THE SEMANTICS AND SYNTAX OF OLD ENGLISH MOTION VERBS

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ABSTRACT. This is a study in the syntax and semantics of Old English verbs of motion, including verbs of neutral motion, verbs of manner of motion and verbs of path of motion. Its aim is to identify the morphosyntactic alternations in which these verbs participate. The theoretical basis of the research draws on Goddard's semantics of motion, Levin's model of verb classes and alternations and Talmy's typological distinction between satellite-framed languages and verb-framed languages. The grammatical patterns of the verbs under analysis are discussed, as described in *The Dictionary of Old English* (Healey), with special emphasis on the study of transitivity, case, prepositional government, and reflexivity. As far as meaning components are concerned, this work concentrates on the study of polysemy. The conclusions of this study refer to the consistency of the syntactic behaviour of the verbs under analysis and the main alternations found within the verbal classes.

Keywords: Old English, motion verbs, semantics, syntax, verbal classes, morphosyntactic alternations.

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SEMÁNTICA Y SINTAXIS DE LOS VERBOS DE MOVIMIENTO EN INGLÉS ANTIGUO

RESUMEN. Este estudio versa sobre la sintaxis y la semántica de los verbos de movimiento del inglés antiguo, incluidos los verbos de movimiento neutro, los verbos de modo de movimiento y los verbos de trayectoria de movimiento. Su objetivo es identificar las alternancias morfosintácticas en las que participan estos verbos. La base teórica de la investigación se basa en la semántica del movimiento de Goddard, el modelo de clases y alternancias verbales de Levin, y la distinción tipológica de Talmy entre lenguas de marco satélite y lenguas de marco verbal. Los patrones gramaticales de los verbos objeto de análisis se analizan tal y como se describen en el *Diccionario de Inglés Antiguo* (Healey), haciendo hincapié en el estudio de la transitividad, el caso, el gobierno preposicional y la reflexividad. En cuanto a los componentes de significado, este trabajo se centra en el estudio de la polisemia. Las conclusiones de este estudio hacen referencia a la coherencia del comportamiento sintáctico de los verbos analizados y a las principales alternancias encontradas dentro de las clases verbales.

Palabras clave: inglés antiguo, verbos de movimiento, semántica, sintaxis, clases verbales, alternancias morfosintácticas.

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 and, above all, by Talmy ("Lexicalization patterns"), who proposes a typological distinction between satellite-framed languages and verb-framed languages; and Levin, who defines verbal classes with respect to their shared meaning and their different argument realizations. In Levin's 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 the 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

Since this work deals with the syntax and semantics of Old English as presented by verbs of motion, it requires a theoretical basis for syntax and semantics, as well as a descriptive analysis of Old English verbs of motion. The theoretical part draws on Goddard's semantics of motion and, above all, on Talmy ("Lexicalization patterns"), who proposes a typological distinction between satellite-framed languages and verb-framed languages; and Levin, who defines verbal classes with respect to their shared meaning and the different argument realizations (explained on the basis of alternations, or systematic correspondences of form and meaning). Once the theoretical foundations of the work have been established, Section 2.2 applies them to Old English by describing the linguistic expression of motion in this language. Apart from offering an account of the structural aspects of motion expressions, this section also defines the scope of the analysis of this work.

2.1. Theoretical framework

The theoretical basis of this research includes a review of both semantic and syntactic aspects. On the one hand, the semantics of motion and the lexicalization patterns of motion verbs are reviewed; on the other hand, the framework of verb classes and alternations is considered.

According to Goddard, motion can be translational or non-translational. Translational movement verbs are those which depict movement from one place to another, such as *come* or *go*, and which are often referred to as path of motion verbs (51). However, verbs such as *wiggle* or *dance*, "describe the mode of motion of an item but do not entail traversal of a path" (Goddard 152). These verbs are frequently referred to as "manner of motion verbs" since they express the subject's motion without making any reference to its location or arrangement in relation to another object.

Turning to the aspects of meaning that verbs of motion encode, Talmy ("Lexicalization patterns") puts forward a cross-linguistic typology of lexicalization

patterns, which is especially relevant for the representation of motion events. This study 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 ("Lexicalization patterns" 57). Thus, depending on the surface form (verb or satellite) in which the motion component (path or manner) is encoded, Talmy distinguishes two different typologies for all the languages in the world ("Lexicalization patterns" 62-72).

On the one hand, satellite-framed languages (S-framed languages) convey manner of motion in the verb root and express path of motion in the satellite. In this type of language, the combination of a preposition and a satellite is used in order to convey path, as in *I ran out of the house*. However, the satellite can also appear alone, as in (*After rifling through the house), I ran out*. S-framed languages usually present a whole series of motion verbs expressing manner of motion (*walk, run, jog*, etc.) as well as a huge number of path satellites (*in, out, on, off,* etc.). Although German, Swedish, Russian, and Chinese are also S-framed languages, modern English is the archetypal example of a S-framed language.

On the other hand, verb-framed languages (V-framed languages) depict manner of motion in the satellite and path of motion in the main verb. V-framed languages display verbs that depict motion along a path (Spanish *entrar* "move in", *salir* "move out" *pasar* "move by"), and satellites are usually independent and optional, as in *La botella entró a la cueva (flotando)* "The bottle floated into the cave". Spanish is the prototypical example of this typology.

Once the more semantically oriented aspects of this theoretical review have been dealt with, we concentrate on the aspects that have more direct contact with syntax. In this regard, Levin's research programme proves the relationship between a verb's meaning and its syntactic behaviour. Moreover, verbs that share similar syntactic behaviour and, as a result, belong to a particular verbal class, would be also expected to present common meaning components (7).

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 thus, 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 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 (156).

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 similar syntactic behaviour. Hence, it can be said that a verb's behaviour depends on the interaction of its meaning and syntax.

2.2. Old English linguistic expression of motion

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, motion can be internal or translational. Translational motion implies change of location, whereas internal motion does not. This analysis concentrates on translational motion. That said, translational motion can be further 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 ("Accomplishments of Motion") have been kept.

(1)   a. [Bede 2 020800 (8.124.11)]

    *& he þa sume ofslog, sume on onweald onfeng; & he sigefæst swa eft ham **ferde**.*

    "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.*

    "The high official Æthelhelm took the offerings from the West-Saxons... to Rome."

    (Martín Arista, "Accomplishments of Motion")

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 ("Accomplishments of Motion") 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 **styrode**, manna & fugela, nytena & creopendra.*
>
> "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 he in scip & ferde **to Breotone**.*
>
> "As soon as he began to recover from illness, he travelled to Britain by ship."

Martín Arista ("Accomplishments of Motion") 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 ("Accomplishments of Motion"). 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**.*
>
> "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 & ofer ealle gesceafta & ofer ealle creopende, ðe styriað on **eorðan**.*
>
> "…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 has not come from anyone. He was always god."

Huber 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, 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 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.

(4) a. [Æ Hom 5 005800 (214)]

*Þæt wif ... **efste to ðære byrig** and bodade ymbe crist.*

"The woman... hurried to the city and preached about Christ."

b. [Æ LS (Maurice) 002100 (90)]

*Þa **com** þærto **ridan** sum Cristen man sona, harwencge and eald, se wæs gehaten Uictor.*

"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 cuðberhtus on ðam snawe gehwær. hwyder se Cuma **siðigende ferde**.*

"Then the holy Cuthbert looked everywhere in the snow, whither the stranger went wandering."

(Fanego 43)

As Fanego 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" (43).

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. The analysis of meaning components

Building on the background of verb classes and alternations and, in order to address 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 on motion verbs in general, Ogura (*Verbs of Motion*) on verbs of neutral motion and Fanego on verbs of manner of motion.

According to Weman, 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" (12-174). In a study in verbal polysemy, Ogura (*Verbs of Motion*) lists the Old English verbs of neutral motion and attributes each verb to a semantic field (a sense in Weman's 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 finds four components in Old English verbs of manner of motion: mode, speed, course, and vehicle (41).

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; (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 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 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, Robinson, Mitchell and Robinson, and Smith–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. The instrumental case is restricted to personal pronouns and some adjectives (Campbell 228; Hogg 117; Hogg and Fulk 46; Ringe and Taylor 326). Examples (5a)–(5d), taken from Brook, illustrate, respectively, the nominative, accusative, dative and genitive case.

(5)   a. *Wæs **he**, **se mon**, in weorulhade geseted.*

"This man was a layman."

b. *Hie begeaton **welan**.*

"They obtained wealth."

c. *Ða kyningas **Gode** ond his ǣrendwrecum hyrsumedon.*

"The kings obeyed God and his messengers."

d. *Cynewulf benam Sigebryht **his rices**.*

"Cynewulf deprived Sigebryht of his kingdom."

(Brook 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. 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, "Sintaxis Medieval I" 270). The following examples, taken from Brook, illustrate, respectively, intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs.

(6)   a. ***Hē** sægde.*

"He said."

b. ***Sē cyning** unhēanlīce **hine** werede.*

"The kind defended himself dauntlessly."

c. *Ic selle **eow ðæt riht bið.***

"I will give you what is right."

(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.

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) 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.). 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) has just reached the letter H[1]. As a result, 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 (*Verbs of Motion*), verbs of manner of motion have been extracted from Fanego, and verbs of path of motion have been retrieved from the lexical database *Nerthus* (Martín Arista et al.), on the basis of the Contemporary English corresponding verbs proposed by Talmy (*Cognitive Semantics*).

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[1] At the time 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.

The inventory of verbs of neutral motion beginning with the letters A-H comprises (Ogura *Verbs of Motion*): *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)ānlǣcan* "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, 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", *efīstan, 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", *forþhreosan* "to rush forth", *forþrǣsan* "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 (*Cognitive Semantics*) 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 ove*r 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 (*Cognitive Semantics*): *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", *ālīhtan* "to alight", *ārīsan* "to rise", *āscēadan* "to separate", *āstigan* "to ascend", *æthwēorfan* "to return", *flēon* "to flee", *(ge)ānlǣcan* "to join", *gecuman* "to arrive", *(ge)folgian* "to follow".

3.4. Analysis procedure

The methodology of analysis consists of two main steps: 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, *Verbs of Motion*; Fanego; Martín Arista et al.; Talmy, *Cognitive Semantics*)

2. Finding the Old English verb when necessary (verbs of path of motion) in the lexical database of Old English *Nerthus* (Martín Arista et al.).

3. Searching for the selected verbs (letters A-H) in *The Dictionary of Old English*.

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; Taylor et al.), which provides a syntactic parsing of approximately one half of *The Dictionary of Old English* Corpus (Healey et al.), 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 for *drīfan* "to drive" gives the following senses, syntactic patterns, and collocations (Figure 1).

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* "While I was grieving, then I bumped with my head and my hands onto a stone" and [HlGl E192]: *ic ut anyde ł drife ł 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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[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

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'

C.1.1. a. figurative

C.1.2. 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)

D.1.1. a. specifically of a judge or priest: to further, promote (in Ælfric)

D.1.2. to engage in various activities

D.1.2.a. drifan drycræftas / wiglunge 'to practise sorcery'

D.1.2.b. cype drifan 'to drive a bargain'

D.1.2.c. mangunge 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 for *drīfan*.

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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*.

```
( (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 (PRO$^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:

1) absolute use

   HlGl E192: *ic ut anyde ł **drife** ł 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 (*Verbs with Reflexive Pronoun*) 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 for them in the lexical database *Nerthus* (Martín Arista

et al.) and classified them in terms of the lexical dimensions and sub-dimensions listed by Faber and Mairal (280-283). 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, hwearftlian, swefian, wagian

2.1.1. To move in a particular way

besīgan, gemǣdan, onrīdan, rīdan, scofettan, tōslūpan

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

ācweccan, ārǣsan, āswōgan, ātrucian, cleacian, forspēdian, forðhrēosan, forðrǣsan, (ge)ærnan, (ge)iernan, (ge)recan, (ge)spēdan, inræcan, inrǣsan, lǣcan, nȳdðēowigan, ongehrēosan, onrǣsan, scacan, scottettan, tōscēotan, trendan, tycgan, ðeran, ðurhrǣsan, ūtrǣsan

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, as a result, 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.) has been retrieved from Martín Arista and Mateo Mendaza, a synthesis of the meaning definitions provided by the standard dictionaries of Old English, including Bosworth and Toller, Clark Hall and Sweet. 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 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. Consequently, 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* "to burst, burst out, break out, be broken; to break away, escape", *ābūgan* "to bend, turn, curve, bow, do reverence, submit, turn oneself; to deviate, incline, swerve, turn (to or from); to withdraw, retire; to be humble", *āfaran* "to go out, depart, march; to travel", *āflēogan* "to

fly, flee away; fly from, escape", *āflīeman* "to expel, banish, disperse, scatter; to rout; to drive away, cause to flee", *āhealtian* "to halt; to limp, crawl", *āhnīgan* "to fall or bow down; to empty oneself", *āhræcan* "to clear out; to spit out", *āhweorfan* "to turn; to convert, turn away or over; to turn aside; to avert", *āiernan* "to run over or away; to pass over; to run out; to go, pass by", *āsīgan* "to decline, sink; to go or fall down", *āsincan* "to sink down; to fall to pieces", *āstīgan* "to go, come, proceed, step; to rise, ascend, mount, climb; to go down into, descend", *āswōgan* "to rush into; to cover over, invade, overrun, choke", *ætfyligan* "to adhere, stick to; to cling to, cleave", *ætslīdan* "to slip, glide; to fall", *beclingan* "to bind, enclose, inclose; to surround", *becnyttan* "to bind, tie, knot, inclose; to knit; to surround with a bond, tie round; to attach with a string", *befealdan* "to fold, roll up, wrap up, envelop, surround; to cover; to bend the body; to clasp; to attach; to involve, implicate; to overwhelm", *befēran* "to surround, go round, pass by; to go about; to come upon; to overtake; to feed; to get, fall among", bescēadan "to separate, discriminate; to scatter, sprinkle; to shadow", *betyrnan* "to turn round; to bend the knee, prostrate oneself", *bewindan* "to wrap, wind or bind around or about, envelop, entwine, clasp; to surround, encircle; to brandish (a sword)", *bewriþan* "to bind, wind about; to surround", *cwencan* "to extinguish, quench", *drȳpan* "to drop, drip, cause to fall in drops; to moisten", *feorsian* "to separate, put far, remove, expel; to go beyond, depart", *fēran* "to go, march, set out, depart, make a journey, travel, sail; to come; to behave, act", *fergan* "to carry, bear, bring, covey; to go, depart, betake oneself to; to be versed in", *flēotan* "to float, swim; to sail, drift, flow; to skim", *forscūfan* "to drive away, drive to destruction; to cast down", *forswigian* "to keep silent; to conceal by silence; to pass over, suppress", *fortȳnan* "to enclose, shut in; to prevent passage, block up", *forðhebban* "to further; to advance, carry sth forwards (DOE)", *forðræsan* "to rush forth; to rise up, spring up", *forðstæppan* "to go or step forth, proceed; to pass by", *forðwegan* "to further; to advance, to carry sth forwards (DOE)", *gangan* "to go; to go on foot, walk; to turn out", *(ge)bendan* "to bind, bend; to fetter, put in bonds", *(ge)būgan* "to bend, turn, stoop, bow, bow down, submit, sink, give way; to turn towards, turn away; to revolt; to retire, flee, depart; to join, go over to; to convert", *gedēðan* "to kill; to mortify", *(ge)dragan* "to drag, draw, go; to extend, protract", *(ge)fealdan* "to fold up, wrap, wrap up, roll up, roll about; to entangle; to join, attach closely; to involve, implicate (oneself in sth), entangle", *(ge)fērlæcan* "to keep company or fellowship, accompany; to unite, associate", *(ge)flēogan* "to fly, fly over; to flee, take to flight", *(ge)folgian* "to follow, accompany; to follow after, pursue, go behind, run after; to follow as a servant, attendant or disciple", *(ge)hangian* "to hang, be suspended; to depend, be attached, hold fast, cling to; to lean over", *(ge)hlēapan* "to go, run; to leap, jump,

spring, dance; to mount", *(ge)hrēran* "to move; to shake, agitate; to stir together, mix up", *(ge)hwemman* "to bend, incline, slope; to turn", *gehwielfan* "to arch, vault, bend over", *(ge)iernan* "to move rapidly, run, haste; to flow, spread; to pursue; to cause to move rapidly, turn, grind; to pass, elapse", *(ge)liðan, (ge)lūcan* "to close, lock, shut up, enclose; to fasten; to close, conclude; to interlock, intertwine; to twist, wind", *(ge)lūtan* "to bend, bow, stoop, recline, fall down before one; to decline; to approach an end", *gemǣdan* "to make mad or foolish", *geondfaran* "to go through, traverse, pervade; to penetrate, permeate", *geondhweorfan* "to pass over or through, traverse; to go about", *geondlācan* "to go through or over, traverse; to flow over", *geondspringan* "to spread about, be diffused; to penetrate", *(ge)recan* "to move, go, proceed, hastily; to carry, bring, convey", *(ge)rōwan* "to go by water, row, sail; to swim", *(ge)sǣlan* "*t*o bind, tie, fetter, fasten; to restrain, confine, curb", *(ge)sencan* "to sink, plunge, immerse, submerge; to drown, flood with water", *(ge)wadan* "to move, go, proceed, advance, wade, pass, traverse, go through, strive; to pervade", *(ge)wærlan* "to go, wend; to turn; to pass by", *(ge)wīcan* "to retire, yield, give way; to fall down, give way; to depart", *(ge)windan* "to bend, wind; to twist, curl; to go, turn; to revolve, roll, weave; to roll back, unroll; to repair", *gryndan* "to set, descend, come to the ground, sink; to found", *gyrdan* "to encircle, surround, bind round; to gird", *hlīdan* "to come forth, spring up; to cover with a lid", *hnīgan* "to bow down, bend, incline; to fall, decline, descend, sink", *hoppian* "*to hop, leap; to dance; to limp*", *hrǣcan* "to clear the throat, hawk, spit; to reach, bring up (blood or phlegm)", *hwearftlian* "to move about, revolve, turn or roll round; to wander, rove, be tossed", *insteppan* "to enter, go in; to step in", *lǣcan* "to move quickly, rise, spring up, leap; to flare up", *oferfaran* "to pass, cross, go off or over, traverse, go through; to penetrate; to meet with, come across; to overcome, overtake, withstand", *oferfēran* "to traverse, cross, pass over, or though, pass along; to meet with, come upon", *oferflēon* "to fly over, flee from; to yield to", *oferflōwan* "to cover with water; to overflow, run over, pass beyond bounds", *oferscēadan* "to separate, divide; to scatter over, sprinkle over", *oferyrnan* "to go or run over, overwhelm; to cross, pass by running; to spread over or throughout", *ofstīgan* "to descend; to ascend; to depart", *onhieldan* "to bend, bend down, bow, incline, lean, recline; to decline, sink; to fall away", *onswīfan* "to swing, turn; to put or turn aside, divert, push off", *onðenian* "to extend, stretch; to bend", *pluccian* "to pull away, pluck; to tear", *rīdan* "to ride; to move about, swing, rock; to float, sail; to chafe (of letters)", *scacan* "to shake, quiver; to flee, hurry off, go forth, depart; to move quickly, be flung, be displaced by shaking; to pass, proceed; to weave, brandish", *scottettan* "to move about quickly; to dance, leap", *scriðan* "to go, move, glide; to wander, go hither and thither, go about", *swīfan* "to move in a course, revolve; to sweep; to wend; to take part, intervene", *tōdrǣfan* "to

separate, disperse, scatter; to expel, dispel, drive away, out or apart", *tōfēsian* "to disperse, scatter; to drive away; to rout", *tōflēogan* "to be disperse, fly asunder, fly apart; to crack, fly to pieces", *tōflōwan* "to disperse, flow down, flow to, ebb; to be split; to melt; to pour in; to distract, wander; to be separated, take different directions; to spread; to be dissipated, scattered; to render useless, bring to nothing", *tōgīnan* "to be opened; to split; to slip; to gape, yawn", *tōhlīdan* "to split, split asunder, spring apart, break, crack, burst; to open; to gape, yawn", *tōhweorfan* "to separate, disperse, scatter; to go away, part", *tōiernan* "to run to, run about, run together; to wander about; to flow away, dispersed", *tōlicgan* "to lie or run in different directions, part; to separate, divide", *tōsceacan* "to shake to pieces, shake violently; to disperse, drive asunder; to drive away, shake off", *tōslūpan* "to slip away; to be relaxed; to fall to pieces; to dissolve, melt; to be undone or loosed; to get powerless or paralysed", *tumbian* "to leap, tumble; to dance", *twifyrclian* "to branch off, deviate from; to split into two, fork off from, separate from another object", *tyrnan* "to turn, revolve, move round; to run", *ūpātēon* "to draw up, bring up, rear; draw out, pull out, pluck up; lift up, place in an upright position", *ūtāflōwan* "to flow out; scatter, be dispersed", *ūtflōwan* "to flow out; scatter, be dispersed", *wagian* "to move, wag; to shake, wave; to swing, move backwards and forwards; to totter", *weallian* "to wander, travel, roam, go abroad; to go as a pilgrim", *wōrigan* "to roam, wander; move round, totter, crumble to pieces", *wrǣcsīðian* "to travel, wander; to be in exile", *wreccan* "to twist; to strain", *wylwan* "to roll, roll together; to join, compound, compose", *ymbfaran* "to surround; to travel round", *ymbgān* "to surround, go round; to go about or through", *ymbgangan* "to surround, encompass, go round; to go about or through", *ymbhringan* "to surround, encompass, fence round; to wind round", *ymbtyrnan* "to turn round; to surround".

When two or more meanings are expressed, the most frequent polysemy patterns found in the data are the following. An Old English verb exemplifying each pattern has been provided by way of illustration.

       a.   2.1.1. To move in a particular way

           2.1.3. To move towards a place

           e.g., *(ge)hlēapan* "to go, run; to leap, jump, spring, dance; to mount"

       b.   2.1.1. To move in a particular way

           2.1.6. To move in a different direction

           e.g., *betyrnan* "to turn round; to bend the knee, prostrate oneself"

       c.   2.1.1. To move in a particular way

2.1.8. To move in relation to somebody/something

e.g., *onswīfan* "to swing, turn; to put or turn aside, divert, push off"

d. 2.1.1. To move in a particular way

2.4.1. To move in a particular way (land)

e.g., *hoppian* "to hop, leap; to dance; to limp"

e. 2.1.2. To move off/away

2.1.8. To move in relation to somebody/something

e.g., *āfaran* "to go out, depart, march; to travel"

f. 2.1.3. To move towards a place

2.1.8. To move in relation to somebody/something

e.g., *fēran* "to go, march, set out, depart, make a journey, travel, sail; to come"

g. 2.1.3. To move towards a place

2.4.1. To move in a particular way (land)

e.g., *hnīgan* "to bow down, bend, incline; to fall, decline, descend, sink"

h. 2.1.5. To move over/through

2.1.8. To move in relation to somebody/something

e.g., *ymbgangan* "to surround, encompass, go round; to go about or through"

The patterns of coincidence of two sub-dimensions presented above can be explained by means of the notions of telicity and manner v. 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). 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, *Verbs with Reflexive Pronoun*)

Exod 7.23: *ac **awende** hine [Pharaoh] fram him*

"But the Pharaoh turned himself away from him."

āhealtian "to limp, crawl"

1) absolute use

PsGlI 17.46: *bearn elelendisce forealdodon & **ahealtedon***

"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 himwepende hamweard* **folgade**.

"And he weeping homewards before, the folk that came towards him followed him home weeping."

The general conclusion that can be drawn from this analysis 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, and so forth, 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 to Rome announcing the godspell."

b. [Or 3 026700 (10.75.6)]

Þa **wendon** *hie* **him** *hamweard.*

"They turned homewards."

(Martín Arista, "Accomplishments of Motion")

With respect to the verb/satellite alternation, Fanego 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 (43). 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 ("Accomplishments of Motion"), with manner of

motion verbs like *rīdan* "to ride" and *siðian* "to travel": rode to Reading vs. came riding and came travelling v. travelled to Egypt (11).

(11) a. [ChronE (Irvine) 054500 (871.1)]

*Her **rad** se here to Readingum on Westseaxe.*

"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 riding a fearful rider."

c. [Beo 019600 (720)]

***Com** þa to recede rinc **siðian**, dreamum bedæled.*

"Then there came travelling to that building the man deprived of dreams."

d. [Æ Let 4 (SigeweardB) 003400 (299)]

*& wearð ða mycel hungor vii gear on and, & heo **siðoden** ealle to Egypte londe, þer heo bileofenæ fundon.*

"And there was a great famine for seven years and they all travelled to Egypt, where they found means of sustenance."

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.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This 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)ānlǣcan* "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.

As a result, there is ample justification for distinguishing three verbal classes of motion in Old English: neutral motion, manner of motion, and path of motion. Additionally, the meaning of each class corresponds to different argument realisations and, more specifically, to two different morpho-syntactic alternations: the reflexive alternation and the verb/satellite alternation. The reflexive alternation aligns with verbs of neutral motion, whereas the verb/satellite alternation is consistent with 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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