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AT THE LEXICON-SYNTAX INTERFACE ANCIENT GREEK CONSTRUCTIONS WITH *ἜEXEIN* AND PSYCHOLOGICAL NOUNS*

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Περίληψη

Στο άρθρο αυτό μελετώνται συγκριτικά τρία δομικά σχήματα της αρχαίας ελληνικής στα οποία το ρήμα ἔχειν συνδυάζεται με ένα ονοματικό κατηγόρημα ψυχικού πάθους. Οι τρεις δομές διαφοροποιούνται ταυτοχρόνως από τη θέση του ονόματος που εκφράζει το ψυχικό πάθος (υποκείμενο, άμεσο αντικείμενο και προθετική φράση) και από τον αριθμό των ορισμάτων (είτε μόνο ο φορέας εμπειρίας είτε ο φορέας εμπειρίας και το θέμα/εξωτερικό ερέθισμα). Η μελέτη που έγινε με βάση ένα σώμα κειμένων της αρχαϊκής και κλασικής περιόδου αφορά την λεξικο-συντακτική ανάλυση των τριών δομών και την κατανομή τους.

Keywords: Ancient Greek, psychological predicates, ἔχειν-clauses, copula-clauses, prepositional phrases, light verbs, syntactic operators

1. Introduction

The paper focuses on Ancient Greek constructions which have a psychological noun as a semantic predication and the verb ἔχειν 'to have' as the main verb of the clause. As can be seen in the following examples, the two lexical-syntactic features just men-

* I would like to thank Elisa Ghia for her linguistic review of the contribution and the anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments on a previous version of this paper. Many thanks also to Sophie Vassilaki, who translated my abstract into Greek.

tioned led to the emergence of at least three different combinations, in which the psychological nouns occur respectively as a direct object (DO-type), a subject (S-type) and a prepositional phrase (PP-type):[1]

(1) a. οἳ δ' **ἔσχον αἰδῶ**, ξένια μονοτράπεζά μοι / παρέσχον, [...] (E. *IT* 949-50)
'then some who felt shame offered me a table apart, as a guest'

b. [...] καὶ **φόβος** μ' **ἔχει** / κλύοντ' ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένα.
(A. *A*. 1243-4)
'Fear too holds me / listing what's true as life, nowise out-imaged'

c. **ἐν** τοιαύτῃ μὲν **ὀργῇ** ὁ στρατὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ **εἶχεν**.
(Th. 2.18.5)
'Such was the indignation of the army towards Archidamus during the siege'

Although all of the three constructions express psychological states, they have different syntactic configurations and different meanings. They also show different distribution within the texts. The lexicon-grammar approach has proved to be fruitful in their syntactic-semantic analysis (cf. in particular Gross 1975 and 1981). As for their textual distribution, the difference between prose and verse has been considered, as well as that between Homeric and Classical Greek.

This study is corpus-based and takes into account the occurrences of the fifty psychological nouns listed in Tronci (2009). Data have been collected through the electronic resources provided by the TLG project (http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/) and come from Homeric poems, Aeschylus', Sophocles' and Euripides' tragedies, Aristophanes' comedies, Herodotus', Thucydides' and Xenophon's historical works, Plato's dialogues and Demosthenes', Lysias', Aeschines' and Isocrates' orations. The corpus consists of ca. 220 DO-type clauses, ca. 50 S-type clauses, and ca. 20 PP-type clauses. The DO-type is attested in both poetry and prose, while the last two types are not equally distributed, the S-type being typical of poetry and the PP-type of prose (Thucydides in particular). The S- and PP-types are both marked with respect to the first type, in terms of both frequency and textual distribution.

1 Abbreviations of Greek texts and authors follow Liddell, Scott and Jones (1996 [1843]). English translations of Greek texts are taken from the Loeb Classical Library editions, with minor changes.

2. The syntax of psychological predicates: mono- vs bi-argumental structures

The first difference between the constructions in (1a-b) and (1c) concerns the number of nominal elements which combine with the verb ἔχειν. In both (1a) and (1b) only two elements are necessarily combined with the verb, i.e. the psychological noun (πόθον and φόβος, respectively) and the experiencer (σύ and μέ respectively). As is well known, the basic structure of psychological predications must contain the expression of both the psychological state and the experiencer (cf. Gross 1995). Within this core syntactic configuration, psychological predicates can occur not only as nouns, but also as either verbs (2a-b) or adjectives (3a-b):

(2) a. οἴη δ' οὐ κεῖσ' εἶμι μετ' ἀνέρας· **αἰδέομαι** γάρ. (Od. 18.184)
'alone I will not go into the men: I am ashamed to'
b. ἀλλὰ **φοβοῦμαι** κἀποτρέπομαι / δεῖμα πολιτῶν. (A. *Th*. 1070-1)
'But I am afraid and turn away in terror of the citizens'

(3) a. **αἰδοῖός** τέ μοί ἐσσι φίλε ἑκυρὲ δεινός τε· (Il. 3.172)
'respected are you in my eyes, dear father of my husband, and dread'
b. οὐ κάκιόν ἐστι **φοβερὰν** εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν (X. *Oec*. 7.25)
'a fearful disposition is no disadvantage'

When the psychological predicate occurs as either a noun or an adjective, it needs a verb supporting the non-verbal predication.[2] This verb is the copula (e.g. εἶναι 'to be', γίγνεσθαι 'to be, to become') when the predicate is an adjective, e.g. (3) above. Other types of verbs can instead support nouns denoting psychological predicates. The lexical range of these verbs is a matter of semantic and stylistic choice in some cases, e.g. εἶναι vs γίγνεσθαι, but is syntax-dependent in other instances, e.g. εἶναι vs ἔχειν.

2.1. Psychological predicates as direct objects: the DO*-type*[3]

The main feature of the DO-type is the correlation with copula-clauses, as the pairs in (4) and (5) illustrate:

2 The noun denoting the body part involved in the psychological state (e.g. the soul, the heart and so on) can be mentioned instead of the experiencer.

3 I refer to Benedetti and Bruno (2012) for an account of Ancient Greek constructions which feature the verb ἔχειν and predicative nouns.

(4) a. ὡς καὶ **ἐγὼ πένθος μὲν ἔχω** φρεσίν, […] (Od. 7.219)
'even as I too am laden with grief at heart'
b. **πένθος** γὰρ **ἡμῖν ἐστι**· […] (E. *Alc*. 818)
'For we are in mourning'

(5) a. […] οὐδέ τι σὲ χρὴ / μὰψ αὔτως ἄπλητον **ἔχειν χόλον**· (*h.Cer*. 82-3)
'there is no call for you to rage for ever like this to no purpose'
b. ἴστω τοῦθ' ὅτι **νῶϊν** ἀνήκεστος **χόλος ἔσται**. (Il. 15.217)
'let him know this, that between us there will be wrath that nothing can appease'

The relationship between the two clause types can be accounted for in terms of syntactic inversion: the indirect object and the subject of the copula-clauses are transformed respectively into subject and direct object of the ἔχειν-clauses.[4] The result of the inversion apparently seems to lead to a transitive construction: yet, this is not the case, because no passive construction is allowed for this type of ἔχειν-clauses.

Within the syntactic combinations just illustrated, both the copula and the verb ἔχειν can be replaced by other verbs, such as εἰσιέναι 'to enter', κεῖσθαι 'to lie', μένειν 'to stay', πίπτειν 'to fall' instead of εἶναι, and ἀέξειν 'to increase', ἀείρειν 'to take up', αἱρέειν 'to take', ἐντίθεσθαι 'to store up', τίθεσθαι 'to lay up' instead of ἔχειν. These verbs carry aspectual modulations of the psychological states involved and are more frequent within the texts than the basic light verbs ἔχειν and εἶναι.

Among the three types discussed here, this is the most unmarked option as far as distribution within the texts is concerned. The construction can occur in both prose and verse, and in epic poems and Classical Greek works alike.

2.2. Psychological predicates as subjects: the s-type

As example (1b) clearly illustrates, the psychological noun can occur as a subject as well. In this case, the experiencer occurs as a direct object and the psychological noun can be interpreted as a sort of "personification" of the psychological state. More examples are given below:[5]

4 Cf. Tronci (2009) and Benedetti (2010, 2011) for more detailed accounts and more examples.

5 My account does not include clauses such as the following, in which the subject of the clause is not the experiencer of the psychological state, but the theme/source:
(i) Θε. πολλὴν ἄρ' **ἕξεις μέμψιν**, εἰ δράσεις τόδε. (E. *Heracl*. 974)
'You will be much dispraised if you do so'

(6) a. τῷ δὲ καὶ Αἰνείας ὄνομ᾽ ἔσσεται οὔνεκά **μ᾽ αἰνὸν**
ἔσχεν ἄχος ἕνεκα βροτοῦ ἀνέρος ἔμπεσον εὐνῇ· (*h.Ven*. 198-9)
'his name shall be Aeneas (*Aineias*), because a terrible sorrow (*ainon akhos*) took me, that I fell into a mortal man's bed'

b. οἳ δ᾽ ἦιξας ὀρθῶς, **τοῦτο κἄμ᾽ ἔχει πόθος** (E. *Ion* 572)
'And what you are rightly eager for is also my desire'

c. ἀντιτάξομαι κτενῶν σε. Ετ. **κἀμὲ τοῦδ᾽ ἔρως ἔχει**. (E. *Ph*. 622)
'I will set myself against you for your death. Eteocles**:** I too have the same desire'

I will not dwell further on this point, as I will rely upon the Benedetti (2010), (2011)'s in-depth analysis. In her account, the difference between the DO-type and S-type concerns the different value of the verb ἔχειν, which is a light verb in the first case and a full verb in the second. The fact that ἔχειν is a full verb in the second instance is made clear by its occurrences in the passive form:

(7) a. ἡ δ᾽ ἔβη εἰς ᾽Αΐδαο […] / […] / **ᾧ ἄχεϊ σχομένη**· […] (Od. 11.277-9)
'but she went down to the house of Hades, caught by her own grief'

b. Ὁ μὲν δὴ **ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος** ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. (Hdt. 1.141)[6]
'so he answered them in his anger' [lit. 'caught by his own anger']

This correlation does not exist for the DO-type, for which only the correlation with the copula-clauses is available. Therefore, the S-type can be argued to be really transitive.

From this standpoint, the lexical variation which also involves the S-type should be described in terms of synonymy. See for instance the range of verbs which can occur with the psychological noun ἄχος 'grief' in Homeric poems:[7]

(8) a. **᾽Ατρεΐδην** δ᾽ **ἄχος εἶλε** βοὴν ἀγαθὸν Μενέλαον· (Il. 13.581)

6 The corresponding active form is not attested in my corpus, but later in Plutarch:
(i) ἅμα μὲν ὀργὴ τῆς προδοσίας εἶχε τοὺς ᾽Αθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ δυσθυμία καὶ κατήφεια μεμονωμένους. (Plu. *Them*. 9.4)
'Then the Athenians were seized alike with rage at this betrayal, and with sullen dejection at their utter isolation'.

7 The noun occurs also in the copula-clause type, as illustrated below:
(i) ἀλλά μοι αἰνὸν ἄχος σέθεν ἔσσεται ὦ Μενέλαε (Il. 4.169)
'yet dreadful grief for you will be mine, Menelaus'.

'But the son of Atreus was seized with grief, Menelaus, good at the war cry'

b. Ἦ ῥ' εὖ γιγνώσκων, **Τρῶας δ' ἄχος ἔλλαβε** θυμόν. (Il. 14.475)
'So he spoke, knowing the truth full well, and sorrow seized the hearts of the Trojans'

c. […] ἐπεί **μ' ἄχος αἰνὸν ἱκάνει·** (Il. 19.307)
'since dread grief has come on me'

d. **τὴν δ' ἄχος ἀμφεχύθη** θυμοφθόρον, […] (Od. 4.716)
'on her fell a cloud of soul-consuming grief'

e. […] μάλα πού **μιν ἄχος** φρένας **ἀμφιβέβηκεν**. (Od. 8.541)
'surely grief must have encompassed his heart'

In terms of text distribution, most of the occurrences are found in verse works, i.e. Homeric poems and tragic dramas.

2.3. Psychological predicates as prepositional phrases: the PP*-type*

The first difference between the PP-type and the other types concerns the number of arguments which occur in the basic structure of the clause. Besides the psychological predicate and its first argument (the experiencer), in the PP-type a second argument is also found, that is the theme/source of the psychological state. The experiencer and the theme/source are mandatory arguments which carry the functions of subject and direct object, respectively. The psychological predicate occurs within a prepositional phrase introduced by the prepositions διά and ἐν.[8] More examples are given below:

(9) a. ἐγώ σε καὶ σὸν παῖδα καὶ τύχας σέθεν,
'Εκάβη, **δι' οἴκτου** χεῖρά θ' ἱκεσίαν **ἔχω** (E. *Hec*. 850-1)
'Hecuba, I feel compassion for you and your son and your ill fortune, as well as for your suppliant gesture'

b. Ὑμεῖς δὲ μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε πολιτῶν παράγεσθε μήτε ἐμὲ **δι' ὀργῆς ἔχετε** (Th. 2.64.1)
'But you must not be seduced by citizens like these nor be angry with me'

8 On this type of structures, cf. Kühner and Gerth (1898: §431). On the uses of prepositions in Ancient Greek, cf. Horrocks (1981), Luraghi (2003) and Bortone (2010).

c. μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς **ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ·** (D. *18* 167)
'Especially do I commend you for forming a safer judgment on these matters and for retaining your goodwill toward us'

d. Κῦρος δὲ αὐτὸν […] κάρτα **ἐν πολλῇ προμηθίῃ εἶχε** (Hdt. 1.88.1)
'Cyrus hold him in high consideration'

Like the DO-type, the PP-type correlates with copula-clauses:

(10) a. Οὐ γὰρ **δι' ἔχθρας** οὐδετέρῳ **γενήσομαι·** (Ar. *Ra*. 1412)
'For I will not be on hostile terms with either one'

b. κεἰ γὰρ **δι' ὄχλου** τοῦτ' **ἐστὶ** τοῖς θεωμένοις,
ὅμως ἔχει τερπνόν τι καὶ κωμῳδικόν. (Ar. *Ec*. 888-9)
'all this singing will wear the spectators, but is nevertheless very pleasant and very diverting'

c. ὡς πάντα ποιήσουσι τὰ Σκύθῃσί **ἐστι ἐν ἡδονῇ** (Hdt. 4.139.1)
'that they would do all that the Scythians desired' [lit. 'that was in desire for the Scythians']

The similarity between the DO-type and the PP-type lies in the syntactic functions of the experiencer, which is the so-called dative of possession in copula-clauses and the subject in ἔχειν-clauses. The difference between the two types concerns the other core argument of the structure, that is the subject of the copula-clauses and the direct object of the ἔχειν-clauses. This argument position is filled by the psychological noun in the DO-type, and by the theme/source in the PP-type. In copula-clauses such as (10), the grammatical functions of subject and indirect object are correspondently covered by the arguments of the psychological predicate. The latter occurs within a prepositional phrase and seems to be an adjunct to the clause core. However, this is not the case, because the psychological noun is the semantic predicate on which the arguments of the clause depend.

Prepositional phrases containing psychological nouns can also occur in monoargumental copula-clauses, in which the only argument is the experiencer:

(11) a. οὕτω δ' **ἦν** ὁ Φίλιππος **ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ** (D. *18* 33)
'Philip was so nervous, and so much worried by the fear'

b. ἀλλ᾽ αἰεὶ **διὰ φόβου εἰσὶ** μή ποτε ᾽Αθηναῖοι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔλθωσιν (Th. 6.34.2)
'but it is their constant fear that the Athenians may one day attack their city'

These clauses do not have any correlation with ἔχειν-structures and look like clauses with adjectival predicates. They are significant for this study, because their semantic predicates show the same morphosyntax as those which occur in copula-clauses such as (10). The difference between (11) and (10) lies in the number of arguments. Two arguments occur in copula-clauses which are paralleled by ἔχειν-structures and only one argument occurs in copula-clauses which have no corresponding ἔχειν-structures.

My questions concern both the value of the verb ἔχειν in the third type of structures discussed here, and the syntactic dependence of the so-called dative of possession. Because of its relationship with copula-clauses, the verb ἔχειν could be thought to have the same value as the verb ἔχειν in the DO-type. In both structures there is an inversion of the arguments, the subject of ἔχειν becoming the dative and the object of ἔχειν becoming the nominative. However, this is not entirely the case, because the semantic predicates of the two clauses do not correspond in terms of both their morphosyntax and their argument configurations. In what follows, I will suggest that the form of the semantic predicates which occur in the two patterns (noun vs prepositional phrase) is relevant with respect to the syntactic behaviour of the arguments.

3. Predicate morphosyntax and clause syntax

As I have already said, the basic argumental configuration of psychological predicates involves only one argument, the experiencer, whatever the morphosyntactic nature of the predicate is. Let us compare the examples in (12a-b), in which the predicate is a prepositional phrase, with those in (13) and (14), in which the predicate is a verb and a noun, respectively:

(12) a. καὶ ὁ Ἱππίας **διὰ φόβου** ἤδη μᾶλλον ὢν τῶν τε πολιτῶν πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε (Th. 6.59.2)
'and Hippias, now grown more fearful, put to death many of the citizens'
b. καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγου τὰ πολλὰ καὶ **δι᾽ ὀργῆς** αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις γίγνονται· (Th. 2.11.4)

'and the attacks are generally sudden and furious'

(13) a. μέγαν ὄκνον ἔχω καὶ **πεφόβημαι** / πτηνῆς ὡς ὄμμα πελείας. (S. *Aj.* 139-40)
'then I shrink with great fear and shudder in terror, like the fluttering eye of the winged dove'

b. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς καὶ τὰ δίκαια ποιῶν ὁ δῆμος ἅπας οὕτως **ὠργίσθη** καὶ παρωξύνθη (D. *21* 2)
'But when the whole people, acting honorably and rightly, evinced such anger, such exasperation'

(14) a. **φόβον** δ' οὐκ **ἂν ἔχοις** ἀλλ' ἄλλοις παρέχοις μή τι πάθῃς (X. *Hier*. 11.11)
'Anxiety for your welfare will fall not on yourself, but on others' [lit. 'you do not have anxiety']

b. **ὀργὴν** γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὧν ἔπαθε πολλὴν **ἔχει**. (Ar. *Pax* 659)
'She is too angry at all that they have made her suffer'

When the predicate is a noun, the theme/source argument can occur as either a complement or a dependent clause, as (15a-b) illustrate:[9]

(15) a. οὕτως ἀείμνηστον **τὴν ὀργὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχουσιν** (Isoc. *4* 157)
'so eternal is the wrath which they cherish against the barbarians'

b. θατέρου σχῆμα διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις κυλίνδησιν **ἔχει** πολλὴν ὑποψίαν καὶ **φόβον ὡς ἀγνοεῖ ταῦτα** ἃ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ὡς εἰδὼς ἐσχημάτισται. (Pl. *Sph*. 268a3)
'but the other kind because of their experience in the rough and tumble of arguments, strongly suspect and fear that they are ignorant of the things which they pretend before the public to know'

When the predicate is a verb, the theme/source argument can occur as either an argument (the dative in (16a)) or an adjunct (the prepositional phrase in (16b)), depending on the verbal lexeme. The theme/source may also occur as a subject, e.g. (17). In this case, the experiencer is demoted to direct object and the structure is transitive. The verb shows active inflection and is interpreted as a causative.

(16) a. καίτοι ἐμοὶ τοιούτῳ ἀνδρὶ **ὀργίζεσθε** (Th. 2.60.5)

9 Obviously, it may also be noun-dependent: in this case, it is not a matter of clause syntax, but one of noun phrase syntax.

'and yet you are angry with a man such as me'

b. Δίδαξον, εἰ διδακτόν, ἐξ ὅτου **φοβῇ**. (S. *Tr*. 671)
'Tell me your worries, if they may be told' [lit. 'tell me that because of which you worry']

(17) a. ὥσπερ οὖν ἄνθρωπον ἥκιστ' ἂν **ὀργίζοι** τις (X. *Eq*. 9.2)
'Therefore, just as one is least likely to make a man angry'

b. αἱ μέντοι κάμηλοι **ἐφόβουν** μόνον τοὺς ἵππους (X. *Cyr*. 7.1.48)
'The camels, however, did nothing more than frighten the horses'

The change in clause syntax from intransitive to transitive is not possible within the ἔχειν-clauses. There is no place for the theme/source within the argumental core of the clause, and the theme/source can only occur as an adjunct.[10]

The inclusion of the theme/source within the argumental functions of the clause is possible, however, in the PP-type. Given that the predicate occurs as a prepositional phrase, there are two syntactic positions which are to be filled in both copula-clauses and ἔχειν-clauses. The experiencer and the theme/source are allowed to fill them.

Hence, two different argumental configurations are documented, when the psychological predicate is a prepositional phrase. The first one allows only one argument to occur and is similar to adjectival predicate clauses. In both structures the subject is the experiencer and the verb is the copula. The second argumental configuration allows two arguments to occur and does not resemble any other clause structures. Two different morphosyntactic structures express the biargumental configuration, that with the copula and that with the verb ἔχειν. In the former, the experiencer occurs as the indirect object and the theme/source as the subject. In the latter, the experiencer occurs as the subject and the theme/source as the direct object. The similarity between the two types of copula-clauses is only an apparent one, because their semantic predicates have different argumental configurations.

The difference concerns in particular the value of the so-called dative of possession. Although in both copula-clauses the experiencer occurs as a dative, the syntactic dependency of this dative is not comparable across the two types. The dative depends on the psychological predicate occurring as a nominative in monoargumental copula-clauses, whereas it depends on the prepositional phrase in biargumental copula-

10 There also exist biargumental structures with psychological nouns in object position. However, they do not feature the verb ἔχειν, but the verb ποιεῖν 'to make' with active inflection and are interpreted as causative.

clauses. In these terms, monoargumental copula-clauses are authentic dative of possession structures [[NP (psychological noun, nominative)] [copula] [NP (experiencer, dative)]]. Biargumental copula-clauses, conversely, may be analysed as locative clauses with the following syntactic structure: [[NP (theme/source, nominative)] [copula] [[PP (ἐν/διά + psychological noun)] [NP (experiencer, dative)]]].[11]

From this standpoint, the verb ἔχειν occurring in the corresponding ἔχειν-clauses may be analysed as a syntactic operator which takes as its subject whatever noun phrase complement occurs within a copula-clause (cf. the notion of "opérateur à lien" in Gross 1981).[12] Therefore, its syntactic value is not comparable to that of the verb ἔχειν occurring in DO-type, and *a fortiori* to that of the verb ἔχειν occurring in S-type.

4. Concluding remarks

The first remark concerns the values of the verb ἔχειν. In two of its three possible combinations with a psychological noun, ἔχειν is not a full verb, but appears to be a light verb (in the DO-type) and a syntactic operator (in the PP-type). The systematic correlation with copula-clauses supports this analysis in both non-full verb uses of ἔχειν.

The second remark concerns the relationship between the morphosyntactic nature of the predicate and the grammatical functions of its arguments. Psychological predicates can occur as verbs, nouns, adjectives and prepositional phrases. By comparing nouns and prepositional phrases, I have shown that the former can include only one argument within the core structure, i.e. the experiencer, while the latter can occur in both monoargumental (with experiencer only) and biargumental (with both experiencer and theme/source) structures.

Finally, the third remark concerns the distribution of the three types within the texts. The S-type and the PP-type reveal themselves to be marked, as far as their occurrences within the texts are concerned. The S-type is exclusively found in verse texts, starting from the Homeric poems, and is a syntactic pattern much appreciated by tragic poets. The PP-type, on its part, appears to be typical of the Classical Greek prose: the highest

11 Cf. Tronci (2016), who investigates the function of syntactic operator performed by the verb ἔχειν, by comparing the PP-type with both locative and body-part constructions having a similar syntactic configuration.

12 In his lexico-syntactic analysis of French verbs, Gross (1981: 31) defines the verb *avoir* 'to have' as an *opérateur à lien*: "[*avoir* est] l'opérateur le plus général, dans le sens où il s'applique à toutes sortes de phrases en *être* qui possèdent une position de complément de nom pouvant s'identifier au sujet de *avoir*".

amount of occurrences is found in Thucydides. The DO-type, conversely, is unmarked from the point of view of text distribution: it has been attested since Homeric poems and appears to be alive in Classical Greek as well.

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