Going in Homer: The Role of Verb-Inherent Actionality Within Self-Propelled Motion-Event Encoding

Castrenze Nigrelli

University of Palermo, Palermo, Italy

The paper aims at investigating the encoding of self-propelled motion events in Homeric Greek in the light of the typology of motion events, taking into account the case of *to go*. The verbal class of the self-propelled motion refers to those verbs expressing the idea of a simple translational motion, such as *to go*, *to move*, without any information about the manner of motion (see, by contrast, the class of the manner-of-motion verbs, such as *to run*, *to swim*) or about the path of motion (see, by contrast, the class of the path verbs, such as *to enter*, *to exit*). According to Talmy (2000), world languages can be distinguished depending on whether they prototypically express the semantic component of Path *in* or *outside* the motion verb. Languages belonging to the S(atellite)-Framed type tend to convey Path outside the motion verb, in a satellite element, such as a particle, an adposition (adpositional phrase), a preverb, an adverb(ial), a nominal case marker. The prototypical encoding pattern of the S-Framed languages, such as Homeric Greek, involves a motion verb conveying Manner and a satellite conveying Path, i.e., [manner-of-motion verb + Path-satellite]. Nonetheless, another pattern is used by this type of languages, albeit less prototypical, which involves a motion verb conveying only Motion and a satellite conveying Path, i.e., [self-propelled motion verb + Path-satellite]. Verb-inherent actionality, namely telicity, turns out to be a strong feature within the ancient Indo-European languages, such as Homeric Greek, playing a role not only in the development of aspectual/tense morphology, but also in the encoding of motion events, at least with reference to manner-of-motion verbs. The present paper aims at verifying the role of inherent telicity within self-propelled motion verbs, through the analysis of Homeric verbs for *go*. The study takes into account the Homeric suppletive paradigm for *go*, focusing on ἔρχομαι "go; come" and ἦλθον (aorist) "go; come" (also with reference to the unclear actional opposition between ἔρχομαι and εἶμι "go; come"). From the textual analysis of all the occurrences of both ἔρχομαι and ἦλθον, as well as their co-occurring Path-encoding elements in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, data show to what extent verbal inherent telicity plays an important role in motion event encoding also within the class of self-propelled motion verbs.

Keyword: actionality, motion event, Homeric Greek, grammaticalization, self-propelled motion verbs

Introduction: Homeric Greek in the Light of the Typology of Motion Events

Talmy's Typology of Motion Events

According to Talmy (1985; 1991; 2000), the languages of the world can be basically divided into two

Castrenze Nigrelli, Ph.D., lecturer, Department of Humanities, University of Palermo, Palermo, Italy.

linguistic types depending on the pattern they commonly use to express the semantic components of a motion event, i.e., an event involving spatial motion or location. A translational motion event is composed by four basic components, i.e., *Figure* (the moving object), *Ground* (the reference object/frame), *Motion* (the presence of motion), *Path* (the path followed by the object), to which further components can be added, i.e., *Manner* (the way of motion) and *Cause* (the cause of motion). In particular, Talmy's lexical typology distinguishes between *V(erb)-* and *S(atellite)-Framed* depending on whether Path is codified by the verb (root) or by a so-called satellite. Basically, S-Framed languages, such as English, tend to express Motion + Manner in the main motion-verb root and Path outside the verb, in the satellite (e.g., *The dog* [Figure] *ran* [Motion + Manner] ***into* [Path]** *the garden* [Ground]), while V-Framed languages, such as Spanish, tend to express Motion + Path in the main motion-verb root, and Manner, if any, outside the verb (e.g., Sp. *El perro* [Figure] ***entró*** [Motion + **Path**] *en* [(Path)] *el jardín* [Ground] *corriendo* [Manner]).

Homeric Greek as S-Framed and the Grammaticalization of Particles

Ancient Greek is basically classified as S-Framed (see Talmy, 2000; Imbert, 2010; Verkerk, 2014). Despite some scholars have shown that a typological coherence within S-Framed type becomes stronger since the classical stage, and proves to be lexically stratified; also the Homeric stage is classifiable as S-Framed, especially if manner-of-motion verbs (i.e., conveying Manner + Motion), such as θέω "to run", and self-propelled verbs (i.e., conveying only Motion), such as ἔρχομαι "to go; to come", are taken into account (see Baldi, 2006; Skopeteas, 2008; Nikitina, 2013). As well as other old Indo-European languages, Homeric Greek has got a range of Path-encoding satellite elements. In a broader acceptation (Talmy, 2009, 389 s.), satellites can be adverbs (1), nominal case markers (2), or particles, the latter functioning as both preverbs (3) and adpositions, mostly prepositions (4):

(1)   [...] ὣς Ὀδυσεὺς θέεν **ἐγγύθεν** [...] (*Il.* 23.763)

"[...] so Odysseus ran **close** (behind) [...] (*scil.* Ajax)"

(2)   αἵ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔκαμον πολέος πεδί-**οιο** θέουσαι/ἑστᾶσ' [...] (*Il.* 4.244-5)

"(*scil.* fawns) that, when they have grown weary of running **through** an extended plain, stand still [...]"

(3)   [...] ὃ δ' **ἐπ**-έδραμε φαίδιμος Αἴας (*Il.* 5.617)

"[...] But glorious Ajax ran **against** (*scil.* his enemy)"

(4)   ἀλλὰ σύ γ' αἶψ' Ἀχιλῆϊ θέων **ἐπὶ** νῆας Ἀχαιῶν/εἰπεῖν [...] (*Il.* 17.691-2)

"but you (*scil.* Antilochus), running **to(wards)** the ships of the Achaeans quickly, tell Achilleus [...]"

Most of the Indo-European scholars consider preverbs and prepositions to be generated from spatial adverbial forms that gradually underwent a grammaticalization process, losing their syntactic autonomy and semantic transparency (see, among others, Meillet, 1912; Chantraine, 1953; Kuryłowicz, 1964). Generally known as particles, these adverbial lexemes are multifunctional, and characterized by particular polysemy and morphosyntactic behavior, and they also show a categorial ambiguity, since they can actually occur as prepositions, preverbs, and, in a residual form, adverbs (Luraghi, 2003, p. 76). Due to the relatively free word order of the early Indo-European languages, such as Homeric Greek, particles were originally free to move within the sentence. Over time, their morphosyntactic behavior became more regular and cohesive when they were bound to a verbal or nominal item, depending on their mutual semantic compatibility with the co-occurring item;

as a result, particles slowly became preverbs or adpositions. Such a process of grammaticalization takes place through successive phases, whose traces are shown in Homeric Greek, due to its own diachronic linguistic stratification (see Schwyzer, 1959; Lehmann, 1995; Bertrand, 2014; Pompei, 2014; on grammaticalization see also Kuryłowicz, 1964; Hopper & Traugott, 1993; Heine, 2003; Cuzzolin, Putzu, & Ramat, 2006). These grammaticalization phases show an increasing morphosyntactic cohesion between particles and verbs, from the minimum level of cohesion of the first phase (adverb), in which particles still occur as free adverbs, to the maximum level of the fourth phase (compound), in which particles occur as agglutinated preverbs, i.e., constituents of proper verbal compounds (e.g., *Il.* 16.254 κλισίην εἰσῆλθε "He entered the tent"). In addition, intermediate phases are present: the second phase (tmesis), in which particles occur separately from the verb, as members of discontinuous phrases (e.g., *Il.* 1.436 ἐκ δ' εὐνὰς ἔβαλον "they cast out the mooring-stones"), and the third phase (juxtaposition), in which particles can occur as "occasional" preverbs, i.e., agglutinated preverbs that can nonetheless occur in tmesis, thus being as members of non-univerbated compounds (Pompei, 2010, p. 412; 2014, p. 268).

Among the Homeric particles used as Path-encoding satellites, it is possible to distinguish those which are prototypically directional or goal-oriented, such as ἐπί "to, towards", ἀνά "upwards", and non-directional or non-goal oriented ones, such as περί "around", παρά "beside", depending on their degree of semantic compatibility with the idea of reaching an endpoint or not doing so. A similar distinction is valid for the other kind of Path-encoding elements, i.e., directional and non-directional spatial adverbs (e.g., respectively, ἀντίον "against" and ἐγγύθεν "near"), and directional and non-directional case markers (e.g., the accusative with allative value and the genitive with perlative value).

Inherent Actionality and Motion Event Encoding

Unlike the category of aspect (i.e., Grammatical aspect), which morphologically conveys the speaker's point of view in reference to the event expressed by the verb, the notion of actionality (i.e., lexical aspect or *Aktionsart*) concerns the inner meaning of the verb and the inherent nature of the event expressed by it, excluding the speaker's point of view (see, among others, Comrie, 1976; Bertinetto, 1986). Telicity is an actional-semantic feature proper of those events concerning a natural or intended endpoint (Vendler, 1957; 1967; Depraetere, 1995). This feature proves to be crucial for the assignment of the inherent actionality of a verb: The main dichotomy within Vendler's tassonomy is actually based on telicity: on the one hand, atelic *States* (e.g., ἵστημι "to stay") and *Activities* (e.g., θέω "to run"); on the other hand, telic *Achievements* (e.g., πίπτω "to fall") and *Accomplishments* (e.g., μανθάνω "to learn"). In a different perspective (i.e., syntactical or "compositional"), an actional shift from the inherent (a)telicity of verbs is also possible, for example through a co-occurring item, such as a particle: e.g., θέω "to run" [-telic] *activities* > ἐκθέω "to run out (of)" [+telic] *accomplishments*. Although a compositional (*vs.* inherent) view of telicity is broadly accepted[1]—at least from Verkuyl 1972—it is noteworthy that, in any case, all possible actional shifts are derived from inherent values. In addition, the crucial role of inherent telicity has recently been shown in reference to the development of verbal morphology within verbal paradigms of the old Indo-European languages, i.e., Homeric Greek and Vedic Sanskrit (see Bartolotta, 2009; 2016; 2017a), as well as

---

[1] Most of the tests for telicity are syntactical (e.g., the "*in-/for-*" test, which involves the degree of compatibility between verbs and certain temporal adverbials).

in reference to the Homeric motion-event encoding. In particular, taking into account Homeric manner-of-motion verbs, namely the case of *run* (i.e., the atelic θέω and τρέχω *vs.* the telic ἔδραμον), it has been shown that inherent telicity plays a strong role on the morphosyntactic cohesion level (also in terms of grammaticalization phases), which is higher between goal-oriented particles and telic (rather than atelic) verbs (see Bartolotta & Nigrelli, 2017 for further details).[2]

The Purpose of This Study

The characteristic pattern of the S-Framed languages, such as Homeric Greek, is [manner-of-motion verb + Path-satellite]. Yet, another pattern, albeit less prototypical, is commonly used among them, i.e., [self-propelled motion verb + Path-satellite].[3] The present study aims at verifying the role of inherent actionality, namely telicity, within this latter pattern, through the analysis of Homeric self-propelled verbs. The paper focuses on the Homeric suppletive paradigm for *go*, namely on ἔρχομαι "go; come" and ἦλθον (aorist) "go; come", with reference also to the unclear actional opposition between ἔρχομαι and εἶμι "go; come" within the paradigm. Through a distributional and textual analysis of all the occurrences of both ἔρχομαι and ἦλθον in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as well as their co-occurring Path-encoding elements, data show to what extent the role of verb-inherent telicity is important in motion event encoding within the class of self-propelled motion verbs.

The Homeric Paradigm for *Go*: Etymology, Actionality, and Suppletivism

Go represents a useful case study to investigate the impact of inherent telicity on the motion event encoding in Homeric Greek. In Homer, both the chosen verbs ἔρχομαι "to go; come" and ἦλθον (aorist) "to go; to come; to reach" convey the idea of *going* based on a suppletive relationship which also involves the verb εἶμι "to go; to come". Actually, the suppletivism between ἔρχομαι, εἶμι, ἐλεύσομαι (future), ἦλθον (aorist), εἰλήλουθα (perfect) is broadly accepted (see Osthoff, 1899; Brugmann & Delbrück, 1897-1916; Brugmann & Thumb, 1913; Snell, 1955-2010; Schwyzer, 1959; Chantraine, 1968-1980; Létoublon, 1985 and, more recently, Kölligan, 2007).[4] In particular, ἔρχομαι always occurs as a present stem as well as εἶμι, whose value is futuristic and intentional (i.e., *I am going to go*), and whose imperfect forms are employed to compensate for the lack of the imperfect forms of ἔρχομαι in Homer, while they never occur as aorist stem.[5] On the contrary, ἦλθον (in Homer also ἤλυθον) always occurs as aorist and perfect stem (pf. εἰλήλουθα < ἐλελυθ-).

Actually, this paradigm is not accepted by all scholars and there are still doubts and issues related to both etymology and semantics. According to Bloch (1940), there is an alleged rigid dichotomy *go vs. come* (typical in German) amounting for a split between εἶμι "*gehen*" (with futuristic value) and ἦλθον "*kommen*", while ἔρχομαι is bivalent.

Kölligan (2007, 135 ss.) challenges the validity of Block's hypothesis, as it is not confirmed by Homeric data and it is also unsuitable to clarify the suppletive relationship within the paradigm. According to Kölligan

---

[2] Although telicity has been studied in reference to motion event encoding, it has been mostly considered as a syntactical-compositional feature (see, among others, Aske, 1989).

[3] Actually, this pattern is commonly used also by languages of the *V-Framed* type.

[4] Apart from this paradigm there are βαίνω, ἔβην (aorist), βέβηκα (perfect), which are connected to the telic original meaning "to make a step" (see, among others, Delbrück, 1897; Létoublon, 1985; Kölligan, 2007).

[5] Basically, ἐλεύσομαι is used for simple future, εἶμι for future intentions ("*semi-performatif*", see Létoublon, 1985, p. 80; Kölligan, 2007).

(2007), the line between *go* and *come* is quite thin: In a syntactic perspective, the *go/come* opposition can be actually neutralized by co-occurring spatial elements which express *Source* (such as "from") or *Goal* (such as "to") of movement, e.g., *Od.* 24.54-55; 4.401; 4.450, in which, respectively, ἔρχομαι, εἶμι, and ἦλθον express the same meaning "to come" co-occurring with the same *Source* phrase ἐξ ἁλός "from the sea" (i.e., "to come from the sea").[6] Moving from this perspective and using a different terminology, the same scholar studies the Homeric paradigm of *go* with reference to a deictic opposition: ἔρχομαι and ἦλθον, as well as εἶμι, occur both with *Source* and *Goal* elements and without, in this latter case, ἔρχομαι would is allegedly centrifugal (i.e., away from the speaker), centripetal (i.e., towards the speaker), or deictically neutral; ἦλθον is allegedly always centripetal; εἶμι is allegedly both centrifugal and neutral.

However, the particular distribution within the Homeric paradigm for *go* underlines the suppletive relationship from a perspective based on actionality, in particular on inherent telicity. The aspectual (i.e., gramatical aspect) and, subsequently, temporal opposition between present and aorist seems actually based on an opposition which is basically actional (i.e., lexical aspect), depending on the [±telic] feature. On the one hand there are ἔρχομαι and εἶμι [-telic], present stem (*infectum* system), on the other hand, ἦλθον [+telic], aorist stem (*perfectum* system). Yet, as far as the actional status of ἔρχομαι is concerned, the situation is still unclear. If the telic inherent value of ἦλθον is quite definite (see Chantraine, 1968-1980), as well as the atelic one of εἶμι (see Meillet, 1929; Létoublon, 1985; Romagno, 2002), also according to recent studies (see Bartolotta, 2016, p. 23; 2017b), on the other hand, the actional inherent value of ἔρχομαι has been, instead, a matter of debate—at least from Meillet (1929)—and further analysis is required. For this reason, the present study is focused on ἔρχομαι, in order to contribute to sheding light on its uncertain actional value, excluding from the sample εἶμι, also because its function as present is in fact residual (see Kölligan, 2007).[7]

The etymology of ἔρχομαι is uncertain (Chantraine, 1968-1980, p. 377; Rix, 2001, 238 s.; see also Snell 1955-2010). Meillet (1929, 249 ss.) connects it to the IE root *ser- > Gr. ἔρ-πω; Lat. *ser-pō*; Skr. *sár-pati* "to slither; to drag"; Skr. *sí-sar-thi* "to trickle; to hurry", with a $-\chi(^{\varepsilon/o})$- suffix which would give a basically telic actional value (*valeur déterminée*; see also Chantraine, 1953, 331 s.; 1968-1980, p. 377).[8] According to Meillet, ἔρχομαι would be actionally [+telic], in opposition to εἶμι, which would be [-telic]. Doubtfully, Rix (2001, 238 s.) proposes two etymological hypotheses for ἔρχομαι, which could trace back to the zero grade *h_1r- of the IE root *h_1er- "to come to/reach; to arrive/bump into", with a -*ské*- suffix (*h_1r*ské*- > *erske- > **erk^he*-; see also Ved. *ṛccháti* "he reaches; blumps into"), or to the IE root *$h_1erĝ^h$- "to ascend" (with doubt). Differently, Pokorny (1959, 326 ss.) connects ἔρχομαι to IE **er-g^h*-, that is an extended form of the root *er- "to start to move; to excite; to put up", to which he basically attributes an original telic value (*mit terminativem Aspekt*), although the apophonic o-grade *or- of the same extended root (**or-g^h*) is connected to Gr. ὀρχέομαι "to dance", which is undoubtedly atelic instead (see Bartolotta, 2016, p. 27). However, the telic value hypothesized for ἔρχομαι is not substantiated by textual evidence, as definitely stated by Chantraine's *caveat* "Mais les exemples ne prouvent pas

---

[6] The same is valid not only for Greek, e.g., a southern variety of German: *Geh (da)her!* "come!", lett. "go here" (Kölligan, 2007, p. 136).

[7] The verb εἶμι mostly operates as near and intentional future, besides operating as imperfect. Unlike ἔρχομαι, which in Homer operates as present, also with habitual value, εἶμι operates as generic present only in a residual way, often in similes (Kölligan, 2007, 146 ss.).

[8] Pokorny (1959, p. 911) translates IE *ser- "to mow; to work with a hook", but without connecting it to ἔρχομαι.

avec évidence que ἔρχομαι exprime le terme du process" (Chantraine, 1968-1980, p. 377).

As for the root aorist ἦλθον (and ἤλυθον), according to Chantraine (1968-1980, p. 337), there are two Greek stems, apparently connected to each other, i.e., ἐλθ- and ἐλυθ-/ἐλελυθ-, to which also the future ἐλεύσομαι (< *ἐλεύ[θ]σομαι) and the perfect εἰλήλουθα (with metrical lengthening of the first syllable) would trace back. The possible presence or absence of the word-final aspirate dental consonant can be found in forms built on the dysyllabic stem (cf. pf. ἐλήλυ-μεν, ἐλήλυ-τε) and would be explained either as an analogy with the form *ἐλεύ[θ]σομαι, or considering -θ- as a telic aspectual marker (*aboutissement de l'action*; see Chantraine, 1968-1980, p. 337). From the comparison between the Armenian stem *eli-*, Meillet (1926) assumes an IE root *el-ew- e *el-u- connected to the idea of "to push, put in motion", with the dental extension -d^h-; in turn, ἐλ- would trace back to IE *h_1l, so that it would be possible to connect ἦλθον to ἤλυθον directly (Chantraine, 1968-1980, p. 337), excluding the *-ew-/*-u- element. Similarly, according to Pokorny (1959, p. 306), ἦλθον would trace back to an extended form *el-d^h- of the root *el- "to push, put in motion; to move, go" (see Gr. ἐλαύνω and ἐλάω "to push, put in motion" < ἐλα-, that is a stem tracing back to an extension of the same root). Rix (2001, p. 248) connects the aorist form ἤλυθον to the IE root *h_1lud^h- "to go up; to increase" (maybe, originally related to water) from which, then, also the meaning "to go; to come" (see Skr. *luid* "I went") would derive with semantic extension.[9]

Yet, the atelic actional value of ἔρχομαι still remains doubtful, given also the uncertain etymology of this verb. After Meillet (1929) and Chantraine (1968-1980), the matter has been further investigated. Although she uses a different terminology, Létoublon (1985, 72 ss.) confirms the atelic ("durative") actional value of ἔρχομαι. From a different, more oriented on studying the middle voice in Indo-European perspective, in a more recent study Romagno (2002, 167 ss.) evaluates ἔρχομαι as telic, in opposition to the atelic εἶμι. She connects the telicity of ἔρχομαι to its status of *medium tantum*, based on both Dowty's (1979) theoretical framework and on split intransitivity.[10] Yet, Romagno claims that in Homer there is plenty of textual evidence showing an overlap, rather than an opposition, between ἔρχομαι and εἶμι. Romagno's viewpoint is valid if considering telicity as a "compositional" (rather than inherent) feature that results from involving other phrases (e.g., *to go* [-telic] *vs. to go to Las Vegas for three days* [+telic]).

Table 1

Etymology and Actional Value of the Homeric Verbs ἔρχομαι e ἦλθον

Homeric verb	Etimology	Actionality
ἔρχομαι	< ? IE *ser-g^h- "to mow; to work with a hook"; *h_1ɽsḱe- "to come to/reach; to arrive/bump into"; *$h_1erĝ^h$- "to ascend"; *erg^h- "to start to move; to excite; to put up"	? [-telic]
ἦλθον	< IE *h_1ludh- "to go up; to increase; to go; to come" (*el-dh- "to push, put in motion; to move, go")	[+telic]

Besides its etimology, there is no agreement among scholars either on the semantics of ἔρχομαι, as shown by differing lexicographic data. The verb is commonly translated as "*gehen/fahren*; *dahinziehen*; (*gerade*)

---

[9] According to Rix (2001, p. 248), the perfect form εἰλήλουθα, in turn, traces back to IE *h_1e-h_1lowd^h- and the future form ἐλεύσομαι (with doubt) to IE *$h_1le\ ^.d^h$-/h_1lud^h-s-.
[10] The actional opposition between telic ἔρχομαι and atelic εἶμι would reflect their different position within the unaccusative-unergative scale, i.e., ἔρχομαι = unaccusative, εἶμι = unergative (see Romagno, 2002 for further details).

unterwegs sein" (Snell, 1955-2010), "*aller*; *venir*" (Chantraine, 1968-1980), "*gehe*; *komme*" (Rix, 2001), basically with reference to a generic idea of *going*, semantically more compatible with an atelic and non-directional movement. Yet, ἔρχομαι can be also translated as "*komme*" (Pokorny, 1959), with reference to the idea of a telic movement. The verb ἦλθον is commonly translated as "*kommen*" (Snell, 1955-2010; Pokorny, 1959; Rix, 2001), but also as "*venir*; *aller*" (Chantraine, 1968-1980), and tends to refer to the idea of *going* as a completed action, which is semantically more compatible with a telic and directional movement ("*to come to/reach*").

In the next section, along with the analysis of textual data, further considerations on the semantics of ἔρχομαι and ἦλθον will be made, also in reference to their co-occurring Path-encoding elements.

Homeric Distribution and Textual Analysis of ἔρχομαι and ἦλθον

Before presenting the textual analysis results of the Homeric context in which ἔρχομαι and ἦλθον occur, an overview of the distribution of their occurrences is given below (see Table 2), distinguishing between those in which the verbs occur as absolute forms, i.e., with no co-occurring Path satellites, and those with Path-satellites, such as spatial particles, nominal case markers, spatial adverbs.[11]

Table 2

Overview of the Homeric Distribution of ἔρχομαι and ἦλθον

Verb	With no Path element	With Path element			Total occurrences
		Spatial particles	Nominal case marker	Spatial adverb	
ἔρχομαι ? [-telic]	42	84	4	19	149
ἦλθον [+telic]	207	387	69	145	808

Table 2 shows some interesting data. Unlike the case of the Homeric verbs for *run* (see Bartolotta & Nigrelli, 2017), as far as the case of *go* is concerned, the differences between the distribution of both chosen verbs are slight. Both verbs occur with co-occurring Path-encoding elements and without them (i.e., as absolute forms), and their rates are quite similar (ἔρχομαι: about 28% of the total occurrences as absolute forms, about 72% with Path elements; ἦλθον: about 26% as absolute forms, about 74% with Path elements). Both verbs thus show a preference for co-occurring with some Path elements. Taking into account the occurrences with Path elements, further differences between the verbs can be found: Both show similar rates concerning the occurrences with spatial particles are concerned (ἔρχομαι: about 56% of the total occurrences; ἦλθον: about 48%). As for the occurrences with case markers and spatial adverbs are concerned, both verbs show lower percentages than those regarding the occurrences with particles, in spite of slight differences (with case markers: 3% ἔρχομαι *vs.* 9% ἦλθον; with spatial adverbs: 13% ἔρχομαι *vs.* 18% ἦλθον).

Although the above data overview could underline slight differences between the verbs, further and more significant differences emerge from the textual analysis that takes into account the context of use of both verbs in Homer. The following sections present the results of the textual analysis, which accounts for the occurrences of both verbs as absolute forms and with co-occurring Path elements, i.e., with case markers, with spatial adverbs,

---

[11] Rare cases in which spatial particles, case markers, adverbs occur as further (i.e., not main) Path-encoding elements are excluded from the sample.

with particles. For space reasons, only a selection of the most significant examples will be discussed.[12]

ἔρχομαι and ἦλθον Occurring as Absolute Forms

As for motion verbs, a greater tendency to occur without, rather than with, Path-encoding elements may be connected to a semantic value which is more compatible with the expression of a bare motion concerning no information about the path followed by Figure and, therefore, to a semantic value which could be inherently atelic (see Bartolotta & Nigrelli, 2017). Actually, both ἔρχομαι and ἦλθον show a quite similar tendency to occur as absolute forms within the Homeric poems (see above, Table 2), but a difference between the use of both verbs can be shown, which seems to be due to a different inherent actional value. As illustrated in (5)-(9), ἔρχομαι expresses the generic idea of a generic and atelic motion, regardless of its completion. In (5)-(6) the participial form of ἔρχομαι refers to a marching crowd:

(5) ὣς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ κονίσαλος ὤρνυτ᾽ †ἀελλής†
ἐρχομένων· μάλα δ᾽ ὦκα διέπρησσον πεδίοιο (*Il.* 3.13-14)
"So, a dense dust-cloud rose from beneath their (*scil.* heroes) feet
as they went; and they made their way over the plain very quickly"

(6) ἠΰτε πῦρ ἀΐδηλον ἐπιφλέγει ἄσπετον ὕλην
οὔρεος ἐν κορυφῆις, ἕκαθεν δέ τε φαίνεται αὐγή,
ὣς **τῶν ἐρχομένων** ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ θεσπεσίοιο
αἴγλη παμφανόωσα δι᾽ αἰθέρος οὐρανὸν ἷκεν (*Il.* 2.455-458)
"As a destructive fire burns an unspeakably great forest
on the peaks of a mountain, and a glare appears from afar,
so from their (*scil.* the Achaeans) extraordinary bronze, **as they went**,
the dazzling gleam went up to the sky through the air"

In (5)-(6) the present participle of ἔρχομαι (ἐρχομένων) is used by Homer to depict a marching crowd, thus conveying the idea of generic motion (Motion) with reference to heroes (Figure). Similarly, in (7):

(7) αὖθι μένειν, μή πως ἀβροτάξομεν ἀλλήλοιιν
ἐρχομένω· πολλαὶ γὰρ ἀνὰ στρατόν εἰσι κέλευθοι (*Il.* 10.66)
"Stay there, so that we do not miss each other
as we go: since there are many paths throughout the camp"

The participial form of ἔρχομαι in (7) conveys the generic idea of going without any information about the path or the completion, with reference to two heroes that are going through the camp to call other comrades. Similar considerations are also valid taking into account finite forms of ἔρχομαι, as in (8)-(9).

(8) θάρσει, μηδέ τι πάγχυ μετὰ φρεσὶ δείδιθι λίην·
τοίη γάρ οἱ πομπὸς ἅμ᾽ **ἔρχεται**, ἥν τε καὶ ἄλλοι
ἀνέρες ἠρήσαντο παρεστάμεναι, δύναται γάρ,
Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη· (*Od.* 4.825-828)
"Be brave, and do not be too afraid in your mind:

---

[12] The online *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG, 2000) was used as a digital corpus of HG texts. Although they have a different level of representativeness due to their particular categorial status, verb nominal forms (i.e., participle and infinitive) are presented together with the finite ones since the results of both categories substantially overlap.

since such a guide **goes** with him (*scil.* Telemachus), whom also other

men have prayed to stand by their side, because she is powerful,

Pallas Athena"

In (8) a ghost is talking to Penelope about her son Telemachus and ἔρχομαι refers to the generic and atelic going (Motion) of Athena by his side; it is noteworthy the association with παρεστάμεναι, middle perfect form of παρίστημι "to place beside", with the stative meaning of "to stand by the side of". Similarly, in (9):

(9) αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα περὶ χροῒ ἕσσατο τεύχεα,

σεύατ' ἔπειθ', οἷός τε πελώριος **ἔρχεται** Ἄρης

ὅς τ' εἶσιν πόλεμόνδε μετ' ἀνέρας (*Il.* 7.207-209)

"But when he (*scil.* Ajax) wore all his armor around his skin,

then he sped as mighty Ares **goes**,

when he goes to battle among men"

In (9) Ajax is armed and ready to fight. Expressed by the aorist σεύατο "he sped", the majestic gait of the hero is comparable to that of Ares, which represents the Figure of the motion event expressed by ἔρχεται in the simile. Here the verb ἔρχομαι seems basically to refer to the usual stride of Ares, rather than the jumping against somebody, although σεύομαι is used by Homer to convey this latter meaning.[13]

On the contrary, when occurring as absolute forms, ἦλθον expresses the idea of a telic motion, thus involving its completion, as illustrated in (10)-(11).

(10) ὃ δ' ἄρ' **ἦλθε** καὶ ἀγγελίην ἀπέειπε

στὰς ἐν μέσσοισιν· (*Il.* 7.416-7)

"then he (*scil.* Idaeus) **came** and declared his message

standing in the midst of them (*scil.* his comrades)"

Without any co-occurring elements which convey information about Path, in (10) ἦλθον refers to Idaeus (Figure) reaching the midst of his comrades assembly (implied Ground), as expressed by the phrase στὰς ἐν μέσσοισιν "standing in the midst", who are sitting, waiting for his message. A similar context is also found in (11):

(11) οὔ πω πᾶν εἴρητο ἔπος, ὅτ' ἄρ' **ἤλυθον** αὐτοί· (*Il.* 10.540)

"Not yet was the word fully uttered, when they (*scil.* Odysseus and Diomedes) **came**"

In (11) ἦλθον refers to Odysseus and Diomedes (implied Figure) that reach their comrades, waiting for both heroes, in the camp (implied Ground).

ἔρχομαι and ἦλθον Occurring With Path-Encoding Elements

Occurrences with nominal case markers. Both ἔρχομαι and ἦλθον express motion events in which Path is conveyed by case markers of nominal items which function as directional/goal-oriented or non-directional/non-goal-oriented satellites. [14] As for the occurrences of ἔρχομαι (4×), both those with

---

[13] Cf. Schadewaldt (1958) translates ἔρχεται as *schreitet* (*schreiten* "to go, proceed"); Kölligan (2007) quotes Schadewaldt's translation as an example of deictically neutral use of ἔρχομαι, to which he attributes a habitual value. In this case, a different interpretation of ἔρχομαι is also possible, i.e., ingressive and telic, with reference to the idea of "to put oneself in motion" (see Romagno, 2002; 2005).

[14] More specifically, these nominal items express [Path + Ground], i.e., nominal stem (Ground) + case marker (Path).

goal-oriented Path, i.e., with the dative (1×) and with the accusative (2×), as illustrated in (12), and those with non-goal-oriented Path, i.e., with the genitive (1×), as illustrated in (13), are present.

(12) νῦν δὲ σὺ μέν ῥ’ Ἀΐδαο **δόμους** ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης/**ἔρχεαι** (*Il.* 22.482-3)

　　"Now you (*scil.* Hector) **go to(wards) the house** of Hades beneath the deeps of earth"

In (12) ἔρχεαι expresses the generic idea of going (Motion) in reference to Hector (implied Figure), while the accusative δόμους, with allative value, is the goal-oriented satellite conveying the directional Path in relation to the Ground, i.e., to(wards) the house (Ground).[15]

(13) **ἔρχονται πεδίοιο** μαχησόμενοι προτὶ ἄστυ (*Il.* 2.801)

　　"they (*scil.* Trojans) **go through the plain** to fight against the city"

In (13) the Trojans represent the implied Figure in relation to ἔρχονται, expressing the generic idea of going (Motion), while the partitive genitive πεδίοιο, with perlative value, i.e., "through the plain" (see Snell, 1955-2010, p. 1030; Schwyzer, 1959, p. 112), is the non-goal-oriented satellite, with reference to the intermediate segment of the path (Path) followed by the Figure (i.e., the traversal subcomponent of the Path component; see Talmy, 2000).

As for the occurrences of ἦλθον with Path-encoding case markers (69×), their distribution includes both those with goal-oriented Path, i.e., with the accusative (17×) and the dative (47×), as illustrated in (14)-(15), and with non-goal-oriented Path, i.e., with the so-called "internal accusative" (5×).

(14) [...] ἥδε δέ μοι νῦν/ἠὼς ἑνδεκάτη ὅτε **Ἴλιον εἰλήλουθα** (*Il.* 21.155-156)

　　"[...] and now this is my (*scil.* Asteropaeus) eleventh morn, since I **came to Ilios**"

In (14) the perfect form εἰλήλουθα describes a telic action, accomplished by Asteropaeus (implied Figure), i.e., his reaching (Motion) the city of Ilios (Ground). Here the accusative Ἴλιον, with allative value, i.e., "to(wards) Ilios", functions as the directional/goal-oriented satellite conveying the Path in relation to the Ground, depicting also the Goal of motion (i.e., Ilios). The stative value, proper of the Homeric perfect forms, can explain the event expressed by εἰλήλουθα as the resulting state of a telic event.

(15) [...] τάχα δ’ **αὐτῷ/ἦλθε** κακόν (*Il.* 17.291-2 = 15.449-50)

　　"[...] but swiftly an evil **came to him**"

The formula in (15) describes a hero who is mortally wounded, suddenly during the battle. The generic term κακόν "evil", which represents the Figure of the motion event, actually refers to the fatal shot/assault coming from an enemy (cf. vv. 293-6); the aorist ἦλθε expresses a movement (Motion) which entails the reaching of an endpoint, while the dative αὐτῷ, with allative value, i.e., "to him", conveys the directional/goal-oriented Path in relation to the Ground, depicting also the Goal of motion (i.e., the wounded hero).[16] The co-occurrence of the adverb τάχα "quickly" is noteworthy since it is not only a Manner-encoding element (which gives information about the manner of motion), but also a clue of the inherently telic value of ἦλθε, for it concerns an instant process.

In the rare co-occurrences of ἦλθον with the internal object, such as ὁδόν "way, road" or κέλευθα (pl.) "road, path, journey", the phrase ἦλθον ὁδὸν/κέλευθα (e.g., *Il.* 1.151; 12.225; *Od.* 3.313; 9.261-2) refers to the idea of

---

[15] The phrase ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης "beneath the deeps of earth" would represent a further non-directional Path element that depicts the Ground in a more specific way.

[16] Although αὐτῷ may also be considered as a so-called ethical dative, an allative value seems more plausible to explain it given this specific context.

making a journey.[17]

Occurrences with spatial adverbs. As far as the occurrences with Path-encoding spatial adverb are concerned, ἔρχομαι occurs with both directional/goal-oriented (14×), as illustrated in (16), and non-directional/non-goal-oriented adverbs (5×), as illustrated in (17).[18]

(16) **ἔρχεο** νῦν **συφεόνδε**, μετ᾽ ἄλλων λέξο ἑταίρων (*Od.* 10.320)

"**Go** now **to the sty** and lie with the rest of your (*scil.* Odysseus) comrades!"

Odysseus's comrades are turned into pigs by Circe that orders Odysseus to follow them into the sty, as she thinks he himself is going to become a pig too. In the motion event described by the imperative form ἔρχεο, which expresses Motion, Odysseus is the implied Figure, while the adverb συφεόνδε, with the allative suffix -δε, refers to the directional Path in relation to the Ground, i.e., "to(wards) the sty". It is noteworthy that, in spite that the directional/goal-oriented nature of the adverb συφεόνδε could telicize the event, Odysseus does not reach the sty (cf. vv. 321-4).

(17) [...] ἐπεὶ οὔ ποτε φῦλον ὁμοῖον

ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν **χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων** τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων (*Il.* 5.441-2)

"[...] since the race of immortal gods and that of men **who go upon the earth** are never similar"

In (17) men (ἀνθρώπων) represent the Figure; the non-goal-oriented adverb χαμαὶ "upon the earth" is the non-directional element which encodes Path (+Ground) in reference to a motion upon a surface, while the participle ἐρχομένων refers to a generic idea of a movement (Motion). It is significant that in (17) ἔρχομαι seems to simply convey the meaning of "moving", conforming to both its inherent atelicity and its middle voice.

Also the verb ἦλθον co-occurs with both directional/goal-oriented (54×), as illustrated in (18), and non-directional/non-goal-oriented adverbs (91×), as illustrated in (19).

(18) ἀγγελίην τινά τοι, γαιήοχε Κυανοχαῖτα,

ἦλθον δεῦρο φέρουσα παραὶ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο (*Il.* 15.174-5)

"I (*scil.* Iris) **have come here** to bring you, earth-moving dark-haired god, a message from aegis-bearing Zeus"

In (18) the aorist ἦλθον expresses a telic movement (Motion) accomplished by Iris (implied Figure), while the adverb δεῦρο conveys the directional/goal-oriented Path in relation to an implied Ground (i.e., the sea as Poseidon's house), depicting a Goal actually reached by the Figure.

(19) Δηΐφοβος δὲ μάλα **σχεδὸν ἤλυθεν** Ἰδομενῆος

Ἀσίου ἀχνύμενος, καὶ ἀκόντισε δουρὶ φαεινῶι (*Il.* 13.402-3)

"Then Deïphobus, grieving for Asius, **came very close** to Idomeneus, and struck (him) with his bright spear"

In (19) ἤλυθεν describes a movement (Motion) entailing the reaching of an endpoint. It is noteworthy that, although the Pat-encoding satellite, i.e., σχεδόν "close", within the phrase μάλα σχεδόν "very close", is

---

[17] Although a telic interpretation of this phrase is also suitable (i.e., "to have done a journey"), it is not possible to look at such an accusative marker as conveying a directional/goal oriented (rather non-goal-oriented). In addition, a perlative explanation of the accusative marker (i.e., ἦλθον ὁδὸν/κέλευθα "to go through a path") seems unsuitable, because of both the presence of the accusative (rather than genitive), and the telic nature of the verb.

[18] It has been chosen to interpret lexemes as συφεόν-δε "to(wards) the sty" as *adverbs* rather than *case markers*, although the adverbial suffix -δε would be to reconnected to an old allative case marker. In addition, adverbs as συφεόνδε "to(wards) the sty" specifically convey [Path + Ground]; whereas, adverbs as ἀντίον "against" only convey Path, while Ground can be both expressed by a nominal item and implied.

non-directional, the Figure (i.e., Deïphobus) actually reaches the Ground (i.e., Idomeneus), as shown by ἀκόντισε "he struck (him)", which refers to a physical contact between both heroes.

　　　Occurrences with spatial particles. As for the analysis of the occurrences with Path-encoding spatial particles, the following tables illustrate the Homeric distribution of ἔρχομαι and ἦλθον, showing both the type, i.e., directional/goal-oriented (Table 3) or non-directional/non-goal-oriented (Table 4), and the morphosyntactic status, i.e., agglutinated preverb, tmetic preverb, adposition, adverb of particles.[19]

Table 3

Directional Particles Co-occurring With ἔρχομαι and ἦλθον in the Homeric Poems

Directional particles	Categorial status	ἔρχομαι	ἦλθον
ἐπί "to"	preverb	11	45
	tmesis	2	41
	adposition	7	12
	adverb	–	8
εἰς "to"	preverb	4	27
	tmesis	3	24
	adposition	7	43
	adverb	–	–
κατά "downwards"	preverb	3	17
	tmesis	–	2
	adposition	6	1
	adverb	–	1
ἀνά "upwards"	preverb	5	5
	tmesis	1	1
	adposition	1	4
	adverb	–	–
πρός "towards"	preverb	–	–
	tmesis	–	–
	adposition	8	9
	adverb	–	–

Table 4

Non-directional Particles Co-occurring With ἔρχομαι and ἦλθον in the Homeric Poems

Non-directional particles	Categorial status	ἔρχομαι	ἦλθον
ἐκ "out"	preverb	–	17
	tmesis	1	22
	adposition	1	19
	adverb	–	–
μετά "between"	preverb	5	12
	tmesis	3	4
	adposition	3	8
	adverb	–	–

---

[19] For space reasons, the particles are presented with only one meaning, although they can actually show semantic extensions. Rare cases of "multiple preverbation" (Imbert, 2010) are excluded from the sample.

(Table 4 continued)

Non-directional particles	Categorial status	ἔρχομαι	ἦλθον
διά "through"	preverb	2	8
	tmesis	2	11
	adposition	–	3
	adverb	–	–
ὑπό "under"	preverb	–	5
	tmesis	–	7
	adposition	–	3
	adverb	–	–
παρά "beside"	preverb	2	6
	tmesis	–	2
	adposition	2	1
	adverb	–	–
ἀπό "from"	preverb	1	4
	tmesis	3	1
	adposition	–	5
	adverb	–	–
ἀμφί(ς) "on both sides"	preverb	–	2
	tmesis	–	–
	adposition	–	–
	adverb	–	–
ὑπέρ "over"	preverb	–	–
	tmesis	–	2
	adposition	–	–
	adverb	–	–
σύν "with"	preverb	–	–
	tmesis	1	–
	adposition	–	–
	adverb	–	–
περί "around"	preverb	–	–
	tmesis	–	4
	adposition	–	–
	adverb	–	–
ἐν "in"	preverb	–	–
	tmesis	–	–
	adposition	–	1
	adverb	–	–

As shown in Tables 3-4, ἔρχομαι and ἦλθον occur with both directional/goal-oriented and non-directional/non-goal-oriented particles. Yet, from a further analysis of the contexts of use of both verbs, some semantic differences emerge, which—albeit not systematic—can be originated from the actional inherent nature of their roots. In particular, given the higher semantic compatibility between telic verbs and directional/goal-oriented particles, when co-occurring with [+telic] ἦλθον, they generally maintain their directional value, and the motion event tends to describe also the actually reaching of the goal by the Figure. On the contrary, when co-occurring with ἔρχομαι, the same directional particles can assume also a

non-directional/non-goal-oriented semantic value, and the motion event tends not to describe any actual reaching the goal by the Figure; this latter fact further corroborates the hypothesis of an inherently atelic nature of ἔρχομαι. As illustrated in (20), the directional particle κατά maintains its original directional value when co-occurring with ἦλθον, while it loses it when co-occurring with ἔρχομαι, in (21).

(20) πάντες δ' Οὐλύμποιο **κατήλθομεν** ἀντιόωντες/τῆσδε μάχης (*Il*. 20.125-6)

"We all (*scil*. gods) **came down** from Olympus to meeting in this battle"

Functioning as an agglutinated preverb, in (20) the directional particle κατά co-occurs with the telic aorist ἦλθον and expresses a directional Path, i.e., "downwards", in reference to the telic movement conveyed by the verb, which also involves reaching an endpoint (i.e., the battlefield).[20]

In (21), instead, the same particle κατά shows a non-directional (rather directional) value when co-occurring with ἔρχομαι:

(21) ἥ σφιν καὶ τότε νεῖκος ὁμοίιον ἔμβαλε μέσσωι

ἐρχομένη καθ' ὅμιλον, ὀφέλλουσα στόνον ἀνδρῶν (*Il*. 4.444-5)

"Even then, she (*scil*. Discord) cast distressing strife into their midst **as she went through** the throng, making the groaning of men increase"

In (21) Discord (i.e., Ἔρις, cf. v. 440) is the Figure that goes through the throng (καθ' ὅμιλον) of fighting heroes. It is significant that, in spite of its prototypically directional/goal-oriented nature, κατά here shows a perlative, thus non-goal-oriented, value (i.e., *through*). Functioning as a preposition (καθ') with the accusative ὅμιλον (Ground), the particle κατά here conveys the intermediate segment of Path (i.e., the subcomponent *traversal*), with reference to the generic and atelic movement (Motion) expressed by the participial form ἐρχομένη.[21]

The same phrase καθ' ὅμιλον is also found in that only occurrence in which κατά shows a particular value, i.e., non-directional, with [+telic] ἦλθον. Yet, it is noteworthy that, taking into account the larger narrative context, the movement expressed by the verb does not refer to an atelic action, as that of ἔρχομαι in (21), but describes the reaching a goal, as illustrated in (23):

(23) καί νύ κε δὴ ξιφέεσσ' αὐτοσχεδὸν ὡρμηθήτην

εἰ μή σφω' Αἴαντε διέκριναν μεμαῶτε,

οἵ ῥ' **ἦλθον καθ'** ὅμιλον ἑταίρου κικλήσκοντος (*Il*. 17.530-2)

"And now they (*scil*. Hector and Automedon) would have clashed with their swords in close fight, if both Aiantes had not parted them, despite their fury, both actually **came through** the throng as they were called by their comrade"

Although κατά here shows the same perlative value shown with ἔρχομαι in (21), in (23) both Aiantes (Figure) reach their comrade Automedon, who represents the endpoint of the telic motion expressed by ἦλθον in this event, as illustrated by the larger context (cf. vv. 507-29).

Besides the semantic values of the particles, some significant considerations can be made regarding their morphosyntactic status. The status of agglutinated preverb, i.e., agglutinated to the verbal base, shows the highest

---

[20] The genitive Οὐλύμποιο is a further Path-encoding element expressing the Source of motion, i.e., "from Olympus".
[21] Similar examples are in *Il*. 4.516; 10.185; *Od*. 7.40.

level of morphosyntactic cohesion with the verb, thus reflecting the most advanced phase within the grammaticalization process of the Homeric particles (see above, 1.2). Due to the higher semantic compatibility between telic verbs and directional/goal-oriented particles, verb-inherent telicity reflects on the higher level of morphosyntactic cohesion, thus on the more advanced phase of grammaticalization, of those particles (cf. Bartlotta & Nigrelli, 2017). As for the case of ἔρχομαι and ἦλθον, the distributional analysis actually shows quite slight differences between the verbs, even though some distributional tendencies can be underlined. Taking into account the percentage of occurrences in which the five directional particles (i.e., πρός "towards", εἰς "to", ἐπί "to", ἀνά "upwards", κατά "downwards") co-occur as agglutinated preverbs, it can be noticed that the percentages with reference to both ἦλθον and ἔρχομαι are quite overlapped: in particular, in reference to πρός (both 0%) and εἰς (both 29%), and—with slight differences—also in reference to ἐπί (ἦλθον 42% *vs.* ἔρχομαι 55%) and ἀνά (ἦλθον 50% *vs.* ἔρχομαι 71%). A more significant difference between both verbs can be found, instead, in reference to κατά, which tends to occur as an agglutinated preverb much more frequently with ἦλθον (81%) than with ἔρχομαι (33%).[22]

Conclusion

Taking into account the [self-propelled motion verb + Path-satellite] encoding pattern, which is less prototypical for the S-Framed languages, such as Homeric Greek, the distributional and textual analysis of the Homeric motion verbs for *go*, i.e., ἦλθον and ἔρχομαι, with their co-occurring Path-encoding elements, has further clarified the actional nature of the opposition between these verbs, based on (a)telicity. Moreover, as an inherent actional feature, verbal (a)telicity has proved to have an impact on the encoding of motion events. In particular, data have shown that verbal (a)telicity strongly reflects on the semantic value of the spatial Path-encoding elements and, thus, on that of the entire event. In addition, albeit partially, (a)telicity also reflects on the different level of morphosyntactic cohesion between verbs and spatial particles, in terms of a higher level of grammaticalization of directional/goal-oriented particles when co-occurring with telic verbs.

References

Aske, J. (1989). Path predicates in English and Spanish: A closer look. In Proceedings of the *Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* (pp. 1-16). Berkeley Linguistics Society, February 18-20, 1989.

Baldi, P. (2006). Towards a history of the manner of motion parameter in Greek and Indo-European. In P. Cuzzolin and M. Napoli (Eds.), *Fonologia e Tipologia lessicale nella storia della lingua greca* (pp. 13-31). Milano: Franco Angeli.

Bartolotta, A. (2009). Root lexical features and inflectional marking of tense in Proto-Indo-European. *Journal of Linguistics, 45*(3), 505-532.

Bartolotta, A. (2016). Inherent telicity and Proto-Indo-European verbal paradigms. *Rivista Italiana di Linguistica e Dialettologia, 18*, 9-50.

Bartolotta, A. (2017a). On syntactic diagnostics as tests for telicity in ancient Indo-European languages. Evidence from Vedic and Greek. *Incontri Linguistici, 40*(40), 39-63.

Bartolotta, A. (2017b). On deictic motion verbs in Homeric Greek. In F. Logozzo and P. Poccetti (Eds.), *Ancient Greek linguistics: New approaches, insights, perspectives* (pp. 277-292). Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter.

Bartolotta, A., & Nigrelli, C. (2017). Sulla codifica degli eventi di moto in greco omerico: Il ruolo dell'aspetto lessicale. *Archivio Glottologico Italiano, 120*(1), 20-39.

---

[22] Although two cases of tmesis show that κατά and ἦλθον can still co-occur as a discontinuous phrase (see Table 3), the high percentage of uses as an agglutinated preverb leads to hypothesize a consistent crystallization level of κατήλυθον/κατῆλθον as proper verbal compound (cf. the third and fourth phase of grammaticalization).

Bertinetto, P. M. (1986). *Tempo, aspetto e azione nel verbo italiano: Il sistema dell'indicativo*. Firenze: Accademia Della Crusca.

Bertrand, N. (2014). On tmesis, word order and noun incorporation in Homeric Greek. In A. Bartolotta (Ed.), *The Greek Verb. Morphology, Syntax and Semantics. Proceedings of the 8th International Meeting on Greek Linguistics* (pp. 11-30). Agrigento, October 1-3, 2009. Louvain-La-Neuve-Walpole: Peters.

Bloch, A. (1940). *Zur Geschichte einiger suppletiven Verba im Griechischen*. Basel.

Brugmann, K., & Delbrück, B. (1897-1916). *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Strassburg: Trübner.

Brugmann, K., & Thumb, A. (1913). *Griechische Grammatik, Lautlehre, Stammbildungs- und Flexionslehre, Syntax*. München: Beck.

Chantraine, P. (1953). *Grammaire homérique, Voll. I-II*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Chantraine, P. (1968-1980). *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Comrie, B. (1976). *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cuzzolin, P., Putzu, I., & Ramat, P. (2006). The Indo-European adverb in diachronic and typological perspective. *Indogermanische Forschungen, 111*, 1-38.

Delbrück, B. (1897). *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.

Depraetere, I. (1995). On the necessity of distinguishing between (un)boundedness and (a)telicity. *Linguistics and Philosophy, 18*(1), 1-19.

Dowty, D. R. (1979). *Word meaning and Montague grammar*. Dordrecht: Reidel.

Heine, B. (2003). Grammaticalization. In B. D. Joseph and R. D. Janda (Eds.), *The handbook of historical linguistics* (pp. 575-601). Oxford: Blackwell.

Hopper, P. J., & Traugott, E. C. (1993). *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Imbert, C. (2010). Multiple preverbation in Homeric Greek: A typological insight. *CogniTextes, 4*. Retrieved from http://cognitextes.revues.org/387

Kölligan, D. (2007). *Suppletion und Defektivität im griechischen Verbum*. Bremen: Hempen Verlag.

Kuryłowicz, J. (1964). *The inflectional categories of Indo-European*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

Lehmann, C. (1995). *Thoughts on grammaticalization*. Erfurt: Seminar für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität.

Létoublon, F. (1985). *Il allait pareil à la nuit. Les verbes de mouvement en grec: Suppletisme et aspect verbal*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Luraghi, S. (2003). *On the meaning of prepositions and cases: The expression of semantic roles in Ancient Greek*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Meillet, A. (1912). L'évolution des formes grammaticales. *Scientia, 12, 26*(6), 130-148.

Meillet, A. (1926). Sur ἤλυθον, ἦλθον. *BSL, 26*, 6-7.

Meillet, A. (1929). Grec ἔρχομαι. *Memoires de la Societè de Linguistique de Paris, 23*, 249-258.

Nikitina, T. (2013). Lexical splits in the encoding of motion events from Archaic to Classical Greek. In J. Goschler and A. Stefanowitsch (Eds.), *Variation and change in the encoding of motion events* (pp. 185-201). Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Osthoff, H. (1899). *Vom Suppletivwesen der Indogermanischen Sprachen*. Heidelberg: J. Hörning.

Pokorny, J. (1959). *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Voll. I-II*. Bern-München: Francke Verlag.

Pompei, A. (2010). Space coding in verb-particle constructions and prefixed verbs. In G. Marotta, A. Lenci, L. Meini, and F. Rovai (Eds.), *Space in Language. Proceedings of the Pisa International Conference* (pp. 401-418). Firenze: Edizioni ETS.

Pompei, A. (2014). Verb-particle constructions and preverbs in Homeric Greek between telicization, incorporation and valency change. In A. Bartolotta (Ed.), *The Greek Verb. Morphology, Syntax and Semantics. Proceedings of the 8th International Meeting on Greek Linguistics* (pp. 253-276). Agrigento, October 1-3, 2009. Louvain-La-Neuve-Walpole: Peters.

Rix, H. (2001). *Lexicon der Indogermanischen Verben*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.

Romagno, D. (2002). Diatesi Indoeuropea e verbi di movimento greci: Alcune considerazioni sull'intransitività. *Archivio Glottologico Italiano, 87*, 163-174.

Romagno, D. (2005). *Il perfetto omerico. Diatesi, azionalità e ruoli tematici*. Milano: Franco Angeli.

Schadewaldt, W. (1958). *Homer, Die Odyssee*. Hamburg: Rowohlt.

Schwyzer, E. (1959). *Griechische Grammatik, Voll. I-II*. Munich: Beck Verlag.

Skopeteas, S. (2008). Encoding spatial relations: Language typology and diachronic change in Greek. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung (STUF), 61*(1), 54-66.

Snell, B. (1955-2010). *Lexikon des Frühgriechischen Epos*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Talmy, L. (1985). Lexicalization patterns: Semantic structure in lexical form. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, Vol. III* (pp. 57-149). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Talmy, L. (1991). Path to realization: A typology of event conflation. In Proceedings of the *Berkeley Linguistics Society* (pp. 480-520). Berkeley Linguistics Society.

Talmy, L. (2000). *Toward a cognitive semantics: Typology and process in concept structuring, Vol. II*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

Talmy, L. (2009). Main verb properties and equipollent framing. In J. Guo, E. Lieven, N. Budwig, S. Ervin-Tripp, K. Nakamura, and Ş. Özçalışkan (Eds.), *Crosslinguistic approaches to the psychology of language. Research the tradition of Dan Isaac Slobin* (pp. 389-402). New York-London: Psychology Press.

TLG. (2000). *Thesaurus Linguae Grecae. A digital library of Greek literature*. Irvine: University of California.

Vendler, Z. (1957). Verbs and times. *The Philosophical Review, 66*(2), 143-160.

Vendler, Z. (1967). *Linguistics in philosophy*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.

Verkerk, A. (2014). *The evolutionary dynamics of motion event encoding*. Enschede: Ipskamp Drukkers.

Verkuyl, H. J. (1972). *On the compositional nature of the aspects*. Dordrecht: Reidel.