Linking syntax and semantics in Old English verbs of "warning"[1]

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ABSTRACT

Lexical templates have been designed as lexical representations which include semantic and syntactic information within the same format thus reflecting regularities across lexical subdomains. This paper proposes a *lexical template* for the Old English lexical subdomain of the verbs of 'warning' and provides the linking between the syntactic and semantic representations of the verbs that integrate it. Given the restrictions imposed by a semantic analysis of a historical language, the internal structure of this subdomain will be analysed according to the *Lexical Iconicity Principle-Beta Reading*.

Key words: *lexical template,* lexical representation, linking between the syntactic and semantic representations, *Lexical Iconicity Principle-Beta Reading.*

RESUMEN

SOBRE LA INTERFICIE SEMÁNTICA-SINTAXIS DE LOS VERBOS DE HABLA EN INGLÉS ANTIGUO QUE DESIGNAN ADVERTENCIA

Las *plantillas léxicas* han sido diseñadas como representaciones léxicas que incluyen información semántica y sintáctica dentro de un mismo formato, permitiendo así recoger aquellas regularidades lingüísticas que se dan dentro de un subdominio. Este trabajo propone una *plantilla léxica* capaz de reflejar el vínculo existente entre la representación sintáctica y semántica de los verbos de habla que designan advertencia en inglés antiguo. Además, dadas las restricciones que impone el análisis semántico de una lengua histórica, la estructura interna de este subdominio será analizada aplicando el *Principio de Iconicidad Léxica (Versión Beta).*

Palabras clave: *plantilla léxica,* representación léxica, vínculo existente entre la representación sintáctica y semántica, *Principio de Iconicidad Léxica (Versión Beta).*

1.   INTRODUCTION: THE FUNCTIONAL-LEXEMATIC MODEL

The aim of this paper is to provide the Old English lexical subdomain of the verbs of 'warning' with a *lexical template* which will capture the linguistic regularities that hold among the lexical entries that form the subdomain. The concept of *lexical template* will be integrated within the functional-lexematic approach.

The Functional-Lexematic Model (FLM), developed by Martín Mingorance (1998) and inspired by the principle of *Stepwise Lexical Decomposition* (Dik 1978), is devised for the purpose of supplying the Functional Grammar (FG) lexicon with the onomasiological classification of lexemes within domains and subdomains, as a way of reflecting the organisation of our mental lexicon and demonstrating the close relationship between syntax and semantics (Martín Mingorance 1998, Faber and Mairal Usón 1994, 1997a, 1997b, 1999).

According to the paradigmatic axis of the FLM based on the principles of Lexematics (Coseriu 1978, 1981), the criteria to integrate a given lexeme in a (sub-) domain are based on its lexical decomposition, in such a way that the definition of the lexeme must contain a nuclear word or *genus*, shared by the group of lexemes that integrate that (sub-)domain, and a set of differentiating features or *differentiae specificae*, which establish functional oppositions between the lexemes of the (sub-) domain. Faber and Mairal Usón (1999: 87) propose the *Principle of Lexical Domain Membership*, which says, «lexical domain membership is determined by the genus, which constitutes the nucleus of the meaning of a lexeme».

The hierarchical organisation of the lexicon within (sub-)domains allows us to capture linguistic regularities as follows: in the first place, the repetition of similar complementation patterns for lexical units within the same subdomain, due to the fact that the syntactic behaviour of predicates seems to be motivated by the subdomain in which they are integrated. In the second place, the general tendency of the most prototypical lexemes in a subdomain to present a greater number of complementation patterns, whereas with the most specific lexemes the number of syntactic patterns decreases. Thus, Faber and Mairal Usón (1997a: 138) suggest the *Lexical Iconicity Principle*: «The greater the semantic coverage of a lexeme is, the greater its syntactic variations. The more prototypical a term is, the more prototypical effects it will show».

2. THE CONCEPT OF *LEXICAL TEMPLATE* WITHIN THE FUNCTIONAL-LEXEMATIC MODEL

The syntagmatic axis of the FLM was initially based on the FG notion of *predicate frame*, together with the contributions made to the analysis of verbal complementation by Mairal Usón (1993) and Faber and Mairal Usón (1999). Nevertheless, Cortés Rodríguez and Mairal Usón (forthcoming), Cortés Rodríguez and Pérez Quintero (2001), Faber and Mairal Usón (2000), and Mairal Usón and Van Valin (2001) have brought to light the inadequacy of *predicate frames* to reflect the interaction between the semantic and syntactic behaviour of predicates.

In FG, each lexical entry is represented in the lexicon in the form of a *predicate frame*, which contains information about its lexical form, syntactic category, number of arguments required, selection restrictions on arguments and semantic functions fulfilled by the arguments. This information provides the combinatory possibilities of each predicate. Besides, each lexical entry is associated with a *meaning definition* following the postulates of *Stepwise Lexical Decomposition*. Nevertheless, a crucial weakness of this representational system is that there is no explanation of how the syntactic behaviour and the semantic representation of predicates interact.

Accordingly, the authors mentioned above suggest the enrichment of FG *predicate frames* by applying Role and Reference Grammar's (RRG) logical structures along with the notion of semantic macroroles instead of the FG inventory of semantic functions, the result being a procedure of lexical representation where meaning description is encapsulated and interacts with the syntactic behaviour of lexical units[2]. These contributions will become the basis of *lexical templates*.

Lexical templates are designed as a way of including semantic and syntactic information within the same format, reflecting generalisations across lexical classes and reducing the information to be included in lexical entries. Moreover, given the fact that subdomains are considered repositories of linguistic regularities, they propose that each domain and subdomain will be characterised by a *lexical template* from which syntactic alternations will be predicted.

In order to construct a *lexical template*, the logical structures developed by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) within the theoretical frame of RRG will be complemented by the semantic component of the FLM, since logical structures lack the semantic information characteristic of the different lexical (sub-)domains. Accordingly, Faber and Mairal Usón (2000: 7) describe a *lexical template* in the following way: «Lexical templates conflate both syntactic information (those aspects of the meaning of a word which are grammatically relevant) and semantic information (those aspects which act

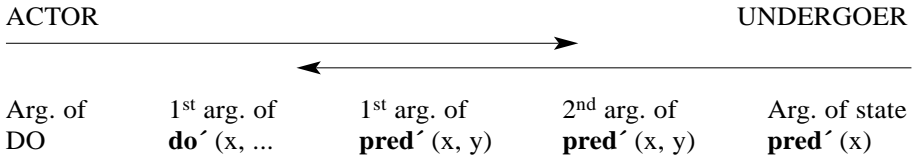as distinctive parameters within a whole lexical class) into one unified representation».

Within RRG, four classes of verbal predicates are distinguished: *states* [+static] [-telic] [-punctual], *activities* [-static] [-telic] [-punctual], *achievements* [-static] [+telic] [+punctual], and *accomplishments* (and *active accomplishments*) [-static] [+telic] [-punctual], together with their causative counterparts. This classification of verbal predicates attending to their *Aktionsart* will permit us to capture syntactic phenomena, such as the combinatory possibilities of predicates, and morphological phenomena, such as transitivity and case assignment, characteristic of the different verbal classes.

These are the lexical representations corresponding to the verbal classes mentioned above (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 109):

Table 1
LEXICAL REPRESENTATIONS FOR *AKTIONSART* CLASSES

Verb class	Logical structure
State	**predicate´** (x) or (x,y)
Activity	**do´** (x, [**predicate´** (x) or (x,y)])
Achievement	INGR **predicate´** (x) or (x,y), *or* INGR **do´** (x, [**predicate´** (x) or (x,y)])
Accomplishment	BECOME **predicate´** (x) or (x,y), *or* BECOME **do´** (x, [**predicate´** (x) or (x,y)])
Active accomplishment	**do´** (x, [**predicate$_1$´** (x, (y))]) & BECOME **predicate$_2$´** (z,x) or (y)
Causative	α CAUSES β where α, β are LS of any type

In order to attain the argument structure of a verb, it is necessary to determine firstly its *Aktionsart*, from which its logical structure will be created and along with it its argument structure. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 139) propose two general semantic relations, the *Actor* and *Undergoer macroroles*, which are "generalizations across the argument-types found with particular verbs which have significant grammatical consequences". Thus, as Figure 1 shows, the *Actor* macrorole comprises those arguments whose nature is closer to that of an Agent and the *Undergoer* subsumes those arguments closer to a Patient:

ACTOR				UNDERGOER

$$\text{ACTOR} \xrightarrow{\hspace{4cm}} \qquad \xleftarrow{\hspace{4cm}} \text{UNDERGOER}$$

Arg. of DO	1st arg. of **do´** (x, ...	1st arg. of **pred´** (x, y)	2nd arg. of **pred´** (x, y)	Arg. of state **pred´** (x)

['→' = increasing markedness of realization of argument as macrorole]

Figure 1. *The Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy.*

With respect to the criteria that determine the interaction between arguments and macroroles, these authors propose the following *Default Macrorole Assignment Principles* (1997: 152-153):

- a. Number: the number of macroroles a verb takes is less than or equal to the number of arguments in its logical structure,
     1. If a verb has two or more arguments in its LS, it will take two macroroles.
     2. If a verb has one argument in its LS, it will take one macrorole.
- b. Nature: for verbs which take one macrorole,
     1. If the verb has an activity predicate in its LS, the macrorole is actor.
     2. If the verb has no activity predicate in its LS, the macrorole is undergoer.

In RRG, transitivity becomes a semantic notion since the number of semantic macroroles a predicate takes determines it: those verbs that take one macrorole are intransitive verbs, whereas those with two macroroles are transitive. Verbs which don't take any macrorole are considered atransitive. Moreover, *Case assignment rules* are also related to the assignment of macroroles (1997: 359):

Case assignment rules (for accusative languages)

- a. Assign nominative case to the highest-ranking macrorole argument (in terms of the *Privileged syntactic argument selection hierarchy*).
- b. Assign accusative case to the other macrorole argument.
- c. Assign dative case to non-macrorole arguments (default).

Due to the fact that the grammatical relations between the arguments of a verb are not the same in all languages, RRG introduces the notion of *Privileged Syntactic Argument* (*PSA*), which will substitute that of subject. In order to select the *PSA* in a grammatical construction, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 282) suggest the following hierarchy, based on the *Actor - Undergoer Hierarchy*:

Privileged Syntactic Argument Selection Hierarchy

arg. of DO > 1st arg. of **do´**(x,... > 1st arg. of **pred´**(x, y) > 2nd arg. of **pred´**(x, y) > arg. of **pred´**(x)

According to this hierarchy, the criteria to select the *PSA* depending on the type of construction are the following (1997: 282):

Privileged Syntactic Argument Selection Principles

a. Syntactically accusative constructions: highest-ranking macrorole is default choice.
b. Syntactically ergative constructions: lowest-ranking macrorole is default choice.

Therefore, taking into account the *Default Macrorole Assignment Principles*, the *Actor–Undergoer Hierarchy* and the interaction existing between macroroles and grammatical relations, the information to be included in lexical representations will be reduced. Firstly, syntactic information is derived from the semantic notion of transitivity being based on the *Default Macrorole Assignment Principles*. Secondly, it is not necessary to specify the macroroles assigned to the arguments of the verbs since the *Actor–Undergoer Hierarchy* provides this information. Thirdly, grammatical relations are inferred from the *Default Macrorole Assignment Principles* and from the *Privileged Syntactic Argument Selection Principles* of the different languages.

The last point to be dealt with concerning the syntagmatic axis of the FLM is my proposal of incorporating as a complementation to the analysis of *clausal subordination* or *core coordination* in RRG[3] the typology of modality operators (*certain, probable, possible, indeterminate*) signalling the speaker's personal commitment to the truth of the proposition, developed by Faber and Mairal Usón (1999: 132-133). In that sense, when the content of the expression of a speech verb being represented by the external variable *z* is realised by a That-clause or an Infinitive-clause, this scale of operators will be applied (see the Appendix).

3.   HYPOTHESIS

The lexical domain of speech in Old English has been constructed converting the information from the *Thesaurus of Old English* (Roberts and Kay 1995) about Old English speech verbs into the structure of the speech domain in Present-day English (Faber and Mairal Usón 1999: 288-290). This proposal follows the assumption that "semantic domains are kept constant diachronically for the most part" (Cortés Rodríguez and Mairal Usón, forthcoming).

In order to provide the lexicon of a historical language with an organisation in lexical hierarchies, semantics alone is not sufficient since there is no access to specific meaning definitions. As Cortés Rodríguez and Mairal Usón (forthcoming) state:

> By combining the information from different lexicographical sources we will be able to group lexical units in terms of their *genus*; it is the level of *differentiae specificae* that seems impossible to determine: a definite ascertainment of sense-relations among lexemes is implausible unless further sources of information are used.

In that sense, syntactic information may contribute to reconstruct these lexical hierarchies in Old English. My hypothesis is based on the *Lexical Iconicity Principle - Beta Reading* developed by Cortés Rodríguez and Mairal Usón (forthcoming). This principle, which stems from the *Lexical Iconicity Principle* proposed by Faber and Mairal Usón (1997a: 138)[4], states that "the greater the syntactic coverage of a lexical unit, the higher its position in the semantic hierarchy within a given subdomain".

The next step will be the location of the lexemes that integrate the subdomain of the verbs of 'warning' in *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus*[5] in order to obtain and analyse the contexts in which these lexemes appear. There are some verbs or alternations of a verb, which could not be found in this corpus. In that case we have taken those examples appearing in Bosworth and Toller (1973) and Toller and Campbell (1972)[6].

4.   A *LEXICAL TEMPLATE* FOR THE OLD ENGLISH LEXICAL SUBDOMAIN OF THE VERBS OF 'WARNING'

The Old English lexical subdomain of speech corresponding to the verbs of 'warning' is formed by the following lexemes: *behātan* 'threaten', *bēotian* 'threaten', *gehātan* 'threaten', *gemanian* 'warn', *gemynegian* 'warn', *gewærlǣcan* 'warn', *gewarian* 'warn', *gewarnian* 'warn', *hwōpan* 'threaten',

manian 'warn'*, mynegian* 'warn'*, þēowan* 'threaten'*, þēowracian* 'threaten'*, warian* 'warn', and *warnian* 'warn'. The *lexical template* representing this subdomain is presented below:

do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in.language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, z)], where y = β, z = α

This *lexical template* contains the logical structure of a *causative accomplishment*, where a speaker says something to a hearer causing him to become aware of something bad that may happen. It shows three internal variables *α, β, γ* (marked by Greek letters) making reference to the content of the expression, to the addressee and to the language used, respectively, and three external variables *x, z, y*, where *x* will make reference to the speaker, *z* to *α* or the content of the expression, and *y* to *β* or the hearer.

Internal variables differ from external variables because the latter correspond to external argument positions with a syntactic representation, whereas the former belong to the semantic representation of speech verbs, that is, they function as ontological constants of this verbal class and their introduction will allow us to add a semantic decomposition to the logical structure giving place to the *lexical template* for this speech lexical sub-domain.

When dealing with internal and external variables, Faber and Mairal Usón (2000: 10) indicate that the *Completeness Constraint* (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 325) reproduced below will apply only to external arguments:

> All of the arguments explicitly specified in the semantic representation of a sentence must be realized syntactically in the sentence, and all of the referring expressions in the syntactic representation of a sentence must be linked to an argument position in a logical structure in the semantic representation of the sentence.

Within this subdomain of speech the alternation *activity-causative accomplishment* can take place, depending on the context in which these verbs appear. The semantic feature differentiating their *Aktionsart* is the telicity of the latter, which will activate a causative transitive structure, in opposition to the intransitive use of *activity* verbs. Therefore, syntactic alternations will correlate with different realisations of internal variables as external ones. The logical structure corresponding to speech *activity* verbs is the one presented below:

do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to.**(β).**in.language**.(γ)´ (x, y)])

In relation to that, Faber and Mairal Usón (2000: 28) suggest that the process that governs the mapping between a *lexical template* and the different syntactic structures within a lexical class is the *Lexical Template Modeling Process*, which says that «lexical templates can be modeled by suppressing external variables, instantiating internal variables, eliminating operators (e.g. CAUSE), or else, by introducing elements resulting from the fusion with other templates».

According to that, "all of the alternations involve reductions from the maximal LS underlying the class" (Faber and Mairal Usón 2000: 28). In this case, the *maximal lexical template* underlying this subdomain is the one corresponding to the *causative accomplishment* and from this one, following a reduction process, the alternation *activity* will be derived.

5.   LINKING SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS IN OLD ENGLISH VERBS OF 'WARNING'

As already stated, the *maximal lexical template* of this subdomain corresponds to a *causative accomplishment*, which activates a causative transitive structure. Applying the *Default Macrorole Assignment Principles* and the *Case assignment rules*, the variable x takes the macrorole *Actor* (it is also the *PSA*) and is assigned Nominative case, the variable z takes the macrorole *Undergoer* and is assigned Accusative case[7], and the variable y, which corresponds to a non-macrorole direct core argument, is assigned Dative case:

(1)   *Ðēah ∂ᵉe gē **me deaþ** gehāten* (Guth A,B A3.2)
      'Though you have threatened death to me'

The syntactic alternations derived from the *maximal lexical template* are presented next. Firstly, if the variable z is not syntactically realised, the variable y takes the macrorole *Undergoer* being assigned Accusative case:

(2)   *Crīst gewarnode **his apostolas** þysum wordum* (Æ Hom M11 (Ass 4) B1.5.11)
      'Christ warned his apostles with these words'

Secondly, there are some alternations in relation to the assignment of the macrorole *Undergoer,* having to do with the interaction of focus structure with the linking of syntax and semantics. In that sense, we postulate that focus structure, and particularly focus domain, must be taken into account when dealing with the assignment of macroroles in RRG.

By way of illustration, within this subdomain I have found the following examples:

(3) *he gemanode **þa rican & þa spedigan** þæt hi ∂´æra cristenra wædlunge mid heora spedum gefrefrodon* (ÆC Hom I, 37 B1.1.39)
'He warned rich and prosperous men that they succour the poverty of Christians with their wealth'

(4) *He **him** behet... þæt hi on þam micclum dome ofer twelf domsetlum sittende beo∂´ to demenne eallum mannum þe æfre lif underfengon* (ÆC Hom I, 36 B1.1.38)
'He threatened them that in the great judgement they would be situated over twelve tribunals in order to judge all men who ever obtained life'

In the first example the variable *y* takes the macrorole *Undergoer* being thus assigned Accusative case, whereas in the second one the same variable is assigned Dative case since it corresponds to a non-macrorole direct core argument. However, these different syntactic structures share the same logical structure[8]. Therefore, we have had to resort to pragmatic features in order to account for them and hypothesise that the *actual focus domain*, that is, «the actual part of the sentence in focus in the construction» (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 212), occurs in Old English in post-verbal positions.

This way, the location in Old English of the *actual focus domain* coincides with that of the *Undergoer*, the assignment of this macrorole becoming a sign of the focal element in the sentence. As Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 211) indicate, "evidential markers signal focus; that is, the normal placement of an evidential marker in a clause is on the focal element".

Moreover, these authors state that, in addition to the use of intonation in some languages to mark the focal elements[9], syntactic and morphological means can also help (1997:210-211). In the case of Old English, Accusative case is used to indicate the macrorole *Undergoer* and therefore the focal element, and Dative case is used to mark a non-macrorole direct core argument.

Accordingly, in the first example above the variable *y* taking the macrorole *Undergoer* will be the focal element of the sentence, whereas in the second example it is the variable *z* (making reference to the content of the expression) that must be considered the focus, since the variable *y* doesn't occur in a post-verbal position and has been assigned Dative case. Thus, syntactic structure seems to be influenced by focus structure.

Besides, in those examples where the variable *y* can be assigned both Accusative and Dative case, its non-post-verbal position will correlate with

the assignment of Dative case. Then the variable z will be the focus of the sentence:

(5) *Drihten **us** manode þæt we næron ealle' to carfulle ymbe urne fodan
o∂∂'e embe ure gewæda* (ÆC Hom II, 36.1 B1.2.38)
'God warned us that we should not be too careful about our food or clothing'

On the contrary, there are sentences where neither the position nor the case can tell us about the focal element. In these cases both variables y and z occur in a post-verbal position and the variable y can take Accusative or Dative case. Accordingly, there are two available options to function as focus. The first one would be to consider the variable y as *Undergoer* taking Accusative case, and the second to consider it a non-macrorole direct core argument, on account of which it cannot be the *Undergoer* or focal element:

(6) *We mynega∂´ **eow**... þæt ge don eowra sinna andetnysse and so∂'e
behreowsunge*
(Hom S9 B3.2.9)
'We warn you that you do confession of your sins and true repentance'

In relation to the *activity* alternation, we have to mention the fact that in RRG *activity* verbs are considered intransitive, since the second argument cannot be assigned the macrorole *Undergoer* due to its non-referential inherent nature (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 122-125; 147-154). According to the *Default Macrorole Assignment Principles* and the *Case assignment rules*, these verbs take only one macrorole, *Actor*, corresponding to the variable x (the *PSA*) and being assigned Nominative case, and if there is a non-macrorole direct core argument (y), this will be assigned Dative case:

(7) *Ongan þā þurh swefn sprecan tō ∂´am æþelinge and **him** yrre hweop*
(Gen A,B A1.1)
'Then God spoke in a dream to the prince and in anger threatened him'

Finally, there are some verbs in this subdomain (*warian, gewarian, warnian, gewarnian, warenian, gewarenian, wearnian*) which can take an argument realised by a prepositional construction, whose logical structure will be extracted from the lexicon and inserted into the original logical structure of the verb[10]. The following example illustrates this idea:

(8)   *Se Hǣlend hi warnode **wið́ þa toweardan gefeoht***
      (Æ Hom 9 B1.4.9)
      'God warned them against the future battle'

6.   ANALYSIS OF THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE
     OF THE SUBDOMAIN

In relation to the internal structure of this subdomain, and according to the *Lexical Iconicity Principle - Beta Reading*, the lexeme *warnian* (*wearnian*, *warenian*) seems to be the most prototypical lexeme of the subdomain since it presents a greater variety of complementation patterns than the other lexemes, whose number of syntactic patterns decreases due to their greater semantic specificity. Therefore, the most specific lexemes of this subdomain seem to be *gewærlǣcan, hwōpan*, *þēowracian* and *warian*. The other lexemes would be located at an intermediate level arranged in the following way from the most prototypical lexemes to the least ones taking into account their syntactic variability:

warnian

- *gewarnian*
  - *bēotian, myndgian*
    - *behātan, gemynegian, manian, þēowan*
      - *gehātan, gemanian, gewarian*
        - *gewærlǣcan, hwōpan*, *þēowracian, warian*

Moreover, as was mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the organisation of the lexicon in (sub-)domains permits one to capture linguistic regularities such as the fact that these lexemes localised within the same subdomain present a similar syntactic behaviour. As the Appendix shows, the alternation *activity-causative accomplishment* takes place in verbs such as *behātan, bēotian, gewarnian, myndgian, þēowan* and *warnian*, whereas *gehātan, gemanian, gemynegian, gewarian, gewærlǣcan, manian* and *warian* are described as *causative accomplishments,* and *hwōpan* and *þēowracian* as *activities.* Comparing the results of my analysis with Visser (1963-1973)'s syntactic description of these verbs, one can conclude that, although Visser includes some of the alternations that can be found in the Appendix, this paper provides complementary syntactic information.

On the other hand, the lexemes *egsian, egesian*, and *geegesian* are localised in an overlapping zone between the Old English lexical domain of feeling (*to frighten*) and the lexical domain of speech, concretely within this

subdomain (*to frighten with words*), being thus located within the Semantic Network that Faber and Mairal Usón (1999) introduce[11]. As their chart in the Appendix shows, the complementation patterns that characterise them corresponding to *active accomplishments* coincide with those of the lexemes that integrate this subdomain, due to the interaction existing between syntax and semantics.

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Within the FLM framework for lexical analysis the notion of *lexical template* has been integrated as a way of representing the interaction between syntax and semantics. FLM *templates* enrich the logical structures as developed by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) with a semantic decomposition which permits one to capture generalisations within verbal classes, reducing the information to be included in the lexical entries.

Therefore, each domain and subdomain is characterised by a *lexical template*, from which the syntactic behaviour and alternations of the lexemes that integrate them will be derived. In the case of the lexical subdomain of the verbs of 'warning' its corresponding *lexical template* has been described as a *causative accomplishment*, as the result of applying the *Lexical Template Modeling Process* suggested by Faber and Mairal Usón (2000: 28).

Furthermore, given the restrictions imposed by a semantic analysis of a historical language, the application of the *Lexical Iconicity Principle-Beta Reading*, which utilises syntagmatic information for the internal hierarchical configuration of (sub)domains, has contributed to determining the structure of this subdomain.

NOTES

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[2]   A first attempt to introduce meaning definitions within logical structures is made in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 116-118) in relation to speech verbs.

[3]   See Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: Chapter 8).

[4]   The *Lexical Iconicity Principle* proposed by Faber and Mairal Usón (1997a: 138) points out the general tendency of the most prototypical lexemes in a subdomain to present a greater number of complementation patterns than the less prototypical ones.

[5]   *The Dictionary of Old English* was conceived by Angus Cameron, its founding editor, as a historical dictionary in the tradition established by Sir James Murray for the *Oxford English*

Dictionary and is based on records written in English between 600 and 1150 A.D. The Dictionary of Old English electronic corpus is a complete record of surviving Old English except for some variant manuscripts of individual texts. There are 3037 texts in the corpus including poetry, prose, interlinear glosses, glossaries, runic inscriptions and inscriptions in the Latin alphabet. The corresponding web site is included in the list of references Healey (ed.).

[6]   In the Appendix, the charts representing these lexemes are complemented by examples available in the corpus or in any of these dictionaries.

[7]   The variable z can also be realised by a That-clause or an Infinitive-clause without case assignment, taking also the macrorole *Undergoer*.

[8]   **do´** (x, [express.(α).to.(β).in.language.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, z)], where y = β, z = a.

[9]   In Old English we cannot make use of this device since only written records are accessible.

[10]   The definition of the *Lexical Template Modeling Process* (Faber and Mairal Usón 2000: 28) also accounts for «introducing elements resulting form the fusion with other templates».

[11]   A Semantic Network is introduced by Faber and Mairal Usón (1999: 251) to reflect the fact that «since domain interrelationships are multiple and various, each domain can be said to have a set of secondary connections as well. These secondary connections are evident, for example, in the double domain membership of certain verbs in which one set of meaning components or another is highlighted, depending on its location».

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APPENDIX

To say that something bad may happen [*warnian*]:

behātan, bēotian, gehātan, gemanian, gemynegian, gewærlǣcan, gewarian, gewarnian, gewarenian, hwōpan, manian, myndgian, mynegian, þēowan, þēowracian, warian, wearnian, warenian

do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in.language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE
[BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, z)], where y = β, z = α

Behātan

do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in.language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE
[BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, z)], where y = β, z = α

SVO1+O2: x (Nom), z (Acc), y (Dat)
e.g. Ǣlc yfel man him behet (Bosworth and Toller)
   They threatened him every evil.

SVO1+O-That clause: x (Nom), z [Certain indirect discourse], y (Dat)
e.g. He him behet mid soðfæstum behate þæt hi on þam micclum dome ofer twelf domsetlum sittende beoð to demenne eallum mannum þe æfre lif underfengon (ÆCHom I, 36 B1.1.38)
   He threatened them with true threat that in the great judgement would be situated over twelve tribunals to judge all men who ever obtained life.

do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in.language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)]) CAUSE
[BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (Ø, z)], where Ø = β, z = α

SVO: x (Nom), z (Acc)
e.g. Behāte hē swilc wīte (Toller and Campbell)
   He threatens so much punishment.

do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in.language**.(γ)´ (x, y)])

SVO: x (Nom), y (Dat)
e.g. Se abbot dyde heom yfele, and beheot heom wyrs (Toller and Campbell)
   The abbot did them evil and threatened them worse.

Bēotian
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, z)], where y = β, z = α
SVO1+O-That clause: x (Nom), z [Certain indirect discourse], y (Dat) **e.g.** Hie mē tō beotedan, þæt hie mē gegrīpan woldon (Toller and Campbell)   *They threatened me that they would apprehend me.*
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (Ø, z)], where Ø = β, z = α

SVO-That clause: x (Nom), z [Certain indirect discourse]
e.g. Beotaþ he þæt he wile þa saula sendan on ece witu
    (HomS 26 (BlHom7) B3.2.26)
    He threatens that he will send the souls to the eternal penalty.
 	
SVO-Infinitive clause: x (Nom), z [Certain indirect discourse]
e.g. Ðeah hine deofol mid barspere beotige to ofsticianne
    (Byr M1 (Baker/Lapidge) B20.20.1)
    Though the devil threatens to pierce him with a boar-spear.

do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)])

SVO: x (Nom), y (Dat)
e.g. þa þa Langbeardan... ongunnon beotian heom to deaðe
    (GDPref and 3 (C) B9.5.5)
    Then the Lombards began to threaten them with death.

do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)])
SV: x (Nom) **e.g.** þa awyrgedan gastas þisum wordum beotodon (LS 10.1 (Guth) B3.3.10.1)   *The bad spirits threatened with these words.*

Gehātan
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, z)], where y = β, z = α
SVO1+O2: x (Nom), z (Acc), y (Dat) **e.g.** Ðeah ðe ge me deaþ gehaten (Guth A,B A3.2)   *Though you have threatened death to me.*
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (Ø, z)], where Ø = β, z = α
SVO: x (Nom), z (Acc) **e.g.** He wean oft gehet (Beo A4.1)   *He often threatened evil.*
SVO-That clause: x (Nom), z [Certain indirect discourse] **e.g.** godes ondsacan... swiþe geheton, þæt he deaþa gedal dreogan sceolde (Guth A,B A3.2)   *God's enemies threatened severely that he would undergo death.*

Gemanian
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, z)], where y = β, z = α
SVO1+O-That clause: x (Nom), z [Probable indirect discourse], y (Acc) **e.g.** he gemanode þa rican & þa spedigan þæt hi ðæra cristenra wædlunge mid heora spedum gefrefrodon (ÆC Hom I, 37 B1.1.39)   *He warned rich and prosperous men that they succour the poverty of the Christians with their wealth.*
SVO1+O-Infinitive clause: x (Nom), z [Probable indirect discourse], y (Acc) **e.g.** ðonne beo we gemanode... ura synna to gemunanne (CP B9.1.3)   *Then we are warned to remember our sins.*
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, Ø)], where y = β, Ø = α
SVO: x (Nom), y (Acc) **e.g.** Hæfð se alwealda ealle gesceafta... gemanode (Met A6)   *The Ruler has warned all creatures.*

Gemynegian
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, z)], where y = β, z = α

SVO1+O-That clause: x (Nom), z [Probable indirect discourse], y (Acc)
e.g. Ða wearð he on swefne gemynegod þæt he to galilea gewende
 (ÆCHom I, 5 B1.1.6)
 Then he was warned in a dream to go to Galilee.

SVO1+O-Infinitive clause: x (Nom), z [Probable indirect discourse], y (Acc)
e.g. Wē synd gemynegode... eow nū tō secgenne sum ðing (Toller and Campbell)
 We are warned to say to you something now.

do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (Ø, z)], where Ø = β, z = α

SVO: x (Nom), z (Acc)
e.g. Cristus... ðæra riccra manna ege and hoga gemynegað (BenRWells B10.3.3)
 Christ warned about fear and care of the great men.

do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, Ø)], where y = β, Ø = α

SVO: x (Nom), y (Acc)
e.g. gyf he hine ær to his þearfe gemynegian nelle (WPol 6.1 (Jost) B13.6.1)
 If he will not warn him before according to what is needed.

Gewærlǣcan
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, Ø)], where y = β, Ø = α

SVO: x (Nom), y (Acc)
e.g. Cain wiste his fæder forgægednysse, and næs þurh þæt gewærlēht
 (Bosworth and Toller)
 Cain knew his father's transgression and he was not warned.

Gewarian

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do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE
[BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, z)], where y = β, z = α

SVO1+O-That clause: x (Nom), z [Probable indirect discourse], y (Acc)
e.g. and he ær... gewarad sy, þæt he þonne þurh deofol beswicen ne wurþe?
    (Hom U 40 (Nap 50) B3.4.40)
    And is he warned not to get deceived by the devil?

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do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)]) CAUSE
[BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (Ø, z)], where Ø = β, z = α

SVO: x (Nom), z (Acc)
e.g. þæt syndon bisceopas and mæssepreostas, þe godcunde heorde gewarian
    (WPol 2.1.1 (Jost) B13.2.1.1)
    They are bishops and priests who warn about religious keeping.

Gewarnian, Gewarenian
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, z)], where y = β, z = α

SVO1+O-That clause: x (Nom), z [Certain indirect discourse], y (Acc)
e.g. Ða gewarnode man hi ðæt ðær wæs fyrd æt Lundene
   (ChronC (Rositzke) B17.7)
   Then they were warned that there was a force at London.

do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (Ø, z)], where Ø = β, z = α

SVO-That clause: x (Nom), z [Certain indirect discourse]
e.g. þonne we gewarniað þæt þæt sæig þæt halige gewrit synt wegas þa beoð
   gesawene fram mannum rihtlice (BenRGl C4)
   *Then we warn that what the Scripture says are ways perceived correctly
   by men.*

do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, Ø)], where y = β, Ø = α

SVO: x (Nom), y (Acc)
e.g. Crist gewarnode his apostolas þysum wordum (Æ Hom M11 (Ass 4)
   B1.5.11)
   Christ warned his apostles with these words.

do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) ^ [**against** (z)], where α = [**against** ´ (z)]

V+ O1 + wið + Acc: x (Nom), y (Acc), [wið + Acc PP]
e.g. Wið alle þæs misdæde he hine mot and sceal georne gewarnian
   (Hom U 45 (Nap 56) B3.4.45)
   He may and shall warn him against all misdeeds.

do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)]) ^ [**against** ´ (y)], where α = [**against** ´ (y)]

V+ wið + Acc: x (Nom), [wið + Acc PP]
e.g. Wið yfel hi gewarnian (ÆC Hom II, 33 B1.2.35)
   They warn against evil.

Hwōpan
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)])
SVO: x (Nom), y (Dat) **e.g.** Ongan þa soðcyning þurh swefn sprecan to þam æðelinge and him yrre hweop (Gen A,B A1.1) *Then God spoke in a dream to the prince and in anger threatened him.*

Manian
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad**´ (y, z)], where y = β, z = α
SVO1+O-That clause: x (Nom), z [Probable indirect discourse], y (Dat) **e.g.** Drihten us manode þæt we næron ealles to carfulle ymbe urne fodan oððe embe ure gewæda (ÆC Hom II, 36.1 B1.2.38) *God warned us that we should not be too careful about our food or our clothing.*
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad**´ (Ø, z)], where Ø = β, z = α
SVO-That clause: x (Nom), z [Probable indirect discourse] **e.g.** Ðonne manige ic ðæt ge eow ālēsan of eowrum synnum (Bosworth and Toller) *Then I warn you that you redeem yourself from your sins.*
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad**´ (y, Ø)], where y = β, Ø = α
SVO: x (Nom), y (Acc) **e.g.** Eft se sealmwyrhta þysum wordum us manode (ÆC Hom I, 17 (App) B1.1.19.4) *The psalmist often warned us with these words.*

Myndgian, Mynegian
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, z)], where y = β, z = α
SVO1+O-That clause: x (Nom), z [Probable indirect discourse], y (Acc) / (Dat) **e.g.** We mynegað eow... þæt ge don eowra sinna andetnysse and soðe behreowsunge (Hom S9 B3.2.9) *We warn you that you do confession of your sins and true repentance.*
SVO1+O-Infinitive clause: x (Nom), z [Probable indirect discourse], y (Dat) **e.g.** swa us þa halgan apostolas mynegodon to weorþianne urne hælend and his þa halgan (HomS 30 (TristrApp 2) B3.2.30) *Such as the holy apostles warned us to honour our Christ and his saints.*
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (Ø, z)], where Ø = β, z = α
SVO: x (Nom), z (Acc) **e.g.** ealle he ða sweotolum wordum sæde & mynegade (HomS 24.1 (Scragg) B3.2.24.1) *All things he said and warned with clear words.*
SVO-That clause: x (Nom), z [Probable indirect discourse] **e.g.** þæt we geornlice mynegian and læran sculon, þæt manna gehwylc to gode buge and fram synnum gecyrre (Hom U 44 (Nap 55) B3.4.44) *That we will earnestly warn and advise each man to submit to God and be converted from sins.*
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, Ø)], where y = β, Ø = α
SVO: x (Nom), y (Acc) **e.g.** Hieremias se witega mynegode to þearfe Godes folc georne (WHom 11 B2.2.9) *The prophet Hieremias warned God's people eagerly according to what is needed.*
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)])
SV: x (Nom) **e.g.** Vtan don swa swa þe witega minegad (BenRW B10.3.4) *Let us do such as the prophet warns.*

þeowan
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (Ø, z)], where Ø = β, z = α
SVO: x (Nom), z (Acc)
e.g. He ondræde ða þeowrace ðe Drihten þurh his witigan ðywð (Ben RW B 10.3.4) *He feared the threat that God through his prophet threatens.*
SVO-That clause: x (Nom), z [Certain indirect discourse]
e.g. He... þywde mid muþe þæt he Martinum abite (ÆLS (Martin) B1.3.30) *He threatened with the mouth that he would bite Martinum.*
SVO-Infinitive clause: x (Nom), z [Certain indirect discourse]
e.g. He... hine þeowde to ofsleanne (Æ Hom M 15 (Ass 9) B1.5.15) *He threatened to kill him.*
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, Ø)], where y = β, Ø = α
SVO: x (Nom), y (Acc)
e.g. þu hyne þiwe (Lib Sc C15) *You are threatening him.*
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)])
SV: x (Nom)
e.g. He ne þiwaþ (Ps G II (Lindelöf) C7.11) *He is not threatening.*

þeowracian
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)])
SV: x (Nom)
e.g. Na on ecnesse he þeowracaþ (Ps GIJ (Oess) C7.5) *He does not threaten forever.*

Warian
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, Ø)], where y = β, Ø = α
SVO: x (Nom), y (Acc)
e.g. Mid ðæm wordum fullice he us warode (CP B9.1.3) *With these words he warned us fully.*

Warnian, Wearnian, Warenian
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, z)], where y = β, z = α

SVO1+O-That clause: x (Nom), z [Probable indirect discourse], y (Dat)
e.g. Ic eow warnode, ðæt gē wiglunge mid ealle forlætan (Bosworth and Toller)
I warned you that you should omit the augury with all.

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do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (Ø, z)], where Ø = β, z = α

SVO: x (Nom), z (Acc)
e.g. We godcunde heorda warnian (W Hom 16 B2.1.1)
We warn about religious care.

SVO-That clause: x (Nom), z [Probable indirect discourse]
e.g. þonne mot he geornlice warnian þæt he eft ðam yfelum dædum ne geedlæce (Æ Admon 2 B1.9.6)
Then he may carefully warn that he should not often repeat the evil deeds.

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do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, Ø)], where y = β, Ø = α

SVO: x (Nom), y (Acc)
e.g. Se Hælend us warnode ðus, for ðan ðe he wyle, ðæt we ware beon (Æ Hom M 11 (Ass 4) B1.5.11)
The Saviour warned us thus because he wants that we are aware.

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do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) ^ [**against** ´ (z)], where α = [**against** ´ (z)]

V+ O1 + wið + Acc: x (Nom), y (Acc), [wið + Acc PP]
e.g. Se Hælend hi warnode wið þa toweardan gefeoht (Æ Hom 9 B1.4.9)
The Saviour warned them against the future battle.

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do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)]) ^ [**against** ´ (y)], where α = [**against** ´ (y)]

V+ wið + Acc: x (Nom), [wið + Acc PP]
e.g. Warnian hi georne wið fals & wið facen & wið feoh gesrtreon (WHom 10a B2.2.7)
They warn eagerly against falsehood and sin and riches acquisition.

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do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, Ø)])

SV: x (Nom)
e.g. Swefnu beoð onwrigene to warnienne (Bosworth and Toller)
Dreams are revelations to warn.

SEMANTIC NETWORK

Egesian, Egsian, Geegesian
do´ (x, [**express**.(α).**to**.(β).**in**.**language**.(γ)´ (x, y)]) CAUSE [BECOME **aware.of. something.bad´** (y, Ø)], where y = β, Ø = α
SVO: x (Nom), y (Acc) **e.g.** He hȳ mid his wordum geegsode (Bosworth and Toller)   *He frightened them with his words.*