



# More than meets the eye: Toward a reassessment of Old English double accusatives

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## ABSTRACT

This article offers a corpus-based update of the Accusative-Accusative construction as part of a much-needed reanalysis of Old English double-object complementation. Unlike the better-known Dative-Accusative pattern—the basis for the Modern English ditransitive — double accusatives remain largely ignored because of their extremely low productivity. Using the Dictionary of Old English Corpus, this study extends the body of evidence to a total of 30 verb types and 87 tokens, providing better precision. Apart from relating to speech act verbs and metaphorical transfer, double accusatives are now found operating as theme-recipients, beneficiaries, and, less frequently, as theme-goals or maleficiaries. This investigation proves their continuity through early and late Old English, attestation across many varieties and text types, and use in Latin-to-English morphosyntactic translation.

## ARTICLE HISTORY

Received

12 March 2025

Accepted

16 May 2025

## KEYWORDS

Old English ditransitives; Nom-Acc-Acc subconstruction; Dictionary of Old English Corpus; Diachronic Construction Grammar; morphosyntactic translation.

## 1. Aims and scope

This work reexamines the role of double accusatives within Old English ditransitives, demonstrating their validity and offering a more fine-grained study of them. The literature tends to describe the Nominative-Accusative-Accusative subconstruction (henceforth ACC-ACC) as being rather unproductive and extremely marginal or focuses on the former from a different linguistic perspective, examining predicative constructions. The re-evaluation undertaken here is based on an expanded corpus of 30 verb types and 86 tokens extracted from the Dictionary of Old English Corpus (henceforth DOEC) (Healey

et al., 2022), which adds 18 new types and 52 tokens to the ACC-ACC dataset compiled by Visser (1963: 636). Framed in Diachronic Construction Grammar terms (Barðdal and Gildea, 2015: 1–50; Gildea and Barðdal, 2023: 743–788), the new data provide a clearer description of the cited subconstruction in the previous literature, adding precision in terms of verb classes and conceptual domains used. More significantly, the findings presented here confirm the very existence of double accusatives, which has been questioned due to a lack of verb types and the alleged unreliability of some tokens. Clear evidence is provided for the continuity of this subconstruction from the early to the late Old English periods, for their attestation in the major OE varieties, and for their use across a diversity of text types. Furthermore, this work demonstrates for the first time that a close contrastive analysis of (sub)constructional morphosyntax in interlinear glosses proves useful in bearing out the non-artificial, native nature of OE double accusatives. Since our primary concern here is to validate and update the description of this subconstruction, the study of the corresponding prepositional alternations, if existing, is left for future investigation.

As in the other historical Germanic languages, the case frame system of the ditransitive construction in Old English exhibits remarkable typological complexity. The Nominative-Dative-Accusative (NOM-DAT-ACC) and Nominative-Accusative-Dative (NOM-ACC-DAT) variants are examples of indirect alignment, with the recipient argument being treated differently from a theme encoded in the accusative (Malchukov et al., 2010: 3–6; Zanchi and Tarsi, 2021: 49). These two double-object combinations are the most productive (Visser, 1963: 621–637; Mitchell, 1985: 452) and form the basis of the Modern English ditransitive, but they nevertheless are in competition with other, less frequent but equally valid alternating double object case frames. The Nominative-Accusative-Genitive subconstruction (NOM-ACC-GEN) represents secundative alignment, where the recipient is encoded in the accusative and the theme is expressed in a different case. The Nominative-Dative-Genitive subconstruction (NOM-DAT-GEN) illustrates a curious case of tripartite alignment since the theme and recipient differ from each other. However, despite being uneconomical and rare from a typological perspective (Malchukov et al., 2010: 5–6), DAT-GENs are granted relative frequency in the literature, just like ACC-GENs (Visser, 1963: 606–618). Finally, without exhausting the full range of possibilities within the OE double-object category, the Nominative-Accusative-Accusative subconstruction (NOM-ACC-ACC) displays neutral alignment, as both the recipient and the theme are encoded in the same way. For clarity, the following quotations exemplify the three major alignment types:

- (1) *ic behet minne truwan þæt ic sealde him Chanaan land,*  
I vowed my word that I.NOM gave them.DAT Canaan.land.ACC  
'I also established my pact with them to give them the land of Canaan'  
(*Exodus*, B8.1.4.2, 6.2); [INDIRECT]

- (2) *Forðæm se ðe hine selfne maran godes behæt, [...]*  
Because he.who.NOM himself.ACC more.good.GEN promises  
'Because he who promises himself greater things,'

(*Cura Pastoralis*, B9.1.3) [SECUNDATIVE]

- (3) *Ne meah-ton we gelæran leofne þeoden, [...] ræd ænigne, [...]*  
Not could we.NOM teach dear.prince.ACC, advice.any.ACC  
'We could not give any advice to the dear prince,'

(*Beowulf*, l. 3079) [NEUTRAL]

Unlike the other options described above, and despite representing one of the three primary alignment types most common in the world's languages, ACC-ACCs are nevertheless the least productive of the OE subconstructions. And yet, idiomatic collocations like *gelæran ræd* 'to give advice' in quotation (3) above (Visser, 1963: 636) must have formed part of everyday language.

This extreme weakness in productivity may be one of the reasons why OE ACC-ACCs have been neglected for more than half a century. Ironically, the study of a significant part of the OE double-object case-frame system is in a similar situation. Research has mostly centered on the case frame(s) representing the origins of the Modern English ditransitive, with alternational (DAT-ACCs/ACC-DATs in De Cuypere, 2015) or historical comparative accounts (DAT-ACCs, Vázquez-González & Barðdal, 2019), while neglecting a much-needed reanalysis of the data for most of the remaining subconstructions and of the case-frame system as a whole. There are only two exceptions to this situation in the literature on the historical Germanic languages. The first lies outside OE studies, in Old Norse-Icelandic, where a complete study of the scope of the ditransitive construction has been carried out (Barðdal et al., 2011: 70–76). The second is a recent study of the OE DAT-GEN subconstruction (Vázquez-González, 2024), which updates the available evidence for this instance of tripartite alignment within Diachronic Construction Grammar (Barðdal & Eythórsson, 2020). The present work is another step towards a full-scope analysis of the OE double-object category.

Sixty years after Visser's analysis of OE double-object complementation (Visser, 1963), computerized records have reshaped the field of OE studies. While Visser's exhaustive use of sources from Bosworth & Toller (1973) is still valid as an additional tool for data compilation, the corpus compiled for this work substantially increases the input list of types and tokens for ACC-ACCs by performing a main query in the Dictionary of Old English Corpus (Healey et al., 2022) and supplementing it later with more specific ad hoc searches in the Microfiche Concordance to the Dictionary of Old English (Healey, 2016). Datasets, data files, and tools for their analysis are here to stay. In fact, a simple check of DOEC text files sometimes provides extremely valuable information, as happens with the implications drawn from specific Latin-to-OE renderings in interlinear glosses (Section 7 below). New tools provide fresh data that prove essential for a broader understanding of the OE ACC-ACC subconstruction.

The theory applied here is obviously not restricted to Visser's semasiological approach, in which valencies serve as the sole criterion for unifying an otherwise bare list of verb types and tokens often devoid of distinctive semantics. Construction Grammar no longer regards double-object constructs like ACC-ACCs as mere patterns. Instead, these are conceived as relatively complex form-meaning pairings (Michaelis, 2013: 424), framed by the specifics of argument structure, and arranged in terms of semantic

affinity. As explained in Section 3 below, the Diachronic Construction Grammar model (henceforth DCxG) applied here adapts the consensus view on the verb classes associated with the ditransitive construction in Modern English to the reality of historical Germanic languages, extending the list and enriching it typologically via a semantic map proposal. The historical-comparative approach developed by the DCxG model also utilizes a lexicality-schematicity hierarchy, ranging from types situated at the verb-specific level to higher-level verb classes and conceptual domains for the classification and reconstruction of double-object constructions. The present work does not reach the reconstruction stage; rather, it focuses on a multidisciplinary validation of the existence of OE double accusatives and refines their analysis.

This article is structured as follows: in Section 2, Overview, a brief account of the major references in the literature is provided, with special attention paid to Wulfing's (1894) and Visser's lists (1963), the starting point of this work. Section 3, Theory (and some data), begins with a typological description of double-object accusatives, and then describes the main principles of DCxG, with formalization (traditional boxes), and expanded semantics typologically validated through semantic map proposals. In turn, the criteria followed for data gathering are fully described in Section 4, Methodology, which also gives a detailed account of the bottom-up procedure used here for morphosyntactic validation and semantic grouping. Section 5, The semantic scope of the ACC-ACC subconstruction, organizes old and new data into verb classes and domains, listing, defining, and exemplifying the types and their related tokens, thus providing a structured account of the scope of ACC-ACCs. Section 6, Typology, formalization, and schematization, proposes a semantic map for ACC-ACCs, places a few selected verb-specific level constructions within DCxG boxes, and concludes with an exemplification of the lexicality-schematicity hierarchy for double accusatives. Section 7, Dating, varieties and text types, presents evidence for the stability of ACC-ACCs through time and for their use in many OE varieties and text types. Section 8, Translating semantic morphosyntax as evidence, focuses on a small group of OE tokens taken from interlinear glosses and glossed texts which, when compared with their Latin inputs, provide additional evidence for the native character of the subconstruction under study. Finally, in Section 9, conclusions are drawn and directions for further research are specified.

## 2. Overview

This section starts with an overview of the scant literature on ACC-ACCs, which corroborates the scarcity of data that does not contribute to a proper understanding of the subconstruction. Thus, Wulfing's (1894: 263-264), Visser's (1963: 635-637), and Mitchell's (1985: 450-451) accounts are reviewed.

Wulfing's (1888) *Darstellung der Syntax in König Alfred's Übersetzung von Gregor's des Grossen "Cura Pastoralis"* is acknowledged as a leading reference seven to nine decades later by Visser and Mitchell. The work includes a chapter (§ 117) devoted to double accusatives that do not function predicatively. The analysis identifies six verb types, later included in Visser's list: *acsian* 'to ask (for),' *beniman* 'to deprive,' *don* (*yfel*) 'to make,

cause (harm), *gelæran* 'to teach, instruct,' *hatan* 'to order,' and *læran* 'to teach, instruct.' The tokens, not limited to the *Cura Pastoralis*, also come from other translations associated with King Alfred's court, such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History ...* (henceforth EH). Their number rises to 11, including three in which themes are rendered by object clauses. Wülfing describes the semantics of double accusatives by relating one of them to recipients (or 'person', as he calls it), and the other to themes ('thing'). Clearly, the distinction between actual and metaphorical transfer was not explicitly addressed when considering the listed items.

Frederik Visser's analysis (1963: 606–648) of OE double object complementation assigns ACC-ACCs the final position within the OE double-object space (1963: 635–637), which are preceded by his study of DAT-GENs, ACC-GENs, ACC-DATs (ablatives) and finally DAT-ACCs, the subconstruction showing highest frequency. Unlike with most case frames, he does not focus on the relationship between the objects, which is somewhat surprising given the predominance of recipients and themes, literal or metaphorical, as demonstrated in Sections 5.1 and 5.5 below. He identifies 10 verb types and 32 tokens. The types are the following: *acsian* 'to ask (for),' *beacsian* 'to ask for advice,' *beniman* 'to deprive, bereave,' *biddan* 'to ask, make a request,' *don* 'to do, make,' *frignan* 'to ask (for),' *gelæran* 'to teach, instruct,' *hatan* 'to order, command,' *læran* 'to teach, instruct' and *tæcan* 'to show, teach.' The author does not provide any definitions for the terms. As for tokens, he mentions 13 tokens in which themes are expressed by object clauses like the following – *Nan þæra [...] ne dorste hine axian hwæt he wære*, 'None of the disciples dared ask him who he was' (John 21, 12, WScP).

Visser does not seem to be totally convinced of the existence of the ACC-ACC subconstruction in Old English, devoting most of his brief analysis to hypothesizing about the possibility that the small list gathered may be even smaller, or practically no list at all. In this respect, he rules out *giefan* 'to give' from the group, since the three quotations he finds for the former come from the 'period of transition from Old to Middle English' (mid-12<sup>th</sup> century). He is also highly suspicious of terms like *acsian* appearing in the late Old English Gospels, since in these quotations *hine* could be interpreted as an 'ultracorrect' form functioning instead as an indirect object (Visser, 1963: 635). Furthermore, copyists' errors may also be behind the quotations found for *don*, *beniman*, *hatan* and *tæcan*. In sum, for Visser only *læran* and *gelæran* may be safely said to instantiate ACC-ACCs because they show continuity from early to late Old English. In practical terms, this means that the subconstruction as such may not exist, given that usage is reduced to a single primary verb type. When the overall impact of Visser's publication is combined with his suggestions that ACC-ACCs may not work as a double-object construction, the result explains the dearth of literature on the subject.

Mitchell begins his section on double-object complementation (1985: 450–451) with an analysis of double accusatives. The author briefly mentions Wülfing's (1894: 263–264) and Visser's (1963: 635–637) lists, adducing examples drawn from *King Ælfred's Cura Pastoralis* (for *læran* and *gelæran*), the *Blickling Homilies* (*læran*) and *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies* (*læran* again), before turning to a detailed analysis of ACC-ACC constructions functioning as predicative adjuncts and their prepositional alternations (1985: 451). Later, in

comparison with DAT-ACCs and ACC-DATs, he assigns a minor role for the construction under study. Mitchell's analysis takes place in the mid-80s, two decades after Visser's, but still at a time when computerized records were only beginning to make their way into OE studies (Bessinger & Smith, 1978). Given the succinctness of Mitchell's comments and Visser's earlier doubts regarding the very existence of ACC-ACCs, the lack of publications since then is hardly surprising. We now turn to an explanation of the theoretical model adopted here, discussing how DCxG contributes to furthering our understanding of double accusatives.

### 3. Theory (and some data)

In this section, the theoretical approach adopted here is discussed in full, elucidating the main strengths of Diachronic Construction Grammar and indicating how they are applied to the analysis of OE double objects. After defining the subconstruction and explaining its internal ACC-ACC alternation, a theoretical overview follows, outlining the particular syntax-semantics approach used. The approach adapts traditional Construction Grammar boxes by framing them semantically, hierarchically and typologically through the formulation of semantic map proposals.

In Modern English, double-object constructions like *Kim gave Lee a box* (Haspelmath, 2015: 19–20) are defined typologically and in terms of argument structure (Goldberg, 1995: 141–142) as form-meaning pairings consisting of three thematic roles – agent (A), recipient (R) and theme (T). The participants are arranged sequentially (A-[V]-R-T), due to strict limitations imposed by Modern English word order, and the taxonomy of thematic roles displayed is, except for cases with recipient-like usages and metaphorical transfer, highly restricted. In this work, OE double-accusative (sub)constructions are morphosyntactically characterized as three-place predicates consisting of a subject (Nominative), a direct object (Accusative), and another direct object (Accusative), matching the roles of A, R and T. It should be noted that this morphosyntactic definition is broad, covering a wide spectrum of constructional variants that are often treated separately, as in the case with ditransitives and benefactives. Moreover, the very notion of alternation applies not only to the above-described complex group of double-object case frames, competing with one another, or with their prepositional alternations when these exist, but also to NOM-ACC-ACCs internally. In fact, the same case system that facilitates greater freedom in OE word order also allows double accusatives to be realized in two formally distinct strings depending on the position of R and T – NOM-ACC<sub>R</sub>-ACC<sub>T</sub>S or NOM-ACC<sub>T</sub>-ACC<sub>R</sub>S. Two examples are provided as follows:

- (4) [...] *sealde hi þæt halige geryne Cristes lichaman and blodas,*  
gave them.ACC the.holy.mystery.ACC Christ.body.GEN and blood.GEN  
'and (Eustace) imparted them with the mystery of Christ's body and blood'  
(Lives of Saints 8, Eustace, B3.3.8)
- (5) *Gif ge hwæt me biddað on minum naman þæt ic do,*  
If you.NOM thing.ACC me.ACC ask in my name that I do

Si            quid            petieris me in nomine meo  
'If you ask anything in My name, I will do it' (John 14,14, WSCp)

Quotations (4) and (5) display R-T and T-R strings, respectively. The analysis of the 87 tokens collected for ACC-ACCs demonstrates that the first option is predominant, clearly outnumbering the second (74/13). In all instances where it occurs, the T-R order seems to involve a left-fronting process used for emphasis, perhaps combining in (5) with fidelity to the Latin source.

The model adopted in this study is Diachronic Construction Grammar (Barðdal and Gildea, 2015; Gildea and Barðdal, 2023; Barðdal et al., 2015). This historical-comparative model challenges the assumption that syntax cannot be reconstructed, resituating it in constructional terms by treating syntactic objects as form-meaning pairings. The approach has been used in the reconstruction of argument structure constructions in Indo-European languages (Luján and Ruiz Abad, 2014; Luján and López Chala, 2020) for slightly over two decades now. Special attention has been given to the Germanic languages, where, among other themes, such as non-nominatives (Barðdal, 2023), the analysis of the ditransitive construction has been a recurring issue. Initially circumscribed to (North) Germanic, taking modern Icelandic as a basis but with support from other Germanic languages (Barðdal, 2007), the focus later (Barðdal et al., 2011) shifted to a full account of West Scandinavian ditransitives, present and past, covering Old Norse-Icelandic, too. The topic has been recently approached from a historical-comparative perspective, incorporating the study of Old English and Gothic data for a systematic reconstruction of the DAT-ACC (sub)construction in Proto-Germanic (Vázquez-González & Barðdal, 2019). As demonstrated in Section 5 below, comparison between OE ACC-ACCs and DAT-ACCs plays a major role in reassessing OE double accusatives.

In the DCxG model used here, the argument structure of a given construction is formalized as part of the famous boxes of Construction Grammar (Sag, 2012; Michaelis, 2010; 2012), which are in turn adapted for historical-comparative reconstruction (Barðdal & Eythórsson, 2020). The boxes display three major parameters: form (or lack of it in higher-level formalizations), syntax, and semantics, with links established between the latter two.<sup>1</sup> Since linguistic reconstruction ideally requires contrasting cognate subconstructions in North-West, West, and East Germanic, and since this study is primarily focused on presenting new findings on OE ACC-ACCs, grammar boxes displaying specific reconstructions strictly based on correspondence sets (Gildea et al., 2020) are left for future work.

In Modern English, double-object constructions are ascribed to a closed set of nine verb classes. The consensus view is represented here through Goldberg's analysis. Drawing on Pinker (1989: 110–123) and other contributions (Green, 1974), Goldberg (1995: 38) arranges these verb classes in polysemic (and diachronic) terms along a continuum that extends from a central area in conceptual space to more peripheral options:

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<sup>1</sup> See Section 7 below for a detailed explanation of how these boxes are applied, together with illustrations.

- 1) Verbs that inherently signify acts of giving: *give, hand, serve, feed*, etc.
- 2) Verbs of instantaneous causation of ballistic motion: *throw, toss, slap, kick, shoot*, etc.
- 3) Verbs of continuous causation of ballistic motion in a deictically specified direction: *bring, take*, etc.
- 4) Verbs of giving with associated satisfaction conditions: *guarantee, promise, owe*, etc.
- 5) Verbs of refusal: *refuse, deny*.
- 6) Verbs of future transfer: *leave, bequeath, grant*, etc.
- 7) Verbs of permission: *permit, allow*.
- 8) Verbs involved in scenes of creation: *bake, make, build, cook, knit*, etc.
- 9) Verbs of obtaining: *get, grab, win, earn*, etc.

The center consists of verb classes specifying an Agent successfully causing the recipient to receive a patient (1, 2, and 3), while the periphery encompasses the rest of the list. While verbs of giving and of continuous and instantaneous causation form the core, the periphery includes pragmatically motivated transfer (4), the rejection of actual transfer (5), its accomplishment in the future (6), its facilitation (7) and, finally, intended transfer, with creation and obtaining (8) and (9).

The nine verb classes identified for Modern English ditransitives have proved insufficient to account for earlier historical stages of English. Coleman and De Clerck (2011: 195–197) present clear evidence for a broader semantic scope of the English ditransitive in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, including benefactive and malefactive usages like verbs of banishment or spoliation, as well as manner-of-speaking types such as *whisper*. Taking the analysis of modern Icelandic as a basis and drawing comparisons with other modern Germanic languages, Barðdal (2007: 24–27) demonstrates that the list of verb classes encompassed by the ditransitive construction is significantly broader than in English, totaling 17. The complete list, only partially operating in ACC-ACC space, is included below, with Barðdal's (2007: 12–13) original numbering) preserved for each class:

1. Verbs denoting (prolonged) possession/owning: *eiga sér e-ð* 'have sth'
2. Verbs inherently denoting giving or delivering: *gefa e-m e-ð* 'give sb sth (as a gift)'
3. Verbs of lending: *lána e-m e-ð* 'lend sb sth', *ljá e-m e-ð* 'lend sb sth'
4. Verbs of paying: *borga e-m e-ð* 'lend sb sth', *gjalda e-m e-ð* 'hire sth out to sb'
5. Verbs of sending: *senda e-m e-ð* 'send sb sth'
6. Verbs of bringing: *bera e-m e-ð* 'bring sb sth'
7. Verbs of future transfer: *bjóða e-m e-ð* 'offer sb sth'
8. Verbs denoting transfer along a path: *brjóta sér leið* 'break oneself a passage'

9. Verbs of enabling: *auðvelda e-m e-ð* 'facilitate sth for sb'
10. Verbs of communicated message: *kenna e-m e-ð* 'teach sb sth'
11. Verbs of instrument of communicated message: *smsa e-m e-ð* 'text sb sth'
12. Verbs of creation: *blánda sér drykk* 'mix a drink for oneself'
13. Verbs of obtaining: *ávinna sér e-ð* 'acquire sth for oneself'
14. Verbs of utilizing: *nota sér eitthvað* 'use sth for oneself'
15. Verbs of hindrance: *banna e-m e-ð* 'forbid sb sth'
16. Verbs of constraining: *setja e-m e-ð* 'give sb a task'
17. Verbs of mental activity: *hugsa sér e-ð* 'think of sth', *fyrirgefa e-m e-ð* 'forgive sb sth'

In later publications, the list is further confirmed (Barðdal et al., 2011) and redistributed (Barðdal et al., 2011; Vázquez-González & Barðdal, 2019: 571–592) into nine major conceptual domains: Actual Transfer (1), containing giving, lending and paying; Enabling (2), class 9; Deictically Directed Transfer (3), including sending and bringing; Intention (4), or verbs of future transfer; (Mis)Creation (5), with verbs of creation and preparation, (Dis)Possession (6), involving owning and obtaining; Retaining (7), with verbs of hindrance and constraining; Mode of Communication (8), with communicated message and instrument of communication, and, finally, Mental Processes (9), class 17. The strength of this taxonomy lies in its grounding in evidence from Modern English and other modern Germanic languages, as well as its sustained diachronic support through comparison of data from OE, Old Norse-Icelandic, and Gothic.

The taxonomy proposed above also conforms to Croft's (2003) requirement for a lexically-schematicity hierarchy. Accordingly, argument-structure constructions are arranged along a continuum ranging from lexical specificity to complete schematicity, with gradual, intermediate stages between the two poles. This hierarchical organization of data allows for the incorporation of sublevel-specific and level-specific information about argument structure, which can then be generalized into increasingly schematic constructions (verb subclass-specific, verb class-specific, higher-level conceptual domain) until the highest degree of schematicity is reached with the formulation of the corresponding event-type construction. In this work, although the analysis of ACC-ACC remains an open issue for further research, the five cited constructional levels are covered, and a linking mechanism connecting the existing subconstructions is proposed.

The taxonomy outlined above is also represented typologically through a semantic map proposal. The model draws on Malchukov et al.'s (2010: 39-54) study of ditransitive constructions for Modern English, adapting it to diachronic data. Based on an analysis of many of the world languages, the map (cf. Figure 1 below for clarification) visualizes the particular semantic scope of the ditransitive in a given language by distributing a relatively broad list of constructional types across space. At the core lies the Theme-Recipient Construction, while the Patient Instrumental, Theme-Goal, Patient-Beneficiary, Malefactive Source, and External Possession Constructions occupy the periphery. The

picture obtained for ditransitives in Modern English (Malchukov et al., 2010: 51) highlights the prevalence of Theme-Recipients, which are connected to the (near) periphery by clines. One of them connects the former with Patient- Beneficiaries, the second moves towards Theme-Goals, though not reaching these, and still a third, absent in Modern English, glides into malefactive. The map proposal for the Modern English ditransitive obviously displays a reduced scope, unaligned with the much expanded but still closed taxonomy of verb classes and conceptual domains described above. It is now reproduced in full for OE DAT-ACCs (Vázquez-González & Barðdal, 2019: 595–596):

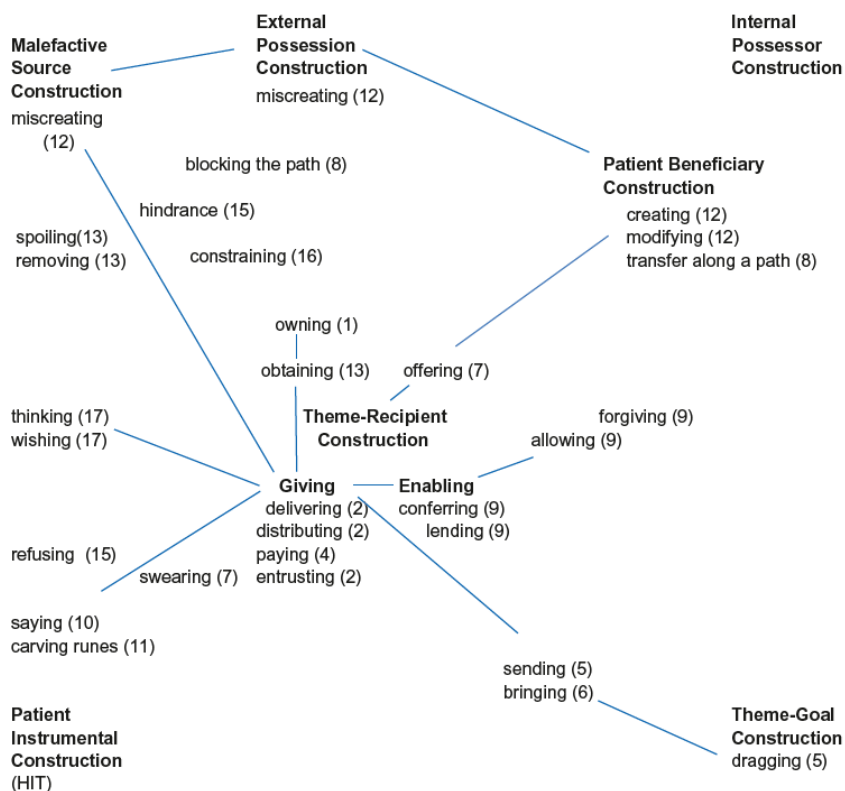


Figure 1: The semantics of the ditransitive DAT-ACC subconstruction in Old English.

As evidenced by the analysis of the highest-frequency DAT-ACCs in OE (Old Norse-Icelandic and Gothic), double-object constructions were much richer in constructional scope than their modern counterparts, extending to the endpoints of every argument-structure cline. The map layout also proves well-suited for capturing the more limited subconstructional options available to OE ACC-ACCs.

As indicated above, the contribution on West Scandinavian ditransitives reinforced these conclusions regarding the taxonomy proposed for modern ditransitives by conducting a similar analysis of the scope of the ditransitive construction in Old Norse-Icelandic (Barðdal et al., 2011: 70-76). In this study, the highest- frequency option (DAT-

ACCs) is compared in terms of semantic scope with the lower frequency case frames: ACC-DATS, ACC-GENS, DAT-GENS and DAT-DATS. Old Norse-Icelandic ACC-ACCs are so marginal that they were not included in the article. The comparison always resulted in the low-frequency options displaying a partial, fragmented scope. For instance, the Old Norse-Icelandic DAT-DAT subconstruction, which is extremely rare (12/140), is circumscribed to Actual Transfer (1), Intention (4), Retaining (7), and Mode of Communication (8). Apart from demonstrating a clear correlation between lower type frequency and partial semantic scope, these findings also reveal overlap among the case frames, with Mode of Communication shared, for instance, by DAT-ACCs, ACC-GENS and DAT-ACCs. Starting from the premise of partial overlap and clear usage differences among related case frames, a recent contribution (Vázquez-González, 2024) reassesses the substructural scope of lower frequency OE DAT-GENS by taking highest-frequency DAT-ACCs as the *tertium comparationis*. The analysis of OE ACC-ACCs presented in Section 5 follows the same approach.

#### 4. Methodology

This section first outlines how the ACC-ACC corpus was compiled and the tools used for this purpose. It then considers the role of object clauses and predicative constructions in this study. The discussion then moves towards a series of methodological implications derived from the application of DCxG model.

The corpus for the ACC-ACC subconstruction was compiled indirectly in two stages. In the first phase, a large number of matches were obtained while gathering data for the study of the related ACC-GEN subconstruction from the Dictionary of Old English Corpus online (Healey et al., 2022). The query conducted in this parallel investigation to update Visser's data (1963: 613–617) was a proximity search aiming to retrieve collocates for *hine* (*hyne, hiene*) with a genitive singular *-es* ending, yielding 6,402 matches.

Selecting the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular accusative masculine personal pronoun offers several practical advantages and has some methodological implications. Firstly, *hine* is extremely common in Anglo-Saxon records, which facilitates data collection. The pronoun also avoids the ambiguity caused by identical word forms functioning differently, as in the case of datives – *me, þe, us, eow*. It is also a marker of ditransitivity: if pronominals encourage the use of ditransitive constructions nowadays because they are short, then, according to probabilistic syntax (De Cuypere 2015: 02–03; cf. Bresnan, 2007: 27–96), a partly similar context may be safely assumed for the OE period. Secondly, and from a methodological perspective, since this study focuses on a particular personal pronoun, opting for the largest corpus available nowadays ensures maximal retrieval – the DOEC currently exceeds 3,000,000 words taken from 3,070 texts covering the entire range of existing text types. Other equally useful resources, such as the syntactically annotated York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (Taylor et al., 2003), are not used here because of their more limited size (1.5 million words, roughly half the size of the DOEC). Finally, since the query settings selected allow for a maximum distance between the two members, 120 characters, this facilitates that related subconstructions

such as ACC-ACCs and other alternating prepositional phrases show up in the vicinity. In this way, *hine* tokens are increased from nine in Visser's list of ACC-ACCs to a total of 36, with 24 new incorporations.

A second phase of corpus compilation, carried out in the Dictionary of Old English on CD-ROM A-H (Healey, 2016), during the temporal unavailability of DOEC online tools, involved more specific, *ad hoc* searches of particularized items not restricted to *hine*. The searches were partly based on results from the proximity query described above, and partly on Visser's account of ACC-ACCs. This time, the number of tokens rose from 21 listed by Visser's (1963: 606–648) to 49, adding 28 to the list—two were previously postulated by de Cuypere (2015). The number of quotations checked during the two phases exceeds 11,000, and the total number of tokens rose from 30 attestations in Visser's work to 87. The number of types also increased from 12 (six coming from Wulfing) to 30. As noted above, the corpus may have been compiled indirectly at first, but this does not diminish its reality or validity.

As affirmed before, the lists of Wulfing and Visser serve as the starting point for data collection, particularly the latter that is larger in size. Nevertheless, Visser's set of types and tokens also includes quotations with object clauses functioning as the theme [...] *hie sealdon Demostanase þam philosophe licgende feoh wið þam þe he gelærde ealle Creacas þæt hie Alexandre wiðsocen* 'they gave Demostenes the philosopher money for instructing the Greeks to forsake Alexander' (Orosius 3, 9.67.26). We have included in our data Visser's attested instances (13), adding a few more (3), but we have not covered them exhaustively when they have proved irrelevant for incorporating new verb types into the corpus, since in the majority of cases they were related to *læran* and (*ræd*) *gelæran*.

The object-predicative construction also makes use of the double-accusative pattern—*For þam ic þe gesette manegra þeoda fæder* 'I have made thee a father of many nations' (ÆCHom 178,16). Miller's (2019: 168–170) excellent analysis of double-accusative verbs in Gothic lists and profusely explains a large number of types used predicatively, while also referring to *laisjan* 'to teach' (cognate with OE *læran*) as the only instance functioning non-predicatively. This near-total absence of non-predicative ACC-ACC verb types in Gothic curiously coincides with Visser's view of the marginality or even non-existence of this subconstruction, since according to him, probative evidence exists only for (*ræd*) (*ge*)*læran* throughout the entire OE period. Because object-predicatives imply a different argument structure, they have been excluded from the present study.

To Visser's list of ten verb types, *ræd gelæran* 'give advice' and an additional sense for *tæcan* 'to show' have been added, resulting in a very limited corpus of 12 types. Within this group, the inclusion of *beacsian* 'to ask sb for advice' and *hatan* 'to order' is initially provisional, since the quotations in which these are found are doubtful. In the first case, the presence of a strong feminine (*lare* in *hie hine lare beahsodan* 'They asked him for advice', LS 25 Blickling Homilies, 56) opens the possibility of interpreting the former as an ACC-GEN subconstruction. Nevertheless, the related DOE (Healey, 2016) entry includes a second quotation, again from the same work, clearly specifying the pattern under study here, with the theme expressed as an object clause: [...] & *ðone papan & þæt papseld þæt hie befrinon & beahsodan hwæt him þæs to ræde þuhte*, 'and they asked the Pope and the

papal see what they thought about that,’ (LS 25, 153). In the second case, Visser exploits the alternating passive voice construction to retrieve the corresponding active ACC-ACC pattern: *Da sona instæpe was se bend onlesed his tungan, & he cuæð ðæt he haten wæs* ‘Then, soon after, the band was unloosened from his tongue, and he uttered that which he had been ordered’ (Bede’s HE, 5). The corpus compiled for this study, however, also includes a straightforward ACC-ACC pattern: *Ðu hæst me forlætan þa unrottnesse*, ‘you have ordered me to give up the gloominess’ (King Ælfred, Soliloquies 1 B9.4.2). The increase in tokens derived from DOEC search brings along the incorporation of 18 new types, resulting in a total of 57 tokens.

The procedure is bottom-up, starting with the morphosyntactic validation of the ACC-ACC pattern in the identified tokens. Here, ambiguity cases have been largely avoided, particularly in quotations containing strong feminine (-e, -a) or weak nouns (-an), which can also be interpreted as exhibiting alternating case frames such as ACC-GENS. Only a few of these usages have ultimately been accepted, on the basis of additional information confirming their double-accusative status. One of the quotations for *gearwian* ‘to prepare,’ excluded from Section 5.2 below, may serve as a case in point: *Forðon he sloh stan & flowon wæteru & burnon ypegodon & sweogon cwyst þu & hlaf sellan oððe gearwian mysan folc his/ Quoniam percussit petram et fluxerunt aque et torrentes inundauerunt numquid et panem poterit dare aut parare mensam populo suo*, ‘For he tore the rock apart, and the waters flowed, and the torrents overflowed, cannot he give bread, or prepare a table for his people?’ (Psalms, Arundel Psalter, 77.20). OE *mese* (or *myse*), a borrowing from Latin, is a weak feminine noun displaying an ambiguous -an ending. Its accusative status is confirmed only through comparison with the Latin input word form (*mensam*) and the OE synonym *beod* used in another version of the same line, cited in quotation (12) below.

At other times, ascription to ACC-ACC depends on linguistic evidence gathered for a specific type. *Læran*, for instance, is consistently associated with the ACC-ACC pattern, in OE and Gothic, too (Miller, 2019: 168). This has sometimes facilitated the inclusion in our corpus of tokens with ambiguous personal pronoun forms, such as the following from The Vision of St. Paul – *God ælmihtig us lærað wæccan and gebedu* ‘God Almighty admonishes us (towards) vigil and prayers’ (HomM 14.2 Healey, 82). Only very rarely do token and type arise from a translator’s misinterpretation of the Latin original line.<sup>2</sup>

Once verified, the 87 tokens and 30 types comprising the corpus are distributed across the nine major conceptual domains and 17 related verb classes described in Section 3 above. For this distribution, verb definitions are crucial. These have been drawn from traditional lexicography, such as Bosworth & Toller (1973) and Clark Hall (1916), as well as from modern resources like the Dictionary of Old English (Cameron et al., 1986). When one term displays more than one sense in the quotations collected, these are treated as distinct types. In our study, this only happens with *ræd gelæran* ‘to give advice’ and *tæcan*. In the first case, the type is a collocation that never appears with the corresponding primary verb *læran* attested in three quotations – two from Beowulf and one from Guthlac A, B. It has therefore been granted idiomatic status and integrated as

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<sup>2</sup> See, in this respect, quotation (15) below in section 5.3 for *awendan* ‘to change.’

a separate type in the corpus. In the second, the two tokens collected are conveniently distributed into *tæcan* 'to teach' and *tæcan*<sup>2</sup> 'to show, direct.'

Arranging a varied group of types according to semantic similarity is usually a straightforward process. For clarification, consider how *agiefan* 'to return,' *gielðan* 'to pay,' and *agielðan* 'to repay' are grouped together and classified under verbs of paying in Section 5.1 below. Categorization, however, is not without difficulties, owing to the inherent polysemy of many types and the conceptual connections between major domains such as Creation and Possession, for example (Barðdal, 2007: 14). Nevertheless, semantic classification is possible through an adequate contextual analysis. Consider, for instance, *agiefan* 'to return,' cited above, whose meaning may denote either restoration or repayment, but that acts as a verb of paying in quotation (7) below.

In this study, most of the 30 types included in the corpus are simple types, one-word verbs. At times, however, the meaning of a verb type depends as much as on the specified direct object as on the main unit, indicating a clear move towards idiomaticity and non-compositionality. This occurs to some extent with *settan bec* 'to turn your back (on someone),' unacknowledged by the OED, and, more clearly, with *don yfel* 'to cause (someone) harm,' and *ræd gelæran* 'to give (someone) advice.'

Double accusatives may also work reflexively. The historical Germanic languages have fared unevenly regarding the lexicographic recognition of reflexive double objects, with an overabundance of attestations in Old Norse-Icelandic (Cleasby et al., 1986), and a complete absence in traditional OE dictionaries that is now being gradually compensated by the edition of each DOE letter (Cameron et al., 1986). This type of double-object construction finds direct correlates in present-day Germanic languages such as Norwegian (*spiste og tok oss en øl i solen* '... ate and got us a beer in the sun'), where it is defined as the V-REFL-NP construction (Barðdal et al., 2011: 82) and described non-compositionally as expressing a pleasurable effect. As shown in a previous publication (Vázquez-González & Barðdal, 2019: 570–571; 581–583), reflexive ditransitives were very frequently used in the DAT-ACC subconstruction. In the present corpus, only four tokens are reflexives.<sup>3</sup> The fact that in their argument structure the agent in the Nominative and the recipient/beneficiary in the Accusative coincide does not diminish their ditransitive status; it simply defines them as a special subtype. This subtype may perhaps not be very far away from the non-compositional reading noted in the modern Norwegian example above.

Finally, before carrying out an in-depth analysis of the scope of the ACC-ACC subconstruction in the following section, it should be emphasized that our conception of productivity with high, mid and low frequency (Barth & Schnell, 2021: 71–72) is necessarily approximative in a historical corpus like DOEC, with just 3,000,000 words. We adopt previous findings in the literature, such as the fact that the DAT-ACC and ACC-DAT subconstructions are assigned highest frequency (Visser, 1963: 621; Mitchell, 1985: 452; De Cuyper, 2015: 6–7), and proceed from there, working with an extremely limited dataset of 86 tokens. Normalized frequency is reported for all cases exceeding one token.

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<sup>3</sup> See, by way of illustration, quotation (19) for *læran* 'to teach, instruct' below.

The 19 types represented by a single token are assumed to have a normalized frequency of 0.33 per million words (pmw henceforth). A necessary distinction is made between relatively productive and highly productive types; verbs like *gefyllan* ‘to satiate’ and *ræd gelæran* ‘to give advice’, each with three quotations and a normalized frequency of 1 pmw, contrast with more frequent types such as *ascian* ‘to demand’ and *læran* ‘to teach’ with 22 and 28 tokens, corresponding to four and 9.33 pmw respectively. However, the distinction is entirely our own.

## 5. The semantic scope of the ACC-ACC subconstruction

We now proceed to a brief description of the semantic scope of ACC-ACCs in OE. For the sake of comparison, we draw on previous work delimiting the scope of OE DAT-ACCs (Vázquez-González & Barðdal, 2019: 555–620) and on OE DAT-GENS (also partially covered for Old Norse-Icelandic; Vázquez-González, 2024: 26–28). As validated by the findings obtained in these two studies, together with others on the (North) Germanic languages (Barðdal, 2007; Barðdal et al., 2011) described in Section 3 above, the scope of the Proto-Germanic ditransitive construction is broad, encompassing the cited nine major cognitive domains and 17 related verb classes.<sup>4</sup>

Two working assumptions serve as the starting point for the analysis of OE ACC-ACCs. The first is that all OE case-frame options share a similar constructional scope. This has been proved in the cited analysis of the ditransitive case-frame system in Old Norse-Icelandic (Barðdal et al., 2011: 70–76) and in a detailed account of DAT-GENS in OE and, partially, Old Norse-Icelandic (Vázquez-González, 2024). The second one derives from the extremely low productivity associated with OE ACC-ACCs: since the number of types and tokens involved is so small, their scope must necessarily be very limited and fragmented when compared to highest-frequency DAT-ACCs in OE (or, for that matter, in Old Norse-Icelandic and Gothic too). We now proceed to list and exemplify the conceptual domains and verb classes found. For each conceptual domain, a list of verb types and selected quotations is provided.

### 5.1. Verbs inherently signifying giving or delivering

This conceptual domain is exclusively associated with actual transfer and the prototypical three-role Agent-Recipient-Theme argument structure. Possession-based semantics is distributed across classes 2 and 4, verbs of giving (*sellan* and *wædian* below) and paying, respectively (Vázquez-González & Barðdal, 2019: 574–575). The domain contains six verb types and eight quotations as listed below, none of them acknowledged elsewhere in the literature. Despite their low productivity, examples for giving, returning, and

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<sup>4</sup> For a systematic account of the highest-frequency DAT-ACCs, and their reconstruction for Proto-Germanic based on a comparison between Gothic, Old English, and Old Norse-Icelandic, see Vázquez-González and Barðdal (2019: 574–606).



González & Barðdal, 2019: 579). The list is extremely short, containing three verb types and their corresponding tokens, none of which have been previously attested. As demonstrated for DAT-ACCs (Vázquez-González & Barðdal, 2019: 608), regular instances of translational motion may at times give way to verbs expressing non-translational concepts like wending or turning around. One of the three types renders the notion of turning your back on someone, proving that non-translational motion also forms part of the ACC-ACC scope.

LIST OF VERB TYPES: *teon* ‘to draw, pull’ (1), *ateon* ‘to draw away, pull out’ (1), *settan bæc* ‘to turn your back on someone’ (1).

(9) *Ða teah Penda hine fyrð on & here, & hine his rices benom.*  
so drew Penda.NOM him.ACC fyrð.ACC on army him his realm took  
ideoque bello petitus, ac regno priuatus ab illo,  
‘Then Penda put up an army and mercenaries (against) him, and  
deprived him of his kingdom’. (Bede 3, *EH*, 5.168.20)

(10) *ond hig ne myhton hig þa git anne fotlast furður ateon*  
and they.NOM not could her.ACC then yet one.space.ACC further drag  
‘(Then they put ropes on her hands and feet, and they pulled with  
those), and yet they could not drag her one step forwards’.  
(*Martyrology*, 2.1)

(11) *For ðon ðu setes hie bec*  
Because you.NOM set them.ACC back.ACC  
*Quoniam pones eos deorsum*  
‘Because you will turn your back to them’. (PsGIA Kuhn, 20.12)

Quotations (9) and (10) demonstrate that OE *teon* and its derivatives could be used in double-object constructions. In the OE translation of Bede’s *EH*, the copyist reinforces his narrative of past events by relating two double accusatives (with *fyrð* and *here*) to a subsequent and alternating ACC-GEN pattern. In quotation (10), there may be some justified skepticism about considering *anne fotlast* ‘one step’ a prototypical theme in argument-structure terms. And yet, related constructions are found in cognate languages like Latin. As Pinkster (2015: 163–173) points out in his section on double accusatives, transitive verbs used in two-place constructions may become ditransitive (three-place) when a prefix is added to them (2015: 172–173). In such cases, the themes exemplified indicate space (length) and, more specifically, the crossing of a river – *equitum magnam partem flumen transiecit* ‘...he moved the greater part of his cavalry (across) the river’ (Caes. *Civ.* 1, 55, 1). Finally, although Latin *dorsum* in the original is very likely to be more an adverb rather than a noun in the accusative in the Latin original, it is clear that the translator conceptualized it nominally to specify a type of a physically non-progressive, turning movement – in OE, *bæc* never functions as adverb, appearing only in prepositional adjuncts like *on bæc* ‘back’, *ofer bæc* ‘back’ and *under bæc* ‘back, behind’.

The type of continuous causation described by the three quotations implies manner, a feature no longer operative in Modern English ditransitives. In the case of quotations (9) and (10), the idea of slow, gradual motion is reinforced by effort. In quotation (11),



quotation (12) is a high-frequency term here, conveying the idea of providing for others, getting a table ready for eating. The notion of filling, replenishing or satiating is also reasonably well attested, with one quotation for *fyllan* from Andreas as above in (13) and three for *gefyllan*, one of which is given in quotation (14). Finally, despite being based on a misinterpretation by the translator of the referent behind *eius* in the Latin original, where it refers to the wife herself rather than to her husband, quotation (15) represents a clear instance of malefactiveness.

#### 5.4. Possession, dispossession

This cognitive domain is made up of verbs of owning (1), their malefactive counterparts, disowning, and verbs of obtaining (17). Their presence within the scope of the ACC-ACC subconstruction is marginal, with only a single token implying dispossession, recorded in the lists of Wulfing and Visser's *—beniman* 'to deprive'. This verb usually follows the ACC-GEN pattern (Mitchell, 1985: 460), and is also attested more sporadically in OE DAT-GENs (Vázquez-González, 2024: 17–18). The quotation, from Bede's EH, illustrates the point:

(16) [...] þæt he scolde Eadwine þone cyning  
 he.NOM should Eadwin.the.king.ACC  
 (sperans) se regem Aeduinum  
 somed ge rice ge lif beneoman  
 both kingdom.ACC life.ACC take away  
 regno et uita priuatum  
 'He was sent in the hope of depriving king Edwin  
 from kingdom and life.' (Bede 2, EH)

#### 5.5. Mode of communication

Mode of communication includes verbs of communicated message (10) and verbs of instrument of communication (11). This conceptual domain is the most used, clearly surpassing Actual Transfer (Section 5.1 above) and (Mis)Creation (5.3). It contains 13 verb types and 65 tokens, covering most of the units in Visser's list but also including two previously unattested types: *gefrignan* 'to ask' and *bensian* 'to pray, entreat in prayer'. For the sake of clarity, *læran* 'to teach, instruct' and *læran ræd* 'to give advice' have been treated separately. The question mark for *beacsian* 'to ask for advice' indicates that the quotation provided by Visser for this term is doubtful in our opinion, perhaps involving an ACC-GEN usage—*Hie ... hine lare beahsodan* 'they asked him for advice.' The quotations for *biddan* 'to ask' and *læran* 'to teach, instruct' are newly identified. Quotation (20) for *bensian* 'to pray, entreat in prayer' instantiates the class of instrument of communication.

LIST OF VERB TYPES: *ascian* 'to ask, ask for, demand' (12/4 pmw), *beacsian?* 'to ask for advice' (1), *frignan* 'to ask, enquire' (1), *gefrignan* 'to ask' (3/1 pmw), *biddan* 'to ask' (5/1.66 pmw), *læran* 'to teach, instruct' (28/9.33 pmw), *gelæran* 'to teach, instruct' (6/2),

*gelæran* *ræd* ‘to give advice’ (3/1 pmw), *tæcan* ‘to teach’ (2/0.66 pmw), *tæcan*<sup>2</sup> ‘to show, direct’ (1), *hatan* ‘to order, command’ (1), *nemnan* ‘to give a name to’ (1), *bensian* ‘to pray, entreat in prayer’ (1).

- (17) *Þa behet he mid aþe hyre to sylenne*  
 then vowed he with oath her to give  
*cum juramento pollicitus est ei dare*  
*swa hwæt swa heo hyne bæde.*  
 as thing.ACC as she.NOM him.ACC asked  
*quodcumque postulasset ab eo.*  
 ‘Then he promised with an oath to give her whatever she  
 would ask of him’ (Mt 14.7, WSCp)
- (18) [...] *gefrugnun hine ðegnas his bisen*  
 asked him.ACC disciples.NOM his.GEN parable.ACC  
*interrogabant eum discipuli eius parabolam*  
 ‘(After he entered the house away from the mob) his disciples  
 asked him about his parable’ (MkG1 Li, 7,17, C8.1.2)
- (19) [...] *on anum ðara dagana lærende hine þæt folc in temple*  
 in one those days teaching himself.ACC the.folk.ACC in temple  
*in una dierum docente illo populum in templo*  
 ‘(And it happened on one of those days that, as) he taught the  
 people in the temple, ...’ (LkG1, Li C8.1.3).
- (20) *þa eode to him moder sunu zebedes [...]*  
 then went to him mother.NOM sons.Zebedees.GEN  
*Tunc accessit ad eum mater filiorum zebedei*  
*hine boensendu hwæthwugu from him.*  
 him.ACC praying something.ACC from him  
*petens aliquid ab eo.*  
 ‘Then went to him the mother of the Zebedees children [...]  
 praying for a certain thing to him’ (MtG1, Tu 20,20).

The quotations are extracted from glossed sections of the West Saxon Gospels (for *bid-dan*), Lindisfarne (*gefrignan* and *læran*) and Rushworth Gospels (*bensian*). The semantics of these verbs focuses on asking, asking for (advice), teaching, instructing, praying, and/or ordering. Units like *ascian* and *frignan*, and related prefixed verbs, are also commonly used in the ACC-GEN subconstruction.<sup>5</sup> In constructional terms, this domain is characterized by cognitive transfer and framed within the conduit model of communication, with metaphorical themes moving from agent to recipient as ultimate realizations of the conduit metaphor, COMMUNICATION IS TRANSFER (Reddy, 1979; Lakoff et al., 1991: 120–122).

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, *Hie ... hine lare beahsoden*, as discussed above.

## 6. Typology, formalization, and schematization

Following the in-depth analysis of the ACC-ACC scope in the preceding section, the next step is to visualize the collected data, both old and new, within a semantic map, to formalize a few (sub)level-specific constructions into DCxG boxes, and specify the lexicality-schematicity hierarchy of this subconstruction.

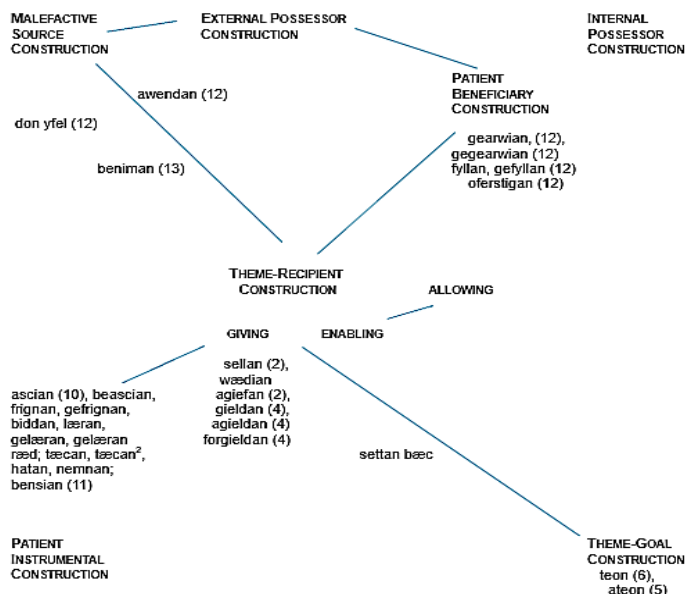


Figure 2: The semantics of the ACC-ACC subconstruction in Old English.

The data on double-object accusatives is represented in the following semantic map proposal (Malchukov et al., 2010: 51), which situates the data within typological space. The map (Figure 2 above) shows the Theme-Recipient Construction at the core, in line with data from Modern English and OE DAT-ACCs (Vázquez-González & Barðdal, 2019: 591–597), and clines from the former towards other constructional options

The low productivity of OE ACC-ACCs facilitates the inclusion of all the types listed above, whose ascription to specific verb classes is indicated in the figures. The core of the Modern English ditransitive, the Theme-Recipient Construction, is relatively well attested, with verbs of giving (2) and paying (4). Continuous causation in the cline from change of possession into change of location (Malchukov et al., 2010: 48) is characterized by the absence of verbs of bringing (6) and sending (5) and the presence of the most unlikely option – double-object usages with the verbs *teon*, *ateon*, the OE counterparts of Modern English *pull*, *drag* or *draw*, operating in sentences like *??pulled him a chair* (Malchukov et al., 2010: 48). As explained in Section 5.2 above, there is also evidence for non-translational motion.

The cline from the Theme-Recipient to the Patient/Beneficiary construction is also active, with a particular emphasis on verbs of preparation. Overall evidence for the cline towards the Malefactive Source Construction is scant, being restricted to sporadic instances of Miscreation and Dispossession. Finally, it is clear from the 13 types and 65 tokens attested that Mode of Communication occupies the largest area in constructional space, foregrounding the role of cognitive transfer over all other available options. This explains why the semantics of verbs of communication (10) is so diversified – encompassing enquiries, requests, teaching, instructions, advice, etc. It has also been possible to find a request expressed through prayer that clearly pertains to instrument of communication (11), an early antecedent of modern types like Icelandic *smsa e-m e-ð* ‘to text someone something.’

Finally, based on the data available so far, the gaps in the semantic map also help to describe OE ACC-ACCs indirectly. It is clear that Enabling, a central component of actual transfer and the Theme-Recipient Construction, is absent. The data show that verbs of granting, permitting, and allowing are well-represented in OE DAT-GENs (Vázquez-González, 2024: 19), and more sporadically attested in DAT-ACCs (Vázquez-González & Barðdal, 2019: 599). Intended transfer, verbs of owning (1) and obtaining (Possession), and hindrance (15) and constraining (16) under Retaining are not part of the semantic scope either. Verbs of disowning, or depriving, are very weakly attested, which aligns with their preference for appearing under the ACC-GEN subconstruction (Visser, 1963: 611–618). As explained above, verbs describing mental activity (under Mental Processes) frequently employ the ACC-ACC pattern to express the predicative construction – & *fyrhtede werun woendun hine gast þæt gisege* ‘and they were afraid, believing him a spirit that they were seeing,’ (LkG1, Ru 24, 37). Accordingly, they have been excluded from this analysis.

The DCxG model combines the maximized scope of constructional- and typologically- based visual maps such as Figure 2, with the fine-grained specifics of traditional CxG boxes (Michaelis, 2010; Sag, 2012). Every box contains three sections: FORM, SYN (syntax), and SEM (semantics). The FORM area includes the construction that is being defined at verb-subspecific and verb-specific levels – formalizing from verb-subclass-specific level upwards means abstracting schematically away from material form. SYN details the construction’s argument structure: the arguments are listed in order, and each of them matches a specific case in the Nom-Acc-Acc string. In the following boxes, the NOM-ACC<sub>R</sub>-ACC<sub>T</sub> substring is set as the default value, since it is most frequent. SEM provides the specific semantic frame and roles involved (Baker et al., 2003; Boas, 2005). SYN and SEM areas are linked through indexing, which specifies the semantic role ascribed to each syntactic argument. For illustration, we present three verb-(subclass)-specific boxes displaying. These display the cited cline from theme-recipients to beneficiaries and a minor one moving from actual to metaphorical transfer, the most common option among ACC-ACCs so far. Figure 3 below displays the data for *forgielðan* ‘to pay, repay’:

Verb-subspecific cxn			
FORM	< forgielðan >		
SYN	ARG-ST <NP-NOM <sub>i</sub> , NP-ACC <sub>j</sub> , NP-ACC <sub>k</sub> >		
SEM	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>FRAMES</td> <td> <i>Repayment-fr</i>  DEBTOR<sub>i</sub>  LOANER<sub>j</sub>  MONEY<sub>k</sub> </td> </tr> </table>	FRAMES	<i>Repayment-fr</i> DEBTOR <sub>i</sub> LOANER <sub>j</sub> MONEY <sub>k</sub>
FRAMES	<i>Repayment-fr</i> DEBTOR <sub>i</sub> LOANER <sub>j</sub> MONEY <sub>k</sub>		

Figure 3: Formalizing the verb-subspecific NOM-*forgiðan*-ACC- ACC construction.

The verb appears in quotation (8), an instance of verbs of paying used in the Laws of Æthelberht<sup>6</sup> expressing the stipulated compensation a lord should provide for his servant’s bodily injuries in the event of an accident. The threefold argument structure of actual transfer, consisting of agent, recipient, and theme, is recontextualized under the repayment frame as debtor (the lord), loaner (the servant: his injured body parts), and money, respectively.

Beneficiaries also play a relatively significant role in the corpus gathered so far. Two tokens included in Section 5.3 above illustrate the idea of satiation, replenishing –*fyllan* and *gefyllan*, appearing in quotations (13) and (14). Figure 4 formalizes the latter or verb-subclass specific *gefyllan*:

Verb-subspecific cxn			
FORM	< gefyllan >		
SYN	ARG-ST <NP-NOM <sub>i</sub> , NP-ACC <sub>j</sub> , NP-ACC <sub>k</sub> >		
SEM	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>FRAMES</td> <td> <i>fill-fr</i>  AGENT<sub>i</sub>  BENEFICIARY<sub>j</sub>  THEME<sub>k</sub> </td> </tr> </table>	FRAMES	<i>fill-fr</i> AGENT <sub>i</sub> BENEFICIARY <sub>j</sub> THEME <sub>k</sub>
FRAMES	<i>fill-fr</i> AGENT <sub>i</sub> BENEFICIARY <sub>j</sub> THEME <sub>k</sub>		

Figure 4: Formalizing the verb-subspecific NOM-*gefyllan*-ACC- ACC construction.

<sup>6</sup> See Section 5.1 above

This time, the arguments operate under the *fill* frame. The agent is now an actor facilitating the filling, the theme a substance changing location, and the container that is being filled and defined as GOAL in Modern English FrameNet Data terms is necessarily complementary to a human BENEFICIARY. Although these verbs also focus on the resulting state rather than on manner, *fill* verbs in Modern English operate very differently in prepositional constructions, as in *Leigh swaddled the baby with/in blankets* (Levin, 1993: 119–120). This is another example of how broad the scope OE double-object constructions used to be.

Actual transfer gives way to cognitive transfer in Mode of Communication. The notion selected is “asking for”. Within the request frame, agents metaphorically turn into speakers, recipients into addressees, and themes into messages. The type selected for Figure 5 below is *biddan* ‘to ask for’, appearing in quotation (17):

<i>Verb-specific cxn</i>			
FORM	< biddan >		
SYN	ARG-ST <NP-NOM <sub>i</sub> , NP-ACC <sub>i</sub> , NP-ACC <sub>k</sub> >		
SEM	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>FRAMES</td> <td><i>request-fr</i> SPEAKER<sub>i</sub> ADDRESSEE<sub>i</sub> MESSAGE<sub>k</sub></td> </tr> </table>	FRAMES	<i>request-fr</i> SPEAKER <sub>i</sub> ADDRESSEE <sub>i</sub> MESSAGE <sub>k</sub>
FRAMES	<i>request-fr</i> SPEAKER <sub>i</sub> ADDRESSEE <sub>i</sub> MESSAGE <sub>k</sub>		

Figure 5: Formalizing the verb-specific NOM-*biddan*-ACC- ACC construction.

The relatively high productivity of the verb type selected, displaying five tokens in the ACC-ACC corpus and a normalized frequency of 1.66 pmw, explains why it appears in more than just the ACC-ACC frame. It occurs in DAT-ACCs when theme-messages are morphosyntactically rendered by an object clause. More frequently, it operates in the ACC-GEN subconstruction or exhibits a more complex NOM-DAT-GEN-(PP<sub>dat</sub>) pattern in which the speaker in the nominative and the beneficiary in the dative coincide, as the request is meant for the benefit of the agent performing it (Vázquez-González, 2024: 26). Neither theme-recipients nor beneficiaries can compare in scope to metaphorical transfer, which shows 13 types and 65 tokens in the corpus. Finally, the few cases of affectedness found may be instantiated by *beniman* ‘to deprive’ in quotation (16) above, which operates under the *robbery* frame. Now the agent becomes the perpetrator, the maleficiary the victim, and the theme the goods that are alienated. Due to lack of space, the corresponding box is not given.

As noted above, the DCxG model adopted here schematizes from verb-subclass-specific level upwards. The boxes devised, omitted here for reasons of space, gradually turn argument-structure specifics into schematic options (verb-class-specific, higher-level conceptual domains) until the highest level of schematicity is reached, the event-type construction. The DCxG boxes run in parallel with a proposed lexicality-schematicity network for OE ACC-ACCs (Croft, 2003; Barðdal, 2008), reproduced below in Figures 6 and 7:

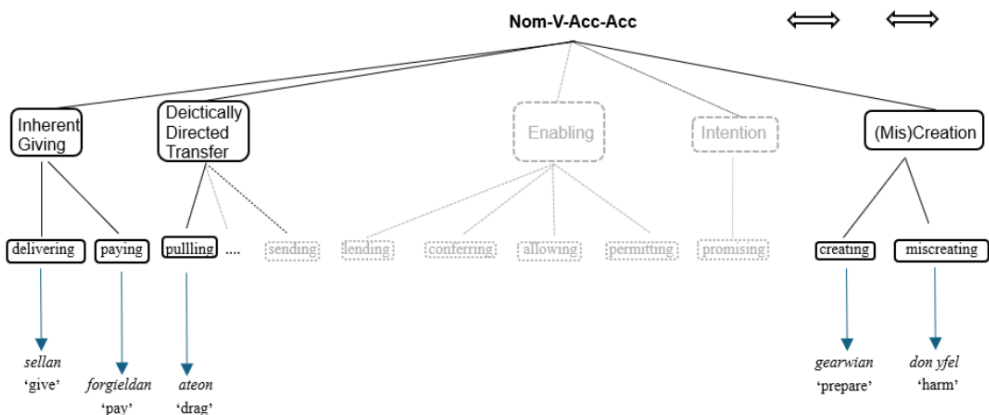


Figure 6: The Lexicality-Schematicity Hierarchy of the OE ACC-ACC subconstruction, 1.

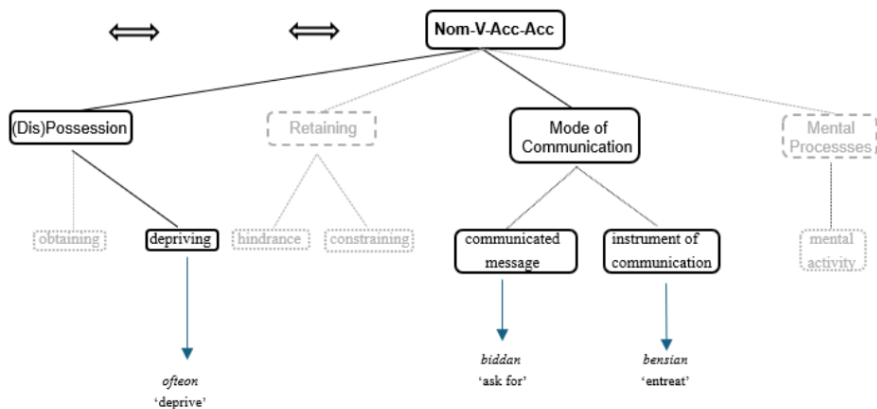


Figure 7: The Lexicality-Schematicity Hierarchy of the OE ACC-ACC subconstruction, 2.

As can be observed, the hierarchy proceeds gradually from verb-subspecific constructions upwards, gathering up constructional specifics into higher, more schematic levels. At its base, the hierarchy consists of subverb- and verb-specific constructions,

detailing the linguistic behavior of all verb types operating as ACC-ACCs. Note that, in Figures 6 and 7, a distinction is made when positioning units at either point: prefixed *forgieldan*, *ateon* (Figure 6) and *ofteon* (Figure 7) appear slightly lower than *sellan*, *gearwian*, and *don yfel* in Figure 6 or *biddan* and *bensian* in Figure 7. *Gearwian*, a type specifying preparation, instantiates verb-subclass-specificness, with schematicity increasing at the level of verb class (giving, paying, creating, depriving, communicated message and instrument of communication) and conceptual domain level—Giving, Creation, Disposition and mode of Communication. Finally, the highest level matches the most schematic of options, the event-type construction, the combination of form displayed by the Nom-V-Acc-Acc pattern and expressing purely relational meaning due to the high level of schematicity involved. It is at this level that we propose a linking mechanism with the other subconstructions (DAT-ACCs included) within the space of double-object complementation.

The hierarchy layout also provides a precise snapshot of the specifics and schematics gathered so far regarding the ACC-ACC subconstruction, organized on the basis of comparison with the highest-frequency DAT-ACCs. This explains the distinction between the overshadowed areas and those in bold at all levels of the specificity-schematicity hierarchy. We now turn to a demonstration of the continuity of this subconstruction across time, space, and texts.

## 7. Dating, varieties, and text types

As demonstrated in Sections 4 and 5 through the collection and typological analysis of corpus data, the existence of the ACC-ACC subconstruction cannot be questioned. However, Visser (1963) argued that most of the examples he found are not fully reliable, several of them involving extremely late ultracorrect forms of *hine*, while others are perhaps based on scribal errors in the copying process. As noted in Section 2 above, the linguist suggests that only *læran* and *gelæran* can be safely ascribed to the subconstruction, since they show continuity from the early to the late OE periods. Even though he includes this subconstruction as part of the OE inventory of double-object case frames, the proposed drastic reduction to two family-related verb types calls into question the very existence of ACC-ACCs as a subconstruction. Despite extremely low productivity, it has been demonstrated in Sections 5 and 6 above that the subconstruction exists. We now proceed to gather additional evidence based on a combination of factors—continuity in the dates of the tokens gathered, diverse provenance in terms of OE varieties, and multiplicity of text types.

A close analysis of the dates of the 87 tokens comprising the ACC-ACC corpus distributes them across early and late OE, while also establishing a clear distinction between 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century usages, where the bulk of the corpus is concentrated. This means that there is continuity of ACC-ACCs across time that is not just simplistically reduced to *læran* and *gelæran* alone. We now turn to evidence for this continuity from the early to the late OE periods, following Möhlig-Falke's (2015: 395-420) temporal taxonomy of DOEC's texts closely and taking into account the specifics of certain works. The dating

of OE sources is a complex matter, as it is often difficult to distinguish between manuscripts composed later from the included texts, probably written (much) earlier and repeatedly copied.

Fourteen tokens are directly ascribed to early OE. This group includes quotation (8) for *forgielðan* from the Laws of Æthelberht, (9) for *teon* from King Alfred's translation of Bede's EH ..., (11) for *settan bæc* from the Book of Psalms (Vespasian Psalter), and (16) for *beniman* from the OE translation of Bede's EH as described above. Twenty-one tokens are dated to the first and second halves of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, already within the late OE period. For the first half, quotation (7) for *agiefan* regarding almsgiving in the Laws of Athelstan is listed. For the second half, quotations (18) and (19) for *gefrignan* and *læran* are taken from the interlinear glosses incorporated into the Lindisfarne Gospels by Aldred, and quotation (20) for *bensian* was glossed by Farman in the Rushworth Gospels. Finally, 52 usages are dated to the very late OE period. The West Saxon Gospels, written at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> or early 11<sup>th</sup> century, are instantiated by quotation (17) for *biddan*. Ælfric's OE prose translation of Genesis and an interlinear gloss from the Vitellius Psalter, quotations (6) and (12) for *sellan* and *gearwian*, respectively, are dated to the first and second halves of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Finally, a line from the OE Martyrology containing *ateon* in quotation (10) is dated from the late 10<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, the cited clash between an earlier composition, written sometime during the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and a later manuscript compilation in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

The 86 tokens gathered for this investigation also display a range of OE varieties, both early and late. As with dating, typologizing the provenance of an OE text is not an easy task, since many of them were mixed in the process of transmission: according to Möhlig-Falke (2015: 405–406), who perfectly describes the ongoing debate about the ultimate Mercian provenance of some poetic texts, all poetic works show a “similar dialect mixture of late West Saxon and Anglian (especially Mercian) forms”. This applies to nine quotations included in our corpus.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, despite the frequent mixed basis of the quotations gathered, instances from both early and late West Saxon are well represented. In this respect, quotation (8) for *forgielðan* comes from the Laws of Æthelberht. Set down at the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and incorporated by Alfred into the latter's legal code, the quotation selected shows early West Saxon syntactical features like a lack of univerbation in *of...aslagen* and the use of *weorðan* as passive auxiliary (Oliver, 2005). Regarding late West Saxon, quotation (12) for *gearwian*, taken from Psalm 77 in the Vitellius Psalter, is dated around 1060.

Evidence for Mercian is also clear in both the early and late periods. Quotation (11) for *settan bæc* is found in the Vespasian Psalter Gloss, with an 8<sup>th</sup> to mid-9<sup>th</sup> century. In turn, quotation (20) for *bensian* comes directly from Farman, who glossed Matthew in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century Rushworth Gospels. Regarding Northumbrian, the late 10<sup>th</sup> century authorship of quotations (18) and (19) exemplifying *gefrignan* and *læran* relies on Aldred, the glosser of the Lindisfarne Gospels. Finally, since *læran* functions most frequently in the ACC-ACC subconstruction, one may set aside the case ambiguity of *us* in the example

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<sup>7</sup> See quotation (13) for *fyllan* in this respect.

below and suggest late 11<sup>th</sup> century Kentish evidence in a line from *The Vision of St. Paul* (Healey, 1978: 31–38):

- (21) *Diofol us lærað oferfyllle and untidætas.*  
devil.NOM us.ACC advise overfill.ACC and improper.eatings.ACC  
'(God Almighty exhorts us to fast.) The devil instructs us against  
gluttony and untimely eating.' (HomM 14.2 Healey)

The quotations selected for this investigation cover four out of six of the diachronic text types proposed in the Helsinki Corpus (Kytö & Rissanen, 1992): statutory, religious instruction, non-imaginative, and imaginative narration. Quotations (7) and (8) illustrate ACC-ACCs operating in the Anglo-Saxon laws. Within non-imaginative narration, history is represented in King Alfred's translation of Bede's EH in quotations (9) and (16), while biography appears in Saints' Lives, such as that of Lucy.<sup>8</sup> In turn, imaginative narration of a religious type is exemplified by quotation (13) from *Andreas*, a poetic work. The biblical text type is instantiated diversely and at different periods, ranging from the late OE prose translations of Genesis and John (by Ælfric) in the West Saxon Gospels in quotations (6) and (17), through several quotations from the Psalms in the Vespasian and Vitellius Psalters, to the late 10<sup>th</sup> century interlinear glosses to the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels by Aldred, Owun and Farman. This diversity of text types, together with the fact that some of them are rendered in different OE varieties at different times, demonstrates the regularity and continuity of ACC-ACCs across time and space during the Anglo-Saxon period.

## 8. Translating semantic morphosyntax as evidence

In this section, special attention is paid to the study of the interlinear glosses and glossed texts included in our corpus. Their selection is deliberate, insofar as they are usually thought to translate their Latin counterparts directly, owing to the influence of Latin as the prestige language, and this in turn is thought to result in forced OE translation outputs. As demonstrated below, this premise does not always hold.

As Möhlig-Falke (2015: 415) observes, the analysis of morphosyntactic factors in continuous interlinear glosses is not unproblematic, since glosses tend to remain "close word-for-word translations of the Latin source text" and "mechanical [...] translation" does not always guarantee grammaticality in OE. While the situation may indeed be recurrent, it does not necessarily apply in all cases or to all morphosyntactic types. In this section, the study of interlinear glosses in the ACC-ACC corpus is based on the existence of three variables: subconstructional match, near similarity, or distant relatedness between OE and Latin.

Variable 1 involves direct ACC-ACC/ACC-ACC correspondence, a total match. As noted above, this can be thought to reflect an overarching influence of Latin conducive to mechanical and artificial translation OE outputs, with direct translations *word be worde*

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<sup>8</sup> See quotation (10).

and *casus be casu*. A case can also be made, nevertheless, for the possibility that total matches provide evidence for the natural accommodation of a Latin pattern to a corresponding direct OE equivalent. Double accusatives are attested in Latin (Pinkster, 2015: 163-173), being frequent with verbs of asking and teaching,<sup>9</sup> but are not a very productive option within the double-case frame system, which also included ACC-DATs, DAT-ACCs, ACC-AB(LATIVE)s and ACC-GENs, alongside the corresponding alternating prepositional constructions (2015: 150-192).

Variable 2 rests on the premise of partial similarity between the two languages, and on the assumption that ACC-ACCs were sometimes used as a convenient native output solution (*andgiet of andgiete*), mainly activated for Latin inputs describing near subconstructions, with or without a direct match in OE. To our knowledge, the analysis of variable 2, primarily focused on the morphosyntax of OE double objects, and on the lack of full correspondence between case frames in Latin and OE, has not yet been undertaken. Variable 3 appears more sporadically, in those cases in which OE ACC-ACCs render more distant, but still related, Latin constructions.

The corpus compiled for this work includes instances of all three variables, each complementary and equally relevant in its own right for this work. Nevertheless, this section gives special attention to variables 2 and 3 because they provide evidence for the native nature of OE ACC-ACCs. We now proceed to conduct an analysis of ACC-ACC glosses in the corpus. Additional information regarding other texts coming ultimately from Latin sources also proves relevant to support our findings, which will be now discussed.

Interlinear glosses are OE translations of religious excerpts from the Bible preserved in Latin. The *a priori* assumption that these always describe one-to-one correspondences between Latin and OE, producing purely mechanical translations, is not borne out by the data. The corpus compiled so far for ACC-ACCs contains a total of 15 glossed lines. seven come from the Psalms, being distributed into the Vitellius (2), Vespasian (2), Arundel (1), and Cambridge (1) salters. An additional quotation taken from the Head to Psalm 9 in the Paris Psalter has also been included because, despite being properly tagged as prose (B in DOEC), King Alfred's introductory notes are inextricably linked to this group of psalters as a text type. Data analysis shows that, while quotation (11) from the Vespasian Psalter for *settan bec* and another token for *frignan* excluded from this work render the same ACC-ACC pattern directly, in the remaining cases (5) the patterns do not match. In most of them (4), the Latin morphosyntax specifies a closely related subconstruction—the ACC-DAT frame. In this respect, see *parare mensam populo suo* in quotation (12) for *gearwian* above, Section 5.3. Moreover, on one occasion, the glosser is forced to find a solution for a double-object pattern unavailable in his own language. See *pane celi saturavit eos* in quotation (14) for *gefyllan*, with a Latin ABL-V-ACC double-object case frame.

In the first group, represented by quotation (12), the four glossers, while remaining in double-object space when translating, might just as easily have opted for the corresponding ACC-DAT match in OE but instead deliberately chose a double accusative. This

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<sup>9</sup> See Sections 4.73 and 4.74 in Pinkster (2015: 165–168).

decision goes against the fact that ACC-DATS and DAT-ACCs are the most productive patterns in OE, with ACC-DATS showing the highest frequency during late OE (De Cuypere, 2015: 20), which is precisely when the Vitellius Psalter was written, in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Consider, for instance, the following quotation taken from the 11th-century West Saxon Gospel of John, 6.11 – *Se Hælend nam þa hlafas & [...] hig todælde þam sittendum* ‘And Jesus took the loaves ... and distributed them to those sitting’. The glossers did not favor a DAT-ACC output, probably because the first case frame did not match. Therefore, if the translators’ final choice was a double accusative, this strongly suggests the aptness of the pattern- that it functioned as a valid native alternative. Creating an artificial double accusative *ex nihilo* when one can straightforwardly take the same pattern (ACC-DAT) from your very language does not make sense as a translation technique. Furthermore, the choice of ACC-ACC is not isolated: four glossers opted for the same ACC-ACC output in different excerpts. In our view, the recurring choice demonstrates the native character of OE double accusatives.

In the case of quotation (14), *pane celi saturauit eos*, the glosser must have perceived a constructional near similarity in Latin ABL-V-ACC<sup>10</sup>, transforming this unavailable alternating subconstruction into another OE double accusative. Given the three quotations found for *gefyllan* in the corpus, the use of this verb type as ACC-ACC must have been relatively common. Instances such as these, which express partial subconstructional similarity, provide strong evidence for skilled translation practices in semantic morpho-syntax and, more significantly, point to the native character of the ACC-ACC subconstruction.

Continuous interlinear glosses displaying the subconstruction under study are also found in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels. The corpus includes four quotations from each text. In the Lindisfarne Gospels, and despite the predominance of direct ACC-ACC renderings (3), the same pattern is also skillfully used to resolve a specific case of constructional idiosyncrasy in Latin. Compare quotations (18) and (19) in Section 5.5 above in this respect: while the line in Mark 7,17 containing *gefrignan* involves a straightforward translation (*interrogabant eum discipuli eius parabolam*), the same glosser, Aldred, readjusts Luke 20,1 by turning a transitive ablative absolute construction (*docente illo populum in templo*) into an OE ACC-ACC reflexive ditransitive to preserve the Latin subject, albeit with a slightly different function. This represents a case of distant relatedness involving a shift from monotransitivity into double-object complementation.

The Rushworth Gospels show a balance between total matches (2) and partial subconstructional similarity (2). A case of partial similarity is found in Section 5.5 above, in quotation (20) for *bensian*, which demonstrates Farman skills in adapting the alternating ACC-PREP(ABL) Latin construction (*petens aliquid ab eo*) into a double accusative in 10<sup>th</sup>-century Mercian. Also, distant relatedness is found again in another Northumbrian translation of Luke 20, 1. Around the same time that Aldred glossed the cited line in the Lindisfarne Gospels (950-970), Owun produced a very similar translation for the passage containing the cited ablative absolute – *& giworden wæs on anum dæge ðara lærde hine ðæt*

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<sup>10</sup> See *satio* ‘to fill to repletion’ and related terms in Pinkster (2015: 146).

*folc in temple*. As shown elsewhere (Kotake, 2016), Owun did not copy directly from the Lindisfarne Gospels. And yet, both glossers opted for the same rendering. This morpho-syntactic coincidence across two different sources reinforces the appropriateness for this pattern and should be interpreted as proof of the native nature of the reflexive double accusative subconstruction. The evidence is backed by the pervasive presence of reflexive DAT-ACCs in early and late West Saxon, too.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, despite the evident differences between the interlinear glosses from the Psalms and those from the Gospels, the latter showing a more instructive basis, the data available show a balance (6/6) between total matches and partial subconstructional similarity, with two additional cases of distant constructional relatedness. Despite the limitations in corpus size, the fact that slightly more unexpected double accusatives appear rather than straightforward one-to-one renderings provides further evidence for their OE status. The data from the Psalms and Gospels examined above clearly demonstrate that in half of the tokens glossers skillfully utilized the ACC-ACC pattern as the closest native subconstructional option available, and that on two other occasions they opted for this subconstruction to render more distantly related constructional patterns.

Regarding the first variable, instances showing ACC-ACC/ACC-ACC correspondence, the corpus is far too small (six tokens) to draw definite conclusions as to whether they represent automatic, artificial translation or straightforward Latin-OE correspondences. And yet, constructional evidence as described in Section 5.5 above supports the possibility that the match may be straightforward and natural, as four out of six tokens fall under the Mode of communication: *frignan* (1), and *gefrignan* (3). Latin also uses the same domain (Pinkster, 2015: 163–167), and there are cognates like *precāri* ‘to pray’ or *poscēre*, ‘to beg, demand’ (Walde & Pokorny, 1973: 821–822). Therefore, some of these straightforward matches in cognate morphosyntax behave more naturally than artificially. Even in cases involving other verb classes such as quotation (11) for *settan bec*, which specifies non-translational motion and originates from a glosser’s mistake, similar constructions can be found in Gothic DAT-ACCs (Vázquez-González & Barðdal, 2019: 578–580). Consider, for instance, the line taken from Matthew 5,39—*wandei imma þo anþara [kinnu]* ‘Turn (to) him the other (cheek).’

Evidence for the native character of ACC-ACCs can also be drawn from other sources based on original Latin texts. Sometimes, the translator departs slightly from the morphosyntax of the source. Consider, for instance, Ælfric’s prose translation of the Genesis in the West Saxon Gospels. The corpus compiled here contains seven instances from this work, six of them being speech-related direct ACC-ACC matches—*Gif ge hwæt me biddaþ on minum naman þæt ic do*, *Si quid petieritis me in nomine meo, hoc faciam* (John 14,14). And yet, quotation (6) for *sellan* in Section 5.1 above demonstrates how a Latin ACC-DAT (*deditque pabulum asinis eorum*) is rendered into a double accusative in OE. Again, as indicated above, Ælfric could easily have opted for the ACC-DAT pattern, the first being the logical direct translation and more common than DAT-ACCs during the late OE period.

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<sup>11</sup> For a validation of their role particularly in OE and Old Norse-Icelandic, see Vázquez-González and Barðdal (2019: 571).

Instead, he preferred a double accusative. These small liberties in contrastive morpho-syntax are also found in the early OE translation of Bede's EH. Quotations (9) and (16) above show how the translator reworks the original by making use of a passive-active alternation in the first case (*ideoque bello petitus, ac regno priuatus ab illo*), while in the second he opts for a closer rendering of the original ACC-ABL case frame – (*sperans se regem Aeduinum regno simul et uita priuaturum*).<sup>12</sup> Unsurprisingly, the passive-active alternation involving a double accusative is also used in quotation (7) from the Laws of Athelstan – *agyfe mon hine ... ane ambra/detur ei ... una ambra*. In sum, glossers were not only skillful enough to handle slight subconstructional mismatches, but also, at times, decided to accommodate some more distantly related Latin constructions within OE double accusatives. Sometimes, it involved moving from monotransitivity to ditransitivity, other times activating major constructional alternations to their advantage.

## 9. Conclusions and directions for further research

This present investigation has provided abundant evidence that ACC-ACCs constitute a double-object construction in their own right, countering the belief held by some that they are just a small set of tokens probably restricted to a single primary verb type (*ge*)*læran* “to teach, instruct”. The group of tokens gathered in this corpus may be small, but their distribution in terms of semantic scope, OE varieties and text types, and continuity across the whole Anglo-Saxon period guarantees this low-frequency subconstruction a place of its own within OE double-object complementation.

Drawing on the comparison of DAT-ACCs with ACC-ACCs, on the contrast between the highest- and lowest- frequency case frames, and on the assumption that the less productive subconstructions partially mirror their highest-frequency counterparts, it has been possible to demonstrate the following points:

First, the corpus is larger than previously acknowledged, totaling 32 types and 87 tokens. Second, productivity then may be very low, but it cannot be dismissed. Finally, the subconstruction can no longer be described simply in terms of isolated instances.

In this expanded picture, the predominance of metaphorical transfer is counterbalanced by the presence of theme-recipients in actual transfer, patient-beneficiaries, theme-goals and maleficiaries in argument- structure terms. The semantic scope is thus more complex than hitherto affirmed, not simply involving Mode of Communication, but covering also other major conceptual domains like Giving, Deictically Directed Transfer, Creation, and Dispossession.

Regarding Mode of Communication, three new types (*gefrignan* “to ask”, *bensian* “to entreat through prayer”, and *nemnan* “to give a name”) are added to the dataset compiled by Wulfing and Visser. These new types provide greater specificity to the analysis of ACC-ACCs in this conceptual domain, which is also described more comprehensively with a wider inventory of verb tokens for requests, advice and instructions. In addition,

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<sup>12</sup> See *priu* in Pinkster (2015: 146).

this study demonstrates that verbs of instrument of communication, often perceived as a very recent innovation in the Modern English ditransitive (and the Germanic languages) due to technological advances, are fully operative in OE, albeit framed in more traditional terms—*bensian* “to entreat through prayer”. Prayers channel people’s requests to God within ACC-ACC space, much as messengers transmit their lords’ commands while on an errand in the related DAT-ACC subconstruction (Vázquez-González & Barðdal, 2019: 588-589).

The predominance of metaphorical transfer, reflected in 13 verb types and 65 tokens in the corpus, does not prevent ACC-ACCs from operating diversely. The findings concerning theme-recipients are particularly striking, since this subconstruction had until now been considered exclusively speech. Sufficient evidence for verbs of giving and paying has also been gathered in this study. The first render the very notions of giving and clothing with *sellan* (the prototype) and *wædian*, respectively. The second (*agiefan*, *gieldan*, *agioldan*, *forgioldan*) are particularly interesting because they represent clear instances of legal terminology exclusively used in the context of Anglo-Saxon law.

Beneficiaries, together with theme-recipients and metaphorical transfer, form one of the largest groups attested. They also came as a surprise in this study, since none of the terms had previously been recognized as operating in the ACC-ACC subconstruction. What is most noticeable about them is the fact that the types identified (*gearwian*, *gegearwian*, *fyllan*, *gefyllan* and *oferstigan*) are not, strictly speaking, creation notions as such, but are specifically related to the subclass of verbs of preparation. Hence the emphasis falls on concepts such as making ready, filling, satiating, and transcending. Curiously, the same typological cline that exists in Modern English between theme-recipients in the ditransitive and beneficiaries in the benefactive construction is also realized here, in the least productive of the OE double- object case frames.

The data obtained so far regarding Deictically Directed Transfer do not include straightforward instances of verbs of bringing or sending, focusing instead on types like *pull*, *draw*, *drag*, which are very rarely used in ditransitive space in the world’s languages today. And yet, the two tokens collected for *teon* and *ateon* prove that these types are in fact used deictically, conveying either direction for the transfer. Additional evidence has been found in the case of *settan bec*, which illustrates non-translational motion based on circular motion rather than on the standard source-path-goal schema. When compared to the structure of the Modern English ditransitive, the results regarding moving transfer in OE ACC-ACCs appear highly unprototypical, as the cline from theme-recipients to theme-goals is completed and active.

More sporadically, affectedness also manages to make its way into ACC-ACCs within the domains of Miscreation and Dispossession. The notions in Miscreation involve a person’s changing face (and attitude) towards her husband in a clear case of medieval misogyny in *awendan*, and, more generally, harm inflicted on someone with *don yfel*. The first of these tokens is unacknowledged. In Dispossession, there is attestation of verbs for spoliation with *beniman* ‘to deprive.’ Despite the reduced number of tokens (3), their distribution across distinct conceptual domains indicates that the presence of maleficiveness within the scope of ACC-ACCs is not random.

This investigation also demonstrates that it is a misconception to associate ACC-ACC tokens exclusively with the very late OE period, sometimes including the transition phase into Early Middle English. The tokens, in no way restricted to just *(ge)læran*, exhibit stability across early and late OE and continuity in the transition from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The fact that the dates for the majority (52/87) date to the late OE period should not be interpreted in terms of ultra-correctness or linguistic confusion, but rather as a reflection of the late OE provenance of most of the Anglo-Saxon records preserved. The very difference between the number of tokens displayed by Visser (1963) (30) and those gathered for the ACC-ACC corpus here (87) already serves as an indicator of (low) productivity. The 52 tokens found in late OE are preceded by 21 from the first and (mostly) second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and these, in turn, are antedated by other 14 ascribed to early OE.

This stability and continuity of ACC-ACCs across time is also reflected in terms of a multiplicity of OE varieties. This investigation proves that, apart from being regularly used in early and late West Saxon, in works like Bede's *EH* or Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, for instance, there is also evidence for continuity in Mercian based on quotations (11) and (20), taken from the *Vespasian Psalter Gloss* and *Farman's interlinear glosses to Matthew*, for the early and late periods respectively. Additionally, Northumbrian is represented by Aldred in quotations (18) and (19), dated to the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and corresponding to late OE. Finally, there is 11th-century Kentish evidence in quotation (21), coming from *The Old English Vision of St. Paul*. The presence of ACC-ACCs in four major diatopic varieties and their continuity in West Saxon and Mercian across early and late OE demonstrate that the subconstruction formed part of standard OE.

The continuity of the subconstruction across time and its use in most major OE varieties gains additional support when the 87 tokens are examined by text type. Four out of six prototypical text categories of the Helsinki Corpus are represented: statutory, with the laws of Æthelstan and Æthelberht, non-imaginative narration, through history or *Saints' Lives* in Bede's *EH*, and Ælfric's *Lucy*, imaginative narration exemplified by poetic works like *Andreas*, and, finally, religious instruction, richly attested in the *Psalms*, the *interlinear glosses to the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels*, the late West Saxon *Gospels*, and Ælfric's translation of the *Book of Genesis*, to name but a few. Finding ACC-ACC usages in such a diversity of text types is additional evidence for the stability of this modestly productive subconstruction.

Apart from verifying the native character of the subconstruction under study by describing the former's continuity across time, varieties, and text types in a larger corpus, this study is, to our knowledge, the first one to demonstrate that translation practice from Latin into OE can actually reinforce the native character of ACC-ACCs. Despite including excerpts from other works based on Latin original texts, the analysis carried out in Section 8 focused mainly on interlinear glosses, proves convincingly that glossers capably used this subconstruction as an output strategy in cases of distant relatedness<sup>13</sup>,

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<sup>13</sup> See variable 3 above.

such as the passive-active alternation, or when Latin patterns like the ablative absolute construction forced them to opt for imaginative native solutions based on a shift from simple to double-object complementation, including reflexive ditransitives. This study also demonstrates, particularly in the OE interlinear translations of the Psalms, that in cases of subconstructional near affinity between ACC-DATs and ACC-ACCs (variable 2), glossers frequently opted for the latter as a translation output despite the higher frequency of the former in (late) OE. This provides, in our opinion, clear evidence for the non-artificial, native character of ACC-ACCs. Finally, and in cases of ACC-ACC/ACC-ACC total correspondence, the evidence obtained from the small data sample examined here also points to non-artificiality in the use of ACC-ACCs, since most of the usages are ascribed to metaphorical transfer.

Research into OE ACC-ACCs is obviously far from complete. The ACC-ACC corpus compiled so far came up indirectly, while searching for ACC-GEN tokens in the DOEC. There are obviously more refined queries pending to be conducted. As the data currently stand, there are some reasonable hypotheses awaiting confirmation. One of these rests on the probability of finding theme-recipients in Possession. If actual transfer is based on theme-recipient semantics, as shown by verbs of giving and paying above, and if recipients constructionally oppose maleficiaries, then it may be assumed that verbs of spoliation in Dispossession may have corresponding reverse counterparts. Only a more systematic search of DOEC data could validate this and other assumptions.

The DCxG approach used in this work ultimately aims at reconstructing argument-structure constructions in Proto-Germanic. Completing the account of OE ACC-ACCs will establish the West Germanic component needed for the compilation of correspondence sets that contribute to the comparative reconstruction of double accusatives in Proto-Germanic. A second component is based on data obtained from Eastern Germanic, namely Gothic. Curiously, the situation regarding non-predicative double accusatives in Gothic does not differ greatly from the one depicted so far for OE (Miller, 2019: 168-170). Given the broader scope of OE ACC-ACCs demonstrated above, further research into the Gothic corpus is warranted. Nevertheless, due to the limitations in the size of the Gothic corpus, a reanalysis of the situation of ACC-ACCs in North Germanic is also required. The case frame, however, is equally constrained and considered so marginal that it is not even included within the regular scope of the ditransitive construction (Barðdal et al., 2011: 70-76). As matters may stand in the near future, the correspondence sets could produce a partial reconstruction of PGmc ACC-ACCs. This work, however, simply represents a first step towards a fuller account of double accusatives within the broader framework of double-object complementation in the history of Old English.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Funding and acknowledgements: This research was funded by the I+D+I project titled *Modelo de lenguaje y aumento de datos para Universal Dependencies. Treebank de inglés antiguo, prueba con cero datos del gótico y estudios lingüísticos relacionados* [MAUD: Model of language and data augmentation for Universal Dependencies. Treebank of Old English, zero-shot application to Gothic and related linguistic studies], grant PID2023-149762NB-I00, which is gratefully acknowledged. I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to Drs. Fernández-Cuesta and Rodríguez-Ledesma for their expertise and kind advice on Mercian and Northumbrian.

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<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110755657-003>

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