

CHAPTER FIVE

OLD ENGLISH VERBS DENOTING LOCOMOTION: MEANING COMPONENTS AND SYNTACTIC BEHAVIOUR

SARA DOMÍNGUEZ BARRAGÁN

Abstract

This paper seeks to study the relationship between syntax and semantics as reflected in Old English verbal classes. It focuses on the verbs found in intransitive motion constructions that convey a meaning of change of location, including verbs of neutral motion (Weman 1967; Ogura 2002), verbs of manner of motion (as listed in Fanego 2012), and verbs of path of motion (Old English counterparts to the inventory in Talmy 2001). The aim of this study is to identify the morphosyntactic alternations in which Old English verbs of motion participate. The theoretical basis of the research includes the semantics of motion (Goddard 1997), the framework of verb classes and alternations (Levin 1993) and the typological distinction between verb-framed and satellite-framed languages (Talmy 1985). In order to deal with the study of meaning components, polysemy has been considered. On the other hand, parameters of morphosyntactic analysis include transitivity, case, prepositional government and reflexivity, as described in *The Dictionary of Old English*. The conclusions of this study make reference to the consistency of the syntactic behaviour of the verbs under analysis and the main alternations found within the verbal classes.

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to ascertain the consistency of the syntactic behaviour of Old English verbs of motion and to identify the morphosyntactic alternations in which they participate. Of the different types of verbs of motion, this study concentrates on verbs of manner of motion, such as *to run*, and verbs of path of motion, such as *to enter*, although verbs of general motion like *to go* also have to be considered as to their relationship with manner and path of motion verbs. This study focuses on the verbs found in intransitive motion constructions that convey a meaning of change of location. The study, therefore, is concerned with the Old English intransitive constructions corresponding to *Janet went to the store* rather than the transitive counterparts of *I returned the book to the library*.

The theoretical framework of this study is provided by Goddard (1997) and, above all, by Talmy (1985), who proposes a typological distinction between satellite-framed languages and verb-framed languages; and Levin (1993), who defines verbal classes with respect to their shared meaning and their different argument realizations. In Levin's (1993) model of verb classes and alternations, both meaning components and syntactic behaviour are necessary to justify verbal class membership. In order to come to a conclusion in this respect, it will be necessary to find the verbs in each class, examine their meaning components, check their syntactic behaviour with texts, describe such syntactic behaviour in a way that allows comparison and define the alternations that characterise each class.

The present paper is organised as follows. Section 2 provides the theoretical and descriptive basis of the study. Section 3 describes the methodology of the study, as it focuses on the foundations of the analysis of meaning components and syntactic behaviour. Then, it presents the data and unfolds analysis procedure. Sections 4 and 5 deal with the analysis of meaning components and argument realization of Old English verbs of motion, respectively. Finally, Section 6 draws the conclusions of this study, which point to the argument realization alternations in which motion verbs partake and the correlation between these alternations and the verbal classes of motion.

2. Theoretical and descriptive framework

The theoretical part of this study draws on Goddard (1997), and, above all, on Talmy (1985) and Levin (1993). The descriptive part applies the theoretical approach to Old English by describing the linguistic construction of motion in this language and defines the scope of the analysis of this study.

2.1. Theoretical framework

The theoretical foundations of this study include semantic as well as syntactic aspects. On the semantic side, the semantics of motion and the lexicalization patterns of motion verbs are considered; on the syntactic side, the framework of verb classes and alternations is reviewed.

As for the semantics of motion, Goddard (1997: 151-152) makes the distinction between translational movement and non-translational movement. On the one hand, translational movement verbs depict movement from one place to another, as it is the case of *come* or *go*, and they are often referred to as path of motion verbs. There are other verbs that “describe the manner of motion of an object but do not imply traversal of a path” (Goddard 1997: 152), as it is the case of *wiggle* or *dance*. These verbs are often referred to as manner of motion verbs because they depict the motion of the subject, without making any relation regarding to their location or configuration according to another object.

Turning to the aspects of meaning that verbs of motion encode, Talmy (1985) puts forward a cross-linguistic typology of lexicalization patterns, which is especially relevant for the representation of motion events. Talmy’s study (1985: 57) discusses the relations in language between meaning and surface expression, focusing, more specifically, on two semantic elements within the domain of meaning –path and manner–, and two elements within the domain of surface expression –verbs and satellites–. Its main purpose is to determine which surface expressions are used to convey each meaning component. Thus, depending on the surface form (verb or satellite) in which the motion component (path or manner) is encoded, Talmy (1985: 62-72) distinguishes two different typologies for all the languages in the world.

On the one hand, satellite-framed languages express manner of motion in the verb root and conflate path of motion in the satellite. In S-framed languages, path is usually described by the combination of a preposition and a satellite, as in *I ran out of the house*, although it is also possible for the satellite to appear alone, as in (*After rifling through the house*), *I ran out*. S-framed languages usually display a whole series of motion verbs expressing manner of motion (*walk, run, jog, trot, glide*, etc.) as well as a huge number of path satellites (*in, out, on, off, over, above*, etc.). Modern English is the prototypical example of a satellite-framed language, although German, Swedish, Russian and Chinese also follow this pattern.

On the other hand, verb-framed languages (V-framed languages) encode manner of motion in the satellite and path of motion in the main verb. Languages of this type present various series of verbs that depict motion along a path (Spanish *entrar* ‘move in’, *salir* ‘move out’ *pasar* ‘move by’, *meter* ‘move in’), and satellites are usually presented as independent and optional constituents, as in *La botella entró a la cueva (flotando)* ‘The bottle floated into the cave’. Language families that follow this pattern are Semitic, Polynesian and Romance; Spanish representing a clear example of this typology.

As far as syntax is concerned, Levin’s (1993: 7) research programme aims at the nature of lexical knowledge and demonstrates that there is a clear relationship between a verb’s meaning and syntactic behaviour.

In fact, this study suggests that verb syntactic behaviour can be explained only if diathesis alternations are influential to particular meaning aspects. Alternations, therefore, do not only constitute a defining property of a verbal class in terms of behaviour but can also be used to isolate the main meaning components of the class, and therefore, to create deeper judgements concerning the organization of English verb lexicon. For example, it can be seen that a verb shows the body-part possessor ascension alternation only if the action of the verb involves the notion of contact, as in the verbs *cut, hit* and *touch*, but not in the verb *break*, which does not display this alternation. Thus, verbs can be classified according to the meaning components they show. For instance, as Levin (1993: 156) remarks, the verbal class of ‘touch verbs’ is composed of pure verbs of contact, that is, verbs that describe surface contact without specifying whether the contact came about through impact or not. Since they are pure verbs of contact, they show the body-part possessor ascension alternation, but do not display the conative alternation, which implies both motion and contact meaning components.

The study of diathesis alternations demonstrates that verbs in English fall into classes according to shared components of meaning. As a result, class members are characterized by showing not only similar semantic properties but also a similar syntactic behaviour. Therefore, it can be said that a verb’s behaviour depends on the interaction of its meaning and syntax.

2.2. The linguistic construction of motion in Old English

This section turns to the question of morphosyntactic structure. It also discusses some Old English verbs of motion in context, with the aim of offering an account of the structural aspects of motion expressions and defining the scope of analysis of this study.

According to Goddard (1997), translational motion can be divided into non-caused and caused motion. Non-caused motion is spontaneous: someone or something moves from one location to another without any external influence. From the syntactic point of view, non-caused motion is expressed by means of intransitive motion constructions, as in example (1a), *he ham ferde* ‘he returned home’. Caused motion requires an external agent that moves something from one place to another. Syntactically, caused motion coincides with transitive motion constructions such as (1b), in which someone moves *Weastseaxna ælmeſsan* ‘the offerings from the West-Saxons’ from the place where they were previously to Rome. The text codes of the Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus used in Martín Arista (2016) have been kept.

(1)

a.		[Bede 2 020800 (8.124.11)]						
&	<i>he</i>	<i>þa</i>	<i>sume</i>	<i>ofslog</i> ,	<i>sume</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>onweald</i>	<i>onfeng</i> ;
and	he	then	some	killed	some	in	power	captured
&	<i>he</i>	<i>sigefæst</i>		<i>swa</i>	<i>eft</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ferde</i> .	
and	he	victorious		as	often	home	returned	

‘He killed some enemies and captured others and very often returned home victorious.’

- b. [ChronE (Irvine) 061500 (887.14)]
Æðelhelm ealdorman lædde Weastseaxna ælmessan... to Rome.
Æthelhelm high official took West-Saxons offerings.D.O to Rome
 ‘The high official Æthelhelm took the offerings from the West-Saxons... to Rome.’
 Martín Arista (2016)

Within intransitive translational motion, two types of construction can be found: one does not specify the target of motion; the other includes the target of motion. An illustration of each can be found in example (2), which draws on Martín Arista (2016) for the text as well as the text references. In (2a), reference is made to *eal flæsc ðe ofer eorðan styrode* ‘every living creature that moved on the earth’, in such a way that no destination is provided. In (2b), on the other hand, the endpoint is specified: *to Breotone* ‘to Britain’.

- (2)
 a. [Gen 017200 (7.21)]
Wearð ða fornumen eal flæsc ðe ofer eorðan
 happened then destroyed every living creature that over earth
styrode, manna & fugela, nytena & creopendra.
 moved men and birds cattle and creeping
 ‘Every living creature that moved on the earth was destroyed, men and birds and cattle and the creeping things.’
- b. [Bede 4 003200 (1.256.23)]
 & sona swa he trumian ongon, swa eode
 and soon as he to recover began as went
he in scip & ferde to Breotone.
 he by ship and travelled to Britain.TARG.MOT
 ‘As soon as he began to recover from illness, he travelled to Britain by ship.’
 Martín Arista (2016)

Martín Arista (2016) points out that in Old English the goal of motion often receives the accusative case, as in the example (3a), whereas the location and the source of motion are, as a general rule, case-marked dative, as in examples (3b) and (3c), respectively. As in the previous examples, the texts are cited as in Martín Arista (2016). In (3a) the preposition *angean* ‘against’ governs the accusative, whereas in (3b) and (3c) *on* ‘on’ and *of* ‘from’ select the dative case.

- (3)
 a. [Or 4 028600 (9.102.31)]
Æfter þæm Sempronius Craccus se consul for eft mid fierde angean Hannibal.
 after that Sempronius Gracchus the consul marched again with army against Hannibal.ACC
 ‘Afterwards Consul Sempronius Gracchus marched with an army against Hannibal.’
- b. [Gen 002600 (1.26)]
 ...& he sy ofer ða fixas & ofer ða fugelas & ofer ða deor
 ...and he was over the fishes and over the birds and over the cattle
 & ofer ealle gesceafta & ofer ealle creopende, ðe styriað on eorðan.
 and over all earth and over every creeping that moves on earth.DAT
 ‘...and let them rule over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the sky and over the cattle and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps on the earth.’
- c. [ÆCHom II, 3 006600 (22.121)]
Se fæder nis of nanum oðrum gecumen. ac he wæs æfre god.
 the father is not from no.DAT other.DAT come but he was always god
 ‘The father has not come from anyone. He was always god.’
 Martín Arista (2016)

Huber (2013) has found 188 verbs of motion in a corpus selection of narrative fiction and prose, out of a total of 557 intransitive motion constructions. The neutral motion verbs *faran* ‘to go’ and *cuman* ‘to come’ are the most frequent. According to Huber (2013), most of the remaining ones are verbs of manner of motion, in such a way that there are few native path verbs (like *fleon* ‘to flee’ and *alihtan* ‘to alight’) and path is expressed in adverbs and prepositions in 90% of the intransitive motion constructions.

Fanego (2012) remarks that there are both manner verbs followed by path modifiers like in (4a) and path verbs or neutral motion verbs followed by subordinated manner expressions such as (4b) and (4c), respectively. The following examples have been extracted from Fanego (2012).

- (4)
 a. [Æ Hom 5 005800 (214)]
Þæt wif... efst to ðære byrig and bodade ymbe crist.
 the woman hurried.MANNER.VB to the city.PATH.MOD and preached about Christ
 ‘The woman... hurried to the city and preached about Christ.’

b. [Æ LS (Maurice) 002100 (90)]
Ða com þærto ridan sum Cristen man
 then came.PATH.VB there ride.SUB.MANNER.EXP some Christian man
sona, harwencge and eald, se wæs gehaten Uictor.
 soon hoary and old who was named Victor
 ‘Then a certain Christian man came riding there immediately, hoary and old, who was named Victor.’

c. [Æ Holm 002300 (83.69)]
Ða sceawode se halga cuthberhtus on ðam snawe gehwær.
 then looked the holy Cuthbert in the snow everywhere
hwyder se Cuma siðigende ferde.
 whither the stranger wandering.SUB.MANNER.EXP went.NEUTRAL.VB
 ‘Then the holy Cuthbert looked everywhere in the snow, whither the stranger went wandering.’
 Fanego (2012: 43)

As Fanego (2012: 43) explains, “only the former construction [manner verb followed by a path modifier] is considered to be characteristic of S-framed languages such as English, while the latter type of construction is the one preferred in the Romance languages. In Old English, however, both can be found”.

3. Methodology

3.1. The analysis of meaning components

With the background of verb classes and alternations and in order to deal with the question of the meaning components of Old English verbs of motion, this section opens with a review of the most relevant works concerning the topic of motion verbs in Old English, including Weman (1967) on motion verbs in general, Ogura (2002) on verbs of neutral motion and Fanego (2012) on verbs of manner of motion.

According to Weman (1967: 12-174), five main senses can be found in Old English verbs of motion: 1) ‘to set out’, ‘to go’; 2) ‘to go on foot’; 3) ‘to glide’; 4) ‘to turn’; 5) ‘to toss’, ‘to move to and from’. In a study in verbal polysemy, Ogura (2002) lists the Old English verbs of neutral motion and attributes each verb to a semantic field (a sense in Weman’s 1967 analysis): ‘to come’; ‘to go’; ‘to turn’. Other verbs are polysemic. For example, *gerisan* is polysemic between motion (‘to arise’) and ‘to happen’. *Belimpan* conveys two senses: ‘to stretch’ and ‘to belong’. *For(ð)faran* is also polysemic: ‘to depart, die’. Finally, Fanego (2012: 41) finds four components in Old English verbs of manner of motion: mode, speed, course, and vehicle.

This said, an analysis of the meaning components of verbs of motion cannot put aside the question of polysemy because the authors cited above stress the polysemic character of these verbs; and, above all, because an analysis of the patterns of polysemy in which verbs of motion are found may provide a more accurate description of their meaning components.

The analysis of the meaning components of Old English verbs of motion consists of four parts: (i) a review of the inventories and classifications proposed in previous works; (ii) a database search for the verbs that convey the meanings described in the works reviewed; (iii) a classification of the verbs of motion found in the database on the grounds of the lexical dimensions proposed by Faber and Mairal (1999); (iv) a study in the patterns of polysemy that arise in motion verbs aimed at defining classes and the verbs that belong to them in an accurate way. These questions are discussed in Section 4.

3.2. The analysis of syntactic behaviour

The aim of this analysis is to ascertain the consistency of the syntactic behaviour of Old English verbs of motion. As Levin (1993) states, similarity of meaning and syntactic behaviour is indicative of verbal class membership. In the analysis that follows, syntactic behaviour is understood as the range of possibilities offered by the morpho-syntax of the language to convey a certain meaning. This points to three main aspects of morpho-syntactic structure that Levin (1993) includes under the label of the realization of arguments: morphological case marking, prepositional government and verbal complementation.

Linguistic reviews of Old English – such as Pyles and Algeo (1982), Robinson (1992), Mitchell and Robinson (1995) and Smith (2009) – describe Old English as an inflective language, with full pronominal, nominal, adjectival and verbal inflectional paradigms. The characteristics of this language discussed below must be seen from this perspective.

Case marking in Old English comprises four cases, two direct ones (nominative and accusative) and two oblique ones (genitive and dative). The nominative is the most frequent case of the subject, while the accusative usually expresses the direct object. Other assignments of case to the main arguments of verbs, involving the genitive and the dative, are less frequent (Brook 1966). The instrumental case is restricted to personal pronouns and some adjectives (Campbell 1987: 228; Hogg 1992: 117; Hogg and Fulk 2011: 146; Ringe and Taylor 2014: 326). Examples (5a) – (5d), taken from Brook (1966), illustrate, respectively, the nominative, accusative, dative and genitive case.

- (5)
- a. *Wæs he, se mon, in weorulhade geseted.*
was he.NOM, this man.NOM, in secular life set
'This man was a layman.'
- b. *Hie be Eaton welan.*
they obtained wealth.ACC
'They obtained wealth.'
- c. *Da kyningas Gode ond his ærendwrecum hyrsumedon.*
the kings god.DAT and his messengers obeyed
'The kings obeyed God and his messengers.'
- d. *Cynewulf benam Sigebryht his rices.*
Cynewulf deprived Sigebryht his kingdom.GEN
'Cynewulf deprived Sigebryht of his kingdom.'

Brook (1966:85-86)

The term verbal complementation makes reference to the number and types of arguments necessary for conveying a certain meaning with a given verb. As McLaughlin (1983) and Molencki (1991) show, Old English verbs can take one compulsory argument (intransitives), two compulsory arguments (transitives) or three compulsory arguments (ditransitives). Among verbs with three compulsory arguments, motion verbs with directional adjuncts should also be considered (Martín Arista 2001: 270). The following examples, taken from Brook (1966), illustrate, respectively, intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs.

- (6)
- a. *Hē sægde.*
he.ARG.1 said.VB
'He said.'
- b. *Sē cyning unhēanlice hine werede.*
The king.ARG.1 dauntlessly himself.ARG.2 defended.VB
'The king defended himself dauntlessly.'
- c. *Ic selle eow ðæt riht bið.*
I.ARG.1 give.VB you.ARG.2 what right is.ARG.3
'I will give you what is right.'

Brook (1966:89)

As far as prepositional government is concerned, prepositions in Old English usually govern the dative case, as in *to geferan* 'as companion'. Nevertheless, the accusative is also frequent, as in *geond ealne ymbhwyrft* 'throughout all the world'. Prepositions governing the genitive, like *wið Exanceastres* 'against Exeter', are scarcer (examples from Brook 1966; Mitchell 1985).

Thus, this analysis intends to identify the systematic aspects of the syntactic behaviour of motion verbs. Recurrent contrasts of form and meaning have traditionally been called alternations. As has been explained in Section 2, the framework of verb classes (Levin 1993) restricts alternations to the expression of verbal arguments, leaving other types of arguments aside. This line is also taken in the present study.

3.3. Data

In order to deal with the analysis of meaning components, this study considers all the verbs provided by the lexical database Nerthus (Martín Arista et al. 2016). In order to deal with the analysis of the syntactic behaviour, this study is restricted to the verbs beginning with the letters A-H.

There are several reasons justifying the selection of two different sets of verbs. The most important reason for this choice is empirical. Polysemy cannot be studied without making reference to the whole inventory of verbs of motion. The other reason for this choice is methodological. There are tools for studying the meaning components of all the verbs in the lexicon, but no dictionary is available that provides the information (especially the information on case marking, argument realization, etc.) necessary for the purpose of this paper on all the verbs in the lexicon. In this respect, the publication of the Dictionary of Old English (Healey 2016) has just reached the letter H¹. Therefore, the morpho-syntactic part of this study focuses on Old English verbs of motion whose infinitive begins with the letters A-H. This also excludes verbs with the prefix *ge-* followed by bases that begin with the letters I-Y, such as *gewitan*. With these premises, verbs of neutral motion have been taken from Ogura (2002), verbs of manner of motion have been extracted from Fanego (2012) and verbs of path of motion have been retrieved from the lexical database Nerthus (Martín Arista

¹ At the moment that this research study was carried out, the Dictionary of Old English had only published the letters A-H. The letter I was released in September 2018.

et al. 2016), on the basis of the Contemporary English corresponding verbs proposed by Talmy (2001).

The inventory of verbs of neutral motion beginning with the letters A-H comprises (Ogura 2002): *āfaran* ‘to go’ (listed by Ogura but considered a path verb in this analysis meaning ‘to leave, depart’), *āwendan* ‘to turn’, *cuman* ‘to come’, *faran* ‘to go’, *feran* ‘to go’, *gan* ‘to go’, *(ge)ānlāccan* ‘to come’ (listed by Ogura but considered a path verb in this analysis meaning ‘to come near, to approach’), *gecuman* ‘to come’ (listed by Ogura but considered a path verb in this analysis meaning ‘to arrive’), *(ge)cyrran* ‘to turn’ and *gegan* ‘to go’ (listed by Ogura but considered a verb of manner of motion in this analysis, with the meaning ‘to go on foot’).

The Old English verbs of manner of motion beginning with the letters A-H, according to Fanego (2012), include: *ahealtian* ‘to limp, crawl’, *astigan* ‘to climb’ (considered a path verb in this analysis), *besceotan* ‘to leap, spring, rush’, *bestealcian* ‘to move stealthily, stalk’, *bestelan* ‘to steal, move stealthily (upon)’, *cleacian* ‘to nimbly, hurry’, *climban* ‘to climb’, *creopan* ‘to crawl’, *drifan* ‘to rush on’, *dufan* ‘to dive’, *eflstan*, *ofestan* ‘to hasten, hurry’, *faran* ‘to travel, journey’ (considered a neutral motion verb in this analysis), *fleogan* ‘to fly’, *fleogan* ‘to hasten quickly away’, *fleon* ‘to hasten towards (some refuge, sanctuary, country)’, *fleotan* ‘to swim’, *flowan* ‘(of a multitude) to come or go in a stream, throng’, *forstalian* ‘to steal away’, *forphreosan* ‘to rush forth’, *forpræsan* ‘to rush forth’, *frician?* ‘to dance’, *fundian* ‘to hasten’, *fysan* ‘to hasten’, *glidan* ‘to glide’, *healtian* ‘to halt, limp’, *higian* ‘to hasten’, *hleapan* ‘to leap, to spring to one’s seat upon a horse, to dance’, *hleapan* ‘to rush’, *hleappettan* ‘to leap up’, *hoppian* ‘to hop, leap, dance’, *huncettan* ‘to limp, crawl’, *hwearfian* ‘to wander’, and *hweorfan* ‘to wander, roam’. To the final inventory, *gegan* ‘to go on foot’ must be added.

To get the inventory of Old English verbs of path of motion, it has been necessary to find the counterparts of the set provided by Talmy (2001) for Contemporary English. Only verbs of literal motion have been considered, in such a way that verbs like *amount*, *issue* and *avale* have been disregarded. *Advance* and *proceed*, *leave* and *part*, *cross over* and *pass* as well as *near* and *approach* have been unified because it is hard to distinguish between such similar senses on the grounds of the information provided by the standard dictionaries of Old English cited in the reference section. On the other hand, the dictionaries have provided evidence for distinguishing the following verbs that do not correspond to Talmy’s list (2001): *gelīðan* ‘to come to land’ and *scipian* ‘to go on board of a ship’. Verbs with no intransitive version have been disregarded. This is the case with the translations of ‘to surround’, ‘to encircle’, all of which are transitive in Old English (*bebūgan*, *befōn*, etc.). The resulting list of path verbs beginning with the letters A-H consists of: *āfaran* ‘to leave, depart’, *ālhtan* ‘to alight’, *ārisan* ‘to rise’, *āscēadan* ‘to separate’, *āstigan* ‘to ascend’, *æthwēorfan* ‘to return’, *flēon* ‘to flee’, *(ge)ānlāccan* ‘to join’, *gecuman* ‘to arrive’, *(ge)folgian* ‘to follow’.

3.4. Analysis procedure

With the data and the main characteristics of Old English verbs described above, the methodology of analysis consists of two main procedures: the analysis of the meaning components and the analysis of the syntactic behaviour of motion verbs. The analysis of meaning components is instrumental with respect to the analysis of syntactic behaviour. It helps to delimit the three classes distinguished in this analysis and also shows points of convergence and areas of overlapping between them. The analysis of the syntactic behaviour of motion verbs, in turn, can be broken down into the following steps:

- 1) Gathering the inventory of verbs of neutral motion, manner of motion and path of motion from various sources (Ogura 2002, Fanego 2012, Nerthus 2016-Talmy 2001)
- 2) Finding the Old English verb when necessary (verbs of path of motion) on the lexical database of Old English Nerthus (Martín Arista et al. 2016).
- 3) Searching the Dictionary of Old English for the selected verbs (letters A-H).
- 4) Isolating the relevant senses: intransitive use of these verbs (transitive, figurative and polysemic meanings are disregarded).
- 5) Describing syntactic patterns in which the verbs under analysis are found.
- 6) Selecting examples of each syntactic pattern from the *Dictionary of Old English*. This is done with the help of the *York Corpus of Old English* (prose and poetry; Pintzuk and Plug 2001; Taylor et al. 2003), which provides a syntactic parsing of approximately one half of the Dictionary of Old English Corpus (Healey et al. 2004), specifically designed for the compilation of the Dictionary of Old English.
- 7) Comparing the resulting syntactic patterns in order to decide on class membership.

For instance, the Dictionary of Old English entry to *drifan* ‘to drive’ gives the following senses, syntactic patterns and collocations (Figure 1).

I. absolute: to force to move, drive

II. transitive

II.A. to force to move, drive

II.A.1. of human beings and spirits; drifan ut / drifan ... ut 'to drive out', drifan ... onweg 'to drive away', deofol drifan 'to exorcise the devil'

II.A.2. of animals (cu, hors, hund, neat, sceap, swin; heord orf); drafe drifan 'to drive a herd'

II.A.3. figurative

II.B. to hunt, pursue, chase

II.B.1. to follow a track

II.C. to move something by force

II.C.1. to move by a steady force, especially to sail a boat; sulh forþ drifan 'to force the plough onward'

II.C.1.a. figurative

II.C.2. to move by a thrust or blow

II.D. to perform or do something, transact business, engage in an activity

II.D.1. in general: to practise right / wrong in one's life (riht / gemearr / unriht / I drifan)

II.D.1.a. specifically of a judge or priest: to further, promote (in Ælfric)

II.D.2. to engage in various activities

II.D.2.a. drifan drycraeftas / wiglunge 'to practise sorcery'

II.D.2.b. cype drifan 'to drive a bargain'

II.D.2.c. manguge drifan 'to follow a trade'

II.D.2.e. legal: spæce / spræce drifan 'to plead a case, urge a suit'

II.E. to experience, endure something painful

III. intransitive: to proceed violently, rush on

Figure 1. Senses, collocations and patterns in the Dictionary of Old English entry to *drifan*.

Given an entry like this, the selected sense that is relevant to the topic of this study and is therefore selected for the analysis is: III. intransitive: to proceed violently, rush on. Then, the citations are chosen that illustrate the sense and patterns in point: [Bede 5 6.400.27]: *ða ic hreowsende wæs, ða ic mid ðy heafde & mid honda com on ðone stan dryfan* 'Then I was regretting, then I bumped with my head and my hands onto a stone' and [HIGl E192]: *ic ut anyde l drife l adyde* 'I go out and drive and remove'. When necessary, the syntactic patterns have been checked against the *York Corpus of Old English*, as can be seen in Figure 2.²

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( (CODE <T06910011000,6.400.26>)
(IP-MAT-SPE (NP-NOM-x *exp*)
(ADVP-TMP (ADV^T +Ta))
(VBDI gelomp)
(PP (P mid)
(NP-ACC (D^A +ta)
(ADJ^A godcundan)
(N^A foreseonnesse)
(NP-GEN (D^G +t+are) (N^G synne))))
(PP (P to)
(NP (N witnunge)
(NP-GEN (PR0$^G minre) (N^G unhersumnesse))))
(, ;)
(CP-THT-SPE-x (C 0)
(IP-SUB-SPE (CP-ADV-SPE (P +da)
(C 0)
(IP-SUB-SPE (NP-NOM (PRO^N ic))
(VAG hreowsende)
(BEDI w+as)))
(, ,)
(ADVP-TMP (ADV^T +da))
(NP-NOM (PRO^N ic))
(PP (PP (P mid)
(NP-DAT (D^I +dy) (N^D heafde)))
(CONJP (CONJ &)
(PP (P mid)
(NP (N honda))))))
(AXDI com)
(PP (P on)
(NP-ACC (D^A +done) (N^A stan)))
(VB dryfan))
(. .))
(ID cobede, Bede_5:6.400.26.4024)
```

Figure 2: Syntactic parsing in the *York Corpus of Old English*.

With the help of the syntactic description provided by the Dictionary of Old English, as well as the syntactic parsing shown in Figure 2, the syntactic behaviour is described as follows:

² As can be seen in Figure 2, the fragment contains an adverbial clause introduced by *ða* with a noun phrase in the first person singular (*ic*) as subject agreeing with a finite verb (*hreowsende wæs*) and the main clause (introduced by correlative *ða*) consisting of a noun phrase in the first person singular (*ic*) as subject agreeing with a finite verb (*com*) and followed by three prepositional phrases (*mid heafde and mid honda, on ðone stan*), in such a way that the non-finite verb *dryfan* complements the finite verb *com*.

- 1) absolute use
HIG1 E192: *ic ut anyde l drife l adyde.*
'I go out and drive and remove.'
- 2) with subordinated manner expression
Bede 5 6.400.27: *ða ic hreowsende wæs, ða ic mid ðy heafde & mid honda com on ðone stan dryfan.*
'Then I was regretting, then I bumped (lit. I came going) with my head and my hands onto a stone.'

For further information on reflexivisation, we consulted Ogura's work (1989) on each specific verb. The syntactic description presented above allows us to compare all the verbs in the corpus and, eventually, to draw conclusions on the class membership of the verbs based on the shared syntactic behaviour.

4. The meaning components of Old English verbs of motion

In order to systematically deal with the meaning components of Old English verbs of motion, we have searched them in the lexical database Nerthus (Martín Arista et al. 2016) and classified them in terms of the lexical dimensions and sub-dimensions listed by Faber and Mairal (1999). A total of 791 motion verbs have been found and classified, as can be seen as follows:

2. MOVEMENT

2.1. General [move, go, come]

āhrēran, (ge)cweccan, (ge)hrēran, (ge)līðan, hwearfilian, swefian, wagian

2.1.1. To move in a particular way

besīgan, gemādan, onrīdan, rīdan, scofettan, tōslūpan

2.1.1.1. To move quickly [speed, race, hurry]

ācweccan, ārēsan, āswōgan, ātrucian, cleacian, forspēdian, forðhrēosan, forðrēosan, (ge)ærnan, (ge)iernan, (ge)recan, (ge)spēdan, inræcan, inrēsan, lēcān, nýdðēowigan, ongehrēosan, onrēsan, scacan, scottettan, tōscēotan, trendan, tycgan, ðeran, ðurhrēsan, ūtrēsan

2.1.1.1.1. To cause somebody/something to move quickly [speed, race, hurry]

(ge)iernan

With this classification, the analysis seeks to determine the most recurrent patterns of polysemy that emerge within the Old English verb class of motion. This part of the analysis focuses on verbs of motion belonging to two or more lexical sub-domains. However, it can be seen that, on some occasions, different lexical sub-domains refer to a single meaning, as in example (7):

(7)

hreran 'to fall'

2.1.3.5. To move downwards

2.4.1.2. To move downwards to the ground

The verbs that, in spite of appearing under several lexical sub-domains, convey one meaning, are not polysemic and, therefore, cannot be considered in this study. In order to remove them, we proceed as follows. The information contained in the field "translation" of the lexical database of Old English Nerthus (Martín Arista et al. 2016) has been retrieved from Martín Arista and Mateo Mendaza (2013), a synthesis of the meaning definitions provided by the standard dictionaries of Old English, including Bosworth and Toller (1973), Hall (1996) and Sweet (1976). This study unifies the meaning definitions found in the dictionaries by following two principles – polysemy and increasing specificity –: "within a meaning definition, commas separate related instantiations of a sense while semicolons distinguish senses" (Martín Arista and Mateo Mendaza 2013: ii), as in *tōhweorfan* 'to separate, disperse, scatter; to go away, part'. On the basis of this information, we can therefore assume that only those verbs whose meaning definitions are separated by a semicolon (and which display, at least, two lexical sub-domains) can be considered polysemic. Only 153 verbs from the initial list fulfil these requirements.

Notice that, in order to study patterns of polysemy within motion verbs, this analysis will focus on coincidences arising between three-digit sub-domains. Lexical sub-domains of this type are: 2.1.1. To move in a particular way; 2.1.2. To move off/away; 2.1.3. To move towards a place; 2.1.4. To move across; 2.1.5. To move over/through; 2.1.6. To move in a different direction; 2.1.7. To move about in no particular direction; 2.1.8. To move in relation to somebody/something; 2.1.9. To not move any more, after having moved; 2.2.1. To move as liquid in a particular way; 2.2.2. To move in/downward below the surface of a liquid; 2.2.3. To move over liquid; 2.2.4. To move upwards to the surface of a liquid; 2.3.1. To move as air; 2.3.2. To move through the air; 2.3.3. To move upwards in the air; 2.3.4. To move downwards in the air; 2.4.1. To move in a particular way; 2.4.2. To cause somebody/something to move downwards to the ground; 2.4.3. To move one's body. Therefore, all those verbs that, despite fulfilling the above-mentioned requirements, show several lexical sub-domains that belong to a common category, as in (8), will be removed from the analysis as well.

(8)

(ge)sprengan ‘to scatter, strew, sprinkle, sow; to spring, break, burst, split, crack’

2.1.8.6. To move out in all directions

2.1.8.6.2. To move apart

2.1.8.6.2.2 To come apart

Finally, verbs whose translation includes one meaning related to the sense of motion and one or various meanings related to other different senses, as in (9), have not been considered either.

(9)

(ge)spēdan ‘to prosper, succeed; to speed’

As a result, the inventory of Old English verbs of motion in which patterns of polysemy will be studied is comprised of the following 121 verbs: *āberstan, ābūgan, āfaran, āflēogan, āflieman, āhealtian, āhnīgan, āhræccan, āhweorfan, āiernan, āsīgan, āsincan, āstīgan, āswōgan, ætfuligan, ætslīdan, beclīngan, becnyttan, befealdan, befēran, bescēadan, betyrnan, bewindan, bewriþan, cwencan, drȳpan, feorsian, fēran, fergan, flēotan, forscūfan, forswīgian, fortȳnan, forðhebban, forðræsan, forðstæppan, forðwegan, gangan, (ge)bendan, (ge)būgan, gedēðan, (ge)dragan, (ge)fealdan, (ge)fērlæccan, (ge)flēogan, (ge)folgian, (ge)hangian, (ge)hlēapan, (ge)hrēran, (ge)hwemman, gehwielfan, (ge)iernan, (ge)liðan, (ge)lūcan, (ge)lūtan, gemæðan, geondfaran, geondhweorfan, geondlācan, geondspringan, (ge)recan, (ge)rōwan, (ge)sælan, (ge)sencan, (ge)wadan, (ge)wærlan, (ge)wīcan, (ge)windan, gryndan, gyrðan, hlīðan, hnīgan, hoppian, hræccan, hwearftlian, insteppan, læcan, oferfaran, oferfēran, oferflēon, oferflōwan, oferseccan, oferyrnan, ofstīgan, onhieldan, onswīfan, onðenian, pluccian, rīðan, scacan, scottettan, scriðan, swīfan, tōdræfan, tōfēsian, tōflēogan, tōflōwan, tōginan, tōhlīðan, tōhweorfan, tōiernan, tōlicgan, tōsceacan, tōslūpan, tumbian, twifyrclian, tyrnan, ūpātēon, ūtāflōwan, ūtflōwan, wagian, weallian, wōrgan, wræcsīðian, wreccan, wylwan, ymbfaran, ymbgān, ymbangan, ymbhringan, ymbtyrnan.*

When two or more meanings are expressed, the most frequent polysemy patterns found in the data are the following:

- a. 2.1.1. To move in a particular way
2.1.3. To move towards a place
- b. 2.1.1. To move in a particular way
2.1.6. To move in a different direction
- c. 2.1.1. To move in a particular way
2.1.8. To move in relation to somebody/something
- d. 2.1.1. To move in a particular way
2.4.1. To move in a particular way (land)
- e. 2.1.2. To move off/away
2.1.8. To move in relation to somebody/something
- f. 2.1.3. To move towards a place
2.1.8. To move in relation to somebody/something
- g. 2.1.3. To move towards a place
2.4.1. To move in a particular way (land)
- h. 2.1.5. To move over/through
2.1.8. To move in relation to somebody/something

The patterns of coincidence of two sub-dimensions presented above can be explained by means of the notions of telicity and manner vs. path of motion. Telicity is the property of verbs and expressions that convey a meaning such that the logical endpoint implicit in the verb is achieved (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997). For example, ‘jumping on the floor’ is an atelic expression, whereas ‘jumping through the window’ is a telic one.

On the one hand, verbs belonging to the lexical subdomains 2.1.1. To move in a particular way and 2.4.1. To move in a particular way (land) depict manner of motion and can be considered as atelic. On the other hand, verbs belonging to the lexical subdomains 2.1.3. To move towards a place; 2.1.5. To move over/through and 2.1.8. To move in relation to somebody/something can be considered as atelic as well, although they tend to convey path of motion. Telic verbs are a minority and can be found within the lexical subdomains 2.1.2. To move off/away and 2.1.6. To move in a different direction.

On the basis of the analysis given above, it turns out that Old English verbs of motion that present patterns of polysemy are usually atelic. Very few cases of telicity can be found, and they tend to depict movement from one place to another (path of motion). Thus, it can be said that polysemy patterns found in the analysis include, as a general rule, atelic verbs that indistinctly convey manner of motion or path of motion. Verbs belonging to the lexical subdomain

2.1.8. To move in relation to somebody/something show the highest degree of polysemy, followed by those belonging to 2.1.1. To move in a particular way; 2.1.3 To move towards a place and 2.4.1. To move in a particular way (land), respectively.

5. Syntactic patterns of Old English verbs of motion

This section presents the analysis of syntactic behaviour by verbal class. In general, the syntactic patterns with the verbs under analysis are discussed, with special emphasis on the question of reflexivity, since it seems to be a feature of most verbs of neutral motion that might also be shared by manner of motion and path of motion verbs. By way of example, the description of the syntactic patterns of an Old English verb of neutral motion, a verb of manner of motion and a verb of path of motion is provided below, respectively.

awendan ‘to turn’

1) with directional adverb

ÆLS (Agatha) 205: *þa awende se encgel aweg mid þam cnapum.*
‘Then the angel turned away with the boys.’

Used reflexively (Ogura 1989)

Exod 7.23: *ac awende hine [Pharaoh] fram him*
‘But the Pharaoh turned himself away from him.’

āhealtian ‘to limp, crawl’

1) absolute use

PsGII 17.46: *bearn elelendisce forealdodon & ahealton*
‘Foreign sons aged and limped.’

(ge)folgian ‘to follow’

1) absolute use

ChrodR 1 80.19: *þu scealt beforan gan, and hi ealle folgian.*
‘You shall go before and they all will follow.’

2) with dative object

Or 4 5.89.23: & <ægþer> *ge he <self> wepende hamweard for, ge þæt folc þæt him ongean com, eall hit him wepende hamweard folgade.*
‘And he weeping homewards before, the folk that came towards him followed him home weeping.’

6. Conclusions

The study has shown that an analysis of the patterns of polysemy in which verbs of motion are found can provide a more accurate description of their meaning components. Although more research is needed, the results of the analysis indicate that polysemic Old English verbs of motion are usually atelic. Telicity is infrequent, and it coincides with path of motion.

Some verbs of manner of motion can appear in subordinated manner expressions with verbs of neutral motion (*drīfan* ‘to rush on’, *flēogan* ‘to hasten quickly away’). Verbs of path of motion do not appear in subordinated manner expressions. Although most verbs combine the absolute pattern (to go) with the directional pattern (to go to some place), a significant number of verbs of manner of motion appear in the absolute pattern only: *forþhreosan* ‘to rush forth’, *forþræsan* ‘to rush forth; to dart forth (of a bird)’, *frician?* ‘to dance’, *healtian* ‘to halt, limp’, *hleappettan* ‘to leap up’, *huncettan* ‘to limp, crawl’. This is also the case with the verb of path of motion (*ge)ānlācan* ‘to join’. With respect to reflexivisation, all verbs of neutral motion can be used reflexively in intransitive motion constructions. Some exceptional verbs of manner of motion appear in reflexive constructions (*bestelan* ‘to steal, move stealthily (upon)’, *creopan* ‘to crawl’, *flēogan* ‘to fly’, *forstalian* ‘of a slave, to steal away’, *fysan* ‘to hasten’, and *hweorfan* ‘to wander, roam’). Path of motion verbs are not used reflexively.

The general conclusion that can be drawn is that it is well justified to distinguish three classes of verbs in Old English: verbs of neutral motion, verbs of manner of motion and verbs of path of motion. The meaning of each class corresponds to different realisations of arguments and, more specifically, to two different morpho-syntactic alternations: the reflexive alternation and the verb/satellite alternation.

Verbs of neutral motion are frequently found in the reflexive alternation (10). Verbs of manner of motion and path of motion verbs take part in this alternation very infrequently. In terms of meaning content, the non-reflexive pair of the alternation shows less involvement or affectedness of the mover than its reflexive counterpart. The dative case, which is the case of the recipient, the beneficiary, etc. is preferred over the accusative, which is consistent with the explanation of the alternation in terms of involvement or affectedness.

(10)

a. [ÆCHom I, 26 005300 (391.102)]
He gewende to Romebyrig, bodigende godspell.
 He went.NON.REFL to Rome announcing godspell
 ‘He went to Rome announcing the godspell.’

b. [Or 3 026700 (10.75.6)]
Þa wendon hie him hamweard.
 then turned they themselves.REFL homewards
 ‘They turned homewards.’
 Martín Arista (2016)

With respect to the verb/satellite alternation, Fanego (2012: 43) explains that there are neutral motion verbs followed by subordinated manner expressions, although they are more characteristic of V-framed languages such as Spanish than S-framed languages such as English. The analysis has shown that these manner expressions are in fact verbs with a more specific meaning, manner of motion verbs. There is, therefore, an alternation between the manner verb and the manner verb as a subordinated manner expression with a neutral motion verb, as in They rode to X-They came to X riding. Only neutral motion verbs and manner of motion verbs take part in this alternation. The former in expressions like They rode to X, the latter in the corresponding They came to X riding. Further evidence for this alternation has been gathered from Martín Arista (2016), with manner of motion verbs like *riðan* ‘to ride’ and *siðian* ‘to travel’: rode to Reading vs. came riding and came travelling vs. travelled to Egypt (11).

(11)

a. [ChronE (Irvine) 054500 (871.1)]
Her rad se here to Readingum on Westseaxe.
 here rode.MANNER.VB the army to Reading in Wessex
 ‘This year the invading army rode to Reading, in Wessex.’

b. [Æ LS (Maccabees) 019300 (773)]
And ðær com ridende sum egeful ridda
 and there came.NEUTRAL.VB riding.SUB.MANNER.EXP some fearful rider
 ‘And there came riding a fearful rider.’

c. [Beo 019600 (720)]
Com þa to recede rinc siðian, dreamum bedæled.
 came.NEUTRAL.VB then to building man travel.SUB.MANNER.EXP dreams deprived
 ‘Then there came travelling to that building the man deprived of dreams.’

d. [Æ Let 4 (SigewardB) 003400 (299)]
& wearð ða mycel hungor vii gear on and, & heo
 and was there great famine seven years on and and they
siðoden ealle to Egypte londe, þer heo bileofenæfundon.
 travelled.MANNER.VB all to Egypt land, where they food found
 ‘And there was a great famine for seven years and they all travelled to Egypt, where they found means of sustenance.’
 Martín Arista (2016)

As far as the meaning content of the alternation is concerned, the verb of manner of motion specifies the meaning of the verb of neutral motion, which is by definition general, in such a way that the verb of manner of motion provides a descriptive frame (usually in a durative tense such as the present participle, although the infinitive can also be found with the same function) for the neutral motion verb.

To conclude, the reflexive alternation is consistent with the class of verbs of neutral motion, while the verb/satellite alternation is consistent with the class of verbs of manner of motion. Path of motion verbs are not found, as a general rule, in either of the alternations found in this study.

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