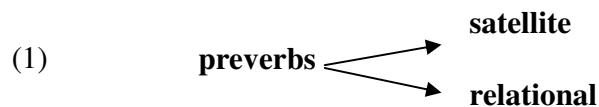


**Affix-order constraints in Path coding:  
About satellites, adpositions and the gradience of categories<sup>1</sup>**

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This talk is about the typology of **space** and the **typology of “satellites”** (Talmy, 2000), originally introduced through the example of English verb particles but including also verbal prefixes, or “**preverbs**”. More specifically, it addresses the existence of **two types of preverbs** crosslinguistically (1):



“Satellite” preverbs are well-known, well-identified and extensively described in the literature, especially for instance in Indo-European languages (such as Germanic and Slavic languages). Conversely, “relational” preverbs are less known and may be defined as being morphologically prefixal but functionally adpositional – for instance by being linked to an oblique argument of the verb and by governing its case. Relational preverbs were originally discussed in Craig & Hale (1988) on the basis of some Amerindian languages, such as Chibchan Rama.

This talk involves a discussion on the gradience of categories within a functional perspective. It specifically addresses the notions of adpositions, satellites and applicatives and shows how relational preverbs and satellite preverbs provide evidence for the existence of a functional continuum between those three notions.

I will address this distinction between these two types of preverbs on the basis of data from Homeric Greek<sup>2</sup> revisited from a typological perspective, using situations of multiple affixation of spatial preverbs, where both types of preverbs are present at the same time in the same construction. More specifically, I will examine two particular issues:

(a) first, I will show how the **fixed order** in which the Homeric preverbs are affixed on the verb stem determines their interpretation as either **satellite preverbs** or **relational preverbs**;

(b) second, I will demonstrate how Homeric Greek attests in synchrony a process of **grammaticalization from relational preverbs to satellite preverbs**, through an intermediary stage where those preverbs function similarly to **applicatives**. This comes as support of similar analysis by Craig on Chibchan Rama (Craig & Hale, 1988).

The analysis proceeds in 4 sections:

- Section 1 provides a preliminary theoretical toolbox. It addresses the notions of satellite preverbs and relational preverbs in terms of Talmy’s distinction between **satellites vs. adpositions**, and in terms of **gradience** of categories. It then relates adpositions and

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<sup>1</sup> This talk was inspired from a more complete paper by Grinevald (a.k.a. Craig) & Imbert (submitted and currently under review) based on a talk at the NRG4 Conference in 2008 (see Grinevald & Imbert in the references).

<sup>2</sup> The Homeric data in this paper was collected from the complete texts of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, through the *Perseus Digital Library* online database (Crane, 1997). *Il.* refers to *Iliad* and *Od.* to *Odyssey*; the first number refers to the number of the book and the second number refers to the number of the verse.

- satellites to a third notion, that of applicative markers, which will be of crucial importance in the analysis of the Homeric data.
- Sections 2 to 4 focus on Homeric Greek. Section 2 defines simple vs. multiple preverbatation.
  - Section 3 shows the affix-order constraints on preverbs in situations of multiple preverbatation and how it determines their syntactic behavior as satellite or relational.
  - Section 4 focuses on relational preverbs and demonstrates how they tend to evolve into applicative-like markers and “satellite-like” preverbs under certain conditions, such as grammaticalization.

## 1. Satellites, adpositions and the gradience of categories

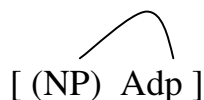
### 1.1. The notion of adposition vs. the notion of satellite

When he defined the notion of “satellite”, Talmy (1991; 2000) made a clear distinction between adpositions and everything that is satellite, such as preverbs or verb particles:

“[...] Satellite is a grammatical category of **any constituent OTHER THAN NOMINAL COMPLEMENT that is in sister relation to the verb root**. The satellite, which can be either a bound affix or a free word, is thus intended to encompass all of the following grammatical forms, which traditionally have been largely treated independently of each other : **English particles**, German separable and inseparable **verb prefixes**, Latin or Russian verb prefixes, Chinese verb complements, Lahu non head ‘versatile verbs, Caddo incorporated nouns, and Atsugewi polysynthetic affixes round the verb root.”  
(Talmy, 1991 : 486; our emphasis)

Adpositions are the head of the construction they form with a noun complement; they introduce it as a verb argument and command its case – if the language attests case declension. Whereas satellites are not linked to any particular argument; instead, they relate to the verb and complement its lexical and/or semantic content; in a verb + satellite construction, the verb is the head:

(2) Adpositions



(3) Satellites



Example (4) illustrates the widespread coexistence in languages of adpositions and satellites, here in a basic Path-coding English sentence; the verb particle *out* is the satellite of the verb *go*, while *into* is a prototypical adposition that introduces the noun complement *the garden*:

(4) Coexistence of adpositions and satellites in English



It is to be noted here that satellites may lexicalize with the verb they relate to; this goes along with a loss of spatial meaning; in the end, the “lexicalized” verb + satellite construction may mean something altogether different from its original spatial meaning. Examples (5a-d) illustrate this common phenomenon in English: in (5a), repeated from (4), *out* works as a prototypical satellite of the verb *run*; in (5b-c), the verb *run out* is a lexicalized particle verb that does not code Path anymore; in (5d), many different kinds of verbs may form lexicalized non spatial particle verbs with *out* and most may work as transitive verbs (they may call an object argument):

(5) Lexicalization of [ ( V Sat ) ] constructions

- a. He ran out into the garden
- b. He ran out on his kids
- c. He ran out of gas
- d. Live out, burn out, turn out, find out...

However crucial is the distinction between adpositions and satellites in Talmy’s definition of satellites, both categories tend to exhibit gradience from one to another when examined in terms of functional categories (cf. deLancey, 2005:186<sup>3</sup>).

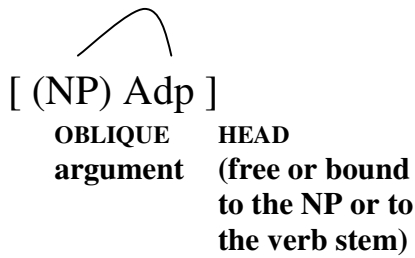
## 1.2. From adpositions to satellites and vice versa

Examples (6)-(7) show examples of surface elements that may *function* like adpositions or satellites in languages; in larger case and framed, relational preverbs and satellite preverbs:

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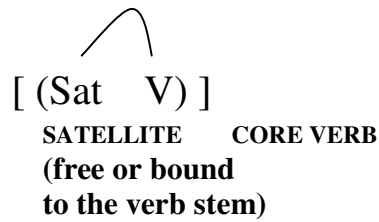
<sup>3</sup> “In the spirit of Croft’s and Givón’s proposals, we may say that it is the *functional categories* which are universal, while languages may vary in the means which they adopt to carry out the functions. But as categories grammaticalize, these various means will tend to show convergent grammaticalization as they adapt to the universal functions.”

(6) Adpositional function



prototypical adposition  
 serialized verb  
 relator noun  
relational preverb

(7) Satellite function



verb particle  
 serialized verb  
 directional  
satellite preverb

These surface elements show syntactic gradience, sometimes changing functions, through processes such as grammaticalization. For instance satellite serialized verbs may grammaticalize into adpositional serialized verbs, or relator nouns may grammaticalize into prototypical adpositions. This talk will focus on phenomena of syntactic gradience between relational preverbs and satellite preverbs. And such phenomena involves yet another important notion, that of **applicative markers** and applicative voice.

1.3. The notion of applicatives

“Applicative” refers to a grammatical voice which **promotes an oblique argument of a verb to the role of (core) object argument**, while indicating the oblique role within the meaning of the verb. Template (8) and example (9) illustrate a syntactic situation involving an applicative marker (APPL in the template and the morpheme *-ho* in the example); in the Kinyarwanda example, syntactic tests to show how *ishuuri* ‘school’ is syntactically a direct object of the verb.

(8) Applicative construction



(9) Kinyarwanda (Bantu; Kimenyi, 1980; taken from Payne, 1997:188)

Umw'aalimu y-oohere-jé-**ho** ishuuri igitabo  
 teacher he-send-ASP-LOC school book  
 ‘The teacher sent the book to the school’

The role of this notion of applicative will be important in section 4 where grammaticalization processes of path morphemes will be addressed.

## 2. Preverbs in Homeric Greek

Homeric Greek attests a system of well-described morphemes expressing spatial or non-spatial relations; they may be syntactically either (a) prototypical adpositions or (b) preverbs – attesting also a residual adverbial behavior that for the sake of relevance will not be addressed here. Table 1 shows an inventory of 17 such morphemes with their spatial meaning, and labelled here “Path morphemes”.

Table 1 – Inventory of Path morphemes in Homeric Greek<sup>4</sup>

Path morphemes	Spatial meaning
<i>amphí</i>	around
<i>aná</i>	up
<i>apó</i>	off
<i>antí</i>	against
<i>diá</i>	through
<i>eis</i>	to
<i>ek</i>	out
<i>en</i>	in
<i>epí</i>	at
<i>hupér</i>	above
<i>hupó</i>	under
<i>katá</i>	down
<i>metá</i>	amid
<i>pará</i>	beside
<i>perí</i>	around
<i>pró</i>	forth
<i>pros</i>	forth (from in front)

The syntactic behavior of these Path morphemes is as follows:

- (a) when prototypical adpositions, they are linked to an argument and command its case;
- (b) when preverbs, they are satellites of the verb

They may interact with three different cases affecting the verb argument. It is to be noted that each case can have both an argument-marking function and a Path-coding function. Table 2 shows these three cases along with both functions. The accusative case appears in **bold** because it is the case which will be of particular importance in this talk:

Table 2 – Three cases and their main functions in Homeric Greek

Case	Main argument-marking function	Main Path-coding function
<b>Accusative</b>	<b>object marking</b>	<b>direction ‘to, toward’</b>
Genitive	noun complement marking	direction ‘from’
Dative	attribution marking	Localization ‘in’

<sup>4</sup> This inventory, for the sake of brevity here, excludes a set of “compound Path morphemes”, which are addressed in Imbert (2008).

## 2.1. Adpositions and cases

Table 3 shows the possible interaction between each of the Path morphemes presented in Table 1 and the three cases presented in Table 2 when they behave as adpositions. Note that some of these adpositions can command all three cases while others command only one:

Table 3 – Homeric Path morphemes and the cases they command as adpositions

Path morphemes	Spatial meaning	Case(s) commanded as adposition
<i>apó</i>	off	Gen
<i>antí</i>	against	Gen
<i>eis</i>	to	Acc
<i>ek</i>	out	Gen
<i>en</i>	in	Dat
<i>pró</i>	forth	Gen
<i>diá</i>	through	Acc/Gen
<i>hupér</i>	above	Acc/Gen
<i>katá</i>	down	Acc/Gen
<i>amphí</i>	around	Acc/Gen/Dat
<i>aná</i>	up	Acc/Gen/Dat
<i>epí</i>	at	Acc/Gen/Dat
<i>metá</i>	amid	Acc/Gen/Dat
<i>pará</i>	beside	Acc/Gen/Dat
<i>perí</i>	around	Acc/Gen/Dat
<i>hupó</i>	under	Acc/Gen/Dat
<i>prós</i>	forth (from in front)	Acc/Gen/Dat

Example (10) shows a Path morpheme functioning as adposition:

- (10) (Il. 11.623)  
**es** klisíe:n elthóntes  
**to** hut:ACC go:PART.AOR.NOM.PL  
 ‘They went into the hut’


When they behave as preverbs, these Path morphemes may occur in simple preverbatum constructions as satellite preverbs but also as relational preverbs. They may also occur in multiple preverbatum constructions, where each morpheme’s ability at being satellite or relational is constrained by affix-order issues.

## 2.2. Simple preverbatum: relational preverbs or satellite preverbs

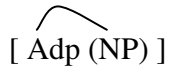

In simple preverbatum, Homeric preverbs may function as satellites (satellite preverbs) or as adpositions (relational preverbs). When functioning as satellites, the introduction of an oblique argument (in *italic*) requires the use of an adposition; several oblique arguments may be introduced that way:

(11) Satellite preverbs in simple preverbatation

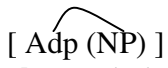
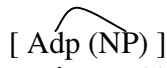
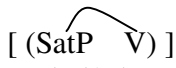
- a. No oblique argument (Il. 14.169)


  
 énth' hé:            g'    **eis-elthoûsa**  
 there she:NOM    LNK    to-go:PART.AOR.NOM  
 'Therein she entered'

- b. With an oblique argument (Il. 13.756-757)



  
 hoì d'                    **es** [...] *Pouludámanta* pántes    **ep-esseúont'**  
 DEM:NOM.PL LNK    to [...] *Polydamas:ACC*    all:NOM.PL    at-rush:MID.IMPF.3PL  
 'And they rushed all **toward** [...] Polydamas'

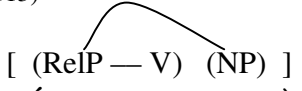
- c. With several oblique arguments (Il. 6.42)




  
 autòs d'            **ek** *díphroio*    **parà** *trokhòn*    **ex-ekulísthe:**  
 DEM.NOM LNK    out.of    chariot:GEN    by    wheel:ACC    out-roll: PASS.AOR.3SG  
 But he **rolled from out** the chariot **beside** the wheel

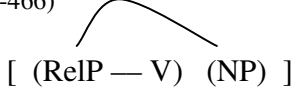
When functioning as adpositions, the preverbs directly introduce the verb argument and control its case:

(12) Relational preverbs in simple preverbatation

- a. (Il. 16.112-113)


  
 pûr            **ém-pese**    *ne:usìn*    Akhaiôn  
 fire:NOM    in-fall:AOR.3SG    ship:DAT.PL    Achaean:GEN.PL  
 'Fire fell **into** the ships of the Achaeans'

- b. (Il. 12.465-466)


  
 hót'            **es-âlto**            *púlas*  
 when    to-spring:AOR.3SG    door:ACC.PL  
 'When he leapt **to** the gates'

In cases of multiple preverbatation, the function of the preverbs is constrained by affix-order issues: only the preverb closest to the verb stem behaves as a *bona fide* satellite.

### 3. Multiple preverbatation: relational preverbs vs. satellite preverbs

#### 3.1. Definition

Multiple preverbatation is a situation when the verb takes two different Path preverbs or more. Multiple preverbatation is illustrated in the template in (13) below:

(13) Template for multiple preverbatation

[PV2- PV1- V]

Examples (14a-c) contrast cases of simple preverbatation in (14b-b'), with one of multiple preverbatation in (14c):

(14) Verb prefixation in Homeric Greek

- a. Non-prefixed verb  
baíno:  
walk  
'To walk'
- b. Simple preverbatation    b'. Simple preverbatation  
ana-baíno:                    eis-baíno:  
up-walk                        to-walk  
'To walk up'                    'To walk to'
- c. Multiple preverbatation  
**eis**-ana-baíno:  
**to**-up-walk  
'To walk up to'

Interestingly now, the affix order of the preverbs on the verb stem constraints their syntactic behavior in the construction: the preverb closest to the verb stem (PV1) functions as a satellite preverb and the preverb farthest from the verb stem functions as a relational preverb.

#### 3.2. Affix-order constraints: relational vs. satellite preverbs

Examples (15) and (16) compare simple and multiple preverbatation in two Homeric sentences; in (15), the preverb *kata-* works as a satellite preverb while the preverb *en-* functions as an adposition by introducing the oblique argument sheath:

(15) (Il. 18.231ff)

Akhaioì	aspasío:s	Pátroklon [...]
Achaean:NOM.PL	gladly	Patroclus:ACC
<b>kát</b> -thesan	<b>en</b>	lekhéssi
<b>down</b> -lay:AOR.3PL	<b>in</b>	couch:DAT.PL

'But the Achaeans with gladness [...] laid Patroclus **down on** a bier'

In (16), the same Path morphemes occur in a multiple preverbation configuration. Each preverb has its own function: *kata-* is preverb and functions as a satellite (SatP) while *en-* is also a preverb and functions as an adposition by introducing the oblique argument *sheath* and controlling its case (RelP):

- (16) (Od. 11.98)
- |           |                    |            |   |
|-----------|--------------------|------------|---|
| xíphos    | arguróe:lon        | kouleô:i   | <b>en-kat-épe:x'</b>                    |
| sword:ACC | silver-studded:ACC | sheath:DAT | <b>RelP/in-SatP/down-thrust:AOR.1SG</b> |
- 'I thrust my silver-studded sword **down into** its sheath'

Examples (17) and (18) show how such multiple preverbation is syntactically productive, by occurring in various syntactic and word-order configurations<sup>5</sup>:

(17) The controlled oblique argument [ARG<sub>i</sub>] precedes the multiprefixed construction [RelP<sub>i</sub>-SatP-V]

- a. [ARG<sub>i</sub> # RelP<sub>i</sub>-SatP-V] (Il. 8.291)
- |         |          |         |                                |
|---------|----------|---------|--------------------------------|
| toi     | homòn    | lékhos  | <b>eis-ana-báinoi</b>          |
| 2SG:DAT | same:ACC | bed:ACC | <b>to-up-walk:OPT.PRES.3SG</b> |
- '(A woman that) shall go up into thy bed'
- b. [ARG<sub>i</sub> # y # RelP<sub>i</sub>-SatP-V] (Il. 23.683)
- |            |     |         |         |                                  |
|------------|-----|---------|---------|----------------------------------|
| zdô:ma     | dè  | hoi     | prô:ton | <b>para-káb-balen</b>            |
| girdle:ACC | LNK | DEM:DAT | first   | <b>beside-down-throw:AOR.3SG</b> |
- 'A girdle first he cast about him'
- c. [ARG:N<sub>i</sub> # RelP<sub>i</sub>-SatP-V # ARG:Adj<sub>i</sub>] (Il. 17.708)
- |                      |     |     |             |                              |              |         |     |              |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-------------|------------------------------|--------------|---------|-----|--------------|
| keînon               | mèn | dè: | ne:usîn     | <b>epi-pro-ée:ka</b>         | thoê:isin    | eltheîn | eis | Akhilê:a     |
| the.person.there:ACC | LNK | LNK | ship:DAT.PL | <b>at-forth-send:AOR.1SG</b> | swift.DAT.PL | go:INF  | to  | Achilles:ACC |
- 'Yon man have I verily sent forth to the swift ships, to go to Achilles'

(18) The controlled oblique argument [ARG<sub>i</sub>] follows the multiprefixed construction [RelP<sub>i</sub>-SatP-V]

- a. [RelP<sub>i</sub>-SatP-V # ARG<sub>i</sub>] (Od. 16.449)
- |         |     |     |                           |                   |            |
|---------|-----|-----|---------------------------|-------------------|------------|
| hê      | mèn | ár' | <b>eis-ana-bâs'</b>       | huperó:ia         | sigalóenta |
| REL:NOM | LNK | LNK | <b>to-up-walk:AOR.3SG</b> | upper_chamber:DAT | bright:DAT |
- 'So she went up to her bright upper chamber'
- b. [RelP<sub>i</sub>-SatP-V # ARG # ARG<sub>i</sub>] (Od. 12.306)
- |                      |                |          |
|----------------------|----------------|----------|
| ex-ap-ébe:san        | etaîroi        | ne:ós    |
| out-off-walk:AOR.3PL | comrade:NOM.PL | ship:GEN |
- 'And my comrades went out from the ship'

There is a morphosyntactic argument that works as evidence that the RelP always has an adpositional function, and never a satellite function. While simple preverbation allows for the use of an adposition on the oblique argument, the oblique argument of a multiple preverbation

<sup>5</sup> *Addendum to the original handout*: for the sake of brevity, some rare yet relevant cases of zero-anaphora of the oblique argument are not addressed in this talk.

construction is NEVER<sup>6</sup> introduced by an adposition, arguably because the RelP already syntactically introduces that argument.

Thus, the SatP, closest to the verb stem, always functions as a satellite, while the RelP, farthest from the verb stem and closest to the verb argument, seems to always function as an adposition introducing that argument. However, the RelP may endure grammaticalization and lexicalization into the verb stem, thereby changing its function.

#### 4. Grammaticalization of the RelP: adpositions, satellites and applicatives as a continuum

Revisiting these multiple preverbal constructions in a grammaticalization approach reveals in Homeric Greek the synchronic co-occurrence of both ends of a grammaticalization process of the RelP, from cliticized RelP to lexicalized RelP. This is in direct continuation of a similar grammaticalization continuum described by Craig in Rama (Craig & Hale, 1988).

##### 4.1. Cliticized relational preverbs

The RelP may be simply cliticized (19a-b). This process is productive and no semantic bleaching occurs: each part of the construction (RelP, SatP and V) conveys its own meaning. Syntactically, the RelP commands the case it would have commanded as an adposition:

(19) Cliticized RelP

a. (Il. 13.87)

toì	<i>méga</i>	<i>teíkhos</i>	<b>huper</b> -kat-ebe:san	homílo:i
DEM:NOM.PL	<i>great:ACC</i>	<i>wall:ACC</i>	<b>RelP/over</b> -SatP/down-walk:AOR.3PL	throng:DAT

‘(The Trojans) who had got down over the great wall in their multitude’

b. (Od. 16.449)

hê mèn ár’	<b>eis</b> -ana-bâs’	<i>huperó:ïa</i>	<i>sigalóenta</i>
REL:NOM LNK LNK	<b>RelP/to</b> -SATP/up-walk:AOR.3SG	<i>upper_chamber:ACC</i>	<i>bright:ACC</i>

‘So she went up to her bright upper chamber’

If these occurrences of cliticized RelP correspond to an early stage of the grammaticalization of the RelP element, a stage of strong lexicalization of the [RelP-SatP-V] construction is also attested in the Homeric data.

##### 4.2. Lexicalized relational preverbs

The RelP may also be found lexicalized into the [RelP-SatP-V] construction, where both SatP and RelP function as “lexicalized satellites”.

<sup>6</sup> An adposition will of course be used when a “secondary” oblique argument is added to the verb, for example to introduce a second portion of Path in the spatial situation. Thus in (18b), if one wants to add an argument like “from her own bed”, an adposition (like *ek* ‘out’) will be necessary to introduce this second NP [her own bed], as the verb *eis-ana-báino*: ‘to go up to’ is unable to do so, semantically (it does not contain any Source-coding Path morpheme) and syntactically (its RELP *eis*- ‘to’ is already linked to a NP, namely [thy bed])

Three observations can be used as evidence to demonstrate this claim: (a) this process is not productive; (b) the RelP is semantically bleached, in the sense that the semantics of the RelP cannot be distinguished from the semantics of the whole construction anymore – or becomes less distinguishable, its lexicalization being a matter of degree; (c) the syntax of the [RelP-SatP-V] construction changes. If the construction is intransitive, there is, as expected, no verb argument. However, if the construction is transitive, the verb argument to which the RelP is syntactically linked now takes the object-marking case, i.e. the accusative case, even if the involved RelP cannot command the accusative case when used as an adposition.

Thus, in examples (20) and (21), the lexicalized construction *apó-aná-ainómai* ‘to deny’ may be intransitive (20) or transitive (21). In (21), the argument linked to the RelP is treated as the direct object, and as such takes the accusative case. This occurs although the Path morpheme *apó* ‘off’ is normally used exclusively with the genitive case:

(20) [RelP- SatP-V] (Il. 7.185)

hoì d’ ou	gignó:skontes	<b>ape:né:nanto</b>	hékastos
		<b>RelP/apó-SatP/aná-ainanto</b>	
DEM:NOM LNK NEG	know:PART.PRES.NOM	deny:MID.AOR.3PL	every_one:NOM

‘But they knew it not, and everyone denied (it)’

(21) [[RelP-SatP-V] + OBJ-acc] (Od. 10.297)

éntha sù	me:két’ épeit’	<b>apané:nasthai</b>
		<b>RelP/apó-SatP/aná-ainasthai</b>
LNK 2SG.NOM	no_more LNK	deny:MID.AOR.INF

theoû	<i>euné:n</i>
god:GEN	<i>couch:ACC</i>

‘Then do not thou thereafter refuse the couch of the goddess’

It should be noted that examples (20) and (21) illustrate a case of complete lexicalization in which the verb stem does not exist by itself anymore. Here, the verb *apó-aná-ainómai* ‘to deny’ is built on the stem *\*ainomai* ‘to take away, to rob of’, which is not attested on its own in the data. So the [SatP-V] construction *aná-ainómai* is already fully lexicalized, and the [REL P-SatP-V] construction *apó-aná-ainómai* shows similar evidence of complete lexicalization.

Thus, Homeric Greek clearly attests a grammaticalization process of the RelP and a change in its function from adposition to satellite. But the Homeric data might also provide evidence for an intermediary stage that could be analyzed as a stage of incorporation of the RelP, in which the RelP functions as an applicative marker.

### 4.3. Incorporated relational preverbs

Examples (22) and (23) may appear on the surface to resemble the above examples (20) and (21), in that the multiprefixed verb is used with a verb argument marked as an object, i.e. with the accusative of object:

- (22) (Il. 10.198)  
*táphron d' ek-dia-bántes oruktè:n*  
*ditch:ACC LNK RelP/out-SatP/through walk:PART.AOR.3PL digged:ACC*  
'So they walked through and out (from) the digged ditch'

- (23) (Il. 24.97)  
*aktè:n d' ex-ana-bâsai*  
*shore:ACC LNK RelP/out-SatP/up-walk:PART.PRES.3PL*  
'And when they had stepped forth upon the beach...'

However, examples (22) and (23) represent a syntactic situation that is problematic for two reasons:

- (a) The verbs *ek-dia-baíno:* and *ek-ana-baino:* are not lexicalized verbs: they are perfectly transparent as to their spatial meaning. The verb *baíno:* means 'to walk' and each preverb codes a different portion of Path; thus, this is *not* a case of RelP lexicalization.
- (b) One would then expect the use of the genitive case on the verb argument because of the RelP *ek-* 'out of', which can only be used with the genitive when used as an adposition (as shown in section 1). But the accusative of object is used here instead; thus, this is *not* a case of RelP cliticization either.

One can therefore take examples (22) and (23) as attesting the existence in Homeric Greek of a stage of syntacticization of the RelP, corresponding to an intermediate stage between those of cliticization and lexicalization. These examples can be considered as instances of applicative-like constructions, with a RelP taken to be incorporated and to function like an applicative marker, such as what can be found in other languages of the world.

Only a few clear examples like the two given in (22) and (23) could be found in the data, but further investigation might reveal more evidence of the existence of incorporated RelP in Homeric Greek, and allow for a further study of their syntactic behavior and possible productivity limitations.

#### 4. Conclusion

Therefore, when revisited in a typological perspective, Homeric Greek provides interesting data for recent studies on the typology of Path coding and satellites. Twenty years after Craig & Hale's study on relational preverbs, part of which was on Chibchan Rama, Homeric Greek attests complementary evidence for the widespread existence of relational preverbs vs. satellite preverbs and for the way relational preverbs may grammaticalize into satellite preverbs. Moreover, it supports Craig's claim of an intermediary stage of incorporation between cliticization and lexicalization, by providing syntactic evidence for an applicative behavior of the preverb.

More yet can be said about the Homeric system of relational preverbs described, which could not be addressed here for the sake of brevity. In particular, about a claim (Imbert, 2008) that the emergence and evolution of the Homeric relational preverbs are in fact semantically- and conceptually-driven. This claim relies on two arguments. First, there are clear semantic

constraints (cf. Bybee, 1985) on the order of the preverbs that are affixed on the verb stem. These constraints consist of conceptual distinctions between the different portions of Path coded by the different preverbs. Second, not all of the RelP in Homeric Greek reach the same degree of grammaticalization, from cliticized to lexicalized RelP, depending on what portion of Path they code; for instance, Goal morphemes tend to never and barely lexicalize at all.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

1	1 <sup>st</sup> person	LNK	discursive element
2	2 <sup>nd</sup> person	MID	middle voice
3	3 <sup>rd</sup> person	NEG	negation
ACC	accusative	OPT	optative
AOR	aorist	PART	participle
DAT	dative	PASS	passive voice
DEM	demonstrative	PF	perfect
DL	dual	PL	plural
FUT	future	POSS	possessive
GEN	genitive	PPF	pluperfect
IMPER	imperative	PRES	present
IMPF	imperfect		

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