

Chapter 3

What can be used in Greek and Latin? A comparative study of the support verbs *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* and *utor*

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In this contribution, I offer a comparative approach to support-verb constructions in Greek and Latin. Despite their differences, both languages employ verbs meaning ‘to use’ as support verbs in combination with a vast set of nouns. The objectives of this contribution are: (i) to observe the semantic-syntactic domains in which these verbs operate; (ii) to analyse the properties and functions of these support-verb constructions, together with their distribution; and (iii) to compare these support-verb constructions in Greek and Latin. The conclusions are reinforced by a quantitative analysis of the data. I conclude that *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* ‘to use’ and *utor* ‘to use’ are both used as support verbs in Ancient Greek and Latin, and that they alternate with aspectual and causative support-verb extensions.

En esta contribución, ofrezco un acercamiento comparativo a las construcciones de verbo soporte en griego y latín. A pesar de sus diferencias, ambas lenguas utilizan verbos con el significado de ‘usar’ como verbos soporte en combinación con un gran número de sustantivos. Los objetivos de esta contribución son: (i) observar los dominios semánticos y sintácticos en que operan estos verbos; (ii) analizar las propiedades y funciones de estas construcciones de verbo soporte, así como su distribución; y (iii) compararlas en griego y latín. Las conclusiones vienen apoyadas por un análisis cuantitativo de los datos. Concluyo que *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* y *utor* se usan como verbos soporte en griego antiguo y latín y que alternan con extensiones de verbo soporte aspectuales y causativas.



1 Introduction

Support-verb constructions (SVCs henceforth)¹ in Greek and Latin have been the subject of several papers by the members of successive research projects in Spain (Baños 2018b, Jiménez López 2016, 2021, Jiménez Martínez 2019, Mendózar Cruz 2020, Tur 2020, Hoffmann 2022),² Italy (Tronci 2017, Pompei & Mereu 2019),³ and the United Kingdom (Fendel 2021, 2023, 2024).⁴ The comparative approach taken by some of these contributions (Baños & Jiménez López 2017, 2018, López Martín 2019) has proved productive, since SVCs are frequent in contexts with intense cultural and linguistic exchange and are easily transferred from one language to another (Bown 2008, Fendel 2021). The different frequencies of SVCs in Greek and Latin texts have often been highlighted, i.e. Greek texts tend to contain more occurrences of simplex verbs than SVCs, whereas Latin texts show a significantly higher proportion of support-verb constructions (Baños 2015: 229, Jiménez López 2016: 183). Nevertheless, the two also share some similarities.

One of these similarities lies in the use that both languages make of *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* and *utor* ‘to use’ as support verbs with a surprisingly wide collocative spectrum. Both are often combined with a range of nouns which is difficult to synthesise in a few semantic or lexical labels. In fact, previous papers on *utor* have overlooked this function of the verb, thereby showing astonishment at its wide range of objects (Alonso Fernández 2010, see also Squeri (this volume)).

The objectives of this contribution are: (i) to analyse the properties and functions of the SVCs with *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* and *utor* (Section 4), together with

¹The dataset is accessible here: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5287/ora-n652gamyj>. The Greek and Latin texts have been taken from the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* and the *Corpus Corporum* databases. Translations are my own. The examples for SVCs with verbs other than *utor* have been obtained from the *Dictionary of Latin Collocations (DiCoLat)* (Baños & Jiménez López 2024). Some examples for SVCs with verbs other than *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* have been obtained from the *Dictionary of Greek Collocations (DiCoGra)* (Jiménez López & Baños 2024). The glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

²The projects are: ‘Interacción del léxico y la sintaxis en griego antiguo y en latín: construcciones con verbo soporte diátesis y aspecto’ (FFI2017-83310-C3-3-P, led by J. M. Baños); ‘Diccionario de Colocaciones Latinas en la Red (DiCoLat)’ (led by J. M. Baños); and ‘Interacción del léxico y la sintaxis en griego antiguo y latín 2: Diccionario de Colocaciones Latinas (DiCoLat) y Diccionario de Colocaciones del Griego Antiguo (DiCoGra)’ (PID2021-125076NB-C42, led by J. M. Baños and M.D. Jiménez López).

³The projects are: ‘Lessico e sintassi in greco antico e italiano’ and ‘Strutture di frase con sintagmi preposizionali predicativi: greco antico, latino e italiano a confronto’, both led by L. Tronci.

⁴The project is: ‘Giving gifts and doing favours: Unlocking Greek support-verb constructions’ (ECF-2020-181, led by V. Fendel).

their distribution by text type and author (Section 5); (ii) to observe the semantic domains in which *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* and *utor* operate (Section 6); and (iii) to compare these SVCs in Greek and Latin (Sections 4–7). However, my approach to SVCs is different from that of other contributors of this volume (Section 2).⁵ To support my analysis, I have used data from two different corpora, one for each language (Section 3). In Section 8, I provide a summary of my conclusions.

2 Definition of support-verb constructions

Several different definitions for SVCs have been proposed in the literature. In addition, support verbs (SVs henceforth) have been referred to differently in different languages and the description of their characteristics diverges depending on the language being analysed (Hoffmann 2022: 27). For example, the German concept of *Funktionsverb* ‘functional verb’ is broader than the English *light verb*, the French *verbe support* and the Spanish *verbo de apoyo*. In this contribution, I use the term *support verb* in the more restricted sense (Vivès 1984; Alonso Ramos 2004) and *support-verb extension* in the broader sense (Baños 2014a), that is, collocations that have many characteristics in common with SVCs, but also some distinct properties. The verbs referred to by these expressions are different from auxiliaries in several different ways, but the more obvious is perhaps that auxiliaries are typically used in combination with another verb (*cf.* verbal periphrases, *e.g.* in Bentein 2016). For the purpose of data organisation, I consider SVCs to be a set of different types of verb-noun collocations arranged around a prototype.

For a better understanding of this concept, it is necessary to start with a general definition of *collocation*.⁶ Collocations are lexically restricted word combinations that differ from free word combinations because they are fixed in the linguistic norm, and from idioms because they allow for syntactic modification (Corpas 1997: 66, Alonso Ramos 2004: 20–21). In other words, collocations are at a middle point of a *continuum* between free constructions and idioms. In a free

⁵Squeri (this volume) takes into account collocations with *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* where the noun functions as an object complement, whereas I discard them, and Veteikis (this volume) takes into account collocations with adjectives, while I only include in my analysis verb + noun constructions.

⁶That is the definition of *collocation* that I propose in this paper. Since the appearance of this concept, it has been understood differently by different researchers. Initially, for instance, collocations were merely considered frequent word co-occurrences (Firth 1964, Halliday 1961: 276). However, it was later pointed out that the high co-occurrence of certain items in a sentence was in fact due to the lexical, syntactic, and semantic restrictions of a certain word, which acted as a marker for the higher probability of other items, *i.e.* arguments, prepositions, conjunctions, etc. (Harris 1976).

construction, all the words are chosen by the speaker according to their meaning, and its semantics is a result of the combination of the meanings of all these words. By contrast, the meaning of an idiom does not result from the addition of the meanings of its parts, but rather from social consensus, whereby a combination of words expresses a meaning unrelated to that which the words convey separately. Collocations are partially restricted word combinations: when a speaker wants to say that they have strolled or walked for leisure, they might choose the noun *walk* to build the sentence, but it is the lexical restrictions of *walk* that impose the use of the verb *to take* in *I took a walk*. In other words, it is unidiomatic to say **I grabbed a walk* or **I did a walk*.

What characterises collocations is that one element (*base word*) is freely chosen by the speaker, while the other (*collocate*) is determined by the base word. For instance, *attention* is *paid* in English, but *gifted* in German (*Aufmerksamkeit schenken*), and *made* in French (*faire attention*). These phrases mean the same in all three languages, but each one takes a different verb to express the same idea. This means that the noun is the semantically chosen element in the sentence, whereas the verb is lexically selected by the noun. That being said, there are several different types of collocations (Baños 2018a). In some cases, both elements – the base and the collocate – retain their original meaning (lexical collocations, such as *to play guitar/piano*), whereas in others, one of the elements undergoes some kind of semantic change, be it de-semanticization or alteration of its original meaning (functional collocations, such as *to give a hug*). Another restriction relates to the lexical specificity of the verb (collocate): collocates may indeed be very widely applicable with a wide set of bases (in general collocations, such as *to have a dream*) or be restricted to a certain set of bases (in specific collocations, such as *to commit a crime*).

SVCs are necessarily functional collocations, but they may be either specific or general. For instance, the verb *to give* has a very vague or general meaning, e.g. *to give a hug*, but the verb *to commit*, by contrast, may only be used in the context of crime. This distinction is relevant because it affects the interpretation of the data. If one of the characteristics that is typically used for the identification of collocations is absolute frequency, but a characteristic of specific collocations is lexical restriction, then there is a methodological caveat: not all the collocations are equally frequent and therefore less frequent word combinations also deserve a collocational analysis, even if they do not have a high absolute frequency.

SVCs are a type of verb-noun collocation which consists of a support verb and a predicative noun. A complete definition of the concept is provided in Mendózar Cruz (2015: 7):

[SVCs are] verb-noun phrases in which the predication is largely borne by the noun, an event noun, and in which the verb, devoid of its nuclear function, becomes a ‘predicator’ of the noun, providing it, on the one hand, with the grammatical features which the noun lacks (tense, mood, voice, etc.) and, on the other hand, with the syntactic slots which are required for its semantic arguments (my translation).⁷

This accounts for prototypical SVCs, that is, Alonso Ramos (2004)’s *construcciones con verbo de apoyo* or Vivès (1984)’s *construcciones à verbe support*. The nature of the nouns in these collocations has been subject to debate (Alonso Ramos 2004: 115-129). Before Alonso Ramos (2004), the terms *abstract*, *de-verbal* or *event* were used to describe them. However, none of these terms account for the whole range of nouns that can be found taking part in SVCs: there are SVCs with non-abstract, non-de-verbal, and un-eventive nouns (e.g. *to give ear*). Alonso Ramos (2004: 115) argues that any noun with actants (\approx arguments) must be considered predicative. The difficulty here lies in the fact that some nouns can be forced into an SVC and assigned actants despite them not originally taking them (see Squeri (this volume)). This is the perspective I adopt in this contribution.

These constructions are often identified and described by means of batteries of tests (Langer 2004, Jiménez López 2016). So, for instance, SVCs have a higher absolute frequency as opposed to free constructions which are usually less frequent. They can be easily replaced by a simplex verb without having their meaning majorly altered – e.g. *to give a hug* \approx *to hug* –, even though they can be used to add certain nuances that the simplex verb on its own cannot convey, such as intensification or iteration (Jiménez López 2016).⁸ They can have the verb removed without majorly altering the meaning of the sentence (nominalisation)⁹ – e.g. *Mary gave a hug to Paul* \approx *Mary’s hug to Paul* – and, very importantly, they have a subject that is co-referential with the first argument of the base noun. That is, in an example such as *Mary took a walk around Camden*, the subject of *took* is the same entity as the first argument (i.e. the Agent) of *walk*.

⁷Original text: ‘Sintagmas verbo-nominales en los que el peso de la predicación recae sobre el sustantivo, un nombre de evento, y donde el verbo, depuesto de su función nuclear, cumple el papel de «actualizador» del nombre, proporcionándole, por un lado, los accidentes gramaticales (tiempo, modo, voz, etc.) de los que la morfología nominal carece y, por otro, las posiciones sintácticas necesarias para la expresión de sus argumentos semánticos.’

⁸Contrast for instance *He walked* \neq *He took several walks a week*. This iteration cannot be conveyed by the verb alone. If a speaker tried to communicate the same, they might utter something like *He kept walking*, but that is a durative predicate, not an iterative one.

⁹In other words, the semantics of the predicate are not altered if it is nominalised. Removing the verb implies deleting the grammatical information it conveys, such as tense, mood, etc., but the ensemble of words conveys the same meaning as the original sentence.

However, less prototypical SVCs may behave differently and still have a noun predicated by an SV. These are what I call SV-extension constructions (SVECs henceforth).¹⁰ For instance, causative constructions are incapable of complying with the co-referentiality criterion because the subject of the verb is necessarily a Causer or a Force, and the first argument of the noun is often a different entity. So, for instance, CG φόβον ἔχω *p^hobon ek^ho* ‘I have fear’ is a prototypical SVC because the subject of ἔχω *ek^ho* ‘I have’ coincides with the Experiencer of φόβος *p^hobos* ‘fear’. However, in CG φόβον ποιέω *p^hobon poieo* ‘I make/cause/provoke fear’, the Experiencer of φόβος *p^hobos* is different from the entity which causes it, that is, the subject of ποιέω *poieo*.

These causative/non-causative pairs are what have been called *constructions inverses* (Gross 1982) or *converses* (Gross 1989) in the literature. This can be exemplified with Gross (1982)’s case-study of Fr. *donner* ‘to give’ and *recevoir* ‘to receive’, which convey opposed diathetical meanings. Most importantly, G. Gross’ paper reaches three conclusions crucial to this contribution: (i) the notion of SV is broader than generally assumed and includes verbs which are not entirely devoid of meaning; (ii) SVs have a vague meaning, which can be deduced from the arrangement of its complements; and (iii) the meaning of an SV can also be identified by comparing it with other SVs with which it alternates.

With regard to this last point, Jiménez López (2021) case study of CG γίγνομαι *gignomai* ‘to come to be’ is most illustrative: she concludes that γίγνομαι *gignomai* + noun SVCs perform as the lexical passive of ποιέομαι *poieomai* ‘to make’ + noun SVCs. In other words, the comparison between ποιέομαι *poieomai* and γίγνομαι *gignomai* allows her to elucidate the meaning of γίγνομαι *gignomai* as an SV (see Vives Cuesta (2021) for another case study). This is the methodological approach I have taken in my attempt to establish the properties of CG χράομαι *k^hraomai* and Lat. *utor*.

The same happens with aspectual or perspectival SVECs.¹¹ When the noun is the subject of the verb, such as in CG φόβος ἐμπίπτει *p^hobos emipitei* ‘fear falls (upon someone)/someone starts to feel fear’, it is impossible to have co-referential arguments. This phrase cannot be replaced by a simplex verb because Greek, as far as I know, does not have a verb to convey the meaning of ‘to start to feel fear’. Instead, φόβος ἐμπίπτει *p^hobos emipitei* would need to be replaced by a different kind of periphrasis, e.g. CG ἄρχομαι φοβεῖσθαι *ark^homai p^hobeist^hai*

¹⁰These less prototypical SVCs have already been addressed in the literature (Anscombe 1995, Gross 1996, 2004, Gross 1998, Baños 2014a).

¹¹The term *perspective* refers to the noun which takes the subject position, which has pragmatic implications in the discourse. For instance, it is not the same to say CG ἔχω φόβον *ek^ho p^hobon* ‘I have/feel fear’ as φόβος μ’ἔχει *p^hobos m’ek^hei* ‘fear has/owns me/I am controlled by fear’.

‘I start to feel fear’. Since the verb is not entirely devoid of its original meaning because it possesses lexical aspect, it cannot be suppressed without any semantic consequences: the noun alone does not convey the aspectual meaning of ἐμπίπτει *empipteĩ* ‘it falls/begins’. However, the close relationship of SVECs to SVCs seems undeniable, particularly if we observe the characteristics of the nouns and how they interact with the verbs they take, that is, their collocational patterns. For these reasons, we consider SVECs a sub-type of SVCs which lie closer to free constructions on the continuum from the latter to idioms.

3 Quantitative data

In the process of data collection, I have handled two corpora, one for Greek — 1,082,905 words in total — and the other for Latin — 2,534,029 words in total. The Greek corpus has been searched by means of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* database (Pantelia 2024) and the Latin corpus has been taken from the *Corpus Corporum (Latinitas Antiqua)* database (Roelli n.d.), both of which allow for semi-automated searches.¹² In total, I have analysed 1,003 tokens of CG χράομαι *k^hraomai* — 0.93‰ of the sample — and 1,237 of Lat. *utor* — 0.49‰ of the sample. Out of these occurrences, 457 — 45.56% of the total tokens of χράομαι *k^hraomai* — included χράομαι *k^hraomai* as an SV, and 598 — 48.34% of the total tokens of *utor* — included *utor* as an SV. This means that, despite *utor* — be it as a full verb or an SV — being only half as frequent in Latin as χράομαι *k^hraomai* is in Greek — on a rate of absolute frequency of 0.49‰ in Latin to 0.93‰ in Greek —, both verbs are used as SVs with a similar frequency — 48.34% of the tokens of *utor* and 45.56% of the tokens of χράομαι *k^hraomai*. In the following sections, I compare both SVs to explain their similarities and differences.

Three types of constructions have been discarded in this analysis. In the first one, χράομαι *k^hraomai* or *utor* do not govern any complements at all or govern a [+human/] complement. So, for instance, *utor* might be used in the sense of ‘to

¹²The Greek corpus includes the following works: Aeschylus (*Persae*, *Septem contra Thebas*), Sophocles (*Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Antigone*), Euripides (*Medea*, *Electra*), Aristophanes (*Acharnenses*, *Nubes*, *Vespae*, *Pax*, *Thesmophoriazusae*), Xenophon (*Hellenica*, *Memorabilia*, *Anabasis*, *Cynegeticus*), Thucydides (*Historiae*), Herodotus (*Historiae*), Lysias (*De caede Eratosthenis*, *Contra Simonem*, *In Eratosthenem*, *In Agoratum*), Demosthenes (*De falsa legatione*, *Adversus Leptinem*, *In Midiam*, *Adversus Androtionem*), Andocides (*De mysteriis*, *De reditu suo*), Plato (*Euthyphro*, *Apologia Socratis*, *Phaedo*, *Symposium*, *Phaedrus*, *Gorgias*, *Ion*, *Respublica*) and Aristotle (*Ethica Nicomachea*, *Historia animalium*, *Politica*). The Latin corpus includes all the works in the *Corpus Corporum* by the following authors: Cicero, Caesar, Catullus, Martial, Livy, Plautus, Sallust, Tacitus and Terence.

get along (with someone)’. These cases cannot be accounted for as SVCs, since one of the requirements for the existence of an SVC is the combination of the verb with a predicative noun.

The second type of construction is where either *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* or *utor* take a non-predicative object. So, for instance, in CG *χράομαι ἵππῳ* *k^hraomai ^hippoⁱ* ‘to use/ride a horse,’ the noun is not predicative, and therefore the construction is not considered an SVC. However, certain nouns can be *forced* into a predicative structure and may acquire complements in the process, in which case the construction has been considered. For instance, in CG *χράομαι τροφῇ* *k^hraomai trop^heⁱ* ‘to use food/to eat’ an Agent is imposed upon *τροφῇ trop^heⁱ* ‘food’, which is co-referential with the subject of *χράομαι k^hraomai*. A different analysis is not possible because *χράομαι τροφῇ k^hraomai trop^heⁱ* is never found with the sense of ‘to feed someone else’ due to the morphosyntactic characteristics of the verb.

Χράομαι k^hraomai is a *media tantum* verb, i.e., it is only used in the middle voice. This has some syntactic implications, such as its inability to function as a causative verb or to be passivised. This, in turn, means that the *fed* entity is always the subject of *χράομαι k^hraomai*. This collocation is so relevant that an Athenian author indicates that, in Athens, *χράομαι k^hraomai* is sometimes used with the meaning ‘to eat’, even when *τροφῇ trop^heⁱ* is not explicitly mentioned (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.14.6).¹³ When *χράομαι k^hraomai* is used without *τροφῇ trop^heⁱ*, it has been discarded because it cannot be considered an SVC. However, the constructions with *τροφῇ trop^heⁱ* are accounted for as SVCs because the noun is made predicative. This is the procedure I have followed with all the data (see Madrigal Acero (2024)).

Thirdly, I have not considered as SVCs the predicates in which the base noun occupied the position of a third argument – an object complement – rather than a second argument.¹⁴ This decision is based on the ambivalence of *χράομαι k^hraomai* and *utor*: since both are clearly not as de-semanticised as other SVs, such as *ποιέομαι poieomai* or *facio* ‘to make’, the boundaries between regular uses of these verbs and their uses as SVs are not always clear. However, I have observed

¹³I understand this case as the result of semantic change in the verb after the collocation had become ubiquitous in language. On this type of semantic change, see Jiménez Martínez & López Martín (in preparation).

¹⁴In these cases, *χράομαι k^hraomai* and *utor* are translated as ‘to use something as something’, e.g. Lat. *his testibus [...] uteretur* ‘that he uses them as witnesses’ (Caesar, *Commentarii belli civilis*, 3,105,1). These constructions seem to be very close to the basic meanings of these verbs: since desemanticization is not very clear, I have opted to leave them out of my survey. However, there are examples of other SVs more similar to SVEs or *Funktionsverben* where the base noun is the third argument of the verb, e.g. Lat. *tenere aliquid memoria* ‘to remember something/to keep something in memory’.

that, in the cases where the base noun is the third argument rather than the second, it is the verb which conveys the predicative force of the phrase, rather than the noun. For some examples, see Plato, *Euthyphro* 6e and Cicero, *In Q. Caecilium Nigrum oratio* 9.

I have considered regular SVCs the instances in which the noun is in the genitive, rather than the accusative, when it is introduced by nouns such as CG εἶδος *eidos* ‘kind’, CG γένος *genos* ‘type’, Lat. *copia* ‘abundance’, Lat. *genus* ‘type’, etc. This is what Koike (2001: 55-60) calls *complex collocations*, that is, a combination of two collocations in a single phrase. For some examples, see Xenophon, *Cynegeticus* 9.7; Aristotle, *Politics* 1342a; Cicero, *Academici libri ab ipso Cicerone postea retractati* 2,16; Cicero, *Pro A. Cluentio Habito oratio* 45.

4 Properties and functions of χράομαι *k^hraomai* and *utor*

As synonyms in languages with many common characteristics, CG χράομαι *k^hraomai* and Lat. *utor* behave very similarly. However, they also diverge in some points. In this section I review some of the most relevant points to understand their behavior as SVs.

4.1 Predicative frames

The predicative frame (PF henceforth) of Lat. *utor* as a full verb has already been addressed by Alonso Fernández (2010). In her paper, she suggests a single PF for *utor* due to the characteristics of the nouns which it takes as an object.¹⁵

utor: [/+human/]Agent/Experiencer [/x/]Instrument

It is not reasonable to suggest a different PF for *utor* + [/+abstract/] because it is a metaphorical extension of its literal use with a [/+concrete/] object. This is self-evident in cases of coordination with [/± abstract/] nouns, see (1).¹⁶

¹⁵In Alonso Fernández (2010) paper, “x” means that slot can be filled by a noun without any lexical restrictions.

¹⁶Although in this particular case the use of the abstract *copia* ‘abundance’ might facilitate the coordination of the objects, the base in the collocation *aquae copia* ‘abundance of water’ is in fact *aquae* ‘water’, which is a concrete noun.

- (1) *at Caesaris exercit-us cum optim-a ualetudin-e*
 but Caesar-GEN.SG army-NOM.SG because best-ABL.SG health-ABL.SG
summ-a=que aqu-ae copi-a ute-ba-tur,
 greatest-ABL.SG=and water-GEN.SG amount-ABL.SG enjoyed-IMPF-3SG
tum...
 then...
 ‘But Caesar’s army, since it enjoyed the best health and the greatest
 amount of water, then, ...’
 (Caesar, *Commentarii belli civilis* 3.49.5)

This is unusual behavior for an SV, which is expected to coordinate only objects showing the same characteristics, for instance, predicative nouns can be coordinated with other predicative nouns, but not with concrete nouns. This is the so-called zeugma test, on which there is disagreement in the literature (Langer 2004). However, *utor* might allow these zeugmata precisely due to its single PF and the metaphorical conceptualisation of the nouns. The same happens with *χράομαι* *k^hraomai*:

χράομαι k^hraomai: [/+human/]Agent/Experiencer [/x/]Instrument

The same PF can be proposed for the Greek verb, which also takes coordinated objects with different lexical characteristics, see (2):

- (2) οὐ σπονδ-ῃ χρέω-νται, οὐκὶ αὐλ-ῶ, οὐ στέμμα-σι,
u spond-eⁱ k^hreo-ntai uki aul-oⁱ u stemma-si
 NEG libation-DAT.SG use-3PL NEG flute-DAT.SG NEG garlands-DAT.PL
 οὐκὶ οὐλ-ῇσι.
uki ul-eⁱsi
 NEG barley.corns-DAT.PL
 ‘Neither do they perform libations, or use flutes, garlands or barley-corns.’
 (Herodotus, *Histories* 1.132.4)

This can be explained from a cognitive perspective. Collocations constitute a single unit or *chunk* in the speaker’s mind, whereas an object governed by a verb constitutes two separate units, e.g. a prototypical transitive predicate. This, in turn, implies that due to its more frequent use and its fixation in language, the noun that participates in a collocation with Lat. *utor* or CG *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* is more readily available in the speaker’s mind than other types of objects (Bybee & Hopper 2001: 271). This availability is supported by the preferential position

given to Lat. *ualetudine* ‘health’ and CG σπονδῇ *sponde*ⁱ ‘libation’ in (1) and (2): the nouns which take part in a collocation appear first, whereas the prototypical objects appear afterwards.

4.2 Batteries of tests for support-verb constructions

Regarding the battery of tests proposed for SVCs (Langer 2004, Jiménez López 2016), such as frequency, nominalisation, pronominalisation, etc., the collocations I have identified comply with them (see Section 2). The most important test is probably that for the co-referentiality of the verb’s subject and the first argument of the noun.

Surprisingly, this is the case in Greek even with meteorological nouns, see (3a). Greek meteorological verbs can sometimes take a subject, and, for this reason, it is also possible for SVCs with meteorological nouns to take a subject, which is co-referential with the first argument of the noun — ἡ γῆ ^he ge ‘the earth’. What is remarkable in this case is that, in Latin, *utor tempestate* ‘I face/fight against a storm’, behaves differently from CG χρᾶται νιφετῷ *k^hratai nip^heto*ⁱ ‘it snows’. *Utor* takes a personal subject: *nos* ‘us’ in example (3b). Interestingly, the subject in this case functions as an Experiencer, rather than an Agent, which aligns with *utor* being used as an SV when combined with emotion nouns, as I show in Section 6 below. The function of Experiencer can also be attributed to ἡ γῆ ^he ge ‘the earth’ in (3a) despite it not being [+human].

- (3) a. ὕ-εται γὰρ ἡ γ-ῆ αὐτ-η τοῦ
^hy-etai gar ^he g-e ^haut-e tu
 rain-3SG CONJ the.NOM.SG land-NOM.SG that-NOM.SG the.GEN.SG
 χειμῶν-ος πάμπαν ὀλίγω, νιφετ-ῶ δὲ τὰ πάντα
k^heimon-os pampan oligoⁱ nip^het-oⁱ de ta panta
 winter-GEN.SG altogether a.little snow-DAT.SG PRT always
 χρᾶ-ται.
k^hra-tai
 use-3SG
 ‘For it rains a little altogether in that region during the winter, but it always **snows**.’
 (Herodotus, *Histories* 4.50.10)
- b. ita usque advers-a tempestat-e us-i su-mus
 so continuously adverse-ABL.SG storm-ABL.SG used-NOM.PL be-1PL
 ‘So continuously **did we face an adverse storm**.’
 (Terence, *Hecyra* 423)

SVCs can be distinguished from idioms by means of tests that look for morphological and syntactic modifications. One of these is the allowance of number variation — e.g. *I took a walk* vs. *I take walks regularly* — or the possibility of adding complements. For instance, a common idiom in English is *to pull somebody's leg*. One of the reasons this is an idiom is that sentences such as **We pulled Mary's legs* or **Mary's leg that we pulled* are in fact unidiomatic (see Mel'čuk 2023 for this idiom). However, SVCs do admit pluralisation (4a) and relativisation (4b). These examples do not prove *per se* that the phrases in bold are SVCs, but they show that Lat. *dirimere iras* 'to put an end to rage' and CG τίθημι νόμον *tit^hemi nomon* 'to impose a law' are not idioms.

- (4) a. *tum Sabin-ae mulieres, ... dirim-ere ir-as...*
 then Sabine-NOM.PL women-NOM.PL finish-INF. wrath-ACC.PL
 'Then the Sabines, ... put an end to [their] wrath ...'
 (Livy, *Ab Urbe condita* 1,13,2)
- b. ἐπειδὴ <δ'> ἀν-ε-γράφ-ησαν, ἐ-θέ-μεθα νόμ-ον, ᾧ
epeide <d'> an-e-graph^h-esan e-t^he-met^ha nom-on ^hoⁱ
 after PRT in-PST-write-3PL.PASS PST-put-1PL law-ACC.SG REL.DAT.SG
πάντ-ες χρῆ-σθε.
pant-es k^hre-st^he
 ALL-NOM.PL USE-2PL
 'After they were engraved, we established a law by which you all abide.'
 (Andocides, *De mysteriis* 1.85)

Nevertheless, corpus linguistics requires a specific treatment of these tests, since it remains a possibility that morphosyntactic variation in a phrase existed but is not attested in the corpus (Fleischman 2000). In these cases, I have resorted to different criteria for the identification of SVCs: (i) Is a certain verb employed as an SV with other nouns? (ii) What is the syntactic structure of the phrase? This means that the data I address in Sections 3 and 5 is open to a certain range of error, but some aspects of historical languages will forever remain unknown to us.

4.3 Alternation of *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* and *utor* with other verbs

In some contexts, *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* and *utor* behave as prototypical SVs and hence alternate with certain SVEs. These SVEs may be used to convey aspectual, see (5–6), or diathetic, see (7–8), information, and their contrast with *χράομαι*

k^hraomai and *utor* elucidates the syntactic and semantic nuances that they convey. In (5) there is a clear contrast between *χρη̃σθαι ἔργοις k^hrest^hai ergois* ‘to make representations’ and *ἀφείσθαι τῶν ἔργων ap^heist^hai ton ergon* ‘to stop making representations’.

- (5) διὰ τοῦτο χρη̃ νέ-ους μέν ὄντ-ας χρη̃-σθαι τοῖς
dia tuto k^hre ne-us men ont-as k^hre-st^hai tois
 due.to this must young-ACC.PL PRT be.PTCP-ACC.PL use-INF the
 ἔργ-οις, πρεσβυτέρ-ους δὲ γεν-ομέν-ους τῶν μὲν
ergois presbyter-us de gen-omen-us ton men
 work-DAT.PL older-ACC.PL PRT become-PTCP-ACC.PL the PRT
 ἔργ-ων ἀφεί-σθαι
erg-on ap^hei-st^hai
 work-GEN.PL leave-INF

‘For this reason, teenagers must **make** [musical] **representations** while they are young and **abandon them** when they grow older.’

(Aristoteles, *Politics* 1340b)

In short, *ἀφείσθαι ap^heist^hai* ‘to give up’ has a terminative aspect, while *χρη̃σθαι k^hrest^hai* ‘to use’ does not. The same happens in (6). *Utamur ira* ‘we are angry’ is neutral in aspect, whereas *dirimere iras* ‘to put an end to anger’ is terminative.

- (6) a. *verum es-se inscit-i cred-imus ne ut iust-a*
 true be-INF fool-NOM.PL believe-1PL CONJ.NEG CONJ rightful-ABL.SG
ut-amur ir-a
 use-1PL anger-ABL.SG

‘... We fools believe that it is true, in order not to be angry rightfully.’

(Plautus, *Truculentus* 192)

- b. *tum Sabin-ae mulieres, ... dirim-ere ir-as...*
 then Sabine-NOM.PL women-NOM.PL finish-INF. wrath-ACC.PL

‘Then the Sabines, ... put an end to [their] wrath ...’

(Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 1.13.2) (= example 4a)

Examples (7–8) illustrate another aspect of these alternations. While *ἐθέμεθα νόμον et^hemet^ha nomon* ‘to establish a law’ and *quod [consilium] dederit* ‘[the advice] that he gave’ are causative SVECs, the contrasting constructions with *χράομαι k^hraomai* and *utor* are neutral from a diathetic perspective.

- (7) ἐπειδὴ <δ'> ἀν-ε-γράφ-ησαν, ἐ-θέ-μεθα νόμ-ον, ὧ
epeide <d'> an-e-grap^h-esan e-t^he-met^ha nom-on ^hoⁱ
 after PRT on-PST-write-3PL.PASS PST-put-1PL law-ACC.SG REL.DAT.SG
 πάντ-ες χρῆ-σθε.
pant-es k^hre-st^he
 all-NOM.PL use-2PL
 ‘After they were engraved, we established a law by which you all abide.’
 (Andocides, *De mysteriis* 1.85) (= example 4b)

- (8) *is quod mihi ded-erit de hac*
 he REL.ACC.SG.N me.DAT.SG give-3SG.PRF.SUBJ about this.ABL.SG
r-e consili-um, id sequ-ar
 thing-ABL.SG advice-ACC.SG.N it follow-1SG.PRS.SUBJ
 ‘I will follow the advice that he gave me concerning this matter.’
 (Terence, *Hecyra* 461)

In some other contexts there is no apparent alternation other than the lexical specificity of *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* and *utor* in contrast with a more general SV. This means that they also behave as what has sometimes been called *appropriated* or *specific* SVs, that is, less frequent and less desemanticised SVs that are usually prescribed by the rules of style, see (9–10) (Gross 2004: 100–107 Alonso Ramos 2004; see also Section 2). This is made clear by their alternation with more prototypical SVs, such as ἔχω *ek^ho* (9a) and *habere* (10a). In short, ἔχω ὀργήν *ek^ho orgen* ≈ *χράομαι ὀργῇ* *k^hraomai orgeⁱ* ‘to have/use anger’ or ‘to be angry’, see (9a–9b).

- (9) a. ὀργ-ῇν γὰρ αὐτ-οῖς ... πολλ-ῇν ἔχ-ει.
org-en gar aut-ois poll-en ek^h-ei
 anger-ACC.SG CONJ they-DAT.PL much-ACC.F have-3SG
 ‘For she is very angry with them.’
 (Aristophanes, *Pax* 660)
- b. ὅς... ἀντιστάτ-έων τε καὶ ὀργ-ῇ
^hos antistat-eon te kai org-eⁱ
 you.NOM.SG rebel-PTCP.NOM.SG and and anger-DAT.SG
 χρεώ-μενος ἐς τ-όν σε ἥκιστα
k^hreo-menos es t-on se ^hekista
 use-PTCP.NOM.SG towards he-ACC.SG you.ACC.SG least
 ἐ-χρ-ῇν...
e-k^hr-en
 PST-should-3SG
 ‘You..., rebelling and being angry with whom you least should...’
 (Herodotus, *Histories* 3.52.4)

Similarly, for *honorem habere* ≈ *honore uti* ‘to have/use honour’ or ‘to hold an honour’, see (10a–10b).

- (10) a. *honos=que e-i a popul-o hab-it-us est,*
honour=and he-DAT.SG from people-ABL.SG have-PTCP-NOM.SG be.3SG
ut in camp-o Marti-o sepel-ire-tur.
that in field-ABL.SG of.Mars-ABL.SG bury-IMPF.SUBJ-3SG.PASS
‘And he had the honour from the people to be buried in the Field of Mars.’

(Livy, *Periochae* 106)

- b. *neque er-at superior-e honor-e us-us*
and.not be.IMPF-3SG higher-ABL.SG honour-ABL.SG used.PTCP-NOM.SG
qu-em praefic-erem.
REL-ACC.SG appoint-1SG.IMPF.SUBJ
‘And there was no one who had held a higher honour for me to appoint.’

(Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares* 2,15,4)

The fact that the verb in *honorem habere* can be passivised in example (10a) is an indicator of morphological flexibility, hence an indicator that this is an SVC rather than an idiom. *Utor* and *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* cannot be passivised because they are deponent verbs, but that does not impede an analysis as SVs. As a matter of fact, the Greek middle voice seems to be particularly compatible with the syntactic properties of SVCs, see Jiménez López (2016); Jiménez López (2021). In this section, I have proved that *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* and *utor* often behave either as specialised SVs or as the diathetically neutral construction in a pair of *constructions converses*.

5 Distribution of support-verb constructions with *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* and *utor*

In Section 3, I stated that *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* is used in the Greek corpus almost twice as frequently as *utor* is in the Latin, with a proportion of 0.93% of the sample in Greek as compared to 0.49% of the sample in Latin one. This clearly affects the proportions that I discuss in this section, but what is probably more relevant is the distribution by author of each SV. Since the total number of tokens of *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* or *utor* is a deceiving figure, due to the different sample sizes for each author — for instance, Herodotus’s *Histories* are considerably longer

than any Greek tragedy –, I have calculated normalised counts per 1,000 words (see Section 3 for the discussion on the forms that are considered and discarded in my analysis).

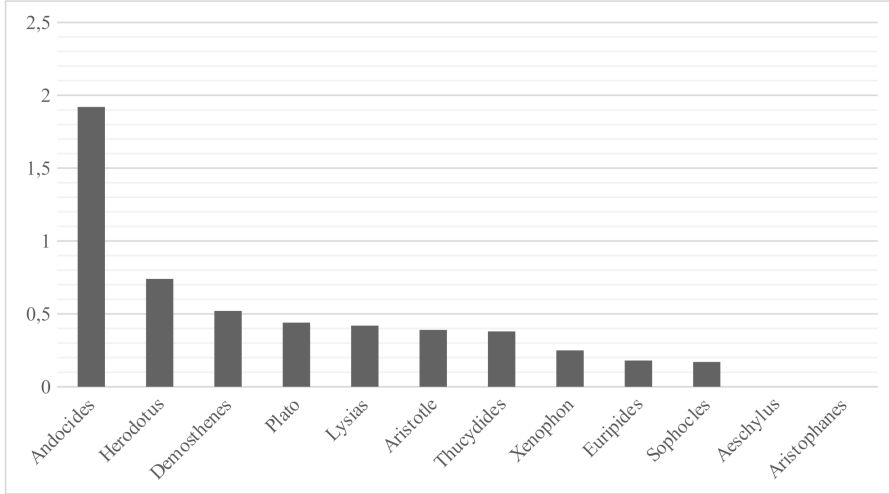


Figure 1: Tokens of SV χρᾶομαι *k^hraomai* per 1,000 words by author

Figure 1 shows the somewhat even distribution of SVCs with χρᾶομαι *k^hraomai* throughout Greek prose with few exceptions. The poets make very little or no use at all of this verb in their compositions. By contrast, Andocides shows a preference for this kind of SVCs. One could hypothesise that this verb might have been specialised for some legal contexts, given that the construction he uses in most instances is νόμῳ χρᾶομαι *nomoiⁱ k^hraomai* ‘to use a law’, but, in that case, why would Demosthenes and Lysias not use it the same way? It is also possible that this is just a stylistic characteristic of Andocides’ prose: a recent paper proved that collocations in general are useful for the identification of authorial identity (López Martín 2022). Another author that stands out from the rest is Herodotus, although not as much as Andocides. The collocation he uses most frequently is also νόμῳ χρᾶομαι *nomoiⁱ k^hraomai*.

It seems clear that the data is also conditioned by the content of the texts: since νόμῳ χρᾶομαι *nomoiⁱ k^hraomai* is a very common collocation (17% of the examples), the authors which address topics related to the law and customs in general may display disproportionately high figures, particularly when the sample size is smaller, as in the case of Andocides. However, this is not an idiom: the main evidence is that it admits number variation, i.e., together with νόμῳ χρᾶομαι *nomoiⁱ k^hraomai* I have found νόμοις (pl.) χρᾶομαι *nomois k^hraomai* ‘to

use laws’ (cf. Thucydides, *Histories*, 6.54.6, Thucydides, *Histories* 2.52.4 – which also happens to be pronominalised –, Demosthenes, *Adversum Leptinem* 20.91, Euripides, *Medea* 538, and Herodotus, *Histories*. 4.26.1). Another caveat is that Herodotus is the only writer in the corpus who uses the Ionic dialect: a future research question could be how this dialectal difference affects the use of SVCs by different authors.

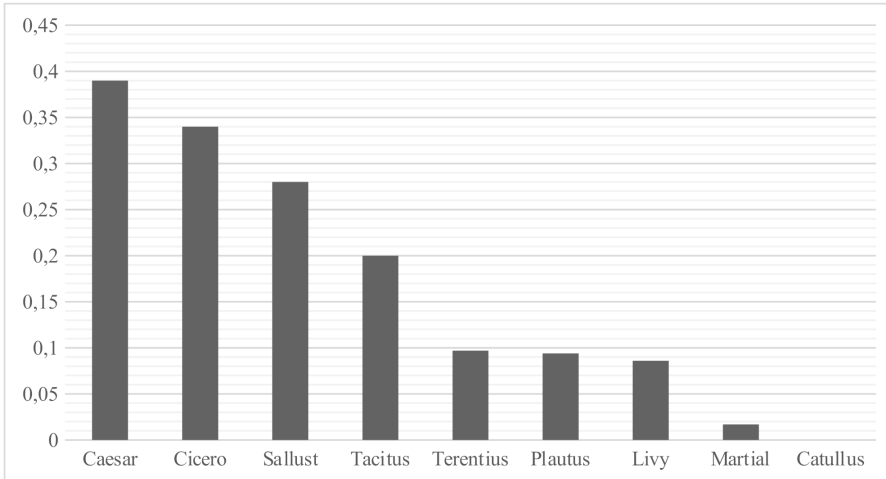


Figure 2: Tokens of SV *utor* per 1,000 words by author

The Latin corpus shows more balance, to a certain extent (see Figure 2). The historians use *utor* as an SV more frequently than the poets, with the sole exception of Livy, who is on a par with the latter. A diachronic trend is quite apparent in Figure 2: in the archaic texts, these SVCs are very rare, but they peak in the classical period only to decline shortly thereafter.¹⁷ As some researchers have already pointed out, collocations are sometimes short-lived, and tend to rapid diachronic renewal (Baños 2018b: 48). However, the distinction between prose and verse also affects this distribution. It has already been proven that SVCs are not exclusively found in prose, but rather that different SVCs are preferred in poetic texts (Baños 2018b: 38). My data confirm Baños 2023’s conclusions for Latin that SVCs are subject to rapid diachronic renewal and that differences in authorship and literary genre also condition the choice of SVCs.

¹⁷This has been thoroughly analysed in a recent paper with abundant data, which shows that this is a general trend in Latin SVCs (Baños 2023).

6 Semantic-syntactic domains of *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* and *utor*

The wide range of nouns that take either *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* or *utor* as SVs is too varied to fit under a few semantic or lexical labels (see full list in Madrigal Acero 2024). There are nouns of thought (CG γνώμη *gnome* ‘opinion’, Lat. *consilium* ‘deliberation, counsel’), of speech (CG βοή *boe* ‘scream’, Lat. *verbum* ‘word’), of emotion (CG ὀργή *orge* ‘anger’, Lat. *timor* ‘fear’), etc. The classifications I attempted previously failed to offer a comprehensive and complete view of the collocative patterns of *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* and *utor*. This led me to a different approach, which focuses on the SVs themselves rather than on external evidence in order to organise the data.

Although more could be said on this, I have found two tendencies. Sometimes, *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* alternates with ἔχω *ek^ho* ‘to have’/ποιέομαι *poieomai* ‘to make’, which are used as SVs for states (ἔχω *ek^ho*) and actions (ποιέομαι *poieomai*). In these cases, *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* conveys the same meaning as ἔχω *ek^ho*/ποιέομαι *poieomai*, but it is less frequent than either of them, which has led me to analyse *χράομαι* as a more lexically restricted variant – or specific SV – as compared to ἔχω *ek^ho*/ποιέομαι *poieomai*, see (11).

- (11) a. ὀργ-ήν γὰρ αὐτ-οῖς... πολλ-ήν ἔχ-ει.
org-en gar aut-ois poll-en ek^h-ei
 anger-ACC.SG CONJ they-DAT.PL much-ACC.SG have-3SG
 ‘For she is very angry with them.’
 (Aristophanes, *Pax* 660) (= example 9a)
- b. ὁ Καμβύς-ης ὀργ-ήν ποιη-σά-μεν-ος
^ho Kambyes-es org-en poiesamenos
 the Cambyses-NOM.SG anger-ACC.SG make-AOR-PTCP-NOM.SG
 ἐ-στρατεύ-ετο ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπ-ας.
e-strateu-eto epi tus Aithiop-as
 PST-march-3SG.IMPF upon the Ethiopians-ACC.PL
 ‘Cambyses got angry and marched against the Ethiopians’
 (Herodotus, *Histories* 3.25.3)
- c. ὅς... ἀντιστατ-έων τε καὶ ὀργ-ῇ
^hos antistat-eon te kai org-e
 you.NOM.SG rebel-PTCP.NOM.SG and and anger-DAT.SG
 χρεώ-μενος ἐς τ-όν σε ἥκιστα
k^hreo-menos es t-on se hekista
 use-PTCP.NOM.SG towards he-ACC.SG you.ACC-SG least

ἐ-χρ-ῆν...

e-k^hr-en

PST-should-3SG

‘You..., rebelling and **being angry** with whom you least should...’

(Herodotus, *Histories* 3.52.4) (= example 9b)

However, when *χράομαι k^hraomai* alternates with *δίδωμι didomi* ‘to give’/ *τίθημι tit^hemi* ‘to put’, which are intrinsically causative, *χράομαι k^hraomai* is markedly non-causative or neutral, as in (12). In this case, the pairs *χράομαι k^hraomai*/ *δίδωμι didomi* and *χράομαι k^hraomai*/ *τίθημι tit^hemi* behave as converse constructions.

- (12) ἐπειδὴ <δ’> ἀν-ε-γράφ-ησαν, ἐ-θέ-μεθα νόμ-ον, ᾧ
epeide <d’> an-e-graph^h-esan e-t^he-met^ha nom-on ^hoⁱ
 after PRT in-PST-write-3PL.PASS PST-put-1PL law-ACC.SG REL.DAT.SG
 πάντ-ες χρῆ-σθε.
pant-es k^hre-st^he
 ALL-NOM.PL USE-2PL

‘After they were engraved, we **established a law by which** you all **abide**.’

(Andocides, *De mysteriis* 1.85) (= examples 4b and 7)

This distribution is rather similar in Latin: *utor* behaves as a lexically restricted variant of certain verbs (*habere* ‘to have’, *facere* ‘to make’), see (13), and as a diathetically neutral form in contrast with certain causative extensions (*dare* ‘to give’, *ferre* ‘to carry’, *facere* ‘to make’), see (14). For instance, *rationem habere* ≈ *ratione uti* ‘to have/use reason’; *consilium dare* ‘to give advice’ ↔ *consilium uti* ‘to follow advice’;¹⁸ but *facere* may fall in either category: *verbum facere* ≈ *verbum uti* ‘to speak,’ but also *pacem facere* ‘to make peace’ ↔ *pace uti* ‘to enjoy peace.’

- (13) a. **hab-et honor-em qu-em pet-imus.**
 have-3SG honour-ACC.SG REL-ACC.SG seek-1PL

‘It is in possession of the office we are trying to obtain.’

(Cicero, *In Quintum Caecilium Nigrum oratio* 5,20,2)

¹⁸ *Consilium* and its collocational pattern have been analysed in depth by Baños (2014b). This particular example is interesting because it could be analysed as a diathetic alternation like *ποιέομαι poieomai* ‘to do’ ↔ *γίγνομαι gignomai* ‘to come to be’, where *γίγνομαι gignomai* is used as the lexical passive of *ποιέομαι poieomai* (Jiménez López 2021). The reason for this is that *ποιέομαι poieomai* cannot be passivised because it is always used in the middle voice when it functions as an SV, which makes voice variations impossible.

- b. *neque er-at superior-e honor-e us-us*
 and.NEG be.IMPFF-3SG higher-ABL.SG honour-ABL.SG used.PTCP-NOM.SG
qu-em praefic-erem.
 REL-ACC.SG appoint-1SG.IMPFF.SUBJ
 ‘And there was no one who had held a higher honour for me to appoint.’

(Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares* 2,15,4) (= example 10)

- (14) a. *qu-id d-as consil-i?*
 what-ACC.SG give-2SG suggestion-GEN.SG
 ‘What do you suggest?’

(Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares* 2,15,4)

- b. *ergo ut-ar tu-o consili-o neque me*
 then use-1SG your-ABL.SG suggestion-ABL.SG and.NEG I.ACC.SG
Arpin-um h-oc tempor-e abd-am
 Arpinum-ACC.SG this-ABL.SG time-ABL.SG hide-1SG
 ‘I will follow your advice and will not hide in Arpinum at the moment.’

(Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 9,6,1)

To summarise, I propose a continuum of agentivity and metaphoricisation (see Figure 3).

More prototypical Agent	<i>χράομαι τροφή k^hraomai</i> <i>troph^heⁱ</i> <i>utor cibo</i> ‘to eat’	Manipulation of a physical object
	<i>χράομαι νόμος k^hraomai nomosⁱ</i> <i>utor lege</i> ‘to abide by a law’	Manipulation of an abstract entity conceptualized as an object
Less prototypical Agent (e.g. Experiencer)	<i>χράομαι ὀργή k^hraomai orgeⁱ</i> <i>utor amore</i> ‘to feel rage/love’	No manipulation (prototypical SV)

Figure 3: Agentivity continuum

When the SVC is more agentive, *χράομαι k^hraomai* and *utor* imply the manipulation of a physical object, which is closer to the basic meaning of the verb. In an intermediate position there are constructions where we can perceive the manipulation of an abstract reality which is metaphorically reconceptualised as an object. Lastly, there are constructions either with a less prototypical Agent, or without an Agent, which do not convey any kind of manipulation. In these latter cases, such as with emotion nouns, *χράομαι k^hraomai* and *utor* are closer to being a prototypical SV.

7 Support verbs and loan words

There is a clear tendency to transmit SVCs from one language to another for the translation of foreign concepts (Bowern 2008: 172-173). I have found two examples in which Cicero uses a collocation of *utor* + Greek noun where the noun is left untranslated, *adiaphoria* ‘indifference’ (Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 2,17,2) and *ekteneia* ‘zeal’ (Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 10,17,1, but that seems hardly enough evidence to suggest an influx of Greek upon Latin comparable to the stream of Chinese words that entered the Japanese language in the shape of SVCs with the verb *suru* ‘to do’ (Lanz 2009: 172).

Cicero does not merely translate Greek oratory; instead, he looks to relay Greek ideas in Latin (Cicero, *De optimo genere oratorum* 14). His knowledge of Greek oratory might be a reasonable explanation for his use of foreign words, but not for the abundance of SVCs in his prose. In fact, it has already been argued that Latin uses them a lot more frequently than Greek (Jiménez López 2016: 186).

An analysis of the relationship between Greek and Latin SVCs and the directionality of the influence of either language upon the other is yet to be undertaken. However, some surveys on the influence of other languages on Greek and Latin have suggested that the increased number of SVCs in certain texts is partly due to the interference of other languages during their composition (Jiménez López 2017, 2018, Baños & Jiménez López 2017).

8 Conclusions

To sum up, I have identified the following similarities between *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* and *utor*:

- a. Type frequency. Although *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* is more frequently used in Greek (0.93% of the sample) than *utor* in Latin (0.49%), both are used with a similar frequency as SVs in roughly half of their instances (45.56% of the instances of *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* and 48.34% of the instances of *utor*), see Section 3.
- b. Both share the same predicative frame (Section 4.1), with a [+human/] Agent or Experiencer as their first argument and an Instrument as their second argument.
- c. Both behave as SVs according to the most common batteries of tests for ancient languages (see Jiménez López 2016), such as the possibility of pluralisation, relativisation, pronominalisation, etc. (Section 4.2).

- d. Both alternate with aspectual and causative SVEs (Section 4.3). In both cases, *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* and *utor* behave as neutral or non-marked alternatives to verbs that convey lexical aspect or a causative diathesis. The functions of these collocations seem to be conditioned by the characteristics of the subject of the phrase (see Figure 3). Where there is a more prototypical Agent, SVCs are closer to free constructions, even though I still consider them SVCs because the nouns they take have been made predicative by placing them in the collocation. Where there is a less prototypical Agent, such as the Experiencer that emotion nouns take, the construction is in fact a prototypical SVC.
- e. Both are prevalent in prose (Section 5), but their chronological distribution and their use by author differs. In Latin, there seems to be a clear diachronic trend where SVCs with *utor* peak during the Classical Period, whereas in Greek there does not seem to be such trend. Instead, Andocides and Herodotus peak as the authors who markedly employ the most SVCs with *χράομαι* *k^hraomai*.
- f. *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* and *utor* serve as stylistically specialised SVs (Section 4.3) and alternate with diathetic and causative SVEs, depending on the noun with which they are combined and the way they alternate with other SVs or SVEs. For the organisation of these functions, I have proposed a continuum of agentivity and metaphoricisation (Section 6).

However, there are also some differences between Greek and Latin. There is a difference in the base nouns each verb takes. While 17% of the SVCs with *χράομαι* *k^hraomai* have νόμος *nomos* as the base, *utor* does not have such a strong preference for any single base. Other differences depend directly on the lexical properties of the nouns in each language.

Abbreviations

Fr.	French	SVE	support-verb extension
Lat.	Latin	SVEC	support-verb-extension
PF	Predicate Frame		construction

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