

Verbalizing qualitative vs. relational adjectives in ancient Greek

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Overview of the presentation

1. Qualitative vs. relational adjectives
2. Qualitative vs. relational adjectives in ancient Greek
3. Verbalizing a. Greek qualitative adjectives
4. Verbalizing a. Greek relational adjectives

Qualitative adjectives

Dixon's (2004) classification of **QUALITATIVE ADJECTIVES**:

1. **DIMENSION**: *low, high, narrow, wide, ...*
2. **AGE**: *new, old, young, ...*
3. **VALUE**: *beautiful, ugly, wonderful, tenacious, ...*
4. **COLOUR**: *red, blue, ...*
5. **PHYSICAL PROPERTY**: *cold, hot, bright, dark, ...*
6. **CORPOREAL PROPERTY**: *blind, mute, homeless, ...*
7. **SPEED**: *fast, slow, brisk, ...*

Relational adjectives

RELATIONAL ADJECTIVES (cf., Bally 1944; Levi 1978; McNally & Boleda 2004; Fabregas 2007, 2020): not clearly definable class. RAs are usually denominal, they do not occur in predicative constructions, they are not gradable [+language-specific properties]

Examples of relational adjectives:

- ethnonyms: *Italian, French, English, ...*
- generic areas of life: *paternal, maternal, ...*
- material adjectives: *metallic, silken, wooden, ...*

Qualitative vs. relational adjectives

The major distinction between relational and qualitative adjectives relies upon their **gradability**, their **polarity**, their capability of being **modified** by **adverbs**, their **position** with respect to the modified noun, their occurrence in **pre-nominal** position, and so on (cf., Fábregas 2007, 2020; Bisetto 2010; McNally & Bold 2004; Levi 1978; Frances & Kontz-Garboden 2017: 80 ff.)

	GRADABILITY	POLARITY	MODIFICATION BY ADVERBS	ADJACENT TO MOD. NOUNS	PRE-NOM. POSITION	PREDICATIVE CONSTR.	EXAMPLES
RELATIONAL	-	-	-	+	-	- (?)	It. <i>medic-ale</i> 'medical'
QUALITATIVE	+	+	+	-	+	+	It. <i>brutto</i> 'ugly'

Ancient Greek adjectives

In AG, adjectives are derived from roots (primary) and from nouns/verbs (secondary) by adding the following suffixes (Smyth 1920: 236 ff.):

1. **-o, -ā-**: primary; e.g., *loip-ós* ‘remaining’; *leuk-ós* ‘bright’
2. **-io-, -iā-**: primary and secondary; “*that which pertains or belongs to a person/thing*”; e.g., *hág-ios* ‘sacred’; *tím-ios* ‘worthy’
3. **-ent-**: secondary; denot. fulness or abundance: e.g., *tim-’ēeís* ‘full of honour’; *kharí-eis* ‘full of grace’
4. **-eo-**: secondary; denot. material: e.g., *khrús-eos* ‘golden’; *argúr-eos* ‘of silver’

5. **-es-**: primary; e.g., *pseud-ēs* ‘false, deceitful’; *saph-ēs* ‘clear’. Common in compounds (e.g., *a-sphal-ēs* ‘unharmmed’)
6. **-ko-, ako-, -iko-**: secondary; denot. relations, abilities; e.g., *mant-ikós* ‘prophetic’, *phus-ikós* ‘natural’
7. **-tikó-**: secondary; e.g., *lek-tikós* ‘suited to speaking’
8. **-lo-**: primary; e.g., *dei-lós* ‘coward’; *streb-lós* ‘twisted’; *tuph-lós* ‘blind’
9. **-aleo-**: primary and secondary; denot. qualities; e.g., *harp-aléos* ‘attractive’; *thars-aléos* ‘bold’
10. **-mo-**: primary; e.g., *thermós* ‘warm’
11. **-imo/simo-**: secondary; denot. “able to, fit to”; e.g., *dókimos* ‘approved’; *mákhimos* ‘warlike’
12. **-mon-**: primary; e.g., *mnē-mwn* ‘mindful’, *tlē-mwn* ‘enduring’

13. **-no-**: primary; e.g., *dei-nós* ‘fearful’; *sem-nós* ‘revered’; *pitha-nós* ‘persuasive’
14. **-ino-**: secondary; denot. material; e.g., *lìthi-nos* ‘of stone’
15. **-ro-, -ra-**: primary and secondary; e.g., *exth-rós* ‘hated’; *lamp-rós* ‘shining’; *ania-rós* ‘grievous’
16. **-tērio-**: secondary; e.g., *sō-tērios* ‘preserving’; *thelk-tērios* ‘enchanting’
17. **-u-**: primary; e.g., *hēd-ús* ‘sweet’; *takh-ús* ‘swift’, *bath-ús* ‘deep’
18. **-ōdes-**: primary and secondary; e.g., *prep-‘ōdēs* ‘proper’; *poi-‘ōdēs* ‘grassy’
19. Verbal adjectives in **-to-** (denoting completion; e.g., *tlē-tós* ‘to be endured; patient’); **-teo-** (denoting possibility/necessity; e.g., *tlē-téos* ‘that must be endured’)
20. Suffixes of degree: **-ion** and **-isto-**; **-tero-** and **-tato-**

Caland system adjectives in AG

- **Sure** Caland system adjectival formations (cf., Wackernagel 1897: 8-14; Risch 1974: 65-112; Nussbaum 1976; Probert 2006; Rau 2009: 71-4; Bozzzone 2016): **-ro-**; **-u-**; **-ont-**; **-ēs**
- **Peripheral** Caland formations: **-mo-**, **-no-** (cf., Nussbaum 1976)
- «As one might expect, many of the roots displaying a well-developed Caland system are those which have **inherently adjectival semantics** (e.g., PIE *teig-* ‘sharp’; *dhre’kh-* “‘strong’”; *kweit-* ‘white’).» (Nussbaum 1976: 6-7) → **qualitative adjectives** (cf., Bozzzone 2016: 18; Rau 2009: 170)

Corpus

- Qualitative adjectives: x**116**
- Relational adjectives: x**110**
- Chronological period: VIII cent. BCE - I cent. AD
- Sources:
 - Marescotti 2024; Frankel 1906; Tucker 1981, 1988, 1990
 - TLG <https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsg/#eid=358>
 - DELG

Qualitative adjectives in ancient Greek

- Caland system adjectives in **-u-**, **-ro-**, **-ēs**, **(-mo-)**, **(-no)-**
- **-lo-**; **-aleo-** primary adjectives
- **-o-/-ā-** primary adjectives
- **-mōn** primary adjectives

DIXON'S CLASSIFICATION

AGE: *néos* 'young', ...

VALUE: *deilós* 'vile', *ekhtrós* 'hateful', *saphēs* 'clear', *ugiēs* 'healthy', *aphrōn* 'senseless'

COLOUR: *leukós* 'white', ...

PHYSICAL PROPERTY: *kenós* 'empty', *koīlos* 'hollow', *lamprós* 'bright', *thermós* 'hot', *streblós* 'curved', ...

CORPOREAL PROPERTY: *tuphlós* 'blind', *hēdús* 'sweet', *bathús* 'deep', *khalarós* 'relaxed', ...

SPEED: *takhús* 'swift', ...

Relational adjectives in ancient Greek

- Caland system adjectives in **-ent-:** *tim'ēeīs* 'full of honour'
- **-io/iā-** adj.: *tímios* 'worthy'
- **-eo-** adj.: *khrúseos* 'golden'
- **-ko-/-iko-/-ako-** adj.: *mantikós* 'prophetic'
- **-imo-/-umo-/-sumo-** adj.: *mákhimos* 'warlike'
- **-ino-** adj.: *lithinos* 'of stone'
- **-tērio-** adj.: *thelktērios* 'enchanting'
- **-ōdes-** adj.: *poi'ōdēs* 'grassy'
- **-to-/-teo-** verbal adj.: *tlētós* 'to be endured'

TESTS FOR RELATIONAL ADJ.

- 1) Gradability
- 2) Polarity
- 3) Modification by adverbs
- 4) Constrained syntactical position
- 5) Predicative construction
- 6) **NEW TEST: verbalization**

Testing AG qualitative adjectives

- Gradability: yes
- Modification by adverbs (e.g., *mãllon* ‘more’; *málista* ‘most’; *ágan* ‘too much’) : yes
- Polarity: yes
- Predicative construction: yes
- Constrained syntactical position: no
- **Verbalization: yes**

Testing AG qualitative adjectives

	ADJ.	GRAD	ADVB MOD	POLAR	CONST POS	PRED CONS	VERBALIZATION
-u-	<i>bathús</i>	<i>-iōn; -istos</i>	bathéa mállon (Ar. <i>Met.</i> 354a 27)	<i>epípedos</i>	/	Aēr gār perì nēusí bathēi' ēn. (Hom. <i>Od.</i> IX 144)	<i>bathúnō</i> 'to deepen'
-ro-	<i>lamprós</i>	<i>-teros; -tatos</i>	málista lamprón (Hom. <i>Il.</i> V 6)	<i>skóteinos</i>	/	ēn mén gár selēnē lamprá (Thuc. <i>Hist.</i> 7 44 2)	<i>lamprúnō</i> 'to make bright'
-ēs-	<i>pseudēs</i>	<i>-teros; -tatos</i>	málist' pseudē (Dem. <i>Steph.</i> 41 4)	<i>alēthēs</i>	/	pseudeís dé eisin oi tōn lēmmatōn ékhontes (Diog. Laet. <i>Vitae</i> VII 79)	<i>pséudō</i> 'to cheat'
-lo-	<i>deilós</i>	<i>-teros; -tatos</i>	mállon deilós (Ar. <i>Eth Eudem.</i> 1229a 22)	<i>álkimos</i>	/	deiloì d' eisin oudén oudamoû. (Eur. <i>Frag.</i> XII 240, 3)	<i>deídō</i> 'to fear'
-mo-	<i>thermós</i>	<i>-teros; -tatos</i>	Ágan thermón (Thuc. <i>Hist.</i> II 49, 5)	<i>psukhrós</i>	/	tò sōma out' ágan thermón ēn (Thuc. <i>Hist.</i> II 49, 5)	<i>thermáinō</i> 'to warm'
-no-	<i>semnós</i>	<i>-teros; -tatos</i>	—	<i>phaúlos</i>	/	autárkēs te ēn kai semnós. (Dio. <i>Vit.</i> II 24, 77)	<i>semnóō</i> 'to make solemn'
-aleo-	<i>harpaleós</i>	<i>-teros; -tatos</i>	—	<i>ponērós</i>	/	pikrós kai glukús esti. (Theo. <i>El.</i> II 1353)	<i>harpalízō</i> 'to be eager to receive'
-o/ā-	<i>koílos</i>	<i>-teros; -tatos</i>	málista koilótata (Gal. <i>Nat. Fac.</i> II 46, 14)	<i>plērēs</i>	/	—	<i>koilóō</i> 'to hollow out'
-mōn-	<i>mnēmōn</i>	<i>-teros; -tatos</i>	málista mnēmōn (Eus. <i>Vita Santi Hit.</i> , III 16)	<i>amnēmōn</i>	/	eit' Ek phúseōs mnēmones eien oi paídes (Plut. <i>Lib.</i> 9 E 7)	<i>mnēmoneúō</i> 'to remember'

Testing AG relational adjectives

- Gradability: yes/(no)
- Modification by adverbs: no/(yes)
- Polarity: no/(yes)
- Predicative construction: yes
- Constrained syntactical position: no
- **Verbalization: no**

Testing AG relational adjectives

	ADJ.	GRAD	ADVB MOD	POLAR	CONST. POS.	PRED. CONS.	VERBALIZATION
-io/ā-	<i>tímios</i>	<i>-teros; -tatos</i>	Ágan tímios (Eus. <i>Comm.</i> XXIII 740, 6)	\	\	ouk éstin aretēs ktēma timíōteron (Eur. <i>Frag.</i> 1029 1)	—
-eo-	<i>argúreos</i>	<i>-teros; -tatos</i>	—	\	\	argúreos dè éstin hápas (Hom. <i>Od.</i> IV 65)	—
-(i/a)ko-	<i>mantikós</i>	<i>-teros; -tatos</i>	—	\	\	mantikoí té eísi (Pl. <i>Phaed</i> 85 b 2)	—
-imo-/-umo-	<i>makhimós</i>	<i>-teros; -tatos</i>	—	\	\	aútē dè mákhimós estin (Sph. <i>Frag.</i> 658 1)	—
-ino-	<i>líthinos</i>	—	—	\	\	ésti dè líthinos héteros tosoûtos (Her. <i>Hist.</i> , II 176, 2)	—
-tērio-	<i>sōtērios</i>	<i>-teros; -tatos</i>	—	\	\	ei elékhthen, sōtērios àn ēn. (Thuc. <i>Hist.</i> III 53 4)	—
-ōdes	<i>prepōdēs</i>	<i>-teros; -tatos</i>	mállon prepōdésteron (Chris. <i>Matth.</i> I 90)	<i>aprepōdēs</i>	\	ou gàr prepōdes esti (Ar. <i>Plut.</i> 797)	—
-to-/-teo-	<i>tlētós</i>	—	—	<i>atlētos</i>	\	ouk ésti toúrgon tlētón. (Soph. <i>Ajax</i> 466)	—
-ent-	<i>timēeís</i>	<i>-teros; -tatos</i>	—	\	\	oukét' egō ge met' athanátoisi theoísi timēeís ésomai (Hom. <i>Od.</i> XIII 129)	—

Verbalizing AG qualitative adjectives_1

- **CLASS 1: unergative/unaccusative verbs**
- Derived from adjectives *prototypically* referred to [+ ANIMATE] entities: e.g., *atásthalos* ‘insolent’; *stōmúlos* ‘talkative’; *áphrōn* ‘foolish’ (cf., Marescotti 2024; Tucker 1981, 1988, 1990; Fraenkel 1906)

1. *stōmúllō/-omai* (*stōmúlos* ‘talkative’) ‘to be talkative, to blab’

Ei ptōkhòs ōn heipón ti ka’ stōmulámēn. (Ar. Ach. 578-9)

If beggar.NOM.SG be.PTC. speak.AOR.1SG.ACT. sth.ACC.SG and blab.AOR.1SG.MED

If, beggar that I am, I spoke and **blabbed**.

Verbalizing AG qualitative adjectives_II

- **CLASS 2: degree achievement verbs** (cf., Beavers 2008; Kennedy & Levin 2008; Frances & Koontz-Garboden 2017)
- Derived from adjectives referable to both [+ ANIMATE] and [- ANIMATE] entities: e.g., *ksanthós* ‘yellow’; *kalós* ‘beautiful’; *ekhtrós* ‘hateful’ (cf., Marescotti 2024)

1. *kenóō* (*kenós* ‘empty’) ‘to empty out’

*Mēpote loimòs andrōn tánde pólin **kenōsai**.* (Aes. Suppl. 659-60)

Never plague.NOM.SG man.GEN.PL this.ACC.SG city.ACC.SG empty.AOR.OPT.ACT.3SG

Never may the plague **empty** this city of men.

Verbalizing AG relational adjectives

- Only **4/226** adjectives of the *corpus* are relational adjectives which have been verbalized: ***oikeiόō*** ‘to make a person a kinsman’; ***dikaiόō*** ‘to deem right’; ***horthiázō*** ‘to speak in a high tone’; ***philiόō*** ‘to make a friend of sb.’

Characteristics:

1. **adjectives** in ***-io/ā-***: *oikeîos* ‘kinsman’; *díkaîos* ‘observant of rules’; *hóρθios* ‘straight up’; *phílios* ‘friendly’
2. **verbalizers: *-azō, -oō*** (causative markers)

Relational adjectives and verbalization

- Relational adjectives are not open to verbalization.
- In a tree of a RA, if an element is verbalized, that is the lexical head, not the truncated prepositional structure (cf., Fabregas 2020: 4).
- Instances of verbalized RA adj. = *-io/ā-* adj. → ***lexicalization*** of the internal relational structure?
 1. ***oikeîos*** ‘kinsman’ differ. from ‘relative to the house’
 2. ***dikaîos*** ‘observant of rules’ differ. from ‘relative to the rules’
 3. ***hóρθios*** ‘straight up’ differ. from ‘relative to the straight’
 4. ***phílios*** ‘friendly’ differ. from ‘relative to friendship’

Final remarks

- Distinction between relational and qualitative adjectives holds for ancient Greek, too.
- Do the parameters traditionally used to distinguish them work also for AG? **NO**
- Old parameters to save: 1) gradability; 2) polarity (*eventually*); 3) adverbial modification (*eventually*)
- New parameter: **VERBALIZATION**
- Results:
 1. Qualitative adjectives are open to verbalization
 2. Relational adjectives are not open to verbalization

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