



The Syntax of Participles in Homeric Greek : Heritage or innovation ?

Maciej Jaszczyński

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DE L'UNIVERSITÉ PSL

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**The Syntax of Participles in Homeric Greek:
Heritage or innovation?**

Soutenue par

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*Behreowsigendum mannum he miltsað,
ac he ne behet þam elcigendum gewiss lif oð merigen.*

“To the repentant men he is merciful,
but to the procrastinating he promises not certain life till the morrow.”

Homilies of Ælfric vol. I 350.12

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Abbreviations & Notes

Abl.	Ablative
Acc.	Accusative
AT	D. J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets, London 1993.
Dat.	Dative
FrW	11 Fragmente nach der Ausgabe von N. L. Westergaard in Zendavesta. Vol.I. Zend Texts. Kopenhagen 1854. S.331 ff. (1-9), 300 (10), 387 (11).
Gen.	Genitive
Inf.	Infinitive
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
MBh.	Mahābhārata
Nom.	Nominative
RV	Ṛgveda

Please note that the text marked in red represents the corrections requested by the jury.

I. Introduction

I.1. Research question

This thesis seeks to investigate the syntax and semantics of participles in Homeric Greek. The principal question which I am aiming to answer is which functions of Ancient Greek participles are inherited from Proto-Indo-European and which are original Greek innovations. For this reason, this thesis has an important comparative component. In each chapter I am describing and analysing a given type of participles in Homeric Greek and then I am comparing them to other, mostly ancient or medieval, Indo-European languages. In principle, Homeric Greek is the basis and the focus of this thesis. It is the starting point for our inquiry into the reconstruction of participial functions already present in Proto-Indo-European.

It is a philological study, rather than a strictly linguistic one. It is much more qualitative than quantitative. Instead of focusing on statistics and distribution, I intend to present every participial construction found in Homeric Greek and explore the questions concerning them, ranging from their origins and diachronic development to synchronic problems of Ancient Greek linguistics.

Even though Ancient Greek is arguably the best studied ancient Indo-European language, next to Latin, a study on the syntax and semantics of participles in the Homeric epics has never been done. This gap in the literature needed to be filled. I have been inspired to tackle this subject by John Lowe who in recent years published a monograph on the syntax and semantics of participles in Rigvedic Sanskrit.¹ His work proved to be a great aid to me whenever I treated Vedic participles in my thesis. Although his methodology is a lot different than mine, I felt that a study similar in scope and topic should be done for Ancient Greek and more specifically for the oldest literary form of Ancient Greek – the Homeric epics. It has to be noted that similar works have already been done for other forms of Greek: Paul Karleen has written a monograph on the syntax of participles in the Greek New Testament² and Jerneja Kavčič has studied the same subject in early Byzantine Greek.³ These works, however, concern a much later stage of the development of Ancient Greek than the Homeric epics and, although they are very interesting, they are not particularly useful if one tries to inquire into the origins of Ancient

¹ Lowe (2015).

² Karleen (1980).

³ Kavčič (2005).

Greek participial constructions. To this end we need to work on the oldest attested form of the language which would give us the most insight into the oldest and most archaic constructions. Due to the nature of its written material, Mycenaean Greek is not especially helpful in this regard. Although it truly is the oldest attested form of Greek, it contains mostly lists of products and thus is not a good source for a study of participial syntax. For this reason, I have decided to work on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which are old enough to be viable for such a study and represent a big enough corpus with a plethora of participial constructions. I feel that in this way my thesis is in line with the current trend of studying non-finite verb forms⁴ and treats the diachronic stage of Ancient Greek which has not yet received a monograph on the subject.

⁴ Aside from Lowe (2015) see also Le Feuvre, Petit, Pinault (2017).

I.2. Ancient Greek as an Indo-European language and Proto-Indo-European

Although most readers are perfectly familiar with the general history and prehistory of the Ancient Greek language, some might approach this topic having a rather literary focus and have not taken an interest in Indo-European linguistics before. For this reason, it is necessary to provide a very short introduction to the subject, so that this work is accessible both to linguists and to classicists with a smaller background in the subject of the roots of the Greek language.

Through comparison of phonological and morphological structures of several ancient languages, initially Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit, it has been established that these languages are too similar to not be related.⁵ They must have a common ancestor which did not survive in any written form, but through the comparative method we can recreate its form with a certain dose of probability. Throughout the last two hundred years it has been discovered that other languages and language groups also belong to the Indo-European linguistic family: Anatolian, Germanic, Celtic, Baltic, Slavic, Armenian, Albanian, Tocharian, next to already mentioned Italic, Greek, and Indo-Iranian. The common ancestor of all these languages is called Proto-Indo-European (henceforth PIE) and was probably spoken in the fourth millennium B.C.E.⁶ Given the fact that Ancient Greek is one of the oldest recorded Indo-European languages, whatever we find there, especially in the oldest texts like Homer, can have a certain importance for Indo-European studies. This also makes Ancient Greek, next to Vedic Sanskrit, a very good starting point for inquiries into Indo-European linguistics.

There have been countless studies on the historical phonology and morphology of ancient Indo-European languages. The syntax has often been left aside.⁷ It is true that the methodology for a reliable comparative study of phonology or morphology is clear and well-established. Syntactic changes, however, can be more difficult to trace and are subject to different kind of variables and factors, specific to a given language. As we are going to see, some medieval languages are quite difficult to analyse, as they can be influenced by the classical languages, either because they are translations of ancient texts, or because the authors, being educated in Latin and Greek, could have consciously or not copied some constructions for stylistic reasons.

⁵ Clackson (2007) chapter 1; Fortson (2010) chapter 1.

⁶ Mallory & Adams (2006) 103.

⁷ Delbrück's *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen* from 1893-1900 is the last comprehensive study of comparative Indo-European syntax **before the more recent work of Carlotta Viti (2015) *Perspectives on historical syntax*.**

Thus comparing syntax between Indo-European languages is not exactly the same as comparing a paradigm or phonological developments of a related word. Even though comparative phonology or morphology seems more attractive to many researchers, comparative Indo-European syntax should not be abandoned. Although its results might be more speculative, it is still an important aspect of Indo-European linguistics, just like syntax is an important aspect of any language.

At the end, I would like to also underline the importance of Ancient Greek for the PIE reconstruction. It is a very vast topic with a lot of nuances. In very general terms, it is absolutely clear that considering the verbal system, the Greek branch and the Indo-Iranian branch have been instrumental to the morphological reconstruction of the Indo-European verb.⁸ It concerns not only the verbal suffixes, endings and the derivation processes, but also the verbal system as a whole, including its categories, like the finite and non-finite forms, the moods and the grammatical tenses. Although this work does not treat the Indo-European morphology, it is quite evident that Ancient Greek, together with Indo-Iranian, is a very good starting point for any kind of research into Indo-European verb forms, be it morphology, phonology, or syntax.

⁸ See e.g. Clackson (2007) 120ff, 138ff.

I.3. Homeric Greek

In the section above, I have explained why I have chosen to work in Homeric Greek: it is the oldest form of Ancient Greek which presents a sufficient corpus for such a study. It is, however, also important to briefly present the particularities and challenges of Homeric Greek. It is important to know that in many ways it differs from Classical Greek known from the fifth or fourth century B.C.E.

It is fundamental to understand that Homeric Greek was originally a form of oral poetry, composed to be memorised and performed orally mainly by professional rhapsodes. Readers who approach this work with a background in linguistics, but with limited insight in Classics should also note that Ancient Greek poetry was metrical. The metre of the Homeric epics – the dactylic hexameter – imposed specific sequences of long and short vowels in each verse. This necessitates the use of words or forms which is motivated metrically. Furthermore, some words or forms are completely excluded from the composition due to the fact that they would never fit the metre. This is a very important factor of Homeric syntax which needs to be taken into consideration in every investigation into this subject.

The studies on the formulaic and oral character of the Homeric epics have been revolutionised by Milman Parry in his doctoral thesis in 1928. He demonstrated that much of these poems are built of traditional building blocks which occupy specific parts of a hexameter verse. Parry defines formulas from the structural point of view: “a group of words which is regularly used under the same metrical conditions, to express a given essential idea.”⁹ In this sense a prototypical formula is a noun-epithet expression referring to Homeric heroes. However, there has been a lot of disagreement as to which phrases should or should not be classified as formulas according to these criteria, which are rather vague.

An important development of Parry’s ideas is the approach developed by Egbert Bakker. His approach is more “functional” as he calls it.¹⁰ He does not try to come up with an objective definition of a formula, because a formula is not a phenomenon in itself. It is rather that certain phrases are used as formulae, because the oral composition and performance demanded it. According to Parry, because certain expressions can be defined as formulae, they are used in oral composition. According to Bakker, the reasoning and the cause-result chain are inverted. An expression becomes a formula, because it is repeatedly used in the same metrical structure while expressing the same idea. Parry claims that because so much of Homer is formulaic, it

⁹ Parry (1971) 272.

¹⁰ Bakker (1988) 153ff.

must have been orally composed. Bakker says that because Homer was orally composed and performed, it was necessary to employ formulae as a stylistic device. Neither statement is false, but they show us different things.

It is absolutely clear that the **formulaic** character of the poems is closely tied with its oral composition. There are six arguments in favour of the oral composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: formular quantity, formular schematisation, formular economy, comparison with the oral poetry of other nations, rhapsodic testimonies on the oral composition, and primitive conditions of writing at the time of the composition.¹¹ **The quantity of formulae** is the sheer number of repeated phrases in Homeric epics. Formular schematisation refers to the fact that we often find a group of formulae with the same semantics, but with different metrical values. Formular economy is a phenomenon characteristic of oral poetry which excludes various formulae with the same meaning and the same metrical structure. A study conducted by Pavese and Boschetti shows us that a very significant percentage of the poems - 57.29% - is composed with fixed formulaic phrases.

The literature on the very nature of Homeric formulae and their patterns is vast and it is not my goal to introduce the reader to all the intricacies of this question.¹² In the context of this thesis it is more important to focus on the impact of the oral and formular composition on the syntax of Homeric Greek. Being a product of a long poetic tradition, it combines forms from different time periods and Greek dialects, sometimes even creating idiosyncratic ones for the sake of the epic metre. Thus it is important not to treat it as a synchronically coherent language. It is also a poetic, literary language and cannot be in any case regarded as a 'natural' spoken dialect of Ancient Greek. The fact that a large number of expressions found in Homer were not understood or wrongly interpreted already in the Classical and Hellenistic times shows us the degree to which this language was artificial.¹³ Nonetheless, it is so precious for linguistic enquiries, exactly because it preserves many of otherwise lost archaic forms and words. One has to also admit that it is virtually impossible to conduct linguistic research without a certain degree of variety and generalisation.¹⁴ In effect, anyone working on modern languages has to deal with a high degree of variability in style, register, dialect or chronology. Ultimately, the oral composition and its traditional, formular style is not going to be a significant obstacle for

¹¹ Pavese & Boschetti (2003) 32-37: arguments for orality and their explanation. see idem 27ff.

¹² For more information on the question of Homeric formular language see e.g.: Hainsworth (1968) or Bakker (2005).

¹³ See the monumental work of Claire Le Feuvre (2015).

¹⁴ Lowe (2015) 3.

this work. The goal is to examine the oldest form of Ancient Greek available to us and the traditional language of the epic poems allows us to do so. Given the fact that this thesis is not going to discuss the morphology of participles at all, some artificial morphological creations of the Homeric dialect are of no concern, as they have no impact on the syntax and semantics of participles themselves.

Another very important factor to consider is the metre, which is obviously closely linked with the oral and formulaic character of the poems. Without a doubt the metre strongly affects the word order of every sentence in the Homeric epics. Moreover, some participial forms are completely excluded from ever being used due to their metrical structure which could never fit in the metre. For example, the verb βαίνω “to go” can form a perfect active participle βεβηκώς, but its genitive plural form in the masculine and neuter – βεβηκότων – could never be used in the hexameter because of this sequence of short and long syllables: ˘—˘—. However, although the metre has certainly a big impact on the syntax of Homeric Greek, it should not be overestimated. It does not mean that syntactic research on Homer is impossible or useless, because everything is determined by the metre. Ancient Greek had a relatively free word order, so the metre does not disrupt it in a way that it completely changes the language. Furthermore, even though some specific participial forms are excluded, the metre does not exclude any participial usage. Participles are still extensively used in Homer and their different usages are present and frequent. Surely, if we focus on word order and distance between different elements in a phrase, the metre is going to be the main determining factor. However, if we look at other questions, for example the types of verbs complemented by a complementary participle or the transfer of modality between a modal verb and a circumstantial participle accompanying it, the metre and the word order do not play a crucial role. While the metrical composition of Homeric epics remains an important element in syntactic analysis, its exact impact has to be determined individually for each question tackled. It is certainly not a factor which disqualifies this corpus from being a subject of a syntactic inquiry.

I.4. Methodology

In this section I am going to explain the methodology used in this thesis. I will start with the notion of participles, their definition and their place in the verbal paradigm. Secondly, I am going to scrutinise the notion of participles as a non-prototypical word form. Thirdly, I am going to introduce the Ancient Greek participial system, which serves as a skeleton structure for this thesis.

I.4.A. Participles

The very word participle reveals the fundamental nature of this word form. Latin *participium* is itself calqued from Ancient Greek μετοχή, which is derived from the verb μετέχειν ‘to partake in’.¹⁵ The first definition is provided by an ancient grammarian Dionysius Thrax:

(*Art Of Grammar* 15) Μετοχή ἐστὶ λέξις μετέχουσα τῆς τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ιδιότητος. Παρέπεται δὲ αὐτῇ ταῦτ’ ἃ καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ ῥήματι δίχα προσώπων τε καὶ ἐγκλίσεων.

“Le participe est un mot qui participe de la particularité du verbe et de celle du nom. Il a les mêmes accidents que le nom et le verbe, à l’exception de la personne et du mode.” (tr. Lallot)

The intuition was correct. A participle, similarly to a verb, describes an action and is a part of the verbal paradigm, but, similarly to a noun, it is declined by cases. Nowadays we would rather say that a participle is on a spectrum between a verb and an adjective. Like an adjective, it has case, number and gender, and it agrees with the noun which it accompanies. A modern definition provided by Lowe for participles in Rigvedic Sanskrit is very much applicable to Ancient Greek and many other Indo-European languages:

*These are the two sufficient and necessary conditions for a form to be labelled a participle: morphological adjective-hood, and categorical adherence to the verbal system, in the sense of being an inflectional part of the verbal system (as opposed to being only derivationally related to the verbal system).*¹⁶

¹⁵ Lowe (2015) 3-4; LSJ s.v. μετέχειν.

¹⁶ Lowe (2015) 5.

This definition will help us narrow down the corpus and the forms in question and avoid confusion between participles and similar forms, like verbal adjectives.

I.4.B. Participles as a non-prototypical word form

The variety of usages of participles can be explained due to the fact that it is not an autonomous, prototypical word form. It lies on the spectrum between a verb and an adjective, sometimes being closer to one or the other. I have organised the main chapter of this thesis in this exact way: I am starting with attributive participles, which mostly resemble adjectives in their use and I am finishing with participles in periphrastic constructions, which effectively function as verbs. The prototype theory has its origins outside of linguistics, but has been extensively used in linguistics. It has been noticed that sets of elements are often difficult to be defined in such a way that the definition includes every member of this set. This is because every set of elements contains some prototypical and non-prototypical elements. To keep it simple, we can use the overused example of furniture. A sofa is normally considered a prototypical piece of furniture. A vase is however less of a piece of furniture than a sofa, even though it is a decorative-functional element which we place in our homes.

The same principle can be applied to linguistics and to syntactic categories. Nouns, which are used as a reference and denote objects, are a prototypical category. Adjectives, which are used in modification and refer to properties, are also a prototypical category and so are verbs, which refer to actions and are used as predicates.¹⁷ Participles, however, morphologically modify nouns, but are used to denote actions, and thus fall in between adjectives and verbs. The category cannot exist outside of the adjectival and verbal systems and thus will always depend and be limited by them. Participles do not show any features which are specific to themselves and which do not already belong to verbs or adjectives.¹⁸

¹⁷ Croft (1991) 67.

¹⁸ Pompei (2006) 362.

I.4.C. Participles in Ancient Greek

For the readers who are less familiar with Ancient Greek, it is necessary to briefly introduce the participial system of Ancient Greek. Participles can be formed for any verb and exist in four grammatical tenses: present, future, aorist, and perfect. They always agree with the noun which they modify in case, number, and gender.

In traditional terms, Ancient Greek participles and their uses are often divided in grammars according to their semantic function. It is important to note that the customary terminology can vary between different languages, so it is essential to establish the nomenclature which I am going to use throughout this thesis.

Firstly, we can distinguish the attributive use of participles, which in German is also referred to as *attributive Bestimmung* and in French as *complément déterminatif*.¹⁹ The English terminology is itself slight confusing. Within the attributive use, Rijksbaron distinguishes two positions: the first is called the attributive position in which a participle is comparable to any other adjective; the second is an apposition where a participle functions as a digressive relative clause.²⁰ I would like to make it clear that whenever I talk about attributive participles, I am referring to the function as a whole, with all its subtypes, not only to the attributive position as defined by Rijksbaron *inter alios*. Another use of participle which belongs to this group is the substantive participle. If a participle is accompanied by the definite article in Classical Greek or the demonstrative pronoun in Homeric Greek, it becomes substantivised and acts like a noun. In this way, attributive participles behave exactly like adjectives, which can also be substantivised in Ancient Greek. Below I provide examples of each subtype of attributive participles:

Attributive position:

(1) (*Iliad* 17.664)

ἡῶθεν δ' ἀπονόσφιν ἔβη **τετηγότε** θυμῷ:

“in the morning he goes far away **with a sorrowful heart**,”

Appositive position:

¹⁹ Smyth (1920) 455; Kühner & Gerth (1898) §480; Ragon (1929) 310. Although school grammars are not an adequate source for scientific research, they do show which terminology is traditionally in common use.

²⁰ Rijksbaron (2002) 131-32.

(2) (*Iliad* 18.509-10)

τὴν δ' ἐτέρην πόλιν ἄμφι δὺο στρατοὶ ἦατο λαῶν

τεύχεσι λαμπόμενοι:

“But around the other city were lying two forces of armed men

Shining in their war gear.”

Substantive:

(3) (*Odyssey* 4.686-87)

οἱ θάμ' ἀγειρόμενοι βίον κατακείρετε πολλόν,

κτῆσιν Τηλεμάχιο δαΐφρονος:

“You who keep gathering here, and consuming away much livelihood, the property of wise Telemachos”

I am going to delve into the characteristics and differences between these particular constructions in the chapters to come. At this point, I would like to simply demonstrate that attributive participles modify a noun phrase, in examples (1) and (2), or can stand in place of a noun phrase, in example (3).

We can see that this stands in sharp contrast with circumstantial participles. We know that syntactically all participles agree with a noun. However, circumstantial participles semantically modify the verb phrase. Here the terminology is less confusing, since in German it is usually referred to as *Adverbialbestimmung* and in French as *complément circonstanciel*.²¹ In simple terms, the participles describes the circumstances of the action expressed by the main verb and can have a wide array of different meanings: temporal, causal, resultative or concessive, for example:

(4) (*Odyssey* 17.157-59)

ὥς ἤ τοι Ὀδυσσεὺς ἤδη ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ,

ἦμενος ἢ ἔρπων, τάδε πευθόμενος κακὰ ἔργα,

ἔστιν, ἀτὰρ μνηστῆρσι κακὸν πάντεσσι φυτεύει:

“that Odysseus is already here in the land of his fathers,

²¹ Smyth (1920) 456; Schwyzler (1939) 387; Ragon (1929) 312.

Sitting still or advancing, learning of all these evil

Actions, and devising evils for all the suitors.”

We can clearly see that the series of participles describes the circumstances of Odysseus’ being on Ithaka, rather than describing Odysseus himself.

It is very important to single out a very specific use of circumstantial participles – absolute constructions. Although participial phrases like in example (4) and absolute participles are very different syntactically, semantically they present the same range of meanings. Absolute participles are constructions which are well known in many classical languages, including Latin and Sanskrit, beside Ancient Greek. They consist of a participle and a substantive in an oblique case specific to a given language, the genitive in Greek. The specificity of the construction is that it has no syntactic connection to the rest of the sentence. A typical example of a genitive absolute is:

(5) (*Iliad* 16.306-07)

ἐνθα δ’ ἀνὴρ ἔλεν ἄνδρα **κεδασθείσης ὑσμίνης**
ἡγεμόνων.

“There man killed man **as the battle of the leaders was scattered.**” (own tr.)

We can clearly see that the expression *κεδασθείσης ὑσμίνης* is not syntactically linked to any other element in the sentence. However, like other circumstantial participles, it provides background information to the action expressed by the main verb. In the chapters to come I shall discuss the use and origins of absolute participles in Ancient Greek, as well as their similarities and differences with corresponding absolute participles in other Indo-European languages.

Until now we have seen participles which are non-obligatory elements of the sentence. They come close to adjectives or adverbs in their use and thus they function as adjuncts. The following type of participles is radically different, because in this case they function as arguments of verbs. In English they are usually called complementary or supplementary participles. In French they are known as *participes attributs* and in German, in more descriptive terms, *Partizip als Ergänzung eines Verbalbegriffs*.²² An example of a complementary participle is:

²² Smyth (1920) 465; Ragon (1929) 322; Kühner & Gerth (1898) §481.

(6) (*Odyssey* 14.334-35) ἀλλ' ἐμὲ πρὶν ἀπέπεμψε: **τύχησε γὰρ ἐρχομένη** νηὺς
ἀνδρῶν Θεσπρωτῶν ἐς Δουλίχιον πολύπυρον.

“but before that he sent me off, for a ship of Thesprotian

Men **happened then to be sailing** for Doulichion, rich in wheatfields”

In this case we can see that the participle is an argument of the verb – an obligatory element in the syntax of the phrase, similar to an infinitive in some contexts. It is syntactically very different from the two previous types, which were non-obligatory elements. In the chapter dedicated to these participles I am going to especially focus on the types of verbs which are complemented by participles.

Finally, the periphrastic participle is a fourth type of participles, marginally attested in Homer. In periphrastic constructions, a participle is combined with a copular verb and serves as a predicate of a sentence. One of the rare examples of this construction in the Homeric epics is:

(7) (*Odyssey* 24.491) ἐξελθὼν τις ἴδοι μὴ δὴ **σχεδὸν ᾧσι κιόντες**.

"Let someone go out and see if **they are approaching**."

In this case the participle κιόντες from the verb κίω ‘to go’ is combined with ᾧσι - the present subjunctive of the verb εἰμί ‘to be’. Together they are forming the predicate of this phrase.

This short overview of the types of participles in Ancient Greek serves as an introduction to those readers who are not familiar with the subject, but also as a structure to this thesis. After the introductory sections and the methodology, there will be four chapters, each treating one type of participles presented above in the same order.

I.4.D. Corpus and methodology

In this section I am going to present my corpus and the methodology employed in this thesis. First of all, I have limited myself strictly to the Homeric epics: the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. This is a choice which demands an explanation. As I have already mentioned above, some aspects of the Homeric language make it a challenging corpus for syntactic research: the metre and the formulaic character of the text. There are also numerous philological problems regarding the establishment of the canonical version of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* or the transmission of the text. However, one has to admit that despite all these inconveniences and challenges, Homer remains our best option for comparative research in the context of Indo-European linguistics. Unfortunately, Mycenaean Greek does not present any significant data on the subject of participial syntax due to the nature of the documents written in this dialect – mostly lists and registers of products. If one wants to inquire into the most archaic Greek syntax, one has to work on Homer. Moreover, Homeric Greek in itself is an interesting entity from both linguistic and literary perspectives and is certainly worthy of academic research for its own sake.

Another question is why I have not included other texts in my corpus. I could have added the so-called *Homeric Hymns* or even extend the research to archaic Ancient Greek in general and include Hesiod or even the early lyric poets. I decided to not include these works. I am not going to enter the debate on the Homeric question, since it is not immediately relevant to the topic of my thesis. However, it is relatively uncontroversial to claim that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, coming at the end of a long tradition of epic poetry, have been composed in roughly the same period.²³ The *Homeric Hymns*, although traditionally associated with Homer since antiquity, have been proven to be significantly later.²⁴ Although they have been composed in the same metre as the Homeric epics and share some of their formulaic language, they do not belong to the same time period or the same literary genre. The same can be said about the works of Hesiod, which are also certainly later than Homer. For these reasons I have decided to limit myself to a more focused corpus of the Homeric epics.

The research question of this thesis is to investigate which elements of the participial syntax in Homeric Greek have been inherited from Proto-Indo-European and which are Ancient Greek innovations. The answer is hopefully going to simultaneously shed some light on Ancient Greek and on some aspect of Proto-Indo-European reconstruction. For this reason, it

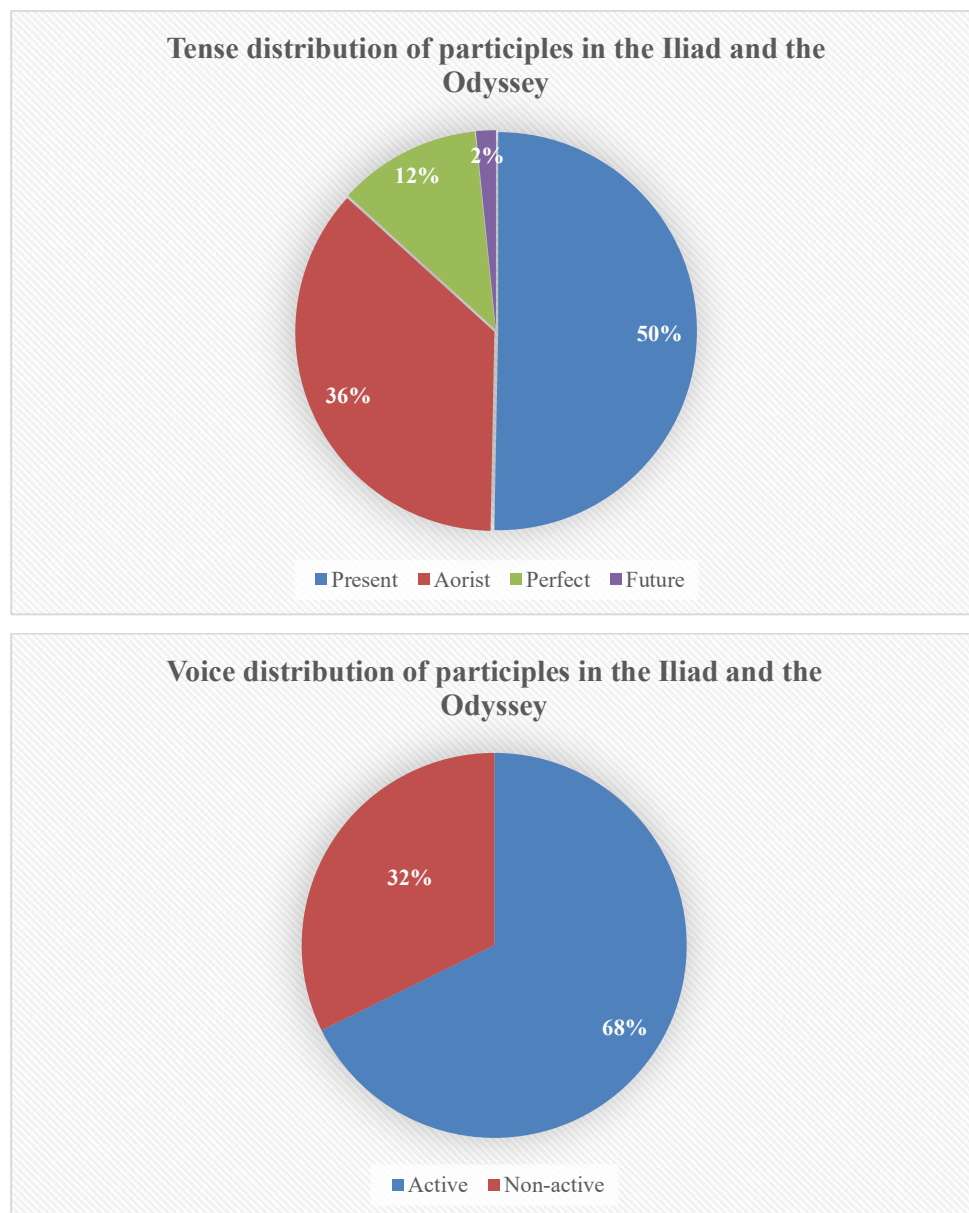
²³ West (1999) 364 suggests the 7th century B.C.

²⁴ Richardson (2010) 1.

is important to work on the most archaic Greek texts. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* together present a sufficient corpus to provide significant results. The lack of data has certainly not been a problem and there has been no need to extend the corpus to other works.

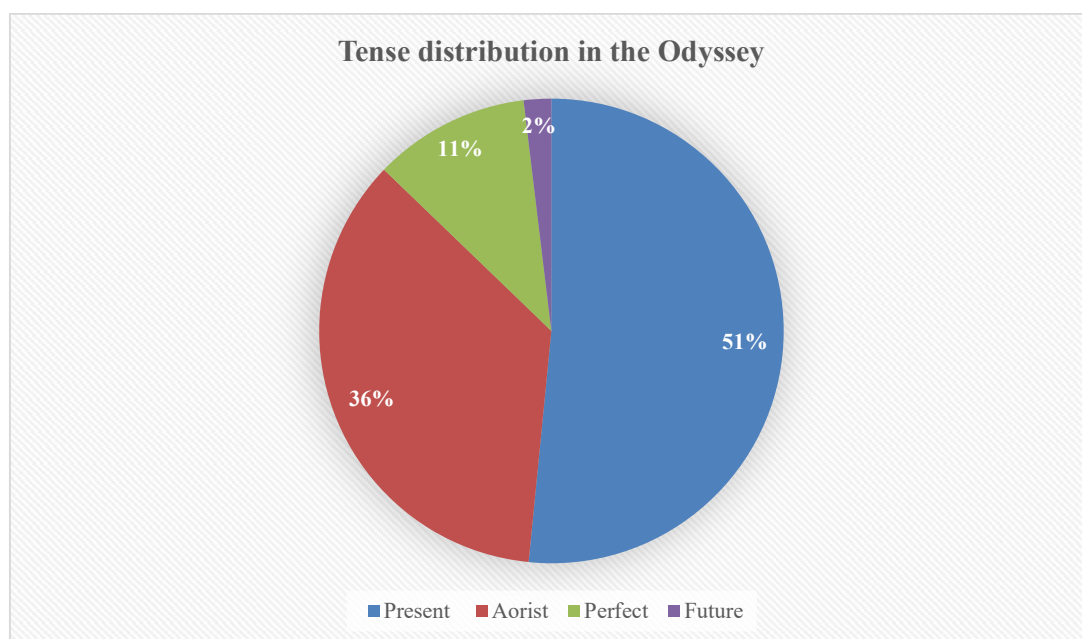
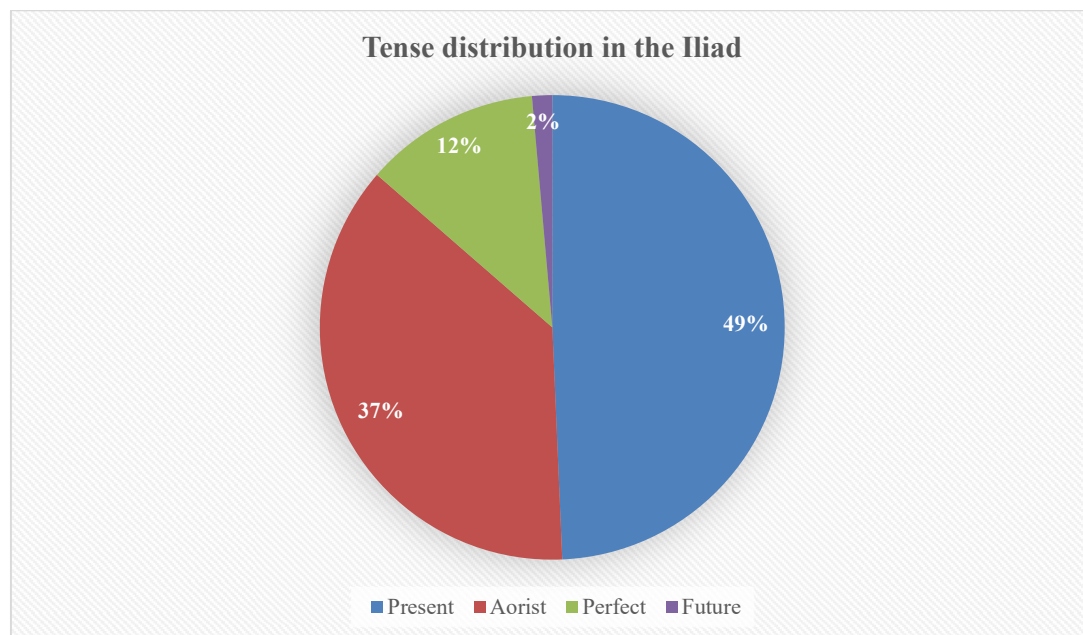
I.4.E. Data collection

In order to assemble my data, I have collected all participial forms in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Although this is certainly a qualitative study, rather than a quantitative one, I shall give some basic statistical numbers. In total there are 8837 participles in the Homeric epics, of which 4946 are found in the *Iliad* and 3891 in the *Odyssey*. These numbers include repeated uses in the case of formulae or repeated verses. The tense and voice distribution is as follows:²⁵



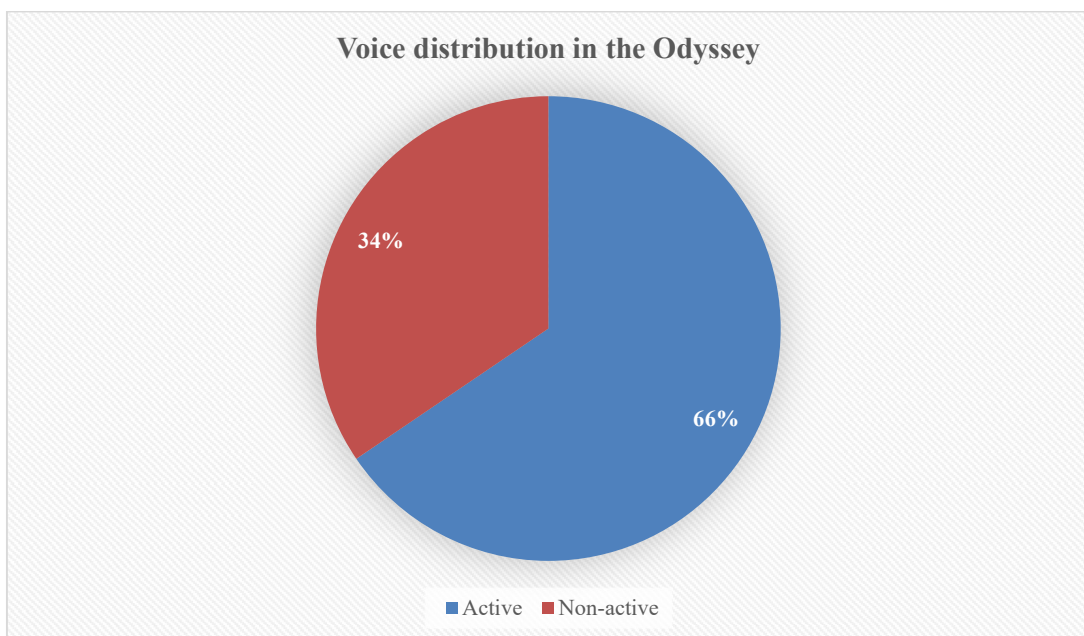
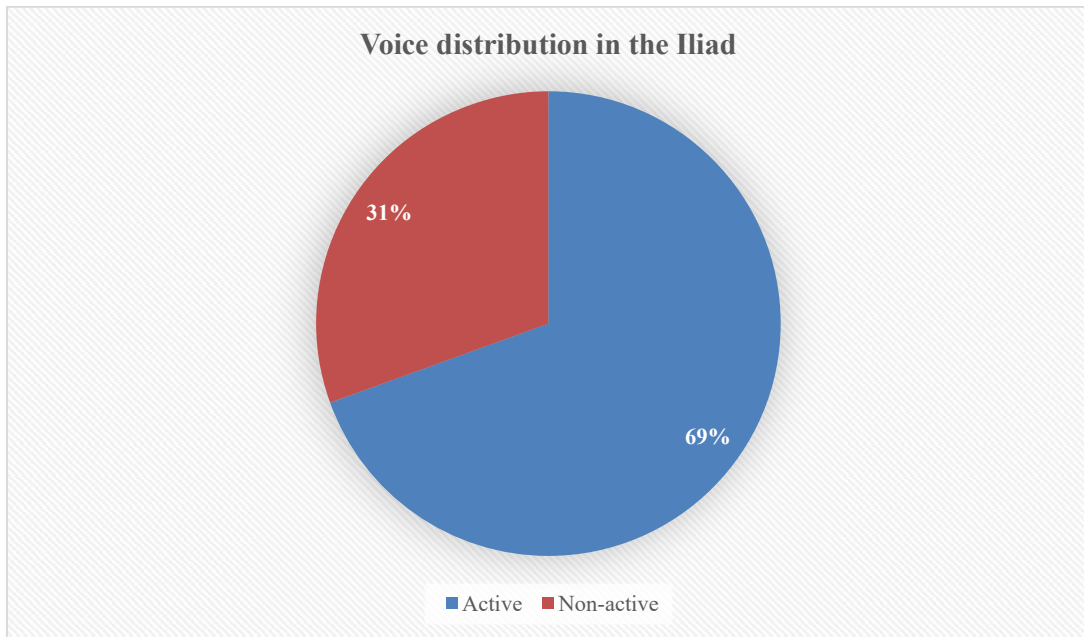
²⁵ The exact numbers are as follows: Present: 4445, Aorist: 3221, Perfect: 1027, Future: 144; Active 5985, Medio-passive/middle/passive: 2852.

For those interested specifically in the Homeric studies, it might be interesting to remark that the percentages do not differ much between the *Iliad*²⁶ and the *Odyssey*²⁷:



²⁶ The exact numbers are: Present: 2439, Aorist: 1834, Perfect: 604, Future: 69; Active: 3436, Medio-passive/middle/passive: 1510.

²⁷ The exact numbers are: Present: 2006, Aorist: 1387, Perfect: 423, Future: 75; Active: 2549, Medio-passive/middle/passive: 1342.



This shows us that treating the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* together, as a linguistically coherent corpus, does make sense from the perspective of the participial forms used in both works and their frequencies.

I.5. The comparative sections of this thesis

In order to answer my research question - which elements of the Ancient Greek participial syntax are inherited from Proto-Indo-European and which are innovations – I could have adopted one of two approaches. One approach would be to start with Proto-Indo-European, establish the most probable state of affairs and compare Ancient Greek. However, this would be difficult without mentioning Greek already at this stage. I have chosen to start with and focus on Ancient Greek and prepare a thorough overview and analysis of the syntax of participles. These parts of my thesis, dealing exclusively with Homer, can be read independently of the comparative sections and could be of interest to readers for whom the Indo-European aspect of Greek linguistics is not a priority. Only in the later parts of each chapter I present the participial syntax of other Indo-European languages. In this way we can clearly see which syntactic features are shared by other languages and which are exclusive to Greek.

The methodology of collecting data for this section has been completely different than for the Greek portion. I was not able to conduct corpus-based research for each individual language, like I did for Homeric Greek. This would require years of additional research, which are not available to a Ph.D. student and a much more considerable expertise in all of the concerned languages than I currently have. For this reason I had to resort to the existing literature on the subject for each language. In the sections below I shall provide a very short overview of the participial systems for the listed languages and my main sources for collecting data.

I.5.A. The question of Indo-European syntax

Before proceeding to the next subsection, it is necessary to discuss an important methodological question – the existence of “Indo-European syntax”. Syntax has obviously been a subject of extensive research since the end of the 19th century and Delbrück’s monumental *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*. However, the issue of syntactic reconstruction is quite controversial and some scholars do not believe that the notion even exists, for example John Penney:

[I]t is not clear that any substantial reconstruction of syntactic patterns, with the exception perhaps of elements of word order, can be achieved without recourse to morphology, so that the study of the syntax of IE can appear to be essentially the study of the function of forms, and whether a theoretical linguist of today would accept this as an adequate approach to syntax must be open to doubt.²⁸

The methodology of Indo-European reconstruction has been very well established, but has been created mostly with morphology and phonology in mind. We cannot compare sentences between languages in the same way as we compare words to find corresponding sounds or morphemes. Furthermore, it is often much more difficult to determine the direction of syntactic changes. We know that some sound changes are much more likely than others, but it is not always the case in regard to syntactic changes, whose direction is often difficult to determine.²⁹

Methodologically, syntactic reconstruction must be different than the comparative method used to reconstruct Indo-European phonology and morphology. First of all, the reconstruction must globally be made on quantitative grounds. If we find a certain participial construction in all examined Indo-European languages, we can propose that it is likely to have existed in Proto-Indo-European. It is necessary to underline the element of likelihood. The existence of reconstructed structures is even less certain than the reconstruction of phonemes. Let’s look at a very simplistic example to illustrate the point. If we want to determine the first sound of the PIE word for *father*, we can immediately see that in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit it is /p/, and in other languages, e.g. in the Germanic branch, /f/ which regularly corresponds to

²⁸ Penney (2000) 35 after Clackson (2007) 157.

²⁹ Clackson (2007) 158.

/p/ in the former languages in cognate words. Thus it is very easy to determine with certainty that the word started with /p/ in PIE. We do not even consider the possibility that the word did not exist in PIE, because it would be quite unlikely to appear independently in each language with such striking phonetic similarities. However, in the case of syntax it is more complicated. The fact that we find e.g. absolute constructions in multiple branches of Indo-European languages is not a guarantee that they existed already at the PIE stage. Maybe they did, but maybe there was something about the participial syntax that made them likely to appear in daughter languages. The degree of certainty is always going to be much lower.

Even if the Indo-European syntax is much more difficult to establish and we cannot reconstruct it in the same way as Indo-European phonology or morphology, it does not mean that it is not worth investigating. We are going to speak more in terms of probability and likelihood, rather than certainty, but if that is the only path forward, we should pursue it. As we are going to see, some participial constructions are so similar and widespread across different Indo-European branches, that the assumption that they did exist already in PIE is not entirely unreasonable. It is, however, important to keep a healthy distance as to the limits of syntactic reconstruction.

I.5.B. Short overview of discussed languages

I shall keep this section rather short, without going into too much unnecessary detail. It is, however, important for the readers to at least have a general idea of the participial systems of each language in order to better understand the examples provided later.

I also have to briefly explain the choice of languages below. To put it simply, I have tried to include the oldest representatives of every major Indo-European branch. The lack of three important languages – Tocharian, Armenian, and Old Irish – is due to the fact that I have not found enough data in the literature on the topic of their participial syntax. My knowledge of these languages is too superficial to let me collect the data myself. I have arranged the languages in the chronological order.

I.5.B.a. Hittite

The participial syntax of Hittite is not a topic which has been treated in detail in the literature. I have principally used *A Grammar of the Hittite Language* (2008) by Harry Hoffner and Craig Melchert, who themselves have dedicated only two pages to the use of participles. Another work which has provided me with very interesting examples is an article of Paola Cotticelli-Kurras: *Hethitische Konstruktionen mit verba dicendi und sentiendi* (1993).

In terms of morphology, there is only one participle in Hittite – formed with the suffix *-ant-*.³⁰ Hittite participles always express a state. In the case of transitive verbs, they are often similar in meaning to the passive participles in other languages, as they express the state of the person/thing affected, e.g. *appant-* ‘seized, taken’, *paršijant-* ‘broken’, *piyant-* ‘given’. In the case of intransitive verbs the participle expresses an attained state, e.g. *akkant-* ‘having died’, *pānt-* ‘having gone’ or in the present tense: *arant-* ‘standing’, *ḫuwant-* ‘running’. Some verbs form participles which can have both meanings, e.g. *šekkant-* both ‘knowing (spirit)’ and ‘known (person)’.³¹

³⁰ Hoffner & Melchert (2008) 330.

³¹ Hoffner & Melchert (2008) 339.

It has to be added that a more complete morphological system of participles is found in Luwian with both *-nt-* and *-(m)ma/i-* participles. However, their use is just as limited as in Hittite and their distribution is not linked to the active and medio-passive voice.³²

I.5.B.b. Vedic Sanskrit

There is a wealth of literature on the Vedic grammar. The reference work on the subject is *A Vedic Grammar for Students* by Arthur MacDonell (1916). I am also lucky enough to prepare my thesis after the publication of John Lowe’s monograph titled *Participles in Rigvedic Sanskrit: The Syntax and Semantics of Adjectival Verb Forms* (2015). It treats every aspect of participial syntax in great detail and has been of great help to me in understanding the intricacies of Vedic participles. Unfortunately I have not managed to gain access to a very detailed overview of Vedic participles in *Études de grammaire sanskrite* (1936) by Louis Renou.

From the morphological and functional point of view the Vedic participial system is much richer than the Hittite one. There are active and middle present participles in *-ant-/at-* and *-māna-* (thematic stems) or *-āna-* (athematic stems) which can be formed to any verbal stem, thus being a part of the verbal paradigm, for example: *kṛṇv-ánt-*, *kṛṇv-āná-* from the present stem of the root $\sqrt{kṛ}$ “to make”. Stem-aspect participle can also be formed in other tenses. In the aorist, we add the same suffixes to the aorist stem, for example *kr-ánt* and *kr-āná*. In the perfect the suffixes are *-vāms-/ús-* for the active voice and *-āná-* for the middle voice, for example: *cakṛ-vāms* and *cakṛ-āná* from the perfect stem of the root $\sqrt{kṛ}$ “to make”. Future participles exist, but they are quite rare – only between twenty and thirty, of which only four are middle. They are formed, like above, by adding the participial suffix to the future stem, for example *dhak-ṣy-ánt* from the future stem of the root \sqrt{dah} “to burn” or *yak-ṣyá-māṇa* from the future stem of the root \sqrt{yaj} “to sacrifice”.³³

There also is a series of forms which functionally resemble participles, but are classified as a separate category, like “*-tá-/ná-* adjectives”, also called the “past passive participle”, the *-tvā-/ya-* absolutes and, moving further away from the prototypical participles: gerundives,

³² Giusfredi (2017) 100-105.

³³ MacDonell (1916) 128ff.

agent nouns in *-tr-* and the absolutive in *-am*.³⁴ In this thesis I am going to use examples which contain exclusively stem-aspect participles in order to avoid any categorial controversies.

I.5.B.c. Avestan

The literature on the topic of participles in Avestan is unfortunately much more limited than in the case of Sanskrit. I have mostly used *Awestisches Elementarbuch* (1909) by Hans Reichelt, as well as *A Grammar of Gatha-Avestan* (1988) by Robert Beekes and *Old Avestan Syntax and Stylistics* (2011) by Martin L. West. Another work which has provided me with some very interesting examples is *Le verbe avestique* (1984) by Jean Kellens.

In principle, the participial system of Avestan is quite similar to the Vedic one. Participial suffixes *-nt-* and *-vah-* in the active voice and *-m(a)na-* and *-āna-* in the middle voice are added to tense-aspect stems in the present, aorist, perfect and future.³⁵ Some examples of Avestan participles are: the present active participles *prsans* and the present middle participle *prsamna-* from *fras-* “to ask”, the perfect active participle *vidvāh* from *vid-* “to know” or the perfect middle participle *āpāna-* from *āp-* “to work”.³⁶

I.5.B.d. Latin

Latin is certainly one of the most studied and best described ancient Indo-European languages. As for the reference grammars, I have based my work on the latest edition of Hermann Menge’s *Lehrbuch der lateinischen Syntax und Semantik* (2000). Another valuable source of material is a monograph by Eric Laughton titled *The participle in Cicero* (1964).

The Latin participial system is less complex than the one of Ancient Greek or Vedic and Avestan. Latin has the present active participle in *-ent-* built on the present stem and the past passive participle created with the suffix *-tus*. The future active participle is created by adding the suffix *-ūrus* to the stem of the perfect passive participle.³⁷ Thus for example from the verb *audīre* “to listen” we can create *audiēns*, *audītus*, and *audītūrus*.

³⁴ Lowe (2015) 6-8.

³⁵ Reichelt (1909) 324f.

³⁶ Beekes (1988) 194.

³⁷ Weiss (2009) 436-443, see for detailed information on the morphology of Latin participles.

I.5.B.e. Gothic

Gothic is a difficult language to treat. On one hand it is the oldest attested Germanic language, so its importance for comparative studies is considerable. On the other hand, the only Gothic text which survived is the *Wulfila Bible* which is a translation of the Ancient Greek. It is very clear that the Ancient Greek syntax had a huge influence on the syntax of this Gothic text. It is thus very important to be careful in order not to mistake a calque of a Greek construction for an example of the original Gothic syntax. For this reason, next to every Gothic passage I have included the corresponding passage in Ancient Greek. However, it has been remarked that the Gothic texts present an overabundance of participles - for the total of 1939 present participles, 1790 correspond exactly to the Greek forms.³⁸ That fact that non-participial Greek forms have been rendered as participles in Gothic 151 times, suggests that the usage of participles must have been quite common even without the Greek influence. Other explanation of this phenomenon might be that Gothic lacked some categories that Greek had, and the participle was the closest Gothic equivalent. Alternatively, participles could have been perceived as a Greek feature and therefore a characteristic of high style, susceptible to be used as a stylistic device.

When it comes to the literature on the subject of participial Gothic syntax, I have found relatively little information outside of general grammars of the Gothic language: Fernand Mossé's *Manuel de la Langue Gotique* (1956) and Jack Feuillet's *Grammaire du Gotique* (2014). The topic of the absolute constructions in Gothic is treated in an article by John Costello, *The absolute construction in Gothic*, as well as in the Master's thesis of Étienne Baudel whom I am very grateful to for the access.

There are two participles in Gothic: participle I is created in the present stem with the suffix **-nt-* which in Germanic becomes *-nd-* by Verner's Law, for example *gibands* "giving" from *giban* "to give". Participle II is formed with the suffix **-no/to-* and is the past participle, for example *habaiþs* "had" from *haban* "to have".

I.5.B.f. Old Norse

³⁸ Mossé (1938) 22.

Although in most cases Old Norse texts are not translations, we have to keep in mind that in many cases people who wrote them knew Latin and could have been influenced by Classical languages in some ways. We have to be especially cautious in respect to works which are adaptations of foreign literature, like *Barlaams saga ok Josaphats*— a story ultimately based on the life of Buddha translated into Old Norse from Latin, *Tristrams saga ok Isoddar* or *Ivens saga*, which are both translation of Old French poems: *Tristan and Iseult* and *Yvain, the Knight of the Lion*.³⁹

In order to collect my data I have used the grammars of Rasmus Rask: *A Grammar of the Icelandic* (1976), Michael Barnes *A New Introduction to Old Norse* (2008), and Jan Faarlund *The Syntax of Old Norse* (2004). I have found the latter quite useful, since it deals with the usage of participles in Old Norse to a greater degree than the other ones.

The participial system of Old Norse resembles the one found in other Germanic languages. There is a present participle formed with the suffix *-and-*, for example *sofandi* “sleeping” from *sofa* “to sleep”. There also is a past participle created with different suffixes: *-in*, *-ð*, *-d*, *-t*, for example: *farinn/farit* “gone” from *fara* “to go”.⁴⁰

I.5.B.g. Old English

In the case of Old English we need to keep the same precautions as in the case of Old Norse. The literature on the subject is rather basic, but it allows us to get a general view of the use of participles in this language. I have made use of three works: Charles Carlton’s *Descriptive syntax of the old English charters* (1970), John McLaughlin’s *Old English syntax* (1983), and Bruce Mitchell’s *Old English syntax. Volume 1* (1985).

The participial system is not much different from other Germanic languages described above. There are two participles: the present participles and the past participle. The present participle has the ending *-(i)ende* and the past participle *-ed*, *-od*, *-d*, *-t* for the weak verbs and

³⁹ Pulsiano (1993) s.v.

⁴⁰ Barnes (2008) 148.

-en for the strong verbs. For example the participles of the verb *libban* “to live” are *libbende* “living” and *(ge)lifd* “lived”.⁴¹

I.5.B.h. Old Church Slavonic

Working with Old Church Slavonic presents the same challenges as working with Gothic. The OCS Bible is a translation of Ancient Greek, so its language is hugely influenced by the original. For this reason, I also provide the corresponding passage in Ancient Greek below each passage in OCS in order to make sure that a given construction is not a word for word translation. Even if it is not the case, the problem remains, because we can suppose that Ancient Greek had an indirect, stylistic influence on OCS and we cannot be completely sure that a given construction existed outside of the biblical language. However, OCS is the oldest attested Slavic language and as such deserves our attention.

Next to a general grammar of OCS by Sunray Gardiner (1984), two fundamental works provided me with a lot of interesting and valuable data: *Grammaire Comparée des Langues Slaves* (1977) by André Vaillant and *Altkirchenslavische Syntax* (1989) by Radoslav Večerka. Both of them treat the syntax, including participial syntax, in great detail.

OCS has a well-developed participial system with active participle both present and past, passive participles also present and past, the perfect participle in *-l-* and isolated vestiges of the future participle. The present active participle is formed with the suffix **-nt-* which gives the stem in *-ošt-* (*-y* in the masculine nominative singular), for example *nesošt-* from *neso* “I carry”. The past active participle is built on the infinitive stem with the suffix **-ŭš-*, for example *nesŭš-*. The present passive participle is created with the suffix *-mŭ* attached to the present stem, for example *nesomŭ* from the same verb. The past passive participle is formed with the suffixes *-nŭ* and *-tŭ* attached to the infinitive stem, for example *nesenŭ*. This leaves us with the perfect participle formed with the suffix *-l-*, so *neslŭ* in the masculine nominative singular. The only vestige of the future participle in OCS is *byšešt-* “which will be”.⁴²

I.5.B.i. Old Novgorodian

⁴¹ Carlton (1970) 125.

⁴² Vaillant (1966) vol. 3, 111ff.

Old Novgorodian, specifically its dialect from Novgorod, is an especially precious resource. While it is more recent than OCS, the texts are not a translation and thus present more authentic Slavic syntax. In some cases, Old Novgorodian can confirm the genuinely Slavic character of some constructions in OCS which could be suspected to be an effect of the Greek influence.

Unfortunately, the literature on Old Novgorodian is not easily accessible, rarely translated from Russian, and rather limited in regards to its participial syntax. I have principally used the overview of the language - *Vieux russe* - written by Claire Le Feuvre (2006).

Old Novgorodian has four participles: active present and past, and passive present and past. The present participles are formed on the present stem with the suffixes: *-o-nt- > -č- and *-mo- > -mъ respectively, for example: *xot'aci* from *xoditi* “to walk” or *znajemъ* from *znati* “to know”. The past participles are created on the infinitive stem. The past active participle uses the suffix -vъš- for the thematic verbs and -ъš- for the athematic verbs. In the nominative singular they take the form -vъ- and -ъ- respectively, for example *otkupivъ* from *otkupiti* “to buy out”. The past passive participle take the suffixes -nъ or -tъ, for example *vz'ata* from *vz'ati* “to take”.⁴³

I.5.B.j. Lithuanian

Lithuanian is the only modern language in my comparative section. This is because the Baltic branch is attested relatively late and Lithuanian is certainly the best described language in this group. I have included data both from Old and from Modern Lithuanian, obviously giving preference to the older attestations. As in the case of other languages, we need to be wary of the influence of foreign languages on Lithuanian, be it German, Polish or Latin, especially in religious texts.

As I mentioned, the literature on the Lithuanian syntax is quite vast. I have used Vytautas Ambrazas' *Lithuanian Grammar* (1997) and *Syntaxe Lituanienne : Syntaxe des Participes* (1999) by Daniel Petit as my main reference points, alongside other articles focused on specific topics regarding the participial syntax of Lithuanian.

The system of participles in Lithuanian is quite complex. There are thirteen different forms of participles and gerundives. They have been organised in a table in the aforementioned

⁴³ Le Feuvre (2006) 75-78.

work of Daniel Petit:⁴⁴

	ACTIVE	PASSIVE
PRESENT PARTICIPLE	Suffix: <i>-ant-</i> . <i>Suk-q̃s, -ančio</i> “which turns”	Suffix: <i>-ama-</i> . <i>Sùk-amas, -amo</i> “which is turned”
PAST PARTICIPLE	Suffix: <i>-us-</i> . <i>Suk-ēš, -usio</i> “which turned”	Suffix: <i>-ta-</i> . <i>Sùk-tas, -to</i> “which was turned”
FUTURE PARTICIPLE	Suffix: <i>-si-ant-</i> . <i>Sùk-siqs, -siančio</i> “which will turn”	Suffix: <i>-si-ma-</i> . <i>Sùk-simas, -simo</i> “which will be turned”
PAST FREQUENTATIVE PARTICIPLE	Suffix: <i>-dav-us-</i> . <i>Sùk-davęs, davusio</i> “which habitually turns”	\
PRESENT CIRCUMSTATIAL PARTICIPLE	Suffix: <i>-d-ama-</i> . <i>Sùk-damas</i> “while turning”	\
PRESENT GERUNDIVE	Suffix: <i>-ant-</i> . <i>Sùk-ant</i> “which turns”	\
PAST GERUNDIVE	Suffix: <i>-us-</i> . <i>Sùk-us</i> “which turned”	\
FUTURE GERUNDIVE	Suffix: <i>-siant-</i> . <i>Sùk-siant</i> “which will turn”	\
PRESENT FREQUENTATIVE GERUNDIVE	Suffix: <i>-dav-us-</i> . <i>Sùk-davus</i> “which used to turn”	\
PRESENT PARTICIPLE OF NECESSITY	\	Suffix: <i>-tina-</i> . <i>Sùk-tinas</i> “which has to be turned”

⁴⁴ Petit (1999b) 115.

I.5.C. Summary

With this very short introduction to the participial forms of each discussed language, I hope that the examples provided by me in the following sections of this thesis will be clearer and more comprehensible to the readers unfamiliar with these languages.

We have seen that there is a certain variety in the participial systems of different Indo-European languages. On one hand we have Hittite with one participle or Germanic languages with two and on the other hand Lithuanian with thirteen different participial forms. This is bound to reflect some major differences between languages, but it does not exclude a common set of core participial functions shared between all or most of them.

I.6. Translations

I provide translations to every passage that is not originally in English. In the case of Homer, I am systematically using the translation of Richard Lattimore: *The Iliad of Homer* (1961) and *The Odyssey of Homer* (1967). If in some cases I choose to modify it, in order to better illustrate my point, I mark it as my own translation. In the case of other languages, I always provide the name of the translators next to each passage. There are several cases where I always use the same source and thus I do not provide the translator each time. This concerns the *Ṛgveda* where I always provide the reference translation of Stephanie Jamison and Joel Brereton (2014). In the case of the Bible, I have used the so-called *Modern English Version* freely accessible at www.biblegateway.com.

II. Attributive participles

II.1. Introduction

The first chapter of this thesis treats the most basic function of participles: an adjunct of a noun phrase, which in traditional terminology we call “attributive participles”.⁴⁵ If we consider different types of participles to be situated on a spectrum between adjectives and verbs, this type is most closely placed on the adjectival end. The attributive participles can function as adjectives, although we have to remember that due to their intrinsic verbal character they are often semantically equivalent to relative clauses. Secondly, like any adjective in Ancient Greek they can be substantivized and function as a noun phrase. The two subtypes can be exemplified by:

(1) (*Iliad* 9.149)

ἐπὶ δέ οἱ δώσω **εἴ ναιόμενα πτολίεθρα**

"and I shall give him seven **well-peopled cities**" (own tr.)

(2) (*Iliad* 1.69-70)

Κάλχας Θεστορίδης οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος,

ὅς ἤδη **τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα**

"Kalchas, Thestor's son, far the best of the bird interpreters,

who **knew all things that were, the things to come and the things past**"

The question immediately arises: how do we distinguish attributive participles from other types? Since the main classification is a semantic one, the main criteria have to be semantic as well. This is not an ideal solution, as we may not have the perfect linguistic intuition to interpret the meaning of a participle in exactly the same way as the Greeks did. There are straightforward examples of attributive participles, where it is absolutely obvious that we cannot interpret them in any other way:

⁴⁵ Goodwin (1892) 334; Smyth (1920) 455. In French this type is normally called *participe complément déterminatif*: see Ragon (1929) 310. In German the used term is *die attributive Bestimmung*: see Kühner & Gerth (1898) 46.

(3) (*Iliad* 3.199) τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειθ' Ἑλένη Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα:

“**Helen, the daughter descended from Zeus**, spoke then in answer”

The perfect active - ἐκγεγαυῖα – has a strictly adjectival meaning and cannot be classified by any means as a circumstantial participle, as it does not provide any background information to the action expressed by the main verb.

However, sometimes it is not immediately obvious whether a participle should be read as a quasi-adjective describing the person performing the action or the circumstances of the action itself. For example:

(4) (*Iliad* 1.413) τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Θέτις κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα:

Which could be translated either:

"Then **Thetis, who was shedding a tear**, answered him." (own tr.)

Or:

"Then **Thetis** answered him **as she was shedding a tear**." (own tr.)

The differences between the interpretations are quite substantial, both in terms of syntax and semantics. The question is whether the participle provides background information on the author of the action, here Thetis, or on the action itself. In the first translation, we interpret the participle as an adjunct of the noun phrase, whereas in the second one we classify the participle as the adjunct of the verb phrase and thus as a circumstantial, not attributive participle. In this particular case, it is preferable to classify it as a circumstantial participle, since from the semantic point of view, a punctual action, like shedding a tear, is not a permanent characteristic with an adjectival value which we would expect from an attributive participle, but refers to the circumstances of the main action. Rijksbaron highlights the fact that attributive participles in apposition most often refer to semi-permanent characteristics of the antecedent noun, as in the example (3). In terms of word order, in Classical Greek, such a participle is always placed after the noun which it refers to.⁴⁶ We shall see whether this criterion is observed in Homeric poetry, which may take some more liberty in word order.

In this chapter I am going to focus on several principal problems. Firstly, we will briefly examine the word order of phrases with attributive participles, in order to determine whether we can find any semantic differences between participles placed in different positions in the

⁴⁶ Rijksbaron (2002) 132-33.

phrase. We will also touch upon the question of case usage of attributive participles. Secondly, we will look at the competition between attributive participles and relative clauses, which often can be synonymous. Thirdly, we will look at the differences between restrictive and non-restrictive participles and whether we can see this semantic difference in their syntax. Next, we will treat the substantivised participles and their principal characteristics. At the end of the Homeric section, we will briefly mention the question of participles in comparative and superlative structures. Lastly, we will give an overview of attributive participles in other Indo-European languages, outlined in the introduction to the thesis, and determine whether Ancient Greek presents some specific particularities, which might be innovations of the Proto-Indo-European model.

II.2. Homeric Greek

II.2.A. Position of participles

We have already outlined the basics of attributive participles in the section above. As already mentioned, we are going to begin with the issue of the position of the participle. Let us remind ourselves of the principles known from Classical Greek. The participle in the so-called attributive position is placed either between the article and the noun, or after the noun with the article repeated. Thus in this respect they strictly follow the syntax of adjectives.⁴⁷ A classic example from Herodotus:

(1) (Herodotus, *Historiae* 1.1.8)

ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι **καλεομένη** χώρα.

“in the country which is now **called** Hellas”

(2) (Herodotus, *Historiae* 1.79.2)

μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν **γενομένην** ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ

“after the battle **which has taken place** at Pteria”

Now, let us see some typical Homeric examples. Given the fact that the definite article is not yet fully developed in Homeric Greek, the syntax of these participles is bound to differ:

(3) (*Iliad* 9.455-6)

μή ποτε γούνασιν οἷσιν ἐφέσσεσθαι φίλον υἱὸν

ἐξ ἐμέθεν **γεγαῶτα**:

“that I might never have any son **born** of my seed to dandle / on my knees”

(4) (*Iliad* 5.489)

οἳ δὲ τάχ' ἐκπέρσουσ' **εὗ ναιομένην** πόλιν ὑμήν.

“men who presently will storm your **strong-founded** citadel”

⁴⁷ Rijksbaron (2002) 131-32 and examples 1 and 2.

(5) (*Iliad* 1.18)

θεοὶ (...) Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες

“the gods **who have** their home on Olympos”

(6) (*Iliad* 2.13-14 et al.)

οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀμφὶς Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες

ἀθάνατοι φράζονται·

“For no longer are gods **who live** on Olympos / arguing this matter”

This set of examples shows that the attributive participles can freely appear before or after the substantive which they refer to. The examples (5) and (6) clearly show that there cannot be any semantic difference between the ante-positioned and the post-positioned attributive participle. In both cases, the poet used the formula - Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες - at the end of the verse, as it fits the metre perfectly. However, in the example (5) the participle refers to θεοί - the gods - placed in the beginning of the line, whereas in the example (6) it describes an adjective - surely substantivized - ἀθάνατοι meaning exactly the same, literally the immortals, which follows in the next verse.

This may be not particularly surprising, given the lack of articles in Homeric Greek, which in Classical Greek are closely linked to the position of a participle or an adjective. However, we can see whether the distance between the noun and the participle is observed in the similar way to Classical Greek. Merely looking at the four examples above shows us that this is not the case. Although sometimes we do find the noun and the participle placed immediately next to each other, see examples (4) and (6), the participle can also be found separated by quite a distance from the noun, like in the examples (3) and (5).

II.2.B. Tense of participles

Additionally, we can look at the question of tense of attributive participles. We could expect that since they often refer to some permanent or semi-permanent characteristics, they might often be used in the perfect tense, which expresses states in Homeric Greek. In addition, we could also anticipate the present tense to be largely represented with its timeless, permanent meaning. While this is true and both tenses do not lack examples of attributive participles, we do find multiple examples of aorist participles as well. We have to also remember that in Ancient Greek the gnomic aorist is used to express general truths. Future participles are not found in this function at all. Let's see the semantic differences between attributive participles in different grammatical tenses.

I shall start with the present tense:

(7) (*Odyssey* 7.127-28)

ἐνθα δὲ κοσμηταὶ πρασιαὶ παρὰ νεΐατον ὄρχον

παντοῖαι πεφύασιν, ἐπηετανὸν γανόωσαι:

“And there at the bottom strip of the field are growing orderly rows of greens, all kinds, and these **are lush** though the seasons”

(8) (*Odyssey* 17.201-03)

ὁ δ' ἐς πόλιν ἦγεν ἄνακτα

πτωχῷ λευγαλέῳ ἐναλίγκιον ἠδὲ γέροντι,

σκηπτόμενον:

“He led his lord to the city,
looking as he did like a dismal vagabond and an old man,
propping on a stick”

We can immediately see that these two examples of attributive participles in the present tense present a certain semantic difference. In the first one, the present tense has a clearly timeless, permanent meaning: these plants are green all year long, meaning now and always. Conversely, the description of Odysseus as a beggar in the example (8) is definitely more temporary. Odysseus is disguised as an old man who is leaning on his stick at the moment. It might be his semi-permanent characteristic for the time being, but it definitely refers more to the *here and now*, rather than to some timeless properties. Let's compare it with the perfect participles,

which can also refer to present states:

(9) (*Iliad* 17.746-48)

(...) αὐτὰρ ὀπισθεν

Αἴαντ' ἰσχανέτην, ὥς τε πρῶν ἰσχάνει ὕδωρ

ὕληεις πεδίοιο διαπρύσιον **τετυχηκώς**

“(...) and behind them,

the two Aiantes held them off, as a timbered rock ridge

holds off water, **one that is placed** to divide an entire plain”

(10) (*Odyssey* 13.320-21)

ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φρεσὶν ἦσιν ἔχων **δεδαϊγμένον** ἦτορ / ἠλώμην,

“but always with my heart **torn** inside its coverings I wandered”

The two examples above also present two different kinds of perfect semantics. Example (9) fits the usages of the perfect tense in reference to states. The ridge happens to be across the plain. It is its permanent state and there is no sign of resultative meaning, well-known from the perfect in Classical Greek. However, the next example does have a classical perfect sense, the present state as a result of a past event. The heart of Odysseus was torn in the past and continues to be so in the present. There is some semantic overlap between the timeless present and the stative perfect and in some contexts the difference between the two is difficult to perceive. Finally, we can look at the aorist:

(11) (*Iliad* 6.506-07)

ὥς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος **ἀκοστήσας** ἐπὶ φάτνῃ

δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θεΐῃ πεδίοιο κροαίνων

“As when some stalled horse **who has been corn-fed** at the manger

breaking free of his rope gallops over the plain”

(12) (*Odyssey* 5.254)

ἐν δ' ἱστὸν ποίει καὶ ἐπὶ κριον **ἄρμενον** αὐτῷ:

“Then he fashioned the mast, with an upper deck **fitted** to it”

In the case of attributive participles, the aorist semantics are not immediately obvious. We

could easily imagine the perfect tense used instead in the two examples above. The horse in the example (11) was fed and so is well-fed now, which fits the definition of the perfect tense from Classical Greek. The same can be said about the next example, which I have included specifically to compare it with another, where the perfect tense is used in a similar context and with the same verb:

(13) (*Odyssey* 7.43-45)

θαύμαζεν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς λιμένας καὶ νῆας εἴσας

αὐτῶν θ' ἡρώων ἀγορὰς καὶ τείχεα μακρὰ

ὑψηλά, σκολόπεσσιν **ἀρηρότα**, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι.

“But Odysseus now admired their balanced ships and their harbors,
the meeting places of the heroes themselves and the long lofty
walls that were **joined** with palisades, a wonder to look at.”

The semantic difference between the aorist participle ἄρμενον in the example (12) and the perfect participle ἀρηρότα in the example (13) is not easily perceived.

From the overview above, we can see different semantics of attributive participles depending on their tense-aspect. It is, however, probable that some of the choice have been made for metrical reasons, because there is some overlap between the meanings of conveyed by these tenses.

II.2.C. Competition between participles and relative clauses

II.2.C.a. Introduction

An interesting topic concerning the syntax of attributive participles is their competition with other constructions fulfilling the same role, that is modifying the noun phrase. The construction which overlaps the most with attributive participles are relative clauses. In fact, we often translate attributive participles in Ancient Greek as relative clauses. In linguistics, the connection between participles and relative clauses has been made by Edward Keenan when discussing cross-linguistic relativization techniques in the case of head-internal relative clauses in Modern German, for example *der in seinem Büro arbeitende Mann*. – *the man who is working in his office*.⁴⁸ This is surprising for those who approach this topic with a more traditional view of Greek linguistics and are not used to consider as a relative clause anything that does not contain a relative pronoun. However, cross-linguistically, the relative pronoun is only one relativization strategy. Ancient Greek, indeed, has an identical construction, see example (1) from Herodotus. Since these functions can be identical - to modify or stand in place of a noun phrase, it is obvious that comparing functionally equivalent constructions is bound to have some interesting results. Whenever there is a functional overlap between grammatical structures, competition must appear. By determining factors which decide which construction wins that competition we can not only explain the relationship between both constructions, but also have a deeper understanding of the factors which govern their distribution. An article entitled *Sur la concurrence du participe et la subordonnée relative*, devoted to this very question, has been written by Charles Mugler.⁴⁹

We can demonstrate that the two constructions can fulfil the same roles. It is also a good opportunity to look in more detail at the specific usages of attributive participles.⁵⁰ Firstly, we can treat the ornamental epithets, those which do not provide any new information, but serve the purpose of describing the permanent characteristics their objects. When we think of epithets, we normally have adjectives in mind, but both participles and relative clauses can also fulfil this function. There are multiple examples of fixed formulaic phrases which have

⁴⁸ Keenan (1987) 4.

⁴⁹ Mugler (1942).

⁵⁰ I follow the classification of Mugler (1942) 147-54.

become customary epithets of Homeric characters or places. We have already seen one in example (5) – *the gods having their homes on Olympus*. Apart from that we can add several others:

(14) (*Iliad* 13.21-22)

ἐνθα δέ οἱ κλυτὰ δῶματα βένθεσι λίμνης

χρῦσα μαρμαίροντα τετεύχεται ἄφθιτα αἰεῖ.

“where his glorious **house** was built in the waters’

depth, **glittering with gold**, imperishable forever.”

Or similar in meaning:

(15) (*Iliad* 13.264-65)

τώ μοι δούρατά τ’ ἔστι καὶ ἀσπίδες ὀμφαλόεσσαι

καὶ κόρυθες καὶ **θώρηκες** λαμπρὸν **γανόωντες**.

“Thereby I have spears there, and shields massive in the middle,

And helmets and **corselets are there in all the pride** of their shining.”

Another example is a well-known poetic formula:

(16) (*Iliad* 3.276 = 3.320 = 7.202 = 24.308)

Ζεῦ πάτερ **Ἰδοθὲν μεδέων** κύδιστε μέγιστε,

“Father Zeus, **watching over us from Ida**, most high, most honored”

Since the verb μέδω is only used by Homer in its participial form, as exemplified above, some can question whether it is a true participle, or a fixed substantive. However, we should keep in mind that the medio-passive forms are quite prolific in Homer⁵¹, which proves the existence of the verbal stem.⁵²

⁵¹ See LSJ s.v μέδω, e.g. *Iliad* 2.384, 9.650, *Odyssey* 11.110, 19.321 et al.

⁵² This cannot be said about another famous poetic formula, e.g. (*Iliad* 1.102) ἦρως Ἀτρεΐδης **εὐρὺν κρείων** Ἀγαμέμνων “Atreus’ son the hero **wide-ruling** Agamemnon”. There is no textual evidence of the verb *κρείω, apart from a note of a late Greek diviner Artemidorus Daldianus, who wrote in the 2nd century A.D.: (*Oneirocritica* 2.12) κρείειν γὰρ τὸ ἄρχειν ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοὶ “the ancients said κρείειν instead of ἄρχειν [to rule]”. However, given the absence of inflected forms of this supposed verb in Ancient Greek texts, we cannot treat this testimony as valid. It has to be noted that the exact morphological status of this form is still controversial, see: Schwyzler (1939) 526, Chantraine (1999) 580, Narten (1987) 290ff.

We can equally find relative clauses fulfilling the same decorative function, as typically adjectives and in some cases participles, as shown just above. For example:

(17) (*Iliad* 13.54)

Ἑκτωρ, ὃς Διὸς εὖχετ' ἐρισθενέος πάϊς εἶναι.

“Hektor, **who claims to be son of Zeus** of the high strength”

(18) (*Iliad* 13.68-69)

Αἴαν ἐπεὶ τις νῶϊ θεῶν οἷ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσι

μάντεϊ εἰδόμενος κέλεται παρὰ νηυσὶ μάχεσθαι,

“Aias, since some of the gods, **whose hold is Olympus**,

Has likened himself to the seer, and told us to fight by our vessels,”

(19) (*Iliad* 13.482-84)

(...) δειδία δ' αἰνῶς

Αἰνεΐαν ἐπιόντα πόδας ταχύν, ὅς μοι ἔπεισιν,

ὃς μάλα καρτερός ἐστι μάχῃ ἐνὶ φῶτας ἐναΐρειν:

“(...) and terribly I fear

the attack of swift-footed Aineias advancing upon me,

powerful as he is for the slaying of men in battle.”

In all of these examples, the relative clauses provide permanent features of these characters and do not provide any information immediately relevant in the context. We can even draw close parallels between examples (18) and (5), which both describe the gods as having their homes on Mount Olympus, which in turn shows that both constructions can express the same meaning without major constraints.

A different type of Homeric epithet can be called definitional. As the name suggests, it defines a given character, object or an institution by its principal function.⁵³ Here as well we can find numerous examples of attributive participles and relative clauses. This is particularly evident in the case of the verb ἀνάσσω “to be lord of”.⁵⁴

⁵³ Mugler (1942) 148-49.

⁵⁴ LSJ s.v ἀνάσσω.

(20) (*Iliad* 6.396-97)

Ἡετίων ὃς ἔναιεν ὑπὸ Πλάκῳ ὕληέσση

Θήβη Ὑποπλακίη **Κιλίκεσσ' ἄνδρεςσιν ἀνάσσων**:

“Eëtion, who had dwelt underneath wooded Plakos,
In Thebe below Plakos, **lord over the Kilikian people.**”

(21) (*Iliad* 15.187-88)

τρεῖς γάρ τ' ἐκ Κρόνου εἰμὲν ἀδελφεοὶ οὗς τέκετο Ῥέα

Ζεὺς καὶ ἐγώ, τρίτατος δ' Ἀΐδης ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσων.

“Since we are three brothers born by Rheia to Kronos,
Zeus, and I, and the third is **Hades, lord of the dead men.**”

(22) (*Iliad* 21.188)

τίκτέ μ' ἀνὴρ πολλοῖσιν ἀνάσσων **Μυρμιδόνεσσι**

Πηλεὺς Αἰακίδης: ὃ δ' ἄρ' Αἰακὸς ἐκ Διὸς ἦεν.

“The man is my father **who is lord of the Myrmidons**,
Peleus, Aiaikos' son, but Zeus was the father of Aiaikos.’

A few examples with relative clauses:

(23) (*Iliad* 12.241-42)

ἡμεῖς δὲ μέγαλοιο Διὸς πειθώμεθα βουλῇ,

ὃς πᾶσι θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει.

“Let us put trust in the counsel of great Zeus, **he who**
Is lord over all mortal men and all the immortal.”

(24) (*Iliad* 21.84-87)

(...) Λαοθόη θυγάτηρ Ἄλταο γέροντος

Ἄλτεω, ὃς **Λελέγεσσι φιλοπτολέμοισιν ἀνάσσει**

“(...) Laothoë, daughter of aged Altes,
Altes, **lord of the Leleges, whose delight is in battle**”

(25) (*Odyssey* 7.22-23)

ὦ τέκος, οὐκ ἄν μοι δόμον ἀνέρος ἡγήσαιο

Ἀλκινόου, ὃς τοῖσδε μετ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει

“My child, would you not show me the way to the house of a certain man, **Alkinoös, who is lord over all these people?**”

We can see that both participles and relative clauses can fulfil exactly the same roles. What is more, both constructions can be used with the same verbs. This shows that there are no strict rules in their distribution. However, it does not mean that there are no general trends in their distribution making one choice more likely than the other. An interesting point raised by Mugler is that in the case of invoking a name of a divinity, often but not always in the vocative, Homer much prefers using a relative clause, rather than a participle or an adjective,⁵⁵ for example:

(26) (*Iliad* 19.258-60)

ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα θεῶν ὕπατος καὶ ἄριστος

Γῆ τε καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἑρινύες, αἱ θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν

ἀνθρώπους τίνονται,

“Let Zeus be my witness, highest of the gods and greatest, and Earth, and Helios the Sun, and **Furies, who underground avenge dead men**”

(27) (*Odyssey* 20.112)

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ὃς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσεις,

“Father Zeus, **you who are lord of gods and people**”

However, as we have already seen, there are exceptions to that rule as well, for instance:

(28) (*Iliad* 3.276)

Ζεῦ πάτερ Ἰδηθεν μεδέων κύδιστε μέγιστε,

“**Father Zeus, watching over us from Ida**, most high, most honored”

Mugler in his explanation of the distribution of participles and relative clauses focused mostly on metrical constraints.⁵⁶ As a case study, he chose to analyse the epithet meaning

⁵⁵ Mugler (1942) 154.

⁵⁶ Mugler (1942) 155-56: the case study of Ὀλύμπιος,

“Olympian” used in Ancient Greek either as an adjective Ὀλύμπιος, or expressed in a relative clause “οἱ Ὀλυπον ἔχουσιν” and “οἱ Ὀλυπον ἀγάννιφον ἀμφινέμονται”, or finally in a participial phrase “Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχοντες”. Homer uses the adjective wherever it is metrically possible, meaning in the nominative, vocative and genitive singular and in the nominative plural:⁵⁷

(29) (*Iliad* 1.352-54)

μηῆτερ ἐπεὶ μ’ ἔτεκές γε μινυνθάδιόν περ ἐόντα,

τιμὴν πέρ μοι ὄφελλεν Ὀλύμπιος ἐγγυαλίζαι

Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης:

“Since, my mother, you bore me to be a man with a short life,

therefore Zeus of the loud thunder on Olympus should grant me honor at least.”

The accusative, genitive, and dative plural cannot enter into the hexameter due to a sequence of — — —. In these cases, Homer prefers to use a relative clause:⁵⁸

(30) (*Iliad* 5.890)

ἔχθιστος δέ μοι ἐσσι θεῶν οἱ Ὀλυπον ἔχουσιν:

“To me you are the most hateful of all **gods who hold Olympus**.”

Finally, we find the participial phrase “Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχοντες” referring to nouns in the nominative or the vocative plural, both masculine and feminine, and genitive plural masculine, for instance:

(31) (*Iliad* 2.13-14)

οὐ γὰρ ἔτ’ ἀμφὶς Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχοντες

ἀθάνατοι φράζονται:

“For no longer are the gods **who live on Olympus** / arguing the matter”

⁵⁷ Other examples: after *ibidem*: nom. sing. *Iliad* 1.580, 589, 609; voc. sing. *Iliad* 1.508, 15.375, 19.108, *Odyssey* 1.59.

⁵⁸ For example: acc. pl. *Iliad* 5.404; gen. pl. *Iliad* 5.890, 13.68; dat. pl. *Odyssey* 12.337.

(32) (*Iliad* 2.484)

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι:

“Tell me now, you Muses **who have your homes on Olympus.**”

(33) (*Odyssey* 3.377-78)

οὐ μὲν γάρ τις ὅδ' ἄλλος Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἐχόντων,

ἀλλὰ Διὸς θυγάτηρ, κυδίστη Τριτογένεια,

“Here was no other of those **who have their homes on Olympus**

but the very daughter of Zeus, most honored Tritogeneia”

Both the relative clause and the participial phrase occupy the final place of the verse. However, they are of different length: the relative clause goes back to the middle of the fourth foot, while the participial expression as far as to the third foot. Thus, according to Mugler, it is the remaining space in a given verse that determines the choice between the two constructions.⁵⁹

Even though the analysis above shows that the metrical factors play a certain role in the choice between participles and relative clauses, we can still try to refine this model and check if other factors can also contribute to the overall characteristics of these phrases. If we reflect upon the fundamental differences between participles and finite verbs which are found in relative clauses, we can already think of certain criteria where one construction is more preferable than the other. As I have mentioned multiple times, participles, depending on their exact semantic function, occupy different positions on a spectrum between adjectives and verbs. Given the fact that attributive participles are the type most closely resembling adjectives, both semantically and syntactically in Ancient Greek, their competition with finite verbs in relative clauses must in some way recognise their adjectival nature.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem* 156.

II.2.C.b. Transitivity analysis

The syntactic category which should show us a significant difference in the usage of attributive participles and relative clauses is transitivity. Although obviously participles can be created for any verb, transitive or intransitive, we would expect that the adjectival nature of attributive participles would cause them to be less likely to appear in transitive contexts. There, relative clauses with finite verb forms would be more preferable. In order to test this initial hypothesis, I have conducted a case study on a limited corpus. I have selected all attributive participles and all relative clauses from books 1,3, and 9 of the *Iliad*. Together, they present a sufficient diversity in the types of discourse and narration and, given the relatively infrequent usage of attributive and substantive participles in Homer, they constitute a substantial body of over 1800 lines, which gives us a good chance to find a variety of both relative clauses and participles in question.

I have classified all the participles and finite verbs in my sample as transitive, intransitive, or copular, that is verbs which are used solely to link the subject with the predicate. At this stage I have adopted the simplest criterion in deciding on assigning transitivity: if a participle takes a direct object in the accusative, it is transitive, in any other case, it is intransitive. In the case of passive forms, that is when there is a change of the argument structure, I had to decide on their transitivity from a perspective of a lexeme, not on the basis of how they are used in the text. The fact that they can be used as passives already indicates their transitivity, but of course they do not take a direct object as such.

I decided to create a special category for the copular verb εἰμί, but of course only if it is used as a copula, if used in the existential meaning I classify it as intransitive. The reason for this is that the syntax of copular verbs is quite different from both transitive and intransitive verbs, and it is useful to consider it as a separate category with separate properties, and indeed the distribution of εἰμί among relative clauses and attributive and substantive participles is quite unique. In Ancient Greek, and in other ancient Indo-European languages, like Latin, the copula is sometimes omitted, which is impossible with other verbs, transitive or intransitive. Some languages do not use copulas at all, for example Chinese, or use a copulative verbaliser suffix, for example in the Southern Peruvian Aymaran language variety - Muylaq' Aymara.⁶⁰ The typological evidence suggests caution in treating the copulas as any other intransitive verb, so it is useful and safe to consider them a separate category.

⁶⁰ Coler (2014) 472-76. For a study of copular verbs see Pustet (2005).

Starting with transitive participles, they are in the minority in my case study corpus, constituting 33.3% of the data, for example:

(34) (*Iliad* 3.200-02)

οὔτος δ' αὖ Λαερτιάδης πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς,

ὃς τράφη ἐν δῆμῳ Ἰθάκης κρاناῆς περ ἐούσης

εἰδὼς παντοίους τε δόλους καὶ μῆδεα πυκνά.

“This one is Laertes’ son, resourceful Odysseus,

who grew up in the country, rough it be, of Ithaka,

who knows every manner of shiftiness and crafty counsels.”

(tr. modified from Lattimore)

The interesting aspect of this particular example is that the participial phrase is juxtaposed with a relative clause in the preceding verse. This further proves the semantic equivalence between the two constructions. We can clearly see that this is an attributive participle, because it refers to certain timeless characteristics of the Homeric hero, not to any immediate circumstances of the main verb.

Intransitive participles are more prevalent, as 66.6% of the selected participles do not take a direct object, and we do not need to look far for examples:

(35) (*Iliad* 1.1-2)

μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος

οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε’ ἔθηκε,

“Sing, goddess, the **devastating** wrath of Peleus’ son, Achilles,

which has put innumerable pains upon the Achaeans.” (own tr.)

Although ὀλλυμαι “to destroy” can take a direct object, it does not here in this context. This example shows what we mean by saying that attributive participles can often become quite close to adjectives. In this case, the participle practically functions as an adjective in terms of semantics. Its sole role is to express certain characteristics of its head noun, but because morphologically it is a participle built on a verbal stem, we can still treat it as such.

It may be interesting that in my limited corpus, there were no examples of the participles used as copulas. I have found multiple instances of the verb εἰμί “to be” and in each case, the

meaning was existential. Among the examples we can find the well-known Homeric formula of “ever-lasting gods”:

(36) (*Iliad* 1.290)

εἰ δέ μιν αἰχμητὴν ἔθεσαν θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔόντες

"And if the **ever-lasting** gods have made him a spearman,"

Another example is the future participle of εἰμί used to denote men “who will exist” in the future:

(37) (*Iliad* 3.458-60)

ὁμῆϊς δ' Ἀργείην Ἑλένην καὶ κτήμαθ' ἅμ' αὐτῇ

ἔκδοτε, καὶ τιμὴν ἀποτινέμεν ἣν τιν' ἔοικεν,

ἣ τε καὶ ἔσσομένοισι μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέληται.

“Do you therefore give back, with all her possessions, Helen,

of Argos, and pay a price that shall be befitting,

Which among **people yet to come** shall be as a standard.”

It has to be underlined that in general we do find rare examples of the participle of the verb “to be” used as a copula in the attributive function. Its absence from my case study does not mean that it does not exist, but that it is rather rare, see for example:

(38) (*Iliad* 16.627)

Μηριόνη τί σὺ ταῦτα καὶ ἐσθλὸς ἔων ἀγορεύεις;

“Meriones, why do you, **who are valiant**, say these things?” (own tr.)

Even in the example above we can hesitate between the attributive and the circumstantial use, give the implied concessive meaning of the participial phrase.

Finally, I would like to talk about one more example of the participles of εἰμί, this time, however, as a substantive participle. We need to keep in mind that this subtype of attributive participles is of equal interest to this case study, since it can equally compete with relative clauses.

(39) (*Iliad* 1.68-70)

(...) τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη

Κάλχας Θεστορίδης οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος,

ὃς ἤδη **τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα**,

“(...) and among them stood up

Kalchas, Thestor's son, far the best of the bird interpreters,

Who knew **all things that were, the things to come and the things past**”

In this example there is a series of substantive participles of the verb εἰμί “to be”, each referring to all things which exist. The first is in the present tense, the second in the future tense, and the last, which refers to the past, is actually also in the present tense. However, the verb is πρόειμι “to be before”, which makes it clear that it indicates “the things past”.⁶¹ It is important to note the usage of demonstrative pronouns, which will become definite articles in Classical Greek, with these participles to mark substantivisation.

The substantivisation in Ancient Greek happened particularly often with the neuter plurals: τὰ ἐόντα – “the present, things which are”, τὰ δέοντα – “duties, things which are due”. Some attributive participles have become so substantivised over time, that they have been **lexicalised** and their verbal nature has been abandoned, as they started to be modified by adjectives or began to take a genitive as its argument: τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως – “the petty matters of the State”.⁶² This shows just how common substantivisation of some participles must have been.

Now I am going to analyse the relative clauses from the perspective of the transitivity of their finite verbs. As before, I have classified the verbs in my corpus into three categories, intransitive, transitive, and copular, according to the same criteria as before, that is the presence of the direct object in the accusative, or lack thereof, and of course the verb εἰμί, or in this case also πέλω, in their copular meaning.

The transitive verbs are much more dominant among the relative clauses than among the attributive participles, constituting 63% of all examples:

(40) (*Iliad* 9.128-30)

δώσω δ' ἐπὶ τὰ γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας

⁶¹ LSJ s.v. πρόειμι.

⁶² Demosthenes *On the Crown* 28.

Λεσβίδας, ὅς ὅτε Λέσβον ἐϋκτιμένην ἔλεν αὐτὸς
ἐξελόμην, αἱ κάλλει ἐνίκων φύλα γυναικῶν.

"I will give him seven women of Lesbos, the work of whose hands is
blameless, **whom when he himself captured strong-founded Lesbos**
I chose, and who in their beauty surpassed the races of women."

The intransitive verbs appear only in 24% of all verbs in the relative clauses, for example:

(41) (*Iliad* 9.508-10)

ὃς δέ κ' ἀνήνηται καὶ τε στερεῶς ἀποείπη,
λίσσονται δ' ἄρα ταί γε Δία Κρονίωνα κιοῦσαι
τῷ ἄτην ἅμ' ἔπεσθαι, ἵνα βλαφθεὶς ἀποτίσῃ.

"but he who shall deny them, and stubbornly with a harsh word refuse,
they go to Zeus, son of Kronos, in supplication that Ruin, may overtake this
man, that he be hurt and punished."

As I mentioned above, I classify verbs which take an object in a different case than accusative
as intransitive as well, for example:

(42) (*Iliad* 9.43-44)

πάρ τοι ὁδός, νῆες δέ τοι ἄγχι θαλάσσης
ἑστᾶσ', αἱ τοι ἔποντο Μυκῆνηθεν μάλα πολλαί.

"The way is there, and next to the water are standing
your ships **that came - so many of them! - with you from Mykenai,**"

The verb ἔποντο from ἔπομαι "to follow" takes an object in the dative, here - τοι.

Finally we have a category of copular verbs. Apart from several instances of the verb
εἰμί used in this function, we also see one example of the verb πέλω employed in the same way.
Altogether the copular verbs appear in 14% of all the relative clauses of my sample. Some
examples of both are quoted below:

(43) (*Iliad* 9.381-83)

(...) οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας
Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται,

αἳ θ' ἑκατόμυλοι εἰσι, (...)

"(...) all that is brought in

to Thebes of Egypt, where the greatest possessions lie up in the houses,

Thebes, **which are of hundred gates** (...)"

and

(44) (*Iliad* 9.134)

ἢ **θέμις** ἀνθρώπων **πέλει** ἀνδρῶν ἡδὲ γυναικῶν.

"**which is natural** for human beings, between men and women."⁶³ (own tr.)

⁶³ Other examples of copular verbs in relative clauses: *Iliad* 1.258 ἐστὲ; 1.300 ἐστι; 9.33 ἐστὶν; 9.39 ἐστι; 9.198 ἐστον; 9.276 ἐστὶν; 9.282 ἔωσιν; 9.286 εἰσι; 9.392 ἐστὶν; 9.586 ἦσαν.

II.2.C.c. The framework of Hopper and Thompson

Due to the fact that transitivity appears to be a very important factor in the distribution of my data between participles and relative clauses, I am going to provide detailed analysis of it. Transitivity is a syntactic category which indicates whether a clause involves one or more “syntactically privileged arguments”.⁶⁴ In the case of Ancient Greek these arguments are the subject in the nominative case and the direct object in the accusative case. Transitivity is related, but not identical to valency which refers to all kinds of arguments of a verb.⁶⁵ In other words, it can also be defined as a property of the entire clause such that an activity is transferred from an agent to a patient.⁶⁶ In their famous article Paul Hopper and Sandra Thompson proposed a model for analysing transitivity by identifying its components. In each of their criteria a clause can score high or low in transitivity. This model is especially attractive for this research, because it does not treat transitivity as a binary category. Treating transitivity as a scale can better explain why the distribution of participles and relative clauses on the basis of transitivity is not completely clear-cut.

This framework, however, is not completely free from flaws and criticism. The most significant point is that Hopper and Thompson treat all of the components of transitivity as equally important in all languages. This is not true, because words with the same meaning can have different degrees of transitivity in different languages, which means that some one parameter can have a greater importance in one language and be less important in another. Secondly, the categories they discuss refer to different elements of the clause - some concern the semantics of the verb, others the agent, and some others the object.⁶⁷ However, if we think of transitivity as a property of the clause, not the verb, this should not be a problem. I am now going to discuss each of their categories and explain how I use them specifically for Ancient Greek.

The first, and most basic parameter is "participants". No transfer of activity can be made if there is just one participant. From a typological perspective, it is an interesting question how to treat reflexive verbs, because the agent and the patient is the same person. However, a question that is more relevant is whether in a language with a case system, a direct object always has to be in the accusative case. Many languages, for example Polish or Hungarian,

⁶⁴ Næs (2007) 6.

⁶⁵ Tallerman (2015) 233.

⁶⁶ Hopper & Thompson (1980) 251.

⁶⁷ Bentein (2016) 48-50.

mark negation additionally with a genitive case on the object, which in an affirmative sentence would be in the accusative. Another problem is that some verbs normally take an object in a case other than the accusative with no semantic change, for example Greek ἀκούω normally takes the genitive and it can mean "hear, hear of or listen to". One could say that since it does not take a direct object in the accusative, it is thus not transitive, which, considering the semantics of the verb, is rather counterintuitive. If we consider the definition of transitivity as a property of a clause where there is an interaction between two participants, one may be more likely to include verbs like ἀκούω as transitive. However, typologically, these changes of case from an accusative to something else, often a genitive, very often mark reduced transitivity. That is why I am rather reluctant to treat verbs not taking their objects in accusative as really transitive.

The second parameter of transitivity is "kinesis". This is defined as a distinction between action and non-action, or a state. Actions are naturally more transitive than states, although verbs denoting states can also take a direct object, for example: "I like you". There is very little typological discussion about kinesis as a verbal category in the linguistics literature. In some cases the distinction is not very clear-cut. For example in English, in a sentence "I hear his voice" there really is no kinesis between the participants, but it would be difficult to argue that "to hear" is a stative verb. Hopper and Thompson explain that "actions can be transferred from one participants to another; states cannot." Thus in my analysis in any controversial cases, if an action cannot be transferred, I treat it as scoring low in this category, even if it does not seem to be prototypically "stative". An example of a participle with a high kinesis from my corpus is:

(45) (*Iliad* 9.240-42)

στεῦται γὰρ νηῶν ἀποκόψειν ἄκρα κόρυμβα
αὐτάς τ' ἐμπρήσειν μαλεροῦ πυρός, αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὺς
δηώσειν **παρὰ τῇσιν ὀρινομένους ὑπὸ καπνοῦ**

"Since he threatens to shear the uttermost horns from the ship-stern,
To light the ships themselves with ravening fire, and to cut down
The Achaians themselves, **who are stirred from the smoke beside them.**"

(tr. modified from Lattimore)

A participle with a low kinesis can be exemplified here with the formula which has already been discussed above:

(46) (*Iliad* 1.17-19)

Ἀτρεΐδαι τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί,
ὕμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες
ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι:

"Sons of Atreus and you other strong-greaved Achaians, to you may the gods
grant **who have their homes on Olympus** Priam's city to be plundered and
a fair homecoming thereafter,"

The third parameter is "aspect". Hopper and Thompson consider it simply as a matter of telicity: telic verbs are more transitive than atelic verbs. This is not satisfactory in Ancient Greek, because aspect and telicity are quite a complicated matter and play a huge role in the verbal system. The grammatical aspect and the tense are bound together, especially in moods other than the indicative where the tense-based distinction is much less significant. This is highly relevant for our consideration of aspect and transitivity. Telicity, sometimes called "lexical aspect", which Hopper and Thompson equate with aspect, is a lexical property. As I have already explained, in Ancient Greek lexical aspect is overridden by a grammatical category of tense-aspect. In general, tenses built on the present stem have imperfective aspect, these are the imperfect, the present, and the future. By contrast, the tenses built on the aorist and perfect stems: aorist, perfect, pluperfect have perfective aspect. This combination of tense and aspect becomes almost entirely aspectual in participles: present participles do not have a clear time reference. If the participle is coverbal, the tense signifies that the action happens at the same time as the main verb, and if the participle is attributive, the present tense signifies the timeless and thus imperfective value of the participle. The aorist participles always refer to an action which is completed and so are always perfective. To be really perfective, the action must be completed and thus in the past, hence typologically languages are much more sensitive to aspectual differences in the past tense. For this reason, regarding Hopper and Thompson's category of aspect, I judge it according to the tense-aspect of the verbs in my corpus, not their telicity, for example:

(47) (*Iliad* 1.1-2)

μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος / οὐλομένην,

"Sing, goddess, the **devastating** anger of Achilles, son of Peleus" (own tr.)

The participle οὐλομένην from ὀλλυμαι “to destroy”, even though it is highly adjectivized in this context, is of the aorist tense. For this reason, it scores “high” in the aspect category. An example of a participle classified as “low” in the aspect category is:

(48) (*Iliad* 1.208-09)

πρὸ δέ μ' ἦκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη

ἄμφω ὁμῶς θυμῷ φιλέουσά τε κηδομένη τε:

"and the goddess of the white arms Hera sent me,

who loves both of you equally in her heart **and cares** for you."

The next part of transitivity in Hopper and Thompson's theory is "punctuality". Punctual verbs are intrinsically more transitive than non-punctual verbs, which in English can be illustrated with the contrast between *to pick* - punctual, and *to carry* - non-punctual. Although this is again a lexical property, it also interacts with the grammatical aspect. It is simply difficult to imagine talking about a really punctual action in an imperfective aspect. It would then have to assume a meaning of a continuously repeated action. However, in order to stay close to the original framework, in my analysis I treat this category purely as a lexical feature and I disregard its tense. A participle of a punctual verb can be exemplified by:

(49) (*Iliad* 3.199 = 3.418)

τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειθ' Ἑλένη Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα:

"Then, Helen, **born of Zeus**, answered him" (own tr.)

Being born can be treated as a punctual event and thus the participle ἐκγεγαυῖα scores high in punctuality. An example of a non-punctual verb is ἥμαι - "to sit still":

(50) (*Iliad* 1.357-58)

ὣς φάτο δάκρυ χέων, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε πότνια μήτηρ

ἡμένη ἐν βένθεσσιν ἄλός παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι:

"So he spoke in tears and the lady his mother heard him

who was sitting in the depths of the sea at the side of her aged father"

(tr. modified from Lattimore)

In this example, we may wonder how to correctly interpret this participle. Should we read it as circumstantial with the meaning “when she was sitting” or attributively as an epithet “who was sitting”? In this case, I chose to treat it as an epithet describing some permanent characteristics of Thetis, since the same formula is repeated again in *Iliad* 18.36. Thus we can assume that this is not some *ad hoc* situation where Thetis was sitting in the depths of the sea at that moment, but that is a more or less permanent feature of Thetis as a Homeric character.

The fifth parameter is "volitionality". When the agent is acting with high volitionality, the effects of the action are usually more apparent on the patient, which increases the transitivity of the clause. One can contrast “I wrote down his phone number” - volitional, and “I forgot his phone number” - non-volitional. The choice in assigning these values is sometimes quite arbitrary. It is not always clear whether an action is fully volitional, for example "to get angry". It is impossible to determine whether an agent got angry against their active will, or did they actually decided to be angry and stayed angry until they decided to stop. I have decided to treat all verbs of emotion as non-volitional, since people generally do not really control their emotions. Examples of volitional verbs are abundant:⁶⁸

(51) (*Iliad* 3.8-9)

οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοὶ
ἐν θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλεξέμεν ἀλλήλοισιν.

“But the Achaian men went silently, breathing valor,
Stubbornly minded each in his heart to stand by the others.”

The perfect participle μεμαῶτες from μέμα “to desire” can certainly be described as volitional, especially that it refers here to an active desire to defend one’s companions in battle, rather than to some basic needs, which might not be volitional. There are also unambiguous examples of clearly non-volitional participles:

(52) (*Iliad* 3.278-79)

καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ γαῖα, καὶ οἱ ὑπένερθε καμόντας
ἄνθρώπους τίνυσθον ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὁμόςσῃ,

“earth, and rivers, and you who under the earth take vengeance
On **dead men**, whoever among them has sworn to falsehood,”

⁶⁸ See also *Iliad* 1.2, 1.18, 1.209, 1.290, 1.358, 1.494, 3.460, 9.17, 9.86.

However we want to interpret the exact meaning of καμόντας, the aorist participle of κάμνω, “those who suffer” or simply “the dead”, it surely refers to a non-volitional action or state.⁶⁹

The next parameter is "affirmation". Affirmative clauses are more transitive than negative ones. This is typologically confirmed by the fact, which I mention above, that some languages mark negation additionally with a different case and thus possibly removing the direct object. Greek does not do that, but nevertheless in my corpus I have only found three negations and only among the finite verbs in the relative clauses, no negated participles.

The following element of transitivity is "mode". The distinction is made between *realis* and *irrealis*. An action which has not actually occurred or occurred in a non-real world is less effective than one which has actually happened. In the case of Ancient Greek the term “mode” must correspond to the verbal “mode”. The verbal system includes four moods: indicative, imperative, subjunctive, and optative. Indicative should be classified as *realis*, as it refers to the real world. Subjunctive and optative are obviously *irrealis*, since often they do not refer to actual events in the real world, but for example to wishes, or conditions. One could make a case for classifying imperative mood in either category, but since there are no imperatives in our corpus I am not going to address this problem here. What is really important is that participles are not marked in any way to express different modes. An interesting topic which I am going to discuss more in-depth is the transfer of modality between the main verb and the participle. This phenomenon is, however, possible in the case of circumstantial participles which are adjuncts of the verb phrase and thus interact closely with the main verb. The attributive participles are adjuncts of the noun phrase and so it would be highly unlikely for them to take over the modality of the verb, just like an adjective is unlikely to express any sort of modality under the influence of the verb. This is indeed the case in my case study, where no participle can be read as expressing some modal semantics.

The eighth parameter is "agency". This refers not to the verb, but to the agent of the action. Agents with high potency contribute more to the transitivity of the clause than those with low potency. The difference is apparent if we contrast “John hurt Mary's feelings” and “The joke hurt Mary's feelings”. The joke as an entity does not have the agency to actively do anything. In the first sentence the emphasis is on the agent transferring action on the patient, while in the second one, the focus is on the patient experiencing something, which makes the clause less transitive. Most verbs occur with an agent "high" in agency, for example:

⁶⁹ See LSJ, s.v. κάμνω.

(53) (*Iliad* 3.132-34)

οἱ πρὶν ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοισι φέρον πολύδακρυν ἄρηα

ἐν πεδίῳ ὀλοοῖο λιλαιόμενοι πολέμοιο:

οἱ δὲ νῦν ἔαται σιγῇ, (...)

“who just now carried sorrowful war against each other,

In the plain, and all their desire was for deadly fighting;

Now they are all seated in silence, (...)”

The subject of the verb and the head of the participle are the Trojan and the Greek warriors, who can be certainly treated as having high “agency”.

Examples of participles used with an agent "low" in agency are not very common, but they do occur, for example:

(54) (*Iliad* 9.467-68)

πολλοὶ δὲ σύες θαλέθοντες ἀλοιφῇ

εὐόμενοι τανύοντο διὰ φλογὸς Ἥφαίστοιο,

“and numerous swine with the fat abundant upon them

Were singed and stretched out across the flame of Hephaistos”

Whether animals can be treated as subjects high in “agency” is a wider methodological question regarding Hopper and Thompson’s model. However, in this example the pigs are already dead and are being roasted, so we can avoid this difficult question. A piece of meat can with a doubt be treated a subject low in “agency” especially in the context of this participle meaning “wantoning in fat”.⁷⁰

Finally, there are two categories affecting the transitivity "score": affectedness of the object and individuation of the object. A clause in which the object is totally affected is more transitive than a clause in which the object is only partly affected, or not affected at all, for example “He ate a roast chicken” is more transitive than “He ate some roast chicken”. The individuation of the object is based on an earlier distinction made by Timberlake.⁷¹ Objects which are proper, human/animate, concrete, singular, countable, referential contribute more to

⁷⁰ See LSJ s.v. θαλέθω.

⁷¹ Timberlake 1975, 1977.

the transitivity of the clause than objects which are common, inanimate, abstract, plural, uncountable, and non-referential. While it is generally uncontroversial to decide whether the object is highly individuated or not, it is slightly more unclear with the affectedness. It is not always easy to clearly determine whether the object is totally affected or not. It is not very intuitive in the case of objects which are abstract or uncountable nouns.

This the first framework in which I have analysed the data in my corpus. Some categories, like aspect, had to be slightly adapted for Ancient Greek. Obviously, as the authors of this theory admit themselves, the treatment of transitivity as a continuum has some theoretical drawbacks, since a clause with two participants can turn out to be less transitive than a clause with one participant, when you sum up the scores for each category. Although this may seem unacceptable in languages where a sentence with two participants is always coded as transitive, there are some languages where such sentences are expressed in such a way to avoid a structure with a direct object, for example an English transitive clause “I like X”. in Latin, or French is normally intransitive “Mihi placet X_{NOM}.”, “X me plait”.

II.2.C.d. Results of the transitivity analysis

In this section I am going to present the results of the analyses outlines above. All the percentage indicators refer to the percentage of use of individual examples in my corpus in a given criterion.

Starting again with the category of participants, we already can notice a clear difference between participles and finite verbs in relative clauses: only 33% of participles take a direct object, compared with 73% of finite verbs. Although there are no readily available statistics about transitivity of participles in Ancient Greek, it is not surprising. Participles, especially attributive ones, are syntactically quite close to adjectives. We have already seen that in some cases in the classical language, they might even be treated as nouns. For that reason, they are automatically less likely to behave like verbs and to take a direct object. Obviously, finite verbs do not have any limitations in this matter.

The next category on the list is kinesis. Here only 7% of participles in my corpus are characterised by high kinesis, in contrast to finite verbs of which 43% are high in kinesis. It is quite difficult to say why it should be the case that participles are likely to be low in kinesis. Maybe their adjectival nature is once more surfacing and limiting them, since it would be difficult to image an adjective that has high kinesis built in its meaning.

The aspect, or rather tense-aspect, displays a slightly smaller but noticeable difference, with 27% of participles and 43% of transitive verbs in aorist or perfect tense-aspect. The preference for the present tense is due to the fact that it can have a timeless value, bringing it even closer to the adjective than when used with any different tense.

Proceeding to punctuality, it becomes very clear that there is a pattern here. In all categories of transitivity of Hopper and Thompson the participles score lower than finite verbs. The same happens here, as only 7% of participles have a punctual meaning, compared to 51% of finite verbs. Continuing the theme of attributive participles displaying highly adjectival characteristics, it also makes sense that punctual verbs are rather used in finite verbs in relative clauses, since adjectives are not really punctual in any way.

A very interesting result appears in the category of volitionality. Here, a very clear distribution can be noticed: 40% of participles have a volitional meaning, compared to 91% of finite verbs. This could also be explained in terms of the opposition between adjectival and verbal sides of the participles. Adjectives usually refer to attributes over which the subject has no control, for example colours, nationalities, state of emotions, features of character etc.

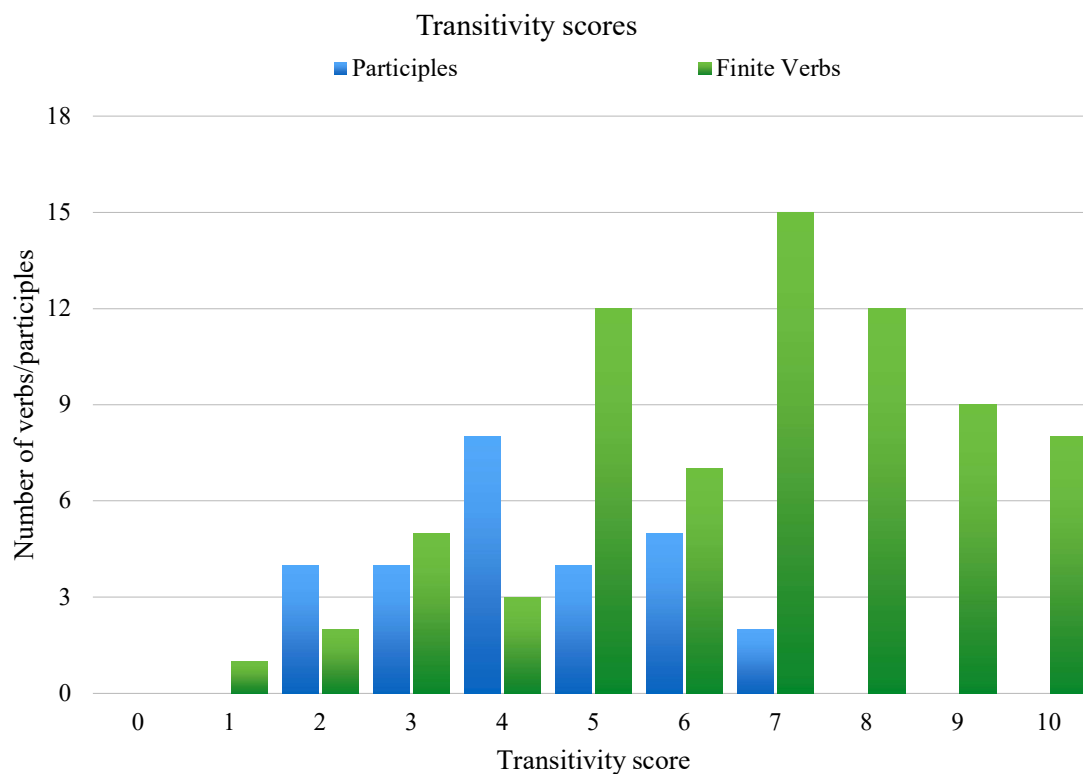
As I mentioned before, the categories of affirmation and mode are not relevant to this case study. All participles are in affirmative clauses and only three finite verbs are negated in relative clauses, which does not produce any significant conclusions. Similarly, mode is not something that can be a subject of comparison between participles and finite verbs, since participles do not have moods, thus any form of modality has to be expressed in the form of finite verbs. And indeed, 25% of verbs in relative clauses appear in moods other than indicative.

As I explained above, the criterion of agency refers to the agent, not to the verb. The results here are not especially surprising and must be specific to the Homeric narrative, where most agents do have high agency: 83% of clauses with participles and 91% of relative clauses with finite verbs. The difference is minimal and clearly is not the basis of the distribution between the two constructions.

As I said before, the affectedness of the object is often difficult to determine for sure, but still, in general, the finite verbs score significantly higher with a ratio of 60%, compared to 27% of participles. Individuation of the object is a bit easier to determine depending on whether they fit into categories provided in the methodology. Here the situation is very similar, with only 7% of participles having an "individuated" object, in contrast to 55% finite verbs.

Let me summarise the results. In my whole corpus, in all relevant categories of transitivity as presented by Hopper and Thompson, finite verbs in relative clauses score "higher" than participles. We can explain this phenomenon by the claim that, on a scale between adjectives and verbs, attributive participles are very close to the adjectival end. Thus the characteristics which they share with verbs, like transitivity and its components, are "switched off" to make them more similar to adjectives.

At the end, I have summed up the scores in all categories and each participle and finite verb got a score from 0-10, as there are ten components of transitivity according to Hopper and Thompson. The average score for participles appeared to be 4.73 - significantly boosted by the fact that in the category of mode they all had to score "high" as expressing modality with participles is impossible in Ancient Greek. Finite verbs had the average score of 6.65. The chart below shows how the marks were distributed among participles and finite verbs.



It seems clear that there is a certain soft constraint on how attributive participles can be used, given such a weak representation in the more transitive use. It is very interesting question why the finite verbs in relative clauses are also distributed so unevenly. Notably, relative clauses in Ancient Greek have very few constraints, as I have discussed before, they can be used to relativise on elements from all levels of the accessibility hierarchy, and transitivity should not play any significant role in their distribution. It is one of the reasons why there are a lot more relative clauses than attributive participles, even though we work with a Homeric text, where epithets and epithetical phrases are much more common than in other types of literature. In the light of these results it is possible that the presence of a competing construction - attributive participles - limits the representation of relative clauses in the more "intransitive" usage.

The detailed analysis of transitivity was very useful, because it confirmed that there is a set of criteria that go along with having a direct object or not. Having conducted all these analyses it is crucially important to consider what is really the driving factor in the distribution of these constructions. In other words, is it the presence of a direct object that enforces other criteria of transitivity to be "high", or otherwise, do all the relevant criteria force the verb to take a direct object? If we look at kinesis, it is clear that there are no verbs, at least in my corpus, which would not take an object and be high in kinesis. However, it is not logically

impossible, for example in the English sentence “She left”. the verb is intransitive and high in kinesis. In my corpus all verbs high in kinesis also take a direct object, but not all "transitive" verbs are high in kinesis (58%). That would suggest that it is more kinesis driving transitivity than the other way around. However, if we look at punctuality, there is very little correlation between the having a direct object and having a punctual meaning. Both punctual and non-punctual verbs can be transitive and intransitive and Hopper and Thompson's indication that punctual verbs tend to contribute more to transitivity can be true, if we are talking about transitivity as a continuum, but according to my data it does not prove to be a single factor driving the rest of the criteria. While it is still true that finite verbs in relative clauses are much more often punctual than attributive participles, within these groups punctual verbs are fairly equally distributed between transitive and intransitive verbs. Again, volitionality shows the same trend where volitional verbs are completely dominant among the finite verb forms (91%) and found only in 40% of participles, but their distribution within those groups does not fall in line with the presence of the direct object. This might lead to an interesting conclusion that all the criteria of transitivity each contribute to the notion of transitivity separately, but they do not determine the presence of a direct object. It is true that most finite verbs do have a direct object and most of the them do score high in all criteria of transitivity as presented by Hopper and Thompson, but I cannot prove that one criterion is driving the rest, which suggests that the end result is an effect of a subtle interplay of all these factors.

II.2.C.e. Role of arguments and adjuncts

Another aspect of syntax which could potentially influence the distribution of the data in my case study corpus is the syntactic weight of the arguments and adjuncts. The syntactic weight is the length and/or morphosyntactic complexity of sentence constituents. Typologically, we know that weight can be a significant factor in shaping the syntax of a language, for example the word order. This is the case in English, where there is a preference to place long and complex elements towards the end of a clause.⁷² For this reason it is necessary to check whether the arguments or the adjuncts with a higher weight influence the transitivity of the verb or the choice of construction in question.

Beforehand, it seems necessary to supply a short introduction to the definitions of arguments and adjuncts and the differences between them. The principal difference between them is that an argument, or its lack, is selected by the verb and is obligatory in the sentence, which would be ungrammatical with or without it. Thus for example a transitive verb cannot be used without an object in a grammatical sentence. Adjuncts, however, are often additional, optional information modifying the head phrase. Their number is unlimited and they can get stacked *ad infinitum*, e.g. “He put the cup [in the kitchen] [in a cupboard] [on a plate]” etc. Normally, but not always, nouns phrases are arguments whereas adjectives, adverbs, and prepositional phrases are adjuncts.⁷³ There are various syntactic tests for determining whether a phrase is an argument or an adjunct, but there is no need to discuss them here, especially insofar as in all cases my examples are perfectly clear in terms of the argument - adjunct distinction.⁷⁴

When we look at the arguments, it can immediately be noticed that in the vast majority of cases the attributive participles take very simple and short arguments, composed of one- or two-word noun phrases:

(55) (*Iliad* 9.85-86)

ἔπτ' ἔσαν ἡγεμόνες φυλάκων, ἑκατὸν δὲ ἐκάστῳ

κοῦροι ἄμα στεῖχον δολίχ' ἔγχεα χερσὶν ἔχοντες:

“There were seven leaders of the sentinels, and with each one a hundred

⁷² Biber et al. (1999) 898.

⁷³ Tallerman (2015) 124-125.

⁷⁴ See Arka (2005), Meyer et al. (1994) and Tallerman (2015) 114ff. for the distinction of arguments and adjuncts and tests for determining them.

Fighting men followed **gripping in the hands the long spears.**"

or

(56) (*Iliad* 9.571-72)

(...) τῆς δ' ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινὺς

ἔκλυεν ἐξ Ἑρέβessφιν **ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα.**

"(...) and Erinys, the mist-walking,

who has a heart without pity, heard her out of the dark places."

(tr. modified from Lattimore)

Interestingly, my corpus does not show many relative clauses with especially extended arguments of the verb, but it can happen, for example:

(57) (*Iliad* 1.37-38)

κλυθί μεν ἀργυρότοξ', ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας

Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην Τενέδοιό τε ἴφι ἀνάσσεις,

"Hear me, lord of the silver bow **who set your power about Chryse and**

Killa the sacrosanct, who are lord in strength over Tenedos,"

However, most relative clauses do not have such extended arguments, for example:

(58) (*Iliad* 1.402-04)

ὧχ' ἐκατόγχειρον καλέσας' ἐς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον,

ὃν Βριάρεων καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες

Αἰγαίων',

"summoning / in speed the creature of the hundred hands to tall Olympus,

that creature the gods name Briareus, but all men / Aigaios' son,"

Or

(59) (*Iliad* 9.116-117)

ἀντί νυ πολλῶν

λαῶν ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ **ὃν τε Ζεὺς κῆρι φιλήσῃ,**

"Worth many / fighters is that man **whom Zeus in his heart loves,**"

One could say that the weight of the arguments does not really have such a big bearing on the problem, because however extended they might be there will usually be no more than one, and never more than two arguments. Thus maybe if we look at the number of separate adjuncts to the verb, something more indicative will emerge. However, one can immediately see that there is no real difference between relative clauses and attributive participles in this matter either. Many of them do not have any adjuncts at all, and if they do, then normally no more than one. Thus an example of a finite verb with no adjuncts at all is:

(60) (*Iliad* 1.93-94)

οὐ τ' ἄρ' ὅ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται οὐδ' ἑκατόμβης,
ἀλλ' ἔνεκ' ἀρητῆρος **ὄν ἡτίμησ' Ἀγαμέμνων**

"No, it is not for the sake of some vow or hecatomb he blames us,
but for the sake of his priest **whom Agamemnon dishonoured**"

A typical adjunct is usually really short:

(61) (*Iliad* 1.250-52)

τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
ἐφθίαθ', **οἳ οἱ πρόσθεν ἅμα τράφεν ἡδ' ἐγένοντο**
ἐν Πύλῳ ἡγαθέη

"In his time two generations of men have perished,
those who have grown up with him and they who had been born to
these in sacred Pylos"

In the case of participles, the situation looks very similar. Most participles do not have any adjuncts of their own:

(62) = (34) (*Iliad* 3.200-02)

‘οὗτος δ' αὖ Λαερτιάδης πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς,
ὃς τράφη ἐν δῆμῳ Ἰθάκης κρاناῆς περ ἐούσης
εἰδὼς παντοίους τε δόλους καὶ μῆδεα πυκνά.

"This one is Laertes' son, resourceful Odysseus,
who grew up in the country, rough it be, of Ithaka,

who knows every manner of shiftiness and crafty counsels.”

(tr. modified from Lattimore)

Of course we also find some participles with short adjuncts:

(63) = (54) (*Iliad* 9.467-68)

πολλοὶ δὲ **σύες θαλέθοντες ἀλοιφῇ**

εὐόμενοι τανύοντο διὰ φλογὸς Ἥφαίστοιο,

“and numerous **swine with the fat abundant upon them**

Were singed and stretched out across the flame of Hephaistos”

Another interesting question regarding the distribution of relative clause and participles is whether adjectives block attributive participles. That would mean that if a noun phrase is already modified by an adjective, it is then more likely to be additionally modified by a relative clause, rather than an attributive participle. Obviously, as I mentioned before, in theory adjuncts can be added infinitely to the noun phrase, so this should not be the case, but maybe there is a preference to limit them at some point, so it is an issue worth exploring. The best example to prove that there are no such constraints is:

(64) (*Iliad* 1.208-09)

πρὸ δέ μ' ἦκε θεὰ **λευκώλενος** Ἥρη

ἄμφω ὁμῶς θυμῷ **φιλέουσά τε κηδομένη τε**:

"and the goddess **of the white arms** Hera sent me,

who loves both of you equally in her heart and **cares** for you."

As we can see, the adjective *λευκώλενος* does not block even two attributive adjectives referring to Hera. This is just another proof that the number or type of adjuncts attached to the noun phrase is not really a factor in constraints governing the distribution of the two constructions in question. I do not believe that the data in my corpus can provide any evidence that the presence of, or the semantic or syntactic weight of the arguments and adjuncts attached to the verb - or a participle - might have any bearing on the distribution of the two constructions and influence speakers in their choices. However, I have not found a noun modified by two different relative clauses.

II.2.D. Restrictive and non-restrictive participles

An important question which can be asked about the syntax and semantics of attributive participles in Homer is whether they tend to be restrictive or non-restrictive. A restrictive participle, just like a restrictive relative clause, distinguishes a concrete element in the set of many elements, whereas a non-restrictive relative clauses simply qualifies its antecedent in a manner similar to adjectives. In order to explain the idea of restrictiveness and non-restrictiveness for a reader unfamiliar with this concept I am going to use relative clauses, since they illustrate this distinction quite well in English. However, as we are going to see, the idea works in the same way for attributive participles work in Ancient Greek.

(65) *My cousin who lives down the road came over for dinner.*

(66) *My cousin, who lives down the road, came over for dinner.*

As we can see, the difference in restrictiveness is marked by the usage of commas in English and in other modern languages, like French. The first example shows a restrictive relative clause. From the set of my cousins, the one who lives down the road and not another one came over for dinner. In the second example, which illustrates a non-restrictive relative, secondary information is provided on my cousin, but it does not distinguish them from other elements of this set. It can very well be my only cousin, while in the first example we are sure that there are more. Non-restrictive constructions are parenthetical structures which serve to qualify their subjects without delimiting a subset of items.

Now that the concept of restrictiveness has been introduced, we can apply it to attributive participles in Homer. The question is, whether these participles simply provide additional information on their subjects, which theoretically could be omitted, or they serve the purpose of distinguishing them from a larger group of similar elements. If we simply approach the question intuitively, we can pose a hypothesis that given the specificity of the Homeric poems, the participles should mostly be non-restrictive. The correlation may not be immediately obvious. However, it is true that attributive participles in Homer are often part of an epithet referring to a concrete person who is named. In this case, there can be no doubt that the participle is non-restrictive, as there are no multiple Odysseus, Achilles or Heras. By definition, for a participle to be non-restrictive, it has to refer to a general noun which does not point to a concrete entity. There are, however, many examples of non-restrictive participles as

well. The distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive participle is based solely on semantics of the context. Interpunction cannot help us in the case of Ancient Greek text. We have already seen clear examples of both cases.

(67) = (28) (*Iliad* 3.276)

Ζεῦ πάτερ Ἰδηθεν μεδέων κύδιστε μέγιστε,

“Father Zeus, **watching over us from Ida**, most high, most honored”

(68) = (56) (*Iliad* 9.571-72)

τῆς δ' ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινὺς

ἔκλυεν ἐξ Ἐρέβessφιν ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα.

"and Erinyes, the mist-walking,

who has a heart without pity, heard her out of the dark places.”

(tr. modified from Lattimore)

In the example (67) the participial phrase provides us with additional information about Zeus. It does not serve to distinguish Zeus watching over us from Ida from another Zeus, but it serves as a qualification of Zeus, like any adjective would. Similarly, in the example (68) the participle gives us some characteristics of the Erinyes who all have a heart without pity. There are no Erinyes with a pitiful heart. It has to be clear, however, that non-restrictive participles are not limited to proper names and are very frequent with common nouns, for example:

(69) (*Iliad* 10.97-99)

δεῦρ' ἐς τοὺς φύλακας καταβήομεν, ὄφρα ἴδωμεν

μὴ τοὶ μὲν καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες ἠδὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ

κοιμήσωνται,

“Let us both go to **the guards**, to see if, **tired**,

they succumbed to the weariness and to sleep”

(70) (*Iliad* 11.30-31)

(...) ἀτὰρ περὶ κουλεὸν ἦεν

ἀργύρεον χρυσείοισιν ἀορτήρεσσιν ἀρηρός.

“and closing about it the scabbard

Was silver, **fitted with golden chains**” (tr. modified from Lattimore)

In both examples participles are referring to generic nouns, like guards or a scabbard, but their function is to simply describe them, not specify which guards or which scabbard is spoken of.

In order to see some examples of restrictive participles, we can also go back to some passages mentioned above, e.g.:

(71) = (11) (*Iliad* 6.506-07)

ὥς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος **ἀκοστήσας** ἐπὶ φάτνῃ

δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίῳ κροαίνων

“As when some stalled horse **who has been corn-fed** at the manger
breaking free of his rope gallops over the plain”

(72) = (37) (*Iliad* 3.458-60)

ὁμῆϊς δ' Ἀργείην Ἑλένην καὶ κτήμαθ' ἅμ' αὐτῇ

ἔκδοτε, καὶ τιμὴν ἀποτινέμεν ἣν τιν' ἔοικεν,

ἣ τε καὶ **ἔσσομένοισι** μετ' **ἀνθρώποισι** πέληται.

“Do you therefore give back, with all her possessions, Helen,
of Argos, and pay a price that shall be befitting,
Which among **people yet to come** shall be as a standard.”

In these instances the participles are clearly restrictive. The example (71) talks about a horse that specifically has been corn-fed, which is crucial for the sentence to make sense. It is not a secondary detail added as a description of the horse. Similarly, in the example (72) the participle ἔσσομένοισι meaning “who will be” serves the purpose of distinguishing people in the future from people from the past and the present. An important point to make is that Ancient Greek does not make any formal distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive constructions, be it participles or relative clauses. In determining the restrictiveness of the expression we can only rely on the context and its meaning.

Although these restrictive attributive participles can easily be found in the Homeric corpus, it has to be stated that non-restrictive participles are much more common, simply due to the nature of the text. As we have just seen in examples (71) and (72), a restrictive participle has to refer to a semantically general substantive, like ἄνθρωποι – “people” or ἵππος – “a horse”, which can then be specified and restricted by the participle. In Homer, attributive

participles more often refer to concrete entities, for example proper names, and thus only provide additional information, being non-restrictive.

Given the adjectival character of these participles, some readers familiar with Classical Greek could ask whether we can see a distinction between the “attributive” and “predicative” usages, well-known from the appositional syntax of adjectives in Classical Greek. This is obviously problematic to apply in Homeric Greek due to the absence of the definite article. In the classical language, the syntax of the adjective is effectively defined by its position in respect to the article, so its lack makes it impossible to apply the same criterion to the Homeric epics. Nevertheless, we can look for examples of attributive participles in different word order configurations and check whether it influences the meaning of the phrase, or whether there are constraints on the position of the participle in relation to the noun.

Rather unsurprisingly, we have found no semantic nuances between the phrases where the participle is placed before or after the noun. The distance between the two elements does not play an important role either. However, it has to be said that it was much more difficult to find examples of attributive participles preceding the noun. Up to now, from over 70 examples, we have seen only four, where the participle is placed before the noun: (1) in the introduction section, (4), (37), and (51). Another example of such a participle:

(73) (*Iliad* 11.492-93)

ὥς δ' ὅποτε **πλήθων ποταμὸς** πεδίον δὲ κάτεισι

χειμάρρους κατ' ὄρεσφιν ὀπαζόμενος Διὸς ὄμβρω,

“As when **a swollen river** hurls its water, big with rain

Down the mountains to the flat land flowing rain from the sky god,”

II.2.E. Substantivisation of participles

The next question which needs to be discussed in this chapter are substantivised participles, which I have briefly introduced in the beginning. They are often treated as a subtype of attributive participles, because they can be quite close to them from the semantic point of view.⁷⁵ If we look again at example (37):

(74) = (37) (*Iliad* 3.458-60)

ὕμεῖς δ' Ἀργείην Ἑλένην καὶ κτήμαθ' ἅμ' αὐτῇ

ἔκδοτε, καὶ τιμὴν ἀποτινέμεν ἣν τιν' ἔοικεν,

ἣ τε καὶ ἐσσομένοισι μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέληται.

“Do you therefore give back, with all her possessions, Helen,

of Argos, and pay a price that shall be befitting,

Which among **people yet to come** shall be as a standard.”

we can clearly see that the expression “ἐσσομένοι ἀνθρωποι” - “men yet to be” is synonymous with “οἱ ἐσσομένοι” - “those who are yet to be”. A substantivised participle is actually an attributive participle referring to the subject performing the action expressed by the participle.

There are two types of substantivisation: the first is an ellipsis of a noun that was already expressed in the previous context; the second is an ellipsis of a noun which can be conventionally recognised. We are going to see both types in the sections below. The first type is created spontaneously in a given sentence, while the second type is a lexicalisation of certain morphologically qualifying forms, like adjectives or participles, as nouns.

In Classical Greek substantivisation of adjectives and participles is usually done with the help of the definite article. Given the fact that the article is not yet developed in Homeric Greek, it is not always the case in our corpus. However, in many instances the demonstrative pronouns are used in order to substantivise participles. There are numerous examples of substantivised participles in all cases, except the vocative, both with and without the use of pronouns. In the nominative case, e.g.:

(75) (*Odyssey* 20.169-71)

⁷⁵ Goodwin (1892) 334.

‘αἶ γὰρ δὴ, Εὐμαιε, θεοὶ τισαῖατο λώβην,
 ἦν οἷδ’ ὑβρίζοντες ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωνται
 οἴκῳ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ, οὐδ’ αἰδοῦς μοῖραν ἔχουσιν.
 “How I wish Eumaios, the gods would punish the outrage
These men do in violence of their reckless designs, here in
 The house of another man. They have no gift of modesty.”

The expression “οἷδ’ ὑβρίζοντες” can be literally translated as “those who are insolent, arrogant”. It is clearly a substantivised participle, as it does not refer to any other element of the phrase. It also speaks in general terms about people who are insolent and even though it makes a reference to the suitors in his house, grammatically it does not refer to them specifically.

The pronoun used for substantivisation is the demonstrative ὁ, ἡ, τό. This pronoun has later, in Classical Greek, become the definite article. Its function in substantivisation shows that already in Homeric Greek it is in the process of becoming an article⁷⁶. I have found an example which could potentially be interpreted as containing a participle substantivised with the use of a different pronoun:

(76) (*Odyssey* 4.334)
 ‘ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ κρατερόφρονος ἀνδρὸς ἐν εὐνῇ
 ἤθελον εὐνηθῆναι ἀνάλκιδες αὐτοὶ ἐόντες.
 “Oh for shame, it was in the bed of a bold and strong man
 they wished to lie, **they themselves being all unwarlike.**”

The reason why we could think that are these participles are substantivised is the fact that it is the only possible subject of the verb. Logically, it has to refer to the suitors who ravage the house of Odysseus who are mentioned 15 lines earlier. Although the distance is significant, I believe that the substantivised interpretation is wrong in this case. Substantivised participles are always used in general statements of the type “those who do X...”. However, this phrase makes specific reference to the suitors and the exact situation of the house of Odysseus. It does not claim that all those who themselves are unwarlike want to live in the house of a strong man.

⁷⁶ More on the usage of the demonstrative pronoun in Homeric Greek see Chantraine (1953) 158ff, especially 160-61.

It is the difference between restrictive and non-restrictive reading. The substantivised participle would have to be read as with a restrictive meaning: “Those who are unwarlike wish to...”. In this case, we prefer to read it as an attributive, non-restricted participle which simply provides more information: “They [the suitors], who are unwarlike, wish to...”.

The nominative is the only case for which I have not found examples of substantivised participles without the use of pronouns. This is probably due to the fact that the nominative is only case which is used in the subject position. This demonstrative pronoun, beside its substantivising function, is often used in Homeric Greek to indicate a change of subject. Without the demonstrative pronoun, one could immediately assume that the participle is qualifying the subject of the previous sentence, thus it was necessary to clearly mark that the participle itself functions as a new subject. We can perfectly see in the example (75) that the demonstrative pronoun marks not only the substantivisation, but also the change of the subject to make absolutely clear that the participle does not refer to θεοί – “the gods” which is the subject of the previous clause.

It is also not uncommon to find this type of participles in the accusative case, both with and without pronouns used to mark substantivisation, e.g.:

(77) = (2) (*Iliad* 1.69-70)

Κάλχας Θεστορίδης οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος,

ὃς ἤδη **τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα**

"Kalchas, Thestor's son, far the best of the bird interpreters,

who knew **all things that were, the things to come and the things past**"

(78) (*Iliad* 11.80-83)

(...) ὃ δὲ νόσφι λιασθεὶς

τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάνευθε καθεζέτο κύδεϊ γαίῳ

εἰσορόων Τρώων τε πόλιν καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν

χαλκοῦ τε στεροπὴν, **ὀλλύντάς τ' ὀλλυμένους τε.**

“(...) but withdrawn from them

And rejoicing in the pride of his strength sat apart from the others

Looking out over the city of Troy and the ships of the Achaians,

Watching the flash of the bronze, **the men killing and the men killed.**”

(79) (*Odyssey* 12.451-52)

ἐχθρόν δέ μοί ἐστιν
αὖτις ἀριζήλως **εἰρημένα** μυθολογεύειν.
“It is hateful to me
to tell again what has already been clearly said.” (own tr.)

As we can see there is a certain variability in the usage of the demonstrative pronoun to mark substantivisation. In example (77), there is a pronoun before every participle, whereas in examples (78) and (79) there are none. I have included all these passages to show that some potential criteria for the presence or the absence of the pronoun do not work. In the first example the participles refer to animate nouns, in the second - to an inanimate noun.

Let’s now address the question why these participles can be read as substantivised even though they are not accompanied by a demonstrative pronoun, which in Classical Greek becomes the definite article and is the mark of substantivisation. Example (78) could potentially be mistaken for a supplementary participle with a verb of sensory perception.⁷⁷ This is, however, not true, because the participles do not refer to any other noun in this sentence and are clearly a type of substantivisation where the noun can be conventionally recognised – “men”. They occupy the place of the noun phrase and are coordinated with other nouns in the accusative, πόλιν “city” and νῆας “ships”. If a general noun like ἄνδρας/άνερας or ἀνθρώπους was present in the sentence, then we could analyse them as complementary participles. In this case, they have to be treated as substantives themselves.

In the following example, εἰρημένα “things which have been said” is the object of the verb μυθολογεύειν “to tell”. There is thus no doubt that it occupies the place of a noun phrase in this sentence and cannot represent any other type of participles. Nevertheless, the participle keeps its verbal properties, as it is modified by an adverb ἀριζήλως meaning “clearly”, which is not surprising, as it is a general property of all the usages of participles. The presence of the adverb also excludes the possibility of a fixed, permanent substantivisation of εἰρημένα to mean something like “a story, a tale”. There is thus no question that it is still a participle, not a noun and that it is substantivised in this phrase.

We can equally find examples of substantivised participles in the genitive case, also with and without the demonstrative pronoun. The problem with the genitive case is that it also the case of the absolute construction in Ancient Greek.⁷⁸ Very often, we are not sure whether

⁷⁷ More on this topic in section V.2.A. of this thesis.

⁷⁸ See section IV.2. of this thesis.

to read a given participle as a substantivised participle or a genitive absolute. I shall give some examples below:

(80) (*Iliad* 22.494)

τῶν δ' ἐλεησάντων κοτύλῃν τις τυτθὸν ἐπέσχε:

Substantivised participle: “And someone **among those who pitied him** offered him a small cup;” (own tr.)

Genitive absolute: “And **since they pitied him**, someone gave him a small cup;” (own tr.)

Both versions can be justified and it is not clear which one should be favoured. We can read the genitive as a partitive genitive expanding on the indefinite pronoun τις “someone”. However, we can also take the participial phrase separately from the pronoun τις and give it an absolute causal meaning. Even though the word order in poetry is often not a good argument for any interpretation, in this case there is no other means of determining the preferred meaning of the phrase. The pronoun τις is separated from the participial phrase which itself is placed in the beginning of the phrase, which might suggest that it refers to the preceding verses. However, given the importance of discontinuous syntax in Ancient Greek, especially in verse, the distance between elements is not necessarily indicative of their syntactic relations.

Another interesting example where two interpretations can be considered is:

(81) (*Iliad* 23.233-34)

οἱ δ' ἄμφ' Ἀτρεΐωνα ἀολλέες ἠγερέθοντο:

τῶν μιν ἐπερχομένων ὄμαδος καὶ δοῦπος ἔγειρεν,

“they assembled all together around the son of Atreus;

The noise and the sound **of those coming** woke him up”

Or

“The noise and the sound woke him up, **as they were coming**” (own tr.)

In this case we may recognize either a possessive genitive or the genitive absolute. In the first case the participial phrase would be substantivised and would complement ὄμαδος καὶ δοῦπος “the noise and the sound”. “The noise of the coming [men]” is a logical and justifiable reading. However, as in the previous example, we can read it as a genitive absolute and treat it as syntactically separate from the rest of the sentence. The second translation equally makes sense

and cannot be excluded. In this example the word order does not offer any hints towards the preferred reading and neither should be ruled out.

The genitive with the pronoun can be difficult to interpret, but when it appears without the pronoun, the substantivised meaning is quite clear, e.g.:

(82) (*Iliad* 22.389-90)

εἰ δὲ **θανόντων** περ καταλήθοντ' εἰν Ἄϊδαο
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ κεῖθι φίλου μεμνήσομ' ἐταίρου.

“And though the dead forget **the dead** in the house of Hades,
Even there I shall still remember my beloved companion.”

In the example above, θανόντες is the aorist participle of θνήσκω – “to die”, meaning literally “those who died, the dead”. It is the object of the verb καταλήθομαι “to forget utterly” which takes the genitive.⁷⁹ Being an argument of the verb, the participle has to be substantivised, but interestingly it lacks the demonstrative pronoun as the mark of the substantivisation.

Finally, I shall provide examples of substantivised participles in the dative case, also with and without the demonstrative pronoun.

(83) (*Iliad* 3.255)

τῷ δέ κε **νικήσαντι** γυνὴ καὶ κτήμαθ' ἔποιτο:

“Let the woman go to **the winner** and all the possessions;”

(84) (*Iliad* 5.253-54)

οὐ γάρ μοι γενναῖον **ἀλυσκάζοντι** μάχεσθαι

οὐδὲ καταπτώσσειν:

“It is not in my nature to fight against **a coward** / or to cower;” (own tr.)

Both of these examples contain uncontroversial substantivised participles. They are arguments of the main verb and cannot be interpreted in any other way. The comparison of these two passages is quite interesting. Seemingly, the substantivised participles are very similar in function. However, in reality they represent two different kinds of substantivisation which I have mentioned in the beginning of this section. The example (83) occurs at a moment before

⁷⁹ LSJ s.v. καταλήθομαι.

the duel of Paris and Melenaos and so ὁ νικήσας “the one who won” thus “the winner” refers specifically to one of them – the one who is going to win. This is not a type of conventional substantivisation which refers to any man or men in general. The substantivised participle refers to one of two concrete people. Example (84) is different, because it makes a truly general statement. The participle ἀλυσκάζων “one who shuns, avoids [a fight]”, thus a “coward”, does not refer to a concrete person. Diomedes is trying to highlight his own courage rather than insult a specific opponent in this context. For this reason we can view this passage as an example of a conventional substantivisation. Are these two types distinguished by the use of the demonstrative pronoun? Not necessarily. We have seen examples (77) – (79) where all participles show conventional substantivisations with an ellipsis of a general noun, like “things” or “men”. There the “proto definite article” is used in the first example, but not in the following two. I have not found any rules or constraints concerning the use of this substantivising tool.

It is also worth mentioning at the end that we have seen throughout this section instances of substantivised participles in four different tenses: the present, the future, the perfect, and the aorist. It shows only further that the substantivisation of participles is not a niche feature of the Homeric syntax, restricted to specific cases, but a widespread phenomenon: these participles can come in any case, in any tense, with or without the demonstrative pronoun, and they can refer to both animate and inanimate subjects. Since this construction is already very well developed in the earliest texts, it is impossible to determine whether the substantivisation originally started with the adjectives, the participles or with both at the same time.

II.2.F. Participles in comparative and superlative constructions

Given the fact that attributive participles, out of all types of participles, most resemble adjectives in their syntax and semantics, it is necessary to discuss the question of comparative constructions involving participles. First of all, it is necessary to note that participles are gradable in Classical Greek with the use of the comparative or superlative adverbs *μᾶλλον* “more” and *μάλιστα* “the most”. There are no forms of participles graded with the use of suffixes *-τερος*, *-τατος*, *-ίων*, *-ιστος*. Indeed, we do find rare examples of participles used with *μᾶλλον* and *μάλιστα* already in Homer, but it is rather debatable whether these participial phrases are actually graded.

We shall start with the comparative forms. Creating comparative grades to some participles should not be particularly surprising. We could imagine that a highly adjectival participle like for example *οὐλόμενος* “accursed, wretched” could easily be gradable.⁸⁰ Another example given in grammars is *μᾶλλον ἔκων* “more willingly”.⁸¹ This is, however, not the case in Homer. There are two cases of *μᾶλλον* used with a participle and in neither of them the participle is adjectival in its semantics, or even attributive in its function:

(85) (*Iliad* 23.385-86)

οὐνεκα τὰς μὲν ὄρα ἔτι καὶ **πολὺ μᾶλλον ἰούσας**,

οἱ δὲ οἱ ἐβλάφθησαν ἄνευ κέντροιο θέοντες.

“As he watched how the mares of Eumelos **drew far ahead of him**

While his own horses ran without a whip and were slowed.”

(86) (*Odyssey* 9.12-13)

σοὶ δ' ἐμὰ κήδεα θυμὸς ἐπετράπετο στονόεντα

εἵρεσθ', ὄφρ' ἔτι **μᾶλλον ὀδυρόμενος** στεναχίζω:

“But now your wish was inclined to ask me about my mournful

Sufferings, so that I must mourn and **grieve even more**.”

It has to be clearly said that these participles are not attributive in function. The participle *ιούσας* in the example (85) is complementary, since the participle complements the

⁸⁰ LSJ s.v. *οὐλόμενος*.

⁸¹ Smyth (1954) 90.

verb ὄρα “he watched”. Meanwhile ὁδυρόμενος in (86) is circumstantial with the temporal meaning. In the former, μᾶλλον can equally refer to the verb rather than the participle. Thus the meaning of μᾶλλον is not comparative. It is an intensifying adverb in this context and does not create a real comparative construction similar to μᾶλλον ἔκων for example. The participles are not graded in these examples. Their meaning is modified, but they are not graded, since as participles they function as verbs in these phrases, not as adjectives.

Let’s now look at the examples of μάλιστα used with participles. We can immediately see that these constructions cannot really be considered as superlatives:

(87) (*Odyssey* 2.162)

μηστῆρσιν δὲ **μάλιστα** **πιφασκόμενος** τάδε εἶρω:

“But what I say **will be mostly a warning** to the suitors”

(88) (*Odyssey* 7.211-12)

οὓς τινὰς ὑμεῖς ἴστε **μάλιστ’ ὀχέοντας** οἰζὺν

ἀνθρώπων, τοῖσιν κεν ἐν ἄλγεσιν ἰσωσαίμην.

“Whoever it is of people you know **who wear the greatest burden of misery**,

Such are the ones whom I would equal for pain endured”

The adverb refers to participles, but these participles do not function as noun modifiers of a noun in these contexts. This is the same situation as with μᾶλλον. The adverb used for the superlative grade is there, but it has an intensifying meaning, since it is used with a participle functioning as a verb. It is clear that in Homeric Greek, there are no comparative or superlative forms of participles. It is important to note, because in the comparative section we will see that some other Indo-European languages do have this feature. Given the fact that logically it would not be surprising to find highly adjectivised participles which are graded, it is quite interesting that we do not find a single example of this construction in Homer.

II.2.G. Summary

In this section we have treated several different aspects of the syntax and semantics of attributive participles in Homeric Greek. We have looked at their competition with other structures fulfilling the same semantic role, especially with the relative clauses. Besides Mugler's observations regarding metrical constraints, we were able to demonstrate that participles and verbs in relative clauses significantly differ in terms of transitivity in the framework developed by Hopper and Thompson. Later we have looked at the question of restrictiveness of attributive participles in Homeric Greek. Although non-restrictive participles are much more common, we can find multiple examples of both types. Furthermore, we have presented substantivised participles, which appear to be a relatively frequent component of Homeric syntax, found in all tenses and cases, even though the definite article - the mark the substantivisation in Classical Greek - has not yet been grammaticalised. Finally, we have touched upon the question of comparative and superlative forms of participles, to show that these do not exist yet in Homeric Greek.

In the following sections I shall look - in less detail - at attributive participles in other Indo-European languages in order to compare them to Ancient Greek.

II.3. Comparative section

II.3.A. Hittite

The participles of the Hittite language are commonly used attributively. Even though participles can be used exactly like adjectives to modify a noun, they do not precede it, but rather follow it, more like universal quantifiers.⁸² Thus they remain a clearly distinct part of speech, being regarded as different from adjectives. Hittite participles in principle express a state, which has some consequences for the range of its use.⁸³ If we compare them with Ancient Greek, we can immediately notice that participles in Hittite have more limitations. Being limited to expressing a state removes a wide range of contexts where a Greek participle could be used with no issues. This implies that in Hittite participles cannot compete with relative clauses in the same way as in Ancient Greek. As we are about to see in a few examples below, Hittite attributive participles are extremely adjectival in meaning and do not express activities. Unfortunately, the literature on the subject is not very informative, beyond the basic information that attributive participles exist in Hittite, for example:⁸⁴

(1) (KUB 20.11 ii 22)

[g]aggapan *zanundan* tyanzi

“They set out a **cooked** *gaggapa*-animal”

(2) (KUB 10.21 ii 11)

^{LÚ}SAGI-aš *waššanza*

“a **fully clothed** cupbearer”

(3) (KBo 11.1 obv. 33.)

URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A ... *ašanduš*

“**settled** ... cities”

⁸² Hoffner & Melchert (2008) 339.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

It is important to note that participial syntax in Hittite closely follows the syntax of adjectives. This includes functioning as an attribute of a noun, a predicate, or substantivisation.⁸⁵ Furthermore, Hittite participles display more adjectival features like being a complement of a copula.⁸⁶ In the present tense the copula is always omitted, for example:

(4) (KBo 6,2 ii. *The Laws of the Hittites*, 23, § 41)

*Ták-ku LÚ IL-KI ḫar-ak-zi Û LÚ^{GIŠ}TUKUL ti-it-ti-an-za nu LÚ^{GIŠ}TUKUL
te-ez-zi*

“if a man who has ILKU-services disappears / dies and a man having a TUKUL-obligation **is assigned** (in his place) and the man owing TUKUL services says...”

We can see the copula with the same participle in another example from *The Proclamation of Telepenus* where the form is *tittiyantes eser* “(cities) were assigned”.⁸⁷ At the end, it is worth mentioning that there are no graded forms of participles in the Hittite corpus.⁸⁸

Although we cannot fully compare the syntax of Hittite participles with Homeric Greek without an extensive corpus survey, which lies beyond the scope of this thesis, we can note that attributive participles are an integral part of the Hittite syntax.

The limitations of the Hittite participles in respect of their stative character and their much more narrow usage in comparison with Ancient Greek is somewhat analogous to the much wider question of the relationship between the Anatolian and the so-called Greco-Aryan verbal system.⁸⁹ I am not going to contribute to the debate on this subject, but it is necessary to mark the two basic possibilities. Either Hittite represents the older state of affairs from which Greek and Vedic evolved, or it simplified the original Indo-European system, which is accurately represented by Greek and Vedic. The evidence from the syntax of attributive participles is certainly not conclusive. Participles could start from exclusively expressing states, which would be preserved in Hittite, and only later acquire new functions represented in Ancient Greek and other languages. However, the possibility of reducing the meaning of participles to state from

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, unfortunately Hoffner and Melchert, or other Hittite grammars, do not provide examples of substantivised participles.

⁸⁶ Frantíkova (2015) 184-86, example (4).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ See e.g. Clackson (2007) 129ff.

an originally more extensive system cannot be excluded either. We need to keep these two possibilities in mind when looking at other languages and at other types of participles. The Hittite evidence might be an important indication towards the reconstruction of participial syntax in Proto-Indo-European and establishing the original function of participles. For now, we can simply state that the fact that attributive participles are a common element of the Hittite language makes us think that they have a high chance that they existed already in Proto-Indo-European. However, in order to make that claim, we need to examine other branches of the Indo-European family.

II.3.B. Indo-Iranian

II.3.B.a. Sanskrit

Attributive participles are very frequent in the *R̥gveda*. As noted and illustrated by Lowe,⁹⁰ attributive participles can have both restrictive and non-restrictive meaning, and the only way to distinguish them is the context – there are no syntactic differences between the two usages. In this respect they behave exactly like participles in Ancient Greek, discussed in the section above. For example:

(1) (RV 2.19.1cd)

yásminn índraḥ (...)

*óko dadhé **brahmanyántaś=ca náraḥ***

“at which Indra (...) has found a home, **as have the men creating the poetic formulations.**”

(2) (RV 2.27.3a-c)

*tá ādityāsa urávo gabhīrā ādabdhāso **dīpsanto** bhūry-akṣāḥ*

antāḥ paśyanti vṛjinótā sādhu

“These broad and deep Ādityas, undeceivable, **but ready to deceive** (the deceitful), having many eyes, see within the crooked and the straight.”

In the first passage the participle is clearly restrictive. It does not speak of some men, who by the way were creating poetic formulations, but about specifically those who create poetic formulations. Whereas in the second example the participles serve as mere epithets providing further information on their referents.

It might be obvious to some, but it is still worth noting, that attributive participles in Vedic Sanskrit function just like in Ancient Greek in respect to the lack of constraints concerning their grammatical tense or voice. Furthermore Lowe highlights the semantic and functional similarities between participles and relative clauses, going so far as treating “adnominal participial clauses somewhat like reduced

⁹⁰ Lowe (2015) 87, with examples (1) and (2).

relative clauses.”⁹¹ This very quick look at attributive participles in Vedic already shows us significant similarities between the Greek and the Sanskrit in their usage of participles.

In Vedic, we find a number of lexicalised participles like *jágat-* “which moves or is alive” then “men and animals” and later “the world”, a perfect neuter participle of $\sqrt{\text{gam-}}$ “to move” or later in Classical Sanskrit a present masculine participle *bhavat-* “thou” from the root $\sqrt{\text{bhū-}}$ “to be”. The substantivisation, however, does not seem to be particularly productive.⁹²

⁹¹ Lowe (2015) 88.

⁹² For a detailed survey see Lowe (2015) 257-69.

II.3.B.b. Avestan

Avestan also knows attributive participles in both restrictive and non-restrictive contexts as well as substantivised participles. They are used in phrases where the described property “is especially relevant in the context” or “in reference to a characteristic or essential property”.⁹³ For example:

(3) (Old Avestan, *Yasna* 29.2)

hiiat̥ hīm dātā xšaiiantō

“when ye, **having the power**, set her there”

(4) (Old Avestan, *Yasna* 31.7)

tā ... racēbīš rōiθβan xʷāθrā

“those amenities **permeating** the world of light”

Substantivisation is also quite common:

(5) (Old Avestan, *Yasna* 47.6)

pourūš išəntō

“many **eager comers**”

(6) (Old Avestan, *Yasna* 34.4)

rapantē ... daibišiiantē

“to thy supporter... to thy hater”

I hope that the examples I have selected show clearly enough the difference between a non-restrictive participle in the example (3) and a restrictive one in the following example (4). In the former the participle could have been omitted and the phrase would still make sense, since the present participle *xšaiiantō* from *xšā(y)*- “to have power” provides background information.⁹⁴ In the example (4) the participle *rōiθβan*, from the verb *rōiθwān*- “to permeate”,

⁹³ West (2011) 72-73 with examples and translations (3) - (6), see for more examples.

⁹⁴ Bartholomae (1904) sv. *xšā(y)*:- “Macht haben, Gewalt haben”.

has a restrictive function since it limits a subset from a larger set of elements.⁹⁵

In the example (5) we can see a substantivised present participle in the nominative *išəntō* built on the verb *aēš-* “to visit, to go to”.⁹⁶ Example (6) presents two substantivised participles in the dative. It does not seem that the substantivisation is limited to several forms. On the contrary, there are participles built on many roots which undergo substantivisation.

It is quite interesting to see that like in Ancient Greek the attributive participles are in competition with relative clauses, especially used in the beginning of a sentence. In the example below we can see how an attributive participle and a relative clause are coordinated in one phrase and fulfil the same function:⁹⁷

(7) (Old Avestan, *Yasna* 28.4)

*yā uruuānəm mān gairē vohū dadē haθrā manayhā, ašīšcā šīiaoθnanəm
vīduš Mazdā, ... xsāi aēšē Ašahiiā*

**“I, who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song together with good
thought, and knowing Mazdā’s repayments of actions, will look out in search
of Right.”**

Although we have not found anything extraordinary or surprising in Avestan, the data further confirms how widespread these features are in ancient Indo-European languages. It is also quite interesting that Avestan kept the substantivisation of participles, while Vedic only preserves traces of it, which suggests that it might have been a common Indo-Iranian feature of participial syntax in the past.

⁹⁵ Bartholomae (1904) sv. *rōiθwən-*: “sich zu Mengen, zu erfüllen mit”

⁹⁶ Bartholomae (1904) sv. *aēš-*: “(etwas) suchen, suchen nach - , aufsuchen”.

⁹⁷ West (2011) 74, with example (6) and translation.

II.3.C. Latin

Attributive participles are very frequent and wide-spread in Latin. This usage is well described in standard Latin grammars. The first characteristics of an attributive participle phrase in Menge's syntax is that it replaces a relative clause, which clearly corresponds to the Ancient Greek and Indo-Iranian examples.⁹⁸ Not surprisingly, we can also see both restrictive and non-restrictive examples of attributive participles:⁹⁹

(1) (Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia* 71)

*Odiosum sane **genus est hominum** officia **exprobantium***

"Indeed, it is **an odious kind of people that impose** their services." (own tr.)

(2) (Cicero, *De Oratore* 3.137)

*Pisistratus primus **Homeri libros confusos antea sic disposuisse dicitur, ut nunc habemus.***

"As they say, Peisistratus was the first to put into order **the books of Homer, which were previously mixed**, as we have them now." (own tr.)

As we have already seen several times, the first example is clearly restrictive, as it restricts "the kind of people" to those who display a certain behaviour. Whereas, the example (2) simply adds additional information describing the works of Homer. These two examples also show that both present active and past passive participles can be used in this function with no limitations.

We can also commonly find examples of substantivisation of attributive participles, for example:

(3) (Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 3.51)

***Verum dicentibus** facile cedam*

"I will readily yield **to those speaking the truth**" (own tr.)

This examples shows us that the participles preserve their verbal nature even in substantivised form and can still take a direct object. It is also worth noticing that Latin as a language which

⁹⁸ Menge (2009) 713: *Das rein attributive Partizip ersetzt einen attributiven Relativsatz.*

⁹⁹ Ibid.: examples (1), (2), and (3).

does not have definite or indefinite articles is unable to mark the substantivisation of participles or adjectives.

Even having only touched upon this type of participle, we can already see that all their major functions which we discussed in the section on Ancient Greek, are present and common also in Latin.

II.3.D. Germanic

In this overview of participles in the Germanic branch of the Indo-European languages, we will look at three languages: Gothic, Old Norse, and Old English, due to their antiquity. However, as always in the case of these languages, we need to keep in mind all the challenges they present, especially the influence of the Ancient Greek on Gothic, and the potential influence of Latin on Old Norse and Old English.

II.3.D.a. Gothic

Both the first and the second participle in Gothic can be found in the attributive function,¹⁰⁰ for example:

(1) (Matthew 27, 52)

*jah managa leika þize **ligandane** weihaize urrisun*

καὶ πολλὰ σώματα **τῶν κεκοιμημένων** ἁγίων ἠγέρθησαν,

“and the bodies of many saints **who had died** were raised.”

(2) (2 Timothy 3,8)

*mannans **frawaurþanai** ahin*

ἄνθρωποι **κατεφθαρμένοι** τὸν νοῦν

“these people - **who have warped** minds”

In both of these examples, the Gothic text very closely follows the Greek syntax: it is a word-for-word translation. For this reason, it is impossible to decide whether these constructions had already existed in Gothic and are a natural translation of Greek, or have been introduced to the language under the influence of the Bible. However, we can argue that where the participle is used in Gothic, it is employed purposefully, since there are cases where Greek participles are replaced by relative clauses in Gothic. This suggests that if a participle did not fit the Gothic language, it could be replaced by a slightly different, although synonymous construction, for example a relative clause:

¹⁰⁰ Feuillet (2014) 172 with examples (1) and (2).

(3) (1 Thessalonians 4, 14)

þans þaiei anasaislepun

τοὺς κοιμηθέντας

“those who slept”

(4) (Luke 2, 33)

Iosef jah aiþei is sildaleikjandona ana þaim þoei rodida wesun bi ina

καὶ ἦν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ θαυμάζοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς λαλουμένοις περὶ αὐτοῦ.

“Joseph and His mother were amazed **at those things which were spoken about Him.**”

In both examples above we can see that the substantivised participles in Ancient Greek - τοὺς κοιμηθέντας and τοῖς λαλουμένοις – are replaced by relative clauses in Gothic - *þans þaiei* “those who...” and *ana þaim þoei* “at those things which...”.

Nevertheless we do find many examples of substantivised participles in Gothic. Interestingly, there are cases where such a participle still takes a direct object. It is worth noting that it can be paired not only with the definite article, but also with other determiners, like the demonstrative *jains* “**that over there**”, the possessive, the totalizing pronoun *alls* “**all**” and the indefinite pronouns, like *sums* “some”, *manags* “many”, and *hazuh* “each”.¹⁰¹ Here again, however, this is generally attributed to the Greek influence and is not treated as a genuine example of the original Gothic syntax.¹⁰²

(5) (John 18, 2)

Iudas sa galewjands ina

Ἰούδας ὁ παραδιδούς αὐτόν

“Judas, **the one who betrayed him**”

(6) (Matthew 5, 44)

apþan ik qiþa izwis: frijop fijands izwarans, þiupjaip þans wrikandans izwis.

¹⁰¹ Feuillet (2014) 171 after Streitberg (1981) 58.

¹⁰² Mossé (1956) 186; Feuillet (2014) 171-72 with examples (3).

*waila taujaiþ þaim **hatjandam** izwis, jah bidjaiþ bi þans usþriutandans izwis,*
ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν
διωκόντων ὑμᾶς,

“But I say unto you, Love your enemies, ble**ss them that curse you, do good**
to **them that hate** you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and
persecute you;”¹⁰³

Although the example (5) follows the Greek text word for word, the example (6) does not, and thus I have decided to quote a passage longer than usually. We can see that the Gothic version expands the Greek original a bit and adds even more participial phrases. The underlined passage does not have a direct equivalent in the official Greek version, **but can be found in certain manuscript traditions**. These two these short phrases involve a substantivised participle with a direct object. This does not necessarily mean that the substantivisation of participles had been known or common in Gothic outside of Wulfila’s Bible, but it can be proof that it did become an integral part of the syntax of this particular work, even if it is a syntactic calque.

Gothic, as the oldest recorded Germanic language, cannot be completely disregarded in our considerations, but its dependence on the Greek material is so strong that it is difficult to arrive at any definitive conclusions with respect to its participial syntax. We know for sure that participles, as a morphological category, are well attested in Gothic and it would be difficult to imagine that they would not be used in the attributive function outside of the Bible. However, any more detailed analysis will always be hindered by the extent of the Ancient Greek influence.

¹⁰³ Source: <http://www.wulfila.be/gothic/> [accessed 19/03/2020]

II.3.D.b. Old Norse

In Old Norse the attributive participles are syntactically and morphologically identical to adjectives to the point that Faarlund in *The Syntax of Old Norse* does not make any distinction between the two.¹⁰⁴ However, looking through his examples of the syntax of noun modifiers in Old Norse, we can find interesting passages which show both the standard attributive participles and substantivised participles:

(7) (*Konungs skuggsiá* 63.37)

*er þó höfuðvá bjúgr skjaldjötunn **ryptandi** með eldligum loga*

“But the main weapon is a canon **which emits** fiery flame”

(8) (*Brennu-Njálssaga* 163.8)

*fyrir frændum **ins vegna***

“for the kinsmen **of the one who was killed**”

Although often we have to consider the fact that authors of some Old Norse texts were familiar with Latin and thus could have introduced structures otherwise not known in the language, in this case at least we know that these texts are not translations, but original creations of Old Norse literature.¹⁰⁵ There is no apparent reason not to treat these phrases as real and existing examples of participial syntax of Old Norse. Given the fact that they correspond to the Gothic data, and in fact to every other old Indo-European language which we have so far looked at, it should not be especially surprising to see it in yet another Indo-European language.

Even though the Germanic data presents some textual problems and raises doubts regarding the existence of attributive participles outside of literary texts, we have to acknowledge that there is a certain degree of consistency between Gothic and Old Norse. The attributive function of participles is so widespread in Indo-European languages that it should not be a controversial proposition to treat it as a real element of the syntax of ancient Germanic languages. When it comes to substantivisation, we should certainly consider it a likely possibility.

¹⁰⁴ Faarlund (2004) 67.

¹⁰⁵ In contrast to *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga*, *Ívens saga* or *Tristrams saga ok Ísoddar* which are all translations of European medieval literature into Old Norse.

II.3.D.c. Old English

Although from the morphological point of view participles in Old English are more restricted than those in Ancient Greek, we find that functionally they are quite similar. Throughout this thesis we are going to see that we can systematically find Old English participial constructions which correspond to Ancient Greek participial syntax. Whether it is due to an influence of classical languages on Old English or due to a common inheritance is not particularly clear.

Both present and past participles are commonly found in attributive positions.¹⁰⁶ They can qualify the noun or stand in place of a noun, e.g.:

(9) (ed. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* 631)

De lifigiende God gemyne ðu...

“May the **living** God be mindful of you...”

(10) (ed. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* 101)

Ga þis foresprecene land into Cristes cyricean...

“This **forementioned** land is to go to Christchurch...”

(11) (*Homilies of Ælfric* vol. I 350.12)

Behreowsigendum mannum he miltsað, ac he ne behet þam **elcigendum**
gewiss lif oð merigen.

“To **the repentant men** he is merciful, but to **the procrastinating** he
promises not certain life till the morrow.” (trans. Benjamin Thorpe)

Apart from such basic instances of attributive participles, there are also some examples of participles with comparative or superlative form.¹⁰⁷

(12) (*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* 394.5)

...þær he **hattra** and **beornendra** wæs.

“where he [it, my arm] was **hotter** and **more burning**” (tr. Brinton & Closs-

¹⁰⁶ Carlton (1970) 124-126, examples (9) and (10) and their translations; Mitchell (1985) 649, example (11).

¹⁰⁷ Mitchell (1985) 649 with examples (12) and (13).

Traugott)

(13) (*Letter of Alexander the Great to Aristotle* 7.13)

þa wæs ðær seo wætmbereðdeste eorþe.

“when the Earth was **producing the most crops**” (own tr.)

In the two examples above, the participle bears the comparative and the superlative suffixes *-ra* and *-ste*. In the example (12) the participle belongs to the paradigm of the verb *beornan* “to burn” (a variant of *birnan*). In the example (13) the participle is a compound of *wætm* which must be a variant or a misspelling of *wæstm* “crops, harvest” and the verb *beran* “to bear”.

We have to keep in mind that religious texts have a high chance of being influenced by Latin, but as long as the text is not a translation of Latin, its influence is difficult to measure. We can certainly say that the “adjectival” use of participles is relatively well developed in Old English, given the fact that sometimes participles are graded like adjectives.

II.3.E. Slavic

II.3.E.a. Old Church Slavonic

As we know, the syntactic analysis of Old Church Slavonic (OCS) faces exactly the same problems as the analysis of Gothic, considering the influence of Ancient Greek. For this reason, like in the sections above, we always need to check the original Greek text to see whether a given OCS passage is a word-for-word translation or can actually provide an insight into the genuine syntax of a real, non-literary Slavic language. At face value, we can certainly attest that OCS does use participles in the attributive function, as well as substantivised participles.¹⁰⁸

(1) (John 8, 18)

i sьnǵdǣtelьstvuuť o tьnǣ poslavьi mę otca

καὶ μαρτυρεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ ὁ πέμψας με πατήρ.

“and **the Father who sent me** testifies about me.”

(2) (Luke 7, 32)

podobni sьtь otročїstemь sǣdęstemь na trъžїstїixь

ὅμοιοί εἰσιν **παιδίοις** τοῖς ἐν ἀγορᾷ **καθημένοις**

“They are like **children sitting** in the marketplace”

(3) (Mark 4, 3)

se izide sęři sǣatь

ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ **σπείρων** σπεῖραι.

“**A sower** went out to sow.”

(4) (John 14, 9)

viděvy mę vidě otca

ὁ ὥρακώς ἐμὲ ὥρακεν τὸν πατέρα:

“**The person who has seen me** has seen the Father”

¹⁰⁸ Gardiner (1984) 136 with examples (1) – (4). For more examples see Večerka (1993) vol.2 66-70.

On first glance we could say that we find here the same constructions as in other Indo-European languages. Examples (1) and (2) show attributive participles modifying nouns and examples (3) and (4) substantivised forms. However, looking at the Greek text, we can clearly see that all these examples are copied from the original text and thus present no valuable input into our considerations. When it comes to substantivisation, we can mark a certain degree of independence of OCS from Ancient Greek. Just like in Greek, substantivised participles are in competition with relative clauses. While Greek relative clauses are always rendered by relative clauses in OCS, never by participles, Greek participles are sometimes translated as participles and sometimes as relative clauses.¹⁰⁹ It suggests that OCS follows Ancient Greek very closely when a given participle can be rendered naturally. However, if a given participle cannot be easily substantivised, it changes into a relative clause. This suggestion has two implications. Firstly, substantivisation of participles did exist in OCS independently from Ancient Greek. Secondly, it had some limitations and some Greek substantivised participles could not be expressed as participles in OCS. It could mean that substantivisation of participles was not a productive process in the language and substantivised participles could only be used if they already existed before. This is, however, not certain and requires more in-depth research. It could also be explained by stylistic reasons.

¹⁰⁹ Večerka (1993) vol. 2, 69.

II.3.E.b. Old Novgorodian

Old Novgorodian also knows participles in the attributive function. However, I have not managed to find multiple examples of them in the literature, so it is impossible for me to elaborate on the restrictiveness of participles or their substantivisation. Le Feuvre provides an example which she considers to surely be an attributive one:

(5) (KV 5)

i episkopъ poxvalilъ b'aše, jako to gorazno stvorša

“et l'évêque <m'>avait approuvé, comme quoi **j'avais bien fait**”

(tr. Le Feuvre)

Here the participle *stvorša* “having done” refers to the object of the verb which is omitted.¹¹⁰ The specificity of this passage is the fact that the participle is used with the conjunction *jako* which gives it also a conditional meaning.

¹¹⁰ Le Feuvre (2007) 91, example (5) with translation.

II.3.F. Lithuanian

The syntax of participles in Lithuanian has been described in great detail in the literature,¹¹¹ and thus we get the chance to look at its various aspects. Attributive participles occupy a special place in the Lithuanian system, as they are functionally very close to adjectives, and they are morphologically distinguished from other types of participles: one would use the vocalic forms in *-antis* for the attributive function, and the consonantal form in *-as* for every other function.¹¹²

There are several common features which the participles share with the adjectives in Lithuanian. First of all, they almost always precede the noun. Secondly, there is a distinction between simple and definite forms for adjectives and participles. These definite participles are often used to express a categorical meaning, e.g. *melžiamoji kārė* “milk cow” from *mélžti* “to milk”.¹¹³ The next common property of adjectives and participles is the possibility of their transformation into an adverb in connection with a verb, e.g.:

(1) *Gražūs daināvimas* “a beautiful song” → *gražiai dainuoja* “he sings beautifully”

Analogically for participles:

(2) *Jáudinama kalbà* “a moving language” → *jáudinamai kalba* “he speaks in a moving manner”.¹¹⁴

It is noteworthy that there are also some significant differences between adjectives and participles in Lithuanian. Participles often conserve their verbal nature and can still take an object. Furthermore, their verbal nature makes them less susceptible to take abstract or timeless semantics. Furthermore, while adjectives can create higher grades of comparison using suffixes, participles can also do so analytically, using comparative adverbs *labiau* “more” and *labiausiai* “the most”.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Ambrazas (1990), (1997); Petit (1999b).

¹¹² Petit (1999b) 119.

¹¹³ Petit (1999b) 117.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Petit (1999b) 118-119.

Finally, the next feature shared between adjectives and participles is the possibility of substantivisation, which is particularly interesting, given our considerations so far. It is also important to note that this feature does not belong solely to the modern language, but can also be found in Old Lithuanian, e.g. in the Bible of Bretkūnas:¹¹⁶

(3) (Joshua 9, 11)

*Wissi **giwenantis** musų Szemes*

*alle **Einwohner** unsers Landes*

*omnes **habitatores** terrae nostrae*

“**all who live** in our land”

(4) (Exodus 32,24)

***Turinsis** Auksa (...)*

***Wer Gold hat** (...)*

***Quis** vestrum **habet** aurum (...)*

“Whoever has any gold (...)”

It is important to note that neither the German version nor the Latin one, which might have influenced the Lithuanian translation, use participles in these examples. In example (3) they use a noun, and in example (4) a relative pronoun and an interrogative pronoun.

There is no doubt that the Lithuanian participial system is very extensive well-developed. We find here all the syntactic features which we had discussed in other sections above, and some more unique constructions.

¹¹⁶ I have compared the Lithuanian version, as found in Petit (1999), to the German translation of Martin Luther available at <https://bolls.life/LUT/1/1/> and to the Latin *Vulgata*.

II.4. Conclusions

In this chapter we have seen attributive participles in Ancient Greek and in several others Indo-European languages. Being the closest to adjectives, these participles often follow adjectival syntax, but at the same time they preserve verbal properties. For this reason, it has not been surprising to see that basically all examined languages in this chapter have attributive participles and most of them share the same characteristics: they can be used in different contexts, both restrictive and non-restrictive, they can be substantivised, and in many cases they compete with relative clauses since they fulfil the same function.

Answering our main question: whether the participial syntax in Homeric Greek is a heritage or an innovation, we can say that in the case of attributive participles, it is not particularly different from other languages examined. The consistency of the data suggests a common heritage, but does not exclude a similar line of development. It is quite interesting that almost all examined languages displayed substantial evidence of substantivised participles, with a question mark over Vedic, for which I have only found lexicalised forms and Old Novgorodian, since the literature on the topic is not easily available. It is quite evident that attributive participles share the same syntactic patterns with adjectives. In effect, neither Greek nor most other languages have done anything particularly innovative with attributive participles. We could single out the comparative and the superlative forms in Old English and Lithuanian and morphological demarcation in Lithuanian. We could argue that the passive participles, originally in the attributive function, were the foundation of a new, analytical passive voice in some branches like Germanic or Slavic. This innovation is not, however, shared by Ancient Greek which remains at the centre of this inquiry

III. Circumstantial Participles

III.1. Introduction

In traditional terminology, circumstantial participles are one of the three main types of participles in Ancient Greek.¹ Their semantic function is simple as they describe the circumstances of the main action. Although morphologically they agree with a noun, syntactically they are the adjunct of the verb phrase. Their general usage in Indo-European languages has been very well described in different grammars. They are semantically equivalent to a subordinate circumstantial clause. Within this type, we can differentiate between participles in apposition and absolute constructions, in the sense that generally speaking the participles in apposition function within the main clause, while the absolute constructions are not attached to any element of the main clause. The absolute participles will be treated in a separate chapter, since they provide so many interesting, comparative questions that they deserve more exposition. In some languages, semantic range of circumstantial participles is wider than in others: in classical languages we find multiple meanings, e.g. concessive or modal, apart from the most widespread temporal function. I am going to provide a short overview of the usage of circumstantial participles for each language. In the case of Ancient Greek, I am going to focus more on the relationship between the participle and the main verb, for example in the cases of the transfer of modality between the two.

¹ Smyth (1920) 454ff.

III.2. Homeric Greek

III.2.A. Introduction

The circumstantial participles and their syntax and semantics have been described in great detail by the grammarians as it is the most frequent usage of participles in Ancient Greek.² André Oguse has dedicated his PhD thesis to the topic of circumstantial participles in Ancient Greek.³ Firstly, we will see examples of each semantic types of circumstantial participles and then we will also look at the temporal relationships between the participles and the main verb. I am not going to give multiple examples, since everyone with a basic knowledge of Ancient Greek is familiar with these. Later on, we shall move on to more advanced questions of coordination, negation, modality, and their auto- or hetero-referential character. We shall also look at the issue of linearity, the distance and the position in the relationship to the main verb.

² Chantraine (1953) 319ff.

³ Oguse (1962).

III.2.B. Types of circumstantial participles

First, we will see all the different meanings which circumstantial participles can have in Homeric Greek. By far the most widespread usage of these participles is temporal in meaning, for example:

(1) (*Odyssey* 15.147-49)

τοὺς δὲ μετ' Ἀτρεΐδης ἔκιε ξανθὸς Μενέλαος,
οἶνον ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ μελίφρονα δεξιτερῇφι,
ἐν δέπαϊ χρυσέῳ, ὄφρα **λείψαντε** κιοίτην.

“But fair-haired Menelaos the son of Atreus followed
Bearing in his right hand a golden cup that was filled with
Wine sweet as honey, so they could pour a libation **as they went**.”

Secondly, we find the causal meaning of participles, which is often quite close to the temporal usage, for example:

(2) (*Odyssey* 16.170-71)

οὐδ' ἐγὼ αὐτῇ
δηρὸν ἀπὸ σφῶϊν ἔσομαι **μεμανῖα μάχεσθαι**.

“I myself
shall not be long absent from you, **since I have been eager to fight**.”
(tr. modified from Lattimore)

The causal interpretation is preferable, but temporal is possible as well. The concessive clauses are often expressed by participles,⁴ for instance:

(3) (*Odyssey* 1.35-37)

ὥς καὶ νῦν Αἴγισθος ὑπὲρ μόρον Ἀτρεΐδαο
γῆμ' ἄλοχον μνηστήν, τὸν δ' ἔκτανε νοστήσαντα,
εἰδὼς αἰπὸν ὄλεθρον,

⁴ Chantraine (1953) 320.

“as now lately, beyond what was given, Aigisthos married the wife of
Atreus’ son, and murdered him on his homecoming,
though he knew it was sheer destruction”

The participle can also describe the manner in which the main action is performed, for example:

(4) (*Iliad* 7.219-21)

Αἴας δ’ ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε φέρων σάκος ἥϋτε πύργον

χάλκεον ἑπταβόειον, ὃ οἱ Τυχίος κάμε τεύχων

σκυτοτόμων ὅχ’ ἄριστος ὕλην ἐνὶ οἰκίᾳ ναίων,

“Now Aias came near him, carrying like a wall his shield

of bronze and sevenfold ox-hide **which Tychios wrought him with much**

toil; Tychios, at home in Hyle, far the best of all workers in leather”

This passage provides a clear example of the participle of manner, but in many cases we can also hesitate whether a temporal interpretation might be correct. The **purposive** function is fulfilled solely by future participles, especially with the verbs of movement - coming and going - for example:

(5) (*Iliad* 1.13-14)

ὃ γὰρ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν

λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα φέρων τ’ ἀπερείσι’ ἄποινα,

“when he came beside the fast ships of the Achaians

to ransom back his daughter, carrying gifts beyond count”

In respect to temporal relationships, the participles refer either to the time in respect to the present of the speaker, or in respect to the time expressed by the main verb. In the first case they refer to absolute time and the participle expresses the past, the present and the future, in the second - to the relative time and so the participle signifies the anteriority, the simultaneity, and the posteriority.⁵ The relative time reference is much more common. In Greek, outside of the indicative, the grammatical tenses normally lose their absolute temporal values and refer in the majority of case to the relative time or to the verbal aspect of the action, which refers to the

⁵ Ogusé (1962) 25.

internal temporal constituency of the event.⁶

⁶ Delaunoy (1988) 128ff; for the definition of aspect see Comrie (1976) 3-6.

III.2.C. Transfer of modality

An interesting topic is the transfer of modality between the main verb and the participle. In many cases the participle remains under the influence of the main verb and takes its modal semantics, for example:

(6) (*Iliad* 23.582-85)

στάς ἵππων προπάροιθε καὶ ἄρματος, αὐτὰρ ἰμάσθλην

χερσὶν ἔχε ῥαδινὴν, ἧ περ τὸ πρόσθεν ἔλαυνες,

ἵππων ἀψάμενος γαίηοχον ἐννοσίγαιον

ὄμνυθι μὴ μὲν ἐκὼν τὸ ἐμὸν δόλῳ ἄρμα πεδῆσαι.

“**Stand in front of your horses and chariot**, and in your hand take up the narrow whip with which you drove them before, then **lay your hand on horses** and swear by him who encircles the earth and shakes it you used no guile to baffle my chariot.”

Both participles στάς and ἀψάμενος function as imperatives, taking their meaning from the main verbs ἔχε and ὄμνυθι. Furthermore, the same phenomenon can be found with other moods, like the optative, for example:

(7) (*Odyssey* 18.27-29)

ὄν ἂν κακὰ μητισαίμην

κόπτων ἀμφοτέρησι, χαμαὶ δέ κε πάντας ὀδόντας

γναθμῶν ἐξελάσσαιμι συὸς ὥς ληϊβοτείρης.

“I have some bad plans for him:

hit him with both hands, and spatter all the teeth out from his jaws on the ground, as if he were a wild pig rooting / the crops.”

The optative of the verbs μητισαίμην and ἐξελάσσαιμι is used here to express a potential future and so the participle is coordinated with the inflected forms and acquires the same meaning.

By contrast, we also find multiple examples of participles which semantically do not share the mood of the main verb.

(8) (*Iliad* 5.202-03)

ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην: ἦ τ' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον ἦεν:

ἵππων φειδόμενος, μή μοι δευοίατο φορβῆς

ἀνδρῶν εἰλομένων **ειωθότες** ἔδμεναι ἄδην.

“I did not obey, and that would have been much better,

sparing my horses, lest they lack pasture when the men were crowded

together, **as they have been accustomed** to eating their fill.” (own tr.)

In the passage above, we have a prohibitive phrase introduced by the negation μή and followed by a verb in the optative: δευοίατο. However, the participle following the verb, εἰωθότες, does not share its modal properties and simply can be read as a causal participle, explaining the circumstances of the action. The most obvious explanation of this lack of transfer of modality, is the fact that the participle is referring to the noun outside of the modal phrase - ἵπποι - and in reality it does not describe the circumstances of the action expressed by the verb in the optative, but the one expressed by the participle φειδόμενος. It gives the cause of the sparing of the horses and logically does not have anything to do with the prohibitive phrase following it.

It is important to note that this is the case not only in the hetero-referential context like above, but also in the auto-referential one:

(9) (*Iliad* 14.190-91)

ἦ ῥά νύ μοί τι πίθοιο φίλον τέκος ὅττι κεν εἴπω,

ἦέ κεν ἀρνήσαιο **κοτεσσαμένη τό γε θυμῷ**,

“Would you do something for me, dear child, if I were to ask you?

Or would you refuse it? **Are you forever angered against me**”

In the example above we have an interrogative phrase with two verbs in succession in the aorist optative followed by a participial clause. The optative has a clear potential sense, which is not at all shared by the participle. In this case, we cannot explain it in the same way as in the previous example, as the participle really refers to the action expressed by the verb in the optative.

In both of these examples the optative is in no way reflected in the meaning of the participles. In addition to that, there are also examples of participles which are closely linked to the main verb, but do not exactly take over all its attributes.

(10) (*Iliad* 10.291)

ὥς νῦν μοι **ἐθέλουσα** παρίσταο καί με φύλασσε.

“So now again **be willing** to stand by me, and watch over me”

(11) (*Iliad* 5.605-06)

ἀλλὰ **πρὸς Τρῶας τετραμμένοι** αἰὲν ὀπίσσω

εἴκετε, μηδὲ θεοῖς μενεαινέμεν Ἴφι μάχεσθαι.

“Come then, **keeping your faces turned to the Trojan**,

give ground backward, nor be we eager to fight in strength with divinities”

As we can see, the participle does not take the modal meaning of the main verb, but it expresses essential information which complements its meaning. It is not completely semantically independent from the verb, like in some examples above. That is what Oguse calls *association étroite*.⁷

In the following section, I am going to investigate whether the parameters of linearity, distance from the main verb and the distinction between anteposition and postposition play any role in the transfer of modality from the main verb to the participle. From the data examined, it is clear that none of these constitute a constraint for the transfer of modality. Whether the participle is placed directly next to the main verb or not, does not influence its capability to share the modal meaning of this verb. The same can be said about the anteposition and postposition of the participle in respect to the main verb. For example:

(12) (*Iliad* 1.407-08)

τῶν νῦν **μιν μνήσασα** παρέζεο καὶ λαβὲ γούνων

αἳ κέν πως ἐθέλησιν ἐπὶ Τρώεσσιν ἀρῆξαι,

“Sit beside him and take his knees and **remind him** of these things

now, if perhaps he might be willing to help the Trojans”

The participle *μνήσασα* is found directly before the verb in the imperative and clearly shares its mood. It means that the participle can take over the mood and the semantics of the imperative. We can treat the following example in the same manner:

⁷ Oguse (1962) 2.

(13) (*Iliad* 11.348)

ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ στέωμεν καὶ ἀλεξώμεσθα **μένοντες**.

“But come, let us stand up, **stay** and defend ourselves.” (own tr.)

The participle μένοντες can be read as continuing the imperative function of the two subjunctives before. However, as shown before, the close distance to the main verb is not a necessary criterion for the transfer of modality:

(14) (*Iliad* 1.421-22)

ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν νηυσὶ **παρήμενος** ὠκυπόροισι

μήνι· Ἀχαιοῖσιν, πολέμου δ' ἀποπαύεο πάμπαν:

“But **you sit** by the swift ships,

be angry at the Achaians and cease from all fighting” (own tr.)

and

(15) (*Iliad* 10.62-63)

αὐθι μένω μετὰ τοῖσι **δεδεγμένος** εἰς ὃ κεν ἔλθῃς,

ἢε θέω μετὰ σ' αὐτίς, ἐπὶν εὖ τοῖς ἐπιτείλω;

“Shall I wait where I am, with them, **and watch** for your coming,

or run after you, when I have properly given the order?”

In both these examples the participles are placed at a certain distance from the main verb, respectively in ante- and postposition, but it does not have any impact on the ability to take the modal meaning of the main verb, the imperative or the subjunctive.⁸

We may compare these examples with cases where the participle does not share the modal semantics of the main verb. We have already seen examples (8) and (9). We can add to that:

⁸ We can be sure that μένω is a present subjunctive, not a future indicative, firstly because the following θέω is unmistakably a present subjunctive in this context, and secondly it fits the semantics of the phrase much better as a deliberative question.

(16) (*Iliad* 17.160)

εἰ δ' οὕτως προτὶ ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος

ἔλθοι **τεθνηώς** καὶ μιν ἐρυσάιμεθα χάρμης,

“If, **dead man though he be**, he could be brought into the great city of lord Priam, if we could tear him out of the fight”

and

(17) (*Iliad* 17.711)

οὐ γάρ πως ἂν **γυμνὸς ἐὼν** Τρώεσσι μάχοιτο.

“There is no way he could fight against the Trojans **while being bare of armor**” (tr. modified from Lattimore)

In both of these examples we have circumstantial participles with the verbs in the optative. If we consider again the linearity and the position of the participle, in the example (16) the participle *τεθνηώς* is placed directly after the verb, while in the example (17) *ἐὼν* is found before the verb, separated by another complement of the verb. In both of these examples, it is impossible to assign the modal semantics to the participles, which describe real circumstances of potential actions.

The conclusion to this question must be that there are no particular grammatical criteria for the transfer of modality between the main verb and a circumstantial participle. It seems to be decided *ad hoc* from the context and thus can be subject to interpretation.

III.2.D. Auto- and hetero-referential contexts

Another interesting question regarding the syntax of circumstantial participles is whether they tend to be used in the auto-referential or hetero-referential context. We can already see, looking at all the examples above, that the auto-referential usage is by far the most common. In the vast majority of cases, the participle refers to the subject of the main verb. It is, however, not uncommon to find circumstantial participles with various semantic values in the hetero-referential context. A frequent construction involves a participle agreeing with a noun or pronoun in the function of the possessive dative, for example:

(18) (*Odyssey* 20.204-05)

ἴδιον, ὥς ἐνόησα, δεδάκρυνται δέ μοι ὄσσε

μνησαμένῳ Ὀδυσῆος,

“It has come home to me, when I saw it. My eyes are tearful

as I remember Odysseus”

In addition, it is also relatively common to see a circumstantial participle with the dative of person affected:

(19) (*Iliad* 16.508)

Γλαύκῳ δ’ αἰνὸν ἄχος γένετο φθογγῆς **αἶοντι**:

“But **when he heard** the voice a hard sorrow came upon Glaukos”

It is curious to note that this usage is still possible even if the noun which the participle refers to is omitted, for instance:

(20) (*Odyssey* 17.553-55)

ξεῖνε πάτερ, καλέει σε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια,

μήτηρ Τηλεμάχοιο μεταλλῆσαί τί ἐ θυμὸς

ἀμφὶ πόσει κέλεται, **καὶ κήδεά περ πεπαθυῖη**.

“Father and friend, circumspect Penelope, mother

of Telemachos, summons you, for her heart is urgent to find out

from you about her husband, **though she is suffering troubles.**”

There is no noun or pronoun in the dative which would serve as the head of the participle πεπαθυῖη. However, we easily understand that it refers to Penelope mentioned just above. The passage would not be atypical if the noun θυμός was accompanied by a pronoun in the dative, but ἐ is unmistakably an accusative.⁹ The solution to this problem may lay in the transmission of the text, as there are several variants of the participial form in the manuscripts.¹⁰ The form in question could in reality be a participle in the nominative πεπαθυῖα or πεπαθυῖη agreeing with Πηνελόπεια transmitted respectively in the manuscripts H and M (after corrections). Alternatively, we can treat it as a case of ellipsis of the pronoun: the zero anaphora, where the anaphoric pronoun in the dative is clearly understood and omitted. We can also note that the same concessive semantics expressed in the example above can be found in a true hetero-referential context in the passage below:¹¹

(21) (*Iliad* 1.577-78)

μητρὶ δ' ἐγὼ παράφημι καὶ αὐτῇ περ νοεοῦση

πατρὶ φίλῳ ἐπίηρα φέρειν Δί,

“And I entreat my mother, **though she herself understands it**,
to be ingratiating toward our father Zeus”

A more convincing example of a participle without an expected pronoun as its head is:

(22) (*Odyssey* 5.151-53)

τὸν δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' ἀκτῆς εὔρε καθήμενον οὐδέ ποτ' ὄσσε

δακρύοφιν τέρσοντο, κατεῖβετο δὲ γλυκὺς αἰὼν

νόστον ὀδυρομένῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι ἦνδανε νόμφῃ.

“and I found him sitting on the seashore, and his eyes were never
wiped dry of tears, and the sweet lifetime was draining out of him,
as he wept for a way home, since the nymph was no longer pleasing to him.”

⁹ Petit (1999a) 12-17.

¹⁰ West (2017) 374: πεπαθυῖη(ι) G N U, -θύη 495 F, -θύη B: παθυῖη H: πεπαθυῖα P: -θοῖη M: κε παθοῖης Mc: πεποθυῖη Mgr: πεπαθυῖαν Barnes: -θυῖης Monro cl. sch ἀντὶ τοῦ πέπονθας (ubi πεπονθ<υ>ας conicit) et ζ 157.

¹¹ We may also remark that both in example (20) and (21) the concessive meaning is strongly reinforced by the particle καὶ περ.

The participle ὀδυρομένῳ would be typically agreeing with a pronoun in the dative function as a possessive (“his sweet life”). It is, however, missing in this passage. It is difficult to establish whether this is a case of the zero anaphora, or it is omitted for metrical reasons.

Another function of the dative - the local meaning¹² - is equally susceptible to appear with a circumstantial participle accompanying it, for example:

(23) (*Iliad* 24.114-15)

ὅτι φρεσὶ μαινομένησιν

Ἴκτορ' ἔχει παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν οὐδ' ἀπέλυσεν,

“that **in his heart's madness**

he holds Hektor beside the curved ships and did not give him back”

So far we have seen some examples of circumstantial participles in the hetero-referential context in the dative. While they are much more common than any other case, we can still find participles with the same semantics and in the same hetero-referential context in the accusative.

(24) (*Odyssey* 5.466-68)

εἰ μὲν κ' ἐν ποταμῷ δυσκηδέα νύκτα φυλάσσω,

μή μ' ἄμυδις στίβῃ τε κακὴ καὶ θῆλυς ἐέρση

ἐξ ὀλιγηπελίας δαμάσῃ **κεκαφηότα θυμόν**:

“For if I wait out the uncomfortable night by the river,

I fear that the female dew and the evil frost together

will be too much for **my damaged strength**, I am so exhausted”

However, this example can be considered controversial, as the perfect participle κεκαφηώς exists only in this exact Homeric phrase κεκαφηότα θυμόν and the stem does not have any other attested forms. A better example presents itself below:

(25) (*Odyssey* 17.566-67)

καὶ γὰρ νῦν, ὅτε μ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ κατὰ δῶμα **κίόντα**

οὔ τι κακὸν **ῥέξαντα** βαλὼν ὀδύνησιν ἔδωκεν,

“For even now, **as I went through** the house,

¹² The local meaning is assured by the variant of the phrase: ἐνὶ φρεσὶ, e.g. *Iliad* 1.333, 4.39, 8.202 et al.

doing no harm, and this man struck me and gave me over to suffering”

The participles are clearly circumstantial with the temporal meaning.

To conclude this section, we can state that although auto-referential circumstantial participles are much more common, the hetero-referential ones are by no means an exception, especially in the dative case. The obvious reason why the genitive is not mentioned is that this is precisely the function of the genitive absolute. I will discuss the examples of phrases where we can hesitate between an absolute reading and an appositional reading in the later chapter on the absolute constructions.

III.3. The comparative section

III.3.A. Hittite

Hittite is a very interesting case, because it is the only language in my comparison which does not display circumstantial participles at all. Participles as a word class exist on a spectrum between adjectives and verbs. Circumstantial participles, as we know, are much closer to the verbal end of this spectrum. However, Hittite participles are intrinsically so adjectival that they do not reach the circumstantial function. As demonstrated by Frantikova, these participles are more adjectival than in any other Indo-European branch.¹³ We have already seen their adjectival features in the preceding chapter.¹⁴

¹³ Frantikova (2015) 182ff.

¹⁴ See section II.3.A.

III.3.B. Indo-Iranian

III.3.B.a. Sanskrit

The participial system in Vedic Sanskrit resembles the Greek one very closely. All the semantic functions found in the Greek sections are also found in Vedic. Even though the main and principal function of these participles is temporal-aspectual, we do find a wide range of different meanings attached to circumstantial participles, for example: cause, purpose, result, concession or manner.¹⁵ Like in Ancient Greek, the temporal-aspectual meaning of the participle is relative to the main verb. The tense aspect of the participle determines whether it is preceding, succeeding or is simultaneous to the main verb, independently from the absolute time. In this respect Sanskrit is no different than Latin or Ancient Greek. Even though Vedic circumstantial participles are attested in all grammatical cases, there is the strong tendency for them to stand in the nominative case: in the *R̥gveda* 90% of them are in the nominative. It is somewhat expectable, because as adjunct to the main verb, these participles make predications on the topic of the sentence which most often is the subject.¹⁶ Some examples of circumstantial participles in Sanskrit are:

Temporal:

(1) (RV 7.104.8ab)

yó mā pákena mánasā cārantam abhicāṣṭe añrtebhir vácobhiḥ

“Whoever bears witness against me with untruthful words, **as I behave**
with guileless mind”

Cause:

(2) (RV 4.22.6cd)

ádhā ha tvád vṛṣamaṇo bhiyānāḥ prá síndhavo jávasā cakramanta

“then, **being afraid of you**, o you of bullish mind, the rivers charge forth
at speed.”

Purpose:

(3) (RV 7.67.7cd)

¹⁵ Lowe (2015) 161ff, with examples (1) – (9), see for more examples of given participles.

¹⁶ Lowe (2015) 96.

áheḷatā mánasā yātam arvāg aśnántā havyám mānuṣīṣu vikṣú

“With thought free of anger, journey this way, **to eat** our oblation among the clans of Manu’s sons.”

Result:

(4) (RV 7.5.3ab)

tvád bhiyā víśa āyann ásiknīr asamanā jáhatīr bhójanāni

“The dark clans went breaking ranks, **leaving their supplies**, from fear of you”

Concession:

(5) (RV 6.47.20b)

urvī satī bhūmir aṃhūraṇābhūt

“**Though it was wide**, the land has become narrow.”

Manner:

(6) (RV 3.44.2ab)

uśán hotar ní sadā yóniṣu triṣú

“**Willingly**, o Hotar, sit down in your three wombs.”

These are the semantic categories which we are already familiar with from other classical languages, like Greek and Latin. It is quite sure that the three classical languages share a great diversity in the semantic classes assumed by circumstantial participles. One has to wonder at which point this variety developed – independently in each language or already at an earlier stage. We are going to attempt to answer this question in the conclusions of this chapter, having examined more Indo-European languages.

Apart from these categories, Lowe singles out some more, which are quite interesting and show to what an extent the circumstantial participles have developed in Vedic Sanskrit. The first of these functions is “equivalence”.¹⁷ This is a type of participles which are so closely connected to the main verb than they are logically equivalent to it, for example:

¹⁷ Lowe (2015) 176.

(7) (RV 5.11.4d)

agnīm vr̥ṇānā́ vr̥ṇate kavíkratum

“Choosing Agni, they choose him who possesses a poet’s purpose.”

We can see that in this example the participle does not merely describe the manner or the general circumstances of the main verb, but there is a logical equivalence between the two phrases.

Secondly, Lowe distinguishes participles in “chaining” constructions, although he admits that they are probably derived from and often indiscernible from temporal participles.¹⁸ We have talked about this issue in Ancient Greek when talking about the transfer of modality, where there is a sequence of participles coordinated with the main verb in the imperative. A Vedic example is:

(8) (RV 7.79.5a-c)

*devām-devam rādhase **codāyanty** asmadryák sūnṛtā **īrāyanī**
vyuchāntī naḥ sanāye dhīyo dhāḥ*

“**Impelling** every god to largesse, **rousing** liberalities in our direction,
dawning widely, impart insights to us for our gain.”

While Brereton and Jamison decide to translate the participles in this passage as participles in English, it is also possible to translate them as imperatives. An important factor showing that the participles should be read as chained imperative forms, rather than as temporal participles, is the interpretation of the grammatical tense. The present tense suggests the simultaneity of the actions. In this context, it is preferable to look at these actions as happening in the same broader time frame and a direct temporal overlap is not needed.¹⁹

From this short overview it is clear that circumstantial participles in Vedic correspond to the Ancient Greek in terms of their semantics. These similarities made Lowe think that all these functions probably go back to Proto-Indo-European.²⁰ I am not yet convinced that this is the case. It is entirely possible that these this wide array of semantic uses has developed from the dominant temporal use spontaneously in each language. Quite often, it is difficult to differentiate between the shades of meanings, whether a participle is e.g. temporal or causal.

¹⁸ Lowe (2015) 183ff.

¹⁹ Lowe (2015) 184.

²⁰ Lowe (2015) 305-06.

III.3.B.b. Avestan

Avestan, quite like Vedic, displays a wide range of circumstantial participles and their different meanings. There are multiple examples of participles expressing respectively a coincident or a preceding activity, a cause or a manner:²¹

(9) (Old Avestan, *Yasna* 30.6)

hiiat īš ā dābaomā pərəsəmnāng upā jasaṭ

“because delusion comes over them **as they deliberate**”

(10) (Young Avestan, *Vīdēvdād* 18.46)

yaṭ nā xʷaptō xšudrā frāraodaiieite

“wenn einer, **nachdem er eingeschlafen ist**, Samen ergießt”

(11) (Old Avestan, *Yasna* 32.8)

yā mašiiēng cixšnušō ahmākēng gēuš bagā xʷārəmnō

“who sought to gratify our mortal race **by feeding** them portions of the cow”

(12) (Old Avestan, *Yasna* 51.13)

ychiiā uruuā xraodaitī Cinuuatō pərətā ākā, xʷāiš šiiəθnāiš hizuuascā

Ašahiiā nqsuuā paθō

“whose soul will torment him as it confronts him at the Arbiter’s Crossing,
lost through his own actions and his tongue’s from the path of Right”

In one passage West suggests a concessive interpretation:

(13) (Old Avestan, *Yasna* 31.10)

nōit ... auuāstriiō dauuqs.cina huməratōiš baxštā

“the non-herdsman, **drive(?) her as he might**, did not get her goodwill”

Examples (9) and (10) show a consecutive and an antecedent action expressed by a participle.

²¹ Reichelt (1909) 328, example (10) with translation; West (2011) 73-74, examples (9), (11) - (13) with translations.

In the former *pərəsəmnāng* is a present middle participle of the verb *fras-* which means “to deliberate” in the middle voice.²² It is interesting to note that to express the anteriority, Avestan utilises the *-ta-* participle like in the example (10), not the aorist participle, which never has a preterite meaning.²³

Example (11) shows a participle of manner *x^vārəmnō* - a present middle participle in the causative form from the verb *x^var-* “to eat, here: to feed”.²⁴ Passages (12) and (13) have implied circumstantial semantics. In the former, the participial phrase clearly explains the reason why “the soul will torment him”, whereas in the latter, there is a supposed opposition between the participial phrase and the main clause.

It is quite evident that Avestan uses a wide range of meanings attached to participles in the circumstantial function. These are very similar to what we find in Vedic, Ancient Greek and other ancient Indo-European languages.

²² Bartholomae (1904) sv. *fras-* “Med. sich bereden, besprechen”.

²³ Reichelt (1909) 327-28.

²⁴ Bartholomae (1904) sv. *x^var-* “Kaus. Jemandem etwas zu essen geben”.

III.3.C. Latin

Latin, like Ancient Greek and Vedic, has a wide array of semantic functions assigned to circumstantial participles. In the Latin terminology it is often called *Participium coniunctum*. Most of its semantics overlap with Greek and Indo-Iranian – we have temporal, causal, concessive, as well as conditional and modal meanings. However, the participle cannot be used in resultative or consecutive phrases.²⁵ Some examples of Latin circumstantial participles are:

Temporal:

(1) (Cicero, *Cato maior de senectute* 56)

aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum

“It was announced to Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus that he was made a dictator
when he was ploughing.” (own tr.)

Causal:

(2) (Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia* 22)

*nam et secundas res splendidiore facit amicitia, et adversas, **partiens**
communicansque, leviores.*

“For friendship adds a brighter radiance to prosperity and lessens the burden
of adversity **by dividing and sharing it.**” (tr. Falconer)

Concessive:

(3) (Cicero, *De Divinatione* 2.146)

*mendaci homini ne **verum quidem dicenti** credere soleamus,*

“we should not believe a liar, **even if he tells the truth**” (own tr.)

It is important to remark that the concessive meaning is reinforced by the particle *quidem*.

Conditional:

(4) (Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 5.15)

*quis enim potest **mortem aut dolorem metuens**, quorum alterum saepe*

²⁵ Menge (2009) 715-16, with examples (1) – (5)

adest, alterum semper impendet, esse non miser?

“Who could not be miserable, **if he is afraid of death or pain**, of which the first often happens and the second is always imminent.” (own tr.)

Modal:

(5) (Cicero, *De natura deorum* 1.111)

*[Voluptates] quas quidem **non erubescens** persequitur omnis nominatim.*

“[Pleasures] which certainly everyone particularly pursues **even without being ashamed.**” (own tr.)

Even though the variety of meanings of circumstantial participles is well established in Classical Latin, we are not quite sure whether this apparent variety is especially archaic. In all these examples it is quite apparent that the particular shades of meaning can quite easily be derived from the temporal meaning. If in each of these examples we translated the participle as temporal, the phrases would still make sense. It seems that the participle provides information on the temporal relationships between the main verb and its own action through tense-aspect and the logical connections between the actions, be it causal or concessive, are derived purely from the context. There is nothing in the syntax of these participles that would determine their meaning independently from the context of the phrase.

III.3.D. Germanic

We are going to look at several archaic Germanic languages for which the sources are available in the literature. Even though all the methodological objections towards Gothic are still present, I believe that it is important to provide evidence from the oldest attested Germanic language. We are also going to analyse Old Norse and Old English.

III.3.D.a. Gothic

In many cases Gothic copies the Greek participial constructions and this also holds true in the case of circumstantial participles. Sometimes the Gothic participle I is used to translate the Greek aorist participle, even though it does not convey anteriority,²⁶ e.g.:

(1) (Matthew 6,6)

galukands haurdai þeinau bidei du attin þeinamma

κλείσας τὴν θύραν σου πρόσευξαι τῷ πατρὶ

“**when you have shut** your door, pray to your Father”

Wulfila chooses the present active participle *galukands* “closing” from *galūkan* “to close” to translate Greek aorist active participle κλείσας “having closed”. This is a very common practice. In the gospel of Mark the 121 aorist participles are translated by 103 present participles, of which 74 are prefixed.²⁷ While it is clear that Gothic had circumstantial participles which had a temporal meaning, it is obvious that their use is severely restricted by the morphological limitations, like the lack of the morphologically distinct active past participle.²⁸ Where a participle is unacceptable in the Gothic translation, a different construction is used, for example a subordinate clause:

²⁶ Feuillet (2014) 170, with examples (1) and (2) ; Gothic Online by the University of Texas : <https://lrc.la.utexas.edu/eieol/gotol> [accessed 30/05/2020].

²⁷ Miller (2019) 398 on the correlation of prefixes, e.g. *ga-*, and Aktionsart.

²⁸ However, it has to be noted that the past participle often has an active meaning when formed from intransitive verbs.

(2) (John 6,5)

*þaruh **ushof** augona Iesus jah **gaumida** þammei manageins filu iddja du imma, **qabuh** du Filippau*

*ἐπάρας οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ **θεασάμενος** ὅτι πολλὸς ὄχλος ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτόν, **λέγει** πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον·*

*“When Jesus **looked up** and **saw** a great crowd coming to Him, **He said** to Philip,”*

In this example, Greek circumstantial participles are not rendered directly in the Gothic text and replaced by subordinate clauses with inflected verbs *ushof* – a preterite form of *ushafian* “to lift up” and *gaumida* a preterite of *gáumjan* “to perceive”. As has been noted by Feuillet, the use of participles in Gothic is a literary device and their frequency would be much diminished if it was not a translation from Ancient Greek. Nevertheless, the fact that Wulfila replaces participles with other constructions, where there is an overabundance, shows us that there is a certain degree of flexibility in his translation. This provides some legitimacy to the circumstantial participles which, certainly with temporal semantics, were not foreign to the Gothic language.

III.3.D.b. Old Norse

Having searched through the works of Barnes (2008), Faarlund (2005), and Rask (1976), I have found very little information on the syntax and semantics of the circumstantial participles. Their usage is not particularly well described in the grammars of Old Norse. It is quite sure that circumstantial participles with the temporal meaning did exist, for example:

(3) (*Fóstbroeðra saga* 216.5)

*þá dó hann **standandi** við bálkinn*

“Then he died **standing** by the wall” (tr. Faarlund)²⁹

It does not seem that there is a great abundance of these participles in Old Norse. I have looked at multiple examples of participial phrases in the above-mentioned grammars and I have not found examples of other semantic categories found in circumstantial participles in the classical languages: Ancient Greek, Sanskrit, and Latin.

In our considerations regarding the origins of different participial functions in Ancient Greek, this lack of evidence for a wide array of participial functions in Germanic languages is significant. Although in other sections there are participial phrases whose existence can be attributed to the influence of Latin, we can see that this influence is not very strong in the case of circumstantial participles. We do not find a full range of causal, concessive or resultative participles. This is an argument in favour of the hypothesis that the original function of these participles was purely temporal and their development in classical languages is an innovation, not an heritage.

²⁹ Faarlund (2005) 186.

III.3.D.c. Old English

We can find more variety in the semantics of circumstantial participles in Old English, although it is always necessary to be wary of Latin influence, especially in religious texts. Mitchell gives examples of participles expressing time, cause, and manner of the action:³⁰

(4) (*Homilies of Ælfric* vol. II, 142.23)

*Cuðberhtus se halga siððan gefremode mihtiglice wundra, **on ðam mynstre wunigende.***

“The holy Cuthberht afterwards performed mighty wonders **while dwelling in the mynster.**” (ed. & tr. Thorpe)

(5) (*Homilies of Ælfric* vol. II, 130.18)

*and hi sylfe geðeoddon Cristes gelaðunge, **on hine gelyfende.***

“and joined themselves to the church of Christ, **believing in him.**” (ed. & tr. Thorpe)

(6) (*Homilies of Ælfric* vol. II, 504.30)

*Da common þær **fleogende** twegen fægre englas,*

“Then there came **flying** two fair angels,” (ed. & tr. Thorpe)

These examples resemble much more what we find in Ancient Greek or Latin. We can also differentiate between the different meanings. The example (5) is very clearly causal and it would be difficult to interpret it from a temporal point of view. Similarly, the example (6) describes the manner of the action expressed by the main verb. However, given the fact that these examples come from one religious text written by a person who must have been very well familiar with Latin makes us cautious regarding the frequency of these constructions in Old English. Their antiquity is also questionable in this light.

If we sum up the scarce Germanic evidence, the circumstantial participles with the temporal meaning appear in every language examined. Old English shows some more diverse semantics, but the character of the text does not let us attach a great significance to this evidence. It would be preferable to consult a larger corpus of these languages to amass more data.

³⁰ Mitchell (1985) 649.

III.3.E. Slavic

III.3.E.a. Old Church Slavonic

As usual, OCS comes with important methodological issues linked with its calques from Greek. Indeed, the vast majority of circumstantial participles in OCS are modelled after Ancient Greek.³¹ I will proceed directly to the examples:

(1) (Luke 19,30)

*вѣсѣ вѣ нѣрѣѣ **въходѣшта** обрѣштета жрѣбѣ*

ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν κατέναντι κώμην, ἐν ᾗ **εἰσπορευόμενοι** εὐρήσετε πῶλον

“the village opposite you, where, **as you enter**, you will find a colt”

(2) (Mark 15,17)

*възложише на нѣ **въpletѣше** трѣновѣ вѣнѣсѣ*

καὶ περιτιθέασιν αὐτῷ **πλέξαντες** ἀκάνθινον στέφανον,

“**And they wove** a crown of thorns and put it on His head”

However, there are also passages considered to be genuine Slavic constructions, for example:³²

(3) (*Euchologium sinaiticum* 103a19)

*ašte kѣto **xotę ... uręžetѣ***

“If someone **willingly cuts off...**” (after French tr. by Vaillant)

Although Vaillant calls it an authentic Slavic expression, it seems to me to be quite similar to the Greek participle ἐκὼν - “willingly”. Since this text is not a direct translation of Ancient Greek, it can be considered with a little more confidence that it represents a genuine Slavic syntax. However, we have to remember that people who wrote it were surely very well familiar with Ancient Greek and were very likely to imitate it for stylistic reasons when writing religious texts.

³¹ Vaillant (1977) vol. 5, 211-12, examples (1) – (3).

³² *Ibidem*.

III.3.E.b. Old Novgorodian et al.

Circumstantial participles are quite common in Old Novgorodian, although in my research of examples I have been able to only find them used in the temporal meaning.³³

(4) (Bark 510)

*a Domažire poběgle **ne otkupivъ** u V'aceslava **iz** dolgu*

“et Domažir s’est enfui **sans avoir payé** sa dette à Vjačeslav”

It has to be noted as well that the lexicalised participle *xot’a* from the verb *xotěti* “to want” has already become an adversative adverb used to form concessive phrases in Old Novgorodian, for example:³⁴

(5) (*Smol.* 1229)

*zaplatiti nemčinu pьrvěje, **xot’a** by inomu komu vinovatъ bylъ rusinu.*

“Il doit payer d’abord l’Allemand, **quand bien même** il serait aussi débiteur d’un autre, russe.”

Although I have not been able to find other examples, it has to be noted that the circumstantial participles, especially with the temporal semantics, but also expressing cause or manner, are still present in modern Slavic languages, like Russian or Polish, even if they are becoming more and more confined to the literary language, e.g.:

(6) (Modern Russian) *Kuda nado smotret', **perekhodya** ulitsu?*

(Modern Polish) *Gdzie należy patrzeć, **przechodząc** przez ulicę?*

“Where are you supposed to look **when crossing** a street?”

³³ Le Feuvre (2007) 78, example (4).

³⁴ Le Feuvre (2007) 102-03, example (5). There are exact parallels of this development in other Slavic languages, e.g. *choć* “although” in Polish.

III.3.F. Lithuanian

Similarly to other categories of participles, Lithuanian presents a wealth of data regarding different usages of the circumstantial participles, which are often called semi-predicative in the literature on the subject.³⁵ While Ambrazas and Petit treat completive and adverbial usages under this category, I have decided to separate the two and I have consecrate another chapter to the completive participles, mainly due to traditional grouping of Ancient Greek participles in this particular way.

A wide range of morphological participial forms, participles, half-participles, and gerunds, allow to express various time relation between itself and the main verb. For both the active and the passive voice there is a possibility to express anteriority and simultaneity of the action expressed by the participial form. Although this does not seem strange to those well acquainted with classical languages, it is not a given in every Indo-European language discussed so far. Similarly, the different semantics expressed by participial forms resemble very much what we can find in Ancient Greek and Indo-Iranian, expressing time, manner, result, cause, concession or condition.³⁶ The forms in *-damas* in all the examples below are limited to the circumstantial function.³⁷

Time:

(1) *Tėvas visą kėlią važiuodamas daĩrėsi.*

“Father kept looking around all the time **while he drove**.”

Manner:

(2) *Kazys mėgdavo paišdykauti gąsdindamas mergiotės.*

“Kazys liked to amuse himself **by frightening** the girls.”

Result:

(3) *Mano žmona mirė palikdamą tris vaikų.*

“My wife died **leaving** three children.”

³⁵ Ambrazas (1997) 360-67, examples (1) – (3); Petit (1999b) 126-29, examples (4) – (6).

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁷ Petit (1999b) 126.

Cause:

(4) *Árdamas sušilaĩ*

“I warmed up **by plowing**.”

Concession:

(5) *patsaĩ veřkdamas jĩs ramĩno Grẽtę*

“**Even though he was crying** himself, he calmed Grete down.”

Condition:

(6) *dirbdamas žmogùs gĩli užsidirbti dúoną*

“**Working**, a man can earn his daily bread.”

It is important to note that these functions are not an archaic stylistic device proper to religious texts influenced by classical languages, but are present and frequent in the modern language. Although the similarities with Ancient Greek regarding the use of participial forms are quite apparent, their morphology is quite different. For this reason, we cannot claim that the Lithuanian participial system is a direct continuation of Proto-Indo-European participles, which is the case of Ancient Greek. The fact that we can find all these functions in the modern language does not mean that they were present throughout the entire history of the Lithuanian language, continuously from PIE.

III.4. Conclusions

It is clear that circumstantial participles are very frequent in all examined language families, except from Anatolian. Their semantic range may vary, but in most languages we can find at least several different meanings assigned to them. We can summaries the usage and the semantics of circumstantial participles in the table below.

Language	Temporal	Causal	Manner	Conditional	Concessive	Result	Purpose	Modal
Homeric Greek	x	x	x	x	x			x
Hittite								
Sanskrit	x	x	x		x	x	x	
Avestan	x	x	x		x			
Latin	x	x	x	x	x			x
Gothic	x							
Old Norse	x							
Old English	x	x	x					
Old Church Slavonic	x		x					
Old Novgorodian	x				x			
Lithuanian	x	x	x	x	x	x		

Some gaps in the table have been caused by the fact that I have not been able to reach the relevant data, not by the complete absence of such constructions in the language. This is especially true for the Germanic and the Slavic languages. However, we can clearly see that the core functions of circumstantial participles in Indo-European languages are those expressing time, cause and manner. This is not to say that all of them existed already in Proto-Indo-European. I would like to propose a conservative estimate that only the temporal function goes back to late PIE, after the separation of the Anatolian branch, and the remaining semantic functions have been added by individual languages. Some of them, like Ancient Greek, Indo-Iranian, Latin or Lithuanian, started using participles very frequently in a variety of contexts giving the them a wide range of meanings. Others have remained more restrained with their

usage.

If we go back to the initial question of the “innovation versus heritage” in the participial syntax of Homeric Greek, it will become apparent that the circumstantial participles are the ones which have undergone the most innovations in Greek. Not only have numerous new meanings emerged, but also the possibility of the transfer of modality between the main verb and the participle has created a wide array of new contexts where circumstantial participles can be used.

IV. Absolute Participles

IV.1. Introduction

The absolute constructions as found in Indo-European languages consist of a noun or a pronoun usually accompanied by a participle agreeing with it in the case, gender and number.¹ The participial phrase is syntactically independent from the main clause, hence the term “absolute”, but on the semantic level it corresponds to a subordinate clause describing the circumstances of the main clause. The absolute constructions are a notable feature of Indo-European syntax, as they are found in almost all its branches: locative and genitive absolute in Sanskrit, genitive and accusative absolute in Ancient Greek, genitive absolute in Armenian and Tocharian, ablative absolute in Latin, dative absolute in Gothic, Old Church Slavonic, Old Novgorodian, and Old Lithuanian. One can add to that Hittite nominative absolutes, as argued by Holland, although their existence is rather doubtful.² This formal variety has initially led some to believe that the absolute constructions are not to be reconstructed back to Proto-Indo-European.³ More, recently, however, most scholars agree that this is an archaic feature of the Indo-European syntax, which was inherited from the proto-language.⁴ The difficulty resides in reconciling all the forms found in the oldest languages in each branch and in arriving at a probable reconstruction on all levels: morphological, syntactic and semantic, which has not been accomplished to this date.

From the morphological point of view, the most fundamental question is whether we can reconstruct one single case for absolute constructions in Proto-Indo-European. There are fundamentally four competing ideas in treating the question of absolute constructions in PIE. The first one is to state that the formal differences are so significant that the absolute constructions must have emerged independently in the individual Indo-European languages. Since we cannot easily reconstruct a single case by comparing Vedic, Ancient Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Church Slavonic and Lithuanian, many scholars concluded that we cannot say anything certain to reconstruct without a doubt a single case. The fundamental critique of this approach is that we would have to postulate independent development of the absolute

¹ Absolute constructions without a participle, which is replaced by an adjective or another noun, of the type *Cicerōne cōnsule* are limited to Latin.

² Holland (1986) 177.

³ Wackernagel (1924), Lehman (1974).

⁴ Holland (1986), Keydana (1997), Ruppel (2013) et al.

constructions for Indo-Iranian, Tocharian, Armenian, Greek, Italic, Germanic and Balto-Slavic, which is an untenable position, given the sheer number of languages which have developed them. Others, like Keydana, limit themselves to stating that the choice of the case is dependent on the case system of each language.⁵

The second view is to reconstruct the locative as the inherited case for absolute constructions in PIE.⁶ Vedic poetry, which retains all eight PIE cases, displays exclusively locative absolutes, and in many other languages, apart from Greek, the standard case used in absolute constructions can be derived from the PIE locative through case syncretism. To explain the divergence in Ancient Greek, whose genitive did not develop from the PIE locative, it is often said that the genitive has become a case with adverbial, temporal functions and thus overtook the dative as the main case in the absolute constructions. The shortcoming of this approach is the sole focus on explaining and integrating Greek. While it is true that Greek is a very important source for PIE reconstruction, given its antiquity, we have to consider the fact that it is not the only outlier which cannot be easily incorporated into the “locative theory”. Furthermore, even if we assume that the locative should be reconstructed as the original *casus absolutus*, there is no satisfactory explanation for the shift to the genitive in Greek. There are singular forms of the temporal genitive in Homer and later, for example widely cited νυκτός “at night”, as well as some locative genitives, like πεδίοιο “on the plain, over the plain”. However, the semantics of the temporal genitive and the genitive in the absolute construction is not the same, because the temporal genitive is a subtype of the partitive genitive and signifies the period of time during which a certain event is happening. By contrast, the genitive absolute has a wider function and can equally well mark a duration or a specific moment of time.⁷ Regardless, this is not a regular phenomenon and the case which continues the Indo-European locative in Ancient Greek through case syncretism is clearly the dative, both morphologically and syntactically. If the locative absolute had only been reworked at some point within the Greek language into the genitive absolute, we would have to position it at a very early date, as there are no traces of dative absolutes - natural continuation of supposed locative absolutes - in Homer. The only passage which could be a candidate for such a relic is:

⁵ Keydana (1997) 73: *Die Wahl des Kasus ist von den jeweiligen Spezifika der einzelsprachlichen Kasussysteme abhängig.*

⁶ Ruppel (2013) 208.

⁷ Schwyzer (1939) vol.2, 112-13. Petit (2019) 437-38.

(1) (Odyssey 9.149)

κελσάσῃσι δὲ νηυσὶ καθεύλομεν ἱστία πάντα

“We have taken the sails down **on the beached ships**” (own tr.)

It is considered by most as a simple participle used in apposition with a locative function, as there is no need to interpret it differently and posit a syntactic hapax if it is not absolutely necessary.⁸ Holland goes as far as to propose to derive the genitive singular ending of the o-stems in Greek -οιο from the old locative ending -οι in an effort to explain the Greek genitive absolute as a continuation of the supposedly original locative absolute. This proposition has not met much academic acclaim on methodological grounds.⁹

Thirdly, there is an interesting idea expressed by Holland in his 1986 article, which argues for nominative origins of the absolute constructions.¹⁰ Both Hittite and Latin display adverbial nominal phrases and many languages, including Hittite, Latin, Sanskrit, Gothic, and Greek, do have nominative absolutes, at least according to Holland. He argues quite convincingly that what we call accusative absolutes in Greek, are in fact nominative absolutes. Since they are all neuter with impersonal verbs, we cannot tell on morphological grounds. However, we may compare impersonal expressions like δῆλον, which could be either, to χρή and ἀνάγκη, which are nominative: this strongly suggests nominative interpretations for these impersonal phrases.¹¹ The weakness of this concept is that the marginal nominal forms of the absolute constructions, are either relatively late, like in Sanskrit, or marginally attested like in Latin or Gothic. In the case of the latter, there are two examples, at least one of which can be explained by case attraction.¹² We have to keep in mind that in the case of nominative expressions, like the supposed nominative absolute, we effectively enter parenthetical syntax which is not comparable to absolute expressions in oblique cases. They give the illusion of being absolute, because they have no syntactic relationship with the rest of the clause, but they are not parallel to other absolute constructions, which cannot be explained as parenthetical in any way.

The last idea is significantly different from others, as it does not strive to reconstruct a single absolute case for PIE, but rather seeks the answer in analogy with other formations.

⁸ Schwyzler (1953) 401.

⁹ Keydana (1997) 75, note 164.

¹⁰ Holland (1986) 175ff.

¹¹ Meillet (1906-08). While ἀνάγκη is indisputably nominative, in the case of χρή we can hesitate between a nominative and an old instrumental which is morphologically preferred as argued by Balles (2000) 31-32.

¹² See section IV.3.C.a and Costello (1980) 93ff.

Gerald Berent, in his article on absolute constructions, points to infinitives, which we do not reconstruct for PIE, but which can easily be traced back to various PIE cases for each language family.¹³ The traces of the existence of multiple infinitive forms are obviously still found in Vedic.¹⁴ Thus, just like infinitives started their lives as verbal substantives in different cases, so did the absolute constructions, and it is pointless to look for a single *casus absolutus*. Instead, we can assume that just like each language grammaticalised one infinitive form, each language could have grammaticalised one absolute construction and the variety of cases still found in ancient languages are the evidence for that, just like the variety of infinitival forms in Vedic proves the origins of the infinitives. Although it seems like a plausible solution for the variety of cases found in ancient Indo-European languages, it is poorly argued. Berent tries to convince us that the variety of cases used in absolute constructions is present in most languages from the beginning.¹⁵ The truth is, however, the opposite - each language in its oldest form knows an absolute construction in just one case: there are only locative absolutes in the *Ṛgveda*, the genitive appears only in the *Brāhmaṇas*.¹⁶ Given the volume of the *Ṛgvedic* corpus, the lack of genitive absolutes or any other case in absolute construction than the locative has to be treated as significant. Despite Berent's claim about an indisputable dative absolute in the *Odyssey*, it is more likely to be a simple local dative in apposition, as discussed above in the example (1). Nominative-accusative absolutes are attested in Ancient Greek only from Herodotus, so their antiquity is highly doubtful. Similarly, any attempts to regularly find other cases than the ablative, most notably the nominative, in archaic Latin have largely failed. The controversial form in question is:

(2) (Leges XII Tabularum 1.7)

{C}<T>UM PERORANT<O>, AMBO PRAESENTES.

“Dann sollen sie [Kläger und Beklagter] ihn ausführlich darlegen, beide persönlich erscheinend”. (ed. and tr. D. Flach)

While Schrijnen and Holland treat *ambo praesentes* as a nominative absolute,¹⁷ Leumann and

¹³ Berent (1973) 149ff.

¹⁴ Macdonell (1916) 190-95: dative infinitive, accusative infinitive, genitive-ablative infinitive, and locative infinitive.

¹⁵ Berent (1973) 149ff.

¹⁶ MacDonell (1953) 326

¹⁷ Schrijnen (1926) 220; Holland (1986) 176.

Hofmann describe this interpretation as *mißglückt*.¹⁸ In reality, it can be analysed as a “floating quantifier”, a type of quantifier which is not adjacent to the noun phrase it modifies.¹⁹ Each time we encounter constructions which claim to be nominative absolutes, as I have already mentioned, we are probably dealing with parenthetical syntax, that is expressions originating from interjections. Another language which is used to falsely demonstrate a great diversity of absolute constructions is Gothic, allegedly displaying some examples of dative, nominative and accusative absolutes.²⁰ The standard and most common case is the dative, there are two examples of nominative and two examples of accusative absolutes. At least one of each is explained by Costello as instances of case attraction, so the Gothic evidence becomes incredibly weak.²¹ Thus, in order to support the theory of multiple absolute cases in Proto-Indo-European, we would like to see this diversity preserved in the oldest languages, like in the case of Vedic infinitives. Instead, there is a variety between languages, but a great uniformity in each of them in the earliest texts. The fact that these constructions became quite productive and spread to other cases obscures our vision and creates a false image of original diversity. The idea that Proto-Indo-European had multiple absolute constructions is not completely unreasonable. However, the analogy with infinitives does not make a lot of sense. While we have concrete proof of the diversity of different infinitival forms, especially in Vedic,²² each language initially developed absolute constructions in just one case, only later did some expand them to other cases.

Although it is true that the most ancient languages bear the most importance for the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European, there is a significant lack of study which would take into account all the branches of Indo-European languages in their oldest attested forms. The fundamental problem of the existing works is that they usually only treat Vedic, Ancient Greek and Latin, completely neglecting all other languages.²³ Since the Latin ablative can be treated as a continuation of the Proto-Indo-European locative,²⁴ it gives a false impression that the only difficulty is to explain the Greek genitive absolute. Although the Gothic evidence can be incorporated into the “locative theory” by case syncretism, there are a lot of issues which remain unanswered. How to account for the Balto-Slavic dative absolutes? The locative is well-

¹⁸ A remark quoted by Holland from the original edition (1928) of the Latin grammar by Leumann and Hofmann seems to be missing from the newer 1977 edition, where the form is not discussed at all.

¹⁹ Cirillo (2009) 1.

²⁰ Berent (1973) 149.

²¹ Costello (1980) 93ff.

²² Macdonell (1916) 333ff.

²³ e.g. Ruppel (2013).

²⁴ See Weiss (2009) 213 on the merge of ablative, locative, and instrumental singular in Latin.

preserved in OCS, Old Novgorodian and was reshaped, but functionally preserved as distinct in Old Lithuanian, so the case syncretism is out of question. As for Armenian, is the genitive absolute entirely a product of the Greek influence or had the construction already been available before? Given the overall proximity between the two languages, the answer is not entirely straightforward. Finally, what do we make of the alleged Hittite nominative absolutes? Do they represent an inherited construction, which maybe preceded absolute participles in oblique cases, or is it an original feature of the Hittite syntax? All the theories presented above contribute something interesting and valuable, but each is flawed in some way.

The theory of Holland concerning the nominal syntax as the origin of the absolute constructions is a good starting point. Since the foundational article of Meillet on the nominal sentences in Indo-European, we know that it is a prominent and archaic feature of Indo-European syntax.²⁵ Holland convincingly shows that some of such nominal expressions have been adverbialised, especially in Hittite and Latin, e.g. Latin *nudiustertius* “the day before yesterday”, which comes from *nu dius tertius* “now is the third day”, which can be used like any other adverb.²⁶ Similarly, one can invoke archaic Latin *nox* “at night”, as in:

(3) (Leges XII Tabularum 1.17)

SI NOX FURTUM FACTUM SIT, SI IM OCCISIT, IURE CAESUS ESTO.

“Wenn des Nachts der Diebstahl verübt wurde, soll er [der Dieb], wenn er [der Bestohlene] ihn getötet hat, als zu Recht getötet gelten.” (ed. and tr. D. Flach)

The subject of adverbialised parenthetic structures has been studied in more detail already by Watkins, who lists multiple forms in Hittite, Latin, Greek, and Old Novgorodian which he interprets as fossilised nominative with an adverbial function.²⁷ So apart from *nox* “by night”, we find *fors* “by chance”, Greek *νύκτωρ* “by night”, *ὄναρ* “in a dream”, Hittite *nekuz* (*mehur*) “at evening”²⁸, and finally Old Novgorodian *si nočb* “last night”. If we accept that nominal expressions in the nominative did function as adverbial phrases in Proto-Indo-European, at least in some contexts, the interpretation of the Hittite forms as nominative absolutes becomes a possibility. The examples quoted by Holland bear a strong resemblance to absolute

²⁵ Meillet (1906-08).

²⁶ Holland (1986) 172: (Plautus Truc. 19) *ego Lemno advenio Athenas nudiustertius* “I arrived in Athens from Lemnos the day before yesterday” (own tr.).

²⁷ Watkins (1994) 97-104.

²⁸ This particular example is rather controversial, Schindler considers *nekuz* to be a genitive, see Schindler (1967) 301.

constructions in other Indo-European languages in that they are syntactically separate, logically the agent of the participial phrase is different from the agent of the main clause, and they describe the circumstances of the main action. For example:

(4) (KBo IV.9.Obv. 1 5-7)

2 DUMU.É. GAL 1^{lu} ME-ŠE-DI *pí-ra-an ḥu-u-wa-ya-an-te-eš* LUGAL-uš É
ḥa-li-en-tu-wa-aš pa-iz-zi
 “two palace pages (and) one bodyguard preceding, the king enters the
ḥalentu-building” (tr. Holland)

Or

(5) (KBo IV 4 Rev.III 24-25)

MU.KAM-za-wa-ta *še-ir te-e-pa-u-e-eš-ša-an-za* nu-wa *BE-LI.NI I-NA* ^{uru}*ḥa-*
ya-ša li-e pa-a-i-ši
 “the year (has) become short for you, do not, our lord, go to *Hayaša*” (tr.
 Holland)

Holland, however, does not recognise the parenthetic character, or at least the parenthetic origins, of these phrases. Even if we allow the possibility of such constructions existing already at the PIE level, it does not mean that they are a likely source of absolute constructions in oblique cases in other languages. There is no scenario where these parenthetic participial expressions evolve into e.g. the locative absolute in Vedic or the genitive absolute in Ancient Greek.

The model with multiple cases at the late Proto-Indo-European level would neatly explain the diversity of absolute cases in individual languages in analogy to the infinitival forms. The principal problem is that this supposed diversity would be preserved by different absolute constructions in different language groups, but never actually within the individual languages at their earliest stages. Again, the principal advantage of this explanation is that we avoid the reconstruction of a single *casus absolutus* for late Proto-Indo-European.

Finally, there is the third solution, advocated most recently by Ruppel. Since in the earliest texts the absolute constructions refer most often to the points of natural time, like dawn, sunrise or sunset, it is assumed that a simple expression “at dawn” was accompanied by a

participle, e.g. “at dawn rising”.²⁹ This has given a fixed expression which later spread to other contexts and kept the syntactic structure of a noun and a participle. This model relies heavily on the Greco-Aryan and Latin evidence and it does find significant support in the earliest texts in these languages, where the absolute constructions very often refer to the natural time and always have a temporal meaning. When it comes to the reconstruction of the case, it is usually the locative that is assumed to be the default case for adverbial, temporal expressions in this context, which is reflected in Vedic and indirectly in Latin. The Greek genitive absolute is just explained by the influence of a handful of adverbial genitives like νυκτός “at night” or πεδίοιο “on the plain, over the plain”. The natural time explanation is particularly convincing, as it provides a clear, “evolutionary” line of development of absolute constructions. However, it does not require the language to invent a completely new syntagm, it rather sees it as a combination of two elements already existing in Proto-Indo-European: expressions of natural time in an oblique case and participles. However, the main shortcoming of this model is the sole focus on Vedic, Greek, and Latin and the complete negligence of other languages, like Hittite or Balto-Slavic. Again, the analogical explanation of the Greek genitive is not fully convincing, as the genitive has never been the default adverbial case in the attested forms of the Greek language.

As we can see, the reconstruction of absolute constructions in Proto-Indo-European causes multiple problems. It is difficult to maintain at the same time that the nominative absolute existed already before the separation of the Anatolian branch, and that the locative absolute developed in late Proto-Indo-European from the expressions of natural time. Ultimately, in the situation where the linguistic data is mutually exclusive, most scholars have decided to give preference to some data and ignore other or explain it in a different manner, in order to prove their point. There has not been a single study which systematically looked at every Indo-European branch, analysed its absolute constructions and proposed a systemic reconstruction which would account for all the divergences and similarities between individual languages.

The most fundamental problem of all these approaches and ideas is that they study the absolute constructions mostly in isolation, with little regard to other types of participial syntax. The most important notion which needs to be the basis for all discussion of absolute constructions is the dominant participle. When we think about a group “noun + participle”, we usually treat the noun as the head of the phrase and the participle as its complement. From the

²⁹ Ruppel (2013) 207ff.

morphological point of view, in many ancient Indo-European languages the participle agrees with the noun in case, number, and gender. Syntactically and semantically the noun is the obligatory part of the sentence and conveys the main idea of the phrase, the participle being merely an adjunct. There is, however, an idea that some of the participial constructions found in many Indo-European languages can be viewed differently, that is as a dominant participle. The idea of the dominant participle is that, in the group of a noun and a participle, it is the participle which is semantically conveying the main idea of the phrase. As examples we can invoke the famous Latin *ab Urbe condita* “from the founding of the city”, literally “from the city founded”. Most certainly, it is the founding of the city which is the most important and essential element in this phrase, not the city itself. Similarly, in the widely discussed *Sicilia amissa* “the loss of Sicily”, literally “Sicily lost”, it is the loss of Sicily that is the key information of the phrase, not Sicily itself. In the following sections, I am going to discuss the usage of absolute constructions and dominant participles in various Indo-European languages. Since Homeric Greek is the primary subject of this thesis, it remains the language studied in the greatest detail in this chapter. The main objective of this analysis is to prove or disprove the inherited status of dominant participles and the possibility of them being the source of absolute constructions in Indo-European languages.

The term “dominant participle” has been introduced in Latin linguistics to describe the *ab Urbe condita* expression by Dutch scholars, firstly A.G. de Man in 1965.³⁰ The idea has been taken up later by Bolkestein:³¹

(...) in het geval van een AUC-NP is het niet het substantief (het Head) ervan dat onderworpen is aan de semantische kondities die het predikaat oplegt aan de erdoor geregeerde konstituenten, maar de NP als geheel. Bij 'normale' NP's die uit een substantief plus een niet-dominant participium bestaan, is het juist andersom (...).

“(...) in the case of an AUC [ab Urbe condita] NP, it is not the noun (the Head) of it that is subject to the semantic conditions that the predicate imposes on the constituents governed by it, but the NP as a whole. In 'normal' NPs that consist of a substantive plus a non-dominant participation, it is the other way around (...).” (own tr.)

³⁰ Man, A.G. de (1965) after Pinkster (1988) 198.

³¹ Bolkestein (1980) 80, 85.

For Bolkestein, the noun is still the syntactic head in these constructions. However, in the semantic terms, the phrase with the dominant participle has to be treated as a whole. In a different article, Bolkestein asserts that the construction has to be analysed as a predication, not as a nominal term.³²

Another Dutch latinist, Pinkster, was the next to speak of dominant participles and the first to bring the ablative absolute under the same term:³³

(18) *b occisus dictator... plucherrimum facinus videbatur*

(29) *e cum valde absoluto Scaevola gauderet*

In (18 b) ist der Konstituent occisus dictator ein Argument mit der syntaktischen Funktion Subjekt; in (29 e) ist der Konstituent absoluto Scaevola auch ein Argument, jedoch mit der syntaktischen Funktion Komplement. In (...) haben wir Beispiele für dominante Partizipien als Satelliten (sog. Abl. abs.) gegeben, z.B. (49):

(49) *(Cethegus) recitatis litteris repente conticuit*

Finally, the latest Dutch latinist who treated dominant participles to a limited degree is Panhuis, who underlines the idea of semantic dominance:³⁴

Syntaktisch gesehen, bestimmt ein attributives Partizip sein Kopfnomen. Sofern aber der Inhalt betrachtet wird, kann das Partizip die leitende Vorstellung ausdrücken und so das dominante Element in der Phrase sein.

The concept of dominant participles has begun to be applied to other languages than Latin, most notably to Ancient Greek. We have to mention here the recent article of Denizot in which she discusses the factors behind the usage of prepositional dominant participles of the type *ab Urbe condita* with other grammatical constructions. She defines the dominant participle as:³⁵

(...) les syntagmes nominaux constitués d'un nom et d'un participe dans

³² Bolkestein (1981) 228-29.

³³ Pinkster (1988) 198.

³⁴ Panhuis (2015) 228.

³⁵ Denizot (2017) 29-30.

lesquels le participe ne doit pas être compris comme un modifieur de la tête nominale, mais comme un prédicat. (...) Les constructions dites à participe dominant sont employées comme satellites ou comme arguments du prédicat et peuvent être schématiquement ramenées à quatre types :

- comme satellites du prédicat : dans des syntagmes prépositionnels du type*
ab Urbe condita,
- dans des propositions adverbiales (génitif absolu du grec, ablatif absolu du latin)*
- comme arguments du prédicat : dans des syntagmes nominaux du type*
Sicilia amissa « la perte de la Sicile »,
- comme seconds arguments de verbes (surtout des verbes de perception).*

Most recently, a comprehensive review of the question has been presented by Petit. He defines the notion of dominance as the ability to create dependency: the dominant member is the head of the phrase and the non-dominant member is dependent and cannot create dependency.³⁶ He underlines the fact that it is a relational property: it appears between two elements and is not a natural property of any of them.³⁷ After Zwicky (1985) he established three areas where the dominance can manifest itself between two elements: the morphology, the syntax, and the semantics. It is quite clear that in the case of Indo-European languages examined in this thesis we cannot speak of dominance on morphological grounds. The noun remains the head and the participle is agreeing with it. The question of syntax is slightly more complicated, because we cannot ask native speakers of ancient languages which constructions seem ungrammatical to them. It is evident, however, that in the case of [NOUN+PARTICIPLE] phrases, the removal of the noun renders the phrase completely ungrammatical, while the removal of the participle only changes its core meaning, as in *ab urbe* “from the city” in the locative sense and **ab condita* “from founded”.³⁸

The area where the participles establish their dominance is semantics. Phrases with dominant participles often appear in contexts where the semantic class of the phrase is determined by the participle. For example in the Latin *Sicilia amissa* the phrase signifies an event not a place. In Greek, the preposition ἄρα “at” in its temporal meaning requires a phrase

³⁶ Petit (2019) 432.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Petit (2019) 432-33.

which refers to a point of time. Thus in Homer we can find several examples of participial phrases like ἅμα δ' ἡελίῳ ἀνιόντι “at the sun rising” (example (25)) or ἅμα δ' ἡελίῳ καταδύντι “at the sun setting” (example (26)) and never ἅμα δ' ἡελίῳ on its own. In these examples the participles semantically dominate the nouns. However, there are instances of both ἅμ' ἡοῖ γιγνομένη “at the break of dawn” (example (24)) and ἅμ' ἡοῖ “at dawn” (*Odyssey* 16.2), since the word “dawn” does refer to a specific point of time, while the word “sun” does not.³⁹

Regarding the degree of semantic dominance of the participle over the noun, Petit distinguishes three types. First, where the participle expresses the essential meaning which cannot be expressed by the noun, e.g. *ab Urbe condita*. Second, where the participle expresses a specific meaning, which can, however, be expressed by the noun on its own by means of conventional metonymy, e.g. ἐπὶ Κύρου ἄρχοντος “under Cyrus reigning” (Herodotus 3.89.3) which appears next to forms like ἐπὶ Δαρείου (Herodotus 6.98.2). In these phrases the name of the ruler is understood to signify the duration of their reign and thus the participle is not obligatory. The third type refers to the clauses where the participle expresses the same essential idea as the noun, e.g. ἅμ' ἡοῖ γιγνομένη “at the break of dawn”, since the word “dawn” expresses a specific moment of time on its own.⁴⁰

In both Latin and Greek, the absolute constructions are closely linked with dominant participles, especially with the types *ab Urbe condita* and *Sicilia amissa*. There are now several questions which need to be asked and which are going to be explored in the following sections. Could one construction have developed from the other? More precisely, could the absolute constructions be grammaticalisations of dominant participles? From the comparative, Indo-European point of view, should we rather reconstruct dominant participles or absolute constructions, if any of them, for late Proto-Indo-European? If absolute constructions did arise from dominant participles, did that happen already at the Proto-Indo-European level, or later in the history of individual languages or branches?

In the following sections, I am going to discuss material from several families of Indo-European languages, focusing on their earliest recorded stages of development. I shall analyse the evidence from the perspective outlined above. Is there evidence for the existence of dominant participles, either in prepositional or non-prepositional phrases, already in Proto-Indo-European? Can we consider them a likely source of absolute constructions in individual Indo-European languages? There are several advantages of this approach. Firstly, instead of

³⁹ Petit (2019) 435, 442.

⁴⁰ Petit (2019) 443.

treating every construction in isolation, we are trying to link them in a comprehensive system of participial syntax. No construction exists in a syntactic vacuum, and so far not enough attention has been paid to the exact relationship between different participial phrases. Secondly, it allows to avoid to a certain degree the age-old morphological issue of the original *casus absolutus*. Instead of trying to reconcile the Greek genitive and the Sanskrit locative in some outlandish way, we can try to prove that the differences in cases in each language stem from grammaticalisation of the dominant participles as adverbial clauses and each language chose the case which was the most appropriate in its own case system.

Firstly, however, it is necessary to briefly introduce the theory of grammaticalisation. Grammaticalisation is defined by Heine as:

*the development from lexical to grammatical forms and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms.*⁴¹

He outlines four stages of the grammaticalisation process. We start with “the source meaning” which exists in a range of different contexts. At the second stage, an expression is found in “the bridging context”, which means that it can still be interpreted in the “source meaning”, but a new interpretation is possible or even preferable. Thirdly, we find ourselves in “the switch context”, which excludes the previous interpretation, “the source meaning”, and only allows the “target meaning”. Finally, the expression in question is not associated with the “source meaning” anymore and permanently acquires the “target meaning”, going back to square one and lending itself to further manipulations.⁴² If we want to show that absolute constructions come from dominant participles, ideally, we need to provide bridging and switch contexts to show how that grammaticalisation took place.

I am now going to present and analyse the data from several languages and language families outlined above. I am going to start with Homeric Greek, which remains the main focus of this thesis and then proceed to other languages in chronological order.

⁴¹ Heine (2002b) 2. This definition is a reformulation of the original definition of Kurylowicz (1975) 52: *Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical and from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status.*

⁴² Heine (2002a) 84-86.

IV.2. Homeric Greek

Absolute constructions in Homeric Greek are limited to the genitive absolute. The accusative absolute first appears considerably later, in Herodotus, while any attempts at finding dative absolutes in Homeric or Classical Greek are largely questionable, as already shown in the previous section.⁴³ There are several passages outlined already by Chantraine, which could be interpreted as datives absolutes, but which are rightly explained by him as an ethic dative,⁴⁴ e.g.:

(1) (*Iliad* 8.487)

Τρωσὶν μὲν ῥ' ἄεκουσιν ἔδν φάος

“For the Trojans the daylight sank **against their will**”

(2) (*Iliad* 12.373-74)

εὔτε Μενεσθῆος μεγαθύμου πύργον ἵκοντο

τείχεος ἐντὸς ἰόντες, ἐπειγομένοισι δ' ἵκοντο

“They kept inside the wall as they went, as they came to the bastion of high-hearted Menestheus, and found **men who were hard pressed** there,”

(3) (*Odyssey* 21.115-16)

οὐδέ κέ μοι ἀχνυμένῳ τάδε δώματα πότνια μήτηρ / λείποι

“my queenly mother would not leave **me sorrowing** here in the house”

There are 58 cases of unambiguous genitive absolutes in Homer: 38 in the *Iliad* and 20 in the *Odyssey*. By “unambiguous” I mean a construction where the form in the genitive case cannot be ascribed a function in the sentence and has to be read as syntactically separate. There are 17 examples where the construction can be either analysed as a genitive absolute or as depending on a noun. These passages are especially interesting, as they could provide evidence for or against the development of absolute constructions from dominant participles.

Firstly, we shall see what types of absolute constructions are most frequent in Homer, what types of nouns and verbs are most commonly involved and to what extent they are really

⁴³ See Introduction, example (1).

⁴⁴ Chantraine (1953) 324.

absolute, that is syntactically independent from the rest of the sentence.

Let us begin with the nouns and pronouns involved in the genitive absolutes. The single category which is the most widespread are the pronouns, mostly personal but also demonstrative. One can also add personal names to that category, as they also refer to concrete human beings. All together they constitute 16 out of 58 genitives absolute in Homer. Let us provide some examples:

(4) (*Iliad* 8.164-65)

ἔρρε κακὴ γλήνη, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἴξαντος ἐμεῖο
πύργων ἡμετέρων ἐπιβήσεται

“Down with you poor doll. You shall not storm our battlements
with me giving way before you”

(5) (*Iliad* 10.246-47)

τούτου γ’ ἐσπομένοιο καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο
ἄμφω νοστήσαμεν, ἐπεὶ περίοιδε νοῆσαι.

“**Were he to go with me**, both of us could come back from the blazing of fire
itself, since his mind is best at devices.”

(6) (*Iliad* 10.355-56)

ἔλπετο γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀποστρέψοντας ἐταίρους
ἐκ Τρώων ἰέναι πάλιν Ἑκτορὸς ὀτρύναντος.

“He thought in his heart these would be friends from among the Trojans
to turn him back, and that **Hektor had sped** them to summon him again.”

This stands in sharp contrast to multiple claims that the absolute constructions are most widespread with the expressions of the natural time, of which there are only 5 unique examples in Homer:

(7) (*Iliad* 2.550-51)

ἔνθα δέ μιν τάυροισι καὶ ἄρνειοῖς ἰλάονται
κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν:

“there **as the circling years go by** the sons of Athenians
make propitiation with rams and bulls sacrificed;”

(8) (*Iliad* 8.536-38)

ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισιν ὄϊω

κείσεται οὐτηθείς, πολέες δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι

ἡελίου ἀνιόντος ἐς αὔριον:

“but sooner than this, I think, in the foremost

he will go down under the stroke, and many companions about him

as the sun goes up into tomorrow.”

(9) (*Odyssey* 14.162 = 19.307)

τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἵσταμένοιο

“Either **at the waning of the moon, or at its onset,**”

(10) (*Odyssey* 19.519-20)

ὥς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κόρυη, χλωρηῖς ἀηδών,

καλὸν ἀείδῃσιν **ἔαρος** νέον **ἵσταμένοιο**,

“As when Pandareos' daughter, the greenwood nightingale, sings out

her lovely song, **when springtime has just begun;**”

(11) (*Odyssey* 11.294-5 = 14.293-4)

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μῆνές τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐξετελεῖντο

ἅψ **περιτελλομένου ἔτεος** καὶ ἐπήλυθον ὦραι,

“But when the months and the days had come to an end,

and **the year had gone full circle** and come back with the seasons returning”

Only two of these examples refers to the natural point of the day and night cycle, which is so often claimed to be the point of origins of the construction.⁴⁵ Going back to the discussion on the original case for absolute constructions, the argument of the temporal genitive and the usage of νυκτός as the source of the genitive absolutes is particularly unconvincing, especially that in this meaning it occurs one single time in Homer (*Odyssey* 13.278).⁴⁶ The last passage is

⁴⁵ Ruppel (2013) 210ff.

⁴⁶ (*Odyssey* 13.278) κεῖθεν δὲ πλαγχθέντες ἱκάνομεν ἐνθάδε νυκτός. “So, driven off these courses, we came in here, by night”

considered by Ruppel to be controversial, as she admits the possibility of the genitive περιτελλομένου ἔτεος to be dependent on the noun phrase μῆνές τε καὶ ἡμέραι.⁴⁷ This, however, is an unnecessary precaution in my opinion, as this phrase is a clear genitive absolute, both from the semantic point of view, and because it is closely paralleled by *Iliad* 2.551 in the example (7), where its absolute character is beyond doubt.

The nouns involved in the genitive absolute do not belong to any particular semantic group. The proof for the lack of lexical constraints on substantives involved in absolute constructions is an example of a substantivised adjective used a subject of the genitive absolute :

(12) (*Iliad* 17.392-93)

ἄφαρ δέ τε ἰκμὰς ἔβη, δύνει δέ τ' ἀλοιφή

πολλῶν ἐλκόντων, τάννυται δέ τε πᾶσα διὰ πρό:

“and presently the moisture goes and the fat sinks in,

with so many pulling, and the bull’s hide is stretched out level;”

Looking at all the passages, we can firmly state that there were no constraints regarding the nouns used in genitive absolutes, as we find both animate and inanimate nouns.⁴⁸ One can, however, remark that there are no examples of abstract nouns.

The verbal stems involved in the genitive absolutes are also without constraints. There is no particular semantic class or type of verbs which is “predestined” to appear in the genitive absolutes. There are also no strict syntactic constraints linked to transitivity. However, the vast majority of participles are either used in an intransitive sense, or in the passive voice, so that the direct object in the accusative is not present, e.g.:

(13) (*Iliad* 1.88)

ἐμεῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ **δερκομένοιο**

“when I live and look at the earth”

(14) (*Iliad* 14.100)

νηῶν ἅλα δ' ἐλκομενάων

⁴⁷ Ruppel (2013) 234.

⁴⁸ Examples: ἀνὴρ “man”, ἄνεμος “wind”, ἔγχος “spear”, λαός “host”, πόλεμος “war”, ναῦς “ship”, ὑσμίνη “fight”, σημάντωρ “leader”, δάιος “battle”, ἅλς “sea”, κοῦρος “boy”, ἄναξ “king”, μῆλον “sheep”, οἶνος “wine”, θεά “goddess”.

“as the ships are being hauled seawards”

Nonetheless, we can still find examples of transitive participles with a direct object present in the clause:

(15) (*Iliad* 19.74-75)

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἳ δ' ἐχάρησαν ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ

μῆνιν ἀπειπόντος μεγαθύμου Πηλεΐωνος.

“He spoke and the well-greaved Achaians were pleased to hear him
and **how the great-hearted son of Peleus unsaid his anger.**”

(16) (*Odyssey* 24.534-35)

τῶν δ' ἄρα δεισάντων ἐκ χειρῶν ἔπατο τεύχεα,

πάντα δ' ἐπὶ χθονὶ πῖπτε, **θεῶς ὅπα φωνησάσης:**

“and in their terror they let fall from their hands their weapons,
which fell on the ground, **as the goddess uttered her voice**”

The first example also shows that it is possible to modify the nouns in the genitive absolute with adjectives. As we have seen in these and other examples, there are no constraints on the contiguity of the two elements of the genitive absolutes. While it is true that in many cases the noun or the pronoun is standing directly next to the participles, there are multiple instances where a different element intervenes between them, be it a particle, like γέ or δέ, an adjective referring to an element within the absolute construction, an adverb modifying the participle, or a direct object of the participle. The conclusion which can be drawn from this apparent liberty in the usage of genitive absolute in Homeric Greek is that the construction is well established and grammaticalised in the language. This would not be the case of a relatively new construction which, having started in a particular context, slowly spreads to other contexts. The lack of limitations in the usage of genitive absolute suggests a fully developed construction already in Homer.

The semantics of absolute constructions in Ancient Greek are well known and well described.⁴⁹ In the majority of cases, the meaning of the phrase is temporal. This is, however, not synonymous with the claim that most absolute constructions are expressions of natural time.

⁴⁹ Chantraine (1953) 324f.

The latter involve a substantive which already refers to a given point in time, e.g. a sunrise or spring. In most Homeric examples, this is not the case, although they still have a clear temporal meaning, for example in passages (13), (14) or (16). Furthermore, we find in Homer instances of all other possible meanings of genitive absolute, for example causal:

(17) (*Iliad* 17.532)

οἳ ῥ' ἦλθον καθ' ὅμιλον **ἐταίρου κυκλήσκοντος**:

“who came on through battle **at the call of their companion**”

concessive:

(18) (*Iliad* 24.288-89)

ἐπεὶ ἄρ' σέ γε θυμὸς

ὀτρύνει ἐπὶ νῆας **ἐμεῖο μὲν οὐκ ἐθελούσης**.

“since it seems the spirit within you

drives you upon the ships, **though I would not have it**”

or conditional:

(19) (*Iliad* 10.246-47)

τούτου γ' ἐσπομένοιο καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο

ἄμφω νοστήσαιμεν, ἐπεὶ περίοιδε νοῆσαι.

“**Were he to go with me**, both of us could come back from the blazing of fire itself, since his mind is best at devices.”

The predominance of temporal semantics suggests that it was the original meaning of the genitive absolute. However, the semantic diversity found already in Homer further confirms that the construction is already relatively well developed.

IV.2.A. Controversial passages

However, there are at least thirteen examples where we can hesitate between a genitive absolute and a genitive depending on another element in the phrase and we need to decide by ourselves which interpretation is more likely in individual examples. The obvious problem with arbitrary interpretation is that we tend to select solutions which seem more natural to us, but that does not have to correspond to the linguistic intuition of the native speakers of Ancient Greek.

(20) (*Iliad* 8.521-22)

(...) φυλακὴ δέ τις ἔμπεδος ἔστω
μὴ λόχος εἰσέλθῃσι πόλιν **λαῶν ἀπεόντων**.

“let there be a watch kept steadily

lest a sudden attack get into the town **when the fighters have left it.**”

The question in this passage is whether the phrase *λαῶν ἀπεόντων* is a genitive absolute, or is it in reality a complement of πόλιν. That is whether we should read “(...) into the town when the people have left” or “(...) into the town of absent people”. The first and primary argument for the absolute interpretation is semantic. “The town of absent people” does not make much sense and does not seem like a probable expression in Ancient Greek. Another test which we can employ to decide which interpretation is more likely, is to verify whether a phrase πόλις λαῶν exists regularly in Homer outside of potential genitive absolutes. No such example can be found in the Homeric corpus, so I assume that this is a case of a true genitive absolute. This is, however, an argument from absence and as such cannot be treated as decisive, especially since there are synonymous expressions, although not accompanied by a participle, like the famous πολλῶν δ’ ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα from the opening lines of the *Odyssey*. All in all, from the semantic point of view, the absolute interpretation seems preferable.

(21) (*Iliad* 9.106-07)

ἐξ ἔτι τοῦ ὅτε διογενὲς Βρισηΐδα κούρην
χωομένου Ἀχιλλῆος ἔβης κλισίηθεν ἀπούρας

“ever since that day, illustrious, when you went from the **shelter**
of angered Achilles, taking by force the girl Briseis”

In this passage we are dealing with a similar problem. Should we read *χωομένου Ἀχιλῆος* as a genitive absolute “when Achilles is angry” or rather as a complement of *κλισίη* “a hut”, so “the hut of angry Achilles”? Starting with the semantic analysis, the meaning of *χωόμενος* is clearly adjectival, as *χώομαι* is a verb used largely intransitively and refers to a state. This context favours the attributive interpretation, as there is no need to syntactically detach the participial phrase from the rest of the clause. Again, we can also verify whether a syntagm *κλισίη Ἀχιλῆος* is common in Homer and decide if we are to treat *χωομένου* as absolute or an attributive participle simply modifying *Ἀχιλλεύς*. The answer is that we find four unique examples of this syntagm in the *Iliad*.⁵⁰ Taking into consideration that this specific passage is the only one where we could possibly look for a genitive absolute composed of “*χωομένου Ἀχιλῆος*”, we should rather dismiss it and treat it *χωόμενος* as an attributive participle in this context.

(22) (*Iliad* 11.841)

ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὥς περ **σεῖο** μεθήσω **τειρομένοιο**.

“But even so I will not leave you **in your affliction**”

The question regarding this passages is whether we should interpret *σεῖο τειρομένοιο* as a genitive absolute, “as you are afflicted”, or as depending on the verb *μεθίημι* which would have to take a genitive. The LSJ suggests the latter, indicating, however, that this is the only example of *μεθίημι* taking a genitive of a person (*c. gen. pers.*).⁵¹ This is not necessarily a problem, since the verbs regularly take a genitive of a thing (*c. gen. rei*) in Homer and later in Herodotus. While both interpretations are possible, it is more likely that the verb takes a genitive than that it stands alone without a complement. Even though *μεθίημι* can be found used intransitively with no complement, it rather means “to be slack, to dally”, especially in the context of a battle, so it does not fit this particular passage very well, because Patroclus, who is speaking these words, is not participating in the fight.

(23) (*Iliad* 19.271-73)

οὐκ ἄν δῆ ποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἐμοῖσιν

Ἀτρεΐδης ὥρινε διαμπερές, οὐδέ κε κούρην

⁵⁰ See *Iliad* 1.322, 9.107, 9.166, 24.155 = 24.184.

⁵¹ LSJ s.v. *μεθίημι*.

ἦγεν ἔμεῦ ἀέκοντος ἀμήχανος:

“Without you, the son of Atreus could never have stirred so
the heart inside my breast, nor taken the girl away from me
against my will, and be in helplessness.”

The controversy of this passage lies in the question whether to take ἔμεῦ ἀέκοντος “while I am unwilling, against my will” separately as a genitive absolute, or to make it dependent on κούρην, so literally “the girl of mine, who am unwilling”. Although, the issue of word order in metric poetry is always delicate, it would deem particularly unlikely to see a personal pronoun in a possessive function separated from its head by a verb. The absolute interpretation is even more likely because the tonic form of the pronoun is never used in Homer in the possessive function.⁵²

It is possible that some of the “controversial” examples invoked above can provide a line of development for the genitive absolute. One hypothesis would be to derive the genitive absolute from the possessive genitive. Looking back at the example of the *Iliad* 9.106-07, we can admit that it is imaginable that an initial construction consisted truly of the participial phrase in the genitive depending on the noun, so in this case “the hut of angry Achilles”. This could gradually be reinterpreted as an absolute construction “when Achilles was angry.” I am not claiming that this is the case for this particular example, but I am using it to show that this type of phrase could be at the origin of a reinterpretation of a possessive clause into a temporal clause. Such a scenario is probable especially in the cases where the participle logically expresses the main idea of the phrase. We can analyse the example from the *Iliad* 19.271-73 in a similar way. We can start with an interpretation “the girl of mine, who am unwilling” and progress to an absolute construction “when I am unwilling, against my will”, since semantically it is the essential idea of the phrase in this context.

This, however, cannot be applied to every example of “questionable” genitive absolutes. If we look at the passage from the *Iliad* 9.106-07 – example (21), the participle χωομένου does not constitute the main idea of the phrase and functions as an adjunct to the noun phrase. Thus, it makes it much less likely to develop into an independent, absolute structure. This hypothesis is certainly quite speculative and cannot be easily proven, but it is worth considering, especially in the absence of convincing theories on the choice of the genitive case for absolute constructions in Ancient Greek. This hypothesis is not fully

⁵² See also *Iliad* 1.301: ἀέκοντος ἐμεῖο is an unambiguous genitive absolute.

convincing in the light of Heine's grammaticalisation theory invoked in the introduction. It is hard to imagine that the possessive genitive, which remains to be the primary use of this case throughout Ancient Greek, enters into "switch contexts", that means it is no longer interpreted as possessive. We could accept the existence of "bridging contexts" where the genitive could be interpreted as either possessive or absolute, as illustrated by some of the examples above, but we would have to argue that the originally possessive function of the genitive was lost in some of these contexts to create the genitive absolute, which is a possible, but not a preferable solution.

IV.2.B. Ancient Greek genitive absolutes and the notion of dominant participles.

In the absence of a satisfying explanation for the origins of genitive absolute in Ancient Greek, we turn to an examination of dominant participles in hope of finding a possible line of derivation of the absolute constructions from other types of dominant participles. Let us recall that in several analyses, the absolute participles are a type of dominant participles, besides prepositional phrases of the type *ab Urbe condita* and non-prepositional phrases of the type *Sicilia amissa*, as classified by Denizot.⁵³ The first question is whether this sort of construction is found in Homeric Greek. Secondly, can we find contexts where one type of dominant participles could have been grammaticalised as the genitive absolute?

The earliest prepositional phrases with a dominant participle appear already in Homer, but are relatively rare. A survey of these constructions has already been done by Jones in a 1939 article titled *The Ab Urbe Condita Construction in Greek: A Study in the Classification of the Participle*. The dominant participle with the preposition ἄμα + DAT. is limited in Homer to a few formulaic phrases concerning sunrise and sunset:⁵⁴

(24) (*Odyssey* 4.407 = 6.31 = 12.24 = 14.266)

ἄμ' ἡοῖ γυγνομένη

“at the break of dawn”

(25) (*Iliad* 18.136 = *Odyssey* 12.429 = 23.362)

ἄμα δ' ἡελίῳ ἀνιόντι

“at sunrise”

(26) (*Iliad* 1.592 = 18.210 = 19.207 = *Odyssey* 16.366)

ἄμα δ' ἡελίῳ καταδύντι

“at sunset”

A similar image emerges when we look at dominant participles with the preposition ἐξ + accusative, which is found in a large number of passages, in the same metrical conditions, in

⁵³ The complementary participles, also categorised as a type of dominant participles are discussed in further details next chapter of this thesis.

⁵⁴ Jones (1939) 46-47.

the formula:

(27) (*Iliad* 1.601 = 19.162 = *Odyssey* 3.138 et al.)

ἕς ἡέλιον καταδύντα

“until the setting of the sun”

Finally, there are two Homeric examples of dominant participles with *ὑπό* + genitive:

(28) (*Iliad* 2.333-34)

ὥς ἔφατ', Ἀργεῖοι δὲ μέγ' ἵαχον, ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆες

σμερδαλέον κονάβησαν **ἀϋσάντων ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν**

“So he spoke, and the Argives shouted aloud, and about them

the ships echoed terribly **under the roaring of the Achaeans**”

(tr. modified from Lattimore)

(29) (*Iliad* 18.492)

νόμφας δ' ἐκ θαλάμων **δαΐδων ὕπο λαμπομενάων**

ἡγίνεον ἀνὰ ἄστρῳ, πολὺς δ' ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει:

“They were leading the brides along the city from their maiden chambers

under the flaring of torches, and the loud bride song was arising.”

One has to immediately admit that none of these examples of dominant participles appear to be a possible source of the genitive absolute. The only instances of the genitive in these prepositional phrases are with the preposition *ὑπό* which does not have any temporal semantics. Given that the vast majority of genitives absolute in Homer have a temporal meaning, it would be very unlikely for them to arise from a completely non-temporal expression. There is no “bridging” or “switch context”, in Heine’s terminology, which would allow *ὑπό* + participial phrase to become the source of the genitive absolute. Moreover, it might be surprising that there are no Homeric examples of any other prepositions with dominant participles which are widely found in the classical literature: *σύν*, *μετά*, *κατά*, *ἐπί*, *ἐν*, *πρό*, *πρός*, *περί*, *ἀμφί*, *ἀπό*, *διά*.⁵⁵ This state of affairs excludes any direct parallels with the Germanic languages, where, as we are going to see, there is a correlation between the dative absolute and

⁵⁵ For examples see Jones (1939) 46-74.

dominant participles in prepositional phrases always in the dative.

Consequently, we can turn to dominant participles in non-prepositional phrases in order to verify if they provide any evidence to be a possible source of absolute constructions in Ancient Greek. These are found in various cases and syntactic functions, for example in the nominative, in the function of the subject of the verb:

(30) (*Odyssey* 5.5-6)

μέλε γάρ οἱ ἐὼν ἐν δώμασι νύμφης:

“For his **being** in the house of the nymph concerned her;” (own tr.)

The example (31) below is also sometimes quoted as an instance of a dominant participle in the function of the subject, but this is not the case. The participle clearly refers to Odysseus from the sentence before and the dominant participle would require δάκρυα to be its subject.

(31) (*Odyssey* 8.531-32)

ὥς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐλεεινὸν ὑπ’ ὀφρύσι δάκρυον εἶβεν.

ἐνθ’ ἄλλους μὲν πάντας ἐλάνθανε δάκρυα λείβων

“Thus Odysseus let fall a pitiable tear from beneath his brows.

Him shedding tears escaped the notice of all others there” (own tr.)

In addition, we find dominant participles in the accusative, in the function of the direct object:

(32) (*Iliad* 13.37-38)

ὄφρ’ ἔμπεδον αὖθι μένοιεν / νοστήσαντα ἄνακτα:

“so that they await there firmly **the return of the king**” (own tr.),

(33) (*Odyssey* 5.97)

εἰρωτᾷς μ’ ἐλθόντα θεᾷ θεόν:

“You, a goddess, ask me, a god, **about my coming**;” (own tr.)

or in the dative, functioning as the indirect object:⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Petit (2019) 419, example (35).

(34) (*Iliad* 14.503-04)

οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦ Προμάχοιο δάμαρ Ἀλεγηνορίδαο

ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ ἐλθόντι γανύσσεται

“neither shall the wife of Promachos, Aleenor’s

son, take pride of delight **in her dear lord’s coming**”

(35) (*Odyssey* 10.419)

Σοὶ μὲν νοστήσαντι, διοτρεφές, ὥς ἐχάρημεν.

“we are as happy, you fostered by Zeus, **at your return**”.

Finally there are also a few Homeric examples of dominant participles in the genitive which are dependent on nouns or verbs:

(36) (*Iliad* 12.392)

Σαρπήδοντι δ’ ἄχος γένετο **Γλαύκου ἀπιόντος**

“Pain of **Glaukos’ leaving** arose in Sarpedon” (own tr.)

(37) (*Iliad* 13.660)

τοῦ δὲ Πάρις μάλα θυμὸν **ἀποκταμένοιο** χολώθη:

“But Paris was deeply angered at heart **for this man’s slaying**”

In both cases we are dealing with an epexegetical genitive.⁵⁷ In the example (36) the pain is caused by Glaukos leaving. In the example (37) the verb χολόομαι takes the genitive as its complement, with the meaning “to be angry for or because of”.⁵⁸ In both cases both absolute and non-absolute readings are possible and grammatical, which makes them a very likely “bridging context”. So far, the dominant participles in the genitive seem to be the best candidate for the source of genitive absolute in Ancient Greek. They are already used in an adverbial manner. Although they are causal, causal and temporal semantics are often very close to each other in these expressions. If we treated Γλαύκου ἀπιόντος in example (36) as a genitive absolute, we could translate the sentence as “Pain arose in Sarpedon because of Glaukos’

⁵⁷ Kühner-Gerth (1966) 332: *ein Genetiv des Urhebers und der Ursache*. This adverbial usage of the genitive is frequent already in Homer, e.g. *Il.* 2.732 ἔλκος ὕδρου “wound of (caused by) a snake”, *Il.* 2.396 κύματα παντοίων ἀνέμων “waves of (caused by) winds of all sorts” *et al.*

⁵⁸ LSJ s.v. χολόω.

leaving” or “when Glaukos was leaving”. Similarly, in the example (37), it is imaginable to treat τοῦ ἀποκταμένου absolutely and the verb as intransitive here. Thus we could read it as “But Paris was deeply angered at heart because of that man’s slaying” or “(...) when that man was slain”. These examples can certainly serve as “bridging contexts” in which participial expressions in the genitive can be interpreted as independent adverbial modifiers, syntactically separate from the main clause. We are still lacking a convincing “switch context”, where the phrase cannot be considered dependant on any other element in the clause anymore and has to be taken as a genitive absolute. However, we have to consider the possibility that the Homeric corpus, which is after all quite limited and in which the genitive absolute seems to be already quite well established, cannot provide such evidence.

Another question which comes to mind is whether we can connect our “dubious” examples of genitives absolute, discussed in the first section of this chapter, with the passages where we could have hesitated between the absolute and the possessive interpretation. It is not unreasonable to link the two functions and derive the causal usage of the genitive from its possessive function, which is most evident in the case of the genitive denoting the author of an activity or a thing, e.g. νόμος Σόλωνος “Solon’s Law”. This question, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis. Although both contexts could have contributed to the grammaticalisation of the genitive absolute, it is surely the construction with the dominant participle that was more influential and significant.

Let’s see to what extent we can consider genitive absolutes as a type of dominant participles. I have mentioned before different criteria for dominance: morphological, syntactic, semantic. Unsurprisingly, we see that in many cases the semantic criterion is very much valid, that is the participle expresses the leading idea of the phrase:⁵⁹

(38) (*Iliad* 8.538)

ἡελίου ἀνιόντος

“as the sun goes up”

(39) (*Iliad* 18.10)

ἔτι ζώνοντος ἐμεῖο

“while I yet lived”

⁵⁹ Petit (2019) 420, example (40).

(40) (*Odyssey* 19.519)

ἔαρος νέον ἰσταμένοιο

“when springtime has just begun”

It is clear that it is the rising of the sun that is the idea of the phrase, not the sun itself. Similarly, in the next examples, the essence of the phrase is the fact of being alive or the beginning of the spring. The difference becomes obvious if we compare these to other types of participles, attributive or circumstantial:

(41) (*Iliad* 1.18-19)

ὕμῃν μὲν **θεοὶ** δοῖεν **Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχοντες**

ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ’ οἴκαδ’ ἰκέσθαι:

“**the gods, having Olympian homes**, would grant you
to sack the city of Priam and return home well”

(42) (*Iliad* 1.58)

τοῖσι δ’ **ἀνιστάμενος** μετέφη πόδας ὠκὺς **Ἀχιλλεύς**:

“**Having stood up** among them, swift-footed **Achilles** said:”

In both cases, the participles provide background, non-essential information and cannot be considered dominant in any way. The nouns remain semantically dominant in these phrases.

As I have mentioned before, there are three areas of linguistic dominance: morphology, syntax, and semantics. Dominance in morphology manifests itself in the fact that an element forces other elements to be accorded to it. This type of dominance is surely not to be found in participles in Ancient Greek, as participles by definition function as modifiers of nouns and agree with them in case, number, and gender. However, when it comes to semantics, the question becomes more complicated. We have already seen that in many genitive absolutes, it is the participle that expressed the essential idea of the phrase, not the noun. Some scholars argue that this semantic dominance is in fact one of the defining characteristics of absolute constructions.⁶⁰

The aspect of linguistic dominance which I consider especially interesting is the syntax. It manifests itself in the way that the dominant element of the phrase is obligatory. This aspect

⁶⁰ Keydana (1997) p.17-22

of the question is rarely mentioned in the context of the Greek genitive absolute. There are, however, five potential examples of genitive absolutes in Homer where the noun is omitted and the participle is the only remaining element. If this is truly the case, it would suggest that the relationship of syntactic dominance between nouns and participles in absolute constructions is inverted in comparison to a more regular usage, where the noun is the head and thus obligatory. However, before jumping to conclusions, we shall examine the passages in question and see if there are no alternative explanations to this phenomenon. The examples are as follows:

(43) (*Iliad* 11.456-58)

ὣς εἰπὼν Σώκοιο δαΐφρονος ὄβριμον ἔγχος
 ἔξω τε χροὸς ἔλκε καὶ ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης:
 αἶμα δέ οἱ **σπασθέντος** ἀνέσσυτο, κῆδε δὲ θυμόν.

“So he spoke, and dragged the heavy **spear** of wise Sokos
 out of his flesh and out of the shield massive in the middle,
 and **as it was torn out** the blood sprang and his heart was sickened.”

In this passage the participle *σπασθέντος* from *σπάω* “to draw” has to refer to the spear, *ἔγχος*. The passage is especially interesting from the philological point of view, because there is a different variant in the textual tradition which replaces *οἱ* with *οὔ*, which may be a genitive of the reflexive, relative or possessive pronoun, or may have an adverbial, local meaning.⁶¹ The interpretation provided by the scholia suggests that *οὔ* refers to Sokos, so “his blood sprang”. Alternatively, we could also consider the adverbial usage of *οὔ*, so “there”, or maybe even an ablative use of the genitive “from there”. However, neither of these interpretations explain the lack of a subject of the genitive absolute. Moreover, *οὔ* is a result of a contraction of the older two syllable form *ἔο*⁶², so from the metrical point of view it cannot be the original reading.⁶³ For this reason, it is preferable to keep the textual variant with *οἱ* and treat it as the possessive dative.

⁶¹ Thiel (2014) 265: “Λ 458/Di αἶμα δέ οἱ σπασθέντος: οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος ‘οἱ’ (=Ω), ‘αἶμα δὲ αὐτῷ, τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ’. Ζηνόδοτος δὲ γράφει ‘αἶμα δὲ οὔ σπασθέντος’· γίνεται δὲ τὸ ‘ἐαυτοῦ’, ὃ οὐχ ἀρμόζει. (...) Zenodots οὔ ‘αἶμα αὐτοῦ’, wie häufig in den D-Scholien zu οἱ, konkretisierte die Kategorie Dativ für Genitiv.”

⁶² Beekes (2010) 365.

⁶³ This has been highlighted by Claire Le Feuvre at a student conference on Homeric linguistics in Paris on 12/05/2018.

(44) (*Iliad* 23.517-21)

ὅσσον δὲ τροχοῦ ἵππος ἀφίσταται, ὅς ῥα ἄνακτα

ἔλκησιν πεδίοιο τιταινόμενος σὺν ὄχεσφι:

τοῦ μὲν τε ψάουσιν ἐπισσώτρου τρίχες ἄκραι

οὐραῖαι: ὃ δέ τ' ἄγχι μάλα τρέχει, οὐδέ τι πολλή

χώρα μεσσηγὺς πολέος πεδίοιο **θέοντος**:

“As far from the wheel stands **the horse** who is straining

to pull his master with the chariot over the flat land;

the extreme hairs in the tail of the horse brush against the running

rim of the wheel, and he courses very close, there is not much

space between **as he runs** a great way over the flat land;”

Next in the *Iliad* 23, the participle θέοντος has to be interpreted as absolute, even though there is no noun or pronoun in the genitive. Logically the participle refers to the horse, either from four lines before, or on the pronoun ὃ referring to the horse one line before. Nonetheless, neither of these stands in the genitive. The pronoun τοῦ is too far from the participle in terms of contiguity and syntax to be considered the subject of the genitive absolute, as it already fulfils its own function in the clause. The scholia or manuscript variants do not contribute in any way to a different interpretation of this passage.

(45) (*Odyssey* 4.17-19)

(...) μετὰ δέ σφιν ἐμέλπετο θεῖος **ᾠοιδός**

φορμίζων, δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτούς,

μολπῆς **ἐξάρχοντος**, ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσσους.

“(...) and among them stepped **an inspired singer**

playing his lyre, while among the dancers two acrobats,

as he led the song, revolved among them.”

Similarly, in the *Odyssey* 4 the logical subject of the genitive absolute ᾠοιδός is expressed in the preceding lines. The phrase μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντος cannot be a genitive absolute on its own, not only from a semantic and logical point of view, but also from the syntactic perspective, since the verb ἐξάρχω normally takes the genitive, which makes μολπῆς its complement. Moreover, the participle is not agreeing with the noun in gender: the participial form is masculine or neuter, so it cannot refer to μολπῇ which is feminine. In this case, there

are no controversies involving οἱ or any other pronoun which could theoretically be considered a subject of the genitive absolute. However, this passage is thought to not be genuine, possibly an insertion by Aristarchus. This means that it cannot serve as a convincing piece of evidence.⁶⁴

(46) (*Odyssey* 9.458)

τῷ κέ οἱ ἐγκέφαλός γε διὰ σπέος ἄλλυδις ἄλλη

θεινομένου ραίοιτο πρὸς οὐδεῖ, καὶ δέ κ' ἐμὸν κῆρ

λωφῆσειε κακῶν, τά μοι οὐτιδανὸς πόρεν Οὔτις.

“then his brain would be shattered in this way or another all over the cave, **as he is stricken**, to make might heart lighter from the burden of all evils this nidding Nobody gave me.”

The passage in *Odyssey* 9 is significant, because it shows that the participle *θεινομένου* cannot be considered depending on *ἐγκέφαλός* with the meaning “the brain of the stricken one”, as *ἐγκέφαλός* is already accompanied by a pronoun in the possessive function in the dative, οἱ. The scholia or manuscript variants do not provide any further information for the interpretation of this passage. Even if we want to read οὗ instead of οἱ, it does not really allow us to solve this issue. As we have previously seen, the noun and the participle in the genitive absolute can be separated by one or two words, but such distance between them as in this passage would be absolutely exceptional. All these arguments favour the reading of a solitary participle, not accompanied by a noun or a pronoun.

(47) (*Odyssey* 14.526-27)

(...) χαῖρε δ' **Ὀδυσσεύς**,

ὅττι ρά οἱ βιότου περικήδετο νόσφιν **ἐόντος**.

“(...) and Odysseus was happy

that his livelihood was so well cared for **while he was absent**.”

Finally, in the *Odyssey* 14, the subject of the participle is certainly Odysseus. However, he is in no way expressed as a part of the absolute construction. Here again, we encounter the controversy of οἱ and its authenticity. However, like in a previous case, the function of οἱ is

⁶⁴ West (2017) 62: *ath. Sel hariolatus locum ab Ar inferctum esse; Scholia in Odysseam (libri γ-δ):* τερπόμενοι—κατὰ μέσσους φασὶ τοὺς τρεῖς στίχους τούτους μὴ εἶναι τοῦ Ὀμήρου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου.

clearly possessive and is attached to βιότου - “his livelihood”. Neither the scholia nor any manuscript variant show us a different reading of this passage.

This is certainly not the regular usage, but even if we lay aside passages including the problematic οἱ, there remain several convincing examples which are surely already indicative of the relationship between the participle and the noun in the absolute constructions. From the lexical and semantic point of view, all these five passages are different, they are clearly not a variation of a single idiosyncratic construction or a poetic formula. Each time, there are different nouns and verbs involved, the distance between the logical subject of the genitive absolute and the participle also varies - one line in the *Odyssey* 14 and four lines in the *Iliad* 23. In all cases the logical subject of the absolute construction is present earlier in the sentence, but is not expressed immediately with the participle, nor is it in the genitive case. These examples are crucial for our investigation of the relationship between dominant participles and absolute constructions, as they show that in the absolute constructions the participle is the obligatory element and the noun can be omitted, if the meaning is clear enough. This is especially salient in the example (44), where the subject ἵππος is expressed 5 lines before the absolute participle.

To conclude, Homeric Greek provides valuable evidence for our inquiry into the origins of absolute constructions and their status as a type of dominant participles in Indo-European languages. Firstly, we have seen that there is no clear indication within the Homeric material that the genitive absolutes started their life as expressions of natural time. Most frequently, the subject of a genitive absolute are humans expressed by pronouns and personal names. From a syntactic point of view, we have also seen a distinct lack of strict constraints on linearity and contiguity of the elements within a genitive absolute, although the two elements of the construction are usually relatively close to each another. Furthermore, there is a number of examples which show that sometimes the construction does not stand in a complete, syntactic separation from the rest of the sentence and we can hesitate between an absolute and an adnominal interpretation.

In order to find the origins of genitive absolute, we have examined other types of dominant participles, both prepositional and non-prepositional, already existing in Ancient Greek. Although the prepositional type did not prove to be closely related to the genitive absolute, the non-prepositional dominant participles appeared to be a likely candidate for the source of the genitive absolute in Greek. The genitive has a well-established causal meaning and in the right contexts, where the participle expresses the main idea of the phrase, it can easily be reinterpreted as an adverbial modifier, syntactically separate from the rest of the

clause. The causal and temporal semantics are often so close to each other that the semantic extension to temporal and later other meanings is also imaginable.

Finally, we have proposed to test a hypothesis that absolute constructions are a type of dominant participle. Since morphological dominance is out of the question and the semantic dominance is rather uncontroversial in recent literature on the subject, I have aimed to show that the syntactic dominance is also important and justified in the case of Ancient Greek. We examined several examples of genitives absolute with ellipsis of a noun or pronoun and left us with a “one-member” genitive absolute. If we had to answer whether the Homeric Greek proves or disproves the idea of an inherited dominant participle, the response has to be positive. As we are going to see, there might be other languages which confirm much more strongly the link between dominant and absolute constructions, but the Ancient Greek data does not allow us to exclude the existence of dominant participles in Proto-Indo-European.

IV.3. Comparative Section

Since there are no real absolute participles in Hittite, we are going to proceed straight to the Indo-Iranian branch.

IV.3.A. Indo-Iranian

IV.3.A.a. Sanskrit

The absolute constructions exist in the Sanskrit language at all stages of its development. While in Vedic we find only the locative absolute, the construction becomes more productive later on and in the classical language we can also encounter genitive and accusative absolute. Since we are approaching the topic from a comparative point of view, we are most interested in the earliest forms, which have a chance of being inherited. The genitive absolute, however, is also important, as it may provide some clues on the development of genitive absolute in Ancient Greek. If Sanskrit could develop genitive absolute from a regular usage of the case, in theory, so could Ancient Greek. The tense and voice distribution shows certain constraints in the usage of absolute constructions in the *R̥gveda*. There are no future participles, perfect participles are rather isolated, and the present participles are by far the most widespread.⁶⁵

In the consideration of the Sanskrit material, we need to keep in mind the criteria for absolute constructions set up in the beginning, that is dominance, certainly in the semantic sphere. It is easy to fall prey to the enthusiasm for the absolute constructions and consider every locative accompanied by a participle a locative absolute. A locative absolute is only classified as such, if the omission of the participle would render the phrase ungrammatical or would change its meaning. Let us compare these two passages:⁶⁶

(1) (RV 10.21.6ab)

tvā́m yajñéṣu īlaté ágne prayatí adhvaré

“They invoke you at the sacrifices, o Agni, **while the ceremony is proceeding,**”

(2) (RV 8.27.19ab)

⁶⁵ Macdonell (1916) 326-27.

⁶⁶ After Ruppel (2013) 139-40, 154-55.

yát adyá sūrya udyatī priyakṣatrāḥ ṛtām dadhā

“Since today **as the sun was rising** you established truth, o you of dear dominion,”

It becomes immediately clear that in the first example, the meaning of the phrase is determined by the noun - “at the ritual” and the participle is not essential here: whether we say “at the ritual” or “at the ongoing ritual”, the idea of the phrase remains the same. Thus we cannot consider this example to be a locative absolute, even though we could be tempted to translate it with an absolute sense - “as the ritual is ongoing”. The second example is somewhat different, as the phrase would not make as much sense without the participle - it is the rising of the sun which is the essential idea. However, this particular example is discussed by Lowe, who points to the fact that the Sanskrit locative can have a temporal meaning even if used with nouns which do not normally refer to a point in time. In this case, *sūrye* could mean literally “at the time of the sun” so “at daytime”.⁶⁷ Thus, this example is not completely unambiguous and it puts a big question mark at many examples of locatives absolute in the *Ṛgveda*. Nevertheless, our criterion of the semantic dominance of the participle is still valid and for this reason I am of the view that we should treat this and similar examples as absolute. The meaning of the phrase is determined by a participle and it completely changes its sense without it. If we do not accept *sūrya udyatī* as absolute, because *sūrye* exists on its own, we would have to argue that Latin *ab urbe condita* is not a dominant participle, because *ab urbe* exists on its own. The participle does not only modify the noun, but gives the phrase a new meaning. There are, however, several examples of absolute constructions in the *Ṛgveda*, provided by Lowe, where it is impossible to interpret them in a different way.⁶⁸

(3) (RV 4.42.8ab)

asmākam ātra pitāras tā āsan saptā ṛṣayo daurgahé badhyāmāne

“Our forefathers, the Seven Seers, were here, **when Daurgaha was being bound.**”

(4) (RV 1.17.8)

indrā-varuṇa nū nū vām śiṣāsantīṣu dhīsv ā asmābhyam śārma yachatam

⁶⁷ Lowe (2015) 104.

⁶⁸ Lowe (2015) 106.

“Indra and Varuṇa, just now, **while our poetic insights are striving** to win you two”

In neither of these cases can we interpret the locative of the noun as playing a different part in the sentence than that of the locative absolute. The nouns in question, *Daurgahé* and *dhīśú* “thoughts”, cannot be easily analysed as having a temporal reference.

In effect, many absolute and non-absolute groups of locative and a participle are quite similar to each other syntactically and whether we qualify them as absolute or not is a question of interpretation and the adopted criteria.

When speaking of the origins of the locative absolute, most scholars agree that it comes from the regular usage of adverbial locative in the Sanskrit language. Delbrück assumed independent development of absolute constructions in Indo-European languages, including Sanskrit.⁶⁹ Macdonell outlines the process of analogy starting from *uṣāsi* “at dawn” followed by *uchāntyām uṣāsi* “at dawn as it shines forth”, which would then acquire an independent absolute meaning and could be extended to other nouns which could not be used adverbially on their own.⁷⁰ Ruppel argues that in the *Ṛgveda* almost all unambiguous locatives absolute, with a few exceptions, refer to the expressions of natural time, especially sunrise.⁷¹ The particular temporal semantics are rendered by the tense of the participle as in *sūrya údite*, where the past participle gives the phrase a posterior meaning “after the sunrise”. Furthermore, later in the *Brāhmaṇas* there is an additional semantic angle expressed through negation: *anudite sūrye* literally “at the unrisen sun”, so “before sunrise”.⁷²

A brief overview of the Sanskrit genitive absolute is also due, even though it remains a syntactic rarity throughout the history of the language. Being completely absent in from the *Ṛgveda*, it is not going to give us any insight into the history of absolute constructions at the Proto-Indo-European level. Sanskrit absolute genitives have been largely studied already by de Saussure.⁷³ The Sanskrit genitive absolute shows significant lexical limitations, which are not found in the locative absolute. Its subject can only be a person, meaning an animate and intelligent being or a group of beings. The participle is also limited to a small number of verbs, especially *paśyati* “to see”. We can add to that two other verbs with similar meaning, *prekṣati*

⁶⁹ Delbrück (1897) 493-94: *Die absoluten Partizipialkonstruktionen sind zwar für die Urzeit nicht anzunehmen.*

⁷⁰ Macdonell *ibid.*

⁷¹ Ruppel (2013) 153ff.

⁷² Ruppel (2013) *ibid.*

⁷³ de Saussure (1880) 271ff.

and *miṣati*, and finally *śṛṇoti* “to hear”, e.g.:

(5) (MBh. 1 5968) *aham enaṃ haniṣyāmi prekṣantyās te, sumadhyame*

“I shall kill him, **as you are looking**, o graceful woman” (own tr.)

When it comes to the exact origins of the genitive absolute, we cannot pinpoint any one construction which have given rise to the absolute use of the genitive. De Saussure lists as many as six types of genitive constructions where sometimes the genitive could be mistakenly taken as absolute.⁷⁴ These include a partitive genitive which is not completely necessary for the word to which they refer, a genitive of material, a genitive governed by an implicit term, a possessive genitive, adverbial genitive, ambiguous constructions where the noun which governs the participle in the genitive is also the object of its action. It is quite possible that it was not a single construction that was the source of analogy leading to the creation of the genitive absolute, but all these cases together which created an environment where the genitive is repeatedly the case mistakenly taken as absolute. Nevertheless, it does not explain in any way the lexical limitations to this construction outlined earlier. Unfortunately, none of these options are of much help when trying to find a parallel of the Greek genitive absolute.

The Vedic material stands in contrast with other languages presented in this overview. The volume of texts throughout different stages of the development of the language has allowed scholars to study the development of absolute constructions step by step. It is clear that in the earliest poems, in the *R̥gveda*, the locative absolutes stand in parallel with non-absolute, adverbial expressions, either in locative or in other forms. In most cases, they are also semantically limited to the expressions of natural time, most notably sunrise. It is thus difficult to sustain that the construction is particularly old in Vedic. The contrary is true: it seems that locative absolute constructions are at the beginning of their development in Vedic and get more widespread later on in the history of the Sanskrit language. Contrary to many other Indo-European languages mentioned before, there are no dominant participles except absolute constructions if we consider them to be a type of dominant participles, either of the prepositional (*ab Urbe condita*) or the non-prepositional type (*Sicilia amissa*), which is maybe unsurprising given the limited use of prepositions in Sanskrit.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ de Saussure (1922) 293-97.

⁷⁵ Ruppel (2013) 178.

IV.3.A.b. Avestan

If we look at the Avestan evidence, we do find dominant participles of the prepositional type with the preposition *paiti*. *Paiti* can be used to describe the circumstances of an action, translated by Bartholomae into German “bei” - “at”.⁷⁶ When accompanied by a participle and a noun in the ablative, it serves effectively to introduce an absolute construction, as outlined already by Bartholomae. Kellens lists four present participles which are found in this construction, so it is clearly quite limited.⁷⁷

(6) (Young Avestan, *Yast* 15,2 = 7. 11. 15. 19. 23. 27. 31. 35. 39)

*təm yazata daδuuā ahurō mazdā ... frastərətāt paiti barəsmən pərənəbiiō
paiti γžāraiiatbiō*

“le créateur Ahura Mazda lui offrit le sacrifice, **le barəsmən étant étalé, les
(mains) pleines faisant couler (les libations)**” (tr. Kellens)

(7) (Young Avestan, *Afrīnakān* 4,5 = 7)

*yō ... rapiθβinəm ratūm frāiiāzāite ... raociṇtāt paiti āθrāt srāuuaiiāmanāt
paiti ahunāt vairiāt*

“celui qui sacrifierait au ratu de midi, **alors que le feu brille et l’Ahuna
vairiia est récité**” (tr. Kellens)

(8) (Young Avestan, *Vīdēvdād* 9,56 = 13,55)

*para ahmāt yaṭ ... sraosō ašiiō frāiiāzānte θri.aiiarəm θri.xšararəm saociṇtāt
paiti āθrāt*

“avant qu’ils ne sacrifient trois jours et trois nuits à Sraoša accompagné de la
récompense, **alors que le feu brille**” (tr. Kellens)

This piece of evidence is very interesting from the point of view of our inquiry into dominant participles. Contrary to Sanskrit, it shows that, to a limited extent, the Iranian branch shows examples of dominant participles of the type *ab Urbe condita*. Curiously, although the preposition *paiti* can take multiple cases: accusative, genitive, locative, its function as

⁷⁶ Bartholomae (1904) s.v. *paiti*, p. 822-27.

⁷⁷ Kellens (1984) 331, see for all Avestan examples cited and translation.

introducing a dominant participle is limited to the ablative. As we are going to see, it is in one way similar to Gothic, where the particle *at* governs a dative, accompanies dominant participles in the dative case and sometimes appears to have lost its original meaning, being only used to introduce a dative absolute. Avestan is, however, significantly different from Gothic in that it does not show any traces of ablative absolute outside of the *paiti* construction. There is no correspondence between a dominant participle with a preposition and an absolute construction in the same case as the case governed by that preposition.

We have to note that some traces of absolute locative exists in Avestan, but are limited to impersonal verbs and can be explained in multiple ways:

(9) (Young Avestan, *Vīdēvdād* 8,4)

yaṭ ahmi nmāne ... spā vā nā vā iriθiiāṭ vārəṇti vā snaēžiṇti vā brəṇti vā

“si, dans cette maison, un chien ou un homme mourait **alors qu’il pleut, qu’il neige ou qu’il tempête**” (tr. Kellens)

This usage has direct counterpart in Vedic, where participles in the locative singular, unaccompanied by a substantive, are used to describe the meteorological conditions. The subject has been studied in some depth by Rosén in his article on Indo-European impersonal participial constructions. Although he does not mention the Avestan evidence, he comments briefly on the Sanskrit forms of the type *vārṣati* “when it is raining” (e.g. *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 5,4,9).⁷⁸ He explains these forms as an ellipsis of the type found already in the *R̥gveda* where the meteorological condition, often expressed by a noun built on the same root as the participle, serves as the subject of the its own activity e.g. (RV 1.184.1) *ucāntyām uśási* “when the dawn is glowing”, (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. 11,5,69) *vāté vātí* “when the wind blows”.

The Avestan evidence is extremely important and useful to make sense of the Sanskrit material. The traces of a locative absolute in Avestan are particularly interesting. If we agree with Rosén on the hypothesis that these are ellipses of full locative absolutes consisting of a noun and a participle built on the same root, we have to put the creation of absolute constructions back to Proto-Indo-Iranian. It would then survive and develop in Indic and effectively die out in Iranian, preserved in a few fixed, impersonal expressions. Alternatively, we can assume an independent development. Since the two languages are relatively similar, we could imagine them being susceptible to the same syntactic evolutions. If one really wanted to

⁷⁸ Rosén (1988) 98, example after Delbrück (1897) 962.

see locative absolute in Indo-Iranian as inherited from Proto-Indo-European, one would have to assume that the construction remained largely marginal and quite limited for centuries before finally taking off in Vedic and disappearing almost completely in Avestan. I am reluctant to support this position, because it is unlikely that a syntactic construction could have survived this long in a such an undeveloped state and suddenly see such an extensive development in the late Vedic period. It is more probable that the locative absolute really developed in Proto-Indo-Iranian or almost before our eyes in the early Vedic period as a consequence of extensive, but regular, usage of locatives with adverbial, often temporal, function.

So far, we have argued that many Indo-European languages have dominant participles and that dominant participles are a very good candidate for the source of absolute constructions, which do not probably go back to Proto-Indo-European. The question is whether we can fit the Indo-Iranian branch into this hypothesis. It becomes possible with the help of the Avestan evidence. We can posit the existence of dominant participles of the propositional type, as shown in Avestan, which, however, were probably lost in Vedic due to its limited usage of prepositions in general. The state of development of the Vedic locative absolute does not point to its antiquity, but rather makes us suppose that it is in the early stages of its evolution and extension to other cases, like genitive and accusative, as documented in the post-Ṛgvedic stages of Sanskrit. For this reason, the Vedic locative absolute, and the Indo-Iranian family in general, does not present a very strong argument for the reconstruction of absolute constructions back to Proto-Indo-European.

IV.3.B. Latin

Latin plays an extremely important role in the research on dominant and absolute constructions. As I mentioned before, Latinists, like Pinkster or Panhuis, first suggested that the two constructions should be regarded as closely related and that the ablative absolute should be analysed as a type of dominant participle.⁷⁹ Moreover, the Latin expressions *ab Urbe condita* and *Sicilia amissa* have given names to categories of expressions which they represent and are used to describe similar constructions in other languages. We are going to examine the usage of dominant participles and ablative absolutes and evaluate whether Latin provides convincing evidence for the common origin of the two constructions.

The usage of the dominant participle in Latin is largely extended, starting from the earliest texts. The expressions with a dominant participle occur in a multitude of forms, both with various prepositions:⁸⁰

(1) (Cicero, *In Pisonem* 47)

de amissa maxima parte exercitus

“about the **loss of the greatest part** of the army [the greatest part (...) lost]”

(2) (Plautus, *Bacchides* 424)

ante solem exorientem

“before **the rising of the sun** [sun rising]”

(3) (Suetonius, *Domitian* 6,2)

post occisum Antonium

“after **the death of Antonius** [Antonius killed]”

and without prepositions:

(4) (Tacitus, *Annales* 1,8,6)

cum occisus dictator aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum facinus videretur

“when **the dictator’s death** [dictator killed] appeared as the most beautiful

⁷⁹ Pinkster (1990) 117-18; Panhuis (2006) 172.

⁸⁰ Petit (2019) 411-17, examples (1) – (5).

deed to some, and as the worst to others.”

(5) (Cato, *On Agriculture* 38,2)

cinere eruto opus erit

“there will be need of **removing of the ash** [ash removed]”

When we compare these constructions to our standard ablative absolutes, the only differences lie in the addition of the adverbial semantics and in the fact that the construction is not syntactically attached to the rest of the clause:

(6) (Livy 1,25,1)

Foedere icto trigemini arma capiunt.

“**When the treaty was struck**, the three brothers took up arms.”

Anyone familiar with Latin will know that the construction is used with exceptional liberty, not only semantically, but also in respect to the categories of elements involved. A particularity of Latin is that the participle can be replaced by an adjective or another noun, often an agent noun. Firstly, let us look at the standard ablative absolute types:⁸¹

Temporal:

(7) (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 5,2,1)

His confectis Caesar rebus in citeriorem Galliam revertit

“**Having finished these things**, Caesar returns to Hither Gaul”

(own tr.)

Causal:

(8) (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 2,24,4)

Treveri desperatis nostris rebus domum contenderunt

“The Treveri, **despairing of our affairs**, hastened home” (tr. W.S. Bohn),

⁸¹ see Menge (2000) 718-724 for an overview of ablative absolute. Examples drawn from *ibidem*.

Concessive:

(9) (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 2,12,2)

Caesar oppidum paucis defendibus expugnare non potuit

“Cesar could not capture the town **although few defended it**” (own tr.)

Conditional:

(10) (Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 1,4)

Pietate adversus deum sublata fides etiam et societas generis humani tollitur.

“**If the piety towards the gods is abolished**, the loyalty and the union of the human race is destroyed” (own tr.),

Modal:

(11) (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 3,6,5)

Romani nullo hoste prohibente in castra reverterunt

“The Romans have returned to the camp **without the enemy hindering**” (own tr.)

Expressing prepositional phrases:

(12) (Cicero, *De Domo sua ad pontifices* 114)

illis adiuvantibus

“with others helping” (own tr.)

It can also function as a coordinated phrase, e.g.:

(13) (Caesar, *De Bello Civili* 3,8,1)

Militibus expositis naves remittebantur

“**The soldiers were disembarked** and the ships were sent back.” (own tr.)

Finally, let’s see examples of non-participial ablative absolute with an adjective:

(14) (Plautus, *Bacchides* 419)

*non sino, neque equidem illum **me vivo** corrumpi sinam*

“I don’t and I won’t allow him be corrupted **while I’m alive**.” (own tr.),

or with a noun:

(15) (Plautus fr. 24)

*nam **me puero** venter erat solarium*

“For when I was a boy my stomach was a sundial” (tr. Ruppel)

Although the construction is very well-developed in Classical Latin, in Early Latin it is not so much the case, although it could be attributed to the type of texts from this period, which do not lend themselves easily to the usage of absolute constructions. Given that the Latin ablative is a result of the syncretism between the PIE ablative, instrumental and locative, they are mostly of two types: comitative and locative. We can call comitative the type of ablative absolute most prevalent in early comedy: *me praesente*, *me absente*, *me invito*, *me vivo*, which express the circumstances rather than the time at which. **The existence of these constructions is surely linked to the absence of the participle of the verb esse “to be” in Latin.** In contrast, in Cato we mostly find locative ablatives absolute, e.g. *luna silenti* “at new moon”.⁸² Nevertheless, both of these types stem from the regular usage of the ablative case in Latin and are not much different from temporal expressions in the ablative like *vere* “in spring”, *initio* “in the beginning”, or for example:

(16) (Plautus, *Amphitryon* 1093-94)

*invocat deos immortales ut sibi auxilium ferant **manibus puris, capite operto**.*

“She invoked the immortal gods to bring her help **with clean hands and covered head**” (tr. Ruppel)

What is particularly interesting in this passage is that we can see the originally attributive function of the adjective and the participle. However, we can quickly see that both of them are obligatory in this sentence and both are syntactically parallel. They are semantically obligatory, because the phrase **she invoked the gods with hands and head* would not make

⁸² Ruppel (2013) 90-91, 123-24.

much sense. Only with the addition of circumstantial information brought by the adjective and the participle the phrase becomes intelligible. This, however, does not mean that we should treat it as an example of an ablative absolute or a dominant participle. The participial phrase is still syntactically connected with the main clause by the comitative function of the ablative.

When we think of the origins of the absolute constructions in Latin, the question arises whether we should associate them more with the dominant participles or with this kind of obligatory participles. The fundamental difference between the two is that the dominant participle expresses the main idea of the phrase, while the obligatory participle does not. If we think of the phrase *ab Urbe condita*, we could replace *urbe* with a different noun, because the main idea of the phrase is the *founding* of the city or another entity. The case of obligatory participles, like in the example (16), is not parallel. The main idea of the phrase is still *the head* and its attribute is expressed here by a participle, not the *covering* of the head.

Thus the ablative absolute can be viewed as created under the pressure from two directions. Firstly there are dominant participles of the non-prepositional type used in the ablative to express the temporal circumstances of an action. Secondly, there are these instrumental, comitative expressions in the ablative with an obligatory qualifier, like a participle or an adjective, as in examples (14) and (15). We do not have to choose one and exclude the other in the process of the grammaticalisation of the ablative absolute. The existence of an absolute construction, in this case the ablative absolute, and dominant participles is something that is shared by Latin and numerous other Indo-European languages. The particularity of Latin is the widespread existence, already in the earliest literature, of non-participial absolute constructions. It is specifically in this context where the comitative use of obligatory participles offers itself as a likely explanation of their origins.

IV.3.C. Germanic

IV.3.C.a. Gothic

An important piece of evidence comes from the Germanic branch, specifically from Gothic. The fact that Gothic has dative absolute independent from Greek is well-known and uncontroversial, although it has to be noted that its usage is a mix between calques from Greek and genuine Gothic usage. The existence of nominative and accusative absolute has been proved to be unlikely by Costello.⁸³ The important and less known fact about the absolute constructions in Gothic is that the most common type is in reality the *ab Urbe condita* construction, since the datives absolute are very often accompanied by the prepositions *at* “at”. This has been shown by Étienne Baudel in his Master’s dissertation on absolute constructions in Gothic.⁸⁴

(1) (Mark 4,6)

At sunnin þan urrinnadin ufbrann.

καὶ ὅτε ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος ἐκαυματίσθη,

“But **when the sun rose**, it was scorched.”

(2) (Mark 14, 43)

Jah sunsaiw nauhþanuh at imma rodjandin qam Iudas

καὶ εὐθέως ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος παραγίγνεται Ἰούδας

“Immediately, **while He was still speaking**, Judas, came to him.”

The preposition is used to such an extent that it has lost its original meaning and serves only to introduce the absolute construction:

(3) (Luke 6,48)

At garunjon þan waurþanai bistagq ahwa bi jainamma razna.

Compare Ancient Greek: πλημμύρας δὲ γενομένης προσέρρηξεν ὁ ποταμὸς

τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκεῖνῃ

⁸³ Costello (1980) 93-103.

⁸⁴ É. Baudel, (2017) *Les constructions absolues dans la traduction gotique de la Bible : Mise à l'épreuve de l'hypothèse d'un calque linguistique*, p.100.

“When the flood arose, the stream beat vehemently against that house,”

There are of course Gothic dative absolutes used without prepositions, but they are less common. If we compare two passages below, we see that both types can be used interchangeably:

(4) (Mark 1,32)

Andanahtja þan waurþanamma, þan gasaggq sauil, berun du imma allans þans ubil habandans jah unhulfons habandans.

ὥψίας δὲ γενομένης ὅτε ἔδυν ὁ ἥλιος ἔφερον πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας καὶ τοὺς δαιμονιζομένους

“When the evening came, when the sun had set, they brought to Him all who were sick and those who were possessed with demons.”

(5) (Matthew 8,16)

At andanahtja þan waurþanamma, atberun du imma daimonarjans managans.

ὥψίας δὲ γενομένης προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δαιμονιζομένους πολλοὺς

“When the evening came, they brought to Him many who were possessed with demons.”

As we can see, the same participial phrase is used by itself in the first passage and is introduced by the preposition *at* in the second one without any apparent change of meaning.

IV.3.C.b. Other Germanic languages

Due to the scarcity of the data I managed to assemble, I will not divide other Germanic languages into their individual sections. The dative absolute exists also in Old Norse, but is only found in a formal register, for example:⁸⁵

(6) (*Diplomatarium Norvegicum* II.447)

var þetta gort [...] ok innsiglat oss sjalfum hjáverandum

“This letter was composed and sealed **in our own presence**.”

Absolute constructions are relatively frequent in Old English, especially with the dative, but the instrumental is also found.⁸⁶ However, it is important to notice that the vast majority of absolute constructions in Old English are translations of the Latin ablative absolute. There are very few examples of independent usage and even then they are quite probably the result of the indirect Latin influence, for example:

(7) (*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* 202.14)

swapendum windum

ventis ferentibus

“with sweeping winds ”

(8) (*Genesis A* 1584)

Hie þa raðe stopon,

Heora andwlitan in bewrigenum

Under loðum listum ...

“Then they stepped to him at once,

their faces skilfully **covered** in their cloaks,” (tr. Hostetter)

Besides absolute constructions, the prepositional construction is found also in other Germanic languages, with the same limitations “at” + dative, for example in Old Norse:⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Faarlund (2008) 173, with example (6).

⁸⁶ Mitchel (1985) vol. 2, 922ff. with example (7) and (8).

⁸⁷ Petit (2019) 424-25, examples (9) – (12).

(9) (*Poetic Edda, Hárbarzlióð* 58)

at uppvessandi sólu

“when the sun was high”

Old High German with *bi* + dative:

(10) (*Isidor* 38,16-17)

Dher chiuuissso bi sinemu fatere lebendemu bigunsta riihson

“He began to rule when his father was alive”

Old English with *be* +dative:

(11) (*Exodus* 324a)

be him lifigendum

“when he was alive”

Old Frisian *be* +dative:

(12) (*De 17 Kêsten, Fif Wender* (Hunsigoer Handschrift) 17)

be slepanda monnum

“when the men slept”

It is clear that in Germanic, analogically to Latin, the dative absolute and the dominant participles constructions with prepositions are connected. The shared similarities between many Germanic languages would suggest that they are inherited.

IV.3.D. Slavic

The subject of absolute constructions is widely described in the literature. Most old Slavic languages show usage of the dative absolute. We need to stay cautious when exploiting the OCS material especially for syntactic studies for the reasons of an obvious influence of Ancient Greek, especially in the case of absolute constructions which are a staple of Greek syntax. Nevertheless, other Slavic evidence, unaffected by the Ancient Greek, like Old Novgorodian of Novgorod confirms the existence of the dative absolute as a genuine feature of archaic Slavic syntax.

IV.3.D.a. Old Church Slavonic

Let's begin with OCS which is the oldest Slavic language known to us. The dative absolute is often employed to translate the Greek genitive absolute, but there are numerous examples of its independent use. The semantic range of the construction is very wide, but that is surely due to the Greek influence.⁸⁸

Temporal:

(1) (Matthew 14, 32)

i vblězъšema ima vъ korabъ prěsta větrъ

καὶ ἀναβάντων αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ἐκόπασεν ὁ ἄνεμος

“**And when they got into** the boat, the wind ceased.”

Causal:

(2) (Luke 7, 42)

ne imořstema že ima vъzdati oběma ima otъda

μὴ ἔχόντων αὐτῶν ἀποδοῦναι ἀμφοτέροις ἐχαρίσατο.

“**Because they had no money**, he forgave them both.” (own tr.)

⁸⁸ Examples (1) – (9) provided by Večerka (1989) III 187ff.

Concessive meaning:

(3) (John 21,11)

toliku sŕŕtju ne potrŕže sŕ mrŕža

καὶ τοσούτων ὄντων οὐκ ἐσχίσθη τὸ δίκτυον

“**Although there were so many**, the net was not torn.”

Hypothetical:

(4) (Luke 21, 28)

načinajŕstemŕ že simŕ byvati vŕsklonite sŕ

ἀρχομένων δὲ τούτων γίνεσθαι

“**When these things begin** to happen,”

Consecutive:

(5) (Luke 21, 25-26)

i bŕdŕtŕ znamenŕŕ (...) izdychajŕstemŕ °čkomŕ otŕ stracha

Καὶ ἔσονται σημεῖα (...) ἀποψυχόντων ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ φόβου

“There will be signs (...) **men fainting** from fear;”

However, the dative absolute is also used to translate other Greek expressions, like the Greek ἐν τῷ plus infinitive, e.g.

(6) (Luke 9, 34)

uboŕŕže že sŕ. vŕŕŕdŕŕstemŕ že imŕ vŕ oblakŕ

ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ ἐν τῷ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν νεφέλην

“They were afraid **as they entered** the cloud”

Another example is the Greek accusative plus infinitive construction, which can also be translated with a dative absolute in Old Church Slavonic:

(7) (Mark 2, 23)

i bystŕ mimo chodŕŕtu emu. vŕ sŕboty skveozŕ ŕŕniŕ. i načŕsŕ učenici ego

pqtb tvoriti v̋str̋gajōšte klasy καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν
παραπορεύεσθαι διὰ τῶν σπορίμων, καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἤρξαντο ὁδὸν
ποιεῖν

“He went through the grain fields on the Sabbath. **As they went**, His disciples
began to pluck the heads of grain.”

This could mean that the speakers of Old Church Slavonic were comfortable enough with the dative absolute to use it to translate particular Greek constructions which did not exist in OCS.

However, the dative absolute is not the only absolute construction present in the Old Church Slavonic - Večerka speaks of a nominative absolute of two types.⁸⁹ Firstly, we find clauses where a participle in the nominative has no reference in the neighbouring clause, e.g.:

(8) (*Codex Suprasliensis* 145.25-29)

*i udariv̋še v̋ dv̋ri aky qrodujōšte č'to. otvr̋z̋b̋ jedin̋ ot̋ bratiję. uvěděti
chotę čto chotętb̋. abije v̋skočišę bezakon̋nici*

καὶ κρούσαντες τὴν θύραν ὥς ἐπὶ ἀποκρίσει τινὶ καὶ ἀνοίξαντος ἐνὸς τῶν
ἀδελφῶν ... εὐθέως εἰσεπήδησαν οἱ ἄνομοι;

“They knocked on the door and one of the brothers opened in answer... the
criminals burst in straight away.” (own tr. from Ancient Greek)

Secondly, there are clauses where there is reference point for the participle, which is often its actual subject/agent, but which acts as a subordinate element of the clause in an oblique case, e.g.:

(9) (*Codex Suprasliensis* 69.17-18)

si v̋si jęti byv̋še ot̋ vojevod̋ (sic! pro vojevody). *nuždaachq̋ ję žrb̋ti
bēsom̋*

οὗτοι πάντες κρατηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἠναγκάζοντο θύειν τοῖς
δαίμοσιν

“All those who were governed by the ruler were forced to offer sacrifice to
the spirits.” (own tr. from Ancient Greek)

⁸⁹ Večerka (1989) vol. 3, 184-86.

The nominative absolute is found, however, in later texts, not in the earliest forms of OCS, so their historical importance is questionable. Furthermore, we enter here in the territory of parenthetic syntax, so like in the case of Hittite and Latin, there is no reason to consider these constructions absolute in the same way as those in oblique cases. Furthermore, in the later phases of the language, the nominative becomes fixed and begins to turn into the gerundive.

IV.3.D.b. Old Novgorodian & al.

When we look to other Slavic languages, we do find dative absolute in Old Novgorodian and in Old Czech, although the latter is a clear calque of Latin ablative absolute.⁹⁰ The Old Novgorodian of Novgorod is especially precious for syntactic research, because it is free of Greek influence and in most cases gives an insight into the genuine Slavic syntax. However, we have to keep in mind Old Church Slavonic could have had some influence on the language, so we cannot be completely sure that it represents the original, uninfluenced Slavic constructions. Thus in Old Novgorodian we find:

(10) (*Laurentian codex* 99)

i byvšu večeru, vьslasta otroky svojě v gorodъ

“**et quand ce fut le soir**, ils envoyèrent leurs hommes dans la ville” (tr. Le Feuvre)

The dative absolute can be found coordinated with another subordinate clause in the indicative:

(11) (*Laurentian codex* 101v)

Анѣдрѣјеви же не могушчу suprotiviti[s'a] imъ, a ot bratъji ne bystъ jemu pomošči

“**comme Andrej ne pouvait pas** leur tenir tête, et qu’il n’avait aucune aide de ses frères” (tr. Le Feuvre)

The Slavic branch, although late in comparison to other Indo-European families, provides valuable evidence. The dative absolute is attested in multiple old Slavic languages,⁹¹ and even though it has often been accused of being a mere copy of the Greek construction, it is surely a genuine feature of the Slavic syntax. Its usage might have been artificially increased by translations of religious texts from Latin and Greek, but its existence should not be disputed

We do not find any traces of dominant participles in Slavic languages, either of the prepositional type or the non-prepositional type. However, looking at the bigger picture, the

⁹⁰ Le Feuvre (2017) 103: Old Novgorodian examples; Vaillant (1977) V 91: Old Czech example.

⁹¹ Next to the ones mentioned in this section there are also some instances in Old Czech, but they are quite clearly calqued from Latin.

fact that Slavic languages, which did not undergo extensive case syncretism, display the dative as their *casus absolutus* is an important argument against the reconstruction of one single absolute case for Proto-Indo-European. The fact that they share the dative with Baltic and Germanic may suggest a geographic distribution, that is a dialectal subgroup within Indo-European languages. This topic, however, goes beyond the scope of this thesis. If we want to maintain that dominant participles, in multiple cases, were a feature of Proto-Indo-European syntax, the Slavic evidence could signify that the “Northern” families, Germanic and Balto-Slavic, simply generalised and grammaticalised the dative as their default dominant participle case, which we find today in absolute constructions of these languages.

IV.3.E. Lithuanian

We know that Old Lithuanian has both absolute constructions, dative absolutes and prepositional participial expressions of the *ab Urbe condita* type. The important evidence for the antiquity of absolute constructions in Baltic is the fact that the dative absolute appears not only in religious writings, where it could have been influenced by classical languages, but also in folklore songs.⁹² The two have evolved in the same way having changed the inflected participial form to an invariable gerundive.⁹³

Dative absolute:

(1) (Jonas Bretkūnas *Postilla* 1591: II 10₂₃)

Ir regintiemus aniemus ghissai ussenge danguna.

“And, as they were looking, he pointed at the sky”

Gerundive:

(2) (Jonas Bretkūnas *Postilla* 1591: II 303₉)

Ghi ischtiefos sawa schirdije Diewui padedant su iū sussirakūiessi.

“In truth, in her heart, with God’s help [as God was helping], he agreed with him”

Ab Urbe condita constructions in Old Lithuanian are the most frequent with the preposition *iki* “to, until”.⁹⁴

(3) (Jonas Bretkūnas *Postilla* 1591: I 129₁₁)

*Nei wel tassai budas turreia ilgiaus issilaikiti tiktai **ikki atenczem**
Messioschui*

“This behaviour should not have been sustained any longer, **just until the Messiah’s arrival** [Messiah arriving]”

There are also examples with other prepositions: *nèt* “until” or *prieg* “before, next to”.

⁹² Ambrazas (1990) 171.

⁹³ On dative absolute in modern Lithuanian see Ambrazas (1997) 264.

⁹⁴ Petit (2019) 400, with example (1) - (3).

It shows that like Latin and Germanic, Baltic is another group where we find not only absolute constructions, but also dominant participles in prepositional phrases. Furthermore, they undergo the same transformation from the dative to the gerundive in the history of the Lithuanian language, so they are not to be treated in isolation from each other.

IV.4. Conclusions

In the treatment of absolute constructions in Indo-European languages, one has to start with the notion of the dominant participle. I have tried to show that in multiple languages the dominant participle is old and in some cases can be seen as the basis of absolute constructions. It seems to be the case for both Latin and Germanic. The Greek is more problematic in that the participial constructions of the *ab Urbe condita* type appear in Homer, but are quite rare. They become more common in Classical Greek. However, if we look closely at the notion of dominance in linguistics, there is a lot of evidence that the Greek genitive absolute can be analysed as a type of dominant participles: in principle the participle expressed the leading idea of the phrase and there are several examples showing that it is the obligatory element of the genitive absolute construction with the ellipsis of the noun. The Sanskrit locative absolute, which is sometimes claimed to be the inherited Indo-European construction, seems to be a relatively new invention in the Vedic Sanskrit and gets developed further in the later stages of the language. The evidence of Germanic, Slavic and Baltic is, as usual, tainted by the influence of classical languages, Latin and Greek. While it is entirely possible that the extension of the use of absolute constructions was increased because of it, it is also quite sure that the absolute constructions had already existed in these languages. Furthermore, in many languages possessing absolute constructions, with the exception of Vedic and Slavic, we have also found dominant participles. As I have attempted to show, absolute constructions can be considered a subtype of dominant participles. For these reasons I propose that instead of trying to reconstruct the absolute constructions for Proto-Indo-European and to find the original *casus absolutus*, we should rather reconstruct constructions with the dominant participles. This would mean that there was no one case for absolute constructions and that they could be used in multiple cases and with multiple prepositions depending on the context. Absolute constructions would be then grammaticalisations of specific usages of dominant participles with specific semantics.

V. Completive Participles

V.1. Introduction

The completive participles, sometimes also called supplementary,¹ are a type of participles which complement the meaning of the main verb: the meaning of the verbal action would not be complete without the participle. Aside from this semantic classification, Rijksbaron takes a syntactic approach and calls these participles “obligatory constituents” of the phrase.² That means that the participle functions as an argument of the verb. We are going to see examples where theoretically the participle could have been omitted, but it would radically change the meaning of the phrase and as it stands the participle is the verbal argument. The semantic and syntactic approaches are complementary and do not stand in opposition to each other.

From the syntactic point of view, there are fundamentally two types of completive participles: auto-referential and hetero-referential. In the first case, the participle refers to the subject of the main verb. In this context, the participle comes quite close to the usage of the infinitive. This construction is sometimes called *nominativus cum participio*.³ In the second kind, the participle refers to the object of the main verb and thus the construction is often described as *accusativus cum participio*.⁴ In this chapter we are going to come back to the concept of dominant participles from the previous chapter, since *accusativus cum participio* is another variant of this construction.⁵

In this chapter I shall discuss the usage of completive participles, most importantly the semantic classes of verbs which take this type of participial complementation. An important aspect of the syntax of completive participles is their competition with other types of complementation, which I am going to explore next. In the following section, I shall compare my results with other major, ancient Indo-European languages, as in the previous chapters.

¹ Goodwin (1892) 339 ; Smyth (1920) 465ff. ; in the French tradition one refers to *participe attribut*, see Ragon (1929) 322ff.

² Rijksbaron (2002) 117ff.

³ Rijksbaron (2002) 119.

⁴ Rijksbaron (2002) 118; Lühr (2008) 129.

⁵ Denizot (2017) 30.

V.2. Homeric Greek

The participial complementation is particularly well developed in Ancient Greek. Both auto- and hetero-referential participles can be widely found. Their syntax in Classical Greek has long been well described and analysed in the standard grammars.¹ They are described in less detail when it comes to Homeric Greek.

In the definition of the completive phrase I am following De Boel who writes:

*On peut définir la proposition complétive, d'un point de vue syntaxique, par sa capacité d'occuper dans la phrase des positions qui sont celles du substantif, et, d'un point de vue sémantique, par le fait qu'elle constitue un argument du verbe.*²

This type is not especially widespread in Homer, but it is clear that it is already used with a wide variety of predicate classes, as already listed by Kühner or Cooper.³ By far the most common category of verbs which take a participial secondary predicate are the verbs of physical perception in the *accusativus cum participio* construction, for example:

(1) (*Iliad* 3.305-07)

ἦτοι ἐγὼν εἶμι προτὶ Ἴλιον ἠνεμόεσσιν

ἄψ, ἐπεὶ οὐ πῶ τλήσομ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν **ὀρᾷσθαι**

μαρνάμενον φίλον υἱὸν ἀρηϊφύλῳ Μενελάῳ:

"Now I am going away to windy Ilion, homeward,

since I cannot **look** with these eyes **on** the sight of **my dear son**

fighting against warlike Menelaos in single combat."

(2) (*Iliad* 5.711-12 = 7.18-19)

τοὺς δ' ὥς οὖν **ἐνόησε** θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη

Ἀργείους ὀλέκοντας ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὕσμίνῃ

"And now as the goddess Hera of the white arms **perceived** how

¹ See the relevant sections in Kühner-Gerth (1898) 613ff. and Schwyzler (1939) 392ff.

² De Boel (1991) 53.

³ Kühner & Gerth (1898) vol. II 50ff.; Cooper (2002) 2550ff.

the Argives were perishing in the strong encounter"

When the verb takes the genitive as its object, we can speak of *genetivus cum participio*, although it is essentially the same construction:

(3) (*Odyssey* 4.746-48)

(...) ἐμεῦ δ' ἔλετο μέγαν ὄρκον

μὴ πρὶν σοὶ ἐρέειν, πρὶν δωδεκάτην γε γενέσθαι

ἢ σ' αὐτὴν ποθέσαι καὶ ἀφορμηθέντος ἀκοῦσαι,

"(...) but he took a great oath from me

never to tell you of it until it came to the twelfth day,

or until you might miss him yourself or **hear he was absent**"

Having discussed in detail the notion of dominant participle in the previous chapter I shall not repeat the same criteria here. It is quite clear that in all of these examples the participle expresses the main idea of the phrase and is essential to the meaning of the phrase.

We can also add to this list an example of a participle governed by a verb of rather intellectual perception, γινώσκω. This verb is accompanied by the participle multiple times in the Homeric poems, but the function of the participle is variable. The completive function can be exemplified by:

(4) (*Iliad* 6.191-92)

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ γίγνωσκε θεοῦ γόνον ἦν ἐόντα

αὐτοῦ μιν κατέρυκε,

"The when the king **knew him for the powerful stock of the god,**

he detained him there"

In this case, we can consider the participle, ἐόντα, a completive participle, because it functions as an object clause, an equivalent to a *that*-clause or the *accusativus cum infinitivo* clause. This shows that not only the verbs of physical, but also of intellectual perception can be complemented by a participial clause. The same can be said about the verb πυνθάνομαι in the example below:

(5) (*Iliad* 13.521-22)

οὐδ' ἄρα πώ τι πέπυστο βριήπουος ὄβριμος Ἄρης
 υἱὸς ἑοῖο πεσόντος ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὕσμινῃ,
 "But Ares the huge and bellowing had yet **heard nothing**
of how his son had fallen there in strong encounter"

Here again the participle, this time in the genitive, as governed by the verb, functions as an object clause. In both of the examples above we may refer to the dominant participles. Semantically, the main idea of the phrase is expressed by the participle. We understand that Ares did not learn of his son doing something, but that Ares learned about the fall of his son.

Sonia Cristofaro describes how the participial complementation of the verbs of sensory perception served as a model for extending it to the knowledge predicates.⁴ In Homer, if the knowledge predicate refers to an entity, like in the case of example (5), it can take a participle as a complement. However, if it refers to some state of affairs, rather than knowledge or the acquisition of knowledge, it regularly takes a clausal complement with a finite verb in the indicative. Compare:

(6) (*Odyssey* 4.832-33)
 εἰ δ' ἄγε μοι καὶ κεῖνον οἰζυρὸν κατάλεξον,
 ἧ που ἔτι ζῶει καὶ ὄρᾳ φάος ἠελίοιο,
 "come then, tell me of that other misfortune, tell me
whether he still lives and looks upon the sun's shining,"

(7) (*Iliad* 1.70)
 ὃς ἤδη τὰ τ' ἐόντα τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα,⁵
 "who knew **all things that were, the things to come and the things past,**"

The fundamental difference between the knowledge of an entity and the knowledge of the state of affairs, as described by Cristofaro, is that they entail different things, e.g.:

⁴ Cristofaro (2012) 340ff.

⁵ Examples (6) and (7) after Cristofaro (2012) 341-42.

(8)

- a. *The woman saw him go out*
- b. *The woman saw him*
- c. *I know they have formed a partnership*
- d. *I know them*⁶

In the example (8) a entails b, but c does not entail d. Although the verbs of perception provide a model of extending the participial complementation to the verbs of knowledge, I have not found a single example of such complementation in my Homeric corpus. The examples (4) and (5) are perfectly grammatical, because their entailments are the same as the entailments of the verbs of perception, and thus there is not much syntactic difference between them.

It also comes as no surprise that the verbs of perception are the most frequent governing verbs of the completive participles. Given that the participles in their most basic usage express a given verbal property of their subject, the verbs of sensory perception seem to be an easy place to start using participial complementation, compared to other predicate classes, which we are going to see in the following sections.

The next type of verbs which take a participial complement are the verbs of finding. We find numerous examples of participial complementation with εὕρισκω "to find" and with other verbs, like κιχάνω whose basic meaning is "to reach, to hit", but in a given context must semantically come close to εὕρισκω, e.g.:

(9) (*Odyssey* 2.299-300)

εὔρε δ' ἄρα μνηστῆρας ἀγήνορας ἐν μεγάροισιν,
αἵγας ἀνιεμένους σιάλους θ' εὔοντας ἐν αὐλῇ
"He **came upon** the haughty **suitors**, there in his palace,
skinning goats and **singeing** fatted swine in the courtyard"

(10) (*Iliad* 1.26-27)

μή σε γέρον κοίλῃσιν ἐγὼ παρὰ νηυσὶ κιχείω
ἢ νῦν δηθύνοντ' ἢ ὕστερον αὖτις ἰόντα
"Never let me find you again, old sir, near our hollow

⁶ Cristofaro (2012) 341.

ships, neither **lingering** now nor **coming again** hereafter."

It is clear that this category of predicates comes very close, semantically and syntactically, to the verbs of sensory perception. "To find something" means to "spot something with one's eyes". It also follows the same pattern of entailments: "He came upon the suitors skinning" entails "He came upon the suitors". Thus it comes as no surprise that the verbs of finding are the second most frequent predicate class of phrases with completive participles, as their syntax could easily be modelled after the verbs of perception.

Up until now, we have seen completive participles used with the transitive verbs and thus agreeing with the object of these verbs. Now, the verbs are intransitive and thus the participle agrees with the subject of the verb, which makes it autoreferential. The syntax of these participles is completely different than that of the preceding ones. While those above competed with phrasal complementation, these below could compete with infinitival complementation. We can start with the verbs of beginning and stopping:

(11) (*Iliad* 2.378)

ἐγὼ δ' ἤρχον χαλεπαίνων:

"and **I was the first to be angry**"

The pattern of distribution of the participial and infinitival complementation has already been explained by Chantraine: ἄρχω or ἄρχομαι with the infinitive has the meaning of "to take the initiative of", while with the participle it rather signifies "to do something first" with the idea of continuity.⁷

(12) (*Odyssey* 8.87 = *Iliad* 9.191)

ἦ τοι ὅτε λήξειεν ἀείδων θεῖος ἀοιδός,

"and every time the divine singer **would pause in his singing**"

(13) (*Odyssey* 12.400=426)

καὶ τότε ἔπειτ' ἄνεμος μὲν ἐπαύσατο λαίλαπι θύων,

"Then at last the wind **ceased** from its stormy **blowing**"

⁷ Chantraine (1953) 328: (*Iliad* 2.378) ἐγὼ δ' ἤρχον χαλεπαίνων: "and I was the first to be angry".

(14) (*Odyssey* 14.196-97)

ῥῆϊδίως κεν ἔπειτα καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἅπαντα

οὐ τι διαπρήξαιμι λέγων ἐμὰ κήδεα θυμοῦ,

"then easily I could go on for the whole year, and still **not finish the story** of my heart's tribulations,"

A very similar syntactic construction occurs after the verbs of feeling (*verba affectuum*), for example the verbs of joy and the verbs of distress:

(15) (*Iliad* 24.704-06)

ὄψεσθε Τρῶες καὶ Τρωάδες Ἑκτορ' ἰόντες,

εἴ ποτε καὶ **ζῶοντι** μάχης **ἐκνοστήσαντι**

χαίρετ', ἐπεὶ μέγα χάρμα πόλει τ' ἦν παντί τε δήμῳ.

"Come, men of Troy and Trojan women; look upon Hektor if ever before you **were joyful when you saw him come back living** from battle; for he was a great joy to his city, and all his people."

(16) (*Odyssey* 1.60-62)

οὐ νύ τ' Ὀδυσσεὺς

Ἀργείων παρὰ νηυσὶ **χαρίζετο** ἱερὰ **ῥέζων**

Τροίῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ;

"Did not Odysseus **do you grace** by the ships of the Argives, **making sacrifice** in wide Troy?"

(17) (*Odyssey* 4.193-94)

καὶ νῦν, εἴ τί που ἔστι, πίθοιό μοι: οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γε

τέρπομ' ὀδυρόμενος μεταδόρπιος,

"So now, if it may be, would you do me a favor? For my part **I have no joy in tears** after dinner time."

(18) (*Iliad* 24.401-04)

νῦν δ' ἤλθον πεδίον δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν: ἠῶθεν γὰρ

θήσονται περὶ ἄστρῳ μάχην ἐλίκωπες Ἀχαιοί.

ἀσχαλόωσι γὰρ οἷδε **καθήμενοι**, οὐδὲ δύνανται

ἴσχειν ἐσσυμένους πολέμου βασιλῆες Ἀχαιῶν.

"**They chafe from sitting here** too long, nor have the Achaians'

kings the strength to hold them back as they break for the fighting."

In each of these cases, the participle is an argument of the main verb. Interestingly, we can observe here two types of constructions, syntactically separate. When the verb refers to the subject, e.g. rejoicing at doing something, the participle takes the nominative case as in the examples (17) and (18). However, when the verb refers to a different entity, e.g. rejoicing at someone doing something, the participle appears in the dative, like in the example (15). Even though the participle describes Hector, whose name stands in the accusative, the participle follows the verbal agreement. This shows that the participle does not simply modify the noun which it refers to, but becomes an argument of the verb phrase. In the example (18) the context and the meaning strongly suggest that οἷδε refers to Ἀχαιοί from the preceding line and the participle is the argument of the main verb, which fits very well semantically.

Another type of verb which takes the participles as their complement are the verbs expressing the notion of will or effort, like "to endure":⁸

(19) (*Odyssey* 20.311)

ἀλλ' ἔμπηξ τάδε μὲν καὶ **τέτλαμεν** εἰσορόωντες

"Even so, **we had to look on this and endure it**"

(20) (*Odyssey* 24.162-63)

αὐτὰρ ὁ τῆος ἐτόλμα ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν εἶοῖσι

βαλλόμενος καὶ ἐνισσόμενος τετληότι θυμῷ:

"[Odysseus] nevertheless, **endured** for the time with steadfast spirit

to be pelted with missiles and harshly spoken to in his own palace;"

(21) (*Odyssey* 16.277)

(...) σὺ δ' εἰσορόων **ἀνέχεσθαι**.

⁸ Chantraine (1953) 328.

"you must still **look on and endure it**"

It is difficult to maintain that there was a competition between participial and infinitival complementation for this verb, as there are no instances of ἀνέχω with infinitive in Homer. Nevertheless, the infinitival complementation has become possible in the Classical language.⁹

Homeric Greek knows isolated cases of completive participles with verbs of saying, especially when the proposition is very close to reality, e.g.:

(22) (*Odyssey* 23.1-2 = 19.477 = 23.71)

γρηῦς δ' εἰς ὑπερῷ' ἀνεβήσετο καγχαλόωσα,

δεσποίνῃ ἐρέουσα φίλον πόσιν ἔνδον ἐόντα:

"The old woman, laughing loudly, went to the upper chamber

to tell her mistress that her beloved husband was inside the house."

Similarly, with the verbs expressing opinion, the participle is rather exceptional and the infinitive is much more regular, but we can already find some examples in Homer, as in the following example where Chantraine claims that αἰσχυνόμενοι depends on οἶόμεθα:¹⁰

(23) (*Odyssey* 21.322-23)

οὐ τί σε τόνδ' ἄξεσθαι **οἶόμεθ'**: οὐδὲ ἔοικεν:

ἀλλ' **αἰσχυνόμενοι** φάτιν ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν,

"We do not think that he will take you away. This is not likely.

But **we are ashed** to face the talk of the men and the women,"

Some grammars, like the one of Kühner, also mention the verbs of coming and going, e.g.:¹¹

(24) (*Iliad* 2.664-65)

αἶψα δὲ νῆας ἔπηξε, πολὺν δ' ὃ γε λαὸν ἀγείρας

βῆ φεύγων ἐπὶ πόντον:

⁹ LSJ s.v. ἀνέχω, e.g. (Cratinus 311) κοκκύζειν τὸν ἀλεκτρυόν' οὐκ ἀνέχονται.

¹⁰ Chantraine (1953) 328.

¹¹ Kühner & Gerth (1898) 622.

"And once he put ships together and assembled a host of people, and **went fugitive** over the sea"

However, it is not at all clear to me why we should consider this usage as an example of secondary participial predication, rather than the participle of manner, describing the way the activity is performed. We can see the superficial similarity with other verb classes listed above, but both from the syntactic and semantic point of view, this is clearly not the same construction. The participle does not function as an argument of the main verb, but it describes the manner in which the action is performed.

Finally, there is semantically heterogeneous group of verbs which take a participle as their argument:

(25) (*Iliad* 23.465-66)

ἦε τὸν ἡνίοχον φύγον ἡνία, οὐδὲ δυνάσθη
εὖ σχεθέειν περὶ τέρμα καὶ οὐκ ἐτύχησεν ἐλίξας:

"But it must be that reins got away from the charioteer, or he could not hold them well in hand at the goal and **failed to double the turn-post.**"

This is a rare example of an aorist participle in the completive usage. The meaning of the verb here is clearly "to succeed", which Cooper considers to be more archaic than the Classical Greek "to happen to be doing something".¹² Τυγχάνω can take both present and aorist participles, so it is not fully understandable why we see the aorist in this specific context. One can never exclude metrical reasons.

Another verb that takes a participle is ἔοικα:

(26) (*Iliad* 23.429-30)

ὥς ἔφατ', Ἀντίλοχος δ' ἔτι καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔλαυνε
κέντρῳ ἐπισπέρχων ὥς οὐκ αἶτοντι ἐοικώς.

"So he spoke, but Antilochos drove on all the harder with a whiplash for greater speed, **as if he had never heard him.**"

¹² Cooper (2002) 2550.

This is a controversial construction. While it is true that the verb, here also in the participial form, takes a participle in the dative as its argument, it can be argued that it is just a substantive participle used in place of the noun.¹³

¹³ Cooper (2002) 2555.

V.2.A. Competition with other types of complementation

Of course, the participle did not function in a syntactic vacuum. There were several semantically synonymous constructions competing with each other in some areas of syntax. In the following section, I am going to discuss the competing constructions, trying to determine the possible reasons for choosing one over the other.

Depending on the verb, the most common competing constructions are infinitives and subordinate clauses. The types of verbs which offer the greatest syntactic diversity in this respect are the verbs of speaking and thinking. As we have already seen in example (22) in the previous section, it is well possible in Homer to encounter a participle following a verb of speaking. However, much more often we find *accusativus cum infinitivo* or a clausal complementation introduced by ὅτι, ὅ, ὁ τε or ὥς.¹⁴

(27) (*Iliad* 17.655)

εἰπεῖν ὅτι ῥά οἱ πολὺ φίλτατος ὤλεθ' ἑταῖρος.

"to tell him that one who was far the dearest of his companions has fallen."

(tr. modified from Lattimore)

(28) (*Iliad* 5.638-39)

ἀλλ' οἷόν τινά φασι βίην Ἡρακλεΐην / εἶναι

"such men as, they say, was the great strength of Herakles,"

Furthermore, we have the verbs of supporting and suffering, which have already been demonstrated to sometimes take a participle. However, the more frequent construction is with infinitives:

(29) (*Iliad* 8.423-24)

ἀλλὰ σύ γ' αἰνοτάτη κύον ἀδελὸς εἰ ἐτεόν γε

τολμήσεις Διὸς ἅντα πελώριον ἔγχος ἀεῖραι.

"Yes, you, bold brazen wench, are audacious indeed, if truly

you **dare to lift up** your gigantic spear in the face of your father."

¹⁴ Chantraine (1953) 288.

V.2.A.a. Case study 1: the syntax of ὁράω

As we have seen, the most frequent usage of the semi-predicative participle is associated with the verbs of sensory perception. Thus I have conducted a comprehensive overview of the type of complementation of the verb ὁράω - "to see", as I have examined every attestation of this verb in the Homeric epics. As expected, in most cases ὁράω takes a noun phrase as its argument. However, I have found eighty four examples in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* where ὁράω is complemented either with a participle, a clause, or a different construction like *accusativus cum infinitivo*.

I set out to establish what is the default form of complementation for the verb ὁράω. It appears that in seventy cases out of eighty four we find a participial phrase. This predominance of participial syntax shows to what an extent it has been developed in Ancient Greek already in the Homeric language. The explanation of this is quite simple and showcases how the participles became so widespread in the Greek language. We have to start with the fact that in the vast majority of cases - 513 out of 597 - the verb ὁράω is only followed by a noun phrase, e.g.:

(30) (*Iliad* 1.203)

ἢ ἵνα ὕβριν ἴδῃ Ἀγαμέμνωνος Ἀτρεΐδαι;

"Is it that **you may see the outrageousness** of son of Atreus Agamemnon?"

By adding a participle modifying a noun phrase, the syntax remains practically unchanged, but the semantics of the expression is equivalent to a subordinate clause, e.g.:

(31) (*Iliad* 1.600)

(...) ὥς ἴδον Ἥφαιστον διὰ δώματα ποιπνύοντα.

"(...) as **they saw Hephaestus bustling** about the palace."

διὰ δώματα ποιπνύοντα functions here as an adjunct, as it is not an obligatory part of the sentence.

There are syntactic alternatives to this construction, for example a *that*-clause:

(32) (*Iliad* 8.251)

οἱ δ' ὥς οὖν εἶδονθ' ὃ τ' ἄρ' ἐκ Διὸς ἦλυθεν ὄρνις

"They, when **they saw that the bird came** from Zeus" (own tr.)

Here the verb εἶδοντο from εἶδον, a suppletive aorist form of ὁράω, is followed by a clausal complement. There is no noun phrase in the accusative which could be modified with a participle. This construction is, however, still very rare in Homer. In fact, this is the only example where this type clausal complementation of ὁράω is clear and unambiguous.

A different type of clause which can complement ὁράω is the prohibitive type with μή, for example:

(33) (*Odyssey* 24.491)

ἐξελθὼν τις ἴδοι μὴ δὴ σχεδὼν ὤσι κιόντες.

"Let someone go out and **see if they are approaching.**"

In this case again, this is the only Homeric example of this construction with the verb in question.

Finally, there is an option to render the same meaning through *accusativus cum infinitivo*, of which I have also found only one example with ὁράω in Homer:

(34) (*Iliad* 10.48-49)

οὐ γάρ πω ἰδόμην, οὐδ' ἔκλυον αὐδήσαντος

ἄνδρ' ἓνα τοσσάδε μέρμερ' ἐπ' ἥματι μητίσασθαι

"No, for I never **saw** nor **heard** from the lips of another **that** a single **man** in a day **imagined** so much evil" (own tr.)

It is, however, important to notice the presence of the verb ἔκλυον from κλύω "to hear" in the same sentence. Even though the two verbs are coordinated, the latter could have imposed its syntax on the following phrases. Given the fact that there are no other attestations of ὁράω complemented by *accusativus cum infinitivo*, this example seems quite unreliable.

Through a purely quantitative overview, we see that clausal complementation of ὁράω is very rare in Homer. In the vast majority of cases, there is no verbal complementation, but there is a substantial number of examples where a noun phrases is modified by a participle, semantically adding a verbal component. If we were to draw diachronic conclusions from this image of the syntax of ὁράω, we would say that the default and probably the most archaic way

to express the action performed by the object of ὁράω is by adding a participle to that object, and that the clausal complementation is just starting to develop in the Homeric era. The issue which has to be highlighted is that these constructions can be equivalent semantically, e.g. “I see him cooking” is synonymous to “I see that he is cooking”, but they are quite different syntactically. In the participial construction the participle is normally not obligatory, the phrase remains grammatical if we remove it, e.g. “I see him”, which is not exactly true for the clausal complementation - it is ungrammatical to say “*I see that”, in the case of that being a complementizer, or “*I see that he”. This short overview is not enough to make such strong claims for the development of Greek syntax, but it is certainly true for the state of the Homeric language.

V.2.A.b. Case study 2: the syntax of χαίρω and τέρπω

Another case study which I have conducted is the syntax of two verbs of emotions: χαίρω "to take pleasure, to enjoy" and τέρπω "to take delight". The goal is to establish firstly what is the default way in Homeric Greek to say "I enjoy an action" or "I take delight in an action" and secondly, to what extent there is a syntactic competition in the complementation of these verbs. Starting with χαίρω, there are 106 occurrences of this verb in Homer. In the majority of cases, the verb is used on its own with the meaning "to rejoice", for example:

(35) (*Iliad* 1.158)

ἀλλὰ σοὶ ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδὲς ἄμ' ἐσπόμεθ' ὄφρα σὺ χαίρης

"O great shamelessness, we followed, **to do you favor**"

or with an indirect object in the dative "to rejoice in", for example:

(36) (*Iliad* 7.311-12)

Αἴαντ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ

εἰς Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον ἄγον **κεχαρηότα νίκη**.

"On the other side the strong-greaved Achaians

led Aias, **happy in his victory**, to great Agamemnon:"

However, in 25 cases the verb is followed by a verbal form, which by far most frequently is a participle. Now, to what extent we may treat them as a form of complementation, rather than a usage of circumstantial, temporal participles, is often a question of interpretation and varies from case to case. I have found examples where it is clearly one or the other, and others where it is very difficult to determine. There are also examples where the participle is just modifying the indirect object in the dative and even though this gives us the semantics of a subordinate clause, it is just an extension of the model shown just above, for example:

(37) (*Odyssey* 19.462-63)

(...) τῷ μὲν ῥα πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ

χαῖρον νοστήσαντι (...)

"and there his father and queenly mother

were glad in his homecoming"

The verb takes the pronoun in the dative, which is in turn modified by a participle. Ancient Greek is particularly fond of such participial expressions, where other languages, like modern English or French, would normally use subordinate clauses e.g. "He rejoiced that he had returned."

There are, however, examples where we hesitate between the completive and the circumstantial interpretation:

(38) (*Iliad* 3.23)

ὥς τε λέων ἐχάρη μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ σώματι κύρσας

"he was **glad**, like a lion **who comes upon** a mighty carcass"

(39) (*Odyssey* 14.377)

ἦδ' οἱ χαίρουσιν βίοντι νήποιον ἔδοντες:

"or **are happy at eating up** his substance without recompense."

In both of these examples, the participle is quite clearly circumstantial in meaning. It is more preferable to interpret κύρσας and ἔδοντες temporally or even causally in the first case, rather than as a complement of χαίρω. However, other examples are more indicative of a different relationship between the verb and the participle, much more resembling complementation:

(40) (*Odyssey* 24.311-12)

(...) οἷς χαίρων μὲν ἐγὼν ἀπέπεμπον ἐκεῖνον,

χαῖρε δὲ κεῖνος ἰὼν (...)

"and I too rejoiced as I sent him off,

and **he was glad to go**." (own tr.)

It is quite clear that the interpretation should be "he was glad to go", rather than "he was glad as he was going". However, this is the only example in my corpus where the participial complementation of χαίρω seems uncontroversial. Nevertheless, the two meanings are extremely close to each other, almost synonymous and there are a few passages where it is very difficult to determine the right interpretation:

(41) (*Iliad* 11.73)

Ἔρις δ' ἄρ' ἔχαιρε πολύστονος εἰσορόωσα·

"and Strife, the Lady of Sorrows, **was glad to watch them**"

(42) (*Odyssey* 3.438)

ἴν' ἄγαλμα θεᾷ κεχάροιτο ἰδοῦσα.

"so the god **might take pleasure seeing** her offering."

(43) (*Iliad* 3.27-28)

ὥς ἐχάρη Μενέλαος Ἀλέξανδρον θεοειδέα

ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδὼν·

"Thus Menelaus **was happy finding** godlike Alexandros
there in front of his eyes"

Whether we should read that Eris "rejoiced to look" or "rejoiced as she looked" is very debatable. What seems to me to be the most likely explanation is that this construction must have originated with the temporal participles, which actually is the most common participial usage in Homer. An important argument for that is the fact that the competing construction is not the infinitive, as in English "to rejoice to do something", but a subordinate clause starting with ὥς "as, while", for example:

(44) (*Iliad* 5.514-15 = 7.307-08)

(...) τοὶ δὲ χάρησαν,

ὥς εἶδον ζῶν τε καὶ ἀρτεμέα προσιόντα

"(...) who **were made happy,**

seeing him coming alive and unwounded"

(45) (*Iliad* 23.647-48)

(...) χαίρει δέ μοι ἦτορ,

ὥς μεν ἀεὶ μέμνησαι ἐνέηρος, οὐδέ σε λήθω

"(...) and my heart **is happy,**

that you have remembered me and my kindness, that I am not forgotten"

Nonetheless, the default way to say "to rejoice in an activity" in Homeric Greek is with the usage of a participle, in the nominative if it refers to the subject, or in the dative referring to the indirect object.

We find somewhat similar results for *τέρπω*. In the vast majority of cases it is not complemented at all and remains intransitive. In 27 out of 102 occurrences there is a verbal form following it. However, in the case of *τέρπω* there is absolutely no competition: each time to express an activity a participle is used. Also here we can hesitate between a circumstantial and a semi-predicative interpretation, but this time we find more examples which point to the complementary relationship:

(46) (*Iliad* 23.298)

ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ **τέρποιτο μένων**·

"[so he may] **enjoy staying** there" (own tr.)

(47) (*Odyssey* 1.26)

ἔνθ' ὃ γε **τέρπετο** δαιτὶ **παρήμενος**·

"he was enjoyed sitting there at the feast" (own tr.)

(48) (*Odyssey* 23.253-54)

ὄφρα καὶ ἤδη

ὑπνῷ ὑπο γλυκερῷ **ταρπόμεθα κοιμηθέντες**·

"so that we can **enjoying sleeping together** under the sweet slumber"

(own tr.)

These examples are particularly convincing as the meaning clearly infers that the subject is not enjoying themselves as they perform an activity, but is enjoying the activity itself, which suggests that the participle really is a complementation of the verb. In the first example, Echebolos, who is the subject of this sentence, is supposed to "enjoy staying at home", not "enjoy himself as he is staying at home". The same is true for other two passages. Still, in my opinion, the origin of this type of participial complementation of verbs of emotions is the temporal usage.

V.2.B. Conclusions

What are the origins of the completive participles? The most straightforward explanation is that the dominant participles grammaticalized the argument of the main verb. If we look first at the hetero-referential participles, so the type “I see X doing X”, we could search for their origins in the attributive participles being semantically equivalent to a relative clause, e.g. “I see X who is doing X”. In this certain contexts, this could develop into the dominant participle construction where the participle became the argument of the main verb, without overtly changing the syntax of the phrase. In Ancient Greek, this is a fully grammaticalised construction. We could explain the auto-referential completive participles in a similar manner, but through an analogy with the circumstantial participles. The type of participial phrase “I enjoy myself doing X” could be paraphrased with a circumstantial participle “I enjoy myself when doing X”. In Ancient Greek it would also get grammaticalized with certain classes of verbs, as demonstrated above. In this way, we could explain the completive participles as grammaticalization of other types of participles, attributive and circumstantial, in specific contexts with specific semantic verb classes.

V.3. Comparative section

V.3.A. Hittite

We also find participial complementation in the Anatolian branch, already in Hittite. There are examples of participles constructed with the verbs of perception and the verbs of saying.¹⁵ For example:

(1) (Late Hittite KBo IV 4 III 71f.)

*nu ma-ah-ha-an LÚ^{MEŠ} URUaz-zi en-ni-iš-ša-an pa-ah-ša[-nu-wa-an X]
a-ú-e-ir*

"As the people of Azzi saw that [the army] was in such a way [...] protected..."

(2) (Late Hittite KUB XIII 35+ III 17)

am-mu-uk-wa-ra-an ak-kán-ta-an IQ-BI

"to me he said that it [the horse] (is) dead"

Although the participle with the verbs of speaking is probably a Hittite innovation, not shared by the most ancient Indo-European languages, the participial complementation with the verbs of seeing is shared by virtually all of them, as we will see below. The construction is overall quite rare in Hittite, but its existence and similarities with other languages is an important step towards a Proto-Indo-European reconstruction.

¹⁵ Cotticelli-Kurras (1993) 98; Lühr (2008) 129: examples (1) and (2) with the English translation.

V.3.B. Indo-Iranian

V.3.B.a. Sanskrit

A thorough study of the syntax of participles in Vedic Sanskrit has been recently published by John Lowe in his monograph *Participles in Rigvedic Sanskrit: The Syntax and Semantics of Adjectival Verb Forms*. In the *Ṛgveda*, there are only two predicate classes which allow participial complementation: it is very well-attested with the verb *man-* “to think” and to a limited degree with a small number of the verbs of sensory perception.¹⁶ For example:

(1) (RV 6.19.7cd)

*yéna tokásya tánayasya sātaú **maṃsīmáhi jigīvāṃsas** tvótāḥ*

"through which **we could be considered victors** in the winning of the progeny and posterity, aided by you."

(2) (RV 10.85.3a)

*sómam **manyate papivān***

"**A man thinks he has drunk** the soma"

In these cases, the participle agrees with the subject of the main verb. It is of course different with the verbs of perception, where the participle is the object of the predicate. In the *Ṛgveda*, there are only two verbs of this kind attested with the participial complementation: *dṛś-* 'to see' and *caṅkṣ-* 'to look at', e.g.:

(3) (RV 1.105.18ab)

*aruṇó **mā sakṛd vṛkaḥ pathā yántaṃ dadārśa** hí*

"Because the reddish wolf has suddenly seen **me going along the path**"

(4) (RV 4.18.3a)

*parāyatīm **mātáram ánv acaṣṭa***

"**He gazed after his mother going away.**"

¹⁶ Lowe (2015) 109; all the following Sanskrit examples come from *idem*.

However, Lowe argues that none of the examples with the verbs of seeing are really clear-cut, as it is possible to interpret them as circumstantial participles, for example "a tawny wolf saw me as I was going along the path".¹⁷ Cristofaro in her analysis of the Greek data concluded that the verbs of perception must have given rise to the participial complementation of the verbs of cognition.¹⁸ Lowe, however, thinks that despite the similarities between the syntax of the verbs of perception with other Indo-European languages, the verbs of cognition were the origins of the participial complementation with other predicates, given the Vedic state of affairs, where the verb *man-* is the only one that takes participial complementation without any doubt. He argues that the potential of participles to denote the tense-aspect distinction was able to be fully expressed with the verbs of cognition, which naturally allow multiple tense-aspect options, as opposed to the verbs of perception, which almost exclusively refer to concurrent events.¹⁹ While this is true, it does not substitute conclusive evidence that the participial complementation with verbs of cognition is more archaic. So far, the comparative evidence does not suggest that the Sanskrit model is the original one.

¹⁷ Lowe (2015) 112.

¹⁸ See above.

¹⁹ Lowe (2015) 112.

In the area of participial complementation, Avestan often confirms Vedic evidence. We find participles complementing the verbs of sensory perception as well as thinking and mental activity, especially the root *man-*, just like in Vedic. Moreover, there is a construction with the verb *sand-* “it appears” as well as *ā+dā* “to bring someone to do something” and *apa+yam* “hinder someone from doing something”.²⁰ For example:

(5) (Young Avestan, *Yast* 5.58)

yaṭ spāδəm pairi.avaēnaṭ dūrāt ayantəm rasaoyō

“als er das Heer von fern her in Schlachtordnung **anrücken sah**.”

(6) (Young Avestan, *Vtēvdād* 18.28)

nmānəm hō manyāēta para.daθō

“der mag ein Haus **zu verschenken glauben**”

(7) (Young Avestan, *Hadōxt Nask* 2.7f.)

ā dim vātō upa.vāvō sadāyeiti ... āṭ təm vātəm nāṇhaya uzgrāmbayō

sadāyeiti yō narš ašaonō urva

“**es ist**, als ob ein Wind sie (die Seele) **anwehe**...; **drauf ist es** der Seele des Frommen, als ob sie den Wind mit der Nase **wahrnehme**”

(8) (Old Avestan, *Yasna* 46.5)

yē vā xšayqs adqs drītā ayantəm urvātōiš

“wenn ein Kundiger einen festzuhalten vermag, nachdem **er ihn dazu gebracht hat**, von seinem Gelübde (zu ihm) **überzugehen**...”

(9) (Old Avestan, *Yasna* 32.9)

apō mā īštīm apayantā bərəxδqm hāitīm vaṇhāuš manajhō

“**er verhindert es**, daß der Besitz des guten Sinns geschätzt **wird**”

The example (5) presents the already well-known complementation with a verb of

²⁰ Reichelt (1909) 330-31 with examples and translations.

sensory perception. Reichelt compares it directly with the Vedic example (3). The example (6) is precious, because it makes the Vedic construction more genuine. Vedic grammars always give the same example of the participial complementation with *man-*, so without being able to examine the Vedic corpus ourselves, we could have some questions whether it really is a particularly widespread construction. The fact that we find the same exact complementation in Avestan makes us more confident regarding the position of this structure in the Indo-Iranian family. In the example (7) the verb *saḍayeiti* “it appears” is complemented by a participle twice in that passage: *upa.vāvō* and *uzgrāmbayō*. It can be directly compared to the Ancient Greek construction with *ᾔοικα* followed by a participle. Examples (8) and (9) show two additional constructions where we can find participial complementation.

Avestan is a valuable source, because it shows us that the type of participial constructions found in Vedic are not purely Indic inventions, but probably go back at least to the Indo-Iranian period. Similarities with Greek and other languages which will follow suggest that they might have existed even earlier.

V.3.C. Latin

The completive usage of participles is well-attested in Early and Classical Latin, although the predicate-classes which allow this kind of construction are more limited than in Greek. It is effectively confined to hetero-referential participles. Similarly to Homer, the first category of verbs which can take the participial complementation are the verbs of sensory perception: *videre*, *animadvertere*, *aspicere*, *conspicere*, *cernere*, *offendere*, *audire*.²¹ The examples begin already in Plautus and Terence:

(1) (Plautus, *Asinaria* 878-879)

*Possis, si forte **accubantem tuom virum conspexeris**
cum corona amplexum amicam, si videas, cognoscere?*

"If perchance you were **to see your husband reclining**, if you beheld him with a garland on, caressing a mistress, could you recognize him?"

(tr. Riley)

(2) (Terence, *Heautontimorumenos* 285)

*Texentem telam studiose **ipsam offendimus**,*²²

"**We found her** busily **weaving** at her loom" (tr. Barsby)

In the Classical language, one can find many examples in Cicero:

(3) (Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 3.5)

*habeoque C. Laelium augurem eundemque sapientem **quem potius audiam**
dicentem de religione in illa oratione nobili quam quemquam principem
Stoicorum.*

"et j'ai C. Laelius comme augure et il se fait qu'il est plein de sagesse; **je l'écouterai quand il parle** de la religion dans son fameux discours plutôt que n'importe quel maître en stoïcisme." (tr. van den Bruwaene)

²¹ Laughton (1964) 50; Menge (2000) 714.

²² Examples (1) and (2) after Laughton (1964) 50.

(4) (Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 5.77)

*Adulescentium greges Lacedemone vidimus ipsi incredibili contentione cernantes.*²³

"I have seen with my own eyes troops of youngsters in Lacedaemon fighting with inconceivable obstinacy," (tr. King)

Another Ciceronian example given by Menge is particularly interesting, because it is a Latin translation of the famous Greek inscription commemorating the Spartans fallen at the battle of Thermopylae:

(5) (Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1.101)

*Dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentes,
Dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.*

"Stranger, the Spartans tell that **here in the grave you beheld us**, keeping the laws of our land by an obedience due." (tr. King)

After the famous epigram of Simonides:

ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

One can quickly see that the Latin version is not a word for word translation and employs a participle in the place of a finite verb in the Greek version. The participle depends on the verb *video* which lacks from the original Greek text. Thus, we cannot treat this as a calque of the Greek syntax, but as a genuine example of the Latin syntax.

A curious innovation in the use of completive participles by Cicero in respect to Plautus and Terence is that the participle can be in the past tense, whereas it is always present in the earlier authors, e.g.:

(6) (Cicero, *De Inventione* 2.162)

*aut si quid eorum, quae ante diximus, ab natura profectum maius factum
propter consuetudinem videmus,*

²³ Examples (3) and (4) after Menge (2000) 714.

"or any of the laws that we have mentioned before **which we see proceed from nature but which have been strengthened by custom**," (tr. Hubbell)

(7) (Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.91)

*licet autem videre et genera quaedam et nationes huic scientiae deditas.*²⁴

"Moreover, **you may see** whole families and tribes **devoted** to this art."

(tr. Falconer)

Interestingly, although participles are commonly used with verbs of physical perception, infinitives are usually employed in the case of intellectual perception, although this distinction is not strictly maintained, due to the Latin participial system which necessitates the usage of infinitives in the passive.²⁵

(8) (Caesar, *De Bello Civili*, 1.69.3)

Sed ubi paulatim retorqueri agmen ad dextram conspexerunt

"But when **they saw the column** gradually **wheeling** to the right" (tr. A.

Peskett)

A participle with verbs of perception is the only type of participial complementation which we can attest for Early Latin. In the Classical language, however, there is a new development of completive participles after verbs of representing, that is *facere*, *tradere*, *ingere* and *inducere* with the present active participles.²⁶

(9) (Cicero, *Cato maior de senectute* 54)

At Homerus (...) Laertem lenientem desiderium, quod capiebat e filio, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem fecit.

"But **Homer (...) represents Laertes as soothing his sorrow** at the absence of his son in cultivating his farm and in manuring it, too."

(tr. Falconer)

²⁴ Examples (6) and (7) after Laughton (1964) 51.

²⁵ Laughton (1964) 50; Menge (2000) 681-82, example (8).

²⁶ Laughton (1964) 51; Menge (2000) 714-15.

(10) (Cicero, *Brutus* 50)

*Menelaum ipsum dulcem illum quidem tradit **Homerus**, sed pauca dicentem.*

"Menelaus, even, **Homer refers to** as an agreeable speaker, but **a man of few words.**" (tr. Hendrickson)

Finally, there are participles, typically past passive, constructed with *habere* and *tenere*, as well as *continere* and *possidere*, although more rarely, which denote a constant state or a permanent property:

(11) (Cicero, *Divinatio in Q. Caecilius* 11)

*Adsunt, queruntur Siculi universi; ad meam fidem, **quam habent spectatam iam et cognitam**, confugiunt;*

"Here before you, here with their tale of wrong, stand the whole Sicilian people. I am the man whose honour, **having proved it in the past and not found it wanting**, they now fly for refuge." (tr. Greenwood)

(12) (Cicero, *De Domo sua* 11)

*frumentum provinciae frumentariae partim non habebant, partim in alias terras, credo, propter avaritiam venditorum miserant, partim, quo gratius esset tum cum in ipsa fame subvenissent, **custodiis suis clausum continebant**, ut subito novum mitterent.*²⁷

"The reason for the famine was partly that the corn-growing provinces had no corn; partly that it had been exported to other countries, the demands of the dealers being, as we are asked to believe, extortionate; partly that **it was being kept stored in custody**, in order that its alleviating effect in the actual throes of famine might be more gratifying; it was to be produced as an unlooked-for surprise." (tr. Watts)

Particularly interesting is the usage of *esse* as the verb of representing with a participle:

²⁷ Examples (11) and (12) after Menge (2000) 715.

(13) (Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.52)

*Est apud Platonem Socrates, cum esset in custodia publica, **dicens** Critoni, suo familiari, sibi post tertium diem esse moriendum;*

"We read in Plato that Socrates, while in prison, said in a conversation with his friend Crito: I am to die in three days;" (tr. W. Falconer)

The verb *esse* is here in its existential meaning, so quite evidently, it cannot be regarded as a case of periphrasis, which is treated in the following chapter of this thesis.

As pointed out by Menge, it is also possible for a participle to complement other verbs than those mentioned above, e.g.:

(14) (Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1.108)

Condiunt Aegyptii mortuos et eos servant domi, Persae etiam cera circumlitos condunt,

"The Egyptians embalm their dead and keep them in the house; the Persians even smear them with wax before burial," (tr. King)

(15) (Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 2.59)

[Epaminondas] imperantem enim patriam Lacedaemoniis relinquebat, quam acceperat servientem.

"for the country he [Epaminondas] had found enslaved he left mistress of the Lacedaemonians." (tr. King)

However, it is quite clear that the only type of participial complementation in the completive usage present in the Early Latin is that with the verbs of sensory perception. Given the fact that this category of predicates is by far the most wide-spread in Homer, it is likely to be the most archaic syntactic construction of that type in Latin.

V.3.D. Germanic

In this section I am going to discuss data from several old Germanic languages, mainly Gothic, Old Norse and Old Saxon, which have drawn significantly more attention than others in this particular subject.

V.3.D.a. Gothic

The obvious problem regarding Gothic is that all the texts are translations of the Bible from Greek, so one needs to be extremely careful when it comes to analysing the syntax, whether or not the Gothic imitates the Greek original. In terms of the general usage of participles Gothic follows Greek quite accurately, although it is limited by having only a present participle and a past passive participle.²⁸ For example:

(1) (Mark 1.16)

*Jah hwarbonds fuar marein Galeilaias **gasah** Seimonu jak Andraian broþar is, þis Seimonis, **wairpandans nati in marein**;*

καὶ παράγων παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας **εἶδεν** Σίμονα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Σίμονος, **βάλλοντας ἀμφίβληστρον ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ**:

"As He walked by the Sea of Galilee, **He saw** Simon and Andrew, his brother, **throwing a net into the sea,**"

In this example, it is evident that the Gothic version follows the Greek syntax, which employs the participial complementation after the verb of visual perception. It is, however, not evident whether it is a mere calque of the Greek, or the construction is equally possible and valid in Gothic, so the fidelity to the original text is natural.

Another example of the similarities between the Gothic and Greek syntax is the present participle after the verbs of stopping, which we have already seen in Homer. Here again, it is impossible to tell whether it is a pure calque which otherwise did not exist in the Gothic language, or it is a literal translation, precisely because this construction was already available in Gothic, e.g.:

²⁸ Mossé (1956) 185.

(2) (Luke 5.4)

*bipeh þan gananþida **rodjans***

ὥς δὲ ἐπαύσατο **λαλῶν**,

"When He had finished **speaking**,"

To sum up, the Gothic does not provide any real proof that it did possess any sort of participial complementation which would be completely independent from the Greek influence. It is not excluded, because the translation might use the structures already existing in the target language, but the textual evidence is not conclusive.

V.3.D.b. Old Norse

Unfortunately, like in the case of Gothic, although to a lesser extent, some texts in Old Norse are translations, not from Greek, but from Latin. To make things worse, the authors familiar with Latin could have easily calqued parts of Latin syntax into Old Norse to make it seem more prestigious. Thus one needs to be very careful when analysing the syntax in terms of the textual context.

As for the completive usage of participle, Old Norse shares some of the predicate classes which allow participial complementation with Greek. First of all, the present participle can be used with the verbs of sensory perception,²⁹ e.g.:

(3) (*Barlaams ok Josaphats saga* 38.30)

nú þegar sem faðir hans leit hann mjök fjarri komandi

"now as soon as his father **saw** him **coming** at a distance" (tr. Faarlund)

Unfortunately, this example provided in the grammar of Old Norse is probably a Latin translation, so it cannot be reasonably considered as a proof of such a construction in the real language. Interestingly, the present participles often do not show any agreement and end in *-i*, even though they should normally end in *-a*.

Moreover, a different type of participial complementation is attested, that is with the verbs of enabling (4), state (5) and moving (6)³⁰:

(4) (*Gamal norsk homiliebok* 150.12)

ek gerða þik gangfæran, mælandi ok heyrandi ok sofandi

"I made you able to **walk, speak, hear and sleep**"

The passage is a translation of the Latin text *Visio Sancti Pauli apostoli*³¹, so again we cannot treat it as a firm evidence of this syntactic construction in Old Norse.

(5) (*Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* 35.19)

²⁹ Faarlund (2004) 150 with example (3).

³⁰ Mossé (1938) 35 with examples (5) and (6).

³¹ Unfortunately, I have not been able to access the Latin text in order to provide a comparison.

ef þér yrðið drukknir ok lægið sofandi

"si vous vous enivriez et **restiez endormis**" (tr. Mossé)

(6) (*Ívens saga* 31.10)

þeir fóru leitandi ok fundu hann eigi

"**ils allèrent cherchant** et ne le trouvèrent point" (tr. Mossé)

Although the present participle often does not show agreement, these participles correspond to the Greek constructions where the participle agrees with the subject of the main verb. Thus the Old Norse sagas display a similar range of participial complementation as the Homeric Greek, although the exact predicate classes are more limited. However, the textual context to this passage exposes the fundamental weakness of the lack of evidence of independent participial complementation found in original Old Norse texts.

There are examples of complementary participles in Old English. These are, however, considered to have entered the language under the influence of Latin and Greek. I have given the parallel passages from the *Vulgate* for comparison. Let's see a few examples from the Gospels:³²

(7) (Luke 2.46)

*Þa æfter þrim dagum hig fundon hine on þam temple **sittende** on middan þam lareowum **hlystende** & hi **ahisiende**.*

*post triduum invenerunt illum in templo **sedentem** in medio doctorum **audientem** illos et **interrogantem**.*

“Then after three days they found him in the temple **sitting** in the midst of the wise men **listening** and **questioning** them.”

(8) (Luke 18.36)

*& þā hē gehyrde þa menego **farende**.*

*et cum audiret turbam **praetereuntem**.*

“and when he heard the multitude **passing by**”

(9) (Luke 1.11)

*þa ætywde him drihtnes engel **standende** on þæs weofodes swyðran healfe.*

*apparuit autem illi angelus domini **stans** a dexteris altaris*

“and the angel of the Lord appeared to him **standing** on the right side of the altar.”

We can clearly see that all these examples closely follow the Latin version. We cannot treat them as a reliable source of the genuine Old English syntax. However, it has to be said that these constructions have become a permanent feature of the English language, which we can see in the translations of these passages. Modern English still uses participles in these contexts. It is also important to note that there are some examples of independent usage of participial complementation:

³² McLaughlin (1983) 38-39, examples (7) - (11).

(10) (*Rushworth Gospels*)

*onufan **sittende** dydun.*

*eum desuper **sedere** facerunt*

“They made him **sit** thereon.”³³

(11) (*Orosius, The Old English History of the World* 3.5.4)

*Sipþan **gelīcade** eallum folcum **þæt** hie Romanum underþīeded wære and
hīora æ tō **behealdanne**.*

“Then **it pleased** all the people that they should be subject to the Romans and
obey their laws.” (tr. Godden)

We can see that in the example (10) the Latin infinitive is translated with a participle in Old English. Interestingly, the same passage has been translated using two different forms of complementation in other Old English translations. This shows us that there was a degree of freedom in the translation of the Bible and that maybe participial complementation existed in Old English independently from the Greek and Latin influence.

Example (11) is interesting because it shows us that one verb, *gelīcian* “to please” can be complemented with a *that*-clause and a participle in the same sentence, which proves a certain degree of flexibility in verb complementation in Old English.

We have seen participles following verbs of sensory perception, emotions and appearing. Old English is a difficult case. On one hand, most of the examples which we find are calques of Latin. On the other hand, there are some independent examples. It might be that the construction had been introduced under the classical influence and has become a permanent element of the language. Another possibility is that it had existed before, but its usage has been reinforced by the analogical phrases in Latin.

³³ Compare other types of complementation in the same passage in other translations:

That-clause: (*Old English Gospels*) *dēþ **þæt** hīg sittap.*

Infinitive: (*Lindisfarn Gospels*) *aferuþa **sitta** dydon.*

V.3.D.d. Old Saxon

The fourth and final Germanic language which we are going to look at is Old Saxon. It is not a language I have included earlier, but the data provided by Rosemarie Lühr in her article (*Competitive Indo-European syntax*, 2008) is so valuable that it is necessary to take it into account. The *Héliand* is especially valuable as it is not a literal translation of the Bible. Old Saxon displays participial complementation with two predicate classes: the verbs of seeing and the verbs of knowledge, which corresponds to the Greek usage, as well as to other Indo-European languages which we have examined.³⁴

(12) (*Héliand* 4405f.)

Huan gisah thi man ênig / bethuungen an ulicun tharabun?

"When did anyone **see you vanquished** by such deficits?"

An interesting characteristic of this example is that the participle which complements the verb of perception is in the past tense, which in general is quite rare in all the languages considered in this work, but **it is obviously linked to the fact the passive participles only exist in the past tense.**

(13) (*Héliand* 5729ff.)

*Hie guuiê im duo forð thanan / gangan te them galgon, thar hie uuissa that
Godes barn, / hrêo hangondi hêrren sînes*

"He went immediately forth to go to the gallows, where **he knew the God's child, the body of his Lord hung.**"

In summary, as shown by the examples (12) and (13), Old Saxon allowed the participial complementation for the verbs of both sensory and intellectual cognition.

³⁴ Lühr (2008) 132-33.

V.3.E. Slavic

V.3.E.a. Old Church Slavonic

In the consideration of the Slavic family, I shall rely on the oldest attested Slavic languages, Old Church Slavonic and Old Novgorodian, without going into much detail on the modern Slavic branches, as they provide the highest chance of observing preserved archaisms.

Completive participles are also well-attested in Old Church Slavonic and they can be found with several predicate classes. Here again, it is necessary to determine whether they exist solely as a calque from Greek or as independent representation of the OCS syntax. Like in other Indo-European languages we frequently find participles after the verbs of perception both sensory and intellectual³⁵, for example:

(1) (Luke 8.46)

azŭ bo čjuxŭ silŭ išīdŭšŭ iz mene

ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔγνων δύναμιν ἐξελθουσίαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

"for I perceive **that power has gone out from Me.**"

(2) (John 20.14)

vidě Is-a stojěšta

θεωρεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐστῶτα,

"she (...) saw Jesus **standing,**"

Unfortunately, the grammars give examples which are clearly equivalent, word for word, to the Greek text, so it is impossible to determine whether the construction had been known in the OCS before, relying solely on these passages.

It is quite certain that in the case of the verbs of stopping, OCS simply copies the Greek syntax and shows no independent usage of participles in this context. This is further indicated by the fact Baltic languages display infinitival complementation in the equivalent constructions.³⁶ An OCS example :

³⁵ Gardiner (1984) 135, examples (1) - (2).

³⁶ Vaillant (1977) 215, example (3): in Lithuanian *paliovė kalbėti* (inf.).

(3) (Luke 5.4)

prěsta glagolę

ἐπαύσατο λαλῶν

"He had finished speaking"

Another predicate class which shows the participial complementation, in competition with the infinitival one, are the verbs of saying and thinking. Ancient Greek regularly uses the infinitive in this context, so the participial syntax is probably an original feature of Old Church Slavonic, which can freely use either construction.³⁷ In example (4), OCS, like Greek, uses an infinitive:

(4) (John 5.39)

mĭnite vŭ nixŭ *iměti* životŭ věčŭny

ὁμείζετε ἐν αὐταῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχειν

"**you think** in them **you have** eternal life."

However, in example (5), OCS uses a participle, whereas Ancient Greek still uses an infinitive:

(5) (Matthew 16.13)

kogo glagoljotŭ mę člověci *sŏšta*

τίνα λέγουσιν με οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι

"Who do men **say that I (...) am**?"

It is worth mentioning that such secondary predication is possible not only in the accusative, but also in the nominative. In example (6) OCS uses a participle, contrary to Ancient Greek, where we find an infinitive:

(6) (Luke 8.18)

eže ašte mĭnitŭ sę imy

ὁ δοκεῖ ἔχειν

³⁷ Vaillant (1977) 214, examples (9) - (11).

"what he thinks he has."

The OCS evidence is quite interesting, as it displays a relatively wide range of participial usages, even outside of the Greek influence. Whereas the participles complementing the verbs of stopping, and possibly also the verbs of perception, have been attributed to the Greek influence, there are multiple examples of predicative participles which might be a genuine OCS construction. We have also seen complementation with the verbs of saying and thinking which present an alternation between the infinitive and the participle, but the participial complementation is the one which does not go back to the Greek original of the Bible.

V.3.E.b. Old Novgorodian

We can now turn to Old Novgorodian for more evidence, which can shed more light on some cases in OCS where we hesitated between the original OCS construction and the Greek influence. In Old Novgorodian, the participial complementation can be frequently found after the verbs of physical perception and thinking, for example:³⁸

(7) (*Laurentian codex* 106)

viděša Igor'a ležašča

"ils virent **Igor gisant**." (tr. Le Feuvre)

(8) (*Laurentian codex* 108)

viděv ze kn'az'a svojego v veliku bėdu vpadša

"ayant vu que son prince était tombé dans un grand malheur"

(tr. Le Feuvre)

(9) (*Laurentian codex* 157)

a družii mn'axutb solnce idušče vbsp 'atb

"et d'autres **pensaient que le soleil revenait** en arrière" (tr. Le Feuvre)

(10) (*Laurentian codex* 157)

mn'ašče uže končinu sušču

"**pensant que c'était désormais la fin**" (tr. Le Feuvre)

We can also mention the construction with the verbs of speaking, which, however, seems to rather be an appositive, coreferential participle with a particle *jako*:

(11) (*Laurentian codex* 127)

kličuče, jako požreti xot'ašče

"**criant** qu'ils **allaient** l'anéantir " (litt. "que voulant l'anéantir")

(tr. Le Feuvre)

³⁸ Examples (7) – (11) with translation : Le Feuvre (2006) 90.

This is invaluable input for our investigation, since it confirms some of the uncertain data found in OCS. There are multiple examples of the verb "to see" taking participial complementation. It is particularly important, because we did not find OCS examples independent from Ancient Greek and it is a class of verbs which emerges to be the most promising to reveal a shared syntax in ancient Indo-European languages. Similarly, we can see a direct equivalence in the usage of participles with the verbs of thinking, both in OCS and in Old Novgorodian. This feature must also go back at least to Proto-Slavic.

V.3.F. Lithuanian

In the Baltic branch of the Indo-European languages I am going to focus on Lithuanian, which is by far the best described language of this group, especially when it comes to its syntax. In Lithuanian the participial complementation is extraordinarily well-developed compared to other Indo-European languages and its level of complexity is often compared to Ancient Greek.³⁹

One can distinguish four predicate classes which can take a participle as its complement. Firstly there are the verbs of physical perception, e.g. *matýti(s)* and *regėti(s)* “to see (appear)”, *jausti(s)* “to feel (like)”, *ródyti(s)* “to show (seem)”. Secondly, we also find the verbs of psychological perception or attitude in general, e.g. *manyti(s)* “to think”, *su(si)pràsti* “to understand (to get to know)”, *nuspręsti* “to decide”, *liáutis* “to stop”, *viltis* “to hope” or *abejóti* “to hope”. Thirdly, there are the verbs which express information, for example *sakýtis(s)* “to say”, *prisipažinti* “to admit”. Finally, the verbs of emotional states: *džiaũgtis* “to be happy”, *bijóti(s)* “to fear”, or *verkti* - “to cry”.⁴⁰ Normally, if the performer of the secondary action is the same as the subject of the main verb, the participle is in the nominative, if the performer is different, then the invariable gerundive form is used, for example:

(1) *Sakiaũ tėvą geraĩ gyvėnant*

"I said **father lived** well"

The verb of saying takes an object, which is the performer of the secondary action in the accusative and is complemented by the participial form. The performer can also appear in the genitive if the finite verb has a negative prefix or if it regularly takes the genitive,⁴¹ e.g.:

(2) *Ar nemateĩ tėvo pereĩnant?*

"Did you see **father coming**?"

Alternatively, the performer of the secondary action can appear in the nominative in combination with the infinitive:

³⁹ Arkadiev (2012) 287; Petit (1999) 114.

⁴⁰ Petit (1999) 129-30.

⁴¹ Ambrazas (1997) 367-69, with examples (1) - (4).

(3) *Tolumojè matýti laīvas plaūkiant.*

"In the distance you can see **a boat sailing**"

With the verbs of stopping the participle is synonymous with the infinitive and either can be used, e.g.:

(4) *Lietùs nustójo lijės / lýti.*

"It has stopped **rain**ing."

An interesting feature of the Lithuanian participial complementation is the significant semantic independence in relationship with the main verb.⁴² Since the participles have a complete tense inflection, they can freely appear in different grammatical tenses, in contrast to some languages, like Greek, where, for instance, it is extremely rare to see a verb of sensory perception complemented with a participle in the past tense, whereas in Lithuanian it is well-attested, for example:

(5) *Girdėjau buvęs kritikuotas.*

"I heard that I have been criticised."

In terms of the development of the participial complementation, Ambrazas claims that the construction started with the verbs of perception.⁴³ Thanks to the relatively free usage of participles, the propositions which would normally require a *that*-clause complementation could be expressed with a participial complementation in Lithuanian. Ambrazas argues that this development started with the usage of verbs of perception with a more abstract sense, thus spreading to the verbs of intellectual perception and then mental activity, feelings, etc.

Another notable trait of the Lithuanian syntax is the abundance of the reflexive verbs which take participial complements,⁴⁴ for example:

⁴² Arkadiev (2012) 295.

⁴³ Ambrazas (1990) 146-47.

⁴⁴ Petit (1999) 131, with examples (6) and (7).

(6) *jìs sãkosi atẽjẽs*

"he says that he arrived" < lit. "he declares himself arrived"

This is related to the construction which was wide-spread in Old Lithuanian, but is no longer used in the modern language, when instead of the invariable gerundive, we there was an inflected participle:

(7) *jìs sãko tẽvq atẽjusì*

"he says that **his father arrived**" < lit. "he declares his father arrived"

The constructions are parallel, because syntactically the reflexive particle in the example (6) corresponds to the direct object in the accusative in the example (7). The participle appears in the nominative as it still refers to the subject of the main verb. The diachronic change from the inflected participle to the invariable gerundive is explained as the grammaticalization of the completive participles.⁴⁵

As we have seen, the participial complementation in Lithuanian is remarkably well developed. There are the predicative participles with the copular verb *bũti*, there is a large number of verbs in several predicate classes which take participles as their complements and many of them overlap with the type of predicates found in Ancient Greek, which contrary to some languages like Old Church Slavonic or Gothic, cannot be caused by direct influence.

⁴⁵ Petit (1999) 131.

V.4. Conclusions

All of the families of Indo-European languages showcased in this chapter allow some kind of participial complementation. The differences come down to the semantics of the predicate classes which take a participial complement. The results are summed up in the tables below. All the classes mentioned in the sections above are represented in the table. The auto- and hetero-referential participles are not separated either. The goal is to see which kind of participial complementation is shared by the most languages and thus has a chance to be archaic, going back maybe even to Proto-Indo-European.

	Homeric Greek	Latin	Vedic	Hittite	Germanic	Slavonic	Baltic
Verbs of sensory perception	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Verbs of intellectual perception & activity	x		x		x (Old Saxon)	x	x
Verbs of finding	x				x (Old English)		
Verbs of representing		x					
Verbs of allowing, tolerating, forcing	x				x (Old Norse & Old English)		
Verbs of beginning and stopping	x				x (Gothic)		x
Verbs of feeling	x				x (Old English)		x
Verbs denoting a permanent state		x			x (Old Norse)		
Verbs of saying	x			x		x	x
Verbs of moving	x				x (Old Norse)		

As it is evident, all language groups display participial complementation with the verbs of sensory perception. It appears as the most likely starting point of a more developed participial syntax and the only one that could be reconstructed in Proto-Indo-European due to its wide spread in all the discussed languages. We have already seen a pattern, proposed by Cristofaro, of extending the participial syntax from the physical to the intellectual perception in Ancient Greek. However, the existence of these constructions in languages like Ancient Greek and Lithuanian, which have a very well developed participial syntax, is not as telling as its attestations in languages like Vedic or Hittite which are both among the oldest and most archaic Indo-European languages, but also do not allow multiple predicate classes to take a participle as its complement. Rosemarie Lühr in her 2008 article compared different types of embedded object clauses in ancient Indo-European languages and reconstructed *accusativus cum participio* and a *that*-clause with a reference element as constructions already existing in Proto-Indo-European.⁴⁶ The survey of participial constructions in Indo-European languages has managed to make this result more precise and point to verbs of physical perception followed by a completive participle. As we have seen, several predicate classes take an *accusativus cum participio* construction, but they are rather unlikely to be reconstructed in Proto-Indo-European, e.g. verbs of finding in Ancient Greek, verbs of representing in Latin, or verbs of saying in Old Lithuanian. It is much more probable that the verbs of sensory perception, on every account very common verbs in any language, provided a model for extending the participial syntax to transitive verbs and beyond.

⁴⁶ Lühr (2008) 156.

VI. Predicative participles

VI.1. Introduction

In this chapter I will closely look at the predicative participles. This term, first of all, calls for an explanation. Indo-European languages display a large number of grammaticalized constructions consisting of a participle and an auxiliary verb, like Latin past passive indicative, Old Norse future or Lithuanian perfect tenses. I am not going to describe and analyse all the periphrastic participial forms found in the languages treated in this thesis, since it would not provide any new comparative information relevant either to Ancient Greek, which has been the main focus of this work, or to the Proto-Indo-European reconstruction.

Instead, I am going to focus on the type of periphrasis which is not a part of a normal verbal paradigm. This type is very rare in Homeric Greek, but a few attested examples make it necessary to treat them in this thesis. In other languages, the participial periphrasis is more common even outside of the verbal paradigms. As we are going to see, in different languages it can refer to continuity or to states without being a fully grammaticalized tense in the verbal system. In some cases, the periphrastic forms present no apparent difference in meaning versus the standard synthetic forms.

I am going to analyse the Homeric examples and try to explain their presence, since at this stage of the language the participial periphrasis is almost non-existent. Later, I am going to search for the similar constructions in other Indo-European languages in order to determine whether there is any evidence to reconstruct any participial periphrases.

VI.2. Homeric Greek

VI.2.A. Theoretical background

The participial periphrasis has been recently studied in great detail by Klaas Bentein in a series of articles on the subject.¹ As defined by Spencer:

*the term “periphrasis” is most commonly used to denote a construction type in which a grammatical property or feature is expressed by a combination of words rather than a single (inflected) word form.*²

Bentein has fundamentally distinguished two types of periphrasis - the first type is a 'verbal periphrasis' and the second type - the 'adjectival periphrasis'.³ The “verbal periphrasis” occurs when the participle is used with an auxiliary verb and is normally integrated into the construction. The “adjectival periphrasis” occurs when the participle retains its lexical autonomy on the semantic level. This is a syntactic distinction. Another important classification comes from a more morphological point of view and distinguishes between 'suppletive' and 'categorical' periphrasis, as the first type fills the gap in the inflectional paradigm and the other expresses "some additional semantic distinction".⁴ This is clear in some languages, like modern English, but can be problematic for Ancient Greek, especially in the New Testament, where ἦν διδάσκων (Luke 5.17) is found next to ἐδίδασκεν (Luke 5.3) with no clear indication that the meaning of the two forms is markedly different.

The exact definition of a verbal periphrasis is a topic on which there is a lot of disagreement in the scholarly literature. More precisely, there is no consensus as to which constructions count as periphrastic. Some include solely participles constructed with εἰμί "to be"⁵, while others include a big number of different finite verbs, like γίγνομαι, διαγίγνομαι, ἔρχομαι, ἔχω or τυγχάνω.⁶

¹ Bentein (2011), (2013a), (2013b), (2013c).

² Spencer (2006) 287.

³ Bentein (2013a) 3.

⁴ Bentein (2011) 1-2; Haspelmath (2000) 660-61, 656; Aerts (1965) 3; Evans (2001) 221.

⁵ Porter (1989).

⁶ Bentein (2011) 3: table 1.

In my analysis, I consider a construction periphrastic only in the cases when the auxiliary verb is without a doubt distanced from its primary lexical meaning. Thus, in practice, I look at the periphrasis with εἰμί and πέλομαι, as the forms with ἔχω are not yet attested in Homer. In all other cases I consider a construction completive: with the main verb and the secondary predication in the form of the participle. Some of these forms develop in the later stages of the language into periphrastic construction, but not yet in Homeric Greek.

There are several criteria used to identify verbal periphrasis in Ancient Greek, which all can be grouped into semantic, syntactic and paradigmatic.⁷ Starting with the semantic criteria, it is usually argued that the periphrasis “develops to express meanings that are more specific than the meanings already expressed grammatically in the language at the time.”⁸ There is also the notion that a periphrastic construction “expresses grammatical properties that are expressed elsewhere in the synthetic paradigm”⁹ and similarly that it is either suppletive or “more or less equivalent to an existing synthetic form.”¹⁰ This is especially useful for Ancient Greek to accurately distinguish between periphrastic and completive constructions.¹¹ This, however, leaves some room to interpretation as to how we should treat some finite verbs constructed with the participles, for example the verbs meaning “to continue”, like διαγίγνομαι, διάγω, διατελέω. Since the phrase expresses the imperfective or continuative aspect, a feature already existing in synthetic forms, numerous scholars consider this to be a periphrasis.¹² However, the fundamental counterargument to this view is that in a verbal periphrasis the finite auxiliary verb is normally desemanticised. It is reasonable to argue that in cases where the verbs retain their primary meaning, like “to continue” or “to go”, we are rather dealing with a participial complementation than a periphrasis. This is evident when contrasted with the verbal periphrasis involving the verb “to be” which has no existential meaning in such a context.

The most useful syntactic criterion is the “contiguity”, which means that the auxiliary verb and its component are syntactically adjacent. This is by no means a strict criterion in Ancient Greek, like it is in some languages where no element can intervene between the participle and the auxiliary. Nevertheless, it is a good enough indication that we might be dealing with a verbal periphrasis. Bentein tested various potentially periphrastic constructions

⁷ Bentein (2011) 5-19.

⁸ Bybee et al. (1994) 660.

⁹ Ackerman & Stump (2004) 128.

¹⁰ Evans (2001) 222.

¹¹ Bentein (2011) 5-6.

¹² Bentein (2011) 6, see e.g. Dietrich (1983) 243-45.

in his corpus of archaic and classical Greek for "zero distance". Perhaps not surprisingly, the most frequent "zero distance" construction was ἔχων with the aorist participle at 88%, followed by εἰμί with the perfect participle at 72%. Interestingly, the least frequent one was εἰμί with the present participle at 42%.¹³

Finally, there is the paradigmatic criterion, which considers whether a periphrastic form is fully integrated into a verbal paradigm. This is especially relevant for Ancient Greek, specifically in the third person plural of the medio-passive indicative perfect and pluperfect of verbs with consonant-final roots and the medio-passive subjunctive and optative perfect.¹⁴ We have to keep in mind that although it is an indication of periphrasis, it is not a requirement. As already mentioned, 'categorical periphrasis' can be roughly equivalent to already existing synthetic forms, which is the case in many languages, like French "aller + infinitive" e.g. *je vais dormir* is synchronically equivalent in semantic terms to the simple future *je dormirai*, even if the former normally refers close future and the later to future in general.¹⁵ The situation is similar for Ancient Greek as we have already exemplified.

A notion which has already been presented in the introduction with respect to participles as a word-class is prototypicality. The idea is utilized with great results by Bentein in his analysis of the subject.¹⁶ He has divided all constructions considered as potentially periphrastic into four groups. The ones which score highly in the outlined criteria are marked as prototypical and the rest as gradually more and more peripheral in respect to verbal periphrasis. Thus the first group of prototypical predicative participles consists of ἔχων with the aorist participle and εἰμί with the perfect participle.

A different question is the process of the "adjectivization" of participles in the predicative positions. That means that each time we have to determine whether the participle retains synchronically its participial value, or it is treated as an adjective. It is often argued that when a participle refers to a property, in the same manner as the regular adjective, we should rather treat it as an adjective.¹⁷ There are a number of criteria to determine the answer this question.

¹³ Bentein (2011) 15-16.

¹⁴ Bentein (2011) 17; Bentein (2013) 12.

¹⁵ Bentein (2011) 18.

¹⁶ Bentein (2011) 19-22.

¹⁷ Bentein (2013a) 1.

Cooper argues that in the archaic and classical Greek, the participles constructed with εἰμί are predominantly attributive, not periphrastic.¹⁸ His first criterion is the distance between the two constituents. The greater it is, the less apparent is the unity of the participle and the auxiliary making it an independent substantive. The second criterion is the coordination with other substantives like adjectives. Already in Homer we have examples of that:

(1) (*Odyssey* 2.60-61)

ἦ καὶ ἔπειτα

λευγαλέοι τ' ἐσόμεσθα καὶ οὐ δεδαικότες ἀλκὴν.

"we must be weaklings in such a case, **not men seasoned in battle.**"

It is even more evident if the participles are substantivised with the use of the article. In such a case, they are obviously acting as independent substantives rather than as a part of the verb phrase with the auxiliary verb. Another criterion is grammaticalization. In Ancient Greek and in many other languages, participles used periphrastically with the verb "to be" are grammaticalized as distinct grammatical forms with distinct semantics, for example a durative meaning, or a distinct function, like the passive voice. They are grammaticalized as forms of the paradigm, which we have already discussed when talking about the verbal periphrasis above. It is also suggested that the 'adjectival periphrasis', can normally be described in terms of low degree of transitivity, in the scalar sense of Hopper and Thompson.¹⁹

The issue of adjectivization has been studied in detail by Bentein in his article on the subject, where he sums up the criteria already proposed in the literature.²⁰ It has to be marked that the criteria outlined below concern only the present participle.²¹

The phonological criteria, e.g. the phonological reduction of the participle or the inability to recognise the verbal stem, are not particularly relevant, because there is little evidence of such phenomena in Ancient Greek. **There are a few examples in Greek, where the verbal stems had been lost, but there are participles derived from it, for example, ἄσμενος** "glad", ἐκὼν "readily" and ἱκμενος "fair" and they are already lexicalized adjectives in Homer.²² From our point of view, however, the morphosyntactic criteria are more important.

¹⁸ Cooper (2002) 2547-49.

¹⁹ Hopper & Thompson (1980).

²⁰ Bentein (2013a) 5-10.

²¹ Bentein (2013a) 6: table 2.

²² Stahl (1907) 681.

We can find numerous examples of adverbs formed from participles already outlined in the grammar of Kühner & Gerth.²³ As noted by Bentein, there are no attestations of participial adverbs with lexically dynamic predicates.²⁴

Regarding the syntactic criteria, there are several remarks which have been already made regarding the validity of these tests, especially regarding the frequent attributive use. All participle can be used as attributes and the criterion of frequency is completely arbitrary.²⁵ It would be better to use a semantic test and consider whether a participle is frequently used to describe a property of a constituent. Nevertheless, we can keep this in mind and treat more as a suggestion, than a strict criterion in our analyses. The gradability issue also poses serious problems, since Karleen, who originally proposed it, did not base it on textual attestations, but tested the grammaticality of participles by combining them with adverbs *λίαν* and *σφοδρά* "very".²⁶ The fundamental problem is that these adverbs can be used in Ancient Greek to intensify verbs as well, so they cannot be used by any means to prove the adjectivization of participles.²⁷ As we have mentioned just above, the coordination with true adjectives is generally a good sign of adjectivization, assuming that, normally, the coordinated elements belong to the same category. Finally, the criterion which I think is the most useful and decisive is the presence or the absence of the argument structure. A participle in the predicative function still taking a direct object in the accusative is practically guaranteed to retain its verbal construction. The difficulty, however, comes with participles built on intransitive stems or stems which normally take a genitive, which is also the normal case for the object of some adjectives, e.g. *ἄξιος* "worthy of".²⁸

The framework described above has been created to describe the present participles, but it does not need to be treated as a complete proof of full adjectivization of participles. Even though the present participle in an "adjectival periphrasis" is used in prototypically adjectival positions, it does still sometimes preserve its verbal construction. However, all these criteria together provide a useful suggestion of determining whether participles can be considered adjectivized. In addition, some criteria can definitely apply to perfect and aorist participles.

²³ Kühner & Blass (1892) vol. II 300, e.g.: *ἀρκοῦντως* "abundantly", *διαφερόντως* "differently", *ἐπισταμένως* "skillfully", *λυσιτελούντως* "profitably", *πρεπόντως* "fitly", *προσηκόντως* "suitably", *συμφερόντως* "expedient", *τεταγμένως* "regularly".

²⁴ Bentein (2013a) 7.

²⁵ Bentein (2013a) 7.

²⁶ Karleen (1980) 113-134.

²⁷ Bentein (2013a) 8; for *σφοδρά* with verbs see Thesleff (1954) 95-102.

²⁸ LSJ s.v. *ἄξιος*.

There aren't a lot of arguments for the adjectivization of aorist participles. The aspectual, perfective, meaning of the aorist stem preserves a very strong verbal character of the participle.

The question of the perfect participle is more complicated. Aarts considers it "strongly adjectival" but generally not adjectivized.²⁹ A number of perfect participles has been lexicalized as adjectives, as listed by Stahl: *τετιημένος* "sorrowful", *πεπνυμένος* "wise", *τετελεσμένος* "fulfilled/fulfillable" in Homer, *κεχλαδώς* "bursting" in Pindar, *λελιμμένος* "in need of".³⁰ As we are going to see, there are more perfect participles which could be added to this list. Formally, perfect participles share some characteristics with the present participle, for example adverbial formations, e.g.: *πεφοβημένως* "timorously", *πεφυλαγμένως* "with due caution", *τεθορυβημένως* "tumultuously", *τεταγμένως* "in orderly manner".³¹ In addition, perfect participles can also be coordinated with adjectives, like we have seen in example (1).³² However, the reason why the perfect participles are usually not considered adjectivized is that they have often become integrated into the grammatical paradigms, as we have already discussed.

The model of Bentein, outlined in short in the paragraphs above, has focused mostly on the synchronic analysis of the classical Greek with occasional example from other stages of the language, including archaic, Homeric, Greek and later, New Testament Greek. I am interested in a more diachronic study. In my analysis of the Greek material I am concentrated exclusively on the Homeric corpus.

²⁹ Aarts (1965) 13.

³⁰ Stahl (1907) 681.

³¹ A comprehensive overview of adverbs built on participles in Ancient Greek can be found in Mathys (2019).

³² Gildersleeve (1980) 124 gives an example from the classical Attic prose: (Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 6.49.1) ἔως ἔπι ἀπαράσκευοί τε εἰσὶ καὶ μάλιστα ἐκπεπληγμένοι: "while the people were still unprepared, and the panic at its height." (tr. J. Dent).

VI.2.B. Analysis of the Homeric examples

In the following paragraphs I shall analyse examples typically found in the Homeric corpus, that is the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. I am going to firstly classify the periphrasis as either verbal or adjectival using the criteria outlined above. What I am most interested to find is whether there exist in Homer examples of the verbal periphrasis that is categorial and not suppletive, that is whether the periphrastic form is not adjectival, does not fill a gap in a verbal paradigm and either is equivalent to a synthetic finite form or possibly adds some semantic nuance. The first example to be examined is:

(2) (*Odyssey* 4.807)

οὐ μὲν γάρ τι θεοῖς ἀλιτήμενός ἐστι.

"since **he has done no wrong** in gods' sight."

This is a participle to the verb ἀλιταίνω "to sin" with a copula in the present tense. The morphological analysis of the participle poses difficulties.³³ This can either be a contracted form of the present participle, or an Aeolic perfect participle with a recessive accent. In the latter case the initial vowel would be short simply for metrical reasons, as *ἤλιτημένος could never fit the hexameter. This seems to be a case of an adjectival periphrasis, as is suggested in the LSJ.³⁴ The verb is not uncommon in Homer and can take a direct object in the accusative,³⁵ but it is the only occurrence of the participle to ἀλιταίνω in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Although the attested transitivity, the form has no passive meaning in this context and has to be interpreted as a middle voice. In the archaic Greek literature we only find ἀλιτήμενον in Hesiod:

(3) (*Shield of Heracles* 90-91)

ὃς προλιπὼν σφέτερόν τε δόμον σφετέρους τε τοκῆας

ᾧχετο τιμήσων ἀλιτήμενον Εὐρυσθῆα,

"so that he left his home and his parents and

went to do honor to the **wicked** Eurystheus"

³³ Dictionaries hesitate between the present and the perfect tense, but Autenrieth identifies it as a perfect participle, as well as the Homeric Scholia which explain the participle by other perfect participles like ἡμαρτηκώς.

³⁴ LSJ s.v. ἀλιταίνω: "ἀλιτήμενος as Adj., = ἀλιτρός, θεοῖς ἄ. sinful in the eyes of gods, Od.4.807."

³⁵ (*Iliad* 9.375) ἐκ γὰρ δὴ μ' ἀπάτησε καὶ ἤλιτεν "He cheated me and he did me hurt"

This example suggests that the participle was used strictly in an adjectival manner and no other forms appear until the works of ancient grammarians like Apollonius the Sophist or Hesychius. One argument which could suggest a suppletive interpretation is that there are no attestations of the perfect tense of ἀλιταίνω until the Byzantine period (12th c. A.D.).³⁶ However, the Hesiodic attestation strongly indicates that synchronically ἀλιτήμενος was an adjective. A very limited source material makes it impossible to utilize all the tests with any degree of certainty. A different example of a potentially participial periphrasis is:

(4) (*Iliad* 13.525)

ἦστο Διὸς βουλῇσιν ἐελμένος, ἔνθα περ ἄλλοι
ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἦσαν ἐεργόμενοι πολέμοιο.

"but he (...) was sitting, held by the command of Zeus, where the rest also
of the immortal gods were sitting, **in restraint from the battle.**"

Ἐεργόμενοι is a present medio-passive participle with the copular in the imperfect. Here again the question arises, whether the participle is used as a true participle or more as an adjective. We are also dealing with a transitive verb, but in this context it does have a clearly passive meaning. The phonological and morphological criteria are not fulfilled. In terms of syntax, the participle does preserve the normal argument structure of the finite forms of the verb which does take the genitive as its indirect object. We can turn to other attestations of the participles to ἐέργω in the Homer to see whether it is frequently used in attributive positions or, in general, referring to a property of its subject:

(5) (*Iliad* 5.89)

τὸν δ' οὐτ' ἄρ τε γέφυραι ἐεργμέναι ἰσχανόωσιν,

"one that the strong-compacted dikes can restrict no longer,"

The perfect medio-passive participle here does indeed refer to a property and has a strongly adjectival meaning as it refers strictly to a certain property of the noun with little to no verbal semantics.

³⁶ TLG sub lemma ἀλιταίνω.

(6) (*Iliad* 17.570-72)

καί οἱ μυΐης θάρσος ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἐνῆκεν,
ἧ τε **καὶ ἐργομένη** μάλα περ χροὸς ἀνδρομέοιο
ἰσχανάα δακέειν, λαρόν τέ οἱ αἶμ' ἀνθρώπου:
"inspiring in his breast the persistent daring of that mosquito
who **though it is driven hard away** from a man's skin, even
so, for the taste of human blood, persists in biting him."

The concessive semantics of this circumstantial participle assure that in this context it is a true participle and not a participle reanalysed as an adjective.

(7) (*Iliad* 12.200-02 = 218-20)

ὄρνις γάρ σφιν ἐπῆλθε περησέμεναι μεμαῶσιν
αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λαὸν **ἐέργων**
φοινήεντα δράκοντα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον
"As they were urgent to cross a bird sign had appeared to them,
an eagle, flying high and **holding** to the left of the people
and carrying in its talons a gigantic snake, blood-colored"

In this context the meaning is also clearly participial not adjectival as it is a circumstantial participle with temporal semantics.

(8) (*Iliad* 21.281-82)

νῦν δέ με λευγαλέω θανάτῳ εἴμαρτο ἀλῶναι
ἐρχθέντ' ἐν μεγάλῳ ποταμῷ ὡς παῖδα συφορβόν,
"But now this is a dismal death I am doomed to be caught in,
trapped in a big river as if I were a boy and a swineherd,"

The aorist participle is practically never considered adjectivized due to its aspectual value linking it closely with the verb.

The overview of participles to ἐέργω in Homeric epics still leaves room for interpretation. On the one hand, in all examples, except one, the participle is not used in the attributive position and there is no reason to assume that it was regularly adjectivized. On the

other hand, example (4) does provide a model for an adjectival usage. This, however, is not enough to argue for an adjectival periphrasis. It does not seem that there is any semantic difference between the periphrastic and the synthetic form εἶργοντο. Nonetheless, it has to be marked that the earliest attestation of medio-passive imperfect of this verb emerges at the end of the 5th century B.C. in Thucydides.³⁷ This could suggest a suppletive type of verbal periphrasis if in the times of the epic composition the synthetic forms was lacking in the paradigm, which was later regularized in the Classical language. However, contrary to other examples in this section, there is only one instance of a periphrasis with ἐεργόμενος, so it is not as certain that the form is simply suppletive. If it is a part of the normal paradigm, ideally we would like to have multiple attestations. Moreover, in the case of other suppletive forms, the first synthetic attestations appear in the Byzantine period (see below), whereas in this case, there is already a synthetic form in the Classical age. Furthermore, it certainly seems that not enough criteria for adjectivization have been fulfilled, which means it has to be a verbal periphrasis. The only option left is a categorial verbal periphrasis, thus a periphrasis which is either equivalent to the synthetic form already existing in the grammar. An important argument for the verbal interpretation is also the "zero-distance" between the participle and the auxiliary verb.

Another example with the perfect participle and the present copular is the medio-passive perfect participle to the verb λανθάνω. All the Homeric attestations of the perfect participle to this verb are listed below:

(9) (*Iliad* 13.269)

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐμέ φημι **λελασμένον** ἔμμεναι ἀλκῆς,

"For I tell you, neither **am I one who have forgotten** his war strength"

(10) (*Iliad* 16.538)

Ἕκτορ νῦν δὴ πάγῃ **λελασμένος** εἰς ἐπικούρων,

"Hektor, now **you have** utterly **forgotten** your armed companions,"

³⁷ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 3.86.4.

(11) (*Iliad* 23.69)

εὔδεις, αὐτὰρ ἐμεῖο **λελασμένος** ἔπλεν Ἀχιλλεῦ.

"You sleep, Achilles; **you have forgotten** me."

(12) (*Iliad* 16.776 = *Odyssey* 24.40)

κεῖσο μέγας μεγαλωστί, **λελασμένος** ἵπποσυνάων.

"he (...) lay mightily in his might, his horsemanship all **forgotten**"

(13) (*Odyssey* 13.92)

δὴ τότε γ' ἀτρέμας εὔδε, **λελασμένος** ὅσσ' ἐπεπόνθει.

"but now he slept still, **oblivious** of all he had suffered."

In examples (9) - (11) there is clearly a verbal periphrasis of the suppletive type as synthetic perfect medio-passive forms simply do not exist. Not surprisingly, the argument structure with the genitive case is preserved, as is normal for this verb in the middle voice. The verbal interpretation is uncontroversial. Examples (12) and (13) are interesting, although they are not periphrastic, the participle seems highly adjectival, which is reflected by the translation as "forgetful" or "oblivious". However, it is not inconceivable to interpret it simply as temporal "having forgotten". Overall, there is no good evidence that the periphrasis is adjectival or that it served any other purpose than to circumvent the lack of synthetic forms in the paradigm.

An analogous situation appears in the case of other verbs, like in this example of the perfect participle of φεύγω with a copula in the imperfect:

(14) (*Odyssey* 1.18)

οὐδ' ἔνθα **πεφυγμένος** ἦεν ἀέθλων

"not even then **was he free** of his trials"

Firstly, it has to be said that the clearly active meaning of the middle participle πεφυγμένος is not at all surprising. As a rule, active and middle perfect forms do not really differentiate in meaning in the Homeric language, which might be due to the fact that originally the Proto-Indo-European perfect did not have separate active and middle forms.³⁸ Secondly,

³⁸ Haspelmath (1992) 206-08.

the participle takes a genitive plural ἀέθλων as its object, which is not at all typical for the verb φεύγω, unless in the legal context in the Classical language, thus the normal argument structure has been changed.³⁹ It is, however, quite significant that the perfect medio-passive participle of φεύγω in the Homeric corpus is used four times and exclusively in the periphrasis and takes an object in the accusative preserving the standard argument structure:

(15) (*Iliad* 6.488)

μοῖραν δ' οὐ τίνα φημι **πεφυγμένον** ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν,
"but as for fate, I think that no man **has** yet **escaped** it"

(16) (*Iliad* 22.219)

οὐ οἱ νῦν ἔτι γ' **ἔστι πεφυγμένον** ἄμμε γενέσθαι,
"Now there is no way for him **to get clear away** from us,"

(17) (*Odyssey* 9.455)

Οὔτις, ὃν οὐ πῶ φημι **πεφυγμένον** ἔμμεν ὄλεθρον.
"Nobody, who I think **has not yet got clear** of destruction"

It is worth noting that the middle perfect participle of φεύγω is only attested twice outside of Homer, in the *Homeric Hymns* - also with a copular verb - and the second time in Apollonius of Rhodes.⁴⁰ However, one has to keep in mind that there are no attestations of medio-passive perfect indicative forms of φεύγω in Ancient Greek. Forms like πέφυγμαι or πέφυκται are attested only in the 9th century A.D.⁴¹ Thus, it is evident that the forms discussed above are a suppletive verbal periphrasis and their usage is simply forced by the lack of the full paradigm available for this verb in the real language.

Finally, we can pass to an example of a periphrastic participle, which cannot be explained differently than exactly this - a true verbal periphrasis, where the it is not "filling a hole" in a paradigm or involves a participial form which could be considered as adjectivized.

³⁹ As already noted in LSJ s.v. φεύγω.

⁴⁰ *H. hom. (to Aphrodite)* 5.34-35: τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐ πέρι πεφυγμένον ἔστ' Ἀφροδίτην/ οὔτε θεῶν μακάρων οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων;
Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 3.1115-16: ὄφρα σ', ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἐλεγχείας προφέρουσα,/ μνήσω ἐμῇ ἰότητι πεφυγμένον.

⁴¹ TLG s.v. πέφυγμαι.

(18) (*Odyssey* 24.491)

ἐξελθὼν τις ἴδοι μὴ δὴ σχεδὸν ὥσι κιόντες.

"Let someone go out and see if **they are approaching**."

Although it is true that we do not find a full paradigm of κίω in Homer, we do find a form of the present subjunctive, which is the form of the copula in the example above, so the morphological argument that ὥσι κιόντες replaces a non-existing form is out of the question.⁴² Another important point in favour of the verbal periphrasis interpretation is the zero distance between the participle and the auxiliary verb. Interestingly, there is another poetic formula which involves the verb κίω in this periphrastic form:

(19) (*Odyssey* 10.156 = 12.368)

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦα κιών νεὸς ἀμφιελίσσης,

"but as I went back to the oar-swept ship"⁴³ (own tr.)

(20) (*Odyssey* 16.471-73)

ἤδη ὑπὲρ πόλιος, ὅθι θ' Ἑρμαιοῦ λόφος ἐστίν,

ἦα κιών, ὅτε νῆα θοὴν ἰδόμην κατιούσαν/ ἐς λιμέν' ἡμέτερον:

"**I went** above the city, where the Hill of Hermes is, when I saw a fast vessel coming into our harbor." (own tr.)

In both cases we find a present participle of κίω with the verb εἰμί in the imperfect. This is surprising, because there are multiple instances of the imperfect forms of κίω in the Homeric epics, so there is no morphological motivation to use the periphrastic forms. If we are determined to prove that such verbal periphrases do not really exist yet in Homer and can always be explained by other factors, there is a solution for this problem, involving a different poetic formula:

⁴² see *Odyssey* 1.310-11: ὄφρα λοεσσάμενός τε τεταρπόμενός τε φίλον κῆρ/ δῶρον ἔχων ἐπὶ νῆα κίης,

⁴³ Note that this particular line has a variant in the manuscripts indicated by West (2017) 207 A.p. Porph. ad E 533; Cent. Par. 35.3; (ἦα κ.) EtG 144 M.

(21) (*Odyssey* 11.636-37)

αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ νῆα κιὼν ἐκέλευον ἑταίρους
αὐτοὺς τ' ἀμβαίνειν ἀνά τε πρυμνήσια λῦσαι·

"So, going back on board my ship, I told my companions
also **to go aboard**, and to cast off the stern cables;"

(22) (*Odyssey* 12.144-45)

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νῆα κιὼν ὄτρυνον ἑταίρους
αὐτοὺς τ' ἀμβαίνειν ἀνά τε πρυμνήσια λῦσαι.

"Then, going back on board my ship, I told my companions
also **to go aboard**, and to cast off the stern cables."

(23) (*Odyssey* 13.272-73)

αὐτίκ' ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νῆα κιὼν Φοίνικας ἀγαυοὺς
ἐλλισάμην καὶ σφιν μενοεικέα ληϊδα δῶκα·

"**I went** at once **to a ship**, and supplicated the lordly
Phoenician man, and them spoil, to stay their eagerness."

As we can easily see, the words νῆα κιὼν occupy the exact same metrical position as the phrase ἦα κιὼν in the previous examples. Furthermore, in the structure σχεδὸν ἦα κιὼν or ἐστίν, ἦα κιὼν, we are even able to hear νῆα κιὼν. Thus I believe that the verbal periphrasis of ἦα κιὼν is a completely artificial invention of the epic language forced by the metrical and formulaic necessities. Once this form was in use, our original example of ὥσι κιόντες gains an internal linguistic motivation within the Homeric dialect. Thus, although technically we can confirm the mere existence of participial periphrasis in Homer, these are certainly not inherited formations which were grammaticalized to the point of being employed with multiple verbs.

Although the periphrastic participle is very rare in Homer, we can see that it has a particular affinity with the perfect participle. The value of Homeric perfect has been long described as having a stative meaning, rather than referring to a past event with current relevance, as in the Classical Greek.⁴⁴ Thus it is not particularly surprising to see that of all participial forms, those which refer to states, are most prone to be used with a copular verb. It

⁴⁴ Haspelmath (1992) 190-91.

is, however, important that they still retain their verbal component as displayed by participles retaining their argument structure.

Having examined multiple examples of periphrastic periphrasis in Homer, it is difficult to sustain the claim made by Cooper, mentioned above, that in most cases the participle retains its independent status. This is surely true for one passage with ἀλιτήμενος, but for all other examples the verbal periphrasis, where the participle is absorbed in the construction with the auxiliary verb, is more likely. Mostly frequently, it is suppletive in nature, but there is an example of a categorial periphrasis as well. In my opinion it is a surprising result, since from a diachronic point of view we would expect the verbal periphrasis to develop from the adjectival periphrasis. The participle would function as an independent substantive and then, the construction could get grammaticalized. However, already in Homer, where the periphrasis is not at all widespread, the verbal periphrasis is more frequent than the adjectival. Later, in the Classical language, the participial periphrasis is well attested, in the lyric poetry, tragedy and in prose.⁴⁵ Most notably, we can observe a development of the ἔχω-periphrasis with the aorist and perfect participles, which is still lacking in Homer.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ See Cooper (2002) 2547ff. for a list of examples.

⁴⁶ Bruno (2014).

VI.3. Comparative section

VI.3.A. Hittite

In Hittite, there are attestations of nominative participle with the verb *ēš-* "to be" which can indicate a state or a completed action, the distinction is not always clear. It is, however, important to note that this construction is only possible with unergative, intransitive verbs.⁴⁷ For example:

(1) (AT 125:12)

(...) n=at arḫa ḫarranteš ešer

"(The birds which you sent to me), they were spoiled (=rotten)"

(2) (KUB 4.1 iv 26)

(...) nu=kan 1-aš 1-edani šer mauššanza

"(if there are two kidneys) and one is fallen on top of the other"

(3) (*The Proclamation of Telepenus*)

na-pa ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}-ŠU DUMU^{MEŠ}-ŠU LÚ^{MEŠ}ga-e-na-as-si-is ha-as-sa-an-na-as-sa-as Û ERIN^{MEŠ}-ŠU ta-ru-up-pa-an-te-es a-sa-an-du

"let his brothers, his sons, his relatives by marriage, the men of his family, and his army be united."

It is certain that Hittite did have a kind of periphrastic participial construction with a distinct semantics, usually describing a state, but not exclusively as shown in example (2). The exact syntactic interpretation of these passages is, however, slightly problematic. In examples (1) and (3) the meaning of the participles is very close to adjectives. In addition, the fact that this construction is only limited to intransitive verbs also suggests that in synchronic terms these forms were treated more like adjectives than as participles.

⁴⁷ Hoffner, Melchert (2008) 312, with examples (1) and (2).

VI.3.B. Indo-Iranian

VI.3.B.a. Sanskrit

When it comes to predicative participles, that is constructed with a copular verb, there is no strong evidence for them in the *Ṛgveda*. Although the participial periphrasis is not attested in Vedic Sanskrit, it did develop already in the epic language and there are well-documented examples in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*.⁴⁸ For example:

(1) (*MBh.* 1.38.2)

śrutam hi tena tad abhūt

"as he possessed that knowledge" (tr. van Buitenen)

(2) (*MBh.* 1.150.20)

arthau dvāv api niṣpannau ... bhaviṣyataḥ

"Two purposes are going to be accomplished this way (...)"

(tr. van Buitenen)

While in the example (1) *śrutam* can be interpreted as a substantivised participle, example (2) is clearly a periphrastic future. Such constructions, however, are extremely rare in the epic language.

In Vedic, there are also examples of participles used with verbs which could be interpreted as auxiliary, but do not necessarily need to. e.g.:

(3) (*RV* 9.97.14cd)

pavamānaḥ saṃtanim eṣi kṛṇvann indrāya soma pariṣicyamānaḥ

"Purifying yourself, **you go, producing** thunder, while being poured around for Indra, o Soma."

(4) (*RV* 2.13.4a)

prajābhyah puṣṭim vibhajanta āsate

⁴⁸ Speyer (1896) 62, with example (5).

"**They** [=the priests] **sit, apportioning** prosperity to their children [=their fires]."

In both cases we can either treat the finite verbs as having their full force or treat them as auxiliaries, like they can be used in Classical Sanskrit.⁴⁹

To sum up, we have only several doubtful passages, where the participle can be interpreted as a part of a periphrasis, but not with the form of the verb *as-* 'to be'.

⁴⁹ Lowe (2015) 116 ff. with examples.

VI.3.B.b. Avestan

Avestan has a wealth of periphrastic constructions involving participles and different auxiliary verbs. Reichelt lists numerous examples of periphrastic phrases with the verbs: *ah-* “to be”, *bav-* “to become”, *ay-* “to go”, *stā-* “to stand, to put”, and *nī+had-* “to sit down” in the sense of “to get down to”.⁵⁰

(5) (Young Avestan, *Yasna* 27.6)

sraošiiō ašiiō... hōča iḍa yōiθwā astū

“... und der soll hier emsig **tätig sein**”

(6) (Young Avestan, *Vīdēvdād* 18.19)

nōiṭ dim... bitīm vāčim paiti.pərəsəmnō buua

“an den **werde ich** keine zweite Frage **richten (richtend werden)**”

(7) (Young Avestan, *FrW* 8.2)

drū snaθənti snaθahe aēiti hā druxš

“mit der Keule des Schlägers **schlagend geht** die Druj einher / schlägt die Druj fortwährend um sich”

(8) (Young Avestan, *Vīdēvdād* 5.19)

tē hištənti γžarə.γžarəntiš antarə.arəḍəm zraiiəhō

“diese (Dinge) **wallen beständig** innerhalb des Sees auf und ab”

(9) (Young Avestan, *Yasna* 10.15)

yā taṭ yaṭ haomahe draonō nigāhənti nišhidaiti

“die **sich daran macht**, den Anteil des Haoma **zu verzehren**”

The periphrasis with the verb *ah-*, see example (5), is used in paraphrasing. Here we have the 3rd person imperative of the verb “to be” *astū*, with the perfect active

⁵⁰ Reichelt (1909) 329-30 with examples and translations (5) – (9).

participle *yōiθwā* from the root *yat-* “to put in motion” meaning together “he must be active”.⁵¹

Example (6) shows a periphrasis with the verb *bav-*, here in the 1st person, *buua*, with the participle *paiti.pərəsəmnō* from the root *paiti+fras-* “to ask”. The construction has a perfectivising meaning.⁵²

The constructions found in examples (7) and (8) with the verbs *ay-* and *stā-* both have durative meaning, exactly as we have seen in the case of Sanskrit in example (3). Firstly, the present active participle *snaθənti* from *snaθ-* “to hit” is accompanied by the verb *ay-* in the 3rd person singular. Next, we can see the participle *γžarə.γžarəntīš* in its intensified form from *γžar-* “to flow”. Its auxiliary verb is *hištənti*, a reduplicated present of *stā-* in the 3rd person plural. In these examples the meaning is thus “he keeps hitting” and “they keep flowing”.

Finally, in example (9) we find the last construction with the verb *nī+had-* “to get down to doing something, to start doing something”, here *nišhiδaiti* in the 3rd person singular. The participle *nigāñhənti* is formed from the verb *nī+gah-* “to eat”. The phrase means “he started eating”.

As we can see, the Avestan evidence is more abundant than Sanskrit. There is some convergence between the two, with the periphrastic constructions which use the verbs “to become”: *bhū-* in Sanskrit and *bav-* in Avestan, and especially “to go” *i-* in Sanskrit and *ay-* in Avestan. However, Sanskrit does not share the perfectivising function with Avestan in the case of *bhū-/bav-* periphrasis. The only candidate for a common Indo-Iranian periphrasis is the one with the verb “to go” with the durative meaning. However, this construction does not seem to be particularly frequent and it is not certain that the Sanskrit phrase can be treated as a real periphrasis where the main verb loses its original meaning and becomes purely an auxiliary verb. For this reason, I argue that the Avestan data should be treated as an innovation, rather than as a continuation of the Indo-Iranian archaism.

⁵¹ Bartholomae (1904) s.v. *yat-*.

⁵² Bartholomae (1904) s.v. *bav-*; Reichelt (1909) 330.

VI.3.C. Latin

Esse “to be” with a participle is, of course, commonly used as an auxiliary verb in the creation of composite tenses, e.g. the past passive indicative, e.g.: *Caesar a Bruto interfectus est.* or with the future active participles denoting an intention to do something. The usage of the predicative periphrasis, that is a participle with the verb *esse* as a copula, is very rare in Latin. There are, however, several examples of present active participles constructed with *esse* to denote a permanent state:⁵³

(1) (Plautus, *Amphitryon* 132)

cubat complexus, quoius cupiens maxume est.

"and is embracing her **of whom he is especially enamoured.**" (tr. Riley)

(2) (Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 2.22)

mundi autem partes sentientes sunt;

"Or les parties du monde **sont conscientes,**" (tr. van den Bruwaene)

(3) (Cicero, *Pro L. Valerio Flacco* 9.)

*nam si quis umquam de nostris hominibus a genere isto studio ac voluntate
non abhorrens fuit,*

"For if anyone of our people **was ever not unsympathetic** to that race in interest and disposition," (tr. Lord)

(4) (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 1.39.7.)

*Non nulli etiam Caesari nuntiabant, cum castra moveri ac signa ferri
iussisset, non fore dicto audientes milites neque propter timorem signa
laturos.*

"Some had even gone so far as to declare to Caesar that when he gave the order for camp to be shifted and standards advanced **the soldiers would not obey,** and by reason of cowardice would not move forward." (tr. Edwards)

⁵³ Menge (2000) 717 with examples.

It is interesting that that we find examples of this construction already in Plautus and then in the Classical Latin, although marginally. This suggests that the construction exists throughout time in some layer of the language, possibly more frequent in the spoken language, but has never been fully grammaticalized.

VI.3.D. Germanic

VI.3.D.a. Gothic

There are multiple examples of the periphrastic usage of the present participle in Gothic with the verb *wisan* or *wairþan*. In the vast majority they are copied from Ancient Greek and even where the construction seems original we may suspect the Greek influence. Below we may see examples of both calqued and quasi-original constructions:⁵⁴

(1) (Luke 5.17)

wesun sitandans Farisaieis jak witodalaisarjos

ἦσαν καθήμενοι Φαρισαῖοι καὶ νομοδιδάσκαλοι

"Pharisees and teachers of the law **were sitting** nearby,"

The Gothic passage is the literal, word-for-word translation of the Greek and thus cannot be treated as evidence of the original Gothic syntax.

(2) (I Corinthians 10.18.)

gamainjandans hunslastada *sind*

κοινωνοὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου εἰσίν;

"Are [they] **not partakers** of the altar? "

In the example (2) the Gothic participle *gamainjandans* renders the Greek adjective κοινωνοί, and for this reason, it is more prudent to treat it as having an adjectival value both semantically and syntactically, especially that the rest of the phrase follows the Greek word order.

⁵⁴ Mossé (1938) 22-30 with examples.

VI.3.D.b. Old Norse

In Old Norse participial periphrastic constructions are often used to create composite tenses, for example the perfect participle of a intransitive verb with the auxiliary verbs *vera* or *hafa* is used to form the perfect. The present participle with *vera* has a durative aspect, whereas with *verða* it expresses the future tense. Moreover, the participle of a transitive verb with auxiliaries *vera* or *verða* forms a passive.⁵⁵

Thus, if anything, the forms which are the most relevant to our inquiry are the present participles with the verb *vera*. The question is whether we can treat them as having a true predicative value taken with the copula or they are just a part of a periphrasis with *vera* as an auxiliary word. An important factor is the fact that *vera* can appear in different tense and moods: present (3), preterit (4) - the most frequent, future (5) and in the imperative (6), e.g.:⁵⁶

(3) (*Gamla norsk homiliebok* 138.6)

þeir eru unnendr guði

"ils aiment Dieu" (tr. Mossé)

(4) (*Tristrams saga ok Isondar* 21.25)

váru hánun teljandi

"they replied" (tr. Schach)

(5) (*Flóres saga konungs* 131.31)

aldri verð ek Flóres konungi unnandi

"jamais je n'aimerai le roi Flores" (tr. Mossé)

(6) (*Ívens saga* 4.10)

verið vel skiljandi

"or entendez" (after Mossé)

The fact that the participle is usually uninflected might suggest that it does not have a real predicative value, but it rather used as in a composite form and the verb is not a copula but

⁵⁵ Faarlund (2004) 131-33.

⁵⁶ Mossé (1938) 31-32.

an auxiliary. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that these forms are well-attested in Old Norse and that possibly the origins of these composite tenses and constructions were the predicative participles. Unfortunately, three of these four examples cannot be treated with full authority as they are Old Norse translations of foreign texts. The source of this passage in the *Gamal norsk homiliebok* is a Latin text titled *Admonitio valde necessaria. Sanctorum angelorum. in die sancti Michaelis*. *Tristrams saga ok Isondar* is a translation of *The Saga of Tristram and Isond* from Old French and *Ívens saga* is a translation of *Yvain* de Chrétien de Troyes.⁵⁷ So again, it is controversial to treat these passages as a firm proof of Old Norse syntax.

⁵⁷ Pulsiano (1993) 337f.

VI.3.D.c. Old English

As we know, Modern English utilises multiple periphrastic participial constructions to form several grammatical tenses: the present continuous, the past continuous, the present perfect continuous, the past perfect continuous, the future continuous, and the future perfect continuous. Many of them were already present in Old English: the present participle with the auxiliary *beon* / *wesan* which marks a progressive action or the durative aspect, the past participle with the verb *habban* to form the present perfect tense as well as with *habban* in the past tense to form the past perfect tense. Moreover, the passive is created in the same way: *beon* / *wesan* in the present tense plus a past participle.⁵⁸

(7) (*Cartularium Saxonicum* 405)

Ic Lufa wes soecende and smeagende...

“I, Lufa, **was searching** and **reflecting**...”

(8) (*Anglo-Saxon Wills* 20)

... hu ic mine are... geunnen hæbbe

“... how I **have granted** my property”

(9) (*Cartularium Saxonicum* 591)

...for ðin ic his hæfde ær onfongen

“...because I **had sponsored** him before.”

(10) (*Anglo-Saxon Charters* 94)

Gif ænnig þonne sy uppahofen and inblawen

“If any then **may be uplifted** and **inflated**”

Old English is rich in periphrastic forms, but they are all fully grammaticalised and form grammatical tenses or the passive voice. It does not thus bring any significant evidence into our comparative inquiry of the Ancient Greek participles.

⁵⁸ Carlton (1970) 124-125 with examples (7) – (10) and translations.

VI.3.D.d. Old Saxon

When it comes to the predicative usage of the participles, there is only one sure example in the *Héliand*:

(11) (*Héliand* 5526)

*wirdid thiū tid kuman that thia muoder **thes mendendia sind***

"The time will come when Jewish mothers **will be the happy ones.**"

(tr. Murphy)

The fact that the participle is accompanied by the definite article *thes* suggests, however, that synchronically the morphologically participial form *mendendia* is highly adjectivised and used attributively in this context.

VI.3.E. Slavic

VI.3.E.a. Old Church Slavonic

Although the periphrastic participle is not uncommon in OCS, it is certainly inspired by the Greek constructions in many cases. There are, however, examples of its independent usage. It usually, but not always, signifies a durative action or a permanent state.⁵⁹ For example:

(1) (*Codex Suprasliensis* 233₂₀)

τοῦτο γίνωσκε,

se že vědy bōdi

"know this"

or:

(2) (Athanasius II, *Orations Against the Arians* 2 §22)

děljaję že bōdi rudu Slovo

ἐργαζέσθω δὲ... τὴν ὕλην ὁ Λόγος

"let the Word work the materials," (tr. Ph. Schaff)

As we can see in examples (1) and (2), the participial periphrasis can even render an Ancient Greek imperative form. However, it is still possible that the construction has entered the OCS syntax through Greek, as in these passages from the Bible:

(3) (Luke 19.47)

bě učę vŭ crŭkŭve

ἦν διδάσκων (...) ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.

"He taught (...) in the temple. "

or

⁵⁹ Gardiner (1984) 134; Vaillant (1977) 212f: examples (1) - (5).

(4) (Mark 15.43)

bě čaję česaristviě Božiě

ἦν προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ

"who also **waited** for the kingdom of God,"

However, even in the Bible, there are predicative participles completely independent from the Greek original, for example:

(5) (John 4.47)

bě bo umiraję

ἤμελλε γὰρ ἀποθῆσκειν

"for he was at the point of death."

In example (5) we may notice that the Greek version uses μέλλω + infinitive in this construction, which is rendered into OCS by a participial periphrasis. This might suggest that the predicative participles were already used in OCS without the Greek influence and were simply used to translate similar constructions from Greek. Their usage is extended beyond the scope of the Greek, for instance in the example (1) where the periphrastic participle as an imperative, which is never the case in Greek. Example (5) indicates that the construction was freely available to the OCS speakers as it can be used to render other Greek expressions. Whether these constructions are fully grammaticalized as forms with specific semantics or have been used rather spontaneously under the Greek influence is difficult to establish. The evident syntactic calques mixed with independent usage suggest that the construction could have likely entered OCS through the word for word translations of the Greek biblical texts.

VI.3.E.b. Old Novgorodian

Unfortunately due to the lack of access to data, I have not been able to find the relevant material for Old Novgorodian. We can obviously invoke the periphrastic passive formed with the help of the past passive participle in *-nb/-tb* and the verb “to be”.⁶⁰

(7) (*Laurentian codex* 96v.)

sv'aščena bystb cerky kamenaja

“une église en pierre **fut consacrée**”

Apart from this fully grammaticalised construction, no other participial periphrasis in Old Novgorodian is known to me.

⁶⁰ Le Feuvre (2007) 78, example (6).

VI.3.F. Lithuanian

Lithuanian has seven compound tenses created with the use of participles combined with the verb *būti* "to be". There are four perfect tenses: present perfect, past perfect, past perfect frequentative, and future perfect. They refer to a state resulting from an anterior action in the relative time,⁶¹ e.g.:

(1) *Buvaũ pamiřšęs, brólis prąšė tau pérduoti šį láišką.*

"**I had forgotten**, my brother has asked me to give you this letter."

In addition, there are three compound continuative tenses: the past continuative, the past continuative frequentative, and the future continuative. They denote an action which had started before another action and still takes place when the other action starts,⁶² e.g.:

(2) *Kai iė jo šeiminińkas, visi jau būvo besėdį už stalo.*

"When the master came in, everybody **was already sitting** at the table."

Another usage of participles in Lithuanian, classified in the literature as predicative, which has no equivalent in the other languages discussed in this thesis, is the relative mode (lat. *modus relativus*).⁶³ Lithuanian is the only language in our comparison which codes evidentiality. Participles appear as sole predicates of the phrase without the verb *būti*, and have a modal meaning expressing indirectly experienced or doubtful events e.g.:

(3) *Seniaũ žmónės namų nerakìndavę.*

"(I heard) People **didn't lock** their doors in olden times."

Active neuter participles can be used to form impersonal sentences:

(4) *Čia daũg grýbų bůvę*

"(I heard) **There used to be** a lot of mushrooms here."

⁶¹ Ambrazas (1997) 248-51: examples (1) – (2).

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Ambrazas (1997) 370-72: examples (3) – (5); Petit (1999) 121ff.

Passive neuter participles combined with an agent in the genitive are used to express an unexpected event or an event causing a surprise:

(5) *O gandraĩ skėlbė, kad **ėsama** ir užmuštų.*

“Rumour had it **there were** casualties as well.”

While some of the compound tenses are quite comparable to other compound tenses found in Indo-European languages, especially in the Germanic branch, the relative mode is a unique invention of Lithuanian.

VI.4. Conclusions

Although predicative participles are found in almost every Indo-European branch analysed in this work, one has to be very careful with any attempts to argue for the Proto-Indo-European reconstruction. The forms fulfil different purposes in each language: sometimes, they are simply suppletive, sometimes they denote a state, sometimes they add no additional meaning to the existing synthetic form. Thus, there is no indication that Proto-Indo-European could have grammaticalized a participial periphrasis. One has to admit, however, that there is a strong typological tendency among the Indo-European languages to create the periphrastic forms with the participles. The simplest explanation for this phenomenon is the formal and functional similarities between participles and adjectives. Since every Indo-European language can create phrases with adjectives in predicate position, the model can easily be extended to participles, initially in cases where morphological participles have strongly adjectival semantics, like referring to a property rather than an action.

VI.4.A. The question of passive in Proto-Indo-European

The question which does not directly lie within the frames of Ancient Greek philology, but which has been a point of controversy throughout the history of Indo-European linguistics is the status and the development of the passive voice. Since so many of historical Indo-European languages create the passive voice with the use of participles and the verb "to be", it is necessary for me to take a position on the issue. Our reconstruction of the late Proto-Indo-European verbal system mostly relies on the so-called Greco-Aryan system. The dominance of these two languages in the reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European verb spawned a school of thought which excludes the periphrastic passive from the reconstructed system. This is the mainstream view in Indo-European linguistics which started already with Karl Brugmann and was picked up by many scholars later, like Hirt and Lehmann.⁶⁴ They both argue for different reasons, both morphological and syntactic, that the middle voice has developed passive semantics and thus the passive originally had a syncretic not periphrastic form. Thus, the same suffix would have both the middle and the passive meaning and they could split later, like in the case of the Ancient Greek aorist, which is one of few forms which differentiate middle and passive voice in that language. Hirt also expressed himself in favour of the syncretic passive voice in Proto-Indo-European, although he thought that there had already been a separate passive voice with its morphology, which did survive in some Indo-European languages, like the Indo-Iranian aorist third person singular in *-i* or the Oscan-Umbrian passive forms in *-r*, cognate with the Celtic. However, Lehmann completely dismisses the possibility of the passive voice in Proto-Indo-European, as he denounces the existence of intrinsically transitive and intransitive verbs at that stage of the language.⁶⁵ Furthermore, he argues that the late Proto-Indo-European started to shift from the OV to the VO word order, which was followed by the use of pronouns to convey the original middle semantics: reflexive and reciprocal, and thus the meaning of the morphological middle shifted to the passive. His argument is based on several tentative assumptions, which might not necessarily be true. One observation which is obviously

⁶⁴ Brugmann (1916) 701ff; Hirt (1928) 133ff; Lehman (1974) 184ff.

⁶⁵ Lehmann (1974) 181: as an example he gives Latin constructions with intransitive verbs taking the accusative of direction or the accusative of respect: Vergil *Aeneid* 1.2: *Italiam vēnit*, Cicero *In Catilinam* 4.1.2.: *multa tacuī*. Even if this usage is inherited, the function of a grammatical case in Indo-European does not have to be limited to one, and we can simply construe these passages as examples of accusative used in a different function than to designate the direct object, thus I do not agree with Lehmann that there is strong evidence for the absence of transitivity as a grammatical category intrinsic to the root in Proto-Indo-European.

true is that in Ancient Greek the middle voice gains the passive meaning when used with an agent:

(1) (*Iliad* 6.363)

ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ὄρνυθι τοῦτον, ἐπειγέσθω δὲ καὶ αὐτός,

"Rather rouse this man, and let himself also be swift to action,"

(2) (*Iliad* 5.622)

ἐπείγετο γὰρ βελέεσσι.

"since he was battered with spears"

Last, he argues for a correlation between the frequency of the passive voice and the number of causative verbs, which he believes Proto-Indo-European had not had.⁶⁶ The increase of causatives correlated with the increase of passive is presented quite convincingly, although the notion that Proto-Indo-European lacked causatives is not at all grounded in research, as the reconstruction of the causative-iterative suffix *-éye- is relatively uncontroversial.⁶⁷

A different school of thought postulates the existence of passive in the form of participial periphrasis already in Proto-Indo-European, on the basis that such constructions exist in Indic, Iranian, Hellenic, Italic, Celtic, Germanic, Baltic, and Slavic, as already stated by Brugmann, who, however, suggests that they were developed at some time after the separation of each branch.⁶⁸ The development model which he offers assumes that the syncretic and periphrastic forms partially overlapped, then became completely synonymous and in some case the periphrastic constructions won, or like in the case of Ancient Greek perfect and pluperfect medio-passive indicative, a hybrid "synthetic-analytic" paradigm appeared, where all forms are synthetic with the exception of the third person plural which is analytic. Otherwise, we get a analytic paradigm like in the Latin perfect passive, or even the complete abandonment of the synthetic passive in all forms, like in Baltic and Slavic.⁶⁹ John Costello argues for a reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European passive consisting of the participle and the verb "to be". His argument is the extension of the comparative method conventionally used for

⁶⁶ Lehmann (1974) 183f.

⁶⁷ Meier-Brügger (2003) 173.

⁶⁸ Brugmann (1916) 781.

⁶⁹ Brugmann (1916) 784.

phonemes and morphemes into the realm of syntax. As he identifies a common "syntagmeme"⁷⁰ in Italic and Germanic denoting the periphrastic passive, he states that it is already enough to posit it for Proto-Indo-European.⁷¹ Although he adds evidence from other Indo-European branches, like Balto-Slavic, Indo-Iranian, Anatolian, and Celtic, his reasoning is fundamentally flawed. The comparative method works well in the fields of morphology and phonology in the cases where the data is not mutually exclusive. We can easily reconstruct a suffix back to Proto-Indo-European, if we find it with the same or a similar function in two separate branches, as it is very improbable for two languages to independently develop the same morpheme, especially if it is not exclusive with data already found in other languages. However, the same cannot be said about syntagmemes. Syntax seems to be a much more productive category, where certain innovations are likely to happen, for example interrogative pronouns have a high chance of becoming relative pronouns. Thus even though we find Latin *qui* and Hittite *kuis* as their relative pronouns, we cannot use the "comparative method" and claim that this is enough to reconstruct the Proto-Indo-European relative pronouns as **k^uis* instead of normally reconstructed **(H)yo-*. Thus, although we do find participial periphrasis in many Indo-European languages, that fact alone is not enough to be certain of its existence at the Proto-Indo-European. This is significantly different from what I have presented above throughout this thesis, for example when I claimed, after Rosemarie Lühr, that the *participium cum accusativo* can be reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European on the basis of its presence in ancient Indo-European languages. *Accusativus cum participio* does not exclude the existence of other syntactic constructions expressing the same kind of relationship in the proto-language.

The question which naturally comes to mind is whether it is likely for an Indo-European language to develop a periphrastic passive with a participle and the answer has to be - yes, because of the very nature of participles. Due to the fact that participles, especially middle/passive, like adjectives can refer to properties, they are likely to be used with the copular verbs. However, they also are the part of the inflectional paradigm of verbs, and thus intrinsically refer to actions. The combination of these two facts makes the participial periphrasis a likely candidate for the expression of the passive voice. To reiterate, I consider all the passive participial constructions in Indo-European language new, independent developments, which do not go back to Proto-Indo-European.

⁷⁰ Syntagmeme is defined as a syntactic construction consisting of a sequence of tagmemes, which are syntactic slots or functions, e.g. a subject or object, see Matthews (2007) s.v. tagmemics.

⁷¹ Costello (1984) 148ff.

VI.4.B. Periphrastic tenses in Indo-European

Another question which has to be addressed, when we discuss the participial periphrasis in Indo-European is whether we can reconstruct any periphrastic tenses for Proto-Indo-European. Obviously, we find such forms in various Indo-European branches, like Anatolian - the Hittite periphrastic tense with a stative semantics, Germanic - Old Norse is rich in various periphrastic forms, including the periphrastic perfect, Lithuanian and its seven compound tenses, Slavic - predicative participles in OCS, and possibly also Indic, with some forms possibly interpreted as continuous. The question is whether we can find any common form and meaning of all these periphrastic constructions which would allow us reconstruct it in Proto-Indo-European.

Let's briefly discuss the form: whether we can find a type of participle and the same auxiliary verb in all languages, and the meaning - whether these periphrastic forms share similar semantics. In Ancient Greek, such constructions do not exist, there is no proof that any periphrastic forms has any distinct semantic. The Hittite has the *-nt- participles which contrary to other Indo-European express the state and correspond more to the passive participle.⁷² As we have already seen, the Hittite can combine this participle with the verb *ēš-* "to be". In Sanskrit, already in the *R̥gveda* we find forms which could be interpreted as iterative periphrasis with the present participles in *-nt- and the verbs *i-* "to go" and *ās-* "to sit". The periphrastic forms found in the epic language are passive participles with the verb *bhū-* "to be", this involves the grammaticalized periphrastic future. Latin knows periphrastic forms with the present active participles and the verb *esse* "to be", but these are very rare and have not been grammaticalized. The most widespread periphrastic forms apart from the passive, are the active and passive periphrastic conjugations, the combination of the future active participle in *-urus* or the gerundive with *esse*. In the Germanic branch the composite tenses with the participles have been greatly developed. We can remind what we have already stated for Old Norse, where the perfect participle of a intransitive verb with the auxiliary verbs *vera* "to be" or *hafa* "to have" is used to form the perfect, and the participle of a transitive verb with auxiliaries *vera* or *verða* "to become" form a passive. The present participle with *vera* has a durative aspect, whereas with *verða* it expresses the future tense. In Old Church Slavonic we find a number of periphrastic forms with the present participle and the verb *byti* "to be", although none of these have been fully grammaticalized with specific semantics. Lithuanian has multiple composite forms known as perfect for each tense: present, past, past iterative, and future. The forms are

⁷² Hoffner & Melchert (2008) 339.

created with the past active participle and the verb *būti* in its respective tense. In addition, we find the inchoative tense: past, past iterative and future, created with the verb *būti* in respective tense and the active present participle with the prefix *be-*.

To sum up, the languages which do have grammaticalized composite tenses with the participles periphrasis are Sanskrit, Latin, Old Norse and Lithuanian. However, it is impossible to find any common denominators for all of these languages, so this form of participial syntax is not to be reconstructed in Proto-Indo-European, although it has seen major developments in some Indo-European languages.

In this chapter we have seen an overview of predicative participles in Homeric Greek and other Indo-European languages. From a purely Greek point of view, it is clear, that the participial periphrasis is certainly not an archaic feature of the language and is rather at the point of its birth rather than full development. When it comes to the reconstruction of periphrastic participial forms back to Proto-Indo-European, I have laid out my arguments against in the paragraphs above. The temptation to bring together all the periphrases found in different Indo-European is understandable, but we lack any firm evidence for the exact reconstruction of such formations.

VII. Conclusions

The research question which I have tried to answer is whether the participial syntax of Ancient Greek, and more specifically Homeric Greek, is more of a heritage or more of an innovation in comparison to what we can project back to Proto-Indo-European. In order to answer this question, I have treated the Homeric data in order to describe and analyse every aspect of the syntax of Greek participles, which I have then compared with a wide array of ancient or medieval Indo-European languages from different branches. In this way I have hoped to see which features are widely shared in archaic Indo-European languages, and which are specific to Ancient Greek.

The answer was never going to be straightforward. We can see that in some aspects Ancient Greek has developed its participial system beyond those of other languages and that is surely an innovation. However, identifying an inherited feature is more complicated. Some similarities maybe be due to the influence of Ancient Greek on other languages. Others maybe be common, but independent developments which may be likely due to morphosyntactic correspondences and the similar status of participles as a word class in Indo-European languages. Such difficulties of syntactic reconstruction cause some to reject the idea of “Indo-European syntax”. I believe, however, that guarding the necessary precautions, we can reach relatively uncontroversial conclusions to this inquiry.

VII.1. Attributive participles

It seems quite clear that the most basic participial function in all Indo-European languages is the attributive function. Given the morphological adjective-hood of participles, it is not astonishing that we can find it in every single language examined in this thesis. None of the languages makes a distinction between participles in restrictive and non-restrictive contexts, so we can suppose that this distinction did not exist in PIE either. All languages allow both active and passive or medio-passive participles in the attributive function. Moreover, all languages know the substantivisation of attributive participles. Whether this feature existed already in PIE or has been independently developed in individual daughter branches is difficult to determine. It is sure that the substantivisation of participles goes hand in hand with the substantivisation of adjectives.

In effect, Homeric Greek can be considered a conservative language in its treatment of attributive participles. It shares all the core features found in other languages and it does not present any significant innovations, nor does it share any innovations attested in other languages, for example the grading of participles in Old English.¹

¹ See section II.3.D.c.

VII.2. Circumstantial participles

The question of circumstantial participles is a little more complex. On the one hand the most archaic language in our comparison, Hittite, does not know this function. On the other hand, all other languages use circumstantial participles to a great extent. All classical languages, Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, as well as Lithuanian show an unprecedented variety in the different semantics of these participles suggesting that this function has been developing already for some time. As I have already suggested, the temporal meaning is the most basic and can be applied in most contexts. All other meanings, e.g. causal, conditional, concessive, can be deduced from the context and be a preferable interpretation, but the participle in itself expresses a temporal relationship which is a simple consequence of the fact that every participle has a certain grammatical tense-aspect.

I think that it is rather uncontroversial that the late PIE - after the separation of the Anatolian branch and the establishment of the so-called Greco-Aryan verbal system - knew the circumstantial participles in their temporal meaning. When we look at the morphology of participle reconstructed for PIE we can see that it is much more developed than the mere *-nt-* participles of Hittite. The morphological development must have been accompanied by the functional development. It would probably be too audacious to suggest that late PIE already has the full array of different circumstantial semantics ranging from causal to concessive, but a temporal meaning was probably present. Those languages which made great use of participles, like Ancient Greek, Lithuanian, and to some extent Latin and Vedic applied participles in a variety of contexts, giving them diverse shades of meaning.

If we accept this scenario, it would mean that Greek has inherited circumstantial participles and developed their functions by extending their possible semantics. We can add to this the possibility to transfer modality to participles which I have discussed earlier in this thesis. This is certainly a more advanced usage of participles and a Greek innovation.²

² See section III.2.C.

VII.3. Dominant participles

In this section, I have decided to briefly abandon the structure of my thesis, where I treat the absolute participles and the complementary participles in separate chapters, and group them together under the notion of dominant participles. They have been divided into two chapters in my thesis, since I had set out to follow the more traditional division of participles in Ancient Greek, but throughout this work it has become apparent that the notion of dominant participles is fundamental to both.

In the chapter on the absolute constructions we have seen that the dominant participles exist in almost every examined branch of Indo-European languages, excluding Anatolian. These include either absolute constructions or prepositional and non-prepositional phrases of the type *Sicilia amissa* and *ab Urbe condita*. We find all these constructions in Homeric Greek, but it is also quite clear that the genitive absolute is a purely Greek innovation. It is apparent that the reconstruction of one grammatical case for absolute constructions in PIE is not possible. The question to answer is how a given case has come to be used in absolute constructions in each given language. We have suggested that the origins of the genitive absolute are linked to the usage of non-prepositional dominant participles in the genitive, which has a well-established causal meaning in Greek. In this way it could be reinterpreted as an adverbial modifier which is syntactically separate from the main clause. Thus, the conclusion is that the dominant participles are an archaic, inherited feature, while the use of the genitive is an innovation, just like later the use of the accusative in absolute constructions, not yet attested in Homer.

The complementary participles are also a subtype of dominant participles. In the comparative section I have confirmed the study led by Rosemarie Lühr showing that a complementary participle used with the verbs of sensory perception can be reconstructed as a form of complementation back to PIE. As before, Ancient Greek inherited this type of participle and greatly expanded upon it, adding multiple semantic verb classes which could be complemented by a participle.

VII.4. Predicative participles

We have shown that although predicative participles are known in some forms of Ancient Greek, especially in the New Testament Greek, they are basically absent from Homeric Greek. There are very few attestations of periphrastic forms in Homer and each time, except from one,³ we can find a good explanation for their existence. Moreover, even though many Indo-European languages form periphrastic tenses or the periphrastic passive, we have argued that these should not be reconstructed in PIE and are innovations of each individual language or branch. In this respect, the syntax of predicative participles in Homeric Greek is inherited – it does not exist.

³ See section VI.2.B.

VII.5. Further research

The topic of this thesis is extremely vast and in many cases I have only scratched the surface of certain issues. The topic of the competition between participles and other forms of apposition or complementation can be greatly expanded upon. I have included limited case studies in the chapters on attributive and complementary participles which could be developed on a largely expanded corpus. The transfer of modality, or lack thereof, between modal verbs and participles is another subject which deserves a thesis on its own and which could also benefit from a larger corpus. In the area of absolute participles, a comprehensive study of the genitive case could confirm or reject the hypothesis presented in this thesis that the causal genitive lies at the origins of the genitive absolute in Ancient Greek.

The comparative section of this thesis has shown to what an extent the syntax of participles in Indo-European languages is poorly described. The fact that such a monograph exists neither for Classical Greek nor for Latin speaks volumes. The only two languages for which it is not the case are Vedic, thanks to the monograph by John Lowe, and Lithuanian thanks to the article of Daniel Petit, both of which I have mentioned multiple times throughout this work. It has been quite difficult to collect reliable data on Hittite, Gothic or Old Norse. Some major Indo-European languages had to be completely left behind due to the lack of substantial literature on the subject, like the Celtic branch, Armenian and Tocharian.⁴ I hope that this thesis will encourage more research on the syntax of non-finite verb forms in Indo-European languages.

⁴ For a comprehensive overview of the morphology of Tocharian participles see Pinault (2012).

Résumé en français¹

Introduction

Cette thèse a pour but d'investiguer la syntaxe et la sémantique des participes en grec homérique. La question principale à laquelle je vise à répondre est celle de savoir quelles fonctions des participes en grec ancien sont héritées du proto-indo-européen et lesquelles sont des innovations grecques. Pour cette raison la thèse présente une importante composante comparative. Dans chaque chapitre je décris et j'analyse un type de participes en grec homérique et je le compare à ceux d'autres langues indo-européennes anciennes ou médiévales : le hittite, le védique, l'avestique, le latin, le gotique, le vieux norrois, le vieil anglais, le vieux slave, le vieux russe de Novgorod et le lituanien. Or, le grec homérique reste le centre d'intérêt principal de la thèse et sert de point de départ pour la reconstruction des fonctions participiales en proto-indo-européen.

Un paragraphe d'introduction au proto-indo-européen est nécessaire pour les lecteurs qui ne sont pas familiarisés avec ce domaine. Grâce à la comparaison de structures phonologiques et morphologiques de plusieurs langues anciennes : le grec ancien, le latin, le sanskrit, on a constaté que ces langues avaient une source commune. Durant ces deux derniers siècles, on a découvert que d'autres langues et d'autres branches appartiennent à la famille des langues indo-européennes. L'ancêtre commun de ces langues est appelé le proto-indo-européen et il a été parlé probablement dans le quatrième millénaire avant notre ère. Le grec ancien est une des plus importantes sources pour la reconstruction du proto-indo-européen, puisqu'il est particulièrement archaïque dans certains aspects.

J'aimerais également expliquer brièvement le choix du corpus homérique pour cette étude, qui n'est pas évident et qui pose certains problèmes dans le contexte de la recherche sur la syntaxe. Il est essentiel de comprendre que les épopées homériques appartenaient au registre de la poésie orale, composée pour être mémorisée et déclamée par des rhapsodes professionnels. La poésie grecque ancienne est aussi métrique, cela veut dire que le mètre, dans

¹ Toutes les références bibliographique peuvent être trouvées dans les sections correspondantes dans la version complète de cette thèse en anglais.

le cas des poèmes homériques l'hexamètre dactylique, impose une séquence de syllabes longues et courtes qui doit être respectée. Tous ces phénomènes ont un impact extrêmement significatif sur la langue homérique. Il a été démontré que 57,29% de deux poèmes sont composés de formules poétiques : des expressions figées qui peuvent entrer facilement dans le mètre. Cela rend une étude syntaxique plus difficile. Cependant, le grec homérique est la forme la plus ancienne du grec, si on exclut le mycénien qui ne se prête pas aux recherches syntaxiques. Par conséquent, il est très précieux dans chaque étude comparative qui essaie d'étudier la préhistoire de la langue grecque.

Quant à la méthodologie adoptée, il faut aborder plusieurs questions. Je suis la définition du participe formulée par John Lowe dans son livre sur les participes en védique :

These are the two sufficient and necessary conditions for a form to be labelled a participle: morphological adjective-hood, and categorical adherence to the verbal system, in the sense of being an inflectional part of the verbal system (as opposed to being only derivationally related to the verbal system).

Une notion qui sera pertinente pour les analyses dans les chapitres suivants, c'est la définition du participe comme une catégorie non-prototypique. La théorie du prototype suppose que chaque groupe d'éléments contient des éléments plus ou moins prototypiques pour ce groupe. Par exemple, un sofa est plus prototypique en tant que meuble qu'un vase. Le même modèle peut être appliqué aux catégories linguistiques. Les noms, qui font référence aux objets, sont une catégorie prototypique. Il en va de même pour les adjectifs, qui décrivent des propriétés et les verbes, qui désignent les actions. Or, les participes modifient grammaticalement les noms, comme les adjectifs, mais désignent les actions, comme les verbes. L'existence de la catégorie des participes dépend de celle des adjectifs et des verbes.

La thèse est divisée en cinq chapitres qui suivent cinq grands types de participes en grec ancien : les participes attributifs, y compris les participes substantivés, les participes circonstanciels, les participes absolus auxquels je consacre un chapitre à part, puisqu'ils occupent une place particulièrement importante du point de vue comparatif, les participes complétifs et les participes périphrastiques. Je définis les participes attributifs comme ceux qui modifient sémantiquement un nom ou qui occupent la place d'un nom dans une phrase. Les participes circonstanciels, modifient sémantiquement le verbe. Les participes absolus, étant un sous-type des participes circonstanciels, décrivent aussi les circonstances de l'action exprimée par un verbe, mais ils ne sont pas accordés avec sujet de la phrase. Les participes complétifs,

souvent en concurrence avec les infinitifs, complètent la signification du verbe principale, soit dans un contexte autoréférentiel, soit hétéroréférentiel. Finalement, il y a les participes périphrastiques, à savoir ceux qui sont combinés avec des verbes auxiliaires pour créer un attribut de la phrase.

J'ai choisi de travailler sur le corpus qui consiste exclusivement de l'*Illiade* et de l'*Odyssée*. Les deux œuvres ont été composées dans la même période et, malgré des différences entre elles, relèvent de l'état de langue que l'on appelle grec homérique. J'ai voulu me concentrer sur un corpus relativement uniforme. Les *Hymnes homériques*, traditionnellement associées avec Homère dans l'Antiquité, sont certainement plus tardives. La même chose peut être dite d'Hésiode, qui vient d'une autre tradition poétique, même s'il a été influencé par Homère. Quant à Hérodote, sa langue est définitivement plus proche du grec classique que du grec archaïque et il nécessiterait une étude à part. Les deux épopées homériques constituent un corpus assez volumineux pour mener à bien une recherche de ce type. Ce sont les textes littéraires les plus anciens, ce qui est important pour l'aspect comparatif. Le grec mycénien ne se prête pas aux recherches syntaxiques à cause du type des textes, qui sont en majorité des listes de produits.

On trouve dans mon corpus 8837 participes, dont 4946 dans l'*Illiade* et 3891 dans l'*Odyssée*. 50% d'entre eux sont au présent, 36% à l'aoriste, 12% au parfait et 2% au futur. 68% sont actifs et 32% non-actifs : médio-passifs, moyens ou passifs à l'aoriste.

Dans la partie comparative de ma thèse j'ai dû m'appuyer sur des ouvrages existants afin de trouver les données sur la syntaxe des participes dans chaque langue. Je ne suis pas en mesure d'effectuer une recherche de corpus pour onze langues. Cela demanderait des années supplémentaires de travail et une connaissance beaucoup plus approfondie de toutes ces langues. Les sections comparatives suivent toujours celles qui traitent le grec dans chaque chapitre. De cette manière, on peut clairement apercevoir quelles constructions du grec sont partagées par les autres langues traitées et lesquelles sont uniques au grec.

Une question méthodologique importante se pose : est-il possible de reconstruire la syntaxe indo-européenne ? La méthode comparative a été créée pour reconstruire la phonologie et la morphologie du proto-indo-européen, mais elle n'est pas particulièrement adaptée à la recherche syntaxique. Le fait que l'on trouve la même construction dans plusieurs langues indo-européennes ne signifie pas forcément que cette construction a dû être héritée. On trouve, par exemple, les participes absolus dans de nombreuses langues indo-européennes. Cependant,

je vais argumenter que ces participes se sont développés indépendamment dans chaque langue. Dans la reconstruction syntaxique on doit raisonner plutôt dans la catégorie de la probabilité que de la certitude. Or, même si la reconstruction syntaxique pose des problèmes, cela ne signifie pas que l'on devrait l'abandonner. Comme nous allons voir, certaines constructions sont si répandues que l'on peut constater avec un certain degré de probabilité qu'elles existaient déjà en proto-indo-européen.

Participes attributifs

Le premier chapitre traite de la fonction la plus basique du participe, celle du complément déterminatif du nom, ce que j'appelle participe attributif. Dans cet usage, le participe est le plus proche de l'adjectif. Or, grâce à son caractère verbal, le participe attributif peut souvent être équivalent à une phrase relative. De plus, comme les adjectifs, les participes attributifs peuvent non seulement compléter un nom, mais aussi prendre sa place en étant substantivés. Les deux types peuvent être exemplifiés par :

(1) (*Iliade* 1.69-70)

Κάλχας Θεστορίδης οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος,

ὅς ῥ' ἰδὼν τὰ τ' ἐόντα τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα

« Calchas, fils de Thestor, le meilleur parmi les devins,

Qui connaît le présent, le passé, l'avenir »

(2) (*Odyssée* 13.320-21)

ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φρεσὶν ἦσιν ἔχων δεδαϊγμένον ἦτορ / ἠλώμην,

« mais j'errais toujours en ayant le cœur arraché dans ma poitrine »

Quant à la position du participe qui modifie un nom, on sait qu'il y a des règles strictes en grec classique : le participe peut se trouver entre l'article défini et le nom, ou après le nom avec un article défini répété. Cependant, étant donné que l'article défini n'est pas encore développé en grec homérique, ce principe ne peut pas être appliqué. En effet, le participe peut librement précéder ou suivre le nom qu'il modifie. Notons que la distance entre le participe et le nom varie et que le participe ne doit pas obligatoirement être placé directement à côté du nom. Il faut aussi remarquer que la différence de position des participes n'a aucune influence sur la signification, par exemple restrictive ou non-restrictive.

(3) (*Iliade* 9.455-6)

μή ποτε γούνασιν οἷσιν ἐφέσσεσθαι φίλον υἱὸν

ἐξ ἐμέθεν γεγαῶτα:

« pour que jamais un fils né de moi ne s'asseye sur ses genoux »

(4) (*Iliade* 5.489)

οἳ δὲ τάχ' ἐκπέρσουσ' εὖ ναιομένην πόλιν ὑμήν.

« qui saccageront vite votre cité bien-fondée »

Il y a quelques points intéressants à noter au sujet du temps grammatical des participes attributifs. Le présent est utilisé aussi bien pour faire référence au *hic et nunc* que les qualités permanentes ou intemporelles. L'aoriste exprime principalement l'aspect perfectif. Le parfait est trouvé dans ses deux fonctions principales : le statif et le résultatif. Il faut, toutefois, remarquer que parfois les différences entre les temps grammaticaux ne sont pas facilement percevables, comme dans l'exemple ci-dessous où le même thème verbal est utilisé à l'aoriste et au parfait avec la même signification :

(5) (*Odyssée* 5.254)

ἐν δ' ἱστὸν ποίει καὶ ἐπὶ κριον ἄρμενον αὐτῷ:

« puis il installa le mât fixé à la vergue »

(6) (*Odyssée* 7.43-45)

θαύμαζεν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς λιμένας καὶ νῆας εἰσας

αὐτῶν θ' ἡρώων ἀγορὰς καὶ τείχεα μακρὰ

ὑψηλά, σκολόπεσσιν ἀρηρότα, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι.

« Ulysse admirait les ports et fins navires, les agoras pleines d'héros et les grands murs avec des palissades fixées. »

Un sujet d'un grand intérêt concernant les participes attributifs, c'est leur concurrence avec les phrases relatives. Les deux constructions jouent le même rôle, à savoir de modifier ou de remplacer un nom. Notre but est de déterminer les facteurs qui influencent la distribution de ces deux constructions. Cette question a été investiguée par Charles Mugler dans son article intitulé « Sur la concurrence du participe et la subordonnée relative ». Il s'est penché sur une épithète des dieux chez Homère qui désigne « les dieux qui habitent au mont Olympe », exprimée en grec soit par des phrases relatives : οἱ Ὀλύμπῳ ἔχουσιν ou οἱ Ὀλύμπῳ ἀγάννιφον ἀμφινέμονται, soit par une phrase participiale : Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες. Mugler a constaté que les facteurs métriques étaient décisifs dans la distribution. Selon lui, Homère utilise en fait l'adjectif Ὀλύμπιος « Olympique » là où c'est métriquement possible, à savoir au nominatif, au vocatif et au génitif singulier, et au nominatif pluriel. Les autres cas grammaticaux n'entrent pas dans l'hexamètre à cause de la séquence — — qu'ils engendreraient. Dans les deux

exemples ci-dessous on peut voir que la phrase relative commence au milieu du quatrième pied, quand la phrase participiale s'étend jusqu'au troisième pied :

(7) (Iliad 2.13-14)

οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀμφὶς Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες / ἀθάνατοι φράζονται:

« Les Immortels, habitants de l'Olympe, n'ont plus sur ce point d'avis qui divergent »

(8) (Iliad 2.484)

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι:

« Et maintenant, dites-moi, Muses, habitantes de l'Olympe »

J'ai décidé d'approfondir l'analyse de Mugler et d'examiner d'autres facteurs qui pourraient influencer la distribution des deux constructions. Je me suis concentré sur la transitivité. En amont, on peut s'attendre à ce que les participes soient moins transitifs que les verbes dans les phrases relatives. J'ai limité mon corpus à l'*Iliade* 1,3, et 9 afin d'effectuer une étude de cas. J'ai initialement adopté un regard simpliste sur la transitivité et j'ai trié toutes les formes verbales trouvées dans les deux constructions entre transitives, intransitives et les copules. Parmi les participes, 33% des formes sont transitives, 67% intransitives et il n'y a pas de copules. Cependant, parmi les verbes dans les phrases relatives, 63% sont transitifs, 24% sont intransitifs et 14% sont des copules. Cette analyse initiale montre immédiatement qu'il y a une différence significative au niveau de la transitivité entre les participes attributifs et les phrases relatives.

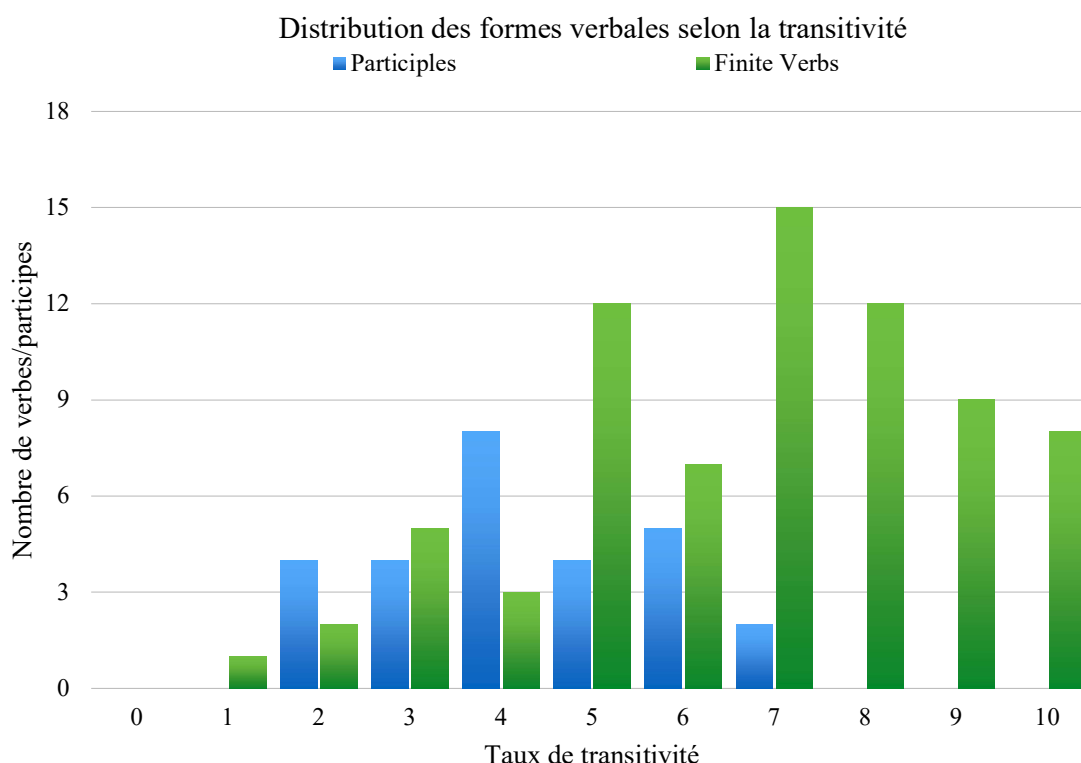
Afin d'affiner cette étude j'ai adopté la méthodologie développée par Paul Hopper et Sandra Thompson, qui traitent de la transitivité non comme une catégorie binaire, mais comme une échelle avec plusieurs critères qui l'influencent. La transitivité, selon eux, n'est pas une propriété d'une forme verbale, mais d'une phrase entière. Les critères définis sont les suivants :

- les participants – combien d'éléments participent dans l'action ;
- la kinésie – la distinction entre les verbes d'action et les verbes statifs ;
- l'aspect verbal – Hopper et Thompson utilisent seulement la distinction entre les verbes téléiques et atéiques, mais en grec ancien le temps grammatical joue un rôle important dans la détermination de l'aspect ;
- la ponctualité – les verbes ponctuel sont naturellement plus transitifs que les verbes duratifs ;
- l'intentionnalité (ang. *Volitionality*) – détermine si l'agent a agi avec une volonté ;
- l'affirmation – les phrases affirmatives sont plus transitives que les phrases avec une négation ;

- le mode – les actions qui se déroulent réellement sont plus transitives que les action hypothétiques ;
- l'agence – la qualité de l'agent de pouvoir agir soi-même ;
- le niveau auquel l'objet est affecté – entièrement ou en partie ;
- l'individualisation de l'objet – les objets qui sont des noms propres, animés ou humains, concrets contribuent plus à la transitivity de la phrase.

Ayant pris en compte tous ces facteurs, on peut déterminer le taux de transitivity pour chaque phrase.

Les résultats ci-dessous montrent clairement que sur l'échelle de transitivity, les participes sont situés plus bas que les verbes dans les phrases relatives :



Un autre facteur que j'ai examiné est le rôle des actants et des circonstants dans la syntaxe. Le poids syntaxique est la longueur et la complexité morphosyntaxique des constituants de la phrase. En résultat, on peut voir que le poids des actants des verbes dans les phrases relatives n'est pas particulièrement élevé dans la plupart des cas. La majorité des passages contiennent des actants très simples, mais il y a des cas isolés où des actants sont plus développés. On peut

également voir que le poids des actants dans les phrases participiales dans mon corpus n'est pas systématiquement différent. Les actants sont également courts et syntaxiquement simples. Quant aux circonstants, on peut observer une situation similaire. Soit ils ne sont pas présents, soit ils sont courts et limités. Il n'y a aucune différence systématique à constater entre le poids syntaxique des actants et des circonstants des verbes et des participes dans mon corpus. Un autre aspect que l'on peut évoquer, c'est la question de savoir si la présence d'un adjectif bloque les participes attributifs. La réponse est clairement négative, puisque par définition les circonstants peuvent être multipliés sans limite. Il y a de nombreux exemples de noms modifiés à la fois par un adjectif et par un participe attributif.

Une autre question abordée dans ce chapitre concerne le caractère restrictif ou non des participes attributifs. Il s'avère que les deux types sont couramment trouvés chez Homère, mais la distinction en question peut être faite seulement grâce au contexte de la phrase. Il n'y a pas de différences syntaxiques entre les deux types. Les participes restrictifs font souvent référence à des noms généraux, comme ἄνθρωποι – « les hommes ». En même temps, les participes non-restrictifs désignent des noms propres. Par exemple :

(9) (*Iliade* 3.458-60)

ὕμεῖς δ' Ἀργείην Ἑλένην καὶ κτήμαθ' ἅμ' αὐτῇ
 ἔκδοτε, καὶ τιμὴν ἀποτινέμεν ἣν τιν' ἔοικεν,
 ἣ τε καὶ ἐσσομένοισι μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέληται.

« A vous donc de nous rendre Hélène l'Argienne et les trésors avec elle,
 puis de nous donner récompense décente,
 dont le souvenir subsiste dans les siècles. »

(10) (*Iliade* 3.8-9)

οἳ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνεύοντες Ἀχαιοὶ
 ἐν θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλεξέμεν ἀλλήλοισιν.

« Les Achéens avancent, eux en silence, respirant la fureur
 et brûlant en leur âme de se prêter mutuel appui. »

Un sujet très important est la substantivisation des participes. Les participes substantivisés sont traités dans ce chapitre, car ils sont considérés comme un sous-type des participes attributifs. Du point de vue théorique, il y a deux types de substantivisation : l'ellipse d'un nom déjà exprimé dans le contexte et l'ellipse d'un nom conventionnellement reconnaissable. Le premier type est créé *ad hoc* dans une phrase donnée, cependant le second est une lexicalisation des participes dans la fonction du nom. La substantivisation est trouvée chez Homère dans tous les cas grammaticaux sauf au vocatif. Ce qui est une spécificité de la

langue homérique, c'est le fait que l'article défini n'est pas encore développé, mais que déjà à ce point le pronom démonstratif *ὁ, ἡ, τό*, qui deviendra l'article défini en grec classique, est souvent, mais pas toujours, utilisé pour marquer la substantivisation, par exemple :

(11) (*Iliade* 3.255)

τῷ δέ κε νικήσαντι γυνή καὶ κτήμαθ' ἔποιτο:

« Au vainqueur iront la femme et les trésors. »

(12) (*Iliade* 11.82-83)

εἰσορόων Τρώων τε πόλιν καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν

χαλκοῦ τε στεροπὴν, ὀλλύντάς τ' ὀλλυμένους τε.

« il contemple à la fois la cité des Troues, et les nefes achéennes,

et l'éclair du bronze – les hommes qui tuent, les hommes qui meurent. »

Étant donné que les participes attributifs ressemblent aux adjectifs dans leur usage, il est intéressant de poser la question de savoir si les participes peuvent apparaître dans des constructions comparatives et superlatives. Il faut d'abord mentionner que cela est possible en grec classique, où un participe peut être accompagné des adverbes *μᾶλλον* « plus » ou *μάλιστα* « le plus ». Même si on trouve des participes à côté de ces adverbes chez Homère, dans aucun cas il ne s'agit d'une véritable construction comparative ou superlative. La raison en est qu'à chaque fois la fonction du participe dans la phrase n'est pas attributive, et que donc le participe ne fonctionne pas comme un adjectif, mais comme un verbe. Les adverbes en question ont pour leur part une fonction emphatique, par exemple :

(13) (*Odyssée* 9.12-13)

σοὶ δ' ἐμὰ κήδεα θυμὸς ἐπετράπετο στονόεντα

εἴρεσθ', ὄφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀδυρόμενος στεναχίζω:

« tu veux savoir ma peine : tu veux donc redoubler ma tristesse et mes larmes ? »

On peut voir clairement que *ὀδυρόμενος* n'est pas un participe attributif, mais circonstanciel, donc la fonction comparative de *μᾶλλον* est exclue. Il en va de même pour l'usage de *μάλιστα* avec les participes.

La section suivante traite les participes attributifs dans les autres langues indo-européennes abordées dans cette thèse. Commenant avec le hittite, les participes attributifs sont bien présents, mais leur usage est plus limité, car ils sont extrêmement adjectivaux et expriment exclusivement des états et pas des activités, par exemple :

(14) (KBo 11.1 obv. 33.)

URU.DIDLI.ḪIA ... *ašanduš*

“villes ... peuplées”

Les participes attributifs en védique sont très fréquents et peuvent avoir aussi bien le sens restrictif que non-restrictif sans différences syntaxiques entre les deux types. Ils sont aussi en concurrence avec les phrases relatives, puisqu'ils remplissent la même fonction. Un exemple :

(15) (RV 2.19.1cd)

yásminn índraḥ (...)

*óko dadhé **brahmanyántaś=ca nárah***

« sur lesquels Indra fonda une maison, comme les hommes recitant des formulations poétiques » (tr. d'après Jamison & Brereton).

Il est intéressant de voir que les grammaires du védique ne traitent pas du sujet de la substantivisation des participes, même si elle a dû exister à un certain moment dans l'histoire de la langue, puisque l'on trouve un participe substantivé *jágat-* « ce qui bouge, est en vie », puis « les hommes et les animaux » et puis « le monde », qui est à l'origine un participe neutre parfait de *√gam-* « aller ».

En avestique, les participes attributifs, y compris substantivés, sont également fréquents. Ils font souvent référence à une propriété caractéristique d'un nom, par exemple :

(16) (Vieux avestique, *Yasna* 31.7)

*tā ... racēbīš **rōiθβan** xvāθrā*

« ces commodités imprégnant le monde de lumière » (tr. d'après West)

(17) (Vieux avestique, *Yasna* 47.6)

*pourūš **išəntō***

« de nombreux arrivants impatients » (tr. d'après West)

En latin, ce type de participes est très répandu. Dans des grammaires, on souligne que ces participes remplacent les phrases relatives, qui correspond à ce que l'on trouve en grec et en indo-iranien, par exemple :

(18) (Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia* 71)

*Odiosum sane **genus** est **hominum** officia **exprobantium***

« C'est un genre odieux de gens qui imposent leurs services »

(19) (Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 3.51)

***Verum dicentibus** facile cedam*

« Je céderai volontiers à ceux qui disent la vérité »

La branche germanique apporte aussi beaucoup de données au sujet des participes attributifs. On peut trouver de nombreux exemples en gotique, mais après une comparaison avec le texte grec de la Bible, on voit clairement que la syntaxe est calquée du grec. Les participes substantivés en grec sont traduits en gotique par des phrases relatives, ce qui montre encore une fois la correspondance entre les deux constructions. Le vieux norrois et le vieil anglais présentent tous les deux des exemples indépendants de participes attributifs, p.ex.:

(20) (*Konungs skuggsía* 63.37)

*er þó hofuðvá bjúgr skjaldjötunn **ryptandi** með eldligum loga*

« Mais l'arme principale est un canon qui émet une flamme ardente »

(21) (*Brennu-Njálssaga* 163.8)

*fyrir frændum **ins vegna***

« pour les parents de celui qui a été tué »

Notons qu'il y a des cas de participes avec les suffixes comparatifs et superlatifs en vieil anglais.

Quant aux langues slaves, le vieux slave suit très fidèlement l'original grec dans la traduction de la Bible. Il y a des traces de l'indépendance dans le fait que les participes grecs sont parfois rendus comme des participes et parfois comme des phrases relatives. Cela suggère que le vieux slave copie le grec si la construction peut être facilement traduite, mais montre qu'il y a un certain degré de flexibilité dans le choix de la construction. Le vieux russe de Novgorod possède pour sa part de nombreux exemples des participes attributifs qui sont indépendants du grec. Un exemple du vieux slave :

(22) (Jean 8, 18)

*i sьvĕdĕtelьstvuuť o tьnĕ **poslavyi mę otca***

καὶ μαρτυρεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ ὁ πέμψας με πατήρ.

« et le Père qui m'a envoyé rend témoignage de moi. »

En lituanien, les participes attributifs se sont rapprochés étroitement des adjectifs, jusqu'au point où ils peuvent être adverbialisés. Il est aussi important de mentionner qu'ils sont morphologiquement distingués des autres types de participes, car ils prennent la forme vocalique en *-antis* en opposition aux autres formes consonantiques en *-as*. De plus, ils peuvent être substantivés.

En résumé, on peut constater que les participes attributifs, étant très proches des adjectifs, suivent souvent leur syntaxe en conservant en même temps leurs propriétés verbales.

Dans la plupart des langues examinées, on peut trouver les mêmes caractéristiques : ils sont utilisés dans les contextes restrictifs et non-restrictifs, ils peuvent être substantivés et souvent ils sont en concurrence avec les phrases relatives. Par conséquent, il est clair que la syntaxe des participes attributifs en grec homérique ne diffère pas significativement de celle des autres langues indo-européennes. Il est intéressant que presque toutes les langues permettent la substantivisation des participes. Il y a peu d'innovations qu'on puisse remarquer soit en grec, soit dans les autres langues traitées. En résultat, on constate que la syntaxe des participes attributifs chez Homère est dans une grande partie un héritage.

Participes circonstanciels

Dans la terminologie traditionnelle, les participes circonstanciels sont l'un des trois types principaux des participes en grec ancien. Leur fonction sémantique est de décrire les circonstances de l'action principale. Même si le participe est morphologiquement accordé avec le nom, sémantiquement et syntaxiquement, le participe circonstanciel est un circonstant du verbe principal. Ces participes sont sémantiquement équivalents aux subordonnées circonstancielles. Dans les langues classiques, la gamme des leurs significations est très étendue, tandis que dans d'autres langues, leur utilisation est plus limitée. Dans ce chapitre, je vais me concentrer sur la relation entre le participe et le verbe principale. Les participes absolus, qui sont un sous-type des participes circonstanciels, seront traités dans le chapitre suivant, car en raison de l'intérêt majeur qu'ils présentent, ils méritent plus d'exposition.

En grec homérique, on trouve déjà tous les types sémantiques des participes circonstanciels que l'on connaît du grec classique. Il y a des participes qui décrivent les circonstances : temporelles, causales, de la manière dans laquelle l'action principale est effectuée, concessives, conditionnelles ou modales. Un sujet qui mérite d'être étudié est le transfert de modalité entre le verbe principal, si celui-ci se trouve dans un mode autre que l'indicatif, et le participe circonstanciel qui l'accompagne. Dans la plupart des cas, le participe prend le sens modal du verbe, par exemple :

(1) (*Iliade* 1.407-08)

τῶν νῦν μιν μνήσασα παρέζεο καὶ λαβὲ γούνων

αἶ κέν πως ἐθέλῃσιν ἐπὶ Τρώεσσιν ἀρῆξαι

« en t'asseyant à ses côtés, en pressant ses genoux :

Ne daignera-t-il pas porter aide aux Troyens »

Dans ce passage, le participe reprend la valeur de l'impératif du verbe principal. En revanche, dans le passage suivant, le participe fait référence à la manière de l'action et n'a pas la valeur de l'impératif :

(2) (*Iliade* 5.605-06)

ἀλλὰ πρὸς Τρῳᾶς τετραμμένοι αἰὲν ὀπίσσω

εἴκετε, μηδὲ θεοῖς μενεαινέμεν ἴφι μάχεσθαι.

« restons face aux Troyens, mais en reculant peu à peu, et gardez-vous,

Dans votre ardeur, d'entrer en lutte franche avec les dieux. »

Les critères de la linéarité ou de la distance entre le verbe et le participe n'ont aucune influence sur ce transfert de modalité.

Une autre question importante concernant la syntaxe des participes circonstanciels est celle de savoir s'ils sont utilisés principalement dans les contextes auto- ou hétéroréférentiels. Il est assez clair que le contexte autoréférentiel domine, puisque le participe accompagne le verbe principal et est donc accordé avec le sujet de la phrase. Cependant, il n'est pas rare de trouver des exemples des participes de ce type dans un contexte hétéroréférentiel, par exemple quand le participe s'accorde avec un nom exprimé au datif qui a une fonction possessive, par exemple :

(3) (*Odyssée* 20.204-05)

ἴδιον, ὥς ἐνόησα, δεδάκρυνται δέ μοι ὄσσε

μνησαμένῳ Ὀδυσῆος,

« une sueur m'a pris quand je t'ai vu, notre hôte, et mes yeux ont pleuré

au souvenir d'Ulysse, »

La section comparative présente les données des autres langues traitées. Le hittite, pour sa part, ne connaît pas les participes circonstanciels. En védique, ces participes sont très bien développés et possèdent de nombreuses fonctions : temporelle, causale, finale, concessive ou de la manière. En avestique, ils sont limités au temps, à la cause et à la manière. Un exemple du védique et un de l'avestique :

(4) (RV 7.104.8ab)

yó mā pākena mānasā **cārantam** abhicāṣṭe āṇṭebhir vācobhiḥ

« Quiconque témoigne contre moi par des paroles mensongères, comme je me comporte avec un esprit naïf »

(5) (Vieux avestique, *Yasna* 30.6)

hiiaṭ īš ā dəbaomā **pərəsəmnōng** upā jasaṭ

« parce que l'illusion les envahit alors qu'ils délibèrent »

Le latin a également développé un nombre des fonctions sémantiques existant dans les autres langues classiques. On y retrouve les sens temporel, causal, concessif, conditionnel et modal, par exemple :

(6) (Cicero, *Cato maior de senectute* 56)

aranti L. *Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum*

« Il a été annoncé à Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus qu'il avait été fait dictateur alors qu'il labourait. »

Les langues germaniques examinées n'apportent pas davantage de nouvelles données. Les participes circonstanciels sont beaucoup moins développés que dans les langues classiques. Le gotique, le vieux norrois et le vieil anglais connaissent la fonction temporelle de ces participes. Le vieil anglais possède également des exemples des participes causaux et qui expriment la manière, mais il faut se souvenir que les écrits des savants de l'époque reflètent sans doute l'influence de la grammaire latine. Un exemple du vieux norrois :

(7) (*Fóstbroeðra saga* 216.5)

*pá dó hann **standandi** við bálkinn*

« Puis il est mort restant debout près du mur »

Le vieux slave et le vieux russe de Novgorod connaissent tous les deux les participes circonstanciels dans leur fonction temporelle, mais ils y sont limités. Un exemple du vieux russe :

(8) (Bark 510)

*a Domažire poběgle **ne otkupivъ** u V'aceslava iz dolgu*

« et Domažir s'est enfui sans avoir payé sa dette à Vjačeslav »

Le lituanien, par contre, a développé les participes circonstanciels au même degré que les langues classiques. Les fonctions attestées sont les suivantes : temporelle, causale, concessive, conditionnelle, de la manière et finale, par exemple :

(9) *Tėvas višq kėliq **važiuodamas** daĩrėsi.*

« Père n'arrêtait pas de regarder autour de lui pendant qu'il conduisait »

Les résultats de cette revue comparative se trouvent dans le tableau ci-dessous :

Langue / Fonction	Temporelle	Causale	Manière	Conditionnelle	Concessive	Finale	Modale
Grec homérique	x	x	x	x	x		x
Hittite							
Védique	x	x	x		x	x	
Avestique	x	x	x		x		
Latin	x	x	x	x	x		x
Gotique	x						
Vieux norrois	x						
Vieil anglais	x	x	x				
Vieux slave	x		x				
Vieux russe	x				x		
Lituanien	x	x	x	x	x	x	

Participes absolus

Les constructions absolues trouvées dans des langues indo-européennes consistent d'un nom ou un pronom accompagné par un participe accordé en cas, nombre et genre grammatical. Cette phrase participiale est syntaxiquement indépendante du reste de la phrase, d'où le terme « absolu ». Cependant au niveau sémantique la phrase décrit les circonstances de l'action exprimées par le verbe principale. Les participes absolus sont une caractéristique de la syntaxe indo-européenne, car ils sont trouvés dans presque toutes les branches : le locatif et le génitif absolus en védique, le génitif et l'accusatif absolus en grec ancien, le génitif absolu en arménien et en tokharien, l'ablatif absolu en latin, le datif absolu en gotique, en vieux slave, en vieux russe et en vieux lituanien.

Au premier abord, on s'interroge si la variété formelle peut être réconciliée et si on peut reconstruire un cas de la construction absolue en proto-indo-européenne. Il est impossible de

le faire du point de vue morphologique. Même si on considérerait seulement les constructions absolues les plus anciennes en védique, en grec et en latin, il est impossible de ramener les cas « absolus » de ces langues à un cas en proto-indo-européen. Il y a plusieurs solutions à ce problème proposées par des chercheurs. Certains veulent reconstruire le locatif à la base du védique et du latin. D'autres préfèrent de postuler le nominatif comme le cas « absolu » original, sous l'influence de phrases nominales au nominatif trouvées dans plusieurs langues archaïques. Il y a aussi un modèle qui suppose une coexistence de plusieurs cas « absolus » dans la proto-langue. Chaque théorie a des défauts qui rendent les explications proposées peu convaincantes. Une piste à explorer qui peut nous montrer comment arriver à la solution du problème est la théorie du participe dominant. Un tour à participe dominant est caractérisé par le fait que le participe exprime l'idée principale de la phrase, même s'il est morphologiquement dominé par le nom auquel il s'accorde. La construction a été récemment bien définie par Camille Denizot :

(...) les syntagmes nominaux constitués d'un nom et d'un participe dans lesquels le participe ne doit pas être compris comme un modifieur de la tête nominale, mais comme un prédicat. (...) Les constructions dites à participe dominant sont employées comme satellites ou comme arguments du prédicat (...).

Nous allons essayer d'appliquer la théorie du participe dominant pour résoudre le problème de participes absolus dans des langues indo-européennes.

On trouve 58 cas du génitif absolu dans le grec homérique. L'accusatif absolu connu du grec classique n'était pas encore développé à ce stade. On cite souvent 3 passages pour démontrer l'existence d'un datif absolu. Or, il est clair qu'il ne s'agit pas de constructions absolues dans ces cas. Les noms propres et les pronoms personnels, qui sont le type sémantique le plus souvent utilisé dans les constructions absolues chez Homère, constituent 16 de 58 exemples :

(1) (*Iliade* 8.164-65)

ἔρρε κακὴ γλῆνῃ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἴξαντος ἐμεῖο

πύργων ἡμετέρων ἐπιβήσεται

« Va-t'en à la male heure, misérable poupée!

Je ne céderai point, et tu ne mettras pas le pied sur nos remparts »

Les expressions du temps naturel, qui sont parfois présentées comme étant le type le plus répandu de génitif absolu, représentent en réalité seulement 5 exemples uniques :

(2) (*Odyssée* 14.162 = 19.307)

τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἰσταμένοιο

« soit à la fin du mois, soit au début de l'autre »

Il y a un nombre des passages où l'on peut douter si la phrase participiale devrait être interprétée comme une construction absolue, véritablement indépendante du reste de la phrase, par exemple :

(3) (*Iliade* 9.106-07)

ἐξ ἔτι τοῦ ὅτε διογενὲς Βρισηΐδα κούρην

χωομένου Ἀχιλῆος ἔβης κλισίηθεν ἀπούρας

« depuis le jour même, rejeton de Zeus, où, de la baraque d'Achille en courroux, tu sortis, enlevant la jeune Briséis »

La question est celle de savoir si on devrait traiter la phrase comme un complément de κλισίη « abri » et lire « l'abri d'Achille encoléré » ou bien comme une phrase absolue « quand Achille est devenu furieux ». Le participe a une signification très adjectivale. De plus, le syntagme κλισίη Ἀχιλῆος « l'abri d'Achille » existe à plusieurs autres endroits chez Homère, tandis que χωομένου Ἀχιλῆος serait le seul exemple de ce supposé génitif absolu. Pour ces raisons, je pense que la phrase ne devrait pas être traitée comme un exemple du génitif absolu. Il y a d'autres exemples similaires où il faut décider cas par cas s'il est préférable d'interpréter la phrase comme un participe absolu ou une phrase qui dépend syntaxiquement d'un autre élément.

Abordons maintenant le sujet des participes dominants chez Homère. Ce tour existe aussi bien dans des phrases prépositionnelles du type *ab Urbe condita* que dans des phrases non-prépositionnelles du type *Sicilia amissa*, par exemple :

(4) (*Iliade* 18.136 = *Odyssée* 12.429 = 23.362)

ἄμα δ' ἡελίῳ ἀνιόντι

« au lever du soleil »

(5) (*Iliade* 2.333-34)

ὥς ἔφατ', Ἀργεῖοι δὲ μέγ' ἴαχον, ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆες

σμερδαλέον κονάβησαν αὔσαντων ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν

« A ces mots, les Argiens poussent une clameur, et les nefes à l'entour répercutent leurs cris en un terrible écho. »

On peut voir comment dans les deux cas, ce sont les participes et pas les noms qui expriment l'idée principale de la phrase. Il est très intéressant qu'il existe des exemples de tours à participe dominant au génitif. Même si le génitif dépend d'un nom ou d'un verbe, ces constructions auraient pu être la source du génitif absolu en grec, par exemple :

(6) (*Iliade* 12.392-93)

Σαρπήδοντι δ' ἄχος γένετο Γλαύκου ἀπιόντος αὐτίκ' ἐπεὶ τ' ἐνόησεν:

« Le départ de Glaucos afflige Sarpédon, dès qu'il s'en aperçoit »

(7) (*Iliade* 13.660)

τοῦ δὲ Πάρις μάλα θυμὸν ἀποκταμένοιο χολώθη:

« Sa mort met au cœur de Pâris une grande colère »

Afin de trouver les origines du génitif absolu, j'ai examiné différents types de participes dominants. Ceux qui se trouvent dans des phrases non-prépositionnelles semblent être un très bon candidat pour la source du génitif absolu. Le fait que le participe absolu est un genre de participe dominant est également démontrable. La dominance sémantique est claire dans le contexte, tandis que la dominance syntaxique peut être montrée par des exemples de participes qui doivent être interprétés comme absolus, mais dont le nom est en ellipse, qui prouve que le participe est l'élément obligatoire dans la phrase. Le génitif a une signification causale bien établie déjà en grec homérique. Dans certains contextes charnières, où il exprime l'idée principale de la phrase, il peut facilement être réinterprété comme un modificateur adverbial, syntaxiquement séparé du reste de la phrase. Les sens causaux et temporels sont souvent très proches, au point qu'une extension sémantique est également imaginable.

On va déterminer si les données comparatives laissent postuler l'existence des participes dominants en proto-indo-européen qui auraient donné les constructions absolues attestées dans de nombreuses langues. Les participes absolus n'existent pas en hittite, donc la branche indo-iranienne sera abordée en premier. Dans le *R̥gveda* le seul cas qui participe dans les constructions absolues est le locatif. Cette construction semble être véritablement liée aux expressions du temps naturel, par exemple :

(8) (RV 8.27.19ab)

yát adyá sūrya udyatí prīyakṣatrāḥ ṛtām dadhá

« Depuis aujourd'hui, alors que le soleil se levait, vous avez établi la vérité, ô vous qui réglez avec bienveillance »

Dans ce cas, tous les critères des participes dominants peuvent être appliqués : on voit clairement que le sens de la phrase est déterminé par le participe et pas par le nom, puisque c'est l'action du lever du soleil qui est importante et pas le soleil lui-même.

Si on regarde les données avestiques, il s'avère que le tour à participe dominant est bien connu dans des phrases prépositionnelles avec la préposition *paiti* « à, sur », par exemple :

(9) (*Vīdēvdād* 9,56 = 13,55)

para ahmāt yaṭ ... sraosō ašiiō frāiiāzānte θri.aiiarəm θri.xšararəm saociṇtāt paiti āθrāt

« avant qu'ils ne sacrifient trois jours et trois nuits à Sraoša accompagné de la récompense, alors que le feu brille » (tr. Kellens)

Les participes absolus au locatif sont limités à des verbes impersonnels, par exemple :

(10) (*Vīdēvdād* 8,4)

yaṭ ahmi nmāne ... spā vā nā vā iriθiiāṭ vārənti vā snaēžiṇti vā brənti vā

« si, dans cette maison, un chien ou un homme mourait alors qu'il pleut, qu'il neige ou qu'il tempête » (tr. Kellens)

Le latin a joué un rôle extrêmement important dans la connexion entre les participes dominants et les participes absolus. Les constructions latines *ab Urbe condita* et *Sicilia amissa* ont donné les noms à ces types de tours participiaux. On trouve de très nombreux exemples de participes dominants et d'ablatifs absolu en latin depuis les auteurs les plus anciens, par exemple :

(11) (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 5,2,1)

His confectis Caesar rebus in citeriorem Galliam revertit

« Ayant terminé ces choses, César retourne en Gaule citérieure »

Une particularité du latin c'est la possibilité de créer un ablatif absolu composé d'un pronom et un adjectif ou de deux noms/pronoms, par exemple :

(12) (Plaute, *Bacchides* 419)

non sino, neque equidem illum me vivo corrumpi sinam

« Et non, je ne le laisserai pas être corrompu tant que je suis en vie »

(13) (Plaute fr. 24)

nam me puero venter erat solarium

« Car quand j'étais petit, mon ventre était un cadran solaire »

Les langues germaniques apportent beaucoup de matériel intéressant. Dans toutes les langues germaniques on peut trouver des exemples de participes dominants et de participes absolus. Ce qui est particulièrement remarquable en gotique, c'est la manque de différence entre les phrases prépositionnelles à participes dominants et les participes absolus. Dans la plupart des cas la préposition *at* sert à introduire les datifs absolus. On peut apercevoir qu'il n'y a aucune différence entre les deux phrases suivantes, les deux traduisent le même génitif absolu du grec :

(14) (Marc 1,32)

Andanahtja þan waurþanamma, þan gasaggq sauil, berun du imma allans þans ubil habandans jah unhulþons habandans.

ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης ὅτε ἔδν ὁ ἥλιος ἔφερον πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας καὶ τοὺς δαιμονιζομένους

« Le soir, après le coucher du soleil, on lui amena tous les malades et les démoniaques. »

(15) (Matthieu 8,16)

At andanahtja þan waurþanamma, atberun du imma daimonarjans managans.

ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δαιμονιζομένους πολλούς

« Le soir, on amena auprès de Jésus plusieurs démoniaques »

Le vieux norrois et le vieux anglais connaissent également le datif absolu et les tours à participes dominants du type *ab Urbe condita*, par exemple :

(16) (*Diplomatarium Norvegicum* II.447)

var þetta gort [...] ok innsiglat oss sjalfum hjáverandum

« Cette lettre a été composée et scellée en notre propre présence. »

(17) (*Edda poétique, Hárbarzlióð* 58)

at uppvessandi sólu

« quand le soleil était haut »

On trouve des exemple comparable dans d'autres langues germaniques, par exemple en vieux haut allemand ou en vieux frison.

Le datif absolu est une construction fréquemment rencontrée dans nombre de langues slaves. Il est bien attesté en vieux slave et il peut exprimer plusieurs sens différents : temporel, causal, concessif ou consécutif. Or, on soupçonne son usage d'être profondément influencé par le grec ancien. Ce qui nous rassure que le datif absolu était une construction propre aux langues slaves, c'est le vieux russe de Novgorod, qui pour sa part n'a pas été influencé par le grec, par exemple :

(18) (Laurentian codex 99)

i byvŝu večeru, vŝlasta otroky svojě v gorodě

« et **quand ce fut le soir**, ils envoyèrent leurs hommes dans la ville » (tr. Le Feuvre)

Les constructions à participes dominants ne sont pas attestées dans les langues slaves.

Le datif absolu est bien attesté en vieux lituanien et non seulement dans des textes religieux, mais aussi dans des chansons populaires, ce qui assure son indépendance de

l'influence des langues classiques. On peut aussi trouver plusieurs exemples des participes dominants du types *ab Urbe condita*, par exemple :

(19) (Jonas Bretkūnas *Postilla* 1591: II 10₂₃)

Ir regintiemus aniemus ghissai ussenge danguna.

« Et, alors qu'ils regardaient [eux regardant], il monta au ciel. »

(20) (Jonas Bretkūnas *Postilla* 1591: I 129₁₁)

*Nei wel tassai budas turreia ilgiaus issilaikiti tiktai **ikki atenczem Messioschui***

« Ce comportement ne devait pas se conserver plus longtemps, seulement jusqu'à l'arrivée du Messie [jusqu'au Messie arrivant] »

J'ai essayé de démontrer que les participes dominants sont bien présents dans la plupart des langues indo-européennes anciennes et qu'ils sont liés aux participes absolus. On peut postuler que les participes dominants étaient une base pour la création des participes absolus : cela semble être très probable en latin et dans des langues germaniques. Quant au grec homérique, cette hypothèse n'est pas certaine, car la construction *ab Urbe condita* est assez rare. Or, on a remarqué que les participes absolus peuvent eux-mêmes être expliqués comme les participes dominants du type *Sicilia amissa*, grammaticalisés en tant que compléments adverbiaux. Le locatif absolu en védique est assez clairement un tour plutôt récent, qui est seulement en train de se développer. Pour ces raisons, je postule que les participes absolus n'existaient pas en proto-indo-européen, mais ont été développés plus tard sur la base de participes dominants. Le choix du « cas absolu » a été fait individuellement dans chaque langue et s'inscrit dans le système casuel de chacune d'entre elles.

Participes complétifs

Les participes complétifs, appelés parfois en français participes attributs, sont un type de participes qui complète le sens du verbe principal. Du point de vue syntaxique, ils sont un actant du verbe. Il y a deux types que l'on peut distinguer : autoréférentiel et hétéroréférentiel.

En grec homérique, ce type de participe est déjà bien développé et on trouve des participes complétifs qui accompagnent un grand nombre de verbes. L'aspect le plus intéressant de sujet sont les classes sémantiques des verbes qui sont complémentés par les participes. Le type le plus fréquent est hétéroréférentiel et inclut les verbes de perception physique : « voir », « entendre », etc., par exemple :

(1) (*Iliade* 5.711-12 = 7.18-19)

τοὺς δ' ὥς οὖν ἐνόησε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη

Ἀργείους ὀλέκοντας ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὕσμινῃ

« Mais Héra, la déesse aux bras blancs, à ce moment les aperçoit massacrant les Argiens au cours de la mêlée brutale. »

Ce type de complément est aussi possible avec les verbes de perception intellectuelle :

(2) (*Iliade* 13.521-22)

οὐδ' ἄρα πῶ τι **πέπυστο** βριήπυος ὄβριμος Ἄρης

υἱὸς ἐοῖο πεσόντος ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὕσμινῃ,

« Mais Arès le Fort à la clameur bruyante ignore toujours que son fils est tombé dans la mêlée brutale »

D'autres verbes prennent des compléments participiaux dans un contexte autoréférentiel, par exemple les verbes de commencement ou d'arrêt ou les verbes d'émotion, par exemple :

(3) (*Odyssée* 8.87 = *Iliade* 9.191)

ἦ τοι ὅτε **λήξειεν αἰείδων** θεῖος ἀοιδός,

« et à chaque fois l'aède divin arrêta de chanter »

(4) (*Odyssée* 4.193-94)

καὶ νῦν, εἴ τί που ἔστι, πίθοιό μοι: οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γε

τέρπομ' ὀδυρόμενος μεταδόρπιος,

« Mais, ce soir, si tu veux, écoute mon conseil : je ne trouve aucun charme à ces pleurs après le dîner »

Finalement, on peut aussi évoquer les verbes qui signifient « endurer », par exemple :

(5) (*Odyssée* 20.311)

ἀλλ' ἔμπης τάδε μὲν καὶ **τέτλαμεν εἰσορόωντες**

« et pourtant quel spectacle il me faut endurer »

D'autres constructions très bien décrites sont celles des verbes τυγχάνω ou ἔοικα suivies d'un participe.

Un sujet qui mérite d'être étudié est la compétition entre les participes et d'autres formes de compléments, particulièrement l'infinitif. J'ai effectué deux études de cas. D'abord, j'ai étudié toutes les attestations du verbe ὁράω « voir » chez Homère. Dans 513 de 597 cas, le verbe est suivi seulement par un nom. Cependant, dans 70 de 84 cas qui restent, le verbe est complété par une phrase participiale, par exemple :

(6) (*Iliade* 1.600)

ὥς ἴδον **Ἥφαιστον** διὰ δώματα **ποιπνύοντα**.

« ils virent Héphestos s'affairer dans son palais »

Les constructions alternatives sont : la phrase complétive, la phrase prohibitive avec μή ou l'accusatif avec l'infinitif. Or, les exemples sont peu nombreux, il existe seulement un exemple avec la phrase prohibitive (*Odyssée* 24.491) et un exemple avec l'accusatif avec infinitif (*Iliade* 10.48-49). La complémentation participiale est clairement le mode de complémentation par défaut.

La seconde étude de cas porte sur les verbes d'émotions : χαίρω et τέρπω « se réjouir ». Quant à χαίρω, de 106 cas, 25 sont complétés par une forme verbale. Il existe seulement deux passages où on trouve une phrase complétive avec ὥς (*Iliade* 5.514-15 = 7.307-08 et *Iliade* 23.647-48), par exemple :

(7) (*Iliade* 23.647-48)

(...) χαίρει δέ μοι ἦτορ,

ὥς μεν ἀεὶ μέμνησαι ἐνέοος, οὐδέ σε λήθω

« et mon cœur est en joie de voir

que tu te souviens encore de mes bontés et que tu n'oublies pas »

Dans tous les autres passages, on trouve la complémentation participiale, par exemple :

(8) (*Odyssée* 3.438)

ἴν' ἄγαλμα θεᾶ κεχάροιτο ἰδοῦσα.

« pour que ce bel ouvrage trouvât grâce devant les yeux de la déesse »

Un résultat similaire apparaît avec τέρπω. Dans tous les 27 cas où le verbe est complété par une forme verbale, il s'agit d'un participe, par exemple :

(9) (*Odyssée* 1.26)

ἐνθ' ὃ γε τέρπετο δαιτὶ παρήμενος·

« il vivait dans la joie, installé au festin »

Il est assez clair que dans les deux études de cas, la complémentation participiale est prédominante. Même s'il y a d'autres types de compléments avec la même signification, ils sont assez rares et limités à un petit nombre de cas.

Si on regarde d'autres langues indo-européennes, il s'avère que les participes complétifs sont largement répandus. En hittite, on les trouve avec des verbes de perception physique et les verbes signifiant « dire », mais la construction est généralement assez rare, par exemple :

(10) (KBo IV 4 III 71f.)

nu ma-ah-ha-an LÚMEŠ URUaz-zi en-ni-iš-ša-an pa-ah-ša[-nu-wa-an X]

a-ú-e-ir

"As the people of Azzi saw that [the army] was in such a way [...] protected..."

(11) (KUB XIII 35+ III 17)

am-mu-uk-wa-ra-an ak-kán-ta-an IQ-BI

"to me he said that it [the horse] (is) dead"

Dans la branche indo-iranienne, la construction est bien connue, mais plus limitée qu'en grec au niveau des verbes complétés par un participe. On trouve des exemples avec des verbes de perception physique et de réflexion mentale, spécifiquement de la racine $\sqrt{man-}$ « penser », par exemple :

(12) (RV 1.105.18ab)

aruṇó mā sakṛd vṛkaḥ pathā yántam dadárśa hí

« Parce que le loup roux m'a soudainement vu marcher sur le chemin »

(13) (RV 10.85.3a)

sómam manyate papivān

« Un homme pense avoir bu le soma »

(14) (*Yāšt* 5.58)

yaṭ spāδəm pairi.avaēnaṭ dūrāt ayantəm rasaoyō

« quand il a vu l'armée avancer en ordre de loin »

(15) (*Vīdēvdād* 18.28)

nmānəm hō manyaēta para.daθō

« il peut penser qu'il donne une maison »

Il est intéressant que l'on trouve des exemples très similaires dans en védique et en avestique. Aussi bien les exemples (12) et (14) que les exemples (13) et (15) démontrent des constructions syntaxiquement parallèles entre le védique et l'avestique. Dans le premier cas, les deux participes *yántam* et *ayantəm* sont bâtis sur la même racine, tandis que dans le second cas on trouve une construction avec les verbes *manyate* et *manyāēta*, complétés par un participe, qui remontent également à la même racine.

En latin, l'usage de participes complétifs avec des verbes de perception physique est attesté depuis les textes littéraires les plus anciens, chez Plaute et Térence, par exemple :

(16) (Plaute, *Asinaria* 878-879)

*Possis, si forte accubantem tuom virum conspexeris
cum corona amplexum amicam, si videas, cognoscere?*

« Si par hasard vous voyiez votre mari allongé, si vous le voyiez avec une guirlande en train de caresser une maîtresse, pourriez-vous le reconnaître ? »

(17) (Térence, *Heautontimorumenos* 285)

Texentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus,

« Nous l'avons trouvée occupée à tisser sur son métier à tisser »

Dans la langue classique, on trouve plus des constructions complétives, qui sont cependant beaucoup plus marginaux, par exemple avec les verbes de représentation, et les verbes de perception physique restent le type prédominant pour ce tour.

Parmi les langues germaniques examinées, le gotique reste problématique, car on n'y trouve pas d'exemples de participes complétifs indépendants du texte grec. Le vieux norrois est intéressant, parce qu'il y a des exemples des participes complétifs, mais ils se trouvent souvent dans des textes traduits ou dans des textes religieux. Un passage tiré d'une saga épique norroise inclut un verbe statique :

(18) (*Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* 35.19)

ef þér yrðið drukknið ok lægið sofandi

"si vous vous enivriez et **restiez endormis**" (tr. Mossé)

Le vieil anglais présente les mêmes défis méthodologiques, à savoir l'influence directe ou indirecte du latin. Il faut quand même remarquer que la construction composée d'un verbe de perception et d'un participe complétif est toujours une caractéristique de la langues anglaise moderne :

(19) (Luc 2.46)

*Pa æfter þrim dagum hig fundon hine on þam temple **sittende** on middan þam lareowum **hlystende** & hi **ahisiende**.*

*post triduum invenerunt illum in templo **sedentem** in medio doctorum **audientem** illos et **interrogantem**.*

« Au bout de trois jours, ils le trouvèrent dans le temple, assis au milieu des docteurs, les écoutant et les interrogeant. »

Même si on trouve des nombreux passages en vieux slave où un verbe de perception physique est complété par un participe, la plupart des exemples repérés sont des calques du grec. Or, il faut mentionner qu'il existe aussi des exemples indépendants, où le grec emploie un infinitif et le vieux slave choisit un participe :

(20) (Luc 8.18)

*eže ašte **mīnitŭ sę imy***

ō δοκεῖ ἔχειν

"ce qu'il pense avoir."

Cependant, d'importantes preuves pour l'existence des participes complétifs dans la syntaxe slave viennent du vieux russe de Novgorod, par exemple :

(21) (*Laurentian codex* 108)

viděv ze kn'az'a svojego v veliku bědu vpadša

"ayant vu que son prince était tombé dans un grand malheur" (tr. Le Feuvre)

(22) (*Laurentian codex* 157)

a družii mn'axutb solnce idušče vosp'atb

"et d'autres **pensaient que le soleil revenait** en arrière" (tr. Le Feuvre)

Cela nous laisse supposer que des langues slaves anciennes connaissaient les participes complétifs utilisés avec des verbes de perception et de réflexion.

En lituanien, les participes complétifs sont utilisés avec un grand nombre de verbes différents : perception, prise de parole, début ou fin d'activité :

(23) *Sakiaũ tėvą geraĩ gyvėnant*

« J'ai dit que le père avait bien vécu »

(24) *Ar nemateĩ tėvo pereĩnant?*

« As-tu vu le père venir ? »

(25) *Lietũs nustójo lijęs.*

« il a arrêté de pleuvoir »

Une construction spécifique au vieux lituanien est celle d'un verbe pronominal complété par un participe, par exemple :

(26) *jĩs sãkosi atėjęs*

« il dit qu'il est arrivé » < lit. « il se dit arrivé »

Les résultats de la section comparative peuvent être résumés dans le tableau ci-dessous :

	Grec homérique	Latin	Védique	Hittite	Germanique	Slave	Baltique
Verbes de perception physique	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Verbes de perception intellectuelle et d'activité mentale	x		x		x (Vieux Saxon)	x	x
Verbes signifiant « trouver »	x				x (Vieil anglais)		
Verbes de représentation		x					

	Grec homérique	Latin	Védique	Hittite	Germanique	Slave	Baltique
Verbes de permission ou d'interdiction	x				x (Vieux norrois & vieil anglais)		
Verbes de début ou d'arrêt d'activités	x				x (Gotique)		x
Verbes d'émotions	x				x (Vieil anglais)		x
Verbes statiques		x			x (Vieux norrois)		
Verbes de prise de parole	x			x		x	x
Verbes de mouvement	x				x (Vieux norrois)		

Participes prédicatifs

Dans le dernier chapitre, je traite des participes dans les constructions périphrastiques. Je me concentre en particulier sur les périphrases qui ne sont pas grammaticalisées et ne font pas partie d'un paradigme verbal. On peut distinguer deux types de périphrase : la périphrase verbale et la périphrase adjectivale. La périphrase verbale consiste en participe utilisé avec un verbe auxiliaire qui est intégré dans la construction. Par contre, dans la périphrase adjectivale, le participe retient son autonomie lexicale du point de vue sémantique. Il existe aussi une distinction morphologique qui spécifie la périphrase supplétive, qui remplit une lacune dans un paradigme verbal, et la périphrase catégoriale, qui apportent une sémantique additionnelle. Quant aux verbes auxiliaires, je qualifie une construction comme périphrastique, seulement quand le verbe est complètement dépourvu de sa signification originale. En pratique, en grec homérique on ne trouve que des cas de périphrases avec εἰμί et πέλωμαι, car les périphrases avec ἔχω ne sont pas encore attestées.

Dans ce résumé, je voudrais me concentrer sur une série d'exemples qui sont particulièrement intéressants. Il s'agit des participes du verbe κίω « aller » accompagnés d'un verbe auxiliaire εἰμί « être » :

(1) (*Odyssée* 24.491)

ἐξελθὼν τις ἴδοι μὴ δὴ σχεδὸν ὥσι κiónτες.

« Que l'on sorte pour voir et veiller aux approches. »

(2) (*Odyssée* 10.156 = 12.368)

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦα κión νεὸς ἀμφιελίσσης,

« mais comme je suis retourné au navire balayé par la rame »

(3) (*Odyssée* 16.471-73)

ἦδη ὑπὲρ πόλιος, ὅθι θ' Ἑρμαιοῖς λόφος ἐστίν,

ἦα κión, ὅτε νῆα θοὴν ιδόμην κατιοῦσαν / ἐς λιμέν' ἡμέτερον:

« j'arrivais au-dessus de la ville, sur la butte d'Hermès,

quand je vis un croiseur entrer dans notre port »

Ce sont les seuls exemples des constructions périphrastiques que j'ai trouvées chez Homère qui ne s'expliquent pas par une périphrase supplétive ou le caractère adjectival du participe. Les formes synthétiques au subjonctif présent et à l'indicatif imparfait existent et sont bien attestées chez Homère. Cependant, on y trouve ces doublets périphrastiques. A mon avis, leur existence peut être éclairée par une formule poétique trouvée à trois reprises dans l'*Odyssée* :

(4) (*Odyssée* 11.636-37)

αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ νῆα κión ἐκέλευον ἐταίρους

αὐτοὺς τ' ἀμβαίνειν ἀνά τε πρυμνήσια λῦσαι.

« Sans tarder, je retourne au vaisseau; je m'embarque et commande à mes gens d'embarquer à leur tour, puis de larguer l'amarre. »

(5) (*Odyssée* 12.144-45)

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νῆα κión ὄτρυνον ἐταίρους

αὐτοὺς τ' ἀμβαίνειν ἀνά τε πρυμνήσια λῦσαι.

« Je reviens au vaisseau et je presse mes gens de remonter à bord, puis de larguer l'amarre. »

(6) (*Odyssée* 13.272-73)

αὐτίκ' ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νῆα κión Φοίνικας ἀγαυοὺς

ἐλλισάμην καὶ σφιν μενοεικέα ληϊδα δῶκα

« je courus implorer, à bord de leur vaisseau, de nobles Phéniciens.

Je leur offris sur mon butin de quoi leur plaire. »

Dans l'expression ἐπὶ νῆα κιών « montant à bord », on peut entendre ἦα κιών. Gardant en esprit le caractère oral des épopées homériques, je déduis que cette phrase a « artificiellement » inspiré les formes périphrastiques avec ἦα κιών, qui à leur tour, ont fourni la base pour ὅσι κιόντες. Or, ces formes sont sans doute des créations de la langue poétique et ne représentent pas une réelle évolution linguistique.

Je vais ensuite brièvement résumer la section comparative. Le hittite connaît les participes prédicatifs dans des constructions périphrastiques qui sont utilisés pour exprimer un état ou une action accomplie :

(7) (AT 125:12)

(...) *n=at arḥa ḫarranteš ešer*

« (Les oiseaux que tu m'as envoyés), ils étaient endommagés (=pourris) »

En indo-iranien, le védique ne présente pas de preuve convaincante pour l'existence des constructions périphrastiques. Cependant, on peut en trouver de nombreux exemples en avestique avec plusieurs différents verbes auxiliaires :

(8) (*Yasna* 27.6)

sraošiīd ašiiō... hōča īda yōiθwā astū

« ... et il devrait être occupé ici »

(9) (*FrW* 8.2)

drū snaθanti snaθahe aēiti hā druxš

« Le mensonge va en frappant avec un bâton de frappeur »

En latin, hors des constructions grammaticalisées, comme l'indicatif passé passif, il y a de rares exemples de participes prédicatifs qui expriment un état permanent, déjà chez Plaute :

(10) (Plautus, *Amphitryon* 132)

cubat complexus, quouis cupiens maxume est.

« il embrasse celle dont il est particulièrement amoureux. »

Les langues germaniques examinées ont grammaticalisé une multitude de constructions périphrastiques avec un participe prédicatif et ne présentent donc pas d'exemples qui soient pertinents pour éclairer la situation grecque.

En vieux slave, il existe des exemples indépendants du grec qui expriment une action durative ou l'état permanent, p. ex. :

(11) (Athanasius II, *Orations Against the Arians* 2 §22)

dělaję že bōdi rudu Slovo

ἐργαζέσθω δὲ... τὴν ὕλην ὁ Λόγος

« laissez la Parole travailler les matériaux »

Le tour a néanmoins pu entrer dans la langue par l'influence du grec du Nouveau Testament, où les participes prédicatifs sont relativement fréquents. C'est d'autant plus possible que le vieux russe de Novgorod ne connaît que des constructions passives grammaticalisées.

Le lituanien est un cas particulier, car outre de nombreux temps grammaticaux composés d'un participe prédicatif, il connaît également une construction appelée « mode relatif ». Il s'agit d'un participe prédicatif qui n'est pas cependant dans une périphrase, puisqu'il est le seul attribut de la phrase. Le mode relatif exprime l'incertitude, par exemple :

(12) *Seniaũ žmónės namỹ **nerakindavę**.*

« (J'ai entendu dire que) les gens **ne fermaient pas** leurs portes auparavant. »

Même si on trouve des participes prédicatifs dans de nombreuses langues indo-européennes, il faut rester très prudent par rapport à la reconstruction de ce type au proto-indo-européen. Les formes ont de rôles différents dans différentes langues : parfois elles ont supplétives, parfois statiques, et parfois elles n'ajoutent pas une distinction sémantique aux formes existantes. Or, on doit admettre qu'il existe une forte tendance parmi les langues indo-européennes à créer et grammaticaliser les participes prédicatifs dans les périphrases. L'explication la plus simple de ce phénomène est la similitude entre les participes et les adjectifs. Chaque langue indo-européenne peut former des phrases avec des adjectifs en position prédicative, donc le modèle peut être facilement étendu vers les participes.

Conclusions

La question que principale de cette thèse était de savoir si la syntaxe des participes en grec homérique présente plutôt un héritage ou une innovation par rapport à ce que l'on peut reconstruire en proto-indo-européen. J'ai traité les données homériques afin de les comparer avec plusieurs autres langues indo-européennes anciennes ou médiévales. J'ai cherché à déterminer quels aspects de la syntaxe participiale sont partagés par de nombreuses langues archaïques et lesquels sont propres au grec ancien.

La réponse ne peut pas être simple. Le grec a développé son système participial au-delà de ce que l'on trouve dans les autres langues indo-européennes et cela constitue une innovation majeure. Or, l'identification des éléments hérités est plus compliquée, puisque le fait qu'une construction est partagée par quelques langues ne suffit pas pour affirmer qu'elle est héritée. Certaines innovations peuvent être communes mais développées indépendamment. D'autres

sont un résultat de l'influence du grec sur d'autres langues. Néanmoins, je crois qu'il est possible d'arriver à des conclusions à cette recherche.

Les participes attributifs représentent la fonction primaire participiale. Ils existent dans toutes les langues indo-européennes examinées, ce qui n'est pas surprenant si on considère le caractère adjectival de la morphologie des participes. Nous n'avons pas trouvé de distinction marquée entre les participes restrictifs et non-restrictifs. De plus, toutes les langues considérées connaissent la substantivisation des participes. En effet, le grec homérique peut être considéré comme une langue conservatrice dans son traitement des participes attributifs, puisqu'il partage toutes les fonctionnalités trouvées dans les autres langues et ne présente pas d'innovations significatives.

La question des participes circonstanciels est plus complexe. D'un côté, la langue indo-européenne la plus anciennement attestée, à savoir le hittite, ne les connaît pas. De l'autre, toutes les autres langues examinées les ont développés à un grand degré. Le grec, le latin, le sanskrit et le lituanien montrent une multitude de significations différentes exprimées par ce type de participes. Nous avons suggéré que le sens temporel était primaire et les autres significations en ont été déduites. L'innovation grecque a consisté principalement en l'extension sémantique de ces participes et en la possibilité de transférer la modalité du verbe principal vers le participe.

Pour les conclusions, nous avons décidé de grouper les participes absolus et les participes complétifs sous une seule étiquette, celle des participes dominants, car cette idée est fondamentale pour les deux types. Dans le chapitre sur les participes absolus, nous avons vu que les participes dominants du type *Sicilia amissa* et *ab Urbe condita* sont bien présents dans toutes les langues examinées, sauf au hittite. Il a été établi que les participes absolus sont un sous-type de participes dominants. Il est également clair que les participes absolus ont été développés indépendamment dans chaque langue. Nous avons suggéré que le génitif absolu a pu développer des participes dominants non-prépositionnels au génitif qui a un sens causal bien attesté. Quant aux participes complétifs, j'ai confirmé d'autres études qui les reconstruisent pour le proto-indo-européen en précisant que les verbes de perception physique sont sans doute à l'origine de la construction. Le grec se caractérise par une extension de ce tour vers un grand nombre de verbes par rapport aux autres langues indo-européennes.

Finalement, nous avons démontré que de rares exemples des participes prédicatifs dans des constructions périphrastiques sont le plus probablement des créations de la langue poétique sous l'influence du mètre et d'autres formules poétiques.

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RÉSUMÉ

Le premier chapitre traite les participes attributifs. Après une brève étude de la position et les temps grammaticaux de ce participes chez Homère, je suis passé au sujet de concurrence entre les participes de ce type et les phrases relatives, car les deux remplissent effectivement la même fonction. Le deuxième chapitre concerne les participes circonstanciels. J'ai effectué un recueil de tous leur types sémantiques en grec homérique. Ensuite, j'ai traité la question de leur usage dans des contextes auto- et hétéro-référentiel pour montrer que les deux sont également importants. La section suivante touche le transfert de modalité entre les verbes et les participes et les conditions dans lesquelles ce transfère a lieu. Le troisième chapitre est consacré aux participes absolus. J'y introduis l'idée du participe dominant, c'est-à-dire un participe qui sémantiquement exprime l'idée principale de la phrase, même si grammaticalement et syntaxiquement il est accordé au nom. Le prochain chapitre traite les participes attributs, qui complémentent le verbe qu'ils suivent. À la fin, j'ai traité les participes les moins représentés en grec, à savoir les participes accompagnés d'un verbe auxiliaire dans une construction périphrastique.

MOTS-CLÉS

Homère, participes, syntaxe, linguistique indo-européenne, linguistique comparative

ABSTRACT

The first chapter treats the attributive participles. After a short overview of the position and the grammatical tense of these participles in Homer, I have proceeded to the question of competition between this type of participles and relative clauses, since both of them fulfil the same function. The second chapter is dedicated to circumstantial participles. I have gathered all their semantic types found in Homeric Greek. Next, I have treated the question of their usage in auto- and hetero-referential contexts in order to show that both are equally important. The following section touches upon the transfer of modality between the main verbs and participles and its conditions. The third chapter treats absolute participles. I have introduced the notion of dominant participles, which express the main idea of the phrase while grammatically and morphologically agreeing with the noun which they modify. The next chapter is dedicated to completive participles which serve as secondary predication. At the end, I have treated the participles which are very rare in Homeric Greek: predicative participles which are accompanied by a copular verb in a periphrastic construction.

KEYWORDS

Homer, participles, syntax, Indo-European linguistics, comparative philology