

PROG IMPERFECTIVE DRIFT IN ANCIENT GREEK? RECONSIDERING ΕΙΜΙ ‘BE’ WITH PRESENT PARTICIPLE

Abstract: In this paper, I reconsider the diachrony of the Ancient Greek periphrastic construction of εἰμί with present participle by means of Bertinetto’s recently proposed model for the development of progressive grams (a process called ‘PROG imperfective drift’). While Bertinetto’s proposal sheds new light on the diachronic development of the construction, at the same time the evidence from Ancient Greek brings to light the need for modification and further refinement of the model (most importantly with regard to the role of what I call the ‘stative’ function, next to the diachronic source(s) of the construction). I furthermore show that εἰμί with present participle never fully developed a (focalized) progressive function, which can be explained in terms of ‘constructional competition’.

Keywords: PROG imperfective drift, Ancient Greek, BE-periphrasis.

1. INTRODUCTION: PROG IMPERFECTIVE DRIFT

No participial periphrastic¹ construction of Ancient Greek² has received greater attention than εἰμί with present participle. It has been studied from a variety of perspectives, both synchronic and diachronic, often with considerable disagreement between individual scholars. Rosén (1957) for example has offered an in-depth analysis of Herodotus’ use of the construction, with far-reaching (‘stylistic’, as Dover 1968:87 has it) consequences, but his proposal was not widely accepted, and has hardly ever been mentioned in the literature (but see Gonda 1959 and Rydbeck 1969). The (perhaps better-known) diachronic studies of Aerts (1965) and Dietrich (1973a/b) have both analyzed the diachronic development of the construction in Ancient Greek, though seemingly with diametrically opposed conclusions: while according to Aerts the construction was functionally restricted (i.e. confined to a stative function), Dietrich argues that it did develop a ‘progressive’ function (‘Winkelschau’ in Dietrich’s terminology), to a much larger extent than is generally thought. Perhaps due to such disagreement, the construction of εἰμί with present participle does not seem to be widely known, and as such is only occasionally referred to in the otherwise booming literature on similar phenomena in the other European languages.³ This is all the more remarkable as the importance of the presence of periphrastic constructions in Ancient Greek (including the Post-classical period) has been

¹ There has been quite some discussion about the identification of verbal periphrasis and its definition as a grammatical concept, both with regard to Ancient Greek and cross-linguistically (see e.g. Haspelmath 2000; as for participial periphrasis in Ancient Greek, contrast e.g. Porter 1989, who only accepts constructions with εἰμί as periphrastic, with Dietrich 1973a/b, who describes a broad range of ‘periphrastic’ constructions with a variety of finite verbs such as γίγνομαι “I become”, ἔρχομαι “I go”, ἔχω “I have”, τυγχάνω “I am, happen to be”). Following Bentein (2011b), I consider verbal periphrasis a prototypically organized category, with some constructions constituting central or ‘prototypical’ members, and others more peripheral ones (some key criteria being ‘conceptual integration’, ‘syntactic contiguity’ and ‘paradigmatic integration’). From a diachronic point of view, the constructions considered periphrastic in the secondary literature correspond to different degrees of grammaticalization. In this paper I concentrate on the use of εἰμί as a finite verb.

² I use the term ‘Ancient Greek’ here to refer to the Archaic (9 c. B.C. – 6 c. B.C.) and Classical periods (5 c. B.C. – 4 c. B.C.).

³ For example, Ancient Greek (contrary to Latin) is virtually absent in the cross-linguistic volume on tense and aspect edited by Dahl (2000).

repeatedly stressed in the context of similar developments in Latin and the Romance languages (cf. e.g. Coseriu 1996; Dietrich 1998; Amenta 2003; but see Giacalone Ramat 2008:140 for a critical evaluation concerning the construction of ἔχω “I have” with participle).

In the present study I propose to reopen the debate on the basis of recent developments in the cross-linguistic study of tense and aspect. My research is based on an extensive survey of the specialized literature regarding Archaic and Classical Greek, most notably Alexander (1885), Barbelenet (1913), Björck (1940), Rosén (1957), Aerts (1965) and Dietrich (1973a).⁴ Taken together, the evidence collected from these studies covers a large part of the Ancient Greek literature, both prose and poetry, amounting to a total number of nearly five hundred examples⁵ (so it would seem that Kahn’s 1973:141 generalizing statements that periphrasis in this period of the language is “essentially a construction with perfect participles”, and furthermore that the use with present participle is infrequent, are rather questionable).

While the landmark study of Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994) remains somewhat vague about the developmental stages of the progressive gram-type (for discussion of the concepts ‘gram’ (short for ‘grammatical morpheme’) and ‘gram-type’, see Bybee & Dahl 1989), Bertinetto and his co-workers have recently proposed an innovative model (Bertinetto 1995; Bertinetto 2000; Bertinetto, Ebert & de Groot 2000; cf. also Bertinetto 1986), which hypothesizes the following five developmental stages for what they term ‘PROG imperfective drift’ (cf. Bertinetto 1995:52; Bertinetto, Ebert & de Groot 2000:540):

(i) pure locativity: Progressives are taken to originate from a locative source-construction (a commonly made assumption, see e.g. Comrie 1976:98-103; Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994:136). Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:133) illustrate with the modern-day use of the English progressive for a location inquiry, as in (1), which can be interpreted in terms of the persistence of the original function of the construction, “to give the location of an agent as in the midst of an activity”.

(1) *A: Where’s Lou? B: He’s taking a bath (having a nap, etc.)*

⁴ It goes beyond the limits of this paper to give an exhaustive analysis of the entire Archaic and Classical Greek literature, so I have decided to rely on these studies rather than to analyze a selective sub-corpus myself.

⁵ Not included are: (1) examples with ellipsis of a form of the verb εἶμι (which are not discussed by the above mentioned studies; moreover, it is not entirely unproblematic whether we are dealing with ‘ellipsis’ in all cases); (2) examples which have been differently edited in text of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*; (3) examples which I myself do not consider periphrastic. As for the third point, I do consider examples with so-called ‘adjectival’ participles periphrastic (see Bentein 2011a, 2011b).

For the purposes of this investigation, the corpus can be subdivided as follows: *Archaic Greek*: Archilochus, Homer, Xenophanes; *fifth-century Classical Greek*: Aeschylus, Andocides, Antiphon, Aristophanes, Euripides, Herodotus, Lysias, Pindar, Sophocles, Thucydides; *fourth-century Classical Greek*: Aeschines, Demosthenes, Hippocrates and the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, Isaeus, Isocrates, Lycurgus, Plato, Xenophon.

A locative origin is also apparent in languages such as Dutch and German, where the progressive is formed with a locative preposition (e.g. Dutch “aan (het)”, as in “Hij is aan het eten”, lit. “He is on the eating”).

(ii) progressivity I: The second stage corresponds to the first phase of grammaticalization: the construction takes on a durative function,⁶ though it is still ‘residually locative’ (in other words, the durative and locative functions co-exist). The originally locative verb begins to develop into an auxiliary, and the non-finite verb form gradually acquires the status of ‘head’ of the construction. One of the examples cited by Bertinetto (2000:564) is (2) (from G. Galilei), where the postural verb *stare* “to stand” is used.

(2) *e domani vi starò attendendo amendue per continuare i discorsi cominciati*

“... and tomorrow I shall be here, waiting for you both to continue our conversation”

(iii) progressivity II: In the third stage, the construction is exclusively durative. The locative verb is now fully grammaticalized as an auxiliary (Killie 2008:73). Contrary to the focalized progressives of stage (iv), durative progressives are compatible with perfective tenses (e.g. Spanish *estuvo leyendo todo el día*, “S/he spent the whole day reading”; Bertinetto, Ebert & de Groot 2000:535). According to Bertinetto (1995:53), most of the Germanic prepositional periphrases as well as the Romance periphrases with verbs of movement can be located in this stage, as in the Italian example (3):

(3) *Teresa andava scrutando l’orizzonte*

“Teresa was scanning the horizon”

(iv) progressivity III: in the fourth stage, the construction is used with a so-called ‘focalized’ function. The difference with the previous, durative stages, lies in the fact that the event is not simply durative, but that it is evaluated with regard to a single point in time, called the focalization point (see inside for further discussion). A well-known type is the English ‘frame-construction’ (Killie 2008:72; compare Pollak’s 1976 ‘schéma d’incidence’), where the event denoted by the progressive construction functions as a background for another, foregrounded event, as in (4).

(4) *I was reading the newspaper, when my colleague came in*

⁶ Aspectual (sub)functions are variously referred to with terms such as ‘interpretation’, ‘meaning’, ‘reading’, ‘use’, ‘value’ ... , (sometimes, though not always) depending on whether one takes a monosemist, polysemist or homonymist stance towards the debate on aspect and multifunctionality. I follow Haspelmath (2003:212) in using ‘function’ as a neutral term.

(v) pure imperfectivity: in the final stage, the progressive construction is reduced to a purely imperfective form, “a form not restricted to progressive contexts, but appearing also in habitual ones, thus behaving like a typically general-purpose imperfective tense such as the Romance Imperfect” (Bertinetto, Ebert & de Groot 2000:540). Comrie (1976:100) indicates that this is the case in Scots Gaelic, whereby he mentions our example (5) (for additional examples, see Johanson 2000:99-100). According to Bertinetto, Ebert & de Groot (2000:540), none of the Romance languages have attained this stage.

(5) *tha e a' seinn*

“he is singing, he sings”

It may be clear that the development proposed by Bertinetto and his co-workers, the first four stages in particular, corresponds to a typical grammaticalization-process. In order to describe the shift from a ‘lexical’ meaning ‘A’ to an alternative ‘grammatical’ function ‘B’, Marchello-Nizia (2006:261) has recently advanced a cognitively-inspired, four-stage model whereby an initially secondary feature becomes increasingly more prominent. Schematically, her model can be represented as follows: $A \rightarrow Ab \rightarrow aB \rightarrow B$, whereby A represents the initial stage, Ab a stage of potential ambiguity, aB a stage of extension, whereby the lexical meaning becomes less and less likely, and B the stage in which the new, grammatical function is clearly separated from the old, lexical meaning. Bertinetto’s proposal fits this abstract model quite well, A being the initial locative stage, Ab the ambiguous durative stage, aB the stage with exclusively durative function, and B the focalized-progressive stage.

In conclusion of this introductory part, it is important to note that Bertinetto does not present his model as necessarily valid for all languages, but rather as a starting point for further research: “tout cela ne constitue, au niveau actuel de la recherche, qu’une série d’hypothèses raisonnablement fondées sur les données, mais destinées à être précisées et intégrées par les recherches futures” (Bertinetto 1995:541). While Bertinetto’s model sheds new light on the diachronic development of Ancient Greek εἶμί with present participle, at the same time it will be apparent that the evidence from Ancient Greek can contribute to further refine the proposal (the need for which has also been argued for by other recent assessments, see e.g. Killie 2008). I return to this point at the end of my article, in §5.

2. THE SEMANTICS OF IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT

2.1. Aspectual functions⁷

Before starting the diachronic analysis, it is worth having a closer look at three of the major imperfective⁸ functions – recognized both by grammars of Ancient Greek and cross-linguistic studies on tense and aspect (e.g. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:125-127) – which play an important role in the discussion that is to follow. My examples are taken from English, Italian and Ancient Greek (for Ancient Greek I have chosen synthetic examples, as the periphrastic cases will be discussed in detail later on).

2.1.1. *The progressive function*

Progressives denote an event that is in the midst of happening ('in progress'), e.g. the event of reading in "he was reading when John came in". As such, Bertinetto (1997:223) considers 'progressive' to be a prototypical exponent of ('unbounded') imperfective aspect (see footnote 8). In general, the progressive function does not occur with non-dynamic predicates, or to put it the other way around, "the progressive is typically used for actions that require a constant input of energy to be sustained" (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:126). According to Langacker (1995:179) this actional restriction can be explained by the fact that the progressive has an 'imperfectivizing' (= stativizing) function, so that it would be superfluous with predicates that are already stative (Castelnovo 1993, however, argues that the progressive 'detelicizes' rather than that it stativizes; Bertinetto 1997:83 in similar vein remarks that the progressive can also function as a 'destativizing tool', as in "he is being silly").

As we have already seen, a distinction can be made between two types of progressive, called 'focalized' and 'durative', depending on whether the 'focalization point' (Bertinetto, Ebert & de Groot 2000:527; compare Ruijgh's 1985:10 ff. 'moment donné') is overtly specified (by lexical or pragmatic means). Compare examples (6) and (7).

(6) ὦ φίλοι, Οὐτίς με κτείνει δόλῳ οὐδὲ βίηφι (Hom., *Od.* 9.408)⁹

"my friends, it is Noman that is slaying me by guile and not by force" (tr. Murray)

(7) μετὰ ταῦτα ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν γῆν, καὶ ἐκεῖ διέτριβεν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐβάπτιζεν (Jhn. 3.22)

⁷ For ease of reference, I will refer to constructions with a progressive function as 'progressives', to those with a stative function as 'statives' and to those with a habitual function as 'habituals'.

⁸ In terms of Croft's 2010 two-dimensional aspectual model (figuring a qualitative and a temporal axis), we can define imperfective grammatical aspect in terms of unboundedness on the temporal axis.

⁹ Here as in the remainder of my paper the Greek text of the examples follows the online *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>). Translations are mainly based on the Loeb series, though at times (slightly) modified (as indicated).

“later, Jesus and his disciples went to Judea, where he stayed with them for a while and was baptizing people” (CEV)

In (6), the event of killing happens in strict connection with a focalization point, which is pragmatically provided (that is, it coincides with the time of speaking). While, as Bertinetto, Ebert & de Groot (2000:565) indicate, this use of the progressive can be considered prototypical (and is by far the most often referred to in the literature), we must also recognize a second type of progressive, which is evaluated relative to a longer period of time. In (7), there is no strict connection with a single focalization point: the imperfect ἐβόπιζεν denotes the continuance of a process in a broader time-frame (Fanning 1990:206). In examples such as these, there may be a sense of iteration or repetition, though not necessarily (depending on the lexical aspect¹⁰ of the verb in question, see Bertinetto 1997:227 (fn. 8) and Fanning 1990:244-9).

It has been noted in connection with the focalized type that it indicates limited extension of the situation in time (Leech 2004:19; cf. Bertinetto 1986:123-4). In the previously mentioned (6), for example, the event of slaying gets a so-called ‘imminential’ reading (Bertinetto, Ebert & de Groot 2000:534): it will soon be terminated, though at the time of speaking this is not the case yet. While the durative progressive often indicates a longer stretch of time, it must be stressed that this time period need not be indefinite or indeterminate. In example (8) (borrowed from Bertinetto 2000:571), the event indicated by the progressive occurs between two well-defined points in time.

(8) [*Yesterday, during my sleep*], *Ann was playing for two hours all by herself*

2.1.2. *The stative function*¹¹

Contrary to progressives, which denote an ongoing event, statives refer to a situation which remains constant over time. Under this heading, we can group two different types of examples, which are illustrated in (9) and (10) respectively.

¹⁰ Here as in the remainder of my paper, I make use of the well-known Vendlerian classification of lexical aspect or *Aktionsart* (Vendler 1957), which distinguishes between verbs of *State*, *Activity*, *Accomplishment* and *Achievement*. These four classes can be 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).

¹¹ Though I adopt a uni-dimensional approach towards aspect, I believe it is worth making a notional distinction between what is known as *lexical aspect* (or *Aktionsart*) and *grammatical aspect*. In this context we must be careful – as one of the referees stresses – not to confuse ‘stative’ as an *Aktionsart* category (in a Vendlerian sense) with ‘stative’ as a grammatical aspect category (for this use of ‘stative’, see e.g. Jones 1996:140; Croft 2010:4.19-21). Their independence is clearly indicated by the fact that the stative function does not presuppose stative *Aktionsart*, as example (9) shows, and that verbs having stative *Aktionsart* can be used with different aspectual functions. As an alternative, we could use Comrie’s ‘non-progressive’ (1976:25), but this has the disadvantage that (a) it departs from a negative definition; (b) the term ‘non-progressive’ is rather uncommon. Killie (2008:81) speaks of ‘stative progressives’, which may be even more confusing.

(9) πᾶς ἄνθρωπος πρῶτον τὸν καλὸν οἶνον τίθησιν (Jhn. 2.10)

“every man first serves the good wine” (WEB, slightly modified)

(10) τούτων ἡ μὲν ἡμετέρα πλουτεῖ πόλις, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀντιπάλων σπανίζουσιν (Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 6.64.1)

“in these our commonwealth is rich, while there is a scarcity of them among our enemies” (tr. Cary)

In both cases, the subject is qualified (characterized) in a certain way. However, in (9) we have a kind-referring subject (πᾶς ἄνθρωπος “every man”) and a dynamic predicate (τίθημι “I put, give”), while in (10) we find a non-kind-referring subject (ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις “our city”) and a non-dynamic predicate (πλουτεῖ “it is rich). The former type of example is commonly considered a ‘generic’ or ‘gnomic’ utterance (cf. Bertinetto 1997:61-93 for the term ‘attitudinals’). In the remainder of my paper, I will not further distinguish between these two types, since (a) there is an ongoing debate about what should be considered ‘generic’ (see e.g. Declerk 1986:182 and Michaelis 2006:233, arguing that genericity is a prototype-based concept),¹² and (b) making such a strict distinction is not required for a correct evaluation of the diachronic evolution of εἰμί with present participle (and by extension the grammaticalization path advanced by Bertinetto and his co-workers).

2.1.3. *The habitual function*

Habituals express the repeated occurrence of an event or state over a period of time, so that it becomes characteristic (mostly of the subject of the sentence). In (11), for example, we find that Darius was so fond of a certain Zopyrus that he gave him gifts every year (note the habitual adverbial ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος).

(11) ἐτίμησε δέ μιν μεγάλως· καὶ γὰρ δῶρά οἱ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐδίδου ταῦτα τὰ Πέρσησί ἐστι τιμιώτατα (Hdt. 3.160.2)

“he honored him very much; every year he gave him such gifts as the Persians hold most precious” (tr. Godley)

Some scholars do not make a strict distinction between statives (generics) and habituals, as both can be considered ‘characterizing’: a sentence such as “Mike runs ten kilometers every week” accords the property of running ten kilometers every week to its subject, Mike. In the context of this paper, however, I will follow Bertinetto (1997:84, 88) (cf. also Brinton 1987;

¹² Cf. also Lanérés (1994:315), who in her work on the Ancient Greek nominal sentence comments as follows on the distinction between ‘vérité générale’ and ‘vérité particulière’: “l’exemple cité permet en outre de se rendre compte de l’extrême facilité avec laquelle s’opère le passage entre vérité générale et vérité particulière: il suffit pour cela de l’adjonction ou de la suppression d’un datif à valeur particularisante, d’un pronom personnel ou d’un adverbe de temps. Le passage d’un type de phrase à l’autre se fait de façon progressive, il est scalaire”.

Bertinetto & Lenci 2010:14), who notes that habituais can be distinguished from statives (generics) on the basis of the fact that the former have an eventive character, or, in other words, that habituais refer to specific occurrences while generics do not. With regard to the Italian examples (12) and (13), Bertinetto (1997:211) notes the following: “[8a] [= our example (12)] qualifica il soggetto dell’enunciato rispetto ad una sua proprietà strutturale, indipendentemente dalla frequenza con cui essa si manifesta, mentre [8b] [= our example (13)] qualifica esplicitamente la frequenza dell’evento”.

(12) *questo motore fuma*

“this engine smokes”

(13) *questo motore fuma spesso*

“this engine often smokes”

On the other hand, habituais resemble durative progressives in so far as the latter can also denote repetition (though not necessarily), as noted above. The main difference lies in the fact habituais refer to sequences that are repeated over a much longer period of time (Oldsjö 2001:225). As Comrie (1976:27-8) notes, “the feature that is common to all habituais ... is that they describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment, but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period”. Of course, what constitutes an ‘extended period of time’ remains open to interpretation (see Fanning 1990:212).

2.2. Focality

In the context of the distinction between the ‘durative’ and ‘focalized’ progressives, it is worth referring to recent work by Johanson (2000), who in his massive article on viewpoint operators in the European languages has introduced the scalar notion of *focality*,¹³ which bears an obvious affinity with Bertinetto’s concept of focalization (though it should be stressed that the two are not identical). Johanson notes that so-called ‘intraterminals’ (more or less corresponding to what are commonly called ‘imperfectives’) display higher and lower degrees of focality, which concerns “the concentration (focus) of the psychological interest on the situation obtaining at O [= orientation point],¹⁴ the core of ‘nunc’” (2000:85). More

¹³ Compare Fanning (1990:198-255, esp. 210-1) (‘continuum from narrow to wide reference’) and Lanérés (1994:378-380) (‘degrés d’actualisation’) with regard to Ancient Greek.

¹⁴ On orientation point, see Johanson (2000:29): “aspects are relational in the sense that they present events by relating their limits to some point of view, an orientation point, abbreviated O. Expressed in localistic terms, such points of view can be situated inside or outside the global event”.

specifically, Johanson distinguishes between three cardinal degrees of focality: (a) relatively *high focality* (“uni-occasional events, basically confined to the immediate proximity of O and actually performed there”), (b) *relatively low focality* (“uni- or pluri-occasional events, not confined to the immediate proximity of O, but actually performed there”), and (c) *nonfocality* (“uni- or pluri- occasional events, in principle being the case at O, but not actually performed there”). Focalized progressives thus correspond to ‘intraterminals of high focality’, being indicative of a ‘narrow presentness’, while durative progressives correspond to ‘intraterminals of relatively low focality’, being indicative of an ‘expanded presentness’ (Johanson 2000:87). In this framework, statives and habituais, indicating an ‘open presentness’ (Johanson 2000:87-8), are non-focal (or at least situated at the lower end of the focality scale).

I believe that relating Johanson’s conception to the description of imperfective functions, more specifically Bertinetto’s proposed diachronic development, while increasing the (potentially confusing) terminology that is adopted, has two important advantages: (a) the concept of focality, more particularly the three cardinal degrees of focality, can be used to describe and compare all imperfective functions (while Bertinetto’s proposal is restricted to the progressive function);¹⁵ (b) at the same time, this concept helps to specify the distinction between ‘focalized’ and ‘durative’ progressives.¹⁶

3. RECONSIDERING THE DIACHRONY OF εἶμι WITH PRESENT PARTICIPLE

In what follows, I analyze the diachronic evolution of εἶμι with present participle in Archaic Greek (8th – 6th c. B.C.) (§3.1.), fifth-century Classical Greek (§3.2.) and fourth-century Classical Greek (§3.3), the discussion being guided by the PROG grammaticalization path introduced in §1.

¹⁵ In my view, the distinction made by Bertinetto between a durative and a focalized type is useful for the *description* of progressives, but cannot be used to define the progressive function. Bertinetto (1997:64) seems to think otherwise, as he would classify an example such as the following as progressive: “when John arrived home yesterday, I was very hungry”. I do not want to deny that there may be a gray area between progressives and statives (in the sense that statives may be focal to a greater or lesser degree), but it does seem best not to consider examples such as “I am hungry”, i.e. with a stative predicate, as progressive. Johanson’s approach, which works with an explicitly scalar notion, does not face such problems.

¹⁶ I take it that focalized progressives are always high-focal, which seems to be implicit in Bertinetto’s conception. Without this requirement there would not be any durative progressives in the present tense, as a focalization point is always available in such cases (for an Italian example of a durative progressive in the present tense, see Bertinetto 1986:173: “sono molto seccato: Luca sta facendo i compiti nella sua stanza, e Fabrizio *gioca* rumorosamente nella stanza accanto, *canterella*, di tanto in tanto *accende* la televisione; insomma, non si può certo dire che *aiuti* il fratello a concentrarsi”). Pusch (2003:186) seems to hold a different opinion: “present reference, being imperfective *per definitionem*, does not allow situations or processes to be visualized as durative, without, however, precluding the option of emphasizing them as on-going at the reference point”.

3.1. Archaic Greek

There is considerable disagreement about the existence of periphrasis with the present participle in Archaic Greek. Aerts (1965:14)¹⁷ contends that “periphrasis with the present participle does not occur in Homer” (cf. similarly Kahn (1973:131), who states that “periphrasis with the perfect participle is the oldest and the only one unquestionably attested in Homer”). Other scholars, however, such as Dietrich (1973:189-90), Porter (1989:457) and Amenta (2003:75-6), refer to Homeric examples such as (14) and (15),¹⁸ which Amenta translates with “già fuori dalla città, dove sorge il colle di Hermes, stavo andando, quando vidi una nave veloce che entrava nel nostro porto” and “ma quando stavo andando alla nave ricurva ...” (only v. 10.156) respectively, suggesting a focalized progressive function for ἦα κιών (cf. similarly *Od.* 12.368 and 24.491, both with the adverb σχεδόν “near”). Amenta (2003:75) also notes that in these examples εἰμί must be desemanticized to a large extent, as its existential-locative meaning would be incompatible with verbs of movement (compare Bertinetto, Ebert & de Groot 2000:532).

(14) ἦδη ὑπὲρ πόλιος, ὅθι Ἑρμαιοῖος λόφος ἐστίν, / ἦα κιών, ὅτε νῆα θοὴν ἰδόμην
κατιούσαν / ἐς λιμέν’ ἡμέτερον (*Hom., Od.* 16.471-3)¹⁹

“I was now above the city, as I went on my way, where the hill of Hermes is, when I saw a swift ship putting into our harbor” (tr. Murray)

(15) ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦα κιών νεὸς ἀμφιελίσσης, / καὶ τότε τίς με θεῶν ὀλοφύρατο
μοῦνον ἐόντα (*Hom., Od.* 10.156-7)

“but when, as I went, I was near to the curved ship, then some god took pity on me in my loneliness ...” (tr. Murray)

While these are interesting examples, Amenta’s interpretation is far from evident (see also footnote 18). In Murray’s translation, εἰμί has a locative meaning (cf. Guiraud 1962:177-88 and Kahn 1973:156-9 for this use of Homeric εἰμί), and the participle is appositive (“as I went

¹⁷ Aerts (1965:14) does mention the case of θεοῖσ’ ἀλιτήμενός ἐστι (*Hom., Il.* 4.807), but feels that the participial form ἀλιτήμενος has not been elucidated sufficiently (Liddell & Scott 1968 list the form as an aorist participle from the verb ἀλιταίνω; Lasso de la Vega 1955:174, 180 considers it a perfect form). According to Tichy (1977:168), the participle reads ἀλιτήμενος rather than *ἀλιτούμενος because of the influence of the form ἀλιτήμων. In her opinion, θεοῖσ’ ἀλιτήμενος must mean “den Göttern verhaßt”, pointing attention to parallels both in Homer (φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι “dear to the immortal gods”, *Il.* 20.347) and Hesiod (ἐχθρὸς ... θεοῖσιν “hateful to the gods”, *Theog.* 766). This would suggest a (stative or durative progressive) periphrastic interpretation, which might not be entirely unproblematic: by analogy with Archil., *Fragm.* 1.1-2 εἰμί ... ἐπιστάμενος “I am one who knows” (cf. Björck 1940:93), the participle could be interpreted substantivally (in the sense of “he is one who is (being) hated”).

¹⁸ All of these scholars omit to mention the problematic nature of the participial form involved in these two cases. Lasso de la Vega (1955:173) among others considers κιών to be an aorist participle, corresponding to the aorist κίε, though noting that “al no oponer al aoristo un tema de presente, la interpretación de sus formas, como de presente o de aoristo, debía de ser ambigua”. For the accentuation of κιών, Liddell & Scott (1968:955) refer to the form ἰών, while Chantraine (1968:536) writes that “it may be that of the aorist”.

¹⁹ For the sake of clarity, periphrastic forms (also the ambiguous ones) are underlined.

on my way”) (for the appositive use of the participle, see Rijksbaron 2006:132-3). The most one can argue for is that the forms in these examples are ambiguous between a lexical, locative interpretation and a periphrastic, progressive one, depending on whether one considers it possible to take locative elements such as ὑπὲρ πόλιος “above the city” and σχεδόν “near” (the latter of which seems to have escaped Amenta’s attention, given the above mentioned translation) with the participle, rather than with εἰμί. Porter (1989:457), for one, seems to think this is possible: he suggests to translate (15) with “but when I was in progress going near a rowing ship” (cf. also Dietrich 1973a:189). As Liddell & Scott (1968) indicate, the use of σχεδόν with verbs of motion is attested elsewhere (e.g. *Il.* 9.304: σχεδὸν ἔλθοι, *Od.* 4.439 σχεδὸν ἦλθομεν (twice meaning “to go/come near”)).

Another example worth mentioning here is (16) (which, as Guiraud 1962:125 indicates, is related to expressions of the type ἡὼς δέ μοί ἐστιν ἦδε δωδεκάτη, ὅτ’ ἐς Ἴλιον εἰλήλουθα (*Hom., Il.* 21.80-1) “this is my twelfth morn since I came to Ilios” (tr. Murray)).

(16) ἡμῖν δ’ εἴνατός ἐστι περιτροπέων ἐνιαυτὸς / ἐνθάδε μιμνόντεσσι (*Hom., Il.* 2.295-6).

“but for us, who abide here, it is the ninth year that is turning” (tr. Murray, modified)

Perhaps one would be inclined to interpret this example as non-periphrastic, i.e. with a possessive-existential εἰμί and an attributive participle, lit. “for us is the ninth revolving year”. Kirk (1985:147), however, draws attention to *Il.* 2.134, where it is said that nine years have already gone by. As such, he believes the correct interpretation must be (periphrastic) “for us it is the ninth year that is turning (i.e. at an end)”. In other words, we would be dealing here with a focalized progressive, with the focalization point coinciding with the time of speaking (compare with (6)). The difficulty of this alternative interpretation lies in the supposedly telic *Aktionsart* of περιτροπέω (i.e. “to turn”, rather than “to revolve”): τροπέω is generally taken to be a durative-iterative verb (derived from τρέπω, with o-Umlaut and suffix -ej-; compare with cases such as φέρω – φορέω, πέτομαι – ποτέομαι (Sihler 1995:504)).

While none of these early examples is completely unproblematic – which is exactly what we would expect for the early stages of development – rather surprisingly they tend towards the focalized rather than the durative progressive type.²⁰ Examples (15) and (16) are even used in what Killie (2008:72) calls a ‘frame-construction’ (Pusch 2003:182 uses the term ‘incidence schema’, after Pollak 1976), a prototypical environment for focalized progressives (e.g. “I was listening to Mozart, when she kicked me”, where the progressive verb form

²⁰ As one referee notes, however, we must be very careful drawing any conclusions, given the precarious nature of the above discussed examples.

functions as a background for another event; In Ancient Greek, twice (*Od.* 10.156, 12.368) the correlative ὅτε δὴ ... καὶ τότε ... “but when” ... “then” ... is used, with ἦα κιών in the protasis and a synthetic aorist in the apodosis). Perhaps we are dealing here with a phenomenon which is not entirely uncommon in historical linguistics, whereby random occurrences of an innovation can be found long before it really takes off (Croft 2000:60-1).

As for the other Archaic authors, there does not seem to be much additional evidence. One example, which is mentioned by Dietrich (1973a:190), comes from Xenophanes, and is mentioned here under (17).²¹

(17) ἤδη δ' ἑπτὰ τ' ἔασι καὶ ἑξήκοντ' ἐνιαυτοὶ / βληστρίζοντες ἐμὴν φροντίδ' ἀν'
Ἑλλάδα γῆν (Xenoph., *Fragm.* 8, 3-5).

“already there are seven and sixty years tossing about my counsel throughout the land of Greece” (tr. Leshner)

I believe the most likely interpretation is the one chosen by Leshner (1992), that is with an existential εἰμί and an appositive participle βληστρίζοντες. It is hard to evaluate whether we are dealing here with a truly ambiguous example, partially because of the personified inanimate subject ἐνιαυτοί “years”. According to Dietrich (1973a:190), a (durative)²² progressive interpretation is a plausible alternative (“bereits siebenundsechzig Jahre sind dabei, meine Sorge ... zu treiben”), but I find it hard to defend. If correct, however, the example forms an early piece of evidence that the origins of the periphrastic construction do not exclusively lie with locative εἰμί (as encountered in Homer, and hypothesized by Bertinetto’s model), an observation which will be confirmed in the discussion on fifth-century Classical Greek (§3.2).

3.2. Fifth-century Classical Greek

3.2.1. Progressives

In fifth-century Greek, progressives are attested with greater frequency (and certainty) than in Archaic Greek, as shown in table 1 (the role of statives will be discussed in §3.2.2).

²¹ The difficulty in this example is to interpret βληστρίζοντες in combination with φροντίδα. I do not find Dietrich’s (1973a:190) “siebenundsechzig Jahre sind es bereits, die meine Sorge ... treiben” very comprehensible. With Leshner (1992:69) I will take βληστρίζω to mean “I toss about” (here metaphorically used) and φροντίδα “counsel”. As Leshner (1992:69) notes, “the general sense of the remark is that he has spent sixty-seven years as an itinerant poet and thinker from the time he first left Colophon”.

²² Perhaps one would be inclined to consider this example focalized, with the time of speaking as focalization point. However, it would be hard to say that we are dealing here with a high-focal event in the sense of Johanson (“an uni-occasional event, basically confined to the immediate proximity of O and actually performed there”, see above). Cf. also Dietrich (1973a:190): “es handelt sich hier nicht um ein Zusammenfallen der Punkte A und B in C”.

Table 1: *Distribution of εἰμί with present participle (aspectual function)*²³

Author	Dates	Total	Ambiguous	Progressive	Stative
Aeschylus	c. 525/4 – 456/5 B.C.	6	2	0	4
Pindarus	522 – 443 B.C.	1	0	0	1
Sophocles	c. 496/5 – 406 B.C.	26	6	4	16
Herodotus	c. 485 – 424 B.C.	65	9	19	37
Euripides	c. 485/0 – 406 B.C.	17	4	5	8
Antiphon	480 – 411 B.C.	6	0	0	6
Thucydides	c. 460/55 – c. 400 B.C.	15	4	1	10
Aristophanes	c. 460 – 386 B.C.	10	3	3	4
Lysias	?459/8 – c. 380 B.C.	3	0	0	3

Following Bertinetto e.a., we can distinguish between ‘durative’ and ‘focalized’ progressives.

(1). *Durative progressives*. Little more than half (18/32) of the fifth-century progressives in my corpus are of the durative type (furthermore note that out of the 28 ambiguous examples, 10 could be interpreted as durative progressives, 10 as focalized progressives). Most of these occur in the work of the historians Herodotus and Thucydides. A first example I would like to discuss is (18).

(18) ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέοντες ὑπὲρ Ἁλικαρνησοῦ μεσόγαιαν, τοῖσι ὄκως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεον ἕσσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσι τε καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοισι, ἡ ἱρήνη τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχει· τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο (Hdt. 1.175.1)

“the Pedaseans were dwelling inland above Halicarnassus; when any misfortune was approaching them or their neighbors, the priestess of Athena grew a long beard. This had happened to them thrice” (tr. Godley, slightly modified)

In her recent study, Amenta (2003:68) writes that in this case ἦσαν ... οἰκέοντες assumes ‘una validità permanente’, which she proposes to interpret in terms of habituality. The label of habituality seems artificial, especially given the stative character of the verb οἰκέω “I dwell, inhabit” (for similar examples with οἰκέω, cf. Hdt. 2.61.2, 4.204.1, 5.9.1). In my view, we are confronted here with a durative, non-focalized, progressive. Rather than there being a single focalization point with regard to which the event of dwelling is evaluated, the periphrastic form encompasses an event (i.e. πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχει “she grew a beard”) that occurred repeatedly (τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο “it happened to them thrice”). The same can be seen in another example from Herodotus, (19), where the activity-verb φυλάσσω “I guard” is used.

(19) ἐπεῖτε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἑαυτὸν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἦν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων χαλεπός. Καὶ τὰς τε δίκας γράφοντες ἔσω παρ’ ἐκεῖνον ἐσπέμπεσκον, καὶ ἐκεῖνος διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε (Hdt. 1.100.1)

²³ Authors are arranged from oldest to youngest on the basis of birth year. The dates, which are often uncertain, largely follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (third edition). Given the importance of ambiguity in Bertinetto’s model, ambiguous examples are classified separately. Note that when such examples are interpreted periphrastically, they can have either a stative or a progressive function (though most often the latter).

“when he had made these arrangements and strengthened himself with sovereign power, he was a hard man in the protection of justice (lit. “he was protecting justice as a hard man”). They would write down their pleas and send them in to him; then he would pass judgment on what was brought to him and send his decisions out” (tr. Godley)

The periphrastic form denotes a low-focal event, which does not go on at a single point in time but encompasses a number of repeatedly occurring events (as indicated by the iteratives ἐσπέμπεσκον and ἐκπέμπεσκε). With Bertinetto (1986:164, 1997:229) we can speak of ‘pluri-focalization’ in such cases. In a third example, (20), the present tense is used, which might suggest a focalized interpretation, with the time of speaking being the focalization point.

(20) ὥς δὲ μὴ μακροῦς τείνω λόγους, / εἴ τις γυναικάς τῶν πρὶν εἶρηκεν κακῶς / ἢ νῦν λέγων ἔστιν τις ἣ μέλλει λέγειν, / ἅπαντα ταῦτα συντεμὼν ἐγὼ φράσω (Eur., *Hec.* 1177-80).

“but to spare you a lengthy speech, if any of the men of former times have spoken ill of women, if any is doing so now, or shall do so hereafter, I will say all this in one short sentence” (tr. Coleridge, slightly modified)

However, (20) bears an obvious similarity to our previous examples (18) and (19):²⁴ speaking ill of women does not concern a high-focal event that is ongoing at the time of speaking, but rather a low-focal, durative one (on the use of the durative progressive with the present tense, compare Bertinetto 1986:173; for a similar example with λέγω, see Hdt. 2.99.1). As has been noted by a number of scholars (see e.g. Fanning 1990:206), the adverb νῦν “now” is not necessarily confined to what is going on at the time of speaking, but can also be used to denote a longer period of time.

In a number of Herodotean examples, the construction of εἰμί with present participle (with a durative function) is used to provide background information (Hopper 1979), though not in its ‘traditional’ sense, i.e. to provide a frame encompassing one or more other ‘foregrounded’ events (for a continuum approach to levels of information relevance, cf. e.g. Fleischman 1985; Longacre 1996).²⁵ Rather, it provides additional, ‘non-event’ information (Grimes 1975;

²⁴ While I believe that the periphrastic forms in (19) and (20) denote the continuance of a process in a broad time-frame, one of the referees considers both examples stative. I agree that especially in (19) there is a thin line between what I describe as ‘statives of the second group’ (see below) and durative progressives. In (20), on the other hand, we are clearly dealing with a dynamic verb, without there being any contextual indications for a stative interpretation (see again below).

²⁵ The pragmatic relationship between imperfective synthetic aspect and εἰμί with present participle is in need of further research (even more so in Post-classical Greek). For some interesting observations with regard to the New Testament, see Amenta (2003:136-9).

Levinsohn 2011), e.g. to describe a setting (Hdt. 1.146.3),²⁶ or to provide explanatory²⁷ (Hdt. 1.152.1, 7.190.1) or performative information²⁸ (Her. 2.99.1). In illustration, consider (21).

(21) ἐχόντων δὲ τὸν πόνον τοῦτον τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἀτταγῖνος ὁ Φρύωνος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως ἐκάλεε ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτόν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Περσέων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, κληθέντες δὲ οὗτοι εἶποντο· ἦν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ποιεῦμενον ἐν Θήβησι (Hdt. 9.15.4)

“while the barbarians were engaged in this task, Attaginus son of Phrynon, a Theban, made great preparations and invited Mardonius with fifty who were the most notable of the Persians to be his guests at a banquet. They came as they were bidden; the dinner was being held at Thebes” (tr. Godley, slightly modified)

Amenta (2003:69), contrasting this example with the above discussed (18), writes that only in the former case the periphrastic form describes “una situazione come si presenta in un dato momento, quindi in stretto rapporto con il momento di riferimento che ne delimita la durata”, explicitly equating this example with another (ambiguous) example of a focalized progressive (Hdt. 8.37.3). In my view, we cannot speak of a focalized progressive in this case. Again, one could say that there is plurifocalization: ἦν .. ποιεῦμενον either encompasses all the events in the sentence, i.e. παρασκευασάμενος “he prepared”, ἐκάλεε “he invited” and εἶποντο “they came”, or specifically κληθέντες ... εἶποντο, meaning “they came as they were bidden”, rather than “they came when they were bidden”. Perhaps more importantly, however, the periphrastic form is used to identify the place where the dinner was held, i.e. where the main events of the narrative took place.

As predicted by Bertinetto’s model, we find cases that are ambiguous between an appositive structure and a periphrastic one (cf. the ‘progressivity I’-stage discussed above), as illustrated in (22) (cf. similarly Soph., *Trach.* 22-3).

(22) οὔτε γὰρ ναυτικὸν ἦν προφυλάσσειν ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδὲν οὔτε προσδοκία οὐδεμία μὴ ἄν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐξαπιναιῶς οὕτως ἐπιπλεύσειαν (Thuc. 2.93.3)

“no guard ships were stationed there, for no one ever expected that the enemy would attempt a surprise of this kind” (tr. Jowett)

Here, various arguments could be adduced why a lexical interpretation is to be preferred (cf. Aerts 1965:8; Dietrich 1973a:198): (a) when a new subject is introduced, εἰμί often has its lexical value; (b) there is a locative adjunct which may also point at independent εἰμί; (c) the negation does not readily combine with the progressive function (cf. Bertinetto, Ebert & de

²⁶ This use of the construction has gone unnoticed up until now. Barbelenet (1913:92) notes that “quant à I 146 ... il est singulièrement suspect, car il ne s'accorde guère avec le contexte”.

²⁷ See Levinsohn (2011:69): “explanatory information clarifies and explains the events of a narrative”.

²⁸ See Levinsohn (2011:69): “performative information concerns the devices used by the author to relate him or herself to the audience”.

Groot 2000:537). *In se*, however, none of these arguments is conclusive (cf. Dietrich 1973b:207; Bailey 2009:199-201, 204-5). In fact, the locational element is placed in a position where it relates to the verbal group as a whole, which is often indicative of periphrasticity (Amenta 2003:78-9).

With regard to the issue of ambiguity, the following points – which will be addressed in greater detail when discussing the diachronic origins of the construction (§3.2.3) – have not been given sufficient attention: (a) not in all ambiguous cases does εἰμί have a locative character (for εἰμί with an existential character, cf. e.g. Eur., *Hec.* 120-2); (b) there are also other types of ambiguity: in (23), there is no question of a potentially ambiguous appositive structure; the real difficulty is whether φεύγων ... ἐστίν should receive a stative (“O. is on the run”) or a progressive interpretation (“O. is fleeing”) (a third possibility being to interpret the participle substantivally, as Smyth does; cf. Adrados 1992:449); (c) ‘ambiguous’ need not necessarily mean ‘non-periphrastic’ (Aerts 1965, for one, adopts a particularly rigid approach; in his opinion εἰμί is never periphrastic when combined with adjuncts of place; but see Dietrich 1973b:207). As I will argue at the end of this paper, flexibility is one of the main advantages of Bertinetto’s model.

(23) κάγῳ μὲν ἀντίδουλος, ἐκ δὲ χρημάτων / φεύγων Ὀρέστης ἐστίν, οἱ δ’ ὑπερκόπως / ἐν τοῖσι σοῖς πόνοισι γλίουσιν μέγα (Aesch., *Cho.* 135-7)

“as for me, I am no better than a slave, Orestes is an outcast from his inheritance, while they in their insolence revel openly in the winnings of your toil” (tr. Smyth)

(2). *Focalized progressives*. While examples of the durative type are in the majority in fifth-century Classical Greek, focalized progressives are also attested (14/32). A frequently cited example from Herodotus can be found under (24) (cf. Björck 1940:71; Aerts 1965:12, 52; Dietrich 1973a:193).

(24) ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ περὶ ἀκούσας, ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐσέχων ὁ ἥλιος, εἶπε, θεοβλαβῆς γενόμενος: «Μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τόνδε ἀποδίδωμι», δείξας τὸν ἥλιον (Hdt. 8.137.4)

“then they spoke of wages, the king was moved to foolishness and said – for the sunlight was shining down the smoke vent into the house – , ‘That is the wage you merit, and it is that I give you’, pointing to the sunlight” (tr. Godley, modified)

Here, we find the periphrastic construction in an environment which is typical for focalized progressives, i.e. the so-called ‘frame-construction’: ἦν ... ἐσέχων “[the sun] was shining down” forms a frame for the main action εἶπε “he said” (for similar examples, see e.g. Hdt. 8.37.3; Ar., *Pax* 1273-4). The construction also occurs in a number of other ‘typical’ focalized contexts, e.g. with a temporal adverb (e.g. Hdt. 5.1.3; Soph., *OT* 801), or with an aorist in the

preceding/following sentence (e.g. Soph., *Aj.* 1324; Eur., *HF* 313) (obviously, these contexts can also be combined). A fourth context, which occurs most frequently in the dramatists, is that where the progressive takes the time of speaking as focalization point. One example is (25), from Aristophanes' *Pax*²⁹ (for similar examples, see e.g. Ar., *Eq.* 468, *Lys.* 385, *Plut.* 368).

(25) {XO.} Ἄλλὰ καὶ τὰριστερόν τοί μ' ἔστ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχον. / Ἦδομαι γὰρ καὶ γέγηθα καὶ πέπορδα καὶ γελω / μάλλον ἢ τὸ γῆρας ἐκδύς ἐκφυγὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα (Ar., *Pax* 334-6)

“Ah! the left leg too is forcing me; well, that's its right. I am so happy, so delighted at not having to carry my buckler any more. I fart for joy and I laugh more than if I had cast my old age, as a serpent does its skin” (tr. Oates & O'Neill, slightly modified)

At the same time, however, it must be emphasized that the fifth-century focalized progressives cannot be equated with the familiar, highly-grammaticalized English examples, nor those of the New Testament (cf. Aerts 1965:52-3). That the focalized type in fifth-century Greek is still close to its lexical source in an example such as (24) is reflected on a number of levels: (a) syntactically, the component parts of the periphrastic construction are not contiguous, which is indicative of a low degree of grammaticalization (see Lehmann 1995[1982]:147 for the criterion of syntagmatic cohesion or ‘bondedness’); (b) pragmatically, next to providing a background frame for the main actions, ἦν ... ἐσέχων is also used to introduce parenthetical non-event information about the setting (as Godley in his English translation indicates; compare with our earlier observations on the durative progressive).³⁰

I believe this observation can also account for a word-order phenomenon which was first described more than half a century ago by Rosén (1957, 1975, 1987) (but has been given no further attention whatsoever, with the exception of Gonda 1959 and Rydbeck 1969), namely that εἰμί with present participle often occurs in sentences with constituent-focus³¹ (what Rosén calls ‘derhematization’). In such cases, focus is not on the verbal action but rather on a non-verbal constituent. An example is given in (26): here the sitting down is presupposed, and the temporal element δαρόν is focal (compare the earlier mentioned example (16), where εἴνατος is focal, and (25), where (καὶ) τὰριστερόν is in focus).

²⁹ Aerts (1965:21) considers the construction in this example to be stative. With Dietrich (1973a:200), I would like to stress that ἔχω is not used intransitively here.

³⁰ Note the sentence-final position of ὁ ἥλιος “the sun”, which is typical for thetic constructions.

³¹ Lambrecht (1994) distinguishes between three different types of focus structure (which he predicts all languages make use of), according to the type of focus domain: (1) ‘predicate-focus’, (2) ‘argument-focus’ (which I will henceforth refer to as ‘constituent-focus’, following Bailey 2009:11), and (3) ‘sentence-focus’, depending on whether the focus domain consists of (a) the predicate (e.g. [Remember my friend John?] “He *went to a football game*”), (b) a single constituent (e.g. [It’s not my arm that hurts] “My *neck* hurts”), or (c) the whole sentence (e.g. [Beginning of a story] “*There once was a princess*”). For an application of these concepts to Ancient Greek, see especially Matić 2003.

(26) ἐπεὶ δὲ δαρὸν ἤμεν ἤμενοι χρόνον, / ἐσηλθεν ἡμᾶς μὴ λυθέντες οἱ ξένοι / κτάνοιεν
αὐτὴν δραπέται τ' οἰχοίατο. (Eur., *IT* 1339-41)

“when we were sitting there for a long enough time, it occurred to us that the strangers, loosed from their bonds, might kill her and escape by flight”. (tr. Potter, slightly modified)

Since the construction also occurs in sentences (clauses) with predicate-focus and sentence-focus (as in (24)),³² I do not think we can consider εἰμί with present participle a specialized syntactic device for marking constituent-focus, as Rosén would have it. Rather, I take it that the absence of focus on the event denoted by the participle (or the periphrastic construction as a whole) is a consequence of the low degree of ‘generalization’ or ‘desemanticization’ (a paradigmatic process of grammaticalization, cf. Lehmann 1995[1982]:127) of the finite verb.³³ Interestingly, a similar observation has been made with regard to the Estonian progressive, which is also at an early stage of grammaticalization. Metslang’s (1995:180) ‘componential analysis’ of the Estonian progressive is well applicable to what we find in Ancient Greek: “the component of state is foregrounded and the component of ongoing activity or process is backgrounded”.

In this context, it is also worth drawing attention to the fact that the fifth-century focalized progressives are far from having “no residue of the original locative meaning” (Bertinetto, Ebert & de Groot 2000:532), as Bertinetto and his co-workers predict for constructions whose aspectual function has been extended to the focalized progressive type. Quite to the contrary, there seem to be more examples of ambiguous focalized progressives than there are of durative progressives (e.g. Hdt. 6.103.4, 8.37.3; Thuc. 2.67.1; Soph., *Trach.* 738; Ar., *Eccl.* 1094, *Ran.* 36, *Pax* 1273). An illustration is given in (27). Here the position of the locative adverb ἔσω in between the verbal group gives ἔστιν a strong locative flavour (cf. also Aerts 1965:20 and Dietrich 1973a:197).³⁴

(27) ἔστιν δ' ἔσω / κλαίουσ' ἀδελφὴν συμφορὰν τε δωμάτων (Eur., *Or.* 60-1)

“within she sits, weeping for her sister and the calamities of her family” (tr. Coleridge)

³² Rosén (1957) does not recognize a second type of utterance where focus is not on the verbal action, so-called ‘sentence focus utterances’. For example, Rosén (1957:146) believes that in (24) the periphrastic construction would be used to highlight the ‘Prädikative Ortsbestimmung’ ἐς τὸν οἶκον “into the house”. However, as Rydbeck (1969:192) notes, this does not contribute to our understanding of the passage. In my opinion, what we are dealing with here is athetic sentence which serves to give information about setting and participants (see above), without there being one particular constituent in focus (for similar examples, see e.g. Hdt. 7.179.1, 7.190.1).

³³ Unsurprisingly, then, constituent-focus can also be found with durative progressives and statives.

³⁴ Dietrich (1973a:197) suggests a progressive interpretation (“está llorando dentro ...”), though he acknowledges the ambiguity inherent in this example.

3.2.2 *Statives*

While Bertinetto (1995:51) mentions that a ‘stative-locative’ meaning constitutes “un ingrédient de base de ces périphrases dans la phase primordiale” (see also Bertinetto, Ebert & de Groot 2000:539; Bertinetto 2000:566), relatively little attention has gone to the stative component in ‘stative-locative’. Rather, attention has been focused on the locative origins of the construction and the development of a durative and focalized progressive function. In Ancient Greek, however, stative examples are of fundamental importance: looking back at the data represented in table 1, we see that in virtually all fifth-century authors statives are more common than progressives. In this section I give an overview of the examples, distinguishing between three main groups, based on the actional characteristics of the lexical verb on which the participial form is based.³⁵ Underlying this categorization is a prototype-based view of so-called ‘adjectival periphrasis’ (as statives are commonly called in the literature, cf. Björck 1940; Aerts 1965; Bentein 2011a): participles of the first group are most adjective-like, while those of the third group are least so.

(1). *With ‘verbs of lexicalized predication of properties’*. A first group is formed with verbs of ‘lexicalized predication of properties’ (cf. Fanning 1990:135 for use of the term ‘verbs with lexicalized predication of qualities’). With such verbs, the participial form expresses typical adjective-like qualities, for example those which Givón (2001:82-3; cf. similarly Stassen 1997:168-9) terms ‘evaluative’ (χρεόν ἐστί “it is necessary” (Hdt. 8.141.1),³⁶ ἔστ’ ἀναγκαίως ἔχον “it is necessary” (Aesch., *Cho.* 239)) and ‘states of living’ (ἦν ... ζῶν “he was alive” (Soph., *Phil.* 412), ἦν ... εὐβούλως ἔχων “he was prudent” (Aesch., *Cho.* 696)). Two adjectival domains which are not explicitly mentioned by Givón, but not infrequently realized by Ancient Greek participial forms, are ‘(physical/metaphorical) distance’ (ἐχόμενοι ... εἰσι “they are next to” (Hdt. 4.176.1); ἔστι ... προύχουσα “it is jutting out” (Thuc. 4.109.2); ἦν

³⁵ A similar proposal, perhaps of a more intuitive nature, has been made by Alexander (1885:239-4): “there are, in the first place, certain verbs in Greek expressing the manifestation of a quality while at the same time no adjective exists for the expression of the quality itself ... But, in the second place, besides these cases, the language often felt the need of embodying the conception of a verb as a quality, especially when the signification of the verb naturally lends itself to an adjective use ... Thirdly, we group together such participles as having nothing in their signification which would lead them to be used as adjectives, but are nevertheless occasionally so used in these periphrases”.

³⁶ There is some discussion as to the nature of χρεών (χρεόν): according to the traditional view (cf. Guiraud 1962:44) we are dealing with a participial form: its etymology would be *χρηῖ ὄν, with metathesis to χρεών (and reduction in Ionic to χρεόν) (Beekes & van Beek 2010:1648 suggest that the original form would have been based on the third person χρηῖ, which gives χρεῖων > χρηών). An alternative hypothesis by Wackernagel (1897:52-62) is that the origin of the form lies with the noun χρεώ, which received a final ν after the example of καλόν, κάλλιον, δέον etc. I follow the more traditional opinion of Guiraud here.

προσῆκων “he was akin” (Hdt. 6.128.2)), and ‘(physical/metaphorical) presence/absence’ (ἦν περιεόντα “were around, left over” (Hdt. 1.92.1); ἐστ’ ἀπόν “is absent” (Soph., *OT* 1285)).³⁷

(2). *With other stative predicates.* The ‘adjectival’ use of the participle mentioned under point (1) seems to have been extended to other stative verbs as well, which are less easily categorized as predicating properties, for example ἦ θέλουσα “she is wanting (+ object)” (Soph., *OT* 580) and ἦν ... αἰσχύνην ἔχον “it is having shame” (Eur., *Suppl.* 767). While nobody would deny that such examples bear a close resemblance to those mentioned under (1), in various other cases this is much less evident. Consider the following examples with the verb ἔχω in Euripides: ἐστὶ ... ἰδέαν ἔχοντα “it is having an appearance” (Eur., *Bacch.* 471); κέρας ... ἦν ... δεξιὸν ... ἔχων “he was having/holding the right wing” (Eur., *IA* 235-6). While such ‘expressive’ uses are relatively infrequent in fifth-century Classical Greek, we will see that they become much more productive in the fourth century (especially with the verbs εἰμί “I am” and ἔχω “I have”).

(3). *With dynamic predicates.* Participles of the third group are formed with dynamic verbs, and are therefore least adjective-like. Again it must be noted that the examples become much more frequent in fourth-century Greek, especially in Plato’s work. What makes this third group particularly noteworthy, and different from groups (1) and (2), is the fact that in many examples the participle takes the passive voice. Especially Herodotus makes frequent use of non-focal, ‘statal’ (cf. e.g. Huddleston 1984:322-4) passives with verbs such as ποιέω “I make” (e.g. ἐστὶ ... ποιούμενα “they are made” (Hdt. 2.96.1)), λέγω “I speak, tell” (e.g. ἔστι ... λεγόμενος “it is told” (Hdt. 2.48.3)),³⁸ καλέω “I call” (e.g. ἔστι ... καλεόμενος “he is called” (Hdt. 2.79.2)) and νομίζω “I use customarily, practise” (νομιζόμενον εἶη “it is custom” (Hdt. 7.2.3)). Examples with active participles are much less frequent in Herodotus (e.g. ἐς αἰσχύνην ἐστὶ φέροντα “it is leading to shame” (Hdt. 3.133.2)).

As table 1 shows, Herodotus is not the only author to make use of statives. An interesting example from Euripides is printed under (28) (particularly noteworthy because of the repetition of ἔστιν, cf. Guiraud 1962:55), which Pylades utters in response to Orestes as a consolation.

(28) ἀλλ’ ἔστιν, ἔστιν ἢ λίαν δυσπραξία / λίαν διδοῦσα μεταβολάς, ὅταν τύχη. (Eur., *IT* 721-2)

“great misfortune can offer great reversals, when it is fated” (tr. Potter)

³⁷ There might be some overlap with Givón’s (2001:82-3) categories ‘tactile’ and ‘transitory state’, though I feel there is sufficient semantic difference to warrant the use of different labels.

³⁸ Note that λέγω “I say” is by far the most frequently used verb in this type of passive construction. For similar examples, see Hdt. 2.47.2, 2.62.2, 2.81.2, 4.179.1, 7.214.1, 7.167.1; Ar., *Av.* 652.

This example illustrates the importance of the (mainly sentential) context when it comes to the stative interpretation of dynamic predicates. (28) has two crucial characteristics which many examples share: (a) an inanimate subject (others may have an impersonal subject, particularly when the passive voice is used) (cf. Bertinetto 1986:185), and (b) the use of the present tense, which is intimately connected to the timelessness associated with the stative function (compare Michaelis 2006:234 on the use of the English present tense). A third factor which often comes into play, though not in this particular case, is co-ordination with a (true) adjective.

A second example I would like to draw attention to comes from Pindar's tenth Nemean, printed under (29).

(29) ἀθανάτων βασιλεὺς αὐλὰν ἐσῆλθεν, / σπέρμ' ἀδείμαντον φέρων Ἡρακλέος· οὐδ' κατ' Ὀλυμπον / ἄλοχος Ἥβη τελεῖα παρὰ μητέρι βαίνοισ' ἔστι, καλλίστα θεῶν (Pind., *Nem.* 10, 16-8)

“... the king of the immortals entered the hall of that hero, bearing the fearless seed of Heracles; whose bride Hebe, the most beautiful of the goddesses, walks forever in Olympus beside her mother Hera, goddess of marriage” (tr. Svarlien)

In this case, we do have an animate subject, and there is no co-ordination with an adjective, but the stative function of the verbal group is still quite clear. Pindarus recounts how Zeus, taking on the appearance of Amphitryon, entered the palace, carrying ‘the seed of Heracles’ (in other words, he will beget Heracles). Having introduced Heracles as a topic, the narrator makes an additional remark, consisting of a generic, atemporal statement:³⁹ Heracles’ bride is Hebe, who walks besides her mother Hera on mount Olympus.

3.2.3. *Multiple origins*

As I have already mentioned, Bertinetto and his colleagues trace the origins of progressives back to a locative source, which is a commonly made assumption. In fact, Heine (1993:125), identifying six main lexical source schemas,⁴⁰ has formulated the following probabilistic prediction: “if a given language is going to acquire a new progressive aspect, this category is

³⁹ This is traditionally considered the domain of the nominal sentence: “la phrase nominale en indo-européen asserte une certaine ‘qualité’ (au sens le plus général) comme propre au sujet de l’énoncé, mais hors de toute détermination temporelle ou autre et hors de toute relation avec le locuteur” (Benveniste 1950:27; cf. also Guiraud 1962; but see Kahn 1973:61 and Lanérés 1994:347, 357). In the context of this paper, I will not go further into the difference between nominal sentences and sentences with εἶμι. According to one view, “la phrase avec ἐστί [contrary to the nominal sentence] est strictement déclarative et s’en tient au contenu informatif” (Lanérés 1994:592).

⁴⁰ The main six cognitive schemas are the following (see Ziegeler 2007:43): (i) the Location Schema (‘X is at Y’); (ii) the Action Schema (‘X does Y’); (iii) the Equation Schema (‘X is a Y’); (iv) the Manner Schema (‘X stays in a Y manner’); (v) the Accompaniment Schema (‘X is with Y’); (vi) the Sequence Schema (‘X V1 X V2’).

most likely to be derived from the Location Schema” (cf. the English progressive, which can be derived from constructions with a locative preposition (*at*, but also *in* or *on*), as in “Fred’s been a-singing” (Comrie 1976:99)). As far as the Ancient Greek evidence is concerned, however, this hypothesis does not offer any evident reconstruction. Moreover, it is unclear whether the locative hypothesis can also account for periphrastic constructions with a stative function, which, as we have seen above, play an important role in Ancient Greek.

Consider the following fifth-century sentences:

(30) ἦν δὲ περὶ Δαρεῖον ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος φωνέων μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων (Hdt. 4.141.1)

“there was an Egyptian with Darius, shouting louder than everyone else” (tr. Godley, modified)

(31) οὐκ ἔστι λησταῖς πνεῦμ’ ἐναντιούμενον, / ὅταν παρῆ κλέψαι τε χάρπάσαι βία (Soph., *Phil.* 643-5)

“there is no wind which blows against those pirates, when they have any chance to steal or plunder!” (tr. Jebb, slightly modified)

(32) ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα (Hdt. 1.8.1)

“he had in his bodyguard Gyges, son of Dascylus, who pleased very greatly” (tr. Aerts)

What we find in all three cases (only the last of which is ambiguous between a periphrastic and a non-periphrastic interpretation) is an independently used εἰμί accompanied by an appositive participle (cf. Dietrich’s 1973a:192 ‘construcción mediata’), following the subject with which it goes together (ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος in (30), πνεῦμ’ in (31) and Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου in (32)). Gonda (1959:108-9) has suggested that εἰμί with present participle derives from an existentially used lexical verb accompanied (mostly followed)⁴¹ by an appositive participle, but this hypothesis only applies to our example (31). In (30) and (32), εἰμί has a locative and a possessive value respectively (as indicated by the locative adjunct περὶ Δαρεῖον and the possessive dative οἱ). On the other hand, it is well-known that the existential, locative and possessive constructions in many languages can be considered closely related constructions (‘sister-constructions’) (see Lyons 1968, 1977; Clark 1978; Freeze 2001; with regard to Ancient Greek, Guiraud 1962; Kahn 1973). As Freeze (2001:946) observes, they form “variations on a single underlying array of elements”.⁴² Following Clark (1978), we can call

⁴¹ Typically, the appositive participle follows the subject and the verb (Rijksbaron 2006:132-3). See, however, Hdt. 3.31.2 for an example where this is not the case: εἶρετο καλέσας τοὺς βασιλῆιους δικαστὰς εἴ τις ἐστὶ κελεύων νόμος τὸν βουλόμενον ἀδελφεῆ συνουκέειν “he summoned the royal judges and inquired whether there were any law enjoining one, that so desired, to marry his sister” (tr. Godley).

⁴² One conspicuous element which all three constructions have in common, next to the fact that they are often accompanied by an appositive participle (cf. Barbelenet 1913:22), is the fact that εἰμί comes in initial position

the superordinate construction ‘the locational construction’, a term which indicates that locativity does play an important role in the development of the periphrastic construction.

Rosenkranz (1930:163) long ago noted the semantic similarity of combinations of εἶμι with an adjective and a participle, and the importance of this similarity for the diachronic development of the latter: “da aber die Verbindung Adjektiv + εἶναι durchaus geläufig war, konnte natürlich jeden Augenblick die Verbindung partizip + εἶναι gebildet werden” (cf. Dover 1968:87-8). While this observation cannot account for the diachronic development of the periphrastic construction in its entirety, I do believe it is relevant for a large part of the examples: it is hard to imagine that in an example such as (33), the verbal group ἔστ’ ἀρέσκονθ’ ‘it is agreeable’ would derive from the locational construction accompanied by an appositive participle.⁴³

(33) ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοισι Καδμείοις, ὅσοις / τάδ’ ἔστ’ ἀρέσκονθ’, ἢ τε σύμμαχος Δίκη /
χοῖ πάντες εὖ ξυνεῖεν εἰσαεὶ θεοί (Soph., OT 273-5)

“but to all you, the loyal Cadmeans for whom these things are acceptable, may justice, our ally, and all the gods be gracious always” (tr. Jebb, slightly modified)

A copulative origin is furthermore apparent in examples where the present participle is coordinated with a true adjective, as in (34).

(34) διωκοδόμησαν δὲ καὶ στοάν, ἥπερ ἦν μεγίστη καὶ ἐγγύτατα τούτου εὐθὺς ἐχομένη
ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ (Thuc. 8.90.5)

“they also walled off a storehouse which was very large and immediately adjoined this wall in the Piraeus” (my own translation)

With regard to the copulative source construction, it is interesting to quote Bertinetto, Ebert & de Groot (2000:553), who (in a footnote!) recognize the possibility of a second diachronic source: “there are grounds to believe that there are in fact two possible sources for progressive periphrases, incorporating an existential-locative meaning or an existential-equative meaning respectively, with the latter converging with the former at some later stage”. I believe Ancient Greek provides ample evidence for the validity of this alternative hypothesis. This is also confirmed by recent research of Killie (2008:86) on the history of the English progressive, who concludes that “it is possible that Bertinetto et al.’s alternative hypothesis about the origins of progressive constructions is closer to the truth than is their primary hypothesis”.

(‘absolute’ initial in (30) and (32), ‘modified’ initial in (31), cf. Viti 2008:91), and in many cases is accompanied by a discourse particle such as δέ or γάρ.

⁴³ Interestingly, however, Brugmann (1905:663) among others has suggested that the diachronic origins of the copulative construction lie with existential εἶμι: “la copule était primitivement un verbe à signification concrète ... et le substantif ou l’adjectif était une apposition au sujet mise en rapport intime avec le verbe prédicatif (la terre est une boule = la terre existe en tant que boule)”. See also Guiraud (1962:12, 170). Contrast Kahn (1973:198).

Three important observations remain to be made. The first of these concerns the role of *analogy* with regard to the diachronic development of the periphrastic construction (on the role of analogy in grammaticalization, see e.g. Lehmann 1995:160; Fischer 2008; De Smet 2009). Various scholars (Aerts 1965:36; Gonda 1959:111; Fanning 1990:312) have drawn attention to the possibility of the construction of εἰμί with perfect participle forming a model for the construction with present participle, and I believe this may well have been the case.⁴⁴ Table 2 (data taken from Bentein 2012) provides quantitative evidence that the construction with perfect participle was more frequent in fifth-century Classical Greek than that with present participle (compare table 1).

Table 2: *Distribution of εἰμί with perfect participle*

Author	Dates	Total
Homer	8th c. B.C.?	38
Aeschylus	c. 525/4 – 456/5 B.C.	16
Sophocles	c. 496/5 – 406 B.C.	14
Herodotus	c. 485 – 424 B.C.	71
Euripides	c. 485/0 – 406 B.C.	17
Thucydides	c. 460/55 – c. 400 B.C.	31
Aristophanes	c. 460 – 386 B.C.	20
Lysias	?459/8 – c. 380 B.C.	33

In this early stage of development, analogy may have worked in two main ways: (a) the use of the construction with present participle in the same syntactic environments as that with the perfect participle; (b) the *reanalysis* of an appositive structure to a periphrastic one. As for the first point, it is very interesting to note that constructions with the perfect participle can indeed be found in the same syntactic environments, that is, in the locational construction with an appositive participle, as in (35), and in the copulative construction, as in (36).

(35) ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυμένον, τῷ Ἴωνές τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολέες ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι (Hdt. 1.157.3)

“for an ancient place was there, founded from of old, which all the Ionians and Aeolians used to consult” (tr. Godley, modified)

(36) Λάμαχος δὲ ἄντικρυς ἔφη χρῆναι πλεῖν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας καὶ πρὸς τῇ πόλει ὡς τάχιστα τὴν μάχην ποιῆσθαι, ἕως ἔτι ἀπαρασκευοὶ τε εἰσὶ καὶ μάλιστα ἐκπεπληγμένοι (Thuc. 6.49.1)

“Lamachus was of opinion that they ought to sail direct to Syracuse, and fight as soon as possible under the walls of the city, while the inhabitants were unprepared and very much panic-struck” (tr. Jowett, slightly modified)

⁴⁴ Contrast with Björck (1940:99): “durch die Nichtberücksichtigung der Perfektperiphrase wird unsere Untersuchung nicht gefährdet, denn der am wenigsten gebrauchte Tempusstamm kann auf das Präsens und den Aorist in keinem nennenswerten Masse vorbildend gewirkt haben”.

As for the second possible influence, concerning reanalysis, it must be noted that this only concerns the present participle used in the locational/appositive construction. While it is hard to exclude any kind of influence, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the reanalysis of εἰμί with perfect participle to an anterior perfect has a distinct character, in the sense that the dative of possession/interest plays a crucial role (see Bentein 2012),⁴⁵ which it does not play with the construction with present participle. To be more specific, the reanalysis of the perfect first occurred with the passive perfect participle, whereby the dative accompanying εἰμί was reinterpreted as the agent of the event expressed by the participle (rather than the beneficiary or the possessor with εἰμί). In (37) this would imply taking the dative with ἐξεργασμένον (*by* Sophanes) rather than with ἔστι (*for* Sophanes).

(37) ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Σωφάνει λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένον (Hdt. 9.75.1)

“there is yet another glorious deed which Sophanes has done” (tr. Godley, slightly modified)

Furthermore, it is important to observe that the anterior perfect did not necessarily start out as an appositive structure. In many cases, the dative accompanying εἰμί can be considered a dative of interest with a resultative (periphrastic) perfect (e.g. in Hdt. 1.186.4, 2.168.2).

Secondly, I would like to note, and perhaps this has become clear by now, that progressives have an affinity with the locational/appositive source construction, while statives are particularly close to the copulative source construction. Especially in the case of statives, this relationship is evident: participles of stative verbs (so-called ‘adjectival’ participles) such as πρέπον “fitting”, would have been used quite naturally in stead of regular adjectives (as noted by Rosenkranz, see above). However, various examples seem to indicate that this cannot be considered a one-to-one relationship: one can find both statives (especially participles of the second and third group, see above) used in a locational/appositive context and progressives in a copulative context (see Croft 2000 for ‘intraference’; the older study of Nickel 1967 uses the term ‘syntactic blend’; see also Bertinetto, de Groot & Ebert’s 2000:553 “convergence at some later stage”). In (38), for example, we find a phrase which is used quite frequently in Herodotus, ἔστι λόγος ... λεγόμενος,⁴⁶ which can be characterized as stative.

(38) δι’ ὃ τι δὲ μέζον τε ἔχει τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ κινεῖ μοῦνον τοῦ σώματος, ἔστι λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱρὸς λεγόμενος (Hdt. 2.48.3)

“why the male member is so large and is the only part of the body that moves, a sacred legend is told” (tr. Godley, modified)

⁴⁵ Note that in many languages there is an intimate connection between possession and the transitive perfect (Hagège 1993:63).

⁴⁶ For further examples, see note 38.

Although I believe the verbal group is to be interpreted periphrastically, at the same time ἔσται has a strong existential sense (“there is, exist”) (note, however, that λεγόμενος does not constitute a typical appositive participle). As for the progressives, I refer to example (27) where the verbal group φεύγων ... ἐστίν, which clearly has a copulative structure, can receive either a stative or a progressive interpretation. A similar case would be (39): should we take the participle ξυμπροθυμούμενοι lit. “sharing in eagerness with” as an adjectival participle, or could we be dealing here with a durative progressive?

(39) ἦσαν δὲ Κορίνθιοι ξυμπροθυμούμενοι μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἀποίκους οὖσιν
(Thuc. 2.80.3)

“And the Corinthians were especially eager to support the enterprise of the Ambraciots, who were colonists of theirs” (my own translation)

Amenta (2003:30) (if I interpret her correctly) suggests that such stative participles may over time have developed a verbal function, whereby εἶμί came to be used as a true auxiliary (compare Dik’s 1987 ‘copula auxiliarization’): “la formazione di costrutti di tipo aspettuale ... dipende, in taluni contesti, da uno slittamento del participio da una funzione nominale, come participio aggettivale inserito in un sintagma nominale, ad una funzione verbale, in presenza del verbo ausiliare/modificatore εἶναι/esse”. Since the examples are scarce (Amenta does not give any), I believe such a process – if existent – must have been of limited importance for the development of progressives.

Two final examples are (40) and (41). The first of these shows that the appositive participle (in this case ποιούμενα) could not only accompany existential/locative/possessive εἶμί (the locational construction, see above), but also copulative εἶμί. I believe this type of structure must have given rise to periphrastic examples of the kind illustrated in (41) (cf. also Aerts 1965:9).

(40) ἐμὲ ὧν σὺ ἢ μέθες ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον ὅπως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα οὕτω ποιούμενα (Hdt. 1.37.3)

“so either let me go to the hunt, or show me by reasoning that that is best for me, when so done” (tr. Godley, modified)

(41) καὶ ταῦτα ὀλίγου χρόνου ἔσται τελεόμενα (Hdt. 3.134.4)

“and this will be done in a short time” (tr. Godley)

Thirdly and finally, I would like to return (briefly) to the Archaic evidence. Recognizing two source constructions does not explain why we find a tendency towards the focalized type, but it does explain why we find (ambiguous) progressives, but no statives (which were clearly predominant in Classical Greek). In the standard accounts of periphrasis with the present

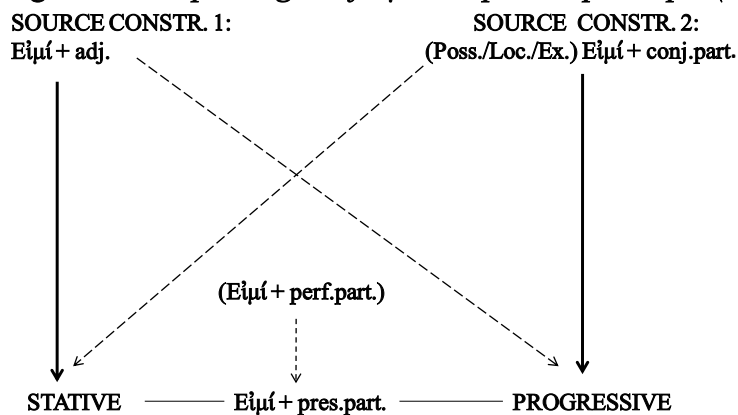
participle in Ancient Greek, we read that “in the earlier era εἰμί plus the present participle carried only a static, adjective-like meaning ... in Hellenistic Greek, and especially in biblical Greek, the present periphrastic developed a progressive sense to go along with the more static meaning” (Fanning 1990:311-2, on the basis of Aerts 1965). Clearly, however, this does not comply with the evidence I have brought to light in the context of this paper. I argue that the present participle was actively and independently used in both source constructions, resulting in the development of statives on the one hand, and progressives on the other. To support my claim that the present participle was used in the locational/appositive source construction already in Homer, I would like to refer to an example mentioned by Kahn (1973:140), printed under (42) (Kahn considers this example to be periphrastic, but this cannot be the case; Lasso de la Vega 1955:172 mentions two similar examples, *Od.* 7.125-6, 17.157-9).

(42) ἔστι δὲ τις ποταμὸς Μινυήϊος εἰς ἄλλα βάλλων / ἐγγύθεν Ἀρήνης, ὅθι μείναμεν Ἡὼ δῖαν / ἱππῆες Πυλίων, τὰ δ' ἐπέρρεον ἔθνεα πεζῶν (Hom., *Il.* 11.722-4)

“there is a river Minyeïus that empties into the sea hard by Arene, where we waited for bright Dawn, we the horsemen of the Pylians, and the throngs of footmen flowed ever after” (tr. Murray)

Figure 1 summarizes my view with regard to the origins of εἰμί with present participle. It shows that (a) we must recognize two source construction in stead of one, which I call the copulative construction and the locational/appositive construction; (b) there is a particular affinity between the copulative construction and statives on the one hand and the locational/appositive construction and progressives on the other hand. However, as the broken lines indicate, this cannot be considered a one-to-one relationship; (c) the presence of a more grammaticalized periphrastic perfect construction with εἰμί, originating from the same two source constructions, must have stimulated the development of εἰμί with present participle.

Figure 1: Multiple origins of εἰμί with present participle (summary)⁴⁷



⁴⁷ In this figure, ‘adj.’ stands for ‘adjective’, ‘poss.’ for ‘possessive’, ‘loc.’ for ‘locative’ and ‘ex.’ for ‘existential’.

3.3. Fourth-century Classical Greek

3.3.1. Further expansion of statives

Looking at the data presented in table 3, one can easily see the diachronic direction taken by the construction under analysis: perhaps contrary to what one might expect, in fourth-century Classical Greek not the use of progressives, but that of statives heavily expands. In fact, examples with a progressive function are as good as absent from my corpus. In this section, I analyze these stative examples in greater detail, further exploring the threefold distinction proposed above. Most attention will go to the evidence from Plato, who, to quote Alexander (1885:298), “affords the best field for the investigation of these forms, inasmuch as he employs them not only with accuracy but with freedom” (compare Behrens’ 2005:289 concept of ‘generic text’).

Table 3: *Distribution of εἶμι with present participle (aspectual function)*

Author	Dates	Total	Ambiguous	Progressive	Stative
Hippocrates and the <i>Corpus Hippocraticum</i>	5 – 4 c. B.C.	4	0	0	4
Isaeus	c. 420 – 340s B.C.	4	0	0	4
Isocrates	436 – 338 B.C.	23	0	0	23
Plato	c. 429 – 347 B.C.	266	10	13	243
Xenophon	c. 430 – 354 B.C.	11	5	1	5
Aeschines	c. 397 – c. 322 B.C.	3	0	0	3
Demosthenes	384 – 322 B.C.	45	2	0	43
Lycurgus	c. 390 – c. 325/4 B.C.	4	0	0	4

(1). *With ‘verbs of ‘lexicalized predication of properties’*. In fourth-century Classical Greek, statives of what I have called the ‘first group’ still form the largest group, followed by the second and the third group, which more or less have an equal number of examples (group 1: 190 ex., group 2: 75 ex., group 3: 74 ex.). Above, I have already mentioned the fact that the use of participles of the first group comes close to that of regular adjectives. These were classified according to adjectival domain, whereby we can distinguish between those called ‘evaluative’, ‘state of living’, ‘distance’ and ‘presence/absence’, after Givón (2001). In fourth-century Classical Greek, participles belonging to the same domains appear, though in much greater frequency. For reasons of space, I limit myself to giving some representative examples (cf. also the overviews given in Björck 1940:17-40 and Bentein 2011a:26): ‘evaluative’: λυσιτελοῦντα ... ἐστί “they are profitable” (Pl., *Leg.* 662c), ἐστὶν ... δεόμενα “it is in need of” (Dem. 19.294); ‘state of living’: εἶναι ... μαινόμενον “be mad” (Dem. 34.16), πενομένην ... εἶναι “be poor” (Pl., *Resp.* 577e); ‘distance’: συνεπόμενος ἦν “it was in accordance with (lit.

“following along with”)” (Pl., *Criti.* 117a), εἶναι ... ὑπερεχούσας “be pre-eminent” (lit. “be above”) (Pl., *Leg.* 696b); ‘presence/absence’: ἐστί ... παρούσα “it is present” (Pl., *Phdr.* 272a), ἂν εἴη ... ἐνόν “it would be existent” (Pl., *RespB.* 431e). Moreover, one can also find various examples of participles which can be classified under what Givón calls ‘transitory states’: ἔσεσθε ... ὀργιζόμενοι “you will be angry” (Lycurg., *Leoc.* 27), ἦσαν ... σφριγῶντες “they were vigorous” (Pl., *Leg.* 840a), εἶναι νοσοῦντας “be sick” (Pl., *Alc.* ii 139d). It must be noted, however, that the dividing line between ‘transitory states’ and ‘states of living’ is often unclear, and that the specific classification of a participle may depend on contextual elements. Consider the participle ἀγνοῶν “not knowing, ignorant” in (43).

(43) τά τε ἄλλα μηχανᾶσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἦ πάντα ἀγνοῶν καὶ πάντα ἀποβλέπων εἰς τὸν ἔραστήν, οἷος ὢν τῷ μὲν ἡδιστος, ἑαυτῷ δὲ βλαβερώτατος ἂν εἴη (Pl., *Phdr.* 239b)

“and he will contrive to keep him ignorant of everything else and make him look to his lover for everything, so that he will be most agreeable to him and most harmful to himself” (tr. Fowler)

While one may be inclined to classify such a participle as a transitory state, in this case the context explicitly indicates that the state of ignorance is not one of short duration but rather one which is valid indefinitely.

(2). With other stative predicates. As with the first group, participles of the second group are more frequently employed in fourth-century Classical Greek, especially by Plato, in whose work one can find several examples of the kind mentioned in (44) (cf. similarly Pl., *Soph.* 240b, 256d, 256e, 258c).

(44) ἔστιν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ ἐν οὐκ ὄν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἔσται μὴ ὄν, ἀλλὰ πῆ τοῦ εἶναι ἀνήσει πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι, εὐθὺς ἔσται ὄν (Pl., *Prm.* 162a)

“so it appears that the One is non-existent. If it is not non-existent, if it somehow slips away from being so to not being so, it will at once follow that it is existent” (tr. Cornford)

Such examples (where Plato plays with the concept of ‘being’) quite clearly show the expressive possibilities the use of periphrasis offers (compare Kahn 1973:126: “Since every verb has participial forms, every verb may (in theory, at least) provide periphrastic constructions with *be*. As a result, the verb *be* is, with the appropriate participle, in a position to replace every finite verb form in the language”). According to Aerts (1965:16), periphrasis in such cases is used “to produce a subtler form of thought than would be possible with a monolectic verb form”.

In Plato, out of 64 instances, the participles of εἶμί “I am” (18 ex.) and ἔχω “I have” (20 ex.) supply about half of the examples (note that this count does not even include *composita*

such as μετέχω “I share in”, κατέχω “I hold fast”, περιέχω “I encompass” ...). Especially in the case of ἔχω, not the idea contained in the participle itself, but rather the combination of the participle with its complements is what motivates the use of periphrasis.⁴⁸ In example (45), for example, the use of the participial form seems to be motivated by the wish to express the concept of ‘being of the same age’ adjectivally, so as to maintain the co-ordination with the true adjectives νεώτερον “younger” and πρεσβύτερον “older” (for similar examples with ἔχω, see Dem. 2.26; Pl., *Soph.* 267e; cf. Björck 1940:32; Aerts 1965:17 for the use of periphrasis to maintain co-ordination).

(45) οὐκ ἄρα ἂν εἴη νεώτερόν γε οὐδὲ πρεσβύτερον οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχον τὸ ἐν οὐτε αὐτῷ οὐτε ἄλλῳ (Pl., *Prm.* 141a)

“then the one cannot be younger or older or of the same age as anything” (tr. Fowler)

Passages such as the one printed under (46) clarify the function and nature of the adjectival participle: after the example of the noun-adjective couples τάχος “swiftness” – ταχύς “swift” and κάλλος “beauty” – καλός “beautiful”, the noun γνῶσις “knowledge” is combined with the present participle γινώσκων “knowing”.

(46) εἰ γὰρ τις ἔχει ἐπιστήμην ἢ αὐτὴ αὐτὴν γινώσκει, τοιοῦτος ἂν αὐτὸς εἴη οἷόνπερ ἐστὶν ὃ ἔχει· ὡσπερ ὅταν τάχος τις ἔχη, ταχύς, καὶ ὅταν κάλλος, καλός, καὶ ὅταν γνῶσιν, γινώσκων, ὅταν δὲ δὴ γνῶσιν αὐτὴν αὐτῆς τις ἔχη, γινώσκων που αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τότε ἔσται (Pl., *Chrm.* 169e)

“for if a man has a science which knows itself, he will be similar himself to that which he has. For instance, he who has swiftness will be swift, he who has beauty will be beautiful, and he who has knowledge will know; and when he has knowledge that is of itself, he will then, surely, be in the position of knowing himself” (tr. Lamb)

In the context of our previous discussion on the multiple origins of εἰμί with present participle, and the important role of analogy, it is also worth considering the Demosthenian passage (47), where we find εἰμί combined with a true adjective (ἀσύμφορος), and an ‘adjectival’ perfect (εἰσηνεγμένος) and present (ἔχων) participle (for other examples with a present and perfect participle co-ordinated, cf. Pl., *Criti.* 112a, *Prm.* 154a).

(47) οἶδα δ’ ὅτι, ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀσύμφορος ὑμῖν ἐσθ’ ὁ νόμος καὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς νόμους εἰσηνεγμένος καὶ κατὰ πάντ’ ἀδίκως ἔχων, οὐχ ἔξει λέγειν (Dem. 24.187)

“I am sure that he will not be able to deny that this law is undesirable, that it was introduced unconstitutionally, and that it is iniquitous in every respect” (tr. Murray)

⁴⁸ From this perspective, I find Aerts’ main conclusion on εἰμί with present participle in Archaic and Classical Greek not entirely satisfactory: “in conclusion to this chapter it may be noted that periphrasis with the present participle in post-Homeric literature evolves almost exclusively with intransitive or passive participles” (Aerts 1965:26).

(3). *With dynamic predicates.* The third category I discuss here is that where the participle is formed on the basis of a non-stative, dynamic verb. While participles of this type are rather infrequent in fifth-century Classical Greek, in the fourth century they abound. One can distinguish between three main uses, which are traditionally categorized as ‘generic’ (because of the fact that a dynamic verb is used with a stative function). It must be stressed here that participles of the first and second group share a close affinity with those of the third group, and – though in general of a more ‘descriptive’ nature – could often be classified under one of the uses specified below. My main purpose here, however, is to offer a detailed description of the third group, which is least well-known in the secondary literature.

a) *Definition/clarification of an abstract concept* (cf. Aerts’ 1965:17 ‘defining use’): the construction is used to define, describe or specify a variety of concepts, such as the contents of a law (νόμος: Pl., *Resp.* 566a), the workings of ‘ideas’ (ιδέαι: Pl., *Phdr.* 237d), the particulars of a certain experience (πάθος: Pl., *Tht.* 187d), the use of certain sources (νάματα: Pl., *Grg.* 493e), the origins of virtue (ἀρετή: Pl., *Men.* 99e), the status of the works and actions of nature (τὰ φύσει: Pl., *Leg.* 892b), the origins of neglect (ἀμέλεια: Pl., *Leg.* 901c) The example of ἀρετή “virtue” is given under (48). It is worth pointing attention to the coordination pattern: a noun in the dative case, combined with a verbal adjective and a present participle of the dynamic verb παραγίγνομαι “I come to”.

(48) εἰ δὲ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἐν παντὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καλῶς ἐζητήσαμεν τε καὶ ἐλέγομεν, ἀρετὴ ἂν εἴη οὔτε φύσει οὔτε διδακτόν, ἀλλὰ θεία μοῖρα παραγιγνομένη (Pl., *Men.* 99e)

“at the moment, if through all this discussion our queries and statements have been correct, virtue is found to be neither natural nor taught, but is imparted to us by a divine dispensation ...” (tr. Lamb)

b) *General truth/descriptive generalization*: next to the description of abstract concepts, εἰμί with present participle could also be used to express statements whose character is more explicitly gnomic (of course there is a thin line between uses (a) and (b)). These statements may be universally true, or apply to a particular time frame (in which case one could speak of a ‘descriptive generalization’). In illustration, consider (49).

(49) οὐκοῦν εὐδαιμονέστατοι, ἔφη, καὶ τούτων εἰσὶ καὶ εἰς βέλτιστον τόπον ἰόντες οἱ τὴν δημοτικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιτετηδευκότες, ἦν δὴ καλοῦσι σωφροσύνην τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἐξ ἔθους τε καὶ μελέτης γεγонуῖαν ἄνευ φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ νοῦ; (Pl., *Phd.* 82a-b)

“then,” said he, “the happiest of those, and those who go to the best place, are those who have practiced by nature and habit, without philosophy or reason, the social and civil virtues which are called moderation and justice?” (tr. Fowler)

Contrary to what we have seen under (a), in this example not one particular abstract concept is under discussion, but rather what happens to people when they pass away. Having established that those who have indulged in gluttony and violence and other vices, pass into the bodies of asses and similar animals of that sort, and that those who have devoted themselves to injustice and tyranny and robbery pass into the bodies of wolves, hawks and kites, Socrates concludes that those who have practiced the virtues of moderation and justice “are the happiest and go to the best place”.

A second, more problematic example is given under (50), where the verb γίγνομαι “I become” is used. The ‘truth’ which is discussed here is the fact that there is no king produced in the cities who is “by birth pre-eminently fitted from the beginning in body and mind”.

(50) νῦν δέ γε ὅποτε οὐκ ἔστι γιγνόμενος, ὡς δὴ φαμεν, ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι βασιλεὺς οἶος ἐν σμήγεσιν ἐμφύεται, τό τε σῶμα εὐθὺς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν διαφέρων εἶς, δεῖ ... (Pl., *Plt.* 301d)

“but, as the case now stands, since, as we claim, no king is produced in our states who is, like the ruler of the bees in their hives, by birth pre-eminently fitted from the beginning in body and mind, we are obliged to ...” (tr. Fowler)

Obviously, if one compares (50) to (49), it is clear that the former example is less gnomic, in the sense that it applies more directly to the time of speaking (as indicated by the adverb νῦν; compare Lanérés 1994:379 for temporal adverbs as ‘actualisateurs’). In fact, one could argue that we are dealing here with a durative progressive (with an iterative character). There are some arguments against this view, most importantly (a) the fact that the subject is kind-referring (“a king”), and (b) the fact that progressives generally do not occur with a negation (as the negation explicitly indicates that a situation is not at hand). On the other hand, it could be pointed out that (a) there is a close similarity with an example such as (20) (which I have classified as a durative progressive), where one also finds the adverb νῦν “now” (typical for durative progressives) and εἰμί in the present tense, and (b) that in a number of related examples (cf. especially Pl., *Leg.* 729b, 800c, 805e, *Phil.* 39c) the subject is not kind-referring (in these cases we have a neuter pronoun τοῦτο, but there are other (progressive) examples where this is also the case, see e.g. Hdt. 1.146.3).

c) *Characterization of a person and his actions*: Under the third use I classify examples such as (51), from Demosthenes, where not an abstract concept is described, nor a general truth is expressed, but a person is characterized with regard to his attitude or actions (cf. similarly Dem. 21.114; Pl., *Leg.* 765a, 932a-b, *Resp.* 441e, *Hp. mai.* 289e).

(51) οὕτω τοίνυν οὐτός ἐστιν σοφιστῆς καὶ σφόδρ' ἐκὼν τὰ δίκαι' ἀγνοεῖν προσποιούμενος... (Dem. 29.13)

“the fellow is so cunning, and so ready to pretend ignorance of what is right ...” (tr. Murray)

In such examples the present participle is typically co-ordinated, most commonly with an adjective or a noun, to explain what kind of person one is.⁴⁹ Similarly in (52), where Eros is the subject, we have a co-ordination of a verbal adjective (ἔμφυτος “inborn”), a noun (συναγωγεὺς “assembler”), and a present participle (ἐπιχειρῶν “endeavoring”). Note that the latter example could also be classified under use (a) of participles of the third group, as there is some ambiguity whether Eros should be seen as an abstract concept, or rather a motivation or even an agent.

(52) ἔστι δὴ οὖν ἐκ τόσου ὁ ἔρωσ ἔμφυτος ἀλλήλων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας φύσεως συναγωγεὺς καὶ ἐπιχειρῶν ποιῆσαι ἓν ἐκ δυοῖν καὶ ἰάσασθαι τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην (Pl., *Symp.* 191d)

“thus anciently is mutual love ingrained in mankind, reassembling our early estate and endeavoring to combine two in one and heal the human sore” (tr. Fowler)

This third use also subsumes a use of εἰμί with present participle which was long ago described by Wifstrand (1934). To be more specific, Wifstrand noted that the construction with εἰμί could be used “um darzulegen, wie die eine oder andere Person in der referierten Rede, Schrift, dem Gedicht, Brief, usw. auftritt oder sich äussert” (1934:41), as in (53) (from a letter that is read aloud to the Athenians), where Philip excuses himself for the delay of the legation (cf. similarly Isoc. 15.57; Pl., *Hp. Mai.* 286b). Such a use can be quite easily captured under (c), so there is no need to posit a fourth general use for participles of the third group in combination with εἰμί.

(53) καὶ πάντ' ἀναδεχόμενος καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ποιούμενος τὰ τούτων ἀμαρτήματα' ἐστίν (Dem. 19.36)

“and he takes upon himself everything and takes responsibility for their delinquencies” (my own translation).

3.3.2. Progressives (and habituals?)

Perhaps contrary to what one would expect, given (a) the considerable increase in frequency of εἰμί with present participle (see above), (b) the early signs of development of a focalized progressive in fifth-century Classical Greek, especially in the work of Herodotus and (c) the

⁴⁹ As Bailey (2009:110) notes, one must distinguish this type of sentence from so-called ‘equative’ ones, which assert “that a particular entity (the subject of the clause) is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal, e.g. ‘He is my father’ (Payne 1997:114); an equative clause differs from a clause where the predicate nominal indicates a class to which the subject belongs, e.g. ‘He is a teacher’ – what Payne calls proper inclusion”.

expansion of anterior εἰμί with perfect participle in fourth-century Greek (especially in Plato, Xenophon and Demosthenes; see Bentein 2012),⁵⁰ examples with a progressive function are almost unattested. Moreover, as we will see, the few examples which would qualify are often not entirely unproblematic.

The majority of the examples (9/13) in Plato is of the durative type. In (54), we find an example where the participle takes the passive voice (for similar examples, see Pl., *Leg.* 736b, 822e, 870d, *Resp.* 490a, 492a; Xen., *An.* 4.3.5).

(54) ταῦτα δὲ ἂ πάμπολυν χρόνον διακήκοα, παντάπασι θαυμάσαιμ' ἂν εἴ τί με αὐτῶν διαπέφευγεν. ἦν μὲν οὖν μετὰ πολλῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ παιδιᾶς τότε ἀκουόμενα (Pl., *Ti.* 26b)

“but as to the account I heard such a great time ago, I should be immensely surprised if a single detail of it has escaped me. I had then the greatest pleasure and amusement in hearing it (lit. “it was (being) heard with the greatest pleasure and amusement”) (tr. Fowler)

In connection with the large distance between the component parts of the periphrastic construction (i.e. ἦν “it was” and ἀκουόμενα “being heard”), it is worth noting that we are dealing here with a constituent-focus utterance (see above), with μετὰ πολλῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ παιδιᾶς being focal (the hearing of an account has been explicitly mentioned in the previous sentence: ἂ πάμπολυν χρόνον διακήκοα “what I heard such a great time ago”). Perhaps this particular type of information structure may have stimulated the use of periphrasis.

Another example, where the activity verb νομοθετέω “I frame laws” is used, is printed under (55). I would suggest a durative progressive function for ἦσαν νομοθετοῦντες, though others might perhaps prefer a substantival interpretation of the participle (νομοθετοῦντες = “the lawgivers”; note the variation τοῖς τότε νομοθέταις – ἦσαν νομοθετοῦντες – νομοθεσίας ἔμπειροι).

(55) ἐπεὶ ἐπὶ γε Τημένῳ καὶ Κρεσφόντῃ καὶ τοῖς τότε νομοθέταις, οἵτινες ἄρα ἦσαν νομοθετοῦντες, οὐδ' ἦ Ἀριστοδήμου μερὶς ἐσώθη ποτ' ἂν – οὐ γὰρ ἱκανῶς ἦσαν νομοθεσίας ἔμπειροι (Pl., *Leg.* 692b)

“for if the matter had lain with Temenus and Cresphontes and the lawgivers of their day – whosoever was engaged in lawgiving, – even the portion of Aristodemus could never

⁵⁰ One referee fails to see the connection between anterior εἰμί with perfect participle and progressive εἰμί with present participle as far as the grammaticalization of the latter construction is concerned. As Cutrer (1994) shows within the framework of *Mental Spaces Theory*, the progressive and anterior functions are cognitively similar in so far as they both set up a two-space configuration with a separate EVENT-space, which does not contain FOCUS and V-POINT (in this context, it is worth recalling that in Ancient Greek (periphrastic) progressives and anteriors originate from the same source-construction(s)). As such, I believe that the grammaticalization of one BE-periphrasis *could* have stimulated that of a cognitively similar one (it constitutes what Mufwene 2001 calls a ‘language-internal ecological factor’; see Bentein *forthc.* for an application to Post-classical and Early Byzantine Greek). We can make the comparison with English, where according to Polzenhagen (2008:240) the perfect form and the *be-going-to* form grammaticalized parallel to each other. Polzenhagen considers both constructions part of the same (emerging) category, which he terms *Correlation*.

have survived, for they were not fully expert in the art of legislation” (tr. Bury, slightly modified)

As for the focalized progressive type, an interesting (though often overlooked, e.g. by Aerts 1965) example comes from Plato’s *Phaedo*, printed here under (56).

(56) ἤδη οὖν σχεδόν τι αὐτοῦ ἦν τὰ περὶ τὸ ἦτρον ψυχόμενα, καὶ ἐκκαλυψάμενος – ἐνεκεκάλυπτο γάρ – εἶπεν – ὃ δὴ τελευταῖον ἐφθέγγετο – ὦ Κρίτων, ἔφη, τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ὀφείλομεν ἀλεκτρυόνα (Pl., *Phd.* 118a)

“now already the region about the groin was almost (growing) cold, when he uncovered his face, for he had covered himself up, and said (they were his last words): ‘Crito, I owe a cock to Asclepius’” (tr. Jowett, modified)

According to Rosén (1987:156) we are dealing here with another instance of the phenomenon discussed above, that is, constituent focus (‘derhematization’). Accordingly, he suggests to translate: “et c’était déjà la région du ventre qui était refroidie”. Rosén seems to be right (the fact that Socrates is slowly growing cold is clearly presupposed. A few lines earlier we read καὶ ἐπανιών οὕτως ἡμῖν ἐπεδείκνυτο ὅτι ψύχοιτό τε καὶ πήγνυτο “and passing upwards in this way he showed us that he was growing cold and rigid”), though translating with a cleft-sentence may distort the discourse-function of ἦν ... ψυχόμενα: one could argue, with Björck (1940:72) and Dietrich (1973a:199), that ἦν ... ψυχόμενα constitutes a focalized progressive which serves as a background for the main actions, expressed in the aorist, ἐκκαλυψάμενος and εἶπεν (with the ingressive “growing cold” heightening the tension of the moment (cf. similarly Soph., *OT* 847; Eur., *Cyc.* 381)).⁵¹ However, we face an interpretative difficulty in that the form ἦν ... ψυχόμενα could also be used with a stative value (arguably indicated by the adverb σχεδόν “almost”, which most translators do not render), whereby ψυχόμενος would be a near equivalent of ψυχρός (in this case it would not be clear what motivated the choice for the participial form, cf. Björck 1940:72).

As indicated in table 3, we also find various examples which present a more well-known type of ambiguity (as predicted by Bertinetto’s model). With Porter (1989:458) we could interpret (57) as “a certain spring was steaming in a glen nearby” (an interpretation which also seems to be favoured by Gonda 1959:100), though one could equally well opt for a locative value of εἰμί, as Brownson does (perhaps the placement of the two locative adjuncts, to the left and

⁵¹ At present, it is not entirely clear to me whether examples with such an ingressive nuance should be classified under a fourth aspectual function. In any case, the presence of such cases puts Ceglia’s (1998:35-6) observations in a different light: in his opinion the presence in Post-classical Greek of periphrastic examples denoting ingressive action demonstrates “l’estraneità di questa espressione [= εἰμί with present participle] al sistema verbale greco e il suo carattere imitativo di un modello straniero”.

right side of εἰμί and the participle respectively, indicates the latter interpretation is preferable) (for similar examples in Xenophon, cf. *Hell.* 3.5.20, *An.* 1.2.21, 3.3.2).

(57) καὶ ἐτετήκει διὰ κρήνην τινὰ ἢ πλησίον ἦν ἀτμίζουσα ἐν νάπη (Xen., *An.* 4.5.15)

“and in fact it had melted, on account of a spring which was near by, steaming in a dell”
(tr. Brownson)

Finally, it is worth mentioning the existence of cases which are hard to evaluate with regard to aspectual semantics, especially those with the passive participle λεγόμενος (compare with the remarks I have made above on the use of γίγνομαι “I become”). To what extent, for example, does (58) diverge from (59),⁵² except for a different mood and tense?

(58) ἔστω δὲ λεγόμενον τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆδε (Pl., *Leg.* 881b)

“let the next topic stand expressed in the following way” (tr. Alexander)

(59) ἦν δέ που λεγόμενον λυσιτελεῖν ἀδικεῖν τῷ τελέως μὲν ἀδίκῳ, δοξαζομένῳ δὲ δίκαιῳ· ἢ οὐχ οὕτως ἐλέχθη; (Pl., *Resp.* 588b)

“it was, I believe, averred that injustice is profitable to the completely unjust man who is reputed just. Was not that the proposition?” (tr. Shorey)

While in the latter case one could argue for a progressive function (note that (59) is clearly related to (54), except for the fact that here there is no obvious constituent-focus expression), in the former case it would be hard, if not impossible to do so: it is well-known that progressives do not occur (or at least only marginally) in the imperative mood (Bertinetto, Ebert & de Groot 2000:537; Bertinetto 2000:582, also citing some exceptions). Alexander (1885:303-4) for one argues that it is not the *act* but rather the *abiding condition* which is emphasized: “let the next topic stand expressed in the following way”.

As for the habitual function, there are virtually no examples, which is in accordance with Bertinetto’s proposal for the diachronic development of this type of construction (where we expect habituales only at the fifth and final stage). In a number of fourth-century examples we do find the construction of εἰμί with present participle combined with a frequency adverbial (four out of five examples are construed with adverbs of indefinite frequency (ἀεί, πολλάκις) (Pl., *Ap.* 40a, *Leg.* 732b, 719c, *Cra.* 411d), one with a subordinating conjunction (ὁπόταν), which also refers to an indefinite number of occasions (Pl., *Leg.* 935d)). In (60), for example,

⁵² According to one of the referees, the construction in this example should be considered habitual. However, the immediately preceding context (εἶεν δὲ, εἶπον· ἐπειδὴ ἐνταῦθα λόγου γεγόμενον, ἀναλάβωμεν τὰ πρῶτα λεχθέντα, δι’ ἃ δεῦρ’ ἤκομεν “‘very good’, I said. ‘And now that we have come to this point in the argument, let us take up again the statement with which we began and that has brought us to this pass’”) makes it clear that this cannot be the case: the periphrastic construction refers to a single ongoing event situated at the beginning of the conversation.

we encounter the adverb *πολλάκις* “often”, which one could consider a more prototypical frequency adverb than *ἀεί* (indicating continuity, as is clear in Pl., *Cra.* 411d).⁵³

(60) ἃ δὲ μικρότερα μὲν τούτων καὶ *λεγόμενα* *πολλάκις* *ἐστίν*, *χρήσιμα* δὲ τούτων οὐχ ἦττον, *χρῆ* λέγειν ἑαυτὸν ἀναμνησκόντα (Pl., *Leg.* 6958)

“precepts that are less important than these and oftentimes repeated – but no less profitable – a man should repeat to himself by way of reminder” (tr. Bury)

It may be clear, however, that we can hardly speak of a habitual in such cases: the co-ordination of *λεγόμενα* with the adjective *μικρότερα*, in combination with the placement of *πολλάκις* after the participle, gives a very strong stative impression. Also observe that we are dealing here with an inanimate subject, so that the repeated occurrence of the event denoted by the participle has little characterizing value (see Bertinetto 1997:215, 217 on habituality and animacy).

4. DISCUSSION

In §3, we have seen that in fifth- and fourth-century Classical Greek the construction of *εἰμί* with present participle was used in both durative (‘non-focalized’) and focalized contexts, though all in all rather infrequently. Statives, on the other hand, abound (in terms of the model proposed by Bertinetto, the construction can perhaps best be located in the progressivity I-stage). This may be contrasted with the development of *εἰμί* with perfect participle, which initially was predominantly used with a stative (resultative) function, but at a later stage (in the fourth century B.C.) fully developed an anterior function (which is cognitively similar to the progressive function, see again footnote 50). Particularly in the work of Herodotus, the constructions of *εἰμί* with perfect and present participle equally show early signs of (semantic/syntactic/pragmatic) development, but only the former construction really did. How to explain this evolutionary divergence?

Such general developments must be the result of a number of factors, none of which can be discussed at length in the context of this paper.⁵⁴ One could for example have a look at the influence of genre, philosophy being particularly prone to statives, and historiography and drama to progressives. Dietrich (1973a:201) for example notes that “die attischen Redner

⁵³ It is worth noting that Bertinetto (1986:174-5-6) considers sentences such as “Peter was always thinking of that girl” to express durative progressive aspect (cf. also Bertinetto 2000:569).

⁵⁴ According to Kahn (1973:138), the “preference for perfect periphrasis” can be explained by a convergence of static tendencies, i.e. “the static aspect of the verb and the adjective-like predicate syntax of the participle”. It seems to me that Kahn relies too much on the conclusions of Aerts (1965). Though a static tendency indeed characterizes the periphrastic construction with *εἰμί* in this period of the language (which is indicated by the fact that the construction with aorist participle was much less frequent), both the combination with perfect and present participle did develop more ‘agentive’ (‘transitive’) aspectual functions.

gebrauchten die Periphrase mit εἶναι + Part. Präs. nicht oft, da sie im Rahmen der Argumentationen kaum Gelegenheit haben, bestimmte Situationen als Vorgänge zu schildern”. Rydbeck (1969:194) takes a different approach, by characterizing εἰμί with present participle (in its progressive function) as a ‘difficult Ionic construction’ (compare with the observations of Lasso de la Vega 1955:170), for which the Attic writers only showed little interest: “diese Art von Periphrase seit später ausser Gebrauch gekommen, was sich dadurch erklärt, dass man im Laufe von nur einigen Generationen das Gefühl für eine solche feine Unterscheidung verloren haben kann. Die Attiker – vielleicht mit Ausnahme von dem Individualisten Platon – zeigten wenig Interesse für die Periphrasen der Jonischen”, and furthermore that “eigentlich ist es recht natürlich, dass die Attiker nicht ohne weiteres ein so wildgewachsenes und schwieriges Produkt wie die herodotische Periphrase übernommen haben. Wir wissen, dass die Rednersprache stark reguliert war. Die syntaktischen Feinheiten, die sich dort finden, sind normiert” (Rydbeck 1969:199).

One element which I would like to draw attention to here, is the importance of looking at the formal and semantic relations between constructions, e.g. in terms of a constructional network as known from *Cognitive Grammar* (e.g. Croft & Cruse 2004); this is an insight which permeates the work of Coseriu and Dietrich, though it has not always been duly appreciated (surprisingly, these works are only occasionally referred to). From a diachronic point of view, when two constructions compete within the same functional domain (what Michaelis 1998:124 calls ‘overpopulation’), one of them may be blocked from further developing, or semantic/pragmatic differentiation between the competitors may arise (Fleischman 1989:4). Applied to εἰμί with present participle, I believe the existence of a participial construction with τυγχάνω must have played a decisive influence (compare Dietrich 1973:232-4). No doubt some scholars will object that the constructions of εἰμί with present participle and τυγχάνω with present participle never entered the same functional domain, and that the *raison d’être* of the latter is the expression of coincidence, after its etymology (the construction being commonly rendered either with ‘main verb’ (= participle) + ‘by coincidence’ (= τυγχάνω), or alternatively “I happen to ...”) (cf. also Björck 1940:64).

The truth is that the construction with τυγχάνω is as poorly understood as that with εἰμί. My own teaching practice has made it clear to me that this so-called ‘coincidence’ can hardly be upheld in all cases (quite to the contrary). Consider examples (61) and (62), from Lysias’ twelfth oration.

(61) ἐκείνου δὲ διαλεγομένου Θεόγνιδι (ἔμπειρος γὰρ ὢν ἐτύγγανον τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ ἤδειν ὅτι ἀμφίθυρος εἴη) ἐδόκει μοι ταύτη πειρᾶσθαι σωθῆναι (Lys. 12.15)

“while he was in conversation with Theognis – I happened to be familiar with the house, and knew that it had doors front and back – I decided to try this means of saving myself”. (tr. Lamb)

(62) καλέσας δὲ Δάμνιππον λέγω πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε, «ἐπιτήδειος μὲν μοι τυγχάνεις ὄν, ἦκω δ’ εἰς τὴν σὴν οἰκίαν, ἀδικῶ δ’ οὐδέν, χρημάτων δ’ ἔνεκα ἀπόλλυμαι» (Lys. 12.14)

“I called Damnippus and said to him: ‘You are in friendly relations with me, and I have come into your house; I have done no wrong, but am being destroyed for the sake of my money’” (tr. Lamb)

While in the former example a good case could be made for an epistemic modal value of ‘coincidence’ – by coincidence, Lysias found himself on familiar ground – the same cannot be said of the latter example, and in fact it would weaken Lysias’ argument considerably to say that he and Damnippus are friends ‘by coincidence’. However, when simply translating *τυγχάνω* with “I am ...” (as Lamb does), we do not seem to do justice to the force of Lysias’ argument either. It would seem that here, a paraphrase of the type “in the given circumstances, it is the case that ...” would be a correct rendering.

The effect of *τυγχάνω* in an example such as (62) could well be described as an increase in focality (in the sense of Johanson 2000): by combining *τυγχάνω* (an achievement verb when used without a participial complement) with *εἰμί*, the speaker increases the relevance of an inherently stative situation (to be someone’s friend) and makes it pertinent to the time of speaking.⁵⁵ I believe this considerably clarifies an earlier observation of Rydbeck (1969:193) that *τυγχάνω*, when combined with the present participle, “dem Präsensstempus aoristischen Aspect gibt” (see also Coseriu 1975:13-4). It should be clear by now that a considerable functional overlap exists between the constructions of *τυγχάνω* and *εἰμί* with present participle (in its progressive function), especially when the former is used with dynamic content verbs (see Bentein 2011b for some preliminary diachronic remarks). Rydbeck (1969:193) makes the same point by comparing two Herodotean examples, printed here as (63) (previously mentioned as (24)) and (64). Clearly, (63) is comparable to (64) in that an aorist, twice of the verb *λέγω* “I say”, specifies the focalization point.

(64) ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ περὶ ἀκούσας, ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐσέγων ὁ ἥλιος, εἶπε, θεοβλαβῆς γενόμενος· «Μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τόνδε ἀποδίδωμι», δείξας τὸν ἥλιον (Hdt. 8.137.4)

“when they spoke of wages, the king was moved to foolishness and said – for the sunlight was shining down the smoke vent into the house – , “That is the wage you merit, and it is that I give you”, pointing to the sunlight (tr. Godley, modified)

⁵⁵ It should be noted here that the development from epistemic modality to aspect is well-known in grammaticalization-studies (Marchello-Nizia 2006:115). Whether such a development really took place in Ancient Greek, and if so, when it can be dated, must be left to further research.

(65) ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἐτύγγανε γὰρ ἔχων μάχαιραν, εἶπας τάδε “δεκόμεθα ὦ βασιλεῦ τὰ διδοῖς,” περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου τὸν ἥλιον (Hdt. 8.137.5).

“the boy said, ‘We accept what you give, O king,’ and with that he took a knife which he had with him and drew a line with it on the floor of the house round the sunlight” (tr. Godley, modified)

What is interesting, but must be left to further research, is the fact that the constructions of εἰμί and τυγγάνω with present participle seem to be in complementary distribution: in Classical Greek, εἰμί is primarily used with a low or non-focal function (i.e. so-called ‘adjectival periphrasis’, see Bentein 2011a), while τυγγάνω is used with a high(er)-focal function (cf. also Adrados 1992:452, who notes that the construction of τυγγάνω with present participle (contrary to that of εἰμί with present participle) “no ofrece ambigüedad con el uso puramente adjetival del part[icipio]”; compare Pusch 2003a:185 on the Romance languages, where complementary distribution between constructions expressing focalized and durative progressivity has also been suggested). Wheeler’s 1891 study on the use of τυγγάνω provides some impressive figures: in combination with the present participle, Wheeler finds 956 examples, two thirds of which with τυγγάνω in the present tense (according to Dietrich 1973a:234, the construction was grammaticalized to a much larger degree than εἰμί with present participle).⁵⁶ In this context, it is interesting to note that in Post-classical Greek, when according to the studies of Björck (1940) and Amenta (2003) εἰμί with present participle does begin to be used to a much greater extent as a high-focal progressive, the construction of τυγγάνω disappears (Jannaris 1897:493).⁵⁷

5. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I would like to briefly return to the twofold question raised in the introduction:

1. To what extent can Bertinetto’s model for a so-called ‘PROG imperfective drift’ clarify the evidence from Ancient Greek?

In my opinion, the five-stage model proposed by Bertinetto e.a. provides a powerful means for the description of the use of εἰμί with present participle in Ancient Greek. Its main advantage lies in the fact that it does not take the highly grammaticalized English progressive

⁵⁶ Wheeler’s data show that τυγγάνω is also used with the aorist and perfect participle, but to a much smaller extent (respectively 87 and 155 examples). That the aorist participle was least often used could be taken as an additional indication of τυγγάνω’s role as a focality-marker, but this needs to be confirmed by further research.

⁵⁷ According to one referee, “the disappearance of the τυγγάνω periphrasis when the εἰμί periphrasis gets momentum might be mere coincidence”. Caution is indeed needed, though I would like to draw attention to another interesting correlation which my most recent research has brought to light: in Post-classical Greek, the construction with τυγγάνω first disappears in the middle register, which is exactly where εἰμί with present participle (as a progressive) is most frequently attested (possibly under Semitic influence). In the higher registers, on the other hand, where we find almost no examples of progressive εἰμί, the construction with τυγγάνω continues to be used.

as a starting point, on the basis of which ‘rules’ and ‘properties’ are generally described (an approach for which Björck has been criticized, see e.g. Gonda 1959:105; Coseriu 1975:15), and which would force us to conclude that progressives are absent from Ancient (Archaic/Classical) Greek (as Aerts’ 1965 did), but rather allows a flexible approach which does not a priori exclude uses which are inherently similar. By this, I mean of course the distinction between ‘durative’ and ‘focalized’ progressivity. Approaching εἰμί with present participle from this perspective allows us to explicitly compare the evidence from Ancient Greek with that found in other languages, and to give a precise description of how far the construction has developed, or in other words, to what extent it has grammaticalized. In the light of further research, it would be very interesting to research to what extent the Post-classical evidence, especially that found in the Septuagint and the New Testament, can be considered a further development of the construction, i.e. whether indeed the focalized type now comes to be fully employed (cf. also my observation on the use of τυγχάνω above), and what role language contact (with Hebrew and/or Aramaic) may have played.

2. To what extent can Ancient Greek refine the proposal?

Notwithstanding this positive evaluation, it must be noted that Bertinetto’s proposal cannot fully account for the Ancient Greek evidence, and that further refinement of the model is needed. The evidence from Ancient Greek is particularly relevant in this respect, as its long history of written sources offers a unique opportunity for a detailed diachronic study of this type of construction (contrast with English, which “can neither confirm nor refute the claim of Bertinetto e.a. (2000) that the English progressive has undergone PROG imperfective drift” (Killie 2008:86)). Four main issues that have been of particular importance in this paper are not addressed by Bertinetto and his colleagues. Firstly, and perhaps most importantly, there is the role of statives. As we have seen, this aspectual function plays a very important role as far as Ancient Greek is concerned. What is more, the evidence brought to light by Killie (2008:81) on Old English shows a very similar use of the periphrastic construction (Killie speaks of ‘stative progressives’). Secondly, Bertinetto only briefly hints at the possibility of multiple sources, suggesting that this might be an alternative to the locative schema as a (single) diachronic source. Again, Killie (2008:86) confirms the observation made for Ancient Greek that this alternative hypothesis might be more viable. Thirdly, the evidence from Ancient Greek shows that even at an early stage one can encounter progressives in a focalized context. Further research is needed to see whether the same is attested in other languages, but I believe the model will need to offer a more flexible approach towards the occurrence of such

early examples. Fourthly, Bertinetto and his colleagues do not pay any attention to the factors that may stimulate or block the development of the construction. As for Ancient Greek, we have seen that the periphrastic construction with perfect participle is very likely to have exerted a strong analogical influence. However – arguably due to functional overlap with *τυγχάνω* accompanied by a present participle – the construction of *εἶμι* with present participle did not come to function as a (focalized) progressive in Classical Greek.

As for further (cross-linguistic) research, I believe that one of the main challenges that lies ahead of us is specifying the relationship between the notions of *focalization* (Bertinetto), *focality* (Johanson 2000) and *focus* (see e.g. Dik 1989; Lambrecht 1994). These three concepts bear an obvious affinity, and they are discussed from time to time in the literature, though mostly not in relation to each other. I strongly believe that Bertinetto's model would benefit much from further studying their interrelationship. Johanson's focality in particular helps us to understand the bigger picture, that is, on the one hand to see how progressives relate to statives and habituais, and on the other to distinguish between the two types of progressivity (especially when the finite verb is used in the present tense, this can be helpful). Recently, Ebert (1999) has convincingly proposed a classification of Kalmyk imperfectives, based entirely on degree of focality. Perhaps for Ancient Greek as well it would not be unimaginable to sketch a diachronic account in terms of focality rather than focalization. The main advantage of such an approach is that it departs starts from a scalar concept. As such, it may provide a more flexible perspective in dealing with the gray area which seems to exist between certain statives and progressives.

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