One size fits all: Ancient Greek participles across syntactic contexts

Laura Grestenberger

University of Vienna, Laura.Grestenberger@univie.ac.at
https://lauragrestenberger.com/

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Participles: syntactic contexts

Participles in Ancient Greek occur in a variety of different contexts:

1. as **NP adjuncts** ("**adnominal participles**", Lowe 2015)
2. as clausal or VP-adjuncts ("**circumstantial participles**"; "converbal participles", Lowe 2015); modifying the clause or the main predicate
   - 2.1 with case & nominal agreement morphology via agreement with a head noun in the matrix clause (PRO subject)
   - 2.2 with case & nominal agreement independent from the matrix clause (genitive subject); → the **genitive absolute (GA)**
3. as **complements** to verbs of perception and knowledge and "phase verbs" (*begin*, *stop*...)
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- These contexts are rarely treated together.
- Are they all (syntactially/semantically) "identical"? (Wegner 2019)
- Why do *participles* occur in these particular contexts, rather than finite verb forms?

Overview: Ancient Greek participles

(1) Ancient Greek participles, *lū́-ō̄* 'release'

		Active	Nonactive
a.	Present	lū́-o-**nt**- $\sqrt{}$-*v*-PTCP.ACT-	lū̄-ó-**men**- $\sqrt{}$-*v*-PTCP.NACT-
b.	Aorist	lū́-sa-**nt**- $\sqrt{}$-*v*-PTCP.ACT-	lū̄-sá-**men**- $\sqrt{}$-*v*-PTCP.NACT-
c.	Perfect	le-lu-k-**ot**- v_{RED}-$\sqrt{}$-*v*/Voice$_{\text{ACT}}$-PTCP.ACT-	le-lu-**mén**- v_{RED}-$\sqrt{}$-PTCP.NACT-
d.	Future	lū́-so-**nt**- $\sqrt{}$-*v*-PTCP.ACT-	lū̄-só-**men**- $\sqrt{}$-*v*-PTCP.NACT-
e.	(Future perf.		le-lū̄-só-**men**-) v_{RED}-$\sqrt{}$-FUT-PTCP.NACT-
f.	Aorist pass.	lu-thé-**nt**- $\sqrt{}$-*v*-PTCP.ACT-	
g.	Pfv. fut. pass.		lu-thē̄-só-**men**- $\sqrt{}$-*v*-FUT-PTCP.NACT-

Overview: AG participles

- present, aorist, aorist passive, perfect, and future participles (rows a–d, f): verbal stem (root plus verbal stem-forming morphology) + *-nt-* ("active participle") or *-men-* "middle participle" + plus gender/case morphology.
- Exception: the perfect *active* participle suffix is *-ot-*/*-os-*.
  - Nom.sg.m. *-ōs* $<$ **-ŏ̄(t)s* $\leftarrow$ PIE **-u̯ŏ̄s-*/*-us-*; Nom.sg.n. *-os* $<$ **-u̯os*; cf. the f. perfect ptcp. Nom.sg. *-uĩa* $<$ **-usi̯a* $<$ **-us-ih$_2$*.
- verbal stem-forming morphology (including the "passive aorist" suffix *-thĕ̄-*) = *v*, not Asp (Grestenberger 2021, 2022b)
- Participles agree for Number, Gender, and Case with their head noun ("concord")

Core claims today

- AG participles are structurally identical across contexts → **AG participles always spell out Asp**
- Their distribution follows from Spell-Out conditions on Asp in different types of contexts & from the feature content of different types of clausal functional heads (T and C)

→ Participles share some verbal functional structure with finite verbs, but occur in environments in which the verb stem cannot combine with T & Agr features.

(2) a. $\sqrt{}$-*v*-Voice-Asp-(Mod)-**T-Agr** (finite verb)
b. $\sqrt{}$-*v*-Voice-Asp(-???) (nonfinite verb/participle)

Participial morphology = *non-finite Asp(ect)*

Proposal: Ptcp = Asp

- "PTCP" (participial morphology) spells out Asp when the verbal stem cannot move to T.
  - Embick 2000, 2003, 2004b; Embick & Halle 2005; Bjorkman 2011
  - Participial morphology as realization of (underspecified?) Asp also in Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008; Alexiadou et al. 2015; Grestenberger 2018, 2020; Calabrese 2019, 2020 etc.
- "PTCP" = a contextual allomorph of Asp.
  - Can realize different features of Asp (e.g., perfective vs. imperfective).
  - Can realize Asp in different environments, e.g. adjacent to Voice[±ext.arg.] → nonactive/middle participles, Grestenberger 2018, 2020.

Ptcp = Asp

- Based on Embick (2000)'s analysis of perfect passive participles in Latin, specifically the periphrastic perfect passive
- In Latin, the perfect active and the present active/passive are synthetic while the perfect passive is analytic, (3).
- Embick: the *combination* of Voice[PASS] and Asp[PFV] blocks the formation of a synthetic verb form.

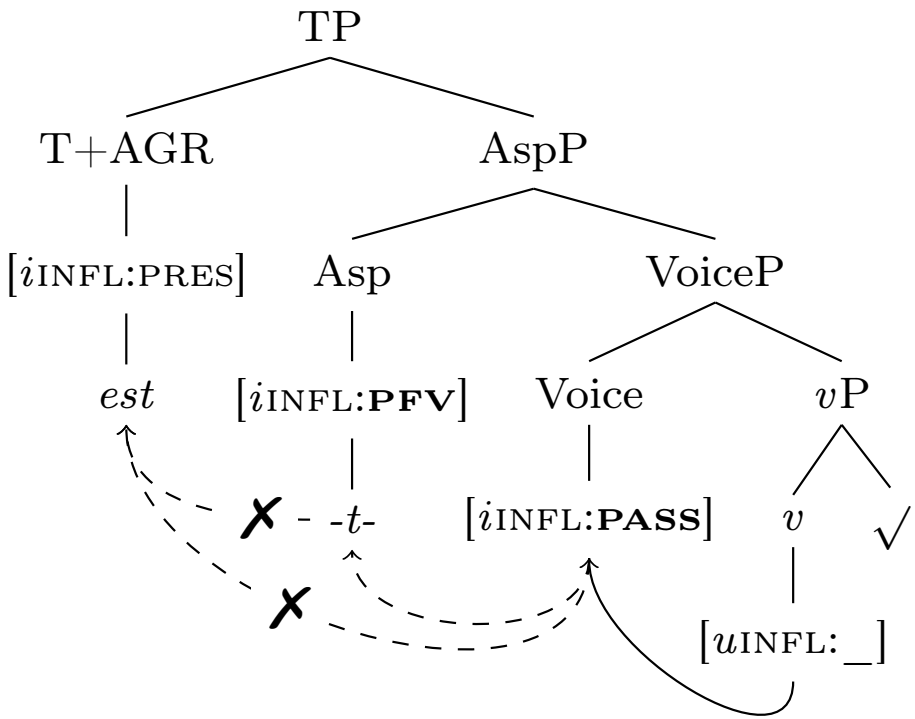
(3) PPCs in Latin

present active	present passive	perfect active	perfect passive
*am-**ō***	*am-**or***	*amā-**v**-**ī***	*amā-**t**-us/a sum*
'I love'	'I am loved'	'I loved'	'I was loved'

Ptcp = Asp

- Synthetic forms are built through agreement + head movement
- In analytic forms, the movement is interrupted: $\sqrt{}$-to-v-to-Asp movement takes place like in synthetic forms, but the resulting complex head cannot move to T
  - Cause: language-specific marked features intervene (Bjorkman 2011); head movement of particular heads is blocked (Embick 2000)

(4) Lat. perf. pass.: *consumptum est* 'was consumed' (after Bjorkman 2011):



Pctp = Asp

- The verb agrees with and moves to Voice, where it agrees with the marked [PFV] feature on Asp (dotted line).
- The marked [PASS] feature on Voice blocks further movement to Asp; [PFV] on Asp now acts as an intervenor for further agreement
- V cannot agree for Tense and [PRES] on T is stranded. → the default auxiliary BE picks up stranded T/Agr features.
- Embick (2000), Embick & Halle (2005) analyze the "participial" suffix -*t*- in perfect passive participles like *consump-**t**-um* (n.) in (4) as the default realization of the functional head Asp, (5).

(5) Realization of Asp (not raised to T; Embick 2000: 218)

a. -*nt*- ↔ [pres]
b. -*s*- ↔ [ ]/ _ (List)
c. -*t*- ↔ [ ]

Applying PTCP = Asp to Ancient Greek

- In addition to (and eventually replacing) its inherited synthetic perfect, Ancient Greek develops a periphrastic perfect construction (PPC) consisting of the active/nonactive perfect participle + a BE-auxiliary (= *eĩnai*)
- In the case of Ancient Greek, the relevant features that block movement cannot be on Voice (both active and nonactive forms in the PPC are analytic), nor PFV (the aorist is synthetic) — unlike in Latin.

The Ancient Greek PPC

(6) Periphrastic perfect of *lū́ō* 'release' ($\sqrt{}$*lŭ*) in AG; AUX = *eĩnai* (1Sg. *eimí*) 'be'; *lelu(k)-* = perf. stem; *-ōs*/*-menos* = active/nonactive participial suffixes

	Participle		Auxiliary		
	act.	nonact.	act.	nonact.	
a. Perf.act.	le-lu-k-ṓs		ei-mi		'have released'
b. Perf.pass.		le-lu-mén-os	ei-mi		'have been released'
c. Pluperf.act.	le-lu-k-ṓs		ẽ̃-n		'had released'
d. Pluperf.pass.		le-lu-mén-os	ẽ̃-n		'had been released'
e. Perf.subj.act.	le-lu-k-ὸs		ṍ		'shall release'
f. Perf.subj.pass.		le-lu-mén-os	ṍ		'shall be released'
g. Perf.opt.act.	le-lu-k-ὸs		e-íē-n		'might release'
h. Perf.opt.pass.		le-lu-mén-os	e-íē-n		'might be released'

- $\sqrt{}$-*v*-Voice/Asp(?) on the participle; (Mod)-T-Agr on the auxiliary

Voice and Asp in AG PPCs

- Since the (Homeric/pre-Classical) synthetic perfect, and especially the perfect participle, are usually characterized as *resultative* (Schwyzer 1939: 768, Haspelmath 1992, Bentein 2012a, 2012b, 2013, Napoli 2017), I assume that the feature that distinguishes the pre-Classical synthetic perfect from the aorist is **[RES]**.
- This feature became grammaticalized in the PPC, while the *synthetic* perfect became perfective and merged with the aorist (= Modern Greek)

Asp in participles

- By the end of the pre-Classical period, [RES] on Asp had developed into a marked (movement-blocking) feature → spelled out with nonfinite (= participial) morphology because it cannot combine with T
- Like in the periphrastic perfect passive in Latin, the copula BE picks up the stranded T and Agr features on T.
- AG participial morphology realizes Asp under different conditions (Grestenberger 2018, 2020, 2022a):

(7) Vocabulary Items for AG Asp

a. Asp[RES]	↔	*-ot-/-os-*	/*v*/Voice[+D]⌢_
b. Asp	↔	Ø	/⌢_⌢T
c. Asp	↔	*-men-*	/Voice[-D]⌢_
d. Asp	↔	*-nt-*	

→ Participial morphology in AG spells out Asp that has not moved to T.

Background: Voice in participles & finite verb forms

AG nonactive ("middle") morphology is found in different syntactic environments (anticausative, reflexive, self-benefactive, passive...) → **Voice syncretism** (Embick 1998, 2004a; Oikonomou & Alexiadou 2022): the same morphological exponent surfaces in different syntactic environments.

- Voice syncretism follows from a particular condition on the realization of Voice in a specific syntactic context, (8).
  - Cf. Kratzer 1996; Alexiadou 2013, Alexiadou & Doron 2012; Alexiadou et al. 2015, Schäfer 2017; Grestenberger 2018, 2020; Kastner 2020, etc.

(8) Voice → Voice[NonAct]/_ No DP specifier
(Alexiadou et al. 2015: 102, after Embick 2004a: 150)

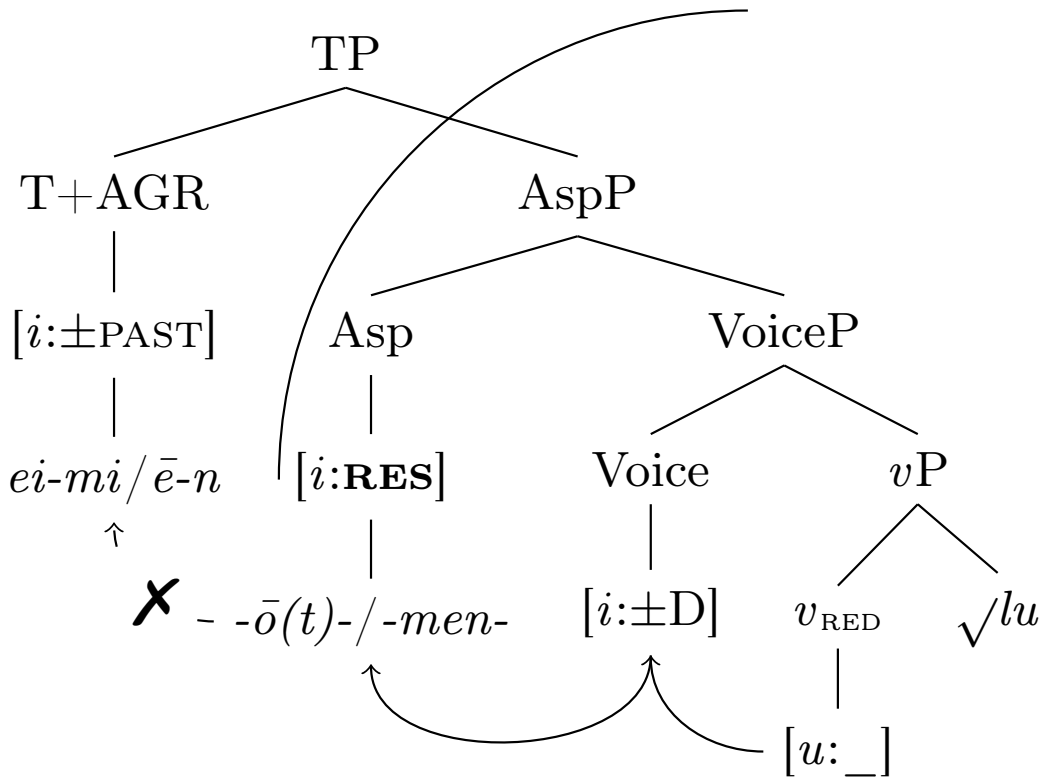
[NONACT] = VoiceP without an external argument.

- i.e., Voice[-D] (Kastner 2020; privative: Alexiadou et al. 2015; Schäfer 2017)
- ACT = elsewhere.

Deriving the periphrastic perfect indicative

(9) AG Perfect/pluperfect active/nonactive indicative:

le-lu-k-ō(t)-/-men-
PF-release-PF-PTCP.ACT/PTCP.NONACT
ei-mi/ē-n
BE-1SG.PRES.ACT/BE-1SG.PAST.ACT



Implications

- **If participial morphology spells out Asp in the PPC, we also expect to see it in other "tenseless" environments (the complement of verbs like *think, see, ..*, as NP-adjuncts, etc.)**
- Assuming PTCP = Asp as given, how much additional "functional structure" is there in participles?

Implications

- **If participial morphology spells out Asp in the PPC, we also expect to see it in other "tenseless" environments (the complement of verbs like *think, see, ..*, as NP-adjuncts, etc.)**
- Assuming PTCP = Asp as given, how much additional "functional structure" is there in participles? → $\sqrt{}$-v-Voice
  - Participial suffixes attach to verbal *stems*; verbal stem-forming morphology realizes v (Grestenberger 2022b, 2023)
  - Participles (including attributive ones) can be modified by event- and manner-modifying adverbs → diagnostic for v/event structure, e.g., (10).

(10) heptà dé hoi dṓ-s-ō **eũ**
seven PTCL him.CL give-FUT-1SG.ACT well.ADV
naió-men-a **ptolíethr-a**
inhabit.PRS-PTCP.NACT-ACC.PL.N city-ACC.PL.N
"I will give him seven **well-inhabited cities**" (Hom., *Il.* 9.149)

Evidence for v/Voice

- All participles (including attributive ones) can be used in active–nonactive voice-alternation contexts → diagnostic for VoiceP

(11) Circumstantial/adnominal, Hdt., *Hist.* 1.66.3 (tr., self-benefactive):

hoi Lakedaimónioi, (...) hoì dè [**pédās**
the Lakedaemonian.NOM.PL they PART chains.ACC.PL
pheró-menoi] epì Tegeétās estrateúonto ...
carry-PTCP.NOM.PL on Tegeans.ACC.PL advance.3PL.IPF

"The Lakedaemonians, (...) they advanced on the Tegeans (with their army), **carrying chains** ..."

(12) Circumstantial/adnominal, Hdt., *Hist.* 2.29.2 (passive + *by*-phrase):

tò ploĩon oíkhetai [**pheró-men-on** **hupò**
the boat.NOM goes.off carry.PRES-PTCP.NACT-NOM.SG.N by
iskhúos toũ rhóou]
strength.GEN the.GEN current.GEN

"... the boat gets lost, **carried off by the strength of the current**."

Evidence for *v*/Voice

(13) Passive GA with agent *by*-phrase (Hdt., *Hist.* 1.19.1; George 2005: 24)

tôi dè duōdekátōi éteï [lēíou
the.DAT PTCL twelfth.DAT year.DAT crop.GEN
empipra-mén-ou **hupò tês stratiês**] ...
burn.up.PRES-PTCP.NACT-GEN by the.GEN army.GEN

"In the twelfth year, when the crops **were being burned by the army**, ...

(14) Adnominal/attributive, Hdt. 9.66.1:

toĩsi prḗgmasi [**toĩsi ek Mardoníou**
the.DAT.PL things.DAT.PL the.DAT.PL from M.GEN
poieu-mén-oisi]
do.PRS-PTCP.MID-DAT.PL

"with the pursuits **that were being conducted by Mardonius**" (George 2005: 116)

Attributive/adnominal participles

- How much structure do Greek (adnominal/circumstantial) participial adjuncts actually contain? TP? CP?

Attributive/adnominal participles

- How much structure do Greek (adnominal/circumstantial) participial adjuncts actually contain? TP? CP?
- Appositive/adnominal participles functionally compete with finite relative clauses (restrictive/non-restrictive):

(15) toutéōn dè tèn neōtérēn
these.GEN.PL.F PTCL the.ACC.SG.F younger.ACC.SG.F
[**epispoménēn hoi ep' Aígupton**] kteínei
follow.AOR.PTCP.ACC.SG.F him.DAT to Egypt.ACC kill.PRS.3SG
"The younger of these, **who had followed him to Egypt**, he killed."
(participial, non-restrictive; Hdt. 3.31.6, cit. after Goldstein 2015: 234)

(16) amphì dé min krateraì stíkhes aspistáōn
around PTCL him stout.NOM.PL rank.NOM.PL shieldbearing.GEN.PL
laōn, [**hoí** hoi **héponto** Tríkēs eks
men.GEN.PL who.NOM.PL him.DAT follow.IPF.3PL Trica.GEN from
hippobótoio]
horse.sustaining.GEN
"Around him [were] the stout ranks of the shieldbearing men **who followed** him from the pasturelands of Trica." (finite, restrictive/non-restrictive; *Il.* 4.201–2)

TP in participial adjuncts?

- NB we already know that participles do not contain their own tense specification, so if there is a TP it must be *defective* at least w.r.t. agreement
- Evidence that TP is present, but defective in these types of reduced clauses (cf. Pires 2006) comes from attributive participles that can be modified by temporal adverbs, as in (17).

(17) Hdt., *Hist.* 1.1.2:

en tẽi **nũn Helládi** **kaleo-mén-ēi**
in the.DAT now Greece.DAT call.PRES-PTCP.NONACT-DAT.SG.F
khōrẽ̄i
land.DAT.F

"in the **land** (that is) **now called Greece**."

TP in participial adjuncts?

Further evidence: Sentential negation.

- Brodahl (2022: 306): Sentential negation in participial adjuncts is indirect evidence for TP, assuming that Neg is dependent on T (e.g., Zanuttini 1997), (18).

(18) tō̃n dè barbárōn hoi polloì en
the.GEN.PL PTCL barbarian.GEN.PL DEF.NOM.PL.M many.NOM.PL.M in
tē̃i thalássēi diephthárēsan [**néein** **ouk**
the.DAT.F sea.DAT.F die.AOR.PASS.3PL swim.PRS.INF NEG
epistá-men-oi]
know.PRS-PTCP.NONACT-NOM.PL
"But many of the barbarians drowned in the sea **not** **knowing how to swim**"/"**because they didn't know how to swim**." (Hdt. 8.89.2)

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→ Adnominal participial clauses contain (at least) defective T.

Circumstantial participles

(19) [PRO$_i$ **sulléksās** **stráteuma**] pro$_i$
collect.AOR.PTCP.NOM.SG.M army.ACC
epoliórkei Míl$\bar{e}$ton
besiege.PRS.ACT.3SG Miletus.ACC.SG
"**Having collected an army** he laid siege to Miletus" (Xen. *An.* 1.1.7)

- Participles are in general underspecified for *tense* — circumstantial participles like in (19) receive temporal interpretation only relative to the matrix clause
- The subject of the participial clause is usually PRO, which is bound by an argument (usually the subject) of the matrix clause
  - Participial agreement is parasitic on agreement between the PRO subject of the particpial clause and the controller argument in the matrix clause
- Functionally, these are adverbial adjunct clauses

Circumstantial participles

For circumstantial participles, Goldstein (2015) distinguishes between participial clauses and participial VPs:

- Participial clauses modify a proposition and act as islands for clitic climbing, modal scope and scope of negation.
- Participial VPs "typically modify an element within the finite clause (...). In contrast to participial clauses, they do not form independent domains for negation, modality, and tense." (Goldstein 2015: 225)
- Participial VPs allow clitic climbing into the matrix clause, (20), participial clauses do not.

(20) Oudeís **me$_i$** apodeíksei [t$_i$
Nobody.NOM me.ACC show.FUT.3SG
bouleú-sa-nt-a] (Lys. 25.14.4)
council.sit-AOR-PTCP.ACT-ACC.SG
"Nobody will prove that I sat on the council" (lit. "will prove **me to have sat ...**")

→ further evidence that participial clauses come in different "sizes".

CP in circumstantial participles/GAs

We have seen evidence for Voice, Asp, and T in adnominal and circumstantial participial clauses. In circumstantial participial clauses and GAs, there is even evidence for CP:

- Ex. like (21) with overt complementizers.

(21) ek Lésbou dè limainoúsēs hoi
from L.GEN PTCL starve.PRS.PCTP.ACT.GEN.SG.F him.DAT.CL
tẽs stratiẽs pérēn diabaínei, **ek**
the.GEN.SG.F army.GEN.SG.F across pass.over.PRS.3SG.ACT from
toũ Atarnéos hōs amḗsōn tòn
the.GEN A.GEN that reap.FUT.PTCP.ACT.NOM.SG the.ACC
sĩton (...)
corn.ACC
"Because his army was starving, he crossed over from Lesbos **to reap corn from Atarneus** (...)" (Hdt. 6.28.2)

Note availability of topic/focus position to the left of complementizer.

(22) [$_{\text{Foc}}$ *ek toũ Atarnéos* [$_{\text{CP}}$ *hòs* [... *amḗsōn tòn sĩton*]]]
from the Atarneus **that** reaping the corn

CP in circumstantial participles/GAs

- Other complementizers used in circumstantial participial clauses/GAs: *háma* 'while' (temporal), *háte* 'because, inasmuch as' (causal), *kaíper*, *kaí* 'although, even if' (concessive)
- Further evidence for CP in circumstantial participles/GAs: left periphery/operator domain movement (topicalization, wh-movement), e.g., (23)–(24).

(23) [[**patròs dè kaì mētròs**]$_{CT}$ oukéti moi
father.GEN PTCL and mother.GEN no.more me.DAT
zōóntōn] adelpheòs àn állos oudenì trópōi
live.PRS.PTCP.GEN.PL brother.NOM MOD other.NOM none.DAT way.DAT
génoito
become.AOR.OPT.MID.3SG
"[**My mother and father**]$_{CT}$ being no longer alive], there's no way I could get another brother." (Hdt. 3.119.6, cit. after Goldstein 2015: 229)

CP in circumstantial participles/GAs

(24) [**tí** d' àn **epidizémenos**] poioĩmi
what.ACC PTCL MOD seek.PRS.PTCP.NOM.SG do.PRS.OPT.1SG
taũta
this.ACC.PL
"[**In search of what**] would I do these things"? (Hdt. 5.106.3; Goldstein 2015: 235)

CP in circumstantial participles

- The circumstantial/absolute use of the AG active participle gave rise to the Modern Greek (MG) gerund in -*ondas*
- But the MG gerund in -*ondas* is usually argued *not* to contain CP based on the diagnostics in (25) (Tsimpli 2000; Manolessou 2005)
- By the same diagnostics, AG participial clauses/circumstantial participles *do* contain CP

(25) AG participial clauses vs. MG gerunds

	AG participial clauses	MG gerunds
1) can be introduced by conjunctions	✔	✗
2) allow operator/wh-movement	✔	✗
3) allow nominalization	✔	✗
4) provide a landing position for topics and dislocated elements	✔	✗

Participial adjuncts: analysis

- Clausal participial adjuncts (participial clauses) contain a **defective CP** which cannot license ϕ-features on T (cf. Ershova 2023)
- Assuming that there is a selectional relationship between C and T (Chomsky 2001), ϕ-complete C can only select ϕ-complete T $\rightarrow$ T then becomes the goal for agreement with the [uϕ] feature on the verbal complex which is then spelled out as a synthetic finite verb.
- ϕ-defective C ("C[#]" following Ershova) can select either ϕ-complete T or ϕ-defective T[#], but neither is able to act as a goal for agreement with the [uϕ] feature on the verbal complex:
  - the former because it is not licensed by C
  - the latter because it does not contain the relevant features
- ... so the verb is spelled out with infinitival morphology in the former and with participial morphology in the latter context, (26).
  - see Sevdali 2013 for independent evidence for a "weak" phase head C in AG infinitives

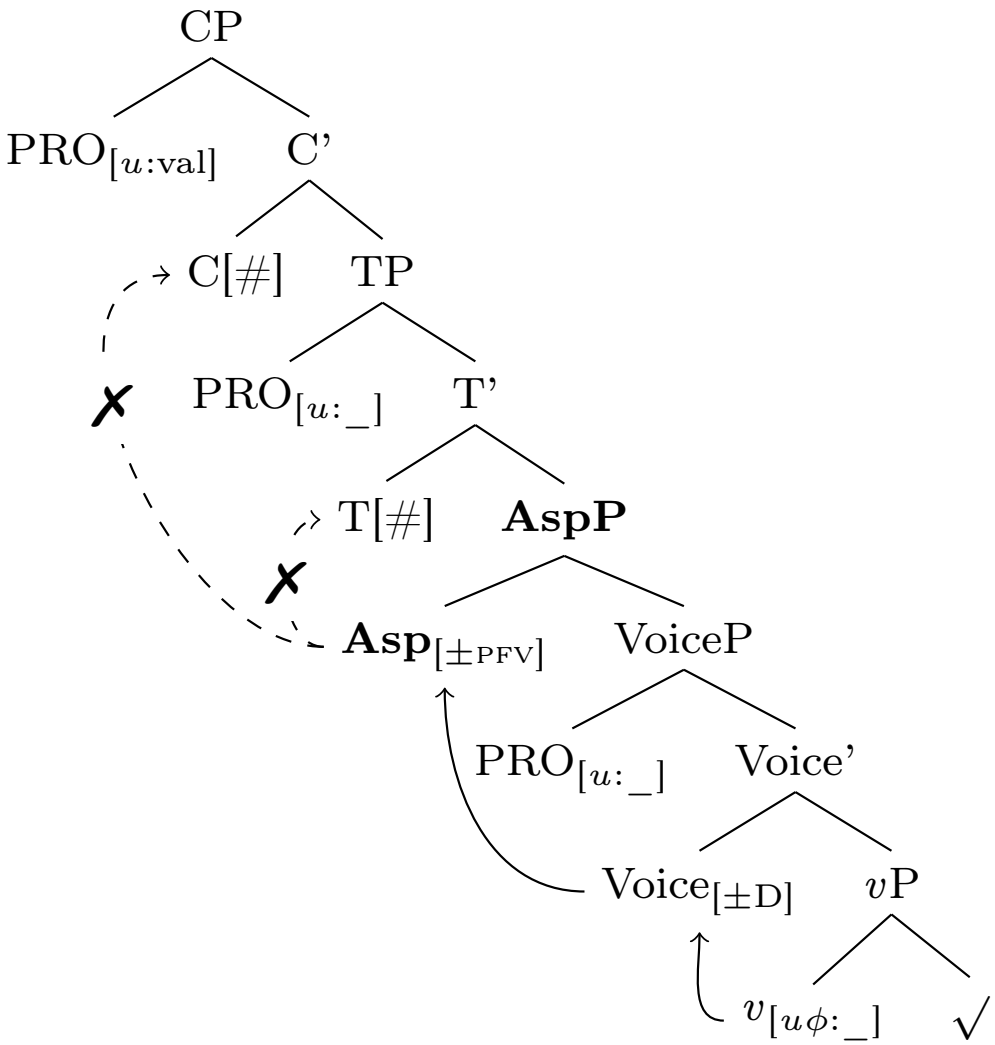
Participial adjuncts: analysis

(26) AG clause types

	CP[ϕ]	CP[#]
TP[ϕ]	finite verb	inf
TP[#]	n/a	**ptcp**

Clausal participles

(27) AG participial adjunct clause



Participial adjuncts

- The structure in (27) is the "largest possible" one for participial clauses — up to [C#]
- Smaller structures which allow clitic climbing into the matrix clause must also be possible (minimally Asp), cf. Goldstein's "participial VPs"
- But the exact size of these clauses and the question of where they can adjoin must be left for another time
- Note that *adnominal* adjuncts seem to be able to project at least up to T[#]

Participles as complements

"Supplementary participles"; "complementary participles" (Rijksbaron 2002: 117ff.; Jaszczyński 2021: 195ff.; van Emde Boas et al. 2019: 610ff.)

- Complements of verbs of perception, knowledge, finding
- Complements of *begin*, *stop*, *cease*, *endure*, *allow*, ...

(28) soì melétō tò entheũten hókōs mè **se** ópsetai [
you.DAT take.care.IPV thereupon such.that NEG you.ACC will.see
i-ónt-a **dià** **thuréōn**]
go.PRES-PTCP.ACT-ACC through doors.GEN
"Take care thereupon so that she does not see **you going through the door**." (Hdt. 1.9.3)

→ No finite T in ECM complements (on nominalizations/complementation cf. Wurmbrand & Lohninger 2020)

- Clitic climbing into matrix clause possible, (28).
- complements of perception and knowledge verbs can be either participles or infinitives, depending on whether the complement refers to something that is known to be true/actually occurring (participles) or not (infinitive), (29)–(30) (but see Faure 2017):

Participles as complements

(29) historéōn dè heúriske [
inquire.PRS.PTCP.ACT.NOM.SG PTCL find.IPF.3SG.ACT
Lakedaimoníous te kaì Athenaíous
Spartan.ACC.PL and Athenian.ACC.PL
proékho-nt-as (...)]
be.first.PRS-PTCP.ACT-ACC.PL
"And inquiring he found (out) **that the Spartans and the Athenians were oustanding** (among...)" ("found the Spartans & Athenians to be oustanding"; Hdt. 1.56.2 — knowledge, true)

(30) nuktì dè boulèn didoùs pánkhu
night.DAT PTCL thought.ACC give.PRS.PTCP.ACT.NOM.SG completely
heúriské [**hoi ou prḗgma eĩnai**
find.IPF.3SG.ACT him.DAT.CL NEG advantage.NOM be.PRS.INF
strateúesthai epì tèn Helláda]
army.lead.PRS.INF.MID against the.ACC.SG.F Greece.ACC.SG.F
"Thinking it over at night he found/thought clearly **that it was not advantageous for him to send an army against Greece**." (Hdt. 7.12.1; opinion, may or may not be true)

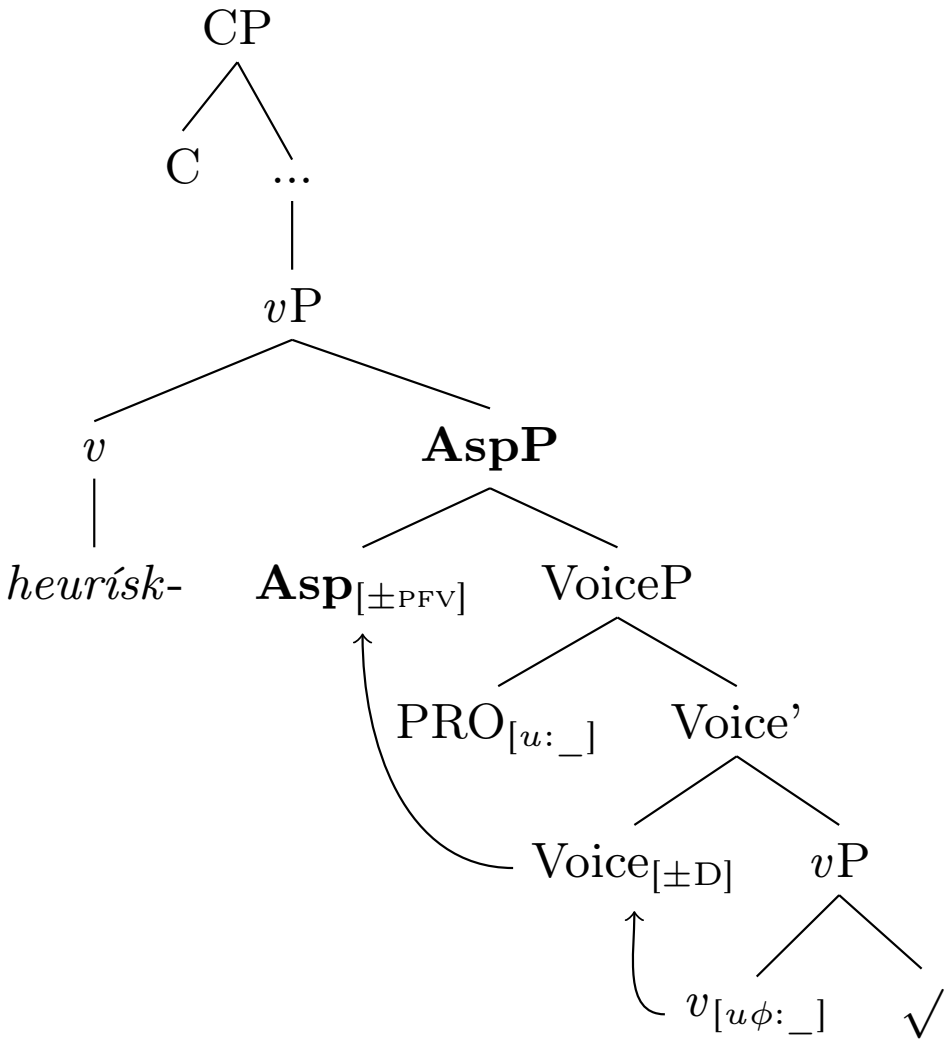
Participles as complements

This evidence suggests that these verbs select complements of different "sizes" depending on whether they are (semantically) propositions (CP), situations (TP) or events (vP/VoiceP), Wurmbrand & Lohninger (2020)

- ... but the event-types actually contain **Asp** in AG and are spelled out as participles (cf. Faure 2017)
- situations = T/ infinitives
- propositions = finite clauses with a complementizer.

Participial complements

(31) AG participial complement (*heurískō* ‘find (out); know’)



Summary

(32) Structure of participial constructions in AG

	Asp	T	C
Complementary ptcp	✔		
PPC participle	Asp[RES]	T[ϕ]	C[ϕ]
Adnominal ptcp	✔	T[#]	?
Circumstantial ptcp	✔	T[#]	C[#]
GA	✔	T[#]	C[#]

Conclusion

- Participles occur in a variety of syntactic contexts in AG, both finite and (different types of) non-finite ones — but they always realize the same syntactic head, **Asp**
- Assuming participial morphology is used when the verb cannot move to T or when there is no (ϕ-complete) T, we derive the distribution of attributive participles, various types of participial adjuncts, and participial complements.
  - Note that these are environments which are independently analyzed as "tenseless"
- When there *is* a finite T, Agreement/movement can fail when a marked feature intervenes/blocks movement
  - Asp[RES] in the PPC

→ Finiteness is gradient — "clause size" in AG varies

Conclusion

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  - Note that these are environments which are independently analyzed as "tenseless"
- When there *is* a finite T, Agreement/movement can fail when a marked feature intervenes/blocks movement
  - Asp[RES] in the PPC

→ Finiteness is gradient — "clause size" in AG varies ... but participial size crucially does *not*.

Thank you!

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