

Title: Verbalizing qualitative vs. relational adjectives in Ancient Greek

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The major distinction between relational and qualitative adjectives relies upon their gradeability, their polarity, their capability of being modified by adverbs and negations and of being nominalized (cf., Dixon 2004; Fábregas 2007, 2020; Francez & Koontz-Garboden 2017):

	GRADEABILITY	POLARITY	MODIFICATION BY ADVERBS, NEGATION	NOMINALIZATION	EXAMPLES
RELATIONAL	-	-	-	-	<i>oikonomikós</i> , -έ, -όν 'economic'
QUALITATIVE	+	+	+	+	<i>katharós</i> , -ά, -όν 'pure'

The present work is focused on ancient Greek and has the goal of verifying how the distinction between relational and qualitative adjectives interacts with the process of verbalization.

Building on previous studies on ancient Greek deadjectival verbs in *-ye/o- (Marescotti, *forthcoming*), I attempt to shed light on the following issues:

1. Are relational and qualitative adjectives equally open to verbalization?
2. If so, do they use the same morphological devices?
3. The distinction between relational and qualitative adjectives has an impact on the acquisition of the syntactical/semantic properties by a deadjectival verb?

I conduct the analysis on a *corpus* of deadjectival verbs collected from Fraenkel (1906), Barber (2013), Tucker (1990) and by using the TLG and DELG, adopting a syntax/semantics interface framework (cf., Van Valin & La Polla 1997; Levin & Hovav 1995; Hovav & Levin 1998).

The hypotheses that I try to test are the following: a) relational adjectives are less open to verbalization than qualitative ones, since they already are products of nominalization of noun/verb stems; b) the syntactical/semantic behavior of a deadjectival verb is affected by the qualitative/relational opposition.

I attempt to show that the gradeability and polarity of a qualitative adjective has an impact on the degree of telicity and on the actionality of a derived verb. Verbs derived from qualitative adjectives may correspond to:

1. accomplishment/achievement verbs: e.g., *agrióumai* 'to grow wild'; *kathairō* 'to purify'
2. stative verbs: e.g., *atsthállō* 'to be insolent'
3. gradual completion verbs (cf., Bertinetto & Squartini 1995): e.g., *kenóō* 'to empty'

On the contrary, the non-gradeability and non-polarity of relational adjectives usually rule out the process of verbalization:

4. *oikonomikós*, -έ, -όν 'economical' > **oikonomikéō* (verb)

However, when relational adjectives are employed as qualitative ones, they allow verbalization, but they may form only stative verbs, like (5), or activity verbs like (6):

5. *purgērés, -es* ‘fortified’ > *πυργηρέομαι* ‘to be fortified’
6. *érithos, ho/hē* ‘day-labourer’ > *eritheúomai* ‘to serve, work for hire’

The outcomes of the inquiry show the relevance of the distinction between relational/qualitative adjectives also in the verbal domain and suggest extending the analysis to other languages, to establish whether this opposition has a similar impact on deadjectival verb derivation universally.

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