

Chapter 5

χράομαι *khraomai* as a support verb in the medical jargon of the Hippocratic Corpus

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This paper analyzes syntagms constituted by a potentially referential noun and the verb χράομαι *khraomai* ('to use') in the Hippocratic writings of the 5th-4th c. BC, testing their potential inclusion among support-verb constructions. The survey starts with syntagms including deverbals, which express both a therapeutic practice and the medical device it involves, and then extends to nouns of foods and drinks, which combine with χράομαι *khraomai* to express the actions of 'eating' and 'drinking'. The data suggest the inclusion among support-verb constructions of syntagms with referential nouns if they refer to a class of objects typically involved in the action expressed by verbs which act both transitively and intransitively. The choice of χράομαι *khraomai* is explained both semantically and diaphasically.

Il contributo analizza i sintagmi costituiti da un nome potenzialmente referenziale e il verbo χράομαι *khraomai* ('usare') negli scritti ippocratici del V-IV sec. a.C., testandone la possibile inclusione fra le strutture a verbo supporto. La ricerca inizia analizzando i sintagmi contenenti nomi deverbali, che esprimono sia una pratica terapeutica, sia il presidio medico che vi è coinvolto, e si estende ai nomi di cibi e bevande, che si combinano con χράομαι *khraomai* per esprimere le azioni di "mangiare" e "bere". I dati suggeriscono l'inclusione fra le strutture a verbo supporto dei sintagmi con nomi referenziali, se essi fanno riferimento a una classe di oggetti tipicamente coinvolti in azioni espresse da verbi che possono essere sia transitivi sia intransitivi. La scelta di χράομαι *khraomai* è spiegata semanticamente e dal punto di vista diafasico.



1 Support verb constructions as complex predicates

Traditionally¹ the definition of “support verb construction” (SVC henceforth) is applied to those structures in which a predicative noun expresses a state, an event or a process thanks to its combination with a verb, which only supplies such grammatical information as tense, voice and person. The event is however only identified by the noun, which also activates and assigns the argument positions.²

According to this definition, SVCs could only involve nouns which refer to an action rather than an object. These are often labelled as “predicative nouns” (from the French definition of “noms” or “substantifs prédicatifs”, see Gross 1981 and Gross 1989). Lyons (1977), however, speaks of “first order entities” for names of objects and “second order entities” for names of situations, while Simone (2003) proposes “noms de procès” and Grimshaw (1990: 49–54) labels nouns which are also argument-assigning as “complex event nominals”.

The traditional definition of SVC also entails that the semantic meaning of the verb involved in the structure should have no influence on the meaning of the structure. This is why such verbs are called “light verbs”.³

In recent years, however, studies have come to a more flexible definition of SVCs. It has been observed that a single noun can combine with different support verbs (SV henceforth), whose meaning can be more or less “light”. The substitution of the verb which typically occurs in combination with a predicative noun may cause a shift in the aspect (Gross 2004b: 349–353) of the expressed action, but may also give particular nuances to the event, process or state expressed by the noun. Ježek (2004a) refers to such SV as “extensions de verbe support”. She compares such expressions as the Italian “dare una risposta” (‘give an answer’), in which ‘dare’ is a standard SV, and “azzardare una risposta” (lit. ‘hazard an

¹The dataset is accessible here: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5287/ora-n652gamyj>. Hippocratic texts are quoted by mentioning the numbering, the page and the line in which they appear in the following critical editions: *Affections*: Potter (1988a); *Diseases I*: Potter (1988a); *Diseases II*: Jouanna (1983); *Diseases III*: Potter (1980); *Diseases of Women I and II*: Potter (2018); *Epidemics II*: Smith (1994); *Epidemics V*: Jouanna & Grmek (2000); *Fractures*: Jouanna et al. (2022); *Internal Affections*: Potter (1988b); *Nature of Man*: Jouanna (2002); *Nature of Women*: Bourbon (2008); *Places in Man*: Joly (1978); *Regimen in Acute diseases*: Joly (1972); *Regimen in Acute diseases (Appendix)*: Joly (1972); *Sight*: Joly (1978); *Ulcers*: Duminil (1998); *Wounds in the Head*: Hanson (1999) The number of the volume, page, and line of the traditional edition from Littré (1839/1861) are also added in round brackets. Unless otherwise stated, all translations have been proposed on the basis of those present in the Loeb collection. Some minor changes have been made in order to better highlight the syntactic structure which is the focus of this chapter.

²See among many others Gross (1981); Gross (1989); Gross (2004a); Gross (2017); Ježek (2004a); Langer (2005).

³The definition of “light verb” is first found in Jespersen (1942: 117).

answer’), in which ‘azzardare’ is an extension of the support verb. In English a similar opposition can be found between “to give an answer” and “to shoot an answer”.

It can therefore be argued that the semantic value of the verb involved in an SVC is not always completely bleached and cooperates with the noun in order to achieve a well-defined meaning.⁴

The exclusively predicative nature of the noun has been challenged as well, by noticing that not all nouns involved in SVCs are strictly predicative and argument-assigning, but that they become predicative once included in such structures (Bown 2008: 168–171). In SVCs such as ‘have a shower’ and ‘take a picture’ ‘shower’ and ‘picture’ express an action, but they can also refer to concrete objects (“I bought a new shower for my bathroom”; “They taped a picture of their cat on the door”).⁵ This does not mean that nouns cannot be predicative by themselves, outside of an SVC, but that – according to the aforementioned view – some nouns are forced into predication when used in SVCs.

This is why SVCs have lately been included in the broader category of “complex predicates”: multi-headed predicates, in which predication is shared by more than one element.⁶ However, this redefinition of SVCs makes it harder to posit a clear limit between them and simple collocations.⁷ Some scholars consider a solid proof for identifying an SVC its potential equivalence with a synthetic verb (‘to have a shower’ / ‘to shower’) (Langer 2004: 169–170; Pompei & Mereu (2019: xxvi)). However, it must be borne in mind that accepting this co-existence on the synchronic, diastatic and diaphasic levels would entail the acceptance of redundancy in language, something that is often excluded by linguistics.⁸ Nevertheless,

⁴Pompei (2017: 115–117), for instance, relies on this fact when stating that verbs involved in SVCs are not completely empty with respect to their predicative force, but can bring more or less semantic information to the structure, along with the noun.

⁵On the possibility that nouns which are neither deverbal nor predicative could hold some predicative force, see Simone & Pompei (2007) and *infra* § 7.

⁶On the definition of “complex predicates”, see Alsina et al. (1997: 1); Bown (2008: 165); Butt (2010: 49). On the inclusion of SVCs among complex predicates, see Bown (2008); Butt (2010); Pompei & Mereu (2019: xxiii–xxix).

⁷Ježek (2004b: 186) defines SVCs as “un sous-type de collocation et plus précisément une collocation débalancée – du point de vue sémantique – vers le Nom” and proposes a continuum which goes from traditional SVCs to collocations, through SVCs with an extension of the SV. On the relationship between SVCs and collocations, see also Ježek (2011: 195–198).

⁸On the problem, see Jiménez López (2011); Fendel (2020: 18). Pompei (2017: 120) observes that not all SVCs have a correspondent synthetic verb to which they are formally related. On the fact that the lack of a synthetic verb form cannot be considered proof for discarding the interpretation of an SVC as such, see also Marini (2010: 155).

studies as the one conducted by Marini (2010: 159–164) on the use of SVC with ποιέομαι *poieomai* in Aristotle, showed that this author often used both forms in the same work, sometimes within a short distance of each other. Jiménez López (2011), who ran the same study on Lysias, proposed that the choice to employ an SVC rather than a synthetic verb could be justified by the fact that SVCs are more prone to modification and restriction, since the predicative noun can easily be combined with a modifier. As far as the corpus under scrutiny here is concerned, it can be stated, along with Marini (2010), that both structures (i.e. the support-verb construction and the simplex verb derived from the same root as the predicative noun in the support-verb construction) can be found in the same work (see examples 5, 7 and 8) and that the predicative nouns in SVCs are not always combined with a modifier (see examples 16, 17 and 21).

2 Corpus

The first steps that have been made in the study of SVCs in Classical Greek (CG henceforth) focus on a small range of potential light verbs, mostly ποιέω *poieō* ('do', 'make') and ἔχω *ekhō* ('have').⁹ This paper aims at extending the investigation to the role that the verb χράομαι *khraomai* ('use') may play in such constructions, even if it is not a typical light verb. In order to do so, a corpus study has been conducted on the medical writings of the *Hippocratic corpus* (HC henceforth).

The HC is a group of around sixty medical works of different length, subject and dating.¹⁰ Some are more rhetorical¹¹, but many have a technical purpose. They discuss pathologies and injuries, and the way of healing them by different preparations and by a particular diet and lifestyle. This paper will take into account the more ancient ones, dated between the second half of the 5th and the second half of the 4th c. BC. It has been claimed that complex predicates and, among them, SVCs, may be created in specific areas of language and then analogically extended to other uses (Bowern 2008). This research may therefore also be read in parallel with other studies of this same structure in other areas of CG (see Madrigal Acero in this volume), to evaluate whether there has truly been influence from one to another area and, if so, in what direction.

The works which compose the HC are also those in which the first efforts made by ancient physicians to create their own jargon may be identified. For doing so,

⁹On ποιέω *poieō*, see Marini (2010); Jiménez López (2011, 2012, 2016). On ἔχω *ekhō*, see Vansén-eren (1995); Tronci (2017). See also Jiménez López (1980) on γίγνομαι *gignomai*.

¹⁰For an overview of the content and the dating of the treatises here analysed, see Craik (2015); Jouanna (2017: 529–590).

¹¹On the text of the HC that were supposed to be pronounced orally, see Jouanna (1984)

they created new words, but, most of the time, they just re-employed existing and common words, to refer to a more specific and sectorial meaning.¹² This specialisation of meaning often concerned verbs (Squeri 2023), from which many deverbal nouns were also created. CG deverbal nouns are inherently predicative, since they are derived from a verb expressing an action, but can, at the same time, refer either to the concrete product of that action, or to one of the referential¹³ elements that are involved in that action. Briefly, deverbal nouns can refer both to an action (1) and to one of its arguments (2).¹⁴

- (1) Ἡ δέ γε φιλοσοφία κτήσις
hē de ge philosophia ktēsis
 ART.NOM.SG PRT PRT philosophy.NOM.SG acquiring.NOM.SG
 ἐπιστήμης.
epistēmēs.
 knowledge.GEN.SG
 ‘Philosophy is an acquiring of knowledge.’
 (Plato, *Euthydemus* 288d (philosophy, dialogue))
- (2) οἱ δείξειας [...] κτήσιν ἐμὴν
hoi deixeias [...] ktēsin emēn
 he.DAT.SG show.AOR.OPT.2SG [...] possession.ACC.SG my.ACC.SG
 δμῶας τε καὶ ὑπερφῆς μέγα
dmōas te kai hypserephes mega
 slaves.ACC.PL and and high.roofed.ACC.SG great.ACC.SG
 δῶμα.
dōma
 house.ACC.SG
 ‘Show him [...] my possessions, my slaves, and my great high-roofed house.’
 (Homer, *Iliad* 19.333 (epic, poetry))

¹²On the creation of the ancient medical jargon, see Benveniste (1965); Irigoin (1980a,b); Skoda (2004); Schironi (2013)

¹³The adjective “referential” is used in this contribution for nouns which refer to a concrete and existing object, in the sense of Givón (1978: 293): «referentiality is a semantic property of nominals. It involves, roughly, the speaker’s intent to ‘refer to’ or ‘mean’ a nominal expression to have non-empty references – i.e. to ‘exist’ – within a particular universe of discourse».

¹⁴On the possibility of deverbal nouns to refer to either an activity or an argument, see Comrie & Thompson (2006) For CG, see Civilleri (2012: 31–34). Chantraine (1933) did not make any general statement on the subject, but some considerations which go along these lines may be found in the chapters about deverbatives with the suffixes -μα -*ma* (Chantraine 1933: 183) and -σις -*sis* (Chantraine 1933: 287–288).

This does not entail that CG only has SVCs with deverbal nouns, but that they are a good starting point to address the fact that some of the nouns involved in SVCs can refer to an object and, at the same time, act as predicative once supported by a verb.¹⁵ The next three sections take into account the combination of χράομαι (*khraomai*) with four nouns that are derived from three verbs that Hippocratic medicine draws from common language and adapts to the expression of therapeutic practices: κατάπλασμα *kataplasma* (‘plaster’), κλυσμός *klysmos* (‘lavage’, ‘douche’) and κλύσμα *klyσμα* (‘lavage’, ‘douche’), and πρόσθετον *prostheton* (‘vaginal suppository’).

3 καταπλάσσω *kataplassō* and κατάπλασμα *kataplasma*

καταπλάσσω *kataplassō* expresses the therapeutic action of plastering a part of the body with a curative substance. The common form is πλάσσω *plassō*, whereas καταπλάσσω *kataplassō* seems to have been created in the HC itself, since in the 5th c. BC the verb is attested only four times outside the HC: Herodotus, *Histories*, IV 75 (historiography, prose); Aristophanes, *Plutus* 721 and 724 (comedy, drama); Aristophanes, *Assemblywomen* 878 (comedy, drama). The first three, however, are used in reference to body and health care. In the HC the plastered substance may be expressed both in the accusative (3) and the dative case (4). The verb is however often employed with intransitive value, with the meaning of ‘treat with plasters’ (5), a feature that it acquires as a consequence of its medical specialisation, which was not available for the simple form πλάσσω *plassō*. More precisely, when employed with the meaning of ‘treat with plasters’, the verb acts as an “unergative”, i.e. as an intransitive verb whose subject is the agent that initiates the action, and not the patient, as happens in such other intransitives as “Jack fell”, normally called “unaccusatives”.¹⁶

- (3) ἐπὶ δὲ ὑποχόνδρια λίνου σπέρμα
Epi de hypokhondria linou sperma
 to PRT hypochondrium.ACC.PL linen.GEN.SG seed.ACC.SG

¹⁵On the involvement of CG deverbal nouns in SVCs, see Marini (2010: 160–164) and Jiménez López (2011).

¹⁶On the classification of intransitive verbs into unergatives and unaccusatives and their respective definition, see Perlmutter (1978) and Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995), especially Ch. 1.

καταπλάσσειν ἕως μαζῶν.
kataplassein heōs mazōn.
 apply.as.plaster.PRS.INF up.to breasts.GEN.PL

‘Apply linseed plasters to the hypochondrium up as far as the breasts.’
 (HC *Regimen in Acute Diseases (Appendix)* 33. 1, p. 84, 21-22 Joly (2, 464, 5 L.))

- (4) ἢν καταπλάσης γῆ (Foes : τῇ ΘΜ) κεραμίτιδι ἢ
ēn kataplasēs gē (Foes : τῇ ΘΜ) keramitidi ē
 if plaster.PRS.SBJV.2SG earth.DAT.SG (Foes : τῇ ΘΜ) for.pottery.DAT.SG or
 ἄλλῳ τῷ τοιούτῳ...
allō tō toioutō.
 other.DAT.SG ART.DAT.SG as.such.DAT.SG

‘If you plaster the patient over with potter’s earth or some other such material...’

(HC *Diseases I* 17, p. 138, 2-3 P. (6, 170, 20-21 L.))

- (5) χρῆ δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ
chrē de oude ta en tō
 should.PRS.IND.IMPERS PRT not ART.ACC.PL in ART.DAT.SG
 μετώπῳ διὰ παντός τοῦ χρόνου
metōpō dia pantos tou khronou
 forehead.DAT.SG through all.GEN.SG ART.GEN.SG time.GEN.SG
 καταπλάσσειν καὶ ἐπιδεῖν.
kataplassein kai epidein.
 treat.with.plasters.PRS.INF and bandage.PRS.INF

‘But even wounds on the forehead you should not treat with plasters and bandages continuously.’

(HC *Wounds in the Head* 13, p. 78, 21-22 Hanson (3, 230, 7-8 L.))

It is certainly not by chance that κατάπλασμα *kataplasma* is also attested as a sort of cognate dative object of καταπλάσσω *kataplassō*.¹⁷ According to Hale & Keyser (1987), Hale & Keyser (1993) cognate objects (CO henceforth) of unergative verbs are part of the logical structure of the action expressed by these verbs,

¹⁷The relationship between κατάπλασμα *kataplasma* and καταπλάσσω *kataplassō* is opposite to that which typically exists between a verb and a cognate object, which is normally the nominal base of a denominal verb. On the use of -μα -*ma* derivatives as COs in CG, see Horrocks & Stavrou (2010: 287). This is however unsurprising, since πλάσσω *plassō* is not originally a denominal verb as it is not originally unergative, but acquires this event frame only as a consequence of its medical specialization.

since they represent the class of entities that must be involved in the action so that it can be referred to by that verb.¹⁸ In combination with the right SVs they can therefore evoke the same action of which they are a constitutive element, see (6).

- (6) καταπλάσσειν τῶν καταπλασμάτων ὃ τι
kataplassein tōn kataplasmatōn ho ti
 apply.as.plaster.PRS.INF ART.GEN.PL plaster.GEN.PL REL.SG.N INDF.ACC.N
 ἄν σοι δοκῇ συμφέρειν.
an soi dokē sympherein.
 PRT you.DAT.SG seem.PRS.SBJV.3SG help.PRS.INF
 ‘Apply plasters that you think may be beneficial.’
 (HC *Sight* 9. 2, p. 171, 22-23 Joly (9, 160, 10-11 L.))

The fact that κατάπλασμα *kataplasma* is the name of a class of objects that must be involved in a typical action ensures that, if combined as a predicative phrase with the dative object of χράομαι *khraomai*, it can define the action in which the dative object is involved. Examples (7) and (8) show the equivalence between the structure with καταπλάσσω *kataplassō* and τῇ μάζῃ *tē mazē* as a dative object, and the structure with χράομαι *khraomai* combined with τῇ μάζῃ *tē mazē* as a dative object and καταπλάσματι *kataplasmati* as a predicative phrase.¹⁹

- (7) τὸ ἔλκος [...] καταπλάσας τῇ
To helkos [...] kataplasas tē
 ART.ACC.SG wound.ACC.SG [...] plaster.AOR.PTCP.NOM.SG ART.DAT.SG
 μάζῃ ἐπιδῆσαι.
mazē epidēsai.
 barley.meal.DAT.SG bandage.AOR.INF
 ‘Having applied a barley-meal as a plaster, bandage the wound.’
 (HC *Wounds in the Head* 14, p. 82, 16-17 Hanson (3, 240, 2-3 L.))

¹⁸The logical structure of an action such as ‘John laughs’ should therefore be [John do LAUGH] (Hale & Keyser 1987: 48–50; Hale & Keyser 1993: § 1). For cognate objects as the name of the prototypical product of an action, see also Massam (1990), who however argues against this analysis of the logical structure of unergatives. For the equivalence of structures with CO and SVCs, see Mirto et al. (2007), for English, and Horrocks & Stavrou (2010: 288–289): 288–289 for AG.

¹⁹On the possibility of the nominal parts of SVCs acting as predicative phrases, see Pompei (2017: 122–123 and 127–128).

- (8) μοτώσαντα δὲ χρῆ καταπλάσματι
Motōsanta de khre kataplasmati
 pack.AOR.PTCP.ACC.SG PRT should.PRS.IND.IMPERS plaster.DAT.SG
 χρῆσθαι, ὅσον ἄν περ χρόνον καὶ τῷ
khresthai, hoson an per khronon kai tō
 use.PRS.INF as.much.ACC.SG PRT PRT time.ACC.SG and ART.DAT.SG
 μοτῷ, μάζῃ.
motō, maze.
 bandage.DAT.SG barley.meal.DAT.SG

‘After packing (sc. the wound) you must use as a plaster, for as long a time as the packing, a barley-cake.’

(HC *Wounds in the Head* 14, p. 80, 20-22 Hanson (3, 236, 3-4 L.))

κατάπλασμα *kataplasma* can therefore act both as a predicative noun and as the noun of a concrete medical device, as in the recipe in (9), which describes plasters for lesions made of different herbal ingredients.²⁰

- (9) Καταπλάσματα οἰδημάτων καὶ φλεγμασίης [...]·
Kataplasmata oidematōn kai phlegmasiēs [...];
 plaster.ACC.PL swelling.GEN.PL and inflammation.GEN.SG [...]:
 ἡ ἐφθῇ φλόμος καὶ τῆς τριφύλλου
hē hephthē phlomos kai tēs trifyllou
 ART.NOM.SG boiled.NOM.SG mullein.NOM.SG and ART.GEN.SG clover.GEN.SG
 τὰ φύλλα ὠμά καὶ τοῦ ἐπιπέτρου
ta fylla ōma kai tou epipetrou
 ART.NOM.PL leaf.NOM.PL raw.NOM.PL and ART.GEN.SG rock.plant.GEN.SG
 τὰ φύλλα ἐφθά καὶ τὸ πόλιον.
ta fylla hephtha kai to polion.
 ART.NOM.PL leaf.NOM.PL boiled.NOM.PL and ART.NOM.SG hulkwort.NOM.SG

‘Plasters for swellings and for inflammation [...]: boiled mullein, raw leaves of clover, boiled leaves of rock-plant, hulkwort.’

(HC *Ulcers* 11. 1, p. 58, 16-19 Duminil (6, 410, 5-7 L.))

There is only one occurrence of χράομαι *khraomai* with κατάπλασμα *kataplasma* in the HC, but this structure is inherited by the medical tradition. For instance, this structure recurs 16 times in Galen. Interesting equivalences may

²⁰ On the fact that -μα *-ma* deverbatives may refer to a referential object or an instrument of an action, see Civilleri (2012: 159–168).

be found between the prescriptions formulated with καταπλάσσω *kataplassō* in the HC and those formulated with καταπλάσματος χράομαι *kataplasmati khraomai* by later authors. The recipes proposed for fluxes in the gynecological writings of the HC and in the gynecological writings of Soranus (2nd c. AD) may thus be compared. In the HC the use of myrtle as a plaster is prescribed by using μυρσίνης φύλλα *myrsinēs fylla* as the object of καταπλάσσω *kataplassō*, see (10), while in Soranus the use of the same ingredient in a plaster is specified by a prepositional phrase dependent upon καταπλάσματος *kataplasmasi*, the dative object of χρῆσθαι *khresthai*, see (11).

- (10) ἀκτῆς καὶ μυρσίνης φύλλα κατάπλασσε.
aktēs kai myrsinēs fylla kataplasse.
 elder.GEN.SG and myrtle.GEN.SG leaf.ACC.PL apply.as.plaster.PRS.IMP.2SG
 ‘Apply plasters of elder and myrtle leaves.’
 (HC *Diseases of Women II* 193 (3), p. 414, 4 Potter (8, 374, 16 L.))

- (11) τοῖς διὰ φοινίκων καὶ κυδωνίων καὶ μυρσίνης
tois dia phoinikōn kai kydōniōn kai myrsinēs
 ART.DAT.PL with date.GEN.PL and quince.GEN.PL and myrtle.GEN.SG
 καταπλάσματος καὶ κηρωταῖς χρῆσθαι.
kataplasmasi kai kērōtais khresthai.
 plaster.DAT.PL and cerate.DAT.PL use.PRS.INF
 ‘One should use plasters as well as cerates made of dates, quinces, and myrtle.’
 (Soranus *Gynaecology III* 46, 1)

4 κλύζω *klyzō*, κλυσμός *klysmos* and κλύσμα *klyσμα*

The verb κλύζω *klyzō* and its deverbial derivatives κλύσμα *klyσμα* and κλυσμός *klysmos* show similar behavior. κλύζω *klyzō* is used in the Homeric epic to express the motion of “crashing” waves and, like most verbs of motion, is used intransitively, as an unaccusative.²¹ Hippocratic medicine rationalizes the power of water movement and starts using the verb to refer to the therapeutic practice of purging with an enema, a lavage, or a douche (Squeri 2023: ch. 5). In the HC, κλύζω *klyzō* is therefore used transitively with what is to be cleaned as a direct

²¹Homer, *Iliad* 14.392-393 (epic, poetry): ἐκλύσθη δὲ θάλασσα ποτὶ κλισίας τε νέας τε / Ἀργείων *eklysthē de thalassa poti klisias te neas te* crash.AOR.IND.PASS.3SG PRT sea.NOM.SG towards hut.ACC.PL and ship.ACC.PL and Argives.GEN.PL ‘The sea crashed towards the huts and ships of the Argives’.

object and the purging liquid which is set in motion as a dative of instrument, see (12).

- (12) κλύζειν τὰ ὦτα οἶνω γλυκεῖ.
klyzein ta ōta oinō glykei.
 make.a.lavage.PRS.INF ART.ACC.PL ear.ACC.PL wine.DAT.SG sweet.DAT.SG
 ‘Make a lavage to the ears with sweet wine.’
 (HC *Diseases III* 2, p. 72, 1-2 Potter (7, 120, 9-10 L.))

However, as was the case with καταπλάσσω *kataplassō*, in the HC κλύζω *klyzō* may also be found in intransitive structures, with unergative value and the meaning of ‘make a lavage’, ‘make an enema’, see (13).

- (13) Τῷ Παρμενίσκου παιδί κωφότης.
Tō Parmeniskou paidi kōphotēs.
 ART.DAT.SG Parmeniscus.GEN.SG child.DAT.SG deafness.NOM.SG
 Ξυνήνεγκε μὴ κλύζειν, διακαθαίρειν δὲ
Xynēnenke mē klyzein, diakathairein de
 help.AOR.IND.3SG not make.a.lavage.PRS.INF clean.PRS.INF PRT
 εἰρίῳ μούνον.
eiriō mounon.
 wool.DAT.SG only.ADV
 ‘Parmeniscus’ child, deafness. It was helpful not to make any lavage, and only clean with wool instead.’
 (HC *Epidemics V* 66. 1-2, p. 30, 8-10 Jouanna–Grmek (5, 244, 4-5 L.))

This standardized activity can also be referred to by the deverbal nouns κλυσμός *klysmos*²² and κλύσμα *klyσμα*, which can be used as nouns referring to actions, see (14).

- (14) κλυσμῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι πάντων, πλὴν οἶνου καὶ
klysmōn apēllakhthai pantōn, plēn oinou kai
 douche.GEN.PL abstain.PRF.INF all.GEN.PL except wine.GEN.SG and
 ὕδατος.
udatos.
 water.GEN.SG
 ‘Abstain from any douche except of wine and water.’
 (HC *Diseases of Women II* 115, p. 280, 9-10 Potter (8, 250, 14-15 L.))

²²Chantraine (1933: 146–147) states that the suffix -μός -mos tends to be employed for creating nouns referring to actions, rather than referring to objects. Civilleri (2012: 152) observes however that «il tipo di processo denotato dai nomi in -μός -mos è più definito e ciò ne favorisce la lessicalizzazione come nomi concreti».

The predicative nature of these nouns makes it possible to insert them in an SVC, and, again, the chosen verb is *χράσμαι khraomai*. Other than the equivalence with a synthetic verb, a typical test to prove that a structure is in fact an SVC is the possibility of the noun acting as a predicate by activating an argument structure which can codify the same information as that of the synthetic verb (Gross 2004a: 345–346; Langer 2004: 181–182; Jiménez López 2011, 2012). As observed by Jiménez López (2012), when the synthetic verb is transitive, the equivalent SVC tends to codify the direct object as an objective genitive. This is exactly what happens between (15) and (16).²³

- (15) τὴν κοιλίην κλύζειν χυλῶ
tēn koiliēn klyzein khulō
 ART.ACC.SG cavity.ACC.SG make.an.enema.PRS.INF juice.DAT.SG
 πτισάνης ἢ μέλιτι.
ptisanēs ē meliti.
 barley.gruel.GEN.SG or honey.DAT.SG
 ‘Make an enema to her cavity with barley gruel or honey.’
 (HC *Diseases of Women I* 26, p. 72, 24-25 Potter (8, 70, 16 L.))

- (16) Τοῖσι δὲ ἐμέτοισι χρῆ καὶ τοῖσι
Toisi de emetoisi khrē kai toisi
 ART.DAT.PL PRT emetic.DAT.PL should.PRS.IND.IMPERS and ART.DAT.PL
 κατακλύσμασι τῆς κοιλίης ὥδε χρῆσθαι.
kataklysmasi tēs koiliēs hōde khrēsthai.
 enema.DAT.PL ART.GEN.SG cavity.GEN.SG thus.ADV use.PRS.INF
 ‘Emetics and enemas for the cavity should be thus used.’
 (HC *Nature of Man* 20, p. 212, 1-2 Jouanna (= *Salubr.* 5; 6, 78, 3-4 L.))

However, example (17) shows a different structure, with κοιλίη *koiliē* inserted in a prepositional phrase. Langer (2004) argues that a misalignment between the argument structure of the synthetic verb and that of the SVC may be evidence in favour of a slight difference in meaning between the two. Marini (2010: 174–175) analyses the coding of the “indirect object” in a prepositional phrase as the result of the process of intransitivization which, according to her, is undergone by SVCs with ποιέομαι *poiéomai*, as opposed to similar constructions with ποιέω *poieō*. In this case, however, it must be borne in mind that κλύζω *klyzō* is subject

²³The form κατακλυσμα *kataklyσμα* is very rare. It is only employed in passage (16) of *Nature of man*, in subsequent commentaries on this passage by Galen and in two passages of Oribasius (4th c. AD) and Stephanus (6th/7th c. AD).

to a locative alternation²⁴, since, while in the HC the target of the motion of the liquid substance is codified as a direct object, in Homer (but see also Euripides, *Hippolitus*, 653-654 [tragedy, drama]), it is originally inserted into a prepositional phrase (see note 26).²⁵

Moreover, the statement of Marini (2010) is not relevant with reference to SVCs with χράομαι *khraomai*, which does not have an active counterpart as ποιέομαι *poieomai* does.

- (17) κλυσμῶ κατὰ κοιλίην χρῆσθαι διὰ τρίτης
klysmō *kata koiliēn* *chrēsthai* *dia* *tritēs*
 enema.DAT.SG to cavity.ACC.SG use.PRS.INF through third.GEN.SG
 ἡμέρης.
hēmerēs.
 day.GEN.SG
 ‘Make an enema for the cavity every other day.’
 (HC *Regimen in Acute Diseases* (Appendix) 2. III 1, p. 69, 17 Joly (2, 398, 12 L.))

κλυσμός *klysmos* is however also employed to refer more concretely to the liquid used in the therapy expressed by κλύζειν *klyzein*, which thus becomes a κλυσμός *klysmos*. In (18) the predicative force is held by κλύζειν *klyzein* itself, and κλυσμός *klysmos*, while acting as a sort of dative CO, refers to a well quantified liquid substance.

- (18) Κλύζειν δέ, ἢν δέη,
klyzein *de, ēn deē*,
 make.a.douche.PRS.INF PRT, if be.necessary.PRS.SBJV.IMPERS,
 κλυσμῶ πλέον ἢ δυσι κοτύλαις.
klysmō *pleon ē dysi* *kotylais*.
 douche.DAT.SG more.ADV than two.DAT.PL cotyle.DAT.PL
 ‘Make a douche, if it is required, with a douche of more than two cotyles.’
 (HC *Nature of Women* 33. 29, p. 46, 8-9 Bourbon (7, 370, 11-12 L.))

²⁴On locative alternations in general, see Levin (1993: 350–351). For Archaic and Classical Greek, see de la Villa (2017: 540–541).

²⁵Note that the compound form διακλύζω *diaklyzō* is also used in the HC with the substance injected as a lavage (the Theme) rather than with the part of the body which must be “cleaned” (the Target) as a direct object, showing the alternating nature of the verb: HC *Epidemics* V 67, p. 30, 14 Jouanna–Grmek (5, 244, 8 L.): Καστόριον καὶ πέπερι διακλυζομένη ὤφελειτο *Kastorion kai peperi diakluzomenē ōphelaito*; castorium.ACC.SG and pepper.ACC.SG inject.PRS.PTCP.MID.NOM.SG help.IMP.F.IND.IMPERS ‘She got help when she injected castorium and pepper (*scil.* in her mouth)’.

κλυσμός *klysmos* and κλύσμα *klyσμα* may be considered two COs of κλύζω *klyzō* in its medical sense: they refer to the whole class of objects that must be involved in the therapeutic action expressed by the verb. Once a liquid substance is employed in an action expressed by κλύζω *klyzō*, it becomes a κλυσμός *klysmos* or a κλύσμα *klyσμα*. This is why one may posit an equivalence between the combination of the verb with a nominalized adjective in the dative case, see (19), and the combination of χράομαι *khraomai* and κλυσμός *klysmos* in the dative, combined with the same modifier, see (20).

- (19) Ἦν ἐλκωθέωσι σφοδρῶς, αἷμα καὶ
Ēn helkōtheōsi sphodrōs, aimā kai
 if ulcerate.AOR.SBJV.PASS.3PL vehemently.ADV blood.ACC.SG and
 πῦον καθαίρεται [...] κλύζειν
puon kathaireitai [...] klyzein
 pus.ACC.SG clean.PRS.IND.PASS.3SG [...] make.a.douche.PRS.INF
 δριμέσι καὶ μαλθακοῖσι καὶ στρυφνοῖσιν ...
drimesi kai malthakoisi kai stryphnoisin ...
 acrid.DAT.PL and emollient.DAT.PL and astringents.DAT.PL
 ‘If (sc. the uterus) becomes very ulcerated, blood and pus will be discharged
 [...] make a douche with acrid, emollient, astringent douches...’
 (HC *Diseases of Women I* 65, p. 138, 22-28 Potter (8, 134, 9-14 L.))

- (20) κλύσματι δὲ μαλθακῷ χρησάμενῳ
klysmati de malthakō khrēsamenō
 enema.DAT.SG PRT emollient.DAT.SG use.AOR.PTCP.DAT.SG
 ἔληξεν ἡ ὀδύνη.
elēxen hē odynē.
 stop.AOR.IND.3SG ART.NOM.SG pain.NOM.SG
 ‘His pain was relieved when he used an emollient enema.’
 (HC *Epidemics V* 73. 5, p. 33, 12-13 Jouanna–Grmek (5, 246, 19-20 L.))

It must however be noted that it is not mandatory for the noun in the SVC to be combined with a modifier: κλύσματι χρῆσθαι *klysmati khrēsthai* can be used with the same meaning shown by κλύζειν *klyzein* in its intransitive use, as shown in (21).

- (21) ἤν δὲ ἡ γαστήρ μὴ ὑποχωρέη,
ēn de hē gastēr mē hypokhōrēē,
 if PRT ART.NOM.SG cavity.NOM.SG not withdraw.PRS.SBJV.3SG

κλύσματος χρήσθαι ἢ βαλάνω.

klysmati khresthai ē balanō.

enema.DAT.SG use.PRS.INF or suppository.DAT.SG

‘If the belly does not pass anything, use an enema or a suppository.’

(HC *Affections* 14, p. 24, 11-12 Potter (6, 222, 2-3 L.))

5 προστίθῃμι *prostithēmi* and πρόσθετον *prostheton*

In the area of gynecology προστίθῃμι *prostithēmi* develops the special meaning of ‘applying vaginal suppositories’, which are consequently referred to as πρόσθετα *prostheta*.²⁶ As happened with καταπλάσσω *kataplassō* and κλύζω *klyzō*, προστίθῃμι *prostithēmi* may be used intransitively with this special sense.²⁷ To deal with a flux some fumigations and the application of suppositories are prescribed in (22).²⁸ This second action is, however, expressed by προστίθῃμι *prostithēmi* alone.

- (22) Ἦν ρόος ἐγγένηται [...] ὑποθυμῆν
Ēn rhoos eggenētai [...] *hypothymiēn*
 if flux.NOM.SG develop.AOR.SBJV.3SG [...] fumigate.PRS.INF

ὀκόσα ξηραίνει καὶ
hokosa xērainei kai
 REL.INDF.NOM.PL dry.PRS.IND.3SG and

προστιθέναι.

prostithenai.

apply.suppositories.in.the.vagina.PRS.INF

‘If a flux occurs [...] Fumigate from below with drying agents and apply vaginal suppositories.’

(HC *Nature of Women* 90. 1, p. 78, 12-14 Bourbon (7, 408, 18-20 L.))

²⁶The word is found both with proparoxytone and oxytone accentuation. I use the proparoxytone form, while reproducing the accentuation chosen by the editor in direct quotations from the Hippocratic text.

²⁷Note that this kind of process, which I called ‘semantic specialisation’ in Squeri (2023), also involved the SVC προσέχω τὸν νοῦν *prosekhō ton noun* (‘pay attention’), which, in the evolution from Classical to Modern Greek, became so standardised that now προσέχω *prosekhō* alone can express this meaning.

²⁸The link of προστιθέναι *prostithenai* with ὀκόσα ξηραίνει *hokosa xērainei* as an anaphoric object (on which, see Luraghi 2003) is very unlikely since in the whole corpus of the gynecological treatises a prescription for drying suppositories is never found. Suppositories were mostly used for purging, irritating, and emollient purposes.

This happens because, when used in gynecology, this verb has a predefined object in the logical structure of the action it expresses, a suppository, which is therefore called πρόσθετον *prostheton* and acts as a sort of CO. This is why, exactly as has been observed for κλυσμός *klysmos* and κλύσμα *klysma* in the previous section, the direct combination of the verb with any form of nominalized modifier is equivalent to the use of the same modifier with πρόσθετον *prostheton*. Examples (23) and (24) are parallels of the same clinical case in two gynecological writings.²⁹ In the first one προσθεῖναι *prostheinai* is combined with the relative clause ἃ μὴ δήξεται *ha mē dēxetai*, which apparently acts as an argument relative clause³⁰, but, since the action has the class of suppositories as a predefined object, it actually narrows the type of suppositories to be applied to non-irritating ones.

- (23) ἔπειτα πυριήσας τὰς ὑτέρας οἶνω
epeita pyriēsas tas hysteras oinō
 after.ADV foment.AOR.PTCP.NOM.SG ART.ACC.PL uterus.ACC.PL wine.DAT.SG
 [...] προσθεῖναι ἃ μὴ δήξεται.
 [...] *prostheinai ha mē dēxetai*.
 [...] apply.AOR.INF REL.PL.N not bite.FUT.IND.3SG
 ‘After fomenting the uterus with wine [...] apply non-irritating suppositories.’

(HC *Nature of Women* 14. 3, p. 18, 6-7 Bourbon (7, 332, 10-11 L.))

- (24) ἔπειτα πυριῆσαι καὶ καταιονᾶν τὰς
epeita pyriēsai kai kataionan tas
 after.ADV foment.PRS.INF and moisten.with.liquid.PRS.INF ART.ACC.PL
 ὑτέρας τῷ σὺν τῇ δάφνῃ, καὶ προστιθέναι
hysteras tō syn tē daphnē, kai prostithenai
 uterus.ACC.PL ART.DAT.SG with ART.DAT.SG laurel.DAT.SG and apply.PRS.INF
 προσθετὸν καθαρτήριον ὃ μὴ
prostheton kathartērion ho mē
 vaginal.suppository.ACC.SG cleaning.DAT.SG REL.NOM.SG not
 δήξεται.
dēxetai.
 bite.FUT.IND.3SG

‘Then foment and moisten the uterus with a preparation of laurel, and

²⁹On the presence of parallels between the writings *Nature of Women* and *Diseases of Women*, see Bourbon (2008: xii–xvi).

³⁰On the classification of relative clauses in Ancient Greek, see Crespo, Conti & Maquieira (2003: 378–379).

apply a cleaning, non-irritating vaginal suppository.’

(*HC Diseases of Women II* 131, p. 312, 2-4 Potter (8, 278, 22-280, 1 L.))

Being the predefined object involved in a certain action, *πρόσθετον prostheton* has thus both a referential and a predicative meaning, even though it never refers to the action itself, as *κλυσμός klysmos* did in (14).³¹ This is why, when combined as a predicative phrase with *χράομαι khraomai* and its dative object, *πρόσθετον prostheton* is the element that defines the action to be realised, see (25).

- (25) θερμῷ ὕδατι αἰονᾶν, καὶ φαρμάκοισι
thermō hydati aionan, kai pharmakoisī
 hot.DAT.SG water.DAT.SG foment.PRS.INF and medication.DAT.PL
 θερμαίνουσι χρῆσθαι προσθετοῖσι.
thermainousi khrēsthai prosthetoisi.
 warm.PRS.PTCP.DAT.PL use.PRS.INF vaginal.suppository.DAT.PL
 ‘Foment with hot water, and use warming medications as vaginal applica-
 tions (or ‘as vaginal suppositories’).’
 (*HC Places in Man* 47. 7, p. 78, 23-24 Joly (6, 346, 16-17 L.))

In (26) *προσθέτοισι drimēsi prosthetoisi* refers to the sharp supposito-
 ries as concrete therapeutic objects, but, in combination with *χράομαι khraomai*,
 the syntagm expresses the same action that, in parallel to this same passage in
Nature of Women in (27), is conveyed by the verb *προστίθημι prostithēmi* in com-
 bination with τὰ δριμύα *ta drimeā* as a nominal adjective.

- (26) Ἦν δὲ ὑγρότερον ἢ τὸ στόμα
Ēn de hygrotēron ē to stoma
 if PRT moist.COMP.NOM.SG be.PRS.SBJV.3SG ART.NOM.SG mouth.NOM.SG
 τῶν ὑστερέων [...] προσθέτοισι δὲ
tōn hystereōn [...] prosthetoisi de
 ART.GEN.PL uterus.GEN.PL [...] vaginal.suppository.DAT.PL PRT
 δριμύεσι χρῆσθαι.
drimesi khrēsthai.
 sharp.DAT.PL use.PRS.INF
 ‘If the mouth of a woman’s uterus is too moist [...] employ sharp supposi-
 tories.’

(*HC Diseases of Women I* 18, p. 60, 7-9 Potter (8, 58, 3-4 L.))

³¹Greek deverbal nouns in -τον -ton normally refer to concrete arguments of the action and not to the action itself (Civilleri 2012: 180–181).

- (27) Ἦν ὑγρότερον τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ
Ēn hygroteron tou kairou to
 if moist.COMP.NOM.SG ART.GEN.SG due.measure.GEN.SG ART.NOM.SG
 στόμα τῶν ὑστερέων ἤ, προστιθέναι
stoma tōn hystereōn ē, prostithenai
 mouth.NOM.SG ART.GEN.PL uterus.GEN.PL be.PRS.SBJV.3SG apply.PRS.INF
 τὰ δριμέα.
ta drimea.
 ART.ACC.PL sharp.ACC.PL
 ‘If the mouth of a woman’s uterus is moister than it should be, apply sharp
 substances as a suppository (= apply sharp suppositories).’
 (HC *Nature of Women* 24. 1, p. 25, 5-6 Bourbon (7, 342, 6-7 L.))

6 Preliminary conclusions

In the HC χράομαι *khraomai* combines with deverbal nouns, which can sometimes refer to a therapeutic activity, but mostly refer to the type of medical device involved in that activity. The structure seems to be equivalent to the use of the verbs from which the nouns are derived, both in their intransitive, see (22), and in their transitive uses. In this second case, the argument structure of the synthetic verb may appear with the noun, see (15), (16), (17), but, most of the time, the noun simply combines with those modifiers that are otherwise combined with the verb as neuter adjectives or as relative clauses with argument value. If one considers the entities signified by these nouns a predefined argument of the action expressed by the specialised sense of the verb from which they are derived, any restriction applied to this class of entities, which recur as COs or as the nominal part of an SVC, equals a restriction on the action expressed by the verb. The modification of a CO or of the predicative noun in an SVCs is normally equivalent to the adverbial modification of the action signified by the synthetic verb.³²

The syntagms in which χράομαι *khraomai* is combined with κατάπλασμα *kataplasma*, κλυσμός *klysmos* and κλύσμα *klyσμα*, and πρόσθετον *prostheton*, however, do not involve abstract predicative nouns, which refer to actions that can be thought of as modified adverbially, but mostly concern concrete objects included

³²For COs, see Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 305) for English, Horrocks & Stavrou (2010: 287) and Bruno (2011: 103) for AG. For predicative nouns in SVCs, see, among many others, Langer (2004: 181–182), for modern languages, Marini (2010: 156) and Jiménez López (2016: 197–198) for AG.

in specific actions. Therefore, the equivalence is not between the adjectival modification of the CO or of the nominal part of the SVC and the adverbial modification of the synthetic verb, but between the adjectival restriction of the class represented by the CO or by the nominal part of the SVC and the combination of the verb with the same nominalized adjective. In this latter case, the restriction still applies to the class of objects whose involvement in the action expressed by the verb is mandatory.

Another question to be answered is that of the role that *χράομαι khraomai* plays in the structure. Is it correct to consider it an SV or does it have its full meaning, by which it prescribes the ‘use of an instrument’? It is indeed true that, since these nouns refer to concrete medical devices, the verb could simply prescribe their use in medical practice. If one applies to example (11) the so-called ‘zeugma test’³³, according to which a verb cannot be used with both light and full value when linked to two coordinated arguments, only one of which is predicative, a predicative value must be either given to *κηρωταῖς kērōtais* or denied to *καταπλάσμασι kataplasmasi*.

Considering the objects referred to by these nouns instruments would also be in line with the fact that, as far as *καταπλάσσω kataplassō* and *κλύζω klyzō* are concerned, the substance that must be employed in the therapeutic action is often codified in the dative. However, this does not apply to *προστίθημι prostithēmi* and to some uses of *καταπλάσσω kataplassō*. Moreover, it must be noted that the medical devices referred to by these deverbal nouns become an instrument, but their use in the action requires their change of state, which takes place in the way prescribed by the verbal stem from which they are derived: *καταπλάσματα kataplasmata* must be ‘spread over’ the body, *κλυσμοί klysmoi* and *κλύσματα klysmata* must be ‘injected’, and *πρόσθετα prostheta* must be ‘applied’. This is not canonical for dative objects, whose coding in the dative has the exact purpose of underlining how the object takes part in the action without undergoing any change of state (Luraghi 2010: 66–67). It can therefore be provisionally noted that *χράομαι khraomai* is not involved in this structure with its full meaning, which, however, is not completely bleached either. *χράομαι khraomai* can therefore be considered an SV only by accepting the more flexible definition presented in Section 1, which assumes that SVCs are characterized by the sharing of the predicative power between the SV and the noun.

Further and stronger evidence in favour of the interpretation of *χράομαι khraomai* as an SV will be given in the next section.

³³Langer (2004: 179): *‘‘he gives a lecture and a lot of money’’.

7 Foods and drinks

Hippocratic medicine considered diet and lifestyle an important factor to prevent and to cure certain diseases. The following of a diet is often expressed by the dative διαίτη *diatē* combined with χράομαι *khraomai*. CG also has the synthetic verb διαιτάω *diataō*, mostly used in the middle-passive form, to express the same action expressed by διαίτη χράομαι *diatē khraomai*, see (28) and (29).

- (28) ἡσυχάζειν διαίτη μαλθακῇ χρώμενον
hēsukhazein diatē malthakē khrōmenon
 rest.PRS.INF diet.DAT.SG emollient.DAT.SG use.PRS.PTCP.ACC.SG
 (Cornarius : -ος ΘΜ).
 (Cornarius : -ος ΘΜ).
 (Cornarius : -ος ΘΜ)

‘Have him rest and employ³⁴ an emollient diet.’

(HC *Diseases III* 2, p. 72, 7-8 Potter (7, 120, 15-16 L.))

- (29) Σκόπα [...] φλαύρως διαιτηθέντι
Skopa [...] phlaurōs diaitēthēnti
 Scopas.DAT.SG [...] badly.ADV follow.a.diet.AOR.PTCP.PASS.DAT.SG
 ἡ κοιλίη ἀπελήφθη.
hē koiliē apēlēphthē.
 ART.NOM.SG cavity.NOM.SG block.AOR.IND.PASS.3SG

‘Scopas [...] from the following of a poor diet his bowels were seized.’

(HC *Epidemics II* 3, 11, p. 56, 12-14 Smith (5, 112, 9-10 L.))

δίαιτα *diaita* is a noun referring to a process and is not referential. However, in order to be on a certain diet one needs to eat certain foods and drink certain drinks, see (30). This assumption can justify, at least from the semantic point of view, the extension of the structure with χράομαι *khraomai* to nonpredicative nouns such as ποτόν *poton* (‘drink’) and σῖτος *sitos* (‘food’). Such structures make more evident the role of χράομαι *khraomai* as an SV, since the action thus expressed does not entail the “use” of its dative object, which is however a concrete element which could ideally be involved in such an action (see *infra* example 42).

³⁴In this example, as well as in examples (30), (37) and (39), I decided to follow the choice made by the translators in the Loeb collection of translating χράομαι *khraomai* as ‘employ’, since it renders transparently the meaning of the verb.

- (30) τοῖσι ποτοῖσι καὶ σίτοισι χρήσθω
toisi potoisi kai sitoisi khrēsthō
 ART.DAT.PL drink.DAT.PL and food.DAT.PL use.PRS.IMP.3SG
 μάλθακοῖσι.
malthakoisi.
 emollient.DAT.PL

‘She should employ emollient drinks and food.’

(*HC Nature of Women* 25. 1, pp. 25, 17-26, 18 Bourbon (7, 342, 16 L.))

Here one can see a first step towards the use of the structure with *χράομαι khraomai* as an SV in combination with nouns that do not predicate an event or a process in any way. ποτόν *poton* is a deverbal form from πίνω *pinō* and retains some predicative force, but this does not apply to σῖτος *sitos*. It is also clear that the action expressed by the SVC does not involve the employment of these substances as tools, but implies their change of state or, more precisely, their consumption.

However, both ποτόν *poton* and σῖτος *sitos* can be considered nouns referring to a ‘class’ or to a ‘genus’ of substances: drinks and foods. Therefore, they are not fully referential either (Givón 1978: 293–295).

ποτόν *poton* is not the only deverbal noun referring to drinks used in this structure. Another noun frequently combined with *χράομαι khraomai* is ῥόφημα *rophēma*, which refers to a particular type of liquid gruel that was to be sipped by the patient. This is why it is derived from the verb ῥοφέω *ropheō* (‘sip’). It thus refers to an argument of the action expressed by ῥοφέω *ropheō*, while maintaining some predicative force.

In (31) ῥόφημα *rophēma* constitutes the nominal part of ῥοφήμασι χρεέσθω *rophēmasi khreesthō*, used to place the action of administering the gruel in a temporally ordered sequence, in which it precedes that of giving food. The same temporal collocation in a sequence can be observed in (32), which, instead of the structure with *χράομαι khraomai*, shows the use of the synthetic form ῥοφέω *ropheō*, employed as an unergative.

- (31) τοῖσι ῥοφήμασι πρόσθεν χρεέσθω τοῦ
toisi rophēmasi prosthen khreesthō tou
 ART.DAT.PL gruel.DAT.PL before use.PRS.IMP.3SG ART.GEN.SG
 σίτου.
sitou.
 food.GEN.SG

‘Let him use gruels before food.’

(*HC Internal Affections* 9, p. 100, 3-4 Potter (7, 188, 5 L.))

- (32) μηδὲ ροφεῖν μηδὲ πίνειν ταχὺ μετὰ τὸ
mēde rhophein mēde pinein takhy meta to
 nor sip.PRS.INF nor drink.PRS.INF right.ADV after ART.ACC.SG
 λουτρόν.
loutron.
 bath.ACC.SG

‘Gruels or drinks must not be taken soon after a bath.’

(*HC Regimen in Acute Diseases* 18. LXV. 3, p. 66, 2-3 Joly (2, 368, 2-3 L.))

Since they refer to a category of objects on which the action encoded in their own name must be performed, ποτόν *poton* and ρόφημα *rhophēma* can also be used as predicative phrases, in connection with fully referential nouns which constitute the dative object of χράομαι *khraomai*. In example (33), this structure is used to express the fact that the sipping of a πτισάνη *ptisanē* (‘barley infusion’) may result in excessive fullness: ροφήματι *rhophēmati* defines the type of action in which the barley infusion is involved. In example (34), the exact same action is expressed by the synthetic verb ροφεέτω *rhopheetō*.

- (33) Εἰ μέντοι ροφήματι χρέοιτο πτισάνῃ [...]
Ei mentoi rhophēmati khreoito ptisanē [...]
 if however gruel.DAT.SG use.PRS.OPT.3SG barley.infusion.DAT.SG [...]
 ἄγαν πλησμονῶδες ἂν εἴη.
agan plēsmonōdes an eīē.
 too.much.ADV filling.NOM.SG PRT be.PRS.OPT.3SG

‘If, however, he uses a barley infusion as a gruel [...] it will cause fullness.’

(*HC Regimen in Acute Diseases* 15. LVI. 3, p. 60, 22-23 Joly (2, 346, 6-7 L.))

- (34) μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν πτισάνης δύο τρυβλία
meta tēn katharsin ptisanēs duo tryblia
 after ART.ACC.SG cleaning.ACC.SG barley.infusion.GEN.SG two bowl.ACC.PL
 ροφεέτω.
rhopheetō.
 sip.PRS.IMP.3SG

‘After the cleaning, let him sip two bowls of barley infusion.’

(*HC Internal Affections* 13, p. 116, 13-14 Potter (7, 200, 13-14 L.))

The same happens with ποτόν *poton*. Example (35) prescribes the use of water as the drink for recovering from a fracture, and the avoidance of wine. This information is conveyed with χράομαι *khraomai*, ὕδατι *hydati* and οἶνω *oinō* as dative

objects, and ποτῶ *potō* as a predicative phrase. The same action is expressed in (36) by the simple πίνω *pinō*, with οἶνον *oinon* and ὕδωρ *hydōr* as direct objects.

- (35) ποτῶ δὲ χρῆσθαι ὕδατι, καὶ μὴ οἶνω.
potō de khresthai hydati, kai mē oinō.
 drink.DAT.SG PRT use.PRS.INF water.DAT.SG, and not wine.DAT.SG
 ‘For drink use water and not wine.’
 (HC *Fractures* 11, p. 21, 4 Jouanna–Anastassiou–Roselli (3, 458, 8-9 L.))

- (36) μὴδ’ οἶνον πινέτω ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν ὕδωρ.
mēd’ oinon pinetō alla malista men hydōr.
 not wine.ACC.SG drink.PRS.IMP.3SG but mostly.ADV PRT water.ACC.SG
 ‘He should not drink wine, but preferably water.’
 (HC *Diseases II* 72. 2, p. 212, 7-8 Jouanna (7, 110, 10-11 L.))

σίτος *sitos* can be found in the exact same function. In example (37), for instance, a diet based on barley cakes is prescribed by a structure with *χράομαι khraomai*, μάζῃ *mazē* as a dative object and σίτῳ *sitō* as a predicative phrase.

- (37) σίτῳ δὲ χρήσθω μάζῃ μαλθακῇ
sitō de khresthō mazē malthakē
 food.DAT.SG PRT use.PRS.IMP.3SG barley.cake.DAT.SG soft.DAT.SG
 ἀτρίπτῳ.
atriptō.
 unkneaded.DAT.SG
 ‘As food let him employ soft unkneaded barley-cake.’
 (HC *Internal Affections* 51, p. 244, 9-10 Potter (7, 294, 10-11 L.))

Unlike ποτόν *poton* and ρόφημα *rophēma*, however, σίτος *sitos* is not deverbal. Nevertheless – and this is a crucial point – it still refers to a category into which referential objects may fall on the basis of their involvement in a typical action: that of being eaten.³⁵ According to Hale & Keyser (1987), Hale & Keyser (1993), verbs like ‘eat’, which can be used either as unergatives (“John ate”) or transitively (“John ate the bread”) have a form of “internal” predefined object. This is why, if the action is mentioned without the need to better specify the type of food

³⁵The importance of the semantic traits which give information about the typical action into which an object is involved or typically used has been underlined by Pustejovsky (1995: 76–81), who labelled them as part of the ‘telic quale’, one of the four main “sections” (the “qualia”) in which semantic traits that are involved in generative transformations of meaning can be divided.

eaten, the verb can be used intransitively: if taken as a whole, the involvement of the class of ‘food’, that could recur as an argument, is already fully identified by the meaning of the verb. This may be the reason why, if used as a predicative phrase in an SVC with *χράομαι khraomai*, a noun such as *σίτος sitos* identifies the action of eating, as *ἐσθίω* does in (38): it refers to the class of objects that is part of the logical structure of this action.

- (38) Τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου
To de loipon tou khronou
 ART.ACC.SG PRT remaining.ACC.SG ART.GEN.SG time.GEN.SG
 διαιτάσθω μᾶζαν καὶ ἄρτον
diaitasthō mazan kai arton
 follow.a.diet.PRS.IMP.3SG barley.cake.ACC.SG and bread.ACC.SG
 ἐσθίων ἀμφότερα.
esthiōn amphotera.
 eat.PRS.PTCP.NOM.SG both.ACC.PL
 ‘From then on, let the regimen include eating both barley-cakes and bread.’
 (HC *Internal Affections* 12, p. 114, 6-7 Potter (7, 198, 14 L.))

Example (31) already proves that *σίτος sitos* holds some predicative power: it contains a prescription for the use of gruels ‘before food’ – *πρόσθεν τοῦ σίτου prosthen tou sitou* – where the category of ‘food’ is used with a temporal value to refer to the action of eating. “Before food” stands for “before eating” and temporality is one of the characteristics that is taken into account to test the predicative force of a noun (Simone & Pompei 2007: 48–50).

The HC, however, contains some passages in which *χράομαι khraomai* refers to the action of eating and drinking in combination with fully referential nouns, which refer to concrete foods and drinks, without *σίτος sitos* and *ποτόν poton* – of which they are hyponyms – as predicative phrases.

- (39) οἶνω δὲ μέλανι χρήσθω, τοῖσι κρέασιν
oinō de melani khresthō, toisi kreasin
 wine.DAT.SG PRT black.DAT.SG use.PRS.IMP.3SG, ART.DAT.SG meat.DAT.PL
 ὀπτοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφθοῖσι.
optoisi mallon ē hephthoisi.
 roasted.DAT.PL more than boiled.DAT.PL
 ‘She should employ dark wine, roasted meats in preference to boiled ones.’
 (HC *Diseases of Women I* 11, p. 48, 23-24 Potter (8, 48, 5-7 L.))

Even if they are not predicative nouns, οἶνω *oinō* and κρέασιν *kreasin* are still the fundamental element for identifying the action expressed. Even though referential, they are part of superordinate classes of objects, as those of drinks and food. Being part of the logical structure of a certain action, this superordinate class still identifies the typical action in which its hyponyms are involved. Since the entities represented by these nouns are more specific than the whole class, however, were this action to be expressed by a synthetic verb, they should recur as arguments of the verb in a transitive structure, see (40).

- (40) κρέας δὲ ἐσθιέτω ἀλέκτορος ὀπτὸν
kreas de esthietō alektoros opton
 meat.ACC.SG PRT eat.PRS.IMP.3SG cock.GEN.SG roasted.ACC.SG
 ἄναλτον, ἢ αἰγὸς ἐφθόν.
analtōn, ē aigos hephthon.
 not.salted.ACC.SG or goat.GEN.SG boiled.ACC.SG
 ‘He should eat roasted fowl meat without salt, or boiled goat meat.’
 (HC *Internal Affections* 1, p. 72, 26-74, 1 Potter (7, 168, 8-9 L.))

The fact that a referential noun such as οἶνος *oinos* can produce a predicative structure if combined with *χράομαι khraomai* can also be proved by a ‘zeugma test’ (see *supra*). In (41) *χράομαι khraomai* is linked to the predicative noun λουτροῖσι *loutroisi*, ‘baths’, with which it prescribes a therapy with baths, and to οἶνοις *oinoisi* *glykesin*. οἶνοις *oinoisi* must therefore hold the same predicative value as λουτροῖσι *loutroisi*.

- (41) Θεραπεύειν δὲ χρῆ τὰς πλευρίτιδας
Therapeuein de khre tas pleuritidas
 cure.PRS.INF PRT should.PRS.IND.IMPERS ART.ACC.PL pleurisy.ACC.PL
 ὧδε [...] λουτροῖσί τε χρῆσθαι θερμοῖσι καὶ οἶνοις
hōde [...] loutroisi te khresthai thermoisi kai oinoisi
 thus.ADV [...] bath.DAT.PL and use.PRS.INF hot.DAT.PL and wine.DAT.PL
 γλυκέσιν.
glykesin.
 sweet.DAT.PL
 ‘You must treat pleurisies as follows [...] you must use warm baths and sweet wines.’
 (HC *Diseases III* 16, p. 90, 9-11 Potter (7, 146, 13-15 L.))

8 Conclusions

χράομαι *khraomai* is often linked with a dative object which holds the predicative force of the verb phrase, being the element that identifies the type of action to be realised. The nouns that occur in that position are more or less close to the traditional definition of predicative noun. The closer ones are κατάπλασμα *kataplasma*, κλυσμός *klysmos* and κλύσμα *klysma*, which refer both to the action expressed by the verb from which they are derived and to one of the arguments that takes part in that action. πρόσθετον *prostheton*, ποτόν *poton* and ρόφημα *rophēma* are still deverbal nouns, but they only refer to one of the arguments of the action expressed by the verb from which they are derived. The action in which they are involved is however still inscribed in their own meaning, and this explains why they hold some predicative force.

Moving further from the core of predicative nouns one finds σῖτος *sitos*, which is not deverbal, but refers to a category which can be understood as semantically involved in the logical structure of the action of ‘eating’. This action is thus the one recalled by its combination with χράομαι *khraomai*. Finally, this structure can also involve fully referential nouns, whose predicative force lies in the fact that they are hyponyms of a superordinate class of objects involved in the logical structure of a precise action, like those of ‘eating’ and ‘drinking’.

The further one moves from deverbal and predicative nouns, the more χράομαι *khraomai* deviates from its full value, since it does not express the action of ‘using as an instrument’ the concrete referents of referential nouns, which would indeed be suitable for such an interpretation. If the verb maintained its full value in combination with nouns such as οἶνος *oinos*, it would express the action of using wine as a tool, as it happens with water in example (42), which recommends the use of water while changing the dressing of a wound.

- (42) Ἐν δὲ ἐκάστη τῶν ἐπιλυσίων ὕδατι
En de hekastē tōn epilysiōn hydati
 at PRT each.DAT.SG ART.GEN.PL change.of.dressing.GEN.PL water.DAT.SG
 πολλῷ θερμῷ χρέεσθαι.
pollō thermō khreesthai.
 plenty.DAT.SG warm.DAT.SG use.PRS.INF
 ‘At each change of dressing use plenty of warm water.’
 (HC *Fractures* 10, p. 17, 21-18,1 Jouanna–Anastassiou–Roselli (3, 452, 4-5 L.))

The meaning of the expression ὕδατι...χρέεσθαι *hydati...khreesthai* is far different from that activated by χράομαι *khraomai* in examples such as (39), in which it prescribes the ‘drinking’ of wine and not its use for other purposes.

In the HC *χράομαι khraomai* combines with deverbal nouns that refer to objects which can be conceived as therapeutic tools as far as they are involved in the change of state prescribed by the verb from which they are derived. This link of *χράομαι khraomai* with objects whose function as an instrument involves their change of state is then extended to other non-deverbal nouns, which refer either to a class of objects or to a member of such a class. This class is the one which typically undergoes a change of state in the logical structure of the action expressed by the synthetic verb which is equivalent to the SVC. The potential referentiality of these nouns rules out the use of ποιέω *poieō*, which would take its full meaning, prescribing the ‘production’ of the object signified by the noun. *χράομαι khraomai* is thus employed to express the interaction with these objects, realised by acting on them as is typical for the class to which they belong.

It must also be noted that the choice of *χράομαι khraomai* may also be in line with the medical purpose of underlining that these objects are functional to the healing of the patient as much as the employment of a therapeutic tool. The use of this verb as an SV seems indeed to be far more frequent in the HC than in other writings (see also *supra* ex. (41): λουτροῖσί... χρῆσθαι, *loutroisi ... khrēsthai*, ‘take baths’). Jiménez López (2011), for instance, registers as standard the SVC διαίταν ποιέομαι *diaitan poieomai*, while the HC counts only two potential occurrences of this structure, compared to 25 occurrences of διαίτη χράομαι *diaitē khraomai*.³⁶ While dealing with regimen, Hippocratic writings show a special tendency to express everyday practices, such as walking, with predicative nouns in combination with *χράομαι khraomai*. Expressions such as περιπάτοις χράομαι *peripatois khraomai* (‘take walks’) appear 20 times in the HC, while being almost absent from other writings of the Classical Period.³⁷ This shift is certainly very interesting for studies focusing on changes induced on SVCs by register variation, but goes beyond the scope of this paper, whose focus is on Hippocratic SVCs involving nouns with a potentially referential meaning.

Abbreviations

CO	Cognate object
COMP	comparative (of adjectives)
HC	Hippocratic corpus

³⁶HC *Regimen* 68, 198, 26-27 Joly (6, 602, 1-2 L.); HC *Diseases of Women* I 11, p. 48, 17 Potter (8, 46, 24-48, 1 L.).

³⁷Only two occurrences of περιπάτω χράομαι *peripatō khraomai* can be found in Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 11 [Socratic dialogue, prose])

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