæt þa ðearfan hy ne forðohton,
 and also he taught that the poor them not should-despair
ne ne wenden þæt God heora ne rohte.
 nor not should-expect that God-NOM they-GEN not
 cared-for

'And also he taught that the poor should not despair, or suppose that God did not care for them.'

b.

9.33

For þam bysmrað se unrihtwisa Drihten;
 therefore irritates the unrighteous-one Lord
for ðam he cwyð on his mode,
 because he says in his spirit
Ne recþ God, þeah ic þus do.
 not cares God-NOM even-if I in-this-way should-behave
 'The unrighteous one irritates the Lord because he says in his spirit that God does not care about it even if he should behave in this way.'

The last verb featuring in Type II is *hreowsian*, whose discussion we decided to leave till the end since it affects the general picture of OE Experiencers by posing an important

question which has not hitherto been asked. The verb appears four times in the basic variant of Type II, i.e. with a NOM Experiencer and a GEN Theme, exemplified in (22) below.

(22)

34.16

And hy wurdon þeah tostencte,
 and they became nevertheless scattered
and hy þeah þæs na ne hreowsedon,
 and they-NOM yet that-GEN not-at-all not repented
 ‘And though they became scattered, they did not repent.’

If there were no more occurrences of this verb in the Paris Psalter, we might conclude the discussion by saying that Type II appears in the text in three different construction types and is represented by forty-four examples, which makes it the most frequently employed type of Experiencer verbs in the Paris Psalter. However, the use of the verb in the Introduction to Psalm 50 (see below) does not warrant this conclusion.

(23)

50 Introduction

...

And eac he witgode on þam sealme be Israela folce,
 and also he prophesied in the psalm about Israelites
hu hy sceoldon hreowsian hyra hæftnyd on Babilonia,
 how they-NOM would grieve their captivity-ACC in Babylon

...

hu hy sceoldon syngian and eft hreowsian. ...
 how they-NOM would sin and afterwards repent

‘And he also prophesied in the Psalm about Israelites – how they would feel sorry for their captivity in Babylon. (...) How they would sin and repent afterwards.’

Note that the first occurrence of *hreowsian* quoted in (23) does not represent any of the structures recognised in the relevant literature as available for OE Experiencer verbs (cf. Section 1). Here the NOM Experiencer (*hy*), typical of Type II is not accompanied by a GEN Theme, as would be expected, but by an ACC one: *hyra hæftnyd*, thus representing a pattern normally referred to as ‘transitive’ (cf. Elmer 1981: 77). In consequence, the classification of the other use of *hreowsian* in (23) above is made impossible,

as it may either represent a variant of Type II with an unexpressed GEN Theme (cf. example 5 above) or a transitive construction with the unexpressed ACC Theme, i.e. the so-called absolute use.² Note, however, that the most important consequence of encountering *hreowsian* with an ACC Theme is that it forces us to question the completeness of the existing classifications of OE Experiencer verbs, unless it can be concluded that it represents a marginal pattern.³ This, however, does not seem to be the case because, as reported by Elmer (1981: 77), *hreowsian*, apart from appearing in Type II “is also attested in genuine transitive construction: *þe þa gēpohtan synna hreowsiap*” (CP 417, 32).

The *hreowsian* example quoted above opens up a new perspective onto OE Experiencer verbs. The existing accounts of OE Experiencer verbs have focussed on these verbs from the perspective of ‘impersonal’ to ‘personal’ transition or on discussions of the ‘subjectless’ syntax and have, therefore, concentrated on Type N – because it represents a subjectless construction; and on Type – I because it undergoes a diachronic development from OE NOM Themes to MnE NOM Experiencers. Since many verbs appearing in OE in Type N also appeared in the personal type, Type II naturally features in accounts of OE Experiencers. There are, however, more constructions with Experiencer verbs in OE which have never featured in accounts of OE Experiencers since they do not represent a valid topic in discussions of the type specified above.

In effect, it can be concluded that the term ‘Experiencer verbs’ has come to be used in a very restricted sense as far as OE is concerned, though the restriction has never been articulated. The existing accounts of OE Experiencer verbs list construction types and items appearing in them from a very specific perspective (impersonal-ness and subjectless-ness) and so are by necessity incomplete. As a result, it is expected that the examination of the same text in search of Experiencer verbs carried out independently of these accounts will produce different results. This is indeed the case, as evidenced by the data adduced below.

First of all, the text offers examples of verbs whose NOM subjects carry the Theta role of Experiencer which are accompanied by GEN Themes, i.e. Experiencer verbs of Type II which do not appear on any lists of OE Experiencer verbs. An illustrative example is quoted below.

² See Visser (1963–73, §129) for the classification of the absolute use of verbs which can be accompanied by an ACC object.

³ Allen (1995, 74–79) dismisses Fischer and van der Leek’s (1983) ACC + ACC and ACC + DAT patterns. The former is shown to represent a marginal pattern, while the existence of the latter pattern, according to the author, “remains unproven” (Allen 1995, 79).

(24)

39.20

Ic eom yrming and þearfa,

I am beggar and poor-man

and þeah Dryhten min gymð.

and still Lord-NOM me-GEN cares

‘I am a beggar and a poor man but the Lord still cares for me.’

The verb *gȳman* ‘to care’ behaves exactly like *rēcan* ‘to care’ – the two verbs appear in structures of Type II (cf. example 21a) and are semantically almost identical. The only difference between them is that, in contrast to *gȳman*, *rēcan* is also found in Type N constructions. As a result, *rēcan* features in discussions of OE subjectlessness, which naturally results in its inclusion into lists of OE Experiencer verbs, while *gȳman* does not, though the syntactic and semantic status of the two verbs in Type II is the same.

Secondly, there are clauses in the text which both semantically and structurally represent verbs of Type O, as shown in (25) below.

(25)

41.1

Swa heort wilnað to wætre, þonne he werig byð opþe ofþyrst,

as stag desires for water when it weary is or

feels-thirsty

swa wilnað min sawl and min mod to þe, Drihten.

so desires my soul and my heart for you Lord

My soul and my heart long for You, Lord, as stag longs for water when it feels weary or thirsty.’

The example features the verb *ofþyrstan* ‘to feel exceedingly thirsty’ in exactly the same construction as the one used with a synonymous verb *þyrstan* ‘to feel thirsty’. However, only the latter is listed among OE Experiencer verbs (cf. Wahlén 1925, Visser 1963–73, Elmer 1981, Ogura 1986 and Allen 1995). The reasons for the non-inclusion of the former verb in those lists are probably two-fold. First of all, in contrast to *þyrstan*, the verb *ofþyrstan* does not appear with non-NOM Experiencers. As a result, the verb does not feature in discussions of impersonal to personal transition, so, as was the case with *gȳman*, it is not listed among OE Experiencers. Secondly, *ofþyrstan* is not recorded either in Bosworth and Toller (1898) or in Toller (1921) as the infinitive. Instead, both

parts of the dictionary list only the past participle form of the verb: *of-þyrsted*. However, its use in the Paris Psalter shows clearly that it can be used in non-participle forms as well. Note also that, as remarked by Allen (1995, 72), already at the OE stage verbs of the *þyrstan* type were becoming personal, i.e. they started to appear with NOM Experiencers, which seems to be the case here. In effect, the non-inclusion of *of-þyrstan* among OE Experiencer verbs is, as was the case with *gȳman*, epiphenomenal. It is important to realise that there are many more Experiencer verb of Type II in this text which do not appear on lists of OE Experiencer verbs.

Apart from the non-inclusion of particular *items* which do appear in constructions generally recognised as typical of Experiencer verbs, the accounts of Experiencer verbs do not list several *construction types* which Experiencer verbs (understood in the non-restricted, broad sense) can appear in. One of these constructions has already been discussed with reference to *hreowsian* (cf. example 23 above), i.e. the transitive construction. It is instantiated by a wide variety of OE verbs whose subject carries the Theta role of Experiencer (for example, *lufian* 'to love', *hatian* 'to hate').

Next come Experiencer verbs used in reflexive constructions with verbs such as *on-drædan* 'to fear'. As noted in Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013), the verb *on-drædan* may be accompanied by an ACC (or GEN) Theme and, additionally, by a reflexive DAT, and either of these could be omitted. Clauses with *on-drædan* in the Paris Psalter represent all three variants: both the ACC Theme and the reflexive DAT are expressed with *on-drædan* (example 26a below); only the ACC Theme accompanies the verb, as shown in (26b); only the reflexive DAT accompanies *on-drædan* (26c).

(26)

a.

3.5

For ðam ic me nu na ondræde
therefore I-NOM me-DAT now not will-fear

þusendu folces, ...

thousands-ACC of-people

'Therefore I will not be afraid of thousands of people.'

b.

26.1

Drihten is min onlyhtend, and min Hælend;
Lord is my one-who-enlightens and my Saviour
hwæt þearf ic ondrædan?

what-ACC need I-NOM fear
 ‘The Lord is my light and Saviour – what should I fear?’

c.
 21.22

Ondræde *hine eall Israela cynn,*
 fears him-ACC all Israelites’ nation-NOM
*for þam he na forsyhð,*⁴
 because he not despises
ne ne awyrpð earmra manna gebeda,
 neither not casts-away miserable men’s prayers
 ‘Let all Israelites fear Him, because he does not despise or reject the prayers
 of miserable men.’

Another Experiencer verb with a reflexive Theme which is found in the Paris Psalter is *for-þencan* ‘to despise’. It is attested in the text only once and in this case the reflexive Theme exhibits ACC Case, as shown below.

(27)

48 Introduction

And eac he lærde þæt þa ðearfan
 and also he taught that the poor
hy ne forðohton, ne ne wenden
 them-ACC not should-despair nor not should-expect
þæt God heora ne rohte.
 that God them not cared-for
 ‘And also he taught that the poor should not despair, or suppose that God did not care
 for them.’

Next come verbs whose Experiencer subjects are accompanied by DAT Themes, as in (28a) or PP Themes, as in (28b).

(28)

a.
 48.6

Ongitan nu, þa
 should-understand now those

⁴ The verb *for-sēon* is another Experiencer which features in Type II in this text.

þe truwiað heora agenum mægene,
 who trust their own strength-DAT
and þære mycelnesse hiora speda gylpað and wuldrað.
 and the greatness of-their wealth boast-about and glorify
 'Those who trust their own strength and boast about and glorify the greatness of their
 wealth should understand.'

b.

32.15

He byð swiðe dysig, se
 he is very foolish the-one
þe getruwað on his horses swiftnesse,
 who trusts in his horse's swiftness
for þæm hit is swiðe leas tohopa;
 because it is very deceitful hope
 'The one who has hope in the swiftness of his horse is a fool because it is a very deceitful
 hope.'

Another construction type disregarded in discussions of OE Experiencer verbs, but generally attested in Old English and in the Paris Psalter text, as well, are represented by verbs such as *swincan* 'to be afflicted' (29a) and *irsian* 'to become angry' (29b), which are never accompanied by a Theme, resembling Type O, only the Experiencer is invariably NOM here (cf. the case of *ofþyrstan* discussed above).

(29)

a.

6.5

Ic swince on minre granunge,
 I-NOM am-afflicted in my lamentation
and ælce niht on minum bedde ic sice and wepe,
 and every night in my bed I sigh and weep
and hwilum min bedd wæte mid tearum.
 and sometimes my bed wet with tears
 'I am afflicted in my lamentation. I sigh and weep every night and sometimes wet
 my bed with tears.'

b.

7.12

þe Drihten, þe is rihtwis dema, and strang and gepyldig,

you Lord who is righteous judge and strong and patient
hwæðer he yrsige ælce dæge;
 whether he-NOM becomes-angry each day
 ‘You, Lord, are a just judge – strong and patient. Will He be angered each day?’

In sum, verbs which appear with an Experiencer argument in the Paris Psalter feature in a much broader range of structures than are traditionally discussed with reference to OE Experiencers. In particular, they are found with NOM Experiencers accompanied by ACC Themes, i.e. in ordinary transitive constructions, in transitive constructions with a reflexive DAT, with only a reflexive DAT, or with a reflexive ACC. Moreover, NOM Experiencers can be accompanied by DAT or PP Themes, or they can appear on their own, thus representing a much wider range of structures than those traditionally associated with OE Experiencer verbs.

Conclusion

In the paper we examined seventy-three occurrences of Experiencer verbs in the Paris Psalter in the sense in which the term ‘Experiencer verb’ has been used in the relevant literature so far. It turned out that they represent all major types of constructions in which Experiencer verbs were found in the Old English period: Type N, Type I and Type II. The most frequently attested construction is Type II, represented by forty-four examples featuring four different verbs which appear in three subtypes of the type. Next comes Type I, with two representative verbs, which appear fourteen times in the Paris Psalter in two variants of Type I. The type represented by the smallest number of examples (twelve) is Type N, which is attested with three verbs in the examined text. There is also an example which is ambiguous between Type I and Type N. In effect, as can be expected, the text dealing with human emotions offers a full survey of all major types of constructions recognised in the relevant literature as typical of OE Experiencer verbs.

However, the most important finding of this paper is that the data from the Paris Psalter forced us to re-examine the traditional understanding of the term ‘Experiencer verb’ used with reference to Old English – from a cover term which subsumes the common semantic properties of certain OE subjectless and impersonal constructions to what it really is – a semantically defined group of verbs which appear with an Experiencer argument. And while the paper does not set out to construct the syntax of OE Experiencer verbs anew – something which cannot be done on basis of the data from a single text – it shows the need for a thorough investigation into the area of OE Experiencer verbs.

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