

A state filter: Reconsidering the semantics of the perfect

Ian Hollenbaugh
Washington University in St. Louis
hian@wustl.edu

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§1 Introduction

1. Squeaking in the present, squeaking in the perfect:

- (1) *τῇ δ' ἄγε κινήσας, ταὶ δὲ τρίζουσαι_[PRS.PTPL.] ἔποντο.
ώς δ' ὅτε νυκτερίδες μυχῷ ἄντρου θεσπεσίοι
τρίζουσαι_[PRS.PTPL.] ποτέονται, ἐπει κέ τις ἀποπέσησιν
όρμαθοῦ ἐκ πέτρης, ἀνά τ' ἀλλήλησιν ἔχονται,
ώς αἱ τετριγυῖαι_[PF.PTPL.] ἄμ' ἥσαν· ἥρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν
Ἐρμείας ἀκάκητα κατ' εύρωντα κέλευθα (Od. 24.5–10).*

'With this (wand) in motion he led, and they followed squeaking_[PRS.PTPL.].
As when bats, in a recess of an vast cave
fly about squeaking_[PRS.PTPL.], when one falls
from their chain, off a rock, and they are holding onto one another,
so squeaking_[PF.PTPL.] the (souls of the suitors) went together; and he was their leader
down the dank paths, Hermes the deliverer'.

2. Different “types” of perfects in Greek (lists are non-exhaustive):

“Nactostatic” (attained-stative)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	LEXICAL ASPECT
τέθνηκε	'is dead, has died'	change-of-state (COS) event <i>etc. etc.</i>

“Intensive-frequentative”

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	LEXICAL ASPECT (=non-COS)
ἀλάληται	'is errant, a vagrant'	activity (ἀλάομαι 'wanders')
ἄνωγε	'urges, is urging; urged'	activity?
βέβρυχε	'roars (usu. of sea)'	activity?
δέδορκε	'glares'	activity (δέρκομαι 'look, glare')
είρυαται	'protects'	activity (ἐρύομαι 'id.')

ἔρριγε	'shudders'	semelfactive (ρίγέω 'id.')
ἔσσυται	'is striving (after)'	activity (σεύω 'strive')
κεκληγός	'screeching'	semelfactive (κλάζω 'screech')
κέχληται	'is called, known as'	semelfactive? (καλέω 'call (to)')
κεκοπώς	'knocking, having knocked'	semelfactive (κόπτω 'knock')
λέληκε	'are shrieking'	semelfactive (λάσκω 'id.')
μέμονε	'is intent (on)'	activity? state? (root mng. 'think')
μεμηκώς	'bleating'	semelfactive (*μηκάομαι 'id.')
μέμυκε	'moos, bellows (of wind)'	activity? (μυκάομαι 'id.')
πεπληγώς	'lashing (on/out), beating up'	semelfactive (πλήσσω 'strike')
πεπότηται	'flies about, swarms'	activity (ποτάομαι 'id.')
πέπνυται	'is sensible'	activity (root mng. 'breathe')
πεφρίκαστιν	'bristle, shudder'	semelfactive? (φρίσσω 'id.')
τετιμένος	'held in honor'	activity? (τιμάω 'honor')
τετριγυλιαι	'squeaking'	semelfactive (τρίζουσαι 'id.')

"Plain stative" (=non-attained states)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	LEXICAL ASPECT
ἀδηκώς	'sick of'	state (ἀδέω 'be sick of')
ἀκάχηται	'grieves, is in grief'	state? (ἀχεύω) 'id.'
ἀλαλύκτηται	'is in anguish'	state (cf. ἀλυκτέω/ἀλυκτάζω 'id.')
βέβριθε	'is laden (with)'	state (βρίθω 'id.')
γέγηθε	'is glad'	state (γηθέω 'id.')
γέγωνε/έγεγώνει	'be heard, be audible, make oneself heard'	state? (cf. below)
δεδάκρυται	'is weeping; is teary, wet with tears'	state? (*δακρύω 'be in tears')
δείδοικε, δείδω	'is afraid (of)'	state
εἴωθε	'is accustomed'	state (εἴθω 'id.')
ἔοικε	'seems, looks like'	state
ἔολπε	'hopes, expects'	state (ἔλπομαι 'id.')
έαδότα	'pleasant'	state (άνδάνω 'be pleasing')
κέκασται	'surpasses, excels'	state (καίνυμαι 'id.')
κεχάνδει	'contained, could contain'	state (χανδάνω 'id.')
κεχάρηκε	'is glad'	state (χαίρω 'id.')
κεκοτηώς	'being angry'	state (κοτέω 'be angry')
λελιημένος	'striving, eager'	state
μεμάστι	'are eager, strive'	state (cf. μέμονε)
μέμηλε	'concerns'	state (μέλω 'id.')
οἶδε	'knows'	state (root mng. 'see'?)
προβέβουλε	'prefers'	state (βούλομαι 'wish, prefer')
τέθηπε	'is astonished'	state
τετίηται	'is sorrowful'	state

3. Problem 1: How to explain these different semantic “types.”
 4. The three types correlate with three main classes of verbs:
 - COS events ⇒ Nactostatic (attained stative)
 - non-COS events ⇒ Intensive-frequentative (or post-stative, see below)
 - states ⇒ Plain (=non-attained) stative
 5. Problem 2: The perfect seems to lack distinctive meaning from the present just in case the verb is NOT a change-of-state verb.
 6. The problem is rarely formulated in these terms (notable exception: Sicking and Stork 1996).
 7. No prior work adequately accounts for it.

§2 Goals of this analysis

1. Explain all data without privileging one reading as more basic than another (in the spirit of Sicking and Stork 1996).
 2. Explain why only certain verbs (COS) may be nactostatic in the perfect and why these verbs strongly prefer nactostatic interpretation.
 3. Explain why the perfect to non-COS verbs seems to have the same meaning as the corresponding present (or lacks a present altogether).
 4. Explain how the $\mu\acute{e}μυκ\acute{e}$ and $\grave{\alpha}\lambda\acute{a}\lambda\eta\tau\acute{a}\iota$ types fit into the picture: if states, how so?
 - In what sense is 'moo' a state?

§3 The perfect does not presuppose an event

1. Lexical states do not presuppose a prior event any more than their base lexeme:
 - ἔολπε 'hopes' (ἔλπομαι 'id.'), both mostly negated.

(2) ἀλλ' ἥτοι κεῖνός γε σέθεν ζώοντος ἀκούων
 χαίρει τ' ἐν θυμῷ, ἐπί τ' ἔλπεται_[PRS.IND.] ἥματα πάντα
 ὅψεσθαι φίλον νιὸν ἀπὸ Τροιήθεν ιόντα (Il. 24.490–2).

'Yet surely he at least, upon hearing that you are alive
is glad at heart and **has hope**_[PRS.IND.] all of his days
that he will see his dear son coming back from Troy'.

- (3) νῦν δὴ νῶϊ γ' ἔολπα_[PF.IND.] Διῖ φίλε φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ
οἴσεσθαι μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιοῖσι προτὶ νῆας
"Ex tora δηώσαντε μάχης ἀτόν περ ἐόντα (*Il.* 22.216–18).

'O shining Achilles dear to Zeus, now I **have hope**_[PF.IND.] that you and I
will bring great glory for the Achaeans to the ships
having killed Hector, though he is insatiable for battle'

- Pf. μέμηλα vs. prs. μέλω, both 'be of concern (to)'.
- Pf. βέβριθα vs. prs. βρίθω, both 'be heavy (with)' (cf. esp. *Od.* 9.219 and 15.334).

2. The capacity reading, which is by definition non-instantiated, is not excluded by the perfect.

- (4) αὐτὰρ τῷ τριτάτῳ ἄπυρον κατέθηκε λέβητα
καλὸν τέσσαρα μέτρα κεχανδότα_[PF.PTPL.] λευκὸν ἔτ' αὔτως (*Il.* 23.267–8).

'Then for the third prize he set out a lovely unfired
kettle, **which held**_[PF.PTPL.] (i.e., *could hold*) four measures, still shiny as it was'.

- (5) αὔδα δ̄ τι φρονέεις· τελέσαι δέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν,
εἰ δύναμαι τελέσαι γε καὶ εἰ τετελεσμένον ἔστιν_[PRED.PF.PTPL.] (*Il.* 14.195–6=18.426–7).

'Tell me whatever you have in mind: For my heart is itching to do it
provided I am able to do it and **it is doable**_[PRED.PF.PTPL.]'.

3. That the eventive component of the perfect is only an implicature is clear from its cancelability.

- (6) ὡς κείνη περὶ κῆρι τετίμηται_[PF.IND.] τε καὶ ἔστιν_[PRS.IND.] (*Od.* 7.69)
'So she **has been honored**_[PF.IND.] above all at heart, and she (still) is_[PRS.IND.]'.

4. Even COS verbs (nactostatic) do not entail/presuppose a prior event.

- (7) τοῦτο δὲ Νήριτόν ἔστιν ὄρος καταειμένον_[PF.PTPL.] ὔλη. (*Od.* 13.351).
'And this is Neriton, the mountain **clothed**_[PF.PTPL.] in forest'.

- (8) ἄλλοι δὲ στέλλεσθε κατὰ στρατόν, ὃς τις Ἀχαιῶν
ἴπποισίν τε πέποιθε_[PF.IND.] καὶ ὄρμασι κολλητοῖσιν (*Il.* 23.285–6).

'But the rest of you take position in the field, whoever of the Achaeans
has confidence_[PF.IND.] in his horses and his compacted chariot'.

- (9) Λαόγονον θρασὺν νίὸν Ὄνήτορος, ὃς Διὸς ἵρεὺς
'Ιδαιόν ἐτέτυκτο_[PLPF.], θεὸς δ' ὡς τίετο δήμω (Il. 16.604–5).

'(Meriones killed) Laogenos, bold son of Onetor, who **was**_[PLPF.] the priest
of Idaian Zeus, and honored in his country like a god'.

θνήσκω ‘die’:

AORIST:

ptpl. can mean ‘dead (after death)’
 ζωοῦ οὐδὲ θανόντος ‘alive nor dead’ (*Od.* 17.115)
 —

only of persons or spirits
 Πατρόκλοιο θανόντος ‘of dead P.’ (*Il.* 8.476 etc.)
 θανόντων εἰν Ἀΐδαο ‘the dead in Hades’ (*Il.* 22.389)
 —

entails an event

PERFECT:

means ‘(is) dead’
 ζωῶ, ἀτάρ τεθνεῶτι ‘if alive, but if dead’ (*Od.* 19.331)
 ζώει ὅ γ’ ἢ τέθνηκε ‘is alive or dead’ (*Od.* 2.132 etc.)

of persons or corpses
 Πατρόκλου...τεθνηῶτος ‘id.’ (*Il.* 23.192 etc.)
 —
 νεκύων κατατεθνηῶτων (*Il.* 7.409 etc.)

does not entail an event

- Hence, while the perfect often implicates a prior event description P, it does not entail that P(e).
- Conversely, the aorist often implicates a result state, but this is cancelable:

- (10) οὕτω γὰρ οὐ τέθνηκας_[PF.IND.] οὐδὲ περ θανῶν_[AOR.PTPL.] (A. *Cho.* 504).
 ‘In this way, despite **having died**_[AOR.PTPL.] you **aren’t dead**_[PF.IND.].
 [I.e., because you live on through your children (Electra to Agamemnon)]

5. It is therefore unlikely that the perfect has its origin in the aorist (*pace* Jasanooff 2018) or any kind of perfectivity (*pace* Willi 2018).

§4 The perfect itself does not express intensive-frequentative meaning

1. Intensive-frequentative meaning is not unique to the perfect
 - The frequentative (or habitual) and intensive uses may be expressed by the present or perfect.
 - (11) a. σμερδαλέον δὲ δέδορκεν_[PF.IND.] ἐλισσόμενος περὶ χειῇ (*Il.* 22.95).
 ‘And coiled about the hole (a snake) **glares**_[PF.IND.] terribly.’
 - b. ἵπποις ἐμβεβαώς_[PF.PTPL.]. σμερδνὸν δ’ ὅ γε δέρκεται_[PRS.IND.] ὅσσοις (*HH* 31.9).
 ‘As he (Helios) **mounts**_[PF.PTPL.] his chariot; for he **glares**_[PRS.IND.] terribly from his eyes.’
 - (12) a. αἱ μέν τ’ ἔνθα ἄλις πεποτήκται_[PF.IND.], αἱ δέ τε ἔνθα (*Il.* 2.90).
 ‘They **fly about**_[PF.IND.] in swarms this way and that.’
 - b. ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ποτῶνται_[PRS.IND.] ἀγαλλόμενα πτερύγεσσι
 κλαγγήδον προκαθιζόντων, σμαραγέν δέ τε λειμών (*Il.* 2.462).
 ‘(As a multitude of birds) **fly about**_[PRS.IND.] this way and that exulting their wings
 alighting clamorously, so that the meadow resounds’.

- (13) a. ἀλλ' ἵθ', ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι Χαρίτων μίαν ὀπλοτεράων
δώσω ὀπυιέμεναι καὶ σὴν κεκλῆσθαι_[PF.INF.] ἄκοιτιν (*Il.* 14.267–8).

'But go, and I will give you one of the younger
Graces to marry and **to be called**_[PF.INF.] your wife.'

- b. αἱ γάρ...τοῖος ἐών οἶδ' ἐσσι...
παῖδά τ' ἐμήν ἐχέμεν καὶ ἐμὸς γαμβρὸς καλέεσθαι_[PRS.INF.] (*Od.* 7.311–13).

'If only such a man as you are
would have my daughter and **be called**_[PRS.INF.] my son-in-law'

2. Frequentative or habitual readings of the perfect are sometimes possible even for COS verbs.

- (14) βῆρ δ' ἵμεν ἐς Σχερίην, ὅθι Φαίηκες γεγάασιν_[PF.IND.] (*Od.* 13.160).
'He made his way to Scheria, where the Phaeacians are **native**_[PF.IND.]'.

3. Such interpretations are therefore likely to rely on the same operators in the perfect as in the present:

- HAB, PROG, etc.

§5 The perfect is not a stativizer

1. In the semantics literature, the English progressive aspect is widely viewed as a kind of stativizer.
2. For instance, De Swart (1998:355) sets up an operator PROG that requires its input to be an event and its output to be a state.
3. This well explains the similar behavior (e.g., combination with *still*) and near complementary distribution of lexical states and events in progress.

- (15) Mary was (still) reading a book.

- (16) Mary (still) loved her friend.

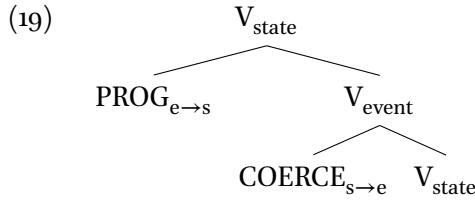
4. But combining PROG with a lexical state leads to special meanings. Compare the following two examples.

- (17) John lived with his parents.

- (18) John was living with his parents.

- (18) has a more temporary and more agentive feel to it.
- According to De Swart (1998:363), this is because of aspectual coercion:
 - In order to satisfy the requirements of PROG, the lexical state must first be converted into an event.
 - This is done by means of a silent coercion operator mapping states to events.

- PROG then takes in the eventivized state and stativizes it.



- Hence, (18) refers to an event in progress, not a state in progress.
5. Unlike known stativizers of the PROG type, the Greek perfect shows no clear coercion effects when combined with lexical states.
 6. On the contrary, perfects to lexical states tend to have stative meaning hardly to be distinguished from the corresponding present.
 - Pf. ἔολπα vs. prs. ἔλπομαι, both ‘hope, have hope’.
 - Pf. μέμηλα vs. prs. μέλω, both ‘be of concern (to)’.
 - Pf. βέβριθα vs. prs. βρίθω, both ‘be heavy (with)’.
 7. If the Greek perfect were a stativizer, we would expect perfects to lexical states to have special meanings, similar in principle to the special meanings of the English progressive to lexical states.
 8. We must, then, allow for the following facts, which a “stativizer” cannot account for:
 - A lexical state “passes through” the perfect without undergoing significant change in meaning.
 - A semelfactive or activity in the perfect typically has the same kinds of meanings as the present (“frequentative”).
 - A COS verb is consistently nactostatic in the perfect (= stative-resultative).
 9. Just as the stativizer PROG has a consistent kind of stative meaning (progressive), if the perfect were a stativizer, we’d expect it to have consistent meaning of some kind, such as POST (experiential), but that’s not what we find.

§6 A state filter

1. I propose to view the perfect as a kind of state “filter.”
 - Instead of requiring its output to be a state, the perfect **requires its *input* to be a state**.
2. By definition, then, the perfect can only combine with predicates of type *s*, never of type *e*.

§6.1 Lexical states and COS verbs

1. This accounts directly for the two kinds of verbs that have state as part of their lexical meaning:
 - Lexical states pass through the filter directly, and so their lack of distinctive meaning is expected.
 - $\xi\lambda\pi\varepsilon$ vs. $\xi\lambda\pi\varepsilon\tau\alpha\varepsilon$, both ‘hopes, is hopeful’
 - COS verbs have only the target state portion of their denotation expressed by the perfect.
 - $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\eta\varepsilon$ ‘is dead’ vs. $\theta\eta\eta\sigma\kappa\varepsilon$ ‘dies’
2. The latter works because COS verbs, by definition, have both an event and a state component to their denotations.
3. Following Condoravdi and Deo (2014:280–1), I assume that COS verbs have “paired denotations.”
 - For instance, DIE denotes a dying event and a target state BE DEAD. Thus:

(20) $\langle \lambda e. \text{die}(e), \lambda y. \lambda s. \text{be-dead}(s)(y) \rangle$
4. Evidence for the existence of paired denotations comes in part from sentences like the following:
 - *I went home for the rest of the day.*
 - *I fell asleep for one hour.*

(21) $\kappa\alpha\delta\delta\rho\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\eta_{[\text{AOR.}]}$ δ’ οὐ πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον, ἀλλὰ μίνυνθα (Od. 15.494).
 ‘Then they fell asleep_[\text{AOR.}], not for a long time, but a little’.

 - This requires that the result state be part of the denotation of COS verbs.
5. Condoravdi and Deo (2014:280–1), in their analysis of the *tā*-participles in Sanskrit, claim that *-tā* originally functioned to pick out just the state component of COS predicates.
 - Thus, Ved. *mṛtā-* would have the following denotation:

(22) $\lambda y. \lambda s. \text{be-dead}(s)(y)$
6. This analysis of COS predicates may apply equally well to the Greek perfect, except in the verbal rather than adjectival domain.
7. Since the perfect filters out the event component of the denotation, the most accessible meaning is “nactostatic” (‘is dead’), crucially without any event entailed/presupposed.
 - The event component of the paired denotation in (20) is nowhere part of the denotation in (22).
 - This correctly predicts that no prior event is “presupposed” or entailed, even in the nactostatic perfect.

(23) τοῦτο δὲ Νήριτόν ἐστιν ὄρος καταειμένον_[\text{PF,PTPL.}] ὅλη (Od. 13.351).
 ‘And this is Neriton, the mountain clothed_[\text{PF,PTPL.}] in forest’.

§6.2 Non-COS events

1. But what happens when there is no state available in the denotation of the verb?
2. Non-COS events, namely semelfactives and activities, have only an event component in their denotation.
3. They must undergo some modification in order to be compatible with the perfect.
4. This modification amounts to converting the non-stative input to a stative predicate.
5. Since the perfect is not specified for a particular kind of stative meaning (e.g., nactostatic), any stative interpretation will do.
6. Nactostatic is of course ruled out by the fact that such verbs, by definition, lack a result state.
7. But this still leaves many options that have been variously analyzed as states in the semantics literature.
8. Some are fairly familiar kinds of perfect meaning.
 - For instance, rather than referring to a result state, a perfect may refer to a “post-state” (or consequent state): the state of something having happened (but not strictly resulting from it).
 - Most typically, this can be understood as the “experiential” or “existential” perfect.
 - Type *I have been to Paris*.
 - So, ὅπωπα ‘have seen’ and πέπονθα ‘have suffered, undergone’ are always experiential in Homeric.

(24) τολμήεις μοι θυμός, ἐπεὶ κακὰ πολλὰ πέπονθα_[PF.IND.]
κύμασι καὶ πολέμῳ. μετὰ καὶ τόδε τοῖσι γενέσθω (*Od.* 17.284–5).

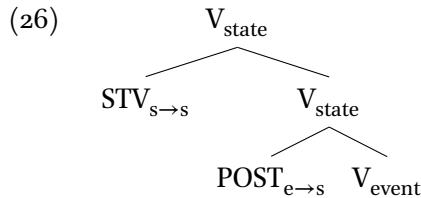
‘I have a steadfast heart, since I’ve suffered_[PF.IND.] many evils
in waves and war. Let this also be among them’.

- Such perfects tend to coincide in meaning not with presents but with aorists (despite Sicking and Stork 1996:161).

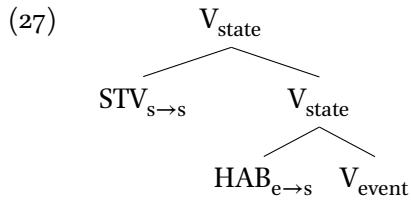
(25) τλήσομαι ἐν στήθεσσιν ἔχων ταλαπενθέα θυμόν.
ἢδη γάρ μάλα πόλλα’ ἐπαθον_[AOR.IND.] καὶ πόλλα’ ἐμόγγσα
κύμασι καὶ πολέμῳ. μετὰ καὶ τόδε τοῖσι γενέσθω. (*Od.* 5.222–4).

‘I’ll endure it, since I have a sorrow-enduring heart in my chest,
for I’ve already suffered_[AOR.IND.] very many and toiled much
in waves and war. Let this also be among them’.

- This corresponds roughly to De Swart’s (1998:354) PERF operator, or to Gerö and von Stechow’s (2003:260) POST operator.
- Once stativized, the predicate is a suitable complement to the perfect (STV).



9. But there are other equally legitimate kinds of stative operators.
10. These include HAB (habitual), ITER (iterative), PROG (progressive), and CAN (ability).
11. All of these are treated as stativizers by Gerö and von Stechow (2003:263–5).
12. These correspond precisely to the atypical uses of the perfect observed earlier.
 - “Frequentative”:
 - HAB:
 - ἀλάληται ‘is errant, a vagrant’
 - ITER:
 - πεπληγώς or κεκοπώς, both ‘striking (with his fists), beating up’
 - PROG:
 - ἄνωγε ‘is urging’ (*Il.* 18.426, ?10.120; *Od.* 1.269)
 - ἔσσυμαι ‘am hastening (with my feet)’ (*Il.* 13.79)
 - ITER or PROG:
 - λέληκε ‘is shrieking’
 - τετριγνῖαι ‘squeaking’
 - κεκληγώς ‘screeching’
 - “Capacity”:
 - CAN:
 - κεχανδότα ‘able to contain’
 - κάκιστον τετύχθαι ‘the worst thing that can happen’ (*Od.* 1.391)
 - What is called “intensive” can correspond to multiple of these operators:
 - HAB: δέδορκε ‘glares (at)’
 - PROG: ὥρμηται ‘is on his way’
13. These covert operators are already independently needed to account for the same sorts of readings in the present (Gerö and von Stechow 2003:263–5).
14. These operators provide a way for verbs that lack an inherent state component in their meaning to become stative, and so be realized as perfect (STV).



15. Habitual perfects are also common in Vedic (Kümmel 2000:68, Willi 2018:243), where they are also typical of non-COS events, such as *āhúr* ‘they say’.
16. This analysis does not strictly exclude non-nactostatic interpretations, such as habitual, from COS verbs.
 - This is desirable, since we sometimes find habitual perfects to COS verbs in Homer:

(28) ὅσση δ' αἰγανέης ῥιπὴ ταναοῖο τέτυκται_[PF.],
 ἦν ἡ τ' ἀνὴρ ἀφέη πειρώμενος ἢ ἐν ἀέθλῳ (Il. 16.589–90).

‘As far as the throw of a slender javelin is made_[PF.]
 which a man throws making trial of his strength in a contest’

- As also in Vedic:

(29) *svá ā dámē sudúghā yásya dhenúh*
*svadhām pīpāya*_[PF.IND.] *subhú ánnam atti*_[PRS.IND.] (RV II.35.7ab).

‘Whoever has a good-milking cow in his own house,
 he swells_[PF.IND.] his own power; he eats_[PRS.IND.] food of good essence’.

(tr. Jamison and Brereton 2014:453)

§7 Summary and consequences

1. We may think of the perfect as a kind of “filter” that takes in a verbal denotation and permits only stative components to pass through.
2. If a verb lacking a state component is to pass through, it must first be put into a “package” that the filter can recognize, by means of a covert stativizing operator (HAB, PROG, POST, etc.).
3. We thus account for why the perfect seems to lack distinctive meaning just in case the input is a non-COS verb.
4. In addition, we have a principled way of explaining why a “stative” perfect is sometimes better translated by English ‘has Xed’ than ‘is Xed’, already in Homer.
5. We do not need to appeal to diachrony to explain this (“aoristic drift”) but just to the interaction of the stative perfect with the lexical semantics of its various inputs.

§8 Tune in next time for...

1. Semantic mismatch: Skt. *jajána* 'has given birth' ≠ γέγονε 'is born, alive' – Why?
2. Plpf. not always stative: βεβλήκει 'struck', (ἐ)βεβήκει 'went, departed' – How come?

Appendix: Prior accounts

1. Some have disregarded the intensive-frequentative use entirely (or treated as not real perfects):
 - Gerö and von Stechow (2003)
 - Jasanoff (2018)
 - PROBLEMS:
 - Unclear which perfects are actually excluded.
 - Jasanoff treats the *verba sonandi* (frequentative) as not true perfects, e.g.:
 - Gk. βέβρυχε 'roars', ἄνωγε 'orders';
 - Ved. *mimāya* 'roars', āha 'says';
 - Hitt. *wewakki* 'demands, asks for'.
 - He claims (p.140) that these are just "semantically marked reduplicated *h₂e*-conjugation presents."
 - Jasanoff counts γέγωνε, which he glosses 'shouts', as a *verbum sonandi*, but it isn't. It *always* means 'make oneself heard, be audible'.
 - στῆ...έν μεσσάτῳ...γεγωνέμεν_[PF.INF.] ἀμφοτέρωσε (Il. 8.222–3=11.5–6).
'He stood in the middle to be heard_[PF.INF.] on both sides'.
 - ἀλλ' ὅτε τόσσον ἀπῆν ὅσσον τε γέγωνε_[PF.IND.] βοήσας
'But when he was as far away as one can be heard_[PF.INF.] shouting' (capacity reading).
 - Τρώεσσι/Δαναοῖσι γεγωνώς_[PF.PTPL.] 'audible_[PF.PTPL.] to the Trojans/Danaans'.
 - (30) ἐγγύθεν· ἀλλ' οὐ πώς οἱ ἔην βώσαντι γεγωνεῖν_[PRS.INF.].
τόσσος γὰρ κτύπος ἥειν, ἀυτὴ δ' οὐρανὸν ἴκε (Il. 337–8).
 - ‘(he stood) close by, but it was impossible for him to be heard_[PRS.INF.] by shouting,
so great was the clamor, and the shouting reached heaven’.
 - If only “*verba sonandi*” are excluded, there are still serious problems for the nactostatic view (e.g., ἀλάληται 'wanders').
 - Jasanoff has to deny that perfects can be built to lexical states at all (p.140, n.20 flg. Kümmel 2000:69), contrary to fact (cf. van Beek and Migliori 2019:97–8).
 - ὅπωπα 'has seen', ἔολπε 'hopes', etc.
 - Despite all this, Jasanoff does not get away from the notion of an intensive origin of the perfect, tracing it back to a pre-PIE “intensive protomiddle aorist.”
2. Intensive-frequentative use is original/most basic, nactostatic derived from it:
 - Delbrück (1879:94)
 - Magni (2017)

3. Nactostatic use is original/most basic, intensive-frequentative is derived from it (or an offshoot of it):

- Kümmel (2000:68–9)
 - Jasenoff (2018) (but still “intensive” in a way, see above)

- PROBLEMS:

- Unclear how we get from a nactostatic meaning to “plain stative” and intensive-frequentative meanings (see criticisms in Willi 2018:232–44)
 - Requires that the prior event is part of the inherent meaning of the perfect (i.e., a semantic *entailment*).
 - So Jasanoff 2018:149, e.g.:
 - **b^heb^hóyd^he* ‘is awake (from having awoken)’ (< **‘woke up completely’)
 - However, even among the change-of-state verbs the prior event is not an entailment (discussed above).
 - Jasanoff severely downplays the role of the perfect mediopassive and overstates the original semantic passiveness of the perfect active (rightly criticized by van Beek and Migliori (2019)).
 - Contrary to all evidence, Jasanoff (p.146) sees original passive/intransitive meanings for perfects that in the attested languages are only active:
 - **kekłóye* ‘is famed as’ ($\sqrt{kłeu}$ ‘hear’)
 - **dedórke* ‘is visible’ (\sqrt{derk} ‘look (at)’)
 - **g^weg^whóne* ‘lies stricken’ ($\sqrt{g^when}$ ‘strike’)
 - The pf. mediopassive is more frequent than the active already in Mycenaean:
 - Hom. δέδοται ‘is given’, Myc. *de-do-me-na* /dedomena/ ‘given’
 - Hom. δέδασται ‘is allotted’, Myc. *e-pi-de-da-to* /epi-dedastoi/ ‘is distributed’
 - Jasanoff’s supposed alignment change (pf. act. < original passive meaning) makes the wrong predictions (e.g., why don’t we get δέδωκε *‘is given’).

4. Plain stative meaning is original/most basic, other uses derived

- Willi (2018:232–44, with further refs.):
 - Pf. originally equivalent to an agent noun (so, e.g., $\delta\pi\omega\pi\varepsilon$ = ‘X is a seer (of)’ > ‘sees, has seen’).
 - PROBLEMS:
 - Not helped by presenting the development from agent-noun to perfect as a “logical” rather than a diachronic one (p.242).
 - Unclear why certain verbs would lack (active) perfects (e.g., $\delta\acute{e}\delta\omega\kappa\varepsilon$, unattested until Pindar, should be a fine equivalent to $\delta\omega\tau\acute{h}\rho/\delta\omega\tau\acute{h}\rho/\delta\omega\tau\omega\rho$).

- We must take it on faith that the nactostatic reading “naturally arises” from an “implicature” of the agent-noun meaning (p.233).
 - Does not account for the systematic relationship between lexical semantics and type of perfect.
 - Predicts more habitual perfects than we actually get (why are COS verbs consistently nactostatic rather than habitual? why are perfects to lexical states not usually habitual?)
 - Fails to actually position the notions of “state” and “stative” within a framework, and so his analysis is unconstrained and difficult to interpret (e.g., *ἄνωγα* ‘I am telling’ is called a “stative” without explanation, p.237).
5. Perfect is a stativizer, sensitive to lexical semantics of the input, output is always a state
- Sicking and Stork (1996): Pf. imposes features [–CHANGE] and [–CONTROL], no matter the features of input.
 - van Beek and Migliori (2019): Different types of pf. depend on lexical semantics and context.
 - PROBLEMS:
 - Unclear how the types *ἀλάληται* ‘wanders’ or *μέμυκε* ‘bellows’ count as stative (lack of control and change not obvious).
 - Lack of agentivity and lack of “change” don’t seem to be necessary requirements of perfects.
 - *πέπληγμέν* ‘to lash on’ (*Il.* 16.728)
 - *δεδραγμένος* ‘grasping’ (*Il.* 13.393=16.486)
 - Both treatments pass by the *μέμυκε* ‘bellows’ type largely in silence.
 - van Beek and Migliori (2019) still assume that a prior event is “presupposed” by the perfect (which, as we saw above, doesn’t hold up to the evidence).
 - We do not see coercion effects when the input is a lexical state, which would be expected if the pf. is a stativizer (discussed above).

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