On the Verbal Complements of Aspectual Verbs*

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Abstract

This article presents independent morpho-syntactic evidence from Ancient Greek and Old English supporting the existence of two alternative Aspect functional heads (following Fukuda 2007 on Modern Japanese and Modern English). The focus of the study is on the similarities between Ancient Greek and Old (and Modern) English aspectual verbs and on the consequences of these similarities for the analysis of aspectuals. Ancient Greek and Old English aspectual verbs fall into two groups: (a) aspectual verbs that could select both infinitive/*to*-infinitive and participial/bare infinitive complements (aspectual in H-Asp), and (b) aspectual verbs that selected only a participial/bare infinitive complement (aspectual in L-Asp). No aspectual verb takes only infinitive/*to*-infinitive. Furthermore, “long middles/passives” is an option only with aspectual verbs in L-Asp, while the regular embedded middle/passive is the only option with an aspectual verb in H-Asp. The similar properties of the Greek and English aspectual verbs, however, historically manifest different developments: English not only retained Old English possibilities (*to*- vs. bare infinitives), but later extended them from Middle English into the 18th century, while in Greek the development of the infinitive and the participle affected the options of verbal complements of aspectual verbs.

Keywords

aspectual verbs; verbal complementation; diachronic syntax; Ancient Greek; diachrony of English

1. Introduction¹

Despite the considerable distance between their structures in so many other areas of language, Ancient Greek and Old (and Modern) English present a remarkably similar set of selectional properties for the aspectual verbs—verbs

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¹) *List of Abbreviations*: ACC accusative, ACT active, AOR aorist, CONJ conjunction, DAT dative, FUT future, GEN genitive, GER gerund, IMP imperative, INF infinitive, ING *-ing* ending (gerundives), IPFV imperfective, MID middle, MP mediopassive, NOM nominative, OPT optative, PFV perfective, PL plural, PRS present, PRT particle, PTCP participle, SG singular, SUBJ subjunctive.

Examples are given a broad phonological transcription (and stress is not marked). As is well-known, the phonological system of Greek changed significantly during the Hellenistic-Roman

of commencing, (dis)continuing and completion. Some of these verbs can select both infinitive/*to*-infinitive² and participial/bare infinitive (gerundive)³ complements, while others select only participial/bare infinitive (gerundive) complements. We will show (based on other morpho-syntactic evidence as well) that this dichotomy in Ancient Greek, Old (and Modern) English corresponds to a structural ambiguity between the alternative syntactic positions that aspectual verbs can occupy (H-Asp(ect) position [+ infinitive (*to*-infinitive) or participle (bare infinitive/gerundive) as complement] or L-Asp(ect) position [+ participle (bare infinitive/gerundive) as complement]). Travis (1991), Borer (1994, 1998, 2005), and Fukuda (2007) have shown that aspectual verbs are functional heads that encode aspectual information about events, while Fukuda (2007) has argued that Aspect heads can occur in two positions.

In the earlier literature on aspectuals, there is consensus that aspectuals involve ambiguity, an ambiguity which has been analysed either (i) as lexical or (ii) as structural ambiguity.

(i) Lexical ambiguity between raising and control structure has been argued in various analyses from Perlmutter's analysis (1968, 1970), to case-based (Martin 2001), movement-based (Hornstein 2003), or agree-based (Landau 2004) analyses. The evidence for raising comes from the fact that aspectual verbs can have non-thematic subjects: they allow for expletive subjects (ex. 1a), active/passive synonymy (ex. 1b), and idiom chunks to maintain their idiomatic meanings (ex. 1c). The evidence for control comes from the fact that subjects of aspectual verbs must be thematic in some cases: an aspectual verb can be embedded under a control verb (ex. 2a), and aspectual verbs are compatible with the imperative (ex. 2b).

(1) *raising*:

a. *expletive subjects*

It began to rain.

(Perlmutter 1970:109, (7))

period. For this reason and as details about the phonological system and its changes are not relevant to the present study of syntactic changes, Ancient Greek examples are given a broad classical Ancient Greek transcription, whereas examples of the Modern Greek period are given a broad Modern Greek transcription. For readability the Ancient Greek vowels are presented by transliterating the Greek orthography, not in phonological transcription (cf. Kiparsky 2003): (i) for ⟨ω⟩ we write *ō* (ii) for ⟨ου⟩, *ou* (iii) for ⟨ει⟩, *ei* and (iv) for ⟨η⟩, *ē*. Phonologically ⟨ω⟩ corresponds to /ō/, ⟨ου⟩ corresponds both to /ou/ and /ō/, ⟨ει⟩ both to /ē/ and /ei/, and ⟨η⟩ to /ē/. This 'shortcut' is not problematic in the present context since this present study of diachronic syntax does not depend on vowel quality.

²) Infinitive in Ancient Greek, *to*-infinitive in Old and Modern English. See below on the development of these categories in the respective languages.

³) Participle in Ancient Greek, bare infinitive in Old English (gerundive in Modern English). See below on the development of these categories in the respective languages.

b. active/passive synonymy

The noise began to annoy Joe.
Joe began to be annoyed by the noise. (Perlmutter 1970:109, (9))

c. idiomatic meanings

Headway began to be made toward a solution.⁴ (Perlmutter 1970:110, (13))

(2) *control*

a. aspectuals embedded under control verbs

I tried to begin to work. (Perlmutter 1970:111, (20))
I forced Tom to begin work. (Perlmutter 1970:112, (23))

b. imperative

Begin to work! (Perlmutter 1970:113, (25))

The analyses in terms of ‘lexical’ ambiguity emphasize that (a) aspectuals can have a non-thematic subject but also behave like control verbs (Perlmutter 1970), (b) aspectuals can take a TP that is [+tense, -finite] or [-tense, -finite] (Martin 2001), (c) the landing site of the movement of the subject of aspectuals can be an argument or a non-argument position (Hornstein 2003), and (d) the complement of aspectuals is a CP (embedding an IP with [-T]) or an IP (Landau 2004). All the analyses mentioned above hold the same assumption, namely that the control/raising ambiguity with aspectual verbs would have to be lexical: in other words, whether a given aspectual verb is a raising or a control verb, its structural position is the head of VP, and the differences between control and raising follow from different selectional restrictions.

(ii) According to Fukuda, the control/raising analysis of aspectual verbs appears untenable given that aspectual verbs actually fail to behave as control or raising verbs: aspectuals cannot be raising verbs, since they can have non-thematic subjects but their complements do not contain a tense projection or grammatical/viewpoint aspect projection (the standard assumption being that sentences with raising predicates are bi-clausal, ex. 3a, b); aspectual verbs are not control verbs, since they are compatible with the imperative (ex. 3c).

- (3) a. *He began [_{Progressive} being running down the road].
b. *He began [_{Perfective} to have finished his homework]. (Akmajian et al. 1979:40, (112))
c. Begin to work! (Perlmutter 1970:113, (25))

In order to account for the problematic behavior of aspectual verbs, Fukuda proposed that aspectual verbs are functional heads which appear above and/or below a projection of the Voice head or little *v* (Kratzer 1994, 1996, Chomsky 1995, among many others). Fukuda called their projection *Aspect Phrase (AspP)*,

⁴) We thank the anonymous reviewer who mentioned that there is disagreement about the synonymy in (1b) and the grammaticality of (1c); we agree that this disagreement is perhaps another argument contra Perlmutter’s analysis.

following Travis (1991), and the projection of Aspect above vP *H(igh)-Asp(ect)*, while the one that is below vP *L(ow)-Asp(ect)*. Fukuda argued that this proposal is supported by independent morphological and syntactic evidence: the complement of the aspectual in H-Asp is realised as an infinitival and gerundive complement and the complement of the aspectual in L-Asp is realised as a gerundive complement (in Modern English). Control and raising *cannot* explain the two different complement types, infinitive and gerundive; the difference in selection of the two complement types is a consequence of the two possible positions for aspectuals in the analysis of Fukuda. Hence, Fukuda (2007) offers an alternative analysis to that of lexical ambiguity; with aspectual verbs we have a case of structural ambiguity between alternative syntactic positions. Assuming Fukuda's analysis, aspectual verbs are heads of functional projections rather than main verbs taking clausal complements, and may occupy two different positions, either above or below vP ; aspectual verbs which take either type of clausal complement (as Modern English *begin*, *continue*, *cease*) can appear either in H-Asp (they take infinitives or gerundives as complements) or in L-Asp (they take gerundives as complements). Aspectual verbs that take only a gerundive complement (as Modern English *keep*, *stop*, *finish*) can only be in L-Asp. No aspectual verb only takes infinitives as complements.

A functional head analysis has been proposed for aspectual verbs in German (Wurmbrand 2001), Romance languages (Cinque 2003), Basque (Arregi & Molina-Azaola 2004), Japanese (Fukuda 2006), and Modern English (Fukuda 2007): the main evidence for most of these languages is that long passive, i.e. passivisation of an embedded object with the passive morpheme appearing only on the matrix/aspectual verb, is the only option with aspectual verbs in L-Asp, since the passive morpheme is above the position of the aspectual verb, while the regular embedded passive is the only option with an aspectual verb in H-Asp, since the passive morpheme is below the position of the aspectual verb.

For the notion of structural ambiguity, important similarities are also revealed if we compare complex and aspectual verbs; (i) with complex verbs,

the root-merger with an affix gives idiosyncratic readings, but post-Category (post-Cat) merger with an affix gives compositional readings (Marantz 2001). Contrast, for example, the root-merger in the Modern Greek verb *sin-erxome* (idiosyncratic ‘recover’) and the post-Category merger in *sin-ipografo* (compositional ‘countersign’) (Drachman 2008); (ii) with aspectual verbs, the merger of the aspectual verb above or below vP appears to result in the distinction between compatibility with infinitive and/or gerundive complements.

In the next section, we will present the Ancient Greek data that supports Fukuda’s proposal: aspectual verbs in Ancient Greek fell into two groups, those that could select both infinitive and participial complements and those that selected only a participial complement; “long middles/passives” was an option only with aspectual verbs in L-Asp (+participial), while the regular embedded middle/passive was the only option with aspectual verbs in H-Asp (+infinitive). In turn, Ancient Greek infinitives appear to have been less limited than participles. Finally, we will show that the development of verbal complementation of aspectuals is related to the development of the infinitive and the participle in Greek: their development (loss and replacement by *na*-clauses or change into gerunds and “adjectives” respectively) did not permit them to remain as an option of verbal complementation of aspectual verbs.

2. Aspectuals in Ancient Greek and Fukuda’s Analysis

As seen above, Fukuda argues that his proposal is supported by the independent morphological and syntactic evidence of the presence of two different complement types (in Modern English, for example, infinitive and gerundive); the difference in selection of the two complement types should be a consequence of the two possible positions for aspectuals and cannot be explained by a raising and control analysis.⁵

Ancient Greek aspectual verbs fell into two groups as well; (i) aspectual verbs that could select both infinitive and participial complements; (ii) aspectual verbs that selected a participial complement. Most Ancient Greek aspectual verbs belonged to the second group and took a participle as a complement. Less frequent was the use of the infinitive,⁶ in alternation with the participle. Aspectual verbal meaning seems not to play a role in the choice of the complement:

⁵) The presence of additional projections (in the present paper, two Aspect projections, according to Fukuda) in order to explain cross-linguistic (and Greek) data was a tendency that assisted in the analysis of various phenomena in the past—for example, high and low Neg(ation)P.

⁶) For the Ancient Greek infinitives, cf. Sevdali (2007), where one can find the relevant bibliography as well.

both participles and infinitives could follow a verb meaning ‘begin’, ‘continue’, ‘stop’ or ‘finish’.

(i) Aspectual verbs + infinitive or (active or mediopassive) participle⁷

- a. diamenō ‘continue’
- b. pauō⁸ ‘stop’
- c. pauomai⁹ ‘cease’
- d. diaprassō ‘finish, accomplish’ (with infinitive and less frequent with participle)
- e. arkhomai¹⁰ (less frequent: arkhō¹¹) ‘begin’ (frequent with infinitive, but also with participle)

- (5) a. ean d’ epainein ton heteron arksōmai
 if PRT praise.INF.ACT the.ACC other.ACC begin.AOR.SUBJ.MID.1SG
 ‘if I begin to praise the other’ (Plato, *Phaedrus*, 241e, 2)
- b. ē pothen an orthōs arksaimetha andras agathous
 or how PRT rightly commence.AOR.OPT.MID.1PL men.ACC valiant.ACC
epainountes
 praise.PTCP.ACT.NOM.PL
 ‘or how could we rightly commence praising these valiant men’
 (Plato, *Menexenus*, 237a, 1)

The object of an aspectual verb could, in Ancient Greek, also be the subject of the participle: both the participle and its subject are in the accusative case (ex. 6—and not in the nominative case as in the examples where the subject of the verb is also the subject of the participle, see ex. 7).

⁷ We present here only an indicative list of aspectual verbs, trying to give equivalents to Modern English aspectuals (mentioned in the literature and mainly in Fukuda) in Ancient Greek. The decision on which Ancient Greek aspectuals are used as equivalents to Modern English aspectuals is mainly based on the *Woodhouse’s English-Greek Dictionary* and the *Liddell, Scott, Jones & McKenzie Greek-English Lexicon (LSJM)*. The data set is mainly based on published discussions by the authors of other relevant phenomena in the area of transitivity and aspectuals, and is supplemented by examples quoted from other scholars and by data collected from the online version of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG)*: <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>. The generalizations (wherever stated) are based on the following grammars of Greek: Goodwin (1894 [1978]), Jannaris (1897 [1968]), Kühner & Gerth (1898–1904 [1963]), Gildersleeve (1900), Stahl (1907), Smyth (1920 [1956]), Meillet & Vendryes (1924), Humbert (1945), Schwyzler (1950).

⁸ pau-ō bears active voice morphology.

⁹ pau-omai bears mediopassive voice morphology.

¹⁰ arkh-omai bears mediopassive voice morphology.

¹¹ arkh-ō bears active voice morphology.

- (6) su nun touton ton andra pauson tauta
 you.NOM now this.ACC.SG the.ACC.SG man.ACC.SG stop.IMP.2SG these.ACC.PL
poieunta
 do.PTCP.ACT.ACC.SG
 ‘stop this man, then, from doing these things’ (Herodotus, 5, 23, 14–15)
- (7) ouden pauontai kakotekhnountes
 not stop.MP.3PL play-tricks.PTCP.ACT.NOM.PL
 ‘they do not stop playing their tricks’ (Demosthenes, *Contra Macartatum* [Sp.], 2, 3)

(ii) Aspectual verbs + (active or mediopassive) participle

- a. diateleō ‘continue being or doing so’
- b. kartereō ‘keep’
- c. diagignomai ‘continue’
- d. lēgō ‘cease’
- e. eklimpanō ‘cease’¹²
- f. eklēgō ‘cease’

with mediopassive participle

- (8) oupote lēgei kinoumenon
 never cease.PRS.3SG move.PTCP.MP.NOM.SG
 ‘it never ceases to move’ (Plato, *Phaedrus*, 245c, 8)

with active participle

- (9) eut’ an phlegōn aktisin hēlios khthona lēksēi
 when.PRT illumine.PTCP.ACT.NOM.SG beams.DAT sun.NOM earth.ACC cease.AOR.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘when the sun had ceased to illumine the earth with his beams’ (Aeschylus, *Persae*, 364–365)

Note that a tendency can be observed with regard to the voice of the aspectual verb: for example, the verb *pauō* (active voice) [that belongs to the first group of aspectuals] can take an infinitive or a participle as its complement; while *pauomai* (mediopassive voice) appears to select a participle as complement. This distribution accords with Fukuda (2007), who has shown that aspectual verbs in the passive should be more natural with aspectuals in L-Asp (+participials)

¹² We have not included *ekleipō* in our indicative list, given it seems that most of the uses of *ekleipō* do not involve any of the basic aspectual meanings we are dealing with (start–continue–stop). According to the *LSJ/M*, its main meanings are: (i) leave out, pass over; (ii) forsake, desert, abandon; (iii) fail; (iv) die; (v) faint; (vi) cease; but mostly as intransitive, and only in few cases with a Participle; (vii) fail; (viii) remain; (ix) depart.

than with aspectuals in H-Asp (+infinitives). According to the *Liddell, Scott, Jones & McKenzie Greek-English Lexicon (LSJM)* (1996), the participle is more often used with *pauō/pauomai* (active and mediopassive) than the infinitive, but we have to note that the *LSJM* does not compare the mediopassive with the active *pauō* with respect to their complements. The tendency we mentioned is the following: (a) if the aspectual verb *pauō* is mediopassive (*pauomai*), then the complement is participial; (b) if the aspectual verb *pauō* is active, then the complement is infinitival or participial. Hence, we agree with the remark in the *LSJM* that participles are more often attested with *pauō/pauomai*, but perhaps this is due to the fact that participles can be selected by both active and mediopassive *pauō*. More examples demonstrating the tendency described are given in the Appendix (part (a)).¹³

The above remark is connected to the argument that long passives support structural ambiguity. According to Fukuda, if there are two different Asp heads (above and below v), long passive (passivisation of an embedded object with the passive morpheme appearing only on the aspectual verb) would be the only option with aspectual verbs in L-Asp (the passive morpheme is above the position of the aspectual verb). The regular embedded passive would be the only option with aspectual verbs in H-Asp (the passive morpheme is below the position of the aspectual verb). In Greek the movement (internal merge) of the verb to T¹⁴ differentiates the argument of “long passives” in that we expect that the “long passive” can be one (but—since the verb moves to T—not the only) option with aspectual verbs that take a participial (10b). Even a double marking of both the aspectual verb and the participial complement would be possible since the participle is merged below v/Voice. But infinitive complements (with the aspectual verbs in H-Asp [above v/Voice] and then to T; 10a) do not permit the presence of “long passives”. Mediopassive morphology can appear with these aspectuals only in the case that they are deponents.

¹³) Since it is outside the aims of the present paper to have a quantitative analysis of aspectual verbs in the diachrony of Greek and English, the relevant examples of *pauō/pauomai* + PTCP or INF are collected from the *LSJM* and the online version of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG)*.

¹⁴) Whatever features it has in different periods.

According to the *LSJM*, most verbs of the second group do not alternate between active and (with middle meaning) mediopassive morphology, just as they do not alternate between the types of their verbal complements (only participial complement). For example, *diateleō* ‘continue being or doing so’ always bears active morphology and can have active or mediopassive participial complements.

- (11) active *diateleō* + active or mediopassive participle

On the other hand, verbs of the first group alternate between active and mediopassive morphology and between participial and infinitival complements. With infinitive, the “long passive” (mediopassive morphology in the aspectual verbs instead of the verbal complement) is excluded except for the case of deponent aspectual verbs. For example, *arkhomai* is only mediopassive (deponent) with the meaning of ‘begin’ in Classical Greek and has the option of taking infinitival and participial complements. In Homeric Greek (see Appendix, part (b)) the active *arkhō* was available (with the meaning ‘begin’) but “long passive” was not attested. Hence, aspectuals of the first group that can bear active morphology (and are not deponents) can take the mediopassive morphology instead of their verbal complement (“long passive”). A type of double marking of the mediopassive morphology is also attested, since the participial complement can be mediopassive as well.

- (12) Patterns of the verbal complementation of *arkhō/arkhomai*
- Homeric Greek: active *arkhō* + active or mediopassive infinitive / active participle
 - Classical Greek: deponent mediopassive *arkhomai* + active or mediopassive infinitive / active participle
 - Classical Greek: deponent mediopassive *arkhomai* + mediopassive participle.
- (13) Generalisation for aspectuals and “long passive” in Ancient Greek:
- +Infinitive (aspectual in H-Asp): *mediopassive aspectual (“long passive”) + infinitive (mediopassive aspectuals with an infinitive are possible only in the case of deponent aspectual verbs)
 - +Participle: mediopassive aspectual (“long passive”) is possible (and even the double marking [mediopassive aspectual + mediopassive participle] is possible)

We must remark that the interpretation of the Ancient Greek mediopassive aspectuals is not passive but middle in the sense that in the specific construction we have absorption of the benefactive argument (with the middle interpretation: the verbal action affects/concerns the subject)¹⁵ and not of the theme argument. This means that the constructions with mediopassive aspectuals (of course, we do not refer to deponent mediopassive aspectuals here) should be better not called “long passives” in Ancient Greek but “long middles”.¹⁶ Mediopassive aspectuals have a middle meaning, and the middle/mediopassive morphology is marked on the aspectual verb instead of the embedded verb:

- (14) a. pauontai legontes
 stop.MP.3PL speak.PTCP.ACT.NOM.PL

instead of:

- b. pauousin legomenoi
 stop.ACT.3PL speak.PTCP.MP.NOM.PL
 ‘they stopped speaking about their own cases/for their own benefit’

With regard to other tests for aspectual complementation that can be applied to historical data¹⁷ and other type of evidence (in favour of the hypothesis on the presence of both H-Asp and L-Asp), Ancient Greek infinitives appear to have a less limited range of possible interpretations¹⁸ than Ancient Greek participles.¹⁹ (a) Infinitives can be used after almost any verb that requires another verb to

¹⁵ Cf. Smyth (1920[1956]: 107): “the middle usually denotes that the subject acts on himself or for himself [*amunomai*: defend myself / ward off for myself]”, Smyth (1920[1956]: 393): “the active is used for the middle when it is not of practical importance to mark the interest of the subject in the action”, and Joseph (2001): “middle is used to mark actions that a subject performs on him- or herself (e.g. reflexives), or for his or her own benefit, though in some instances, especially verbs which have only middle voice forms (so-called “deponent” verbs), such as *ergazomai* ‘I work’ [...] middle voice seems to be simply a different inflectional class”.

¹⁶ Assuming that mediopassive has the same syntactic position as passive.

¹⁷ Because of the impossibility of testing various characteristics and interpretations with native speakers.

¹⁸ Cf. Sevdali (2007) who argues (a) that all infinitives in Ancient Greek are CPs, and (b) that there is a split between two types of CPs, normal C*Ps (strong phase) that have a contrastive focus feature and Control infinitives that do not have this feature and consequently do not have availability of accusative for the infinitival subject.

¹⁹ That is similar to the analysis of gerundives of Modern English as more limited than infinitives with respect to a range of possible interpretations (Bolinger 1968, Freed 1979, Brinton 1988, Fukuda 2007). In English, states are natural with infinitives but often unnatural with gerundives. Further, infinitives can have a “series of events” reading, while gerundives force a “single event” reading.

- (1) a. The problem ceased to exist/*existing
 b. That never ceases to amaze/??amazing me.

complete its meaning (Smyth 1920 [1956]: §1990) and may be the only object, or one of two expressed objects of the main verb, while participles can only in some cases be like infinitival complements (Smyth 1920 [1956]: §1850, 2094). (b) But even in the case that a participle can appear instead of an infinitive, infinitives and participles differ greatly. In the case of *arkhomai* ‘begin’, for example, if the complement is a participle, the interpretation is ‘begin to do something and continue with something else’ (single event interpretation²⁰), while if the complement is infinitive, the interpretation is ‘begin to do something and continue with the same thing’ (a reading in which the same event is repeated multiple times is allowed) (Smyth 1920 [1956]: §2128).

- (15) a. *arksomai didaskōn ek tōn theiōn*
begin.FUT.MID.1SG teach.PTCP.ACT.NOM.SG from the divine
 ‘I will begin teaching with things divine’ (later the topic is the desire for wealth)
 (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8, 8, 2)
- b. *pothen ērksato se didaskein tēn stratēgian?*
whence began.MID.3SG you teach.INF.ACT the generalship
 ‘at what point did he begin to teach you generalship?’ (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3, 1, 5)

In the case of *pauō* ‘stop’, a participle gives the interpretation ‘stop what is taking place’, while an infinitive gives the interpretation ‘prevent something from taking place’ (Smyth 1920 [1956]: §2140).

- (16) a. *epausan phoboumenous plēthos neōn ...*
stopped.ACT.3PL fear.PTCP.MP.ACC.PL multitudes ships
 ‘they stopped being afraid of the multitudes of ships ...’ (Plato, *Menexenus*, 241b, 6)
- b. *pausas humas ksenikoisi logois mē lian eksapatasthai*
prevent.PTCP.ACT.NOM.SG you.ACC alien.DAT words.DAT not much deceive.INF.MP
 ‘by stopping you from being so much deceived by alien words’
 (Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 634)

²⁰) We leave the further examination of the contrast between bounded vs unbounded events (which is difficult to carry out only on the basis of the written data of Ancient Greek) open for future research. So, we will not use the test of bounded-unbounded events here, but see Cinque (2003) and Fukuda (2007) for data from modern languages. Cinque has shown that the Modern Italian aspectual verb *iniziare* ‘start’ allows long passive if the event is bounded (presence of quantified object) but not if the event is unbounded (bare object):

- (1) a. *Furono iniziate a costruire solo due case*
 ‘Only two houses started to be built.’
 b. **Furono iniziate a costruire case*
 ‘Houses started to be built.’

Fukuda has argued that with Modern Japanese aspectuals, the only aspectual that must occur in the lower position (*oe* ‘finish’) is the one that requires an accomplishment event or a bounded event.

(c) Furthermore, aspectuals can take an infinitive with a definite article as their complement, but a participle with a definite article as a complement of an aspectual verb is not attested. After verbs meaning ‘hinder, prevent, stop’, only infinitives allow the presence of an article (Smyth 1920 [1956]: § 1392, 2744); simple infinitives, however, are more closely connected with the main verb than infinitives with *to mē* ‘DEFINITE ARTICLE + NEGATION’ or *to mē ou* ‘DEFINITE ARTICLE + NEGATION + NEGATION’.

- (17) a. *pausantes* *to* *mē* *proselthein* *engus* *tēn* *holkada*
stopped.PTCP.ACT.NOM.PL *the.ACC* *not* *come.INF* *near* *the* *merchantman*
 ‘preventing the merchantman from drawing near’ (Thucydides, 7, 53)

- b. **pausantes* *to* *mē* *proselthon* *engus* *tēn*
stopped.PTCP.ACT.NOM.PL *the.ACC* *not* *come.PTCP.ACT.ACC.SG* *near* *the*

holkada
merchantman

unattested with a similar interpretation, i.e. verbal complementation: ‘preventing the merchantman from drawing near’

Both the Ancient Greek participial and infinitive complements of aspectuals changed into Modern Greek *na*-clauses. Aspectual verbs in Modern Greek appear to take a *na*-clause²¹ as a complement independently of their meaning (‘begin’—‘continue’—‘stop’). The presence of a *na*-clause is blocked only in the case of the verb *teliono* ‘end’.

- (18) Ancient Greek Modern Greek
 aspectual verb + infinitive → aspectual verb + *na*-clause
 aspectual verb + participle → aspectual verb + *na*-clause

na-clauses with aspectuals have been considered ambiguous between control and raising predicates (Drachman 1989, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999, Tapio 2003). With regard to Modern Greek gerunds, since gerunds are adverbials in Modern Greek (cf. Tsimpli 2000), a DP-direct object for the aspectual verb is very often implied (cf. examples 20b, 21b).

²¹ Inasmuch as the focus of the study is on the similarities between Ancient Greek and Old (and Modern) English aspectual verbs and on the consequences of these similarities for the analyses of aspectuals, we do not discuss Modern Greek and the syntactic characterisation of *na* in Modern Greek at all. Different analyses have been proposed: *na* as the head of a MoodP (Philippaki-Warbuton 1985, 1993, 1998, Philippaki-Warbuton & Veloudis 1984, Tsimpli 1990, Terzi 1992, Gianakidou 1998) or a ModalP (Rivero 1994); *na* as a complementiser C° (Agouraki, 1991, Tsoulas, 1993, 1996); *na* as both a mood particle and a complementiser (Roussou 2000).

+ *na*-clause vs. *gerund*

- (19) arxise/sinexise na grafi / *na grapsi
started/continued.3SG NA write.IPFV.3SG / NA write.PFV.3SG
 ‘s/he started/continued writing’
- (20) a. *arxise/sinexise grafondas dio stixus²²
started/continued.3SG write.GER two.ACC verses.ACC
 with the meaning: ‘s/he started/continued writing two verses’; the sentence is grammatical only with the meaning: ‘s/he started/continued (her/his day) by writing two verses’
- b. arxise/sinexise ti logotexniki zoi tu grafondas
started/continued.3SG the.ACC literary.ACC life.ACC his write.GER
 piimata
poems.ACC
 ‘He started/continued his literary life by writing poems’
- c. Panda arxizi ta mathimata me to na zografizi kati
always start.PRS.3SG the.ACC classes.ACC with the NA draw.IPFV.3SG something
 ston pinaka
on-the blackboard
 ‘He always starts his classes by drawing something on the blackboard’

+ *na*-clause

- (21) a. stamatise na grafi / ??na grapsi
stopped.3SG NA write.IPFV.3SG NA write.PFV.3SG
 ‘s/he stopped writing’ (the perfective type is possible only with the meaning: ‘s/he stopped (sth.) in order to write ...’)
- b. *stamatise grafondas
stopped.3SG write.GER
 ‘s/he stopped by writing’

only in a sentence such as:

stamatise to thimo tu grafondas ena kimeno
stopped.3SG the.ACC anger.ACC his write.GER one.ACC text.ACC
 ‘He stopped his anger by writing a text’

²² No objects should be implied by the reader—in contrast to examples (20b, c) in which direct objects complement the aspectuals. On the interaction of lexical (situation type) and grammatical (viewpoint) aspect in Modern Greek, cf. Moser 1994, 1997.

The differences between Ancient and Modern Greek²³ aspectual verbs are linked to the development of participles and infinitives in Greek:²⁴ (a) The active present participles developed into gerunds (mainly from the 14th century onwards); Modern Greek gerunds function only as adverbials, and not as complements of aspectual verbs (see Tsimpli 2000). (b) The mediopassive participles developed into adjectives (12th–14th century). (c) The infinitives were replaced by *na*-clauses (12th–15th century) (Moser 1997, Manolissou 2005, Joseph 1982, 1983, Karla & Lavidas 2006).

The participles (inflected for gender, number and case) had three uses in Ancient Greek (cf. Smyth 1920[1956]: 454–479, Schwyzler 1950:387–403): *complements of verbs*, adjectival modifiers, and adverbials. From Late Byzantine onwards, the main function of the active present participle is adverbial, while the complement use was rare and eventually lost in Early Modern Greek. The passive participle lost the category of Voice (as it was also used with verbs that bore active endings) in the late Byzantine period, and was transformed into an adjectival category. Similarly, the loss of the infinitive in Greek took place gradually (starting from Hellenistic Greek). Verbs such as *arxizo/arxazo* ‘start’ continue to be used with an infinitive (in alternation with (*i*)*na*-clauses) as a complement (Joseph 1983), even in the last stage of the loss of the infinitive in Greek (12th–15th centuries).²⁵

²³) We should note again that we do not try to analyse Modern Greek aspectual verbs according to the Fukuda's approach, since the evidence that we presented for Ancient Greek does not concern (and cannot be applied to) Modern Greek data: there are no two groups of aspectual verbs, no long middle or passive [actually no middle voice at all], no infinitives or participles that can have the role of the complement of a verb. What we do here is to describe the differences/changes that made the search for this evidence and a parallel analysis of Modern Greek impossible.

²⁴) We heartily thank the reviewer for his/her remarks on the restrictions on the infinitival form that is the complement of aspectual verbs in Hellenistic Greek: for example, there is a preference for *arkhomai* + *Aorist Infinitive* in Old Testament but for *arkhomai* + *Present Infinitive* in New Testament, and an option of using the PP “*en* + the dative case of the definite article + infinitive” (*en tōi basileuein auton* ‘he began to reign’, Old Testament). We have to add that the generalisation for the verbal complements of aspectual verbs in Hellenistic Greek is as follows: *pauomai* + Active/Mediopassive participle, *arkhomai* + Active/Mediopassive infinitive. This shows a tendency for replacement of the two options of verbal complementation with only one (either only with infinitive or only with participle as it holds for the first group in Ancient Greek). Of course, the development of the infinitive (loss) and both active and mediopassive participle (change into gerund [i.e. adverbial] or mediopassive participle with adjectival behavior) in Greek did not allow them to remain as an option of verbal complementation of aspectual verbs. See also fn. 38 and the Appendix for some examples from the Hellenistic-Roman Greek period.

²⁵) According to Joseph (1981), the uses of infinitives in Medieval Greek of 12th–15th centuries include the complementation of aspectual verbs:

To sum up, we have seen that Ancient Greek aspectual verbs fall into two groups: aspectual verbs that could select both infinitive and participial complements (and the aspectual can be in H-Asp or L-Asp) and aspectual verbs that selected a participial complement (and the aspectual must be in L-Asp). “Long middles/passives” was an option with participles, while the regular embedded middle/passive was the only option with infinitives (aspectual verb in H-Asp) [except for cases of deponent aspectual verbs]. Ancient Greek infinitives appear to be less limited than Ancient Greek participles. With regard to the development of verbal complementation of aspectuals in Greek, the development of the infinitive and the participle in Greek did not allow them to remain as an option in the verbal complementation of aspectual verbs (and all were replaced by a *na*-clause). In the next section, we will show that Old (and Modern) English aspectual verbs share similar properties with Ancient Greek but historically different developments are attested; both Old English options were retained and later extended from Middle English into the 18th century.

3. Aspectuals in Old and Modern English and Fukuda's Analysis

The similar properties of the Ancient Greek and Modern English aspectual verbs historically manifest different developments. English not only retained Old English possibilities (*to*- vs. bare infinitives²⁶), but later extended them from Middle English into the 18th century, especially in the number of tokens responding to the *-ing* suffixing potential (gerundives).

This means that aspectual verbs in Old English (similar to Modern English) appear to belong to two different groups with respect to the type of the complements they could take: (a) only bare infinitive or (b) both bare and *to*-infinitive (Callaway 1913:35–36, 40–41, 50–51,²⁷ Los 1998).

-
- (i) future: *thelo* + infinitive
 - (ii) perfect: *exo* + infinitive
 - (iii) temporal adverbials: *to* ‘the’ + infinitive
 - (iv) complements of aspectual verbs: *arxinizo* + infinitive or *na*-clause.

²⁶ We follow Los (1998), according to whom the *to*-infinitive (a) replaced the finite subjunctive clause but not the bare infinitive, and (b) had become a full-fledged clause by the time of Old English.

²⁷ Callaway distinguishes a third group of aspectuals that take only *to*-infinitives. We believe that the examples of this third group do not present aspectual meanings; cf. Los 1998: 175: “... Callaway tends to gloss—and classify—his verbs according to their general meaning, not the meaning they have when followed by an infinitival complement”. Callaway puts the following verbs in the third group: *anforlætan* ‘abandon’, *elcian* ‘delay’, *forwiernan* ‘prevent from, prohibit’, *gelan* ‘hinder from’, *gefon* ‘attempt, undertake’, *ieldan* ‘delay’, *onfon* ‘undertake’, *underfon* ‘undertake’, *wiernan* ‘desist from’.

(i) aspectual verbs + bare infinitive

blinnan 'cease, stop'

ginnan 'begin'²⁸

- (22) a. Romane blunnun riscian on Breotene

Romans ceased attack.INF on Britain

'Romans ceased to attack Britain'

(Bede 44.2)

- b. ða gunnon heo ðæt ... lif ... onhyrgan

then began she the life on alter.INF

'then, she began to change her life'

(Bede 60.23)

(from Callaway 1913:35–36)

(ii) aspectual verbs + bare infinitive or *to*-infinitive²⁹

ablinnan 'cease, desist from'

aginnan 'begin'

beginnan 'begin'

fon 'undertake, begin'

geswican 'stop, desist from'

onginnan 'begin'

- (23) a. ablan his æhtan

ceased him persecute.INF

'(they) ceased to persecute him'

(Ælfric L. S. XXX 39)

- a'. ne ablinð to asendenne bydelas

not ceases to send-forth preachers

'he does not cease to send forth preachers'

(Ælfric Hom. II 74)

- b. began hine ðreatigan

began him oppress.INF

'he began to oppress him'

(Wulfstan 214.24)

- b'. beginð to healdenne

begins to hold

'he begins to hold'

(Benedict 32.1)

²⁸) We would like to thank the anonymous reviewer who mentioned parallel developments, such as those that have to do with new causative constructions. The purpose of the paper is to deal only with the issue of the verbal complementation of aspectual verbs that is stable and includes two different verbal types in the history of English, but unstable in the history of Greek. The fact that aspectual verbs appear in causative uses in a later period both in English and Greek (Lavidas 2009), but retain the two options of complementation only in English and not in Greek, may show that the link between causativity and aspectual verbal complementation should not be considered a direct one.

²⁹) Note that *ginnan* (without prefix) seems to be a L-Asp verb, but prefixed (*a-*, *be-*, *on-ginnan*) seems to be a H-Asp verb. A possible relation between (un)prefixed verbs and the Asp positions remains open for future study.

c. ne geswice gebiddan
 not stop command.INF
 'you do not stop commanding' (Ælfric L. S. XXXIII 206)

c'. ne geswac hine to biddenne³⁰
 not stops him to worship
 'he does not stop worshipping him' (Ælfric L. S. XXXI 497)

(from Callaway 1913:40–41, 50–51)

Gerundive complements served as a replacement of the Middle English bare infinitives, which expressed semantic directedness: “since the *-ing* form could nicely express the actuality of an event, it is not surprising that to a certain extent the *-ing* form could take over the old function of the bare infinitive” (Fischer 1997:127). The option of the gerundive complement became available as a second option only when the gerundives acquired verbal properties. The gerundives descended from an Old English derivational suffix which formed abstract nouns of action (see Fanego 2004; Old English *spill-ing* ‘destruction’ < *spillan*), and began to acquire verbal properties from Late Middle English onwards.³¹ A variety of sources for the acquisition of verbal properties by the gerundives has been proposed: (a) merge of the *-ing* noun with the present participle (*-ende*); (b) productivity of the *-ing* noun (it became possible to form *-ing* nouns from any verb); (c) constructions in which an *-ing* noun co-occurred with a DP in genitive case (cf. Jack 1988:47); (d) influence from French;³² (e) non-availability of use of infinitives after prepositions other than *to* or *for to*. In the early stages, verbalisation was restricted to prepositional environments (*She insisted on discussing the problem*—Tajima 1985, Fanego 1996b, 2004, 2007), but from the middle of the 16th century verbs with which the subject of the complement clause was co-referential with the matrix subject could take gerundives as objects (Fanego 1996a, 1996b, 2004, Jack 1988, Anderson 1993, 2004, Miller 2002: Chapter 11). Aspectual verbs (e.g. *blin* ‘stop, cease’, *cease*) were among the earliest verbs (besides verbs of avoidance: e.g. *avoid*, *escape*, etc.) to govern gerundives. The use of gerundives in object position spread via lexical diffusion (Fanego 1996a, Visser 1963–1973: § 1775); thus, gerundive complements came to be used

³⁰) The presence of an object does not seem to play a role in the selection of the complement; cf. 23b vs. 23c', *hine* ‘him’ with bare infinitive or *to*-infinitive.

³¹) Cf. Heine & Kuteva (2007) and Heine (2009).

³²) Fanego (2004) argues that the Old French gerund ending in *-ant* had a number of different uses, in one of which the gerund is dependent on a preposition and may govern a subject or an object: *ainz soleil esconsant* ‘before sunset’, *sor mon cors deffendant* ‘in defending my life’.

with aspectuals through a process that started with Middle English *blin*, *cease* and continuative verbs, and later extended to *begin*,³³ *start* etc.

(24) from Visser 1963–1973: § 1255 ff., 1790–1792

a. thei seseden to bilde the citee
they ceased to build the city
 ‘they stopped building the city’ (c1380)

b. I cesse not doynge hankyngis
I cease not do.ING thanks.ACC
 ‘I do not stop saying thanks’ (c1380)

As a result of the development described, Modern English aspectual verbs³⁴ fall into two groups: (i) aspectual verbs that can take both infinitive and gerundive complements; (ii) aspectual verbs that take only gerundive complements.

(i) aspectual verbs + infinitive or gerundive
begin, start, continue, cease

(25) a. I began/continued to write my memoirs.
 b. I began/continued singing at the top of my voice.

(ii) aspectual verbs + gerundive
keep on, stop, finish

(26) a. I finished reading Hamlet last night.
 b. She stopped talking about them.

As we have seen, the difference in selection of these two complement types (infinitive and gerundive) in Modern English cannot be explained by the control/raising (lexical ambiguity) analysis (cf. paragraph 1), but can be analysed as a consequence of the two possible positions for aspectual verbs in terms of Fukuda (2007). Old English data (aspectual verbs with *to*-infinitive and bare infinitive) and Modern English data (aspectual verbs with infinitive and gerundive)—alongside the Ancient Greek data we have described in the previous paragraph—constitute morphological and syntactic evidence for the position of aspectual verbs in H-Asp or L-Asp (following Fukuda). According to this theoretical approach, aspectual verbs which can be in the H-Asp position should

³³ According to Brinton (1988: 109–111) the aspectual *begin* could take only the bare infinitive and the infinitive with *to* or (in Middle English) *for to* up to the Middle English period. Mair (2002, 2003, 2006) assumes (following Jespersen 1940: IV, 171; V, 196, and contra Visser 1963–1973) that the aspectual *begin* with a verbal gerundive occurs for the first time during the late 18th century.

³⁴ We assume that Fukuda's analysis of Modern English aspectuals is correct (see also par. 1 on Modern English).

be able to take either of the two types of complement, that is *to*-infinitive and bare infinitive in Old English and *to*-infinitive and gerundive in Modern English, whereas aspectual verbs that are in L-Asp should take only the second type of complement, a bare infinitive (Old English) or a gerundive (Modern English).

4. Conclusion and Further Problems

The present article considered some parallel data from different periods of the history of Greek and English. Following Fukuda (2007) we claimed that Ancient Greek and Old English data (similar to Modern English) present a structural ambiguity between alternative syntactic positions; aspectual verbs are heads of functional projections, and can be in H-Asp, that is above vP (+ both types of the verbal complements), or in L-Asp position, that is below vP (+ only one type of the verbal complements) (see Table 1). We have seen that Ancient Greek and Old English (and Modern English) aspectual verbs fall into two groups: (i) aspectual verbs that could select both infinitive/*to*-infinitive and participial/bare infinitive complements; (ii) aspectual verbs that selected only a participial/bare infinitive complement. Furthermore, “long middles/passives” are an option with aspectual verbs that can be in L-Asp while the regular embedded middle/passive is the only option with an aspectual verb in H-Asp. Ancient Greek infinitives are selected by aspectuals in H-Asp since they appear to be less limited than participles. On the other hand, we have seen that the similar properties of the Ancient Greek and Modern English aspectual verbs historically manifest different developments, since English extended Old English possibilities, from Middle English into the 18th century. The development of the infinitive (loss) and both of the active and mediopassive participle (showing the change into gerunds [i.e. adverbials] or participles with adjectival behavior that cannot have the role of complement of verbs, respectively) in Greek³⁵ did not allow them to remain as an option of verbal complementation of aspectual verbs.

³⁵ We agree with the reviewer who mentioned that different complements with the same predicate appear in Modern Greek as well, not with aspectuals but with verbs such as *ksero* know *na/oti* how/to/that (*den ksero an* not know if). We would also agree with the reviewer that in these cases (Modern Greek nonaspectuals), depending on the complement, the selecting predicate may acquire a different meaning through the interaction between the lexical semantics of the verb and the properties of the complementizer or the *na* particle. See also Roussou (2006, 2010).

Table 1. Aspectual verb complementation in Ancient Greek and Old and Modern³⁶ English.

Greek Aspectual Verbs		
Ancient Greek	(a) +Infinitive / +Participle	→ H-Asp or L-Asp
	(b) +Participle	→ L-Asp ³⁷
English Aspectual Verbs		
Old English	(a) +to-infinitive / bare-Infinitive	→ H-Asp or L-Asp
	(b) +bare Infinitive	→ L-Asp
Modern English	(a) +to-infinitive / +Gerundive	→ H-Asp or L-Asp
	(b) +Gerundive	→ L-Asp

5. Open Questions

Structural ambiguity has been shown to lead to diachronic reanalysis. Light-foot (1979, 1999) has developed the reanalysis-through-ambiguity argument: the precondition of a diachronic reanalysis is a structural/formal ambiguity of the affected type accessible to the learner. Ancient Greek and English aspectual verbs are ambiguous between H-Asp and L-Asp functional heads; hence, it would be reasonable to think that reanalysis is involved in the development of aspectual verbs. What we observe, however, is that disambiguation and transparency cannot be considered as having led to the specific changes with regard to aspectual verbs. In both English and Greek, older types (Greek infinitives and participles, English bare infinitives) are *replaced*³⁸ by newer types (Greek

³⁶) For Modern English, on the basis of Fukuda (2007).

³⁷) We do not present an analysis (or diagnostics) for Modern Greek in the present paper, since there is no relative overt morpho-syntactic evidence for aspectuals in Modern Greek (due to the loss of the infinitives and the fact that participles changed to gerunds which have an adverbial behavior and to “new” mediopassive participles which have an adjectival behavior). Of course, it is obvious that two hypotheses can be stated since ambiguity carries over into Modern Greek aspectual verbs: change or continuation/replacement. A first alternative would be that an important change occurred (from a structural ambiguity to a lexical one [raising and control analysis]) and Greek changed entirely in this aspect. According to the second alternative, we may have continuation of the structural ambiguity—as in English—but only of the group of aspectuals that have both H-Asp and L-Asp options.

³⁸) Grammaticalisation does not account for the specific change since there is no reason to believe that *na*-complements in Greek as opposed to infinitives are somehow more abstract or bonded or bleached or morphologically reduced (M-reduced) or phonetically eroded (cf. Roberts & Rousou 2003: 80). Furthermore, we do not follow the broader view of grammaticalisation, according to which the structures emerging from verbal complementation may also be considered part of grammaticalisation (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 176, Givón 2009; and for a detailed discussion, cf. Cuyskens 2010). The diachrony of Greek provides a counter-example to the broader view of grammaticalisation and, mainly, to the unidirectionality path in verbal complementation (“one and the same item undergoes a particular development”, Cuyskens 2010). *na*-clauses do not show reduc-

na-clauses, English verbal gerundives) for reasons that seem to have nothing to do with the ambiguity of the aspectual verbs (but with changes in the categories of the complements: the category of bare infinitives in English, the category of infinitives in Greek). Replacement³⁹ probably occurs because of perceived similarity of patterns (semantic overlap and same structural possibilities; cf. the replacement of *that*-clauses with verbs of volition by the *to*-infinitive; Los 2005, Fischer 2007:221, Cuyckens 2010). The replacement does not lead to loss of ambiguity, since the ambiguity (structural or lexical) is retained after the replacement of the Greek infinitives and participles (by *na*-clauses) and the English bare infinitives (by gerundives). With regard to the stability in ambiguity, recall that the “new” *na*-clauses with aspectual verbs in Greek have been considered ambiguous between control and raising predicates (Drachman 1989, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999, Tapio 2003). It seems that in the case of the aspectual verbs in the diachrony of Greek and English, we have an example of retention of ambiguity through replacement:⁴⁰ (i) the Greek infinitives are replaced by the *na*-clause, but the ambiguity is retained (in the form of H-Asp and L-Asp positions) or through an ambiguity of a different (lexical ambiguity) type (raising/control); (ii) in English, there is no infinitive loss, but the new gerundives replace the bare infinitives (in their function as complements of aspectuals), and aspectual verbs emerge that can take both infinitives and gerundives as complements.

Of course, the discussion of the data opens even more issues: For example, (a) why do we observe a position-parallel between raising/control constructions and aspectuals? It is only relative; if there is a behavioral difference, then is there a structural one(?); (b) what is the role of a DP-complement with aspectual verbs? Under coercion of a DP to an event (Pustejovsky 1995a, 1995b), we interpret:

- (27) arxisa [to vivlio]
 began.ISG the.ACC book.ACC

as:

tion in tense-aspect morphology or a more unified/bonded clause combining if we compare them with the Ancient Greek infinitives and participles.

³⁹ Note that we do not identify *replacement* with *competition*, but we use the term *replacement* as in the relevant *replacement theory* bibliography (Los 2005, Fischer 2007: 221, Cuyckens 2010). Since the aim of the present paper is not to discuss *replacement* in verbal complementation—but to discuss similar patterns of verbal complementation in Ancient Greek, Old (and Modern) English under the perspective of Fukuda, we do not examine relevant quantitative data and leave that subject open for future research.

⁴⁰ We expect that this relation is more broad than shown in the specific examples here, in other words, we expect that many cases of replacement in diachrony can be linked to retention of this type of structural ambiguity; we leave this issue open for future research.

arxisa [na diavazo/ grafo to vivlio]
 began.1SG to read.IPFV.1SG/ write.IPFV.1SG the.ACC book.ACC

'I began to read/write the book'

(c) should the infinitive loss and its relation with the aspectuals be put in the wider context, e.g. the context of Balkan linguistics (cf. Joseph 1982, 1983)? (d) is there a correlation between verbal and complement-types across languages (similar to the one observed in Old, Modern English and Ancient Greek) or families of languages (Indo-European and beyond)?

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Appendix

A. Verbal Complements of *pauō/pauomai*

Ancient Greek examples of *pauō/pauomai* (from TLG online); most examples consist of mediopassive *pauomai* + participle:

- a. Mediopassive + Participle
 phasi Persai tous Hellēnas siteomenous peinōntas pauesthai
 say Persians the.ACC Greeks.ACC eat.PTCP.MP.ACC.PL be-hungry stop.INF.MP
 ‘the Persians say of Greeks that they stop eating while still hungry’ (Herodotus, 1, 133, 7–8)
- b. Mediopassive + Participle
 hōs mēdepote pauōntai harmozontes epi ksenēs
 that never stop.MP.3PL govern.PTCP.ACT.NOM.PL in foreign-land
 ‘that they never stop governing in a foreign land’
 (Xenophon, *De republica Lacedaemoniorum*, 14, 4)
- c. Mediopassive + Participle
 heōs an pausōntai tōn hēmeterōn amphisbētountes
 until PRT stop.AOR.SUBJ.MID.3PL the ours lay-claim.PTCP.ACT.NOM.PL
 ‘until they cease from laying claim to what is ours’ (Isocrates, *Archidamus*, 74, 7)
- d. Mediopassive + Participle
 hotan mentoi odunōmenoi pausōntai
 when PRT pain.PTCP.MP.NOM.PL stop.AOR.SUBJ.MID.3PL
 ‘but when they cease to have pain’ (Hippocrates, *De articulis*, 12, 16)
- e. Mediopassive + Participle
 ouden pauometha eis to auto aei peripheromenoi
 not stop.MP.1PL to the same always circle.PTCP.MP.NOM.PL
 ‘we have never ceased circling round to the same point’ (Plato, *Gorgias*, 517c, 6)
- f. Mediopassive + Participle
 to men opson ouk epausato esthiōn
 the PRT meat not stopped.MID.3SG eat.PTCP.ACT.NOM.SG
 ‘he did not stop eating his meat’ (Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 3, 14, 4)
- g. Mediopassive + Participle
epausato poreuomenos, apekhōn eis triakonta stadious
 stopped.MID.3SG walk.PTCP.MP.NOM.SG be-at-distance of thirty stadia
 ‘he stopped walking, while still at a distance of about thirty stadia’
 (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 4, 6, 6)
- h. Mediopassive + Participle
 dio ekeinos te proteron kai Dareios husteron epausato
 conj he and first and Darius afterwards stopped.MID.3SG
dioruttōn
 make-canal.PTCP.ACT.NOM.SG
 ‘so he first, and Darius afterwards, stopped making the canal’
 (Aristoteles, *Meteorologica*, 352b, 29)

- i. Mediopassive + Participle
hoi ksumpantes epausanto en orgēi ekhontes ...
the altogether stopped.MID.3PL in anger have.PTCP.ACT.NOM.PL ...
‘And altogether, they stopped being angry’ (Thucydides, *Historiae*, 2, 65, 3)
- j. Mediopassive + Participle
hoi mentoi polemioi ouden epausanto di’ holēs tēs nuktos
the PRT enemies not stopped.MID.3PL through all the night
kulindontes tous lithous
roll.PTCP.ACT.NOM.PL the stones
‘The enemy, however, never stopped rolling down their stones all through the night’
(Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 4, 2, 4)
- k. Mediopassive + Participle
tēi patridi mou ou prothen epausanto polemountes
the native-state my not before stopped.MID.3PL wage-war.PTCP.ACT.NOM.PL
‘(the Lacedaemonians) did not cease waging war upon my native state’
(Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 6, 1, 27)
- l. Active + Infinitive
epause en Sikuōni agōnizesthai tōn Homēreion epeōn heineka
stopped.ACT.3SG at Sicyon contend.INF.MP the Homeric poems because-of
‘(Cleisthenes) made an end of contests at Sicyon by reason of the Homeric poems’
(Herodotus, 5, 67, 1)
- m. Active + Infinitive
hē min pausei katastrepsasthai tēn Eurōpēn
which him stop.ACT.3SG subdue.INF.MID the Europe
‘which would keep him from subduing Europe’ (Herodotus, 7, 54, 7–8)
- n. Active + Participle
epausan phoboumenous plēthos neōn te kai andrōn
stopped.ACT.3PL fear.PTCP.MP.ACC.PL multitudes ships and and men
‘they stopped being afraid of the multitudes of ships and men’ (Plato, *Menexenus*, 241b, 6)

Post-Classical Greek: New Testament Greek

Mediopassive + Active/Mediopassive Participle

- a. ap’ hēs hēmeras ēkousamen, ou pauometha huper humōn
from which day heard not stop.MP.1PL for you
proseukhomenoi kai aitoumenoi
pray.PTCP.MP.NOM.PL and request.PTCP.MP.NOM.PL
‘since the day we heard this, we do not cease praying and making requests for you’
(Novum Testamentum, *Epistula Pauli ad Colossenses*, 1, 9, 1)
- b. ouk an epausanto prospheromenai
not PRT stopped.MID.3PL offer.PTCP.MP.NOM.PL
‘they would not have ceased to be offered’
(Novum Testamentum, *Epistula Pauli ad Hebraeos*, 10, 2, 2)

- c. ho anthrōpos houtos ou pauetai lalōn rhēmata kata ...
the man this not stop.MP.3SG speak.PTCP.ACT.NOM.SG words against
‘This man never stops speaking words against ...’
(Novum Testamentum, *Acta apostolorum*, 6, 13, 2)
- d. ou pauomai eukharistōn huper humōn
not stop.MP.1SG thank.PTCP.ACT.NOM.SG for you
‘I do not cease to give thanks for you’
(Novum Testamentum, *Epistula Pauli ad Ephesios*, 1, 16, 1)
- e. ouk epauonto didaskontes kai euangelizomenoi ton Khriston,
not stopped.MP.3PL teach.PTCP.ACT.NOM.PL and preach.PTCP.MP.NOM.PL the Christ,
Iēsoun
Jesus
‘they never stopped teaching and preaching Jesus, the Christ.’
(Novum Testamentum, *Acta apostolorum*, 5, 42, 2)

B. Verbal Complements of *arkhō/arkhomai*

Ancient Greek examples of *arkhō/arkhomai* (from TLG online); most examples consist of mediopassive *arkhomai* (deponent with the meaning ‘begin’ in Classical Greek) + mediopassive participle:

- a. Mediopassive + Mediopassive Participle
ērkhometha dialogomenoi, hina ...
began.MP.1PL converse.PTCP.MP.NOM.PL to
‘we began our conversation in order to ...’
(Plato, *Theaetetus*, 187a, 1)
- b. Mediopassive + Mediopassive Participle
kai arkhōmetha enteuthen bouleuomenoi, hōs ...
and begin.MP.1PL hence discuss.PTCP.MP.NOM.PL that
‘and let us take as the starting point of our discussion the assumption’ (Plato, *Crito*, 49d, 6)
- c. Mediopassive + Active Infinitive
kai gar melopoiein arkhetai
and PRT compose.INF.ACT begin.MP.3SG
‘He has started to compose’
(Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousae*, 67)
- d. Mediopassive + Mediopassive Infinitive
hothen arkhetai mimeisthai ho mimoumenos?
from-which begin.MP.3SG imitate.INF.MP the imitator
‘with which the imitator begins his imitation?’
(Plato, *Cratylus*, 424b, 8)
- e. Mediopassive + Active Participle
arksomai didaskōn ek tōn theiōn
begin.MID.1SG teach.PTCP.ACT.NOM.SG from the divine
‘I will begin teaching with things divine’
(Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 8, 8, 2)

- f. Active + Active Infinitive (only in Homeric Greek)
arkhete nun nekuas phoreein
begin.ACT.2PL *now* *dead-bodies* *wear.INF.ACT*
 ‘Begin now to wear the dead bodies’ (Homer, *Odyssey*, 22, 437)
- g. Active + Mediopassive Infinitive (only in Homeric Greek)
ērkhē neesthai
began.ACT.3SG *leave.INF.MP*
 ‘he led the way departing (from the council)’ (Homer, *Iliad*, 2, 84)
- h. Active + Active Participle (only in Homeric Greek)
ērkhon khalepainōn
began.ACT.1SG *be-angry.PTCP.ACT.NOM.SG*
 ‘I was the first to be angry / and it was I that waxed wroth the first’ (Homer, *Iliad*, 2, 378)

Post-Classical Greek: New Testament Greek

Mediopassive + Active/Mediopassive Infinitive

- a. apo tote ērksato ho Iēsous kērussein kai legein ...
from then *started.MID.3SG* *the Jesus* *preach.INF.ACT* *and* *say.INF.ACT*
 ‘From that time, Jesus began to preach, and to say ...’
 (Novum Testamentum, *Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*, 4, 17, 1)
- b. ērksato lupeisthai kai adēmonein.
started.MID.3SG *grieve.INF.MP* *and* *be-severely-troubled.INF.ACT*
 ‘and began to be sorrowful and severely troubled.’
 (Novum Testamentum, *Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*, 26, 37, 2)
- c. Kai palin ērksato didaskein para tēn thalassan.
and again *started.MID.3SG* *teach.INF.ACT* *by* *the sea*
 ‘Again he began to teach by the seaside.’
 (Novum Testamentum, *Evangelium secundum Marcum*, 4, 1, 1)
- d. ho okhlos ērksato aiteisthai kathōs epoiei autois.
the crowd *started.MID.3SG* *ask.INF.MP* *as* *do* *them*
 ‘The crowd began to ask him to do as he always did for them.’
 (Novum Testamentum, *Evangelium secundum Marcum*, 15, 8, 1)