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OE DITRANSITIVE VERBS OF THE NP + PP TYPE: VISSER'S TYPOLOGY REVISITED

A b s t r a c t. The paper is devoted to Old English prepositional ditransitive verbs of the NP+PP type and aims at re-examining Visser's (1963-73) typology of OE ditransitives. It is shown that Visser's classification is insufficient as it recognises only two types of NP+PP ditransitives, namely ACC+PP and DAT+PP, while OE data exhibit more than two variants of the NP+PP construction. In particular, OE prepositional ditransitive verbs fall into three basic types, corresponding to the three verbal Cases, i.e. ACC+PP, DAT+PP and GEN+PP. Additionally, the ACC+PP type falls into two subtypes differentiated by the Θ -role assignment to the two arguments so that the PP can either represent the Goal or the Theme argument. In effect, there are four types of prepositional ditransitives of the NP+PP type in OE. The types are derivable on theoretical grounds from the available Goal and Theme types, a fact which reveals that OE ditransitives do not constitute a haphazard set of attested combinations but they form a system governed by an underlying principle, namely the availability of an object type for a particular Θ -role is not tied up to a combination in which it appears but it is to be understood as a general availability of the object type in any ditransitive combination. This is to be understood as a property of the system of ditransitives rather than of a complementation pattern of a particular verb.

1. INTRODUCTION

The objective of this paper is to examine ditransitive verbs of the NP + PP type attested in OE. It is shown in the course of the paper that the classification of OE ditransitives proposed by Visser (1963-73) is insufficient as it recognises only two types of NP + PP ditransitives, namely ACC + PP and DAT + PP, while OE data exhibit more than two variants of the NP + PP construction. Interestingly, the types not recognised in Visser's classification

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of prepositional ditransitives are predictable from the system of ordinary ditransitives,¹ i.e. from the complementation patterns exhibited by verbs accompanied with two NPs. The theoretical implications for the system of prepositional ditransitives following from ordinary ditransitive verbs are discussed in Section 2. These predictions are subsequently tested against OE data in the latter part of Section 2. Section 3 juxtaposes the findings following from Section 2 with Visser's typology with a view to discussing the discrepancies between Visser's typology and our data. Finally, Section 4 shows the theoretical implications following from these differences and offers some conclusions.

2. THE IDEALISED SYSTEM OF OE PREPOSITIONAL DITRANSITIVES

In OE NP objects of verbs can appear in three different Cases, i.e. DAT, GEN and ACC. All three object types can be encountered both with single-object verbs and with verbs accompanied with two NPs. Hence if a verb is complemented by an NP+PP, the construction is naturally expected to appear in three different subtypes, corresponding to the three Cases available for the object NP. Visser's (1963-73) typology, however, recognises only DAT+PP (cf. Visser's § 700) and ACC+PP (cf. Visser's § 701), ignoring the GEN+PP type. While the GEN+PP type is logically implied by the presence of GEN objects in other construction types, the absence of the type in Visser's classification casts doubt on the availability of the construction in OE. An interesting example where this type of logic fails is a case of clausal ditransitives in OE, which are reported by Mitchell (1985: §1090) to exhibit three types differentiated by the Case of the NP accompanying the clausal Theme, i.e. ACC, DAT, GEN, mirroring the expected types of the NP+PP construction. However, it is shown conclusively in Charzyńska-Wójcik (2009, 2010, in prep. a) and Charzyńska-Wójcik and Wójcik (2010) that this classification is wrong as there are no verbs in OE which represent the GEN+CLAUSE type. However, when one considers the clausal ditransitive type in more detail, it becomes obvious that the GEN+CLAUSE type is in fact not

¹ The term 'ordinary ditransitives' is due to Allen (1995), who introduces it to denote ditransitives with two NPs and to differentiate them from ditransitives where one of the arguments is a clause, which the author calls 'clausal ditransitives' and those where one of the arguments is a PP, i.e. 'prepositional ditransitives'.

expected to appear in OE as the NP in the clausal ditransitive type always represents the Recipient argument, while the language does not exhibit GEN Recipients. Hence, the NPs featuring in clausal ditransitives are expected to reveal ACC and DAT Case exclusively. This indicates the necessity of focusing on the relationship that obtains between Cases and Θ -roles in order to correctly establish what types of Cases are expected to complement a PP in a ditransitive construction.

If we consider a typical OE ditransitive frame, one of the objects expresses the Θ -role of the Recipient, Benefactive or Target² and the other one that of the Theme, Patient or Cause. While variations of these combinations are possible (involving Θ -roles not listed here), for ease of exposition in our discussions we will use two cover terms, namely Goal vs. Theme to denote the two object types. The term Goal will be used to express an animate entity (often a human being) granted or deprived of some item, whether concrete (i.e. a thing) or abstract (i.e. an action), i.e. the Theme. The assumed convention will, by necessity, impose certain inaccuracies on data interpretation as far as Θ -role assignment is concerned but it is meant to simplify the description since what matters for the perspective relevant for this paper as far as the Θ -role assignment is concerned, is the opposition between the two object types rather than the actual Θ -role assignment.

The Goal in a ditransitive construction can be expressed by an NP in the ACC or DAT Case or by a PP, as illustrated below.

(1)³

- a. Þa **axode** hine. se ealdorbiscop and mid aþe gehalsode.
 then asked him-ACC the archbishop and with oath entreated
 þæt he openlice sæde. gif he godes sunu.
 that he openly should-say if he God's son
 soðlice wære;
 truly was

‘Then the archbishop asked him and implored him to say openly whether he was God’s son.’

<s id="T02660005600" n="141.121"> ÆCHom II, 14.1; B1.2.16 (DOEC)

² After Jónsson (2000: 78), the three Θ -roles are subtypes of a broader term, namely Goal. ‘Under the usual definition, goals are “endpoints of motion” both literally and metaphorically. Since this is a very broad definition, it is reasonable to assume that there are at least three subclasses of goals: recipients, benefactives and what we might call targets. The last term is simply intended to cover those goals that are neither recipients nor benefactives.’

³ For ease of exposition, we will underline the Goals and italicise the Themes whenever available. The relevant verbs will be given in bold type.

- b. Ða ða crist **axode** philippum and he his afandode
 when Christ asked Philip-DAT and he his-GEN tested
 swa swa we ær ræddon ...
 as we before read
 ‘When Christ asked Philip and tested him as we had read before.’
 <s id="T02170004900" n="188.12"> ÆCHom I, 12; B1.1.13 (DOEC)
- c. æfter þære tide þe he **geaxode** fram ðam tungelwitegum.
 after the time when he asked from the astrologers
 ‘After he had asked the astrologers.’
 <s id="T06410004500" n="2.16"> Mt (WSCp); B8.4.3.1 (DOEC)

As indicated by the editing conventions we adopted, the Goal is an ACC NP, i.e. *hine* ‘him’ (1a), a DAT NP, i.e. *philippum* ‘Philip’ in (1b), while in (1c) it is expressed by means of a PP, i.e. *fram ðam tungelwitegum* ‘from the astrologers’. As far as the Theme argument is concerned, it can be expressed by means of an NP in the ACC or GEN Case, by a PP or by a clause. Consider the examples below.

(2)

- a. Sceolde sweordes ecg, scerp ond scurheard,
 should sword’s edge sharp and made-by-heard-blows
 of sceaðan folme, fyrmælum fag, *feorh* **acsigan**.
 from foe’s hand with-fire-marks variegated life-ACC ask
 ‘Should the edge of the sword, sharp and made by heard blows from the hand of the foe, variegated with marks of fire, demand life.’
 <s id="T00050035500" n="1132"> And; A2.1 (DOEC)
- b. La leof, ic bidde eow þæt ælmyssan þæt ic mote
 oh Lord I ask you that alms that I might
anes þinges **axian**,
 one thing-GEN ask
 ‘Oh, Lord, I ask this favour from you that I might inquire about this one thing.’
 <s id="T05210017000" n="717"> LS 34 (SevenSleepers); B3.3.34 (DOEC)
- c. Farað & **axiað** geornlice *be þam cilde*
 go and ask eagerly about the child
 & þonne ge hyt gemetað cypað eft me
 and when you it find tell afterwards me
 þæt ic cume & me to him gebidde.
 so-that I might-go and myself to him pay-homage
 ‘Go and ask eagerly about the Child and when you find Him, tell me so that I might go and pay homage to Him myself.’
 <s id="T06410003700" n="2.8"> Mt (WSCp); B8.4.3.1 (DOEC)

- d. *Ða com god and axode hwi he his bebod tobræce.*
 then came God and asked why he his order disobeyed
 and adræfde hi butu of neorxna wange.
 and drove them both from paradise

‘Then came God and asked why he had disobeyed His order and expelled them both from the paradise.’

<s id="T02050006600" n="18.12"> ÆCHom I, 1; B1.1.2 (DOEC)

The first two examples in (2) exhibit NP Themes. In (2a) the Theme bears ACC Case, i.e. *feorh* ‘life’ and in (2b) the Case of the Theme is GEN: *anes þinges* ‘one thing’. In (2c) the Theme is a PP *be þam cilde* ‘about the child’ and in (2d) it is expressed by means of a clause: *hwi he his bebod tobræce* ‘why he had disobeyed his order’. As we only focus on the PP+NP construction, the clausal Theme will be disregarded in our later discussion. Thus, excluding the clause, there are three possible ways of expressing the Theme in OE: an ACC or GEN NP or a PP. Likewise, the Goal, as shown in (1) above, can be expressed by three object types. Table 1 below juxtaposes the available object types for the Goal and Theme and Table 2 gives us a set of logically possible combinations of the two object types.

Table 1. Goal and Theme types available in OE

	Goal	Theme	ex. N ^o
1.	ACC		(1a)
2.	DAT		(1b)
3.	PP		(1c)
4.		GEN	(2a)
5.		ACC	(2b)
6.		PP	(2c)
7.		CLAUSE	(2d)

Table 2. Theoretically possible combinations of the available object types

	Goal	Theme
a.	ACC	ACC
b.	ACC	GEN
c.	ACC	PP

d.	ACC	CLAUSE
e.	DAT	ACC
f.	DAT	GEN
g.	DAT	PP
h.	DAT	CLAUSE
i.	PP	ACC
j.	PP	GEN
k.	PP	PP
l.	PP	CLAUSE

As the paper focuses on the types of ditransitive verbs where an NP is complemented by a PP, we are not interested in all available combinations of the two objects enumerated in Table 2. The combinations relevant for our discussion are: ACC-Goal+PP-Theme (cf. point c.), DAT-Goal+PP-Theme (cf. point g.), PP-Goal+ACC-Theme (cf. point i.) and PP-Goal+GEN-Theme (cf. point j.). It remains to see whether the types are actually attested in the language. Consider the data below in this respect.

(3)

a. Ða fregn se bisceop & **ahsode** urne dryhten
 then inquired the bishop and asked our Lord
Crist *be his discipulos* & *be his lare.*
 Christ-ACC about his disciples and about his teaching
 ‘Then the bishop inquired and asked our Lord Christ about His disciples and about His teaching.’

<s id="T04520002300" n="32"> HomS 24 (ScraggVerc 1); B3.2.24 (DOEC)

b. hy ealle him *to Gode*
 they all him-DAT to God
 mid heora gebedrædene **þingian**.
 with their prayers should-intercede
 ‘They all should intercede with God on his behalf with their prayers.’

<s id="T06980048600" n="44.70.8"> BenR; B10.3.1.1 (DOEC)

c. Ne abysga þu þin mod on mislicum þingum ...
 not occupy you your spririt in diverse matters
 ac **aceorf fram þe þa flæsclican lufe**
 but cut-off from you the fleshly love-ACC
 þæt seo flæsclice lufu þe ne afyrsie Gode.
 so-that the fleshly love you not should-cut-off God

'Do not get engaged in diverse matters but detach yourself from carnal love so that the carnal love should not detach you from God.'

<s id="T03980003800" n="3.2"> ÆAdmon 1; B1.9.3 (DOEC)

d. **Ahsa** *þæs* æt þam *wife*.
ask this-GEN from the woman

'Ask the woman about it.'

<s id="T22830012600" n="38.1.9"> Lch II (3); B21.2.1.3.2 (DOEC)

In (3a), the two internal arguments express the addressee of the question: *urne dryhten Crist* 'our Lord, Christ' and the content of the question: *be his discipulos ...* 'about his disciples', hence the former can be interpreted as the Goal and the latter as the Theme. In (3b) the person for whom the subject intercedes with another person, i.e. *him* 'him' is best interpreted as a Beneficiary, which, if we want to stick to the Goal-Theme annotation as we agreed earlier corresponds to the Goal. This means that the PP argument: *to Gode* 'to God' corresponds to the Theme. In (3c) the ACC NP *þa flæsclican lufe* 'the fleshly love' expresses the Theme, hence the remaining argument, i.e. the PP *from þe* 'from you' is, by the convention assumed here, annotated as the Goal. In the last example in the set the GEN NP *þæs* 'this' clearly expresses the Theme, while the PP *æt þam wife* 'from the woman' is the addressee of the question, hence the Goal. The results of the above discussion are summarised in Table 3 below.

Table 3. The types of prepositional ditransitives attested in OE

	Goal	Theme	Example N ^o
(i)	ACC	PP	(3a)
(ii)	DAT	PP	(3b)
(iii)	PP	ACC	(3c)
(iv)	PP	GEN	(3d)

As is clear from the data discussed above, all types of prepositional ditransitives of the NP + PP type which we extrapolated on the basis of Table 1 are attested in OE, which contrasts sharply with Visser's typology, where only two types of prepositional ditransitives are listed. This necessitates moving on to Visser's classification with the view to answering two questions. First of all, what do Visser's types ACC + PP and DAT + PP denote. In other words, does Visser's type ACC + PP correspond to type (i) or type (iii) from Table 3? Similarly, how is Visser's type DAT + PP to be interpreted: does it

correspond to type (ii)? And, finally, we will need to discuss the status of type (iv), which is not recognised in Visser's typology of ditransitives at all.

3. VISSER'S TYPOLOGY OF PREPOSITIONAL DITRANSITIVES

Let us start with the ACC+PP type. Visser (1963-73: § 701) remarks that in OE the combination where the ACC NP is complemented by a PP object is very well attested. Obviously, Visser does not comment on the Θ -role assignment within the type, hence in order to determine the relationship of Visser's ACC+PP type to types (i) and (iii) from Table 3, we need to examine the examples which he lists in §701 as representative of the type. Below we list some of Visser's quotes.

(4)⁴

- a. us þingð gefædlic þæt we ælcne cristenne man
 us seems proper that we each Christian man-ACC
warnion wið þas *deofollican* *coðe*
 should-warn against the devilish disease
 'It seems proper to us that we should warn each Christian man against the devilish disease.'
 Byrhtferth's Manual (EETS) 242, 25
- b. heo ... fram synnum **adwegene** wæron
 they from sins cleansed were
 'They were cleansed from their sins.'
 Ælfred, Bede 551, 22
- c. he wolde ... us **gefreolsian** *from* *deofles* *peowdome*
 he wanted us-ACC deliver from devil's slavery
 'He wanted to deliver us from devil's slavery.'
 Blickl. Hom. 65, 31

(5)

- a. þæt ... ge ... æt ænegum godum
 that you from only God
 mehten *ren* **abiddan**
 might rain-ACC ask
 'That you might ask the only God for the rain.'
 Ælfred, Oros. 194, 26

⁴ All examples in (4) and (5) come from Visser (1963-73: § 701), while the editing conventions are mine.

- b. Daudid ... **seofode** *þa yrmðe* to Drihtne
 David lamented the misery-ACC to Lord
 'David Lamented the misery to the Lord.'
 Paris Ps. (Bright) 3 (argum.)
- c. þæt hie ... æt him ne mehton ... *nane are* **findan**
 that they from him not might no mercy-ACC find
 'They they might obtain no mercy from him.'
 Æfred, Oros. 56, 2

All examples in (4) and (5) contain verbs accompanied with two arguments: an NP-ACC and a PP but, as indicated by the editing conventions assumed for this paper, the examples in (4) represent type (i), i.e. the Theme is expressed by the PP, while the clauses in (5) represent type (iii), i.e. the Theme is realised as an ACC NP. It is therefore clear that Visser's §701, i.e. subsumes two types, namely ACC-Goal+PP-Theme and ACC-Theme+PP-Goal. In other words Visser's type ACC+PP is to be understood as representing both type (i) and type (iii).

With regard to the second type of prepositional ditransitive verbs, i.e. DAT+PP, Visser (1963-73: § 700) remarks that, in contrast to the type discussed above, the number of verbs which favour this combination is comparatively small. Below we present all Visser's examples which are listed in his §700 devoted to the DAT + PP construction. The examples are accompanied with a translation of the verb + preposition combination whenever it is supplied in B&T or BTs, hence the lack of the definition indicates that the verb + preposition sequence is not listed in the dictionaries.

(6)

- a. *awindan of* 'to strip off'
 ac gif him mon þonne **awint** of þa clapas
 but if him-DAT one then strips off the clothes
 'But if any man should strip off the clothes from him.' Ælfred, Boeth. (Cardale) 288, 13
- b. *ærendian to* 'to go on an errand for a person to another, intercede'
 ... ðæt he **ærendige** oðrum monnum to Gode.
 that he should-intercede other men-DAT to God
 'That he should intercede with God on behalf of other men.' Ælfred, C. P. 62, 8
- c. *beorgan wiþ* 'protect against evil'
 (i) þonne **beorge** we us sylfum wið ece wite.
 then protect we ourselves-DAT against eternal punishment
 'Then we protect ourselves against eternal punishment.'
 Wulfstan, Hom. (Napier) 115, 15

- (ii) þæt he wið ðas þingc **beorge** hym georne.
 that he against these things should-protect him-DAT eagerly
 ‘That he should protect himself eagerly against these things.’
 Wulfstan, Polity (Jost) p. 150 §115
- (iii) we lærað þæt preostes wið aðas **beorgan** him.
 we learn that priests against oaths protect themselves-DAT
 ‘We learn that priests protect themselves against oaths.’ Wulfstan, Polity (Jost)
 p. 201 §59
- d. *derian* æt⁵
 [Ac ða reccearas ðe hira agnes gilpes giernað,]
 but the rulers who their own glory desire
 ðæm hie geðafigað ðyllic ðe hie ondrædað
 whom they grant such which they fear
 ðæt him **derian** mæge æt ðæm gielpa,
 that them-DAT harm may as-regards that glory
 [& him oftion mæge ðisses eordlican weordscipes.]
 and them deprive may this wordly honour
 ‘But the rulers who desire their own glory grant such (indulgences) to those who
 they fear may stand in the way of their glory and diminish their worldly honour.’
 Ælfred, C. P. 142, 23
- e. *gefultum(i)an to* ‘to help a person to get something’
 bædon hine þæt he him to heora Cristendome
 asked him that he them-DAT to their Christianity
 ... **gefultumede**
 helped
 ‘(They) asked him to help them to Christianity.’ Ælfred, Boeth. (Cardale) 4. 10
- f. *gefylstan to*
 ac him **gefylste** God eft to maran are
 but him-DAT helped God afterwards to greater property
 ‘But afterwards God helped him to greater property.’
 Ælfred, Oros. 288, 8
- g. *geopenian ymbe* ‘to give explanations about a subject’
 Ymbe þises bissextus upasprungnyse ... we wyllað rumlicor
 about the bissexst’s origin we want more-abundantly
 iungum cnihtum **geopenian**.
 young boys-DAT explain
 ‘We want to explain to young boys more abundantly about the origin of bissexst.’
 Byrhtferth’s Manual (EETS) 64, 26

⁵ We quote the example after the Toronto Corpus as Visser’s quote contains some spelling inaccuracies. Moreover, it seems that in order to understand the meaning of the passage, it needs to be quoted in full. To indicate Visser’s exact quote, we put square brackets around the portions of the text which are not present in Visser’s § 700.

h. *oleccan æfter*

- (i) Swa me þæt riht ne þinceð, þæt ic **oleccan**
 so me that right not seems that I please
 awiht þurfe gode æfter gode anegum.
 at-all need God-DAT for good any

‘So it does not seem right to me that I at all need to behave obsequiously with respect to God for any good.’ Genesis 289

- (ii) hy unmannum **olæcað** georne æfter hereworde
 they bad-men-DAT flatter eagerly for praise

‘They eagerly flatter bad men for the sake of praise.’

Wulfstan, Polity (Jost) p. 264 §5

i. *scyldan wiþ* ‘to shield from, guard against’

- (i) Bisceop sceal **scyldan** cristenum mannum
 bishop ought-to guard Christian men-DAT
 wið ælc ðara þinga ðe synlic biþ.
 against each of-the things which sinful are

‘A bishop ought to protect Christian men against all sinful things.’ Ancient Laws (Thorpe) ii, 312, 24

- (ii) þonne motan þa hyrdas beon swiðe waccle ...,
 then must the guards be very watchful
 þe wið þone þeodscadan folce [sculon]⁶ **scyldan**
 who against the criminal people-DAT should guard

‘Then the guards who should protect people from the criminal must be very watchful.’ Wulfstan, Polity (Jost) p. 70 §49

j. *sparian from*

- from ðæm fremdum **speara** ðiowe ðinum
 from the foreign-ones protect servant your-DAT

‘Protect your servant from strangers.’ Vesp. Ps. 18, 14

k. *þingian to* ‘to intercede for a person to/with another’

- þæt him mon **þyngode** to ðam ricum
 that him-DAT one interceded to the rich-ones

‘That one interceded with the rich on his behalf.’ Ælfred, Boeth. (Cardale) 320, 19

As shown above, not all verbs listed by Visser as representing DAT + PP ditransitives are recognised as such by the available OE dictionaries. Let us begin with the ones for which the available dictionaries list the relevant V+P combinations. The DAT NP in (6a) expresses a person deprived of something as a result of the action expressed by the main verb and the PP gives the

⁶ Visser’s citation is slightly inaccurate as it omits *sculon* from the second part of the clause without indicating the omission. Moreover, it contains a spelling mistake in the word *waccle* which should read *wacole*. The full passage from the corpus reads as follows: *Þonne motan þa hyrdas beon swiðe wacole and geornlice clipigende, þe wið þone þeodscadan folce sculon scyldan.*

details of what the person is deprived of. Hence, the two arguments represent a typical Goal vs. Theme opposition, using the terminology adopted for this paper. In (6b), (6c), (6e), (6g), (6i) and (6k) the DAT NPs benefit from the action expressed by the verbs, with the PPs explaining the details of the benefit, i.e. the NPs again represent Goals and the PPs function as Themes. In the case of (6d) the matter is slightly more complicated since the available dictionaries neither define the combination *derian æt* nor list any examples of this type. As a matter of fact, neither B&T nor BTs lists any ditransitive uses of *derian*, which raises the question whether we are dealing with a ditransitive verb in (6d) at all. It seems that *derian* is best interpreted as a single-object verb, with the DAT NP expressing a person or thing (negatively) affected by the action, i.e. a Theme, with the PP functioning as an adjunct. This interpretation is supported by corpus examinations, which reveal *derian* either in absolute constructions or accompanied with a single object, with only one instance of *derian* additionally accompanied with *æt*-PP, namely the one quoted here after Visser in (6d). Thus we dismiss (6d) as an example of a DAT + PP type. Interestingly, Mitchell (1985: §1092) also treats (*ge*)*derian* exclusively as a single-object verb and supplies the following translation: ‘hurt, damage s.o. or s.t. (dat.)’. In a similar fashion, Ogura (1995) classifies *derian* only among verbs appearing with a single object in the DAT Case. Additional support for this interpretation comes from the fact that while a DAT NP can express a Theme in single-object structures, it is not a possibility in double-object constructions, where the DAT NP generally represents a Goal.⁷ Moving on to (6f), neither B&T nor BTs lists the combination *gefylstan to*, though BTs quotes this particular example. Mitchell (1985: § 1092) lists *gefylstan* only as a single-object verb ‘help s.o. (dat.)’. Belden (1897: 54) quotes the example given here as (6f) as an illustration of the use of the preposition *to* ‘expressing direction towards something with

⁷ Two comments are in order here. First of all, in constructions with Experiencer verbs accompanied with two non-NOM NPs, i.e. Experiencer verbs of Type N, the DAT NP expresses the Θ -role of Experiencer. However, Experiencer verbs are not classified by Visser among ditransitives since Experiencer verbs constitute a problem for clear classifications and are discussed separately in a section devoted to constructions without a subject (cf. Visser’s §§ 30-33). Secondly, it has to be admitted that in OE there is a type, which Visser calls ‘direct object + ablative object’, where the DAT NP does not express a Goal but, after Visser (1963-73: §680), it represents ‘an object for which it is hard to find a name denoting its function’, where the ACC of ‘the person denoted by the direct object is represented as being separated from something that may be looked upon as being “possessed” by him (head, life, power, etc.)’. Clearly, the DAT in this type, unlike in all the remaining types, does not express a Goal but a noun of ‘inherent possession.’

a great many verbs that are not strictly verbs of motion, i.e. that do not denote passage from one place to another, but rather tendency, inclination, effort, “moral direction”.’ (BELDEN 1897: 53) Verbs of ‘urging, striving, helping’ are listed among the most important contexts. Deskis (1998) translates *þe me gefylste to þam siðfate* as ‘who might help me on that journey’, which implies an adjunct status of the *to*-phrase. Similarly, *crīst him gefylste to his feonda slege* is translated in Skeat (1881-1900: 126) as ‘Christ him helped to the slaughter of his enemies’. Still in the same vein, the passage: *gefylstan to þæt man hit gebete swa se bīshop getæce* is translated by Johnson (1850: 413) as ‘let them so assist him, that the man may do satisfaction, as the bishop directs’ and in Whitelock (1964: 316) as ‘to give their help that it may be amended as the bishop directs’, i.e. both translations show the *to*-phrase in the adjunct function. All this questions the complement status of the *to*-phrase accompanying *gefylstan*.

Corpus examinations yield *gefylstan* either in absolute constructions or complemented with a DAT⁸ NP optionally accompanied with a *to*-phrase or a clause. The clausal constituent, however, seems to function as an adjunct of purpose with *gefylstan*. Whatever the exact status of the prepositional constituent, the DAT NP functions as the Goal here, which means that if the PP accompanying *gefylstan* functions as a complement, it plays the role of Theme. In other words, if *gefylstan to* represents a ditransitive verb, it is a ditransitive of the DAT-Goal+PP-Theme type. The next example to be examined is (6h). Again, *oleccan æfter* is not listed as a V + P combination in the available dictionaries but example (6hi) is quoted in B&T as representing the following meaning: ‘to be obsequious, pay court to, fawn upon, flatter, to try to gain a person's good will by unworthy means’. The example is translated in another part of the dictionary (within the entry of the word *awiht*) as: ‘To me it seems not right, that I at all need cringe to God for any good.’ It seems, then, that in a fashion similar to (6d), *oleccan æfter* does not represent a ditransitive verb but a monotransitive one accompanied with an adjunct PP. This interpretation is confirmed by what Mitchell (1985) and Ogura (1995) have to say about this verb: both authors classify *oleccan* exclusively as a single-object verb. The last verb in the set for which the dictionaries do not list the V + P combination and should therefore be looked at more closely is *sparian from*. Again, Mitchell (1985: §1092) and Ogura

⁸ There are occasional ACC NPs accompanying *gefylstan*, which we are not going to focus on as irrelevant for our discussion here.

(1995) acknowledge only the single object use of *sparian*. Corpus examinations yield 7 examples of *sparian* accompanied with a DAT and a *from*-PP. The 7 examples, however, represent only 3 clauses: 3 examples come from different versions of the same text, namely psalm 18.4 of PsGIB, PsGIC and PsGIJ, with another 2 examples representing verse 77.5 of PsGIB and PsGIC. The remaining 2 instances represent two identical clauses coming from one text, namely DurRitGl 2. All instances, then, represent glosses of the Latin text, which makes their syntactic status rather dubious. If we look at the thematic relations within all the *sparian* clauses of the relevant type, it transpires that the DAT NP always expresses an entity that benefits from the action, with the PP giving the details of what the DAT NP is spared from, i.e. once again we are dealing with a DAT-Goal vs. a PP-Theme.

Since we resorted to Mitchell and Ogura for support in dismissing some of the examples classified by Visser as ditransitive, it seems necessary to see if Mitchell's and Ogura's data would support the ditransitive analysis of the remaining examples, i.e. *awindan*, *arendian*, *beorgan*, *gefultum(i)an*, *geopenian*, *scyldan*, *þingian*. However, Mitchell does not list *awindan* and *geopenian* at all. As far as the remaining 5 verbs are concerned, Mitchell's §1092 supports the DAT+PP analysis of *arendian*, *beorgan* and *þingian*, with *gefultum(i)an* and *scyldan* classified exclusively as single object verbs. As for Ogura's classifications, *awindan*, *gefultum(i)an* and *gefylstan* are not listed there at all. *Ærendian* is classified into two frames, namely as a single object verb with the DAT NP or a ditransitive verb of the DAT+GEN type; *beorgan* is classified into two frames: as a single DAT object verb or as a verb accompanied with a dependent clause. However, the latter classification does not specify whether the clause is a sole object or one of the two objects, hence it does not contribute to establishing whether *beorgan* can appear in ditransitive constructions in OE. Importantly, Ogura does not classify *beorgan* among verbs with a prepositional object; *geopenian* is listed by Ogura only among 'verbs with dative and accusative', *scyldan* is invariably a single-object verb, though the object may be either in DAT or GEN, and, finally, *þingian* is classified as a single DAT object verb. One thing that certainly transpires from the above discussion is that there is a lot of confusion as far as the classification of individual verbs is concerned. For the sake of clarity we summarise the results of our findings in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Visser's DAT + PP verbs in other sources

	B&T or BTs	Mitchell	Ogura	DAT + PP
<i>awindan</i>	+	not listed at all	not listed at all	+
<i>ærendian</i>	+	+	DAT (+GEN)	+
<i>beorgan</i>	+	+	DAT ⁹	+
<i>derian</i>	–	DAT ¹⁰	DAT	–
<i>gefultum(i)an</i>	+	DAT ¹¹	not listed at all	+
<i>gefylstan</i>	–	DAT	not listed at all	?
<i>geopenian</i>	+	not listed at all	DAT + ACC	+
<i>oleccan</i>	–	DAT/ACC?	DAT	–
<i>scyldan</i>	+	ACC/DAT	DAT/GEN	+
<i>sparian</i>		ACC/DAT	DAT	?
<i>þingian</i>	+	+	DAT	+

Let us explain that ‘+’ or ‘–’ in the B&T or BTs column indicates whether the V+P combination is recognised as a unit there. In the column presenting Mitchell’s classification ‘+’ means that the author recognises the DAT+PP frame but it is not necessarily the only frame assigned to this verb. The column devoted to Ogura’s classification is self explanatory, and, finally, ‘+’, ‘–’ or ‘?’ in the last column show our judgements with respect to the appearance of a verb in the DAT + PP frame, following both from the analysis of the examples and from the information available for each verb in the sources just mentioned. In sum, our analysis of the examples in (6) indicates that, ignoring the misclassified single-object verbs, DAT + PP in Visser’s classification is to be understood as a homogenous type: DAT-Goal + PP-Theme, i.e. a type equivalent to type (ii) from Table 3 above.

Having established that Visser’s types ACC+ PP and DAT + PP represent types (i) – (iii), it remains to discuss type (iv). The data given in (3d) clearly corroborate the prediction that the PP + GEN type is an available NP + PP combination in OE and hence should be recognised in the classification of prepositional ditransitives, while Visser’s system does not acknowledge the

⁹ We ignore the clausal object here for reasons which we made clear before.

¹⁰ In late OE texts the single object can bear the ACC Case.

¹¹ As reported by Mitchell (1985: §851), the verb must have appeared with an ACC object as well, as indicated by the presence of personal passive examples.

existence of the type. This gap in Visser's typology is not only proved by the data to be factually wrong but also, more importantly perhaps, the absence of the type in Visser's typology deprives the classification of a governing principle: the available Goal and Theme types combine into a system where the attested combinations represent all theoretically possible configurations.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we showed that pace Visser (1963-73), OE prepositional ditransitive verbs fall into three basic types, corresponding to the three verbal Cases, i.e. ACC+PP, DAT + PP and GEN+PP. Additionally, the ACC+PP type falls into two subtypes differentiated by the Θ -role assignment to the two arguments so that the PP can either represent the Goal or the Theme argument. In effect, there are four types of prepositional ditransitives of the NP+PP type in OE. The types are, as we showed, derivable on theoretical grounds from the available Goal and Theme types, a fact which reveals that OE ditransitives do not constitute a haphazard set of attested combinations but they form a system governed by an underlying principle, namely the availability of an object type for a particular Θ -role is not tied up to a combination in which it appears but it is to be understood as a general availability of the object type in any ditransitive combination. Importantly, this is to be understood as a property of the system of ditransitives rather than of a complementation pattern of a particular verb. While this article has only dealt with prepositional ditransitives, it is shown Charzyńska-Wójcik (in prep. b) that the same principle holds with respect to other ditransitive combinations, i.e. NP+NP, NP+clause, PP+clause.

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STAROANGIELSKIE CZASOWNIKI DITRANZYTYWNE TYPU NP + PP
– REWIZJA TYPOLOGII VISSERA

Summary

Artykuł poświęcony jest czasownikom ditranzytywnym typu NP + PP występującym w języku staroangielskim. Jego główne cele to wykazanie niedostatków zaproponowanej przez Vissera (1963-1973) typologii tych czasowników oraz pokazanie, że wbrew temu, co z typologii Vissera wynika, czasowniki te tworzyły w okresie staroangielskim przejrzysty system z punktu widzenia dopuszczalnych podtypów komplementacyjnych. Visser dzieli czasowniki typu NP + PP na dwa rodzaje, i.e. NP-DAT + PP oraz NP-ACC + PP, podczas gdy staroangielskie dane wskazują na istnienie trzech głównych podtypów, odpowiadających trzem przypadkom, jakimi rządził staroangielski czasownik, i.e. NP-DAT + PP, NP-ACC + PP oraz NP-GEN + PP. Dodatkowo analiza staroangielskich przykładów z punktu widzenia ról semantycznych wykazuje, że przykłady typu NP-ACC + PP nie stanowią jednolitej grupy i podtyp ten należy rozbić na dwa kolejne rodzaje, co daje w sumie cztery główne podtypy czasowników ditranzytywnych typu NP + PP. Analiza omówionych tu struktur pokazuje, że komplementacja czasowników staroangielskich podporządkowana jest zasadzie, która głosi, że dostępność danego typu dopełnienia dla danej roli semantycznej nie jest związana z konkretnym podtypem komplementacyjnym i stanowi cechę systemu czasowników ditranzytywnych w sensie ogólnym.

Summarised by Magdalena Charzyńska Wójcik

Key words: Old English, verbal Cases, prepositional ditransitive verbs, complementation.

Słowa kluczowe: staroangielski, przypadek, czasowniki ditranzytywne, fraza przyimkowa, komplementacja.