

Appendix

1. Lexical adjectives, i.e. [adjective]-Agr

Total: 107 types for 304

1.1 Simple adjectives

Total: 48 types for 183 tokens

1.1.1 Simple *e/o*-adjectives

Total: 39 types for 132 tokens

ἀγλαός ‘splendid’ ¹	4
ἀδινός ‘close, thick, crowded’ ²	1
αἰνός ‘dread, horrible’ ³	1
ἄλλος ‘other’	16
ἀργαλέος ‘painful’	1
ἀργός ‘shining’ ⁴	1
γραῖος (i.e. γρήϊος) ‘old’ ⁵	1
δειλός ‘coward, vile’ ⁶	1
δῖος ‘divine’ ⁷	11
ἐσθλός ‘good’	4
έτοῖμος ‘at hand, ready, prepared’	1
ἡέριος ‘early’ ⁸	1
ἱερός ‘holy’	6
ἴσος (or ἔϊσος) ‘equal’	3
ἰφθιμος ‘strong’	1
κακός ‘bad’	8
καλός ‘beautiful’	13
κεδνός ‘careful, diligent, trusty’ ⁹	2
κελαινός ‘black’	1
κοῖλος ‘forming a hollow’ ¹⁰	1

¹ Probably from *ἀγλα-ρός. It may be connected to γαλήνη ‘stillness of the sea, calmness’ and to ἀγάλλομαι ‘I rejoice’ (EDG 13).

² Probably connected with ἄδην ‘enough’, maybe from the root *seh₂- ‘to satisfy’ with an enlargement in -δ- (an enlargement in -t- is found in Lat. *satis* ‘enough’ and Goth. *saps* ‘satiated’) (GEW 21).

³ Probably from *h₂i-no- found in Skt. *inā-* ‘strong’ (EWA I, 191) and Skt. *énas-* ‘crime’ (EDG 40).

⁴ It is from *ἀργ-ρός (see Skt. *ṛji-rá-*) with haplology.

⁵ It is from γραῖος ‘old woman’ (*γρᾱῖ-ια) with the suffix -ῖh₂-, but it cannot be formed on γραῖος due to formal reasons.

⁶ Probably originally *δφει-λός, a -λο- stem connected with δέος < δφείος ‘fear’. Alternatively, from *δεελός < *dejh₁-(e)lo-, connected with Skt. *dīnā-* ‘weak, minor, miserable’ < *dih₁-no- (EDG 309).

⁷ From *diu-ῖHo-, found in Skt. *divyā-* ‘heavenly’ and Lat. *dīvus* ‘godlike’ (EDG 338).

⁸ It is related to ἡρι ‘early’, but the vocalism of the adjective is irregular.

⁹ It can be a *no-adjective formally, but *κέδ- is not attested as such and the connection with κήδομαι ‘I care’ (EDG 663), even if plausible, is only diachronic, given the different length of the vowels.

¹⁰ Probably originally *κόφι-λος, perhaps a derivative in -λο- from the same root of κόοι ‘the depths of the earth’ (Hes.) and κύαρ ‘eye of a needle, orifice in the ear’, found also in Arm. *soyl* ‘cavity’, Lat. *cavus* ‘hollow’, PGm. *hula- ‘id.’ and Mlr. *cúia* ‘id.’ (EDG 730ff.).

κραναός ‘rocky, rugged’ ¹¹	1
κύανος ‘dark-blue’	1
λάσιος ‘shaggy, wholly’	1
λευκός ‘white, shining’ ¹²	1
μαλακός ‘soft’ ¹³	3
μύριος ‘numberless, infinite’	1
νέο(τερο)ς ‘new’ ¹⁴	2
ξανθός ‘yellow’	3
οἶος ‘alone’ ¹⁵	1
οἶος ‘such as, of what sort’	1
ὀλίγος ‘little’	2
ὅλος ‘whole’ ¹⁶	1
πινυτός ‘prudent’	1
ποικίλος ‘many-coloured, spotted’ ¹⁷	1
πολιός ‘grey’	2
πρῶτος ‘first’ ¹⁸	3
σοό(τερο)ς ‘safe’ ¹⁹	2
φίλος ‘dear, friend, own’	26
χαλεπός ‘difficult’	1
Tot.	132

1.1.2 Simple ης-adjectives

Total: 2 types for 2 tokens

ἀπηνής ‘ungentle, rough’	1
σαφής ‘clear, plain, distinct’	1
Tot.	2

1.1.3 Simple adjectives of miscellaneous form

Total: 7 types for 49 tokens

¹¹ Perhaps originally *κρανα-φός. The traditional connection with κράτος ‘bodily strength’ has not been explained formally (EDG 771).

¹² Probably a deverbal formation from the root *leuk- ‘be bright, become bright’, identical with Skt. *rocá-* ‘bright’. From the same root *o*-grade deverbal nouns are found in Skt. *loká-* ‘free space, world’, Lat. *lūcus* ‘glade’, Lith. *laukas* ‘field’, OHG *lōh* ‘overgrown glade’ (EDG 850).

¹³ Connected with βλάξ ‘stolid’, both from the root *melh₂-k- ‘to grind’ (EDG 896).

¹⁴ Originally *νε-φος, identical to Skt. *náva-*, Hitt. *neṃa-*, Lat. *novus*, OCS *novъ*, ToB *ñuwe*, ToA *ñu*, all from *newo-. It is probable that *newo- derives from *nu- ‘now’ (EDG 1009).

¹⁵ Originally *οι-φος from *Hoi-μο-, which gives Av. *aēuua-* and OP *aiva-* ‘id.’ (EDG 1060).

¹⁶ Originally *ὀλ-φος from *sol(H)-μο-, which gives Skt. *sárva-* and Av. *hauruua-* ‘whole’ (EDG 1072).

¹⁷ Derivative in -ίλος from an unattested *ποικ-, which compares to Skt. *pésa-* ‘ornament’, Av *paēsa-* ‘leprosy’, Lith. *paĩšas* ‘smut’. All these forms come from the *o*-stem *poik-o- of the verbal root *pik-, which is found in OCS *pъsati* ‘to write’, Skt. *pimśati* ‘he carves’, Lat. *pingo* ‘I stitch with a needle, I paint’ (EDG 1216ff.).

¹⁸ It is related to πρό ‘in front of’, but the lengthening of the vowel is exceptional and the suffix -to- does not build adjectives from prepositions as a rule

¹⁹ Probably, it stands for σαός after σῶς, which is its contracted form: σαός < *σαφός < PIE *tweh₂-u- (Skt. *távas-vānt-* ‘strong’, pf. *tutāva*); alternatively, it arose from metrical lengthening (EDG 1441). The verbs related to this adjective are secondary and show only the stems σα-/σω- (aor. σαῶσαι, aor.pass. σωθήναι).

γέρων ‘old’	2
ἔλιξ ‘twisted, curved’	1
μάκαρ ‘blest, fortunate’	4
μέγας ‘big’	10
μέλας ‘black’	8
πᾶς ‘every’	23
πίων ‘fat’	1
Tot.	49

1.2 Underived adjectives with internal structure

Total: 59 types for 121 tokens

1.2.1 Underived *ro-* adjectives

Total: 8 types for 14 tokens

ἄκρος (and ἀκρότατος) ‘topmost’	1
ἀταρτηρός ‘mischievous, baneful’	1
λιπαρός ‘oily, shiny with oil’ ²⁰	1
λυγρός ‘baneful, mournful’	2
μακρός ‘long’ ²¹	5
ὀτρηρός ‘quick, nimble, busy, ready’ ²²	2
στιβαρός ‘strong, stout, sturdy’	1
ὕγρος ‘wet, moist’	1
Tot.	14

1.2.2 Underived *u-* adjectives

Total 14 types for 54 tokens

αἰπύς ‘high and steep’	2
βαθύς ‘deep’	1
βαρύς ‘heavy’	3
βριθύς ‘heavy’	1
γλυκύς (and γλυκίων) ‘sweet’	2
εὐρύς ‘wide’	8
ἡδύς ‘sweet’ ²³	1
ἰθύς ‘straight’ ²⁴	1
κρατύς (and κράτερος, κάρτιστος) ‘strong’	7

²⁰ It is related to λίπα ‘fat, gleaming’ and λίπος ‘fat’ (both from *lip- < PIE *leyp- ‘to stick’, see Skt. *rip-* ‘defilement, deceit’ and *répas-* ‘stain, dirt’), but *-ro- adjectives built on nouns are not found in the sample. Thus, λιπαρός was listed as a lexical adjective with internal structure (EDG 864).

²¹ The root *mak- can be reconstructed, given μάσσων ‘bigger’ < *mak-yon- and μάκρος ‘bigness’, but it is not the base for any productive word-formation in Greek.

²² The root *otr- can be reconstructed, given ὀτρύνω ‘I steer up, encourage’, but the verb is secondary and does not represent a suitable input form for building the adjective ὀτρηρός (EDG 1123).

²³ From the root *sueh₂d- ‘to make tasteful’ (cf. Ved. *svádati* ‘he makes tasteful’) also found in ἀνδάνω ‘I please’ and ἡδομαι ‘I enjoy’ (EDG 510).

²⁴ Uncertain etymology (EDG 583).

λιγύς ‘clear’ ²⁵	1
ὀξύς ‘sharp, keen’ ²⁶	1
πολύς ‘many’ ²⁷	18
ταχύς ‘swift’ ²⁸	2
ὠκύς ‘fast’	6
Tot.	54

1.2.3 Underived comparative and superlative **ison-/isto-/tero-*adjectives

Total: 11 types for 19 tokens

ἀμείνων ‘better’	1
ἀρείων ‘better’	1
ἄριστος ‘best’ ²⁹	3
δεύτατος ‘the last’ ³⁰	1
ἔσχατος ‘uttermost’ ³¹	1
κρείσσων ‘stronger’	1
κρείων ‘stronger’ ³²	6
λωΐων (and λωΐτερος) ‘better’	2
μείζων ‘bigger’	1
ὔστερος ‘latter’ ³³	1
φέρτερος ‘stronger’	1
χερείων ‘worst, inferior’	1
Tot.	19

1.2.4 Underived ex-compound adjectives

Total: 7 types for 8 tokens

ἀγήνωρ ‘manly, heroic’ ³⁴	2
ἀλφιστής ‘grain-eating, earners, enterprising’	1
ἅπας ‘all’ ³⁵	1
ἐρίηρος ‘faithful, trusty’ ³⁶	1
θεσπέσιος ‘divine’	1

²⁵ Uncertain etymology (EDG 861).

²⁶ Uncertain etymology (EDG 1089).

²⁷ From the root **pelh₁-* ‘to fill’ also found in *πιμπλήμι* ‘I fill’ (EDG 1221).

²⁸ Uncertain etymology (EDG 1456).

²⁹ It is connected with *ἀρι-* ‘good’ (*ἀρί-γνωτος* ‘well-known, famous’), but cannot be formed on it synchronically.

³⁰ The suffix *-τατος* is clear (see *δεύτερος* ‘later’), but the root **δεύ-* is not attested as such.

³¹ It is the superlative of *ἐξ* with a metathesis (see *ἐγκατα* ‘entrails’ from *ἐν*), but the aspiration of the velar is unclear (EDG 473).

³² It is from **kreyH-is-on-*, which shows the same PIE root found in Skt. *śrī-* ‘magnificence, splendour’, but the stem **κρείς* is not attested as such (EDG 774).

³³ It is the comparative of **ud* ‘on high, up, out’ (see Skt. *úttara-* ‘upper, higher’), but **ud* is not continued in Greek (EDG 1539).

³⁴ It is from *ἄγω* ‘I lead’ (or *ἄγαν* ‘very much’) and **h₂ner-* ‘man, hero’ (Gk. *άνήρ*) with the *ō*-grade, but the formation is not transparent synchronically.

³⁵ It is from **sem-* ‘one’ and *πᾶς* ‘all’ (EDG 113), but the formation is opaque synchronically.

³⁶ From the frozen first constituent *ἐπι-* ‘much’, etymologically connected with *ὀρνυμι* ‘I stir up, rouse’ and *ἥρ* ‘service’ (EDG 457).

θέσπις ‘filled with the words of God, inspired’	1
ὄρεσκῶς ‘living on the mountains’ ³⁷	1
Tot.	8

1.2.5 Underived ex-prefixed adjectives

Total: 7 types for 11 tokens

ἄϊστος ‘unseen’	1
ἄλαστος ‘not to be forgotten, insufferable’	1
ἀμύμων ‘incomparable’	4
ἀπείρων ‘boundless, endless’ ³⁸	2
δύστηνος ‘unhappy, wretched’ ³⁹	1
νημερτής ‘unerring, infallible’ ⁴⁰	1
νήπιος ‘infant’	1
Tot.	11

1.2.6 Underived adjectives of miscellaneous form

Total: 9 types for 11 tokens

αἰμύλος ‘wheedling, winning’	1
ἀκαχμένος ‘sharp-edged’ ⁴¹	1
ἄλκιμος ‘stout, brave’ ⁴²	1
ἀνεκτός ‘tolerable’ from ἀνέχω ‘I lift, I tolerate’ ⁴³	1
εὐκηλος ‘free from cure, at one’s ease’ ⁴⁴	1
ἡμαθόεις ‘sandy’ ⁴⁵	1
ὁμοιος ‘same, similar’	1
ὑπατος ‘highest, uppermost’ ⁴⁶	1
ὕψηλός ‘high, lofty’	3
Tot.	11

³⁷ It is from ὄρος ‘mountain’, with the *e*-grade, and κείμεαι ‘I lie down to rest’, with the *o*-grade and metrical lengthening (see Skt. -śay-á-, GED 1099). However, the formation is not transparent synchronically.

³⁸ Gk. ἀπείρων ‘boundless, endless’ and ἄπειρος ‘id.’ are from ἀ- ‘not’ and the root **perh₁-* ‘to traverse, pass through’ which is found also in πείραρ ‘end, limit’ and πέρας ‘end’ (Belardi 2002: II, 5-85 for the semantic shift). However, neither πείραρ nor πέρας can be the synchronic bases on which ἀπείρων is built.

³⁹ It literally means ‘who has a bad standing’ from δυσ- and the **-no-* adjective of **steh₂-* ‘to stand’ (Gk. ἵστημι); however, the meaning is not transparent and neither **δυσίστημι*, nor **στηνός* are attested in Greek.

⁴⁰ It is from **η-* and **ἀμαρτης* (see ἀμαρτάνω ‘I miss the mark, fail’), while νήπιος ‘infant’ from **η-h₂p-iyō-*, from the same PIE root found in Gk. ἄπτω ‘I attach, grasp’; but the link with ἄπτω is only diachronic.

⁴¹ Gk. ἀκαχμένος ‘sharp-edged’ is the middle participle of the reduplicated stem ἀκαχ-, but the root **αχ-* is not attested.

⁴² It shows the suffix **-mo-*, but the bases **ἄλκ-* is not attested (EWG 477) – note, however, that **ἄλκ-* < PIE **h₂elk-* ‘to help, defend’ should have existed in proto-Greek, given the reduplicated verb ἀλάλκω ‘ward, keep off’ (aor. ἀλάλκεῖν) and the noun ἀλκή ‘strength’.

⁴³ It is linked with ἀνέχω ‘I tolerate’, but the lack of aspiration is irregular and so is the *e*-grade with *to*-adjectives (Risch 1974: 19-21).

⁴⁴ It shows the suffix -ηλός, but the bases **εὔκ-* is not attested.

⁴⁵ A denominative in **went-* from ἄμαθος ‘sand’. However, the lengthening of the initial vowel is unexpected (EDG 79ff.).

⁴⁶ Finally, ὑπατος ‘highest, uppermost’ is the superlative of ὑπο ‘under’, although it is formed with the suffix -ατο-, instead of the original suffix *-mo-* that is found in Skt. *upamā-* ‘uppermost’ and Lat. *summus* < *sup-mo-*. However, the meaning of the adjective is not transparent synchronically, since ὑπο means basically ‘under’, not **‘up’* in Greek – the meaning of the adjective seems to relate rather with that of ὑπέρ ‘over’.

1.2.7 Deadjectival adjectives of the type [adjective-ADJ]-Agr

Total: 3 types for 4 tokens

ἄλλότριος ‘one’s own, foreign’	1
ἄπε(ι)ρείσιος ‘boundless, immense’ from ἄπειρος ‘infinite’	2
δεξιτερός ‘right-hand of two, right’	1
Tot.	4

2. De-adverbial adjectives, i.e. [adverb-ADJ]-Agr

Total: 3 types for 3 tokens

ἀντίος ‘set against, opposite’ from ἀντί ‘over against’	1
ἄπιος ‘far away, distant’ from ἀπό ‘from’	1
πρότερος ‘first’ from πρό ‘forth, before’	1
Tot.	3

3. Denominative adjectives, i.e. [noun-ADJ]-Agr

Total: 39 types for 68 tokens

3.1 Denominative *i*-adjectives

Total: 18 types for 35 tokens

ἄγριος ‘living in the field, wild, savage’ from ἄγρος ‘field’	1
αἰδοῖος ‘having a claim to regard, reverence’ from αἰδώς ‘reverence, awe’	1
ἄλιος ‘marine’ from ἄλς ‘sea’	2
ἀμβρόσιος ‘of ambrosia’ from ἀμβροσία ‘ambrosia’	2
ἄργυρε(ι)ος ‘of silver’ from ἄργυρος ‘silver’	4
ἀφνειός ‘rich, wealthy’ from ἄφ(ε)νος ‘revenue, riches’	2
Ἀχαιός ‘Achaeans’ from Ἀχαιία ‘Achaia’	2
θείος ‘divine’ from θεός ‘god’	3
θελκτήριος ‘enchancing, soothing’ from θελκτήρ ‘enchanter’	1
λοιγίος ‘pestilent, deadly’ from λοιγός ‘ruin, havoc’	2
Ὀλύμπιος ‘Olympian’ from Ὀλυμπος ‘Olympus’	2
ὄνειδείος ‘reproachful’ from ὄνειδος ‘reproach, blame’	1
πατρώιος ‘of one’s father, ancestral’ from πατήρ ‘father’	2
πορφύρε(ι)ος ‘of purple’ from πορφύρα ‘purple’	1
σιδήρε(ι)ος ‘made of iron’ from σίδηρος ‘iron’	1
τελείος ‘perfect, accomplished’ from τέλος ‘end’	1
χάλκε(ι)ος ‘of bronze’ from χαλκός ‘bronze’	2
χρυσοῦς or χρυσέ(ι)ος ‘golden’ from χρυσός ‘gold’	5
Tot.	35

3.2 Denominative **went*-adjectives

Total: 8 types for 11 tokens

αἰγλήεις ‘splendid’ from αἰγλή ‘splendor’	1
δενδρήεις ‘wooded’ from δένδρον ‘tree’	1

ήχῃεις ‘loud-resonating, roaring’ from ἡχή ‘noise’ (or ἡχέω ‘I sound’)	1
πτερόεις ‘winged’ from πτερόν ‘feather, wing’ ⁴⁷	2
σκίοεις ‘shady’ from σκία ‘shadow’	2
τελήεις ‘perfect’ from τέλος ‘end’ (or τελέω ‘I fulfill, bring to an end’)	1
ὕληεις ‘woody, wooded’ from ὕλη ‘forest’	2
χαρίεις ‘gracious’ from χάρις ‘grace’	1
Tot.	11

3.3 Denominative *id*-adjectives

Total: 6 types for 11 tokens

Ἀτρεΐδης ‘son of Atreus’ from Ἀτρεΰς ‘Atreus’	3
Ἀχαιῖς ‘Achaeans’ from Ἀχαιῖα ‘Achaia’	1
Θεστορίδης ‘son of Thestor’ from Θεστόρ ‘Thestor’	1
κορωνίς ‘curved’ from κορώνη ‘curved object’	1
πατρίς ‘of one’s father’ from πατήρ ‘father’	4
Πηληϊάδης ‘son of Peleus’ from Πηλεύς ‘Peleus’	1
Tot.	11

3.4 Denominative *ion*-adjectives

Total: 2 types for 3 tokens

Κρονίων ‘son of Kronos’ from Κρόνος ‘Kronos’	2
Οὐρανίων ‘celestial, son of Ouranos’ from οὐρανός ‘sky’	1
Tot.	3

3.5 Denominative adjectives of miscellaneous form

Total: 5 types for 8 tokens

γλαφυρός ‘hollowed, polished, smooth’ from γλάφυ ‘hole’ (suffix -υρο-)	2
κύδιστος ‘most honoured’ from κύδος ‘glory’ or κυδρός ‘glorious’ (suffix -ιστο-)	1
μητίετα ‘all-wise’ from μῆτις ‘plan, counsel’ (suffix -τα)	3
νόστιμος ‘belonging to a return’ from νόστος ‘return’ (suffix -ιμο-)	1
χαλκήρης ‘furnished with bronze’ from χαλκός ‘bronze’ (suffix -ηρής)	1
Tot.	8

4. Deverbal adjectives, i.e. [verb-ADJ]-Agr

Total: 17 types for 24 tokens

4.1 Deverbal *e/o*-adjectives

Total: 4 types for 9 tokens

αἰθός ‘shining’ from αἶθω ‘I kindle’	1
ἐκπλαγότατος ‘most handy’ from πλήσσω ‘I sting’	1
θοός ‘fast’ from θέω ‘I run’	6
ἱλαός ‘propitious’ from ἰλάσκομαι ‘I appease’	1

⁴⁷ It is a typical epithet of words (*Il.* 1.201) and it is derived from πτερόν ‘feather, wing’; in its turn, πτερόν is derived from *pet- ‘to fall’ (Gk. πίπτω ‘to fall’, πέτομαι ‘to fly’, etc.) with the suffix *-(e)ro-. However, πτερόεις ‘winged’ is built on the noun πτερόν ‘feather’, not on the verb πέτομαι ‘to fly’ directly.

Tot. | 9

4.2 Deverbal *ro*-adjectives

Total: 2 types for 2 tokens

λαμπρός ‘brilliant, shining’ from λάμπω ‘I shine’	1
στυγερός ‘hated, hateful’ from στυγέω ‘I hate’	1
Tot.	2

4.3 Deverbal *to*-adjectives

Total: 7 types for 9 tokens

θνητός ‘mortal’ from θνήσκω ‘I die’	2
κλυτός ‘renowned’ from κλύω ‘I hear’	1
μνηστός ‘wooed and won, wedded’ from μνάομαι ‘I woo, win by woo’	1
ξεστός ‘hewn, shaved, planed’ from ξέω ‘I scrape smooth’	1
περισκεπτός ‘worth seeing’ from περισκέπτομαι ‘to examine, consider’	1
ποιητός ‘well-made, solid’ from ποιέω ‘I make’	2
τρητός ‘perforated, with a hole in it’ from τετραίνω ‘I perforate’	1
Tot.	10

4.4 Deverbal adjectives of miscellaneous form

Total: 4 types for 4 tokens

ἀμφορεφής ‘close-covered’ from ἀμφερέφω ‘I cover’ (suffix -ης)	1
δαιδάλεος ‘curiously or cunningly wrought’ from δαιδάλλω ‘I work cunningly, embellish’ (suffix -εος)	1
μινυνθάδιος ‘short-lived’ from μινύνθω ‘I lessen, fade away’ (suffix -άδιος)	1
ξυνήϊος ‘gathered together, common’ from ξυνήϊμι ‘I gather together’ (suffix -ι-)	1
Tot.	4

5. Participial adjectives, i.e. [verb-PTC]-Agr

Total: 50 types for 72 tokens

5.1 Present active participles

Total: 17 types for 23 tokens

αἶθων ‘fiery, burning’ from αἶθω ‘I burn, light up’	1
ἄκέων ‘in silence’ from ἄκέω ‘I am silent’	2
ἀνίων ‘rising (of the sun)’ from ἄνειμι ‘I go up’	1
γάϊων ‘exulting (in glory)’ from γάίω ‘I rejoice, am glad’	1
εὐφρονέων ‘well-minded’ from εὐφρονέω ‘I am well minded’	2
ζῶν ‘living, alive’ from ζάω ‘I live’	2
θνήσκων ‘dead’ from θνήσκω ‘I die’	1
κομόων ‘long-haired’ from κομάω ‘I let the hair grow long’	1
κοτέων ‘angry at’ from κοτέω ‘I am angry at’	1
μέδων ‘taking care of’ from μέδομαι ‘to think, provide, take care of’	1
μερμηρίζων ‘thoughtful’ from μερμηρίζω ‘I am anxious, thoughtful, in doubt’	1
ναιετάων ‘dwell, inhabited’ from ναιετάω ‘I dwell, am situated’	1

νοέων ‘thoughtful, understanding’ from νοέω ‘I think’	1
ποιπνύων ‘puffing’ from ποιπνύω ‘I bustle about’	1
ὕβριζων ‘arrogant’ from ὕβριζω ‘I am arrogant, wax wanton, ruin riot’	1
φρονέων ‘well-minded’ from φρονέω ‘I think’	3
χαίρων ‘glad’ from χαίρω ‘I rejoice, take pleasure in’	2
Tot.	23

5.2 Present middle participles

Total: 17 types for 26 tokens

αἰθόμενος ‘lighted up’ αἶθω ‘I burn, light up’	2
ἀποιχόμενος ‘far away, distant’ from ἀποίχομαι ‘I am gone away, far from’	2
ἀχνύμενος ‘grieving’ from ἄχνυμαι ‘I grieve’	3
δυνάμενος ‘strong, powerful, capable’ from δύναμαι ‘I can’	1
δυσόμενος ‘sun-setting’ from δύω ‘I sink’	1
ἐπειγόμενος ‘in eager for, in hurry for’ from ἐπείγω ‘I press hard, am eager for’	1
θεινόμενος ‘beated’ from θείνω ‘I beat, kill’	1
ιέμενος ‘willing, desiring’ from ἵημι ‘I let go, throw, desire (md.)’	3
κηδόμενος ‘being in trouble’ from κήδω ‘I trouble, distress’	1
λilαιόμενος ‘longing, long for’ λιλαιόμαι ‘I long for, desire earnestly’	1
ὀδυρόμενος ‘lamented’ from ὀδύρομαι ‘I mourn’	2
οἰχόμενος ‘ruined, lost, vanished’ from οἶχομαι ‘I go, am gone, lost’	1
προκείμενος ‘lying ready, prepared’ from πρόκειμαι ‘I lie exposed, am set before one’	1
τερπόμενος ‘glad, enjoying’ τέρπομαι ‘I have full enjoyment’	1
τρυχόμενος ‘consumed, emaciated’ from τρύχω ‘I consume’	1
χαριζόμενος ‘glad, rejoicing’ from χαρίζω ‘I rejoice’	1
χωόμενος ‘full, filled (of rage)’ from χόω ‘I fill (with earth)’	3
Tot.	26

5.3 Aorist active, middle and passive participles

Total: 9 types for 9 tokens

ἀνηθείς ‘disturbed’ from ἀνιάω ‘I grieve’	1
ἄρσας ‘well-furnished, prepared, pleasing’ from ἀραρίσκω ‘I join, fit together’	1
δακρύσας ‘in tear’ from δρακύω ‘I am in tear’	1
ἐπαλαστήσας ‘wrathful’ from ἐπαλαστέω ‘I am full of wrath’	1
θαμβήσας ‘astounded, astonished’ from θαμβέω ‘I am astounded’	1
οὐλόμενος ‘destructive’ from ὀλλυμι ‘I destroy’	1
ὀχθήσας ‘troubled’ from ὀχθέω ‘I am sorely angered’	1
ταρβήσας ‘seized with dread’ from ταρβέω ‘I am frightened, I fear’	1
χολωθείς ‘angry, full of rage’ from χολόω ‘I provoke’	1
Tot.	9

5.4 Perfect active, middle and passive participles

Total: 7 types for 14 tokens

ιδύς (or ειδύς ‘wise’) from οἶδα ‘I know’	2
κεχολωμένος ‘angry at’ from χολάω ‘I am full of black bile’	1
κεχρημένος ‘longing’ from χρέω ‘I am in need’	1
πεπαρμένος ‘studded’ from πείρω ‘I pierce’	1
πεπνυμένος ‘conscious’ from πέπνυμαι ‘I am conscious’	7
τεθνη(κ)ώς ‘dead’ from θνήσκω ‘I die’	1
τετημένος ‘sorrowful’ from τετίημαι ‘I am sorrowful’	1
Tot.	14

6. Compound adjectives, i.e. [...]–[...]–Agr

Total: 77 types for 115 tokens

6.1 Compound adjectives with a noun as a SC

Total: 36 types for 58 tokens

6.1.1 Compound adjectives with a simple noun as a SC, i.e. [...]–[noun]–Agr

Total: 24 types for 39 tokens

6.1.1.1 Compound adjectives of type [noun]–[noun]–Agr

Total: 9 types for 13 tokens

ἄργυρόπεζα ‘silver-footed’ from ἄργυρος ‘silver’ and πέζα ‘foot, ankle’	2
ἐριβῶλαξ ‘with a large clods, very fertile’ from ἐρι- ‘much’ and βῶλαξ ‘lump, clod of earth’ ⁴⁸	1
δολόμητις ‘crafty of counsel’ from δόλος ‘trick’ μῆτις ‘plan, counsel’	2
ἐλίκωψ ‘with rolling eyes’ from ἑλιξ ‘spiral’ and ὤψ ‘eye, face’	2
κύνωψ ‘dog-eyed’ from κύων ‘dog’ and ὤψ ‘eye, face’	1
οἶνωψ ‘wine-coloured’ from οἶνος ‘wine’ and ὤψ ‘eye, face’	1
ρόδοδάκτυλος ‘rose-fingered’ from ρόδον ‘rose’ and δάκτυλος ‘finger’	1
χαλκοχίτων ‘bronze-clad’ from χαλκός ‘bronze’ and χιτών ‘tunic’	2
χρυσόθρονος ‘with throne of gold’ from χρυσός ‘gold’ and θρόνος ‘throne’	1
Tot.	13

6.1.1.2 Compound adjectives of type [verb]–[noun]–Agr

Total: 2 types for 2 tokens

αἶθοψ ‘fiery-looking’ from αἶθω ‘I kindle’ and ὤψ ‘eye, face’	1
μέροψ ‘dividing the voice, articulate’ from μείρω ‘I divide’ and ὤψ ‘voice’	1
Tot.	2

6.1.1.3 Compound adjectives of type [verb-ADJ]–[noun]–Agr

Total: 2 types for 2 tokens

εἰλίπους ‘rolling in their gait’ from εἰλ(έ)ω ‘I roll’ (suffix -ι-) and ποῦς ‘foot’	1
κλυτοτέχνης ‘famous for his art’ from κλυτός ‘famous’ (from κλύω ‘I hear’) and τέχνη ‘art’	1
Tot.	2

6.1.1.4 Compound adjectives of type [adjective]–[noun]–Agr

⁴⁸ Gk. ἐρι-° is from *h₃er- ‘to rise’ (ὀρνυμι ‘I urge on’, EDW 557, DELG 370) or *ser- ‘high’ (Hitt. *šēr* ‘high, up’, EDG 457).

Total: 11 types for 22 tokens

εὐρύοπα ‘far-sounding’ from εὐρύς ‘broad’ and ὄψ ‘voice’	1
καλλιπάρης ‘beautiful-cheeked’ from καλός ‘beautiful’ and παρειά ‘cheek’	6
λευκώλενος ‘white-armed’ from λευκός ‘white’ and ὠλένη ‘elbow’	5
μεγάθυμος ‘great-hearted’ from μέγας ‘great’ and θύμος ‘heart’	2
πικρόγαμος ‘attaining a bitter marriage’ from πικρός ‘bitter’ and γάμος ‘wedding’	1
πολυαῖξ ‘tumultuous’ from πολὺς ‘much, many’ and αἶξ ‘rapid motion’ from αἶσσω ‘I rush’ ⁴⁹	1
πολυδειράς ‘with many ridges’ from πολὺς ‘much, many’ and δειράς ‘ridge of a chain of hills’	1
πολύμητις ‘of many counsels’ from πολὺς ‘much, many’ and μῆτις ‘plan, counsel’	2
πολύφλοισβος ‘loud-roaring’ from πολὺς ‘much, many’ and φλοῖσβος ‘noise’	1
πρώθηβος ‘very young’ from πρῶτος ‘first’ and ἦβη ‘youth’	1
ὠκύμορος ‘quickly dying, dying early’ from ὠκύς ‘quick’ μόρος ‘fate, destiny’	1
Tot.	22

6.1.2 Compound adjectives with an underived noun as a SC, i.e. [...]–[[noun]]–Agr

Total: 12 types for 19 tokens

6.1.2.1 Compound adjectives of type [noun]–[[noun]]–Agr

Total: 8 types for 11 tokens

αἰγίοχος ‘who bears the aegis’ from αἰγίς ‘aegis’ and °-οχος ‘bearer’ from ὀχέω ‘I endure, I carry’ (see ὄχος ‘chariot’) or from ἔχω ‘I have’	2
ἁλλόθροος ‘speaking a strange tongue’ from ἄλλος ‘other’ and °-θροος ‘one who speaks’ from θρέομαι ‘I cry aloud’ (see θρόος ‘noise’)	1
ἀνδρόφονος ‘man-slaying’ from ἀνήρ ‘man’ and °-φονος ‘killer’ from θείνω ‘I beat, kill’ (see φόνος ‘murder’)	2
γαιήοχος ‘earth-moving, earth-carrying’ from γαῖα ‘earth’ and °-οχος ‘bearer’ from ὀχέω ‘I endure, I carry’ (see ὄχος ‘chariot’)	1
δημοβόρος ‘devourer of people’ from δήμος ‘people’ and °-βορος ‘devourer’ from βιβρώσκω ‘I devour’ (see βορός ‘voracious’)	1
δικασπόλος ‘who gives law’ from δίκη ‘law’ and °-πολος from πέλομαι ‘I am’	1
ποντοπόρος ‘seafaring’ from πόντος ‘sea’ and °-πορος ‘one who runs through’ from πείρω ‘I pierce, I run through’ (see πόρος ‘passage’)	2
σκηπτοῦχος ‘sceptre-bearing’ from σκηπτός ‘scepter, thunderbolt’ and °-οχος ‘bearer’ from ἔχω ‘to have’	1
Tot.	11

6.1.2.2 Compound adjectives of type [adjective]–[[noun]]–Agr

Total: 1 types for 2 token

ὠκύπορος ‘quick-going’ from ὠκύς ‘quick’ and °-πορος ‘one who runs through’ from πείρω ‘I pierce, I run through’ (see πόρος ‘passage’)	2
Tot.	2

6.1.2.3 Compound adjectives of type [adverb]–[[noun]]–Agr

⁴⁹ It was listed in this group, although the noun αἶξ ‘rapid motion’ is attested once (Ap. Rod., *Arg.*, 4.820). However, it might be a back formation on the compound, or a root noun built on αἶσσω ‘I rush’.

Total: 3 types for 6 tokens

ἐκάεργος ‘far-working’ from ἐκάς ‘afar’ and °-εργος ‘one who keeps away’ from εἶργω (or ἔργω) ‘I shut out, I keep away’ (see ἔργον ‘deed’)	1
ἐκατηβόλος ‘who smites from afar’ from ἐκάς ‘afar’ and °-βολος ‘thrower’ from βάλλω ‘I throw (arrows)’ (see βόλος ‘launch’)	2
ἐκηβόλος ‘who smites from afar’ from ἐκάς ‘afar’ and °-βολος ‘thrower’ from βάλλω ‘I throw (arrows)’ (see βόλος ‘launch’)	3
Tot.	6

6.2 Compound adjectives with noun attached to a suffix as a SC

Total: 23 types for 36 tokens

6.2.1 Compound adjectives with noun attached to a linear affix as SC, i.e. [...]-[noun-ADJ]-Agr

Total: 8 types for 17 tokens

6.2.1.1 Compound adjectives of the type [noun]-[noun-ADJ]-Agr

Total: 3 types for 4 tokens

βοῶπις ‘cow-eyed’ from βοῦς ‘cow’ and ὤψ ‘eye, face’ (suffix -ι-)	2
κυδιάνειρα ‘bringing men glory, renown’ from κύδος ‘glory’ and ἀνὴρ ‘man’ (suffix -ja-)	1
πατροφονεύς ‘slaying a father’ from πατήρ and φονεύς ‘killer’ (suffix -ευσ)	1
Tot.	3

6.2.1.2 Compound adjectives of the type [adjective]-[noun-ADJ]-Agr

Total: 4 types for 12 tokens

γλαυκῶπις ‘blue-eyed’ from γλαυκός ‘gleaming, gray’ and ὤψ ‘eye, face’ (suffix -ι-)	9
ὄβριμοπάτρα ‘daughter of a mighty sire, whose father is mighty’ from ὄβριμος ‘mighty’ and πατήρ ‘father’ (suffix -α)	1
πανημέριος ‘whole day long’ from πᾶς ‘all’ and ἡμέρα ‘day’ (suffix -ι-)	1
παννύχιος ‘all night long’ from πᾶς ‘all’ and νύχτα ‘night’ (Hes.) (suffix -ι-)	1
Tot.	12

6.2.1.3 Compound adjectives of the type [adverb]-[noun-ADJ]-Agr

Total: 1 type for 1 token

ἡριγένειος ‘early, early-born’ from ἥρι ‘early’ and γένος ‘birth’ (suffix -ι-) ⁵⁰	1
Tot.	1

6.2.2 Compound adjective with noun attached to a non-linear affix as SC, i.e. [...]-[noun.ADJ]-Agr

Total: 15 types for 19 tokens

6.2.2.1 Compound φρων-adjectives

Total: 5 types for 8 tokens

6.2.2.1.1 Compound φρων-adjectives of the type [noun]-[noun.ADJ]-Agr

Total: 2 types for 5 tokens

⁵⁰ The constituent -γένειος in ἡριγένειος ‘early, early-born’ can be from the verb γίγνομαι ‘I become, I was born’ or from the noun γένος ‘birth’. The second option was preferred since the suffix -ι- combines only with nouns in the sample.

δαΐφρων ‘wise of mind, warlike’ from aor. ἐδάην ‘I learnt’ and φρήν ‘mind’	3
ταλασίφρων ‘patient of mind, stout-hearted’ from *τλάω ‘I suffer, I endure’ and φρήν ‘mind’ ⁵¹	2
Tot.	5

6.2.2.1.2 Compound φρων-adjectives of the type [adjective]-[noun.ADJ]-Agr

Total: 3 types for 3 tokens

κερδαλέφρων ‘greedy of gain’ from κερδαλέος ‘cunning’ and φρήν ‘mind’ ⁵²	1
ὀλοόφρων ‘meaning mischief, baleful’ from ὀλοός ‘deadly’ and φρήν ‘mind’ ⁵³	1
πολύφρων ‘ingenious, inventive’ from πολὺς ‘much, many’ and φρήν ‘mind’	1
Tot.	3

6.2.2.2 Compound ης-adjectives

Total: 10 types for 11 tokens

6.2.2.2.1 Compound ης-adjectives of the type [noun]-[noun.ADJ]-Agr

Total: 6 types for 7 tokens

διογενής ‘sprung from Zeus’ from Ζεύς (Διός) ‘Zeus’ and γένος ‘race, kin, offspring’	2
διοτρεφής ‘nurtured by God’ from Ζεύς (Διός) ‘Zeus’ and τρέφος ‘creature’	1
θεοειδής ‘god-like’ from θεός ‘god’ and εἶδος ‘form, shape’	1
οἰνοβαρής ‘wine-heavy’ from οἶνος ‘wine’ and βάρος ‘weight’	1
ποδάρκης ‘swift of foot’ from πούς ‘foot’ and ἄρκος ‘defence’	1
χαλκοβατής ‘with bronzen base’ from χάλκος ‘bronze’ and *βάτος ‘base’	1
Tot.	7

6.2.2.2.2 Compound ης-adjectives of the type [adjective]-[noun.ADJ]-Agr

Total: 3 types for 3 tokens

ἡδυεπής ‘sweet-speaking’ from ἡδύς ‘sweet’ and ἔπος ‘word’	1
κελαινεφής ‘black with clouds’ from κελαινός ‘black’ and νέφος ‘cloud’	1
πολυβενθής ‘very deep’ from πολὺς ‘much, many’ and βένθος ‘depth’	1
Tot.	3

6.2.2.2.3 Compound ης-adjectives of the type [adverb]-[noun.ADJ]-Agr

Total: 1 type for 1 token

πυκμηδής ‘of close, cautious mind’ from πύκα ‘thickly, solidly’ and μῆδος ‘counsel’	1
Tot.	1

6.3 Compound adjective with a verb stem attached to a suffix as SC, i.e.

[...]-[verb-ADJ]-Agr

Total: 9 types for 11 tokens

6.3.1 Compound adjectives of the type [adjective]-[verb-ADJ]-Agr

Total: 2 types for 2 tokens

⁵¹ The element *-si-* in *ταλασι-* that is often associated with V1 compounds, but the compound has no verb-governing meaning Tribulato excludes it from her list of V1 compounds (2005: 173, 415).

⁵² Ultimately, *κερδαλέος* is a denomiantive adjective derived from *κέρδος* ‘gain’.

⁵³ Ultimately, *ὀλοός* is a deverbal adjective from *ὀλλυμι* ‘I destroy’.

πολύστονος ‘much sighing, mourning’ from πολὺς ‘much, many’ and στόνος ‘sighing’ from στένω ‘I mourn, sing’	1
πολύτρητος ‘much-pierced, full of holes, porous’ from πολὺς ‘much, many’ and τρητός ‘perforated’ from τετραίνω ‘I perforate’	1
Tot.	2

6.3.2 Compound adjectives of the type [adverb]-[verb-ADJ]-Agr

Total: 7 types for 9 tokens

ἀμφιρυστός ‘flowed around, seagirt’ from ἀμφί ‘around’ and ρυστός ‘flowed, flowing’ from ῥέω ‘I flow’	2
εὖδμητος ‘well-built’ from εὖ ‘well, right’ and °-δμητός from δέμω ‘I build’	1
εὖξοος ‘easy to polish, of polished metal’ from εὖ ‘well, right’ and ξοός ‘scraping’ (Hes.) from ξέω ‘I scrape’	1
εὕσκοπος ‘keen-sighted, watchful’ from εὖ ‘well, right’ and σκοπός ‘explorer, watchful’ from σκέπτομαι ‘I look carefully’	1
περίκλυτος ‘renowned’ from περί ‘around’ and κλυτός ‘famous’ from κλύω ‘I hear’	2
τηλεκλυτός ‘far-famed’ from τῆλε ‘afar’ and κλυτός ‘famous’ from κλύω ‘I hear’	1
ὕψιβρεμέτης ‘who thunders on high’ from ὕψι ‘aloft’ and °-βρεμέτης from βρέμω ‘I roar’	1
Tot.	9

6.4 Compound adjectives with an adjective as SC, i.e. [...] -[adjective]-Agr

Total: 2 types for 2 tokens

6.4.1 Compound adjectives of the type [noun]-[adjective]-Agr

Total: 1 type for 1 token

θεοεἶκελος ‘godlike’ from θεός ‘god’ and εἵκελος ‘similar’	1
Tot.	1

6.4.2 Compound adjectives of the type [adverb]-[adjective]-Agr

Total: 1 type for 1 token

ἐναλίγκιος ‘like, resembling’ from ἐν ‘in’ and ἀλίγκιος ‘resembling’	1
Tot.	1

6.5 Left-headed compound adjectives

Total: 7 types for 8 tokens

6.5.1 Compound adjectives with a frozen noun as FC of the type [noun]-[noun]-Agr

Total: 2 types for 2 tokens

βωτιανεῖρος ‘man-feeding, nurse of heroes’ from βωτι-° ‘nurturer’ (from βόσκω ‘I feed’) and ἀνὴρ ‘man’ (suffix -ι-)	1
ἐνοσίχθων ‘earth-shaker’ from ἔνοσις ‘shaking, quake’ and χθών ‘earth’	1
Tot.	2

6.5.2 Compound adjectives with a verb as FC of the type [verb]-[noun]-Agr

Total: 3 types for 4 tokens

ἐχεπευκής ‘sharp, piercing’ from ἔχω ‘I have’ and πεύκη ‘pine’	1
φιλήρετος ‘fond of the oar’ from φιλέω ‘I love’ and ἑρετμόν ‘oar’	2
φιλοκτηανώτατος (i.e. φιλοκτέανος) ‘loving possessions, greedy of gain’ from φιλέω ‘I love’ and κτεανόν ‘belonging’	1

Tot. | 4

6.5.3 Compound adjectives with verb attached to a suffix as FC of the type [verb-ADJ]-[noun]-Agr

Total: 1 type for 1 token

τερπικέραυνος ‘delighting in thunder’ from τέρω ‘I delight, give pleasure’ (suffix -ι) and κεραυνός ‘thunder’	1
Tot.	1

6.5.4 Compound adjectives with an adjective as FC of the type [adjective]-[noun]-Agr

Total: 1 type for 1 token

ισόθεος ‘godlike’ from ἴσος ‘equal’ and θεός ‘god’	1
Tot.	1

7. Prefixed adjectives, i.e. PRE-[...]-Agr

Total: 8 types for 15 tokens

7.1 Denominal prefixed adjectives, i.e. PRE-[noun]-Agr

Total: 3 types for 7 tokens

ἀθάνατος ‘immortal’ from θάνατος ‘death’	5
ἀνάποινος ‘unransomed’ from ἄποινα ‘ransom’	1
ἄποτμος (i.e. ἀποτμότατος) ‘unhappy, ill-starred’ from πότμος ‘that which befalls one, destiny’ (from πίπτω ‘I fall’)	1
Tot.	7

7.2 Deverbal prefixed adjectives, i.e. PRE-[verb-ADJ]-Agr

Total: 5 types for 8 tokens

ἄαπτος ‘resistless, invincible’ from ἀπτός ‘tangible’ (see ἄπτω ‘I fasten, touch’)	1
ἀπριάτης ‘unpaid’ from *πριάτης (see πρίαμαι ‘I buy’)	1
ἄπυστος ‘unheard’ from πυστός ‘learned’ (see πυνθάνομαι ‘I learn’)	1
ἄσβεστος ‘unquenchable, inextinguishable’ from σβεστός ‘extinguished’ (see σβέννυμι ‘I dry up’)	1
ἀτρυγέτος ‘unharvested, barren’ from *τρυγέτος (see τρυγέω ‘I gather’)	4
Tot.	8