

Abstract

This article examines the meaning components, grammatical behaviour and derivational morphology of Old English *Rejoice* verbs in order to assess the consistency of their class membership. The comparison of the argument realisations of *Rejoice* verbs allows us to draw the conclusion that *Rejoice* verbs do not constitute a unified verbal class because some of them do not share the required meaning components and because they do not partake in the same morpho-syntactic alternations. The paradigmatic analysis of the derivational morphology of *Rejoice* verbs indicates that the syntactic variation presented by these verbs is due to their heterogenous morphological relatedness, which includes nominal, adjectival and verbal bases.

1. Review, aims and scope

This article deals with the lexical semantics and syntax of Old English. More specifically, it addresses the question of class membership as posed by *Rejoice* verbs.¹

Most of the *Rejoice* verbs of Old English have been lost and replaced by loanwords, such as *rejoice* itself (Ogura 2013: 127). Nevertheless, these verbs deserve attention not only because they are frequent in religious texts and translations from Latin but also because they present a remarkable degree of syntactic variation. For this reason, the focus of this research is on grammatical behaviour, with a view to assessing the consistency of the class of *Rejoice* verbs. This perspective has not been adopted in previous research. Ogura (2013) examines the meaning components of verbs of joy, with emphasis on the lexical selection by text and semantic field organisation of *blissian* ‘to rejoice’, *fægnian* ‘to rejoice, to be glad’, *fēon* ‘to rejoice’, and *wynsumian* ‘to cause to rejoice’. Apart from this, the etymology and derivational morphology of some *Rejoice* verbs are discussed in works like Hallander (1966) and Kastovsky (1992). Some of them have also been studied with respect to the existence of standard Old English and the Anglian word stock, thus Gneuss (1972) and Wensch (1979).

When it comes to gathering verbal classes on the basis of grammatical behaviour, grammatical convergence justifies class membership, while divergence may contribute to defining verbs that show outstanding semantic proximity, as is shown in (1a), which displays most of the verb discussed in this research. Even if we put fragments such as (1a) aside, the semantic proximity of the verbs under scrutiny is underlined by parallelism and near synonymy in pairs involving, for instance, *blissian* and *wynsumian*, such as (1b).

(1)

- a. [PPs (prose) 043000 (31.13)]
*Blissiað for þæm on Gode, and wynsumiað, ge rihtwisan; and fægnað,
and wuldriað, ealra rihtwillenda heortan.*
Rejoice, therefore, you just, in God, and make merry, and let the hearts of
all the sincerely disposed exult and be happy.
- b. [PsGlG (Rosier) 008600 (9.3)]
 Ic blissige & ic wynsumige on ðe & ic singe naman þinne þam heahstan.
I will be glad and rejoice in you; I will sing praise to your name, O Most
High.

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In order to consider this set of verbs as a whole, a principled framework of analysis is required that can describe the similarities and differences between these verbs and draw conclusions relevant for the study of their semantics and syntax. The concept of *verbal class* has been chosen for this purpose. Verb classes are related to the onomasiological organisation of the lexicon, the approach adopted by thesauri and the lexicographical products that opt for a thematic organisation, in contradistinction to the semasiological approach, which prefers alphabetical order.

With the general aim of compiling a verbal lexicon, the question of class membership has been raised with respect to the semantic representation and syntactic constructions of Old English verbs by Carmen García Pacheco (2013), Luz García Pacheco (2013), and Ojanguren López (2019a, 2019b, 2020). These works attribute verbs to a certain class on the grounds of their meaning and grammatical behaviour. This article widens this theoretical scope and includes the question of derivational morphology: given that derivational morphology restricts the array of syntactic constructions in which Old English verbs can partake (Ruiz Narbona 2018), it may be the case that the paradigmatic organisation resulting from derivational processes can explain some aspects of the class membership of verbs. Class membership, if this reasoning is correct, will be assessed on the basis of three criteria: meaning components, grammatical behaviour and derivational morphology.

Against this background, the aim of this research is to answer the following questions: (i) Do Old English *Rejoice* verbs constitute a unified verbal class, considering their meaning components and grammatical behaviour? and (ii) Can the analysis of derivational morphology provide further arguments as to the class membership of these verbs? The article is structured as follows. Section 2 describes the method and lays the theoretical foundations. The next two sections analyse the derivational morphology and the grammatical behaviour (morpho-syntactic realisation) of *Rejoice* verbs: Section 3 deals with underived verbs while Section 4 concentrates on *ge*-prefixed derivatives. Section 5 discusses the result of the analysis and, to round off, Section 6 draws the main conclusions.

2. Method and theoretical basis

The method of this undertaking is mainly qualitative. Although textual frequencies are quantified, the analysis focuses on the different morpho-syntactic configurations in which *Rejoice* verbs are found. This entails (i) to select a set of verbs that convey the relevant meaning components; (ii) to describe their morpho-syntax; (iii) to explain the morpho-syntactic similarities and differences that arise among them; (iv) to determine if there are any convergences between the grammatical behaviour of these verbs and the derivational processes of word-formation in which these verbs partake; and (v) to assess the class membership of the verbs in question. The qualitative approach to morpho-syntax is paralleled by the one to derivation: the types of bases and derivatives are analysed, rather than their tokens.

The inventory of *Rejoice* verbs has been retrieved from the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*. It includes the intransitive configuration ‘to rejoice, exult’ (*blissian*, *fægnian*, *fēon*, *gladian*, *hyhtan*, *mōdig(i)an*, *þancian*), as well as the prepositional configuration ‘to rejoice over/at’ (*gladian*, *wuldrian*, *wynsumian*). The *Thesaurus of Old English* also provides the *Rejoice* verbs *lustfullian* ‘to rejoice, be glad, enjoy’ and *myrgan* ‘to be merry, be glad, rejoice’, which have been taken into account. The verb *blīðian*, a headword entry to the *Dictionary of Old English* (hereafter DOE), has also been considered. The following related meanings have been disregarded: *efengefēon*

‘to rejoice together’, *efenblissian* ‘to rejoice equally’, *midblissian* ‘to rejoice with another’, *emblissian* ‘to rejoice excessively’, *freadreman* ‘to shout for joy’, *hoppetan* ‘to jump for joy’ and *(ge)dryman* ‘to make sounds of rejoicing or exultation’.

For the verbs beginning with the letters A-H, the quotations illustrating the meanings and structures at stake have been selected from the DOE. For the rest of the alphabet, the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (henceforth DOEC) has been searched for the grammatically canonical forms of verbal inflections, based on Campbell (1987) and Hogg & Fulk (2011). Given the religious and lyrical nature of *Rejoice* verbs, most instances have been found in Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Ælfric’s *Homilies* (First Series), Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints*, *Boethius*, the *Martyrology*, the *Benedictine Rule*, Psalms and the Gospels. The translations for the fragments discussed in the following sections draw, respectively, on the editions by Miller (1999), Thorpe (1846), Skeat (1881), Godden & Irvine (2009), Herzfeld (1973), Rieyeff (2017), O’Neill (2016), and the Douay-Rheims version of *The Bible* (1971). Additional information on derivational morphology has been extracted from the lexical database of Old English *Nerthus*, which synthesises the dictionaries by Bosworth-Toller, Sweet and Hall-Meritt.

Turning to the theoretical basis of this work, three aspects are briefly reviewed below: the identification of meaning components, the description of the realisation of arguments and historical paradigmatic morphology. The semantics and syntax of the verbs under analysis are couched in terms of Role and Reference Grammar (for lexical representation, internal aspect and argument projection) and the framework of verb classes and alternations (regarding recurrent contrasts in argument realisation due to different morpho-syntactic realisations).

Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005) is a functional typological theory of language that explains the linking between semantics and syntax by means of *Aktionsart* types, generalised semantic roles, syntactic functions and argument projection. With respect to the semantics and syntax of *Rejoice* verbs, the internal aspect (*Aktionsart*) typology of Role and Reference Grammar makes two basic distinctions: static vs. dynamic *Aktionsart*, on the one hand, and non-causative vs. causative, on the other. *Rejoice* verbs are static, non-telic and non-punctual. The semantics of a *Rejoice* verb like *gladden* is characterised by the lack of dynamism or change, as well as by the absence of an inherent logical termination of the state referred to by the verb and a clear-cut endpoint. The semantics of these verbs, therefore, involves the thematic relations Experiencer (the participant that feels joy), which is compulsory, and Sensation (the cause of joy), which is optional. Syntactically, the Experiencer is typically realised as the first argument of the verb (the argument that controls co-reference and agreement with the verb), while the Sensation is typically realised as an argument-adjunct governed by a preposition, as in *We rejoice in her promising career*.

In the framework of verb classes and alternations (Levin 1993), meaning components and morpho-syntactic alternations in argument realisation constitute the two main tests for class membership, in such a way that for verbs to belong in a class it is necessary that they share meaning and grammatical behaviour. Given shared meaning components, it is a requirement for class membership to partake in the same morpho-syntactic alternations. For instance, the verbs *gladden* and *rejoice* can occur in the reflexive alternation, as in *I gladdened with the thought / I gladdened myself with the thought* and *I rejoiced in her success* vs. *I rejoiced myself in her success*.

The relevant questions of derivational morphology are addressed on the basis of historical paradigmatic morphology (Martín Arista 2012, 2013), which accounts for both productive derivational processes that are identifiable on the synchronic axis and opaque derivational processes that have to be recovered on the diachronic axis. Derivational

paradigms contain all the lexemes that can be related morphologically and semantically to a given base of derivation, which is called the *lexical prime*. For instance, the derivatives *gladness*, *gladsome*, *unglad*, *gladly*, and *gladden* belong in the derivational paradigm of the adjective *glad*. Thus, derivational paradigms equip the lexicon with a hierarchical organization in which lexical primes constitute morphologically underived items and relative hypernyms.

3. The morphology and syntax of Old English *Rejoice* verbs

This section analyses the derivational and syntactic aspects of underived *Rejoice* verbs relevant for assessing the consistency of their class membership. The most frequent *ge*-derived verbs are discussed in Section 4.

The class 2 weak verb *blissian* ‘to be glad, rejoice, exult; make happy, gladden, endow; applaud’ belongs in a derivational paradigm based on the noun *bliss* ‘bliss’, which includes derived nouns, like *blissung* ‘exultation’; adjectives, such as *blissig* ‘joyful’; and verbs, like *āblissian* ‘to make glad’. According to the DOE, *blissian* has around 1000 occurrences. It can be used absolutely, transitively with accusative second argument, with second argument in the genitive case, with a dative second argument, as in (3a), reflexively with accusative case, as in (3b), with prepositions governing the dative case, and with a dependent clause with finite verb in the indicative or the subjunctive that functions as second argument.

(3)

- a. [PsGlJ 34.26]
Scamian & onscunian samod þa ðe blissiaþ yfelum minum.
Let them blush: and be ashamed together, who rejoice at my evils.
- b. [ÆCHom II, 7]
Se unrihtwisa...blissað hine selfne.
The unwise rejoices in himself.

Turning to the class 2 weak verb *blīðian*, the etymon of the Old English adjective *blīðe* ‘joyful, glad, merry’ is the Proto-Germanic primary adjective *bleiþa** (Heidermanns 1993: 132). Orel (1993: 49) gives the Proto-Germanic adjective **blīþ(j)az*. These authors do not provide a related Old English verb, although Orel (2003: 49) lists the Gothic weak verb *bleiþjan* and considers it a derivative of the adjective **blīþ(j)az*. In Old English, *blīðian* ‘to make glad’ is based on the adjective *blīðe* ‘blithe, joyous, cheerful, pleasant; gracious, well-disposed, friendly, kind; agreeable, willing; quiet, peaceful, gentle’. The derivational paradigm of *blīðian* includes derived nouns, such as *blīðnes* ‘joy’; adjectives, like *fullblīðe* ‘very glad’; verbs, such as *midblīðsian* ‘to rejoice together with’; and adverbs, such as *blīðe* ‘joyfully’.

The verb *blīðian* is infrequent in the texts. The DOE finds two occurrences, both in glosses. This verb can be used with dative second argument, as in (4a), or can be complemented by a preposition governing the dative case, as in (4b).

(4)

- a. [PsGlK 91.5]
Forþam þu bliðgodeost me on geweorce þinan; & on wercum handum þinra ic blissige.
You delight me with your work and I rejoice in the works of your hands.
- b. [PsGlH 30.8]
Ic fægigne & bliðgge on mildheortnesse þinre.

I delight and rejoice in your mercy.

The verbs *fægnian* and *fēon* are related etymologically and derivationally. Seebold (1970: 189) puts forward the Proto-Germanic strong verb FEH-A- for Old English *-fēon*, *-feah*, *-fāgon*, *(ge)fægen*, *fēan*, *gefēa*, *fæger*, *fægnian*. For Heidermanns (1993: 180), the primary adjective *fagana* is the etymon of Old English *fægen*, *fægenra*, *fægnost*. Orel (2003: 89) considers the weak verb **fazanōjanan* the Proto-Germanic form corresponding to Old English *fægenian* ‘to rejoice’. The weak verb **fazanōjanan* is derived from the adjective **fazanaz* ‘glad, joyful’, corresponding to Old English *fægen* (Orel 2003: 89). The weak verb *fægnian* ‘to rejoice, be glad, exult; fawn; applaud’ belongs to the derivational paradigm based on the strong verb *fēon* ‘to be glad, rejoice, exult’ which is comprised of derived nouns, such as *gefēanes* ‘joy’; adjectives, like *fægen* ‘fain’; and other verbs, such as *efengefēon* ‘to rejoice together’.

The class 2 weak verb *fægnian*, according to the DOE, has around 250 occurrences. It is used absolutely, with second argument in the genitive case, with prepositional government, with finite dependent clause, as in (5a), and with cataphoric genitive making reference to a *þæt* clause, which functions as second argument, as in (5b).

(5)

- a. [ÆLS (George) 59]
þa fægnode Datianus þæt he funde swylcne dry, and het of cwearterne lædan ðone Godes ceman.
Then rejoiced Datian that he had found such a sorcerer, and bade bring God’s champion out of prison.
- b. [Bo 39.136.28]
Peah habbað gemænlice þa ane lufe þæt hi þeowian swilcum hlaforde, & fægnað þæs þæt he hiora wealt.
All creatures however have in common the one love that they serve such a lord, and rejoice that he rules them.

The class V strong verb *fēon* is, according to the DOE, textually infrequent, evincing 8 occurrences in the DOEC. *Fēon* can be used with second argument in the genitive, as in (6a), with prepositional government (accusative or dative), as in (6b), and with cataphoric *þæt* clause that functions as second argument.

(6)

- a. [LS 10 (Guth) 4.95]
And he wæs þa sona se eadiga wer swiðe feonde þæs heofonlican cuman.
And the holy man then greatly rejoiced over the heavenly visitor.
- b. [PsGIE 47.12]
Hihtæþ l fæogen dohtre Iudæen for dome þine drihten.
Let Mount Sion rejoice, and the daughters of Juda be glad; because of your judgements, O Lord.

For Heidermanns (1993: 244), the Proto-Germanic primary adjective *glada-* (Old English *glæd*, *glæde*, *glædlīce*, *glædra*, *gladost*) is the etymon of the verb *gladian*. Orel (2003: 135) proposes the weak verb **zladōjanan*, derived from the adjective **zladaz* (Old English *glæd* ‘glad’) as the etymon of Old English *gladian* ‘to gleam, glisten; to be glad, rejoice; gladden, rejoice, gratify, appease’. This verb belongs to a derivational paradigm

based on the primary adjective *glæd* ‘bright, shining, brilliant, gleaming; cheerful, glad, joyous; pleasant, kind, gracious’ which includes derived nouns, such as *glædnes* ‘gladness’; adjectives, like *unglædlic* ‘cheerless’; and verbs, like *gladian* itself.

The class 2 weak verb *gladian* turns out, according to the DOE, around 60 occurrences. It can be found with accusative second argument, as in (7a), with reflexive second argument in the accusative case, as in (7b), and with prepositional government (dative).

(7)

- a. [ÆLS (Auguries) 181]
Us is to secenne gif we geswencte beoð, þa bote æt Gode, na æt ðam gramlican wiccum, and mid ealra heortan urne Hælend gladian, þe his mihte ne mæg nan ðincg wiðstandan.
forðan
 We ought to seek, if we be afflicted, restoration from God, not from the cruel witches, and with all our hearts please our Saviour, because nothing can withstand His might.
- b. [LS 35 (VitPatr) 113]
He him þa bebead, þæt he hine sylfne gladode and to Gode georne cleopode.
 He ordered him to gladden himself and to happily pray to God.

According to Holthausen (1963: 183), Old English *hyhtan* ‘hoffen, vertrauen, sich freuen, besänftigen’ is related to *hyht* ‘Hoffnung, Vertrauen; Freude, Verlangen, Erwartung’. Thus, the derivational paradigm of *hytan* is based on the noun *hyht* ‘hope, trust; joy, exultation; desire, expectation, comfort’ and comprises derived nouns, like *tōhyht* ‘consolation’; adjectives, like *hyhtlic* ‘hopeful’; and verbs, such as *behyhtan* ‘to trust’.

The DOE states that the class 1 weak verb *hyhtan* evinces around 450 occurrences. This verb can be used absolutely, as in (8a), and with prepositional government, as in (8b).

(8)

- a. [LS 21 (AssumptTristr) 138]
And ða englas eodon micele gefean hyhtende and Gode lof singende.
 And the angles went rejoicing with great exultation and singing the love of God.
- b. [PPs 91.3]
Hihte ic to þinra handa halgum dædum.
 God is to be praised for his wondrous works.

The DOEC has been searched for the grammatically canonical forms of the verbs that follow in the remainder of this section. Their etymology, derivational morphology, number of occurrences and morpho-syntactic realisations are discussed in turn.

Beginning with *lustfullian*, Orel (2003: 251) considers the Proto-Germanic weak verb **lustjanan* ~ **lustōjanan*, derived from **lustuz* ~ **lustaz*, the etymon of the Old English masculine noun *lust* ‘desire, lust’ and the verb *lystan* ‘to cause pleasure’. The noun is the base of the derivational paradigm to which the verb can be attributed, which consists of derived nouns, such as *unlust* ‘evil desire, lust’; adjectives, such as *lustsumlic* ‘pleasant’; verbs, like *oflystan* ‘to fill with desire, please’; and adverbs, such as *lustsumlice* ‘willingly’.

The class 2 weak verb *lustfullian* turns out 14 occurrences in the DOEC. It can be found in absolute use, as in (9a), with second argument case-marked accusative, with second argument in the dative, with prepositional government (dative), and with finite dependent clause (subjunctive) that realises the second argument, as in (9b).

(9)

- a. [Bede 1 040300 (16.88.2)]
Mid þy þonne se lichoma onginneð lustfullian, þonne onginneð þær seo syn acenned beon.
 But when the body begins to have pleasure, then first is sin born.
- b. [Bede 2 020300 (8.122.32)]
Þa se cyning þis gehyrde, þa ongon he lustfullian þæs biscopes wordum.
 When the king heard this, he began to rejoice at the bishop's words.

The etymon of *mōdigan* is the Proto-Germanic adjective **mōdazaz*, adjective, derived from the masculine noun **mōdaz* (Orel 2003: 273). The related Old English forms are, respectively, *mōdig* 'high-spirited, noble-minded', and *mōd* 'mind, spirit, courage'. The derivational paradigm is based on the noun *mōd* and comprises derived nouns, such as *ormōdnes* 'desperation'; adjectives, like *āemōd* 'disheartened'; verbs, like *ofermōdgian* 'to be proud'; and adverbs, such as *mōdiglīce* 'boldly'.

There are 22 occurrences of the class 2 weak verb *mōdigan* in the DOEC. It appears in absolute use, as in (10a), with prepositional government (dative), as in (10b), and with finite dependent clause functioning as second argument.

(10)

- a. [ÆCHom I, 9 002600 (251.55)]
Þær wæs se deofol þe modegode.
 The devil was there, who became proud.
- b. [Æ LS (Maccabees) 006700 (260)]
Ne forhtige ge ic bidde for ðæs fyrnfullan þreatum, forðan þe his wuldor is wyrms and meox; nu todæg he modegað, and tomergen he ne bið, he awent to eorðan, and his geðoht forwyrð.
 Fear ye not, I pray, the threats of the sinful one, because his glory is corruption and muck; now, to-day, he is highminded, and tomorrow he shall not be, he returneth to earth, and his thought perisheth.

For Orel (2003: 276), the etymon of Old English *myrgan* 'to be merry, rejoice' is the Proto-Germanic weak verb **murjanan*, derived from the adjective **murzuz*. Heidermanns (2003: 416) considers the primary adjective *murzu** the Proto-Germanic form corresponding to Old English *myrge* 'pleasing, agreeable; pleasant, sweet'. The derivational paradigm of *myrgan* is based on this adjective and includes derived nouns, such as *myrgð* 'mirth, joy, pleasure'; adjectives such as *unmyrge* 'unpleasant, sad'; and verbs, like *āmyrgan* 'to delight'.

The class 1 weak verb *myrgan* evinces 1 occurrence in the DOEC. It selects a dative second argument, as is shown in (11).

- (11) [PPs (prose) 068800 (46.1)]
And eac ge, Israhela, hebbað upp eowre handa, and fægnað, and myrgað Gode, mid wynsumre stemne.

And you, Israel, raise your hands and be merry and rejoice in God with a powerful voice.

Turning to *ðancian*, Orel (2003: 416) proposes the etymon **þankōjanan*, weak verb, derived from **þankaz*, masculine noun, corresponding to Old English *ðanc* ‘favour, grace, satisfaction, thanks’. The class 2 weak verb *ðancian* ‘to thank, give thanks; recompense, reward; rejoice’ turns out around 170 occurrences in the DOEC. It belongs to a derivational paradigm based on the noun *ðanc* ‘grace, mercy, favour, pardon; thanks, gratitude; pleasure, satisfaction; reward, recompense’, which comprises derived nouns, like *æfðanc* ‘insult’; adjectives, such as *unðancol* ‘ungrateful’; and adverbs, such as *unðances* ‘unwillingly’. It can be used absolutely, with second argument in the genitive, with dative second argument, with second argument in the dative and third argument case-marked genitive, as in (12a), and with finite dependent clause that functions as adjunct, as in (12b).

(12)

- a. [LS 9 (Giles) 004200 (99)]
Ða se halga Egidius þas word geherde, þa þancode he þæs drihten & gebletsode his drihtnes nama ofer ealle oþer þincg.
When the holy Egidius heard these words, he thanked the Lord for that and blessed the name of his Lord over any other thing.
- b. [PsHead 009100 (45.1)]
Dauid sang þysne fif and feowertig oþan sealm, þanciende Gode þæt he hine oft alysde of manegum earfoðum.
David sang these forty-five psalms, thanking God because he had often relieved him from many difficulties

According to Orel (2003: 473), the masculine noun **wulþuz* is the Proto-Germanic etymon of Old English *wuldor* ‘glory’. The verb *wuldrian* ‘to glorify, praise, extol; boast, brag; live in glory; to make glorious, bestow glory on; to glory (in respect to something); to receive glory, be glorified’ belongs to the derivational paradigm of *wuldor*, which consists of derived nouns, such as *wuldrung* ‘glorying’; adjectives, such as *wuldrig* ‘glorious’; and verbs, like *āwuldrian* ‘to glorify’.

The class 2 weak verb *wuldrian* presents around 180 occurrences in the DOEC. It can be used absolutely, with second argument in the accusative, reflexively (case-marked accusative), as in (13a), with commitative second argument, as in (13b), with prepositional government (dative), and with finite dependent clause that realises the second argument.

(13)

- a. [ÆCHom II, 13 009000 (132.170)]
Gif ic wuldrige me sylfne nis min wuldor naht; Min Fæder is þe me wuldrað be þam ge cweðað þæt he sy ure god & ge ne cuðon hine.
If I glorify myself, my glory is nothing. It is my Father who glorifies me, he of whom you say, ‘He is our God’, though you do not know him.
- b. [Æ LS (Basil) 022500 (660)]
Seo syn wearð þa adilegod þurh drihtnes mildsunge, swa swa Basilius wolde þe ða wuldode mid Gode.

So the sin was blotted out through the Lord's mercy, even as Basil desired who was then in glory with God. Then the woman rejoiced, and the people glorified the living God who liveth in eternity.

According to Orel (2003: 475) the feminine noun **wunjō* is the Proto-Germanic etymon of Old English *wynn* 'delight, pleasure'. The verb *wynsumian* 'to rejoice, exult, be joyful' belongs in the derivational paradigm of this noun, which comprises derived nouns, like *wynsumung* 'joy'; adjectives, such as *wynsumlic* 'delightful'; verbs, like *forwynsumian* 'to enjoy thoroughly'; and adverbs, like *wynsumlice* 'pleasantly'.

There are approximately 65 occurrences of the class 2 weak verb *wynsumian* in the DOEC. It is found absolutely, as in (14a), with second argument in the dative, as in (14b), and with commitative second argument, as in (14c).

(14)

- a. [Mart 5 (Kotzor) 087600 (Au 15, A.6)]
Englas þær blissiað, ond heahenglas wynsumiað, ond ealle þa halgan þær gefeoð in sancta Marian.
Angels rejoice there, and archangels exult, and all the saints are glad with St Mary.
- b. [PsGIB (Brenner) 092600 (65.1)]
Wynsumiað gode eall eorðe.
All the Earth rejoices in God.
- c. [PsGIB (Brenner) 000800 (2.11)]
Peowiað dryhtne in ege & wynsumiað him mid.
Serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with Him.

4. *Ge*-prefixed derivatives

This section presents the *ge*-prefixed derivatives of *Rejoice* verbs. The scope of the discussion is limited to the differences of textually frequent verbs with the corresponding simplex, with emphasis on lexical passives. Infrequent *ge*-derivatives (*geblīþian*, *gemyrgan*, *gemodigan*, *gedancian* and *gewynsumian*) are not considered.

The class 2 weak verb *geblissian* has around 250 attestations, according to the DOE. As is the case with *blissian*, *geblissian* can be used absolutely, with accusative second argument, with second argument in the genitive case, with prepositions governing the dative case, and with a dependent clause that functions as second argument and presents a finite verbal form in the indicative or in the subjunctive. Unlike *blissian*, *geblissian* is not attested with a second argument in the dative or with reflexive second argument.

The class 2 weak verb *gefægnian* turns out 75 occurrences, according to the DOE. As is the case with *fægnian*, *gefægnian* is attested in absolute use, with second argument in the accusative, with second argument in the genitive case, with prepositional government, and with cataphoric second argument that makes reference to a finite dependent clause, which functions as second argument. *Gefægnian*, unlike its simplex counterpart, can appear in lexical passive constructions such as the one shown in (15).

(15)

- [Bo 180800 (40.139.33)]
Ða cwæð ic: Ne þearft þu no þæt ondrædan; ac ic bio swiðe swiðe gefægen gif þu me lædst þider ic ðe bidde.

Then I said: “You do not need to fear that, but I will be very glad if you lead me in the direction that I ask”

There are about 450 occurrences of the class V strong verb *gefēon*, according to the DOE. As is the case with the simplex *fēon*, *gefēon* can be used with prepositional government, including the accusative, and the dative. Although *gefēon* is not attested, like *fēon*, with genitive second argument or with finite dependent clause, it can be used absolutely, with second argument case-marked accusative, with second argument case-marked dative, with prepositional government, in present participle with nominal modifier (genitive), as in (16a), in present participle with clausal modifier (with finite form of the verb), as in (16b), and with non-finite dependent clause that functions as second argument, both in the infinitive and in the inflected infinitive.

(16)

- a. [Alex 16.12]
Da wæs ic gefeonde þæs swetan wætres & þæs ferscan.
Then I was fond of the sweet and fresh waters
- b. [Bede 5 5.398.2]
þa wæs he swiðe gefeonde þæt he drincan meahte: sende him glæs fulne wines, & þæt se biscop geblætsade.
Then he was very glad that he could drink and sent him a glassful of wine, which the bishop had blessed.

There are around 125 occurrences of the class 2 weak verb *gegladian*, according to the DOE. As is the case with *gladian*, *gegladian* is attested with accusative second argument, and with prepositional government (dative). *Gegladian*, unlike *gladian*, cannot be used reflexively, though.

The class 1 weak verb *gehyhtan* turns out 450 textual occurrences, according to the DOE. Like the simplex *hyhtan*, *gehyntan* is attested with prepositional government (accusative). The prefixed verb cannot be used absolutely, whereas the simplex can.

The class 2 weak verb *gelustfullian* presents about 130 occurrences in the DOEC. Like its simplex counterpart, *gelustfullian* can be used absolutely, with second argument case-marked accusative, with prepositional government (dative), and with non-finite dependent clause (inflected infinitive) that realises the second argument. *Gelustfullian* cannot be found with dative second argument, as is the case with *lustfullian*, but occurs in lexical passive constructions with modifier case-marked genitive, as in (17a), and in lexical passive constructions with prepositional modifier governing the dative case, as in (17b).

(17)

- a. [HomS 4 (ScraggVerc 9) 004000 (97)]
... for ðan he ne bið gelustfullod metes, ne he ne gymeð þysses eorðlican rices torhtnessa.
... because he does not rejoice in food, and he does not care for the glory of this earthly world.
- b. [PsGII (Lindelöf) 095400 (67.4)]
& þa rihtwisan beoð gewistfullode blissiað on gesihðe godes & beoð gelustfullode on blisse.
And let the just feast, and rejoice before God: and be delighted with gladness.

The class 2 weak verb *gewuldrian* presents 88 occurrences in the DOEC. As its simplex counterpart, *gewuldrian* is attested with first argument case-marked accusative and with prepositional government. In contradistinction to *wuldrian*, *gewuldrian* cannot be used absolutely, reflexively, with commitative second argument, or with finite dependent clause. On the other hand, *gewuldrian* is attested in lexical passives with a modifier in the dative, as in (18a), and in syntactic passive constructions, as in (18b).

(18)

- a. [BenRGl 050400 (57.95.6)]
...þæt sig eallum gewuldrod gode.
 ...so that Gods praise may abide in all things.
- b. [Jn (WSCp) 052400 (11.4)]
Nys þeos untrummys na for deaðe ac for Godes wuldre þæt Godes sunu si gewuldrod þurh hyne.
 This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God: that the Son of God may be glorified by it.

5. Discussion

The evidence gathered in sections 3 and 4 indicates that, on account of their meaning components, neither *hyhtan* (derived from *hyht* ‘hope’) nor *mōdigan* (related to *mōd* ‘pride’) are *Rejoice* verbs. This verbal class is characterised by the thematic relations Experiencer and Sensation, which do not apply to *hyhtan* or *mōdigan*. The analysis of the grammatical behaviour of the verbs that meet this semantic requirement are given in Table 1.²

	Abs	ACC 2nd Arg	GEN 2nd Arg	DAT 2nd Arg	Refl 2nd Arg	Com 2nd Arg	Prep Gov	Dep Cl FV	Dep Cl NFV
<i>blissian</i>	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	
<i>blīðian</i>				x			x		
<i>fægnian</i>	x		x				x	x	
<i>fēon</i>			x				x	x	
<i>gladian</i>		x			x		x		
<i>lustfullian</i>	x	x		x			x		x
<i>myrgan</i>				x					
<i>ðancian</i>	x		x	x				x	
<i>wuldrian</i>	x	x			x	x	x	x	
<i>wynsumian</i>	x			x		x			
<i>geblissian</i>	x	x	x				x	x	
<i>gefægnian</i>	x	x	x				x	x	
<i>gefēon</i>	x	x	x				x		x
<i>gegladian</i>		x					x		

² Key: Abs (absolute use), ACC 2nd Arg (second argument case-marked accusative), GEN 2nd Arg (second argument case-marked genitive), DAT 2nd Arg (second argument case-marked dative), Refl 2nd Arg (reflexive second argument), Com 2nd Arg (second argument realising the commitative), Prep Gov (prepositional government), Dep Cl FV (dependent clause with finite form of the verb), Dep Cl NFV (dependent clause with non-finite form of verb), Cat Cl FV (cataphoric pronoun making reference to dependent clause with finite form of the verb).

<i>gelustfullian</i>	x	x	x	x
<i>gewuldrian</i>		x	x	

Table 1. The grammatical behaviour of *Rejoice* verbs.

The derivational morphology of verbs of *Rejoice* revolves around non-verbal bases and weak verb derivatives. The genitive second argument selected by *blissian*, *fægnian*, *fēon*, *ðancian*, *geblissian*, *gefægnian*, *gefēon*, and *gewuldrian* can be attributed to the lexical categories of their bases of derivations, which typically take genitive modifiers. While all the weak verbs under analysis are denominal or deadjectival derivatives, the case with *fēon* and *gefēon* is different. These are strong verbs with weak forms. As in the tradition of Indo-European linguistics, the strong verb has been considered the starting point of derivation of the paradigm, so that *fægnian*, *gefægnian* and *gefēon* are based on *fēon*. If these verbs were assigned to a derivational paradigm headed by the adjective *(ge)fægen* ‘fain, glad, joyful, rejoicing’, the complementation of *fægnian*, *fēon*, *gefægnian*, and *gefēon* through a second argument in the genitive would be suitably accounted for. It is worth pointing out in this respect that Bammesberger (1965) does not include *fægnian* in his inventory of deverbal verbs in *-ian* and that Heidermanns (1993: 180) relates *(ge)fægen* to the Proto-Germanic primary adjective *fagana* ‘faw’.

The grammatical behaviour of derivatives is inherited from their corresponding simplexes, although their syntactic range is narrower. The best illustration for this point is the pair *blissian-geblissian*. Firstly, because there is enough evidence to judge; and, secondly, because while *blissian* can be found in all the patterns tabulated in Table 1, except with the commitative and the dependent clause with non-finite form of the verb; *geblissian* does not occur with a dative second argument, with a reflexive second argument, and with a commitative, either. As it turns out, the morpho-syntax of *ge*-derivatives is more consistent: all *ge*-derivatives of *Rejoice* verbs select an accusative second argument, or a genitive second argument (except *gegladian*), or prepositional government, or a dependent clause that realises the second argument (this is not attested with *gegladian* and *gewuldrian*, though).

Most of the verbs in Table 1 are used absolutely, with prepositional government and with dependent clauses. While some of them opt for either direct arguments (accusative) only or oblique arguments (genitive and dative) only, *blissian* and the majority of *ge*-derivatives combine accusative second arguments with second arguments in the genitive and/or the dative. All the *ge*-prefixed verbs are used transitively with second argument in the accusative. The transitive pattern is not exceptional among the simplexes, either: *blissian*, *gladian*, *gelustfullian* and *wuldrian* (all denominal derivatives, except *gladian*) are found with accusative second arguments. The only verbs that can take a third argument are *blīðian* and *ðancian*.

The attachment of *ge*- in these verbs is a mark of transitivity, but this is not generalisable to other classes. Simplex verbs that select an accusative second argument are not passivised (*blissian*, *gladian*, *lustfullian*, and *wuldrian*). The lexical passive with the simplex verb *gladian*, presented in (19), is completely exceptional in this respect.

(19)

[PsGlK (Sisam) 069800 (47.12)]

Si geblissod mvnt n & sin glædod dohtra n for doma þinra.

Let mount Sion rejoice, and the daughters of Juda be glad; because of thy judgments, O Lord.

Lexical passives have been found with three *ge*-derivatives, namely *geglædian*, *gelustfullian* and *gewuldrian*, which is the only verb in the series attested in a syntactic passive construction, presented in (18b).

Four morpho-syntactic alternations arise from Table 1: the Reflexive Alternation (*to rejoice / to rejoice oneself*; Levin 1993), the Nominalisation Alternation (*to rejoice in something / to rejoice that something is the case*; Ojanguren López 2019), the Committative Alternation (*to rejoice in someone / to rejoice with someone*) and the Direct / Oblique Alternation (*to enjoy something / *to enjoy at something*). There are two versions of the Direct / Oblique Alternation: case (accusative vs. genitive or dative) and government (case without preposition vs. case governed by preposition). Of the four alternations, the Committative Alternation may be exclusive of *Rejoice* verbs, whereas most verbal classes of Old English are likely to enter either version of the Oblique Alternation. The Reflexive Alternation and the Nominalisation Alternation are less generalised.

Disregarding the Oblique Alternation, it turns out that the verbs *blissian* and *wuldrian* take part in the Reflexive Alternation, the Committative Alternation and the Nominalisation Alternation. *Wynsumian* occurs in the Committative Alternation and the Nominalisation Alternation. The other verbs are found in the Nominalisation alternation only. The picture that emerges from this is that the verbs *blissian*, *wuldrian* and *wynsumian* –at least in their intransitive version– are more representative of the class of *Rejoice* verbs than *fægnian*, *fēon*, *geblissian*, *gefægnian*, *gefēon*, *gladian*, *lustfullian*, and *ðancian*. As for the remaining verbs, *myrgan* and *gewuldrian* are not found in any of the three alternations that characterise this class. It is worth mentioning in this respect that *gewuldrian* is the only verb that is attested in the syntactic passive. For these reasons, neither *myrgan* nor *gewuldrian* belong to the class of *Rejoice* verbs, if both similar meaning components and grammatical behaviour are required.

To close this section, the question arises in the light of these results whether or not the grammatical behaviour of verbs is a function of their textual frequency, in such a way that frequent verbs present a wider syntactic range than infrequent ones. Quantitative evidence in favour of this view is clearly provided by the correlation between textually frequent verbs, such as *geblissian* (1000 occurrences), and their wide syntactic range (seven different patterns). On the other hand, extremely infrequent verbs like *blīðian* (2 occurrences) can be found in as many morpho-syntactic realisations as fairly frequent verbs such as *wynsumian* (65 occurrences). Furthermore, relatively infrequent verbs such as *mōdigan* (22 occurrences) turn out more patterns than very frequent verbs, like *hyntan* (450 occurrences). It might be the case that, as in lexicogenesis, a low token frequency indicates high syntactic productivity, but more research is needed in this area.

6. Conclusion

This research has drawn on the onomasiological organisation of the thesauri of Old English and the meaning definitions of the DOE. In this area, the study in *Rejoice* verbs has shown that even various and divergent morpho-syntactic configurations can be systematised by means of a principled framework of morphology, syntax and semantics.

The analysis of the derivation and grammatical behaviour of *Rejoice* verbs has confirmed that verbs which share meaning components do not necessarily present the same grammatical behaviour. The comparison of *Rejoice* verbs on the grounds of systematic morpho-syntactic descriptions allows us to come to two main conclusions, to wit, that derivational morphology is relevant for assessing class membership and that *Rejoice* verbs do not constitute a unified verbal class in Old English, as a result of their derivational relatedness.

Two aspects are pending for future research. Firstly, to gauge the syntactic productivity of textually infrequent verbs and, secondly, to determine if other verbs belonging to a heterogeneous set of derivational paradigms are also unlikely to give rise to a consistent verbal class.

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