

From state to activity: The diachrony of Ancient Greek verbs in *-eúō*

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The problem

- ▶ Status of root-adjacent (\approx stem-forming), *categorizing* verbal morphology and its interaction with argument/event structure alternations
 - ▶ Theme vowels & conjugational class markers (Oltra-Massuet 1999, Oltra-Massuet & Arregi 2005; Spyropoulos et al. 2015; Panagiotidis et al. 2017; Kastner & Martin 2021; Simonović & Mišmaš 2023; Kovačević et al. 2024)
 - ▶ Verbal derivational morphemes (Lowenstamm 2014)
 - ▶ Verbal templates (Doron 2003; Alexiadou & Doron 2012; Kastner 2020)

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Diachrony: Where does this type of categorizing morphology come from?

- ▶ Empirical problem: much more work on the diachrony of analytic/periphrastic argument structure and voice constructions (e.g., English *get*-passive, Romance SE-“reflexives”, German(ic) participial passive ...) than on categorizing/synthetic ones
 - ▶ Some recent exceptions: Bertocci 2017; Bertocci & Pinzin 2019; Grestenberger 2022, 2023; Calabrese & Petrosino 2023
- ▶ Conceptual/theoretical problem: are changes in word-forming/category-defining morphology
 - ▶ regular? (in the Neogrammarian sense) and
 - ▶ directional? (in the “directional syntactic cycles” sense)

Diachrony of verbalizing morphology

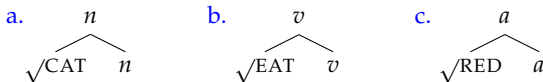
Core hypotheses:

- ▶ Changes in categorizing/derivational morphology are unidirectional, parallel to syntactic changes.
- ▶ This directionality follows from the same underlying principles as in syntactic change
 - ▶ Morphology mirrors syntax, e.g., DM, Nanosyntax...
- ▶ **Argument structure changes should systematically correlate with changes in/reanalysis of verbal categorizing/derivational morphology**
- ▶ These changes should follow specific patterns and directions, parallel to “cycles” in syntactic change
 - ▶ Cf., e.g., van Gelderen 2018, 2019

Theoretical background: categorizing morphology in Distributed Morphology (DM)

- Distributed Morphology (DM): acategorial *roots* combine with categorizing heads “in the syntax”/via Merge (Embick & Marantz 2008; Marantz 2013; Embick 2015; Alexiadou & Lohndal 2017 etc.).

(1) Roots & categorizers



- How many/what types of categorizers are there? Diachrony?

Verbalizing morphology in DM

- ▶ verbal stem-forming morphology = verbalizer v with different features or “flavors” (Folli & Harley 2004, 2007; Harley 2005, 2009, 2013; Alexiadou & Lohndal 2017; Panagiotidis et al. 2017, etc.):
 - ▶ v_{CAUSE} : causatives
 - ▶ v_{BECOME} : anticausatives/inchoatives
 - ▶ $v_{\text{BE/STATE}}$: states
 - ▶ v_{DO} or v_{ACT} : unergative activity verbs
 - ▶ ... (no established typology of v -heads)
- ▶ Like other categorizers, v mediates between the root and higher functional projections
- ▶ Argument/event structure alternations (causative alternation, passivization, etc.) are due to the interaction of v and Voice (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2004; Alexiadou & Doron 2012; Alexiadou 2013; Harley 2013, 2017; Alexiadou et al. 2015; Schäfer 2017 ...) — e.g., depending on whether or not Voice introduces an external argument.

Verbalizing morphology and argument structure

Hale & Keyser 1998, 2002, Harley 2005, 2011:

- Unergative verbs are denominal verbs: a noun incorporates into (“conflates with”) a selecting verbal projection, v_{DO}

→ Evidence from light verb constructions with DO in, e.g., Basque, Tanoan, Hiaki, Farsi, Italian ...

- (2) Unergative verbs in Basque & Tanoan (Hale & Keyser 1998, cit. after Harley 2011: 431–2).

a. Basque

| | | |
|--------------|-------------|---------|
| <i>lo</i> | <i>egin</i> | ‘sleep’ |
| sleep | do | |
| <i>barre</i> | <i>egin</i> | ‘laugh’ |
| laugh | do | |

b. Tanoan

| | |
|---------------|---------|
| <i>se-’a</i> | ‘speak’ |
| speech-do | |
| <i>sae-’a</i> | ‘work’ |
| work-do | |

Verbalizing morphology and argument structure

- Unaccusatives/Change of State (CoS) verbs (of the causative alternation) are deadjectival verbs: an adjective incorporates into (“conflates with”) v_{BECOME}

Evidence: CoS verbs that are morphologically related to property concept (PC) adjectives or PC states:

- (3) Hiaki (Yaqui, Uto-Aztecan) deadjectival verbs (Harley 2011: 433).

| | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <i>siki</i> | <i>sikisi</i> | <i>awi</i> | <i>awia</i> | <i>bwalko</i> | <i>bwalkote</i> |
| ‘red’ | ‘to redden’ | ‘fat’ | ‘to fatten’ | ‘soft’ | ‘to soften’ |

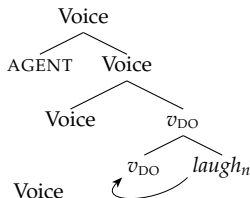
- (4) Ulwa (Misumalpan) deadjectival verbs (ex. from Beavers & Koontz-Garboden 2020: 78)

| state | | anticausative/causative CoS | |
|-------------|-------|-----------------------------|----------|
| <i>auh-</i> | ‘fat’ | <i>auh-ta-</i> | ‘fatten’ |
| <i>pau-</i> | ‘red’ | <i>pau-ta-</i> | ‘redden’ |

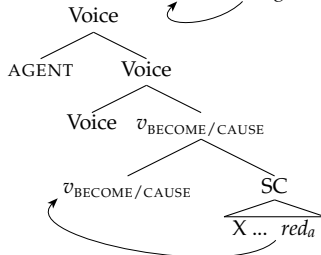
Summary: “denominal” unergatives vs. “deadjectival” unaccusatives

- (5) Unergative verbs, a., unaccusative CoS verbs, b., causative (“factive”) CoS verbs, c.

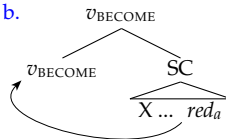
a.



c.



b.



Conflation: predictions

Synchronic:

- ▶ Conflation describes a relationship between the head of a complement and its selector, hence conflation of elements that are adjuncts to or specifiers of the selector should not conflate
 - ▶ Excluded: conflation of agents, manner/instrument adjuncts, etc.

Diachronic:

- ▶ synthetic unergatives should be formed *with verbalizers that are historically related to nominal (derivational) morphology*
- ▶ ... while synthetic (unaccusative) CoS verbs should be formed *with verbalizers that are historically related to adjectival (derivational) morphology*

(assuming that the selector does not need to be phonologically empty)

Predictions: reanalysis of categorizing morphology

Further predictions concern the relationship between verbalizing morphology and argument structure:

- ▶ Abstract properties of the reanalyzed *n* or *a* should be systematically reflected in the abstract properties of the resulting verbalizer
- ▶ Harley 1999, 2005: features such as [\pm BOUNDED] of the selected element and its ability to take a complement determine the Aktionsart of the derived verb.

(6) Unergative accomplishments (Harley 2005)

- a. The mare foaled in two hours/#for two hours.
(+bounded, telic, no complement)
- b. The baby drooled for two hours/#in two hours.
(-bounded, atelic, no complement)

Today's goals

- ▶ If the event/argument structure properties of derived verbs follow from the properties of their derivational base (*n* or *a*), then that should be reflected in event/argument structure properties of reanalyzed *v*'s that diachronically go back to such *n*'s or *a*'s in languages with verbalizers that demonstrably go back to older nominal or adjectival suffixes

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Today's goals:

- ▶ Discuss the diachrony of Ancient Greek (AG)/Modern Greek (MG) *-eú/-ev-* as a case study of *n* → *v* morpheme reanalysis
- ▶ Show how the syntax/argument structure properties of verbal *-eú-* follow from the features of its nominal base
- ▶ Discuss the implications for understanding the diachrony of stat(iv)e and activity-related verbal morphology and its properties w.r.t. to argument and event structure

Background:

-eú- in Ancient and Modern Greek

Background: Verbalizers in Modern Greek

- ▶ Modern Greek (MG) has a number of productive verbalizing suffixes that historically go back to *nominal* suffixes + all-purpose verbalizer **-ie/o-*:
 - ▶ *-en-*, *-iz-*, *-ar-*, *-on-*, *-(i)az-*, *-ev-*
 - ▶ Ralli 2005; Efthymiou 2011; Efthymiou et al. 2012; Holton et al. 2012; Spyropoulos et al. 2015; Panagiotidis et al. 2017; Koutsoukos 2021, etc.
- ▶ *-ev-* is “moderately productive” (Efthymiou et al. 2012) as an all purpose-verbalizer that forms stative, inchoative, causative, ornative, locative ... verbs in MG.
 - ▶ In the Greek varieties spoken in Italy (Griko/Grecanico), it is the main derivational suffix used for verbalizing Romance stems (Losavio 2024)

(7) Modern Greek verbs in *-ev-* (ex. from Panagiotidis et al. 2017)

| MG <i>-ev-o</i> | | base | |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| <i>stox-év-o</i> | ‘I aim at’ | <i>stóx-os</i> | ‘target’ |
| <i>fronim-év-o</i> | ‘I become prudent’ | <i>frónim-os</i> | ‘prudent’ |
| <i>kont-év-o</i> | ‘I approach’ | <i>kontá</i> | ‘near’ |
| <i>xak-év-o</i> | ‘I hack’ | Engl. <i>hack</i> | |

Background: Verbalizers in Modern Greek

- ▶ AG *-eú-ō* was originally based on *nominal* stems in *-eú-*.
- ▶ Nominal *-eú-* fell out of use on the way to MG (by the 10th c., cf. Psaltes 1913: 254)

| a. AG verb in <i>-eúō</i> | | b. MG verb in <i>-ev-o</i> | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| Verb | Base | Verb | Base |
| <i>basil-eú-ō</i> | <i>basil-eú-s</i> | <i>vasil-év-ō</i> | (√// <i>vasiliás</i>) |
| ‘am king; rule’ | ‘king’ | ‘govern’ | (√//‘king’) |
| <i>hipp-eú-ō</i> | <i>hipp-eú-s</i> | <i>ipp-év-ō</i> | (√// <i>ippéas</i>) |
| ‘am a horserider’ | ‘horserider’ | ‘ride’ | (√//‘horserider’) |
| <i>khalk-eú-ō</i> | <i>khalk-eú-s</i> | <i>xak-év-o</i> | Engl. <i>hack</i> |
| ‘am a coppersmith’ | ‘coppersmith’ | ‘hack’ | |

- ▶ Synchronically, *-ev-* is clearly a verbalizer in MG — how did an originally *nominal* suffix become a *verbal* suffix?

Background: AG -eúō & nominal -eú-

- ▶ AG -eúō verbs are **denominal** verbs primarily derived from agent(ive)/animate nouns & nouns of profession (Marescotti & Romagno Forthcoming)
- ▶ Original derivational base: [+ANIM,+HUMAN] nouns in -eús
 - ▶ Synchronic verb stem = -eu-e/o- ← -ej-je/o- < *-eu-je/o-; Fraenkel 1906: 172ff.; Schwyzler 1939: 732; Chantraine 1948: 367f., Tucker 1990: 75ff.
- ▶ Original & dominant function of nominal -eú- at the Mycenaean and Homeric stage: denominal noun-forming suffix
 - ▶ Bonfante 1929, Bosshardt 1942, Perpillou 1973, Santiago Alvarez 1987, Marescotti & Romagno Forthcoming)
- ▶ Forms **relational nouns** ('of X'/'in a relation with x'): a noun in -eú- denotes an y which has some telic quale relation with the entity x denoted by the base (adapted from Fábregas 2024: 324)
 - ▶ Telic quale (Pustejovsky 1995) "accesses the process or individual that is produced by that entity, or that the entity is designed to perform", Fábregas (2024: 255)

Background: AG -eúō & nominal -eú-

- (8) Main functions of Mycenaean/AG -eú-nouns (Marescotti & Romagno Forthcoming):
- a. proper names:
Akhilleúis 'Achilles', *Odusseúis* 'Ulysses', etc.
 - b. agent(ive) nouns/nouns of profession & occupation:
híppos 'horse' → *hippeúis* 'horserider, knight'
hierós 'holy' → *hieréúis* 'priest'
khalkós 'copper, bronze' → *khalkéúis* 'smith'
 - c. toponyms/nouns of location:
dónaks 'reed' → *donakeúis* 'thicket of reeds, reedy place'
 - d. ethnonyms/anthroponyms:
Halikarnasseúis 'man from Halikarnassos'
Dōrieúis 'man from the Dorian region'

(Cp. Fábregas 2024: Span. denominal suffixes denoting "jobs and occupations", "locations", "patronymics" and "offspring nouns")

Overview: AG verbs in -euō

- ▶ AG -euō verbs can be grouped into different semantic classes characterized by the role that the base noun plays in the derived event.

(9) Ancient Greek verbs in -euō & their bases

| | Verb | | Derivational Base | | Sem. class |
|----|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------|
| a. | <i>aristeuō</i> | 'be the best' | <i>aristeús</i> | 'best man' | AGENT [adj.] |
| | <i>basileuō</i> | 'be king; rule' | <i>basileús</i> | 'king' | AGENT [n.] |
| b. | <i>listreuō</i> | 'dig with a shovel' | <i>lístron</i> | 'shovel' | INSTRUMENT |
| c. | <i>phuteuō</i> | 'plant' | <i>phutón</i> | 'plant' | LOCATUM |
| d. | <i>ardeuō</i> | 'water' | <i>árdō</i> | 'irrigate' | ACTIVITY |
| e. | <i>dīneuō</i> | 'whirl' | <i>dīnē</i> | 'whirling' | ACTION NOUN |
| f. | <i>akheúō</i> | 'grieve' | <i>ákhos</i> | 'grief, pain' | SOURCE |
| g. | <i>orphaneuō</i> | 'rear orphans' | <i>orphanós</i> | 'orphan' | ARGUMENT |
| h. | <i>stratopedeuō</i> | 'encamp' | <i>stratópedon</i> | 'camp' | LOCATION |
| i. | <i>hagisteuō</i> | 'perform rites' | <i>hagisteía</i> | 'rites' | PRODUCT |
| j. | <i>ortheuō</i> | 'set right' | <i>orthós</i> | 'right' | SCOPE |
| k. | <i>nukheúō</i> | 'spend the night' | <i>núks</i> | 'night' | TIME |

AG -eúō & the state/event ambiguity

- ▶ AG -eúō is described as ambiguous between stative and eventive/activity readings in the literature (e.g., Schwyzler 1939: 732)
- ▶ Specifically, -eúō verbs derived from animate (“agentive”) nouns, e.g., *mant-eú-omai* ‘be/act as a prophet (*mantís*), prophesy’, (10).

- (10) a. *ô géron, ei d’ áge nûn mant-eú-eo*
 Oh old.man.VOC come on now prophet.V.IPFV.IPV.2SG.MID
soîsi tékessin oíkad’ iôn (...)
 your.DAT.PL offspring.DAT.PL towards.home go.PTCP.ACT.NOM.SG
 “Old man, up now, go home and prophesy to your children, (...)”
 (*Od.* 2.178)
- b. *ou gàr apeíretos mant-eú-omai, all’ eù eidós*
 not actually unskilled.NOM prophet-V.IPFV-1SG.MID but well
 know.PTCP.ACT.NOM.SG
 “Not as one untried do I prophesy, but with sure knowledge.” (*Od.* 2.170)

AG -eúō & the state/event ambiguity

► *basil-eú-ō* 'be/act as king (*basileús*); rule', (11).

- (11) a. *hós pot' en humîn toísdessin*
 who.NOM once in you.PL.DAT DEM.PRON.DAT.PL
basíl-eu-e
 king-V.IPFV-3SG.ACT
 "who once was king/ruled among you here." (*Od.* 2.47)
- b. *hē dē Púlou basíl-eu-e*
 she.NOM.SG.F PTCL Pylos.GEN king-V.IPFV-3SG.ACT
 "she acted as king/ruled over Pylos" (she = Chloris; *Od.* 11.285)

AG *-eúō*: Research questions

Assuming that the origin of the verbalizing use of *-eú-*/*-ev-* is linked to the stative/eventive ambiguity, we will address the following research questions:

- ▶ Is the stative/eventive ambiguity inherent to the derivational pattern or due to morphosyntactic/-semantic reanalysis?
- ▶ Is the stative/eventive ambiguity already present in the earliest attestations of *-eúō* verbs?
- ▶ Which diagnostics can we use to disentangle stative and eventive readings in corpus languages?

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... before presenting our analysis.

Data & diagnostics: states vs. events

Data & methods

- ▶ Collection, type & token analysis of the Homeric (8th c. BCE) verbs in *-eúō* using the TLG (<https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>)
- ▶ Collection & type analysis of verbs in *-eúō*, 7th–1st c. BCE
- ▶ Classification of types based on Marescotti (2024)
- ▶ Theoretical framework/diagnostics: Kimian vs. Davidsonian states, individual-level vs. stage-level, event vs. state
 - ▶ Dowty 1979; Kratzer 2001; Maienborn 2005, 2007, 2019; Rothmayr 2009, etc.

Type/token analysis of Homeric verbs in *-eúō*

- ▶ Homeric/8th century verbs in *-eúō* (types): **60**; total occurrences (tokens): **303**
- ▶ Homeric/8th century *-eúō* verbs derived from agent(ive)/animate nouns or nouns of profession: **31/60**
- ▶ The “agent(ive)” category, while predominant at all stages, includes agent(ive) nominals formed with suffixes other than *-eú-*, e.g.:
 - ▶ *ptōkh-eú-ō* ‘am a beggar, beg’ (*ptōkhós* ‘beggar’)
 - ▶ *hēgemon-eú-ō* ‘command, lead’ (*hēgemôn* ‘leader, commander’)
- ▶ Other derivational bases (instrument, locatum, ...): **29/60**
- ▶ Despite the use of inanimate derivational bases (e.g., *lístron* ‘shovel’; *ákhos* ‘grief, pain’), the semantic template of an *-eúō* verb always involves a [+human] subject, endowed with a variable degree of agentivity

Semantic bases of *-eúō* verbs

- (12) Distribution of *-eúō* verbs with respect to the semantic role of their bases per century BCE

| Semantic class | 8 th | 7 th | 6 th | 5 th | 4 th |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| AGENT | 31 | 11 | 36 | 41 | 21 |
| ACTION NOUN | 7 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 2 |
| INSTRUMENT | 7 | 3 | 9 | 17 | 4 |
| LOCATION | 5 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 0 |
| PRODUCT | 3 | 1 | 4 | 6 | 4 |
| SCOPE | 1 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 2 |
| LOCATUM | 2 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| ACTIVITY | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| TIME | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| ARGUMENT | 0 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 0 |
| SOURCE | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |

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| SOURCE | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |

- ▶ The “deagentive” class predominates at each stage
- ▶ If this class can (in some cases) denote a state, then what kind of state?

Davidsonian (D) vs. Kimian (K) states

- ▶ **Davidsonian states** (Davidson 1967): spatio-temporal entities with functionally integrated participants and a “stative event argument”, e.g., Engl. *sit, stand, lie, wait, gleam* → STAGE-LEVEL (SL)
 - ▶ Davidsonian states can be unaccusatives or unergatives (Kratzer 1995)
- ▶ **Kimian states** (Kim 1969, 1976): “abstract objects for the exemplification of a property P at a holder *x* and a time *t*”, e.g., Engl. *weigh, be intelligent, resemble*
 - ▶ Copular constructions can be STAGE-LEVEL (SL) or INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL (IL), Maienborn (2003).

N.B. Current diagnostics focus on detecting the event variable postulated for Davidsonian states, but absent in Kimian states.

→ Are verbs in *-eúō* DAVIDSONIAN or KIMIAN states?

Diagnostics: Davidsonian (D) vs. Kimian (K) states

(13) Diagnostics for Kimian vs. Davidsonian states (Maienborn 2005, 2007, 2019)

| | Davidsonian | Kimian |
|--------------------------|-------------|--------|
| MANNER MOD. | yes | no |
| LOCATIVE MOD. | yes | no |
| TEMPORAL MOD. | yes | no |
| COMPL. OF PERCEPTION VBS | yes | no |

Diagnostics: states (statives) vs. events

- (14) Dowty/Lakoff's diagnostics for statives vs. non-statives (\approx events)(Dowty 1979; Lakoff 1966)

| | non-stative | stative |
|------------------------------|-------------|---------|
| PROGRESSIVE | yes | no |
| IMPERATIVE | yes | no |
| COMPL. OF FORCE/PERSUADE VBS | yes | no |
| COMPL. OF "WHAT HAPPENED" | yes | no |
| HABITUAL READING | yes | state |
| PSEUDO-CLEFT CONSTRUCTION | yes | no |
| AGENTIVITY OF THE SUBJ. | + | - |

- Because Davidsonian states contain an event variable, Dowty/Lakoff's event diagnostics can also be used to detect D-states.

Diagnostics: Davidsonian (D) vs. Kimian (K) states

(15) Diagnostics for D- vs. K-states & their adaption to AG

| | D | K | AG equivalent |
|---------------------------|-----|-------|--|
| progressive | yes | no | — |
| habitual reading | yes | state | -ske/o- (iterative pret.) |
| imperative | yes | no | ipv. mood; <i>mè</i> + inf. |
| compl. of force/persuade | yes | no | <i>epitéllō, ánōga</i> ‘order’ |
| compl. of “what happened” | yes | no | <i>tunkhánō</i> ‘happen’ |
| compl. of perception vbs | yes | no | <i>horáō</i> ‘see’ |
| manner mod. | yes | no | <i>émpedon</i> ‘firmly’ <i>atrekéōs</i> ‘precisely’ |
| locative mod. | yes | no | <i>autóthi</i> ‘on the spot’ <i>apáneuthen</i> ‘far away’ |
| temporal mod. | yes | no | <i>aeí</i> ‘always’, <i>nûn</i> ‘now’ |

Homeric *-euō* verbs: D. or K. states?

(16) K./D. states diagnostics applied to Homeric deagentive *-euō* verbs

| | |
|------------------------------|--------------|
| manner mod. | 4/177 |
| locative mod. | 4/177 |
| temporal mod. | 8/177 |
| compl. of perception vbs | 1/177 |
| imperative | 4/177 |
| compl. of force/persuade vbs | 9/177 |
| iterative (<i>-ske/o-</i>) | 8/177 |
| | <hr/> 38/177 |

(17) *oúneka* *boulēi* *arist-éu-esk-en* *hapántōn*
 concerning counsel.DAT.SG best-V.IPFV-ITER-3SG.ACT all.GEN.PL
 “... because with respect to counsel he was always the best of all.” (Il.
 11.627)

► Homeric ‘deagentive’ *-euō* verbs are Davidsonian states/SL predicates

Implications

- ▶ If deagentive *-eúō* verbs are always D-states, the difference between verbal *aristeúō*, *basileúō*, etc. and the corresponding copula constructions (*aristeús*, *basileús* ... *eimì*) would be that the latter can be IL or SL, while the verbal forms are always SL/Davidsonian
 - ▶ cf. Acedo-Matellán & Gibert-Sotelo 2022 on Catalan *-ej(ar)*; Acedo-Matellán 2022
- ▶ Difference between these two constructions is often indiscernible:

- (18) *Pémpe* *dè* *m'* *es Troiēn*, *kaí moi* (...)

send.3SG.IPF PTCL me.ACC to Troy.ACC and me.DAT

epétellen *aièn* *arist-eú-ein* *kaì hupeírokhon*

command.3SG.IPF always best-V.IPFV-INF.ACT and preeminent.ACC

émmenai *állōn*

be.PRS.INF.ACT other.GEN.PL

"He sent me to Troy and charged me to always be the best and to be pre-eminent above all others." (Il. 207–8)

Homeric *-euō* verbs and the path towards transitivization

- ▶ Many *-euō* verbs can be used *transitively* already in Homer.
- ▶ Of 303 total occurrences of these verbs in 8th c. Greek, 132 involve a direct object (accusative) > transitive verbs
- ▶ E.g., *hiereúō* 'to sacrifice' (*hiereús* 'priest', *tà hierà* 'offerings'), accomplishment, (19).

(19) *Kaì ennéa boûs hiéreu-s-en*
 and nine oxen.ACC.PL sacrifice-PFV-3SG.ACT
 "And he sacrificed nine oxen." (Il. 6.174)

- ▶ E.g., *lōbeúō* 'to blame' (*lōbē* 'blame, outrage'), activity, (20).

(20) *Lōb-eú-eis me*
 blame-PRS-2SG.ACT me.ACC.SG
 "You blame me." (Od. 23.15)

Homeric *-euō* verbs and the path towards transitivization

Other syntactic diagnostics for canonically agentive/transitive verbs:

- **Passivization:** only two instances in Homer (e.g., (21)); more examples with passive aorist suffix starting from the 5th c. BCE

- (21) a. *Toîsi d' óïs (...)* *en klisiēi hiéreu-to*
 they.DAT PTCL ram.NOM in hut.DAT sacrifice.PRF-3SG.MID
 “A ram (...) had been/lay slaughtered in the hut for them” (*Il.* 24.125)
- b. *kaí hoi toîs állois hetárois, (...)*
 and him.DAT DEM.PRON.DAT.PL other.DAT.PL comrade.DAT.PL
dēmóthen álphita dôka kai aíthopa oînon
 public.ABL barley.ACC.PL give.AOR.1SG and fiery.ACC wine.ACC
ageíras kai boŷs hireú-sa-sthai
 gather.AOR.PTCP.NOM.SG and bull.ACC.PL sacrifice-AOR-INF.MID
 “And to his other comrades (...) having gathered from the public store, I gave barley and fiery wine and **bulls to be slaughtered**” (*Od.* 19.198)

Homeric *-euō* verbs and the path towards transitivization

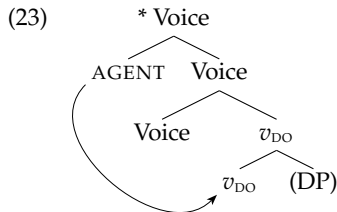
- ▶ **Agent nouns:** (some) *-euō* verbs form agent nouns already in Homer, (22).
- ▶ but: only formed to PRODUCT/INSTR verbs

- (22)
- a. *bouleeuō* 'counsel' → *bouleeu-tēs* 'counselor'
 - b. *ēperopeeuō* 'cheat' → *ēperopeeu-tēs* 'cheater'
 - c. *thēeuō* 'hunt' → *thēeu-tēs* 'hunter'
 - d. *tokseuō* 'shoot with a bow' → *tokseu-tēs* 'archer'

Analysis: from n to v

Analysis: agent incorporation and ‘pseudo-agent’ verbs

- Recall that incorporation/conflation of an agent is excluded in the H&K/Harley framework:



Analysis: agent incorporation and ‘pseudo-agent’ verbs

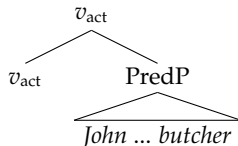
But verbs that are apparently built on agent nouns or nouns of profession are surprisingly common in many of the languages that usually feature in the discussion of denominal verbs:

- (24)
- a. English: *to butcher, to nurse, to proctor, to author, to referee, to monitor, to tutor, to chaperone, ...*
 - b. Latin: *arbitror* ‘to act as/be a witness’ (*arbiter* ‘witness’), *fūr* ‘to steal, rob’ (*fūr* ‘thief’), *ancillor* ‘act like a handmaid’ (*ancilla* ‘handmaid’), *interpretor* ‘explain, interpret’ (*interpres*, -pret-) ‘intermediary’), *philosophor* ‘act like a philosopher, be philosophical’ (*philosophus* ‘philosopher’), ...
 - c. Hebrew (Arad 2003: 752, Laks 2022): *hitkamtsen* ‘was stingy’ (*kamts-an* ‘stingy person’), *hitbaxjen* ‘complained’ (*baxjan* ‘crybaby’), *hiftaxtsen* ‘acted arrogantly’ (*faxtsan* ‘arrogant person’), *hitril* ‘trolled’ (*trol* ‘troll’).
 - d. Romanian (Bleotu 2019: 165): *a măcelari* ‘to butcher’, *a pilota* ‘to pilot’, *a păzi* ‘to guard’, *a păstori* ‘to shepherd’, *a arbitra* ‘to referee’, ...

Analysis: agent incorporation and ‘pseudo-agent’ verbs

- ▶ “to act like *y*”-verbs (where *y* is an animate noun; Xu et al. 2007); “pseudo-agent verbs” (Bleotu 2019: 163ff.); “predicative” (Flobert 1975: 66)
→ base noun appears to act as the predicate of the subject
- ▶ AG *basileúō* etc. are clearly verbs of this type

(25)

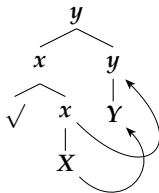


- ▶ Alternatively, it's been suggested that these structures contain a covert preposition (“like”, Bleotu 2019) or that *v* selects a relational P_{MANNER} head (Oltra-Massuet & Castroviejo 2014)
- ▶ Either way, the predicative noun would be generated in the complement of the verbalizer, as required by conflation accounts

Proposal

- ▶ **Proposal:** in deagentive verbs, the [+ANIM, +HUMAN] feature associated with *nominal -eú-* was reanalyzed as belonging to the selecting verbalizer → agentive activity verbs
- ▶ **Upwards Reanalysis (UR)** in complex word forms: (a) phonological/morphosyntactic feature(s) associated with a terminal node *x* are reanalyzed as belonging to a structurally higher (linearly adjacent) head *y* (Grestenberger 2023)
 - ▶ cf. UR in syntactic reanalysis, e.g., Roberts & Roussou (2003); Cournane 2015, etc.

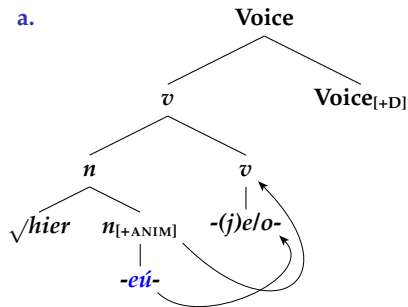
(26) UR in complex word forms



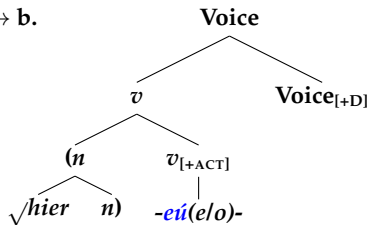
Reanalysis of *-eú-*

(27) Reanalysis of AG nominal *-eú-* in Davidsonian/SL verbs

a.



→ b.



Reanalysis of *-eú-*

- ▶ Deagentive SL verbs are unergatives - they have an external argument merged by Voice_[+D] head (cf. Acedo-Matellán 2022 on Latin property predicates)
- ▶ In AG, Voice_[+D] is the “flavor” of Voice that gives rise to canonical agentive verbs formally marked with the *active* endings → deagentive *-eú-*verbs are formally active
 - ▶ Grestenberger 2018, 2021, 2022; based on the Voice typology of Alexiadou et al. 2015, Schäfer 2017 etc.
 - ▶ once *-eú-* is a verbalizer, it can combine with other types of Voice heads as well, e.g., Voice_[-D] in experience/speech act *media tantum* like *bouleómai* ‘to counsel’, *manteúmai* ‘to prophesy’.
- ▶ $v_{[+ACT]}$ (= Folli & Harley’s v_{DO}): activity verbalizer
- ▶ [+ANIM, +HUMAN] (= *agent*) in the nominal domain equates to [+ACTIVITY] in the v -domain after the reanalysis
- ▶ Crucially, the syntactic properties (external argument by Voice_[+D], intransitivity) of *eú-*verbs stay the same at the initial step of the reanalysis

Summary: reanalysis of *-eú-*

- ▶ The new activity verbalizer *-eú-* can then be used to form denominal verbs from instrument, product, etc., bases → tr. activity/accomplishment verbs
 - ▶ ≈ “extension”

(28) Features of verbal *-eú-* (8th c.): summary

| | D-state | activity | activity/accompl. |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| features: | +human | +human | +human |
| subj. | ±agent | +agent | +agent |
| features: | +state (-dyn.) | +activity (+dyn.) | +activity (+dyn.) |
| verb | | | |
| syntax | intransitive | intransitive | transitive |
| ex. | <i>aristeúō</i> 'to be the best' | <i>basileúō</i> 'to rule' <i>therapeúō</i> 'to serve' | <i>hiereúō</i> 'to sacrifice' <i>suleúō</i> 'to despoil of arms' <i>listreúō</i> 'to dig with a shovel' |

Conclusion

- ▶ Homeric *-euō* verbs are 1) Davidsonian states/SL predicates, 2) agentive activity verbs, 3) tr. activities/accomplishments
- ▶ The features [+ANIM, +HUMAN] of the base noun of these (originally denominal) SL verbs were reanalyzed as belonging to *vP* → **activity verbalizer**
- ▶ This must have happened already before the Homeric stage: the properties of deagentive *-eú-* verbs suggest that the Davidsonian event reading is available right from the start
 - ▶ this is also in line with cross-linguistic evidence, cf. Acedo-Matellán 2022; Acedo-Matellán & Gibert-Sotelo 2022
- ▶ Argument structure properties of the new verbalizer after reanalysis reflect its historic source (animate nouns of profession/“agentive” nouns), but detailed philological analysis is necessary to detect this: most *-euō* verbs are transitive activities/accomplishment verbs early on.

Future work:

- ▶ Further analysis of *-euō* verbs in the following centuries to establish to what extent the original D. state/SL reading was preserved

Grazie per l'attenzione!

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Der Wissenschaftsfonds.

FWF V850-G "The diachrony of verbal categories and categorizers"
(<https://lauragrestenberger.com/categorizers-in-diachrony>)

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