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Impersonal and reflexive uses of Middle English psych verbs under contact influence with Old French

Abstract: This article discusses the relation between impersonal constructions and the reflexive use of psych verbs of the *admire*-type (Levin 1993) copied from Old French to Middle English. The outset of the study is an observation made by van der Gaaf (1904) which was commented on by Fischer (1992) concerning the reflexive use of verbs like *remembren* (Old French *remembrer*) in the course of the development of impersonal constructions to personal constructions. My aim is to answer the following questions: First, was the reflexive use of verbs copied from Old French new to the Middle English system? Second, what is the syntactic and semantic relation between ME impersonal and OF reflexive constructions? I will first examine the reflexive construction in Old English and Old French to answer the first question. I will then deal with the second question taking a closer look at both constructions in Middle English. Supported by lexicon-based and corpus-based small-scale studies of the psych verb *remembren* I will provide an analysis of the syntactic and semantic properties of the verb in both constructions and show that what they have in common is an intransitive structure where the subject is an EXPERIENCER, and middle semantics. I will finally address possible effects of language contact through translations, before I conclude.

Keywords: Middle English; Old French; argument structure; Psych verbs; Reflexives

1 Introduction

This article discusses the syntactic and semantic relation between the reflexive use and the impersonal construction of psych verbs of the *admire*-type (Levin 1993) copied from Old French[1] (OF, 842–1220). I will further examine whether these instances of reflexive use have played a role in the rise of the reflexive system in the history of English. This small-scale study is part of a bigger project examining whether the grammatical system of Middle English (ME, 1150–1500) was influenced by the copying of OF verbs and if so, to what extent it affected the argument structural properties of the native system.[2]

Instead of using the more traditional and more problematic term 'borrowing' I will use Johanson's (2002: 287f) term copying as it allows for the non-identicality of original and copied material. Further, I will assume that verbs copied from OF to ME are global copies in Johanson's terms, bringing along a block of properties (material, semantic, combinational in syntax and word structure, frequential).

The outset of the present study is an observation made by van der Gaaf (1904: ch.5): in his monograph on the development of the impersonal construction in ME he noted that verbs copied from OF are found both in

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the reflexive use and in the impersonal construction. The examples in (1) illustrate the former.³ The example in a. is the first attestation of the ME psych verb *remembren* in the *Middle English Dictionary* (MED, McSparran et al. (2000–2018)). The examples in b. and c. show the reflexive use of the verb "… in 14th century English, just as in O. F." (van der Gaaf 1904: 144).

(1) a. *þe seuen holy gostes lowen hem whan **þai remembren hem**   of [vr. how] þat Iesus*
          The seuen holy ghosts love   them when they remember   them.RFL of   that Jesus
          Crist   suffred.
          Christ suffered

<div align="right">(MED, c1350 Apoc.(1) in LuSE (Hrl 874) p.42)</div>

      b. ***A man*** *shal* ***remembre him***   *of hise sinnes*
          a man shall remember him.RFL of his sins

<div align="right">(Chaucer, Cant. T. I 133, in van der Gaaf (1904:144))</div>

      c. ***I*** *wol* ***remembre me***   *alle the yeres of my lyf*
          I will remember me.RFL all   the years of my life

<div align="right">(Chaucer, Cant. T. I 135, in van der Gaaf (1904:144))</div>

Example (2) is an instance of the impersonal use exhibiting the typical pattern of a non-nominative subject and the third person singular default form of the verb.

(2) *At euery tyme that* ***me***   ***remembreth*** *of the day of dome, I quake.*
     at every time that me.IMP remember.3SG of the day of doom, I quake

<div align="right">((c1390) Chaucer CT.Pars. (Manly-Rickert) I.159 in van der Gaaf (1904:145))</div>

Fischer (1992: 237) comments on van der Gaaf's observations and states that the origin of these verbs "cannot be a coincidence". She assumes that "… there was felt to be a relation between impersonal constructions and these French reflexive constructions" (p. 238). She explains this by stating that ME speakers/writers were not familiar with, as she calls them, the 'pure reflexives' which French exhibits. This is, as she claims, because in Old English (OE, ca 800–1150) 'reflexive' pronouns had their own semantic role whereas in OF they did not. She illustrates this difference with the following examples: a. is from OE and b. and c. are two of van der Gaaf's ME examples cited above:⁴

(3) a. *And þa Pyhtas* ***heom***   ***abædon*** *wif   æt Scottum*
          and the Picts   them.[+TH] asked-for wives at Scots
          'And the Picts asked for wives for themselves from the Scots'

<div align="right">(Chron.B(Plummer)15 in Fischer 1992:238)</div>

      b. ***A man*** *shal* ***remembre him***   *of hise sinnes*
          a man shall remember him.[-TH] of his sins
          'A man shall remember his sins.'

<div align="right">(Chaucer, Cant. T. I 133 in Fischer 1992:238)</div>

      c. *At euery tyme that* ***me***   ***remembreth*** *of the day of dome, I quake.*
          at every time that me.[+TH] remembereth of the day of doom, I quake
          'Every time that I remember the day of doom, I quake.'

<div align="right">((c1390) Chaucer CT.Pars.(Manly-Rickert)I.159 in Fischer 1992:238)</div>

In the OE example in a. the 'reflexive' pronoun has a semantic role, whereas in the ME example in b. with the psych verb copied from OF it does not. In the example in c. displaying the impersonal construction with this verb the argument *me* has a semantic role as well. Fischer remarks that "[i]t must have been difficult to fit the Old French pure reflexives into the grammar of Middle English …". I take this to imply that the two

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3 RLF marks reflexive use, IMP marks impersonal use.
4 I added the feature [+/-TH] (theta) to mark the presence/absence of a semantic/thematic role.

systems were in conflict and ME speakers/writers sought a way to syntactically and semantically "adjust" the French type reflexive to the ME system, possibly by way of using the established impersonal construction. Whereas the reflexive system as we know it today developed in the course of the ME period, the impersonal construction was lost by the end of that same period (e.g. Allen 1995: 450).

In the syntactic literature on the English impersonal construction there is no consensus as to what "impersonal" refers to (see e.g. Sweet 1891; Fischer and van der Leek 1983; Denison 1990; Allen 1995; for other Germanic languages see Barðdal 2004). Scrutinising the various definitions found, Möhlig-Falke (2012: 12) proposes the following two criteria to define impersonalhood that I will use in this article:

Criterion A: the lexical finite verb is invariably marked for 3SG.
Criterion B: a noun phrase or pronoun in the nominative singular that could formally control verbal agreement is absent.

Of the seven basic patterns that express the impersonal construction the most common one is the transitive one where the first argument is (pro)nominal marked accusative or dative and the second argument is a (pro)nominal marked genitive, a prepositional complement, or a (non)finite complement clause. Two examples of this type are given in (4):

(4) a. *men*　　　　　***sceamað***　　*for godan*　　　　　*dædan*　　　　　*swyðor þonne*
　　　men.ACC.DAT.PL feel shame.3SG for good.ACC.DAT.PL deed.ACC.DAT.PL than　　for
　　　for　　　　*yfelan*　　　　*dædan*
　　　evil.ACC.DAT.PL deed.ACC.DAT.PL
　　　'men are more ashamed of good deeds than of evil deeds'

<div align="right">(WHom 20.1 [0031 (103)] in Möhlig-Falke 2012: 7)</div>

　　b. *ðu*　　　　*goda*　　　　*cyningc*　　***licað***　*ðe*　　　　　*well þat Appolonius ... þus*
　　　you.NOM.SG good.NOM.SG king.NOM.SG like.3SG you.ACC.DAT.SG well that Appolonius　　thus
　　　heonon　*fare.*
　　　from here go
　　　'good King, does it please you well that Appolonius ... departs from-here thus ...?'

<div align="right">(ApT (0179 (17.22)] in Möhlig-Falke 2012: 7)</div>

The following four developmental paths of the impersonal construction have been identified (Möhlig-Falke 2012: ch.1): first, verbs that exhibited the impersonal use were lost (e.g. ME *thinken* 'seem, appear'); second, the expletive *(h)it* was inserted (e.g. *hit likede the lordes*) which rendered the constructions personal; third, the acc/dat argument was reinterpreted as a nominative subject (*me liketh sth.* → *I like sth.*); fourth, in some cases a copula construction superseded an impersonal construction (*me hungered* → *I am hungry*).

Ogura (2003) has shown that a small set of OE verbs occur in the reflexive use as well as in the impersonal construction and claimed that both constructions have the function of a middle voice marker that English lacks, which implies that both seem to share the same semantic properties.[5] In Section 4 I will more closely examine the syntactic and semantic properties that this construction has in common with the reflexive use in Early English.

To my knowledge there is hitherto no study which has taken a closer look at van der Gaaf's observation and Fischer's (rather sketchy) analysis by comparing the reflexive systems of ME and OF and by taking contact-induced change on the level of argument structure into account. Moreover, there is no study which examines the role that psych verbs copied from OF might have played in the loss of the impersonal construction, and the rise of reflexives; even Möhlig-Falke's (2012) seminal work only marginally mentions

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5 Unfortunately, Ogura only mentions this without providing any analysis at all.

OF influence (ch. 7). Thus, to shed some light on these aspects I seek to answer the following questions:

Question 1: Was the use of 'reflexive' pronouns lacking a semantic role new to the ME system?

Question 2: What is the syntactic and semantic relation between ME impersonal constructions and OF reflexive constructions?

In the following section I will provide a classification of reflexives that I will then apply to the data discussed by van der Gaaf and Fischer, i.e. to the psych verb *remembren*. In Section 3 I will compare the reflexive systems of OE and OF and apply the classification introduced in Section 2. On this basis I will provide an answer for Question 1. Section 4 deals with the rise of the reflexive system and the loss of the impersonal construction in ME. On the basis of a small-scale lexicon-based and corpus-based study of the verb *remembren* and its OF source *remembrer*, which I will later extend to further psych verbs of this type, I will propose an analysis that answers Question 2. I will also briefly discuss some examples from the text *Ayenbite of Inwyt* in the light of language contact through translation. Section 5 summarises my findings and concludes the article.

2 Classifying reflexives

Before I discuss the classification of reflexives used in this article, I would like to point out that I do not subscribe to one particular framework for my analysis of the data. Rather, I will use classifications and models that, in my opinion, fit the research questions and data best.

In a very general sense a predicate can be called 'reflexive' whenever two of its arguments refer to the same person, i.e. when they are co-referent. This definition makes no reference to the linguistic means used to express it (cf. Waltereit 2012: 12) but generally the element that indicates co-reference is called reflexive marker (or reflexive pronoun). Depending on the language, reflexive markers can be a productive grammatical device to mark reflexive situations. According to Kemmer (1993: 48), Present-Day English is a language which uses the set of *self*-pronouns to mark all three persons in reflexive situations (as well as the adnominal intensifier, see König and Siemund 2000). These forms inflect for person, number, and in the third form, for gender. In contrast, the systems of French and German use the first and second person pronouns to mark co-reference and have an invariable third person reflexive marker (*se*, *sich*). Thus, formally the English, and the French and German systems are quite different. I will come back to this point below.

Next, I will introduce the classification of reflexives used here to analyse differences between reflexive interpretations in OE, OF and ME. I will make use of Steinbach's (2002: 3) differentiation between the reflexive and the inherent reflexive interpretation because it serves well to illustrate the difference that Fischer (1992) addresses. The former type is illustrated with the German example in (5) and schematised in (6).

(5) *Herr Rossi   rasiert sich*
    Mr.   Rossi.NOM shaves reflexive-pronoun.ACC
    'Mr. Rossi is shaving (himself)'

(6) c-selection: NP-SBJ   **RFL**
                       ↓   ↓
    s-selection: x   **y**

In German *sich* functions as a reflexive marker (third-person only). In the reflexive interpretation, the reflexive pronoun is both c(ategorially)-selected and s(emantically)-selected and therefore interpreted as a semantic argument of the verb, bound by and co-referent with the subject.[6] Thus, the subject *Herr Rossi* and

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6 Following Steinbach (2002) I will use the terms c-selection and s-selection without implying any theoretical stance.

the accusative object *sich* are linked to a semantic argument variable of the verb. This is not the case in the inherent reflexive interpretation illustrated in (7) and schematised in (8).

(7)   *Herr Rossi   erkältet   sich*
    Mr.   Rossi.NOM catches-a-cold reflexive-pronoun.ACC
    'Mr. Rossi catches a cold'

(8)   c-selection: NP-SBJ   **RFL**
                      ↓   ↓
    s-selection: x   **Ø**

In this case the reflexive pronoun *sich* is only c-selected but not s-selected. Therefore it is not interpreted as a semantic argument of the verb. The difference becomes apparent when we take a look at the distribution of *sich* in these two cases: In the first case (*Herr Rossi rasiert sich*) it has the same distribution as a personal pronoun, and this is why we can also say *Herr Rossi rasiert mich/ihn* 'Herr Rossi is shaving me/him'. This cannot be applied to the sentence with the verb *erkälten* (**Herr Rossi erkältet mich/ihn*). The crucial difference is that the reflexive interpretation is a two-place predication whereas the inherent reflexive interpretation is not; due to argument reduction it is a one-place predication (derived from a two-place predication, cf. Steinbach 2002: 4; this type of reflexive verb is also called inherent anticausative reflexive, cf. Steinbach 2002: 232). This difference is captured in Steinbach's terms 'argument reflexive' and 'non-argument reflexive' that I will use in the following sections for my analysis.[7]

If we apply this classification to the data Fischer discussed, we find the same contrast. The OE example schematised here in (9) receives a reflexive interpretation, the personal pronoun *heom* used as a reflexive marker with the verb *abiddan* 'to ask for sth.' is both c-selected and s-selected, i.e. it is interpreted as a semantic argument (argument reflexive).

(9)   *þa Pyhtas*   **heom**   **abædon** *wif æt Scottum*
    c-selection: NP-SBJ   **RFL**
                    ↓   ↓
    s-selection: x   **y**

In the example with the verb *remembren* schematised in (10), however, the reflexive marker *him* is c-selected but not s-selected, i.e. it is not a semantic argument (non-argument reflexive). The translation into Present-Day English makes this clear: in 'A man shall remember his sins' (meaning 'recall to mind', cf. Fellbaum 1998), the object (reflexive pronoun) is not needed. This is possible because psych verbs like *remembren/remember* denote a mental state that is directed at one's self.[8]

(10)   **A man**   *shal* **remembre** **him**   *of hise sinnes*
    c-selection: NP-SBJ   **RFL**
               ↓   ↓
    s-selection: x   **Ø**

From these few examples it seems that OE reflexive constructions are argument reflexives whereas in ME non-argumental reflexive constructions existed, at least with verbs copied from OF like *remembren*. This will be further explored in the next section.

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7 Steinbach also calls the latter inherent anticausative verbs.

8 van Gelderen (2018: ch.6) discusses the development of psych verbs and notes that only object-EXPERIENCER verbs (Levin's *amuse*-type verbs) are causative. The *admire*-type psych verbs under investigation are subject-EXPERIENCER verbs and lack this property.

3 A comparison of reflexive constructions in Old English and Old French

3.1 Old English

This section introduces the reflexive systems of OE and OF by taking a look at both the formal (morphological) expression and semantic interpretation of reflexivity. Against this background I will examine whether all reflexive uses in OE were of the argument type, which would corroborate Fischer's assumption discussed in Section 1.

Consulting Keenan's (2009) article on the historical creation of English reflexives quickly falsifies Fischer's assumption. First, Keenan notes that in OE (local) binding is generally established with personal pronouns which is illustrated with the examples in (11).

(11) a. *ða* ***gegyrede heo   hy***   *mid hærenre tunecan*
       then dressed   she$_i$.NOM her$_i$.ACC with of-hair   tunic
       'then she dressed herself in a tunic of hair.'

<div align="right">(Mart 190 c.875 in Keenan 2009:20)</div>

   b. *forðæm* ***hi   him   ondrædað*** *ða frecenesse ðe hi   ne gesioð*
      because they$_i$.NOM them$_i$.DAT fear   the danger   that they NEG see
      'because they fear the danger that they do not see.

<div align="right">(CP 433 c.880 in Keenan 2009:21)</div>

   c. *se* ***Hælende***   *sealde* ***hine   sylfne***   *for us*
      the lord$_i$.NOM.SG.M gave   him$_i$.ACC.SG.M self.ACC.M.SG for us
      'The Saviour gave himself for us.'

<div align="right">([ELet 4 1129] in (König and Siemund 2000: 45)</div>

Concerning the types of reflexive interpretation, argument reflexives as well as non-argument reflexives exist, the latter of which Keenan calls 'pleonastic pronouns' (Keenan 2009: 20, in line with others, e.g. Möhlig-Falke 2012: 187; Peitsara 1997: 278; van Gelderen 2002: 27ff). Two clear cases are (11) a. with the verb *ge-gyrdan* 'to gird' and b. with the *admire*-type psych verb *on-drædan* 'to fear', respectively. Furthermore, *self* functioned as an intensifier and could be combined with a personal pronoun in object position (co-reference with preceding subject) as the example in c. with the verb *sellan* 'to give' illustrates (see König and Siemund 2000). We can conclude that at the time English speakers/writers were exposed to French (psych) verbs used reflexively, argument and non-argument reflexives had already been part of their native inventory.

3.2 Old French

In OF there are various ways to formally express reflexivity. First of all, reflexive morphemes (clitics) exist which can be interpreted as expressing a participant of the event or not (for a discussion see Waltereit 2012: ch4). According to the terminology used here, they can be either argument or non-argument reflexives. Heidinger (2010: 47) states that with psych verbs reflexive morphemes do not have a semantic role (non-argument reflexives). Two examples with psych verbs given in (12) (*se merveiller* 'to marvel', *se corrocier* 'to get angry') illustrate this type of reflexive interpretation:

(12) a. *N'i   ait Franceis ki   tot   ne* ***s'en   merveilt****.*
        no-there has Frank   that totally not RLF.of-it wondered
        'That there was no Frank that was not astonished because of that.'
        (Rol: verse 571, in Heidinger 2010:42)

b. *A   moi **s'est**   Deus **coreciez**.*
over me RFL.is god   angry
'God became angry over me'.
(Gui: verse 890, in Heidinger 2010:47)

Another way to express reflexivity in OF is achieved by using the stressed reflexive pronoun *soi*. It was widely used to establish co-reference with any singular subject, and it more often occurred in argument position (argument reflexive). The example in (13) exhibits the use of *soi* as an argument, co-referential with the (null) subject.

(13) *Devant **soi** voit   ses enemis.*
before REFL see.3SG POSS enemies
'He$_i$ see his enemies in front of himself$_i$.'
(Waltereit 2012:2)

Further, the personal pronouns *lui/elle/eux/elles* could be used to establish a reflexive interpretation, and they were either semantic arguments or not. In the literature, it is stated that they more frequently occur in adjunct (non-argument) position. (14) displays such a case (again with a null subject).

(14) *Entour **lui** mete   **son mantel**.*
around him put.3SG POSS coat
'He$_i$ puts his coat around his$_i$ shoulders.'
(Waltereit 2012:2)

Concerning the development of the reflexive system in French, the stressed reflexive pronoun *soi* was largely replaced by the personal pronoun (cf. Waltereit 2012: 3). This applies to the third person only.[9] This change is opposed to what happened in English where personal pronouns have gradually given way to the specialised compound reflexive (*himself* etc., see below).

Having surveyed the reflexive systems of OF and OE I am now in a position to answer Question 1 (Was the non-argument reflexive new to the ME system?): Contra Fischer's assumption, we have seen that in OE the argument reflexive as well as the non-argument reflexive interpretation was part of the grammatical system. ME speakers/writers confronted with the OF system were familiar with both types. This may be seen as a favouring factor in the copying of OF verbs following Winford (2003: 51ff). The formal expression of reflexivity was quite different, however. Although both languages could use personal pronouns to mark reflexivity, OF also had the invariable third person reflexive marker (clitic) *se* which OE completely lacks. This may have led speakers/writers to seek alternative ways to copy/translate OF reflexive uses (see Section 4). A more comprehensive study would need to address this issue more thoroughly.

4 Reflexive and impersonal constructions in ME

In this section, I will examine the reflexive uses and the occurrence of the impersonal construction in ME. I will discuss findings from a lexicon-based and corpus-based study of *admire*-type psych verbs and provide an answer to Question 2.

We have seen that in OE the reflexive use of verbs was generally expressed by a personal pronoun, a reflexive marker did not exist (see also Mossé 1991: §120). The personal pronoun as a 'reflexive marker' either had argument status or not. In addition, the intensifier *self* could be combined with a personal pronoun in object

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9 Due to space limitations I cannot provide a full comparative analysis of the OF and OE/ME systems here which would have to include the difference between argument/non-argument as well as +/- reflexive.

position to indicate emphasis or contrast (see e.g. Visser 1963: §159,§426; Peitsara 1997: 297; van Gelderen 2002). In ME, the intensifier occurs more and more often in compound forms (*himself, herself* etc.; cf. König and Siemund 2000: 46), which leads to a situation where two alternative ways to express reflexivity compete with each other (cf. Peitsara 1997: 280). In the course of the ME period, the paradigm of reflexive pronouns developed disambiguating the reflexive use of verbs (cf. also van Gelderen 2002; McWhorter 2004; Keenan 2009). Some authors attribute this development to French influence: Einenkel (1916: §50); Mustanoja (1960: 502-3) and Visser (1963: §328) assume that these constructions are calques of French expressions or built in analogy to French reflexive verbs.

In her study of the *Helsinki Corpus* (Matti Rissanen et al. 1991), Peitsara (1997) investigates the reflexive strategies in ME and Early Modern English (EModE) and finds an increase of overtly reflexive constructions in ME with a peak in the subperiod of ME3 (1350–1420) (see Figure 1):

She comments on this finding: "It could be supposed that the peak of frequency in ME3 might have to do with the grammaticalization of the reflexive construction in English but, interestingly enough, it also coincides with the period of most profuse introduction of French vocabulary into English" (Peitsara 1997: 287). Describing the data, she finds that the verbs copied from OF are mainly abstract verbs, many from the field of social behaviour as well as psych verbs of various kinds. Crucially, these verbs all exhibit the 'simple strategy', i.e. the reflexive use of the personal pronoun which, as she observes, "... would really require no object at all" (1997: 302), for example *I assente me, quod I* 'I agree, said I' (Chaucer, *Boethius* 434.C2). This is in line with what I stated in Section 2 about the nature of psych verbs: both *remembren* and *assenten* are verbs of mental experience which are directed at one's self (the subject argument) which implies a one-place predication. To gain further insight into the role OF possibly played in the rise of the reflexive system in ME, we need to see which argument structural properties OF verbs had that may have been copied to ME, i.e. a comparative study is in order. Therefore, I will provide data from small-scale lexicon-based and corpus-based studies of the OF verb *remembrer* and its ME equivalent *remembren*.

The main argument structures of the OF verb which were extracted from the *Tobler-Lommatzsch: Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Blumenthal and Stein 2002) are presented in Table 1:[10]

I will focus on the two argument structures for the reflexive use (*de lui tu ne te remembres* ... 'You do not remember him') and the impersonal use (e.g. *Donc li remembret de son Seinor celeste* 'then he remembers his heavenly Father'). The reflexive use shows the same pattern that is found in ME apart from differences in word order. The second case shows the impersonal use in OF which typically involves an empty subject
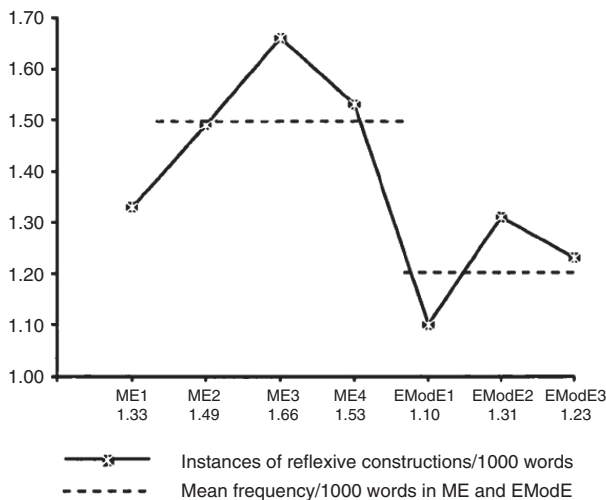

Figure 1: Frequency of overtly reflexive constructions per 1000 words (From Peitsara 1997: 288).

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10 I kept the original German descriptions of the verb.

Table 1: *remembrer* in the Tobler-Lommatzsch (TL)

remembrer (TL)	trans.	(wieder) in Erinnerung bringen	*Si com li contes nos remembre* (Ombre 24)
	refl.	sich erinnern an	*de lui **tu** ne **te remembres** Fors quant en veulz aucun mal dire* (Gace de la Buigne 2810)
	intrans.	sich erinnern an	*De ton peire dois **remenbrer** Que jones fut et valés biaus* (Florimont 942)
	subjektlos	*(il) me remembre*	*Donc **li remembret** de son Seinor celeste* (Alex 12b)

Table 2: *remembren* in the OED/MED

OED/MED			
remembren	trans.	To think of, recall the memory of (a person) with some kind of feeling or intention.	a1382 Bible (Wycliffite, E.V.) (Douce 369(1)) (1850) Isa. lxii. 6 ȝee that **remembren** [a1425 L.V. thenken on; L. reminiscimini] **the Lord**, ne beth stille, and ne ȝyueth scilence to hym
	intrans.	To have a memory or recollection.	a1393 Gower CA(Frf 3) 1.2682:*The proude vice of veine gloire **Remembreth** noght of purgatoire.*
	refl.	to think about or reflect on (oneself) with some kind of feeling or intention	c1390 Chaucer Parson's Tale (Hengwrt) (2003) §61 *I wol **remembre me** alle the yeris of my lyf in bitternesse of myn herte.*
	impers.	To think of, recall the memory of (a person) with some kind of feeling or intention.	c1390 Chaucer CT.Pars.(Manly-Rickert) I.159: *At euery tyme that **me remembreth** of the day of dome, I quake.*

position that is filled by an argument in the dative (or accusative).[11] If we compare the argument structures for ME *remembren* found in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) and the MED we see that the copied verb syntactically realises the same structures as its OF counterpart (see Table 2):

A study of the ME verb in the lemmatised[12] version of the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English Prose* (PPCME2) confirms this. Some examples from the corpus are given below.

(15) a. transitive:
  *... he **remembryd** [$_{NP}$ his blessyd passhyon];*
     he remembered   his blessed passion
  '... he remembered his blessed suffering.'

<div align="right">(EDMUND,168.160)</div>

  b. ditransitive with an EXPERIENCER as PP:
  *And thanne God **remembrith** [$_{PP}$ to hem] [$_{NP}$ many grete synnis],*
  and then   God remembers   to them   many great sins
  'And then God reminded them of many great sins.'

<div align="right">(PURVEY,I,6.175)</div>

  c. intransitive:
  *bi whiche thei schulden **remembre**, ...*
  by which they should   remember
  'by which they should remember ...'

<div align="right">(OTEST,16,40N.764)</div>

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11 In this example, the dative pronoun *li* fills the empty subject position and expresses the subject of the sentence. For more information on the impersonal construction in OF see Buridant (2000: §320), for a (generative) analysis see Mathieu (2006). Note that the definition of these constructions in OF does not match the one for the OE impersonal construction given in Section 3.
12 For details see Percillier 2018.

d. reflexive:

*scarsly   may he shryven hym or **remembre** [$_{NP}$ **hym**] [$_{PP}$ of his synnes] or repenten hym, for the*
scarsely may he confess him or remember   him   of his sins   or repent   him   for the
grevous maladie of his deeth.
grievous malady of his death.

'scarsely may he confess or remember his sins or repent of the grievous disease of this death.'

<div align="right">(CTPARS,324.C1.1553)</div>

e. impersonal:

*At euery tyme that **me remembreth** of the day of dome, I quake.*
at every time that me remembers   of the day of doom, I quake

"Every time that I remember the day of doom I shiver;"

<div align="right">(CTPARS,291.C1.106)</div>

From a quantitative point of view the reflexive argument structure is the most frequent one; in a total of 27 tokens it occurs 17 times (with an object pronoun). The impersonal use is only marginal (1/27). Table 3 presents all argument structures found in the corpus with *remembren*.

According to the analysis discussed in Section 2, the valency slot for the second semantic argument of the reflexive construction is zero since the reflexive use of *remembren* is non-argumental. If we compare the structure of the reflexive uses with the structure of the impersonal construction, we see that both constructions have the same argument structure: there is one EXPERIENCER argument which functions as the subject of the sentence (compare line 3 and 5 in the table). Syntactically this is the core of the structure needed to express the emotional state of *remembren* meaning 'recall to mind' as it is directed at one's self. Therefore, we can use an intransitive argument structure in Present-Day English: *I remember* (see above). So the meaning of this psych verb is expressed by an argument structure that is intransitive in nature[13] and this is what the reflexive and the impersonal construction have in common used with this type of verb.

I mentioned in Section 3 that Ogura (2003) assumed that the set of OE verbs showing both the reflexive and the impersonal use share the same semantic properties. In Möhlig-Falke's (2012) study only OE verbs belonging to the domain of EMOTION also occurred with reflexive uses. This alternation was extended to a number of verbs in ME, most of them verbs of mental experience (see below). Following Ogura, Möhlig-Falke (2012: 189) argues for an analysis where both the impersonal construction and what I called here the non-argument reflexive (which she calls 'middle reflexive') share middle semantics. Based on Kemmer's (1993) cognitive-functional approach to middles she assumes that the relationship between the participants in a sentence can be described as an action chain with an initiator and an endpoint (see also Langacker 1987, Croft 1991). In a prototypical transitive sentence a dynamic process is directed from a controlling participant (initiator, AGENT) to an affected participant (endpoint, PATIENT). In a middle event the two poles of initiator

Table 3: *remembren* in the PPCME2

		Val-slot 1 Syn	Val-slot 1 Sem	Val-slot 2 Syn	Val-slot 2 Sem	Val-slot 3 Syn	Val-slot 3 Sem	
remembren in the lemmatised PPCME2
1	ditrans.	NP	AGENT	to-PP	GOAL	NP	THEME	1
2	trans.	NP	EXPERIENCER	NP	STIMULUS			7
3	refl.	NP	EXPERIENCER	NP-rfl.	Ø			11
4	refl.	NP	EXPERIENCER	NP-rfl.	Ø	of/upon-PP	THEME	6
5	impers.	NP-pro	EXPERIENCER			of-PP	THEME	1
6	intrans.	NP	EXPERIENCER					1
	TOTAL							27

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13 The lexical-semantics of the verb includes the knowledge that is recalled which can be syntactically expressed by an argument in object function. As a result we find transitive and even ditransitive structures. For further discussion see the section on unexpressed object alternations in Levin (1993: ch.1.2).

and endpoint are conflated in a single participant "… as it takes place wholly within the primary participant, who is both the initiator and the endpoint of the process" (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 70). According to Kemmer, the lexical semantics of some verbs are more liable to occur in middle-voice patterns, for example verbs denoting mental experiences since the EXPERIENCER has properties of both initiator and endpoint.

I adopt this cognitive semantic analysis as it complements my formal analysis well and makes clear what the reflexive use and the impersonal construction with *admire*-type psych verbs have in common. Thus, I can provide an answer to Question 2 (What is the relation (then) between ME impersonal constructions and OF reflexive constructions?): Although the surface syntactic representation of ME *I remembre me* and *me remembreth* differ, semantically they do not. Both have the subject-EXPERIENCER as one single participant and can be seen to share middle semantics.

To find further support for my analysis I examined all verbs occurring in the impersonal construction in the lemmatised PPCME2, where searching for French and non-French verbs is possible. For verbs of non-French origin I found 80 tokens and 7 types (*reuen* 'to regret', *listen* 'to desire', *liken* 'to be pleased', *misliken* 'to be displeased', *ofthinken* 'to be displeasing', *shamen* 'to feel shame', *longen* 'to yearn'). For verbs of French origin I found 12 tokens and 7 types (*deinen* 'to seem worthy', *suffisen* 'to be adequate', *repenten* 'to feel regret', *remembren* 'to reflect', *merveillen* 'to be filled with wonder', *douten* 'to feel uncertain', *coveiten* 'to desire'). Crucially, all of the verbs exhibiting the impersonal construction in the corpus have EXPERIENCER-subjects, i.e. they are *admire*-type verbs.[14] This is why we can expect to find them in both constructions. In (16) to (19) I give some examples which confirm this (the a. examples show the impersonal construction, the b. examples the reflexive use).

(16) a. *Ah **þe** schulde **scheomien**. þu scheomelese schucke.*
      ah thee should shame   you shameless   devil
      'Ah, you should be ashamed, you shameless devil.'

<div align="right">(MARGA,66.169)</div>

    b. *And þat **noman** scholde **schame him** to schewen him such as god made him,*
      and that no man should   shame   him to show   him such as god made him
      'and that no one should be ashamed to show him just as god made him.'

<div align="right">(MANDEV,118.2897)</div>

(17) a. ***Himm reoweþþ** off hiss aȝhenn woh &   off hiss aȝhenn sinne,*
      him   regrets   of his own   woe and of his own   sin
      'He regrets his own wretchedness and his own sin.'

<div align="right">(ORM,I,192.1577)</div>

    b. *Mann … ne   **rewe   him** nauht ane hise sennes,*
      man   NEG regret him not   one his   sins
      'Man does not only regret his sins …'

<div align="right">(VICES1,121.1497)</div>

(18) a. *"**Me merueylyth** mech of þis   woman why sche wepith so."*
      me   marvels   much of this woman why she   weeps   so
      'I wonder much about why this woman weeps so.'

<div align="right">(KEMPE,143.3317)</div>

    b. *And for-thi   I **meruell me** þe more,*
      and therefore I marvel   me the more
      'and therefore I am even more puzzled.'

<div align="right">(CMROLLTR,45.921)</div>

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14 According to Levin (1993: 189) psych verbs typically take two arguments and are either of the *admire*-type (subject-EXPERIENCER – Object-STIMULUS) or the *amuse*-type (Subject-STIMULUS – Object-EXPERIENCER).

(19) a. ***"me repentis** sore   the dethe of thys knyght for the love of thys damesel,"*
    me   repents   painfully the death of this knight for the love of this damsel
    'I painfully regret the death of this knight for the love of this maiden.'

<div align="right">(MALORY,52.1726)</div>

   b. *&   þan   he **repentyd hym** þat he had not don   aftyr hir   cownsel.*
    and then he repented   him   that he had not done after her counsel
    'and then he regretted that he had not acted according to her advice.'

<div align="right">(CMKEMPE,57.1279)</div>

Due to a number of (morpho)syntactic changes the impersonal construction fell out of use between 1450 and 1500 at the latest (Möhlig-Falke 2012: 211). This development may explain why a verb like *remembren* occurs with a much higher frequency in the reflexive use than in the impersonal construction. Furthermore, if we consider Peitsara's findings given in Figure 1, we may assume that the loss of the impersonal construction happened at a time (in ME4) when the reflexive use considerably increased. What is more, in both ME3 (1350–1420) and ME4 (1420–1500) the strategy to mark the reflexive use with a personal pronoun was much more frequent than the one marked by *self* (ME3 234/73, ME4 236/92 tokens). The former seems to have been the strategy that came closest to the OF strategy used most frequently (clitic and personal pronoun). Of the set of 96 psych verbs in MED 47 are of French origin, which makes OF influence on the rise of the reflexive use (at least of these verbs) quite likely.

At first sight, my assumptions seem to run counter to Möhlig-Falke's (2012: ch.7.2) observation that for some time in ME the impersonal construction was productively used and even extended to both native and foreign psych verbs, for example to *gladen* 'to become pleased' or *repenten* 'to feel regret'. However, if we bring in effects of language contact through translation (see Haeberli 2018, Taylor 2008) we may be able to at least partly explain the increase of the impersonal construction in ME and, what is more, the relation between the reflexive use and the impersonal construction of these verbs. Fortunately, such a comparison is possible since some of the ME texts in the PPCME2 are direct translations of OF texts, for example the *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (1340, Gradon 1965) which is based on the OF *La somme le roi* (1279, Brayer and Leurquin-Labie 2008).[15] Since Dan Michel, the author of the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, tends to use native lexemes we may be able to detect how he translated OF psych verbs that were used reflexively. For OF verbs denoting the mental experience of remembering he consistently uses the native verb *bithinken*.[16] In (20) a. the reflexive use of OF *recorder* with the reflexive clitic *me* is translated as a reflexive use in ME with the personal pronoun *me* used as reflexive marker. Verbs denoting the mental experience of joy are also found. In b. the OF reflexive verb *s'esjoire*[17] 'to gladden' with the reflexive morpheme *se* is translated as an impersonal construction *him gledeth* with the native verb *gladen*, which according to Möhlig-Falke develops this construction only in the impersonal construction (see above). The example in c. shows that a verb expressing the mental experience of regretting like OF *repenter* with the reflexive clitic marker *se* is also translated as impersonal construction *him uorthingth* with the native verb *forthinken*.

(20) a. *aprés,   **je me recorde**   souvent aucune chose   que je n'ai   pas dite;*
    efterwards **ich me bethenche** ofte   of some thinges thet ich ne habbe nagt yzed.
    'Afterwards I often remember some things that I haven't said.'

<div align="right">(Somme ch. 56, 344)</div>

   b. *de tiex   choses **s'esjoist**   il en son cuer.*
    Of thelliche thinges **him gledeth** ine   his herte.
    'Of such things he is glad in his heart.'

<div align="right">(Somme ch. 33, 35)</div>

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15 In fact, 35% of all texts in the PPCME2 are French-based; cf. Trips and Stein 2019.

16 According to the OED *remembren* is first attested in the early version of the Wycliffite Bible (a1382), but probably not before the text was completed in 1340. This also applies to other verbs of this semantic class like ME *recorden*. I looked at all OF verbs in the text denoting this mental state and how they are translated by Dan Michel.

17 The OF form is *enjoiier* and the Anglo-French form *esjoir*.

c. *mes qui   bien **se   repent**,   il   n'en doit   oïr   paller*
   Ac   he thet   **him** wel **uorthingth** he ne   ssel naght therof yhere speke
   'But he who regrets very much he shall not thereof hear speaking.'

<div align="right">(Somme ch. 56, 331)</div>

Comparing the two reflexive systems again, we may assume that the reflexive morpheme *se* posed the biggest problem to Dan Michel as there was no morphological equivalent available in ME. But since the reflexive use and the impersonal construction shared middle semantics he could resort to use the latter, familiar construction. What may have also helped was that the ME reflected in Dan Michel's writing (late thirteenth century) still allowed preverbal positioning of (object) pronouns (cf. Haeberli 2018: 316), a syntactic property also found in OF. Whether this may have been a favouring factor as well in the increase of reflexive uses needs further investigation.

These few examples illustrate that contact through translation should be taken seriously, especially in quantitative studies where results will otherwise be skewed (see Haeberli 2018: 305) since a considerable number of texts in corpora and lexical resources are based on translations. In the case at hand, the *Ayenbite of Inwyt* is likely to have increased the reflexive use and the impersonal construction of ME verbs at least in writing (for a discussion of priming effects see e.g. Mahowald et al. 2016).

5 Conclusion

This article has examined the relation between reflexive verbs copied from OF and their appearance in the impersonal construction in ME, based on observations first made by van der Gaaf (1904) for the ME psych verb *remembren*, and commented on in Fischer (1992). Studying the reflexive systems in OF, OE and ME I concluded that OE and ME speakers/writers were familiar with the argument and non-argument reflexive, just as OF speakers/writers were, which may have been a favouring factor in the copying of OF psych verbs (although the two languages formally expressed reflexivity partly in different ways). Scrutinising and comparing the syntactic and semantic properties of OF *remembrer* and ME *remembren* in a lexicon-based and a corpus-based study, I have shown that the argument structures of this subject-EXPERIENCER verb in both the reflexive and the impersonal construction are intransitive. Following Möhlig-Falke's (2012) cognitive semantic analysis, I have assumed that these two constructions share middle semantics. I have provided further evidence from various corpora and shown that all *admire*-type psych verbs occurring in the impersonal construction in ME behave just like *remembren*. Finally I have discussed data that reflect contact through translation and shown that both the reflexive use and the impersonal construction are options in translating the reflexive use of OF verbs. Semantic, morphological and syntactic factors seem to have played a role. Overall, it seems likely that the increasing use of reflexive argument structures expressing middle semantics is a consequence of contact with OF. Occurrences of the impersonal construction, which was lost in a subperiod of ME (1350–1500), may at least partly be seen as translation effects.

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