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Adjectival periphrasis in Ancient Greek:
A cognitive analysis

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Abstract

In this article, I discuss Ancient Greek constructions consisting of a form of the verb *eimi* 'I am' and a present, perfect or aorist participle. In particular, I focus on those uses where the participle is said to have an "adjectival" function. My main goal is to provide a unified semantic description of this phenomenon, adopting a cognitive framework. I show that adjectival periphrasis typically involves the predication of properties, which can be characterized in terms of low transitivity (Hopper & Thompson, 1980). I furthermore argue that a so-called "property reading" involves a particular kind of conceptual integration, whereby only one component state of the verb *eimi* is elaborated by the participle.

Keywords: adjectival periphrasis; Ancient Greek; *Cognitive Grammar*; property predication; transitivity; conceptual integration.

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1. Introduction

The participle was much favored in Ancient, especially Classical Greek (Jannaris, 1897:505; 'the workhorse of the Greek verbal system', as Runge, 2010:243 puts it). Not only did it have a large number of forms, its uses were diverse, ranging from modification to reference and predication (predication being the most common). In this article, I focus on a less common predicative use, where by the present, perfect or aorist participle is combined with a form of the verb *eimi* 'I am'[1]. In this combination, these participles could be variously interpreted. Compare, for example, *arkhōn esti* [ruling he:is] 'he is a ruler', *aganaktōn esti* [being:angry he:is] 'he is angry' and *didaskōn esti* [teaching he:is] 'he is teaching' (all three with the present participle): in the first case, the participle is commonly said to have a "substantival" function (i.e. denoting an object/identity), in the second an "adjectival" one (i.e. denoting a property), and in the third a "verbal" one (i.e. denoting an action) (see below).

That the present participle could have an "adjectival" (i.e. property-denoting) function in combination with the verb *eimi*, as in *aganaktōn esti*, is a long-recognized insight, going back at least to Alexander (1883), who first discussed the phenomenon in some detail. The seminal study of Björck (1940) treated such examples under the heading of "die adjektivische Periphrase" ('adjectival periphrasis') –a term which has been in use ever since– heavily emphasizing the difference with true, "verbal" periphrasis (Björck considers them mutually exclusive)[2]. Next to constructions with the present participle, scholars have also drawn attention to combinations with the perfect participle, which can have a similar "adjectival" function (Gildersleeve, 1980[1900]:122). That the aorist participle too could be combined with *eimi* to denote a property, though only exceptionally, has largely gone unnoticed (with the exception of some brief comments in Alexander, 1883 and Aerts, 1965).

Adjectival periphrasis, though seemingly a quite straightforward concept, has been the subject of much discussion, most notably in Porter (1989:441-492) and Evans (2001:220-257). Two central questions in this discussion have been the following: (a) *Can the different types of adjectival periphrasis (i.e. with the present, perfect and aorist participle) be given a unified semantic description?*, and (b) *What is the categorial status of the participle used in this type of construction (i.e. can the participle be considered a true adjective, is it "adjectivized")?* In this article, I address the first research question, adopting a Cognitively inspired framework (with special attention to the work of Ronald Langacker, known as "Cognitive Grammar").

For reasons of space, I will not go further into the concept of verbal periphrasis here, for which I refer to my own earlier study (Bentein, 2011, with references). In this article, I argue that verbal periphrasis can be considered a prototypically organized category, whereby we can distinguish between central, "prototypical" members (e.g. *ekhō* 'I have' with aorist participle) and more peripheral ones (e.g. *gignomai* 'I become' with present participle), on the basis of a number of semantic, syntactic and paradigmatic criteria (some key criteria being "conceptual integration", "syntactic contiguity" and "paradigmaticity").

Although diachrony is an important factor, it will not be of primary interest here. Rather, I concentrate on the linguistic situation in Classical Greek (5th-4thc. B.C.), and to a lesser extent in Archaic Greek (9th-6th c. B.C.). My research is based on an extensive survey of the specialized literature, most notably Alexander (1883), Barbelenet

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1   As conventional in studies on Ancient Greek, verbs (with the exception of impersonal ones) are quoted in the first person of the present indicative, and translated accordingly.
2   As has been pointed out by a number of scholars, Björck's use of the term "adjectival *periphrasis*" is somewhat confusing, as he believes that we are not dealing with true (i.e. "verbal") periphrasis.

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(1913), Björck (1940), Rosén (1957), Aerts (1965) and Dietrich (1973). Taken together, the evidence collected from these studies comprises a large part of the Ancient Greek literature, both prose and poetry, amounting to a total number of 418 examples for the present participle, and 397 for the perfect participle (as we will see, there are almost no examples with the aorist participle)[3].

2. Cognitive Grammar: key notions

Before starting my analysis, it will be helpful to introduce some key notions of *Cognitive Grammar* (henceforth "CG"). For a detailed treatment, I refer to Langacker (1987, 1991, 2000, 2002, 2008). Four aspects I want to focus on here are (a) *construal*, (b) *grammatical classes*, (c) *constructions*, and (d) *the imperfective/perfective distinction*. In the final section of §2, I briefly explain some notational conventions.

2.1. Construal

In CG, the meaning of an expression is not confined to the conceptual content it evokes (Langacker, 2008:55). Equally important is the way this content is represented or "construed". A classic example is "the lamp is above the table" vs. "the table is below the lamp". While both expressions refer to the same situation, they take a different perspective at matters (more specifically whether the lamp or the table functions as primary focal participant (called "trajector") or secondary focal participant (called "landmark")). Next to this kind of lexicalized construal, where two distinct forms ("above" and "below") represent two distinct semantic construals, we may discern cases where one and the same form can receive two distinct semantic construals, with the context determining the intended construal. As an example of this phenomenon, called "coercion" (cf. Croft, 2012:17; see already Pustejovsky, 1993), consider the sentences "I had only one beer" and "I had a lot of beer", where the same form ("beer") is used in a count noun construction and a mass noun construction respectively. Often, one type of construal may be more typical. Croft (2012:13-19) calls this the "default construal".

Although construal is a multifaceted concept, one of its most important aspects is "profiling". This term refers to the fact that, within the conceptual base of a certain expression ("the maximal scope"), a certain aspect may be highlighted ("the immediate scope"). The profile of an expression can be considered the specific focus of attention. The notions "elbow" and "hand", for example, have the same maximal scope, but a different immediate scope.

2.2. Grammatical classes

Langacker proposes a conceptual analysis of parts-of-speech, characterizing the three major grammatical classes on the basis of what each "entity" profiles. Nouns differ from adjectives and verbs in that they profile "things", while the latter two categories profile "relationships" (interconnections between participants). Adjectives in turn differ from verbs in that they are non-processual, i.e. atemporal. Verbs are processual: they focus on the evolution of a process through time. Such a process is complex, in the sense that it is made up out of different component states each of which profiles a relationship. Conceptually, participles constitute an intermediate category, in that, although they have as their basis a content verb profiling a process, participial morphology renders this process atemporal. Participles thus resemble verbs on the one hand and adjectives and nouns on the other.

Croft (1991, 2001) takes a different, though complementary perspective on the parts-of-speech issue, which is typologically oriented: in his opinion, the categories "noun", "adjective",

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3   My corpus contains examples from the following authors: *Archaic Greek*: Archilochus, Callinus Eleg., Hesiod, Homer, Homeric Hymns, Theognis, Xenophanes; *fifth-century Classical Greek*: Aeschylus, Andocides, Antiphon, Aristophanes, Euripides, Herodotus, Lysias, Pindarus, Sophocles, Thucydides; *fourth-century Classical Greek*: Aeschines, Aristotle, Anaxilas Comic., Demosthenes, Hippocrates and the Corpus Hippocraticum, Hyperides, Isaeus, Isocrates, Lycurgus, Plato, Xenophon.

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and "verb" are language-particular categories which are prototypically organized (they have a 'radial category structure'; Lakoff, 1987). He predicts that the prototypical members of these categories will be formally unmarked, and from a cross-linguistic point of view prefers to limit the terms "noun", "adjective" and "verb" to these unmarked expressions.

2.3. Constructions

Constructions are central to CG. They are defined as "assemblies of symbolic structures", consisting of both a semantic and a phonological pole, and are taken to be the primary object of grammatical description. Constructions may exhibit different degrees of complexity: two simple words such as "coffee" and "pot" may be combined to form the larger "coffeepot". Here, two component structures undergo a process of conceptual integration to form the composite structure. The same is true for periphrastic constructions: in this case, a complement participle or infinitive specifies ("elaborates") a verb which does not have much specific content of its own (a "schematic" verb), such as "to be" (e.g. English "I am waiting") (as we will see below, a construction's component parts may have a "high" or "low" degree of conceptual integration).

Next to specific symbolic assemblies such as "coffeepot", CG also recognizes the existence of more schematic assemblies, which are called "constructional schemas" (cf. also Croft, 2001:15-7, who distinguishes between "schematic" and "substantive" constructions). In the case of "coffeepot" this would be [NOUN + NOUN] (with both a semantic and a phonological pole). When a specific expression fully conforms to such a schema it is said to "elaborate" the schema. If not, it "extends" the schema.

2.4. The imperfective/perfective distinction

Crucial for our present purposes is the distinction between "imperfective" and "perfective" verbs, which according to Langacker (2008:147) resembles that between "mass" and "count" nouns[4]. To characterize the conceptual differences between these subclasses, Langacker makes use of the concepts "boundedness", "homogeneity", "contractibility" and "replicability", the first two of which are most important (and most well-known in the literature): imperfectives construe the profiled relationship as unbounded and internally homogeneous (e.g. "have"), while perfectives construe it as bounded and internally hetereogeneous (e.g. "eat (a cake)").

Langacker does not sharply distinguish between what is known as "lexical" and "grammatical" aspect: similarly to most cognitive linguists, he considers them to be of the same semantic nature, adopting a so-called "uni-dimensional" approach to aspect. While I agree with this position, I will diverge from Langacker here in two ways. Firstly, I consider it important to distinguish between "lexical" and "grammatical" aspect more strictly than Langacker does. To avoid confusion, however, I will limit my use of the terms "perfective" and "imperfective" to grammatical aspect, and refer to lexical aspect by means of the well-known "Vendlerian" classification, distinguishing between *States, Activities, Accomplishments* and *Achievements* (Vendler, 1957)[5]. Secondly, while I agree that from a semantic point of view lexical and grammatical aspect are of the same nature, I believe the latter primarily relates to (temporal) (un)boundedness, and that this does not necessarily need to coincide with (qualitative) homo/heterogeneity (cf. Croft's 2012 aspectual model).

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4   As one of the referees notes, the analogy between mass/count nouns and aspectual classification has a very long history (see e.g. Leech, 1969; Mourelatos, 1978; Jackendoff, 1991).
5   These four classes are mostly defined in terms of the features "dynamicity", "durativity" and "telicity" (*States*: –dynamic, +durative, –telic; *Activities*: +dynamic, +durative, –telic; *Accomplishments*: +dynamic, +durative, +telic; *Achievements*: +dynamic, –durative, +telic).

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2.5. Diagrams: notational conventions

Most diagrams in this paper are threefold (e.g. in figure 2): they have one box on top, representing the composite construction, and two boxes below, representing the component parts (generally the schematic verb "be" and the participle)[6]. Arrows show how the component parts are conceptually integrated. Within each box, one can find the combination of a circle and a square, connected through a vertical line[7]. This stands for a simple relationship, with a trajector as primary focus (the circle) and a landmark as secondary focus (the square). Three of these combinations next to each other form a complex relationship, representing the component states of a process. When these are connected by three horizontal lines, the component states are homogeneous, and when they are connected by only two, they are heterogeneous. The presence versus absence of three dots before the first and after the last component state indicates whether we are dealing with an unbounded versus bounded process respectively. Finally, an arrow with the letter "t" indicates that the process is temporal, and an arrow without the letter "t" that it is atemporal.

3. Semantic analysis

Consider examples (1) until (6), all of which consist of a form of the verb *eimi* with a present, perfect or aorist participle (for the sake of clarity, the grammatical aspect of the participle is indicated between brackets with the abbreviations PRESS. (= present), PERF. (= perfect) and AOR. (= aorist)). Although at first sight they might seem quite dissimilar, I argue that they can in fact receive a unified semantic description.

(1) *nun de prepon esti kai humas akousai mou* (Lys. 19.59)[8]
[now PTC fitting (PRES.) it:is also you listen to:me]
'but at this moment it is fitting that you too should hear of it from me' (tr. Lamb)

(2) *idiai d' houtō sōphrones ēsan kai sphodr' en tōi tēs politeias ēthei menontes* (Dem. 3.25)
[in:private PTC so modest they:were and very in the of:the constitution spirit staying (PRES.)]
'yet in private they were so modest, so careful to obey the spirit of the constitution' (tr. Vince)

(3) *Arioi de toksoisi men eskeuasmenoi ēsan Mēdikoisi* (Hdt. 7.66.1)
[Arians PTC with:bows PTC equipped (PERF.) were Median]
'the Arians were equipped with Median bows' (tr. Godley)

(4) *sunelēluthotes d' ēsan autose kai andres kai gunaikes kai ktēnē polla* (Xen., *An.* 4.7.2)
[gathered (PERF.) PTC were there and men and women and cattle much]
'there were gathered men and women and a great number of cattle' (tr. Brownson, slightly modified)

(5) *estin de tous men Hellēnas parakalōn epi tēn tōn barbarōn strateian...* (Isoc. 19.57)
[it:is PTC the PTC Hellenes summoning (PRES.) to the of:the barbarians expedition]
'it (the speech) summons the Hellenes to make an expedition against the barbarians' (tr. Norlin, slightly modified)

(6) *kai gar oun hēmin ou tout' estin adunaton oude khalepōs an genomenon* (Pl., *Leg.* 711c).
[and for so for:us not this is impossible and:not difficult PTC happening (AOR.)]

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6 The fact that one of the boxes representing the component parts is in bold, indicates that this component part acts as "profile determinant", a concept which will not further concern us here.

7 A broken vertical line is used for schematic verbs.

8 Here as in the remainder of my article the Greek text of the examples follows the online *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/). The translations are largely taken from the Loeb series, sometimes slightly modified. For the sake of clarity, periphrastic forms are underlined. I have also added a word-by-word translation for readers not familiar with Ancient Greek.

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'indeed, that is not impossible or difficult to bring about for us' (my translation)

Most of the older studies characterize adjectival periphrasis (mostly with the present participle) on the basis of the fact that it is used to predicate properties (similarly to what is the case with true adjectives). To quote Björck (1940:25-6) (referring to Kühner & Gerth, 1976 [1898-1904]:39): "das Wesen der adjektivischen Periphrase liegt darin beschlossen, dass 'das Partizip in der Weise eines adjektivs dem Subjekte ein charakteristisches Merkmal, eine dauernde Eigenschaft, einen bleibenden Zustand beilegt' (K.-G I S. 39)" (compare Gildersleeve, 1980[1900]:81).

In order to put adjectival periphrasis in its larger context, i.e. the overall system of predication in Ancient Greek, we can make use of recent cross-linguistic work by Croft (1991; 2001:63-107, esp. 92), who makes a threefold distinction between the predication of *actions, properties* and *objects* (the three major semantic classes)[9], as shown in table 1 (where I work with minimal pairs as much as possible, with a main distinction between the present and perfect tense).

In this overview we can see that the combination of *eimi* with a present or perfect participle occurs next to synthetic verbs and combinations with an adjective or noun in all three main predication categories (it is interesting to note that the functional range of *eimi* with participle is broader than that of synthetic verbs on the one hand, and *eimi* with adjectives and nouns on

TABLE 1

Predication in Ancient Greek: synthetic verbs versus combinations with *eimi*[10]

	SYNTHETIC VERB	**EIMI WITH PREDICATIVE COMPLEMENT**		
		PARTICIPLE	**ADJECTIVE**	**NOUN**
ACTION	***poiei* (PRES.): 'he does, is doing'**	*poiōn esti* (PRES.): 'he is doing'	Ø	Ø
	***pepoiēkei* (PERF.): 'he has done'**	*pepoiēkōs esti* (PERF.): 'he has done'	Ø	Ø
PROPERTY	*khlōrizei* (PRES.): 'it is green'	*klhōrizon esti* (PRES.): 'it is green'	*khlōron esti*: 'it is green'	(*tou khlōrou esti*: 'it is typical for a green thing')
	tethnēke (PERF.): 'he is dead'	*tethneōs esti* (PERF.): 'he is dead'	(*thnētos esti*: 'he is mortal')	(*tou thnētou esti*: 'it is typical for the dead person')
OBJECT	[*hēgeitai* (PRES.): 'he leads, is a leader']	*hēgoumenos esti* (PRES.): 'he is a leader'	Ø	*hēgemōn esti*: 'he is a leader'
	Ø (PERF.)	*hōrismenon esti* (PERF.): 'it is something delimited'	Ø	*horos esti*: 'it is a boundary, limit'

9   Semantically, the distinction between constructions expressing "properties" on the one hand and "actions" or "objects" on the other hand, is not always clear-cut (cf. Stassen, 1997: 17: "property-concept predicates do not form a universal, homogeneous, cognitive category in the same way as events or classes"; cf. also Sasse, 2001: 502: "'property' concepts are most versatile with respect to conventional imagery and perspective; both the boundary between 'objects' and 'properties' and the boundary between 'properties' and 'situations' are fuzzy").

10   In this overview I do not mention the construction of *eimi* with aorist participle because, as far as the predication of properties is concerned, it is very rare and it would be somewhat problematic to parallel it with the constructions with the present and perfect participle. As for notational conventions, Ø stands for unattested, ( ) indicates that the given example does not form part of a minimal pair, and [ ] that the given example is not uncontested. The formally unmarked combinations are indicated in bold.

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the other). The category of property predication is most complex[11]: here a synthetic verb can be used, *eimi* with a participle, *eimi* with an adjective, and even *eimi* with a noun in the genitive case (the so-called 'characteristic' genitive; note that *tou khlōrou* is not a typical noun, but rather a substantivized adjective). The predication of actions is limited to synthetic verbs and *eimi* with a participle (the latter of which is much less common in Archaic and Classical Greek, especially with the present participle, cf. Aerts, 1965) and the predication of objects is mainly realized through *eimi* with a noun (again *eimi* with a participle is much less common, and mainly confined to a small number of well-known substantivized participles such as *hēgoumenos* or *arkhōn* 'leader'). As for the predication of objects, Stassen (1997:635) notes that "Ancient Greek had the possibility to verbalize nominal items like *basileus* 'king', in cases where emphasis was given to the temporary occupation of an office or the pursuit of a trade", but whether verbs such as *basileuō* 'I am (acting as) a king', *nomeuō* 'I am a shepherd' and *pompeuō* 'I am a guide' (all three mentioned by Stassen, 1997:635) are best classified in this part of the predicative system (i.e. *predication of objects*) is contestable (some would consider *predication of properties* a reasonable alternative).

Previous studies did not go beyond observing the fact that constructions of *eimi* with an "adjectival" participle typically predicate proper-

ties. In this article, I present a detailed semantic analysis of how the predication of properties is effected by the combination of *eimi* with the different types of participle (i.e. the present, perfect and aorist participle). The following three observations are central to my argumentation:

a. *Property vs. actual occurrence*: I argue that adjectival periphrasis can best be described at the sentence level in terms of what may be called a "property reading", and that it can be contrasted with an "actual occurrence reading"[12]. I borrow these two terms from Doiz-Bienzobas (2002), who applies them to the synthetic preterit and imperfect in Spanish, showing that an actual occurrence reading typically surfaces with the former, and a property reading with the latter, as in our example (7).

(7) Juan escribía/escribió una novela en dos días
Juan wrote IMPF-PRET a novel in two days
IMPF: 'Juan was able to write a novel in two days'
PRET: 'Juan [actually] wrote a novel in two days'

The difference between these two readings can be understood in terms of the cluster-concept "transitivity" (Hopper & Thompson, 1980)[13], a "property reading" corresponding to low transitivity and an "actual occurrence reading" being indicative of a higher degree of transitivity. As indicated by Hopper & Thompson (1980:254), parameters will typically co-vary. In (7), for example, there is an interesting correspondence between

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11   Compare Stassen (1997: 343): "in a manner of speaking, we can regard predicative adjectives as a kind of no man's land in the domain of intransitive predicate encoding. One might say that predicative adjectives constitute a 'battleground' for the other predicate categories, each of which may succeed in incorporating this 'adjectival area', or parts of it, into its own encoding options" (cf. also Stassen, 1997:205).

12   Compare with the distinction made by Langacker (1991: 263-6) between an "actual plane" and a "structural plane" of knowledge, which is not entirely similar to what I intend under a property reading (e.g. in the case of "my girlfriend is beautiful", I refer to an *actual* girlfriend, to whom I accord a property).

13   Hopper & Thompson (1980:252) single out the following component parameters of transitivity as a scalar clausal property (with > = more transitive than; A = Agent; O = Object): (a) *participants* (2 or more participants (A and O) > 1 participant), (b) *kinesis* (action > non-action), (c) *aspect* (telic > atelic), (d) *punctuality* (punctual > non-punctual), (e) *volitionality* (volitional > non-volitional), (f) *affirmation* (affirmative > negative), (g) *mode* (realis > irrealis), (h) *agency* (A high in potency > A low in potency), (i) *affectedness of O* (O totally affected > O not affected), (j) *individuation of O* (O highly individuated > O non-individuated). To this list one can add the parameter of *time* (past > present; temporal > atemporal). Moreover, Hopper & Thompson limit the parameter of "aspect" to "lexical" aspect (cf. §2.4), with *telic* > *atelic*; for a language such as Ancient Greek, which morphologically expresses "grammatical" aspect, we can furthermore add *perfective* > *imperfective* > *perfect*.

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the parameters of (grammatical) aspect and affectedness of the object. As Doiz-Bienzobas (2002:320) notes,

> When the imperfect is used . . . reference is not made to one specific novel or to a specific "novel-writing" event. In fact, it could be the case that Juan had never written a novel in his life, but we may be hypothesizing that he would have been able to write it in two days if he wanted to . . . . By contrast, when the preterit is used . . . the sentence designates an actual occurrence of the event anchored to a point in time: the speaker states that Juan actually wrote a novel in two days.

One of the advantages of such an approach is that it allows for ambiguity (in the sense that a given instance may be ambiguous between the two readings), an issue which was not addressed by previous studies.

b. *Default vs. non-default construal*: I argue that we can make a basic distinction between those cases where a property reading constitutes the default construal (see §2.1) and others where it does not, on the basis of the transitivity parameter of *aspect* (with lexical and grammatical aspect interacting). As we will see, some predicates/participles are more naturally inclined towards a property reading than others.

c. *Conceptual integration*: I argue that adjectival periphrasis (i.e. a property reading) can be further characterized by a particular kind of conceptual integration between the verb *eimi* and the participle, which distinguishes periphrastic constructions from synthetic constructions predicating properties (compare Wierzbicka, 1995 on the semantic differences between property-predicating expressions). More specifically, in this type of construction only one representative component state of *eimi* is elaborated by the participle. This sort of integration resembles that of *eimi* with a "true" adjective, as diagrammed in figure 1.

Starting from below we see that *eimi*, which profiles a complex temporal relationship (indicated by the multiple component states and the arrow with the letter "t"), is both lexically stative

FIGURE 1
Eimi with adjective
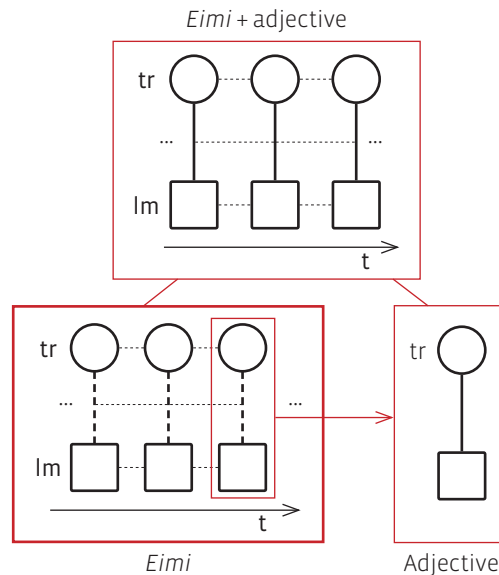
(the component parts being homogeneous, as indicated by the three horizontal lines), and grammatically imperfective (unbounded, as indicated by the three dots). When the schematic verb combines with an adjective (not further specified here), it suffices that a single (randomly chosen, since they are homogeneous) component state of *eimi* maps onto the simplex relationship profiled by the adjective. The composite construction, represented on top, is again lexically stative and grammatically imperfective.

3.1. A property reading as default construal

3.1.1. *Eimi* with present participle

3.1.1.1. Verbs with lexicalized predication of qualities

In §3.1, I present the different types of adjectival periphrasis where a property reading can be considered the default construal. With regard to combinations of *eimi* with present participle, this primarily concerns a group of content verbs with "lexicalized predication of qualities" (I use this term after Fanning, 1990:135). Ancient Greek had quite a large number of verbs belonging to this

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TABLE 2

Verbs with lexicalized predication of qualities (present participle)

agnoeō: 'I am ignorant' (*ēi … agnoōn*; Pl., *Phdr.* 239b)	*dunamai*: 'I am able' (*esti … dunamena*; Dem. 10.3)	*orgizomai*: 'I am angry' (*esesthe … orgizomenoi*; Lycurg., *Leoc.* 27)
akmazō: 'I am at my height' (*ēn akmazousa*; Hdt. 2.134.2)	*gemō*: 'I am full' (*estin gemōn*; Pl., *Leg.* 807c)	*penomai*: 'I am poor' (*penomenēn … einai*; Pl., *Resp.* 577e)
apeimi: 'I am absent' (*est' apon*; Soph., *OT* 1285)	*zaō*: 'I am alive' (*est' … zōn*; Ar., *Thesm.* 77)	*perieimi*: 'I am around' (*ēn perieonta*; Hdt. 1.92.1)
areskō: 'I please' (*areskonta … ēi*; Thuc. 5.41.3)	*eu phroneō*: 'I am wise' (*eiēn … an eu phronōn*; Soph., *Aj.* 1330)	*prepei*: 'it is fitting' (*prepon esti*; Lys. 19.59)
dei: 'it is necessary' (*deon an eiē*; Pl., *Leg.* 649c)	*lusitelei*: 'it profits' (*lusitelounta … esti*; Pl., *Leg.* 662c)	*sumpherei*: 'it suits' (*sumpheront' estai*; Dem. 16.10)

semantic class, as illustrated in table 2 (observe that these can often be rendered in English by the combination of the verb "to be" with an adjective, though not always). Such verbs are quite obvious candidates for a property reading, as they are typically lowly transitive, denoting time-stable properties (or perhaps better relatively time-stable ones, see e.g. *akmazō* and *orgizomai*), often occurring with a single non-agentive participant.
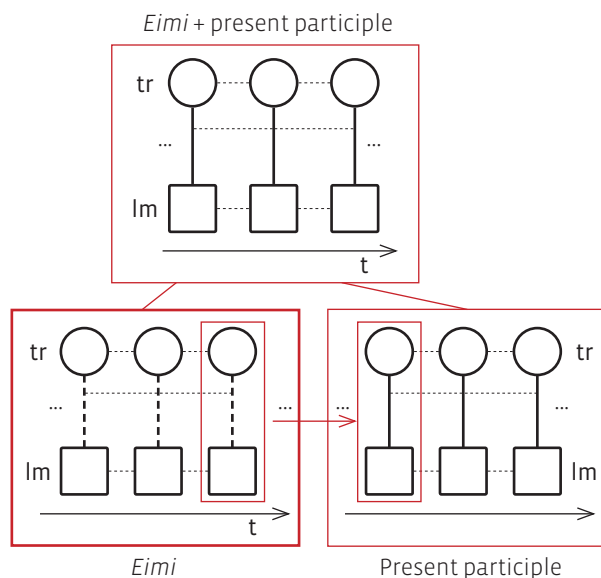
As already mentioned, with a property reading typically only a single component state of *eimi* is elaborated by the participle. Consider example (8) (= (1)), diagrammed in figure 2.

> (8) *nun de prepon esti kai humas akousai mou* (Lys. 19.59)
> [now PTC fitting (PRES.) it:is also you listen to:me]
> 'but at this moment it is fitting that you too should hear of it from me' (tr. Lamb)

Starting from below, we see that *eimi* and the participle are quite alike: they both profile a complex relationship (temporal in the case of *eimi*, atemporal in the case of the participle (indicated by the omission of the letter "t" below the arrow)), of which the component states are homogeneous (indicated by the three horizontal lines), and which is unbounded (indicated by the three dots). Since the component states are homogeneous in both cases, it suffices that a single representative component state of the schematic verb *eimi* is specified ("elaborated") by a single representative component state of its participial complement (compare Langacker, 2008:398). We can see that in the composite construction *eimi* lends its temporal character to the overall construction, as a consequence of which the participle is 'retemporalized'.

FIGURE 2

Eimi with stative present participle (property reading)

Eimi + present participle

Eimi   Present participle

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Though *prepon* is a participle, in its use in (8) it has much in common with true adjectives, most importantly the fact that a single component state elaborates *eimi* (as the content verb is lexically stative), and that it is atemporal: compare figure 1 (representing *eimi* with adjective) with figure 2 (representing *eimi* with "adjectival" present participle). It is important to keep in mind though that they are not equal: a participle profiles a complex (atemporal) relationship (with multiple component states, as shown in figure 2), and an adjective a simplex one.

3.1.1.2. Other lexically stative predicates

Next to verbs with lexicalized predication of qualities (see above), a property reading can also be considered the default construal with a number of other lexically stative predicates, as illustrated in table (3). With these predicates, however, a property reading is somewhat less evident because they differ on a number of transitivity-parameters compared to the former group: several of the verbs listed in table 3 have two participants (e.g. *aidomai* 'I honour', *ekhō* 'I have' and *thelō* 'I want'), and the subject can be volitional (e.g. *aidomai* 'I honour', *miseō* 'I hate' and *protiō* 'I prefer').

In most of these cases, a property reading is undisputedly the default construal. It must be no-ted, however, that although there is an obvious correlation between lexical stativity and a property reading, this is not a one-to-one relationship. Consider an example such as (9), where the lexically stative *thakeō* 'I sit' is used (cf. Porter, 1989:458; cf. Croft, 2012:39 for discussion in English. Croft uses the term "inactive action" for this type of predicate). Here, we have an actual occurrence reading, i.e. a progressive interpretation.

(9) *all' hostis ēn thakōn atarbēs tēs theas, hod' an legoi* (Soph., *Trach.* 22-3)
[but whoever was sitting (PRES.) fearless of:the sight, he PTC could:say]
'whoever was sitting there not terrified by the sight, he could tell you' (tr. Porter)

Similarly, in example (10) (= (2)) the verb *menō* 'I stay, remain' does not "naturally" invite a property reading. What is crucial, but often neglected, is the sentential context. Only when we take into account the oblique argument, *en tōi tēs politeias ēthei* 'in the spirit of the constitution', is it clear that a time-stable situation with a non-agentive subject is meant. This is also indicated by the co-ordination with the adjective *sōphrones* 'wise'. Because of this important role of the context, some scholars may prefer to discuss examples of this type under the heading of "a property reading as non-default construal".

TABLE 3
Other lexically stative predicates (present participle)

aidomai: 'I honour' (*aidomenos estō*; Aesch., *Eum.* 549)	*ekhō*: 'I have' (*ekhousa estin*; Pl., *Leg.* 713b)	*metekhō*: 'I share in' (*metekhon esti*; Pl., *Leg.* 859e)
arkhō: 'I rule' (*arkhousa … estin*; Pl., *Tim.* 44a)	*eleeō*: 'I feel pity' (*esti … eleōn*; Dem. 21.185)	*miseō*: 'I hate' (*estin … misōn*; Dem. 19.312)
blepō: 'I (am able to) see' (*blepōn ēi*; Soph. *OT* 747)	*thelō*: 'I want' (*ēi thelousa*; Soph., *OT* 580)	*huparkhō*: 'I am' (*esti … huparkhon*; Dem. 20.25)
gignōskō: 'I know' (*gignōskōn … estai*; Pl., *Chrm.* 169e)	*katekhō*: 'I possess' (*einai … katekhon*; Pl., *Tim.* 52b)	*protiō*: 'I prefer' (*protiōn … estō*; Aesch., *Eum.* 545-9)
eimi: 'I am, exist' (*esti … on*; Pl., *Soph.* 256d)	*menō*: 'I stay' (*ēsan … menontes*; Dem. 3.25)	*skholazō*: 'I have leisure' (*einai … skholazontas*; Pl., *Leg.* 763d)

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(10) *idiai d' houtō sōphrones ēsan kai sphodr'
en tōi tēs politeias ēthei menontes* (Dem. 3.25).
[in:private ᴘᴛᴄ so modest they:were and very in the
of:the constitution spirit staying (ᴘʀᴇs.)].
'yet in private they were so modest, so careful to obey
the spirit of the constitution' (tr. Vince)

As for the integration of *eimi* and the participle with the predicates discussed in this section, I argue that it is identical to what we have discussed above: to take example (10), one representative component state of the process profiled by *eimi* is elaborated by one component state of the (atemporal) process profiled by the participle *menontes*.

3.1.2. *Eimi* with perfect participle

3.1.2.1. Resultative perfects

A property reading can also be considered the default with the perfect participle of lexically telic predicates ('accomplishments' and 'achievements' in Vendler's 1957 classification), to be more specific the passive perfect participle of transitive (in the traditional sense) verbs and the active perfect participle of intransitive (in the traditional sense) verbs (see below), as shown in table 4. In the literature this use of the perfect is known as the "resultative" perfect and distinguished from another, more transitive use, called "anterior" or "actional" (see Haug, 2008 for

Ancient Greek), on the basis of the fact that only with the former a ("resultant") state, brought about by a past event, persists at reference time (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca, 1994:63).

Two examples of the resultative are (11) (= (3)) and (12) (= (4)).

(11) *Arioi de toksoisi men eskeuasmenoi ēsan
Mēdikoisi* (Hdt. 7.66.1)
[Arians ᴘᴛᴄ with:bows ᴘᴛᴄ equipped (ᴘᴇʀꜰ.) were Median]
'the Arians were equipped with Median bows' (tr. Godley)

(12) *sunelēluthotes d' ēsan autose kai andres kai gunaikes kai ktēnē polla* (Xen., *An*. 4.7.2)
[gathered (ᴘᴇʀꜰ.) ᴘᴛᴄ were there and men and women and cattle much]
'there were gathered men and women and a great number of cattle' (tr. Brownson, slightly modified)

These two examples represent two different types of resultative, called "object-oriented" (also "objective") resultative and "subject-oriented" (also "subjective") resultative in the secondary literature (cf. Nedjalkov, 2001:928: "two main syntactic types of resultatives are distinguished: (1) object-oriented resultative, whose subject corresponds to the direct object (patient) of the

TABLE 4
Lexically telic predicates (perfect participle, active and passive)

apallassō: 'I set free' (*apēllagmenoi ēsan*; Dem. 57.15)	*katapheugō*: 'I flee for refuge' (*ēsan katapepheugotes*; Isoc. 12.194)	*stellō*: 'I send' (*estalmenoi … ēsan*; Hdt. 7.65.1)
apollumai: 'I perish' (*apolōlos eiē*; Dem. 35.36)	*kruptō*: 'I hide' (*ēn kekrummena*; Eur., *Ion* 1362)	*sunerkhomai*: 'I come together, assemble' (*sunelēluthotes … ēsan*; Xen., *An*. 4.7.2)
apostereō: 'I rob, despoil' (*ēi apesterēmenos*; Hdt. 3.130.1)	*orgizō*: 'I enrage' (*ēsth' ōrgismenos*; Eur., *Hipp*. 1413)	*teleutaō*: 'I die' (*ēn teteleutēkōs*; Dem. 43.64)
diaprassō: 'I bring about' (*est' … diapepragmena*; Aesch., *Pers*. 260)	*paraskeuazō*: 'I prepare' (*esti … pareskeuasmenon*; Ar., *Lys*. 175)	*tetrainō*: 'I perforate' (*ēn tetrēmena*; Ar., *Vesp*. 127)
hidruō: 'I set up, found' (*ēn hidrumenos*; Ar., *Plut*. 1192)	*skeuazō*: 'I equip' (*eskeuasmenoi ēsan*; Hdt. 7.66.1)	*sunkuptō*: 'I draw together' (*esti sunkekuphos*; Ar., *Eq*. 854)

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base verb . . . (2) subject-oriented resultative, retaining the underlying subject"). The difference between these two types is reflected morphologically, in that with the object-oriented resultative the participle typically takes medio-passive endings,[14] while with the subject-oriented resultative it takes active ones.

Semantically, in both (11) and (12), a participant undergoes a change of state, as a result of which he now exhibits a property which he did not have before (respectively the fact that the Arians are equipped with Median bows and that the people are gathered). While with transitive (in the traditional sense) verbs (as *skeuazō* 'I equip' in (11)) the change of state is induced by some other participant, with intransitive verbs (as *sunerkhomai* 'I come together (with)' in (12)) it may be characterized as internal. The difference between these two types is diagrammed in figure 3 (after Langacker, 2008:121): while in the diagram on the left the participle profiles a two-participant (atemporal) process, with the participant on top acting on the one at the bottom, in the diagram on the right a one-participant (atemporal) process is represented. In both cases, the emphasis is on the final (resultant) state of the process (indicated in bold).

FIGURE 3

Eimi with perfect participle (property reading)[15]

Present participle (transitive)   Perfect participle (intransitive)
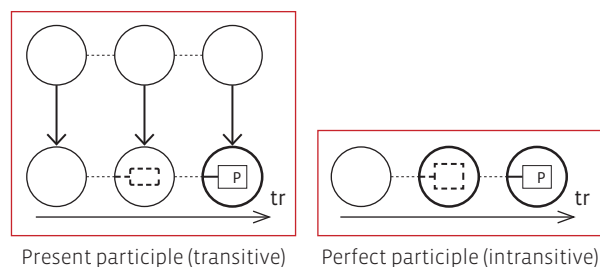
When *eimi* combines with the perfect participle to form a periphrastic construction, a random component state is again elaborated by the final resultant state profiled by the perfect participle, where by *eimi* lends its temporal character to the composite construction. Their integration is identical to that of *eimi* with an adjective (cf. figure 2), except for the fact that with adjectives there is no prior event leading to the (resultant) state (cf. Langacker, 2008:122).

3.1.2.2. The perfect with a present force

To conclude §3.1, it is worth mentioning that Ancient Greek had some verbs of which the perfect expresses a state without much reference to a prior event. Examples of such stative perfects are *hestēka* 'I stand' and *memnēmai* 'I remember'. Similar to these are some verbs which lack non-perfect forms, e.g. *eoika* 'I resemble' and *oida* 'I know' (cf. Jannaris, 1897:438 for further examples). Traditionally, grammarians categorize this use of the perfect as the "perfectum praesens"[16]. Not surprisingly, the participle in the periphrastic forms of these verbs is felt to be adjectival, as in (13) (cf. Aerts, 1965:45). We may compare these examples with what has been said about the present participle with lexically stative verbs.

(13) *ho te phobos ēn huper tou mellontos oudeni eoikōs* (Thuc. 7.71.2)
[the PTC fear was for the event nothing resembling (PERF.)]
'their fear for the event was like nothing they had ever felt' (my translation)

3.2. A property reading as non-default construal

3.2.1. *Eimi* with present participle

Next to constructions of *eimi* with the present participle of lexically stative predicates we

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14 One of the referees raises the question of how transitivity and (passive) voice in Ancient Greek are interrelated. As noted by Risselada (1987:132-135), especially in the earliest stage of the Greek language (that is, Archaic Greek) the (medio)passive voice can be considered de-transitivizing (Risselada uses the term "valency-reducing") with regard to transitivity parameters such as *participants*, *agency* and *volitionality*. For Classical Greek this is less clearly the case, as it became possible to explicitly express an agent with the passive voice. With passive resultative (peri-phrastic) perfects (as in our example (11)), however, this is never the case, so here we could say that it is de-transitivizing.
15 In this figure, the letter "P" stands for "property".
16 This traditional categorization is criticized by Evans (2001:27). I do not further discuss the matter here.

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also find combinations with lexically non-stative, "dynamic" content verbs, as shown in table 5 (compared to the previous tables more examples are given here, because the construction is not well-known among classical philologists). Since such content verbs (especially the telic ones) are generally indicative of high transitivity, a property reading does not constitute the default construal. Here, as a default we would expect an actual occurrence reading, more specifically a progressive interpretation[17]. As we will see, however, contextual factors may explicitly indicate ("coerce") a property reading.

Consider example (14) (= (5)), which both Björck (1940:16) and Aerts (1965:17) classify as adjectival.

(14) *estin* de tous men Hellēnas *parakalōn* epi tēn tōn barbarōn strateian (Isoc. 19.57)
[it:is PTC the PTC Hellenes summoning (PRES.) to the of:the barbarians expedition]
'it (the speech) summons the Hellenes to make an expedition against the barbarian' (tr. Norlin, slightly modified)

Under "normal" circumstances, we would expect the combination of *eimi* (present tense) with the present participle of the verb *parakaleō* 'I summon' to express an actual occurrence reading, more specifically a progressive 'he/it is summoning', expressing an event whose occurrence includes the time of speaking. In this particular case, however, the construction *estin ... parakalōn* 'it (the speech) summons' is used to clarify the content of a speech which was written prior to the time of speaking (*hote Lakedaimonioi men ērkhon tōn Hellēnōn*: 'at the time when the Spartans ruled Greece'). In other words, when the speaker says "the speech summons the Greeks", he is not speaking about a particular instance, but rather about the properties of the letter.

The same can be seen in example (15), from Plato's *Phaedo*. While one could expect the combination of *eisi ... iontes* to express a progressive 'they are going', here this combination is clearly used for a different purpose: it is used to express a property of those who have practiced the virtues of moderation and justice, namely that they are the happiest, and in afterlife go to the best place.

TABLE 5
Lexically dynamic predicates (with present participle)

amphisbēteō: 'I dispute' (*estin ... amphisbētōn*; Isoc. 19.57)	*engignomai*: 'I appear in' (*esti ... engignomenon*; Pl., *Tht.* 187d)	*legō*: 'I say' (*estin legomenon*; Ar., *Av.* 652)
anadekhomai: 'I take up' (*anadekhomenos ... estin*; Dem. 19.36)	*ekporizō*: 'I furnish' (*eiē ... ekporizomena*; Pl., *Grg.* 493e)	*nomizō*: 'I use customarily' (*nomizomenon ... eiē*; Hdt. 7.2.3)
apodekhomai: 'I accept' (*esti ... apodekhomenos*; Pl., *Hp. mai.* 289e)	*epauksanō*: 'I increase' (*esti ... epauksanonta*; Dem. 3.33)	*parakaleō*: 'I invite' (*estin ... parakalōn*; Isoc. 19.57)
apoplēroō: 'I satisfy' (*apoplērōn ēi*; Pl., *Leg.* 932b)	*erkhomai*: 'I go' (*eisi ... iontes*; Pl., *Phd.* 82a)	*prattō*: 'I do' (*estai ... prattōn*; Pl., *Resp.* 441e)
bainō: 'I go' (*bainois' esti*; Pind., *Nem.* 10.17-8)	*kakourgeō*: 'I do evil' (*kakourgousa estin*; Pl., *Leg.* 933a)	*poieō*: 'I do' (*poioumenos ... estin*; Dem. 19.36)
didōmi: 'I give' (*estin ... didousa*; Eur., *IT* 721-2)	*kaleō*: 'I call' (*esti ... kaleomenos*; Hdt. 2.79.2)	*prospoieomai*: 'I pretend' (*estin ... prospoioumenos*; Dem. 29.13)

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17   As in *tauta de ēn ginomena en Milētōi* 'these things were happening at Miletus' (Hdt. 1.146.3). It must be noted, however, that the progressive construction in Archaic/Classical Greek is still at an early stage of grammaticalization (see Aerts, 1965; Dietrich, 1973).

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(15) *oukoun eudaimonestatoi, ephē, kai toutōn eisi kai eis beltiston topon iontes hoi tēn dēmotikēn kai politikēn aretēn epitetēdeukotes;* (Pl., *Phd.* 82a)
[do:you:not:agree:that the:happiest, he:said, even of:those are and to the:best place going (PRES.) those the social and civil virtue having:practiced]
"'then," said he, "even of this group the happiest, and those who go to the best place, are those who have practiced the social and civil virtues'" (tr. Fowler, slightly modified)

As already mentioned, in such examples contextual factors play an important role in determining a property reading. Three factors that seem essential in these and other examples are: (a) the use of the present tense (in the examples given in table 5 one can see that the present tense is mostly used); (b) co-ordination with a true adjective[18], (c) the use of an inanimate subject. I argue that these can all be characterized as "detransitivizing" elements: they are indicative of a low-transitive property reading. Of course, they do not all have to be present in each example: in example (14), for example, we observe the use of the present tense and the use of an inanimate subject, while in (15) we have an animate subject, but again the present tense, together with co-ordination with a regular adjective.

What does the integration of the component parts in examples such as (14) and (15) look like? I suggest that it resembles that of *eimi* with lexically stative predicates, in that only a single representative component state of *eimi* is elaborated. Consider figure 4.

Starting from below, we see that *eimi* profiles a complex temporal relationship (as indicated by the arrow containing the letter "t") which is unbounded (indicated by the three dots before and after the first and last component state respectively), and of which the component states are homogeneous (indicated by the three horizontal lines). The present participle also profiles

FIGURE 4
Eimi with lexically dynamic present participle (property reading)
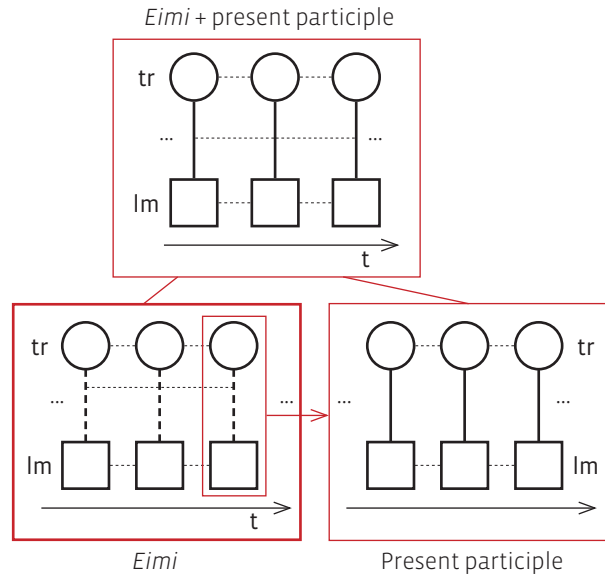
an unbounded process, but it is atemporal (indicated by the omission of the letter "t") and its component states are heterogeneous (indicated by two, rather than three, horizontal lines), as we are dealing with dynamic content verbs. Since the component states of the process profiled by the participle are not identical (i.e. homogeneous), it is impossible for one random representative component state of the participle to elaborate *eimi*. As such, *eimi* (to be more specific one representative component state of *eimi*) is elaborated by the *entire* complex relationship profiled by the participle. As shown in figure 4, this results in a composite construction which profiles a complex temporal relationship, which is unbounded and of which the component states are again homogeneous.

While some other explanations could be argued for (e.g. that all of the component states profiled by *eimi* map onto all of those profiled by the participle), I believe that my view has a number of important advantages: (a) it clarifies the

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18   On the use of co-ordination, cf. already Alexander (1883: 295): "by that parallelism at the same time the function of the participle is clearly indicated and any harshness there may be in the combination is mitigated".

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semantic difference between a property reading and an actual occurrence reading by relating it to a difference in conceptual integration of the component parts (to be more specific, only in the latter case is *eimi* fully elaborated by the participle, see below); (b) it shows that the weight of the property reading lies with *eimi* (more specifically the way it is elaborated), not with the participle (which some consider lexically stative, or even adjectivized, see e.g. Björck, 1940). That this is essentially correct is corroborated by the fact that, if another verb such as *tunkhanō* 'I am, happen to be' were combined with an "adjectival" perfect participle, the participle would remain its adjectival nature, while, if it were used in combination with the present participle of a lexically dynamic predicate, this would not be the case; (c) in what follows, we will see that this type of integration is also necessary to account for the grammatically perfective aorist participle, which shows various similarities of use[19].

As shown in figure 5, I believe that the difference between the property reading and the actual occurrence reading of *eimi* with the present participle of lexically dynamic content verbs can be related to a difference in degree of conceptual integration (this also goes for the other type where a property reading constitutes the non-default construal, *eimi* with aorist participle (see below)). I argue that with the progressive construction (as in *ēn didaskōn* "he was teaching" (Lc. 5:17)) there is a much higher degree of conceptual integration between the component parts of the periphrastic construction, as not a single representative component state of *eimi* is elaborated by the participle. Rather, the entire complex relationship profiled by *eimi* maps onto the entire complex relationship profiled by the participle (component state by component state, so to speak).

FIGURE 5

Eimi with lexically dynamic present participle (actual occurrence reading)

Eimi + present participle

Eimi   Present participle
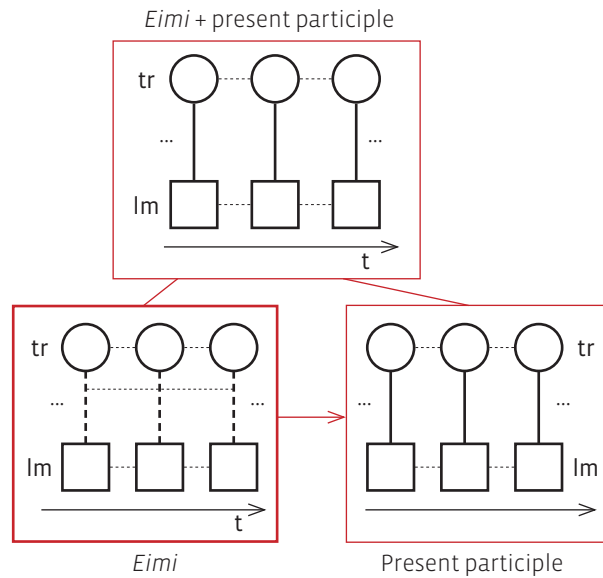
3.2.2. *Eimi* with aorist participle

Perhaps somewhat unexpectedly (as perfective grammatical aspect indicates high transitivity, similarly to lexical dynamicity), scholars mention the existence of adjectival periphrasis with the aorist participle, though examples seem to be scanty. Two cases I would like to discuss here are given under (16) (= (6)) and (17):

(16) *kai gar oun hēmin ou tout' estin adunaton oude khalepōs an genomenon* (Pl., *Leg.* 711c).
[and for so for:us not this is impossible and:not difficult PTC happening (AOR.)]
'indeed, that is not impossible or difficult to bring about for us' (my translation)

(17) *oute gar thrasus out' oun prodeisas eimi tōi ge nun logōi* (Soph., *OT* 90).
[neither for bold nor so fearing:prematurely (AOR.) I:am by:the at:least now speech]
'so far, I am neither bold nor fearing prematurely by your words' (my translation)

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19   My view is furthermore corroborated by the fact that examples such as (14) and (15) are often (wrongly) interpreted as substantival. Indeed, in cases such as these there is a thin line between a substantival and an adjectival interpretation, which comes to the fore when we consider the two basic conditions for nominalization (cf. Langacker, 2008:120): the process profiled by the verb is (a) atemporalized, and (b) conceptually reified.

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The first example, (16), comes from Plato's *Laws*: an Athenian and Clinias acknowledge the fact that a monarch can easily change the moral habits of a State by setting a good example to others; such a result "is not impossible or difficult to bring about". Obviously, a property reading can hardly be considered the default construal for the construction *estin … genomenon*, where the lexically dynamic *gignomai* 'I become' takes perfective morphology (in other words, occurs as an aorist participle). It is thus not surprising to find that the three contextual factors which indicate a property reading with the present participle of lexically dynamic predicates (what I have called "de-transitivizing elements"; see above) are all present: we have an inanimate subject, *eimi* is used in the present tense, and the participle is co-ordinated with an adjective (i.e. *adunaton* 'impossible'). With regard to the integration of the component parts too, I would suggest the interpretation I argued for above with the present participle of lexically dynamic verbs: only a single component state of *eimi* is elaborated, but not by a single representative component state of the participle, but rather by the entire complex relationship profiled (which in the case of the aorist participle is temporally bounded)[20].

Of course, this leaves us with the question why the present participle has not been used (i.e. *estin … gignomenon*, rather than *estin … genomenon*)? According to Alexander (1883:306), in cases such as (16) "the nature of the signification of the verb brings about the use of the aor[ist] in preference to the pres[ent]", but because the writer felt that an aorist form (i.e. *genomenon*) was not fitted to express the characteristic, he "annexed the *an* and thus gave the requisite ge-

neralizing force". However, this does not explain (a) why forms such as *gignomenon estin* (that is, with present participle) are well attested in Plato (e.g. *Leg.* 901c; *Phil.* 39c; *Pol.* 301d), and (b) why the addition of the modal particle *an* would make *genomenon* more characteristic: while it is true that *potentialis* and *irrealis* are less transitive modes than *realis* (see note 13), at the same time *an* is a typically verbal particle. I would suggest that by combining *an* with the aorist participle, the writer/speaker situates the event denoted by the participle in a modal sphere of potentiality, without any particular emphasis on its duration: the result *could* occur[21]. (It is interesting to note that in another example, from Demosthenes (21.114), the aorist participle is also found combined with this particle).

Our second example, (17), comes from Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*. Oedipus reacts at Creon's announcement of good news by saying that he is feeling neither confident, *thrasus*, nor prematurely afraid, *prodeisas*. Several authors, among whom Aerts (1965:34) and Rijksbaron (2006:128), suggest a unique instance of adjectival periphrasis with the aorist participle. Compared to example (16) (and also (14) and (15)), we again encounter a number of potentially de-transitivizing elements, such as the use of the present tense and co-ordination with a regular adjective (i.e. *thrasus*). There is, however, also an important difference between the two examples: in (17), a lexically stative predicate is used, *prodeidō* 'I fear prematurely' (only attested in this specific example, according to Liddell & Scott, 1968:473). Typically, when stative verbs are combined with perfective morphology (i.e. when they occur as an aorist participle), emphasis is put on the initial state, resulting in an ingressive

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20   In light of what I have discussed above (cf. note 19), it is not surprising to learn that the participle *genomenon* is interpreted substantively by Aerts (1965:30), with the meaning of 'this is not something that is difficult to bring about'.

21   In this context, it is worth noting that the combination of the aorist optative with *an* and the negation was very common (Smyth, 1984[1920]:407). In another example, however, the aorist participle is also combined with the modal particle *an*, but without the negation: *est' asebēs kai miaros kai pan an hupostas eipein kai praksai* (Dem. 21.114) "he is impious, foul and would consent to say or do anything".

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reading. While the starting point of Oedipus' not being prematurely afraid can indeed be situated at an earlier time, that is, during Creon's words, an ingressive nuance is somewhat backgrounded: the main emphasis seems to lie on how Oedipus feels at the very time of speaking. As indicated by Aerts (1965:34), Kamerbeek (1967:47) and Rijksbaron (2006:128), we may be dealing here with a so-called 'tragic' or 'dramatic' aorist (see e.g. Smyth, 1984[1920]:432; Lloyd, 1999; Rijksbaron, 2006:29-30; Bary, 2009:121-132), which typically occurs with a restricted class of 'performative' verbs (verbs of judgement, emotion, saying, ordering and advising; Bary, 2009:121). Compare, for example, with example (18), where the aorist *ōimōks'* (from *oimōzō* 'I pity, bewail') denotes Orestes' immediate reaction at Electra's words (I borrow this example from Rijksbaron, 2006:29):

> (18) El. *egēmamesth', ō kseine, thanasimon gamon.*/ Or. *ōimōks' adelphon son. Mukēnaiōn tini*;
> [El. we:have:married, o stranger, a:deadly marriage. Or. I (:have:begun:to:feel):pity brother:your. Of:the:Mycenaeans with:who?]
> '*El.* I have been married in a deadly marriage. *Or.* I feel a sting of pity for your brother. What man of Mycenae is your husband?' (tr. Rijksbaron)

Because of this particular use, *prodeisas eimi* 'I am fearing prematurely' resembles constructions with the present participle of verbs of lexicalized predication of qualities (cf. *supra*) such as *esesthe … orgizomenoi* 'you will be angry' (Lyc., *Leoc.* 27) or *mainomenoi eisin* 'they are mad' (Pl., *Prt.* 350b), i.e. those where the participle expresses a mental property. It would seem though that the state of not fearing prematurely is one of shorter duration, pertaining specifically to the time of speaking.

Whether in (17) too one representative component state of *eimi* is elaborated by the entire complex relationship profiled by the participle

prodeisas is hard to say: on the one hand, there is the parallel with the other examples (both with present and aorist participle), and the co-ordination with the true adjective (which would make it logical that *eimi* is interpreted twice in the same way), though on the other hand *prodeisas eimi* diverges from what we have seen thus far in that there is no real opposition between a property reading and an actual occurrence reading, as the sense of 'I began to fear prematurely' is implied by the tragic aorist. Clearly, we are dealing with a borderline case here.

4. Conclusion

I have shown that adjectival periphrasis can be given a unified semantic description: it typically involves the predication of properties, and not objects or actions. I have discussed such predication of properties in terms of a "property reading" (which I have contrasted with an "actual occurrence reading"), distinguishing between cases where a property reading can be considered the default construal, and cases where it does not, on the basis of the notion "transitivity" (in the broad sense of Hopper & Thompson, 1980), paying particular attention to the parameter of lexical/grammatical aspect. A central argument has been that a property reading involves a particular kind of conceptual integration, whereby only one component state of the verb *eimi* is elaborated by the participle[22].

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