

' Psych-passive + *by* ' Constructions in the *OED* and Henry Bradley's Lexicographical Philosophy*

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1 . Introduction

Human emotions are expressed in a variety of linguistic devices. Passives with psychological verbs (psych-verbs) , or psych-passives are one of them. These psych-passives are observed to take prepositions other than *by* as an agentive preposition. This may be illustrated by the following examples from Leech & Svartvik (2002) and Quirk et al. (1985) .

(1)

- a. She was surprised at your resignation from the club; Is he pleased with his present? (Leech & Svartvik: § 306,307)¹⁾
- b. I was a bit surprised at her behaviour; We were all worried about the complication. (Quirk et al. : § 3.76)

Contrary to traditional usage, we have seen an increasing use of *by* as an agentive preposition with psych-passives. The ratio of *at* and *by*

* This is a slightly revised English version of the article I wrote in 2002 .

¹⁾ Leech and Svartvik say , " An emotive reaction to something can be expressed by the preposition *at* ". " In < BrE > , *with* is often used instead of *at* when what causes the reaction is a person or object rather than an event. "

for the ' *be surprised* ' construction in Present-day English is approximately 1 : 1 , as opposed to the ratio of late Modern English, which was 3 : 1. (Taketazu ,1999: 199, 207-208; 2015:55) .

Let us show some examples of psych-passives being used with *by* in recent years. Most of these examples are taken from BNC:

(2)

When he stepped out, he was astonished by his first view of the place. (Conran, *Crimson*, 1992); Since writing his Book of the Royal Wedding...he has been amazed by the evolution of the Princess of Wales. (*Harpers & Queens*, 1990-4); She smiled to herself, rather pleased by what she thought of as a compliment. (McCallum, *Driven by Love* , 1990); [A]s I motored on in the sunshine towards the Berkshire border, I continued to be surprised by the familiarity of the country around me. (Kazuo Ishiguro, *The Remains of the Day*, 1989); Mountbatten was worried by these developments. (Tinker, *Men Who Overturned Empires*, 1987); etc.

This tendency of taking *by* as an agentive preposition seems to have extended to many other psych-verbs. It may be confirmed by the fact that more dictionaries and reference books are treating ' psych-passive + *by* ' constructions as an acceptable and legitimate usage than before. The following quotations and usage descriptions from *Kenkyusha's Luminous English-Japanese Dictionary* in (3) aptly show this tendency. The sentences in (3a) are quotations and (3b) are usage descriptions.

(3)

a. We were very [pleasantly] surprised by [at] the news; We were sur-

prised at [by] his behavior.

- b. The active voice of *We were surprised by the news* is *The news surprised us very much*; *By* is a colorless preposition used to mention a fact, whereas when *at* is used, a strong shock or an emotional response or reaction can be felt.

The dictionary also gives a similar treatment to such psych-verbs as *delight*, *scare* and *worry*, for instance, providing them with quotations containing an agentive *by* as well as conventional prepositions other than *by*.

(4)

- a. He was very much delighted with [by] my gift.
b. I am worried about the situation; He was worried by her absence.
c. I'm scared of snakes; They were scared by the loud noise.

These kinds of quotations and usage descriptions are not confined to this dictionary alone, but they are seen in many others. Judging from the proper quotations and apt descriptions, it may be safely said that 'psych-passive + *by*' constructions are gaining recognition as a standard and acceptable usage in Present-day English.

The linguistic situations in the 19th and early 20th centuries, however, were different from those of today. Psych-passives occurring with *by* as an agentive preposition do not seem to have been recognized as an acceptable and legitimate usage during that period, when the *OED* was being edited and compiled. I wonder what were the attitudes of the editors of the *OED* toward 'psych-passive + *by*' constructions? Did they treat them as non-standard or unacceptable constructions? Did the four editors treat them in the same way or differently?

It has been argued in my article (1999) that Onions, the fourth editor of the *OED*, was supposedly possessed with a grammatical prescriptivism. It may have led to his unwillingness or reluctance to utilize 'psych-passive + *by*' constructions in his compilation of the dictionary. Bradley, however, may have been far from it. In this article, analyses will be made as to how Bradley dealt with 'psych-passive + *by*' constructions and consideration will also be given to his editorial attitude.

In § 2, I will treat how agentive prepositions occur with psych-passives in usage descriptions and illustrative quotations in the *OED*. Samples of psych-passives are collected by consulting the *OED on CD-ROM* and it will be shown that Bradley adopts more illustrative quotations containing 'psych-passive + *by*' constructions and uses more of them in defining psych-verbs than other editors.

In § 3, a hypothesis will be presented showing that Bradley, being a corresponding clerk at a cutlery firm in Sheffield and lacking formal higher education, was a self-taught scholar and may have been free from grammatical prescriptivism. This freedom from prescriptivism is assumed to have led to his rather ample employment of 'psych-passive + *by*' constructions in editing the dictionary.

In § 4, lexicographers have their own academic and career backgrounds, and those backgrounds may be affecting their views and ideas of what a language is and what a dictionary should be like. And it will be argued that those factors, together with their personal dispositions, may have an influence on their attitudes toward the dictionary editing. In consequence, some lexicographers may be more lenient and tolerant toward non-standard or unacceptable usages and may have an inclination to use those anomalous constructions in defining words and adopt quotations containing them. This assumption may be applicable to Bradley and to his

philosophy and attitude in dictionary editing.

2 . ' Psych-passive + *by* ' constructions in the *OED*

2.1 Psych-passives and their agentive prepositions in the definitions

In this section we will consider psych-passives and the agentive prepositions they occur with. The verbs to be taken into consideration are the following ones:

(5)

alarm, amaze, amuse, annoy, astonish, bewilder, bother, chagrin, confuse, deject, delight, depress, disappoint, disgust, dismay, displease, excite, frighten, grieve, interest, offend, overwhelm, perplex, please, puzzle, satisfy, scare, shock, startle, stun, surprise, terrify, vex, worry

They are typical psych-verbs used daily in our conversations and writings.²⁾ Some of the past participles forms such as *amazed, frightened, pleased* and the like are listed as distinct headwords as adjectives in the dictionary, and they are also included in our analysis.

There were four editors of the *OED*: Murray (1837-1915) , Bradley (1845-1923) , Craigie (1867-1957) and Onions (1873-1965) . It was Murray who set sail for the uncharted waters of this monumental lexicographical work, followed by Bradley as a joint editor and later joined by Craigie

²⁾ Verbs like *appall, concern, content, thrill* are excluded from our consideration because their illustrative quotations of ' psych-passive + *by* ' are not found through the text search of the *OED* on CD-ROM, nor are there any reference to it in their definitions.

and finally by Onions. The following list shows who edited which letter (*OED*, 1933: xvii-xix)。

(6)

Murray: AB, C, D, H, IJK, O, P, T

Bradley: E, F, G, L, M, S-Sh, St, W-We

Craigie: Q, N, R, Si-Sq, U, V, Wo-Wy, Supplement: L-R, U-Z

Onions: Su-Sz, Wh-Wo, XYZ, Supplement: A-K, S, T

From this list we know who edited which letters and the following list shows who is the editor for each psych-verb.

(7)

Murray: *alarm, amaze, amuse, annoy, astonish, bewilder, bother, chagrin, confuse, deject, delight, depress, disappoint, disgust, dismay, displease, interest, offend, overwhelm, perplex, please, puzzle, terrify*

Bradley: *excite, frighten, grieve, satisfy, scare, shock, startle, stun*

Craigie: *vex, worry*

Onions: *surprise*

In what follows, I will examine the definitions and their illustrative quotations of each verb. The verb *please*, for instance, is provided with the following definitions, usage descriptions and illustrative quotations.

(8)

Please 4. a. Passive. To be pleased: To be gratified, delighted, or agreeably satisfied. Const. *with*.

1535 Coverdale Ps. 1[i] . 19 Then shalt thou be pleased with the

sacrifice of rightuousnesse.
1718 Free-thinker No.61 . 40 Every One is pleased with such an Occa-
sion of shewing the Superiority of his Understanding .
1850 McCosh Div. Govt. II. ii . (1874) 213 Nor can God be pleased with
the perverted adoration.

It shows that the verb is used in a sense of ' have pleasure 'in the passive construction and it takes *with* as an agentive preposition. This description is illustrated by the three quotations.

I have examined all the definitions, usage descriptions and illustrative quotations of the psych-verbs mentioned in (5) . The examination reveals that psych-verbs in the passive occur with such prepositions as are shown on the following table.

(9)	
<i>alarm</i>	<i>(at, by, with)</i>
<i>amaze</i>	<i>(at, with)</i>
<i>amuse</i>	<i>with, by, at</i>
<i>annoy</i>	<i>*after , *for , *of , (with)</i>
<i>astonish</i>	<i>(at, of, with)</i>
<i>bewilder</i>	
<i>bother</i>	<i>(with)</i>
<i>chagrin</i>	<i>(at, by)</i>
<i>confuse</i>	
<i>deject</i>	<i>(by)</i>
<i>delight</i>	<i>with, at , *in</i>
<i>depress</i>	<i>(by)</i>
<i>disappoint</i>	<i>in, with , *of</i>

<i>disgust</i>	from, of, against , (at, with)
<i>dismay</i>	
<i>displease</i>	with, at , *of , *against
<i>excite</i>	
<i>frighten</i>	at, of, for , (by)
<i>grieve</i>	with , (at, by)
<i>interest</i>	(about, in, by)
<i>offend</i>	with, at
<i>overwhelm</i>	(with)
<i>perplex</i>	(with)
<i>please</i>	with
<i>puzzle</i>	(by)
<i>satisfy</i>	with, at, of , *in, (by)
<i>scare</i>	(at, by)
<i>shock</i>	at , (by)
<i>startle</i>	(with)
<i>stun</i>	(by, with)
<i>surprise</i>	at , *with
<i>terrify</i>	
<i>vex</i>	at, with
<i>worry</i>	(about, by, with)

Further explanation should be offered here with regard to this table. Prepositions in bold letters are the ones which are explicitly described as used in the definitions and/or in the usage descriptions. The prepositions in the parentheses are the ones used in their illustrative quotations although no mention is made about them in the usage . —— shows that there are no descriptions nor are there any quotations in which a preposi-

tion is used.

Such verbs as *alarm*, *chagrin*, *deject*, *depress*, *frighten*, *grieve*, *puzzle*, *satisfy*, *scare*, *stun* and *worry* are provided with quotations containing 'psych-passive + *by*' constructions but there is no description about it in their definitions. Only *amuse* has the usage description of the agentive *by*, which is as follows: "to be amused *with* a toy or whimsical person, *by* a story told me, *at* an incident, the self-complacency of another." It shows that the use of *by* is permissible with a particular type of object word, that is, 'a story'. No quotation is given, however, to illustrate this usage of the verb.

Judging from the fact that there is no description of *by* in the definitions nor is there any quotation to illustrate it for all psych-verbs, it may be said that 'psych-passive + *by*' constructions were not considered to be a standard or a legitimate usage at the time when the *OED* was being edited.

What is noticeable is that a number of illustrative quotations with 'psych-passive + *by*' constructions are adopted, even though there is no mention of it in the definitions. Those are the following thirteen examples. The editor's name is in parentheses.

(10)

alarm v.5 1653 The King was again Alarum'd by the Protestation .

(Murray)

chagrin v.2 1878 Surprised and chagrined by the coldness of her manner . (Murray)

deject v.5 1625 The king was much dejected by a Lettre received from Denmark . (Murray)

depress v.6 1806 We came ... amidst rain and wind, and depressed by ill-forebodings . (Murray)

frighten v.a 1883 In fearing that England would go into schism the

- pope was frightened by a shadow . (Bradley)
- grieve* v.5 1841 He was grieved by the corrupt speech of his son .
(Bradley)
- interest* v.5 1791 She had been too much interested by the events of the
moment . (Murray)
- puzzle* v.1 1870 Like a schoolmaster puzzled by hard sum . (Murray)
- satisfy* v.7 1611 If any doubt hereof, he may be satisfied by examples
enough . (Bradley)
- scare* v.1 1671 When they should find themselves more skarred than
hurt by His Threats . (Bradley)
- shock* v.4 1849 Every moderate man was shocked by the insolence,
cruelty, and perfidy with which the nonconformists were treated .
(Bradley)
- stun* v.2 1802 Lady Catherine was stunned by this distinct refusal .
(Bradley)
- worry* v.7 1867 Men when they are worried by fears...become sus-
picious . (Craigie)

Bradley edited eight verbs out of thirty-four verbs shown above in (7) and he provides six of them with illustrative quotations containing ' psych-passive + *by* ', Murray five, Craigie one and Onions none. The number of quotations that Bradley uses is larger, relatively or otherwise, compared to other editors.

2.2 The illustrative quotations of ' psych-passive + *by* '

The *OED* on *CD-ROM*³⁾ can be utilized to collect illustrative quotations

³⁾ This is considered to be a very useful historical corpus and it supposedly contains 30 million words from Old English to the early twentieth century.

containing 'psych-passive + *by*' constructions. Sentence samples are obtained through the text-search of the 'past-participle form of psych-verb + *by*'. There is a chance that an adverb or some modifying word(s) is/are inserted between the verb and *by*, so the text-search of the past-participle form alone was conducted.

The retrieved samples were sieved to exclude the following examples: non-psych-verb uses, sentences with a non-human subject (except for impersonated ones), inappropriate collocations and the coordinated use of a psych-verb and a non-psych-verb, which naturally takes *by* as an agentive preposition.⁴⁾ Some quotations are cited for the two different head-words by the two editors.⁵⁾ We count them as two quotations. There is a quotation in which two psych-verbs are used and this is also counted as two quotations.

The illustrative quotations that we have collected and take into consideration are confined to the period of late Modern English (1700-1900). This is the period when many prescriptive grammar books were written and a sense of prescriptivism began to emerge and spread throughout British society and it is my assumption that this prescriptivism may have to do with editor's attitudes in compiling a dictionary.

The results of the examination are shown in Appendix I and II. Appendix I is a table which shows the number of quotations for each verb used

⁴⁾ The illustrative quotation of 1860 below is non-psychological, the one of 1865 is a sentence whose subject is not human. The one of 1705 is an example of inappropriate collocation. The example of 1847 is a sentence in which *by* is supposedly triggered by the verb *drum*.

1860 A man is stunned by a blow with a stick on the head. He becomes unconscious; 1865 An unfastidious taste is not offended by its style; 1705 Her Majesty hath been...pleased, by Writ, to Call [him] to the House of Lords; 1847 Small children are likely to be worried and drummed into apathy by dogmatic catechisms.

⁵⁾ The following sentence is quoted in two words, *bitter* a. & n. edited by Murray and *sweet* n. edited by Craigie: 1749 Fielding *Tom Jones* iii. vi. Surfeited with the sweets of marriage, or disgusted by its bitters. There are some examples like this.

by each editor. Appendix II is a list of illustrative quotations.

In Appendix I, the numbers of quotations used by each editor are shown: Murray 76 examples, Bradley 72, Craigie 40 and Onions 16 . These figures, however, do not mean much because the total editing pages differ from editor to editor.⁶⁾ So for the sake of comparison and clarity, the frequencies per 1,000 words are provided. The figures for each editor are: Murray 10.5 , Bradley 15.7, Craigie 12.3 and Onions 11.5 . We now realize that Bradley's figure of 72 examples, or 15.2 examples per 1,000 words, is very high, practically the highest among the four editors.

Especially, such frequently-used verbs as *frighten*, *please* and *surprise* are noticeable, considering the fact that the collocation with prepositions like *of*, *with*, *at* is so strong as to be called idiomatic and therefore seems to defy the occurrence with *by*. Bradley is observed to utilize more quotations of ' psych-passive + *by* ' constructions than other editors.

2.3 The definitions using ' psych-passive + *by* '

Not only does Bradley adopt illustrative quotations containing ' psych-passive + *by* ' constructions, but he also uses them in defining some head-words. They are such words as *excitement*, *fear-struck*, *get over*, *glad of*, *grimalkined*, *mind*, *scare*, *shade*, *weak* as in (11):

(11)

excitement 2c.: In recent use: The condition of being mentally excited,
whether by pleasurable or painful emotion .

fear-struck: struck with or overwhelmed by fear .

get over: to cease to be troubled or surprised by.

⁶⁾ The total pages for each editor are: Murray 7,207 pages, Bradley 4,590, Craigie 3,242 and Onions 1,395.

glad of (c): joyful account of, delighted or pleased by (an event, a state of things)

grimalkined pa. pple.: (nonce-wd.) . vexed by a 'grimalkin' .

mind v.8a.: (Not) to object to, be troubled or annoyed by, dislike (something proposed, something offered to one, etc.)

scare v.3: To take a scare (see *scare* n.2); to be alarmed by rumours or the like .

shade n.6c: Orig. , in humorous invocation of the spirit of a deceased person, as likely to be horrified or amazed by some action or occurrence.

weak a. & n.: Hence allusively in *weaker brethren* ... who are in danger of being shocked by extreme statements of principle or policy.

Aside from Bradley's nine examples, Murray has seven examples, Craigie three and Onions two. Bradley is more conspicuous than other editors in making use of the constructions in defining words .

What is remarkable is that Bradley seems to make a distinction in the use of *with* and *by* in the definitions of 'glad of', depending on the object word. If we compare the definitions of *glad of (a)* and *glad of (c)* as in below, the difference is obvious.

(12)

glad of (a): make happy or joyful, delighted or pleased with(an object possessed)(obs.)

glad of (c): joyful account of, delighted or pleased by (an event, a state of things)

This means that Bradley thinks that 'pleased by' can be acceptable de-

pending on the object word and the difference can be easily seen between this and Murray's definition of *please*, shown in (6).

From the observations made above, we now realize that among the four editors, Bradley made most use of 'psych-passive + *by*' constructions in defining words and he adopted the largest, if relatively, number of illustrative quotations containing them. This suggests that Bradley was more lenient and understanding of the usages which were not considered standard or acceptable in those days and he had a willing mind to utilize them in his editing the dictionary.

How can we explain Bradley's tolerant and lenient attitude toward the unacceptable and illegitimate usages? In my previous article, I argued that Onions had an inclination for prescriptivism and excluded the quotations of non-standard or unacceptable constructions. Bradley, on the other hand, may have freed himself from prescriptive grammar and showed leniency and even sympathy for non-standard usages. This will explain the reason that Bradley adopted illustrative quotations containing non-standard or unacceptable constructions.

In the next section I will propose a hypothesis that Bradley's academic and occupational careers may have influenced his philosophical views on language and grammar and also affected his attitudes and methods in editing.

3 . Bradley's career and his views on language

My arguments about Onions' prescriptivism is that it may have come from his academic and career backgrounds: he went to university, where he must have studied prescriptive grammar; he worked as a school-teacher, whose job it was to teach prescriptive grammar to his pupils; later

he wrote a grammar book with a number of prescriptive comments in it. All of these experiences may have combined to lead to his spirit of prescriptivism.

Bradley's career seems to make a stark contrast to that of Onions (Matsunami et al., 1995: 1101; Sasaki · Kihara, 1990: 32-33). Robert Bridges, a laureate poet, describes Bradley's life in his memoir dedicated to the posthumous collection of Bradley's papers (1928: 3-56). The following brief summary of Bradley's early and later life is based on Bridges' memoir.

Born in 1845 to the gentle and genial parents of John and Mary Bradley, Henry was a very precocious child and in 1855, started going to Chesterfield Grammar School in Derbyshire. Thanks to "his superior mental gifts, his gentle manners, his patience, his modesty...", Bradley was well-liked and was worshipped by boys at school. He obtained "the mass of his information" through "his inordinate love of reading" and was praised for "the excellence of his essays." His old notebooks show that "he was reading Homer, Virgil, Sallust, and the Hebrew Old Testament at the same time." Bradley left school because his master, the Reverend Frederick Calder, "advised his leaving, since there was nothing more that he could learn in class." He spent the next couple of years as a tutor, teaching and living together with a physically delicate son of an affluent physician at a farmhouse he had built for the son in the moors. After this tutoring post, he got a similar tutorship position with another physician's son.

Due to poor health, Bradley abandoned the hope to study further at university, and began to work "as corresponding clerk to Messrs Taylor, an exporting cutlery firm in Sheffield" at the age of eighteen. During the twenty years at this firm, he was engaged in the work of corresponding

with foreign clients. For the sake of occupational need and for his own interest he learned and was versed in many languages: classical languages like Latin, Greek and Hebrew as well as such modern languages as German, French and Spanish. Henry Bradley was a self-taught scholar, just as James Murray, Chief Editor of the *OED*, was. Bradley preoccupied himself in academic and scholarly activities and contributed philological articles to the local paper, *the Sheffield Independent*,⁷⁾ and he also read papers at the Philological and Linguistic Society.

In 1884, after he had been disengaged from the job at a cutlery firm,⁸⁾ Bradley went down to London with his family to make a living and partly to improve his wife's health. Was it because Fortune smiled at him that the first fascicle (*A-Ant*) of the *OED* (then the *New English Dictionary*) was published in the same year? Bradley was asked to write a review of the fascicle by Cotton, Editor of *the Academy*, and this review he wrote on a moving package caught the eye of James Murray. Murray came to realize Bradley's gift and talent in languages and lexicography and invited him to join the editorial staff of the *OED*. After working for several years as an assistant editor to Murray, Bradley was promoted to become the second Editor in 1888 .

Bradley did not attend university but he was working at a cutlery firm from his late teens, when a person is likely to be affected by the surrounding worldly circumstances. Arguably being constantly exposed to Yorkshire dialect or non-standard English of the people working and associating with him, Bradley may have developed a sense of tolerance and lenien-

⁷⁾ From *Hollamshire worthies, Who's Who* in South Yorkshire.

⁸⁾ " The business-house that he was serving gave him notice that their foreign trade could no longer support a special agent, and that they must therefore reluctantly dismiss him with the honorarium of six month's pay... " (Bridges , 1828: 12)

cy for non-standard or sub-standard English usages. When corresponding with foreign clients, he may have encountered foreigners' ungrammatical or unacceptable English usages as well. Those experiences in the real world, not a secluded academic society in which an ordinary scholar or lexicographer resides, may have accustomed him to the English usages and sentences considered to be non-standard and illegitimate.

Bradley was a self-taught scholar and may have been a distant person from grammatical prescriptivism that had been prevalent in those days as he did not have a formal higher education nor did he experience a career as a schoolteacher unlike Onions .

Bradley wrote a renowned book, *The Making of English* in 1904 , or coincidentally in the same year when Onions published *An Advanced English Syntax*. Unlike Onions' grammar book, which contains abundant prescriptive descriptions, this book of Bradley's, dealing with the history of the English language, considers language change from non-standard to standard usage, or the decline of standard usages, as a matter of course or inevitable in the history of a language. The following descriptions in his book illustrate Bradley's philosophical views on the English language and language change .

(13)

Now this is obviously an instance of the famous principle of ' survival of the fittest. '(p.36)

A considerable amount of new grammatical material has been introduced, to serve the needs of expression in cases where the old machinery has become inefficient through phonetic change and other causes, or where it was from the beginning inadequate for its purpose .

(p.53)

The analogous passive forms, as in ' the house is being built, ' he was being taught to ride, ' were hardly known till near the end of the eighteenth century, and long afterwards they were condemned by sticklers for grammatical correctness. Yet the innovation was clearly needed ... the language has found means for representing shades of signification which had previously no accurate expression . (p.70)

The description about morphology on p.36 says that the principle of ' survival of the fittest ' applies to language change. It is intended to mean that non-standard expressions would survive to be standard usage if they should fit the actual situation of a society in which the language is spoken. The description on p.53 indicates that a new usage would be born to replace a certain standard usage if it should become inappropriate or outdated. The description about passive progressive on p.70 seems to be intended to ridicule the grammarians who try to stick to the rules of prescriptivism.

Bradley seems to have had an interest in slangs, or non-standard words or usages associated with a particular context or society. He contributed an article " Slang " to *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910 , vol. xxv, pp.207-10) . Generally speaking, slangs are supposed to lie at the periphery of a language and they have been treated as if they were illegitimate and even disdained with contemptible eyes (Baugh, 1957: 350) . Bradley, however, considers slangs as legitimate elements of a language and analyzes them as an appropriate object of language science in his 5,000-word article.

Although slangs are non-standard vocabulary and expressions, some of them are said to have entered standard vocabulary (Bradley 1928: 145 , 155) . Bradley treats slangs in the framework of language change from non-standard to standard. Judging from his attitude toward slangs, Brad-

ley did not seem to harbor any prejudices against non-standard or unacceptable English; rather he seems to have leniency and understanding toward it. Bradley's distance from grammatical prescriptivism may have had an influence on his editing of the *OED* in adopting illustrative quotations and defining words.

For the sake of clarity and comparison, let us touch on Murray and Craigie, the chief and third editors, and the relation between their academic and occupational careers and their sense of prescriptivism. Murray, another self-taught scholar, had an experience as a schoolteacher for many years (Sasaki · Kihara, 1995: 247-48) . Craigie was a university-educated scholar but he had no experience as a schoolteacher .(Sasaki · Kihara, 1995: 60) . In terms of prescriptivism, Murray and Craigie may be placed between Bradley and Onions.

Furthermore, Craigie may be closer to Bradley, in that Craigie adopts an illustrative quotation in which *by* is recognized as an agentive preposition with the passive of the verb, *nettle* (*nettle* v.2b. In *pa. pple*. Irritated, vexed, provoked, annoyed. Const. *at, by, with*, etc.) . The figure of Craigie's (12.5) on Appendix 1 , which is close to that of Bradley (15.7) , is another reason. This may be explained by the fact that Craigie was a scholar of the Scandinavian languages as well as English and he was a man a generation later than Murray or Bradley.

4 . Dr. Johnson's unconventional way of editing his dictionary

Lexicographers are supposedly attempting to be scientific and objective in editing and compiling a dictionary. However, it seems to be inevitable that their personal dispositions and characteristics may affect the way of their editing and as a result, dictionary editing can be a subjective matter.

Lexicographers have their own academic careers and scholarly experiences and these may lead to their own views of what a language is and their own ideas of what a dictionary should be like, and thus their distinctive and characteristic ways of dictionary editing.

Samuel Johnson, for instance, is well-known to be subjective or even eccentric in his way of editing his dictionary. First of all, there are words whose “ definitions reflect Johnson’s dispositions ” (Hayashi, 1968: 1) . ‘ Oats ’, for instance, are defined as “ a grain, which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people ” and it shows Johnson’s dislike of Scotland. A ‘ lexicographer’ is described as “ a writer of dictionaries: a harmless drudge, that busies himself in tracing the original, and detailing the signification of words ” and it may contain a sense of humor or irony, or even self-ridicule.

As for illustrative quotations, Johnson makes use of his proper judgments, based on his own philosophy and learning, as to which one to adopt. Of course he adopts such quotations as would best and properly illustrate words, but he is said to have made it a rule to collect and utilize such quotations as to be a model or an exemplar in various fields of learning and literature. Furthermore, according to Boswell, who wrote Johnson’s biography, Johnson did not adopt the sentences of the writers which may harm and endanger religious minds and morality (Imazato · Tsuchiya , 1985: 61) . It is in the fourth edition, the virtual revised version, that this is typically represented.

In the fourth edition, the quotations of religious flavor are adopted in great numbers. The Bible is a source of a number of quotations throughout the first and second volumes of the fourth edition and so are the quotations from the seventeenth-century advocates of the Anglican Church or the Royalists who were opposed to the Puritans (Reddick ,1990: 141-42) .

Let us show some quotations.

(14)

O Lord, make haste to help me. Psalms (HELP, v. a. " 1 . To assist; to support; to aid. ")

God himself is with us for our captain. Chron . (HIMSELF, pron . " 2 . It is added to a personal pronoun or noun, by way of emphatical discrimination. ") (Reddick: 141)

To illustrate *help* or *himself*, these quotations do not seem to be linguistically best or most appropriate quotations nor do they seem to be essential to illustrate these words. They are not adopted for the sole purpose of illustrating the words but they are adopted simply for the sake of ' quoting from the Bible '. Any quotations from the Bible might have served Johnson's purpose and intention. Our arguments that a lexicographer can be subjective or even idiosyncratic in their way of editing a dictionary may be substantiated.

5 . Concluding remarks

This article is an attempt to analyze ' psych-passive + *by* ' constructions in the *OED*'s quotations and the definitions and how Bradley, the *OED*'s second editor, dealt with them. Psych-passives are supposed to be occurring with prepositions other than *by*, but we have seen an increase of *by* in Present-day English. In late Modern English, when the *OED* was being compiled, ' psych-passive + *by* ' constructions were not recognized to be an acceptable and legitimate usage. In spite of their illegitimacy, they are used in defining words and are adopted as illustrative quotations in the

OED.

We have observed that Bradley utilized these constructions most of all the four editors. My speculation is that Bradley was free from grammatical prescriptivism, which was prevalent in those days, and his freedom from it may have contributed to his rather ample employment of the non-standard constructions.

His exposure to the real world, as opposed to the academic world, as a correspondent at a cutlery firm in Sheffield for twenty years and his lack of higher education and a career as a school teacher may be combined to lead to the paucity of his grammatical prescriptivism. Being a self-taught scholar of philology, Bradley may have distanced himself from academic snobbishness, which may be equated with prescriptivism. His tolerance and acceptance of non-standard or unacceptable usages like the ones in question may come from his estrangement from the prescriptivism.

How a lexicographer's attitudes are affected in the ways of dictionary editing can be seen in Sameul Johnson's dictionary. Johnson was the editor of *the Dictionary of the English Language*, the most important and influential dictionary before the *OED*. Johnson may have had his own ways and edited the dictionary as he pleased. Some of his definitions are said to be subjective and even eccentric and the illustrative quotations are taken from the viewpoint of morality and his religious faith. The same may be true of the *OED* and the editors. The editor's scholastic learning and their philosophy on languages and dictionaries, together with their personal dispositions, may affect the ways a dictionary is being compiled.

If an editor were a scholar with a strong tendency for prescriptivism, then he would be reluctant to use non-standard or unacceptable English constructions when he defines words and adopts illustrative quotations. If an editor were non-prescriptivist, then he might not be hesitant or even

willing to do so. It is understandable that Bradley, lacking a sense of prescriptivism, may have been tolerant and lenient toward the then non-standard or unacceptable 'psych-passive + by' constructions and it would be little wonder if he had had a willing mind to use the constructions in defining words and adopting the quotations containing them.

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Appendix I

The number of illustrative quotations containing ' psych-passive + by ' constructions in the *OED* (Frequency per 1,000 pages)

	Murray	Bradley	Craigie	Onions
<i>alarm</i>	6(0.83)	5(1.09)	3(0.93)	2(1.43)
<i>amaze</i>	2(0.28)	1(0.22)	0	0
<i>amuse</i>	2	2(0.44)	2(0.62)	1(0.71)
<i>annoy</i>	6	4(0.87)	2	1
<i>astonish</i>	1(0.14)	1	0	0
<i>bewilder</i>	3(0.42)	2	1(0.32)	1
<i>bother</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>chagrin</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>confuse</i>	2	1	0	1
<i>deject</i>	2	1	0	0
<i>delight</i>	0	1	0	0
<i>depress</i>	1	0	1	0
<i>disappoint</i>	2	1	2	0
<i>disgust</i>	4(0.56)	1	2	2
<i>dismay</i>	1	0	0	0
<i>displease</i>	1	0	0	0
<i>excite</i>	2	3(0.65)	2	0
<i>frighten</i>	5(0.69)	10(2.18)	2	0
<i>grieve</i>	4	3	0	0
<i>interest</i>	1	1	1	1
<i>offend</i>	3	1	0	0
<i>overwhelm</i>	0	2	0	0

<i>perplex</i>	2	0	2	1
<i>please</i>	0	3	0	1
<i>puzzle</i>	1	0	0	2
<i>satisfy</i>	2	1	1	0
<i>scare</i>	4	4	2	1
<i>shock</i>	2	1	2	0
<i>startle</i>	6	8(1.74)	4(1.23)	0
<i>stun</i>	2	3	1	0
<i>surprise</i>	3	8	5(1.54)	0
<i>terrify</i>	2	1	4	0
<i>vex</i>	2	1	0	0
<i>worry</i>	0	2	1	0
total	76(10.5)	72(15.7)	40(12.3)	16(11.5)
<hr/>				
total pages	7,207	4,590	3,242	1,395

Appendix II

Illustrative quotations with 'psych-passive + *by*' constructions in the *OED* (The number in parentheses after each psych-verb is the frequency of occurrence of 'psych-passive + *by*' sentences. Words in parentheses are headwords)

alarm (16)

a1716 Alarmed by an experience of the baseness, and the exceptionousness of men (*exceptionous*); 1791 They were alarmed by the tramping of horses near the abbey (*tramp*, v.); 1800 The people of the vale had been a good deal alarmed by the appearance of that unaccountable being water-horse (*water-horse*); 1851 You will not be alarmed by my use of pruning-knife (*prunig-knife*); etc .

amaze (3)

1667 'tis easie to discern how much he must be distracted and amazed by them (*tremulous*); 1850 I started first, as some Arcadian, Amazed by goatly God in twilight grove (*goatly*); 1876 You are amazed by the profusion which is characteristic of Nature (*profusion*) .

amuse (7)

1774 He then placed them in a cage at his chamber window, to be amused by their sportive flutterings (*sportive*); 1816 Emma would have been amused by its variations (*wavering*); 1858 Amused by a couple of rams butting at each other (*butt*

v.); 1879 You would be screamingly amused by one (*screaming*); etc .

annoy (13)

1834 Sadly annoyed he is sometimes by her malapropisms (*malapropism*); 1839 The men... were evidently annoyed by my success (*squint-eye*); 1844 My reception has been so large, that I am not annoyed by receiving this or that superabundantly (*superabundantly*); 1876 Washington was annoyed by shoals of selfish importuners (*importuner*); 1885 We have been greatly annoyed of late by a lot of tin horn gamblers and prostitutes (*tinhorn*); etc .

astonish (2)

1876 Astonished by an invitation to dinner, which she denies (*card*); 1883 Never was more astonished than by Lady Arabella's gaucheness (*gaucheness*).

bewilder(7)

1751 I was bewildered by an unseasonable interrogatory (*interrogatory*); 1837 Bewildered by long terror, perturbations and guillotinement (*guillotine* v.); 1855 Bewildered by his own skillful word-juggling (*word* n.); 1909 The chorus-singers seemed a little bewildered by his batonless movements (*batonless*); etc .

bother (2)

1846 I really am bothered by this confounded dramatization of the Christmas books (*dramatization*); 1923 If you are particularly bothered by the proximity of wires (*capacity*) .

chagrin (2)

1928 Mr. Churchill was deeply chagrined by being compelled to withdraw his proposed kerosene tax (*kerosene*); etc .

confuse (4)

1711 she was perfectly confused by meeting something so wistful in all she encountered (*wistful*); 1822 This man being confused by the pervicaciousness of all (*pervicacious*); 1857 We were soon confused by numerous logging-paths (*logging*); etc .

deject (3)

1638 Yet in the meridian of his hopes [he] is dejected by valiant Rustang (*meridian*, n.); 1712 we should take delight in being terrified or dejected by a Description (*pass*, n.); etc .

delight (1)

1796 I am extremely delighted by the attentive perusal of musico-philosophical

letters (*musico*-).

depress (2)

1644 Had he allowed himself to be depressed by every unpleasantry (*unpleasantry*); etc.

disappoint (5)

1648 [You] might have found yourself as sensibly disappointed by her Grant (*grant*, n); 1688 Greatly disappointed by this loss [of a horse] (*team*, n); 1880 They were wofully disappointed by the results of their intended sociability (*sociability*); etc .

disgust (9)

1794 Emily was disgusted by the subservient manners of many persons (*subservient*); 1840 Very much disgusted by Mr. Elton walking out in the last scene (*walk*, v.); a1852 men must not be disgusted by occasional exhibitions of political harlequinism (*harlequinism*); etc .

dismay (1)

1854 Somewhat dismayed by this specimen of barrack-life (*barrack*) .

displease (1)

1822 I was so displeased by the jookeries of the bailie (*jokery*) .

excite (7)

1823 Excited, as he said, by the drollness of the scene (*droll*, a.); 1858 Excited by the waggery of his more intellectual neighbors (*waggery*); 1872 The Dutch were not excited by those visions of American gold and silver (*vision*, n.); etc .

frighten (17)

1794 If he supposes I am to be frightened by his pompous accusations, he has much mistaken his man (*mistake*, v.); 1821 I am not to be frightened by fee, faw, fum (*fee-faw-fum*); 1856 he was frightened by her denunciations (*denunciation*); 1879 Let not women be frightened by the scaring name (*scaring*); 1884 I am not at all frightened by the word 'sectarian' (*sectarian*); etc .

grieve (8)

1775 By lack whereof they have been oftentimes touched and grieved by subsidies given (*lack* n.); 1802 I am more grieved than I can express by a cruel contretemps (*contretemps*); 1899 Lovers of old London have been grieved by the news that... (*knacker*, n.); etc .

interest (4)

1830 I have been gratified and interested by going over one of the largest manufactories of this place (*go*, v.); 1861 Albinia had been strongly interested by the touching facts (*untouchingly*); etc .

offend (4)

1829 He dared not contest obstinately against persons of quality, who would be offended by his discourse (*contest* v.); 1830 I myself am offended by the obtrusion of the new lections into the text (*lection*); 1842 The Tartars call themselves Turks, and feel highly offended by being called Tartars (*Tartar*); etc .

overwhelm (2)

1849 Clarendon was overwhelmed by manifold vexations (*manifold*); 1866 Not only was I myself overwhelmed by these accounts of foreign travel (*we*, pro) .

perplex (5)

1770 Perplexed by sophistries, their honest eloquence rises into action (*sophistry*); 1869 Perplexed for a moment by the suddenness of the tidings (*tid-ing*); a1871 A young person is perplexed by the dissential judgments . (*dissential*); etc .

please (4)

1855 His haughty spirit could not be pleased by the subordinate part (*subordinate*); 1859 Much excited and pleased by your accounts of your daughter's engagement (*engagement*); etc .

puzzle (3)

1891 a German physician coming to this country became puzzled by the variety of nervous disorders (*American*); 1928 There is no anti-Britishism here, but I am puzzled by the objection to our being pro-American (*anti-British*); etc .

satisfy (5)

a1631 we are sufficiently cleared and satisfied by the Authority of the Holy Spirit of God (*clear* v.); 1663 I was thereby much satisfied and confirmed by his uptaking of the nature and notion of faith (*uptaking*); 1701 When a lover becomes satisfied by small compliances without further pursuits (*pursuit*); etc .

scare (11)

1756 I will not be scared out of my senses by improbabilities and maybe's (*maybe*); 1817 Scared by the faith they feigned (*priestly*); 1845 We are not scared by all this towering indignance (*indignance*); 1855 It is difficult to believe that a

Prince would have been scared by so silly a hoax (*hoax*); 1901 I was oppressed and scared by the far-reachingness (*far-reaching*); etc .

shock (5)

1851 Were Peter Damian still upon earth, To be shocked by such ungodly mirth (*ungodly*); 1881 It has never occurred to him that people would be shocked by seeing him ' tout ' at Albany (*tout*, v.); etc .

startle (18)

1854 I was startled by the loud honking of a goose (*honk*, v.); 1854 I was startled by something descending, with a great flop, on to my hat (*flop*, n.); 1856 He was startled by the growing weakness of the ice (*weakness*); 1865 I have been startled by hearing it urged in sober earnest (*sober*, a.); 1873 They were startled by an exclamation from Ingran (*exclamation*); etc .

stun (6)

1786 Stunned by their gibbering (*gibbering*); 1856 Perfectly be stunned By those insufferable cicale (*cicala*); 1865 He is only stunned by the unvanquishable difficulty of his existence (*unvanquishable*); etc .

surprise (16)

1786 At the desert I was very agreeably surprised by the entrance of Sir Richard Jebb, who stayed coffee (*stay*, v.); 1838 Miss Merton was surprised by the beauty of the young fairy before her (*fairy* n.5); 1845 I was a good deal surprised by finding two species of coral, possessed the power of stinging (*sting*, v.); etc .

terrify (7)

1658 When they are most terrified and huspil'd by these Ghosts (*huspil*, v.); 1712 we should take delight in being terrified or dejected by a Description (*pass*, n.); 1897 A person had been terrified by hearing the curtains of the bed rustle (*rustle*, v.); etc .

vex (2)

1748 We are to live on at this rate (are we?) vexed by you, and continually watchful about you (*watchful*); 1890 His order-loving soul was daily vexed by reason of the irregularities (*order*, n.); etc .

worry (3)

1869 Young Mr. Blucher was a good deal worried by the constantly changing ' ship time ' (*ship*, n.); etc .

Acknowledgment

The original Japanese paper was based on an oral presentation I made at the conference of the Society of the History of the English Language held at Kyushu University, Fukuoka, in 2002 . Emeritus Professor Matsuji Tajima of Kyushu University was kind enough to give me encouragement to read the paper. He was also so generous as to give me a number of useful comments on the draft of the paper.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to Mr. Nicholas Caine, one of my colleagues, who kindly read my manuscript and emended any irregularities therein. I owe another colleague of mine, Mr. Stephen Rife, for some useful comments and advice on the original draft. The responsibility for any remaining errors is of course mine.