Old English verbs of 'envy': class membership and grammatical behaviour

1. **Introduction**

This study addresses the grammatical behavior and class membership of Old English verbs of 'envy', *æfestian*, *andian* and *ofunnan,* so as to determine the (in)consistency of their syntactic behavior. The theoretical basis of this research is provided, on the one hand, by Levin's (1993) framework of verb classes and alternations, according to which meaning determines the syntactic behavior of a verb, and, on the other, by Role and Reference Grammar (Foley and Van Valin 1984; Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005; Van Valin 2014), specifically in what concerns certain parameters of analysis. The starting point of this research is the inventory provided by *A Thesaurus of Old English* (Roberts *et al.* 2000, 2017), which classifies the lexicon on a conceptual basis. The verbs of 'envy' share the expression of a common meaning, largely associated to the experiencer's covetous desire to possess a quality or a possession that belongs to another person or entity (target), but also to the experiencer's ill will towards somebody or something. Several criteria have been selected for analyzing the grammatical behaviour of these verbs and ascertain whether or not they constitute a homogeneus group both semantically and syntactically; these criteria are: semantic valence (macrorole assignment), syntactic valence (number and type of arguments a predicate can take), morphological case of arguments, prepositional government in oblique core arguments, *aktionsart* type, participation in alternations, and nexus and juncture.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. The second section defines the theoretical model that supports the analytical part of the study. Section 3 looks over previous work done with focus on Old English verb classes and the application of RRG *Aktionsart* types to Old English. Section 4 explains the obtaining of the data and the procedural steps of the study. Section 5 provides the main semantic and syntactic information of the verbs of 'envy'. In section 6, the different criteria of analysis are applied to the corresponding Old English verbs. Section 7 discusses their convergent and divergent behaviour patterns. Finally, section 8 provides some concluding remarks.

2. **Theoretical framework**

The analytical part of this study is in need of a general framework into which a syntactic-semantic description of verbs and the justification for class membership can be inserted. To that aim, it has been convenient to bring together various theoretical approaches, thus giving rise to an eclectic approach that comprises the three models and theories that will be explained in detail in this section. These are: Levin's framework of verb classes and alternations, some aspects of Role and Reference Grammar, and the framework of Structuralist Semantics, as part of the Lexematic-Functional approach.

2.1.   Levin's framework of verb classes and alternations

Levin's (1993) framework of verb classes and alternations is grounded in the assumption that the meaning of a verb largely determines its syntactic behaviour. This theory

provides a double classification of verbs according to two main criteria that are interrelated: the participation in a specific diathesis alternation, and class membership. As for the latter, Levin suggests a classification of verbs into classes according to the criterion that these verbs share at least one meaning component and their behaviour has proved to be similar. For instance, the participation in the same diathesis alternations is a criterion for class membership. A total of 49 verb classes, and many other subclasses, compose this part of the theoretical model, including, to name but a few, Verbs of Change of Possession (*feed, give, lease, lend*), Verbs of Contact by Impact (*bang, hammer, knock, smack*), Psych Verbs (*amuse, admire, marvel, appeal*) or Judgement Verbs (*congratulate, punish, recompense, ridicule*). The boundaries and edges that exist among these groups can be explained on the grounds of the semantic and syntactic properties that define each of them. Taking Psych Verbs and Judgement Verbs as an example, it must be noted that while they share certain meaning components, for instance, both types of verbs express a reaction to something, psych-verbs involve a particular feeling, whereas judgement verbs are more related to the expression of a judgement or opinion. With respect to the syntactic patterns that characterize each group, Judgement Verbs typically take sentential complements as objects, in contrast with the rare realization of this pattern in the case of Psych Verbs. The second mainstay of Levin's theory refers to the so called diathesis alternations, which are the syntactic possibility of a verb to express their arguments in at least two different ways, giving rise in some occasions to a change of meaning. Levin establishes an inventory of alternations in terms of the syntactic frames that are associated to each type and subtype of them. The three major alternating frames are the Transitivity Alternations, the Alternations Involving Arguments within the VP and the Oblique Subject alternations. By way of example, an alternation of each type is provided in (1), (2) and (3):

(1) <u>Causative Alternation</u> (Transitive Alternation):
Frost freezes water (transitive)
In the winter the milk froze (intransitive)

(2) <u>Dative Alternation</u> (Alternations Involving Arguments within the VP, with no intransitive counterpart)
They will grant the right to all citizens (NP1 V NP2 to NP3)
They will grant you asylum (NP1 V NP3 NP2)

(3) <u>Location Subject Alternation</u> (Oblique Subject Alternation)
They house a collection of sculpture in the museum (agent subject)
The museum houses a collection of sculpture (oblique subject)

Although, as Levin (1993: 10-11) states, verb classes and alternations are not the same in all languages, verbs of the same semantic type can establish a correlation between behaviour and meaning crosslinguistically.

2.2.   Some aspects of Role and Reference Grammar

Apart from Levin's framework of verb classes and alternations, it has been necessary to resort to the theory of Role and Reference Grammar (Foley and Van Valin 1984; Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005; Van Valin 2014) to set the foundations of the theoretical part of the study. RRG draws inspiration from both typological and theoretical concerns. The first main question it poses has to do with the possibility of devising a linguistic theory that could be applied crosslinguistically; and the second question refers to the necessity to create a unique linking system that can bring together syntax, semantics and pragmatics in different grammatical systems. The underpinnings of RRG are summarized in what follows, with emphasis on those aspects of this theory that have been incorporated in this study.

The theory of syntactic representation describes the clause as a layered structure in which a nucleus together with its arguments form a core to which a periphery can be associated. These levels or layers are motivated by the operators of tense, aspect and modality, which tend to be inserted, respectively, at nucleus, core and clause level. By adopting the principle of layering, RRG represents the clause as a layered (or hierarchical) structure resulting from the expansion of a predication (a verb plus its arguments) by means of the insertion of operators (grammatical features) and satellites (adverbials). The predication layer comprises the nuclear predication, the core predication and the extended predication. The nuclear predication designates a state of affairs, and consists of the verbal predicate, its arguments and satellites of manner, speed, instrument, direction and beneficiary. The core predication is perspectivized as to syntactic function, i.e., subject and object (when relevant). Finally, the extended predication is made up of a core predication plus satellites of modality.

The structure of complex sentences is explained in terms of nexus relations and juncture, the former alluding to the syntactic relations that hold between units, the latter to the nature of these units in a complex construction. Three juncture types emanate from the three universal units present in complex sentences: clause, core and nucleus. An example of each juncture type is provided in (4), (5) and (6)[1]:

(4) clausal juncture
Fred came yesterday, but Bill will come tomorrow.

(5) core juncture
Chris forced Dana to leave the party.

(6) nuclear juncture
I will make John eat the cakes.

At a clause level, a distinction must be made between coordination and subordination. Coordination links at least two units of equal status, originating independent main clauses; in subordination, in turn, one of the clauses is embedded in the other one, being either an argument (daughter subordination) or a modifier (peripheral subordination) of the main clause. Core juncture can be further subdivided into non-subordinate and subordinate core juncture. The difference between both types lies in that in the non-subordinate type the linked units have a common argument, as in *Chris forced Dana to leave the party*, where *Dana* is an argument of both *forced* and *leave*; in the subordinate

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[1] The examples have been retrieved from Van Valin (2005: 149-153).

type, however, there are not linked units, as in *Pat's winning the race surprised everyone*, where *Pat's winning the race* is a core argument in subordination, since it serves the function of subject of the matrix verb *surprise* (Van Valin 2005: 152). Nuclear juncture involves the presence of at least two nuclei that form a single nucleus to which a common set of arguments is attached.

Another key concern of RRG is the semantic representation of the sentence, which is based on the lexical representation of the verb or the relevant predicating element, which, in turn, depends on the *Aktionsart* (internal aspect) class of the verb. The typology of *Aktionsart* proposed by Vendler (1967) consists of four classes: state, achievement, accomplishment and activity. States and activities are basic types. Achievements are punctual while accomplishments are durative. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) add active accomplishments (telic uses of activity verbs) and the causative version of all classes. To the enlarged inventory, VanValin (2005) adds the class of semelfactives, both non-causative and causative, or punctual events. Prototypical instances of the non-causative and causative Aktionsart classes can be seen in Figure 1:

State
The boy fears the dog.
Achievement
The balloon popped.
Semelfactive
The light flashed.
Accomplishment
The ice melted.
Activity
The dog walked in the park.
Active accomplishment
The dog walked to the park.

Causative state
The dog frightens / scares the boy.
Causative achievement
The cat popped the balloon.
Causative semelfactive
The conductor flashed the light.
Causative accomplishment
The hot water melted the ice.
Causative activity
The girl walked the dog in the park.
Causative active accomplishment
The girl walked the dog to the park.

Figure 1. Illustration of non-causative and causative version of *Aktionsart* classes.

A last central component of RRG theory is the semantic interpretation of verbal arguments, which is based on two generalized semantic roles or macroroles called ACTOR and UNDERGOER. In a transitive predication, the ACTOR is the first argument and the UNDERGOER the second argument of the verb. In an intransitive predication, the only argument can be an ACTOR or an UNDERGOER, depending on the semantic properties of the predicate. For instance, the first argument of *Jill is sleeping in the car* is an UNDERGOER because *sleep* is a stative verb whereas the first argument of *Jill is swimming* is an ACTOR because *swim* is an active verb. The semantic macroroles ACTOR and UNDERGOER are generalizations across argumental structures. That is to say, the ACTOR is the x (1st.) argument of verbs like *eat*, *put* and *give*, while the UNDERGOER is the y (1st.) argument of *be*, *die* and *have* and the y (2nd.) argument of *eat*, *put* and *give*. In RRG, the term 'M-transitivity' has been coined to refer to the number of macroroles a verb takes and which determines the semantics of that verb. On the other hand, the term 'S-transitivity' relates to the number of syntactic arguments a verb takes. To fully understand syntactic relations on the basis of the RRG framework, it is essential to call upon its formulation of case marking rules, which relate to macrorole assignment and only apply to direct core arguments (2005: 95):

a. Assign nominative case to the highest ranking macrorole argument (in terms of the *Privileged syntactic argument*[2]).

b. Assign accusative case to the other macrorole argument.

c. Assign dative case to non-macrorole arguments (default).

### 2.3.	The framework of Functional Grammar and Structuralist Semantics

The approach that combines Functional Grammar and Structuralist Semantics has been known as Lexematic-Functional model and feeds on two main sources: Role and Reference Grammar for the first part of the model, and Structuralist Semantics for the second. Since the main principles of RRG have already been explained, the bases of Structuralist Semantics will be addressed in the following lines.

Structuralist Semantics is one of the linguistic models that emerged from the tradition of Lexical Semantics. Structuralist Semantics lays its foundation in the 1930s on the basis of language as a system, not a set of words without any connection. Geeraerts (2010: 52) establishes three main scopes of this model. First, lexical field theory rejects the idea that words are isolated entities, instead they are arranged in sets of semantically related words, lexical fields implying a conception of language as an intermediate stage between the mind and the external world. Second, componential analysis is another structural approach that provides a descriptive semantic model based on restricted sets of conceptual building blocks, known as semantic components or features, which appear in mutual opposition and whose contrastive dimension is described in detail. Third, relational semantics, restricts the descriptive apparatus to a more linguistic one, moving aside the structure of the world outside the language. Its main focus is on lexical relations such as synonymy and antonymy.

## 3.	Review of previous work

Studies conducted from a syntactic-semantic approach on the verbal lexicon of Old English have helped to predict verbal behaviour on the basis of a set of principles that conform the syntactic and semantic configuration of this lexical class. Several contributions have revolved around different Old English verb classes by focusing on constructions, i.e. systematic patterns of form and meaning associations, on the representation of their logical structure, as well as on alternations, which allude to recurrent form and meaning contrasts. A few works have delved into analyzing one specific verb class: Cortés Rodríguez and González Orta's (2006) verbs of sound; Cortés Rodríguez and Torres Medina's (2003) verbs of running; C. L. García Pacheco's verbs of feeling (2013) and L. M. García Pacheco's verbs of existence (2013); González Orta's verbs of warning (2002a), speech (2002b), and smell perception and emission (2003); Guidi's (2011) psych verbs; Vera Díaz's (2005) verbs of colour. Other studies have concentrated on particular verbs, such as the work by Sosa Acevedo (2007) about *(ge)sēon* and *(ge)lōcian*. A third type of works have addressed constructions, for example González Orta's (2006) study on the resultative construction in speech verbs or Sosa Acevedo's (2009) on the conative construction.

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[2] See Van Valin (2005, chapter 4) for more information on syntactic relations and case marking.

The application of RRG typology of the *Aktionsart* to the study of the internal aspect of Old English verbs has inspired the works by Martín Arista (2001, 2016), who has proved the viability of this model in the Old English verbal lexicon. This author demonstrates that Old English can express by syntactic means all the *Aktionsart* types defined in RRG, except the causative active accomplishment type.

State
PsGlB (Brenner) C7.12 [0091 (9.17)]
Oncnaweð *dryhten domas donde in weorcum honda hira befongen bið se synfulla.*
The Almighty Lord knows that sinners are seized by the power of His hands.

Causative state
Max I A3.13 [0028 (48)]
Ær he hine ***acyþan*** *mote.*
Before one can make oneself known.

Achievement
Mt (WSCp) B8.4.3.1 [0515 (15.14)]
Hi ***feallað*** *begen on ænne pytt.*
They will fall into a hole.

Causative achievement
Marv B22.2. [0106 (27.4)]
Þa ***cwealde*** *he hy ba he hy lifiende oferfon ne mehte.*
Then he killed those who he could not seize alive.

Semelfactive
And   A2.1 [0358 (1139)]
Þrymman ***sceocan****, modige maguþegnas, morðres on luste.*
Warriors shook, the eager thanes lusting for murder.

Causative semelfactive
Ex A1.2 [0052 (172)]
Guðweard gumena grimhelm gespeon... wælhlencan ***sceoc.***
The leader clasped his helm and shook his coat of mail.

Accomplishment
Max I   A3.13 [0040 (71)]
Forst sceal ***freosan.***
Frost shall freeze.

Causative accomplishment
ÆCHom I (Pref)   B1.1.1 [0023 (176.108)]
Hi sceoldon læran. & ***tæcan*** *eallum þeodum ða ðing þe he sylf him tæhte.*
They must show and teach all peoples the thing that he himself them taught.

Activity
ÆTemp   B1.9.4 [0218 (10.4)]
Swa swa fixas ***swymmað*** *on wætere.*
As fish swim in water.

Causative activity
Max I   A3.13 [0052 (114)]
Mægen mon sceal mid mete ***fédan.***
A man must feed strength with meat.

Active accomplishment
Mart 5 (Kotzor) B19.5 [1165 (Oc 18, A.2)]
He ***wrat*** *ða maran boc Actus Apostolorum.*
He wrote the great book Actus Apostolorum.

Causative active accomplishment*

Figure 2. The aktionsart types of Old English. (Martín Arista 2001, 2016)

4. Data retrieval and methodology

This study has drawn on *A Thesaurus of Old English* to retrieve the inventory of verbs of 'envy': *æfestian, andian* and *ofunnan*. Standard Old English dictionaries, mainly Bosworth and Toller (1973), Clark Hall (1996) and Sweet (1976), and the lexical database of Old English *Nerthus*, have supplied additional information about the aforementioned verbs regarding meaning aspects, alternative spellings and inflectional forms. As for the citations, *The Dictionary of Old English* (Healey 2016) has been consulted for verbs

æfestian and *andian*. *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (Healey *et al.* 2004) has also provided additional citations for the three verbs. Searches of the citations using the *York Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (Taylor *et al.* 2003) have allowed for checking the syntactic information relevant for the study.

In order to meet the objectives of this study, a previous description of the syntactic properties of Present Day English verbs of 'envy' has been necessary, followed by the identification of these properties in their Old English counterparts. Once the realization of the arguments and the syntactic configurations have been defined for these verbs, Levin's model of alternations has been transferred to the Old English verbs under scrutiny, allowing for an indication of the possible and non possible combinations of arguments, and ultimately sheding light on the (in)consistency of this set of verbs as a verb class. The criteria for analyzing grammatical verb behavior are the following ones: semantic valence (macrorole assignment), syntactic valence (number and type of arguments a predicate can take), morphological case of arguments, prepositional government in oblique core arguments, *aktionsart* type, participation in alternations, and nexus and juncture.

5. The semantics of 'envy' and its syntactic realizations

From a semantic perspective, the verbs of 'envy' fall within the scope of Psych Verbs. Psych Verbs are typically transitive, although there are a few intransitives, and take two arguments. They all have in common the presence of an 'experiencer', which is the entity that envies, and a 'target' (envied attribute or entity), which is what triggers the experiencer's psychological state. In the RRG's (Van Valin 2005: 49) representation of thematic relations in a continuum, the experiencer, normally an animate entity embodied by the first argument, is closer to the actor end in the hierarchy, showing a higher tendency to agentivity. The participant in the second argument, that is, the target, occupies a position closer to the patient and it can refer to an animate or inanimate entity or to a property. As stated by Van Valin (1993: 46), "the prototypical actor is an agent, the prototypical undergoer a patient, but effectors, experiencers, locatives and even themes (with intransitive activity verbs of motion) can also function as actor, and locatives, experiencers and themes can also serve as undergoer". From this it can be derived that the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy is not defined in categorial terms, but rather as a gradient system of relations between syntax and semantics. Figure 3 displays an adaptation of Van Valin's (2005: 49) Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy:
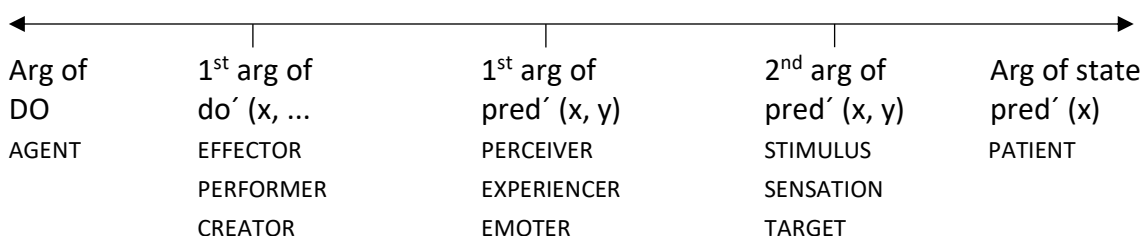
Arg of DO	1st arg of do´ (x, …	1st arg of pred´ (x, y)	2nd arg of pred´ (x, y)	Arg of state pred´ (x)
AGENT	EFFECTOR	PERCEIVER	STIMULUS	PATIENT
	PERFORMER	EXPERIENCER	SENSATION	
	CREATOR	EMOTER	TARGET	

Figure 3. Thematic relations continuum in terms of LS[3] argument positions. (shortened version)

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[3] LS stands for Logical Structure. In RRG terminology, it refers to the "decompositional representations of verbs" (Van Valin 2005: 37).

Psych Verbs have been further subdivided into four types on the basis of the expression of their arguments, namely *amuse*-type verbs, *admire*-type verbs, *marvel*-type verbs, and *appeal*-type verbs. *Amuse* verbs are transitive verbs with an experiencer object and a subject which is the target. An example is provided in (7):

(7) *The hotel amuses its guests.*

Admire-type verbs are also typically transitive, however, as opposed to *amuse* verbs, it is the subject that experiences the change of state and the object that represents the target:

(8) *The entire nation admires her professionalism.*

As for *marvel* and *appeal* verbs, they are both intransitive. The main difference between them is that the first type has an experiencer subject and a target expressed through a prepositional phrase, whereas *appeal* verbs take the target as subject and the experiencer as an oblique core argument in the form of a prepositional phrase. An example of each is included below:

(9) *She marvelled at his composure*

(10) *Their approach appeals to young people*

In Vendler's (1967) theory of *Aktionsart* terminology, verbs of 'envy', the subtype of verbs under scrutiny in this study, are classified as State verbs, the same as *know, believe, have, love* or *be sick*. The Logical Structure of States is represented in this way:

(11) **predicate'** (x) or (x, y)

And the lexical representation of an English sentence containing the verb 'envy' is provided in the example below:

(12) *I envy that ability*.   **envy'** (I, ability)

Negative *admire*-type psych-verbs are primarily found in alternating constructions involving arguments in the predicate. Specifically, these verbs take part in the Possessor-Attribute Factoring Alternations, which is decomposed into three different constructions and that allow for a double expression of the possessor and the possessed arguments. The first subtype of alternation, the Possessor Object Alternation, is typical of transitive verbs that offer the possibility to express an only constituent, being the possessor and attribute in the form of a noun phrase (13), and also two constituents, one being the possessor and the other the attribute introduced by a prepositional phrase with preposition *for* (14):

(13) *I envy her courage.*
(14) *I envy her **for** her courage.*

In the second subtype, the Attribute Object Alternation, the first part of the alternation is expressed by a noun phrase encoding the possessor and the attribute. In the alternating counterpart, the attribute is a noun phrase and the first constituent of the predicate, whereas the possessor is represented as a prepositional phrase headed by *in*:

(15) *I envy the courage **in** her*

The third subtype, the Possessor and Attribute alternation, combines the two previous ones, thus giving rise to alternating pairs (14) and (15).

*I envy her **for** her courage*
*I envy the courage **in** her*

6. Grammatical behaviour of Old English verbs of 'envy'

This section addresses the characterization of the three verbs that conform the analytical part of this study, *æfestian, andian* and *ofunnan*, in terms of the criteria selected for analyzing their grammatical behaviour. Apart from this group, a fourth verb will be looked into, *nīðan.* This verb is not a member of the TOE's 'to be envious, envy' group, but the single component of the group 'to envy, hate', however, the fact that one of the meanings of *nīðan* is 'to envy' has motivated its analysis.

6.1. *æfestian*

An analysis of the complementation patterns of the verb *æfestian* has revealed that it can take up to two direct core arguments and one oblique core argument. The nominative is the unmarked case for the first argument, whereas the second argument can be either unmarked for accusative or marked for genitive when referring to an inanimate entity. The dative is the unmarked case for the third argument, which will be illustrated in example (18). In (16), an example is provided of an accusative second argument of this verb: (*oþra manna) goddæde* '(men's) virtues'. In example (17), the second argument is genitive-marked: *his godra weorca* 'his good works'.

(16) GD 2 (C)   B9.5.4 [0181 (8.117.2)]
*hi symble **æfæstiað** <u>oþra manna goddæde</u>*
                                                acc.
he continuously envied other men's virtues

(17) GDPref and 3 (C)   B9.5.5 [0350 (16.211.11)]
***æfæstgende** <u>his godra weorca</u>*
                            gen.
envying/envious of his good works

The verb *æfestian* also allows for the expression of two constituents in the VP, one being the coveted attribute in the form of a noun phrase, the other the possessor of the

coveted attribute, headed by a preposition, in this case *on*. The attribute is the second argument of the construction, marked for the accusative, and allocated the thematic role 'target'; the possessor of the attribute, in turn, constitutes an oblique core argument with non macrorole status in the form of a prepositional phrase ruling dative case:

(18) GD 2 (H)   B9.5.10.2 [0105 (8.117.6)]
hi **æfstiað** <u>on oðrum mannum</u> <u>hyra mægenes god</u>
               dat.   acc.
they **envy** the goodness of their virtue in other men

Another common syntactic pattern for *æfestian* is to have an oblique core argument in second position displayed by a prepositional phrase headed by prepositions *on* or *wiþ* and followed by a dative-case noun phrase. An example with each preposition is inserted below:

(19) ApT   B4.1 [0140 (14.30)]
*Ðes iunga man ne **æfestigað** <u>on nánum ðingum</u> ðe hé hór gesihð*
                                    dat.
This young man **envies** nothing that he here saw

(20) GD 2 (C)   B9.5.4 [0194 (8.119.5)]
*Ðá geseah hé ðæs sácerdes mód byrnan and **æfæstigian** <u>wiþ his lífe</u>*
                                             dat.
The honourable father saw the priest's spirit burn and **feel envy towards/envy** his life

Once the syntactic patterns of the verb *æfestian* have been identified, it remains to be tackled which is its degree of participation in the alternations assigned to the *admire*-type Psych Verbs by Levin. Evidence shows that the only alternation that is fully accomplished by this verb is the Attribute Object Alternation. Examples (21) and (22) illustrate this:

(21) GD 2 (C)   B9.5.4 [0181 (8.117.2)]
*hi symble **æfæstiað** <u>oþra manna goddæde</u>*
                                    acc.
he continuously envied other men's virtues

(22) GD 2 (H)   B9.5.10.2 [0105 (8.117.6)]
*hi **æfstiað** <u>on oðrum mannum</u> <u>hyra mægenes god</u>*
               dat.   acc.
he **envied** the goodness of their virtue in other men

In (21), the target is a noun phrase with direct core argument status (*oþra manna goddæde*) and inflected for the accusative. In (22), *hyra mægenes god* is the target, which receives direct core argument status and accusative case, and *on oðrum mannum* is the possessor of the coveted entity, which is an oblique core argument inflected for the dative.

Van Valin (2005: 12) suggests a classification of syntactic patterns into syntactic templates. Six different core templates (*Core 1-Template, Core 2-Template, …, Core 6-Template*)[4] have been formulated that encode the constituent projection in the syntactic representation of the verb. As opposed to the universality of the layered structure of the clause, syntactic templates can be partially applied cross-linguistically. In the syntactic representation of *æfestian* at the sentence level, three core templates apply:
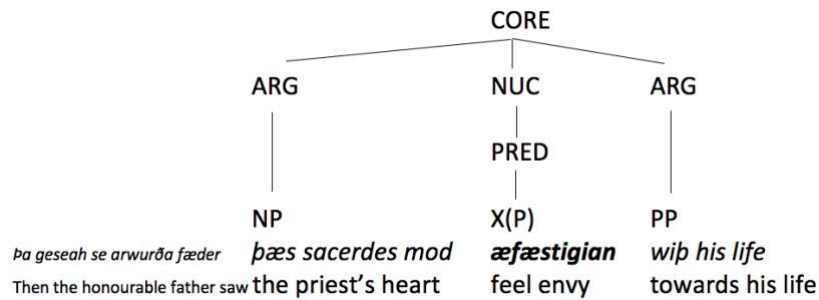

CORE

ARG   NUC   ARG

PRED

NP   X(P)   PP

Þa geseah se arwurða fæder *þæs sacerdes mod* **æfæstigian** *wiþ his life*
Then the honourable father saw the priest's heart   feel envy   towards his life

Figure 4. Representation of the Core-2 template for the verb *æfestian*.

CORE

NUC   ARG   ARG

PRED

V   NP   NP

æfestgodon *þæt*   *sume godwrece men*
envied   it   some wicked men
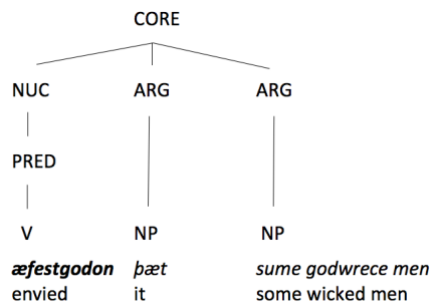
Figure 5. Representation of the Core-3 template for the verb *æfestian*.

CORE

ARG   NUC   ARG   ARG

PRED

NP   V   PP   NP
hi   **æfstiað** *on oðrum mannum* *hyra mægenes god*
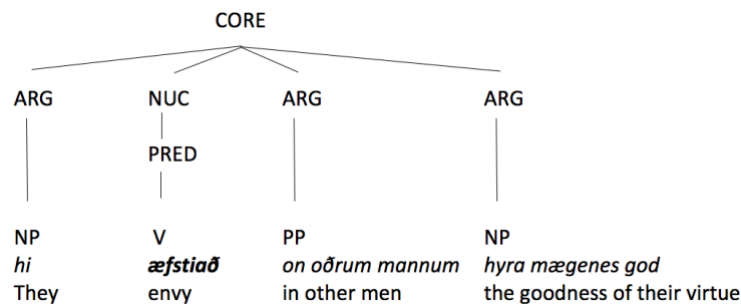They   envy   in other men   the goodness of their virtue

Figure 6. Representation of the Core-5 template for the verb *æfestian*.

6.2.   *andian*

To start with the S-transitivity of *andian*, this verb can take a maximum of two direct core arguments and one oblique core argument. The unmarked case for the first argument is the nominative. The second argument can be a direct core one inflected for the accusative or an oblique core argument inflected for the dative; in either case, the argument can represent an animate or inanimate entity. In example (23), the second

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[4] See Appendix for the whole inventory of syntactic templates. (Van Valin 2005: 12)

argument is introduced by a prepositional phrase headed by preposition *on*, and is inflected for the accusative:

(23) PPs (prose)   B8.2.1 [0724 (48.16)]
*ne **andgiað** on þone welegan*
                                 acc.
do not **envy** the rich

The tendency, however, will be to inflect the NP within the PP for the dative case. Other prepositions can govern the PP in the oblique direct argument, this is the case of *ofer, ongean* or *togeanes*.

(24) LS 28 (Neot)   B3.3.28 [0023 (45)]
*þa ongann se ungeseowenlice feond him **togeanes** andigen*
                                                 dat.
Then the invisible foe began to **feel envious of** him

In the reflexive realization of the verb *andian*, exemplified in (25), the second argument rules a non-direct case, whereas in the previous examples, (23) and (24), the second argument was marked by adposition.

(25) LibSc   C15 [0684 (15.8)]
*se þe him **andað** naht ys him wyrse*
      dat.
The one who **envies** himself is the most wretched

An only example has been found of the verb *andian* in a complex sentence. As evinced in (26), the embedded *that*-clause is a direct core argument of the matrix predicate *andian*. Figure 7 represents the Core-3 template for this verb in this complex sentence configuration.

(26) ÆHomM 12 (Brot 1)   B1.5.12 [0059 (193)]
*æfre hi **andedon** arleaslice þæt se hælend wolde þa hæþenan þeoda him to folce geceosan*
they always **envied** wickedly that the Saviour would prefer the heathens to the multitude
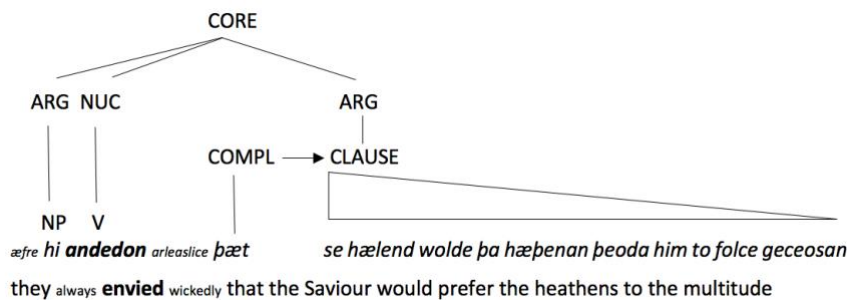

Figure 7. Representation of the Core-3 template for the verb *andian* in a complex configuration.

The presence of two arguments in the VP is not a common syntactic realization of the verb *andian*. The following sentence can be taken as an isolated example of this three-argument construction, in which the VP arguments are inflected for dative and accusative respectively:

(27) LibSc   C15 [0696 (15.20)]
*þeaw þwyra ys **andian** oþrum mægenes god*
                                    dat.   acc.
it is an evil practice to envy others their good virtue

The verb *andian* has also an intransitive realization. In the following example, the only argument, with thematic role experiencer, is inflected for nominative:

(28) LibSc   C15 [0689 (15.13)]
*se þe **andaþ** he na lufað*
nom.
the one who **envies** does not love

As for the participation in alternations, no systematic alternating patterns have been identified in this Old English verb. The alternations attributed to the verb 'envy' in Present Day English seem not to work in this case, given that the verb *andian* allows neither for two oblique core arguments marked by adposition nor for one direct and one oblique core argument -also marked by adposition- in the VP that permit the alternating pattern.

Finally, Core templates 2, 3 and 4 have been identified in the syntactic projection of the verb *andian*:
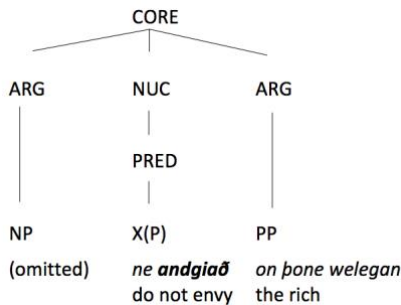

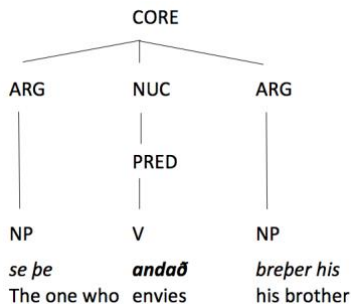Figure 8. Representation of the Core-2 template for the verb *andian*.

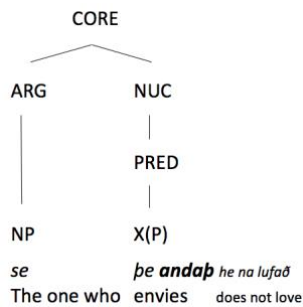Figure 9. Representation of the Core-3 template for the verb *andian*.

```
                    CORE
                   /    \
               ARG      NUC
                |        |
                |       PRED
                |        |
               NP       X(P)
               se       þe andaþ he na lufað
        The one who   envies    does not love
```

Figure 10. Representation of the Core-4 template for the verb *andian*.

6.3. *ofunnan*

Ofunnan is a ditransitive verb that takes two direct core arguments and one oblique core argument, the first inflected for the nominative, the second for the genitive, and the third for the dative, this last case being the unmarked case for the third argument of ditransitives. In the assignment of thematic roles, the first argument is designated 'experiencer' (*seo*), whose antecedent is *neaht* 'night', an inanimate entity; the second argument is the 'target', and the last argument is assigned non macrorole status. An example of *ofunnan* as a ditransitive verb is provided in (29):

(29) Rim   A3.15 [0023 (70)]
*(þonne seo **neaht** becymeð) seo me eðles **ofonn***
                                         dat. gen.
(then the night approaches,) which **begrudged** me my homeland

No other syntactic valence has been found for this verb, as a consequence of which it is not possible for *ofunnan* to take part in any alternating process.

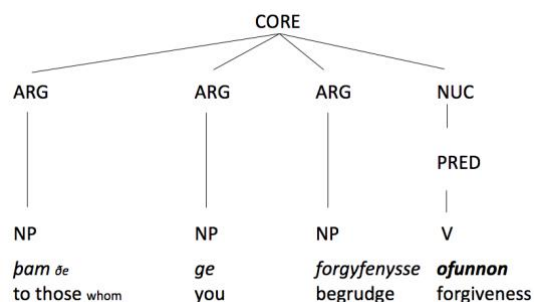The only syntactic realization of this verb has been represented through a Core-3 template:


```
                              CORE
              _____/ | _____
          ARG          ARG        ARG         NUC
           |            |          |            |
           |            |          |           PRED
           |            |          |            |
          NP           NP         NP            V
          þam ðe        ge         forgyfenysse  ofunnon
      to those whom     you        begrudge      forgiveness
```

Figure 11. Representation of the Core-3 template for the verb *ofunnan*.

6.4. *nīðan*

The only syntactic configuration attributed to the verb *nīðan* is that of a ditransitive. It therefore takes two arguments, the first inflected for the nominative, the second being a clause in subordination. The first argument identifies with the thematic role 'experiencer', whereas the second argument corresponds to the 'target'. Due to the fact that there is only one syntactic configuration that applies to this verb, no alternating

processes can occur with *nīðan*. An example is provided in (30), followed by the syntactic representation of the Core-3 template for this verb:

(30)
*(hí) hefelíce **níþað** þá hí selfe nó ðý ǽr habban willað*
                 acc.
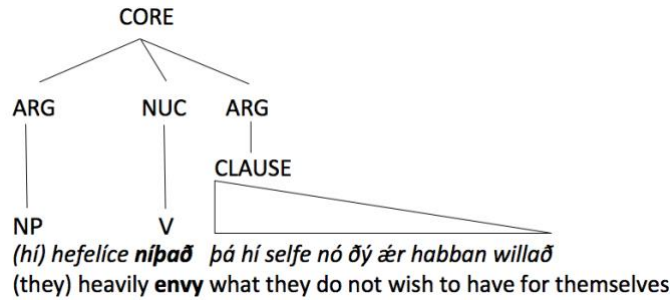(they) heavily **envy** what they do not wish to have for themselves

Figure 12. Representation of the Core-3 template for the verb *nīðan*.

7. Boundaries and edges in verb class membership

This section addresses the converging and diverging aspects that characterize Old English verbs of 'envy', *æfestian*, *andian* and *ofunnan*, from a syntactic-semantic perspective. The following figure summarizes the main information derived from the implementation of the parameters of analysis to these verbs:

CRITERIA OF ANALYSIS	OLD ENGLISH VERBS OF 'ENVY'			
	æfestian	***andian***	***ofunnan***	***nīðan***
Semantic valence	M2	M1 and M2	M2	M2
Syntactic valence	ARG 1, ARG 2, ARG 3: - 2 direct core arguments - 1 oblique core argument	ARG 1, ARG 2, ARG 3: - 2 direct core arguments - 1 oblique core argument	ARG 1, ARG 2, ARG 3: - 2 direct core arguments - 1 oblique core argument	ARG 1, ARG 2: - 2 direct core arguments
Morphological case of arguments	ARG 1: nom. ARG 2: acc./gen./dat. ARG 3: dat.	ARG 1: nom. ARG 2: acc./dat. ARG 3: dat.	ARG 1: nom. ARG 2: acc. ARG 3: dat.	ARG 1: nom. ARG 2: clause in subordination*
Prepositional government in oblique core arguments	*on* + dat/acc *wiþ* + dat	*ofer* + acc *on* + dat/acc *ongean* + dat/acc *togeanes* + dat	-	-
Aktionsart	State	State	State	State
Participation in alternations	Attribute Object alternation	-	-	-
Nexus and juncture	-	Linked clause in subordination	-	Linked clause in subordination

Figure 13. Implementation of syntactic-semantic factors to Old English verbs of 'envy'.

The verbs *æfestian, andian* and *ofunnan* share certain aspects of their grammatical behaviour. Overall, these verbs are prototypically transitive; only the verb *andian* can appear without an expressed object, as exemplified in (28). As for the number of arguments that can be assigned to these predicates, the three of them take a maximum of two direct core arguments and one oblique core argument. The number and type of arguments of the predicates has been described in terms of their representation into syntactic templates (see Figures 4-12).

The thematic roles associated to these arguments are 'experiencer' for the first argument in the three cases, 'target' (also 'theme', 'stimulus', or 'subject matter') for the second argument, and no thematic role for the third argument (if any). Generally, the three predicates are allocated 'experiencer' and 'target' roles, except for the intransitive realization of the verb *andian*, in which no second argument occurs.

The morphological case of the first argument is always nominative; no other case has been found for this argument. The second direct core arguments of the verb *æfestian* are inflected for either accusative or genitive, although the accusative is preferred when there is a third argument (oblique core). When the second argument is an oblique core one, the prepositional phrase will rule dative case. The dative is also the unmarked case for the third (oblique core) argument. The verb *andian* shows some differences so as to the inflection of the second and third arguments. In the absence of a third argument, the second argument, when it is a direct core one, is inflected for the dative; however, it is inflected for the accusative if a third argument occurs. For those oblique core arguments in second position, the accusative or the dative will be chosen, depending on the preposition heading the phrase. The third argument will be always inflected for the dative. Finally, the verb *ofunnan* does not present but one syntactic pattern, in which the second argument is inflected for the genitive and the third for the dative, both being direct core arguments. As opposed to the first two verbs, *ofunnan* does not take any oblique core argument.

The prepositions found in oblique core arguments of the verb *æfestian* are *on* and *wiþ* (+ dat.) in second position arguments, and only *on* (+ dat.) in third position arguments. For the verb *andian*, prepositional phrases in oblique core arguments are only found in second position; the prepositions that head these phrases are *ofer* (+ acc.), *on* and *ongean* (+ dat./acc.), and *togeanes* (+ dat.).

Concerning their participation in alternating constructions, the analysis has revealed that only the verb *æfestian* fully takes part in one of them, the Attribute Object Alternation. This fact is rather predictable taking into account that Old English had an elaborate inflective system where prepositional phrases did not have a prominent presence; as the language evolved, this highly inflected system was gradually reduced paving the way for other syntactic means, such as the proliferation of prepositional phrases.

As for the last criterion, nexus and juncture, it applies to complex constructions. Both *æfestian* and *ofunnan* are found in simplex clauses, whereas *andian* can have a clause in subordination as its second argument:

æfre hi **andedon** *arleaslice* <u>þæt se hælend wolde þa hæþenan þeoda him to folce geceosan</u>
they always **envied** wickedly that the Saviour would prefer the heathens to the multitude

The TOE has considered *nīðan* as a different verb class of which it is the only member; nevertheless, it has been deemed pertinent to analyze its grammatical behaviour too so

that it is possible to capture the whole spectrum of the Old English verbs of 'envy'. From a semantic perspective, *nīðan* has been assigned M2 valence, being the first argument the 'experiencer' and the second the 'target' of the emotion/feeling. As a verb which means 'to envy', it is also a verb of State. Regarding the syntactics of *nīðan*, it must be noted that this is the only verb that can not take an oblique core argument, but only direct ones; as a result, its arguments are not ruled by prepositions, nor is it found in alternating patterns. Finally, just like *andian*, the second argument -or target of the emotion/feeling- of *nīðan* is a linked clause in subordination:

*(hí) hefelíce **níþað** þá hí selfe nó ðý ǽr habban willað*
(they) heavily **envy** what they do not wish to have for themselves

Assuming that the partaking of a common meaning and of a similar grammatical behaviour are the two main requisites for a group of verbs to be considered a verb class, a semantic-syntactic analysis of verbs of 'envy' has demonstrated that this is a rather heterogeneous class. Although significant coincidences have been identified in terms of meaning, semantic valence or *Aktionsart* type (State), addressing their different argument realizations, the morphological cases that rule them, the prepositions that take part in the oblique core arguments, the role of alternating patterns, or nexus and juncture, lead to think that these verbs do not form a properly unified group.

8. Conclusions

This research has aimed at assessing the relevance of the criteria of analysis to help redefine the boundaries and edges of Old English verbs of 'envy' as to class membership. Starting from the inventory of verbs of 'envy' proposed by *A Thesaurus of Old English*, arranged in ordered categories on the basis of a conceptual criterion, Old English verbs of 'envy' (*æfestian, andian* and *ofunnan*) have undergone a further syntactic analysis that has laid bare the necessity of a correlation between semantics and syntax to evaluate their consistency as a group. After applying a set of criteria to help determine the (in)consistency of the verb group both in terms of semantic and syntactic behaviour, considerable differences have been detected, mainly in their syntactic valence, in the morphological case of the arguments appearing in the VP, in the prepositional government in the oblique core arguments, and in their acceptance of complex configurations.

All this diversity of grammatical realizations has led to conclude that, if both meaning components and grammatical behaviour are considered, the group comprised of *æfestian, andian* and *ofunnan* is not a homogeneous one, notwithstanding their transitive nature, the partial coincidences in argument realization or the fact of being characterized by the same *Aktionsart*.

The analysis of the fourth candidate, *nīðan*, has made it possible to reassess the boundaries and edges of the group under scrutiny. This verb has evinced a relevant similarity with *andian*, which is the fact that they can appear in both simplex and complex configurations, as opposed to *æfestian* and *ofunnan*, which are restricted to simplex structures. However, if the focus is rather on the number and type of arguments the predicate takes, then *nīðan* differs from the rest, given that this predicate exclusively takes direct core arguments, while the other three can also take an oblique

one, although this oblique core argument is prepositional only in the case of *æfestian* and *ofunnan*. Should the participation in alternations be considered, *æfestian* distances itself from the other verbs, being the only candidate that partakes in an alternation (Attribute Object Alternation).

All things considered, a syntactic-based analysis substantiated by RRG and the framework of verb classes and alternations has revealed information that a strictly semantic analysis is unable to provide. The main conclusion can be drawn that the group of verbs of 'envy', as they appear in the TOE, does not comprise a uniform class on the grounds of a syntactic-semantic criterion.

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Appendix
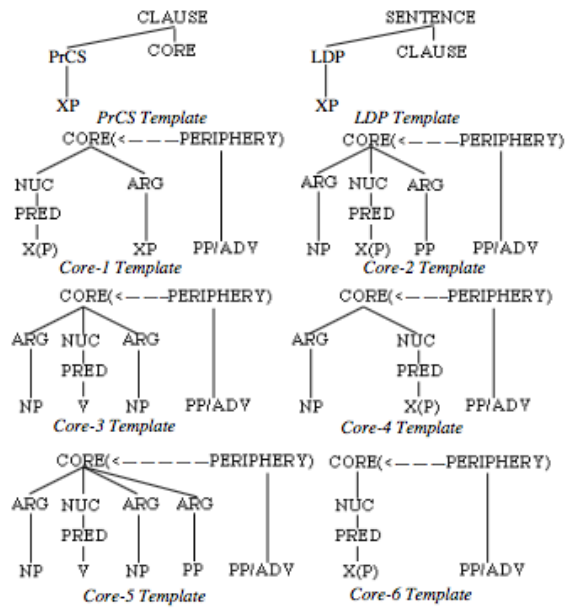
English syntactic templates as represented by Van Valin (2005: 12).